# Appendix

The Philip S. Ogilvie Story

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. LISTER HILL

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, 1144 28, 1959

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, as my colleagues know, I have always had a deep personal interest in improving and expanding library facilities and library services for our people. I am proud to have been the author in the Senate of the Library Services Act and to have played a part in helping to create such library programs as that today serving the community of Tifton in the State of Georgia, the immediate and esteemed neighbor of my home State of Alabama.

The town of Tifton is a fine, progressive municipality in the center of a large rural trade area. Tifton and the surrounding five counties are served by the 30th regional library to be created in Georgia under the Library Services Act. More than 100,000 books were circulated in the first 2 months after this library was established and the facility has made possible a fuller life for thousands in this section of the South.

A major part of the credit for the outstanding success of this regional library has been the energetic efforts of one man. Mr. Philip S. Ogilvie has performed an unusually effective service to the people of Tifton, Ga., by teaming the magic medium of radio with the public library in a campaign to encourage the use of library facilities.

The story of Mr. Ogilvie's outstanding service has been effectively told by Mr. Ralph Edwards, president and general manager of radio station WWGS in Tifton, and Mrs. Edwards writing in the ALA Bulletin of May 1959.

I ask unanimous consent that this story be printed in the Appendix of the

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"MIGHTY MIKE" HELPS THE PUBLIC LIBRARY-A RADIO STATION MANAGER REPORTS ON ONE LIBRARY'S USE OF HIS MEDIUM

(By Evelyn and Ralph Edwards)

(Reports of library radio programs are usually written by librarians. One of the values of this article is that it is written from the point of view of the radio station manager and assesses library programing in his terms. Mr. Edwards is president and gen-eral manager of radio station WWGS, Tifton, Ga. He is president of the Georgia Associated Press and vice president of the Georgia Association of Broadcasters. The coauthor of the article is his wife. The librarian whose work is described here is Philip Ogilvie, formerly librarian of the Coastal Plain

Regional Library with headquarters in Tif-ton, now librarian of the Roanoke, Va., Public Library.)

The effectiveness of radio in assisting publib libraries to reach the people whom they both seek to serve has reached a new peak, if our experience in the heart of south Georgia is any criterion. What has happened and continues to happen in Tifton, Ga., should be known to every public librarian who faces the problem of bringing the public library and its services to those people who, for one reason or another, do not visit and borrow from the local library. The kinds of radio programs which were developed by the former director of our local library system and are described in this article can be used effectively in almost any situation.

As radio people who believe that nothing can replace good books and good radio in their roles as instruments of cultural advance, we have been pained to hear some librarians say that television has radio and the public library with their backs to the wall. In truth, television has entered the pattern of civilization as just one more useful means for the dissemination of knowledge and entertainment, and now that the novelty is wearing thin, it is settling into a shared role as an educator and entertainer of the masses. Certainly it plays an important role in a great field of public service that cannot become overcrowded in an age that demands more and more information for intelligent citizenship. Nevertheless, television complements rather than competes with the othermedia for the communication of ideas, for each of the several media has its place in modern life. In some instances there is overlapping; in others there is a certain exclusiveness; and in all there is a vast poten-

tial for service not yet plumbed.
As illustrations of exclusiveness, radio is ideal for keeping up with what is going on in the world while one is driving, doing housework, etc.; and nothing can take the place of the freedom of choice of specific subject matter at a particular time that is provided by a book thoughtfully selected at a public library. Our librarian used his awareness of these two exclusivenesses to develop the effective library radio programs that brought him a radio audience and increased library

NEW USERS WON

The fact that these programs brought new users and broader use to the libraries of our area will interest zealous librarians immediately, but the importance of a program being beneficial to both the users of public service time and the station donating it also deserves consideration by librarians. Most radio stations exceed the minimum requirements of the Federal Communications Commission for providing time for public service programs. Meanwhile, radio stations must support themselves with commercial programs and spot advertisements if they are to continue to operate, and it is to the advantage of a station to have a high level of listener appeal maintained throughout the broadcast day if it is to obtain adequate support. A single unappealing or limitedappeal program induces numerous listeners to change stations, and no advertiser wants his program or his spot advertisement carried in an unproductive period immediately following such a program. A station is obliged to strive, therefore, for economic as

well as esthetic reasons, to sustain listener appeal throughout its succession of programs.

It had been our experience that book reviews as such had limited appeal. Although some librarians responsible for producing these programs are capable and creative, others have a singular devotion to one special hallmark of their profession, one favorite means of relating themselves and their libraries to the adult public whom they seek to serve-the tried and true book review program.

#### A PEOPLE-ORIENTED LIBRARIAN

When a new director came to our local library in the summer of 1956, we were impressed with his approach to all things relating to librarianship. He went at his tasks in a manner unlike that of any other li-brarian we had known. His thinking was, first, people-oriented and then book-oriented, rather than vice versa.

We interviewed him on the air shortly after his arrival in Tifton. "What is the work of a public librarian?" we asked. "I like to think of it as a mission," he replied, "for to be successful in it one needs a real sense of dedication. The librarian's role is that of educator, and his mission is to bring people and books together. The public librarian, particularly at the grassroots level, must be dedicated to the dissemination of culture in the broad sense of the word, not in the narrow sense that culture is the possession of a select few who mouth the word as though it were wrapped in mink-rather in the sense that it includes facts and figures and homey, everyday things as well as poetry and the other arts. Basically, the public librar-ian must love people, all people, and must have the conviction that books can mean something in their lives. There is a right book for every potential reader, so the public librarian strives to bring them together. Everyone needs to be informed these days, for the absence of knowledge can lead to the corruption of democratic ideals and the breakdown of human relationships socially, and drabness and boredom can lead to mental debilitation personally."

This philosophy of librarianship found its logical expression in a new type of library radio program. The librarian immediately understood our difficulties with straight book reviews, which appeal normally to a group particularly interested in the particular book being reviewed. Such a group varies in size with the subject interest of the book, and individual books appeal more often than not to persons of a certain class, or level of edu-cation, or sophistication. This tends to elim-inate a portion of the listening audience, and we believe that it also led many people of our area to feel that the library had nothing to offer them if they were not especially interested in the best sellers, both fiction and nonfiction.

Our new library director has had no previous experience in radio, but his conviction that the primary task of the public library was to meet all of the people of the area at their own level of interest and only then lead them to other things gave promise of a creative type of radio program with broader appeal and more definite results. Our only disappointment in that original contact was his request for time to accomplish certain things of more immediate importance be-

June 1

fore he undertook to develop a new kind of library radio program.

Before the summer had gone, he had or-ganized the five-county Coastal Plain Regional Library serving Berrien, Cook, Irwin, Tift, and Turner Counties from a headquarters established on the campus of Abraham Baldwin Agricultural College in Tifton. He found and employed a competent staff and inaugurated bookmobile service to rural areas. Observing those successes, we doubly anxious to have him get to the business of the radio programs, and doubly confident that he would create something worthwhile when he did

#### SUBJECT-CENTERED PROGRAMS

We were justified in our expectations, for the first of his subject-centered programs, January 2, 1957, was an immediate success Subject-centered programs are closely related to book reviews, but instead of being confined to a single, recent book that might appeal to some listeners, the subject-centered radio program correlates a number of books, old and new, around a specific subject of general interest. The first such program was, for example, on the subject of happiness in marriage, a subject of almost universal ap-It began with the question: "Is your marriage working?" and the question followed with some pertinent remarks about the increase in marital difficulties as manifested in the divorce rate. The fact that marital difficulties seemed to be found in all levels of society led logically to the conclusion that they are the concern of all members of society. The library was mentioned as a source of help in such difficulties, and several titles, among them Van de Velde's "Ideal Marriage," Geiseman's "Make Yours a Happy Marriage," and Sheen's "Three To Get Married," were mentioned. The aspects of marriage problems these books might help to avoid or solve were brought out with decorum and tact.

Even the station personnel assigned to monitor this first subject-centered program were interested throughout, and it surprise to us that all the titles mentioned and others relating to marriage and family life were borrowed from the library within a few days and that reserve lists grew on some of them. It was obvious that our librarian had built his program around a subject of general appeal, and equally obvious that many in our area had never before considered the library as a source of help and information about such personal problems as are involved in happy marriage. Fiftysix new borrowers registered at the local library within the month, and most of them made reference to the radio programs and asked for books mentioned on the air.

Subsequent programs followed the same general pattern. All were on subjects of broad interest. There were programs on soil stewardship, on education, on child care, on special holidays and religious observances, on places in the news, and on national and regional heroes. This is not to say that books of more limited or specialized interest were excluded. Late acquisitions of such a nature were usually mentioned at the conclusion of a program, but no program was given over to

Confederate Gen. Robert E. Lee was the subject of one program that began with ques-"Is Robert E. Lee a name or a personality to you?" "Have you ever wondered what his thinking would be about some of the problems we face today?" As the program progressed, titles of Lee biographies on all reading levels were mentioned, and more than one, indeed many, South Georgians celebrated Lee's birthday in 1957 by reading a book about him.

The program built around Brotherhood Week was very well done, and during the Pascal season both the Jewish Passover and the Christian Easter were covered in the

same program, which included discussion of several books which would enable readers of each faith to understand better the ceremonies and beliefs of the other. Meanwhile, the successful launching of Russia's earth satellite inspired some outstanding programs on the space age and the air age; Alaska's bid for statehood led to two programs on that northernmost outpost of our Nation; and the explorations in Antarctica suggested some cool reading for warm days. Local persons, usually in the armed services, were mentioned in connection with some of these geographical subjects to increase local

#### IT WAS NOT REVIEWING

The librarian did not attempt to review most of the titles he mentioned, and what reviewing he did was limited to a few sentences. He went to the card catalog when he had selected a subject for the next series of programs. From the catalog he went to the shelves and examined appropriate volumes briefly, making a few short notes. He came to the radio station with the list of titles and the notes and proceeded from there to arouse audience interest in the subject and to stimulate that interest gradually so that many listeners resolved to stop in at the library and pursue the subject further. Usually the daily programs were tape recorded chronologically all at the same time or sitting, so that a daily trip to the studio was avoided. Most radio stations are agreeable to such an arrangement for a worthwhile program.

Subject-centered programs brought excel-lent results, but we feel that the real peak of our librarian's rapport with the radio audience was attained in his other series of programs, the "think sessions." All men, even those who insist in playing the buffoon in public, like to be assured that they have a share in that precious human ability to think constructively about serious and important things and to arrive at intelligent conclusions. The think session was designed to give that assurance.

Each think session began with the librarian's statement of his conviction that all his listeners were interested in the ideas and ideals that make our country great, that they were eager to give more thought to these things, and that they could arrive at some conclusions that would make them better neighbors and better citizens. The remainder of the program was spent in thinking with them about those things that are the heritage of every American, about the principles upon which our Nation is founded and the heroes of those principles through the ages.

It goes without saying that the listening audience was left with pride in its heritage and convictions about the duty of protecting and preserving it and, even more important, about building a better future upon its sound foundation. "Tradition is not a tomb in which to hide from progress," said. "It is rich ground well tilled and warm with the sunshine of hope for an even greater future. Into it we drop the seeds of our aspirations for a better world, and from it they grow strong and well nourished and bear fruit and become new traditions to nourish others as time passes."

Station personnel marveled at our librarian's easy manner on the nights of the think session. He usually arrived casually dressed. He chatted briefly with our staff, and then, at the right time, would retire to a dark studio, where, without notes, loafers off, feet propped up, and the microphone cradled in lap, he would begin, at the signal from controls, to talk from his heart, slowly, meditatively, revently, about matters close to the hearts of all loyal Americans. For 28 minutes, without a single awkward pause, he would ponder verbally with his audience such vital subjects as our American freedoms,

JIRS st our debts to our forebears, our obligations to our descendants, the wonders of creation and the laws governing nature, the joys of family life and the bulwark happy life is against delinquency. He did not preach, although he mentioned God in appropriate instances. He held his audience captive and left them at the end conscious of their own thoughts only and rededicated to ideas which are not new, but are neg-lected in the hustle of daily duties.

The telephone calls and letters about this program were indication enough of the size of the radio audience and the regularity with which they participated in the think session. There could be no doubt that the library director had sold himself to his listeners, his listeners to themselves, and the library and its services to all. We had a good

program, and we knew it.

An increase in power and the assignment of a new frequency in the fall of 1957 restricted our broadcast day to the hours be-tween sunrise and sunset. The change eliminated the library programs which were scheduled in the evening, and there were no 30-minute periods open to offer as a substitute. We put the problem before the librarian, who asked for and got a daily 5-minute period at 10:25 a.m., a time he figured to coincide with the normal coffee break time of the average busy housewife (and a time that is, incidentally, commercially valuable). This new arrangement meant briefer but more frequent contacts with the radio audience, and the new time meant a more limited audience. Both factors indicated changes in the manner of programing. librarian worked out the new presentations as a series of informal daily packages, all complete in themselves and brought together at the end of the week to accomplish over several days a combination of "subject-centered" and "think session" program, with the same unity, and eliciting the same or greater response than had the 30-minute weekly program. If 10:25 a.m. had not been break time for most housewives, it soon became so. The program became a conversation topic when women got together on the streets or at club meetings, correspondence and calls about it increased, and library usage showed a proportionate increase. One store manager reported that women would interrupt their shopping to drop into his place of business to listen to the library program. When advertisers began to request spots on either side of this strictly noncomnercial library program, we knew that we had something special in a radio program.

#### A PLAN TO BE SHARED

Undeniably the personality of the Ilbrarian had something to do with the success at the start, but the fact that the program continues to be a success under a new library director indicates that the idea or plan of presentation itself is a vital factor.

We cannot share the director of libraries who created this programing with other libraries. We could not even keep him here. We can, however, share the plan, and because of our own deep interest in public libraries and good reading, we want librarians everywhere to examine the possibilities of "subject-centered" and "think session" programs.

Basic to this type of programing is the conviction that the library must go out to the people and meet them on the level of their own everyday interests. They can be led to broaden their fields of interest once they become regular library users. The habit of reading grows. The problem, we believe, is to get them into the library the first time. that can be done by catching their interest by offering help with the problems of daily living. A book review will, no doubt, stimulate the regular to ask for the book, but the percentage of habitual readers in our country is not large. The librarian must address himself to those who vegetate when

work is done. They are the folk who need what the library has to offer. They are the equivalent of the unchurched in religious parlance, and the librarian, we think, has an obligation born of his vocation to reach out for them and enrich their lives, to make those who must stay at home armchair travelers, to give those who are lonely the companionship of literary characters. It can be done; we have seen it.

Address by Hon. Stuart Symington, of Missouri, at Annual Dinner of Chamber of Commerce of Winston-Salem, N.C.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. SAM. J. ERVIN, JR.

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, on May 21, 1959, the able and distinguished junior Senator from Missouri IMr. Symington) made a notable address at the annual dinner of the Chamber of Commerce of Winston-Salem, N.C.

I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY SENATOR STUART SYMINGTON AT THE ANNUAL DINNER, CHAMBER OF COM-MERCE, WINSTON-SALEM, N.C., MAY 21, 1959

It is a great pleasure to be with you in

Winston-Salem tonight.

I am glad to be with that nationally known statesman, a great businessman before he became a great Governor, my friend Luther Hodges.

It is my privilege to serve on the Senate Armed Services Committee with your senior Senator Sam Envin-and on the Senate Agriculture Committee with Senator Evererr

Together, these two able and dedicated public servants give North Carolina a representation second to no State in the Union.

May I also pay my respects and my tribute to your able Congressman RALPH SCOTT.

In a way, coming here is like going home, because there is so much similarity between North Carolina and my own State of Missouri.

Many Missouri families came from North Carolina, crossing the Alleghenies to the Middle West.

Some of our towns were given your names. Winston, in Daviess County; and Salem, in Dent County in the Ozarks.

Your great chamber of commerce has as its goal the commercial, physical and social betterment of this outstanding city; and you all can be mighty proud of what has al-

ready taken place. Through tobacco, textile, banking and other interests, you are now a leader of the

industrial Southeast.

Through Salem College, Teachers College, and Wake Forest, you have pioneered in the educational development of that greatest of all our national resources—the youth of America.

Although it still retains its southern charm, Winston-Salem has now entered the age of space.

Restoration of the homes of Old Salem runs parallel with work at Western Electric on the guidance systems for Titan missiles.

The growth of Winston-Salem is well illustrated by lines from the Greek poet Alcaeus: "Not houses finely roofed or the stones of walls well-builded, nay nor canals and dockyards, make the city; but men able to use their opportunity."

And when we speak of civic-minded men, all of us think of that superb American, your former President Robert Hanes, whose death was a serious loss to North Carolina

and America.

Although known better nationally as a banker, Bob Hanes was an able business-man. His entire life was dedicated to the public good and built around the importance of sound management as the best road to progress.

It is the management of our Government that I propose to talk briefly about tonight.

There are few subjects more important to me as a legislator and former businessman than the amount of money the Federal Government spends-and, at least equal in importance, how that money is spent.

We hear much debate these days about

whether our Government should spend

more or less.

But I do not believe enough attention is being paid to the way this money is being

All of us here are opposed to waste.

With about 18 percent of our national income now going to Federal taxes, the people have every right to demand that their money be expended with wisdom, under principles of sound management.

When the operation of any business be-comes infected with waste, that business

does not prosper.

The same is true of Government.

May I present a few illustrations of what

has developed in recent years.

This analysis is not political. Many of the practices which worry businessmen today have existed for some time.

It is not political doctrines, or a particu-

lar political party, which produce waste.

It is the gradual accretion of shoddy practices by a Government grown too complex to check itself.

In today's Federal Establishment, there 104 agencies which either lend money or insure investments.

There are 28 departments and agencies

engaged in health services.

There are 29 engaged in research and development.

Surely we all realize the unnecessary overhead expense involved in such duplication of functions.

It is growing all the time-like a jungle in the monsoons.

To be more specific: If we look at the President's budget for fiscal 1960, we see that more than 5 of every 10 tax dollars are scheduled to be spent by the Defense Department.

Large expenditures for security have been with us for many number of years; and will remain with us as long as strength is the price of freedom.

Partially because it handles so much of our money, the Department of Defense can claim the questionable distinction of being the greatest source of waste in the Federal Government.

I say partially, because every informed person knows that the unwillingness to reorganize our Defense Department on the basis of progress-our willingness to let it continue to drift in tradition—is costing the American taxpayer billions of dollars each

In addition, unbusinesslike procurement causes heavy unnecessary expense.

As example, a contract was awarded to an aircraft company whose existing plant capacity could produce approximately three times as many of the planes in question as was the maximum schedule.

But the administration put a ceiling on expenditures for these bombers, a ceiling tailored to a previously decided upon budget figure.

In order to keep down the amount of money spent on these planes in any one year, the Defense Department decided not to buy on a volume basis; and spread the program out.

As a result, the Government paid millions of dollars more for each of these planes than it would have paid if the program had been scheduled for completion in a shorter period of time.

This one action on this one plane cost American taxpayers over a billion dollars more for the same number of bombers.

Similar illustrations are in the planned programs for some of our missiles.

By purchasing missiles at a rate which utilizes but half of the plant capacity of the producer, the cost per missile is far greater than necessary.

It is a fact that the present organization

of our defense structure in itself compounds waste.

Why do we have six separate Air Forces?

Why do we have four independent procurement contracting agencies?

All of these compete for personnel, for private contracting facilities, for scientists and engineers.

In the case of the latter, the competition at times is almost unbelievably expensive.

Out of this comes the duplication of personnel, the duplication of administrative staff, the duplication of office space, the duplication of paperwork, the duplication of general overhead, and all the thousands of other duplications which every businessman knows come in once the gates are opened.

This waste is more than a loss in money. It presents a serious loss in security.

In this nuclear-space age, time is of the essence; and if we are attacked, under the present setup our capacity to retaliate quickly would be seriously affected.

Let us look now at the farm program.

That program is now 8 percent of the total Federal budget.

For some years, I have been a member of the Senate Agriculture Committee.

Since the present Secretary took office, and including estimates for the coming fiscal year, total spending of the Department of Agriculture amounts to \$34.9 billion.

That is more money than was spent by all previous Secretaries of Agriculture since the Department of Agriculture was created.

In 6 years, the administrative cost of the price support program has increased ten-fold—from \$34.6 million in 1952, to \$364.9 million in 1958.

In these 6 years, Agriculture Department personnel has increased from 66,000 to 84.000.

The value of the Government investment in farm inventory is now \$9 billion. It is growing daily.

Any businessman knows the grave dangers inherent to excessive inventory.

As but one illustration, let us take corn. In 1956, the Government spent \$179 million to reduce corn production through the soil bank.

But corn production increased 224 million bushels.

Nevertheless, this year the Government has recommended and obtained approval for a new corn program which not only removes all controls, but actually raises the price support.

And this is true despite the fact you and I already own a \$3 billion inventory of corn and other feed grains.

It is totally unnecessary to have such an expensive and ineffective farm programthe current tobacco program proves that to be true.

At least as much as any other commodity group, the tobacco industry has displayed the unity and discipline necessary for a sound program.

The tobacco industry keeps its production in line, refuses to compromise its quality, and reacts flexibly to changing conditions.

The result has been what everyone interested in farm legislation dreams about-a workable program at little expense to the taxpayers.

Only last Friday, under the able leadership of your distinguished Senator, EVERETT JORDAN, the Senate Agriculture Committee approved a tobacco bill which was supported by the tobacco industry. And just this afternoon, under the leadership of Senator JORDAN, the Senate approved the bill.

The industry voluntarily asked that the price of tobacco be stabilized at a point which would not cause loss of export markets.

This type of leadership is a powerful answer to those who believe the farmer should receive no support from a Government which heavily supports other segments of the economy.

A final illustration of unbusinesslike management: Our Government is not collecting the taxes it could collect.

Only a few weeks ago, the Commissioner of Internal Revenue estimated that each year \$25 to \$26 billion of taxable income is going unreported.

This is a tax avoidance on a massive scale; and if we could stop only part of it, we could obtain billions more in revenue without any tax increases.

The Internal Revenue Service is complaining that today it does not have enough people to see that each teturn is added up right; and states that each new enforcement agent brought in in turn brings in additional tax revenue from 10 to 15 times his salary.

Is it not logical to spend \$1 in order to obtain \$10 to \$15? Wasteful revenue collection would seem as unfortunate as wasteful

Waste should not be taken for granted in Government any more than it should be taken for granted in private business.

Government, too, must use sound accounting principles under good business manage-

Today our country faces the greatest challenge in its history.

With our free enterprise system, under our representative form of government, I have full confidence we can meet that challenge.

Such success will not be automatic. We must work at it.

Through hard work and wise leadership in the past, we have built the most secure and prosperous nation in history.

With earnest effort and wise management we can continue to lead the world as its No. 1 nation, toward a just and lasting peace.

Youth Parley Like Breath of Spring

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 28, 1959

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, those of us who are trying to cope with the problems of the world today sometimes lose sight of the fact that there is a world of tomorrow opening up for our children or our grandchildren.

These children are facing problems, too, many of them brought about by the rapidly increasing complexity of our everyday lives, of our dealings with other people and the world around us.

Next spring, the White House Conference on Children and Youth will make a number of recommendations to our President and our Nation. They will be recommendations based on fact, on observation and on expert appraisal of our children. These recommendations should be heeded by all of us who are looking out for the welfare of our future generations and our Nation's future

Recently, the Detroit Free Press published a series of articles on the coming Conference and the problems which our youth face. The first three of these articles follow .

YOUTH PARLEY LIKE BREATH OF SPRING (By Warren H. Stromberg)

In every 10 years a duty comes to the man who occupies the White House quite unlike the other duties he has to face.

The occasion is the decennial White House Conference on Children and Youth.

The President traditionally issues the call about a year and a half before the event. He is honorary Chairman of the Conference.

The Conference has a threefold purpose. 1. Take stock of the times and its effects

upon children: 2. Examine achievements since the prior Conference, and

3. Determine what steps should be taken in the future.

For the "Golden Anniversary" Conference, March 27 through April 2, 1960, President Eisenhower gave a charge to his 92-member

national committee on December 16, 1958.
"Before such a group as this," the President said, "I am not going to be bold enough to make any very ponderous statements or any that are by any stretch of the imagination to be interpreted as erudite.

"But I do like children-I have some grandchildren-and so I think I can talk a little bit before we disperse."

President Elsenhower urged that the first concern of mothers should be to follow "an active career of real motherhood and care for the little child."

He said schools were a local problem requiring national leadership. He expressed the view "we have to put at least 1 or 2 more years in our educational system before we say a man has graduated from high school."

Ephraim Roos Gomberg, University of Michigan educated national executive director for the Conference, recalls that the first conferees were summoned by President Theodore Roosevelt at the behest of James E. West, a young Washington lawyer, and Theodore Dreiser, the author. This was in 1909

Early records show poverty was very much on the conscience of the Nation. The major purpose of the Conference was to determine how dependent children could be cared for. Subsequent conferences to an extent had

similarly specific aims.

"Our modern-day conferences are almed at helping all children," says Gomberg, who now resides in Rydal, Pa. "Actually, the word "conference" is a misnomer. It's a 11year program, 1 year getting ready and 10 following up."

Gomberg, who was in Detroit recently, claims this is the most far-reaching, citizen sponsored undertaking in the history of the

In Michigan, Governor Williams selected the Michigan Youth Commission to be in charge of State planning for the 1960 White

House Conference.

He stated: "The Michigan Youth Commission originally was established to foster Michigan's participation in the 1950 White

House Conference on Children and Youth. .
"The excellence of the commission's performance at that time and, subsequently, has earned for it an enviable reputation for devotion to the cause of youth."

Williams charged the youth commission with looking into the emerging problems of the State's children and to seek the views of all Michigan citizens in their solution.

Under the direction of Miss Clarice Freud, professor at the University of Michigan School of Social Work and chairman of the Michigan Youth Commission, 11 regional committees are at work in preparing for the 1960 Conference.

These groups will hold area conferences in late April and May this year. Facts and recommendations then will go to the youth commission for the Michigan evaluation and report.

County and community subcommittees also have been set up to help the regional committees.

Teenagers and college students have an important part in the regional and county groups. In this respect, Michigan leads the

Hundreds of community groups are carrying out study projects.

"I'd estimate that shortly 10,000 persons in Michigan will be involved in these intensive preparations," says Sam Rabinovitz, executive secretary in Michigan.

"The regional committees have a triple objective. They are working toward recommendations that will result in local, State, and National action.

"For example," Rabinovitz said, "I just heard from Corunna that an inventory of child services in Shiawasee County is underway. They have wanted to get this done for a long time. Preparing for the White House conference gave them the chance to get it

"Certainly these findings will become part of the Michigan report to the White House conference. Equally important is that the people in Shiawasee County will know what they have for children and what they haven't.

"They, and other counties, are making practical use of what they are finding out in their own localities," Rabinovitz added.

The Michigan group already has the benefit of an important report, "Children and Youth in Michigan, 1900-57," compiled by State agencies of the Interdepartmental Staff on Children and Youth.

There is also a recently completed PTA educational analysis based on the sampling of 200,000 persons.

Formal purpose of the forthcoming national conference is to promote opportunities for children and youth to realize their full potential for a creative life in freedom and dignity.

This is the theme: "The rapidly changing times in which we live and the increasingly fast pace of change make it incumbent upon us to do everything we can to plan ahead so that we can prepare today's children well for life in tomorrow's world."

Rabinovitz says, "If we ever had a challenge and opportunity, this is it.

"Dawning on us is the age of science and discovery. Greater and greater speed and mobility. Vast changes in how and where mobility. Vast changes in how and where we live. Complex changes in how we earn a living.

"It's a far greater transition than the one from the horse and buggy to the automobile.

"How do we chart a course that takes all these into account, yet one that is rooted in our basic way of life-our moral and religious beliefs, our democratic principles?

"It should be of concern to everyone to try to plan now so that our children are ready for this new world." (By Warren H. Stromberg)

Mary will graduate from a commercial course at Cody High School this June.

Bill graduated from Mumford in February. He hopes to go to college this fall and, after 12 years, become a specialist in medicine.

Mary and Bill also plan to marry this summer.

They find themselves caught between a number of pressures and conflicting de-

Is this typical of youth today?

The case of Mary and Bill is one of many being processed in Michigan for a forthcoming event.

It's a national appraisal of all the millions of Marys and Bills that takes place every 10

years.

Called the White House Conference on Children and Youth, it will be held in Washington March 27-April 1, 1960.

It's the sixth one since President Theodore Roosevelt started the project in 1909.

Each State makes a report. Delegates assemble. Past conferences have made definite contributions.

Today's catapulting events make next year's conference even more significant.

How can today's children be prepared for tomorrow's world? This is the theme set by President Elsenhower.

Michigan will reach into every community for ideas and actual cases that tell the story of today's children.

The Michigan Youth Commission is coordinating these efforts through 11 regional committees.

The case of Mary and Bill falls into one of six categories set up by university experts headed by Ronald Lippitt, University of Michigan social psychologist

It is an actual case taken from the files at the Merrill Palmer School, with only a few details altered.

Here are more facts. Mary is nearly 17. Her father is a shop foreman. Her mother also works. She has several brothers and sisters. One brother, now in service, wants to go to college.

Bill's father is a doctor. His mother has never worked. They have a maid. Bill is He has been going with Mary 2 years.

If Bill goes on to college-and the family background demands it-he faces 9 years of study and training before he becomes a doctor. Three more years could make him a specialist.

Then he will have his military stint. If Bill is drafted he would be 32 before he gets

Against this is the plan for early mar-rlage—favored by the times and by all except Bill's parents.

Who would pay for Bill's education? His

ife? His parents?
What if the young couple become parents themselves? And if they don't-what will others in their own age group think?

Commenting on this, John Hudson, a specialist on family counseling and leader of the family life program at Merrill Palmer, Bald:

"In addition to social conflict and the demands for a professional education, there's the matter of putting aside a lot of nice things that young people want."

"There's the long period of male depend-ency on the wife. What are essentially male responsibilities? What of the needs and desires of his wife?"

Supposing Bill accedes to his parents' Wishes and defers the marriage?

"They might figure love will carry them through," Dr. Hudson said.

"But if the marriage is postponed any great length of time, intimacy will probably in-

Dr. Hudson sees adjustment problems for the young couple no matter which way they

turn. He and other experts call them negative attitudes.

It is from cases such as this that Michigan will construct its presentation at the White House conference.

#### (By Warren H. Stromberg)

"Lost ages" are the years between 9 and 13. Even the experts get lost trying to explain why boys and girls do what they do at this age.

For her family, Janie's sudden announcement she didn't want to go to a picnic was a

calamity.

Father almost dropped the lunch basket. Her older brother and vounger sister were awed. Mother was dumfounded.

"Why?" demanded father icily.

The answer was that "all the other girls" were staying home to watch a baseball game on television.

At the picnic Janie declined when asked to join in a ball game with other children and some adults. She treated all such overtures as of little concern.

Noting this, Janie's mother, on the way back in the family car, pointed it out, ending with, "And it doesn't make us very proud

of you."
"I told you I wanted to stay home and watch TV." Janie said in final justification of her position.

This was an actual incident-a matter of a case history.

It happens in every family. It's a ball game in itself; relationship of parents to child versus relationship between child and other children her own age.

Scholars in human behavior call the second relationship peer-centered or the peer relationship.

It is very important with all children, particularly those who don't want to be called children any longer. And when it is not present the situation is far more serious.

But there's still another factor-the influence of the times. Do the patterns of conformity among youth today compare with those of the past? Or have complications been added?

No doubt Janie's role in the preadolescent period is much like that of your own daughter and your neighbor's daughter.

By attempting to analyze this role, are there any benefits to be gained for Janie's younger sister and the others who will be the Janles of tomorrow?

This is one of the basic purposes of the 1960 White House conference on children and youth.

Michigan's preparations are already under way. Through groups in every community it is hoped information can be gathered for regional conferences to be held before the general conference.

Recommenactions will be part of the report that will tell the story of Michigan's children. How children relate to other children with-

in the context of today's modes of living is one of six suggested areas for discussion. Why does Janie want to wear flimsy sneak-

ers in the rain? When should she make decisions of her own? When is parental guidance necessary?

Fritz Redl, in an article called "Preadolescents-What Makes Them 'Tick," explains that during this period it is normal for youngsters to drop their identification with adult society and establish a strong identification with a group of their peers.

He advises:

"No matter how much you dislike it, every preadolescent youngster needs the chance to have some of his wild behavior come out in some place or other.

"For example: Johnny needs the experience of running up against some kind of adventurous situation where he can prove he is a regular guy and not just mother's boy.

"Cut him off from all life situations containing elements of unpredictability and he may have to go stealing from the grocery store to prove his point,

"Give him a free and experimental camp setting to be adventurous in and he will be happily preadolescent without getting himself or anybody else in trouble.

"All youngsters need some place where preadolescent traits can be exercised and even tolerated.

"It is your duty to plan for such places in their life as skillfully as you select their food or vocational opportunities.'

Miss Flo Gould, child-development specialist at the Merrill Palmer School, adds:

"We want youngsters to achieve depend-ence but we still want to be parents. The adult world sets up models of conduct and then gets mad when the preadolescents ape

"Is this fair? There are more diversions today than ever before. If children are to live in their times these must be taken into consideration.

From his office in room 1003 of the Cadillac Square Building, Sam Rabinovitz, is executive secretary of the 35-person statewide Michigan Youth Commission heading up Michigan's preparations for the White House conference next year.

Full community participation is sought through subcommittees and discussion groups. Information can then be filtered to the top for inclusion in the final report.

"This is a meaningful job," Rabinovitz declared. "What better resource do we have than our own children? What is more important than their future in our fast changing world?"

Address by Hon. Gordon Allott, of Colorado, Before Episcopal Diocesan Convention, Denver, Colo.

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. BARRY GOLDWATER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, on the occasion of the Episcopal diocesan convention at Denver, Colo., on May 6, the distinguished senior Senator from Colorado [Mr. ALLOTT] delivered the banquet address. The remarks of the Senator from Colorado on our religious heritage are especially significant in these days of uncertainty. I compliment him on his insight and understanding of our spiritual need.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the address delivered by the Senator from Colorado be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

ADDRESS BY SENATOR GORDON ALLOTT BEFORE EPISCOPAL DIOCESAN CONVENTION, DENVER, COLO., MAY 6, 1959

All of you at this moment are probably thinking of one or two things. First, how can I best settle myself to endure the next half-hour with the least discomfort; or, second, what is this politician going to say for this time and occasion that will be of interest to me? For those in the first category, I can promise little, because life is,

for them, essentially a passage of time and the best and easiest way through it is to tranquilize themselves. To the second group, I would say that it is my intention to avoid, out of deference to the occasion, the thicket of partisan politics. Yet, I intend to invade just a little the theologian's field and, in that, too, they will have their own reward by reason of this invasion of a field which more rightfully is theirs.

The old fashioned tithing man of our Puritan ancestors might well be the subject of this speech. You will recall he stalked the church with a long rod with a knob on the end of it, and soundly rapped those over the head who nodded during the course of a sermon which went to 2 or 3 hours. The first group I mentioned have a better way of doing this. No closed eyes or nodding head marks their semiconsclous state. After years of practice, they have learned to go through anything—Board meetings, church speeches, luncheons—with eyes wide open, giving all the outward appearances of being awake while they have long since lapsed into a mental world of nothingness. It is their defense against boredom. Spiritually, too many of us are doing the same thing.

The tithing man has long since gone the way of the lamplighter and the surrey, along with the precentor who lined out the hymns. Yet, Sunday after Sunday, our priests, over and over again, try to perform spiritually the functions of the tithing man in the hearts and minds of the people of their parishes throughout our country. Every human ingenuity has been utilized by them to awake their parishioners to the living, vibrant qualities of the Christian religion and, sowehow or other, to pull them out of this deep lethargy into which they have fallen.

On the one hand, we point to the great numbers of churches being built day after day in each community, the greatly increased attendance at each of these churches, the higher percentage of people attending churches than ever before. On the other hand, we see the gradual deterioration of respect for our institutions, our beliefs, our laws, and our courts. We see the specter of young mobs running our cities. The disclosures of the McClellan committee, after a period of 2 years, encompassing every known crime, now hardly causes a ripple of moral indignation among us.

At the same time, we see abroad, and throughout the world, a new religion—a vibrant one, communism—thrust out its jaws to gulp down one country after another. For, make no mistake, though it may not have a God, or Gods, it is a religion. It repudiates the ancient religion and calls them, as Marx called them, "The opium of the people."

Communism is a faith, a burning faith, which develops with amazing speed many of the structural outlines of a church. Its faith proclaims the arrival of man here and now, and his conquests and achievements over the material things of life, these being poverty, ignorance, and evil (as defined by them), and, with it, man's entrance into paradise. In its churchlike structure, it has its revelers and prophets in Marx and Lenin. It has its orthodoxy, its heresy, its martyrs, and its apostates. It also has its holy office, its initiation rights, and its consecrated burial It certainly has its missionaries and its hierarchies. The only thing it lacks to compare it with a religion today is divini-

In such a paradoxical world as this, just where does our religion fit?

Most of the men who designed the Government of the United States—many of them were in their thirties—were a talented and influential group of joiners. They were joiners in the sense, not that they belonged to

any band or group, but rather that they were the kind of working joiners who sought perfection through an integrated wholeness. These young American giants knew how to put men and ideas together. They connected spiritual beliefs to political action. They saw no walls separating science, philosophy, religion, or art.

Never before in the history of the world, and perhaps never again, will such a group of complete idealists associate themselves in such a work of complete reality. To them, it was unnatural for a man to fail to develop anything inside of him capable of growth. Man's rights were not limited to the political. His natural rights had something to do with his place in the world and the stretching power of his own spirit and talent. The end of government, therefore, was to translate freedom into creative growth. The gov-ernment that understood this was a wise one and the whole men it helped to develop were fitted to understand the difficult business of operating a complex society. It conferred, in political terms, human dignity for the first time upon each and every man within this country.

To place all this in its proper context, it must be remembered that the constitutional freedoms of Americans are not the exclusive result of the reaction against the tyrannies in England and Europe which American settlers left behind. There was hardly a form of persecution known in the Old World which had not been transplanted to the New. The Bill of Rights came into being not so much as a reaction to the oppressions in Europe as a specific means for preventing the human indignity and the abuses of the kind of freedom experienced here in colonial America.

These young founders did not overlook European history. If anything, they took into account all of their common historical experience and they did not have to look very far for big and bold examples of persecution and denial of human freedom. These abuses existed all about them. Especially was this true in the field of religion. After utilizing the time-tested philosophy of Christendom, blending with it the hope of Hebrew prophecy, the sanity of the Roman law, and the resort to legal action guaranteed by the common law, they emphasized a new kind of philosophy called the common good. This is not the mere good of the state; it is more generous of the mere good of the individual. It is both personal and public, being not individual on one hand nor merely political on the other. It is what the scholastic philosophers of Christendom and the Founding Fathers of America sought for this common good.

As a result, it becomes impossible to examine the history of our country for its first 150 years without coming into constant references to the debt and obligation we owe to our Creator for the creation and preservation of our country.

Washington said, "No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand, which conducts the affairs of men, more than the people of the United States. Every step, by which they have advanced to the character of an independent Nation, seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency." This, then, is the first great tenet of our country: Faith in a deity.

The second one must be a response to realism. Our great believers in God have not been fatalists. They have not said, "Let the Lord do it." On the contrary. They have been men like Moses, St. Paul, Mohammed, St. Francis, Martin Luther, Ignatius Loyola, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, William E. Gladstone, Stonewall Jackson, and Abraham Lincoln. All of these great figures in religion, in war, and in statecraft have been realists.

If we are to accept our own position of leadership in the world—a leadership, a position not desired by the American people in the sense that it has been thrust upon us—we also must be realists. We have been realists in actual war. What we have so far failed to accept is the fact that cold war is not peace, but war itself, and that it is being fought upon a broad field of basic religions. The new religion, communism, competes with all of the ancient religions of the world.

I speak of America's leadership in this world because, by virtue of the gifts that the Lord has given us, we have assumed that leadership. But political leadership is what we in America make it. Real leadership does not rest in an individual in the name of the Presidency, nor in the individual members of the Supreme Court, nor in the individual Members of its Congress. It is what the people make it—it is what the people people wish—it is what they want, and this is what it will be.

The political patterns of our country, the political patterns of the world, will always yield to the pressure of the people who constitute the countries of the world, if they are vigorously exerted. I speak primarily of America's responsibility, because our present position of leadership throws upon us the responsibility of the direction of the world of the future.

In our long, tortuous, tedious search for peace since the commencement of the cold war, we have almost entirely overlooked the power of the individual human being to create peace. Imagine, for a moment, what would happen in this world if all of the people of all faiths lived up to their faiths and their philosophies for even a short few weeks. Conceive, if you can, of the pressure that would be put upon statesmen, generals—yes, and even upon Communist leaders-for a real peace. Think what could be done if these human demands were backed with earnest prayers of all freedom and peace-loving human beings for divine strength to assure peace in the world—even though we grant that these might not be the same God in each case.

Earlier this spring, I thought of introducing a resolution in the U.S. Senate to propose the idea of a summit meeting of the religions of the world, and to request our President to take a leading role in bringing about such a meeting. I must say that it was a frustrating task to approach this proposal. In my discussions with leaders of our church and others, I heard anew all of the reasons that the religions of the world could not join together in such an undertaking. I heard again of the political differences, of the variances in their tenets and in their creeds, the relationship in the various churches in the various states of the world. I heard, too, of the problems that the State Department could foresee in the possibility of this group or that group seizing control of such a meeting and using it selfishly.

I still believe that there is a great need in our age for such a meeting. Perhaps it will have to come from people like ourselves assembled here, seeking to do the ways of God as we see them, and seeking to put into effect, on a world scale, the creation of a world in which each human being may walk the world with full human dignity and grace as one of God's children. As against this, I see a world in which material success and material well-being is the sole guidepost; and subservience to the state the only intellectual criteria; and where the moral good and the human dignity of man is subjugated to the material well-being of the state.

So far, I have avoided saying what must need be said here at this time. That is whether or not, in this country, our materialism has not so far exceeded our sense of spiritual values that we are in danger ourselves of becoming a materialistic democracy.

Are we guided more by so-called economic rights that personal ones?

In the 15 years since the end of the last World War, we have been more generous, both to other nations who are our allies and to those whom we defeated than any other nation has been on the face of this earth. And, like bewildered children, we ask, "Why do these people not love us, for whom we have done so much?" You have heard: "We cannot buy friendship in the world, and the last few years are the proof of it." You have heard these, and a hundred similar sayings, all growing out of the frustration of our inability to cope with the great Communist drives of the past year.

In my sessions with the members of the congresses and parliaments of some 51 countries, in the Interparliamentary Union first at Bangkok and then in London, I have had similar questions posed to me by the representatives of many parliaments. They are convinced of our productiveness; they are convinced of our wealth; they are convinced that we have more automobiles, more bathtubs, more TV's, more radios, more of everything than any other nation in the world. But they are not convinced that the great moral fiber and strength which created this country out of an adversity, and which maintained it through a Civil War and through World War I, is still here.

Many of these leaders have said this to me, not only in effect but in these exact words, "What is the difference between the materialistic philosophy of your country today and the philosophy of the Russians?" This is a hard question to answer, particularly when we must face the fact that in the 100 years which have elapsed since the Civil War, we have still failed to basically solve the racial problems of our country.

We can say that all men are created free and equal, but how do we convince three-fourths of the world who are not members of the white race that we mean it, when we can not show that it this country all men have the right even to vote equally? When we add to the fires of skepticism a few examples of Faubus, Little Rock, and lynchings, we need little more fuel to start a fire which consumes in the minds of other peoples all of the remainder of the great moral fiber, strength, and equality which we believe to be ours.

Jesus spoke at Nazareth and said, "The spirit of the Lord is upon me because he hath annointed me to preach good news to the poor; to proclaim release to the captives; to set at liberty those who are oppressed." In doing this, he challenged his own people to apply their religious faith to human relationships. He knew that religion without practical application and without ethical concern is mere superstition.

Here, then, we reach the heart of the American problem. The problem lies not in our economic progress, or our scientific progress, or our advances in these fields. It lies not in sputnik, nor yet in Atlases or Titans, nor in other missiles. It does not lie in the field of nuclear energy. All of these things we can cope with, all of these things we can do and will learn to do as fast as any other nation in the world learns to do them. But in simply doing these things and proving to the rest of the world that we can do them as well or better, or have more of them, we cannot convince the world of our leadership. The Russians will promise the world these things also.

To the man who has never had his stomach full, who has never known the uncomfortable feeling of having eaten too much, political ideology is meaningless. And so, the Russians' promises of full stomachs and a better life are as good as ours, and, un-

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fortunately, we are associated in the minds of many of the newly formed, undeclared countries in the world with colonialism—a colonialism which was exerted primarily by the Caucasian race. If we were to place ourselves in the same position of some of these people, who for several hundred years have been under the bonds of an unenlightened colonialism, we, too, would look askance at the friends and the allies of those from whom we had recently broken these same bonds of colonialism.

Aside from the beliefs of our church, and as Americans, if we believe in anything we must believe in the essential dignity of the human being. And this is the fact with which we must face the world, and with which, ultimately, we will win our cold war: not by science, not by production, not by missiles, but by convincing the rest of the world that we do have a deep religious faith which makes each man upon the face of the earth a peculiar and particular product and concern of God. With it, we must believe that it is the desire of each and every human being upon the face of the earth to have the same dignity, the same freedom from oppression and from slavery.

This is what we have overlooked in this country, and this is why so many of the nations stand askance at this time, and succumb to the blandishments of the Russians. The heart of our own shortcomings lies in the fact that, somehow or other, we have failed to keep in our everyday life and in our normal outlook in this country the basic quality and fiber of the precepts which established our country.

We need—not a literal—but a figurative tithing man to awake us to the fact that our religion, whether it be Hebrew or Christian, is a daily part of our lives—and that it must become an active part of our national life, if we are to convince the other countries of the world that we are indeed their friends. We need it as a daily part of our lives so that these outstanding examples of injustice and lack of freedom in our own country will not be a glaring defect to which the Communists may point each and every time we are less than we should be as Christians.

This is the real task. A single misstep can set us back years. The world is looking for real moral leadership. We can supply it, with the spiritual strength of each of us. The sum total of this spiritual force of 170 million Americans is a force that will not be denied—if the temptation to compromise it away to material values does not become overwhelming. This is our job. This is our challenge.

Address by Hon. Vance Hartke, of Indiana, to the State Convention of Young Democrats, North Carolina

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. SAM J. ERVIN, JR.

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, on April 30, 1959, the able and distinguished junior Senator from Indiana [Mr. Hartkel addressed the State convention of Young Democrats of North Carolina at Raleigh, N.C.

I ask unanimous consent that excerpts from the address be printed in the Appendix to the RECORD,

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXCERPTS FROM SPEECH OF SENATOR VANCE HARTKE, DEMOCRAT, OF INDIANA, TO STATE CONVENTION OF YOUNG DEMOCRATS, RAL-EIGH, N.C.

It is my first trip here, but I feel right at home here in North Carolina. The welcome has been warm. And I am among young Democrats.

Of course, I am aware that the Young Democrats Clubs of this Nation spring from the first such organization in North Carolina.

In more recent times, your good Governor, the Honorable Luther H. Hodges, has gained a wide reputation for his effective, forward-looking administration. In every facet of government and development North Carolina shines as an example of sound administration tempered with moderate good judgment.

During my few months as a Member of the U.S. Senate, I have come to know your own two U.S. Senators quite well. I like them. I think everyone in North Carolina can be proud of SAM ERVIN and EVERETT JORDAN. Both are distinguished public servants who have made a great mark in military, partisan political and governmental fields. Both are fine gentlemen, sincere and capable. I am proud to sit among them and other distinguished colleagues.

Of course, you all know that the triumph of the labor-management relations bill about which I will have more to say soon is due in a great measure to Senator ERVIN. The bill carries his name and that of Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY, of Massachusetts.

May I add also that both your Senators asked me to extend their greetings and good wishes to you?

Let me dwell for a moment on some other recent history. I am myself not far removed from Young Democrats politics. Ten years ago I was neck deep in them myself. I was president of a congressional district young Democrats organization. I consider it the threshold to full organizational politics and I take great pride in the fact that I was able to step over the threshold at a rather young age. I take great pride also in the fact that I was able to work my way up in organizational politics to run for the U.S. Senate.

Too many men and women in this world look down their noses at organizational politicians. Why should we Americans respect organizational success and efficiency in big business and deplore it in politics?

The fact is, politicians have made our country great and will continue to do so.

Politicians are a special breed. We eat, sleep, talk and live politics and government. We work long hours for comparatively little pay. We travel long distances at the drop of a hat. We see little of our wives and children. But we love it.

Politics is for the young. Even the oldtimers in politics are young in spirit and must live the lives of young men. This is why the experience and the enthusiasm of Young Democrats is so important.

And, when the backbone of our party needs stiffening, it must turn to new faces, new blood. It happened in Indiana last year and in other States as well.

We had had quite a dry spell in our State. Not in 20 years had Indiana voted for a Democrat to represent her in the Senate. It had been a decade since we had a majority of congressmen, a decade since we had a governor, 22 years since we voted Democratic for President.

Last year we trotted out a new Democratic Party. In it were some oldtimers. In it were many faces new to the State political scene, many of them like myself veterans of Young Democratic training grounds.

We beat six incumbent Republican Congressmen and held two seats of our own. We swept every State office at stake. I was 39 when elected. A law school friend of mine was one of the new congressmen. Another is 31. The others, with one exception, are in their forties or thirties. Most of our new State officials also are in their thirties or

The speaker of the house of representatives in my State this year is 31 years old. The majority floor leader, a Democrat, is close to his 30th birthday.

We are building for the present and the future. This is the job of our whole party \* \* \* in every State \* \* \* in the Nation as a whole.

Why is this important in a State where Democrats usually win?

First, because our party must grow, must progress, or it will slide backward, even in North Carolina

Second, and more important, because our

job is only partly done today.

When I campaigned in my home State, I told the people of the problems as I saw them. I told them some possible solutions. But I also told them I was no miracle man and that we could find no magic solutions. I told them that Democrats were concerned about their problems and would work to try and solve them.

And we are working.

In the Senate in less than 4 months we have passed:

new labor-management relations bill which should end hoodlumism and racket-

A housing bill that will help clear slums and help millions of Americans to become homeowners if they wish.

Extension of the draft. An airport aid plan that should help the cities of our nation expand for the jet age

that has already arrived. Educational television assistance.

A measure setting up a thorough and fast study of unemployment and how to solve it.

An international monetary bill. We are in the midst of a formula for the

taxation of life insurance companies. We will take steps to solve the farm problem. We will strive to provide our Armed Forces with the tools they need to keep up with and pass the Russians,

We will tackle the problems of recession, of world peace, of world trade, the problems of the aged and the inflation-hit people of

every age.

We Democrats will do these things while remaining financially responsible because we dare to do things, because we are a national party. As Speaker Sam Raysuan said when he came to Congress, "I want to work within a party that knows no North and knows no South, knows no East and knows no West."

Today, we in the Senate follow the leader-ship of another great man from Texas, a man whose grandfather carved a chunk out of the wild West. The philosophy of this leader, Lyndon B. Johnson, is that the policy committee he heads seeks to find the common ground from the extremes of the party.

The record that has been written and the record we will continue to write is the best testimony of the success of this program. In the meantime, we can do only part of the job.

Our real job is just beginning.

Able leadership, young blood, these are only part of the necessary ingredients for a real national program because we do not control the administration. This remains in the hands of the Republican Party and will through next year.

Republicans still have charge of financial management, foreign affairs, carrying out They have failed to lead for 6 years and there is no indication there will be any great leadership in the coming months they have left.

Less, and not more, leadership is on the horizon as far as the administration is concerned.

We are threatened at this moment with vetoes in several fields and over several bills. The current party line of the pro-Republican columnists is that we Democrats are afraid of the vetoes and that the President really controls Congress through threats of

We have had stumble, study, and stall. And we have had brinkmanship. Now we have vetoship, Government by threat of veto.

I know of no Democrat in the Senate losing sleep over threats of vetoes.

But I do know that this sort of talk does no one any real good, especially not the United States of America.

I know this will not change until we elect a President of the United States who is a Democrat capable of providing the leadership that so many Americans seem to have forgotten ever existed.

When we were elected to the Senate, class of 1958, we promised we would work with our President to strengthen our defenses, to rebuild sagging relations with other countries, to bring back prosperity and help find jobs for nearly 5 million unemployed, to help wipe out slums, restore dignity and profits to the small family farmer, halt runaway high prices.

The administration has responded with attacks on "wild-eyed radicals." It has called us spenders. It has threatened the veto as a dictator threatens war. It has continued the same lack of concern for the problems of the people that helped us win the elections of last fall

The administration is selling a campaign for something which does not exist at this moment-a balanced budget.

This budget that was sent to us for consideration proposes seven new revenue-raising measures. It is based on an expected rise of some 30 percent in business. And then it is balanced only 4f we do some of next year's spending this year and throw this year's Republican budget even more out of whack than it is,

The administration's economic message did not even mention the specter of the unemployed, which have placed 13 cities in my State alone on the distress list.

But it has asked for 50,000 new Federal employees and more than \$300,000 additional for White House expenses over this year and some \$15 million more in new airplanes for the President and his staff.

In the first place, I resent the notion that a balanced budget is the goal of government. Government is to serve, to help solve national problems, to protect the citizens and to help keep the peace. It is wise, perhaps necessary, at this time to do so within the framework of a balanced budget. But the goal is peace, prosperity, progress.

Second, I resent the notion that we are spendthrifts if we so much as disturb a period or a comma in this budget we have been handed. In other words, this Republican administration is by threat of a veto attempting to control the legislative as well as the administrative branches of the Government. especially resent being labeled as wild-eyed or spendthrift. This is especially true when this Republican administration has spent more money than any other administration in history and I point out to you that the budget submitted by the President this year is a record high budget. In other words, the biggest spender of all times is attempting to hide his own spendthrift activities by calling responsible Members of Congress spendthrift Cuts are already being administered to budget items submitted by the administra-

The last Congress, led by Democrats, cut \$617 million from the Republican administration's budget for this fiscal year. The fiscal year before that our party chopped more than \$5 billion from the budget: And in the 2 fiscal years before than Democraticled Congress lopped \$2.334 billion from the budget. President Truman in his first 6 years showed a \$3.7 billion surplus. President Eisenhower in his first 6 years showed a deficit of \$19.8 billion.

The conclusion must be that we Democrats are financially responsible.
On the other hand, it was the Republican

administration that slapped on the so-called tight money policy which has increased the interest of the national debt 90.5 percent in 6

It is the Republican administration which has ignored the problem of rising unemployment, of sagging employment in manufacturing, which today is below that of 1952 even though 5.6 million more persons are in the total labor force today than there was in 1952.

It is the Republican administration which has added troubles upon troubles for the Nation's farmers. Since 1952 prices received by farmers have dropped 15 percent while prices to the consumers have risen 5 percent. surpluses are four times the size they were 6 years ago. Farm employment is down 14 percent, farm expenses are up 10 percent. It is going to cost our Government about \$7 billion to give the farmers a \$13 billion income this year.

I predict this Congress will move toward the solution of the twin problems of our national economy-unemployment and farm depression. I predict we will attack the causes of rising living costs and not just the symptoms. I predict we will balance the budget and provide that which is necessary to give America peace, prosperity, and progress.

But will we face vetoes? Will the people learn who is responsible and responsive and who leads? Will you let them be fooled?

The job of complete leadership, of a real program rests not alone with Congress. We also must have the same kind of thinking in the Republican administration.

The job of getting this done rests not alone with those in the National Government. It rests to a greater extent even among you people who fight in the trenches.

To do this job means we must begin now to inform the people fully, to select carefully the candidates we will send into battle next year. \* \* \* Straight talk. \* \*.\* Honest and sincere candidates.

The cause of freedom, of good government, of peace and prosperity, of progress demands that this be done. The welfare of our party demands that you and I and our friends do it.

Will you help finish the job? I hope and think you will.

#### Foreign Aid-A Proposal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. THOMAS H. KUCHEL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an excellent editorial comment, entitled "Foreign Aid—A Proposal" appearing in the Real Estate News Letter for May 11, 1959, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. The editorial is written by Mr. Eugene P. Conser, a very estimable and able

citizen, the executive vice president of the association, and a longtime friend of mine. Comments with respect to the problems of home ownership and home financing in underdeveloped countries merit, I feel sure, the consideration of my colleagues.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FOREIGN AID-A PROPOSAL (By Eugene P. Conser)

In our foreign aid program it is time for us to face up to the fact that we either must effectively extend our principles of individual political and economic freedom into countries that still are non-Communist or find them later yielding to Communist subversion. Why? Because worldwide the people are awakening to the call of personal freedom. The Communist exploit it to gain political control

People everywhere yearn to obtain-and to exercise—the right to own land. They are restless under a monarchy, a feudal lord, a sultan, or a dictator who denies it. They have learned that human freedom cannot exist without exercise of the human right of property ownership.

Communist propaganda cleverly stresses land reform, elimination of the hated landlord, and return of the land to the people. To teeming landless masses of many areas, this is a potent rallying call. Given lead-

ership, they respond to it.

Yet, in our foreign aid program, we all too frequently find ourselves in support of a regime that embraces policies directly op-posite to those for which our country In our efforts to strengthen our own defense we are cast in the role of antagonist—not protector—of the people's rights. We fall directly into the well-oiled propaganda machine of our waiting adversaries.

The administration of our foreign aid program is open to criticism. Some overhauling this year is warranted. True, we have given aid unselfishly, without strings attached. We have taught modern agricultural methods-and provided the machinery to practice them. We have built highways, dams, irrigation systems, airports, factories, opened health clinics, provided medical care. We have done good deeds. But we have falled to capture the imagination of the individualor create understanding of our purposes.

The landless serf who tills his master's fields doesn't get excited over the wonders of scientific farming. He cares little about a new highway if he has no vehicle to travel it. Of what interest is a new factory if he merely views it as evidence that the rich will get richer while he and his handwork are denied

employment?

In every underdeveloped nation the lack of homes is a major political and social problem. It is a principal cause of unrest, especially in the cities, where congested populations best serve the cause of Communist subversion. In our aid program we have paid little attention to housing. Our meager efforts at no time have reflected either the great need in the countries we are trying to help or the importance of a healthy construction industry to their economies. have failed miserably in recognizing (1) the innate desire of the family to own a home; the importance of finding a way to satisfy that yearning if a nation is to become politically stable; and (3) the economic value of developing a strong private con-

struction industry.

One cause of our failure is the opposition of governments that do not want to extend private ownership. The question is whether we are justified in giving economic aid to such a regime that could so easily be subverted to communism.

Another impediment is the opposition of commercial banking interests in these countries. Invariably mortgage credit is extremely limited, if not nonexistent, and costly. Homeownership for other than the wealthy few is imposible until reservoirs of savings can be created that are earmarked for

The opposition will not be overcome until program aimed at helping create within these countries a system of savings and mortgage finance for the purpose of underpinning land ownership and home construction program is made a major objective. There is no sense in attempting to buttress an economy that refuses to accept it. We can supply the technical knowledge and part of the capital. Let us start these countries on a long-term program that offers some hope to the American taxpayer that they will one day be able to stand on their own feetand on the side of freedom. It's up to our foreign policymakers-in Congress or the State Department.

#### Peddling a Forgery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JAMES E. MURRAY

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, one of the key propaganda weapons employed by Hitler and the Nazis was the so-called Protocols of Zion, a crude forgery that libeled the Jewish people. One would have thought that the protocols would disappear into the ashcans of history with the Hitler gang. However, this does not appear to be the case, since President Nasser, of Egypt, is now popularizing them. This ominous fact is exposed in the No. 53—winter-spring 1959-issue of Prevent World War III, under the title of "Peddling a Forgery."

I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the Appendix of the

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### PEDDLING A FORGERY

The society has never subscribed to the devil theory of history. Nevertheless, it does not underestimate the role of key personalities who, with evil intentions, helped shape the fate of mankind. It is in this connection that we read with interest an evaluation of the President of the United Arab Republic by Richard D. Robinson of the Harvard Center for Middle Eastern Studies (Foreign Policy Bulletin Oct. 15, 1958).

Under the title of "What Is Nasser Like?", Mr. Robinson cautions his readers "we must assume a man innocent of evil intent until proved guilty." As a general principle, Mr. Robinson's admonition is sound. However, does this mean that we do not have sufficient evidence at this time to judge Nasser's role and objectives? Mr. Robinson believes this to be so. Yet he declared in categorical terms that "programs of social and economic development are Nasser's stock in trade." Thus while Mr. Robinson pleads for patience before making final judgment, he seems to have already jumped the gun himself. Indeed, he goes so far as to compare Nasser's achievements with those of the founder of modern Turkey, Mustapha Kemal Ataturk.

In short, by giving Nasser a clean bill of health enveloped in his warning against premature criticism, it would appear that Mr. Robinson has placed Nasser's critics in a rather invidious position.

Fortunately, there is sufficent material on hand to assess Nasser's role so that we can keep within the bounds of the principle which Mr. Robinson so eloquently advocates.

On September 29, 1958, Radio Cairo broadcast the text of an interview between President Nasser and the chief editor of the Indian magazine Blitz. For those who are not familiar with Blitz, let it be said that it has achieved notoriety through the publication of alleged official documents purporting to show the conspiracies of American im-perialism. "I do not know," Nasser told the Blitz editor, "if you have seen a book called 'The Protocols of the Elders of Zion' or not. but I consider it to be an important book. I will give you a copy of it in English. What is published in it will show clearly to you that the fate of the European Continent is in the hands of 300 Zionists, each of whom knows all the others, and that they chose their followers from their followers.

The protocols to which President Nasser refers has a shady history. During the reign of Napoleon III, an obscure journalist named Jolly wrote a satirical dialog between Machiavelli and Montesquieu, which was directed against the regime. Basically it was a study in the mechanics of power and dictatorship. For several decades it gathered dust until the Czarist police combined it with a novel called "Ziarritz" written in 1868 by a German named Goedsche.

The novel told of a fantastic plot by rabbis to seize control of the world. The combination of Jolly's satire, which, incidentally, made no mention of Jews or a Jewish world state, with the German novel served the purposes of the pogromizing Okhrana. At the behest of the Czar's secret police, this monstrous fable was put into final form and published in 1903 as an authentic document. It's short title was "The Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion."

The protocols became an instrument of Czarist persecution, resulting in the whipping up of pogroms when the occasion warranted them. Its long-range purpose was to distract the peoples living under Czarist despotism from their wretched lives and vent their anger upon a helpless minority.

The protocols received a new lease on life with the emergence of the Nazi movement in Germany. From Hitler down, the Nazis, repeated the cry that the Jews were determined to conquer the world through an in-

sidious conspiracy.

To give this fable a degree of authenticity, the Nazis realized that they would have to provide appropriate documentation. In this respect they were thankful to the Nazi ideologist, Alfred Rosenberg, who had obtained the protocols in Riga and brought it to Berlin, Rosenberg was born in Reval, Estonia, and was an ardent worshipper of the German Herrenvolk idea. Following the end of World War I, he offered his talents to the German High Command. It seems that his services were not accepted at once and it was only when he pulled out of the hat, so to speak, the protocols that he was welcomed into the elite circle of Nazis, Pan-Germans, and the industrial war lords of the Ruhr. From then on the protocols became the bible of the Nazi Party and its preachings.

That the protocols had been proven to be crude forgeries did not inhibit the Nazis at all. On the contrary, Hitler wrote in "Mein Kampf" that just because the authenticity of the protocols was questioned, it was the 'best proof that they are genuine after all."

Millions of human beings were exterminated under the banner of the protocols, but with the complete defeat of the Nazis in World War II, it was thought that the forgeries would go down with the Master Race gangsters. But lies, especially of the tall variety, have an unfortunate resiliency. Apparently they do not die as easily as the liars,

Nasser and his henchmen have now become the carriers of the Baccilli. To well meaning people who resent the charge that Nasser is another Hitler, let them ponder his statement to the editor of Blitz. There are certain implications attached to it which are significant. Thus, Nasser has personally placed himself on record as one who favors the popularization of the forgery. Furthermore, he considers it to be an important book which does not reflect on the scholarship or intelligence of the Egyptian dictator. Moreover, he admits to having copies of the book for English speaking people. This certainly means that his propagandists are not only saturating the Middle East with the protocols, but also circulating them abroad.

Finally he mentions 300 Zionists who are planning to take over Europe, although the protocols do not speak of Zionists but Jews. In other words, Nasser has compounded the forgery himself. As if to emphasize his hopes of violence against the Jews who support Israel are the real danger which threatens the establishment of a new Hitlerism.

How does this tally with Mr. Robinson's assurance that "Nasser himself has repeatedly expressed personal repugnance for violence?" Can anyone think of a more potent incitement to mass violence than the circulation of Hitler's big lie under the official sponsorship of the Nasser regime?

The Nasser propaganda machine has laid emphasis on the employment of violence. The King of Jordan has been a special target and calls for his assassination ring out from Cairo Radio with increasing regularity.

The fact is that Nasser's political career has had strong links with the agents of Hitler's high command and the Nazi Party. As a young officer, Nasser worked diligently for the Nazi cause during World War H. Following his seizure of power he surrounded himself with an assortment of Nazis and Hitler supporters, including one of Goebbels' chief lieutenants, the notorious Johannes von Leers.

The activities and hate-inciting propaganda of Radio Cairo and its affiliated networks, bear all of the earmarks of Goebbels."
"Deutsche Rundfunk," while Egyptian officers are indoctrinated with Nazi literature, including Hitler's "Mein Kampf."

Nasser is no Hitler, but he has dragged out

Nasser is no Hitler, but he has dragged out of the sewers of Nazi propaganda the same filth which putrefied the political atmosphere of the world several decades ago.

It is a fact that the Arab masses bear no animosity toward the Jewish people. This is precisely the thorn which plagues Nasser's propagandists who are striving to create an atmosphere for new pogroms.

Mr. Robinson may plead for patience, but Nasser's advocacy of the protocols sums up his role in no uncertain terms. One can cite the paper achievements of Nasser, but when all is said and done, his leadership is built on the same big lie which spawned Hitlerism and turned Europe into a vast crematorium.

#### Bonneville Power Corporation Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, in the Oregonian of Portland, Oreg., May 28, 1959, appears a thoughtful and informative editorial entitled "Bonneville Corporation Fair to All."

This editorial analyzes S. 1927, which I introduced on May 13 as the culmination of many years of study concerning permanent legislation to replace the temporary act creating the Bonneville Power Administration. This bill subsequently will be the subject of hearings by the Senate Committee on Public Works, under the chairmanship of the distinguished senior Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Chavez], and I commend to my colleagues a reading of this editorial, which so thoroughly discusses legislation of vital importance to the Pácific Northwest and to the Nation.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial from the Oregonian of May 28, 1959, be printed in the Appendix of the Congressional Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BONNEVILLE CORPORATION FAIR TO ALL

A sound pattern for self-financing of Federal power generation and distribution in the Pacific Northwest now has emerged. The measure introduced May 13 by Senator RICHARD L. NEUERGER, Democrat, of Oregon, as S. 1927 is a logical and vastly improved successor to earlier proposals. It was drafted chiefly by counsel for the Department of Interior (although the Eisenhower administration has not yet given the bill its blessing).

S. 1927 is a substitute for S. 3114, which was introduced by Northwest Senators last session by request of the Northwest Public Power Association. It also replaced a committee print drafted by the staff of the Public Works Committee on which hearings were held in Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and Montana last December.

The new bill, on which hearings are expected in late June or July, would change the Bonneville Power Administration, an agency of the Interior Department which sells at wholesale the power generated at Army Engineers and Bureau of Reclamation dams, into the Bonneville Power Corporation.

Bonneville Power Corporation could use its own revenues and could self up to \$1,100 million in revenue bonds to the U.S. Treasury to provide the power financing for new hydrdelectric projects to be built, as now, by the Army Engineers and Reclamation Bureau. It would thus reduce the need for appropriations from Congress. The Corporation also would provide its own financing for transmission lines and substations. It could build its own thermal plants to help balance the hydropower load. And, when nuclear power becomes feasible, it could build these reactors.

The most important change in S. 1927 from the earlier versions is to give the Bonneville Power Corporation a utility responsibility to meet the net wholesale electric power needs of all distributors or consumers within the Pacific Northwest who desire and are willing to enter into contracts to purchase power from the Corporation.

Thus, the Corporation would be obligated to anticipate and provide for serving the requirements of private utilities as well as public-owned utility preference customers and industries. But in pledging to meet the net wholesale needs of utility customers, the Corporation would in no way inhibit their right and obligation to provide for themselves, in their own projects, as much of their needs as feasible.

The "utility responsibility" clause goes a long way to counteract apprehension in Oregon, Washintgon, and Idaho—in which private utilities dominate—that eventually

the regional power system will become a State of Washintgon system, in effect, through operation of the Bonneville "preference and priority" clause. The latter gives publicly owned utilities, which dominate in Washington, first and last call on Federal power. But S. 1927 not only requires the Bonneville Power Corporation to meet all net wholesale needs, it gives it the revenue-bond financing to make good on the obligation.

As an additional obligation to achieve regional distribution of Federal power, S.

1927 adds this language:

"In order to promote the diversified agricultural, industrial, and economic development of the several States of the Pacific Northwest it is hereby declared to be the policy of the Government to distribute electric power equitably throughout the States of the Pacific Northwest so that there will be no unreasonable geographic concentration thereof."

This may be considered a slight modification of the preference clause, and as such his stirred some opposition among public power spokesmen. But like the preference clause, it would come into play only if the corporation failed in its obligation to meet the net wholesale requirements of the region. It is some assurance to Washington's neighboring States of fair treatment in event of a power shortage. But it is far outweighed in importance by the public utility responsibility the new corporation would assume.

It just does not make good sense that public power advocates should stand rigidly on a law which would permit a public agency monopoly of Federal power. The preference clause was designed to prevent a private utility monopoly of Federal power, and it did. But neither should seek monopoly. The Northwest could unite on this bill if the competing elements in the power industry are willing to give a little. The result would be a firm guarantee of plenty of power at the lowest possible cost for all consumers.

# The "Wheat King" Looks at the Farm Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. WILLIAM LANGER

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record the GTA Daily Radio Roundup of May 28, 1959. It is of unusual importance, and I hope every Senator will read it.

There being no objection, the broadcast was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GTA Daily ROUNDUP OF THURSDAY, MAY 28, 1959

Seventy-seven-year-old Tom Campbell is called the wheat king of the world. In Montana he farms over 45,000 acres. Tractor fleets plow and plant a thousand acres a day. At harvest, 52 combines advance into a sea of wheat that reaches for 28 miles to harvest 700,000 bushels of wheat in 14 days.

The farmers who own GTA do not favor the big corporation-type farm operation, like Mr. Campbell's, because they are contrary to everything that family agriculture stands for in American tradition. But Tom Campbell is probably more aware than most family farmers of what farmers are up against in today's revolution of mechanization and science in farming. He is keenly aware of the

need for farm legislation and effective Federal programs that stabilize prices and con-

trol production.

U.S. News & World Report magazine sent reporters to interview Mr. Campbell, because he's the "wheat king" and wheat is in the headlines as the Nation's biggest agricultural surplus problem. Here are a few highlights from that interview as published in the June 1 issue of U.S. News.

When asked if he thought Uncle Sam ought to wipe out farm programs and let farmers produce all-out, taking their chances on the free market, the wheat king answered: "No. We went through that before. If we didn't have a Government program today wheat would be 50 cents a bushel, corn 25 cents and all other farm products would be down, too. We would all be bankrupt again."

How much does it cost Mr. Campbell to grow wheat? We hear a lot about how corporation farms produce cheaper. Sixty cents a bushel, some say. But Campbell nalls down this nonsense by bluntly stating that he can't do it for less than \$1.10 to \$1.50 a bushel. He even admits that it costs corporation farms more to grow crops—than it does family farms. What's the reason? He says that he has to pay his workers industrial wage rates while family farm labor is free, with the wife and kids in the fields.

Campbell sticks by his acreage allotment and has put his whent under Government loan every year since the program started 26 years ago. Most always he redeems the loans, but he says that a fair loan price makes for orderly marketing. "Until the crop loans came along," he told reporters, "the farmers didn't have any sense of security."

Mr. Campbell acknowledged that the wheat problem is serious. It is time for something drastic to be done. He recommends giving wheat to China and India and other countries that need it. In his words, "there's no surplus of wheat in the world when you put it within reach of hungry people."

That would cost a chunk of money, he admits, but as a bid for good will and peace it would be small compared to the "billions and billions of war surpluses that were given away or dumped in the ocean after World War II. And don't forget," he told the reporters, "business and industry made a profit manufacturing those war machines."

That brought up the subsidy question and Campbell pointed out that most so-called farm subsidies help others as much or more than farmers. "What I'm saying." he added, "is that farmers don't like to be blamed for this whole subsidy thing. The Government has paid in subsidies to industry 39 times as much as it has ever paid to farmers."

What is Mr. Campbell's recommendation to work out the wheat problem? He proposes a drastic cut in acreage and in return a price support high enough to give farmers an American standard of living.

So that's the way the Nation's "wheat king" looks at the farm problem. It's worth keeping in mind when you vote in the 1959 wheat referendum.

## Critical Lag in Oceanographic Research

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, a most interesting story began to unfold before the American people yesterday in the columns of Hearst newspapers across the Nation.

Chairman Warren G. Magnuson, of the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, undertook, at the request of Dave Sentner, chief, Hearst Headline Service Bureau in Washington, D.C., to report factually, fully, and most interestingly, how our Nation lags in the vital field of oceanographic research.

Both Chairman Magnuson and the Hearst newspapers are to be commended for this well-written series of articles, published in the public interest.

I ask unanimous consent that the article, taken from the New York Journal-American of Sunday, May 31, 1959, be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATOR WARREN MAGNUSON WRITES: "AND NOW WE'RE LOSING THE WAR OF OCEANS"

(While America looks into space, says a leading U.S. Senator, we're losing a war with Russia right on our shores: In the following article Senator Warren G. Magnuson tells why, and what he thinks must be done about it. Senator Magnuson, Democrat of Washington, is chairman of the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and a member of the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences.)

#### (By Senator WARREN G. MAGNUSON)

Soviet Russia is winning the struggle for the oceans.

Scientists call it the wet war, and say the outcome can determine the fate of nations and the human race.

Without firing a missile, a rocket or a gun, Soviet Russia has been winning in the Atlantic, the Pacific and the Antarctic. This year she is invading the Indian Ocean.

Had it not been for the stubborn persistence of wiry little Adm. Hyman Rickover, father of the atomic submarine, Russia also would be winning in the Arctic, where she has bases 2,200 miles from Seattle and within 3,550 miles of Detroit and Chicago.

Russia has been winning the wet war with more and bigger ships; more, if not better, scientists; more, and in some instances superior, equipment, and more aggressive government encouragement and action.

The United States cannot permit Russia to achieve a global conquest that would give her control of 95 percent of the earth's surface. We must meet Russia's challenge. We can meet it without sacrificing a drop of American blood if we start now, but if we walt for tomorrow it may be too late.

Soviet Russia has between 450 and 500 submarines and a capacity to build 100 more each year; the United States has 109.

Soviet Russia has 29 icebreakers, the world's biggest and heaviest, and is building more including an atomic icebreaker almost completed. The United States has eight.

Soviet Russia has the world's largest oceanographic research fleet with four times as many ships capable of deep sea work than we have. Her ships are modern, new; ours old and obsolete.

The Soviet is conducting intensive offshore explorations for oil beneath its continental shelves, and minerals research in all oceans. Three hundred miles off Lower California Soviet scientists have taken sharp deep-sea photographs of the mysterious manganese-cobalt-nickel-copper nodules which thickly carpet the ocean floor in that and some other oceanic areas.

REDS LEAD WORLD IN OCEANIC STUDIES

Russia has more ships and scientists in the polar regions than all other countries combined.

Russia has more ships and scientists assigned to deep ocean studies than any other nation. She has 800 professional oceanog-

raphers compared to the 520 in the United States.

Soviet Russia aspires to command the oceans and has mapped a shrewdly conceived plan, using science as a weapon, to win her that supremacy.

Should she be successful she would control commerce, weather, communications, much of the world's food supply, and ultimately earth's resources, health and climate. The human race, if it survived, would be in permanent bondage to Soviet masters.

"Soviet effort in oceanography is massive, of a high caliber, and is designed to establish and demonstrate world leadership," states Rear Adm. John T. Hayward, Assistant Chief of Naval Operations for Research and Development.

The wet war Russia is waging may be more dangerous to free world security than

her space war or her polar war.

Supremacy in space would permit Russia to shower rockets on us from her continental domain four to six thousand miles away.

Conquest of the Arctic would shorten these distances 2,000 miles.

Victory in the wet war would enable Russia to blanket our coastal areas to a depth of more than a thousand miles with nuclear-headed missiles fired from hidden submarines a hundred miles or less offshore.

MISSILE-CARRYING SUBS POTENT WEAPON

"The submarine armed with long-range missiles is probably the most potent weapon system threatening our security today," states the recently formed committee on oceanography, composed of 11 eminent scientists, all civilians, selected from six universities and three private institutions.

Admiral Hayward says:

"It goes without saying that a complete understanding of the oceans and ocean bottom and the atmosphere above must be obtained if the Navy is to wage modern war successfully. The true submersible requires a precise method of navigation while under water. Ocean currents, bottom topography, magnetic and gravitational fields are all important in this respect."

Russia is making such studies. She is making them along our coasts, along her coasts, in midocean, along the continental shelves, and beyond in the North Atlantic, the South Atlantic, throughout the North Pacific, and in the Mid- and South Pacific, the Indian Ocean, and the Arctic and Antarctic Oceans. To make these complex investigations she is using the finest scientific ships affoat, the most laboratories, the most equipment, and the most professional oceanographers.

Scientists on these ships have discovered submarine mountain chains previously unknown, ocean canyons five times the depth of the Grand Canyon, and have plumbed the ocean to the deepest depths ever recorded. Her huge white research ships have visited the ports of west Africa, South America, the South Seas, the Antipodes. The Vityas, showboat of the Russian research fleet, also has called at San Francisco; Vancouver, British Columbia; and Honolulu.

# Law Day, 1959—Address by Ross L. Malone

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by Ross L. Malone, president of the American Bar Association, before the Illinois State Bar Association, on April 30, at Peoria, Ill.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

Law Day, 1959—Address by Ross L. Malone, President, American Bar Association, Before the Illinois State Bar Association, Hotel Pere Marquette, Peoria, Ill., April 30, 1959

I am especially pleased to have the opportunity to address the Illinois State Bar Association on what might be referred to as Law Day Eve. Tomorrow, across the length and breadth of this country, and in all 50 of the States and States to be, ceremonies will be occurring and addresses will be delivered in courtrooms, schoolhouses, on college campuses, in civic clubs, churches, and in many other places. These ceremonies will have in common the fact that each is devoted to an increased appreciation of the place of law in our lives and emphasizes the importance of respect for law and legal institutions on the part of all of the people of the United States. As you know, this will be the second Law Day to have been celebrated in the United States. Both have been proclaimed by the President of the United States and call upon the legal profession, the educational institutions, and the media of public information to cooperate in appropriate observances. The President's proclamation this year specifically calls upon us to observe Law Day, "with appropriate public ceremo-nies and by the reaffirmance of our dedica-tion to our form of Government and the supremacy of law in our lives.

Charles S. Rhyne, my distingiushed predecessor, rendered a great service to the legal profession and to the country when he conceived the celebration of Law Day last year. The extent of the observances of the first Law Day, estimated at something over 10,000 last year, exceeded the expectations of everyone who had any part in planning the celebra-

tion.

This year, with the success of the first Law Day on which to build, and taking advantage of the experience gained in it, we set out to make the second observance of Law Day an even more significant occasion in the lives of the people in the United States. During the last 8 months I have talked to many, many people, ranging from the President of the United States, the presidents of national television networks, and national publishers; down to men on the street about Law Day and the celebration of it which will occur tomorrow. I have been impressed by the enthusiasm of all of these people for the basic philosophy of Law Day and their very real interest in contributing to effective observance of the occasion.

None of the people to whom I refer was a lawyer. It would not have been surprising if some of them had been under the misconception that on May 1 we are celebrating "Lawyers Day," rather than Law Day. Hence it would have been understandable if, in some cases, jealousy of the legal profession had resulted in reluctant support. I encountered no such misapprehension. It is a great tribute to the legal profession, that the perverison which might result in such misapprehension has not occurred. Should the profession ever undertake to appropriate Law Day to its own use and benefit, it will have become Lawyers Day and will have lost its significance so far as the country at large is concerned. I am confident that will not occur.

As Law Day, it is significant, not only to lawyers but to all of the people of our great Nation, Why is that so? What is it about

the place of law in our lives that commands the respect and interest of the public in spite of the fact that some of them may not have the same feeling about lawvers? The anthe same feeling about lawyers? swer, it seems to me, is clear. There is a personal relationship between every citizen of the United States and the law. or not he has ever had to have recourse to it, he consciously or subconsciously recognized the law, and the courts which administer it as his final hope for the vindication of his individual rights as a citizen. He may have the utmost confidence in the President and the executive branch of the Government. He may feel that the legislative branch should be paramount because it reflects the views and wishes of the majority of our citizens and is responsive to them through the elective process. Nonetheless, he realizes that it is to the judicial branch of the Government he will turn in the final analysis for the vindication of his rights, regardles of who may threaten them. He realizes also that the enforcement and protection of his rights which he expects from the courts is not going to be dependent upon whether he is in the majority or in the minority in the assertion of his rights. Whether the opposing party be the Government of the United States, a tremendous corporation, or everyone else in his neighborhood he knows that his opponent or opponents must meet him on equal terms at

No doubt there are other factors as well, but I believe that it is true that the average citizen of this country today regards the courts as in a special category so far as his respect and confidence is concerned. It is of vital importance that he continue to do so.

One of the most important aspects of Law Day is the opportunity which it provides to increase confidence in the courts through increasing understanding of the people of this country as to their functioning and their vital place in our governmental framework.

One aspect of the functioning of the

One aspect of the functioning of the courts, as to which this is especially needed today, is the necessity that in a Federal Government composed of three equal and coordinate branches, the judicial branch of the Government must be independent. Most lawyers understand that fact. They realize that so long as courts are presided over by human beings, there is great danger that judges will become subservient to any agency or branch of government on which they are dependent in any respect.

Only through the existence of independent courts can the rights of our citizens be protected. To accomplish that protection, the courts must be independent of both government and private influence. In a democracy, public appreciation of that necessity is essential to the maintenance of the independence of courts and of the governmental system of which they are a part.

If Law Day should accomplish nothing more than to contribute to a public appreciation of the necessity for independent courts in this country it will have served an invaluable purpose—but—its objectives are far broader than that.

May I offer an example of what happens when courts are not independent? summer I had occasion to be in the U.S.S.R. where a small group of officials of the American Bar Association spent 2 weeks talking to judges and lawyers of that coun-We were particularly interested in their system of justice, the functioning of their courts, and in learning the status of lawyers in the Russian society. We found to our surprise that there are in Russia today some 16,000 lawyers who make their living in the practice of the law. Two thousand of them are located in Moscow, a city of 5 million people. These private practitioners are not working for the government as everyone else is Russia is, but are still working for their clients and are dependent upon the fees paid by their clients for their livelihood. The system of peoples courts with appellate courts leading finally to the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. was a more complete judicial system than we had anticipated finding. The trials which we observed were conducted reasonably well and the judges to whom we talked appeared to be conscientious in their desire to administer justice fairly.

While in Russia I purchased a copy of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. Interestingly enough it is for sale in all of the cities in Russia, not only in the Russian language, but in English and just about every other language that can be found in that country. A person reading that constitution who had no knowledge of life in the U.S.S.R. today might well conclude that the rights of Russian citizens are recognized and protected to a greater extent than anywhere else in the world. The Russian Constitution so provides. It spells out in detail the rights of their citizens and the protection to be afforded to them. It reads beautifully. Yet the world knows today that no one has fewer rights or less protection against the government of its country than the citizens of the U.S.S.R.

Why is this true? What makes the difference between a country where citizens rights guaranteed by their constitution are protected and a country where citizen's rights guaranteed by their constitution are nonexistent? Every lawyer knows the answer. It is the existence of independent courts. Not just the existence of courts. Courts exist in Russia. Courts function in Russia. Lawyers represent clients in Russia. Cases are decided by courts in Russia. The distinguishing feature between that country where the individual citizen is the pawn of the state and subject to its-every whim and our country where liberty under law actually exists is found in those two words "independent courts." It takes both words to provide the difference, not "courts" alone.

In the U.S.S.R. the courts and judges are under the complete domination of the Communist Party, which is actually the Government of Russia, just as is every other facet of Russian life. The army is controlled by the political commissar assigned to its units. The industry of the country is controlled by the plant representative of the Communist Party who sits at the elbow of the plant manager, (both employees of the government) and second guesses him in the op-eration of the plant. The manager of the plant is responsible for its operation, and for its meeting the quotas assigned to it. yet he is constantly under the surveillance and domination of the party representative assigned to the plant. The same domination exists in every aspect of Russian life and it is true of the courts as well. True, we did not find a political commissar assigned to the staff of the court, though I should not be surprised if some exist. did find adequate proof that if a member of the party is charged with crime the party chairman might well call up the judge before whom the case was trying and instruct him either to dismiss the charge against the party member, or to convict him and throw the book at the accused. Whatever the instruction may be there is no question that it would be followed by the court, just as the direction of the Communist Party is followed in everything that occurs in Russian life today. A citizen seek-ing to protect himself, his family, or his property against the abuse of his constitutional rights in the U.S.S.R. receives only the protection which the government, by sufferance, elects to grant him. I know of no more graphic illustration of the necessity for complete independence of the courts.

It is important on this Law Day that we reawaken our appreciation of the necessity for independent courts if liberty under law as enshrined in our Constitution and Bill of Rights is to continue to have significance in the lives of our citizens.

As a corrolary of this necessity of public appreciation and support of independent courts it is vitally important that we have good judges. It is vitally important that we have judges who appreciate the necessity for the independence of courts. It is vitally important that we have judges who realize that there is a difference between independent courts and independent judges, and it is equally important that we have judges who do not abuse the independence of the courts on which they sit.

on which they sit.

Lawyers in the United States have a great responsibility growing out of the necessity for public support of the courts. Lawyers are the handmaidens of justice, and as well the high priests of its temple. In the final analysis the effectiveness of the functioning of our courts is dependent upon lawyers and the legal profession. Sometimes we are prone to think of the practicing bar separate and apart from the courts and to relegate to the courts the responsibility for the solution of problems which, in fact, are the problems of the profession as a whole. We cannot divorce ourselves from responsibility for the functioning of the courts. There is no problem in the administration of justice Which cannot be solved, and solved readily when the bar is willing to accept its re-sponsibility and to make use of the facilities at its command—and I do not except the dangerous problem of court congestion.

Public support for the courts cannot be divorced from public confidence in the courts. The function performed by lawyers is a necessary ingredient of such confidence. Law Day affords lawyers an opportunity for rededication to the performance of that function in the highest traditions of our profession.

May we turn now to what might be called Law Day's fourth dimension. In his proclamation establishing Law Day this year, President Elsenhower said "in paying tribute to the rule of law between men, we contribute to the elevation of the rule of law and its application to the solution of controversies between nations." The hope that law provides for the peaceful solution of controversies between nations has captured the imagination of an increasing number of people in public and private life throughout the United States. It has met an equally responsive reception in many places throughout the world.

The threat of nuclear warfare in the space age has given to this hope an urgency far greater than it ever before has had. As unthinkable as a nuclear war today would be, we see ourselves on the brink of one with increasing frequency as diplomacy encounters problems which it cannot settle. With increasing frequency, the people of the United States are asking the question: Why cannot these problems be submitted to, and settled by, independent courts just as they would be litigated and disposed of between States of the United States today? More and more people are asking why the Berlin controversy, the Matsu and Quemoy problems and others which threaten the peace of the world cannot be submitted to courts for adjudication.

Everyone knows that the removal of a subject of disagreement from the street corners and newspaper headlines to the relative calm and orderly processes of the courtroom inevitably results in a cooling off period which in itself contributes tremendously to a peaceful solution of any problem. More and more people are coming to realize that the adjudication of controversies by an independent court provides

a face-saving means of withdrawal from an untenable position which frequently is an important aspect of the peaceful solution of an international problem. Finally, they know that the adjudication of controversies by an independent court in the light of established principles of law and morality is a fair means of resolving them, whatever the ultimate decision may be.

This increasing consciousness of the potentialities of law for the solution of world problems has been reflected in public statements of a number of prominent Americans recently.

President Eisenhower has said on several occasions that there can be no peace without law. A portion of his state of the Union message to the current session of the Congress was devoted to the consideration of the means for promotion of the rule of law between nations.

In his last public appearance our "fallen giant" and great Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, said "We in the United States have, from the very beginning of our history, insisted that there is a rule of law which is above the rule of man. That concept we defived from our English forebears, but we, as well as they, played a part in its acceptance \* \* We now carry these concepts into the international field."

In an address to the Fellows of the American Bar Association at their mid-year meeting in Chicago, Henry R. Luce, the distinguished publisher, posed the question "Peace on what terms, based on what principles, sustained by what purposes?"—and answered it:

"The answer—I submit—Is not obscure. The answer is: Peace through law—and freedom under law. For surely without law, there can be neither peace nor freedom. And what is a more meaningful, a more authentic definition of a just cause than—law?"

In a significant address delivered to the Academy of Political Science in New York on April 13, Vice President Nixon said:

"I am now convinced, and in this I reflect the steadfast purpose of the President and the wholehearted support of the Secretary of State and the Attorney General, that the time has now come to take the initiative in the right direction of establishment of the rule of law in the world to replace the rule of force."

He then proposed as tangible steps through which this Nation might provide leadership in elevating the rule of law and applying it to problems between nations, that this country modify the so-called Connally Reservation by which we reserved the right to make a unilateral decision as to the domestic character of any question submitted to te International Court of Justice. By that reservation we, in effect, reserved a veto power insofar as the adjudication of any dispute submitted to the Court is concerned. Elimination of the Connally amendment would constitute tangible evidence of the good faith of this country in its determination to elevate the rule of law and apply it to the solution of problems between nations.

The Vice President further proposed that in future international agreements, entered into by the United States, a provision be included that any disputes that may arise as to the interpretation of the agreement should be submitted to the International Court of Justice and that the nations signing the agreement would agree to be bound by the decision of the Court in such cases.

These two steps would constitute real progress on the road to world peace through law. Their espousal by the United States would constitute the type of leadership which we owe the world in this field. Our public officials who have demonstrated this appreciation of the potentialities of law in

world affairs are entitled to the support of the public in their efforts to further this concept. Lacking that support these and other proposals which would constitute appreciable progress toward world peace through law may be lost. The legal profession of the United States could make no higher contribution to the welfare of the world than by giving strong support to these and every effort made to provide the solution for world problems through law.

The lawyers of this country have a very special obligation and responsibility in both of the areas which I have mentioned today; in the promotion of, public understanding of the necessity for an independent judiciary, and in taking the lead to provide public support for all national efforts which will lead to the appreciation of law to world problems. I hope that on this Law Day—U.S.A, you will join me in resolving that our performance in both areas will measure up to the best traditions of our profession.

Resolution of Camp Bowie Barracks of Fort Worth, Tex., Veterans of World War I, Relating to Pensions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a resolution by Camp Bowie Barracks No. 1636 of Fort Worth, Tex., Veterans of World War I, adopted May 24, 1959, urging a revision of non-service-connected disability allowances.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Whereas since the days of the American Revolution, it has been the traditional policy of our country to provide pension in the declining years of their lives, to those of its citizens who have been called upon to serve in the Armed Forces in defense of the Nation in time of war; and

Whereas such pensions have been provided

Whereas such pensions have been provided in recognition of a debt of gratitude, and a measure of equalization owed by the Nation for sacrifice and services rendered above and beyond that required of other citizens during wartime; and to insure that those citizensoldiers who have offered the sacrifice of life, limb, health, financial well-being, and hardship generally, shall not become involuntarily pauperized, and objects of charity in their old age; and

Whereas those citizens called to the colors during World War I some 40 years ago in 1917 and 1918, did render outstanding service, and at a great physical, financial, and personal sacrifice in the common good, in defense of the Nation, and although largely untrained in the practices of war, performed feats of arms that surprised the world, remain unsurpassed and seidom equaled, and in victory, prevented foreign aggressors from ever touching American soil; and

Whereas now these citizen-soldiers of World War I have reached the average age of 65 which, for the most part, of itself, and aside from the normal infirmities of advanced age, precludes them from following gainful employment, thus relegating them to a category of being totally disabled and unemployable; and

Whereas these veterans of World War I have penetrated this no man's land of old age, they are by all rights of morality, tradition of the past, and the implied promises inherent therein, entitled to the dignity of financial assistance from the great and glorious Nation which their service and sacrifice has preserved and maintained; now,

therefore, be it

Resolved, That Camp Bowle Barracks No. 1636 be and is hereby recorded as urging this 86th Congress of the United States of America to enact appropriate legislation revising non-service-connected disability ances to conform to H.R. 1181 as presented by Congressman Van Zandt, of Pennsylvania, which limits the payment of disability allowances to those eligible veterans whose earned incomes do not exceed \$2,400 annually (if single), or \$3,800 annually (if married or have dependents), and in determining such incomes the Veterans' Administrator shall disregard payments to the veteran in social security, railroad retirement benefits, and/or other pension annuities and retirement benefits whether payable by law, contract, or otherwise, and that copies of this resolution be sent to the President, the Vice President, the Speaker of the House, and to all Members of Congress from this State.

Approved and adopted on this 24th day

of May 1959.

R. J. McKINNEY, C. A. WOOD, Quartermaster.

## Newspaper Coverage of Racial Disturbances

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. JOHN SPARKMAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, a very close friend and a very fine citizen sent me an article pointing out the unfair treatment by some publications of the racial disturbances in the South. My friend asked that I place the article in the Appendix of the RECORD, and I ask unanimous consent to do so.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

It'S A SMEAR THING (By Westbrook Pegier)

New York .- For about one hundred years, States of the northern tier have heaped supercilious abuse on the States of the South. This unnecessary and dangerous conduct continues nowadays in agitation over integration.

Even in the Civil War days the northern population was largely immigrant and still allen by contrast with the patriotic native quality of the South and this remains a

nasty fact today.

Actually the hostile propaganda comes not from the people of the North but from a few hundred clever individuals in command of letterhead societies, notably the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and from a few slick paper magazines. The Luce and Cowles groups have been called an axis, a reference to the Hitler-Mussolini combine and their brash contempt for the niceties of truth.

Yellow journalism is an old idiom and

seems to have been a native American product, but the daring of these publications in their general attacks on the culture and moral character of millions of southern citizens is breathtaking.

About 2 years ago, in Shreveport, a group of local business men, including bankers, aroused over misrepresentation of the Little Rock matter, directed from New York City, thought about reprisal. They thought of organizing a neighborhood movement in small centers which contain most of the population, to warn magazine dealers to quit selling certain magazines. Otherwise neighborhood customers would refuse to spend money with them for cigaretts, cosmetics, soft drinks-for anything.

In principle, this is an effective method, but there was no organization, no skill, no common determination. So the South is still the victim of a hateful propaganda which hurts the people of the North, too, because it deceives and misleads them and inevitably foments mutual hatred.

Actually, the deportment of the southern tier toward Negroes is at least as good as that of New York, Chicago, Detroit, and Philadelphia. The two rare examples of lynching in Mississippi which have been used to arouse fury against the South have been no worse than many more brutal assassinations of nonunion workers on picket lines in the North. All mob action against lone individuals is lynching. But the North, speaking in the voice of the entities which I have mentioned, condones union lynching in its own domain as rub-of-the-green.

## Census To Study Farm Financing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. WILLIAM PROXMIRE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the Bureau of the Census will make a study of farming in this country this fall that could be enormously important to to American farmers.

A prime reason for the dismal failure of farm programs to provide steady and adequate farm income, is that they have been unable to provide genuine and widespread bargaining power strength for farmers. A number of us have at various times proposed legislation that would improve the opportunities for farmers to combine-through cooperatives-a more ambitious use of marketing orders, Government loans and various other means.

The Bureau of the Census is going to use 30,000 enumerators to make a comprehensive study of how farmers finance their operations. Because of the very practical interest this study will have for the Nation's farmers, I ask unanimous consent that an excellent summary report of it by William Blair in the May 30 New York Times be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the report was ordered printed in the RECORD as

CENSUS TO STUDY FARM FINANCING-30,000 U.S. ENUMERATORS TO EXPLORE POSSIBLE SHIFT TO VERTICAL INTEGRATION

#### (By William M. Blair)

Washington, May 29.—The Government will explore for the first time this fall an

agricultural development that farmers have been considering as a means of gaining greater bargaining power.

As a part of the 17th countrywide census of agriculture, the Bureau of the Census will make a survey of how farmers finance their crops and farm operations. Census officials hope the survey will shed light on vertical integration.

Vertical integration, common in industry, means control of production, processing, and The most widespread example marketing. today is in the broiler industry although in various forms, it is used in eggs, fruits, vegetables, sugar beets, and other speciality crops. One form is contract farming, by which farmers produce to specifications set down by dealers or food processors.

#### SEEK STABLE INCOME

It has been extended in a small measure to hogs and cattle as farmers seek to get a collective bargaining power to stabilize their incomes and avoid boom and bust cycles.

By being able to control the disposition of their products through vertical integration, farmers can bargain for better prices and thus stabilize their income. At present they are at the mercy of the market.

The survey on vertical integration will be just one facet of the census that officials expect will record a 5-year period of the greatest change in American agriculture.

The Census Bureau will ask farmers in a sample survey about the terms of a contract they may have with wholesalers, feed dealers, processors or others on all kinds of crops and livestock. The questions will include whether a contract is exclusive, whether a feed dealer supplies all feed and other necessary materials, and what the profit margins are under such arrangements.

#### DEBTS TO BE SURVEYED

Another new feature of the agriculture census this year will be the collection of figures on nonreal estate debits of farmers. This will cover for the first time money farmers borrow to finance machinery, seed, fertilizers, and other farm equipment.

The census will start in October and continue through November and early December following harvests. The last census was taken in 1954. An act of Congress provides for a census of agriculture every 5 years.

The census is expected to show a continuing trend toward larger land units and more mechanization. In 1954, the census showed the number of farms had declined more than 1,300,000 since 1940. It counted 4,728,000 farms compared with 6,100,000 in 1940 but the total production of farm products continued to increase.

Further changes in off-farm work also are expected to be shown in the new census, reflecting the need of farm persons to sup-plement income with nonfarm jobs. In 1929, one of nine farm operators worked off their farms 100 days or more. In 1954, three of ten farm operators worked 100 days or more off the farm and one of five farmers 'worked 200 days or more in nonfarm

All of the 30,000 enumerators will be local residents. Already, Members of Congress are trying to line up enumerator jobs for constituents. Each enumerator will get at least 12 hours of training, the Census Bureau said. Each will count farms in his or her area. An area usually contains 100 to 200 The enumerator will be expected to complete his job in about 3 weeks.

#### CREW LEADER HEADS 15

The enumerators will work under 2,000 crew leaders, who in turn will be responsible to 100 field assistants scattered throughout the country. This means each crew leader will supervise 15 enumerators and a field assistant will supervise 20 crew leaders. The crew leaders will receive 5 days' training.

The questions to be asked in 3,000 counties will seek 3 kinds of information:

1. A count of farm resources-number of farms, acres of cropland, acres used for pasture, numbers of each kind of livestock and poultry, number of persons working on farms, number of various kinds of equipmeht, and similar information.

2. A record of farm products produced

and sold in 1959.

3. A count of selected farming activities. This information will cover how much fer-tilizer was used, land practices used, such as contouring and terracing as soil and water conservation measures, amount of gasoline and oil used, and number of persons employed by farm operators, including hired workers and family labor.

The questions also will cover methods of paying rent for rented land, farm mortgages, value of land and buildings and such home facilities as telephone and freezers.

About 2 weeks before the census starts, post offices will be asked to distribute the questionnaire. Farmers will be asked to give the completed form to the enumerators when they call. The Census Bureau already has urged farmers to start keeping simple records on harvests, products sold and major expenses so that the census report can be easily and accurately filled.

## Ashland Daily Tidings Supports Further Funds for Cancer Research

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, the menace of cancer hangs over all mankind-from the cradle to the grave and in every nation of the earth. Everywhere, men and women are determined to mobilize the resources of this great country so that medical research can ultimately find the answer to the grim riddle of cancer. What challenge is greater?

Progress has been made because, despite the deadly nature of the peril, some 34 percent of cancer victims are being cured. But further progress depends on adequate funds for Federal agencies like the National Cancer Institute and for private organizations like the American

Cancer Society.

In the Ashland Daily Tidings of Ashland, Oreg., of May 29, 1959, a most stirring and informative column on the entire cancer-research cause has been contributed by Rudi Korn-Mann, city editor of that publication. Mr. Korn-Mann supports unequivocally the need to make available for skilled cancer researchers all the funds, facilities, assistants and equipment to do the job-if indeed the job can be done.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the

RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

> ON THE SUNNY SIDE (By Rudi Korn-Mann)

"I doubt if ever again I could be wholly Partisan," declares Oregon Senator Richard L. NEUBERGER. A life-threatening cancer attack—the lawmaker says in the June issue

of Harper's magazine-convinced him that he had more friends than he knew.

"The response of the people in Oregon to my illness reflected no party lines," NEUBERGER remarks. He continues "The Republican State chairman wrote a glowing letter about what a good Senator I had been," and lists numerous non-Democrats who exerted themselves to show their concern for his illness.

Our junior Senator has happily learned a heartening lesson through an unhappy, almost tragic experience. It would be worse than superfluous to repeat here the old saw that some good may be found in everything; to perpetuate this truthless Pollyanna sentiment would be criminally stupid.

Mr. Neuberger and-to note another cancer battler who won his fight-Arthur Godfrey are exceptions. As listed in yester-day's Tidings, the Nation has lost some of its greatest leaders to cancer in recent years. We have not yet recovered from the shock of John Foster Dulles' death by this enemy of humankind. Robert A. Taft, Kenneth Wherry, Arthur H. Vandenberg have all been cut down, their usefulness to our country crully terminated, by this disease.

And, though perhaps only their families and associates will miss them, thousands of other Americans, each year go to untimely deaths when cancer strikes. Their passing leaves an irreparable loss.

No, despite the fact that Senator Neu-BERGER can live to be grateful that friendly hands reached out to him in a dark hour, and that Godfrey can weep to reporters that he was moved by their concern, there is nothing good about cancer.

Senator Neuberger and Senator Lister Hill, of Alabama, who has endorsed the Oregon solon's plan for a living memorial to Dulles, forcefully realize cancer is a merci-

less killer of men and women.

Like a sinister army, this illness sets up a beachhead in the body and then sends out invading cells; these in turn infect tissue, turning healthy and thriving organs into headquarters for death. Death by cancer is not a peaceful falling asleep. Its inroads are attended by agonies which sometimes even our strongest oplates cannot diminish.

Many have supported the annual drive against cancer with donations and thousands of Americans have given hours of their lives to pushing this commendable campaign. But now, all of us who are on the side of humanity in its fight against cancer can, by investing a few minutes time and a few cents postage, strike a blow against this enemy.

Senator Neuberger is fighting for Federal appropriations to extend research for a cancer cure or possibly a preventative. He says, "Our total investment in cancer research— Federal and private—falls short of what we spend on permanent waves, or even parimutuel wagers.

'It is less than 2 percent of what we'spend on cigarettes and barely more than 1 per-

cent of what we spend on liquor.

"Two out of three American families will be afflicted by cancer; yet the Federal Treas-ury pours out 65 times as much money on price supports for six favored crops as it spends for cancer research.

## The Quest for World Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. WILLIAM PROXMIRE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, perhaps no legislative body anywhere can do more to achieve world peace than the

U.S. Senate. Every Senator knows, I am sure, that there is much we could do that we have not done. Of course, everyone wants peace, but as in any other human endeavor, success is in large part a matter of how truly genuine-how burning-how great is our desire for it, how much we are willing to do to achieve

The Capital Times of Madison, in a brilliant and blunt editorial, typical of that newspaper, on Memorial Day sharply reminded its readers of the need for dedication. I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

WILL WORLD'S EPITAPH BE "THESE DEAD LIVED IN VAIN"?

This is the day set aside for honoring the dead of our wars. It was first established to honor the dead of the Civil War and has been extended to include subsequent warsthe Spanish American, World Wars I and IL.

It is customary at many Memorial Day ceremonies to read Lincoln's Gettysburg Address with special emphasis on the line that "these dead shall not have died in vain."

Presumably this means that unless man can find some way of settling his disputes without resort to death and destruction the war dead have died futilely.

But though we have been reciting these

words of high aspiration through the decades, our wars have continued and the list

of the dead grows longer.

The hallowed words will be recited again today at the perfunctory services across the Nation. But most people will pay little or no attention to the purpose of the holiday. They will rush off to the baseball games or in other pursuits of pleasure and, as the National Safety Council warns, will take another heavy toll of lives on the highways.

Today is a good time to ask how much we really want peace. How dedicated are we to the ideal of assuring that "these dead shall not have died in vain?"

In the hope of fulfilling the ideal, man has established an organization called the United Nations whose purpose is to resolve international problems short of violence.

It is a noble dream and it struggles valiantly to fulfill its purpose. But its work is ignored and even derided by the great

majority of people.

The result is clear. War threatens on virtually every continent of the world. The situation is so serious that the United Nations is being bypassed by the great power foreign ministers who are meeting at Geneva. Plans are being made for a so-called "summit" meeting between the heads of the great nations later this summer.

If these efforts fail and war comes in this nuclear age, there will be a fitting epitaph for the seared and lifeless world that will be left:

"These dead lived in vain."

#### Power for Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. HENRY M. JACKSON

OF WASHINGTON

Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, early this month all over the United States we celebrated Armed Forces Day with the theme "Power for Peace." Our citizens were given every opportunity to visit our military bases and to view the scientific equipment and highly trained personnel in this annual tribute to our military preparedness. Some of us were also fortunate to hear our military leaders explain the concepts and philosophies on which our power for peace rests. One of those speakers, known to all of us, was Gen. Curtis E. LeMay, Vice Chief of Staff of the U.S. Air Force. On May 16, 1959, he addressed the Spokane Chamber of Commerce at its Armed Forces Day banquet. His speech is a fine summary of our military strength and philosophy. recommend it to each Senator, and I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS BY GEN. CURTIS E. LEMAY, VICE CHILF OF STAFF, U.S. AIR FORCE, BEFORE THE SPOKANE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE ARMED FORCES DAY BANQUET, SPOKANE, WASH., SATURDAY, MAY 16, 1959

#### POWER FOR PEACE

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen of Spokane, and distinguished guests, General White has asked me to express his regrets at not being able to be with you today. His loss was my gain. I have seen many Armed Forces Day celebrations, but I must say that I have been most impressed by the way Spokane goes about the job. All of you can be justly proud of the results of your imagination and hard work. I want to add that it was a great honor for me to participate as grand marshal of your parade this morning. This was a privilege I thoroughly enjoyed.

Combining your Lilac Festival and the observance of Armed Forces Day is a most unique way to express power for peace. Possession of military strength to deter war—so that we can enjoy the benefits of peace—is the goal of all Americans. Here in Spokane, this goal has been more eloquently portrayed.

Spokane, as the hub of the inland empire, long has been the center of peaceful pursuits. Its resources, wealth, and beauty add up to a remarkable bounty. But Spokane and its surrounding area also have been and continue to be important contributors to the total military strength which serves this country. In the Air Force, we are particularly aware of this. Nearby Hanford has been of sigular importance in the development of our nuclear forces. Fairchild Air Force Base is one of the key elements of our B-52 strike force. As many of you know, Fairchild has also been selected as one of the launch sites for our new Atlas intercontinental ballistic missile.

#### Deterrence

On this tenth observance of Armed Forces Day, it is appropriate to take stock of our total military strength—to examine its capabilities—and to discuss whether it can indeed continue to serve successfully as the strong right arm of world freedom. All Americans are entitled to know whether their defense team provides sufficient strength to counter the military threat of world domination by the Communist bloc. A primary desire of all free people everywhere is the deterrence of war—keeping the peace. But if deterrence fails, we must possess the means to win the war we hope never happens.

Our national ability to deter war and to prevail if deterrence fails depends upon several factors. First, the possession of military strength with the capacity to destroy an enemy's military forces and warmaking potential. Second, the national will and determination to use that strength if necessary. Third, the credibility of our military strength and our national will in the eyes of a potential enemy. Let us examine each of these in turn.

#### Our military forces

Today, our National Defense Establishment is a \$40 billion business with over 2½ million men and women in uniform and over a million civilian employees. It comprises significant strength on land, at sea, and in the air.

During the coming fiscal year, the Army will maintain 14 regular divisions and 23 other major combat units totaling 870,000 men. Eight of its divisions are deployed overseas. Here at home, the Strategic Army Corps, comprised of three divisions, provides a combat ready force particularly designed to meet initial requirements for limited war situations. Additional battle groups, regiments, surface-to-surface missile battalions, and air defense missile units make up the remainder. Backing up the Regular Army Forces is an Army Reserve Force of 630,000 men.

Constant attention is being given to the continued modernization of ground force equipment. Within the current budget now before Congress, funds are included for tanks, trucks, small arms, and ammunition, electronics, and engineer equipment, as well as for a variety of missiles for employment by troops in the field. Additional Army helicopters as well as observation aircraft and light transport aircraft are also being provided.

In fulfilling its main responsibility for improving land combat weapons and equipment, the Army's major effort is going into increasing its firepower, into better mobility and communications, and into improved methods for acquiring combat intelligence.

A battle area surveillance R. & D. program is directed toward improving radar, infrafed, sonic, meteorological, drone reconnaissance, photographic and television methods of surveillance—the object being to keep continuous watch over thousands of square miles of battlefield in any weather to locate targets and to determine the results of strikes.

Greater firepower will be provided chiefly by new nuclear weapons, such as the Little John, Redstone, and Sergeant missiles, improved nuclear artillery and atomic demolition munitions. Better high-explosive weapons will also be provided, among them the Lacrosse, a missile to replace and supplement conventional artillery.

The Navy will maintain 864 ships, approximately 7,200 aircraft and 175,000 marines in fiscal year 1960. Two of the Navy's four fleets are now maintained in home waters with one in the Mediterranean and the other in the Far East.

Three hundred and eighty-nine of the Navy's active ships will be warships with a very marked increase in combat effectiveness as modern vessels from new construction and conversion replace older ones. By June 30, 1960, five Forrestal class attack carriers will have replaced Essex class carriers, and three more will be under construction including the first nuclear-powered carrier. By the same time, eight cruisers also will have been converted to guided missiles ar-mament. Five more will be under construction or conversion. One of these will be the first nuclear powered cruiser. Five guided missile destroyers and frigates will be in commission, with a large number still under construction, including the first nuclear powered frigate. The first five sub-marines equipped to fire the Polaris solid fuel ballistic missile are well along in construction. Work has already begun on the

sixth submarine and procurement of the seventh, eighth and ninth submarines has been authorized.

The Navy's antisubmarine warfare capabilities are receiving particular attention. New antisubmarine warfare ships and aircraft and nuclear powered attack submarines with greatly improved capabilities are joining the fleet. Antisubmarine surveillance has been strengthened. Personnel and ships have been assigned to the antisubmarine task forces and other killer groups on a more permanent basis to increase their efficiency. Research and development on new techniques and equipment has been intensified, including work on antisubmarine missiles, nuclear depth shots, homing torpedos. drone helicopters and special aircraft for antisubmarine warfare use.

The U.S. Marine Corps will continue to maintain three divisions and three air wings in their traditional state of combat readiness. The value of these forces in limited war situations, as well as for general war augmentation, is well known.

Another force which should not be overlooked in discussing the Navy's capabilities is one with a specialized peacetime mission—the U.S. Coast Guard. In peacetime, it functions under the Treasury Department and is our foremost agency for the advancement of maritime safety. But in time of war, or on the direction of the President, it becomes part of the Navy. As a matter of fact, even in peacetime, Coast Guard men and ships work closely with the Navy in the accomplishment of many important tasks related to national security. For example, during the summer of 1958, two Coast Guard icebreakers served as part of a Navy task force by clearing the way to Arctic ports for delivery of supplies to our distant early warning radar stations. At the present time, the Coast Guard has a total strength of approximately 40,000 officers and men.

Air Force strength stands at about 850,000 men and women in uniform with over 100 combat wings. It contains the most formidable strategic striking power in existence—forces which have the ability to strike any target in the world. More specifically, they possess the capacity to destroy an enemy's military forces and warmaking potential. This they can do through selective application of firepower against enemy air-dromes, missile sites, radars, communication networks, and other military targets—wherever they might be. Through constant progress in equipment, tactics, and training, Air Force capabilities, in this respect, are being continually improved.

The new B-52G's now entering operational units provide us with increased range capabilities. A growing jet tanker fleet further improves the range and flexibility of our bomber force. Additional operational versatility will be provided as B-52H's and supersonic B-58's enter our strategic inventory. In the near future, our bomber capabilities will be further improved through the use of Quail air-launched decoys to confuse the defenses and through employment of Hound Dog supersonic air-to-surface missiles which will be launched hundreds of miles from enemy targets.

The operational assignment of the intercontinental ballistic missiles, Atlas, Titan, and Minuteman, to the Strategic Air Command will greatly augment our combat capabilities. Furthermore, when used in conjunction with our bombers, missiles will be able to serve a double purpose. Strikes by our manned bombers would be preceded by missile impacts on enemy targets. The resulting destruction and confusion will reduce enemy defense capabilities and thus assist our bomber force to achieve its objectives. The results of our long-range ballistic missile test firings thus far, indicate

that we are making great strides toward obtaining effective ballistic missile systems.

Protecting our strategic forces are the air defense forces which will provide the warning, the active air defense, and the precise direction and control required to fight a successful air battle. Our present supersonic manned interceptors will soon be augmented by long-range Bomarc surface-to-air missiles. The Bomarc has undergone many successful tests and is now in production.

You may recall that earlier I mentioned the strategic forces located at Fairchild and the fact that Fairchild has been selected as one of the new ICBM bases. This area, and in fact the entire Northwest, for obvious reasons, is also the home of many air defense units. Nearby Geiger Field, for example, houses the 498th Fighter Interceptor Squad-ron and the Air National Guard's 116th Fighter Interceptor Squadron. Although not located in the immediate vicinity, a semi-automatic ground environment (SAGE) direction center is now under construction at Larson Air Force Base near Moses Lake. It will serve as a focal point for the control of both offensive and defensive operations in a large area including Spokane. In the not too distant future, further air defense protection of this area will be provided by the long-range Bomarc missile.

Another element of our combat airpower is the tactical air forces—here at home and overseas. The tactical air forces deployed overseas are assigned a general war mission, but they can be used, if necessary, in lesser conflicts. Here in the United States we have the Tactical Air Command's Composite Air Strike Force. Its special qualifications lie in its mobility, flexibility, and striking power—of particular value in limited war situations. It is immediately on call to support the unified commanders throughout the world. It can be tallored in size and composition to meet any particular situation where a show of force, an application of force, or a general war augmentation is required.

Backing up the combat forces of all services are those supporting units and organizations so necessary to get the job done properly. The Navy's Military Sea Transport Service and the Air Force's Military Air Transport Service are but two examples of these important organizations.

Any complete picture of our military strength also must include the research and development activities in all services—the Army arsenals, the Navy shipyards, and the missile ranges and proving grounds where weapons are developed and tested. In addition, are the scientific and industrial skills and experience of countless individual Americans and civilian organizations. day, more than ever before, the military services depend upon the talents and cooperativeness of U.S. science and industry. The continuation of a strong militarycivilian partnership is a most important factor in achieving the security we all seek. Those of you who may have observed various forms of military construction now under-way have seen, firsthand, what civilian skills, imagination, and experience can do.

The combined forces of our allies comprise another very substantial addition to the overall free world defense posture. In 1958, these forces consisted of 5 million men, 14,000 jet aircraft and 1,700 combat vessels. A large portion of these forces are tangible examples of the value of this Nation's economic and military assistance programs to other countries. Mutual security program funds help provide the ground, air and sea forces for many countries—countries which today and every day stand face to face with the Communist threat. Many of these countries have the manpower but not the materiel resources to defend themselves. Mutual security—military and economic—is

one way in which we can help them and by helping them we help ourselves and free people everywhere.

From this brief resume of our own forces and the forces of our allies, I think you must agree that free world strength represents formidable power. All in all, the combined forces we have available pack a tremendous wallop—and a variety of punches.

#### National will and determination

The existence of the forces I have discussed in concrete evidence of the will and determination of the American people to provide military strength for their security—and for this country's position of leadership of the free world. However, this same national will and determination must go one step further. We must possess the will and determination to use these forces—if ever required.

Military strength which is not backed by strong national will cannot be fully effective. Today, when time is so critical—and decisions so far reaching—our national determination must never waver. Just as imporant, it must not be hidden. Its existence in direct support of national policy must be there for all to see.

During the last decade there have been many instances of American determination to oppose the encroachments of communism upon free people. An excellent example was our success in breaking the Berlin blockade which occurred 10 years ago this month. Another example was our active participation with United Nation forces in Korea. Last year military forces of all services were used to contain further Communist aggression in Lebanon and Talwan. More recently this national determination was again expressed by the President with regard to the situation now existing in Berlin when he said, "We will not retreat 1 inch from our duty. To assure our continued existence-in a world of freedom and peace-this same national determination must continue.

The third factor of deterrence I mentioned—credability—although somewhat intangible and difficult to measure, is most important. If a potential enemy believes in the capibilities of our forces and in our national determination to use them if required, deterence will be effective. He must fear the results to him if he should make an aggressive move. There must be no doubt in his mind that what we have is good, that we can and will use it if necessary, and that if we do use it—we will prevail.

#### Conclusion

The free world margin of military superiority today exists in our long-range striking force composed primarily of manned bombers and our numerous aircraft carriers. These forces will soon be augmented by land- and sea-based ballistic missiles. However, there is no question that this country and its allies have a difficult job ahead—on all fronts. The Communist threat is a manifold threat—one that is growing rapidly in many areas. It is becoming a very personal thing to all of us—civilian and military alike—as Soviet scientific, economic, political, and military successes continue.

As far as the military threat is concerned, breakthroughs in science and technology are occurring so rapidly that we cannot afford to relax for a moment. The combined efforts of the scientific, industrial, and military potential of this country must continue to be used to their maximum capacity to meet the requirements of the future.

There is no question that our continued security—and the premium we must pay to maintain this security—will be expensive. But if we value our freedom—if we want enduring peace—we must continue to pay the

Neither our towns and cities, the future of individual Americans nor our freedom can

remain secure without the power for peace we have today and must continue to have in the years ahead. The military services are pledged to provide that power. With your help and the efforts and determination of all Americans we can do it.

Tribute to Miss Arabella H. Prall, 44 Years a Schoolteacher in Linden, N.J.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, high on the list of blessings which providence has showered upon America is the quality of its teachers. Is there any among us who has not known the influence of at least one outstanding teacher, a person for whom teaching was not a job, but a high calling, a person whose service went far indeed beyond the call of duty, who served for the love of service and whose imprint was deeply felt by several generations throughout an entire community?

Such a teacher was Arabella H. Prall, who taught for 44 years in Linden, N.J.

Recently a tribute to Miss Prall, composed by Mrs. L. E. Cowell, a former student of Miss Prall and later a fellow teacher in the same school, was presented at the annual ingathering of the Linden Needlework Guild. I ask unanimous consent that this tribute be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the tribute was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

A TRIBUTE TO ARABELLA PRALL

Perhaps a good many of you don't need to be told about Arabella H. Prall (the "H" stands for Harrison—she was related to Presidents). You could probably tell us many more things about her.

Last year when we had our first Miss Prall Day, we were fortunate to have with us, her sister Miss Lou Prall. Our Miss Prall had taught so many Lindenites in her 44 years of teaching, that in her latter years, she'd gather and photograph children of children she had taught, then proudly display a picture of her grandchildren.

I had Miss Prall for my third grade teacher. When I taught in school 1, whom should I be next door to but Miss Prall. Picture the brandnew, very green teacher—trotting through the cloakroom ever so many times that year, and plenty more during the next 12 years.

Perhaps you remember her teaching you your three R's. Perhaps she started you on your stamp collection. But any child who had ever been in her class, came away with a knowledge and love of nature, which no other teacher in the system has ever been able to instill. We learned names of wild flowers, leaves, trees, insects, and birds. She taught us to see what we looked at. Even now when we have a glorious fall day, don't you think of that poem she taught us, "October's Bright Blue Weather."

Then there were the nursing episodes. Someone was hurt. Go to Miss Prall. Someone was walling. Get Miss Prall. And teeth. Whenever a child had a loose first tooth, he begged to go to Miss Prall's room

to have it pulled. We once asked her if she'd kept a record of teeth pulled-she only laughed. We guess it must have been hundreds. Once I remember Miss Ebert telling about our Miss Prall holding on her lap, a small child who had all the symptoms of measles, patting and comforting her until her mother came for her.

Up to here, I've made her sound like all sweetness and light, which she was, but much more. After all, she had spent her childhood on the plains of Kansas where prairie life was hard and rugged. Those of you who went to her funeral, could see in her much thinner face, the fine, strong

features of her pioneer forebears.

This next episode I didn't see-I was told. It seems that a long while back before the era when parents objected to discipline, Miss Prall saw fit to shake one very unruly boy. In the process, his shirt was torn (notice I didn't say she tore it). Reaching into her contains-everything drawer, she took needle and green thread and sewed it up. The story ends many years later, when the fireman (or policeman) who had been that boy, came to her and thanked her for setting him on the right path.

I could go on and on, but my sister said to give a thumnall sketch. About now, you'd like to see the thumbnail this sketch could fit on. In closing, let's relate her to our needlework guild. For many years, she invited us to participate in her Rahway ingathering. Then in 1949, with the help of Mrs. Daneke and others, she helped us launch our own Linden branch. Now, year by year, on our ingathering day, we have a living memorial. We'll recall and honor the name of Arabella Harrison Prall.

## American Legion at San Antonio Urges Equalized Retirement Pay for Military Personnel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, like the clergyman who continually preached the same sermon, explaining his congregation had not acted on it, I would like again to point to a serious inequity in this Nation's method of paying retired service personnel.

At the present time, personnel who retired after a given date receive more money than other people with the same rank and time in service, but who retired earlier. I submit this cannot be termed proper or just in any sense and should be changed as soon as possible since this retirement pay is the sole income of these

people in many instances.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a resolution adopted May 20, 1959, by the American Legion Business and Professional Men's Post No. 10 of San Antonio, Tex., urging a change in the retirement pay method.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the

RECORD, as follows:

Whereas there is now pending before the U.S. Congress legislation tending to equalize the retirement benefits now granted to the

members of the Armed Forces of the United States, and to grant to those members who retired prior to June 1, 1958, the rights and privileges guaranteed them by the Founding Fathers of this great Republic, and further guaranteed them by the conduct of public affairs over the past 150 years; and

Whereas Public Law 422 of the 85th Congress has created gross discrimination against certain retired members of the Armed Forces, thereby creating a breach of faith with members of the Armed Forces, past, present, and

future: and

Whereas this false distinction violates the basic precepts of fair play, and further violates the promise of the people of the United States to provide fair, equal, and impartial treatment of all persons who may become members of and/or retire from the Armed Forces of the United States; and

Whereas many members of the Armed Forces now on active duty consider Public Law 422 of the 85th Congress to be breach of faith and are actively seeking other ways of life and plan to resign from the service at a great loss to the people of the United

States: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by American Legion Business and Professional Men's Post, No. 10, San Antonio, Tex., in executive session this, the 20th day of May 1959, That the Congress of the United States is requested to enact legislation equalizing the retirement benefits of members of the Armed Forces who have or may retire, irrespective of date, past or future, and promising to future generations that the his-torical relationship between active-duty pay and retired pay shall be continued as the law of the land, and promising that the people of the United States shall keep the faith with her members of the Armed Forces of the United States.

ROY A. PENNYCUICK, Commander, American Legion Business and Professional Men's Post, No. 10, San Antonio, Tex.

## McGill University Spring Convocation Address by Adlai E. Stevenson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. WILLIAM PROXMIRE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, last Friday the Honorable Adlai Stevenson addressed himself to what this wise man called the most important and fateful fact in the world today. This is the vast disparity of living standards between a comparative minority of well-to-do nations of the West-Western Europe and North American—and the hovels of the hungry millions in the rest of the world.

Stevenson challenges the Western World with the assertion, "The precondition of any effective world policies in the West is an imaginative understanding of the implications of this race between resources and population; of this growing gap between a small wealthy white Western minority who have modernized and the vast majority of mankind who have not."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this stirring, humanitarian speech by Adlai Stenvenson be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, and that an editorial from last Saturday's New

York Times entitled "To Have and Have Not," commenting on Stevenson's speech, also be printed in the Appendix.

There being no objection, the speech and the editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY ADLAI E. STEVENSON, SPRING CON-VOCATION, MCGILL UNIVERSITY, MONTREAL, MAY 29, 1959

I am grateful beyond measure for the honor this famous university has done me. And, as an American, I am the more flattered to be awarded this degree in the company of such distinguished Canadians.

The degree of doctor of letters pleases me

very much. And it will doubtless confound some of my countrymen very much. But I solemnly promise, Dr. James, that, in spite of the temptation, as a doctor of letters, I will never confuse my own prolific writings

with literature.

Speaking of temptation, I think Bernard Shaw once said that he never resisted temptation because he had found that the things that were bad for him did not tempt

I wish I could say the same. But I can't. I find honorary degrees always tempting, and often bad for me: Tempting because we all-especially expoliticians-hope to be mistaken for scholars, and bad because if you then make a speech the mistake is quickly exposed.

This is my predicament here today. I am honored, and you have to listen to a speech.

It hardly seems fair.

I thought—as all visiting Americans do to talk about Canadian-American relations which are in one of our cyclical periods of But I reconsidered because, like irritation. most family relationships, ours are so intimate, so involved, that analysis is difficult. I found Canadian confirmation in some words of Bruce Hutchison, editor of the Victoria Times. Not long ago he wrote:
"All the current wrangles of the border-

trade, investment, seaway tolls, Columbia River electric power, farm surpluses, and the rest—represent for us Canadians only one thing, precious beyond economic calculation. So far we have been unable to articulate that

thing clearly.
"We know what it means just the same. The whole problem of the border today-as always since the American Revolution-is that our neighbors don't know what it means

and won't bother to find out."

I think Mr. Hutchison is right. We Americans mostly don't know and we ought to find out about our closest friend and neighbor and biggest customer. But I wonder if Canadians know as much about the United States as they should, too? Perhaps we ought to appoint a joint commission of international psychoanalysts to help us. And if they started to work today, I would like to make two or three suggestions for better understanding of the United States in Canada.

In the first place, it seems to me that Canadians, like other friends abroad, sometimes speak as if they thought the United States should always act promptly and decisively to satisfy their needs and com-plaints, regardless of the needs and wishes of American voters. They don't expect their own governments to behave the same way. and are fully aware that domestic political pressures limit the actions of their governments abroad. For our Government to behave as they suggest it would have to be, in effect, a dictatorship, unresponsive to the opinion and desires of its own voters and able, therefore, to take prompt, decisive action abroad. But would Canada prefer that kind of a neighbor rather than the present one with all of its faults and weaknesses?

Another point I would ask our friends, and especially our neighbors, to remember, is that the American system of government was designed primarily for the efficient compromise of conflicts between the States and the various sectional interests—economic, racial, religious, etc. At that time an effective scheme for composing internal differences was not only sensible but essential to the unification and survival of the sprawling infant country. It was not designed for rapid, decisive action in the realm of foreign affairs. In those days we had few and wanted less. But now our internal differences are perhaps less urgent, while our external problems have become infinitely complex and acute.

Our system may be obsolete, but, as Canadians will understand, any social-political system, especially in a democracy, is subject to a constant timelag. It can adjust to new circumstances and demands only gradually and painfully. Yet in the United States we have made many adjustments in the past 25 years—some very farreaching—and I think it could be argued at least that no other nation has shown greater flexibility and capacity for growth.

It remains true, however, that we are not adjusting as rapidly as we should, and must, in this period of bewildering and fast change in the world, and to match the swiftness, certainly and secrecy of the dictatorships. But is it unreasonable of us Americans to expect, on this score, some of the patience and understanding which you Canadians expect of us?

I would like to suggest, too, that sometimes our friends ask too much of us. Some Canadians, for instance, sound as if they would like us to solve their surplus wheat problem for them when we can't solve our own. The fact is that even if our political system were not hobbled by built-in structural and historical defects we could hardly meet the political and economic demands upon us from all sides, no matter how much we want to be helpful. We are neither that wise nor that rich. We cannot supply, for instance, the massive capital investment which has been so essential to Canada's growth and is now needed so badly by all the underdeveloped countries.

And that brings me to what I really wanted to talk about: the things we will have to do together, the things that unite us, and the great unfinished business of this generation of Canadians and Americans who share the values of Western society, of which McGill University is one of the great repositorles.

In free nations, where no strict ideology is imposed from above, there are recurrent times of ferment and questioning. These are always times of turmoil and confusion. Old ideas are discarded, new directions sought, and sometimes in the midst of it all, it is not altogether easy to perceive the main areas of decision and the proper scope of the debate.

Little more than a century ago, such a phase of questioning and revaluation was in full swing in Britain. The first onrush of the industrial revolution had changed the face of the land. It was a world of inhuman working hours, of child labor, of poverty herded into vast insanitary cities. And all this coexisted with wealth and comfort for a Tew. "Two nations," wrote Disraell, live side by side, of "privilege and the people," of "wealth and poverty." Dickens gave these two nations life and breath in his great novels. Reformers-Lord Shaftesbury, the Christian Socialists, the free churches, the dogged forerunners of the labor movementfought the widespread idea that no reform or intervention was possible since laissez faire had been preordained by an all-seeing Providence. And, ominously, Engels fed the evils of infant industrialism into the incendiary imagination of Karl Mark. Some decades afterward a similar ferment was at Work in America, sparking the reforming

energies of William Jennings Bryan, Theodore Roosevelt, and Woodrow Wilson.

What the reformers finally did was to create the conviction that no decent society could tolerate so wide a gulf between the "two nations". In a hundred different methods of analysis and reform, they sought to establish reasonable methods of dealing with the vast problems—and opportunities—unleashed by industrialism and by the wealth it created but did not fully share.

I believe a comparable period of questioning and concern has opened in the West in the last decade. We face the end of the period of unquestioned Western supremacy. We face the rising claims of the vast majority of mankind. Some of the results of modernization have spread now to the whole human race, and once again the consequence of industrialism, undirected by broader aims of public policy, has been to recreate Disraeli's "two nations" in the world at large. One, a small minority of comparative wealth and privilege, lives in the main around the North Atlantic. Its per capital annual income is from \$600 to \$2,000 here in fortunate North America. But the per capita income for two-thirds of humanity is not more than \$100. In India, the greatest single demo-cratic community in the world, the average is not much above \$60 a head.

Here, then, repeated on the world scale, are the riches and poverty side by side of 19th century England. And we would need the pen of a Dickens to paint the contrast between the comfortable suburban homes of a thousand Western cities and the hovels of the hungry millions I have seen from Hong Kong to Johannesburg.

In my judgment this disparity of living standards is the most important and fateful fact in the world today. And the worst of it is that instead of getting better it is getting worse. The rich are getting richer and the poor poorer as population grows faster than production in the poor areas. The precondition of any effective world policies in the West is an imaginative understanding of the implications of this race between resources and population; of this growing gap between a small wealthy white Western minority who have modernized and the vast majority of mankind who have not.

Once again I believe our situation resembles the 19th century. Then our forebears discovered that charity by individuals was not a complete answer. Government action, financed by the community as a whole, was needed to put in the basic improvements in health, housing, and education without which the poorer members of society would lack the strength to raise themselves. A wider sharing in the wealth created by private industry—through better wages and working conditions—had a part to play.

Many anxious debates on the practicability of ever helping anyone to help himself accompanied the working out of these principles. Yet the outcome of the debate was the decision to achieve the general welfare and from it has arisen a society which, no doubt, has its flaws and blemishes but which in scope, opportunity—and, let us add, consuming power—has no equal in human history.

This outcome should encourage us now that we are involved in a new and much more complex version of the old debate. We must see that the problem of wealth and poverty in the world at large cannot be solved by handouts from individual States, Charlty, with all its uncertainty and intermittence, is not the issue. Our task, as the wealthy members of world society, is to link our resources to a systematic, long-term program of education and basic development which will give the world's masses the opportunity to help themselves and bring them

into effective social and economic partnership with the more developed communities,

In this process I believe the basic test must be need and ability to absorb capital usefully, just as need, not virtue, has been the test inside Western society. India, for example, is close to the economic takeoff point of self-sustaining investment. It is well provided with trained administrative and technical staff and has in addition an expanding, enterprising, private sector. All this gives the hope that a really imaginative effort there would be successful. And nothing, I think, would be more appropriate than that the beneficiaries of the Marshall plan 10 years ago should now join with America and Canada in a comparable effort for India.

I would like to add that the problem is not one of Government policy alone. Nowas in the 19th century debate—private enterprise has a pivotal part to play. It is concerned, rightly concerned, for the security of its investments and its returns in It seeks reasonable underdeveloped areas. guarantees, but I would like to see those guarantees worked out so that, in return for security, private firms working abroad give assurances of worker training, promotion to managerial responsibility, local directorships and the building up of a body of local equity holders. I do not believe all American companies have been as alert as they might be to these preconditions of responsible operation abroad. Yet they are the chief means by which private industry can do more than simply contribute to economic development.

So, our new and common task is to assist in the search for internal stability, economic growth and external security—without interventions which outrage national feelings and lead to a greater vulnerability to Communist agitation. It is a task of immense delicacy and immense urgency and on it turns, I believe, the future of the uncommitted world. We will have to think of it with the same or a greater sense of urgency than we think of our military defenses.

The passing of the old colonial age has been so sudden and the emergence of the new postcolonial phase so fraught with new risks and dilemmas that it is not surprising to find the Western Powers uncertain and fumbling in this first decade of the new era. The changes in thought and habit which it demands of both sides of the Atlantic are vast. In the normal rhythms of history they would have demanded scores of years, even centuries, to emerge. Now they must be learned overnight. Small wonder, then, that we blunder and hesitate.

In the United States we shall have to recover from the illusion of effortless security and wealth which a fortunate 19th century, shielded by British power, has taught us to regard virtually as a natural right. We have to learn that there is no safety now in isolation, no safety in drift or self-deception, that no single solution or formula or declaration will rid us of the need of having a foreign policy at all.

All of us are involved. All the nations enlisted in the cause of freedom must, I fear, face years of joint responsibility, of working patiently with each other in pursuit of joint solutions, not despairing at early setbacks, not rejoicing too soon, but recognizing that world order is not made in a day or sustained with half thoughts and half measures.

Canada is uniquely endowed to set the issues in their right perspective—both on the side of the donors and of the recipients of assistance. I think it essential that our efforts should be international and multinational. Few nations are better placed to set that ideal consistently before us. Canada has its part in every international grouping of consequence. Its role in the

United Nations has been outstanding. It is a respected member of the Colombo Plan group, an elder daughter of the Commonwealth. Its links with the United States are—in spite of or perhaps because of recurrent conflicts of interest—the model of neighborliness. And its two cultures—English and French—give it special links with the European community. The channels of communication open to Canada thus branch out in every direction and the influence it has exercised through all of them has, I believe, been outstandingly generous and constructive.

All this makes me hope that, in the debate ahead, Canada will not be slow to use its influence, particularly in Washington and London where its voice is so eagerly attended to, to remind the statesmen of other wealthy and fortunate countries that good fortune is a responsibility, not a right

or privilege.

But, equally, Canada has a vital word to say to the underdeveloped nations. It too still has vast untapped resources and needs outside capital to advance. It can underline to others the fact that capital assistance from abroad, public, or private, does not destroy independence or lessen dignity or weaken in any way a nation's essential right to be itself and to speak its mind.

Equally, its membership in a commonwealth of nations drawn from every creed and color has not lessened its effectiveness. On the contrary, this association gives it contacts, understanding, and sympathies not open to nations who have thrown off or never known the Commonwealth's friendly association between equal powers.

I pray therefore that Canada will make its contribution to the world's great debate tirelessly and generously. I pray that the vision it has shown in so many of its postwar policies will continue to give light to all of us as we grapple with the hazards and the opportunities that lie ahead for the whole family of man.

## [From the New York Times] To Have and Have Nor

Now and then, and even often, we should stop to think in these hectic times of the broad underlying developments that are affecting our world. Adlal Stevenson did just that in his thoughtful address at McGill Universty, Montreal, yesterday on receiving an honorary doctor of laws degree.

The "most important and fateful fact in the world today," he said, is the contrast of wealth and poverty between the white Western nations and most of the rest of the world. The U.S. per capita income of more than \$2,000 a year contrasts with an income of \$100 or less for two-thirds of humanity. Moreover, as Mr. Stevenson rightly said, this disparity is getting worse, not better, because the rate of population growth is higher in the underdeveloped countries than in industrialized nations with their high standards of living.

This, he pointed out, is an extension of the great social conflict of the 19th century to reduce the gap between the wealthy and the masses. We in the United States, Canada, Western Europe and a few other countries, such as Australia and New Zealand, have licked that problem for the present. But Mr. Stevenson is optimistic in taking it that the social and economic inequalities of the 19th century are generally being ironed out. The fact is that within most other nations—in Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, Asia—the gap within each country is also increasing.

It is still true that the contrast between

It is still true that the contrast between what Mussolini and Hitler used to call the "have and have not" nations is more acute than ever. In the case of the Axis we know how that led toward a world war. One of the wise statesmen of the postwar era, the late Premier Liaqat Ali Khan of Pakistan,

said on a visit to the United States in 1950:
"As I let myself ponder over this, I suddenly see the United States of America, as an island—a fabulously prosperous island. And round this island I see the unhealthy sea of misery, poverty and squalor in which millions of human beings are trying to keep their heads above water. At such moments I fear for this great nation as one fears for a dear friend."

This is not a state of affairs that can be easily or quickly solved, and Mr. Stevenson did not try to do so in his brief talk. However, he put his finger on the key to the problem when he called for "a systematic long-term program of basic development" to give the masses in underdeveloped countries an opportunity to help themselves. For the United States, with its traditional reliance on short-term, specific plans, this would be a departure, but it is one that the stresses and perils of our times are unlikely to permit us to avoid very much longer.

#### Tax Rebates to State Governments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I believe that one of the few measures which offers financial relief to our hard-pressed State governments is my bill, S. 1776, which would provide 5 percent rebate by the Treasury of individual income taxes to the States.

In its issue of May 26, 1959, the Coos Bay World, of Coos Bay, Oreg., has published a thoughtful editorial analyzing my proposal. While this editorial does not entirely endorse or approve S. 1776, it does recommend that the proposal receive thoughtful and continued study as a potential remedy to a serious dilemma. The author of the editorial is Forest W. Amsden, executive editor of the Coos Bay World.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that it be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INCOME TAX CUT BACK TO-STATES?

A proposal by Senator RICHARD L. NEU-BERGER, of Oregon—his Senate bill 1776 would see the Federal Government return 5 percent of the individual income taxes it takes out of any given State, to that State.

It is an interesting proposal. It does not merit snap judgment one way or another. It does merit consideration and study.

NEUBERGER has done some serious thinking about the problems which he thinks can be corrected by his bill. Chief of these problems is the fact that nearly every State in the Union is starved for revenue with which to meet rising demands for services from a rapidly increasing population. (For instance: the need for more schools to educate the multiplying child population—a population which pays no taxes.) And as Neuberger has pointed out, almost all the States have exhausted their sources of potential revenue.

Having 5 percent of the U.S. income from individual income taxes, he believes, will ease the States' plight. It will also serve as an answer to the constantly expressed desire by conservatives in Washington and elsewhere to give some of the power back to the States.

On this point, Neuserger made an interesting comment at the time he introduced his bill in the Senate. He said:

"In the past 6 years we have heard repeated expressions by the administration of its desire to abandon Federal responsibilities to the States. These statements are always accompanied by exhortations to the States to assure the functions discarded by the Federal Government and the assertion that Federal taxes would be reduced more than State taxes would be raised. When we get down to cases, it is always the Federal programs in the fields of human welfare and social needs which would be abandoned to the States, and rarely those which are of financial importance to business and industry."

NEUBERGER'S proposal follows, then, the truth that the U.S. Government is the only government large enough, all-encompassing enough, powerful enough to finance national needs. If the States are to keep from shoving more administrative responsibility to Washington, they need more financial help. The help—unequal help, however—would come from the Senator's 5-percent rebate idea.

Unexplained, though, is what the Federal Government would do to make up for the revenue loss. The States are at the end of the string, taxwise. But we have heard no sentiment expressed that U.S. taxes are too low. Federal budgets appear to spend all that is collected and, in the current fiscal year, \$12 billion or so more than is being collected.

This is the point on which Senator Neumercer's bill will hang up in this session of Congress and for many sessions to come. The Federal Government would have to find new revenue sources to replace the cash lost in rebates. It might be easier for the U.S. Government to do this than it is for the State governments individually.

NEUBERGER'S idea will be discussed by wiser economic heads than the author of this column and, we hope, will be the subject of earnest study over a continuing period. It is worth such consideration.—F.W.A.

Inaugural Address by Dr. Charles J. Armstrong, President of the University of Nevada

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. ALAN BIBLE

OF NEVADA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, last April 19, at ceremonies held on the campus in Reno, Dr. Charles J. Armstrong was inaugurated as president of the University of Nevada. As an alumnus of that institution, I have always taken a great deal of interest in its progress. In accepting the mace of his office, Dr. Armstrong delivered a thought-provoking address which has a relevance far beyond the borders of my native State. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that Dr. Armstrong's inaugural address be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Governor, distinguished guests and delegates, members of the board of regents, members of the faculties, and ladies and gentlemen, in accepting from the hands of the vice chairman of the board of regents the mace which symbolizes the authority and responsibility delegated to the president by the regents of the university, acting in the name of the people of Nevada, I pledged myself to the devotion of the best that is in me to the temperate use of that authority and the faithful discharge of that responsibility. I now reiterate that pledge to you all. I would add that I am deeply aware of the gravity of the trust which has today been formally given into my care, and of the challenging opportunity for service in a high cause which it embodies.

The mission of a State university such as ours in today's and tomorrow's world is a complex and challenging one; similarly, the task of its chief executive is equally complex, and one that could easily become discouraging or even impossible. Yet I am able to enter upon this task with a feeling of confidence and enthusiasm, for one very good, very important reason. Since coming to the university last September, it has been my privilege to work with the regents, with the faculties, with the administrative officers and staff, and with the students of the university, on both its campuses; to come to know their quality and temper; similarly to work with and to come to know our State officials and members of the legislature; and to travel fairly widely in our great State and to meet many of its people. The interest and concern for the University of Nevada and its welfare which all of these people, all of you, have displayed, and the quality of the cooperation and support which have been so unstingly afforded me, constitute the reason for my confidence and enthusiasm. For this I am deeply grateful; and it shall be my most constant concern and hope that I may be able to merit such confidence in the days ahead.

Our task is one that can be met only through the cooperation of all members of the university community and of the wider community of the State, working together in mutual confidence and understanding. The number of things which we have been able to accomplish even in the past few short months is the most convincing proof of this fact, and it augurs nothing but good

for the university in the future.

What, then, is to be the nature of our task in the days to come? As a land grant university we must continue to carry out to the best of our ability our historic responsibility, as set forth in the language of the Morrill Act of 1862 which created the land grant institutions: "The leading object shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic President Lincoln signed the Morrill Act into law on July 2, 1862, and it is thus Deculiarly appropriate that in this year 1959, which marks the sesquicentennial of the birth of Abraham Lincoln, we should rededicate ourselves to our historic purpose.

As a State university, supported by tax funds, we have a second responsibility, to provide instruction in other appropriate areas of knowledge, to meet the total educational needs of the people of the State; and as Nevada's only institution of higher learning, we have a third mandate to extend the university's educational services to every part of the State where needs exist.

In assuming this triple role the university has already achieved a distinguished record, through its programs of resident instruction, now on two campuses, in its various schools and colleges; through its research and public

services programs, as in agricultural experiment and extension, the Bureau of Mines, the mining analytical laboratory, the Bureau of Economic and Business Research, and others; through its statewide services program, radiating from the Reno and Vegas campuses, including evening division, off-campus and correspondence courses. It must be our continuing responsibility to strengthen and improve to the best of our ability these complex functions; to grow with the State, extending our services and expanding our programs in accordance with developing needs and upon a carefully planned pattern of reasonable, measured growth. At the same time the university must be in the forefront of growth, in a position to provide leadership in indicating new directions for the development of the intellectual, cultural, social, economic, industrial, and scientific potential of the

This is indeed a challenging task, and one that will try the best that is in all of us. As we concern ourselves with it, we must constantly keep before our eyes the basic objective of the university, as the undergirding of the entire process, which is "to strive, above all, to develop in its students, at all levels, those qualities of mind and body and spirit which are necessary for life as a worthy human being in a democratic society." The central idea in this purpose, I would have you note, is, and must continue to be, the student himself, as an individual, as a human being.

There is nothing new in such a statement. I know, and we have all heard it many times before. Yet it must be said again, and it must not be forgotten. Above all else, we must maintain our fundamental purpose, which is, in John Stuart Mill's phrase, the development of "capable and cultivated human beings." We must never lose sight of the fact that each student is an individual, with his own particular abilities, ambitions, purposes, and creative potential; one who must learn to live and to work effectively in the society of his fellows and yet preserve his own individuality; one who comes to us for instruction in the ways through which he may earn a better living and live a better life. And so our educational program must maintain a measured balance between the vocational and the liberal, the practical and the theoretical, the ivory tower and the marketplace; and by this properly balanced diet it must satisfy the intellectual, the emotional and the spiritual hunger of those who come to us.

The core, and at the same time the foundation, of the educational process has been, and must continue to be, the liberal arts, those studies which both by derivation and definition are appropriate and becoming for free men and women in a free society. They are the studies which, as they seek out the truth, make men free, in the highest sense of the word. Upon and around these central studies in the humanities, the social sciences and the natural sciences, are built the programs of specialization leading to careers in a variety of vocations and professions. They are the common heritage of educated men and women, and they provide the means of communication, in its fullest sense, between the various components of our social and economic structure.

It has been the peculiar genius of the land grant institutions, in their historical development, to give new meaning and vitality to the liberal arts in their relation to the broadened curriculum and the new fields of study introduced by those institutions, which in turn have brought about the democratization of educational opportunity now so characteristic of American higher education.

In their highest and best form, the liberal studies provide for all students a distillation of our Western cultural, intellectual and spiritual heritage, coming as it does from the two great sources of our civilization, the Greco-Roman and the Judaeo-Christian traditions. The record of the past is important not as the dry and dusty bones of things long dead, but because it illumines the present, and casts what light there may be upon the future. We are what we are, and to a large extent we will be what we become, because of what mankind has said and thought and done before. In the Greco-Roman and Judaeo-Christian cultures, the focus was upon man as an individual; intellectual man, spiritual man; and upon his essential dignity and worth. We cannot be competent citizens or capable and cultivated human beings if we do not know the purpose of the humanities, which is to enable man to understand man in relation to himself, leading to that essential knowledge of self that is the beginning of wisdom, as the Greeks so well knew; similarly, for human competence we must have knowledge of the social sciences, for understanding of man in society; and of the physical and biological sciences, for understanding of the physical world, which in many respects controls and governs man's activities.

The creed of humanism was expressed more than 2,000 years ago by the Roman poet Terence when he said "I am a human being; no human interest do I consider alien to myself." His words were echoed 1,800 years later by the English poet John Donne: "No man is an island entire of itself. Every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main: If a clod be washed away by the sea, Europe is the less, as well as if a promontory were, as well as if a manor of thy friends or of thine own were. Any mans' death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind; and therefore, never send to know for whom the bell toils; it tolls for thee."

Here, then, is the very essence: the ultimate goal of civilization is man as an individual. Society exists, governments are instituted only to protect the rights, the dignity, the sanctity of the individual. In todays' world such a concept assumes a new and pressing urgency; we shall forget it at

our peril.

Herein too, in the concept of the dignity of the individual, lies the true dynamic of Greek thought, that which caused the Greek culture to have more direct influence upon the development and the course of Western civilization than any other. For this very reason, no other culture lives so completely in our own today as does theirs. The Greeks realized the strength of the human spirit, and the power of its product, ideas-the things by which men live, and for which, if necessary, they are willing to die. Greeks knew that the greatest powers in the world are truth, beauty, excellence, freedom; and that only through knowledge of can freedom come, the truth that, in St. John's words, "shall make you free." Through that freedom, and the knowledge of the obligation and responsibility which freedom places upon its recipients, has America grown into the Nation which is ours today, and which shall be our children's tomorrow, only if we never lose sight of the source of our freedom, and of what it demands of us. A free America has grown to strength, because education has been kept free. Education must be kept so, unshackled by any controls which would suppress truth, or the pursuit of it.

In the training of their youth, the Greeks

In the training of their youth, the Greeks emphasized above all two qualities: andreis kal arete. We may translate manilness, or maturity; and excellence. So too must we emphasize these qualities of mind, spirit, and body in all that we do. Excellence in all its forms must be our constant concern, so that we may exemplify now and in the future the challenging Socrates, whose most famous single statement is contained in these words: "I say again that daily to discourse about

excellence, and of those other things about which you hear me examining myself and others is the greatest good of man, and that the unexamined life is not worth living."

I would fervently hope too, that in our educational task we may never overlook what can and should be the most important outcome of the Socratic process of selfexamination, self-understanding, and selfknowledge which leads to wisdom; namely, recognition by the student of the basic truth that only through ultimate reliance upon himself, not upon others, only through his own vigorous initiative, can he come to full realization of his creative potential as an individual human being. He must be ready to assume big risks, economic, intellectual, spiritual; to gamble on himself and on his own ability to make a good life; to recognize that something for nothing is a false and stultifying philosophy. He must understand the uses of conformity, and its limitations; that as a member of a society, he must live in it conformably, work with it effectively, yet never submerge his individuality in it or take refuge in the anonymity of it to subdue the urgings of his own conscience. He must recognize that the world will always have desperate need of the creative nonconformist who, possessed of a measure of the Socratic divine discontent which will not let his spirit rest, refuses to accept the status quo, and breaks through the shell of stagnation and complacency to urge civilization on to ever high levels of human achievement.

Such a man will spurn the concept of security as the ultimate goal of life, because he knows that life itself is a series of risks, that there is no real security this side of the grave. He will know that security and freedom in the final sense are incompatible, that absolute security is the death of freedom. He will see that the captive peoples of the totalitarian states have a form of security which is specious: a security, a "nothing to worry about," because their governments do everything for them, including their thinking. Finally, he will know that security thus means the end of hope and ambition, and that conversely, freedom means the opportunity, the obligation, for him to go on striving and working toward his highest goals.

Herein, I am deeply convinced, must lie our most abiding and unswerving concern, one which will give purpose and meaning to all that we do. Herein, I know with equal contiction, in men and women thus educated and thus committed, resides our best, and possibly our only hope for the preservation of freedom and human dignity in a fretful world. Such must be the ultimate mission of the university.

In helping to make possible the carrying out of such a mission, I conceive that it must be my most urgent and continuing responsibility to do all within my power to maintain a certain atmosphere both within and without the university. Within the university this means an atmosphere of freedom, and of the responsibility inherent in freedom; an atmosphere in which all members of the university community, students, faculty, and administration, may work toward our common goals in mutual confidence and respect; an atmosphere in which research, pure and applied, the life-giving catalyst of our entire instructional and service program, may flourish; an atmosphere which will hold to us our best faculty talents and will attract to us in the future equally talented teachers, scholars, and researchers; an atmosphere, in sum, wherein the concept of human dignity and worth is practiced as well as preached.

Without the university, if we are to succeed in our task, we must have an atmosphere of public confidence, understanding, and support, and it is our responsibility to

see to it that this exists. It is our obligation to keep the people of the State, and their representatives in the legislature, continuously informed of what it is that we are trying to do, what we hope to do, and why. Nor can we hope to win and maintain public confidence and support unless we are able to demonstrate that we are making the most of what we have in terms of the economy and effectiveness of our total operation, that our increasing expenditures are fully justified by desirable growth and development, and that we are responsive to public needs and interest.

A long step in this direction has already been taken by the creation, during the past year, of citizens' advisory committees for the various schools, colleges, and major administrative units of the university, composed of representative, interested citizens of the State. Through their generous contribution of time and talent to the study of problems and programs within the university are coming significant benefits to us and to the State in the strengthening and improvement of all our undertakings.

Yet the university must not confine itself, in its relations with its public, to this kind of communication and liaison only, essential though it may be. As the university grows with the State, we must not merely follow along, but rather, we must be in the forefront of progress and development, so that we may be able, through study and research, to point new directions of growth. A university such as ours will survive and go on to greatness not simply because of its material resources in faculty, physical plant, and equipment, but rather by the uses which we make of these resources. I would hope that this university might emulate some of the spirit of the Athenian democracy in its golden age, which was, in the words of its greatest statesman, Pericles, "to build soundly upon the traditions of the past, but always to be ready to discard the outworn."

always to be ready to discard the outworn."

Pericles went on to say: "We are lovers of the beautiful, yet with economy, and we cultivate the mind without loss of manliness. Wealth we employ, not for talk or ostentation, but when there is a real use for it. \* \* \* To sum up: I say that Athens is the school of Greece, and that the individual Athenian in his own person seems to have the power of adapting himself to the most varied forms of action with the utmost versatility and grace."

Within the university such a policy implies a constant process of self-examination and self-criticism, as we seek new ways to improve the quality of our instruction, new ways to extend to the utmost the effectiveness of our resources, new ways to serve more competently existing needs and anticipated new ones. Just as we strive to develop in our students a quality of openmindedness and receptivity to new ideas, so must we maintain this same spirit within ourselves.

We must explore the many new avenues now opening for the extension of faculty resources in teaching ever-increasing numbers of students, including a variety of instructional aids in the audio-visual areas, closed-circuit television, and so on; we must experiment more fully with varying class size and its effect upon the outcomes of instruction; we must find ways to place more effective responsibility upon the stu-dent for his own education. We must consider the value of introducing into our already existing educational framework a wider variety of programs, including some of less than 4 years or of less than standard degree length, so as to be in a position to serve the increasingly various needs of our students and the increasingly complex demands of our expanding technological and industrial structure. In a word, we must do the best that is in us for today, and at the same time give thought to tomorrow.

A few years ago James Bryant Conant, then president of Harvard University, said on such an occasion as this, "During the next century of academic history, university education in this Republic will be largely in the hands of the tax-supported institutions. As they fare, so fares the cultural and intellectual life of the American people."

This is the challenge, this is the opportunity, of the University of Nevada. What I said at the outset, I repeat at the conclusion of these remarks, that if all of us, members of the university community and of the wider community of the State, will continue to work together in the spirit, and with the conviction and devotion which we have already so well developed, then I am deeply confident that our university will well and truly consummate its high obligation to the future.

Trinity River Power Development Introduced by American Public Power Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. THOMAS H. KUCHEL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, for the past 5 years there has been under discussion in California a proposal to have private development of the power facilities on a division of California's great Central Valley project. I have vigorously opposed this arrangement because engineering testimony by California engineers show this plan would not be in the best interest of the taxpayers.

For one thing, private construction of the powerplants in lieu of Federal construction now authorized by the Congress would not help develop power for pumping California's water plan.

Appropriations must be made this year for power development or the dam now under construction will be finished and water will be wasted. I am pleased to see that the American Public Power Association adopted, at its meeting on May 27 in Seattle, a resolution urging this appropriation and supporting my position in the matter.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the resolution be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Whereas the American Public Power Association has repeatedly endorsed the construction of the Trinity River division of the Federal Central Valley project as a fully integrated part of the Central Valley project; and

Whereas the Trinity River division as now authorized by the Congress provides for Federal construction and operation of power generation and transmission facilities, and studies of the Department of the Interior show that Federal construction and operation is economically feasible and sound, and

Whereas the Congress of the United States has not approved proposals which have been under consideration for more than 5 years permitting a private utility to develop the power facilities on this Federal development; and

Whereas, the American Public Power Association believes development of Trinity power by a private utility is not in the best interest of the Nation's taxpayers and would be detrimental to California's statewide water program; and

Whereas, immediate construction of the power facilities at the Trinity River division sites is imperative in order to avoid the wasting of a valuable public resource and a loss in revenue to the Federal Government: Now,

therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Public Power Association reaffirms its position that power facilities of the Trinity project be con-structed and operated by the Federal Government as an integrated part of the Central Valley project, and urges the Congress to appropriate funds in the amount of at least \$2,500,000 for fiscal year 1960 in order to permit immediate design and construction of these power facilities; be it further Resolved, That certified copies of this reso-

lution be sent by the Secretary to the Appropriations Committee and the Committees on Interior and Insular Affairs of the U.S. Senate and the House of Representatives and particularly to all members of the congressional delegations of the Pacific Coast States.

#### Labor Reform Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. WILLIAM PROXMIRE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. PROXMIRE, Mr. President, I think it is immensely important for the people of this country, particularly the millions who belong to unions, that the Kennedy-Ervin bill be enacted into law and signed by the President-the sooner the better.

With every vested interest now on record against the bill it is in serious danger. An excellent editorial recently appeared in the Wall Street Journal discussing why this bill should be enacted, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered printed in the Appendix of

the RECORD, as follows:

### A THIRD VIEWPOINT

House Majority Leader Halleck reports. rather dolefully, that there is only a foriorn hope that the House Education and Labor Committee will report out a labor reform bill this year. The reason given by Mr. HALLECK is that too many people are opposed to Sen-ator Kennery's bill, the only major labor legislation earlier given very much chance.

The AFL-CIO is opposed to the bill on the ground that it is much too harsh. Mr. Lewis, of the United Mineworkers, and Mr. Hoffa, of the Teamsters, are opposed to any labor reform measure on the ground that any

would be too harsh.
The National Association of Manufacturers and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce are op-Posed to the bill on the ground that, as passed by the Senate, it is too weak. It doesn't really grant union members the bill of rights its sponsors say it does.

The reason not much, if anything, will come out, Mr. HALLECK says, is that all these views are well represented on the 30-man committee and the members don't see how they can ever agree on anything that will satisfy everybody.

Now far be it from us to ever suggest that the views of any group should be ignored when legislation affecting them is under consideration by Congress.

But now that the viewpoint of some employers, as represented by the NAM and the Chamber of Commerce, and the viewpoint of the unions, as represented by the leaders, are on the record and pretty well cancel each other out, the thing to do is to begin looking at a labor reform bill from a third viewpoint.

So we'd suggest that Congress should now start to consider labor reform legislation from what should have been the viewpoint of Congress all along-that of the public interest.

## Kansan Sows Capitalism in Underdeveloped Lands

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. SCHOEPPEL. Mr. President, recently there was published in the New York Herald Tribune an article entitled "Kansan Sows Capitalism in Underdeveloped Lands," written by Mr. Max Forester

Mr. President, it is all too easy for us to assume that the economic advancement of underdeveloped countries can only result from unlimited foreign aid, which imposes ever greater burdens on the American taxpayer.

It gives me great satisfaction as a senior Senator from Kansas to commend the efforts of William L. Graham, a Wichita, Kans., oil man, who has enough belief in what free private enterprise can accomplish to endeavor to promote it in foreign lands.

I ask unanimous consent that the article which was published in the New York Herald Tribune of February 12, 1959, by Max Forester, relating Mr. Graham's efforts, may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

It is with some degree of satisfaction, Mr. President, that I offer the article for printing in the Appendix of the REC-ORD, because of the efforts of William L. Graham, of my home city of Wichita in my home State of Kansas.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

KANSAN SOWS CAPITALISM IN UNDERDEVELOPED

#### (By Max Forester)

Helping to create capitalists through partnership ventures with aspiring small businesses in underdeveloped nations is showing what you can't tell people about capitalism, William L. Graham, a Wichita, Kans., oilman whose travels turned him into an international investor, asserted here last week.

It's the prescription for an ideologically disturbed world which intense, restless Bill Graham has evolved and clothed with corporate substance in Private Enterprise, Inc., a firm he has formed to expand his interest in making partnership deals with foreigners. He sees this as the surest means of eliminating Communist infiltration which is engulfing us in many areas of the world.

With an aside to press representatives at a meeting of the American Management Association, where he addressed 300 businessmen in the Biltmore last week on the necessity for stepping lightly in precincts pa-trolled by the Securities and Exchange Commission, he gave these details of his project:

About a third of the company's nominal capital of \$300,000 is invested in a dozen companies, including a stapling-machine manufacturing concern in India, a surgical-thread plant in Turkey and others in Australia and South America.

The company expects to show a profit by making a kind of partnership loan, which should yield Private Enterprise about 2 percent on its investment, and possibly more, as local entrepreneurs are able to "buy out" the businesses thus established.
Right now the business is long on en-

thusiasm and short of the success stories which Mr. Graham feels will be rather slow to materialize, since it takes time to make much of a showing from the type of deals

we are making.

But he is determined to make a go of it, and believes his main stumbling block just now is the problem of finding others who will join him in the effort. Some of his listeners-mainly middle-echelon executives still fairly dependent on their salaries-were startled when he asserted his greatest need was the cooperation of "any one who can show he has already earned his first \$250,000, and who can spend 6 months working with me on this without pay."

If there are any likely candidates thus qualified, they may reach Bill Graham in care of the Graham Building, at Wichita.

Wichita, which knows Bill Graham as a man who wears his capitalist spurs with a flourish-he lives in a revolving Buckminister Fuller house on a street he has named Easy Street—is only the home base, how-ever. "We will make loans abroad wherever we can find people to talk with us," he asserted.

Convinced that the United States, too, needs more capitalists, Bill Graham has also organized television shows in Wichita and Minneapolis, on which he offers to lend up to \$25,000 to the budding entrepreneur who comes up with the best money-making idea on each program.

Ford Motor Co. took over the sponsorship of his Wichita show and may use it in other

While in New York, Mr. Graham intended to show a kinescope of the latest in the se-

ries to Ed Murrow.

He hopes that eventually a nationwide show can be launched which can bring bids from foreigners for loans of up to \$100,000 before the cameras.

#### Cancer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, the Washington Post and Times Herald yesterday began publication of what I think will prove to be a significant series of articles on cancer. This subject, of course, has been given a great deal of attention through the years, and particularly so in the last few months. The author of the series, Mr. Nate Haseltine, has received several awards for his outstanding work in the field of medical reporting.

I read the first article with a great deal of interest, and I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the PECORD

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

(From the Washington Post and Times Herald, May 31, 1959]

WHAT IS THIS CANCER THAT KILLS HIGH AND Low?

(First of a series of battle reports in the war on cancer.)

(By Nate Haseltine)

Read the roll:

Brien McMahon, 48, Senator, died July 28, 1952, lung cancer.

Robert A. Taft. 63, Senator, died July 31, 1953, kidney cancer.

Enrico Fermi, 53, atomic scientist, died

November 28, 1954, stomach cancer. Mildred "Babe" Didrikson Zaharias. versatile athlete, died September 27, 1956, rectal cancer.

John von Neumann, 53, mathematician, died February 8, 1957, cancer unspecified.

Gen. Claire Lee Chennault, 67, commander of the Flying Tigers, died July 27, 1958, lung cancer.

Dr. Francisco Duran-Reynals, 58, cancer scientist, died March 27, 1958, intestinal

And now—John Foster Dulles, 71, Secretary of State, died May 24, 1959, colon cancer.

All made the headlines when they died; all helped spread a dread name which once was only whispered-cancer.

#### A MAVERICK CELL

What is this disease which appears to be gaining a death hold on humanity, or is it gaining? What does science know about it, and what not? What causes cancer, and what is being done to fight it?

This series will attempt to answer some of

the questions.

Cancer is uncontrolled growth. More specifically, it is uncontrolled immature growth, uncontrolled immature cell division. The cancer cell is a young cell which always grows, but never grows up.

In its beginning, cancer is composed of a few microscopic cells much smaller in sum than the point of a pin. These cells are nourished by the tissues they will eventually

Depending on the type of cancer, these cell masses may grow in a few months to the size of a grapefruit or may take years to reach the size of a pea.

Cancer cells resemble in some ways the embryonic cells of the unborn child. But unlike healthy embryonic cells, they never quite mature past the stage of unspecialized, unspecified tissue cells.

The pathologist, studying a removed cancer under a microscope, often can't identify exactly the originating cells, the source of the spreading cancer.

Fortunately, for statistical value at least, the true identity of the cancer can be established by study of the course of the disease or by autopsy. Sometimes only postmortem examination of the organs involved, such as the pancreas, the ovaries, or the thyroid gland, give the final answer.

It is perhaps the sustained youth of cancer cells which makes them win out against normal tissue cells. They compete for body nutrients without ever growing up into functioning tissues.

#### A GLUTTONOUS THING

And as the cancer grows, it spreads out, choking, cheating, starving the healthy body. Sometimes cancer kills by choking off a vital bloodway; sometimes by crushing, as in the

brain; sometimes by causing massive hem-

Generally, however, the terminal cancer patient dies of a process called inanition, a pathologic state of the body caused by failure of food, including water, to reach the healthy tissues. The malignant growths take it all.

Against this insidious form of cancer, medical science is most helpless.

Despite years of research, today's doctors have only two real weapons against cancer, surgery and radiations such as X-rays or ray-emitting atomic sources. And both become mere pain easers after cancer breaks out of its originating confines and spreads throughout the body.

If still self-contained when discovered, most cancers can be removed by surgery and the patient spared. Self-contained cancers in less accessible sites can be bambarded with X-rays or other radiations aimed to reach all the cancer cells and as few as possible adjacent healthy cells. Frequently, both surgery and radiations are employed.

Curiously, surgery itself can cause cancer's spread, and radiations are known to cause cancer.

The surgeon's scalpel, cutting out the tumor, may miss a cancer root, an offshoot of the tumor mass, or nick the capsule which contains the expanding mass. releases once-confined cancer cells into the body fluids in the surgical area. The free cells spread to other body parts to grow and eventually kill.

The fact that radiations are carcinogenic (cancer causing) is of little concern in a doctor's choice of their use for cancer treatment. The cancer is already present, and he is using the rays to slow down or halt its growth. But too liberal use of rays in some diagnostic tests has caused concern.

A special aspect of this will be discussed in a later article in this series.

Not all tumors, of course, are cancer. Some are just large growths of body cells. They reach a self-limiting size and stop Their only danger is their neargrowing. ness to vital organs or bloodways, and they can cause disfigurement when they develop close to the skin.

Called benign tumors, they can easily be removed by surgery. The surgeon does not risk seeding such growths to other body parts because they do not contain cancer cells

The surgeon may not know whether the growth he plans to remove is malignant or benign. To make sure, he cuts off a tiny bit and sends it to the pathologist.

The specimen is quick-frozen and sliced for microscopic study to see if it contains characteristic cancer cells. The study is made while the patient is still on the operating table and the decision is relayed to the waiting surgeon.

That decision spells the difference be-tween major and minor surgery. And a good pathologist is almost unbelievably accurate in such diagnosis. Only rarely do postoperative studies show the pathologist

#### WHEN IT'S TOO LATE

But not all cancer operations are performed to rid the patient of his malignancy. In some operations the surgeon knows on examining the scene that the cancer has spread beyond surgical control.

Here, the tumor parts cut out are those which are causing pain, or those parts whose continuing growth will press on nerves or diminish blood flow. The operations are purely palliative.

In operations for lung cancer, for example, the surgeon may remove only the most diseased lobe of one lung-and hope against dismal hope that later radiations or other treatments will do what he couldn't.

Total removal of one lung is done chiefly when the surgeon believes the cancer is confined to that lung.

This does not mean, however, that every sectional, rather than total, operation for lung cancer is performed solely for palliation. In some cases the tumor is apparently so well contained in that part of the lung that the surgeon will cut into only that affected lobe.

The many varieties of cancer are classified according to the tissues from which they

originate.

Cancers which begin in the skin, or epidermis, are classed as epitheliomas; those which originate in glandular tissues are called carcinomas, and those arising in muscles, fibrous tissues, tendons, or bones are called sarcomas.

All cancers look like lumps of body material. They have no roots, in the common functional sense of the word, but they do grow outward through body spaces to give that appearance.

In fact, the word "cancer" meant crab, and the disease became so-named because its appendages gave some of the malignant tumors a crablike appearance.

### Another Appraisal of Castro

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 20, 1959

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I include the following article by Leon Dennen in the Washington Daily News of June 1, 1959. The Daily News characterizes Mr. Dennen as an authority on communism and student of revolutions for more than 30 years:

A FAIR APPRAISAL: SIX MONTHS AFTER CASTRO CAME DOWN THE MOUNTAIN

#### (By Leon Dennen)

HAVANA.-How goes Fidel Castro at halftime through his first year as Cuba's lead-The bearded savior, who strode out of . the Sierra Maestra Mountains at the head of his victorious barbudos, still holds high favor with the mass of Cubans. But leaders in business and intellectual life see immense perils strewing the path he must cover in the immediate months ahead.

Cuba faces complete economic distress and disorder.

The island fumbles weakly for a way out of political chaos as Castro puts off the prospect of free elections and dabbles in sketchily-drawn policies.

Communists will try to undercut his revolution in a hundred and more places and make ready to try to capture it when disorder dictates the moment.

I found Red Chinese and Russian agents already on the scene.

America has a big stake in Cuba. The U.S. Naval Base at Guantanamo, Cuba, anchors our Panama Canal defenses.

In hard cash terms the island represents for the United States \$850 million in investments, \$546 million in annual exports, and \$528 million in yearly imports.

Castro, the mercurial 33-year-old idealist who must stand off the rising danger, confronts the job with most of the deep-set popular support he had when he emerged from the hills in January.

He continues the great liberator, genuinely loved and respected. Everywhere, in homes and store windows, on trucks, pushcarts, and the windshields of Cadillacs, signs proclaim 'gracias Fidel' (Thank you, Fidel).

Nearly all the Cubans I have spoken toordinary people, bankers, industrialists, labor leaders, politicians, members of the rebel force, President Manuel Urrutia himself—agreed that Castro holds his country's future in his palm.

On the credit side they mark up these

achievements:

He has given Cuba's 6 millions the smell and feel of liberty, and with it a real sense of independence and dignity.

He has virtually wiped out the chronic sicknesses of Cuban public life—graft and

bribery.

Prostitution, smuggling, the drug traffic, illegal gambling, all have been drastically cut or brought near a standstill.

He has reopened the doors of the University of Havana, shut by Batista in 1956.

#### BELIEVERS

Among his sturdy backers are many who believe these gains are an earnest of the future, that Castro will find the big answers. Said wise, soft-spoken Pepin Boach, head

of the Bacardi Co.:

"Fidel is an idealist who will go down in history as a liberator. Given time and a little more experience, I am convinced he will face up to the problem of Communist influence in his regime."

(Last week Castro showed his awareness of the Communist activities, by denouncing the Reds and their disruptive tactics. "Our revolution was not a Red revolution," he told them. "It was an olive drab revolution." The Communists replied to his TV denuclation by calling him unfair in their newspaper, Hoy. The Communists have also been consistently losing in the union elections now being held, although their influence in many of them is undoubtedly strong.)

The Reverend Eduardo Boza Masvidal, rector of Villanueva University, joined in: "Castro is a convincing man and a sincere idealist, but very emotional."

#### SOME WONDER

Yet others, more than just a few, have begun seriously to wonder whether he has the makings of solid, stable leadership or if he is an instinctive revolutionary who can neither produce nor enjoy orderly government.

Said a sugar magnate who backed Castro's

revolt with money:

"Castro must understand that to govern a country like Cuba one needs more than a handsome personality, a beard, and a machine gun. \* \* A man who aspires to direct the destinies of a nation must have more than good intentions—and Castro falls utterly when scored by his ability to measure political realities."

Countless of his loyal followers put the questions over and over. "What are his real plans? Where is he leading Cuba?"

They remember that in 1933 Batista led a sergeants' revolt in the name of democracy and freedom, only to become an iron-fisted dictator. Will Castro fulfill his promise? Or will he become a new Batists, or, even worse, see his country stagger and fall under Communist rule?

#### NO VIOLENCE

The answers lie with the man, in whose heart the revolution lingers. No sign of it, no show of violence mars Havana's streets today. The heavily-armed barbudos are the only reminder that bloody civil war gripped the island 5 months ago.

Looking like bearded longhaired U.S. beatniks, the barbudos, the elite of the revolution, range everywhere. They saunter through the sun-drenched city, their shiny pistols stuck, gunman style, in their belts. Some lounge in the luxury hotels, toying with loaded submachineguns as American youths brandish baseball bats.

A 14-year-old shoeshine boy, thinking I doubted he was one of Castro's mountain soldiers, pointed a wicked Mauser my way and asked: "You want proof?"

But the barbudos are not so savage as they look. Many are idealists like Castro. They know they live in a deadly serious world. They wait to see whether their leader can avoid political chaos from which only the Reds could profit.

## The 86th Congress Must Pass Labor Reform Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. GEORGE S. McGOVERN

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 25, 1959 .

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, at the close of the 85th Congress, I said that the two greatest failures of that otherwise successful Congress were the failures to pass adequate labor reform legislation and a constructive farm bill.

I hope and pray that the 86th Congress will not adjourn before we have rectified these two aspects of the unfinished business before the Congress.

In this morning's Washington Post an editorial appeared which pretty well states my own position on the matter of labor reform. As this editorial states—

The representatives of both labor and management know that neither side is going to get precisely the kind of bill that it deems desirable.

The Kennedy-Ervin bill is not a perfect bill, and neither was the Kennedy-Ives bill of last year a perfect bill. Senator Kennedy, the chief sponsor of labor reform legislation, has said repeatedly that this legislation is a compromise bill not entirely satisfactory either to labor or management. It is, however, legislation in the public interest. Both labor and management ought to be willing to accept those parts of the bill that may be somewhat irritating to achieve the larger purpose of ending corruption in the labor-management field.

Only the labor racketeers will have cause to rejoice if the Kennedy-Ervin labor reform bill is blocked by opposition on the part of management and labor. If we wait until the perfect bill is written in the field of labor-management reform, we will be granting a permanent license to the hoodlums and the racketeers.

I hope that every Member of the Congress will read thoughtfully the following editorial from the Washington Post of June 1:

#### How To KILL LABOR REFORM

The opposition of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers to the Kennedy labor reform bill is as shortsighted as the condemnation by the AFL-CIO. Why is it that businessmen and labor leaders seem to be unable to rise above their narrow preoccupations to support labor reform legislation which is unquestionably in the public interest?

The representatives of both labor and management know that neither side is going to get precisely the kind of bill that it deems desirable. Is it then asking too much for constructive businessmen and decent union leaders to put aside their differences on a matter of national interest?

Without the support of either labor or management the House counterpart of the Kennedy bill is not likely to get out of the Labor Committee despite the 90-1 vote by which the legislation was approved in the Senate. The committee does not plan to try to reconcile the conflicting views of its members until late in June, which means that it will be practically impossible to put a labor bill through the House at this session of Congress in the unlikely event that the committee agrees on one. Such temporizing by the committee is an indication of disgraceful failure to rise above petty political and labor-management squabbles.

We do not like some parts of the Kennedy bill—particularly the sections of the so-called bill of rights which, it seems to us, try to regulate union activities in stifling detail. Furthermore, we should like to see the legislation strengthened to get at the serious abuses of some organizational picketing as well as secondary boycotts. Despite its defects we believe that the measure is a good beginning. The enactment of the Kennedy bill surely would be a vast improvement over the present prospect of yet another round of cynical blame calling by both labor and management.

## National Bellamy Flag Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. WALTER M. MUMMA

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. MUMMA. Mr. Speaker, it was indeed a pleasure for me to participate in the Francis Bellamy Flag Award presentation to John Harris High School in Harrisburg, Pa., on May 18, 1959.

The Bellamy Flag Award, a national honor, was won by John Harris High School for its strong emphasis on academic achievement and for its outstand-

ing guidance program.

David Bellamy, son

David Bellamy, son of Rev. Francis Bellamy who wrote the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag, and Miss Margarette Miller, Portsmouth, Va., donor of the award made the presentation.

There is hardly a public meeting held in America today that the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag is not repeated. My thought about this pledge is that it beautifully tells in so few words the heritage of our country.

Patriotism, inspired in one way or

another is a wonderful thing.

I want to include herewith a newspaper article that tells about the presentation and a copy of my telegram congratulating the California designate of the 1959 award.

The newspaper article and telegram follow:

[From the Harrisburg (Pa.) Patriot, May 18, 1959]

HARRIS HIGH SCHOOL GETS AWARD TODAY IN BELLAMY FLAG COMPETITION

John Harris High School will receive the Francis Bellamy Flag Award today with pupils, educators and dignitaries taking part in ceremonies in the school's auditorium. The program will begin at 9:30 a.m.

David Bellamy, Rochester, N.Y., son of Francis Bellamy who wrote the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag, and Miss Margarette Miller, Portsmouth, Va., donor of the award, will make the presentation of the prize for the national competition.

The Bellamy Flag Award, a national honor, comes to John Harris for its strong emphasis on academic achievement and for its outstanding guidance program.

George A. Huber, president of the John Harris student body, will accept the award for the high school, and Miss Nancy M. Wickwire, of the class of 1943 at John Harris, prominent stage and television actress for the

Representatives of 6 of the 17 previous Bellamy Award recipients will extend greetings, as will Dr. Charles H. Boehm, head of the State department of public instruction, Mayor Nolan F. Ziegler, and Walter M. Mumma, Congressman from this district.

Among others who will participate in the program are Miss Helen J. Graeff, principal of John Harris High School; Rear Adm. John W. W. Cumming, USN (ret.); Miss Marcy Wilkins, Mary Washington College of the University of Virginia; the Reverend F. C. Thorne, pastor of Little Falls Baptist Church, New York; the Reverend Daniel H. Lewis, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Harrisburg: the Reverend Aaron M. Sheaffer, assistant pastor of Derry Street Evangelical United Brethren Church; Judy Ann Nicholas, governor of the Firls' State at John Harris; and Richard M. Warden, senior class president.

JUNE 1, 1959.

Mr. J. ELWIN LETENDRE, Principal, Berkeley High School, Berkeley, Calif .:

Congratulations to all at Berkeley High School for being the State of California designate of the National Belalmy Award for 1959. Just recently had the honor of participating in Francis Beliamy Flag Award presentation to John Harris High School in my congressional district at Harrisburg, Pa.

Upon learning of your school's selection for such award just wanted to join many others in extending warm best wishes.

WALTER M. MUMMA, Member of Congress, 16th Pennsylvania

#### Christopher Baldy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, last week in my home district there passed from the scene suddenly a prominent attorney who held a place of importance in the Buffalo legal profession for nearly a half century, Christopher Baldy. Mr. Baldy's passing will leave a great void in our city.

I wish to include the following editorial from the Buffalo Evening News, Buffalo, N.Y., May 27, 1959:

#### CHRISTOPHER BALDY

Citizens like Christopher Baldy do credit to every Buffalonian. He was a distinguished lawyer, a devoted churchman, an untiring worker for higher education, an unselfish participant in every worthy cause, self-effacing and modest.

The quality of his services is attested by the many honors that came his way: The presidency of several legal organizations; designation in 1958 as Church Warden of the Year by the Episcopal Diocese; the University of Buffalo's Samuel P. Capen Alumni

A loyal Democrat and party worker, he transcended narrow partisanship as a member of various city and State boards. He served with equal dedication in a variety of fraternal, sporting, and social activities.

Astute, courtly, unassuming, he leaves the memory of a fine citizen whom Buffalo was privileged to call its own during a lifetime of outstanding civic contribution.

#### Unknown Soldiers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 1, 1959

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, many of us have been home over the Memorial Day weekend, sharing with our constituents the remembering for which this day stands. I have brought back with me to share with all who read the Con-GRESSIONAL RECORD a very thoughtful poem by a Clevelander, D. Mills Walser, which I include in my remarks:

UNKNOWN SOLDIERS (By D. Mills Walser)

He sleeps through countless years, in many

a clime:

He sleeps within the basom of our time; He sleeps with youth forever in his heart; He sleeps unknown, in dignity, apart From all the things he died for, good or ill. He sleeps beside a river; on a hill-Or in some tranquil valley, far away; He sleeps, forever sleeps, is all we say.

Still, there persists a deep, a firm belief— That somewhere out beyond the "Gates of

He does not sleep at all, but rather, stands And looks with anxious eyes across the lands And sees an age, chaotic and too soon A "Khrushchev rockets" zooming to the

And knows, while all the ancient evils cling. The price he paid, just didn't buy a thing!

And who is he, this unknown one, who stands,

And look so anxiously across the lands? He is the youth who carried bravely on And perished with the hosts at "Marathon." Or there, beside Metauro, that "small stream"

Laid down his life for Hannibal's great dream.

From Hastings, even on to Waterloo, His image flashes brightly into view.

Across the world we see him, still and pale. The proud, young brave, beside "The Mohawk Trail."

At Valley Forge-we see his bleeding feet, Again at Gettysburg, with Lee's retreat. We see him, in the Argonne, at Bataan, Or lying, where the Yalu River ran. And, who is he, this anxious one, unknown? Perhaps the boy next door, perhaps your own.

He is the youth, who right or wrong,

through time, Stands forth.

We owe him more than just a thought a

We owe him more than just a passing tear, More than a sacred duty to be done. The laurel for his tomb at Arlington Should gleam with glory, and our lives be made

Worth all the fearful, shining price he paid.

Award. He served as a member and secretary of the university council. Sale

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. JOHN R. FOLEY

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Speaker, I feel certain that all Members of the House of Representatives join with me in my feeling of elation over the success of my constituent, Mr. Deane R. Beman of 8420 Woodcliff Court, Silver Spring, Md., in winning the British amateur golf championships this past weekend. Deane Beman is only 21 years of age. He joins 11 other Americans in winning this great title. Since he is such a young man to win one of the four great golf titles and his victory is a tribute to his own self discipline and perserverance, I am including in the RECORD today a brief description of the "Deane Beman Story," by Shirley Povich, an honored and distinguished sports reporter for the Washington Post:

BEMAN'S SUCCESS TOOK ROOT AT BARGAIN SALE

(By Shirley Povich)

The whole Beman family was taking up golf, Delmar W. Beman announced one morning in 1950 at his Bethesda, Md., home. Daddy unloaded six new sets of clubs from the family car.

He had bought them at a bargain, Mr.

Beman said, \$34.95 a set at a downtown department store sale, for two woods, four irons, a putter, and a plaid cloth bag. The youngest of the four Beman kids, 12-

year-old Deane, blond and on the skinny side, didn't know which end of a golf stick to grab, and cared less. He was too busy being the hero of Montgomery County's 100-pound football champions and scoring 128 of their 158 points that season.

Besides, he was a baseball pitcher in the Bethesda Little League. Was ambidextrous, in fact, pitched both left and right handed. Also, he was a switch hitter. Anyway, golf was for rich kids.

Yesterday, a Pan American jet swept Deane Beman back from England in 6½ hours to a tumultuous reception at the National Airport. The new British amateur golf champion was being acclaimed.

He had waded through seven match-play opponents at Sandwich, England, and de-feated another American, Bill Hyndman, in the final, 3 and 2, to earn the trophy won by only 11 other Americans in the 60-odd years of British amateur golf.

At 21, he has become the most precoclous young amateur on the American golf scene, a winning member of the U.S. Walker Cup team before going on to the British title.
Is he heady with his triumphs?

"I wouldn't say that," Father Beman said yesterday. "Deane is excited but he is modest sort, too. Besides, he knows he isn't always the best golfer in his own family."

That is because his older brother, Delmar III, was beating him on occasion, head to head, on the Bethesda Country Club course before Deane took off for England. But the club handicaps say Deane is the better golfer and, anyway, Delmar doesn't bother with tournament play.

If American observers and the British golf fans at the Walker Cup matches at Muirfield, Scotland, and the Amateur at Sandwich, England, were surprised at the skill with which young Deane handled British conditions, the Beman family was Young Beman in effect created British conditions on the Bethesda club links before he fiew to England. He doted on the windy days that would be comparable to the blows in Scotland and England. He leap-frogged about the course, finding winds that were in his face, hunting for crosswinds, and not forgetting to play with the winds at his back.

"Since Deane picked up his first golf stick, he has always been determined about this game." said Harry Griesmer, the Bethesda club pro. "He hit more practice balls than any kid I ever knew. He has made every part of his game methodical."

Deane combed every source of supply in the area to find the smaller British ball that would be used in England and Scotland. From Freddie McLeod, pro at the Columbia Country Club, he turned up the only dozen British-size balls available and McLeod made a gift of them. For weeks at Bethesda, Bemen used only the small ball.

From England during the matches, young Deane was dally being quoted as saying he was pacing himself in his early matches, unwinding slowly until he could reach the semifinal round. It was rare restraint in a

youth.

"Deane has always had the perfect golf temperament," his father said. "I saw it displayed when I followed the reports. The stories told me how he was reacting. He was four up on Hyndman in the final when Hyndman cut him down with a deuce on the 16th. Hyndman won the 17th, too, and Deane was only two up.

"The stories told me what happened on that 17th. Deane clubbed two shots badly in the rough. Then he simply picked up and said to Hyndman 'Your hole.' Deane wouldn't aggravate himself. He's bright that way. He had temper control when he birdied the 18th hole with a 12-foot putt

and won it."

There were 18 college athletic scholarships awaiting Beman when he graduated from Bethesda-Chevy Chase High School in 1956, all with full tuition, board and room, because of his junior golf fame. At 15, he tied the 25-year-old Chevy Chase Club record of 67, and his score was the lowest in the United States for the national junior golf qualifying.

Beman chose Maryland University and its business administration course. But in his sophomore year he married Miriam Orndoff and forfeited the board-and-room benefits of his scholarship by living off campus. Their

daughter, Amy, is 7 months old.

He decided to forego the last semester of his junior year to take a shot at the big tournaments. An invitation to the Masters at Augusta came his way because he was a semifinalist in the National Amateur. He had hoped for selection on the Walker Cup team and it had come. The British Amateur was also in his plans.

He was a homesick kid when the British Amateur started last week and told his wife by transatiantic phone. "I miss you and Amy very much and I want to come home. I would, if I wasn't so sure I'm going to win this thing."

## The Farmer Gets Less of the Food Dollar

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. GEORGE S. McGOVERN

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1959

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, 10 years ago the farmer was receiving 51 cents of the consumers' food dollar. Today he receives 39 cents.

In 1957 the American people consumed 11 percent more of the farm-produced foods than they did in 1952. For that larger volume of food production, the American farmers received \$600 million less than they received in 1952. Food processors and other middlemen, on the other hand, received \$6.1 billion more in 1957 than they did in 1952.

Nowhere is the trend of higher prices for consumers and lower prices for the farmer illustrated any more clearly than bread prices. The following editorial from the Sioux Falls Argus-Leader of Friday, May 29, makes this point so well that I include the editorial at this point in the Record.

BREAD COSTS MORE; FARMERS GET LESS

A U.S. Department of Agriculture bulletin about bread prices contains some facts so significant that we of this farm country should review them with care.

The average retail price of a 1-pound loaf of bread in the United States in 1948 was 13.9 cents. Of this amount the farmer

received 3.4 cents.

The average price of the same loaf in 1958 was 19.3 cents. And the farmer received 3 cents as his share.

So it is that, though the price of bread has advanced on the average 5.4 cents in the past 10 years, the farmer's share of the price has decreased by four-tenths of a cent.

What this means is that the consumer pays more and the farmer gets less. This is not to say, however, that there has been an improper advance in the price. The forces of inflation have left their mark on the various steps involved in the processing and the distribution of the bread.

But it should be noted with emphasis that the farmer is not sharing in this phase of inflation even though he is compelled to pay higher prices for what he is required to

buy.

Examples such as this demonstrate one of the reasons why the farmer has occasion to be annoyed about the trend of economic events. He is, in fact, on a stationary or descending basis while all around him are swinning higher prices.

#### Poison in Your Water-No. 88

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I am inserting into the Appendix of the RECORD an article appearing in the Chicago (Ill.) News of July 26, 1958, an article entitled "Ah! Nature Is Wonderful!—County Streams Full of Filth."

AH! NATURE IS WONDERFUL!—COUNTY STREAMS FULL OF FILTH

(By Jack Mabley)

There was a time when a river in this county was a place in which to fish, swim, go boating or canoeing, or on whose banks one could lie and soak up the beauty.

Yes, it wasn't long ago that kids swam in Des Plaines River. Today it would be like jumping into a tank at a sewage treatment plant.

The fish are long gone. The water that was blue and clear now has the color of black coffee and the consistency of syrup and the smell of an abandoned outhouse.

These streams that flow through most of the suburbs and through the city itself have changed from places of beauty and recreation into dangers to public health and safety.

Stream poliution comes from many sources. Worst is raw sewage—the waste from tollets, bathtubs, sinks, laundries, hospitals, garages—that flushes directly into the streams.

Industrial plants put oils, greases, acids, and chemicals into rivers.

People put things-anything into them.

#### A SMELLY TOUR

A nose-holding tour of the west fork of the north branch of the Chicago River Thursday revealed an old tire, a spittoon, trees and iron pipes at the Walters Avenue bridge.

Near the Shermer Avenue bridge were beer and pop cans, rocks, steel tubing, logs, cement blocks, and grass clippings.

At other places in this waterway there have been observed oil drums, a washing machine, baby buggles, garbage, railroad ties, a dead cat, and garbage cans.

A restaurant, a trailer camp, and a subdivision have been piping sewage into this

stream just north of Glenview.

This is probably the most polluted stream in the country, but it is by no means unusual. Thorn Creek, the Des Plaines River, Salt Creek, the Skokie River have been depositories for filth.

(The problem isn't unique to Chicago.

(The problem isn't unique to Chicago. Illinois towns below St. Louis have to contend with 300 tons of ground garbage dumped into the Mississippi every day, plus St. Louis' raw sewage.)

The problem of Cook County's streams extends far beyond offenses to the eyes and

nose.

They are causing floods. At the same time that the streams are becoming more choked with debris, the amount of surface water after heavy rains is increasing.

#### FLOODING ON INCREASE

Every home that is built in the county eliminates one more plot of land where water could stand or soak into the ground. Flooding increases constantly. New storm sewers are overloading the streams.

When storm water floods, it seeps into sanitary sewers, and is a major factor in sewage backing up into basements during heavy rains.

Cook County's Clean Streams Committee has been waging a valuant holding action against further water pollution. The sanitary district is working on plans for the rivers.

But action is long overdue, and we will have many floods, and immeasurable menace to health, before the rivers are clean.

#### We Hold These Truths-

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. ARCH A. MOORE, JR.

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, there is no more appropriate time than Memorial Day, when the Nation pauses briefly in its mundane living, to look to a Higher Being in memory of those who have preceded us to a better life and the promise of eternity—both in war and in peace.

I was immeasurably impressed on Sunday last when I sat with the congregation of St. James Evangelical Lutheran

Church in Wheeling, W. Va., and heard Dr. John F. Streng, the church's revered and distinguished pastor, deliver a Memorial Day sermon which was notable for its simplicity and its capacity to move the congregation to a feeling of total concentration upon the great mysteries of life and death.

Under unanimous consent, I include Dr. Streng's sermon for reprinting in the

Yesterday's solemn National Memorial Day ceremonies are today augmented in fitting fashion by Sunday religious services throughout the Nation. From sea to shining sea and far beyond our cherished borders we join in the familiar American prayer "Our Father's God to Thee, author of liberty, to Thee we sing. Long may our land be bright with freedom's holy light. Protect us by Thy might great God our King."

It is meet for us to pause in public ceremonial, in the family circle and religious observance to remember the gallant sacrifices others have made for us. It is our duty to build a nobler society on the ashes of those who dwell in honored glory. They served faithfully on farflung fighting fronts and sealed their pledge of allegiance in their Their imperishable example own blood. must be indelibly inscribed that our generation may not facetiously neglect its solemn responsibilities to God, to our children, and these missing comrades. Their fortitude under fire is a challenge for which there is no surpassing similarity in his-

Our text is framed in holy memories on the pages of time. Today we focus the spotlight of history upon an ancient nation on the warpath. After 400 years of slavery, under conditions approaching those of our modern concentration camps, K-rations, and no-man's-land in faraway places, we see a volunteer army of Israelites finally break camp one night under their temporary commander in chief, Moses. He launched Operation Homeward Bound. Hearts beat heavy but spirits rang high as the ancient reconnaissance battalions of wandering Jews inched forward over desert terrain and through mountain passes. One of their chief problems in logistics was the crossing of the turbulent River Jordan, since they were neither organized nor equipped for mass evacuation.

At that point the Lord God Jehovah dem-onstrated His miraculous almighty power. Through his creative force in nature, He walled up the roaring rapids, so that both military and civilians could cross the sandy river bottom. With this maneuver com-pleted, Joshua, the new leader into the Promised Land, issued orders for a mass convocation. In solemn ritual he supervised the construction of a riverbank stone altar as memorial to God's providence, and for future generations to admire. He closed his memorial address with this dedication: "These stones shall be for a memorial unto the children of Israel forever." And his historic challenge has echoed through the centuries.

Memorials large and small, costly and simple have since identified every generation. Primitive and civilized peoples have engraved and perpetuated memorial messages in museums of memory, in monuments of mystery, and in mansions of marvel. Every national frontier ultimately dovetails into a keystone triumphal arch of conquest somehow linked to the past. Beneath each sacred strata of soil lie buried layer upon layer of long-perished and forgotten civilizations whose chivalry and patriotism were equally worthy to be remembered.

Each Memorial Day burdens our minds anew with sad memories. The simple

searching ceremony in Arlington's National Cemetery symbolizes America's annual act of adoration. It is repeated in hundreds of wayside shrines in city and country the length and breadth of our blessed land. It is echoed on many battlefields where little crosses glisten row on row.

It is to the lasting honor and credit of our leading military veterans organizations- and auxiliaries that they so nobly stand shoulder to shoulder keeping watch over our freedom. Among other studies in good government a liberal education can be gotten out of the 10 objectives enunciated in the preamble to the constitution of the American Legion. Let me recall five of them here: to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States of America; to perpetuate 100 percent Americanism; to inculcate a sense of individual obligation to community, State and Nation; to promote peace and good will on earth; to safeguard and transmit to posterity the principles of justice, freedom, and democracy. What more stirring challenge could anyone bind upon the American conscience? Freedom is God-given and includes all phases of life. When man splinters it into political, religious, or economic segments, it loses its full power.

Today, representatives of all, cultures and creeds reverently invoke peace upon all people of the world. Out of Israel's fierce struggle for freedom comes one of the world's most famous benedictions: "The Lord lift up His Countenance and give thee peace." The Prince of Peace himself ended His famous Upper Room valedictory with the words: "Peace I leave with you. My peace I give unto you."

This season, dedicated by those under arms to those who have laid down arms to protect those yet in arms, urges upon all citizens a patriotism pure and noble, obedience to the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, and the Bill of Rights. These hallowed documents are the difference between freedom and slavery. Little flags on a hundred thousand military graves symbolize worldwide that 170 million Americans have not forgotten their defenders.

Ours has been a vigilant Nation for 183 years. America has fought in 11 wars and mobilized some 30 million people. Two million have been officially listed as dead, wounded, or missing in action. Five hundred billions of dollars have been spent in direct war effort. Americans need to digest this resounding record of blood-bought his-

tory and freedom.

Let those who live up Memorial Day for personal pleasure only be reminded that once again freedom is in jeopardy. The greatest enemy is cancerous, contagious indifference among American citizens to Godgiven privileges and responsibilities. Faded honor rolls in city squares are not exemplary memorials anymore. Names are blurred and bronze scrolls have become green with age. Thank God for watchful comrades who decorate earth and sky and sea with appropriate

We need aroused citizens who believe that it is treason when malicious mercenaryminded men mock the fifth amendment or turn into overnight superpatriotic conscientious objectors. Let us reassure wavering citizens that the stars and stripes are guaranteed not to run. Whether we stand amid Arlington's 420-acre breathtaking stillness where at the current rate of 80 burials a week the 100,000th veteran's body has just been interred; or whether search parties stumble upon a hitherto unknown knoll on some barren atoll, our tribute of gratitude should be the same, namely, "Peace with honor." Whether we recall Joshua's ancient prophecy: "These stones shall be a memorial"; or remember the citation on the Unknown Soldier's cenotaph: "Here lies in honored glory an American soldier known but to God"; or whether we read the inscription on

the memorial at Bastogne, Belgium: "Seldom has so much American blood been shed in a single action. O Lord, help us to remember."-words cannot express America's appreciation.

Freedom is a divine imperative. God give us alerted citizens willing to evaluate today's sinister dangers. The church is just as guilty as the state if America loses freedom's holy light. World leadership has been bought with human blood. There is no light. World leadership has more priceless sacrifice. We walk amid the ruined rubble of rumored races who trusted in the promises of allies to bring them victory. Our atom-active world shrinks daily. A babel of voices fills the air. Charges and countercharges contaminate politics, press, and pulpit.

Will we be worthy of the liberty we enjoy? Will American parents teach their offspring respect for the Holy Bible, the Constitution, the flag, and help them memorize at least the first stanza of our national anthem?

What is Americanism? It is many dialects blended into one language. It is a hundred ways to prosperity converging into one way of life. It is a thousand services linked to one loyalty. It is the sacred trust that all men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights. It is the conviction that government rests upon the consent of the governed, that free-dom is every citizen's business, that selfishness must not triumph. We hold these truths to be self-evident.

Let us meet destructive criticism squarely. Who are these self-appointed foreigners to come to our shores and gripe about what is wrong with America? There's nothing wrong with our Nation that good standpat Americanism cannot cure in a hurry. Under the vigilant eyes of the double eagle we can detect falsehood beyond the rocket's red

From the Memorial Day services outlined for veterans' organizations we quote: "Let us grasp with fearless hands the flag so nobly borne before, and like these others plant it always on the battlements of right-eousness. \* \* \* Will you not consecrate your selves with us to emulate their sacred service that those who rest in heroes' graves may not have died in vain?".

John Stuart Mill said: "A people may pre-fer a free government. But if from indolence, carelessness, cowardice, or want of public spirit, they are unequal to the exertions necessary for preserving it, if they will not fight for it \* \* \* if they can be induced to lay their liberty at the feet of even a great man, or trust him with powers enabling him to subvert their institutions \* \* \* in all these cases the people are more or less unfit for liberty." Jesus of Nazareth, Prince of Peace, said: "Greater love hath no man than to lay down his life for his friends." May God bless our people, our vigilant veterans, our officials, that in His Providence government of the people, by the people, and for the people may not perish. Amen.

### A Eulogy to Lincoln

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, on Memorial Day, I was privileged to attend the ceremonies at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C., during which the Post Office Department dedicated another of the commemorative postage

stamps to mark the sesquicentennial year of Lincoln's birth.

Among the remarks delivered on this occasion was "A Eulogy to Lincoln," by John B. Fisher, a member of the Abraham Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission. In my estimation this address rates next to the historic speech which Carl Sandburg delivered at the joint session of Congress on February 12, 1959.

Because I was so impressed with the substance of this eulogy, I include it in the Appendix of the Record so that those who did not attend the ceremony will have an opportunity to acquaint themselves with its excellence:

#### A EULOGY OF LINCOLN

(Address of John B. Fisher, member, Abraham Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission, at the Lincoln Memorial, Washington, D.C., Memorial Day, May 30, 1959)

Gen. George Pickett, a fighting Confederate commander, was to remember all the days of his life that third afternoon at Gettysburg when he led his long, gray lines against the Union barricades on Cemetery Ridge in the bloodlest assault of the war. And Mrs. George Pickett was to remember always that afternoon at the war's end when, in answering a knock at the door of her Richmond home, she opened it to find a tall stranger standing there in the shadow of the porch, asking her if George were at home, m'am?

She replied that George wasn't and wouldn't be for some time, but might she ask in turn who the visitor was. The tall man in the frock coat, stovepipe hat in hand, said simply "Just an old friend of George's, m'am; just an old friend from before the war." With that he turned and stepped out into the sunlight and walked slowly down that Richmond street, leaving Mrs. Pickett to the startled realization that the President of the United States had come to call.

The President of the United States. Abraham Lincoln was that, of course he was, but really a great deal more, too. For this was a man of many parts, all of them human and most of them great.

This was the politician who in 30 long years of devoted service in his party's ranks came to realize that politics, like life, is the art of achieving the possible and who learned, with the decay of the Whig Party, the turbulence of the Mexican War period, and the onset of the Missouri Compromise, that he had nothing whatever in common with political platforms whose planks were platitudes and with men of no discernible principle.

This, too, was the husband and father whose home life was torn by strife and dissension and the tragic death of children. Yet it is not for us, now or ever, to judge Mary Todd Lincoln. The heart of a wife and the heart of a husband can best be known only to themselves and what a woman says to a man or what a man says to a woman should often, as the ancients knew, be written on the wind. It will become us better to remember that Mary Todd and Abraham Lincoln sat fondly holding hands in a darkened box in Ford's Theatre on the night of Good Friday, 1865.

night of Good Friday, 1865.

But this, too, was the President—the President and Commander in Chief—devoted above all else to preserving the Union with the dignity, equality and rights of the several States unimpaired. So he said; so he did.

And in so doing, he brought freedom to the enslaved. As he wrote in his annual message, following the Emancipation Proclamation: "In giving freedom to the slave, we assure freedom for the free, honorable alike in what we give and in what we preserve."

Supported in this objective by the Abolitionists, yes, but fought by them every step of the way, for moderation was a word they

never knew. He counseled with them patiently when he could; he blocked them ruthlessly when he must, fondly hoping that in time they'd learn, fervently praying that they'd learn in time.

Meanwhile, the war went on, with Jackson and Lee defeating the Union forces at almost every turn, crushing the northern armies between them like a steelhard finger and thumb, until at last the President came to put his trust in Grant—Ulysses S. Grant, who astonished everyone in Galena, Ill., by turning out to be somebody after all.

Agreeing completely with Grant's objective of smashing victory and peace, he occasionally questioned Grant's method but remembered from the old days at Hodgenville and New Salem that you never cuss a good ax. To keep up with Grant, studying tactics late into the night, but, night and day, studying human nature as well; taking time out for needed laughter and humor; writing with a wry smile to a woman who had asked him for a sentiment and his autograph:

"Dear Madam: When you write to a stranger for something which is of interest only to yourself, always enclose a stamp. There's your sentiment and here's your auto-

A. LINCOLN."

Then, at long last, the tide of the battles and of the war turned under Grant's sledge hammering—stubble-chinned, stubborn-jawed Grant, in whom the President had such faith—and the President was enabled to think beyond the war to the time of reconstruction, to the binding up of the Nation's wounds, when the road to reunion with the South would, he knew, have to be paved with justice and generosity and good will.

Blocked again in this because of his policy of moderation—not alone by many of the Northern States and their leaders, not only by many members of his party, but often violently, profanely, by his very closest advisers and friends—yet knowing, as few men have ever known, that wisdom as to ends must equal skill as to means or the work would be lost forever.

This, finally, was the martyr, the martyr to union, to freedom and to peace. Lincoln had a presentiment of death all his life but never more strongly or clearly than on the morning of April 14. Yet he knew that death was not the worst of life, that defeat was not the worst of failure, that not to have tried was the true failure and his ceaseless trying to preserve this Union, for us and forever, achieving one of the greatest successes in all recorded time.

It was America's darkest hour since Valley Forge when they carried him out of Ford's Theatre and into the little Petersen House across 10th Street and Dr. Charles Leale, 23 years old, assistant surgeon, U.S. Volunteers, who had been the first to attend him when he fell, sat through those long, black night hours and the long, gray morning ones that followed holding tightly to the President's hand, knowing, as he was to write later, that reason and recognition occasionally returned to the afflicted at the moment of departure and wanting the President to understand in his blindness that he was in touch with humanity and had a friend.

So it was that George Pickett's old friend from the war himself had a friend at hand when the long war years were over.

This was Abraham Lincoln, politician, husband and father, President and Commander in Chief, martyr for all mandkind. He was a man of such dimensions that he made all others seem small, though he would have been the very last to wish to do so. Those dimensions were not merely physicial, not just the 6-feet-4 of him or the gaunt, bony frame of him, but the great soul and heart of him as well.

For this was the Bible-reading lad come out

of the wilderness, following a prairie star, filled with wonder at the world and its Maker, who all his life, boy and man, not only knew the 23d Pslam but, more importantly, knew the Shepherd.

Now, in 1959, it seems possible that we shall never see his like again. This is a sobering thought, but it should be a kindling one, for upon us now, as a people, has been laid perhaps the greatest responsibility any nation was ever asked to shoulder, yet certainly not greater than we can bear. Our days are no longer than were Lincoln's, our nights are no darker, and if there is any difference between his time and this it lies in the tremendous advantage that is ours, that he stood so tall before us.

In such a time and at such a moment we surely can say then, from hopeful, brimful hearts:

"We are coming, Father Abraham, devoted millions strong, firm in the faith that was yours and is ours, secure in the conviction bequeathed by you to us that right does make might and that if we but dare to do our duty as we understand it, we shall not only survive—we shall prevail.

"We walk beside you now, long-striding, our feet firmly on the ground in this most practical of worlds but with an eye always on the heavens that we might never—never—lose sight of the stars."

#### What We Have Given Away

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. ARCH A. MOORE, JR.

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, there is not a Member of this body who is not acutely aware that since the start of the Marshall plan this country has been pouring out its treasure and substance across the globe.

We have reached the ridiculous from a position of sublime humanitarianism which prompted the original aid program.

Today we have such absurdities as the donation of a teakwood sawmill plunked down on a beach in Iran to rust for 3 years. That is, until some of our aid people became interested in the facts and brought up the stark conclusion that there is no teak grown in Iran; and further, the nearest source of supply of this valuable wood lies some 1,900 miles away in the jungles of southeast Asia.

Thus it should be informative to our membership and to our citizens to read the following editorial appearing in the Wheeling (W. Va.) Intelligencer, which spells out in facts and figures just what we have accomplished and at what cost in our various aid programs to foreign countries—the sum total of which has been an increase in our inflationary trend and the actual loss of many of our former stanch allies.

I might add that I am indebted to Mr. Thomas O'Brien Flynn of the Intelligencer for presenting such a clarifying picture of the situation, and I commend his editorial to my fellow Members of the House for their consideration:

WHAT WE HAVE GIVEN AWAY

This week the House Foreign Affairs Committee voted to cut \$226,800,000 from the administration's foreign aid request for the new fiscal year.

The cut is trivial, relatively speaking. Indeed, its modesty is considered a victory for the President who had asked for \$3,930 million. The total approved is only slightly less than \$3,656,400,000 actually authorized last

Considering the fact that the U.S. Government already has amassed a public debt of approximately \$285 billion, still is spending more than it takes in and probably will fail to balance next year's budget, the question of whether or not we are in position to give or loan money to any other country for any purpose arises again as it has arisen before. It becomes a particularly pertinent and pressing question at this time in view of the history and the results of our foreign aid operation.

The current issue of U.S. News & World Report contains a revealing analysis of this American enterprise in rejuvenating and protecting other nations. It is a startling presentation which justifies examination in some detail in view of pending congressional action on another foregn aid appropriation.

Since 1948 according to this report, the Government of the United States has extended, in gifts and loans, \$74,200 million to other countries. Of this amount \$59,200 million have been outright gifts.

During the same period, individual American citizens, through the CARE relief organization and other means, gave an additional

\$6,700 million.
With recovery abroad, largely generated by this assistance, has come renewed interest in foreign investment. Since the war, American business interests have put more than \$27 billion into foreign operations, a flight of capital deliberately encouraged by the Government through a liberal import policy and otherwise.

These dollars have gone to build the cities and industries of other lands, to acquire the latest in American machinery and skills, to make foreign industry competitive with our own, to add \$11 billion to foreign financial reserves in gold and in dollars, to otherwise improve conditions abroad. To what pur-

"Today," says U.S. News & World Report,
"more and more high officials of the U.S.
Government are beginning to wonder if the
great success that Americans brought to their
foreign friends isn't actually too great for
comfort." And with good reason. "The
American dollar," to quote further, "once a
proud currency—the strongest in the world—
now is selling at a discount in terms of some
foreign currencies. \* \* \* The dollar scarcity that alarmed planners not many years ago
has been turned by U.S. generosity into a
superabundance of dollars in Europe.

"Gold is flowing away from the United States as some countries turn their immense reserves of dollars into gold. Foreigners at this time hold claims to \$12.7 billion of the \$20.3 billion of gold in the U.S. stockpile. If these foreigners ever exercise those claims this country could find itself in a severe financial squeeze applied by those who enjoyed so much U.S. generality.

"Goods from abroad are coming into the United States to capture more and more markets. The industry that the United States spent billions to revive and that U.S. industry helped teach efficient mass production is able now to undersell its teachers in a growing number of fields."

Statistics tell the story. In 1948 we bought foreign goods of all kinds to the value of \$7,100 million, and sold abroad \$12,600 million worth. During the first quarter of 1959 our import purchases were

at the rate of \$14,300 million a year and our sales abroad at the rate of \$15,400 million. The \$5½ billion gap of 1948 has been closed to a billion, 100 millions and is narrowing every day.

Foreign manufacturers now are crowding American producers, not only in the world market, but in our own domestic market as well. So Americans are becoming more and more interested in foreign operations. They now are investing more than \$3 billion a year abroad. Why not? They can take advantage of lower production costs there and thus compete with the natives on their own terms and, thanks to our progressive destruction of the protective tariff, ship their wares back home at a nice profit. Why build or enlarge a plant in West Virginia or Ohio or Illinois when you can make more money doing so in a foreign country?

Military aid tells something of the same story. Not only have we undertaken the economic rejunevation of our friends abroad, but we have assumed a major share of the burden of defending them. The American people are devoting more than 10 percent of their total effort to defense. Our forces are in every part of the non-Communist world. None of our allies—now economically strong—is doing as much. Great Britain, the best of our associates in this respect, is devoting 7.5 percent of her total national effort to defense. Next comes France, with 6.8 percent, followed by Canada, with 5.6 percent and West Germany with 3.4 percent. Japan's defense effort is negligible.

It is idle to speculate on what the world situation might have been today had none of this American aid been provided. The very success of the foreign recovery may constitute an eloquent testimonial to its value. But it would seem to bear equally persuasive testimony that it has more than served its purpose; that we have helped others to the point where we already have damaged ourselves and that any further effort in this direction can be expended only at our mortal pertil

In the light of the record as revealed by the U.S. News & World Report survey, what conceivable justification can there be for any further extension of foreign aid at any level or for any purpose, much less at the rate contemplated in legislation now pending in Congress?

## Placing of Trophy in Memorial Amphitheater at Arlington National Cemetery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. GORDON CANFIELD

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, on Memorial Day a trophy from mothers whose sons were killed in the Nation's wars was placed in the Memorial Amphitheater at Arlington National Ceme-

The tribute to the Unknown Soldiers was conceived and designed by Mrs. Mabel C. Troy, national president of the American Gold Star Mothers and a resident of my home city, Paterson, N.J.

dent of my home city, Paterson, N.J.

The original sketches of the trophy were made by Mrs. Troy with the insignia of the American Gold Star Mothers being used as the basis of her design. The trophy is in the form of a plaque.

The idea for such a tribute occurred to Mrs. Troy during last year's Veterans' Day ceremonies in the white marble amphitheater behind the Tombs of the Unknown Soldiers. She noticed that among all the tributes displayed there was none from the mothers to America's Unknown Soldiers.

Saturday afternoon's presentation was made possible by the cooperation of Lt. Col. John J. Flynn, chief of the cemetery branch, Memorial Division, Department of the Army; John G. Metzler, superintendent of the cemetery; Frank Lockwood, assistant superintendent, and Gen. John G. Van Houten, commanding general of the military district of Washington.

I commend Mrs. Troy for her thoughtfuness in reminding us that there are some things which cannot and should not be forgotten. She was truly performing her function as president of the American Gold Star Mothers.

#### The Big Splash in Manmade Lakes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, in our efforts to conserve the Nation's water supply to meet rapidly increasing demands and control disastrous floods, we have, in the past few decades, created a great number of huge reservoirs or manmade lakes across the country. The planners and builders have appropriately concentrated their energy toward constructing facilities for serious use of the impounded water, primary of which is irrigation for farmland.

However, a feature of our manmade lakes, which may at times be overlooked by the planners but which is very apparent to the public, is the recreation bonus these lakes provide. This is aptly pointed out in the article from Parade magazine of May 17, 1959, entitled "The Big Splash in Manmade Lakes," by Michael Frome. The reservoirs, while serving so well the cause of agriculture and industry and flood control, serve at the same time the need of the people for respite from agricultural and industrial endeavors.

Also, in addition to the esthetic value derived by the public from manmade lakes, there is a further boost to the economy from the demand for services and equipment connected with leisure-time activities. It is therefore not amiss in our planning of multiple-purpose water projects, from which we intend to obtain the maximum benefit possible, that we give recognition to the worth-while byproduct of recreation.

I include, for the information of my colleagues, the article by Mr. Frome:

THE BIG SPLASH IN MANMADE LAKES (By Michael Frome)

At manmade lakes across the United States, the outdoor season already has be-

gun for throngs of boating enthusiasts and hopeful fishermen. And from the coming weekend until Labor Day, Americans in search of a swim and a breeze will join them at dammed-up, land-locked waters that have gushed onto the map only within the

last few years.

Without a doubt, artificial lakes, large and small, are the fastest growing vacation areas in America. By one estimate, 50 million visitors will use them in the next few months. The Army Engineers estimate attendance at their projects alone has sextupled in the last 8 years. On the TVA lakes 40,000 privately owned boats now manages. neuver where 25 years ago there were only 600.

Manmade lakes now represent nearly a third of the Nation's fresh-water bodies, and additional projects already authorized will double that amount. Each vacation season, several new ones are added. Most important this year are:

Lewis and Clark Lake (Gavins Point Dam), on the Missouri River above Omaha, Nebr., a part of the Missouri River Basin

project.

Table Rock, on the White River, Mo., 80 miles long and 41/2 years in the building. This is expected in time to be one of the best U.S. trout-fishing spots.

Palisades Dam, largest earthfill dam ever built by the Bureau of Reclamation, a jewel set in beautiful Targhee National Forest on the Snake River, Idaho.

#### A WATER-HAPPY COUNTRY

So water-happy is the United States today that new projects cannot be built or opened fast enough. In Florida, where a system of flood-control canals is being developed from the Everglades to the headwaters of St. John's River, sportsmen are complaining that boat ramps and fishing spots near Lake Okeechobee already are "congested"—and the project is not even finished.

Water also is a factor in Florida's latest land boom. Wise developers have gouged out artificial lakes, centered new colonies around them and capitalized on the appeal

of "boating in your own backyard."

The big splash in mandmade lakes has given some strange twists to the Nation's recreation picture. Oklahoma, the old Dust Bowl State, accounted for almost 20 percent of attendance at Engineers' lake last year. Land-locked Iowa bought more outboard motors than ocean-washed and lakespeckled Maine, and Kansas bought more than seacoast Delaware.

Despite the tremendous use of the Nation's 2,800 principal reservoirs and thousands of lesser ones, most were designed for purposes having little to do with recreation. The objectives were flood control, hydroelectric power, irrigation, and improved river navigation. Over the last quarter of a century, great concrete and earthfill structures have been built amid deserts, parched plains, and impoverished hill country.

Where are these lakes? The map on these pages [not printed in RECORD] introduces you to the major ones from coast to coast. Many smaller ones, developed by power companies, industry and States, also provide for recreation. The big projects, inci-dentally, are so costly only the Federal Government could afford to construct them.

In the South, the Tennessee Valley Authority's regional development project has transformed vast areas of seven States.

TVA's 30 lakes have developed into a firstrate tourist center with accommodations for 9,000 persons a night. Kentucky Lake, biggest of the 30, floods 184 miles across Kentucky and Tennessee. Ringed around the lake are modern lodges, housekeeping cottages, campgrounds, more than 100 boat docks and four State parks. The lake has fine bathing beaches, tennis courts and golf

courses, and fishermen swear by the bass catches.

The Bureau of Reclamation operates in the west, with such massive projects as Hoover Dam, Grand Coulee, and Shasta. It has 254 recreation areas, the biggest of them Lake Mead, a cactus-country playground with a 550-mile shoreline backed up behind Hoover Dam. The surrounding desert and mountains are so spectacular that the area once was considered as a possible national monument. Now visited by 3 million persons a year, Lake Mead, in an area deserthot by day and cool at night, is a particular favorite of water skiers and hydroplaners.

The engineers maintain 120 principal lakes and 200 smaller ones across the country as flood control and river navigation projects. Largest and most popular is Lake Texoma, in the once arid, dusty Red River Valley between Texas and Oklahoma. Recently opened Texoma State Park is Oklahoma's showplace, with lodge and cottages, golf course, campgrounds, boating, water skiing, riding and fishing.

Since their original purpose was not recreation, these lakes have had their growing pains. Groups like the Izaak Walton League and the Sport Fishing Institute believe serious attention must be directed to

several problems, including:

Shoreline blight: Where lakeshores develop without control, they often succumb to ragged, honky-tonk treatment. Experts fear that unless they are zoned and pro-tected, shorelines will lose their basic natural attraction.

Recreation access: Because dams usually are built with only a minimum of border land, the public in some cases is shut off from areas it has paid to construct. Additional access points would make possible

the greater use of the lakes.

Measure of values: Dams have been proposed for natural areas priceless in their own right for scenery or fishing purposes. In Oregon's Rogue River country and Dinosaur National Monument, such plans have been defeated. Today's major concern involves proposals for high dams in the Idaho mountains that might shut off chinook salmon from their spawning grounds.

But today there is more emphasis on recreation planning before a dam is built. The U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, the National Park Service and State conservation agencies are getting a voice in plans for man-

And more dams and reservoirs are on the The Missouri River Basin project eventually will have 100 multipurpose dams. Just beginning is the \$760 million Colorado River project in the deserts and mountains of the Southwest. The mammoth construction job at Gien Canyon, Ariz., will create a 186-mile-long lake comparable to Lake Mead when completed in the early 1960's. And a scenic short boat trip will open the way to Rainbow Bridge National Monument, reached now only by pack trip and arduous hiking.

These new lakes will be opened not a moment too soon. Fishermen alone are expected to double in number by 1975 or 1980. The boating boom has been so phenomenal that it is almost impossible to gage its rate

But you need not wait to dip into the fun offered by manmade lakes. Among those you might consider for this year's travels are Washington's Franklin D. Roosevelt Lake, behind Grand Coulee Dam; Shadow Mountain National Recreation Area, Colo., a trout fisherman's paradise; Lake Ouachita, Ark., largest of a 100-mile chain of lakes, and Clark Hill Reservoir, S.C., with its hundreds of secluded coves.

All these offer fishing, boating, swimming, lakefront camping and virtually any other

water sport you can name. But be sure to study your map before you start on your vacation. At the rate manmade lakes are being added, there may be a brandnew one right on your course.

### Lung Cancer and Cigarettes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. RICHARD E. LANKFORD

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. LANKFORD. Mr. Speaker, many statements have been made concerning the cause of lung cancer-many of them without foundation. Tens of millions of dollars are being spent through research to find the cause and cure for cancer. We all hope and pray that the answer can be found-let the chips fall where they may.

In that connection, I offer for the RECORD an article in the Baltimore Sun.

dated May 15, 1959.

LUNG CANCER EXPERT PLAYS DOWN LINK WITH CIGARETTES

#### (By Weldon Wallace)

After operating on nearly 800 cases of lung cancer over a period of 25 years, Dr. William F. Rienhoff, Jr., declared yesterday that he has found no scrap of evidence to indicate that cigarettes are more likely to cause cancer than are the air pollutants that everyone breathes-such as exhaust fumes.

Dr. Rienhoff, who is associate professor of surgery at the Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine, performed the first operation for total removal of a lung. The patient, who had this procedure done in

1933, is still living.

Dr. Reinhoff reviewed his cases of lung cancer at the annual meeting of the South ern Society of Clinical Surgeons, held at the Hopkins Hospital.

He made his comments on cigarettes in an

interview.

#### MICE SHOULD NOT SMOKE

It is true, he said, that tobacco tars put on susceptible mice can cause skin cancer, "but since one cannot argue from mouse to man, the only conclusion I can draw from this is that mice should not smoke."

Dr. Rienhoff added, however, that he certainly would recommend moderation smoking, "as in everything else—eating, drinking, or even driving a car."

"Presumably any severe irritant could cause lung cancer in susceptible persons, he explained, but he said he feels cigarettes should not be blamed any more than the fumes from motor vehicles.

#### BRING SOLACE TO MANY

"Cigarettes bring solace to many people," he went on, "and I see no reason to scare them to death."

In his opinion, the only bases for the view that cigarettes are the cause of lung cancer are "coincidence and suspicion."

Dr. Rienhoff, incidentally, does not smoke. In regard to dealing with lung cancer, he said that surgical treatment offers the only hope of cure "in our present state of ignorance."

He said the malignant tumors that offered the greatest hope of cure were those of a slow-growing type which had walled themselves off with fibrous tissue.

He urged immediate exploration of the chest if a shadow should appear in an X-ray

film and warned against delay in removing

all lung tumors, even benign ones.

Others speakers on yesterday's program—
all of them members of the Hopkins faculty -included:

Drs. Henry T. Bahnson, Edward S. Stafford, I. Ridgeway Trimble, Frank C. Spencer, Mark M. Ravitch, David C. Sabiston, and Worth B. Daniels, Jr.

#### Poison in Your Water-No. 91

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I am inserting into the Appendix of the Congres-SIONAL RECORD an article appearing in the Bluefield (W. Va.) Telegraph of July 13, 1958, entitled "Buchanan Water Supply in Danger-Contamination Is Spreading":

BUCHANAN WATER SUPPLY IN DANGER-CON-TAMINATION IS SPREADING

The widespread contamination of domestic water supplies in the Buchanan County-Tazewell County, Va., area is causing increasing anxiety, Dr. Derek Robinson, of the health department, announced.

Too, the area is endangered by the widespread gross contamination of streams and rivers by untreated sewage. Parents of children swimming in the streams should be fully aware of the dangers involved, the doctor sald.

#### UNFILTERED DRINKING WATER

"Unfiltered drinking water is only as clean as the area from which it was obtained," the doctor said, "and especially when this is from the ground surface the position is far from satisfactory.'

Dr. Robinson pointed out that the jurisdiction of the health department in the area extends only to the water supplies of public eating places.

Only one of the large communities in the area has both a satisfactory filtered water supply and a sewage disposal system.

Polio is also another problem, although not yet large, in the area, the doctor said. In the last few days the dread disease has

broken out in Lee County and Wise County, and just Thursday a case was diagnosed in Cedar Bluff in Tazewell County.

#### NO POLIO EPIDEMIC

Although there is no sign of an epidemic. conditions are right for pollo to spread rapidly through the thousands of Tazewell-Buchanan children who have had no antipollo serum, the doctor said.

All persons who have not received the shots should visit their family physician immediately, Dr. Robinson said. Those without the preventative shots should be discouraged from getting overtired, playing games requiring vigorous muscular exercise, and should keep away from crowds.

Rabies also presents a problem to the area. Dr. Robinson said the disease was confirmed in one dog during last month and four children who came into contact with it have received the antirables treatment.

### South Carolina "Climate" for Business Given Praise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

#### HON. JOHN L. McMILLAN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ORD, I include the following article by Mr. A. L. M. Wiggins who formerly served as Under Secretary of the Treasury.

This article appeared in the May 18 issue of the American Banker and in my opinion contains a great deal of food for thought.

I hope that every Member of Congress will take a few minutes of his valuable time to read Mr. Wiggins' statement:

SOUTH CAROLINA "CLIMATE" FOR BUSINESS GIVEN PRAISE

(By A. L. M. Wiggins, chairman, the Bank of Hartsville)

An industrialist seeking a location for a new plant requires an answer to the main question, "What location will provide the best opportunity to convert my operations and products into the most satisfactory return on the investment?"

South Carolina was the answer. This answer is rooted in the character and the conservative philosophy of its people which, in turn, are reflected in the policies and programs of State and local government.

Summarized before the general assembly by South Carolina's progressive young Gov-ernor, Ernest F. Hollings, said:

"Let us look at the features of our business climate: the right-to-work law, the good tax structure, the stable State government, our workmen's compensation law, our good labor-management relations, the spirit of a day's work for a day's pay, the healthful working conditions, the spirit of cooperation and participation in community and State endeavors, they were all created by the working people and existing industry. Industries have come, they have invested, they have expanded. The best salesman of the new South Carolina is the established businessman who can tell first hand of the fair treatment he has received and how his operation has been profitable."

#### SOUND BUSINESS CLIMATE

A leading industrialist with several plants in South Carolina and other States, Richard R. Higgins, president of the Kendall Co., stated:

"The foundation of any business development program is a sound business climate, first on the State level and then on the local level. Land sites, cooperation, water, electric power, labor supply, reasonable taxes, all of these tangible things are necessary, but a basically sound political climate will be the thing that brings economic expansion. That, my judgment, is what lies behind South Carolina's rapid progress."

The governmental climate under which industry operates in South Carolina is reflected in the unanimous action of the general assembly last year in revising the system by which income taxes of foreign corporations are determined so as to provide the corporation with more equitable alter-

native bases. There is no State property tax in South Carolina and the assessments of industries for local property taxes are made by the State tax commission on a fair and uniform basis. Appeals may be made on assessments to the State tax board of review but not a single appeal has been made to this board in more than 10 years. The State constitution requires a balanced budget.

#### LEGISLATIVE POLICIES CONDUCIVE

The progressive cooperative policies of the State legislature are shown in a recent report of a special joint committee to the general assembly which recommended expansion of the work of the State development board with additional appropriations to support it. This recommendation has been adopted.

The committee also recommended the establishment of nonprofit corporations to finance industrial buildings; creation of local planning boards; and, a program of increased cooperation between State and local development boards.

In addition, the committee recommended the expansion of vocational, educational, and research programs in both economic and technical-scientific fields.

It endorsed the program of the recently established Business Development Corp. which was set up by bankers and other businessmen to finance small business.

#### DEPENDS ON PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

However, the committee, in an expression of a basic philosophy generally held in South Carolina, called on private enterprise to provide the needed developmental capital and stated: "We do not believe that the State should be pledged to provide capital for private business." South Carolina's lawmakers do not believe in using public funds to subsidize private enterprise. They believe in giving private enterprise a healthy environment in which to operate.

An expression of legislative attitude toard business and industry in South Carolina is in a resolution adopted by unanimous vote of the general assembly which pledged support of the vigorous industrial development program of Governor Hollings; officially welcomed new industry and en-couraged expansion of existing industry; and specifically stated:

"That we hereby pledge that we will maintain in South Carolina a stable, conservative government under which industry and business can grow and prosper in ac cordance with the American tradition; and that we hereby pledge that we as a government and as a people will reject socialistic programs and radical influences which are constantly threatening and destroying the American way of life which the citizens of South Carolina still appreciate, enjoy, and are determined to perpetuate and pass on to our posterity."

#### FAILURES ARE FEW

Proof of the good business and industrial "climate" in South Carolina is the fact that in recent years the State has had fewer business failures, fewer removals, and fewer vacant industrial buildings than practically any State in the Union. Evidence of excellent employer-employee relationships is the almost complete absence of strikes or lockouts. In 1958, total man-hours lost in strikes in South Carolina was only three ten-thousandths of 1 percent of the total man-hours of industrial employment.

The population of the State is almost entirely native born. Two-thirds of the people live on farms or in rural-urban areas. The excess of farm population growth above farming requirements furnishes a continuous supply of intelligent, competent, trainable workers available to industry. The high efficiency and productivity of these workers in jobs requiring skills has been proved by numerous industries having plants in South Carolina and other States. Unit costs of production in South Carolina are uniformly lower. Housing for industrial workers is not needed because most of them live in rural areas and ride to work over the State's network of splendid paved roads. Available in numerous areas throughout the State are 3,000 or more potential industrial workers, male and female.

South Carolina is not only a good place to work but a delightful place to live. It has excellent educational institutions, equable climate and recreational resources unsurpassed: fresh water lakes for boating and fishing, good hunting in many areas, and splendid ocean beaches that are quickly reached from any part of the State.

#### STATE OF YOUNG PEOPLE

South Carolina is a State of young people. The median age of the population is 23.6 years, the lowest of any State in the Union. Young people are running things in South Carolina—its banks, its industries, its government. Governor Hollings is 37 and Lieutenant-Governor Maybank is 35.

Under such youthful, dynamic leadership, the State is moving ahead at an increasing tempo. If there is an industrialist anywhere that is considering building a new plant and wants a location that offers the most favorable "climate" for successful operation, he should investigate South Carolina. All he needs to do is to pick up the phone and call the Governor's office or the State development board and ask for any information he wants. The information will be forthcoming quickly. It is significant that the two offices adjoin.

Likely, someone from South Carolina will be sitting on his doorstep the next day—and it might even be the Governor himself. Governor Hollings has the rather unique and refreshing idea that the Governor is elected and hired to work for South Carolina and to go anywhere and do anything he can to promote the economic growth of the State and the welfare of the people. With that kind of leadership, progress in South Carolina is a one-way street—straight ahead.

#### Memorial Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 1, 1959

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Lowell Sun:

#### MEMORIAL DAY

"If other eyes grow dull and other hands slack and other hearts cold in the solemn trust, ours shall keep it well as long as the light and warmth of life remain to us."

With these words Gen. John A. Logan, commander in chief of the Grand Army of the Republic, inaugurated the first official observance of Memorial Day in 1888. Even before that, families in the North and in the South lovingly took flowers to military and private cemeteries to decorate the graves of those who had fallen in battle. Today

Memorial Day has become a part of our national heritage.

Since 1919 no group of Americans has done more to preserve the spirit of this day than those millions of former fighting men and women who constitute the American Legion. They who returned home from the battles of the two World Wars did not forget those who fell in herioc death at their side.

Memorial Day is an occasion for sober thought and contemplation. It is a time to measure our contribution to our country and our fellow men against the supreme contribution made by those whom we honor today. If their sacrifice has any meaning at all, it is because there are certain principles, certain values, certain eternal truths more precious than life itself. In fighting and dying they have enacted a paradox of heroism. They faced death to defend man's right to live in freedom. They obeyed orders to preserve man's right to liberty. And they gave up the comforts and consolations of home family life itself to safeguard another of man's inalienable rights—the pursuit of happiness. It is ever thus that American independence is won anew in every generation.

The foregoing thoughtful Memorial Day message is part of an address prepared by Rt. Rev. John J. Twiss, national chaplain of the American Legion, for delivery at exercises in Omaha, Nebr. It would be difficult to improve on such a moving presentation of the spirit and meaning of this national holiday.

#### Memorial Day 1959

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to deliver the following Memorial Day address at Fuoss Mills, near Tyrone, Pa., Philipsburg, State College, and Greenwood Cemetery, near Altoona, Pa.:

MEMORIAL DAY ADDRESS BY REPRESENTATIVE JAMES E. VAN ZANDT, MEMBER OF CONGRESS, 20TH DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA, MAY 30, 1959

Memorial Day is the most solemn and sacred of our patriotic holidays.

It is a day of reverence when Americans assemble all over this broad land to pay tribute to those who have fallen in battle or who have served their country in the Armed Forces of the United States.

There is no greater honor than to be asked to participate in rendering homage to our departed comrades who gave the last full measure of devotion to the cause of freedom.

We the living, owe them an everlasting debt of gratitude for it can never be repaid.

They died in advancing the ideals of liberty and freedom which are responsible for the spiritual and material blessings which all Americans enjoy.

all Americans enjoy.

On Memorial Day when springtime with blossoms and song arrives once more to spread her mantle over the good, green earth, the thoughts of the American people turn to the herioc past and to those who have left them the legacy of freedom.

This day of memory is a time for meditation when with humility and reverence we salute the heroes of our Nation's wars.

Memorial Day or Decoration Day as it is still called in some sections of our land contributed greatly to temper the bitterness of the Civil War. It recalls the fact that the forces of the North and South fought for the cause they believed to be just.

It brings realization that through their blood was welded a union of States.

A union of States which has had the strength to survive all international storms and to emerge as a republic, yes, republic, that has become the most powerful and richest nation in the history of civilization, with the result that today as a nation we lead the free world.

It is appropriate to express our gratitude to divine providence for the blessings we enjoy as citizens of this great Republic.

All of us should be mindful of the fact that the United States of America was founded upon a spiritual base and that to a major degree it still today rests upon that base.

We are reminded that our ancestors fied the intolerance and oppression of Europe with its strict class distinctions.

They left the Old World in order that they and their descendents might have greater opportunity to carve out an existence without being deprived of the Godgiven rights of liberty and freedom.

Our Founding Fathers fashioned this

Our Founding Fathers fashioned this Nation from a vast wilderness by toil and sacrifice.

In so doing, they yearned for freedom of religion and freedom of expression.

They were firm in their conviction that a

They were firm in their conviction that a government should be the servant of a people—not the master.

To perpetuate this concept of government in a span of 42 years we have engaged in two world wars and a third conflict in Korea with a godless, communistic horde, bent upon world domination.

During this Memorial Day period we honor those who fell in defense of our ideals of liberty and freedom which we are eager to, see prevail throughout the world as a living symbol of international justice.

As we salute our departed comrades we realize that not only did they do their duty but they added to the glorious tradition of our Armed Forces that commenced at Concord and continued over the years every time our national security has been threatened.

By their victories our military forces made it possible for the United States to become a world power and to shoulder great international responsibilities.

Many historians agree that the Spanish-American War gave to our country international prestige accompanied by international problems that projected our Nation into the arena of major powers.

our entry into World War I was the result of the threat of militarism seeking to engulf the world.

We came to the aid of war-weary England, France, and Italy.

That great conflict brings to many the stirring memories of such historic battles as the Meuse-Argonne, St. Mihiel, and Belleau-Wood.

Yes, for the first time in World War I we fought in the Old World from whence our forefathers came.

Time marches on; many veterans of World War I have died and although their deeds have been recorded in history their memory lives, especially in the minds of those of us who were their comrades in 1917-18.

They, too, in the American tradition performed deeds of valor that have enshrined them in the hearts of all liberty-loving Americans.

Following the Armistice of 1918, in the short span of less than 25 years we found ourselves engaged in World War II, in a deathless struggle against militarism and fascism—in short—against those whose sole aim was world dictatorship.

In that Titanic struggle we recall among the many bloody conflicts the Bataan death march, Anzio Beachhead, Iwo Jima, Okinawa,

and the Battle of the Bulge.

In the historic struggles that marked World War II, many veterans of the first World War returned to active military service as they joined the millions of younger servicemen and women who comprised the personnel of our armed forces on nearly 100 World War II battlefronts.

When victory in World War II was achieved it was the prayerful hope that at last peace would be restored to a weary and heartsick

world.

Unfortunately, the goal of universal peace was not within our grasp because in the short period of four years American youths were following the stars and stripes in the ricepaddles of Korea in a struggle against the forces of world Communism.

We are all familiar with the heroism of American servicemen on Pork Chop Hill, Old

Baldy, and Heartbreak Ridge.

Today those heroic dead in Korea join Americans who made the supreme sacrifice in the two world wars, for the whole earth is girdled with their graves.

We who fought with them shall never forget them and throughout our lives we will carry an imperishable memory of their devo-

tion to our country's case.

A profound, heartfelt devotion to the memory of the defenders of this Republic is expressed in sincere, dignified ceremonies observed throughout the land on every Memorial Day.

In reality they are ceremonials that bind

the dead to the living, and the living to the

unborn.

Such observances contribute to the spirit-

ual unity of our people.

Particularly this program today manifests the imperishable brotherhood of our countrymen that transcends race, religion, and status.

It is in a spirit of humility, and gratitude that we stand shoulder to shoulder to salute across the years those Americans who brought deathless glory to our arms.

It is customary on Memorial Day to readas it is always read at Gettysburg-site of one of the most decisive battles of all timesthe immortal address of Abraham Lincoln.

Looking out over the graves of the heroic dead, the brooding Lincoln said ". . . That we here highly resolve—that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this Nation under God-shall have a new birth of freedomand that the Government of the people-by the people—for the people—shall not perish from the earth."

In these trying days when world communism has thrust the cold war upon us. Americans—and all free men everywhere would do well to ponder the noble words of Abraham Lincoln, which provide the best definition of a republic ever given-"a government of the people, by the people, for the people."

We may not realize it, but our conduct as a Nation in the cold war is the basis for a momentous new chapter of history that

is being written.

The result is-that the quality of America and of the American people is being subjected to a more rigid test than we have ever witnessed.

The heavily armed, resourceful, and ruthless communist tyranny is aimed at destroying the foundations of our civilization.

In fact, the menace of communist aggression has cast a shadow of darkness over the whole earth, dimming our ray of hope-that universal peace can be achieved among the nations of the world.

For over 40 years the architects of the Communist conspiracy from Lenin to Khrushchev have openly boasted of their intention of destroying everything—includ-ing the United States—which stands in the way of bringing about-the complete dominance of Communist imperialism throughout the world.

To attain their diabolic objective they have made it crystal clear that they will employ every resource at their command.

A review of world events reveals that the maters of the Kremlin have been pursuing such a course with fanatical zeal and ruthless determination.

Lenin preached the dogma of "permanent revolution" against every non-Communist country.

Since they are dedicated to the cause of Lenin, in like manner, the Chinese Reds are committed to unrelenting efforts to subdue the world for communism.

Although the Communists speak of peaceful coexistence, they are guilty of doubletalk, because they operate on the doctrine that there can be no lasting peace between communism and freedom-that the revolution must go on until one or the other perishes.

The permanent revolution advocated by Lenin is not only a reality, but it has many different forms.

One moment the Communists with honeyed words preach peace, while in the next breath they brandish their ballistic missiles and H-bombs in the hope of frightening and blackmailing free nations into a fatal compromise with tyranny.

The record shows that Communist leaders seek to keep the free world off balance and in a state of constant tension and turmoil in order to uncover any weaknesses which

They seek to create critical situations which they can profitably exploit by propaganda, infiltration, subversion, or the ulti-mate appeal to military force.

At this moment we have a dramatic ex-

ample of the "crisis technique" in the

situation prevailing in Berlin.

The Communists have stirred up the Berlin situation with the expectation of obtaining information regarding the military defense of the free world, and at the same time test our moral armament.

While the Berlin crisis may be viewed as a testing ground, military observers realize that it would be dangerous to under-estimate or scoff at the seriousness of the Berlin problem.

is painfully true because of our This knowledge of Communist technique and that the chief stock in trade of the Soviets is that of deceit and treachery.

We know that the Soviet leadership is

wholly without moral scruples.

know that it is absolute in its authority and since it is answerable to no one-it is able to put into split-second operation any plan of action.

We know that it is dedicated solely to the advancement of the Communist dictatorship and will go to any extreme to achieve its goal.

We know, finally, that the Soviet leadersship has at its command the largest mobilized armed forces on the face of the earth.

When all these factors are taken into consideration, it should become clearly evident to the most wishful thinker that any complacency or indifference on our part is a plain invitation to disaster.

While we must avoid being led astray by the Communist-manufactured crises, we

cannot afford to become panicky. To the contrary, we gain renewed confi-

dence in the fact that our Armed Forces and those of over 40 allied nations stand shoulder to shoulder with us in defense of the free world.

Yes; a mighty host is arrayed on the side of right and justice.

On this Memorial Day it is incumbent upon us to guard against the Communist campaign to confuse, delude, and conquer.

For example, they make the baseless charge that the people of the United States are warmongers, while the Soviets yearn only for peace.

In short, we Americans are charged as being the main cause for continuing the cold war.

In this connection it is imperative that we as a nation zealously guard against any shortcomings of memory which might obscure the truth.

The record of the cold war speaks for itself and should be kept before us at all

Frankly, no amount of Kremlin doubletalk can change the fact that every aggressive move in the cold war has been made by the Communists themselves.

Did they not, for example, incite civil war in Greece in 1946?

Did they not blockade West Berlin in 1948? Were they not responsible for the invasion of South Korea in 1950 and the 3 bloody years of war which cost the lives of more than 33,600 Americans?

Did they not brutally crush with overwhelming military might the patriots of

East Germany in 1953?

Did they not likewise crush Hungarian patriots in 1956 when they bravely arose against tyranny and sought to reestablish free government of their own choice?

Did they not bombard the Quemoys in

I ask in all sincerity, who persistently and maliciously meddles in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East in attempts to stir up unrest and to undermine young and struggling nationalist governments?

And I ask you, who makes a practice of wantonly shooting down unarmed aircraft in peacetime holding the citizens of other countries for ransom and violating every principle of fair dealing among nations?

Finally, everyone knows who at the present time is bluntly threatening open warfare in order to force the guardian troops out of West Berlin.

Ladies and gentlemen, in every case the accusing finger of truth points directly at Soviet Russia and Red China.

By way of contrast, the record of the United States reveals that it has never coerced nor attempted to dominate any peaceful nation but has respected the integrity of all and sought to uphold it.

We as a Nation have sat down with the Communists at numerous conferences in a patient effort to explore all avenues leading to a just and lasting peace.
We have sought to reunify divided Ger-

many, Korea, and Viet Nam on honorable

We have taken the lead in the "atoms for peace" program and advocated a comprehensive system for the limitation and control of armaments together with any effective system of international military inspection which would prevent surprise attack by any aggressor.

All in all, our efforts with the other free nations of the world to negotiate with the Communists have been fruitless.

In addition, we have learned the bitter lesson that the Kremlin regime lives by the frankly stated philosophy that "promises are like pie crusts-made to be broken."

We have always regarded international agreements as sacred.

The Communists on the contrary regard such covenants as mere scraps of paper which may be thrown into the wastebasket when it suits their pleasure or convenience.

In trying to achieve the goal of universal peace, it is a significant and deplorable fact that Russia as a government lacks national integrity as evidenced by her long record of broken promises.

Ladies and gentlemen, on this Memorial Day of 1959 the need for national unity must rise above partisan politics-for every American must stand shoulder to shoulder-to let the Red rulers and the World know we are standing firmly against Communist agression that has plagued the world for 40 years.

By standing united not only can we resist Communist designs for world conquest, but we will uphold the cherished principles of liberty and freedom for which millions of Americans made the supreme sacrifice.

We dare not do less.

Although we earnestly seek peace, we cannot afford to merely dream about it—not in this day of coldly calculated unfriendliness.

We should keep in mind that those who died fighting for our country in time of war were realists.

They faced facts bravely when they plunged into battle—and certainly they would not have us falter today.

So it is in tribute to them that we translate our debt of gratitude into terms of practical thinking and positive action.

On Memorial Day we fulfill three obligations:

We strengthen our appreciation of the men whose sacrifices made secure, in large measure, the freedoms we have inherited.

We pay tribute to those men through our spoken word, our floral tokens, and our prayers.

Furthermore, we reaffirm our courage and determination to carry on our defense of the cause for which they fought.

Finally, we declare again that our honored dead shall never be forgotten.

dead shall never be forgotten.

And we quote these words from Theodore
O'Hara's "Bivouac of the Dead":

Nor shall your story be forgot,
While fame her record keeps,
Or honor points the hallowed spot
Where valor proudly sleeps.

## Utah Is Ready for Visit USA Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. DAVID S. KING

OF TTAIL

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. KING of Utah. Mr. Speaker, Visit USA Year, proclaimed by the President, will bring thousands, perhaps millions, of visitors to our land, and I am confident many of them will remember Utah as the highlight of their American

Utah is well prepared to receive them. Utah abounds naturally in two ingredients which makes memorable vacations—scenic splendor and friendly hospitality.

I wish that every other State might be as well prepared. Visit USA Year will give Americans a marvelous opportunity to show the world what American life is truly like, and to win innumerable new friends for that way of life.

Utah is always well prepared for visitors. The Utah Tourist and Publicity Council and its very able director, D. James (Jim) Cannon, see to it that the welcome mat always is out. The National Association of Travel Organizations has praised the council for a superb folder which it has prepared for worldwide dissemination to advertise Utah in Visit USA Year.

The beauty of the folder, entitled "Utah: Land of Color and Contrast," is its simplicity. It gives a charming picture of the scenic contrasts of the State, which embraces 2 of America's 29 national parks, 8 of its 83 national monuments, and some of its most historic trails and sites. I commend to your attention the written content of the folder, which is as follows:

West of the Continental Divide of the Rocky Mountains, where the still-rugged peaks of the Wasatch and the Uintas and the LaSals begin giving way to the Great Basin, there lies the State of Utah. Midway between Canada and Mexico, a land of scenic contrasts almost beyond belief, Utah is the center of scenic America and one of the most remarkable areas of natural and manmade wonders in all the world.

Within its borders, Utah holds areas of rich historical interest. At Promontory near Great Salt Lake the golden spike joined the Nation by rail in 1869. Pony express stations (one of them now a Utah State park) mark the trail from St. Joseph to Sacramento. Four imposing Mormon temples, monuments to a great faith, are located at Logan, Salt Lake City, Manti, and St. George. So, too, are the Mormon Trail, the route of Father Escalante and the Old Spanish Trail.

Utah is many things at once. In natural resources it is a mountain of copper deepdug at Bingham, natural gas and oil in expanding production, mining and fabricating of iron and steel, coal and minerals, and virgin timber and water contributing to a stable economy and holding rich future promise.

Within this bustling atmosphere, however, the greatest interest of the visitor is in Utah's endless variety of vacation pleasure. More than 90 percent of the State's area still is untamed, a natural playground offering adventure and excitement, sports and exploration in endless skein. Utah is the land of scenic contrasts, and this, probably, is its greatest claim on the millions of visitors who annually seek pleasure within its borders.

Utah's kaleidoscope is the green-carpeted Heber and Cache Valleys, the remote solitude of Pine Valley. It is the coral pink sands of southern Utah. It is the tall and snow-painted Uinta Mountains with their 2,000 lakes, the rushing white water of upper Provo River. It is the heart-stopping thrill of shooting the rapids of the Colorado River's Cataract Canyon or the sheer joy of water skiing on Bear Lake.

In the spring the flowering desert is alive with a surpassing loveliness. In summer the cool canyons and mountain country draw the city dweller. In autumn a wild profusion of color chokes the canyons, paints the hills. And, with winter, Utah's world-famous powder snow in the rearby mountains provides incomparable sport out-of-doors while, below in the nearby cities, cultural activity attracts its own society of devotees.

Utah's wealth of natural wonders is reflected in the high percentage of national parks and monuments established here. Of the Nation's 29 national parks, Utah has 2: Zion and Bryce. Of the 83 national monuments, 8 are located here: Dinosaur, Hovenweep, Timpanogos Cave, Capitol Reef, Arches, Rainbow Bridge, Cedar Breaks, and Natural Bridges. The newly created Utah State Park Commission also has several State parks in operation and has blueprinted development of other natural and historical wonders and recreational opportunities.

In this land of contrast, you can visit the world's largest bird refuge, float on Great Salt Lake's buoyant waters. Elk will eat

from your hand on the winter range of Hardware Ranch, or you can ski in some of the world's greatest snow and ski terrain at Alta, Brighton, Snow Basin, Beaver Mountain, Timp Haven, and 15 more areas.

Utah is a land of moods and moments of soul-stirring thrills, the crimson fire of a Utah sunset, the majestic silence of Monument Valley, the unbelieveable vista from Dead Horse Point, the weird shapes and upflung architecture of arches and natural bridges, the total grandeur of Zion, the riot of color and shape of Bryce and Cedar Breaks.

Utah is the breath-taking surprise of emerald lakes bursting into view at a highway's turn, the sudden charm of a country town framed in green countryside and nestled against gentle-sloping hills, the flash of a smile from the naturally hospitable Utah people, the quiet peace of long twilight.

All this—and more—is Utah. For Utah truly is unique. It is one of America's last great frontiers, much of it unmapped and little-known. It is small wonder that this exciting country, almost 2 centuries ago explored by Father Eacalante, followed by a trade route of the Old Spanish Trall, later a haven for the trappers and mountain men and finally settled by the Mormon people, should become a 20th century wonder.

Here, too, is a proud and distinct culture, an industrious and well-educated people, presenting drama and pageant and music in settings that distinguish them from performances anywhere else in the world. There is room to dream and to learn, an unhurried hospitality eager to share this land of contrasts with you.

## Events Compel Enactment of Strong Civil Rights Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. NEWELL A. GEORGE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the failure of swift justice to bring the perpetrators of the recent Mississippi lynchmurder before the bar of justice constitutes a mockery upon the criminal judicial system of our country.

When punishment is certain in those cases where the facts of guilt are evident, an even greater crime is committed by those who contemptuously disregard, the processes of law and orderly judicial procedure by resorting to mob action. What a terrible example and what powerful ammunition is thrust into the hands of our enemies at a time in our history when America is fighting to maintain freedom and democracy throughout the world.

Must this heinous crime be repeated and repeated again, Mr. Speaker, before the Congress enacts a law that would bring to justice those who violate the civil rights of others? The demand for such legislation is developing into a crescendo throughout the country and most certainly this command by straight-thinking Americans should be met.

To complain of the manner of treatment of the accused in this case is not to lessen the magnitude of the crime with

which he was charged. Punishment in cases of rape and murder should be swift and direct, but should be accomplished according to law and within the

guarantees of our Constitution.

Mr. Speaker, I know of no Member of this House, especially among my friends from the Southern States, who does not abhor and detest the occurrence of such an abominable crime as the one committed by the mob at Poplarville, Miss. I believe the sentiment of all Americans is clearly set forth in an editorial published on Thursday morning, May 28, 1959, in the Wichita Eagle, an outstanding newspaper of the Middle West.

Under leave to extend my remarks, Mr. Speaker, I ask that this editorial from the Wichita, Kans., paper, of which R. M. (Dick) Long is the managing editor, be printed in the Congressional RECORD so that it may be read by each

Member of this body:

#### ANTILYNCH LAW NEEDED

When the FBI announced it was pulling out of the investigation of the lynching murder of Mack Parker at Poplarville, Miss., the thought occurred immediately that this underlined the need for a Federal antilynching law. The same idea occurred to Members of Congress.

Various Northern Senators have declared the need for such a Federal law; Senator Jacob Javirs of New York introduced amendments to pending civil rights bills providing

for penalties against lynching.

The last serious attempt made to pass an antilynching bill was in 1956. At that time, the bill was ditched in the House in favor of the compromise civil rights measure (which passed the House and then passed the Senate in a changed form in 1957); in the Senate the antilynching bill was quietly pigeonholed.

These bills would have provided severe penalties against anyone for harming or attempting to harm persons because of race. color, religon, or national origin. If a death occurred, the penalties would go up to 20

years in prison and \$10,000 fine.

Southerners have fought this bitterly. time after time. It as difficult to understand why, knowing that most responsible persons in the South shun violence; perhaps they feel it reflects unfairly on the kind of justice in Southern communities.

Certainly there would seem to be a need for Federal authorities to take cases like the Parker lynching out of local and State hands when an obvious crime has been committed and State officials are either unable or unwilling to solve it.

#### National Maritime Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the national observance of Maritime Day, May 22, a representative meeting of citizens interested in the maritime industry was held in Baltimore and presided over by my able colleague, Congressman EDWARD A. GAR-MATZ. As one of the best-informed Members of the Congress on merchant marine affairs, the distinguished Congressmany portrayed the situation in the United States in connection with our fourth arm of defense and reviewed developments which have come under his observation as one of the ranking members of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee.

His role was also to present Mr. Ralph E. Casey, president, American Merchant Marine Institute, which he did in an eloquent manner. Mr. Casey, as one of the foremost spokesmen in the country on maritime matters, delivered a most interesting and challenging address. Its relevance to present-day issues is so apparent and its importance so related to the interest of the general public that I believe it should have the widest reading, and I therefore include it in the Appendix of the Congressional Record:

AN ADDRESS BY RALPH E. CASEY, PRESIDENT, AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE INSTITUTE, BEFORE THE PROPELLOR CLUB OF BALTIMORE, NATIONAL MARITIME DAY, MAY 22, 1959

It is a great pleasure to be here in Baltimore on this National Maritime Day. Traditionally, this is the day when praise the merchant shipping situation, analyze how we stand and where we're going. Well, no one who has even the slightest connection with this business needs to be told that shipping generally is in a slump. Incidentally, someone asked the other day if shipping men were always discouraged and always complaining. The fact is that shipping people are never happycontented, yes-but never happy.

Well, even to be contented, I would have to be able to tell you here today that our Government really appreciates the value of a strong American merchant marine and is prepared to spend the money necessary to build and maintain it; that our friends abroad really appreciate what our industry accomplished in two world wars and in Korea, and are helping us attain a fleet large enough to protect the free world: that labor is really cooperating with management and the Government to accomplish the principles of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936; and, lastly, that the various segments of the industry have finally learned to live and work together in unity to solve the serious problems which constantly arise. Unfortunately, however, none of this is true.

Now each of these areas could well be the subject of separate speeches. Today, however, I will discuss particularly some of the current problems on the governmental level. In January, the President called for a new study of American transportation policy, including that pertaining to the merchant marine. This was unfortunate for a number of reasons: In the first place, everyone of these studies creates uncertainties in the minds of ship operators as to the permanence of Government standards, Government procedures, and fundamental Government attitudes. Doubt on any of these points could effectively wreck the industry-Government cooperation which is indispensable to the survival of American-flag shipping under 20th century conditions.

The Merchant Marine Act of 1936 is, by its nature, a long-range measure. For almost a quarter of a century it has furnished a goal and a set of norms on which the shipping industry has relied in good faith. Our current fleet replacement program is also long-range in nature, and can be successfully executed only under depend-able long-range legislation. The most vital element, that of financing, could be so affected as to defeat the entire program if Government commitments take on even a shade of uncertainty.

These are merely the chief governmental studies. In addition, there have been numerous industry projects along the same lines. With all these microscopic analyses, you will see why I question that another survey at this time could tell us anything new.

Another reason which makes this pro-posal regrettable is the effect it has had Nothing could have been better calculated to encourage the maritime powers of Europe in their campaign against our merchant marine. The President's language must have suggested to them that somewhere in Washington there existed doubt about our maritime policies. Certainly, I know from conversations with many Europeans in London last month that the request for talks with the State Department to be held in Washington from June 8-12 is definitely linked to the President's call for a new study of merchant marine policy.

Make no mistake about this. We are faced with the heaviest frontal attack yet made from abroad on our maritime subsidy laws and our cargo preference legislation. The British, Norwegians, Dutch, and others have made it clear that they regard these mer-chant marine supports as discriminatory

and unjust.

Fundamentally, the European position is that our merchant marine should be reduced to a bare minimum to be maintained solely for the defense of our own shores. believe our foreign commerce should be carried in their ships. The argument for this is that shipping for many of their countries contributes a great part of the national income, whereas here it does not; that if we really want to strengthen and develop the economies of Western Europe, we must help their merchant marines; that unless they carry the freight, they can't earn the dollars to buy our goods; and that, for defense, we should rely on the NATO pool of shipping rather than our own ships.

Since the European governments will soon be presenting their case in Washington to the State Department, an agency that in the past has not been wholly unsympathetic to this kind of argument, it is of crucial importance that this new attack on the American merchant marine be met head on.

While the real objective will be to undermine all our principal methods of merchant marine support, certain narrower targets will be highlighted as a starting point. With regard to subsidy, one target will be the speed of our new ships and particularly of the Mariner type. It will be alleged that the Government has subsidized speeds, in the interest of defense, which cannot be justified commercially, and has sold these ships to private owners at knocked-down prices computed without regard to the defense element. The consequence, they will claim, is that these ships are unfair competition in the various world trades where the Europeans are operating with much slower vessels.

The real facts are these: Every steamship company that purchased Mariner-type vessels either paid for the use of the design speed or made an agreement with the Government to pay for the defense speed if it subsequently were used for private opera-tion. Fourteen Mariners have been sold on the basis of a 20-knot speed and the companies acquiring them paid for the speed in the purchase price. Fifteen Mariners were sold on the basis of their being used as 18knot vessels, and in the contracts of sale. there was a provision authorizing the Maritime Administration to examine the logs and other pertinent documents of the vessel, every 3 months, in order to ascertain whether any of the defense feature speeds were being used. Where it has been used. it has been paid for.

Under the new replacement agreements of the subsidized lines, a speed clause also have been included whenever there has been a national defense allowance for speed in excess of commercial requirements. And in some cases the Government has prevailed, in fact, insisted on higher speed vessels without additional allowance than the company itself thought was necessary for the trade. Here, again, the company is, in effect, making an out-of-pocket contribution for defense purposes. It is also pertinent to comment that the tanker trade-in-and-build program, which was authorized by Congress about 5 years ago, resulted in a dismal failure largely because the Government asked private tankship operators to build ships

with speeds in excess of commercial needs.

Another issue which will be raised by the Europeans is of extreme importance to this great shipbuilding area which includes Sparrows Point, Curtis Bay, and Key High-way. It will be claimed that the selection of Japan as the foreign shipbuilding center for use in determining a proper construction differential subsidy is unfair. You may re-call that in recent years the Federal Mari-time Board has used West Germany, the Netherlands, and Great Britain, but in the case of recent ships has selected Japan.

This decision is in line with the basic philosophy of this section of the Merchant Marine Act. The construction subsidy is designed to offset the difference in cost between building a ship in this country, and what it would cost to build it abroad. In arriving at this differential, the Board takes the cost data from that foreign country where the operator would be most likely to go to have his ship built—price and other factors considered—if he were free to build in a foreign yard—which, of course, he is not. It just so happens that at the time of the Board's determination Japan was the place where at least these particular ships would be built. The truth is, however, that as of this moment there is little, if any, difference in building costs between Japan and several centers in Western Europe.

Foreign antipathy to our 50-50 law is well known and of long standing. Nothing new has developed except that with the slump in business all over the world our Government ald shipments look even more enticing to European shipowners. While they will attack the legislation, generally, again they will concentrate their immediate efforts on certain cargoes which they claim are really commercial in nature as distinguished from

Government sponsored.

Specifically, the cargoes to be questioned will be those financed with Export-Import Bank loans. Strangely enough, these shipments are not directly covered by the cargo preference law which requires 50 percent to go in American-flag bottoms, but by a 1934 law which could be administered as a 100 percent American shipping requirement.

Need I remind our foreign friends that

business is bad everywhere. And American shipping intends to fight for every ton of cargo that is rightfully ours. We do not intend to concede one inch of ground to this attempt to hack away at the cargo preference principle. This policy was found fair and equitable at a time when it was much less essential to the American merchant marine than it is today. The Europeans have called our 50-50 law fiag discrimination. I suggest it more appropriately should be called flag salvation.

The third phase of our shipping policy to be discussed in the June talks involves those ships, American-owned, which are operated under the flags of Panama, Liberia, and Honduras. On this issue the Western European shipowers, governments and unions are lined up on the same side as the American unions but for different reasons, The position of our unions, however, is clear and understandable; they want these ships under the American-flag manned by American seamen. In other words, they want the jobs. However, the European govern-ments, speaking primarily for European shipowners, do not want jobs for American seamen, nor for that matter jobs for their own seamen. They want these ships off the seas altogether. Of that, I am convinced. But since there is this fundamental difference in objectives, it will be interesting to see what develops in Washington.

In a speech delivered before the International Chamber of Commerce recently in Washington, I questioned the propriety of talks between foreign governments and our State Department concerning matters of policy which are crystalized in the form of laws on our statute books. I was subsequently happy to see somewhat the same position taken by the chairman of the two congressional committees on maritime matters. In a letter signed by both Senator Magnuson and Congressman Bonner the State Department was cautioned against any commitments on these matters. You may be sure we will be watching every move down there in the next few weeks. The industry is fighting mad. We do not intend to let the Europeans dictate our national maritime policy any more than they would want or permit us to dictate theirs.

## Public Cools to U.S. Highway Program Because of Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. ALBERT H. BOSCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 6, 1959

Mr. BOSCH. Mr. Speaker, I have been very much disturbed by the proposal to again raise the Federal tax on gasoline to finance the U.S. highway program. I sincerely believe that there should be a reappraisal of the entire project with a new basis worked out for Federal and State participation. It appears that there are a great number of people in the United States who agree that this should be done.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include an article from the Long Island Sunday Press of May 31, 1959:

THE TRENDEX NEWS POLL: PUBLIC COOLS TO U.S. HIGHWAY PROGRAM BECAUSE OF TAXES

(By Jack Boyle, director, Trendex News Poll) Considerably less than half of the public wants the Federal highway program to go ahead as planned.

Resistance to taxes is the major reason, Suspicion of irregularities and graft are a minor reason.

These facts emerged from this week's Trendex News Poll, in which a scientifically selected cross section of the public was asked for opinions on the highway program.

Trendex interviewers recalled that President Eisenhower had asked for an increase in Federal gasoline taxes to help pay for the program, and that a majority of the toll thruways had not been doing as well as expected. Then they asked, "What is your at-titude toward the Federal highway program? Do you think it should go ahead as planned? Be reexamined? Be curtailed or elimi-

Here are the answers, by regions and in percentages:

A Charles Indian	East	Mid- west	South	Far West	
Go shead	30. 2	37.7	42. 9	53. 1	38. 4
Reexamine	39. 6	36.2	29. 2	26. 5	35. 9
Curtail or eliminate	17. 4	14.5	13. 8	6. 1	14. 1
No opinion	12. 8	11.6	4. 1	14. 3	11. 6

The figures show exactly half of the people think the program should be reexamined, curtailed or eliminated. They also show that the program is favored most in the Far West and South, where distances between large cities are often greater than in the Midwest and East.

Trendex interviewers asked each person polled to give the reason for his answer, and it was among these explanations that the opposition to further taxes was expressed. This opposition appeared in all sections of the country and in all categories of answers. Many of those who said they wanted the program to go on as planned said, "But higher taxes weren't part of the plan."

Here is a sampling of the responses:

A midwestern decorator; "The Federal

A midwestern decorator; "The Federal Government shouldn't have stuck its nose into State affairs. Taxes are exorbitant now." A retired easterner: "What good are new highways if you can't afford the gas to run your car on them?" A western tele-phone worker: "We are already spending so much we are being taxed to death. Let them cut down some of the bureaus."

A western service station operator: "It \ should be reexamined, but not by the pcople who approved it in the first place. were assured that the last increase in gas taxes would be sufficient. Now they are coming back for more taxes." An eastern janitor: "There is too much graft in highway construction." A western barber: "Some contracts are questionable in my opinion." An eastern motorman: "In New York City we pay 6 cents to the State, 3 cents to the Federal Government and 1 cent to the city on every gallon."

A midwestern salesman: "Our highways are 20 years behind the times." A retired westerner: "Present highways are in a deplorable state." The owner of a southern supply company: "They have already taxed up to pay for them; now let them give us the highways." An eastern investigator: "The Government must go ahead simply because the States aren't doing their part."

An eastern insurance agent: "I don't like traffic jams." An eastern body shop fore-man: "In case of war we need adequate roads to evacuate people from target cities."

#### Propaganda at its Worst

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 28, 1959

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, last week, when the general Government matters appropriation bill for 1960 was before the House of Representatives, I offered an amendment to cut \$400,000 from President Eisenhower's so-called emergency fund.

I offered this amendment in the interests of economy and because the subcommittee hearings on this subject clearly revealed that \$400,000 of the \$1

million so-called emergency fund voted to the President for the current fiscal year had in fact been used, not for an emergency, but to underwrite the activities of what is known as the Draper committee-an aggression assembled by the White House for the purpose of propagandizing Congress and the American people to the alleged need for additional billions of dollars annually for the foreign handout program.

In other words, and contrary to the plain intent of Congress, at least \$400,000 of taxpayer money was and is being used by the executive branch of Government to flim-flam the public.

If further proof is needed I herewith present a statement by Brig. Gen. Bonner Fellers, U.S. Army, retired, and now the National Director of the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee. Appearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on May 22, 1959, General Fellers has this to say:

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, for the privilege of appearing be-fore you, I am grateful. My name is Bonner Fellers. I am a brigadier general, U.S. Army, retired. I have been graduated from various Army schools beginning with West Point and including the War College. For 2 years, 1940-42, I was the U.S. observer of combat with the British forces in the desert campaigns in Libya. From 1943-46, I was on the staff of General of the Army Douglas MacArthur. My duties included Chief of Joint Planning and Military Secre-

tary to General MacArthur. On Tuesday, April 28, 1959, Gen. William H. Draper, Jr., Chairman of the President's Citizens Panel on Foreign Aid, addressed the U.S. Chamber of Commerce breakfast, He attacked the entire program advocated by the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee. attack, in general, paralleled the criticism previously published by the executive branch of the Government for the use of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, copies of which doubtless have been issued to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Consequently, as head of the President's Citizens Panel, which has already cost American taxpayers nearly half a million dollars, General Draper, possibly to a con-siderable degree, reflects administration

The General's opening sentences were:

"You here this morning, and all of the American people, are being asked by the committee headed by your other speaker (Mr. Walter Harnischfeger) to 'take our first stand in the last ditch.'

"You are being asked to embrace the fortress-America concept—the idea that America's safety lies in isolation—lies in a hurrled retreat back into our own hemisphere."

General Draper's remarks completely misrepresent and distort the views of the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee. We advocate neither isolation nor retreat.

In this air/space/nuclear age, a decisionif war is forced upon us-will not be reached on the ground. It will come from the sky. Five or fifty or no American divisions in West Germany would make little difference, militarily, These divisions, or lack of them, could not influence the decision being reached in the sky.

The United States is the only power willing and able to challenge the Soviet Union. Consequently, it is likely and it is militarily sound, that if the Reds strike, they will bypass Europe and strike directly against the United States. Should this event occur, the United States and our allies could be defended more effectively if our forces and resources are not deployed, as at

present, in indefensible positions around the world.

With intercontinental bombers and intercontinental ballistic missiles in the hands of both the Soviets and the United States. the teriffic striking power of these two colossi is only hours and minutes apart. Thus, today, it is foolish to speak of isolation for the United States. Modern technology has made isolation impossible.

General Draper continued to misrepre-

sent our stand:
"They (our Committee) would cold-bloodedly let our friends and allies fend for themselves against the Communist menace.

This assumption is wholly unjustified.

Our Committee has indicated no inclination to repudiate treaties, or to abandon our allies, or to permit the Soviets to take over free world. We stand uncompromisingly for free world defense with principal reliance on the air/space/nuclear striking power which our Strategic Air Command (SAC) now possesses. SAC is the only military force in the world which the Kremlin fears. With such totally destructive striking power at our disposal, the Soviet Union is unlikely to start a war. But if war came today, we could win quickly and decisively.

The majority of the planes in SAC, however, are wearing out; our intercontinental ballistic missile program lags. Our Committee stands for immediate action to keep SAC overwhelmingly superior to the Red strategic striking power.

Today, the United States alone is providing the entire free world with the protection of the greatest known war deterrent-SAC, and so long as SAC is superior to Red strategic power, our deterrent is likely to continue effective.

In the light of our airspace nuclear force, the withdrawal of our troops from West Germany, which General Draper deplores. in no sense represents an abandonment of our allies.

SAC costs the United States billions of dollars annually. If SAC maintains our airspace nuclear defense of the free world, and this it does, surely our allies in Western Europe, whose economy is now flourishing, should replace the five American divisions now stationed in West Germany.

To continue quoting General Draper:

"\* \* \* the Kremlin, which has demanded that our forces leave Taiwan and the western Pacific and that our troops be pulled out of Berlin, would warmly endorse every recommendation made by this other committee,"

Again, General Draper is in gross error. Our first report, "Foreign Ald and You, contains in its second recommendation, countries which we are morally obligated to defend and which are directly threatened with Red aggression, military assistance—for the time being-should be continued, but on a realistic basis." Our committeee's presentation before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, April 20, used this recommendation and cited Formosa and Korea as examples. Therefore, the Kremlin would not warmly endorse every recommendation which our committee has made. And the Kremlin most certainly would not endorse the strengthening of SAC to which our committee is dedicated.

General Draper put these questions:

"Do we-the richest and most powerful Nation in the world-help to defend the free world and thus defend ourselves?

"Or do we default our responsibility \* default the leadership we have inherited \* \* \* abandon the rest of the world to Communist conquest and in effect accept worldwide defeat?"

Our Committee endorses the only weapons system—SAC—capable of defending the Free World. The surface defense which General Draper proceeds to outline could result in our defeat and in the abandonment of our

allies. He traces "the free world's far flung defense perimeter \* \* \* manned jointly by allied and United States forces"

"It extends through the NATO area in Central Europe, through the Middle East and around the rim of Asia to the Northern Pacific \* \* \*

"It is a very wide area important to our security; the nations of this area cannot defend it without our help.

"Together we do have the strength \* \* \* strong and well-armed forces hold these perimeter positions, then in the event of local aggression our friends and allies and we ourselves gain time for reinforcement."

General Draper and the advocates of surface defense would station American troops about the Soviet perimeter knowing that they and those of our allies, will never equal in strength the forces of the Soviet Union and her allies. They ignore the lessons handed down from Napoleon and Hitler who fell victims of Russia's unlimited manpower, her intolerable winters and her enormous distances. In the light of our present superior strategic striking power, what a false picture of America's true capabilities General Draper has painted! He speaks of strong and well armed forces

about the Soviet perimeter. Whose forces?
The 21 divisions in NATO? Allied forces in Iraq? Iran? Afghanistan? Pakistan? India? Burma? Thailand? How ridiculous is it to pretend that "strong and well armed forces" exist or will exist to "hold these perimeter positions." Every one of these countries has trouble maintaining internal order and con-

trol. It would be useless for us to garrison these far flung perimeters even if we could afford the billions of dollars and the millions of men that would be required.

Yet General Draper and others high in the defense picture, believe the issues can be resolved by ground combat along the Soviet frontier. He calls this nonexistent perimeter force "a major deterrent to aggression and an opportunity through negotiation to avoid war itself".

What is a deterrent? To be effective, a deterrent must incite fear-sufficient fear to prevent the enemy from striking. There is nothing in our imaginary perimeter force to incite fear in anyone. Thus, surface forces about the Soviet perimeter cannot constitute a deterrent or offer "an opportunity through negotiation to avoid war itself."

The real deterrent, SAC, is commanded from Omaha. Today It has the capability of destroying the Soviet war potential in a matter of hours. This is the deterrent which we—at all costs—must keep stronger than the Red strategic forces.

The real barrier to Free World security lies in the fact that many of our Government planners are unwilling to face these new facts. They are unwilling to concentrate our strength and genius to meet the new airspace nuclear threat which now wings over heads like a vulture.

SAC neutralizes this Red threat and insures the safety of the free world. It is not our Committee, rather it is General Draper and those for whom he speaks who-through faulty strategy-are abandoning our allies. And not once in his address did General Draper mention SAC-the true keeper of the peace today.

"Belize"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## . HON. ALFRED E. SANTANGELO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. SANTANGELO. Mr. Speaker, in my congressional district, which is probably the most heterogeneous district in the United States, there are many people with tremendous ability and knowledge of not only our Government but of our Latin-American neighbors. One of my constituents, also a good friend, is Attorney William J. Bianchi, former State senator of the 22d senatorial district of New York, which district I formerly represented.

Mr. Bianchi is an expert in Latin-American affairs, a linguist, and a dedicated public servant. During his spare time, he has concerned himself with problems affecting the Spanish-speaking peoples, and particularly of the problems

confronting Latin-America.

I commend the editor and the director of the Las Americas Publishing Co., Mr. Gaetano Massa, who has recognized the talent of Mr. Bianchi and published his monograph dealing with the territory of Belize on British Honduras. The book "Belize" deals with the dispute between Guatemala and Great Britain over the territory of Belize. This dispute had its origin in the 17th century and still obtains. It cries out for solution and this book sheds light upon the problems and gives rise to a possible solution.

Even preliminary inquiry will reveal that the voluminous publications about the subject have, unfortunately, been

ex-parte in nature.

For practical purposes the monograph may be divided into three parts.

The first part deals with the White Book, published by the Guatemalan Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which is the sum and substance of Guatemala's case

against Great Britain.

The second part of the monograph is dedicated to tracing ownership, right, and title in relation to the territory of Belize or British Honduras. It includes, therefore, treaties, statutes, excerpts from government archives, diplomatic letters, and documents of state, as well as citations by Guatemala of cases and authorities on international law that bear materially on the question. It correlates their existence and relation to Great Britain's occupancy and ownership of the disputed territory.

The third portion of the monograph evaluates the reasoning employed and the claims raised against Great Britain as well as their validity in the light of logic, law, and historical fact. Both the reasoning and the claims are subjected to study, question, application to the facts, and analysis. In some cases, the premises on which the reasoning or claims are based are even conceded for purposes of discussion. Such a procedure insures thoroughness of treatment. Thus, where some fault is found with the immediate bases upon which a claim rests, all further consideration of the topic is not ipso facto terminated by reason of such fault. The correctness of the grounds upon which the claim or reasoning rests is assumed for the purpose of determining, in such an event, the soundness of the final or ultimate conclusion.

Mention is also made of documents like the Clayton Bulwer and Dallas Clarendon pacts. They have not been dealt with separately. Together with other treaties, excerpts from parliamen-

tary debates, diplomatic communications, and letters of state that do not bear directly on the question, they have been accorded space and attention commensurate only with their importance as related but collateral matters.

Finally, the monograph calls attention to the extra legal methods proposed for settling the problem unilaterally and indicates several contingencies which may resolve the protracted dispute.

I am proud that a constituent of mine took the trouble to make a needed, thorough and impartial study of the entire matter.

#### Poison in Your Water-No. 92

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I am inserting into the Appendix of the Record an article appearing in the Salt Lake City. Utah, Deseret News-Telegram of December 19, 1958, entitled "Utah Hepatitis Cases Triple 1957 Figure":

UTAH HEPATITIS CASES TRIPLE 1957 FIGURE

This year in Utah there have been nearly three times as many cases of infectious hepatitis, a liver inflammation formerly known as yellow jaundice, as in 1957.

Through December 12 there were 177 cases reported this year compared with 66 for the same period of last year. In all of 1957 there were 74 cases.

However, there have been four deaths this year compared with six in 1957.

"Thus far," says Dr. George W. Soffe, interim State health director, "we haven't been able to attribute the increase to anything definite."

"It is one of those viruses that hit here and there. Last year there was quite a bit of it in San Juan County. This year it has been in all areas of the State."

Dr. A. A. Jenkins, director of disease control for the Utah State Health Department, points out that infectious hepatitis usually is not fatal although it does cause prolonged disability.

#### FEVER, NAUSEA

Symptoms include fever, lack of appetite, nausea, and vomiting, high abdominal pain, fatigue, and headache. Stools are clay-colored and bile appears in the urine. A yellowing of the skin and whites of the eyes is the most easily recognizable symptom but it does not occur in all cases.

Dr. Jenkins emphasizes that recognition of the disease and medical care are "awfully important." Gamma globulin is highly effective in preventing its spread to other members of the same family.

#### THROUGH MOUTH

The infectious hepatitis virus enters the body through the mouth. It is believed to be spread through water that is sewage-contained though epidemics have been related to contaminated food and milk. There also is a possibility it is spread through person to person contact.

Personal cleanliness and community sanitation help control spread of the disease,

Dr. Jenkins says.

A related disease, serum hepatitis, is spread through transfusion of whole blood from infected persons. No cases of this disease were reported this year to the State.

## Growing Menace of Mail Order Obscenity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. EDWARD H. REES

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1959

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent heretofore granted, I am including a copy of a release by the Postmaster General calling attention to the ever growing menace of mail order obscenity. General Summerfield urges the immediate need of concerted action in an attempt to deal with this serious problem:

GROWING MENACE OF MAIL ORDER OBSCENITY—
SMUT MERCHANTS CONCENTRATE ON CHILDREN—FILTH SALES TOP HALF-BILLION
DOLLARS—POSTMASTER GENERAL DECLARES
WAR ON RACKET—NATION'S PARENTS ARE
KEY TO EFFECTIVE ACTION

WHAT IS THE MAIL ORDER OBSCENITY RACKET?

The vile racket that traffics in obscenity and pornography by mail has now reached a sales level estimated at more than a half billion dollars a year.

Relying on the historic sanctity of firstclass mail in the United States, and liberal court interpretations of what constitutes obscenity, peddlers of filth can reach into vir-

tually every home in America.

This is a matter of growing concern especially to American parents because teenagers and even grade school boys and girls are becoming the principal targets of these racketeers.

The Post Office Department, which is responsible for enforcing the laws against transmitting indecent literature and film through the mail, estimates that merchants of filth will double the scope of their already extensive operations over the next 4 years unless parents and the decent-minded public join in a determined campaign to stamp out this racket.

Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield has emphasized that the absolute privacy of the mail is a basic American right, and that the Post Office Department cannot, and will not, violate this right, even when it has strong evidence that the mall is being used for unlawful purposes.

The Post Office Department, therefore,

The Post Office Department, therefore, must rely on the complaints of an alert citizenry—of people into whose homes solicitation material is sent—to take action against the purveyeors of mail order obscen-

## ANTIQUATED LAWS AND LIBERAL COURT INTERPRETATIONS A HANDICAP

Until August of 1958, however, an additional handicap was placed on the Post Office Department. Obscenity laws had shackled the Government by permitting it to prosecute only at the point of origin of the mail. This meant that court actions were taken primarily in New York and Los Angeles, where interpretations of what is obscene or pornographic are much different from those in the average American community.

In recent years, the Post Office Department had urged Congress to amend the law so that prosecutions could take place where the obscene material was received, where the actual damage was being done, and where citizens would have an opportunity to express their standards of morality and decency. This amendment was enacted, and signed into law by President Eisenhower, in August of 1958.

Taking advantage of the new legislation, the Post Office Department during the past year has completed approximately 14,000 separate investigations, almost two-thirds of them based on complaints from American parents whose children received lewd solicitations for sales of obscene materials through the mails.

NO YOUNGSTER IS SAFE FROM SOLICITATION BY MERCHANTS OF FILTH

A child need not have indicated any interest in this trash to receive it in the mail. The racketeers openly solicit every young person whose name they can obtain, whether through the purchase of mailing lists, study of school classbooks, or through the use of fake business fronts. Postmaster General Summerfield says the Post Office Department has thousands of letters from indignant parents whose children received unsolicited obscene material soon after answering an advertisement to purchase some innocent item such as a baseball bat or a toy automobile, or whose names were obtained because they had joined a youth club or social group.

In a recent raid by the postal inspectors in New York City on just one dealer in pornography, 17 tons of highly obscene printed and filmed materials were confiscated, as well as mailing lists containing the names of thousands of high school graduates culled

out of high-school yearbooks.

The Post Office Department estimates that between 700,000 and a million children in American homes will receive unsolicited obscene and pornographic literature through the mails this year.

POSTMASTER GENERAL URGES CONCERTED ACTION

In testifying before Congress recently, Postmaster General Summerfield said:

"Ruthless mail-order merchants in filth are violating the homes of the Nation in definance of the National Government. They are callously dumping into the hands of our children, through our mailboxes at home, unordered lewd material, as well as samples soliciting the sale of even more objectionable pictures, slides, films, and related filth. Unquestionably, these large, defiant barons of obscenity are contributing to the alarming increase in juvenile delinquency, as many noted authorities have publicly observed on repeated occasion."

Repeatedly, in the investigations of armed robbery, extortion, embezzlement, and for-gery, authorities find that those guilty of the crimes were early collectors of obscene

pictures and films.

Authorities also point out that sex crim-, ·inals and sex murderers almost always prove to have a long record of addiction to pornographic and sadistic material. Children who are never exposed to this material, it is noted, may nevertheless be victims of sex criminals who have been exposed to it.

In a speech in Washington in May 1959 Postmaster General Summerfield said the Post Office has diligently tried to keep the

mails clear of indecent materials.

In the fiscal year of 1958, he stated, investigations conducted by postal inspectors caused the arrest of 293 persons. The Post Office General Counsel issued 92 orders barring use of the mails to dealers in pornography. The arrests in 1958 were 45 percent above the previous year and—Mr. Summer-field predicted—will increase substantially again this year.

With the weapon of the new legislation in hand, he declared, the Post Office is greatly

intensifying its campaign.
"We are, in effect," he said, "declaring war on these purveyors of filth, big and little, high and low."

We are launching an intense and unrelenting effort to stop this monstrous assault on the Nation's children in every way possible.

"And we are confident that, with adequate public and legislative support, this job can be done."

FOURFOLD PROGRAM OF COOPERATION

To achieve this cooperation, the fourfold Post Office program is:

1. Drawing maximum public attention to the menace of this racket;

2. Urging parents to help apprehend the mailers of filth to their children;

3. Helping mobilize community support behind adequate law enforcement of local ordinances or State laws when these purveyors are apprehended and brought to court;

4. Rallying public opinion behind new and stiffer fegislation on obscenity.

PARENTS OF AMERICA ARE KEY TO EFFECTIVE ACTION AGAINST THIS RACKET

Parents into whose homes obscene material is mailed are urged to take these two simple steps:

1. Save all materials received, including the envelope and all enclosures; and

2. Report the matter immediately to the local postmaster, and turn the materials over to him, either in person or by mail.

Postal inspectors stand ready to take action when evidence is received anywhere that the laws applying to the mailing of pornographic material have been violated.

The Congress has shown deep concern over this problem, and special committees are currently giving it serious and purposeful

study.

In increasing numbers of communities throughout the country, parents, various organizations, civic groups, newspaper publishers and others are working together in determined efforts to help meet the racketeers' challenge.

By supporting and aiding the Post Office, and backing up Members of Congress and local officials who are fighting to stamp out this evil, they can look to the real success that is vital to the Nation's moral fiber and future welfare.

## Come to Oregon's Party

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 20, 1959

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, my friend and colleague, Senator RICHARD L. NEU-BERGER, has written a fine article entitled "Oregon's Big Birthday Party" in the Eagle for June 1959. No one knows better than DICK NEUBERGER how to sing the praises of Oregon.

I hope many of our colleagues and readers of the RECORD will have an opportunity to come to air conditioned Oregon to join in the celebration of its 100th birthday. Under a previous consent I include the text of Senator Neu-BERGER'S article:

> OREGON'S BIG BIRTHDAY PARTY (By RICHARD L. NEUBERGER)

(The author: U.S. Senator from Oregon, and a veteran member of Portland Aerie, F.O.E.)

In that distant year when Hawaii cele-brates the first centennial of its statehood, its Pacific Coast sister State of Oregon will be 200 years old. This is another way of emphasizing that 1959 marks the 100th anniversary of Oregon's admission to the Union. While activities celebrating congressional passage of Hawaiian statehood are dying

down in the colorful islands, Oregonians are just beginning a festive year full of activities commemorating their admission day, which occurred on the eve of the Civil War.

Vacations on this last great frontier are always exciting, but Oregon, in 1959, is put-ting forth a special effort to make the tourist season a memorable one. Portland will be the site of a huge exposition and international trade fair from June 10 to September 17 and all Eagle Aeries in the State are participating in the promotion of this event. More than 50 foreign nations will submit exhibits.

Furthermore, such traditional Oregon events as the Portland Rose Festival, Ashland Shakespearean Festival, and Pendleton Round-Up will be far more elaborate and extensive in tribute to the fact that Oregon has achieved the ripe old age of 100. Many gala events fight for attention on the crowded centennial calendar.

The Eagle who brings his family to Portland, the State's largest city, in June for the opening of the exposition and trade fair will be caught up in the Mardi Gras-like excitement of the famed Rose Festival. The favorite flower of the city of roses will be the featured attraction-from the new Zoological Gardens, where a miniature streamlined train winds through wooded hills around one of the West's most elaborate garden areas, to the grand floral parade downtown.

On the nearby white slopes of Mount Hood, the flower will be saluted in the Golden Rose ski tournament. Headquarters for this extraordinary climax to a spring celebration is Timberline Lodge. The only inn of its type in the Nation's 153 national forests, Timberline Lodge offers a host of attractions for the winter sports fan or casual visitor, including many examples of native Northwest Indian art, a new steam-heated swimming pool, and, of course, the spectacular ski runs

July brings a wealth of rodeos and ploneer celebrations as rich as Oregon's western heritage. A variation on the cowboy theme is spotlighted in the Independence Day weekend Albany Timber Carnival. Daring birlers, who compete to stay on twirling logs in a milipond, and high climbers vie for world titles in skills of the industry that has been the bulwark of the Oregon economy.

The world-famous Shakespearean Festival draws crowds to the pleasant southern Oregon community of Ashland through August and early September as renowned performers display the Bard's works in authentic costumes and settings. Amid the rich wheat and cattle country of the broad eastern part of the State, real live cowboys and Indians delight small fry and oldsters alike in mid-September with one of the greatest of wild west events, the Pendleton Roundup.

The list of festivals and celebrations, many of them sponsored or actively promoted by Aeries, runs to great length. Most of the events share a common debt, however. They are made extraordinary by, or even based solely upon, some aspect of Oregon's natural beauty. No matter how long the list of manmade spectacles, the State's awesome scenery goes the planning committee one better every time.

Numerous regattas and fishing festivals glorify the contribution of the sea to Oregon's picturesque coastal towns. No single celebration, however, can fittingly honor the magnificent 300 miles that a veteran Life photographer once told me was the most beautiful and spectacular of all the world's great seacoasts that he had ever photographed. Fortunately for Oregonians and visitors, every beach on the coast was re-served for public use by the farsighted action of Gov. Oswald West back in 1909.

It was at the northern end of this coast, near Astoria where the great and powerful Columbia River greets the sea, that Lewis and Clark spent the winter of 1805-06 after becoming the first Americans to venture overland to Oregon. The National Park Service is reconstructing their campsite as part of Fort Clatson National Monument.

Farther down this unparalleled coast lie the vast Oregon dunes, towering billows of sand sheltering tiny clear lakes. I have recently introduced in Congress legislation to have the dunes area further preserved and developed for the public by giving national seashore status to them, and to the famed nearby Sea Lion Caves, where as many as 2,500 of the slippery animals frolic in underground caverns.

Spectacular as the coastline is, it must share honors with the mountain ranges that dominate virtually every Oregon horizon. The Skyline Trail threads along the crest of the Cascade Mountains, which soar as a north-to-south centerpiece. In northeastern Oregon, the Wallowas climb ruggedly from a high plateau, forming America's own little Switzerland around alpine meadows and lakes

Widely traveled Justice William O. Douglas of the U.S. Supreme Court insists that the Wallowas are more beautiful than European topography to which they are so often compared

The timbered slopes of Oregon's awesome mountain ranges drink deeply of western slope rains. As a result, many foaming streams rush to the ocean, daring anglers to capture the wealth of steelhead and trout their waters shelter. On the lower stretches of one such stream, southwestern Oregon's beautiful Rogue River, the entire family willenjoy a pleasant day's diversion, traveling from Gold Beach upriver to the little town of Agness and back in the boat that delivers mail.

Father will want to return to cast a fly in the swift Rogue's white water or troll for the big fellows on the bar at the Pacific end of the stream. All along the coast, mothers and children join fathers in surf fishing, a popular year-round, license-free sport.

In every corner of Oregon's abundant scenery—besides the smooth sands of a Pacific Beach, near a high mountain lake or next to a rushing trout stream—the visitor will find room for tents, trailers, or picnics in one of 164 well-kept State parks, more than any other State. Pleasant tourist cabins and motels are set conveniently alongside the good roads and highways.

The challenges of the great outdoors have made Oregon one of the last frontiers of America. But the pioneer spirit of the settlers who brought their belongings painfully to the new country by Conestoga wagon or Cape Horn steamer was not limited only to carving new livelihoods out of verdent forests and rich rangeland. The State has been a cradle for murderous political reform movements and leaders.

The progressive ideas in Government long advocated by the Fraternal Order of Eagles find a hospitable reception in Oregon. Our State has been a leader in Government reform. Oregon was the first to introduce the initiative and referendum, by which petitions may be used to place any proposal on the ballot for a plebiscite by the people. This machinery has been used to assure Oregon a high standard of old-age welfare and an educational system which ranks high in the Nation. Oregon, for example, was the first State to enact legislation providing maximum hours and minimum wages for women and children in industry.

Furthermore, Oregon led all other states in bringing about the direct election of U.S. Senators. Until Oregon elected a Senator by Popular vote, Members of the Senate were appointed by the State legislature. This often encouraged corrupt deals and supremacy of special interests. After Oregon had made the breakthrough, the 17th amend-

ment to the Federal Constitution soon followed, making mandatory the election of all Senators at the ballot box. The famed Senator William E. Borah, of Idaho, said Oregon's people were entitled to the credit for this major reform.

In Oregon the Eagles have found a fertile soil for all their principal causes. The state maintains high standards of health, and Aeries have collected generously of funds for the Damon Runyon Memorial Institute for Cancer Research. Only recently the National Institutes of Health made one of the largest grants in many years—\$1,297,000 to be matched by a similar sum from the State—for a medical research center at the University of Oregon Medical School.

Jobs After 40 is also a popular undertaking in Oregon. Because the State has been a mecca for many people nearing normal retirement age, Oregon has a population sympathetic to legislation which would protect people from discrimination in employment due to their later years. The Eagles have accumulated the signatures of thousands of Oregon citizens who support the Jobs After 40 program. As a Senator from Oregon and sponsor of this proposal, I feel that I enjoy the support of most of my constituents in advancing the undertaking.

Many improved highways, supplemented by the State's own fine network of roads, will make it easier for the visitor to travel in Oregon, but the majestic scenery, which dominates all else, will continue to make it difficult for him to leave the State. Eagles who visit Oregon in this centennial year will find that out, and some of the State's Aeries may find their membership rolls fattened with transfer member when the year is over. Eagles, like other visitors, are only human.

Remarks by the Honorable Fred Seaton, Secretary of the Interior, at the Lincoln Sesquicentennial Stamp Dedication, Washington, D.C., May 30, 1959

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, among the notables attending the dedication of the 4-cent Lincoln sesquicentennial stamp at the Lincoln Memorial last Saturday, was our esteemed Secretary of the Interior, the Honorable Pred Seaton.

His remarks should become a part of the historical record of this sesquicentennial year. Under unanimous consent I submit them for the Appendix of the RECORD:

REMARKS BY FRED A. SEATON, SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR, AT THE LINCOLN SESQUICEN-TENNIAL STAMP DEDICATION, WASHINGTON, D.C., MAY 30, 1959

With pleasure I join in welcoming all of you to this noble Lincoln shrine, dedicated 37 years ago today and now administered by the Department of the Interior.

It seems to me to be althogether fitting and proper that we pay tribute on Memorial Day to the man who delivered on the terrible battlefield at Gettysburg the classic tribute to our honored dead.

It is equally fitting that we honor him by issuing a commemorative stamp.

Though the historic fact is largely overlooked, in May of the year 1833, a new post-

master was commissioned at New Salem, Ill., the first office Abraham Lincoln ever held under the Federal Government.

According to Lincoln's friend and biographer, William Herndon, Postmaster Lincoln received a salary "proportionate to the amount of business done. Whether Lincoln solicited the appointment himself, or whether it was given him without the asking," Herndon continues, "I do not know; but certain it is his administration gave general satisfaction. The mail arrived once a week, and we can imagine the extent of time and labor required to distribute it, when it is known that he carried the office around in his hat. Mr. Lincoln used to tell me that when he had a call to go to the country to survey a piece of land, he placed inside his hat all the letters belonging to people in the neighborhood and distributed them along the way."

It would probably surprise a man of such humility to know of the many memorials to his honor, including this shrine, already visited by more than 54 million men, women, and children—nearly twice the U.S. population of 1860; the monuments in stone sculptured by Saint-Gaudens, Gutzon Borglum, Daniel Chester French, and Thomas Balf; the poems and prose writings of Emerson, Whitman, and Sandburg, the cities, towns, counties, colleges, and universities which proudly bear the name of Lincoln.

This commemorative stamp which we dedicate today lengthens that imposing list. Through it, 120 million times over, Americans will be reminded of him and of compassion and greatness of heart and mind and belief in all the people—characteristics which were his in abundance.

## Wandering Jew Wanders No More

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks to include a poem by A. J. Glickman, a distinguished constituent who has been a contributor for years to the Sentinel and active in civic, communal, and philanthropic endeavors in Chicago. He is a member of the board of directors of the Covenant Club and the Chicago Loop Synagogue, and a member of many organizations. His poem originally was published in the Sentinel on April 23, 1959, and has been widely read and praised. It follows:

THE NEW PASSOVER (By A. J. Glickson)

The wandering Jew, a wanderer has ceased to be

No more wandering, he has again crossed the Red Sea.

"Proclaim liberty throughout the land, And to all the inhabitants thereof," my

friend
On our Liberty Bell is indelibly inscribed,
From Leviticus, number 10, forever immortalized.

Israel's liberty bell too rings with Joyous

sound For at last the wandering Jew has again

found,
A home where he never again will be subject to

The whims and wiles of barbaric despoilers

Pillaged, plundered, and murdered at their will

While cowering civilization kept cravenly still,

Where was so called humanity's helping hand,

Where were they that preach "good will to all men"

Why were their understanding hearts, eyes, and ears.

Closed to the bloodshed, the moans and tears?

How will statesmen to their Maker explain, Their selfish cowardice and expedient dis-

Perhaps some day civilization may truly reign,

And humaneness will be more than a masquerading name.

But until that day comes as we hope it to be The Jew, his own humanitarian and salvation must be.

So to live that the world shall with open hearts see

Israel's pealing Liberty bell proclaiming justifiably;

The Jew too now lives in freedom's full dig-

nity.
The wandering Jew, a wanderer has ceased to be

Israel is where he shall ever welcome be The Jew has again, "passed-over" inhu-manity's "Red Sea."

## Miss Nancy James, Winner in Christian Endeavor Citizenship Contest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. RALPH J. SCOTT

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I am pleased to recognize Miss Nancy James of Winston-Salem, N.C., who was awarded first place in division B in the 1959 Christian Endeavor's citizenship contest sponsored by the International Society of Christian Endeavor, on the basis of her letter to Mr. Reed Sarratt, executive editor of the Winston-Salem Journal. The letter is as follows:

Mr. Reed Sarratt, Executive Editor Winston-Salem Journal, Winston-Salem, N.C.

DEAR MR. SARRATT: That our Nation was founded on Christian principles is evidenced in the Constitution of the United States. Today many of these principles are not practiced by a considerable precentage of Americans. In almost every newpaper we read or radio or television broadcast we hear, there is proof of this fact. We read and hear about narcotics addiction, evils caused by liquor, and the many other vices rampant in our Nation. Many people are so worried about nuclear weapons and war that they let go by unnoticed the things that could tear down our country from the inside as well as destruction from an outside source could. As long as citizens are full of fear they cannot think intelligently enough to recognize the destruction these vices might cause. And they certainly cannot make any progress toward remedying the situation unless they are aware that it exists. I believe certain people turn to narcotics, liquor, and the like because they are afraid. They shrink from making the countless decisions that must be made in the 20th century and,

therefore, seek means of withdrawing from reality. In a culture emphasizing competi-tion they fear failure in business, in love, in grades, and in any task they might un-dertake. The way to overcome this fear is to rely on the peace of God. The true peace of God comes only to those who are completely yielded to His will for their lives, and this yielding comes through obedience to God's word and a daily consecration to God through prayer.

Youth may be prone to think they can be of no help toward liquidating the vices of their particular community. It is true that the elder persons probably have more chances to do something about the vices that threaten our Nation, but there are many ways in which young people can help. One way is by winning others to Christ, either by testifying of the work He has done in their lives or by their very actions. By showing their love for Christ in their home and community, they can help to win other persons to Christ and, thereby, build a better community. Having been won to Christ, these people will be better citizens of the community and, thus, of the Nation. Every young person should feel the responsibility of doing his best work in his studies and in the extracurricular activities of his school. Often non-Christian students feel that a person cannot be outstanding, have friends, and be a true Christian also. Thus, friends, and be a true Christian also. it behooves Christian youth to prove the inaccuracy of this idea.

Neither one adult nor one person can build a better community, but many persons, relying on God's grace and peace, can do the job. It is certainly true that we must be concerned about outside forces that seek to destroy us; but let us not, in the meantime, forget the domestic evils.

Sincerely yours.

NANCY JAMES.

#### Brotherhood Is Good Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 21, 1959

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, Walker Sandbach is a fabulous personality in a community of fabulous personalities who, in the district that I have the honor to represent in this body, are joined in a dedicated crusade for a living brotherhood. I think it is nationally recognized that the peoples of all races, faiths, and stations in our district are doing the best job of happy integration in the United States. We are proud of the pattern in brotherhood that our district is giving the Nation. My colleagues may recall my remarks on this subject on other occasions. I have spoken of our block clubs where men and women of various races, faiths, and stations meet as members of a block family to discuss together what is best for all the members of that black family. I have spoken of our schools and of how successfully and advantageously the pupils have worked together with n consciousness of differences in race, faith, or station. This is what we call living in brotherhood.

Walker Sandbach is general manager of the Hyde Park Cooperative Society Supermarket. He has made this cooperative supermarket an outstanding insti-

tution. This year he was given an award in recognition of his distinguished contribution in the field of human relations.

Each year the National Conference of Christians and Jews presents the James M. Yard Brotherhood Awards to persons in metropolitan Chicago who have done an outstanding job in the field of human relations, working at their neighborhood level. The purpose of the award is to honor and to bring widespread recognition to men and women who work to bring understanding and cooperation among people of various national origins, races, creeds, and economic standing.

The James M. Yard Brotherhood Awards were made this year at a ceremony held in the Chicago City Council Chamber, and Mr. Sandbach made the response on behalf of the award recipients. I am extending my remarks to include Mr. Sandbach's address on that occasion, as follows:

BROTHERHOOD IS GOOD BUSINESS (By Walker Sandbach)

It seems a little strange to me to be accepting an award for doing what comes naturally. In my case, and I imagine many of the awardees here today could say the same, the award probably belongs to my parents, and to my teachers. There are others who practice brotherhood when they, because of their background and upbring-ing, don't believe in it and don't like it. I have friends in that position, and I have great admiration for them. They do it out of a sense of fairness and, sometimes, economic necessity. They have practiced brotherhood while deep within they have wished desperately that the tremendous changes in our social and economic life had never occurred.

It is interesting to contemplate on how we arrive at the beliefs and principles which guide our lives. A short time ago my father, who is a Methodist minister in Iowa, was visiting me. I was telling him, with some pride, of this award. He replied, "I'm not surprised that you are getting an award for practising brotherhood, because that is what we taught you. What I don't understand is why you accepted our teachings on brotherhood but completely ignored our training and examples in politics."

Fortunately, brotherhood knows no party lines. If you were to poll this group of awardees I am sure you would find both major parties well represented.

I personally am very much encouraged by the progress that has been made in Chicago toward the ideal of having jobs available on the basis of ability without regard to race, or color, or creed. Of course, we still have a long way to go.

When I hired my first Negro salesgirl in 1947 I was told by some of my business friends that I was committing economic suicide. The first day this girl went on duty, I began to wonder if they were right. I manage a co-op supermarket. This girl was hired as a checker. At one time during that first morning two other girls who were also on duty were doing stock work on the floor, leaving the Negro girl as the only checker. A customer refused to be checked out by her and called for the manager. When I arrived she said, "I'm going to sit down until you bring on a white girl. I'm not going to have a colored girl handling my food." I don't need to tell you how ridiculous was her stand.

Her calling this girl colored reminds me of a recent suggestion by Harry Golden, editor of the Carolina Israelite. He says. "Since so many people insist on referring to Negroes as colored, we should start referring to whites as colorless." Then newspapers could run stories of today's event as

follows: "The James M. Yard Brotherhood Award ceremonies, held today at city hall, was attended by a large group of colored and colorless people."

To return to the woman who was on a sitdown strike, I told her she was welcome to sit. I even got a box for her to sit on. She had to wait an hour until the other girls were

needed at the checkouts.

You know, that was the only trouble we ever had. And yet, how close I came at that point to backing down on my decision to have an integrated staff because I had half accepted the propaganda that disaster would strike if we tried to serve the public with an integrated staff. I was told by some that I would lose most of my employees and half of my customers.

Actually, we lost no employees and our business has prospered. It has prospered, as it turned out, in part just because we have had a policy of beieng willing to hire people of many different races, creeds, and nationality backgrounds. We now include in our staff of 50 American Negroes, American Japanese, an American Puerto Rican, and an American Indian. In the matter of creeds we have had Buddhists, Jews, Catholics, and Prostestants, as well as some young men who thought they were agnostics or atheists. One of our advertising slogans has been that the co-op is a United Nations in miniature.

Recently a newspaper reporter asked me if our open hiring policy would work in places other than Hyde Park, which is a community of people of many races and creeds. My answer was that we had copied from Gimbel's in New York the idea of using the United Nations approach in advertising our integrated staff. It has worked. In addition, I was able to say that today our open hiring policy is not an uncommon one in Chicago and more and more retail businesses, particularly in the field of food distribution, have open hiring policies.

Another interesting incident comes to mind that I want to tell you about. Several years after we hired our first Negro, I had an application for a checker's job from a colorless girl with a strong southern accent. She had just arrived in Chicago and was an experienced checker. I told her I would like to hire her, but I wanted her to know that we had several Negro girls on the staff and she would have to work closely with them, eat in the same employees' lunchroom, and treat them courteously. Her reply was, "We don't do it that way where I come from, but if you say that is the way it has to be, I'll give it a try." It wasn't a month before I saw her and a Negro girl returning from a coffee break, arm in arm.

Unfortunately, there are still businesses in my community, and in yours, that practice discrimination in hiring, mainly because they are afraid to make the break. I understand this because I was afraid, too.

However, the time is so late on the clock of human relations that we need to encourage these businessmen to make a start toward integrating their staffs.

Our best hope for the future, in my opinton, is in the schools. If we could get really integrated schools much of the prejudice that still exists would, in a generation, disappear,

My children go to a school that is 90 percent Negro. Because it is a good, well-run school, they are happy even in this minority situation. But it would be so much better for all concerned in this school if the percentage of white children could get to be 25 percent of the school population. We are working hard to achieve that goal.

In addition to three children born to us, my wife and I have an adopted American Japanese daughter named Jill. One day, when she was 7 years old, Jill came home from school and said: "Daddy, I wish I could be Negro at school and white at home." She

hasn't been able to achieve that, but last month her fifth grade classmates did elect her for an Outstanding Student Award, so apparently she has solved her problems in other ways. I seriously doubt if we do our children any favors by making their lives too easy, considering the world which they will be inheriting from us.

In closing, I want to express my appreciation, and I'm sure, that of the other awardees, not just for the award, but also for the continuing work of the National Conference of Christians and Jews in furthering true brotherhood. I want to urge that we all keep everlastingly at the job of making the practice of brotherhood a reality in our homes, in our schools, in our businesses, and in our communities.

## Pilot Watershed Program in West Virginia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Record, I want to remind my colleagues that earlier today I spoke briefly outlining the signal honor that has come to the State of West Virginia, and particularly my congressional district, when the National Watershed Conference met in Washington earlier this week and awarded a plaque in recognition of the Salem Fork of Tenmile Creek Upstream Development Project near Salem, W. Va.

This Salem project happens to be the first project of its kind authorized under legislation passed by the Congress some years ago through the sponsorship of former Congressman Hope of Kansas, who was then chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture.

There is widespread interest throughout the Nation of communities which desire to organize and complete a projetc similar to this pilot project for which these West Virginia people have been honored.

In accepting the plaque from the National Watershed Conference, Mr. Herschel D. Wade, president of the Salem local development association, went into detail as to the activities of his community, group and other associated groups in making this the Nation's outstanding flood control, water conservation, and reforestation project.

Mr. Wade's remarks follow, and I am sure they will be quite informative and worthwhile to the Members of Congress whose constituents might desire to initiate a program of this kind:

A PILOT WATERSHED PROGRAM FOR SALEM FORK OF TENMILE CREEK, SALEM, W. VA.

You have paid tribute to my community by inviting me to appear on this program. You have given special recognition to my town, Salem, W. Va., next to your town, the best town in the world.

You have asked me to represent a group of people, full of community spirit, trying with their best efforts to build a better community, State, and Nation.

By your invitation, you have honored me personally, and for this, I am deeply grate-

ful. I have accepted your invitation as a challenge to bring to you, out of our experiences, some constructive ideas in proper land use and water management.

My grassroots story of the Salem Fork watershed project can best be presented by a brief description of the area, a general survey of the problems involved, an outline of the proposed solution, and a summary of the results and benefits.

The watershed is a drainage area of 8.32 square miles, or 5.325 acres. It is situated in the western part of Harrison County, W. Va. The Salem Fork of Tenmile Creek rises on the western edge of the area and flows in an easterly direction through the city of Salem, into Tenmile Creek which, in turn, flows into the West Fork River, a tributary of the Monongahela River. Within the city limits of Salem, there are three principal tributaries of Tenmile: Jacobs Run and Dog Run from the north, and Patterson Fork from the south.

The topograph is that of a rolling hill country, with moderate width valleys. The slopes are steep and long, characterized by bench and break profiles. Elevations vary from 1.030 to 1,500 feet. Approximately 800 acres of the watershed lie within the corporate limits of the city. Salem Fork flows through the city a distance of approximately 3 miles, paralleled by U.S. Route 50 and the Baltimore & Ohio Rallroad; all crammed into a narrow valley, less than one-quarter of a mile wide.

Records reveal that as early as 1896, damaging floods occurred within the Salem Fork Watershed. The most destructive one came in 1950, when there was 5½ feet of water in the main street of Salem. The estimated damage was \$233,000. From 1946 to 1951, the accumulated estimated flood damage was more than half a million dollars.

Prior to 1954, the city of Salem, having a population of 2,578, relied on deep wells for its municipal water supply. Quite often, because of drought, it became necessary to curtall industrial water consumption in order that at least a minimum amount of water would be available for domestic use and fire protection.

The early settlers cleared the land of timber, and planted and cultivated food and grain crops. This type of farming depleted the humus and greatly accelerated erosion damages. The fertile topsoil was washed into the streams. Rainfall, instead of being retained, ran off rapidly, causing floods in the valleys. In recent years, it is estimamated that the loss of topsoil was approximately 23,000 tons annually. Sheet erosion accounted for about 97 percent of this loss on 2,200 acres, or approximately 40 percent of the area.

Sedimentation often destroyed the hay crop. Channel capacities, especially in the main streams, had been reduced more than two-thirds at some locations; resulting in more frequent floods and increased flooding, followed by the ever-mounting expense of a cleanup job.

Therefore, proper land use and water management presented a four-fold problem floods, drought, erosion, and sedimentation. Floods, being the most spectacular and

Floods, being the most spectacular and causing the most damage, became our first concern.

As early as 1935, our city council sponsored a WPA project of stream dredging. Then, following our most destructive flood in 1950, some \$14,000 was raised by public subscription to pay for a second stream dredging project, completed in 1951. Solicitation was done by volunteers, representing civic clubs and other community organizations.

A committee, appointed by our city council,

A committee, appointed by our city council, with myself as chairman, made detailed surveys of flood damage and investigated various ways and means of possible flood control. In spite of these early attempts, which brought only temporary and partial relief, our flood problem still remained.

Our opportunity for outside help came when the 78th Congress, within the framework of Public Law 46, made an appropriation for a national pilot watershed program. Salem was a logical choice for one of these pilot projects for two reasons: first, an informal organization with a help yourself approach was already at work; second, the West Fork Soil Conservation District had voluntarily offered assistance.

Then came the task of selling the project to our people, both farmers and townfolk. This was largely a process of education, which was accomplished by newspaper publicity, town meetings, and group discussions. Films depicting the value of soil conservation were shown before civic clubs and other local organizations. Soil Conservation Service personnel cooperated fully in this phase of the project, as in all others. The chief ingredients of success on the local level were public spirit, homegrown diplomacy, a lot of hard work, and plain old-fashioned nattence.

When public sentiment for the project jelled, the next step was organization, which led to the formation of the Upper Tenmile Watershed Association, Inc. This association and the West Fork Soil Conservation District became cosponsors of the pilot project.

A combination plan of land treatment practices and other structural measures was cooperatively developed in 1954, with flood prevention the prime objective. Seven flood control dams, about 2 miles of upstream channel improvement, and a municipal reservoir were included.

All of the flood retarding dams have been built. Each has a storage pool through which normal stream flow passes, with an additional basin capacity to hold back dangerous runoff. Each dam can trap a 3-inch runoff. More than one-third of the entire watershed is thus protected, with a total storage capacity of 382 acre-feet. One of the structures is on Salem Fork, one on Patterson Fork, and five on Jacobs Run.

In conjunction with the plan for flood prevention, the Salem City Council issued \$250,000 worth of 30-year revenue bonds. With funds from this source, a municipal reservoir of 60 million gallons capacity was constructed in 1954, with flood control features incorporated.

There are 115 farms within the watershed. Some 80 percent of the owners are Soil Conservation District cooperators. They have established such conservation practices as: 241 acres of contour farming, planted more than half a million trees on 500 acres, some 400 acres of pasture have been improved, and 670 acres of woodland have been protected. In fact, an all-around stabilization program has been developed with the assistance of Soil Conservation Service personnel. When all measures have become completely operative, 4,500 acres will become like a sponge, and slow the rate of runoff to a minimum.

Many obstacles were encountered and overcome by the association in the securing of easements. More than 2 miles of oil and gas pipelines, ranging in size from 1 to 3 inches, were removed and relaid. This work required the greatest cash outlay by the association, despite the fact that much of the work was donated by the utility companies involved. Farm buildings were moved from dam sites. In one instance, a new barn had to be built, at a cost of \$2,500. Water was piped from one dam to a dairy barn. At another site, a small tract of land was purchased and deeded to the principal owner of the site, in order that the entire structure will be on his property. When easements for the final dam could not be secured, the association arranged for the sale of the two farms involved and the subsequent purchase by new owners, agreeable to the proposed construction.

County, district, and State officials of the road commission were approached by the officers of our association, and persuaded to spend some \$16,000 in relocating and rebuilding roads on three dam sites. When electric power lines and telephone lines obstructed the way, they were relocated by the companies involved, at no cost to the association. One gas utility furnished a buildozer and operator, free of charge, to build a farm pond for a landowner, to justify his granting an easement.

The Forest Service and West Virginia Conservation Commission provided technical assistance to the farmers in forest management. The Agricultural Conservation Program assisted with the installation of conservation measures, on a cost-sharing basis, in keeping with policies in effect in Harrison County. The West Virginia Conservation Commission cooperated in accelerating tree, shrub, and hedgerow planting, according to their established policies. The West Virginia Agricultural Extension Service cooperated by intensifying its educational and informational program to the farmers in the Watershed. Members of the Members of the Future Farmer of America clubs in the area assisted in planting many thousands of trees. The County Court of Harrison County helped to defray some of the expenses.

Proper engineering and good construction of the dams spell low maintenance cost. This maintenance responsibility has been assumed by the city. Six of the dams were limed and fertilized last year.

A detailed evaluation program has been instituted, with the U.S. Weather Bureau, Soil Conservation Service, and the U.S. Geological Survey cooperating. This will, we believe, be extended indefinitely.

The total cost of the project was \$703,000, proportioned as follows: Federal, \$366,000; city of Salem. \$250,000; our association, \$87,000. The ratio of benefits to cost is 1.5 to 1.

Our only source of cash income was from membership dues of \$1 annually for individuals, and from \$5 to \$25 for commercial firms. Even 4-H clubs paid \$10. As a project, the Business and Professional Women's Club conducted annual membership campaigns. From this source, some \$3,000 was collected.

We have \$674.62 in our treasury and our accounts payable amount to less than \$100. While not sufficient rain has fallen within a short period of time, to give an actual test of the installation since its completion, we can point with pride to many benefits already accrued:

1. The opportunity for recreation has been increased—all the dams have been stocked with fish,

- 2. There exists a sense of security from floods.
- 3. More food and cover have been made available for wildlife.
- 4. Property values have been stabilized.
- 5. Returns to the farmer from woodlands and fields have been increased.
- Unfavorable publicity to Salem by the press, radio, and TV, because of destructive floods, has been eliminated.
- 7. We have helped others. Our project has been the guinea pig for many communities to visit and study.
- Sedimentation in stream channels has been reduced an estimated 73 percent.
- 9. Floodwater damage will be reduced by an estimated 50 percent.
- 10. Estimated benefits amount to \$18,416 annually.
- 11. We have an abundance of good city water.
- 12. We have a community achievement that cannot be evaluated by the dollar mark.

The project is complete. In retrospect, we ask ourselves how we did it. There is but one answer—complete community cooperation.

## The Navy's William B. Franke

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, nowhere in the world, and no time in history has seapower been as effectively and efficiently mobilized as in the modern U.S. Navy. Ours is a naval force of which Americans are justly proud and for which our free world allies are justly grateful. One of the nontangible reasons for the excellence of our Navy is the tradition that every officer and every man be thoroughly trained for and competent to handle the job next above him. This tradition also extends at the secretarial level and is exemplified at its finest with the promotion of the Honorable William B. Franke from Under Secretary to Secretary of the Navy. Secretary Franke's background, ability, and competence were recently summed up in an article in Navy magazine as follows:

THE 46TH SECRETARY DESIGNATE, W. B. FRANKE

A man with a working knowledge of Government, business, and the Navy. Such a man will be sworn as successor to Secretary of the Navy Thomas S. Gates, Jr., in early June. He is the present Under Secretary William Birrell Franke.

He entered the naval service as Assistant Secretary of the Navy (financial management) in October 1954, and fleeted up to the position of Under Secretary on April 17, 1957. He brought with him a broad background of business nad financial experience that began even before his graduation from Pace Institute of Accountancy in New York City. As a student he was employed by Cluett, Peabody & Co. Later he joined Naramore, Niles & Co. of Rochester, where he stayed until he his own accounting firm of Franke, Hannon & Withey of New York.

Secretary Franke has given freely of his talents to the Government. From 1948 to 1951, he was a member of the U.S. Army Controllers Civilian Panel, and served as Special Assistant to the Secretary of Defense in 1951-52. He was awarded the Patriotic Civilian Commendation by the Army, and the Distinguished Service Award by the Department of Defense.

Considered something of a financial prodigy in his early years, he has become an acknowledged leader in the accounting profession and a recognized authority on Government financial management. He has ably directed the formulation of the Navy's budget and supervised the complicated accounting associated with its execution. He is a father confessor for those who are in danger of overexpending their allocated funds and a valued advisor on the subject of budget control.

The combination of Secretary Gates and Under Secretary Franke has frequently been referred to as unbeatable. Though quite unalike in many ways, they have many common interests, see eye to eye on most important Navy matters, and complement each other effectively. Both are completely familiar with, and interested in, the organiza-

tion and operation of Government, the Navy, and the business world. Both are dynamic proponents of scapower as a vital element of national security. The transition with change of command should be a smooth one.

An occasional game of golf and an even more occasional dip in the pool are about the extent of Secretary Franke's out-of-doors activities. Not physically rugged, he is much more inclined to spend his free time reading or conversing with close friends. Extremely conscientious, he perhaps works as long hours as anyone in the Pentagon except Adm. Arleigh Burke, and takes home a full briefcase. Outwardly calm, never off balance, he takes the Navy's problems to heart and worries when things are not going well.

A practitioner of what he calls the "open door" policy, Secretary Franke will see anyone who has a problem that merits discussion. He is a good listener, patient and understanding. His questions are pertinent and penetrating. He quickly gets to the root of a matter, and easily makes decisions.

One of Secretary Franke's proudest boasts

One of Secretary Franke's proudest boasts is that he knows personally, usually on a first-name basis, virtually all of the flag officers in the Navy and Marine Corps. He often refers to himself as the "Under Secretary of the Marine Corps," much to the delight of the Leathernecks. Whenever he can get away from Washington, he likes to visit the far-flung network of bases and stations. He would rather enjoy the hospitality of a station commander than the best hotel in town because it gives him a chance to become better acquainted with the personnel and their problems. Mrs. Franke invariably accompanies him when he travels.

Secretary Franke has great respect for the Congress and enjoys the confidence of its leaders. They appreciate his integrity, ability, and candor. He will not tolerate anything underhanded. He is considered by his closest associates to be a man who has no

secrets.

Born in Troy, N.Y., on April 15, 1894, he attended the local schools in that city. Unable to afford an ivy league education, he worked while attending the Pace Institute of Accountancy. With characteristic independence and self-confidence, and to the chargin of his parents, he changed jobs occasionally in his early years as he worked toward his goal. His genius in his chosen field, and the confidence that he inspired in its leaders, brought him quick success.

He is a member of the Union League Club of New York City; the Rutiand (Vt.) Country Club, and the Army-Navy Club of Washington, D.C. He has been associated with many firms other than his own, has served as chairman of the board of John Simmons Co., Inc., and General Shale Products Corp., and as Director of the Carolina, Clinchfield Ohio Rallway Co. He holds an honorary degree of doctor of science from the University of Louisville, and an honorary degree of doctor of laws from Pace College.

## The Need To End a Wicked Calumny

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 18, 1959

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, in previous remarks we have noted allied disagreements over the reunification of Berlin and the whole of Germany. In his latest report from Europe, C. L. Sulzberger, of the New York Times, notes

these differences in point of view have resulted in independent concessions by France, West Germany, and the United States in recent months—concessions made without prior interallied consultations.

With allied differences so clearly demonstrated, there is created an atmosphere in which we can be tempted to turn from the task at hand and set to bickering among ourselves. There are those who, in their eagerness to blame Britain for our lack of unity, could well bring about that result. In his article which I ask to have reprinted in the RECORD, Mr. Sulzberger warns that malicious and false accusation of Britain, if unchecked. will damage a most important U.S. partnership and benefit only Russia. The British have made it clear that they are more willing than we are to acknowledge East Germany, but they have stuck by the allied package plan for Geneva negotiations, while the United States and others have talked about concessions.

The article is as follows:

[From the New York Times]
THE NEED TO END A WICKED CALUMNY
(By C. L. Sulzberger)

An urgent immediate task of U.S. diplomacy is to quell the smear campaign directed from various quarters at our most valuable single ally, Britain. Surely, the Western Powers cannot hope to negotiate successfully with Russia while simultaneously knifing each other in the back.

There are, of course, differences among

There are, of course, differences among the Allies; there always have been and there always will be. We are independent, demoratic nations who regard satellities as astronautical or astronomical, not political,

bodle

But differences now advertised are too often unfairly slanted at the British. The Geneva conference, for lack of concrete diplomatic achievement, developed into a rumor center where anonymous hints, largely aimed at London, flourish.

There is a comprehensible background to this situation. When Macmillan went to Moscow this year, some London newspapers boasted he was filling a leadership vacuum caused by Secretary Dulles' illness. This irked many Americans. At the same time Britain became involved in a trade dispute with France and West Germany, who supported a European Common Market in opposition to Britain's proposed free trade area. London fears its exports to the Continent will be unfairly restricted.

#### UNITED STATES-BRITISH DISAGREEMENTS

There are also disagreements between the United States and Britain. We favor Nasser over Kassim in the Arab cold war. The British think Kassim should not yet be abandoned and, with our reluctant approval, sold him arms. Also, the British want to build up commerce with Russia. They see nothing wrong with East-West trade, as long as it does not violate NATO embargoes on strategic materials.

Macmillan's trip was followed by a 5-year Anglo-Soviet trade pact. Britain sold Moscow certain civilian aircraft devices; the Reuters news agency established a minor office in East Berlin to use up accumulated blocked marks; and the Federation of British Industries is exchanging bureaus with East Germany.

This is scarcely treason. Sir David Eccles, president of Britain's Board of Trade, signed a conventional import-export pact. Private British firms, doing long-term business, are guaranteed against losses. Is this more reprehensible than Vice President Nixôn's pro-

jected Moscow visit to open an American trade fair?

Britain refused either to grant large governmental credits requested by the U.S.S.R. to finance exchanges or to buy cut-rate petroleum. A year ago NATO agreed that expanded East-West trade was desirable. Nobody has suggested that the British are proposing to violate allied restrictions on the sale of strategic goods. Yet France, now criticizing London, has promised the Russians quantities of cable, an item on the banned list.

#### OTHER BRITISH POSITIONS

The British, as everyone knows, are more prepared than the French or West Germans to acknowledge de facto existence of East Germany. But London accepted the three-power package plan as a basis for the Geneva negotiations. And Selwyn Lloyd stuck by it even though he thought it unreasonable.

So far, in the slow-moving negotiations that have been taking place by notes and conversations since early this year, there have been four major concessions, all without prior inter-allied consultation. Dulles, at a press conference, suggested free elections were no longer a necessary precondition to German reunification. Then Bonn agreed East Germany could be represented on an advisory basis at the foreign ministers' meeting. De Gaulle publicly said the Oder-Neisse line should be the eastern frontier of a reunited Germany. And, on May 17, an American spokesman indicated willingness to undo the package and negotiate a separate interim agreement on Berlin.

In no case was the culprit British. It is time our diplomats tried to end the mischievous calumny implying that Britain would doublecross its allies. If Secretary Herter is genuinely disturbed by London's attitudes, let him say so firmly and confidently to Lloyd. The chances are he will find sensible answers.

London knows as well as Washington the value of our partnership. The only beneficiary of these sordid innuendoes is Russia. Gromyko has gone out of his way to make kindly public references to Macmillan. This is an obvious propaganda gambit. If Khrushchev praises Nixon when he goes to Moscow, should NATO close up shop?

#### The Case for Educational TV Legislation

EXTENSION-OF REMARKS

## HON. STEWART L. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 28, 1959

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, an article appeared in the press yesterday which forcefully presented the case for the type of educational television legislation now pending before the Congress. I refer, of course, to the Magnuson bill, S. 12, which has already passed the other body and is now awaiting action before the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

This article was written for the North American Newspaper Alliance by Dr. Benjamin Fine, formerly education editor for the New York Times, and was based on his analysis of a report on the educational TV experiments which have been underwritten recently by the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Advancement of Education.

It is highly significant that the Ford Foundation people have concluded already that the use of educational television will first, provide a much higher quality of classroom instruction; second, result in a major breakthrough in the use of new tools which enhance the learning situation; third, improve student instruction and require the student to accept more responsibility for his own learning; fourth, generally upgrade the quality of teaching; fifth, make a major contribution toward the elimination of the current teacher shortage; and sixth, and, not least, help in the long run to hold down school costs.

Mr. Speaker, considering the challenge confronting American education surely this Congress will not fail to act on this sensible legislation which would improve the instructional process and at the same time permit the economical use of the Nation's teacher resources.

Mr. Fine's article follows:

CUT IN SCHOOL COSTS SEEN WITH TELEVISION (By Dr. Benjamin Fine)

New York, May 30 .- Educational television can help reduce school costs and help

lick the teacher shortage.

This is the considered opinion of the man who has done more to introduce television to the Nation's classrooms than anyone in the United States. In an exclusive interview, Dr. Alvin C. Eurich, director of the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Advancement of Education, said 569 school districts are making regular use of televised instruction. In addition, 117 colleges and universities offer credit courses through television.

Dr. Eurich has been the Nation's foremost exponent in the use of this new mass media for schools and colleges. His fund has allocated \$10 million during the past several years to educational institutions, to experi-

ment with television.

FIVE HUNDRED THOUSAND IN TV CLASSES

"It is no longer a question as to whether television can succeed in the classroom," he asserted. "That has been proved. We must now determine how best to utilize this new-est means of instruction."

Classroom television has made gigantic strides during the last half dozen years. More than 500,000 youngsters, from first grade through college, now receive all or

part of their instruction by TV.

An outstanding example of the use of television on the college level is the Continental Classroom, carried over the National Broadcasting Co. network. Jointly sponsored by the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education and the Ford Foundation, the "classroom" was launched last fall to upgrade high school teachers of physics.

TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY SCHOOLS IN PROGRAM

At present, 250 colleges and universities offer credit for this course. Dr. Eurich reported that 300,000 teachers and other interested persons get up at 6:30 each morning to listen to this college physics course. The principal teacher of the course, Dr. Harvey E. White, of the University of California, is an outstanding authority in his field. Six Nobel Prize winners appeared as guest lecturers. Each described the partic-ular experiments which led to the Nobel Prize.

"No college or university could bring to-gether such talent," Dr. Eurich stressed. "This course is a major breakthrough in the use of new tools which really enhance the learning situation. It provides a much higher quality of instruction than we can provide in our regular teaching."

How good is educational television? Critics have warned that the mechanical gadget

cannot replace the warm human teacher without loss to the pupil. They have charged that children would get little more than a diluted second-rate education if television entered the classroom.

The facts do not bear out these criticisms. COMPARISONS CITED

According to Dr. Eurich, comparisons at all levels, from elementary grades through college, indicate that students who take a course by television do as well if not better than their classmates who receive regular instruction.

The role that educational television is playing in today's schools was brought into focus last week by the Ford Foundation and the Fund for the Advancement of Education. In a thorough, 87-page report called "teaching by television," the Ford officials suggested that in the future more and more will be made of the air waves. Reading, writing and arithmetic, as well as difficult subjects such as trigonometry and organic chemistry, will be taught via TV. At present, almost every conceivable subject is found in the television curriculum.

#### CONCLUSIONS OUTLINED

Among the conclusions reached by the Fund, Dr. Eurich noted, are these:

1. Superior teaching over television stimulates much better learning on the part of the student than ordinary teaching in the

2. Televised instruction requires the student to accept more responsibility for his own learning than is the case with conven-

tional methods.
3. Students in television classes at the elementary and secondary level make more extensive use of the school library than students in regular classes.

4. The use of superior teachers on television has proved an important means of upgrading the quality of other teachers, par-

ticularly beginning teachers.

Television can extend the classroom beyond the four walls and seek out the best talent in the land. Recently, for example, fifth-graders in the Pittsburgh public and parochial schools had an opportunity to see and hear Robert Frost read his poems over television. They did not read Mr. Frost's poems from a book; rather they saw, and heard the Nation's beloved poet himself. It is difficult to measure the value of this experience to the children.

#### SOME PRACTICES LISTED

Television is used in many ways to improve instruction. Here are a few practices, now used, that have proved successful:

At Pennsylvania State University and at Miami University (Oxford, Ohio) closed-circuit television is used in the required freshmen and sophomore courses.

At the University of Detroit and Chicago Junior College, open-circuit television used to bring the major portion of the freshmen and sophomore curricula to students off

At San Francisco State College, collegelevel courses are televised to able high school students for credit.

At the University of Minnesota, television enables student teachers to observe teaching and learning situations in a classroom.

In Washington County (Md.) a closed-circuit television network brings daily instruction in 39 courses at all grade levels to 18,000 pupils.

#### USED AT HOUSING PROJECT

In New York City, television is used in a low-income housing project to bring the school and the community closer together. It also helps overcome the language barrier between English-speaking and Spanishspeaking children.

Those who have watched the various experiments at first hand believe that television can become a powerful tool to help

raise the quality of education. This is doubly important today, with the growing enrollment and the severe shortage teachers.

However, television alone will not solve the Nation's school problems. An electronic tube will never replace a master teacher. Money-and lots of it-will be needed for some time to come to keep pace with school needs.

Television in the classroom, though, is a valuable step forward in American educa-tion. It has a useful and exciting place in the schools of tomorrow.

Talk by Deputy Postmaster General E. O. Sessions at the 4-Cent Stamp Ceremony at the Lincoln Memorial, Washington, D.C., May 30, 1959

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, because of their importance to the Lincoln Sesquicentennial Year observance, under unanimous consent I include in the Appendix of the RECORD the remarks of Deputy Postmaster General E. O. Sessions, delivered at the Lincoln Memorial on Memorial Day, last Saturday, with the thought that they will become a part of the historical record for this year:

TALK BY DEPUTY POSTMASTER GENERAL E. O. SESSIONS AT THE 4-CENT LINCOLN STAMP CEREMONY, THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL, WASH-INGTON, D.C., MAY 30, 1959

It is a privilege to join in welcoming this distinguished company and to share with you the meaning and purpose of this significant ceremony. It is altogether fitting that we should meet at this place on this day.

Here before the Lincoln Memorial in our Nation's Capital on May 30, 1959, the U.S. Post Office Department-with mingled pride and humility—dedicates the fourth and last in a series of commemorative postage stamps paying homage to the 150th anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln.

The previous stamps in this sesquicentennial series have commemorated Lincoln's birth date, the Lincoln-Douglas debates, and the Lincoln speech at the Cooper Union in New York City. All four were designed by the noted artist, Ervine Metzl, of New York.

The stamp we issued today portrays the Lincoln head and shoulders of Daniel Chester French's inspiring statue that stands above us, gazing eastward across the Reflecting Pool, past the Washington Monument and on to the dome of the Capitol.

This stamp is being placed on first day sale today in Washington because May 30 marks another anniversary of the completion of the Memorial housing this noble statue. which nearly 50 million men, women, and children have visited in the past 26 years.

These visitors have represented all races, nationalities, colors, and creeds. Some came from distant parts of the world, others from homes almost within the shadow of this memorial. Some had wealth, position-power, but the vast majority were of humbler station, the kind of people Lincoln had in mind when he said, "God must have loved the common people. He made so many of

In the shadow of this statue of our beloved Lincoln, all these varied visitors shared one great opportunity with him, the free-dom to stand proudly erect and in dignity as free men and free women.

For Americans in many parts of our country, May 30 is a somber holiday, and its origin lies in the event of our history which this man knew so tragically. This day was established in 1868 not long after the end of the War Between the States as a day on which to pay annual tribute to the fallen dead of all our wars, who,-Lincoln had hoped, "Shall not have died in vain."

Each year since then, the graves and the monuments have been decorated. And there have been more graves to revere and more deeds to recall and the ranks of the dead have grown as we have fought again and again since Lincoln's lifetime in defense of liberty. Let us again-here today-renew our resolution to stand steadfast in defense of that freedom for which they died.

As Lincoln stood at Gettysburg, his shoulders bent with the cares of the war he would gladly have given his life to avoid, he uttered words that are being reechoed from many a flag-draped platform today. Among the many memorable passages from that address, these words seem especially signifi-

"We here highly resolve that this Nation, under God, shall have a new birth of free-

Few of our great statesmen believed more deeply and unswervingly in liberty than did our 16th President. No one was more diligent or far-seeing in denouncing the evil of tyranny in any form. No one so completely laid aside his personal problems to serve our country in a position of almost unendurable responsibility. The tragedies, failures, suf-ferings, and frustrations that lined the path of Lincoln's life would have engulfed a less noble soul. But Lincoln subordinated his personal trials to the great need our Nation had for him in our most critical hour. For his immense service to mankind we shall continue to give thanks and to revere him throughout our history.

May this postage stamp, whose issuance we observe today, inspire us with a renewed understanding of Lincoln's greatness in his day and for all time.

May it, as it is transformed into 120 million likenesses of the well-remembered face, inspire us to support by all the means at our command the principles he so valiantly defended.

Today, thanks to him, we are a united cople. Let us use the strength of our people. unity to contend here and abroad for those same principles for which he lived. Let us ever strive in his memory to uphold liberty from exploitation. In our internal affairs and in our attitudes toward world affairs let us never permit our power to be used to abridge the fundamental rights of free men.

In supporting this cause we can all share in some degree in his greatness.

#### A Lesson From Dulles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

#### HON, ROBERT W. HEMPHILL

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I include the following editorial from the Evening Herald, Rock Hill, S.C., of May 26, 1959:

A LESSON FROM DULLES

When it became publicly known that John Foster Dulles was seriously ill with cancer, the free world rallied to pay him homage.

He died Sunday amid much acclaim. But it was not always so.

As U.S. Secretary of State, Dulles was probably the most second-guessed man in the world. Everybody knew how he could have handled the job better. His critics were legion. Most of them claimed that Dulles' method of treating the Communist threat was too dangerous. He scared the public with his brink of war decisions which called the bluffs of communism.

The free world argued within itself on the merits of Dulles' methods. The free world could not make up its mind about the man

Dulles.

But the Communists knew Dulles. And Dulles knew the Communists.

Perhaps a key to Dulles' greatness is the fact that Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev. and Nikolai Bulganin before him, made no secret of their reluctance to do business with him. They were scared of Dulles. They knew that he would not allow himself to be hoodwinked or bluffed. Dulles even did some bluffing of his own.

Naturally, he had his weaknesses. greatest shortcoming was probably his insistence on being a one-man show. He insisted on running things his way. A country the size and power of the United States cannot afford to have just one man running

our foreign policy.

Dulles sometimes became too rich for our blood. The Evening Herald twice editorially suggested he resign because he was alienating our allies by his inflexibility, somewhat of a trademark with him.

However, through it all, Dulles served his purpose. He kept us out of war and he kept the Communists behind the lines which were drawn when he took over 6 years ago. In this day, maybe that's all one can expect.

Dulles taught us a lesson. The only way to handle the Communists is to be brave enough to stand up to them in the face of their threats and bluffs.

It is a lesson which should be remembered in future negotiations with the Reds.

#### Willie Sugar Didn't Hesitate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 28, 1959

Mr. BENNETT of Florida, Mr. Speaker, the May 20 edition of the Jacksonville Journal contains an excellent editorial praising Willie Sugar for his heroic actions and saving the lives of little children in the face of great danger to himself. As the newspaper states this is inspiring to everyone. Certainly, I am deeply grateful for this opportunity to pay tribute to this heroic deed. I include herein the editorial mentioned.

WILLIE SUGAR DIDN'T HESITATE

The heroic actions of a 28-year-old Negro last Friday not only saved the lives of two children, it inspired men and women of both white and Negro races.

Willie Sugar, on his way to lunch when the fire broke out on Phelps Street, did not hesitate to risk his life to enter the flaming building and do what he could.

No one would have blamed Sugar much if he had not gone or if he had hesitated and weighed the consequences. He had been a victim of fire himself only 8 months before and still bore the unhealed marks of it.

Once burned, a person never forgets the ordeal and the suffering and doubtlessly a recollection of his own pain flashed through his mind at the smell and sight of smoke. But he didn't wait to debate with himself. he dashed in to help a fellow man.

In this case children were involved, which made it all the more vital that action be as quickly as possible. Two were saved, but

two infants perished.

Sugar was on his way back into the inferno to get the infants, probably already dead, but the flames proved too much to combat

Fire Marshal E. C. McDermon, Fire Chief F. C. Kelly and Assistant Chief G. R. Cro-martie praised Sugar for his unhesitating heroic deed

His bravery exemplifies the courage that men of all races and creed respect and admire. While Sugar was ready to risk his own life for another. "Greater love hath no man than he lay down his life for a friend."

How much more love does a man show risking his life for a stranger?

## Relations Between the Races in Schools and Neighborhoods

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JAMES C. DAVIS

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 28, 1959

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker. there recently came to my attention a letter written to the editors of the Saturday Evening Post by Mr. N. G. Sherouse, of Reddick, Fla.

The letter contained some sensible observations on the subject of relations between the races in schools and in residential neighborhoods.

I wrote and asked Mr. Sherouse's permission to insert the letter in the Con-GRESSIONAL RECORD. He has kindly granted this permission, and I insert the letter herewith:

The EDITORS, THE SATURDAY EVENING POST: Much interested in reading some of the views expressed in the letters column of your current issue concerning the story carried in April 4 issue, "When a Negro Moves Next Door '

Without expressing an opinion on what seemed to be a quite unnecessary waste of white space in your magazine, let me quote a thing or two, viz.

In a recent issue (April 11) of the Pittsburgh Courier, which is certainly an outstanding Negro newspaper in this country, on page 2 is a story headlined: "Negro Family Gives In, Moves—Violence and Boycott Pay Off for Delaware Bigots." This is about a Negro who apparently works for the Du Pont interests but also has a sideline handling garbage, formerly using up to four trucks, but the operator stated that after he moved into a house in a formerly all-white section his contracts, mostly with whites, were dis-continued. I was much interested in a quote from this man that he had purchased a home in an all-white neighborhood as a "decent place to bring up his teenage daughter."

This man is apparently making it quite clear that the average Negro neighborhood

was not considered decent and that he wanted to get away from it into what he did consider a decent neighborhood. He overlooked the fact that usually when one Negro family moves into an all-white section he is soon followed by others and in time he is back among his own kind. How much better if he would stay where he started and attempt to raise the level of decency there.

On May 3 Associated Press story from Atlanta quoted Carl F. Hansen, Washington, D.C., Superintendent of Schools, as saying that "given the right kind of opportunity Negro children can respond to education,"

Here, again, the speaker is low-rating the work formerly done in the Washington all-Negro schools, although they were being taught by Negroes who were getting the same salary as white teachers, and supposedly had equal education, many of them no doubt having come to that work as graduates of white colleges. This, in my view, is putting a low label on some at least of the Negro school teachers and should be proof that it would not be advisable to employ Negro teachers to teach in the now-integrated schools of Washington. The people want their children to have the best possible instruction in the schools. According to Mr. Hansen, who has had experience, such good instruction would be doubtful if Negro teachers were employed. If they could not properly teach Negro children it is doubtful that they could teach white children.

Mr. Hansen did say, in this talk made on television from Atlanta—which was sponsored by the Georgia Council on Human Relations (another one of those things)—that after integration of his schools they have set up a "four-track system," with pupils being assigned to the groups according to their ability to absorb instruction. He did not give any percentages here but that has been done, some time ago, by U.S. News & World Report magazine which covered the Washington schools, after

integration.

Any well informed person who has been at all interested in getting at the truth of the thing knows that the southerners have always, for the most part, not objected at all to having Negro neighbors. Most of the stink about this matter shows up in cities outside the South. Just one example, Levittown, Pa. There have been many others just as ridiculous. The city of Chicago is reported to have spent hundreds of thousands of dollars keeping policemen in a neighborhood where a Negro had attempted to move in where he was not wanted. However, you will find any number of hot-shots always shooting off their lips about what the people in the South do or don't do for the Negro as a group. Born and reared down here I have also spent much time living and working in several cities of the North and I say that much of the stuff printed on this subject is asinine.

More of those white citizens in the North who like to take pot shots at the South should begin to read one of their Negro newspapers and get some idea of what goes on. That is, if they are too blind to see it all around them.

N. G. SHEROUSE.

P.S.—If I were going to give any advice to the Negro group in this country it would be: Take the chip off your shoulder and begin to be proud of your heritage as a Negro, and quit trying to be a white man. The Jew is a minority race but you never hear him crying for entry into the Gentiles' group, but he stands on his own feet and is doing very well, thank you, in this minority position. It is doubtful that any other group of people ever made the progress that the Negro has made over the last 2 centuries. Of course such progress would never have been possible without the help of the white man, and I dare say he has had more actual

help from the southern white man because there are so many more Negroes down here. Surely any one knows that the Negro pays a very small part of the cost of his schools anywhere in this land, and now that so many of them are on welfare of course even a smaller part of this tremendous cost is being paid by them. "The Negro is the white man's burden" was at one time a familiar saying. Truly, now, with welfare from cradle to grave, plus good schooling, he really is the white man's burden—although a lot of white critics never seem to realize it.

#### Constitutional Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JAMES C. DAVIS

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 28, 1959

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, from time to time I read on the editorial page of the Metropolitan Herald, Atlanta, Ga., editorials which are notable for their soundness and logic.

Two recent editorials in this newspaper contain information and observations which I think will be of interest to those who believe in constitutional government and the doctrine of three separate and independent departments of Government. One of these editorials is "Why Should They Destroy Our Schools?" and the other "Truth About Book 'An American Dilemma'." Under unanimous consent previously obtained, I insert these editorials herewith:

WHY SHOULD THEY DESTROY OUR SCHOOLS?

Much is being said and written these days about our public school system and how it may be improved. Of course there is always room for improvement and we must continually make these improvements when they are needed.

However, there is one thing that should not be overlooked. We Americans have evolved the best system of public education ever devised through the diverse approaches of the 48 States.

Our educational system is the admiration of the free world. Only recently British school authorities have been making detailed studies of our high schools with a view of adapting it to its own needs.

The strength of our public school system, like that of our Nation, lies in the fact that we are a Republic. The Constitution guarantees to each State the right of a republican form of government, the present U.S. Supreme Court to the contrary notwithstanding.

The miraculous growth and development of this Nation and its public school system was made possible without the direction or dictation of a highly centralized Federal Government.

Here in Georgia we have made great strides. The progress in Georgia schools has attracted nationwide attention.

Last fall, Dr. John Dobbins, a nationally recognized educational authority of Princeton, N.J., made a study of Georgia schools and their faculties. Here is what he said at the conclusion of his inspection tour:

"Georgia is making such progress in education that if it keeps it up at the same rate for another 10 years, this State may well lead the Nation in education. It will be hard to find another State that does a better job of educating its young people. The

Georgia story is a story of renaissance in education, a new kind of dedication to realties, a new willingness to study your strengths and weaknesses, a fresh eagerness to borrow and adapt good educational ideas from wherever they exist. To an onlooker, this is an exciting story."

Not only has the improvement in our educational system won national acclaim, but the school building program has won the praise and admiration of educators and school administrators throughout the Na-

tion.

As long as the Federal Government keeps its claws out of the Georgia educational system, we will continue to make progress. Our State government will continue to spend over 53 cents out of every tax dollar for public education. But, tragic Federal interference seems near at hand.

The present members of the U.S. Supreme Court are more interested in forcing the admittance of some Negro students to white schools than they are in the education of the great majority of white and Negro pupils. This majority, in both races, seem to have no rights whatsoever in the eyes of the Warren court.

When, and if, Georgia's public school system grinds to a halt, it will be by action of the Supreme Courrt, the dictatorial, antiwhite National Association for the Agitation of Colored People and its motley allies, who have made not one single contribution to the development of Georgia's public school system.

They and they alone will be responsible for halting the progress or destroying the system in its entirety. It is as simple as

tnat,

TRUTH ABOUT BOOK "AN AMERICAN DILEMMA"

The darling of the so-called liberals and race-mixers, a well-known columnist, last week defended the book, "An American Dilemma," by Gunnar Myrdal, a Swedish Socialist, which was used by the U.S. Supreme Court in its school integration edicts as "modern authorities."

He described the work as "a really understanding book on the Nation's problems

of race."

Now this is the same book which says on page 13 that the U.S. Constitution is "impractical and ill suited for modern conditions" and that its adoption was "nearly a plot against the common people."

This is the book wherein 16 of its contributors have been cited for long records of pro-Communist activities. One of them, W. E. B. DuBois, long a leader in the NAACP, contributed 82 portions of the book. This "modern authority" has been cited for memberships in 72 pro-Communist organizations. He is the man who filed legal briefs on behalf of the atom spies, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. He is the man who, according to the Saturday Evening Post, recently was an honored guest of Communist Russia, singing its praises and pointing out the faults of his native fand. Leaving Moscow, DuBois made a visit to Red China in defiance of our State Department.

Members of the Supreme Court cannot plead ignorance about the contributors to this book which they used as their authority instead of the Constitution. Neither can the newspaper columnist who defended the book.

John Gunther, another so-called liberal, in his book "Inside U.S.A." stated on page 683 that before he started on his trip to the South he was told by a Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court that the one thing indispensable to understanding the United States was a book—"An American Dilemma"

Mr. Gunther quotes at length from that book and from statements by DuBois. It makes some enlightening reading in view of recent Court edicts. Regardless of the printed views of the columnist mentioned above, we believe the great majority of thinking Americans have more faith in the writing of Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, and James Madison than they do such modern authorities as Myrdal, Brameld, DuBois, Frazier, Clark and company of "An American Dilemma" fame.

We also believe the great majority of American citizens have a great deal more confidence and faith in the Supreme Court decisions of Chief Justices Taft and Hughes and Justices Holmes, Cardozo, Brandeis, et al., than they do in the edicts of Warren, Black, Frankfurter, and company.

#### Foreign Languages the Best Idea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. LEONARD G. WOLF

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, the American Bulletin, which is published monthly by the Czechoslovak National Council of America, had an excellent article regarding the teaching of other languages in American schools.

Because so many Americans are of foreign birth there are readymade opportunities for their children to learn the language of their parents. This should be stimulated both in the schools and in the homes of our citizenry. In todays world where peace is dependent on communication between men, the ability to express one's self in another language, to understand and read in another language, it is clear that language facility becomes the key to better world understanding.

The article follows:

FOREIGN LANGUAGES THE BEST IDEA

"We jump up and down and babble about Russia's first sputnik revealing that our educational system is antiquated and we get almost panicky about pushing kids into engineering and scientific studies. But we don't seem to wake up to the progress that is made by communism this side of the moon mainly because the Communists knew the language of people whose nations were taken over \* \* \* Foreign languages are being taught in our schools just about as they were 50 years ago. Probably there's less foreign language education of American children now than there was 50 years ago when European languages were spoken in many U.S. homes."

The above is from an article "Americans Need Foreign Languages" by the columnist Herb Graffis (Chicago Sun-Times, April 23, 1959). The author welcomes an experiment in Champaign, Ill., where "youngsters in fourth grade of a public school are learning to speak French. How long that sort of language instruction (of other language as well) will go on and in how many U.S. schools, there is no telling. The idea is the best foreign policy for the United States I've heard about."

To begin with, the teaching of French in an Illinois public school seems a very timid experiment. While the teaching of French is commendable, it can hardly compensate for the loss we are experiencing in other quarters. For instance, in Chicago, Cicero and Berwyn, the suburbs with a large population of Americans of Czechoslovak descent, the teaching of Czech in public high schools

is being gradually dropped. And yet, the teaching of a Slav language should be given priority in view of the great Soviet danger. The Czech language is a key to the Russian and other Slav languages; anyone knowing Czech, easily learns Russian. We are told repeatedly that 10 million Soviet citizens are learning English and that only a few thousand Americans are learning Russian, and that we are suffering from a very serious language handicap at every step.

Why then do we permit this great potential within arm's reach to go to waste? The school board of the Sterling Morton High School of Cicero and Berwyn, where Czech has been taught for decades but where enrollment has dropped to almost nothing, is willing to keep the classes going and there are good teachers available. What then is the problem? In our opinion, there are two basic obstacles: Sometimes the students do not sign up because credit for Czech is not recognized by some colleges; secondly, they do not realize the urgency. Until now, they have felt that to be a good American one should forget all that foreign stuff. The importance of learning a foreign language, in their case Czech, should be impressed upon them at home and at school. America asks you to do this.

Obviously, it is much easier to learn the mother tongue of one's parents or grand-parents than an entirely strange language. Without knowing it, many students of Czech or Slovak background have acquired an ear for it. Ordinarily, it takes months of diligent study to get over this difficult hump, for learning a foreign language is hard work. There are no short cuts except one, and only one: To learn the mother tongue of one's parents. Therefore, make full use of your Czech or Slovak heritage.

#### FIFTY YEARS BEHIND

It seems Mr. Graffis is right in more ways when he says that we are 50 years behind in the teaching of foreign languages. Fifty years ago, a Slav language seemed unimportant to Americans; today the Soviet danger has made it vitally important to us. Why then should students be given credit for French or Spanish, but not for Czech, a key Slav language?

#### GOOD NEWS

There is good news from Texas, the State with a large population of Americans of Czechoslovak descent. Years ago, Czech was taught in 18 high schools; it has survived only at the University of Texas. The reasons are the same as in Cicero and Berwyn. The sputnik scare has, however, prompted the Czechoslovak communities to launch a drive: "Learn Czech and Russian." Dr. Joe Malik of the Department of Slavonic Languages of the University of Texas is teaching Czech and Russian over radio station KULP and the lesson is then printed in Leader News-Svoboda, a local newspaper, published in El Campo, Tex. The Department of State welcomes the program. Other Czechoslovak communities, for instance Chicago, New York, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Cedar Rapids, etc., could also carry on such a program.

Seton Hall's Monsignor McNulty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 6, 1959

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, the entire State of New Jersey mourns the death of Msgr. John L. McNulty, presi-

dent of Seton Hall University, in South Orange, N.J. Under his leadership, a small college has grown into a great university. Thus, in the sense that he was a benefactor of mankind in the most lasting and significant way, Monsignor McNulty belongs not only to New Jersey but to all humanity.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include an editorial from the May 29 issue of the Elizabeth (N.J.) Daily Journal. It was written by one who knew and cherished Monsignor Mc-Nulty and his great work. As a labor of love, it acutely reflects the greatness of this outstanding man:

#### MSGR. JOHN L. MCNULTY

"Sometime Sunday afternoon a polished black hearse will move slowly down the long, winding road that leads from a highway to the top of the hill and the brownstone chapel where for more than a hundred years generations of Setonia undergraduates have knelt in prayer. And it will be fitting if the walks, bordering the old path beneath an archway of interlocking trees, should be lined with graduates and students, the townsfolk and the friends come to stand at grieving attention as Rt. Rev. Msgr. John L. McNulty leaves his beloyed Seton Hall for the last time.

Monday morning, in the vast Cathedral of the Sacred Heart in Newark, high church dignitaries will be joined by leaders from all the fields of temporal effort, by the fortunate and the unfortunate, the rich and the poor, the Christian and the Jew, there in capacity to honor a reverend gentleman whose life reflected everything we can hope for in the complete Christian. This is to be the climax, the last expression of public sorrow—the recommendation of his immortal soul to the mercies of the God he had served so realously in life.

so zealously in life.

And yet, humbly joining in the prayers that will be recited and while acknowledging the propriety of this public demonstration, it is almost impossible to shake off the persisting belief that the climax of Monsignor McNulty's life of devoted service will be reached Sunday when the gates of the communion rail before which he knelt in adoration many times as an undergraduate, are opened wide. This will be climax that will come when the casket within the chancel, lighted by candles from the altar before which he read his daily Mass for so many years, is carried from the chapel that has become a shrine for all Setonians.

This will be the departure of the chubby lad who came to South Orange as a student, the outstanding college graduate selected because of brilliance to study abroad and returning to lecture at a little diocesan college. This will be the departure of the educator eventually named for the presidency, divinely inspired as he brought Seton Hall to a place of prominence among the foremost Catholic universities of the world, inspired in the effort that gave New Jersey its first medical and dental school after so many years of waiting, the inspiration that produced the Seton Hall School of Lawtireless central figure as the Seton Hall enrollment expanded from hundreds to thousands and, bursting all bounds the South Orange campus, carried the opportunity of advanced education to young men and women at so many other centers. This will be the end, the climax of a glorious career that for all its impossible demands still had time for any who sought to share in the abundance of his limitless heart.

We mourn Monsignor McNulty as a friend and hasten to acknowledge the passing of a public benefactor who had already contributed more than a lifetime of accomplishment when suddenly torn from his drafting table so laden with plans for still broader

service.

#### Government Aid to Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 27, 1959

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, I am indebted to my good friend, the gentleman from California IMr. Youngerl for inserting in the Congressional Record for May 11, 1959, at page A3934, the message of Montana's Governor, J. Hugo Aronson, vetoing a resolution of the Montana Legislature endorsing the passage of H.R. 22 and S. 2.

Senate Joint Resolution 4 passed the Montana Senate by a vote of 35 senators in favor and 18 opposed. The vote in the State house of representatives was 48 in favor of the resolution and 32 opposed with 12 of the 14 absentees announced as in favor.

The text of the resolution follows:

A JOINT RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE STATE OF MONTANA TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES; TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES; TO SENATORS JAMES E. MURRAY AND MIKE MANSFIELD FROM THE STATE OF MONTANA; TO CONGRESSMEN LEE METCALF AND LERCY ANDERSON FROM MONTANA; REQUESTING THE REAFFIRMATION OF NATIONAL POLICY OF FEDERAL FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR EDUCATION

Whereas we (the Montana State Legislature) recognize the education of our youth as the most important responsibility of our local, State, and National governments, if our national defense, our system of free enterprise, and our devotion to the ideals of American democracy are to endure; and

Whereas despite earnest efforts on the part of the several school districts of the State of Montana to meet the cost of providing adequate school facilities for an ever-expanding enrollment and despite the continued increase in State funds to help meet the cost of supporting public elementary and aecondary schools, there continues to be a widening gap between need, and funds to meet the need; and

Whereas the financial resources of the counties and the States are increasingly overdened by using school costs and enrollments, to the neglect of other essential county and State responsibilities; and Whereas there continues to be a shortage

Whereas there continues to be a shortage of qualified teachers, since, despite all efforts to the contrary, teachers' salaries in Montana are inadequate to recruit and retain a sufficient number of good teachers to serve all the children: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Montana State Legislature petition the U.S. Congress to provide sufficient funds through the proposed School Support Act of 1959 (sponsored by Senators Murray, Mansfield, and others, and introduced by Congressman Lee Metcalf and others, including Congressman Leroy Andreson) in order that local and State control of education may be continued by providing, by means of the more equitable taxing authority of the Federal Government, a share of the Federal income to the several States in amounts sufficient to supplement State and local financial resources for this most important of all State services; and be it further

Resolved, We hereby respectfully petition the Congress of the United States to reaffirm the national policy of Federal financial support for education which has ample precedent

in the school land grants given to this and other States nearly 100 years ago and without which even the present inadequate programs of public education could not survive; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be submitted by the Secretary of State of the State of Montana to the President of the United States; to the Congress of the United States; to Senators James E. Murray and Mike Mansfield from the State of Montana; to Congressman Lee Metcale and Leroy Anderson from Montana.

Paul Cannon.

President of the Senate.

John J. MacDonald,

Speaker of the House.

Governor Aronson's message, as quoted by the gentleman from California, is full of pious statements about the need to finance elementary and secondary education at the State and local level. Yet in 1955, Governor Aronson in his message to the legislature said:

My recommendation for your consideration is that the State accept as its obligation the university responsibility and return to the counties and school districts the major responsibility for elementary and secondary education. \* \* It is my opinion that increasing State aid is just providing the door opener for the next step—Federal aid.

The Montana Governor's position that State aid leads to Federal aid and he is against them both is in curious contrast to the position taken by President Eisenhower and Secretary Flemming insisting that any Federal aid legislation stimulate State aid. In the most recent Flemming proposal, which Senator Murray designated "a legislative monstrosity" there is insistence that the matching of any Federal assistance come directly from the State and no credit be given for local effort.

It is apparent that the Governor of Montana is not in favor of spending any money for education that is raised at either the State or Federal level. His veto of the above joint resolution should give comfort to people who are opposed to the appropriation of money to educate the Nation's boys and girls but otherwise the Governor's statements in his veto message are of little probative value.

## A Puerto Rican Writer's Views on Statehood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, as my colleagues will recall, I was the first to propose that Puerto Rico be admitted as the 51st State of the Union back in March of this year and, subsequently, introduced a bill to that effect on May 7. I have since been deluged with a flood of letters, telegrams, statements, articles, and petitions signed by thousands of people in Puerto Rico in support of my bill.

I am saving all this material and at some opportune moment will present it to Congress or to an appropriate committee of Congress for consideration. A few days ago I received an article by a Puerto Rican writer, Eugenio LeCompte, which was published in the Spanish language in the daily newspaper El Dia of the city of Ponce. He was kind enough to translate it into English and forwarded a copy of the translation to me. His article is entitled "Puerto Rico Wants Statehood." I wish to insert it into the Record, as well as his letter to me of May 26, both of which are as follows:

PONCE, P.R., May 26, 1959. The Honorable Victor L. Anfuso, U.S. Congress, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. ANFUSO: Allow me to congratulate you most heartly for your bill in favor of statehood for Puerto Rico. It is a great act of democratic justice to the 2½ millions of true American citizens who were born in this enchanted island of the Caribbean Sea.

Puerto Rico is getting ready to demonstrate that the immense majority of the American citizens of Puerto Rico, enjoying its beautiful and healthful climate, as well as those who are living and working in the continental United States, are backing your legislative measure, and shall appear before the Committee of the Interior and Insular Affairs to give full testimony in favor of statehood.

Your name shall be remembered from generation to generation as the leading champion of a just cause, and one of the unforgetable friends of Puerto Rico. The new generation of college and university students are already repeating your name as one of the great leaders of the House, who has put his intellect, his good will, and best efforts in action, to clear the way, so that Puerto Rico be admitted as the 51st State of the Union.

I am permitting myself to enclose a translation of one newspaper article which was published recently on the question at issue. Also I am sending herewith a copy of a letter which I wrote to the Nashville Banner, touching on the said matter.

The great columnist, Drew Pearson, made some very good comments on your bill, which appeared translated into Spanish at the San Juan El Imparcial, and which gave a more detailed account of the said proposed legislation.

We assure you that the American citizens of Puerto Rico will remember for ever and ever your altruistic, patriotic, and fair deal towards our beloved island. May God bless you and give the material, moral, and spiritual recompense you deserve.

With my very best wishes for your good health and success, I am

Yours sincerely,

EUGENIO LECOMPTE.

PUERTO RICO WANTS STATEHOOD
(By Eugenio LeCompte)

The president of the popular Democratic Party and Governor of Puerto Rico, Hon-Luis Muños Marin, sald while arriving in Boston during his visit to Harvard (April 1959): "Puerto Rico does not want Statehood."

With all due respect deserved by the Governor of our island, we cannot silence our firm objection to his saying.

It is to go beyond the mandate of the Puerto Rican people, to make an affirmation of such magnitude and transcendency.

The people of Puerto Rico has never manifested itself at the polls, expressly, definitely and decidedly, against statehood. It has not done it in the past, and it will not do it at this very moment, after having taken notice that Alaska and Hawaii have been awarded the highest honor and privilege to be ad-

mitted to the Union, on equal footing of dignity, obligations and rights as the other States of the North American Federation.

Everybody knows that Puerto Rico has never been offered, as yet, the opportunity to cast its votes in a referendum or plebiscite, to determine whether Puerto Rico favvors or not be constituted as a State of the United States of America.

It is for that reason that a great part of the Puerto Rican electoral opinion-conscious of its inalienable right to demand from the U.S. Congress a fair deal for the American citizenship that the Puerto Ricans honorably enjoy since 1917—wish to be given the opportunity to express through their free ballots, their unvarying want for state-hood. Thus, to be able to put an end to the political uncertainty spoken of by Señor Muñoz Marin, and to finish with the anguish and anxiety encouraged by the existing doubt, we think that the referendum for federative and irrevocable statehood for Puerto Rico, should not be postponed any more. If the Puerto Ricans cast their votes in favor that Puerto Rico shall become the 51st State of the Union, the free world will rejoice and American democracy shall increase its prestige in America.

Until such referendum shall take place and its unappealable result be known, no-body, regardless how high he considers himself, is legally and morally authorized to dictate an adverse dictum against the many hundred thousands of Puerto Rican women, men, and adolescents who, loyal to their American citizenship, trust in the justice of the Congress and of the people of the United States, and wait for the time when they shall be given the same opportunity which was offered to Alaska and Hawaii, to express themselves for or against statehood.

The history of the elections held in Puerto Rico since 1900 until 1956, is the best evidence to counteract the unsustainable saying that "Puerto Rico does not want statehood." Let us see.

During the first elections, the Puerto Rican Republican Party obtained a full victory with a political platform for statehood, in opposition to the Federal Party. Afterwards, the Union of Puerto Rico Party, with a political platform containing statehood, independence, or autonomy, won the elections. Thus the Federal Party disappeared. Then took place the elections with the American citizenship clause provision in the form of a referendum. An overwhelming victory was recorded in favor of the American citizenship, as only a few Puerto Ricans decided to maintain the Puerto Rico citizenship.

Later on, the Socialist (Labor) Party entered the political arena with a platform for the incorporated Territory and social justice; and the Nationalist (Radical) Party, with a political platform for independence. The former had a great predicament among the organized (A.F. of L.) labor forces, but it did not get the majority vote. The other, got some followers among the radical youth, but at the elections only cast 5,000 votes, and it was done away with as a political party. Then came about the Allanza Puertorriqueña, a political alliance of the Union of Puerto Rico Party and the Puerto Rican Republican Party, which won the election and the legislative and administrative power, with a political platform of the sovereignty within the sovereignty. In the same manner there came about a coalition of the Socialist Party and the Pure Republican or Historical Constitutional Party, with a political platform for statehood. Alianza was broken while in power, and from the legislature emerged what was called a good government group, made up from outstanding people who believed in statehood for Puerto Rico. They constituted the Union Republican Party which associated with the Socialist (Labor) Party, won the

elections with a political platform in favor of statehood for Puerto Rico.

In the meantime, other parties came up to the electoral field: The Liberal, Unification, Independent, and Popular. The first two were eliminated, and also the Socialist Party. Then the Popular Party, with an electoral platform of bread, land, and liberty, but affirming that the political status was not in issue, and with the New Deal administration's compliance and other political factors which caused a double division of the coalition Majority Party, the said Popular Party acquired the electoral power which it now exercises.

Never, at no instance whatever, have the Puerto Ricans said that they do not want statehood. When they voted in favor of Public Law 600 (1951), they voted to reaffirm American citizenship permanently, and with the understanding and assurance of Mr. Muñoz Marin's word that Public Law 600 does not close the doors to the final political aspirations as to the status of either statehood or independence.

Therefore, the arguments cannot be brought now that the said doors are closed for those who believe in the high and dignified concept of collective sovereignty, federated or separated. Never before had this grave problem disquieted so deeply the feeling of Puerto Rico. We cannot march blindly toward our future, without stumbling. We are aware that in order to attain the said sovereignty, we must struggle hard and constantly, because it is not an easy task. But the final victory will compensate every sacrifice realized to obtain statehood for Puerto Rico.

And, as Puerto Rico wants statehood, the Congress shall consent to it, as soon as the American citizens of Puerto Rico will convince the Congress that they want it.

## Statement by Duane Orton on the Farm Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. MERWIN COAD

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 28, 1959

Mr. COAD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD I should like to include a statement of Mr. Duane Orton, of Atlantic, Iowa, which he recently made before the members of the House Committee on Agriculture serving on the Livestock and Feed Grains Subcommittee. I feel that Mr. Orton has contributed greatly to the thinking of the members of the committee in his presentation. Mr. Orton has outlined his plan for the solution of the farm problem in this statement and I am certain that each and every Member of the Congress will appreciate the plan and will be enlightened by it:

STATEMENT OF DUANE ORTON, ATLANTIC, IOWA, BEFORE THE LIVESTOCK AND FEED GRAINS SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE AGRICULTURE COMMITTEE, WASHINGTON, D.C., MAY 14, 1959.

Mr. Chairman and committee members, my name is Duane Orton and I am a resident of Atlantic, in Cass County, southwestern Iowa. I was raised on a farm near Griswold, also in Cass County, and have been connected with agriculture in one way or another all my life. Back in the thirties, when it was

tough going, I ran a cream truck to supplement our farm income. I own and operate my own farm in Iowa. In fact, I have actually left field work to be here today.

I am grateful for this chance to discuss the farm problem, at least as it exists in my part of the country, and to make a few suggestions for solution. I come here not as a representative for any organization but rather as a reporter on the hopes and fears of all the farm people I know. There is a strong feeling of frustration and disappointment among farmers at the present time, because of so much misrepresentation and misunderstanding of the farm issue. With many farmers, this feeling of frustration is now so deep that they no longer bother to express themselves. This accounts, I think, for the lack of letters which has puzzled some of you and your fellow Representatives.

However, there still is considerable hope and confidence—and I should add, expectation—that Congress wil come up with something. I share this feeling and that is the big reason why I appreciate this privilege to submit a statement which might encourage legislative action. Some of the people out our way have a lot of confidence in the members of the House Agriculture Committee and sometimes wish that their recommendations could become law directly without always having to run the veto gauntiet.

It is understandable, though, why people not close to agriculture might get false ideas as to what we farmers want and need. In the corn referendum last fall, the vote went against a continuation of allotments and we are now right in the middle of planting about 84 million acres of corn, the highest total in 10 years. Now to a lot of people, that seems to say farmers really are against Federal farm programs and that they really believe unlimited plantings are a good thing. Actually, it is my belief that this is far from Time and again, in the past few months I have heard farmers tell how they were going to plant more corn in 1959 and then add: "But this is no solution. It's crazy and will only make matters worse, for the Government as well as for us. Yet we really had no other choice. The way corn had been cut down on both acreage and support, we just couldn't go along with the old program any more."

What I am trying to say is that farmers haven't really fallen for all this freedom talk. I think I am reporting the majority view correctly when I say that they would be for a farm program if it were really effective in raising farm income and protecting the complier. I stayed in compliance to the end of the farm I operate because I happen to believe very strongly in production control, but I understood why some of my neighbors dropped out each year as the price supports were lowered.

Even then, we got some good from the program because it had some effect, I think, in keeping a lot of excess grain out of feeding channels. We undoubtedly are headed for trouble now on livestock prices, but we would have been there a lot sooner if a few years back some people had had their way on program abandonment.

Our farm plant in this country has now become so productive and there is so much feed already on hand that nothing short of a strong supply adjustment program will do. Before setting up a reduction target, however, I feel Congress should fully explore the possibilities for expanded utilization of farm commodities. How much more food could be consumed here at home, for example, under an enlarged distribution program? How much more might be sent abroad under a food-for-peace program? In view of the radiation fallout and the everpresent danger of war, shouldn't we have a liberal permanent national food and fiber reserve?

As a farmer, I don't have time to keep track of all these things, but I certainly have an impression that much more might be done than is being done. Unfortunately, of course, the difficulty is not all legislative. There has been too much lukewarm, if not outright hostile, administration under exist-

ing laws.

Before passing along a few specific ideas of my own, I wish to say that as long as certain basic requirements are met, any one of a number of farm program plans might work. I could endorse, for example, the bill recently introduced by a member of your committee, Congressman Coap. It would require, as any effective farm bill must, the diversion of excess acreage to nonuse. And again, as any farm bill must to be accepted, it would require less Government spending than at present. I would go so far as to say that even the present farm program, with more administrative determination and perhaps some amending, could still do a fair job.

One aspect of farm programs to which I have given a lot of thought is the matter of deciding on planting limits for each farm. A lot of grumbling and eventual noncompliance arises from this problem.

Thus, it occurs to me—and this is the main new idea I bring to you—that it might be simpler to establish a formula under which each farmer could work out his own acreage diversion total. You could do this by requiring that for each acre planted to corn, for example, a certain additional area, say one-half acre, should be shifted out of production. The farmer would be permitted to figure out for himself how many acres to put in a given crop, as long as he matched these acres to the required extent with diversion of land to nonuse. The diverted land, incidentally, either should be of a productivity approximately equal to the planted land or it should be discounted according to its estimated yielding power.

For meeting this set-aside requirement, I would recommend support loan on the crop of 100 percent of parity price. Compared to the support levels we have now, this recommendation sounds high, but with the production change which should result, I am convinced that the Government would have far less commodity takeover. I would mention in this connection that the parity formula itself was revised earlier this year so that 100 percent today is only equal to about 97 percent before the revision.

I also hold to the belief that anything helping farm income also brings greater prosperity to business catering to agriculture and in the end produces more tax revenue with which to help offset farm program costs. After all, as the U.S. Department of Agriculture itself recently reported, farmers in 1955 (which, incidentally, was not one of our best years in the Midwest) spent around \$40 billion on production and living items.

Now as for the acres set aside, some assistance on seed, fertilizer and such should be provided for the complying farmers, just as is now the case under the present soil bank program. At the support level which I recommend, and assuming fairly substantial acreage set aside for at least the next few years, annual payments may be necessary on such acreage. However, payment rates at about the current conservation reserve levels would hardly be high enough, especially if the crop support were lowered. These payments could be made either in cash or in the form of grain surpluses from Government bins. Payment-in-kind up to an amount of grain equal to two-thirds of the estimated average yield of the banked acres seems reasonable to me.

At this point, it might be of interest to refer to some cost estimates for putting 150

acres of southwestern Iowa cropland into the soil bank:

Two discings at \$1.25 per acre each	\$375
One harrowing at 50 cents per acre	75
Drilling seed at \$1.50 per acre	225
acre after ACP allowance Phosphate fertilizer, less ACP allow-	165
ance but including spreading	550
Two mowings per year to control	
weeds	450
Taxes (estimated)	500
Seed: Alfa!fa, timothy, and orchard	
grass	750

The conservation reserve payment on this land amounts to \$3,150. It is thus evident that there should be a further income of some \$2,000 from this farm, if it is to pay 5 percent interest on the estimated value of \$40,000.

Should compliance with the program be required of all farmers? I consider that our circumstances today require compliance by all farmers of any program adopted. At the same time, I hold that farmers themselves should have the right by referendum ballot to say whether they want the program to be put into effect. We see plenty of evidence in industrial and labor experience that partial compliance is no answer. There are no noncompliers when it comes to State regulation of crude oil output, for example.

In this same connection, there must be no noncompliance loans or other gimmicks to encourage noncompliance. That was what helped wreck our corn program and I hear wheat producers are now afraid it may be

tried on them.

It should go without saying that farm programs ought to be administered at the State and local levels as much as possible by farmer-elected committees. These are the people who best know how to apply a program to local conditions and they can be very helpful to Washington in making program improvements from year to year. It is regrettable that this practice of collecting suggestions from the country has somewhat fallen into disuse in recent years.

It is hardly necessary to emphasize to this committee the justification for an effective farm program. All of you recognize the income handleap under which agriculture has been working, in relation to the nonrural part of our economy. You are aware that we need to take the best possible care of our farmland because it will have to be cropped much more intensively some day for a much

larger population.

And you are also aware, I am sure, that if nothing is done, many, many solid family farmers are either going to be busted off or discouraged out of agriculture. Either way is bad and will leave use with too much contract farming and other giantism in agriculture. If something isn't done, I'm afraid we will see more and more of these million-hen egg factories and these pig parlors with more comfort facilities for animals than we have in our own homes. At some point, these outfits will get strong enough to force up food prices and their costs will also rise due partly to widespread unionization of their help. If that day comes, the people of this country could have some real regrets.

As I said at the beginning, the farm people out my way are still looking to Congress with hope. They feel you should not let the threat of a veto keep you from bringing out some kind of a farm bill this year, and even then it will be 1960 before we can affect production. Although they would be a long way from a full parity income, I suppose the majority of farmers could manage to get along if the farm situation didn't

change. But that's just it; we are convinced that if nothing is done, it will change—and for the worse. Though you have no way of detecting this, I assure you that there are a lot of us out there who reflect often on the legislative situation even though our eyes may seem to be only on the corn row.

Mr. Chairman and members, I thank you

sincerely for your attention.

Statement by Congressman Victor L. Anfuso on Cooperation With Russia in Outer Space Exploration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, I regret the recent misunderstanding between the chairman of the House Committee on Science and Astronautics, the Honorable Overton Brooks, and myself. This misunderstanding should have never arisen between us. I feel sure it was all clarified satisfactorily in my personal talks with Mr. Brooks on Thursday, May 28.

I have the highest regard for Mr. Brooks and respect his judgment. He is doing a grand job as chairman of the full committee and I am most anxious to cooperate with him in every way. The chairman has allowed me to explore the matter further and to consult with our congressional leaders, as well as with

the Department of State.

This whole matter raises the very important issue of the separation of powers between the legislative and executive

branches of Government.

On my part as a legislator, I do not quarrel with the point of view that it is up to the administration to negotiate agreements, treaties, and so forth, between the United States and other countries. There can be no quarrel also that it is the duty of Congress to establish by legislation how far the administration can go in this field, and it is part of this duty to learn the facts. As a study and fact-finding body, the Legislature has the duty to inquire from administration witnesses and to travel within the continental limits of the United States and in foreign countries. Committees of the Congress do have the power to hold hearings anywhere within the United States, but not in foreign countries.

Having defined our respective duties, now let us examine the particular functions of the House Space Committee and particularly those of the International Cooperation and Security Subcommittee.

By House resolution, the committee has been given jurisdiction over the exploration and control of outer space. Both Congress and the President have approved the policy of limiting outer space to peaceful purposes. The dedication of outer space to peaceful purposes is essential, if mankind is to survive. It is the purpose of the Subcommittee on

International Cooperation and Security to seek ways and means whereby the United States can cooperate with other nations in the peaceful uses of outer space. Such cooperation must necessarily include the Soviet Union. I firmly believe that the United States must take the lead in developing a peaceful and productive international space program.

Under this jurisdiction, the members of the House Space Committee have the right to go to Russia, if permitted of course by the Soviet Union, and to all other countries where international conferences or studies are in progress, in order to familiarize themselves with the programs and activities of those countries in the field of exploration of outer space and to examine communications and tracking stations involving international traffic in space.

Under this same jurisdiction, we have the right and the duty to learn for ourselves whether there is room for cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union and other countries in the peaceful uses of outer space. In this atomic and space era we cannot approach world problems with 18th or 19th century philosophy. The question of finding ways and means of preserving the peace is not limited to any individual or any single branch of Government. Congress has its responsibility, too.

Speaking for myself—and I believe

Speaking for myself—and I believe this to be true throughout the United States—the people of my district are worried about a world conflict and they expect me to do everything within my power to assist and work together with the State Department and any other branch of Government in this quest for peace and international cooperation.

To be more specific, the ad hoc committee of the United Nations, to which I have the honor to be an alternate delegate, was specifically formed to bring in all the countries of the world in one combined effort to explore what peaceful uses can be made of outer space and to explore the field of international communications, weather forecasting and control, and so forth. Thus far the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and Poland, as well as India and the United Arab Republic, have refused to participate in this noble venture. This leaves a tremendous vacuum and a huge geographical area which remains uncovered for the proper and more extensive exploration of outer space. It will present insurmountable difficulties for the future and will leave the problem incompletely solved.

Does anyone deny that it is necessary to have Russian cooperation in the peaceful exploration of outer space? Does anyone contest the fact that she is still the only nation, outside of the United States, which has taken the giant step to space flight? Does anyone deny that Russia did cooperate in, and did make valuable contributions to, the International Geophysical Year?

The United States and Russia have the power of bringing about total destruction of the earth itself. Therefore, in the interest of peace, it is the duty of everyone to do everything humanly possibly to obtain Russian cooperation and avoid a world catastrophe. If after exercising these efforts and leaving no stone unturned the Soviet Union still refuses to cooperate, she must then be exposed to world censure.

There is still much division in many parts of the world as to who really wants peace—the United States or the Soviet Union. This division must be narrowed, and I hope on our side. When this is achieved, the danger of war will be materially reduced.

## Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 27, 1959

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following newsletter of May 30, 1959:

WASHINGTON REPORT BY CONGRESSMAN BRUCE ALGER, FIFTH DISTRICT, TEXAS, MAY 30, 1959

John Foster Dulles left a heritage to comfort and strengthen those he left behind, fellow Americans and the people of other nations. For Americans he embodied great truths, the ties that bind us, patriotism rooted in deep religious convictions, inflexible principles such as the inviolability of contractual obligation and the sacredness of human dignity and freedom. Confronted with the need to compromise differences of viewpoint, he endeavored to remain steadfast to basic principles. For this he was bitterly criticized as unbending. Unfortu-nately his greatest recognition by friend and former foes alike was saved until he had departed. Fortunately we can benefit from the lessons contained in the eulogies. His memory could yield much to world peace and understanding. For his part in main-taining world peace during his tenure of office we can all give thanks. To some, Christian charity of viewpoint was taxed by Russian Gromyko's presence at the funeral, a man dedicated to destroying all that Dulles stood for.

James Hoffa, teamster boss, currently is busily documenting the faults and dangers of union leader bossism in our country today. Consider these incidents together: (1) Hoffa's threat of a punitive nationwide strike (despite subsequent denials); (2) the teamsters clumsy efforts over a series of breakfasts to indoctrinate Congressmen concerning labor law and the lack of need for correction of union abuses; (3) Hoffa's charge that Reuther lacks brains or guits; (4) the AFL-CIO demands that the House weaken the already weak Senate labor bill; (5) the AFL-CIO mapping of a drive to repeal the States' right-to-work laws. Think about them. What do they mean?

Here's a labor leader who loudly proclaims he is above the law; that he is bigger than the government in a public be damned attitude; that he is bigger than the other segments of the labor movement (the skillet calling the kettle black); and he is operating within a framework of trade unionism that would by law force working people to join unions and then (by the success of political pressure) remove unionism from the reach of Congress and corrective legislation. Well, unfortunately, Congress will not lead; it will only follow the people. Public indig-

nation only will force the necessary corrective legislation. For my part, I am not waiting but will continue to work for legislation to put unions under antitrust laws

such as now apply to business.

The U.S. Government's financial position should cause every citizen to stop and reflect. In 1 year U.S. bonds have dropped in popularity as an investment as much as 14 points (the 1995 3 percent issue from \$97 to \$83); or another example, 1 year Government certificates of indebtedness a year ago were taken by investors at 114 percent interest. Recently, when 1 year renewals were offered not at 1½ percent but 4 percent only one-third of the investors reinvested. Consider also that our money is becoming a soft currency overseas. The trend is toward increasing difficulty for Government to get money, and at that at a terrifically increasing interest rate which in turn will affect everyone as the national debt interest soars. The end result? Who knows, but the unpleasantness of the suggested possibilities should not be lost nor vent our doing some stern thinking right now. The reason is quite obvious. The \$13 billion deficit of last year and years of deficit financing are catching up with us. The correction necessary requires some public support and self-discipline; namely, that Government must live within its means and reduce spending. We will not do this without public pressure which exceeds the organized minorities pressure on Congress-

The Renegotiation Act extension of Government defense contracts brought on some controversy over whether to terminate the Act or extend it by 2 years or 4 years. Ultimately, the fear of windfall or excessive profits by defense contractors precluded any House action to curtail the authority of the Renegotiation Board. It was extended 4 years. I suggested in debate a five-fold course of action more suited to preservation of competitive free enterprise without permitting excessive profits (and will send to you on request) but the bill passed with only seven dissenting votes. Here's an example, as I see it, of a complicated law not being understood by the House membership. Yet the facts are there and will yet force an accounting of those who either do not understand or who wishfully expect of Renegotiation Board the wisdom of the Almighty, as they take back as profit the earned income of defense contractors.

Appropriation bills are coming to the floor in rapid succession. The Executive Office and general Government agencies, \$14 million approximately; the State and Justice Departments, Judiciary and related agencies, \$650 million (\$19 million less than last year); others will be ready soon. Unquestionably, public displeasure is resulting in smaller expenditures, but the danger is ever present of public apathy causing almost overnight blowing up of the spending balloon.

## The Emperor's Clothes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 20, 1959

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, once there was an emperor who was deceived by wily men into believing that he was wearing clothes of wonderful material when in fact he was, as a little boy pointed out, naked. This old story, in a slightly different form, has now been acted out by the International Olympic Committee which has just seen fit to tell Chiang Kai-shek that he is not China.

Under a previous consent I am including a perceptive editorial from the Washington Post, Sunday, May 31, 1959, entitled "Bolt From Olympus":

BOLT FROM OLYMPUS

It is too bad that any group of athletes will be excluded from participation in the Olympic Games for political reasons. Nevertheless, the decision of the International Olympic Committee to withdraw membership from Nationalist China because it does not control sports in mainland China happens to conform to political reality. A decision to retain Nationalist China as representative of the mainland would have been just as political as the decision opening the way for Com-munist China to represent the area it controls. This does not mean that the Peking government should be permitted to dictate to the Olympic Committee. There is every reason to encourage free chinese participation along with Communist participation, irrespective of any propaganda demands from Peking. The sensible thing, now that the Committee has recognized a political fact which the State Department is still unwilling to recognize, would be to invite the Chinese Nationalists back—but as representatives of an independent Formosa.

#### Controlling Air Pollution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 6, 1959

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a statement which I recently submitted to the Subcommittee on Health and Safety of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce urging approval of legislation extending the Federal Air Pollution Control Act: STATEMENT OF HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER, OF

NEW JESSEY, BEFORE SUBCOMMITTEE ON HEALTH AND SAFETY, HOUSE COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE, ON BILLS TO EXTEND THE AIR POLLUTION CONTROL LAWS

Mr. Chairman, I am most grateful to the subcommittee for this opportunity to express my views on the question of extending the duration of the Federal Air Pollution Control Act and expanding Federal activities under this law.

I have been personally interested in this problem for some time. As the sponsor in the State Assembly of New Jersey's first study commission in the field of air pollution, I had occasion to acquaint myself with the increasingly severe conditions in urban and industrial areas of our State and especially in the bi-State metropolitan area of New Jersey and New York. Later, as a member of the Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations of the House Government Operations Committee during the last Congress, I actively participated in the subcommittee's investigation of air pollution in a number of the country's largest cities. We also held on-the-scene hearings in Los Angeles, certainly one of the cities hardest hit by atmospheric contaminants.

It is my considered opinion that the matter of the growing contamination of the air we all must breathe is one of the most serious problems affecting the people of our country. Despite the extensive efforts of areas like Los Angeles County, despite the growing awareness of States and communities throughout the Nation, and despite the slowly increasing activities of the Federal Government, the problem of air pollution is more serious today than ever before.

What is worse, the concensus of scientists and engineers and other air pollution experts clearly indicates that the harmful contamination of the air is steadily becoming more serious. The rapid urbanization and industrialization of the country, the increased population, the growing number of automobiles, and the introduction of new sources of atmospheric contamination such as petrochemicals, high energy fuels, nuclear technology and a whole host of new synthetics, have combined to produce a present and future problem of immense scope-one that requires more intensive efforts at local and regional control of pollution, more reliable knowledge of the sources and effects of pollution, and a much more effective network of cooperation among the many levels of government and private organizations involved in the problem.

It is obvious that air pollution is not an exclusively Federal concern. Historically it hasn't been, and practically it can't be. Yet, the Federal Government does have a critically important role to fill in the complex attack on this menacing condition. The nature and extent of this Federal role is the question presently before this subcommittee.

Public Law 159, 84th Congress, authorized a program for research and technical assistance to obtain data and develop methods of control and abatement of air pollution. The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Surgeon General of the United States were assigned the responsibility for this program.

While the act recognized the primary responsibility and right of the States and local governments in controlling air pollution, it provided for Federal assistance in the formulation and execution of research programs, in encouraging cooperation between interested governments and agencies, and in collecting and disseminating information.

The act also authorized annual appropriations up to \$5 million for each of the years 1956 through 1960. However, of the authorized total of \$20 million for the first 4 years, only \$12.4 million was actually appropriated. For fiscal year 1960, the last year of the expiring program, the administration has requested \$4.212,000, while the House recently voted to increase this amount slightly.

Two principal questions are posed by the bills now under consideration by the sub-committee: For how long a period should the Federal Air Pollution Control Act be extended? and, to what degree, if any should the Government expand its current rate of

activity in this field?

Concerning the first question, one of the bills proposes a 5-year extension of the act, while the remainder propose that the air pollution program be made permanent. On the other hand, the Senate has recently passed legislation extending the act for 4 years.

There is no doubt in my mind that the problem of dangerous air contamination will be with us for a long, long time. Yet, this factor alone does not necessarily justify that the antipollution program be made permanent. Even though the Appropriations Committees of the Congress would be examining the operation of the program on an annual basis, it seems to me that there is much to be said for the view of the Senate Public Works Committee that Congress

should review and evaluate such an important matter on a periodic basis,

On the other hand, the executive agencies involved in the air pollution program should be given reasonable assurance of long-term authority and support from the Congress. We have learned from experience in other programs that an uncertain, stop-and-go approach is certain to reduce effectiveness, limit the availability of personnel, and cause an unnecessary amount of wasted time and money in a complex undertaking of this kind.

If Federal assistance is to continue to be worthwhile, there must be time to plan and carry out difficult research programs. In the past 5 years, the Federal effort has contributed toward the sampling, identifying, and measuring of airborne contaminants which are present in the atmosphere of almost all cities. It has appraised several of the more important sources of urban air contamination, such as oil refineries, automobile exhausts and combustion processes. And it is presently tackling important studies of the chemical, meteorological, and physical influences and of atmosphere reactions.

All of this and related activity is necessarily conducted on a continuing basis. It must be refined and tested and the findings communicated to other levels of government and to private groups for use in the fight against pollution.

Therefore, it would be my view that Congress ought to extend the Air Pollution Control Act a minimum of 4 or 5 years—long enough to permit uninterrupted progress without loss of legislative oversight.

On the second question, too, there is some difference of opinion. One of the bills before the subcommittee would authorize a continuation of the program at the present maximum level of \$5 million annually. Other bills would eliminate the ceiling over the funds which could be appropriated. The Senate-approved legislation would increase the annual authorization limit to \$7.5 million—an increase of 50 percent.

I am impressed, however, by the argument of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, who stated that "removal of the statutory limit on the annual appropriation authorization would be highly desirable." As Secretary Flemming explained, air pollution research has developed several important leads, especially with respect to the effect of pollutants on health, and any breakthrough would probably require additional funds to develop and exploit the new knowledge. In any event, the Secretary should be able to come to the Congress and explain why extra money is needed—a freedom he would be denied by continuing the statutory limit on authorized appropriations—since the final decision would be left to Congress.

As the subcommittee knows, the Bureau of the Budget has endorsed this recommendation.

Another recommendation of the Secretary also appeals to me as being eminently sound. He has requested specific legisaltive authority to make investigations and hold public hearings in two types of situations. These are (1) where particular pollution problems are common to many communities throughout the country, and (2) where such problems are essentially intertsate in character, affecting people both in the State of origin and in neighboring States.

Both types of problems, as the Secretary has stressed, can be expected to increase in number and extent especially with further urbanization. In many cases, the development of solutions for them transcend the capabilities of local agencies and even of State control authorities.

State control authorities.

In this respect, I should like to call the subcommittee's attention to a portion of a statement issued last fall by the chairman

of the Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations, Mr. FOUNTAIN, and myself, which was in the nature of a report on the subcommittee's investigation of air pollution prob-

lems during the 85th Congress:
"Air pollution is already a serious problem in many areas of the United States. Because of our increasing population and the tre-mendous growth of metropolitan areas, the problem will inevitably become more serious unless we move promptly and vigorously to meet it. There is much that State and local governments can do to fight air pollu-tion; they must take every practicable step that is within their power if we are to have clean air for our cities. However, there are certain things that local authorities cannot do by themselves. States and localities cannot control pollution which originates outside the limits of their jurisdiction, nor do they have the resources necessary to solve some of the more difficult technical problems of air pollution control. In such instances the Federal Government can and should assist local authorities."

I can think of no better way to conclude this brief statement than by quoting from the conclusion of a remarkable address delivered by the Surgeon General of the United States, Dr. Leroy E. Burney, before the National Conference on Air Pollution held in Washington last November 18 to 20.

Referring to the tremendous acceleration of American industrial growth due to the high rate of investment in advanced research,

Dr. Burney observed:
"The problems that come as byproducts of our almost unbelievable material progress demand everybody's skills and knowledge. More than that, they demand genuine cooperation. We can no longer ask 'Who's going to be in charge?' 'Who's going to get the credit?' We must ask 'How can we most effectively work together?' Nor can we ask 'Can we afford to clean up the air?' We cannot afford not to. It costs cities more to endure dirty air than to apply the controls We now have. Controlling air pollution will cost big money, but it is an essential in-

vestment.
"Assuredly we all have the same goal—a which safe and healthful environment in which everyone may enjoy the fruits of progress.

The legislation now before the subcommittee provides a great opportunity to take a long step forward in making our country a better and safer place in which to live.

I thank the subcommittee for its consider-

ation of my views.

#### Italy's Role in International Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, the United States should take every opportunity to urge that Italy be given a more active role in international negotiations. Too often, Italy's importance in European affairs since the end of the last war has been minimized or obscured. There were many reasons for this, the main one being that she was on the losing side of that war. However, Italy has now suffered enough the consequences and setbacks for her earlier deeds and no longer should be treated as a secondary power in Europe. Since the war, particularly during the last several years, Italy has changed so radically from what it was under Fascist dictatorship that it is a mistake for people to still regard Italy as a secondary power in European and in world affairs.

Italy's importance in the East-West cold-war struggle, especially in the context of the current Foreign Ministers' Conference in Geneva, and also in the proposed summit conference, looms large. In the tug-of-war type of diplomacy going on at the Foreign Ministers' Conference the unscrupulous and wily men of the Kremlin are constantly espousing the cause of their satellites and that of East Germany and are clamoring for full representation of Czechoslovak, Polish, and East German delegates at the Geneva conference. Under these circumstances the Western statesmen should insist that if the conference is broadened. Italy should be the first nation to be added.

Italy certainly has earned such a place at least in matters involving the fate of Europe. Moreover, she is entitled to due and serious consideration for an important role in all important negotiations. In the course of a dozen years Italy's present leaders have not only cleansed their country of all Fascist beliefs, but they have also established a democratic republic, the Republic of Italy, through an orderly democratic process. Italy has become an integral and important part, and also a rampart, of the free West in its fight against Communist totalitarianism. Politically, economically, commercially, culturally, and ideologically Italy is not only a stanch partner of the West but one of the leaders of the free world.

As we all know, Italy is not as rich in natural resources as are some other European countries, and for that reason it has sometimes been most difficult for her to support her teeming and industrious population. This has been particularly true since the end of the last war in view of the devastation of that war. But despite innumerable serious handicaps, internal unrest and external threats, in the course of a relatively short time Italians have registered some impressive successes in governmental, financial, and commercial fields. By the efficient use of the generous aid provided by this country, both in goods and in money, they recouped a part of their terrific war losses, and began to rebuild the country. With sheer force of determination and firm resolution the Italian people, under genuine and wise leadership, pulled themselves up by their bootstraps, and improved Italy's position immensely in the commercial, industrial, and technological world. Their gains were impressive and inspired confidence and hope in their friends and sympathizers. With these advances and improvements has come her just recognition as a major power in world affairs.

This recognition of Italy as a leader in the community of free and democratic nations is most clearly acknowledged in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. In that bulwark of democracy, the most efficient and working handmaid of the West in its defense against surging Communist totalitarianism, Italy's role is clearly defined and is supremely important. That importance is attested to by

the fact that now the NATO powers have agreed, with Italy's consent, to install guided missile bases in Italy. measure of the confidence which Italy's allies have placed in her, and Italy is certainly worthy of such trust.

For all these reasons, the leaders of the West should insist unequivocally that Italy be given a real, audible, and effective voice in all negotiations between the free and democratic West and the Communist totalitarian East.

#### Mr. Dulles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON, EDWARD H. REES

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 25, 1959

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent approved by the House, I am including an editorial by William L. White, editor of the Emporia Gazette, Emporia, Kans., which is a fine tribute to our great Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles.

Mr. White gives one a closeup of the life and service of Mr. Dulles. This is because of the personal relationship between Mr. Dulles and Mr. White.

The editorial follows:

Mr. Dulles

Since it was announced that John Foster Dulles had been stricken with cancer, American editorial writers have been enjoying a curious honeymoon with death. With mo-notonous unanimity all have since been praising his sterling qualities of heart and mind.

Yet in the Secretary's precancer days, the same columns were filled with scathing commands that "Dulles must go." Today they praise his "firmness"; then they denounced his "inflexibility." Today they praise his courage in refusing to back down in the face of Sould threats; vectorian they denounced of Soviet threats; yesterday they denounced his "brinkmanship" which frightened both the neutralist world and the queasier of our European allies by leading the free world (so said the Dulles critics) to the crumbling edges of war.

Why the switch? And could it be that the universal acclaim of John Foster Dulles today is in some cases a deference to death which all of us must face, and some with a quivering dread, but toward which Secretary Dulles has, in recent months, so fearlessly

And why had he so little fear of it? Perhaps because this fine mind has never been turned inward on himself and his own fate. How or when he died, and whether in painfree peace or in vomiting agony, mattered little to him compared with the fate of Freedom which was to his last conscious hour his main concern.

In these final months all of us have been spectators at a deeply moving pageant in which a brace man in a foulard bathrobe walked deliberately out of history and down into the shadows ahead, yet could do this without faltering because he cared so greatly for his country and so little for himself,

This writer's first memory of this man was when he was plain Mr. Dulles, an authority on international law in the firm of Sullivan & Cromwell, at the moment candidate against Herbert Lehman for the Senate in New York. Having little money to contribute to the Dulles campaign, I volunteered my services as a writer and was pleased that these should be immediately accepted; I was given a mass of source material and asked to pull from them facts from which I would write what should be frankly called a campaign biography, which would then be used by the more devoutly Republican dailles and weeklies in upstate New York.

My chore was to keep the story brief and smoothly readable-a blending of fact, garnished with adjectives of praise. It was in 2 days finished and then, according to schedule, I took a taxi to his home, a brownstone in the east seventies where, after a hard day's campaigning, he would be waiting to review

my manuscript.

It had been a very hard day upstate, with speeches every half hour in a dozen towns, and he now received me in carpet slippers and in the same type of foullard dressing gown in which he died, and then sat immediately at his desk with my biography before him, going over it with the frozen face of a good lawyer, its strong contours plain in the yellow light of his desk lamp, his massive Scotch features intent on my double-spaced manuscript, his chunky fingers busy with a blue pencil.

While I sat opposite him in a comfortable black leather client's chair (both of us at the bottom of a canyon of law books whose ponderous titles stared out from each of the four walls) wondering uneasily what he was up to. For the manuscript, even though it was to appear anonymously, was still my own. The poor thing was now at the mercy of the vanity of a candidate. With that blue pencil he was stabbing, butchering my piece. Had not my carefully chosen words of praise been strong enough for his appetite, inflamed as this probably was by the hand clappings of the Republican crowds?

Back in a taxi at last, by the light of a dying sunset coming through the windows over the treetops of Central Park, eagerly I fumbled through the pages to see what his candidate's blue pencil had done to that

campaign biography.

Well, what remained of it were only factsnames, dates, offices he had held-a recital as coldly stark as the data on a tombstone. And heavily blue-penciled out of the lifestory was every one of my adjectives of praise-however mild, and however richly deserved.

He failed because in that year New York's voters were not ready for cold facts, and Herbert Lehman, warmed by the radiance of the Roosevelt smile, coasted in to victory. But a look back, now, at the Dulles inflexible brinkmanship: Without losing an acre of ground for the free world, it has kept us out of war. We have avoided it largely because all knew that, under Dulles, we

would not shrink from it.

We have had more adroitly flexible Secretaries of State. Dean Acheson, for one—limber-limbed as a Bolshoi ballerina—pranced and pirouetted us into the Korean war only because this man of infinite tact had not made it crudely clear that Korea lay within our defense perimeter and that, should one Red soldier cross the 38th, then surely we would fight. A few words of frightening bluntness, spoken at the proper time, would have alarmed the neutralist world, but would have saved American lives.

In serving freedom's cause this coldly logical mind did not fear to walk alone or, as once happened, in strange company. When the British and French (after much provocation, of course) seized Suez, he did not hesitate to rebuke these, our warmest allies, with the righteous wrath of an Old Testament prophet, alining himself for one brief moment with the Soviet Union, but showing the skeptical neutralist world that we stood foursquare for law and freedom, even when these were violated by our friends.

So now he passes into history, leaving us with our heels dug firmly in on the Berlin

perimeter. Let us hope that Mr. Herter and President Eisenhower will have the courage to keep us there.-W. L. W.

Questions and Answers on the 1959 Amendments to the Railroad Retirement Act and Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, railroad workers and their families will receive higher benefits as a result of amendments to the railroad retirement and unemployment insurance laws which were signed by the President May 19. The following questions and answers explain the changes that were made by these amendments.

RETIREMENT-SURVIVOR BENEFIT PROGRAMS

First. What changes were made in the railroad retirement and survivor pro-

Changes in these programs are as follows: First, monthly benefits and insurance lump sums were increased 10 percent; second, reduced benefits are payable as early as age 62 to spouses of 65year-old retired employees and to women employees; third, employers and employees will pay higher taxes; fourth, the limit or creditable earnings was raised to \$400 a month; fifth, the work restrictions for disability annuitants and for survivor beneficiaries who work outside the United States were modified; and sixth, payments under the Railroad Retirement Act are no longer considered income in determining eligibility for certain veterans' benefits.

Second. When will the higher annuities become payable?

The increases in annuities take effect with payments for the month of June and the increases in almost all benefits will be reflected in the July 1 or August 1 checks. Beneficiaries are asked not to write to the board regarding increases in their benefits, as it will only delay the making of adjustments.

Third. How will employee annuities be affected by the amendments?

Benefits to employees will be about 10 percent higher under a new formula. The formula, which is applied to the employee's monthly compensation, is as follows: 3.35 percent of the first \$50; 2.51 percent of the next \$100; and 1.67 percent of the remainder.

The amount of the monthly benefit is found by multiplying the sum of these amounts by the employee's years of serv-

Fourth. What is the highest annuity an employee who retired now could re-

An employee with 30 years of service and maximum creditable earnings could receive an annuity of \$205 beginning June 1, 1959.

Fifth. When I retired, my annuity was computed under the railroad minimum formula. Will I receive a higher benefit under the new law?

Yes. The amounts of minimum annuities were also raised 10 percent. If an employee has a current connection with the railroad industry when he retires, his annuity cannot be less than the lowest of the following amounts: \$5 times his years of service; \$83.50; or 110 percent of his monthly compensation.

Sixth. Is there a new formula for

computing a wife's annuity?

No. A wife's annuity is equal to half of the employee's annuity, as under the old law. However, all wives on the Board's rolls will receive increases of about 10 percent in their annuities because the employee annuities on which they are based will be increased and because the amendments established a new maximum for wives' annuities. Formerly, the maximum wife's annuity was equal to the largest amount that could be paid as a wife's benefit under the Social Security Act; the maximum is now 110 percent of that amount.

Seventh. Will the survivors of deceased railroad employees get higher

benefits?

Yes. A new formula for computing the "basic amount," which determines the amount of survivor benefits, provides for monthly survivor benefits and insurance lump sums which will be about 10 percent higher than under the old law.

Eighth. Were the maximum and minimum amounts of survivor benefits

changed?

Yes. The new maximum family benefit under the railroad survivor formula is 234 times the basic amount up to \$193.60. The minimum family benefit is \$16.95. However, benefits may be higher if they are computed under the social security minimum guarantee provision.

Ninth. I am receiving an annuity computed under the social security minimum guaranty provision. Will I receive a

higher benefit?

Yes. Your benefit will be increased 10 percent. Railroad employees and their families are now guaranteed that their total monthly benefits under the Railroad Retirement Act will not be less than 110 percent of the amount, or 110 percent of the additional amount, that would be payable if the employee's railroad service after 1936 had been covered by the Social Security Act.

Tenth, My father's railroad pension was taken over by the Railroad Retirement Board in 1937. Did the amendments provide for an increase in his

benefit?

Yes. The amendments provided for 10 percent increases in all monthly benefits, including pensions.

Eleventh. Will I have to apply for a

recomputation of my annuity?

No. You do not have to apply for a recomputation of your annuity. Except for a small group who will be notified, all beneficiaries on the Board's rolls will receive the increases in their benefits automatically.

Twelfth. What are the new provisions

for reduced benefits?

Wives and dependent husbands of retired 65-year-old employees and women employees who have less than 30 years of railroad service can retire as early as age 62 on reduced benefits. The annuity is reduced 1/180 for each month the applicant is under 65 when the annuity begins. The first month for which these benefits will be payable is June 1959.

Thirteenth. What is the new limit on

creditable earnings?

Railroad earnings up to \$400 a month after May 1959 will be creditable and can be included in figuring an employee's monthly compensation and average monthly remuneration.

Fourteenth. What are the new tax rates on employers and employees?

As of June 1, 1959, employers and employees will each pay a tax of 634 percent on earnings up to \$400 a month. In 1962, the rate will rise to 714 percent, and after 1964, the rate will be increased, on a conditional basis, by the same number of percentage points as the social security tax rate exceeds 234 percent.

Fifteenth. Will the new tax rates provide enough income to put the railroad retirement system on a sound financial basis?

Yes. According to estimates by the Board's actuaries, the new tax rates are nearly adequate and will provide sufficient income to keep the system on a reasonably sound financial basis.

Sixteenth. If I pay higher railroad retirement taxes, will I be guaranteed higher benefits?

Yes, all formulas are increased 10 per-Also, railroad employees are guaranteed by means of a residual payment that they and their families will receive more in benefits than they paid in railroad retirement taxes. The formula for computing this benefit-which becomes payable only after the employee's death-has been revised to take into account the higher taxes which will be paid by employees. The gross amount of the benefit, before any deductions because of railroad retirement or social security benefits, will be computed as follows: 4 percent of the employee's creditable earnings after 1936 and before 1947; 7 percent of his earnings after 1946 and before 1959; 71/2 percent of his earnings after 1958 and before 1962; plus 8 percent of his earnings after 1961.

Seventeenth. What change was made in the work restrictions for survivor annuitants?

The work restrictions which apply to a survivor beneficiary who works outside the United States are the same as for individuals who work in the United States. Beginning with 1959, a beneficiary may earn up to \$1,200 a year in employment-or self-employment-that is not covered by the Railroad Retirement Act without losing his annuity for any month. If he earns more than \$1,200, his annuity will be withheld for 1 month for each \$80 or part of \$80 he earns over \$1,200, but not for any month he earns less than \$100—or, if self-employed, does not have substantial self-employment. These restrictions only apply if the beneficiary is under age 72.

Formerly, if a survivor beneficiary under age 72 worked outside the United States on 7 or more days in employment that was not covered by the Social Security Act, his annuity was withheld for that month.

Eighteenth. What are the new work restrictions for disability annuitants?

As before, if a disability annuitant under age 65 earns more than \$100 in a month, his annuity is withheld for that month; and if he fails to report such earnings on time his annuity may be withheld for one or more additional months as a penalty. These provisions have not been changed. However, any annuity payments which have been withheld may be payable at the end of the year if the employee's annual earnings are not more than \$1,200.

In counting annual earnings for this purpose, earnings in last person and railroad employment are not counted, since no annuities are payable for any month in which such employment occurred. If the annual earnings are more than \$1,200, the annuity cannot be withheld for more than 1 month for each \$100 the employee earned in excess of \$1,200, counting the last \$50 as \$100. This provision applies to earnings in 1959—and later years.

Nineteenth. How are railroad employees who are eligible for veterans' pensions affected by the new law?

A Veterans' Administration pension which is based on non-service-connected disability is not payable if the veteran's income exceeds certain limitations. Railroad retirement and survivor benefits are no longer considered income for this purpose. Retired employees who waived all or part of their annuity in order to qualify for a veteran's pension should revoke the waiver.

UNEMPLOYMENT-SICKNESS BENEFIT PROGRAMS

Twentieth. What changes were made in the unemployment and sickness programs?

A number of changes were made in these programs: First, unemployed and sick railroad workers will receive higher benefits; second, provision was made for extended unemployment benefits; third, the qualifying earnings requirement was increased; fourth, the limit on creditable earnings was raised; fifth, Sundays and holidays will be treated the same as other days in figuring unemployment benefits; sixth, the number of days of unemployment required before benefits can be paid in a first registration period was reduced from 7 to 4; seventh, employers will pay higher taxes; and eighth, the Railroad Retirement Board can borrow funds from the railroad retirement account when the balance in the unemployment benefit account is low.

Twenty-first. What are the new benefit rates for unemployment and sickness?

An employee's daily benefit rate for unemployment or sickness will be determined in one of two ways:

(a) From the following schedule: Employee's creditable base-year earnings:

Da	lly
benefi	t rate
\$500 to \$699.99	84.50
\$700 to \$999.99	5.00
\$1,000 to \$1,299.99	5, 50
\$1,300 to \$1,599.99	6.00
\$1,600 to \$1,899.99	6.50
\$1,900 to \$2,199.99	7.00
\$2,200 to \$2,499.99	7.50
\$2,500 to \$2,799.99	8,00
\$2,800 to \$3,099.99	8.50
\$3,100 to \$3,499.99	9.00
\$3,500 to \$3,999.99	9.50
\$4,000 and over	10.20

(b) An employee's daily benefit rate is raised to 60 percent of his daily rate of pay on his last railroad job in the base year, if this amount is higher than his daily benefit rate according to the schedule. The daily benefit rate, however, cannot exceed \$10.20.

The new rates are retroactive to July 1, 1958, for normal unemployment and sickness benefits, and to January 1, 1958, for extended unemployment benefits.

Twenty-second. What provisions were made for extended unemployment benefits?

Extended unemployment benefit periods were provided for employees who did not quit voluntarily without good cause or voluntarily retire, as follows:

First, employees who have 15 or more years of railroad service can be paid benefits for as many as 130 additional days of unemployment in a 26-week period after they exhaust regular unemployment benefits. Employees who have 10-14 years of service can be paid for as many as 65 additional days in a 14-week period after they exhaust regular unemployment benefits. These benefits can begin as early as January 1, 1958.

Second, employees who have at least 10 years of railroad service and who become unemployed in a benefit year in which they are not qualified for benefits may start the next benefit year early if they are qualified for that year. This provision is also retroactive to January 1, 1958.

Twenty-third. Can employees who have less than 10 years of railroad service receive extended unemployment benefits?

Yes, but the provision for these benefits was not made part of the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act, and the benefits are payable on a temporary basis only. Employees who have less than 10 years of service and who exhausted their unemployment benefits after June 30, 1957, and before April 1, 1959, can be paid benefits for an additional 65 days of unemployment in registration periods beginning in the period June 19, 1958-June 30, 1959. However, an employee cannot establish a claim for benefits under both this provision and the Tempotary Unemployment Compensation Act of 1958.

Twenty-fourth. If I have 10 or more years of railroad service and exhaust normal benefit rights for unemployment, what should I do to receive benefits in an extended benefit period?

agent. The Board will determine your each day over 7. That is, benefits for eligibility from its records and make payments for the extended period if you are eligible.

Twenty-fifth. What service is counted toward eligibility for benefits in an

extended period?

Any service that is creditable under the Railroad Retirement Act. In addition to the service shown on an employee's BA-6, this includes creditable service before 1937 and service after the end of the base

Twenty-sixth. When does an employee exhaust his rights to regular un-

employment benefits?

An employee exhausts his rights to regular unemployment benefits under any of the following conditions: First, he has been paid benefits for 130 days in a benefit year; second, he has been paid benefits in a benefit year equal to his base-year compensation, or third, a normal benefit year ends in which he has drawn unemployment benefits less than the maximum amount for which he was qualified.

Twenty-seventh. Can I receive sickness benefits during an extended benefit period or before the regular beginning

date of a benefit year?

Yes. You can receive sickness benefits in a benefit year which has been extended for unemployment benefits or which began early. Sickness benefits will be paid as in a normal benefit year, with benefits limited to 130 days or to an amount equal to your base-year compensation.

Twenty-eighth. Are registration periods in an extended benefit period different from other registration periods?

Yes. Ordinarily, a reigstration period must start with a claimed day of unemployment. In an extended benefit period the registration periods are an unbroken sequence of 7 or 13 2-weeks periods, and the beginning date of each depends on when the extended benefit period began. This period begins on the first day of unemployment after exhaustion of benefits in the normal benefit year.

Twenty-ninth. How can I find out if I am eligible for retroactive benefit payments for unemployment or sickness?

The Railroad Retirement Board will notify all employees who are eligible for retroactive benefit payments for unemployment or sickness. Employees are asked not to write to the Board, as it will only delay the payment of benefits. All but a small number of 1958-59 beneficiaries will receive additional pay-

Thirtieth. What is the new qualifying earnings requirement?

An employee must have creditable railroad earnings of at least \$500 in a base year (calendar year) in order to qualify for unemployment or sickness benefits in the benefit year which begins the following July 1. If an employee's creditable earnings were at least \$500 in 1958, he is qualified for benefits in the period July 1, 1959-June 30, 1960.

Thirty-first. What change has been made in the waiting period for unemployment benefits?

In his first unemployment registration period, an employee can be paid for each

Continue to register with your claims day of unemployment over 4, instead of basis as benefits for subsequent periods.

Thirty-second. What is the effect of removing the Sunday and holiday disqualification?

Formerly, a Sunday or a holiday was counted as a day of unemployment only if the day before and the day after were days of unemployment. The removal of this requirement means that a railroad employee who, for example, regularly works a 5-day week has 4 days of unemployment in every 2-week period when he is employed full time. Since in all registration periods unemployment benefits can now be paid for 10 days out of the 14, an employee who regularly works a 5-day week can receive benefits whenever he loses a day's work, or whenever there is a holiday-other than on a Saturday or Sunday-for which he is not paid wages.

Thirty-third. Was the waiting period for sickness benefits also changed?

No; as before, benefits are payable for all days of sickness over 7 in an employee's first sickness registration period.

Thirty-fourth. What is the new limit

on creditable earnings?

Railroad earnings up to \$400 a month after May 1959 can be counted in an employee's base-year compensation for service performed after May 1959.

Thirty-fifth. How were the provisions for financing the unemployment and sickness benefit programs modified?

Beginning June 1, 1959, railroad employers will pay taxes on earnings up to \$400 a month and the tax rate will rise to 334 percent. This is the maximum rate under a new schedule for employer contributions. As before, the rate for any calendar year will depend on the balance in the railroad unemployment insurance account on September 30 of the previous year. The new schedule is as follows:

					Rate
Balance:				pe	rcent
8450 million or					1.5
\$400 million,	but	less	than	\$450	
million					2.0
\$350 million,	but	less	than	\$400	
million					2.5
\$300 million,	but	less	than	\$350	
million					3.0
Less than \$300	milli	on	- Chronic		9 75

The amendments also gave the Railroad Retirement Board authority to borrow money from the railroad retirement account for the railroad unemployment account when the balance in the unemployment account is not sufficient to pay benefits that are due. When the money is returned, interest at 3 percent a year will be paid to the retirement account.

#### A Time for Anger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. EDITH GREEN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 1, 1959

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker. the Committee on Education and Labor

is presently occupied in the study of a labor-management reform bill. daily papers, and the daily mail of probably every Member of the Congress, are filled with comments on this bill. As a conservative estimate, I would assume that 90 percent of the editorial comment and the mail expresses deep concern over abuses committed by union officials. The long hearings of the McClellan committee and the House Education and Labor Committee demonstrated that the corruption and antisocial activities are characteristic, not of the great mass of labor nor of the great mass of employers, but of a tiny handful of each. A small percentage of employers and a small percentage of union officials have been deeply embroiled in the shady situations and corrupt practices of which we have heard so much lately. It is important, Mr. Speaker, that we be reminded that this is so. It is important, Mr. Speaker, that, together with the properly indignant protests of businessmen against union corruption, we hear the equally proper protests of honest and forthright union officials against business corruption. It is also important-yes, imperative-that this situation be remedied.

Mr. Al Whitehouse, of the Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO, has voiced such a protest in an address given at the public relations seminar, Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration

on April 16, 1959.

Mr. Whitehouse's speech entitled "A Time for Anger," is the forthright statement of a man whose career is an example of the best in the American labor movement. A dedicated Christian, a person deeply committed to democracy in all its phases, Al Whitehouse has risen through the ranks of labor, to the position of director of the industrial union department. I know and admire Al Whitehouse, Mr. Speaker, and I think his statement deserves widespread attention:

#### A TIME FOR ANGER (By Albert Whitehouse)

Not long ago, a prominent New Jersey racketeer committed suicide. He was blessed with a society wife and was known as the the number one man in lucrative rackets. Why he chose to hang himself may someday make an interesting research paper for some aspiring doctor of philosophy.

Although he was a known racketeer, this man was reported to have connections with the high and the mighty of our world

and to command their respect.

Among other things, the Jersey racketeer was reported to be the head of a \$100 million steel company. He still retained his control in the underworld but had graduated to the heights of American enterprise.

In years to come, some novelist intent on movie and TV rights will probably ro-manticize this man as "Scarface" has already been romanticized. In the national scheme of things, it appears to be success alone that counts, no matter how attained.

While the business community wasn't much put out about the suicide of our New Jersey rackcteer, neither was it at all squeamish about dealing with him while he was alive. After all, business is business and the so-called neutral market is said to have no ethical values.

The Wall Street Journal reported some time ago that the Justice Department is planning a drive against the blue chip bosses of the underworld. These are big financiers who operate out of fancy New York office suites and who, among other things, are middlemen bringing together the nether world and respected enterprise.

These are well-known facts in American life, but they hardly appear to get anybody excited least of all the NAM, the chamber of commerce, or the heads of our big corporations.

In truth, respectable America seems to be unable to get mad at anything, even the Soviet leadership. There is, of course, one exception. Big business, the press, and our more reactionary Congresamen have whipped up a storm over organized labor. Our unions-clean or corrupt-have become the very convenient target for the ire of middlebrow and middle-class America.

When a racketeer operates within the framework of a business, he is simply a crook-not a business racketeer. Let same man change his operations to a union and he becomes a labor racketeer while his activities are used to smear even the average

union member.

Nobody has proposed to close up the banks because some midwestern banker recently swindled the depositors out of \$450,-000 through an embezzlement scheme. Nor has anybody proposed to shut down industry because the New Jersey racketeer was also chairman of a big company.

The underworld's connections to legitimate enterprise are well known. Nobody has proposed to do anything about it and few seem even disturbed at the extent of organized crime in America. Revelations of organized crime seem to lead only to feeble

efforts at law enforcement.

Crime in America is a cancer eating at the vitals of our society. Attorney General William Rogers has placed the cost of crime in 1958 at a staggering \$20 billion-more than we spend on schools, roads or wage increases.

Bank president and bank clerk are equally involved in crime. Embezzlers in the high places are proportionately as common as petty thieves in the low. The excuses of the petty crook and the big time operators are about the same.

#### MADE IN THE MARKETPLACE

The social values of today's world are made in the marketplace. When the State of New York last year established a Division of Consumer Frauds and Protection, it was swamped with complaints.

Sales Management, a trade magazine, reported last year that the payoff is customary in American business and that, in one form or another, it has become an expected part

of sales practices.

Last fall the Harvard Business Review carried an article by Dr. Theodore Levitt, prominent marketing and economic consultant who, among other things, is adviser to Standard Oil of Indiana.

Dr. Levitt's article was entitled, "The Dangers of Social Responsibility." He declared that the worst thing that can happen is for the businessman to develop a sense of social responsibility for his product and his

marketplace conduct.

The businessman, according to this industry spokesman, has no responsibility for his product nor is he answerable for consequences just so long as he remains within the letter of the law. If he manufactures gimeracks that won't last, it's up to the buyer to beware. So far as Mr. Levitt is con-cerned, the businessman's sole responsibility is to see that the price is right and that the product sells.

"If what is offered can be sold at a profit (not necessarily a long run profit), then it's legitimate. The cultural, spiritual, social, etc., consequences of his actions none of the businessman's business," this oracle of the marketplace proclaimed.

Dr. Levitt's views are not the exception in American enterprise. They are justified by what is described as the "neutral" market a bazaar with laws of its own making.

Far too often, the businessman addresses himself to the marketplace as if it were motivated by some force akin to the nether gods of Viking folklore. And like the Vikings of yesteryear, today's businessman seeks to propitiate his marketplace gods with incantation and sacrifice.

The myth of the neutral market is as hollow as the outlook of those who proclaim it. The very same persons who proclaim the neutrality of the market are first to seek to corrupt society with hidden persuaders intended to make fools of all of us.

The February 1959 issue of Dun's Review carries another indictment of today's business morality. Here, business is damned unknowingly by one of its more ardent wooers, Mr. Martin Mayer, author of "Madison Avenue, U.S.A."

Mr. Mayer places a stamp of approval upon style obsolescence in durable consumer goods—urging substitution of empty style change for true improvement in the product.

Mr. Mayer has also declared that planned obsolescence of goods through premeditated materials failure is good business practice. In plain language, the market is to be loaded down with junk if that's the best way to assure sales at prices that industry seeks to

This author asks that subjective judgments be set aside in considering the issue. "\* \* \* it is clear," he pontificated, "that a pattern of successful style obsolescence must eventually be reinforced by a decrease in the durability of the product."

America's resources aren't endless and trouble lies ahead if they are expended on such swindles as planned obsolescence. Quite apart from even this consideration, planned obsolescence imposes enormous hidden costs upon the consumer and robs him of higher living standards.

I have heard charges of featherbedding against organized labor until I'm weary. To listen to the righteous fathers of the NAM. our workers are loafers and our union members want triple pay for standing around.

Sure, there's some featherbedding in some unions. But despite this so-called crime, only 50,000 of the Nation's 300,000 union musicians have full-time jobs and this union is supposed to be among the worst offenders. If you will look at the record you will find that this union hasn't stopped the advance of technology in its field. At the risk of being labeled a reactionary, I sometimes wish they had, especially when I am forced to listen to the wailing of a jukebox in some restaurant when I am seeking peace and

By comparison, industry featherbedding is monstrous. What's worse, society justifies and accepts it. The cost of phony style obsolescence and planned materials obsolescence adds billions to the bills of our consuming public. Honest investigation will show that this has more to do with rising price levels than any wage increases.

We have accepted the morality and success standards of the marketplace and they color our every action. Recently on TV, Groucho Marx facetiously asked a young coed of obviously good home about the kind of man she wanted to marry. Her choice was a stereotype—good looking, good clothes, and good income. Integrity and decency apparently had little or nothing to do with the Youth's sole rebellion in these days of prosperity appears to be in the direction of juvenile delinquency. In view of our elders' values, who can blame the juveniles?

How can industry expect its employees to bleed for it if it treats the public like so many suckers? The corporation board that winks at stock deals, yachts, hunting lodges, ex-pense account living, and hijinks for its executives shouldn't be horrified at pilferage among the rank and file.

In the twenties, Texas Guinan, the showgirl, had a work for it-"Hi, Sucker." Today, the idea that only suckers really work is imbedded in our society. Why should the average employee overexert himself, after all, if he's to be considered a "square"?

#### AMERICA'S DOUBLE STANDARD

There's a double standard in America-one for the boss and one for the worker; one for labor and one for everybody else. Organized labor has become a whipping boy for our every ill. No longer does there seem to be hard thinking about ourselves or our institutions-even within our universities.

Such is the state of affairs that when organized labor erects a modern structure to house its staffs, there is a lifting of eyebrows. But nobody even blinked when the National Geographic Society announced recently that it was junking its impressive marble halls in favor of a multimillion dollar structure of modern design,

Some time ago, I was at a gathering of polite people in an upper middle income The locale could have been outside of any large city in the U.S.A. The group was all-professional, of middle age and upward-doctors, lawyers, government career-

ists, and their wives.

To hear these good people, organized labor is to blame for virtually everything from the Berlin crisis to nationalist outbursts in Nyasaland. What bothered me most was that all the disagreement was virtually as polite as the agreement. Nobody got angry: nobody had a point of view truly worth fight-

These professionals seemed to have forgotten the past, although some suffered in the depression and others had been caught

up in yesteryear's wartides.

A strange myopia afflicted the crowd, or so it seemed to me. The doctors were remarkably unconcerned over the kind of closed shop enforced by the American Medical Association. The rising costs of medical care, the pushing up by doctors of their fees, or other unsavory aspects of organized medicine. The lawyers were equally unconcerned about the activities of the American Bar Association, even the recent ABA attack upon the Supreme Court because it had upheld traditional civil liberties.

Organized labor is not holy or beyond reproach. In some cases, unions have been entrapped by the same corruptions that have afflicted other organizations and groups. course, action must be taken to root out this corruption. Labor itself recognizes the dan-gers better than any other group within our society and it is doing something about it.

I think I can say in all honesty that labor is almost alone in its lack of smugness toward this and other major problems of our day. I don't mean either that our halo's on too tight. Nor do I mean that some among us haven't grown smug and self-satis-

But organized labor is one of the last places where a nonconformist can still hold a job. It is one of the few groups which has refused to stand by while freedom is traded away in the name of some imagined security. Had it not been for labor's protests, the Defense Department's security program might have degenerated into a nightmare, especially in the day of McCarthy.

Where else in America, other than in the labor movement, are the ethics of the marketplace subject even to critical appraisal?

Who, in America, other than labor, now speaks up for the underdog?

Who else in America dares even remind big enterprise that the primary purpose of production is a better life, not better profits?

Like every other organization subjected to the erosions of time, organized labor has been affected by institutionalism. The fighting idealism of yesterday has been lost in some cases. But the institutional drives remain and these are drives that are good for America because they compel the union to represent the interests of the average man. Despite the press, these are not just mouthings. Our fight for a better minimum wage is real, so is our fight for better housing and so is our

struggle for racial equality.

Much of organized labor's idealism remains. If you don't think so, go to a local union meeting where unpaid officers administer the affairs of struggling organizations far removed from the power politics of Washington. Or go on the job where stewards—average Joes and Janes—take up the cudgels for their fellows as an accepted part of their unpaid assignments.

Come South along with me. Here, the struggle for organization goes on in the face of terrible odds. Here, organizers are still beaten up and run out of town, as happened only recently to a Textile Workers Union organizer and one from the Hosiery Workers.

Despite the odds, men still go back into the Southland with the union message. These men who work for struggling unions could get jobs elsewhere. They return after defeat because they know that only the union can answer the problems of the exploited worker. Call this misplaced idealism in an age of cynicism, if you will. But thank God, as well, that there still is some small share of it in the land.

If, by big labor, you mean big unions, then there is big labor in America. But just remember that when a strike takes place, it is individual working people who rally to their organizations. The biggest union in the world couldn't make its strike instructions stick if workers weren't convinced that without the union they would be nothing.

Contrary to the popular view, most of our unions are anything but big. Many are still struggling for bargaining rights in unequal battles with employers. And while strikes are won, they also are lost. Yet, the battle goes on and it will continue as long as labor must fight the morality and the values of the marketplace.

#### SOMETHING IS MISSING

Something seems to have gone out of American life. It's a sense of sympathy for one's fellow man, a sense of integrity, an understanding of the other fellow's right to human dignity.

There was a day when the picket line of underpaid textile workers commanded sympathy. There was a time when the plight of the farm worker was of national concern. There was a day even when the Nation cared about its poor, and that wasn't so long ago.

The latest figures show that millions of workers remain unemployed and the projections show that joblessness will remain high. Congress doesn't seem to care, and the President appears perfectly willing to sacrifice the welfare of the jobless to budget balancing and economy.

Like the weather, a measure of unemployment now seems to be taken for granted. A few years ago, the rate was four percent. Now six percent of our manpower willing and able to work is jobless, and only labor really seem to give a tinker's damn.

A few years back, labor was informed that the key to jobs and prosperity is high productivity. In the abstract, that's absolutely correct. Labor responded with a will and produced more than ever.

When automation came along, we raised no objection. Some of us wondered what the social consequences might be but the experts pooh-poohed our fears and told us that automation would create more jobs than it would destroy. What's more, we were promised that these would be highly skilled job that would pay better.

We are also told that service and white collar employment opportunities would expand and that there would be plenty of new jobs in these areas. Every man, it seemed, would be free of drudgery and

what's more, the new technology would automatically bring about shorter hours.

A few who doubted cited the case of the farmer who then, as now, was being over-whelmed by his own productivity. We agreed that there ought to be more production and higher productivity. All we asked was assurance that this be transformed into prosperity for everybody.

Automation, we were told, would bring about a brave new world in which all our social and economic problems would be solved with the precision of an electronic computer. All we had to do, the experts said, was leave it to the corporations and to nature.

Nature's way, it appears, hasn't been good enough. Today, fewer manufacturing workers are turning out about 50 percent more goods than a decade ago.

Where are those jobs in the service trades? Where are the white collar jobs? And where, for that matter, are all those skilled

The same process that has cut down jobs in manufacturing is cutting down job opportunity in the service trades and in white collar. If this is the age of the atom and of automation, it is also the age of the computor. The same computer that has made possible the robot factory is also making possible office, warehouse, and store automation.

In the steel industry, some 100,000 jobs are gone forever. In autos, the situation is even worse. Year after year, more and more farmers are tractored off the land. Year by year, the work force grows as the war bables of the forties enter the job market.

By 1965, over 1,250,000 new workers will enter the job market annually. At this time, the Nation will have a work force of 78 million. Even if gross output expands at a rate higher than today, the mid-sixtles will be a time of high joblessness.

#### THOSE ROSY PROMISES

What happened to the rosy promises of yesterday?

What kind of future can we offer today's unemployed and tomorrow's eager youth?

Who cares? Certainly not our corporate employers. And, this administration appears to care even less. I wish I could say that the leadership of the Democratic Party truly cares but even they don't seem much concerned. Certainly, Congress has yet to come forward with a program that will put the Nation back to work.

This is the great immorality of today—an immorality worse by far than the hand in the till. Nobody seems to care very much any more—nobody but organized labor and the lobless.

Today, in Clearfield County, Pa., in Hightop, W. Va., in Washington, D.C., and in other cities and counties in most of our industrial States, children and their elders are eating mollygrub.

"What's mollygrub?" you may ask.

It's a diet of Federal surplus foods. Millions in this country are dependent in some measure on this diet.

In Washington, D.C., a family of one to five persons dependent on public assistance or living in abject poverty is eligible for one unit of mollygrub. That unit consisted, some time ago, of a monthly allotment of 10 pounds of flour, 5 pounds of cornmeal, 5 pounds of cheddar cheese, 5 pounds of rice, and 4½ pounds of powdered milk. The total value of this package has been estimated at \$6.

Some 7,000 children in the Washington, D.C., public schools are hungry each day and so far there has been only talk of feeding them, since our National Congress hasn't seen fit to appropriate extra funds for their lunches. A Washington, D.C., newspaper recently ran a series on poverty in our Nation's Capital. It found that 31,000 families—over

100,000 men, women, and children-live in dire want

Side by side with hunger at home and with even worse hunger abroad, are whole warehouses full of surplus food. Year by year, we stockpile this food as a monument to the folly of our marketplace morality.

As the idle miners of Hightop, W. Va., eat their sparce surplus food diet of dried milk and rice, the Government warehouses are bursting with wheat, corn, butter, eggs, dried fruits, peanut butter, dried meats, and almost every other variety of food.

By next July, the United States will have

By next July, the United States will have invested \$9 billion in surplus foods. Under the flexible farm support program of Ezra Taft Benson, the surplus grows year by year. Flexible supports meant more intensive cultivation of the land last year and another 300 million bushels of wheat were surplus. This year, there will be a bumper corn crop which should mean meat in plenty even for the jobless.

The peoples of the entire world know about our farm glut. If they become anti-American, this food surplus that they cannot touch may have something to do with it. The reasons will have much more to do with hunger than pro-Communism.

On the subject of the spread of communism, I would like to point out that the peoples of the entire world also know about our many millionaires. I wish we could get just I percent of our more than a quarter of a million millionaires to visit all other countries of the world to testify personally and publicly that the largest contributing factors toward the acquisition of their millions and positions of wealth are the basic and radical principles of our American Declaration of Independence and our U.S. Constitution. This would do more to sell American capitalism to the rest of the world than anything I know of that is being done today.

Because we are fools, we have geared our food surplus program to the market. Today, the food cannot be passed out to those in need even at home unless this will stabilize prices. The chase for higher farm prices, like the chase for the hard dollar, is the excuse for denying food to the hungry.

That's the law, and the law, after all, must be respected even though it makes jackasses of us. The thought that the law might be changed so that the hungry might be fed seems to send shivers down the spines of respectable businessmen who look upon this as the backdoor to socialism.

This year, \$4 billion are being spent for price supports to carry out Uncle Ezra Benson's flexible farm price policy. Another billion will be required simply to pay storage costs for our mountain of surplus foods.

If just the amount of money now going to pay for storage were spent to feed the hungry of America, a big dent would be made in food surpluses. This would do more to stabilize prices than any support program since the expenditure would permanently remove millions of pounds of food from the market. This could be done without entering into competition with our usual food distribution outlets.

Senator WAYNE Morse recently charged that "we do a better job of feeding our livestock" than we do in feeding our hungry children. The Oregon lawmaker pointed out that "when cattle starve, half the U.S. Air Force files hay to them."

The surplus food program is financed by 30 percent of the receipts of all customs received by the United States under terms of a law enacted in 1935. Last year, the Department of Agriculture could have spent \$220 million for this purpose and could also have dipped into \$300 million of unobligated balances carried forward from previous years.

Such was the state of morality in the recession year of 1958 that Secretary Benson turned back unspent to the Federal Treasury \$83.5 million which will be forever lost for this purpose.

This money was deliberately withheld from the poorest and weakest of our soclety. When Benson turned it back to the Treasury, he virtually took food from the mouths of hungry babies.

This is the same man who, in the name of economic good sense and marketplace morality, ran up the agricultural budget to \$7 billion.

The crime of Benson is far more serious than that of the New Jersey racketeer I mentioned at the start of this talk. Benson, however, acted within the framework of law and in the name of morality.

Even as Benson turned back his "surplus" funds, a local union president from the Textile Workers Union had this to say in

testimony before the Congress:

"We have read in the papers that the [Agriculture] Department does have funds to buy more surplus commodities. If this is the case, it is a national scandal that hungry children, to say nothing of their parents, in communities like ours are not receiving sufficient nourishing and palatable foods to meet their urgent needs.

Here is an indictment that speaks for itself. Ask yourselves who are the guilty in our society and answer the question hon-The answer is hardly pleasant.

#### OUR ADVANCED CIVILIZATION

Yes, our is an age of advanced civilization and one of advanced technology. We cower in the shadow of the H-bomb and despite big talk, we refuse even to meet our responsibilities in harnessing the energy of the atom for peaceful purposes.

A major problem for the industrial workers of the new age will be protection from the killing effects of radiation. Great new problems are appearing in this area-problems both of adequate safety and of compensation

to those injured on the job.

Recently, industry spokesmen appeared before a joint Congress committee to state their views. The head of a big insurance company urged no Federal action to set safety standards until the States prove they will not or cannot do the job. How many must die or suffer the pangs of radiation sickness before industry is convinced of the need for uniform safety and compensation standards?

Here, too, the same old arguments of statism and cost were raised by industry in the same old basis as in yesterday's world. So callous were industry spokesmen that Representative CHET HOLIFIELD finally declared: "You are talking about a material that throws rays through 5 feet of concrete and

kills people."

This is the morality of our day. It is a morality that permits the \$150,000-a-year executive to cut himself into a stock melon while condemning a 20 cents an hour union-won Wage increase as inflationary. A recent report of the State of New York showed that there are now 45 persons in that State alone with incomes of over a million a year. Wealthy are very much still with us and they probably get a big bang out of seeing labor blamed for so many of today's ills.

Labor is blamed today for the results of

the administered prices of big business— for an inflation that has its roots in a business policy geared to maximum unit profits instead of maximum production. Labor has become the whipping boy for outlandish profits of our monopolistic corporations. To blame the factory worker with his average wage of \$87 weekly for inflation is nonsense. This worker is the victim of inflation, not its cause.

It is strange that we hear little today about the mad speculation in Wall Street, and its effects upon inflation, but then the

profits made there don't go to working peo-ple. Today's land speculation is fantastic, but the speculators don't work in auto or steel plants and they aren't unemployed,

os their profits must be perfectly kosher.

Nor has anybody even talked about the growth of a technical and middle management bureaucracy that fattens on itself and adds significantly to costs. In these days of upper-middle-income suburbia, it just wouldn't do to talk about these cracks in

management's picture window.

Hundreds of thousands of displaced workers stand as a monument to today's productivity and this productivity unemployment is the best answer to those who lay featherbedding, high wages, and inflation at labor's door. The plain fact is that unit labor costs in key industry haven't gone up significantly and that management has recouped wage increases through the rise of output per manhour. What we need is ever wider markets for goods, not stagnant wage levels.

is time for a stock-taking in America and for ending senseless stockpiling. It is time to take up the cudgels against the present dead level of conformity and for plain old-fashioned decency. The American people need once more to understand that righteous wrath is not only permissible but desirable. America needs above all fewer pitchmen and more angry men. We need, possibly, fewer whitewashing detergents and more

soapboxes.

## Wisconsin Conservationists Offer Program To Prevent Sprayings Harmful to Wildlife

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 4, 1959

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, two of Wisconsin's foremost conservationists, Charles Brees and Dixie Larkin, both of Milwaukee, recently outlined their program to prevent pesticide sprayings from harming wildlife to the agriculture committee of the Wisconsin Senate.

The Brees-Larkin program, embodied in substitute amendment 1 to bill S. 557, would require spraying to be done by licensed and bonded firms during the time of year when the hazard to wildlife was lowest. As an added precaution, it would also require special permits for use of certain pesticides.

It seems to me the program deserves careful study in light of the action taken by the last Congress directing the Secretary of Interior to study the effects of pesticides upon fish and wildlife for the purpose of preventing losses of those invaluable natural resources following spraying. For, if the Federal study reveals a need for State action, the Wisconsin plan is available as a pilot measure for spraying control programs in other States:

STATEMENT OF CHARLES BREES AND DIXIE LARKIN TO THE WISCONSIN SENATE AGRI-CULTURE COMMITTEE ON BEHALF OF LEGIS-LATION TO PREVENT SPRAYINGS HARMFUL TO WILDLIFE

The present State Administrative Code, H. 89, on toxic insecticides was born in 1947. The organic phosphates and the chlori-nated hydrocarbons with their deadly re-

sidual and cumulative effects were then in their infancy. In 1956, total production of these poisons had risen to four times the total of 1947. These poisons rain down on the earth today with such density that few. if any, living things escape-plants, insects, birds, fish, animals, man, or his food. Not only are insects being killed, both the socalled pest insects as well as the invaluable pollinating and parasitic insects, but fish, birds, and animals are dying throughout the world, wherever these poisons are used. have proof through research by Dr. James DeWitte, chemist for the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service at Patuxent Wildlife Research Refuge, that after two generations of exposure to poison sprays, the pheasants and quail used in the experiment were unable to reproduce. Now, more and more well known and reliable physicians are speaking out publicly as to the damage both present and potential to human beings.

With this in mind, the situation as it now exists must be reevaluated here in Wisconsin and throughout the Nation. Laws, codes, or controls must be changed or enacted to fit the nightmarish power of these poisons today. Substitute amendment No. 1S to bill S. 557, attempts more adequately to regulate and control a situation which we feel has gotten completely out of control throughout our Nation. We believe (although it is not the ultimate in what we desire) it is a step

(1) It will eliminate the present administrative code, H. 89, which is weak and has proved to be quite inadequate.

(2) It will require a license for persons engaged in the business of spraying on for-est and noncrop areas with toxic poisons at a cost of \$50.

(3) It will require a surety bond in the amount of \$5,000.

(4) It places direct responsibility for the administration of the bill on the State Board of Health where we believe, after a great deal of research, it rightfully belongs.

Substitute amendment 5. 1 to does not include agricultural spraying. We does not include agricultural spraying. We Additives Amendment" signed into law last September 6 by President Eisenhower as to its enforcement. The bill does not include the individual property owner's home premises. It is mass and large area spraying in heavy populated areas that is the public health menace, and the thousands of acres throughout America today being sprayed for various and sundry reasons, that is slaughtering our wildlife and rendering much of it unproductive-wildlife being one of our greatest and most valuable resources.

(5) Substitute amendment S. 1 to bill S. 557 places spraying dates for the approved chlorinated hydrocarbons and organic phosphates November 1 to April 1 for southern Wisconsin and October 15 to April 15 for northern Wisconsin. We know the spraying can be done between these dates if there is really an earnest desire and concern on the part of the chemical sprayers and municipal authorities to do the least damage to wildlife, people, and beneficial insects.

We also know that after April 1 the migration of birds is in full swing. Over 85 species have reached their peak before April 15. These include ducks, geese, snipe, woodcock,

and all game species.

(6) Substitute amendment S. 1 to bill S. 557 requires permits for spraying large areas with the deadly chlorinated hydrocarbons and organic phosphates. Certainly poisons as dangerous as the modern sprays have proven to be need carefully kept records as it is in the repeated spraying with their resid-ual cumulative qualities and the large con-centrated amounts that do the most damage.

(7) The bill appropriates money for enforcement and provides a penalty of \$50 to \$500 for violation of the provisions. A second offense means a revoked license. Certainly no one who is careful and fully informed as to the dangers connected with these sprays

can object to this.

The resolution asks an interim study by our legislators on this very serious and complex problem in 1959-61 in an effort to determine the most effective manner in which to regulate and control the use of toxic poisons in order to protect humans and wildlife. Remember our wildlife is one of our greatest economic resources. In 1955, hunters and fishermen spent over \$3 billion, and there were 25 million licensed sportsmen that year. There were approximately 34 million licenses sold in 1958, a gain of 36 percent in 3 years. There is every reason to believe there will continue to be a rapid increase. Add the profit to sporting goods stores, gun makers, boat companies, tent makers, resort owners, and all the rest of it and you'll find even the elms are not worth that much. Our urban areas and parks are reservoirs for song birds, many game birds, and animals. They are invaluable to our school children who must study conservation and our teachers who must teach it. Our wild birds, both song and game, are fully protected by Federal laws during migration and nesting time. By what right does anyone destroy them or render them unproductive?

The interest of the Congress of the United States in the preservation and increase of wildlife is indicated by the passage of Public Law 85-582, which specifically directs the Secretary of the Interior to undertake continuing studies of the effects of pesticides on wildlife. State and Federal legislation to protect wildlife values has increased

in recent years.

We believe substitute amendment No. 1S. to 557 S., and joint resolution 55S. is a forward step in protecting our people and our waning wildlife from a situation that is get-ting completely out of control.

## A Conceptual Design for the Teaching Profession

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. EDITH GREEN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 1, 1959

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, one of the most fundamental problems confronting American education has been the reluctance of the American people, and particularly of members of other organized professions to recognize the truly professional status of teaching. It has been common for nonteachers to look upon teaching as something anyone can do, if no better-paying jobs happen along. The further professionalization of education has seemed to me, for a long time, to be a necessary prelude to recognition by the community at large of the importance of the function of the teacher. Our other learned professions—the medicine, the ministry, have, in large part, earned the respect which they enjoy, and the prestige which accrues to them, because of their own efforts, within the membership of these professsions, to establish standards of professional practice, and to work to have these standards regularized and enforced.

I have been deeply heartened by the efforts of members of the teaching profession in my own State of Oregon, led by the Oregon Education Association, to develop such professional standards. In a recent pamphlet entitled "A Conceptual Design for the Teaching Profession." issued by the Oregon Education Policies Commission, some thoughts on the establishment of such standards were set forth. I think the gratitude of every teacher, and of every person concerned with the future of American education should go to the members of the Oregon Education Policies Commission whose efforts went into this statement. The members of this commission include the following:

Martha Shull, chairman, high schoolteacher, Portland; Florence Beardsley, director of elementary education, State department of education; Frank B. Bennett, president, Eastern Oregon College; Agnes C. Booth, county superintendent of schools, Marion County; Chester C. Frisbie, professor of education, Lewis & Clark College; Keith Goldhammer, associate professor of education, University of Oregon; Lester D. Harris, high school principal, Medford; John C. Jensen, assistant superintendent of schools in charge of curriculum, Tillamook; R. E. Jewell, superintendent of schools, Bend; Loran Meidinger, elementary school-teacher, Sweet Home; Melvin F. Moore, elementary school principal, Eugene; Cecil W. Posey, executive secretary, Oregon Education Association; Esma Reynolds, elementary schoolteacher, Sen-eca; Eleanor Roberts, junior high schoolteacher, Salem; Bert S. Wengert, professor of political science, University of Oregon; David D. Darland, general secretary, Oregon Education Policies Commission, 1530 S.W. Taylor Street, Portland 5, Oreg.

In the May 15, 1959, issue of Oregon Education, the newspaper of the OEA, there appeared a condensation of the commission's statement. I ask unani-mous consent that this statement be printed, following my comments:

"CONCEPTUAL DESIGN" CORE CONDENSED

#### 1. INTRODUCTION

The teaching profession must assume responsibility for establishing self-govern-

To set its own standards and to establish its own self-government, a profession requires, not only the desire and the professional elan, but also a structural frame of reference. These are the prerequisites of a badly needed conceptual design for the teaching profession. And, therefore, the remainder of this document constitutes a suggestion by which a conceptual design for the teaching profession might be accomplished.

The commission considers what follows a context within which further study and refinements should be made. Moreover, the suggestions made herein are not looked upon as final answers, but are intended to stimulate study activities.

#### 2. THE STRUCTURAL FRAME OF REFERENCE

The education policies commission believes that the structural frame of reference could best be established by seeking the passage of some form of a professional practice act for teaching in Oregon. Such an act should:

1. Establish for the teaching profession a statutory legal status which would serve as a foundation for the systematic development of self-government by the profession.

To implement such an act the policies commission proposes the establishment of a board of teacher standards and licensure.

This board might either be a completely independent government agency with its own staff, or it could be a legal adjunct of the office of superintendent of public instruction.

Such a board should be representative of the various areas and levels of teaching. And appointments should be of several years' tenure and so staggered as to provide continuity of experience.

Appointment to the board could be made by the Governor in case it were to be established as an autonomous professional agency. or appointments could be made by the State superintendent of public instruction. Members of such a board should be those held in high esteem by the teachers, and thus suggestions for appointees should be expected from the organized teaching profession.

This board should have specific powers of recommendation or possibly final authority in certain matters related to professional standards of the teaching profession. These

are discussed later.

2. A professional practice act for teachers should be designed to establish certain formal relationships among the various entities of the teaching profession thereby insuring certain minimum relationships which would foster high standards and a greater degree of unity for the teaching profession.

Certainly an organized profession should determine the qualifications and standards for the licensure of its practitioners. Therefore, the proposed board of teacher standards and licensure should either have power to establish these or make all final recommendations to the State superintendent regard-

ing certification of teachers.

The board might be responsible for recommending, within certain statutory limitations, the specific certification requirements for all teaching levels and areas. However, the board would be required to appoint certification study teams so that each area or level of teaching would be involved in establishing its own specific standards. For example, the elementary principals, the English teachers, the guidance personnel, etc., would each, as a group, be required to have standing certification study teams who would be called to make recommendations to the board.

The board of teacher standards and licensure should be charged with recommending procedures for the accreditation of teachereducation institutions. Authority for these might rest in the board or might be made to the superintendent of public instruction. And the board should have the responsibility of reviewing the results of all teacher-education accreditation studies and should have the obligation of making such recommenda-tions as they deem desirable. Such a procedure would involve the board in a position to receive feedback.

The board should have the power to initiate and supervise an annual survey of the unmet educational needs of Oregon teachers. Such a study should involve representatives from all of the entities of the teaching profession.

3. A professional practice act for teachers should establish for the profession certain incentives and programs which would en-

courage ever higher professional standards. Today in Oregon the incentives for mature teachers to engage in further academic study are inadequate. Therefore, the proposed professional practice act for teachers should establish a system of fellowships whereby annually a minimum of two percent of the teachers of Oregon could be on leave pursuing additional academic training. \* \* The amount of the fellowship should be exactly the respective teachers' salary.

Candidates for such fellowships would be required to submit detailed plans for their year's academic study or research and give supporting evidence for such plans. Emphasis would be placed on encouraging the improvement of their teaching ability rather than acquiring degrees.

Such a system of fellowships would create a great incentive for excellent teachers to portant—to be able to improve their teaching abilities. If Oregon is interested in the "pursuit of excellence" here is a challenge. \* \* stay in Oregon and-further and more im-

Certain personnel policies should also be required of all accredited public schools in Oregon. The board should have the responsibility for recommending in this regard. Certainly, for example, a teacher should have a right to have in writing the personnel policies of his respective district, and certain minimum requirements should be upheld. These should be a part of the accreditation requirements of all public schools. The school board association should have representation in the development of any requirements in this area.

4. A professional practice act for teachers should establish certain guarantees in the

interest of the public welfare.

The teaching profession can best serve the public by first protecting and encouraging the component teacher and, second, by eliminating the incompetent.

A procedure should be established whereby any teacher charged with incompetence, or any teacher who feels he has been treated unfairly, or any group of teachers having such a feeling, can be assured of recourse Other than of going to court. This implied procedure would not preclude the right to go to court, but would be an intermediate step

if desired by the parties involved.

Therefore, the board of teacher standards and licensure should be empowered to appoint standing professional "hearing pan-els," which would have legal status and the right to hold hearings and make reports and recommendations at the request of principals, either professional personnel or boards of education. This procedure would be designed to protect as well as to discipline the

Persons serving on such panels would be given vigorous training in the techniques of hearing procedures and would at all times have the advice of legal counsel provided by the office of Superintendent of Public

Instruction.

teaching profession.

Teachers, of course, can always resort to the courts. But so far there has been no statutory provision for teachers to give expert testimony in court as to what constitutes competency in a given case. Therefore, the professional practice act should also empower the board of teacher standards and licensure to appoint such expert testimony. Such witnesses could be selected from among the "hearing panel" personnel. Doctors and lawyers already have such priv-

Bringing into existence these two procedures-the professional hearing and the establishment of the expert witness conceptshould result in affording the teaching profession great opportunities for protecting and disciplining its own members. procedures if properly handled would provide ways of ameliorating certain problems before they create a public disturbance of a detrimental nature to all concerned.

5. A professional practice act should establish certain specific powers regarding professional standards either in the office of the State superintendent of public instruction, or in the board of teacher standards and licensure whereby certain actions Would be final (short of court action) after due consideration and appropriate hearings.

Either the office of the State superintendent of public instruction or the proposed board should be given certain defined dis-

cretionary powers to: (a) make exceptions in general certification requirements; (b) remove teaching certificates for just cause after appropriate hearings; (c) adjust accreditation procedures for teacher-education, etc.

Although the authority for these actions at the moment rests with the State board of education, they are professional responsibilities and should be assumed by the profession. However, nothing in the practice act should in any way infringe upon the State board of education prerogatives in the area of general public policy. The changes suggested herein are strictly concerned with the teaching profession being afforded the legal opportunity of accepting themselves as professional and conducting their own affairs accordingly.

6. A professional practice act should organize and dovetail insofar as possible into one statute all matters related directly to

teaching as a profession.

Scattered through the Oregon statutes are variety of laws related directly to the teaching profession. These include certification, tenure continuing contracts, sick leave, etc. These should all be rewritten and made to conform to the intent of the professional practice act for teachers suggested herein. As important as all of these are as they stand now, they represent the piecemeal and patchy manner in which the teaching profession has either had to, or chosen to, go about gaining certain legal protections.

7. A professional practice act for teachers should either authorize the superintendent of public instruction to appoint or reassign necessary personnel to guarantee the proper functioning of the board of teacher standards and licensure or authorize the es-

tablishment of a new agency.

8. To function properly it is obvious that there would need to be appropriated adequate State funds for the administration of a professional practice act for teachers.

#### 3. PROFESSIONAL DESIRE AND ELAN

The structural frame of reference discussed above will not in and by itself be anything other than a skeleton for a conceptual design for the teaching profession. Giving life to such a design will require professional desire and elan. In many people's minds it is a moot question whether the teaching profession is mature enough to recognize its fundamental responsibility for self-government. This is not the feeling of those who prepared this document,

The policies commission believes that the profession must breathe life into such a design by creating a symphony of effort in the interests of the total profession and the welfare of those it serves. Self-government makes the union of diverse interests possible. It is necessary, not to prevent free will, but to prevent people from exercising free will unconsciously and inadvertently.

Self-government provides the forum which balances the various forces. Selfgovernment guarantees and makes possible the involvement of individuals in formulating the policies under which they must live and perform. No mature group would tolerate it otherwise. It brings the broad light of day to the administering of justice.

Self-government makes both stability and orderly change feasible. And above all, if an optimum form of self-government prevails in the teaching profession the opportunity is increased for the individual teacher to establish a more productive relationship between his own private and professional life; this is fundamental.

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homa, Utah, Wyoming.

# Appendix

## Oregon Press Pays Tribute to John Foster Dulles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON, RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, many of the leading newspapers of my native State have heralded the career and dedication to duty of our late Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, who died recently from cancer complicated by pneumonia.

I join with these editors of Oregon in expressing the most profound sympathy to Mrs. Dulles and all her family.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that editorials from certain Oregon daily and weekly newspapers be printed in the Appendix of the Record, as a tribute to Mr. John Foster Dulles, who served from 1953 until 1959 as Secretary of State of the United States.

These newspapers are the Oregonian of Portland of May 26; the Oregon Daily Journal of Portland of May 25; the Milwaukie (Oreg.) Weekly Review of May 27, and the Astorian Daily Budget of Astoria of May 25, 1959.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Oregonian, Portland, Oreg., May 26, 1959]

STRONG LEADER GONE

Had John Foster Dulles been an ordinary man, or only a cut above the ordinary, he would have resigned as Secretary of State after his operation in 1956 for cancer of the colon. Had he taken time out then for radiation treatments he might have been alive today. He did not do so. The cancer was not halted. And this extraordinary American will be buried Wednesday in Arlington National Cemetery with the statesmen and ordinary citizens of the world paying homage.

The risk he took with his own life typifies his unswerving belief that the United States must always be ready to accept the risk of war if it is to prevent war. This led to misunderstanding and criticism, chiefly after publication of a Life magazine article in which he said that this country, more than once, had been brought to the brink of war to keep communism in check. He believed that withdrawal into isolation, or failure to be firm on the great world issues of morality and aggression would have been a far greater risk of war.

In watching Secretary Dulles in action, in the United Nations, the Japanese Peace Treaty Conference, the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance, one was struck with his confidence, his humor, his strength and his deeply religious and moral vigor. He looked like a country lawyer and he addressed the leaders of nations as if they were a Jury. He was calm, persuasive, and effective. He laid the

groundwork for eventual agreement with the Soviet Empire to live and let live. The world hopes that his successor will have equal strength to carry this historic mission to a successful conclusion.

[From the Oregon Daily Journal, Portland, May 25, 1959]

DULLES' LEGACY OF FAITH, WISDOM

John Foster Dulles lost his battle against cancer and he died without achieving his most cherished goal—a stable and peaceful world.

The loss is great but it is not a total loss. Dulles was a man of great faith and great wisdom, and he left behind evidences of his faith and wisdom which are as valid today as when they were published some 9 years ago.

Now that he is no longer present to implement his ideas, we of America might well review his words and let them bear on our conduct in the months and years ahead.

Dulles saw clearly the dangers around us, and he saw with equal clarity the extent to which we were falling to meet the challenge, yet he concluded his book, "War or Peace," with these words:

"If our efforts are still inadequate, it is because we have not seen clearly the challenge and its nature. As that is more clearly revealed, we shall surely respond. And as we act under the guidance of a righteous faith, that faith will grow until it brings us into the worldwide fellowship of all men everywhere who are embarked on the great adventure of building peacefully a world of human liberty and justice."

Dulies saw as our greatest weakness that "we seem to have lost the spirit which animated Lincoln when he said of our Declaration of Independence that it gave 'liberty, not alone to the people of this country, but hope for the world for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time weights should be lifted from the shoulders of all men'."

There was a time, Dulles said, when Americans were welcomed everywhere because, it was judged, they were working in a common human cause. But as our material power waxed, our spiritual power seemed to wane.

He warned that we cannot compete on a materialistic basis with the Russians, whose main credo is materialism.

"We cannot successfully combat Soviet communism in the world and frustrate its methods of fraud, terrorism, and violence unless we have a faith with spiritual appeal that translates itself into practices which, in our modern, complex society, get rid of sordid, degrading conditions of life in which the spirit cannot grow."

And, he added, "there is no use having more and louder Voices of America unless we have something to say that is more persuasive than anything yet said."

Dulles also warned that a "frequent cause of war has been the effort of satisfied peoples to identify peace as a perpetuation of the status quo. \* \* \* Peace must be a condition where international changes can be made peacefully."

We have disagreed at times with Dulles but usually the disagreement was on a matter of detail and method rather than on basic aims.

Dulles saw clearly that safety does not lie within a fortress, whether its walls be erected on our shores or on the borders of the NATO countries, and he saw that, while aid

is essential, we cannot buy loyalty to our way

His overall conclusion was that, "There is hope \* \* \* provided we develop the spiritual power without which no policy can be more than a makeshift." This legacy Dulles left to us, and if we are wise we will use it.

#### [From the Milwaukie (Oreg.) Review, May 27, 1959]

-JOHN FOSTER DULLES, SOLDIER

The passing of our ex-Secretary of State this week will be mourned by Americans and free men of other lands everywhere. In an era when U.S. foreign policy sets the pace for the rest of the free world, John Foster Dulles shaped the policy of that world for the last 6 years.

Dedicated to his work, Dulles, despite being racked with pain from illness many times, devoted these 6 years of his life to his country and the cause of peace, and it was the hard, almost incessant toil at this task which eventually brought about his death.

Since the days of Nathan Hale, Americans have laid down their lives in eight major wars in the defense of their country. Their epitaphs have been brief: American Soldier—Killed in Action in the Line of Duty.

However, battlefields are varied when a young nation is founded on an ideal of freedom and democracy. Wars are won on the land and sea and in the air, peace is won at the council tables of the world.

It was at these council tables that Dulles fought for his country on the battlefield of diplomacy. And the rigors of fighting and the long trips and strenuous hours took their toll

In Washington, this strange, little known battleground has made strong men weak, healthy men sickly, and many brilliant men have had their lives shortened by the rigors of its administrative work.

And it was on such a battlefield that John Foster Dulles gave his life for his country. It was here he fought his last battles, sometimes wisely, sometimes in error, but always with the dedicated spirit of a man whom Americans will remember.

Americans will remember.

History will have to judge John Foster
Dulles as a policymaker; history will have
to judge whether his deeds strengthened or
weakened America.

Today, however, we could give him no better memorial than that we gave a minuteman at Concord or GI at Omaha Beach: "John Foster Dulles, Soldier—Killed in Action in the Line of Duty."

[From the Astorian (Oreg.) Budget, May 25, 1959]

#### JOHN FOSTER DULLES

The United States never has had a more dedicated public servant than John Foster Dulles, who died Sunday of cancer.

Dulies worked hard and traveled incessantly, until he became more of a symbol of globetrotting than even after he had been stricken with the disease that killed him, and only quit when his condition became such he could no longer function.

Dulles had many critics, who thought he risked war too readily in his policy of stern refusal to make forced concessions to Russia.

It was a bold and courageous policy and despite the criticisms of "brinkmanship" it has been successful. He has forbidden Quemoy, Formosa, and Berlin to the Reds, and they have stayed out.

President Eisenhower hailed Dulles as one of the truly great men of our time, and it seems likely that the verdict of history may concur.

## Effects of Welfare State Policies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, on the 29th of May the able editor of the Allendale (S.C.) County Citizen very effectively pointed out that the adverse effects of our welfare state policies are not limited to the material aspects of our life, but actually go to the very moral fiber of our people. Each and every one of us should pause and reflect on the point made by this editorial. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

"THE TIME HAS COME," THE WALRUS SAID,
"TO TALK OF MANY THINGS"

The practice of that rule by which men are enjoined to live is fast becoming passe in America. No longer does man try to do for his brother as he would have done for himself, but rather he seeks to get the Government to do it.. Is your neighbor ill? Then let the health department take care of him. Does he hunger? Call for the welfare de-partment. Is he troubled; does he worry; is it that he misunderstands his wife and child? Call out the department of mental health and have his head examined. Is he out of work? What is the department of unemployment for? And on the outskirts, not yet a government department except for certain crops, is Friendly John, the loan man, who will tide him over his financial ills.

Indeed, it would seem that almost every problem that can beset man is either left to the Government or somewhere lurks a bill which will make it the Government's business as soon as enough votes for it can be rounded up. The welfare state is well enough along so that recently as last week the News & Courier editorially observed. "Americans will try to preserve liberty even under the welfare state." Deponent sayeth not so. For liberty has had it and if it actually exists today it does so in the breasts of some diehards who do not yet believe that a taxpaid for agency can do all things for all men. Somewhere the, no doubt eccentric, character, who would have men a little more selfreliant, a little more independent, a little more aware of their own power and strength, lives in a curious dream world, not at all related to the realities of government set up to control births, to feed, clothe, and shelter and to bury, when they are dead, the subjects who live within its jurisdiction.

Let any wee arise and immediately the cry goes up, "The Government ought to do something about it." It is implored to raise our children, to insure our old, to get water to those who choose to live where there is no water, to make lakes where the weary of 3 days work a week may loll on sandy shores 4 days a week and let's have a superhighway to get them there and back in less time. Meanwhile, since they do not know what to do

with all that leisure, let us set up a government recreation bureau to take care of that.

Within the community itself there is little of the helpful spirit. Few men rush out to find jobs for jobless friends. There is no citizens' group which will feed the hungry, but many are glad to look up the welfare department number in the book. Some will go so far as to place the call. After all, it is the Government's business and the busy man all packed for a weekend at the seashore can't take time out to do anything for others. Besides he gave \$2 to the United Fund last year and that certainly ought to take care of the 18 or 19 agencies who got the contribution.

Even within the family there is observable the tendency to seek outside, usually government, help of one kind or another to solve those problems which our forebears took in their stride as a piece of the business of living. Grandpa always had an extra ham around for the hungry and a certain amount of the canned goods stacked on the celiar shelves each year were mentally earmarked for the needy. But who has a cellar and who gets his ham anywhere but out of the chain store counter?

It is not to be said that men are, any worse off these days for throwing themselves on the tender care of the Government. Indeed it can be shown that materially they are actually better off. But what of that stuff of which souls are made? Does the Government issue that also? Somehow or other in the welfare state there is little provision made for the spirit of man. Preachers are not paid Government subsidies and there are no propaganda machines working for God. If God achieves at all, he must do so on his own, knowing perhaps that the Golden Rule has been tossed aside in favor of that newer rule, "Get it from the Government." So, with the Government taking over the function of the individual, relieving him of the responsibility to do for others as he would have done for himself, what happens to man? That remains to be seen, but the shadow falls dimly now and we can see a self-centered entity in the family, the clan, scrabbling to get it while the getting is good and unconcerned for the welfare or well-being of other men.

No, man will not strive to preserve liberty under the welfare state. Men, American men, have shown that they are eager to duck the privileges of liberty for the presently unfelt chains of security. It would seem that the welfare state is the end of liberty for man. For sure he has no need for liberty who follows the regiment step by step on whatever forced march to whatever dubious end.

## Herter Takes Over

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. MIKE MANSFIELD

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, in the May 15 issue of the Christian Science Monitor there was published a commentary, written by Joseph C. Harsch, entitled "State of the Nations—Herter Takes Over." This is one of the best articles by one of the Nation's outstanding reporters I have seen in regard to the qualifications and abilities of our Secretary of State; and I ask unanimous consent that the article, in which Mr.

Harsch has the following to say "his opening performance matches his equipment. There is no reason why anyone should be concerned about his ability to handle the job. None has ever been better equipped for the job" be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATE OF THE NATIONS—HERTER TAKES OVER (By Joseph C. Harsch)

GENEVA.—Christian A. Herter is still occasionally addressed or referred to among American diplomats here as Governor rather than as Secretary.

Partly this is a habit carryover. Dwight D. Eisenhower was addressed by some as general for months after he had become President. Changes of title require a period of adjustment. With Mr. Herter the adjustment among persons who long served John Foster Dulles is not yet entirely complete.

But it can be reported there has seldom in the annals of the U.S. Government been a transition as smooth as from Mr. Dulles to Mr. Herter in command of American diplomacy.

There is not the slightest doubt about his authority over the American Foreign Service establishment. Nor is there any serious doubt among our allies about accepting him as the successor to Mr. Dulles. Of course, the allied diplomats were all watching carefully when Mr. Herter took the chair here on the third day of the foreign ministers conference. This was his first real solo in high-level international conferences, and inevitably everyone else in the room was running a mental score sheet on his performance.

Mr. Herter passed the test for the simple reason he is not a person who worries about such things. In the eyes of others he was taking his driving test, but in his own he was merely doing the job assigned to him and for which he has been eminently prepared. He had no doubts himself. There was no reason why he should. He handled some very tricky problems that day to the full satisfaction of his colleagues.

The issue pending when Mr. Herter took the gavel was the question of Poles and Czechs.

Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko had proposed their admission the previous day. The matter had been left unsettled. Technically it was the pending business. Mr. Herter had to dispose of that pending business without neglecting parliamentary proprieties and also without wasting time. He let Mr. Gromyko talk, offered others their chance to rehash an old subject, and deftly turned the conference to constructive business.

Behind the smooth easy takeover and the quick grant of loyalty to Mr. Herter by U.S. and allied diplomats allke is the simple fact that things are a lot easier for him than for either of his predecessors. Both Dean Acheson and Mr. Dulles before him were in many ways at times prisoners of political circumstances. Mr. Herter is the freest Secretary of State the United States has had since the great domestic political issues of the New Deal era opened.

Mr. Acheson was the favorite target of Republican political attack almost from the outset of his term of service. Democrats did their best to even the score when Mr. Dulles succeeded. Both men were extremely controversial figures. It is not easy for a man to make the judicious decision in highest foreign policy when he is constantly being dragged through political mud.

The political context within which Mr. Acheson had to work prevented him from doing some things he might have wanted to do-and induced him to do some things he might have avoided in a calmer emotional atmosphere. Mr. Dulles, operating in an equally charged atmosphere, declared many a policy he never practiced and never really favored.

Mr. Herter is free from these burdens, liabilities, and pressures. He is politically noncontroversial because the situations which plagued Messrs. Acheson and Dulles have largely passed and because he himself has avoided political controversy. He is a loyal lifelong Republican but never felt it necessary to make wisecracks about horses and Senator WAYNE Mosse or to resort to the political smear. He sidestepped the Stassen maneuver against Vice President RICHARD M. NIXON of 1956 without identifying himself with any Republican faction. He is respected as a foreign-affairs expert in both wings of the Republican Party and by the Democrats.

Both Messrs. Acheson and Dulles are entitled to a twinge of envy as they watch Mr. Herter start off. Both predecessors could have done better had they enjoyed Mr. Her-ter's priceless advantage of being politically a free agent. He was nominated by the President and is supported by the opposition leaders in the Senate. He is persona grata in both Nixon and Rockefeller wings of his own party and trusted among Democrats as an honorable man. His unanimous confirmation in the Senate is the strongest shield the American people have given their Secretary of State since the United States became a world power.

His opening performance matches his equipment. There is no reason why anyone should be concerned about his ability handle the job. None has ever been better equipped for the job.

## The Communist Trojan Horse

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, the following letter and article were sent to me by John P. Fahey who I appointed to the U.S. Naval Academy, and later resigned to join the Jesuit Order.

His thought-provoking letter and the article which appeared in the Marian Helpers Bulletin follow:

MAY 16, 1959.

Hon. GORDON L. McDonough, House of Representatives,

Washington, D.C.
DEAR SIR: With graduation time nearly here my thoughts return to my own graduation from the Naval Academy in 1954 and to you to whom I am indebted for that singular privilege. Though I am no longer a member of our beloved country's Armed Forces, I never cease to glory in their ac-complishments and in the devoted men who have given their lives in defense of our ideals. To them and to you who serve in our Government I offer my heartfelt thanks and earnest prayers and good wishes for your success and happiness now and in eternity.

I came across the enclosed article recently and immediately thought what a good in-strument it would be for stirring in the hearts of our people the embers of their patriotic zeal, a zeal which has produced

heroes in every age.

The mere possibility that any allegiance, even to the United Nations, could ever be allowed to supplant the allegiance we owe to our country seems impossible. Yet, if the facts stated and examples presented be accurate, we must admit that not only our allegiance to America is endangered but every ideal for which we stand. Communist teachers who cannot be dismissed, Com-munists who profess no morals admitted to the bar, Communists allowed to actually plan the murder of our country with impunity; how can this be?

You are well aware of the situation; but are your constituents? Do they realize the extent to which the parasite of communism has worked its way into our vitals, there to corrupt and destroy all we hold dear? If they did I am certain they would give you all the support you need to fight for the laws we need. The days of Decatur, Preble, Dewey and Farragut are not dead. Americans will respond if you show them the enemy and the way to fight him.

Respectfully yours, JOHN P. FAHEY, N.S.J.

THE COMMUNIST TROJAN HORSE (By Wm. C. McGrath, S.F.M.)

Of late and all of a sudden your 16-yearold son has taken to sounding off with theories that sound strangely un-American. Patriotism, he informs you, is "for the birds." "Benighted nationalism." That's what wrong with the world. It will be a blessed day for America and for humanity when Old Glory is hauled from the masthead and supplanted by the flag of the United Nations, glorious symbol of the universal brotherhood of man.

You are shocked. You are grieved. When you were his age you gloried in the great American tradition but you have noticed generally of late that the story of American heroes is gradually giving way to one-world propaganda. It hurts deeply to realize that your own high regard for the patriots who made America should be despised by your own son as the outmoded hero worship of an old fogey, centuries behind the times and hopelessly out of step with the salutary trends of this great enlightened age.

What on earth is happening to your boy? Where is he being indoctrinated with such ideas, that smack so strongly of the Commu-

nist Party line? Where?

Why at school, of course! Where else? Something must be very wrong, somewhere. The principal, Mr. Robertson, is a good friend of yours. His loyalty and devotion to his country are well known throughout the community. Perhaps he can enlighten you. It

is time to pay him a call.

"Mr. Robertson," you explain, "I'm terribly worried about Johnny. The way he's been talking of late! His sudden truculent attitude and arrogant contempt for so many things that you and I and all of us hold sacred! I suppose I must be wrong but I am beginning to suspect that his teacher must be at least of the 'ultra liberal' school, if not definitely in sympathy with the Communist cause.'

A harried, worried, frustrated look crosses the face of the principal. "I only wish you were wrong, Mr. Sullivan. But the situation is far worse than you suspect. John-ny's teacher is not just sympathetic to the Communist cause. Johnny's teacher is a Communist."

You cannot believe what you hear. Communist. And openly engaged in ped-dling treason to the children of this Godfearing and patriotic Christian community.

"In Heaven's name," you ask, "What is such a man doing in our school? Are we taxpayers helping to finance subversive education? Are we actually being asked to pay our way into Communist slavery? I demand that this man be fired. At once."
"He was fired, Mr. Sullivan." There seemed to be a note of weariness in the

principal's reply.

You do not get it, if he was fired you want to know just what he's doing in the school right now.

"Yes. We did get rid of him, once. More than a year ago. But we have been com-pelled to reinstate him. Not only that, we are also obliged to reimburse him. Back pay to the extent of full salary for every day he lost."

So that was it. That ceretainly explained Johnny. With the school authorities helpless to prevent it, this traitor was literally taking over the mind of your boy. And of so many other boys. They were being brain-washed. They were being taught to hate and despise their own country. Before your

very eyes. Right here in America.
You puzzle over it. For days on end.
There must be something that somebody can do. Your friend George. Why didn't you think of him before? He is one of the ablest lawyers in town. Yes. George will be able to advise you. He must know all the angles. You call on him and it is not long before your worst fears are realized.

"Mr. Robertson is helpless," he explains. "So are we all. There is just nothing that you or I or anybody else can do."

George tells you much more. He lets you in on the starting, unbelievable story of the Communist Trojan Horse: of the incredible extent to which Communists may operate within the gates while they continue relent-

lessly in their efforts to destroy America.
"Here's more of it," George explains. "Lets suppose you are working 'under cover.'
You manage to infiltrate the Communist inner circle. You sit in on their meetings. You hear them discussing plans—as yet only in the abstract-to Sovietize the country. The speak quite openly of revolution-ary techniques for mass indoctrination: of plans to sabotage water supplies and electric There is talk of riots and goon power. There is talk of rious squads and blood in the streets. Quite an academic discussion, you understand. The time is not yet ripe for Operation Take-

"You feel that you have heard enough. is time to make your move. You lay the case before the F.B.I. The agent in charge patiently explains that the Bureau has long since known about these characters. They've had their eye on them for many a day. Their dossiers are all on file.

"But as of this moment," he tells you, "there isn't a blessed thing that we can do. You see, it is no longer an indictable offense merely to advocate the overthrow of the American Government by force. Sedition in the abstract has ceased to be a crime. The Communists will remain immune unless and until they become more specific; go into actual detail as to how the attempt is to be made."

(By that time, you tell yourself, it may be a little too late.)

George enlightens you further. He explains about the Communist lawyers. "Once upon a time the bar examining board of the State had a rule. A known Communist or one who refused to admit that he was a or one who refused to admit that he was a Communist could be refused admission to the bar and to practice law before the courts. That rule no longer holds. The bar association of a sovereign State may no longer set such standards. A man may not be prevented from taking the examination or from practicing law simply because he is a Communist, simply because he subscribes to the policy of sabotage and blood in the streets and a Soviet America."

"Take the case of the congressional committees," he went on. "In the 'old days' any subversive or criminal up before any one of them could be cited for contempt if

he refused to answer questions other than those which might involve self-incrimina-tion. Congress has always had the right to question such witnesses. But not any more. Congress must not play rough with our future commissars. Let's say that the committee is in vital need of information to guide them in framing protective legislation to prevent the Reds from taking us over. Without such information to guide them they are powerless to do so. What's the pitch now? They are obliged to explain to the witness in advance just how the questions are pertinent and just what they propose to do. It is a little difficult to explain to anybody just what you are going to do before you know yourself, before you are enabled to root out the information that will enable you to do it."

It still doesn't make sense, of course. But you are beginning to see the light. There are many pieces of the jig-saw puzzle that are beginning to fit together. In your day you would have deemed it impossible that any American would ever initiate a smear campaign against J. Edgar Hoover, one of the greatest patriots of our time: or against the FBI itself, dedicated guardian of the safety of America and staunch bulwark against the ravages of criminal conspiracy. In your day. But this, Mr. Sullivan, isn't your day. The gates have been opened to the Trojan Horse. It may not be America's day much longer.

It was the monthly meeting of the Knights of Columbus. The speaker was Mr. Patrick Thomas Sullivan. He had agreed to do his best to alert his fellow members to the very real danger of the Communist subjugation of America.

It was small wonder, he told them, that the pinkos and fellow-travelers-not to speak of the hard core of the party-were going all out to have J. Edgar Hoover and the Senate investigating committees eliminsted from the American scene. They were feeling their oats. They had received an unexpected shot in the army. As Jo Hindman wrote in the March issue of the American Mercury, "Fellow travelers began tossing socks and cuff links into the suitcases, preparing to circulate more busily throughout the Nation. Hiding Commu-nists uncramped their bones, stirred by Dorothy Healey Connelly's cry, 'We are on Dorothy Healey Connelly's cry, 'We are on our way.' Timed to coincide with a lateral 'Abolition' operation that agitated up and down the Atlantic seaboard, the bent-for-the-West 'Abolition' junket of the Emer-gency Civil Liberties Committee stumped the Pacific coast, sponsored by ECLC affiliates, calling for abolishment of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the Government Security Program and the Federal Federal Bureau of Investigation." One by one, if they had their way, they would re-move every last obstacle that stood between them and a Soviet America.

He asked his fellow-Knights not to take his unsupported word concerning the immutable objective of the Communist Party. There was evidence galore: from our own experts on subversive tactics and from the writings of the Communists themselves. "The Communist Party professes to be a legitimate political organizan on the American scene. However, its leadership reins are firmly held by rabidly pro-Soviet elements and the party's ultimate objective remains the overthrow and destruction of our Government by force and violence." (J. Edgar Hoover, 1958.)

Further—from "Masters of Deceit": "International communism will never rest until the whole world, including the United States, is under the hammer and sickle."

"Communism is \* \* \* a way of life; a false, materialistic 'religion.' It would strip man of his belief in God, his heritage of freedom, his trust in love, justice and mercy, Under Communism all would become 20th-century slaves."

But listen to the Communists themselves. As far back as 1923 Lenin reportedly had gone prophetic: "First we will take Eastern Europe. Then the masses of Asia. Then we shall encircle the United States which will be the last bastion of Capitalism. We will not have to attack. It will fall like an overripe fruit into our hands."

Professor Manuilsky, of the War College in Moscow, was more specific. "A final struggle between communism and capitalism is inevitable. To be sure, we are not strong enough today to attack. Our moment will come in 20 or 30 years. In order to be victorious we will need the element of surprise. The 'bourgeoisie' must be put to sleep. We will begin by starting the most theatrical peace movement that ever existed. The capitalistic countries, being stupid and decadent, will work with pleasure toward their own destruction. They will walk into the trap of what seems a new opportunity for friendship. And as soon as their protective ring is bared, we will smash them with our clenched fist."

The speaker quoted verbatim from a report by a former Communist of the Red plan to enslave America: "Flying squads of Communists are to seize control of the water supply and shut it off; also the electrical power and gas \* \* \* picked bands of Reds are to seize the radio stations and telephone exchanges \* \* \*. Homes would be without water, light or fuel. It would be impossible to communicate with friends or loved ones, even in another part of the city.

"Goon squads of professional murderers are to round up the people in the business districts. Men are to be held as hostages in some of the larger buildings. Women are to be turned over the sex-crazed mobs \* \* \*. Sharpshooters and snipers are to be detailed in taxicabs and vehicles which are to be taken over to wipe out the police, soldiers, uniformed persons and known vigilantes \* \* \*. When night comes, the city is to be in pitch darkness. Murderous bands of Reds will roam the streets \* \* \*. Then, as the morning sun casts her first rays on the community, one will be able to see blood flowing in the streets. This is no idle dream. The Communist Party is working methodically and with deadly precision towards this objective. It can happen here. Unless we destroy the Red menace in our midst we shall one day suffer the same fate as our Christian brethren in Europe."

Decades of insistent clamor for "a better understanding" of communism would lead one to conclude that our own liberals and our appeasement-minded allies simply do not believe the Communists own open declaration that they intend to wipe us—and them—off the face of the earth. This swelling chorus on behalf of "peaceful coexistence" and periodic summit meetings has played directly into the hands of the rulers of Russia and their traitorous stooges right here in America. The persistent, unending pressure from our allies that we do nothing, ever, to provoke our would-be-destroyers has so weakened the American position that this great Nation, the most powerful, the most wealthy, the most productive the world has ever known, has been reduced to the humilitating position of being no longer able to carry out any foreign policy of its own. We have deliberately subjected such policy to the approval of a United Nations Organization obviously committed to consistent placation of Russia, a gracious, neighborly gesture that has already lost us nearly half the world.

Mr. Sullivan instanced the case of Hungary. "During five days that should have shaken the world, with Russia watching nervously on the side lines as that country struggled desperately to shake loose from the coils of Communism and appealed for admission to the United Nations, if even an American brass band had marched through the streets of Budapest playing the Star Spangled Banner, Russia would never have dared engage in

the orgy of butchery that followed fast upon the petrified immobility of that 'great' Parliament of Nations.

"Whereas in Spain, America had permitted two brigades of American boys to fight on the side of Communist murderers and to be party to atrocities unparalleled in all the dreary annals of human savagery, there was not a single bullet available to help those brave Hungarlan freedom fighters, battling tanks with bare hands as their dying cry for help fell upon unheeding ears."

The speaker respected the idealism and the sincerity of many of the U.N. representatives. He agreed that under Christian principles as enunciated by the Holy Father, a community of nations, each respecting the inviolable rights of the other and united for the common good of humanity, would be a consummation devoutly to be desired. But why not face the facts? There was no such organization in existence and there never would be. Russia and her satellites were not interested in the common good of humanity but in humanity's enslavement and the United Nations was actually the instrument of Soviet powers within the borders of the United States. Beneath its alluring palimpsest of universal brotherhood lay concealed the ugly outlines of godless, totalitarian world government with slavery as the portion of the greater part of humankind.

What we need in this 11th hour, the speaker concluded, is more of the spirit expressed in a recent editorial in the Indianapolis Star:

"We must do two things. First we must withdraw from the United Nations, which has hung a paper rope around our necks that has strangled our freedom to act in our own interest. Second we must begin to run our own foreign policy show. Let us call our own conferences with those whose destiny is intertwined with our own. Let us make our own proposals and our own plans with friend and enemy alike. We have put the best interests of our people second to the interests of other peoples, pouring out our treasure and skill everywhere in the world and we have reaped only humiliation, insult, disrespect for our flag and for our leaders.

"It is time to cut ourselves loose from those who are the masters of our foreign policy. It is time for America to issue another declaration of independence from the U.N. and from friends and foe alike. It is time to put only Americans on guard over America's future and America's present. It is time to acknowledge the plain truth that the policies we have followed year after year since World War II have produced nothing but gains for the Soviet Union and losses for the United States.

"Cannot our United States shake itself loose from the coils of U.N. intrigue and entangling alliances? Can we not once again seek to become what we once were, the envy and inspiration of all men everywhere who love liberty and justice, honor and peace?

"Cannot our leaders speak again in the thundering tones of past American heroes, 'Damn the torpedoes, full speed ahead,' or 'Pedecaris alive or Rasuli dead'?"

#### Expanded Ocean Research Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, attention was called yesterday to the first of a series of articles written by Chairman Warren G. Magnuson of Senate In-

terstate and Foreign Commerce Committee for Hearst newspapers pinpointing deficiencies in our oceanographic re-

search program.

Today I would like to place the second of my colleague's series of articles in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I do this because of the significant reference made by Senator Magnuson to the work being carried on at the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution on Cape Cod. This institution has accomplished much in furthering our knowledge of the ocean, but the accomplishments have been made in the face of limited budgets and limited support. Indeed there is a lack of full understanding by the public of the herculean task facing us in this effort.

I ask unanimous consent that Senator Magnuson's article appear in the Ap-

pendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Journal-American, June 1, 1959]

UNITED STATES IGNORES COAST AND SPAWNS MANY PEARL HARBORS

(In a penetrating analysis of our stupendous, costly efforts to probe space to the virtual neglect of the seas surrounding us, Senator Magnuson, in his concluding article, observes: "What will it profit us to win the skies and lose the oceans if the oceans become infested with enemy submarines?")

(By Senator WARREN G. MAGNUSON)

Soviet Russia is better equipped to probe and study our waters than we are ourselves, and better equipped to exploit our ocean resources after she has explored them.

One reason is that since World War II our Government, with the exception of a few scattered scientists and a segment of our Navy, has virtually abandoned interest

A billion dollars has been spent for space research to date, exclusive of military op-erations, and a half billion will be spent in the coming fiscal year. Our space commit-tees have been told that a billion dollars annually probably will be required in the years following.

Support these appropriations as essential

to our defense.

But only a trifling \$8 million has been spared annually for studying the 300 mil-lion cubic miles of water that cover 72 percent of the earth's surface.

As a result we are losing the wet war. STUDIES NEGLECTED

As a result, the youngest and least developed of all military sciences-antisubmarine warfare-is being neglected by the United States.

As a result, the United States-all along its 12,255 miles of coastline touching three oceans and the Gulf of Mexico—is wide open to as many Pearl Harbors and Nagasakis as there are missile-firing Russian submarines.

What will it profit us to win the skies and lose the oceans if the oceans become infested With enemy submarines?

#### BUILDING DELAYED

"From the point of view of military operations there is no comparison between the urgencies of the problems of the oceans and those of outer space," states the Committee on Oceanography in its introduction to a 12-page report in process of publication.

"There has been no effort to improve research ships in this country in the last 15 Years," states a Navy report approved by the Chief of Naval Operations, Adm. Arleigh A. Burke. "We have 25 years of shipbuilding to accomplish in 10 years."

"There has been no program for the replacement of our research fleet as the ships become old and unsafe," the report states elsewhere. "If we are to get ahead of the Russian submarine menace and stay there a 10-year program must be implemented."

We are losing the wet war by default and our lapses are likewise obstructing the effective operations of our own submarines.

The Navy says:

"Submarines cannot function properly in strategic areas without adequate knowledge of currents, bottom topography, sound velocities, ocean temperatures, and weather. We are now ill equipped to provide the knowledge because we lack ships capable of working in the northeast Atlantic, the north Pacific and the Indian Ocean."

American scientists have been dangerously skimped while Russian oceanographers have an amplitude of scientific ships, laboratories, gear, and special instruments.

#### RUSSIAN FLEET

The Soviet scientific fleet includes the 12,000-ton icebreakers Ob and Lena, soon to be supplanted by the 16,000-ton atomic icebreaker Lenin, and the 15,500-ton dieselelectric icebreaker Moskva; the 6,000-ton specially designed Mikhail Lomonosov; 5,546ton Vityaz, 5,000-ton Pole, 3,000-ton Sevastopol and Okean, 1,500-ton Diamond and Equator, and the world's first nonmagnetic research ship Zarya, the last now working in the Indian Ocean.

The Mikhail Lomonosov, constructed exclusively for deep sea research in 1957, alone displaces more tonnage than all our basic

research ships combined.

Only one ship originally designed for re-search has ever been built in the United States, the Atlantis at the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution on Cape Cod, Mass., and it was constructed in 1931.

The Navy, wisely in my opinion, has delegated its basic research to universities and affiliated laboratories and institutions.

Our universities thus have become our first line of defense in the naval warfare of future, which indisputably will be fought not on the seas, but in the air above and the dark waters below the surface of the oceans.

Until last November the largest ship for basic research at the disposal of the United States was the Vema, displacing 533 tons or less than one-tenth that of the Vityaz. The Vena is a one-time auxiliary schooner built in 1923 and sponsored by Columbia Univer-sity's Lamont Geological Observatory.

The Vema is supplemented by the Horizon and S. F. Baird at the Scripps Institute of Oceanography, San Diego, both 505-ton former tugs built in 1944, and the Stranger, a

300-ton former yacht.

Woods Hole also had a one-time cutter of uncertain vintage, the Crawford, displacing 280 tons. The University of Washington's department of oceanography has the Brown Bear, a 270-ton converted coastal freighter built in 1934.

Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College had the 243-ton Hidalgo, built in 1944; Scripps the 200-ton Orca, a former patrol boat, and Woods Hole the 200-ton Bear, an ex-coastal freighter.

The University of Miami's marine laboratories conducts research in the 80-ton Gerda, a one-time North Sea trawler but still the newest ship of all, having been built in 1949. Scripps has a 111-ton one-time purse seiner, the Paolina T., constructed only a year

Chesapeake Bay Institute of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, has the 32-year-old Joan Bar II, displacing 60 tons, and New York University's department of oceanography and meteorology the 28-ton Action built in 1930. The Narragansett Marine Laboratories of the University of Rhode Island has the smallest craft of all, the 12-

ton Lil Joy, one thousand times smaller than Russia's Ob or Lena.

#### LINE OF DEPENSE

All of these ships continue in operation. Our basic research fleet recently has been joined by the 1,800-ton Chain, a converted submarine rescue ship supplied by the Navy and assigned to Woods Hole.

This is our basic research fleet, our first line of defense in the wet war.

In the field of applied research, which Government agencies handle themselves, the Navy has three hydrographic survey ships capable of working in the high seas, the Coast and Geodetic Survey three sound oceangoing vessels, and the Fish and Wildlife Service's Bureau of Commercial Fisheries four that are considered usable in rough waters.

#### WHAT UNITED STATES NEEDS

What are we going to do about it? How are we going to recover our lost ground in the wet war?

To check Soviet aggression in the greatest sea war in history it is my opinion that Congress and the administration must do these things:

- 1. Construct a superior fleet of submarines that can launch missiles with atomic warheads from anywhere beneath the surface of the oceans.
- 2. Expand our aging merchant marine with fast, new ships of which at least several in our eastern and western oceans should be nuclear-powered, and provide air cover adequate to protect them and our trade routes in time of war.
- 3. Supplement the eight 3,500- to 6,500-ton icebreakers we now have with atomic-powered crushers powerful enough to keep a sea route open north of this continent.
- 4. Expand our deep sea research to all depths of the oceans and in all aspects to assure maximum operation of our underseas fleets and maximum defense against enemy submarines.

The last would entail the smallest expenditure of all, but it is imperative to security of our coastal areas and commerce.

Tribute to John Foster Dulles by Dr. Porfirio Herrera-Baez, Secretary of State of the Dominican Republic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement to the press by Dr. Porfirio Herrera-Baez, Secretary of State of the Dominican Republic, on the death of John Foster

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT TO THE PRESS BY DR. PORFIRIO HERRERA-BAEZ, SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

The passing of ex-Secretary of State John Foster Dulles fills with sorrow the Dominican people and its Government. His courageous diplomacy designed to save the freedom and independence of nations from the onslaught of international communism was always a source of inspiration and hope to the free

I had the privilege of meeting Secretary Dulles on different occasions and was impressed by the high regard in which he held the great leader of the Dominican Republic, Generalissimo Rafael L. Trujillo Molina, for the effective and unequivocal cooperation given by the Dominican Government, at the 10th Inter-American Corference at Caracas in 1954, in support of the momentous resolution, passed in that conference, contemplating collective measures in the event that international communism should take control of the government of any of the American Republics.

The Dominican Government, together with its people, join wholeheartedly in the universal expression of bereavement over the loss of this great Secretary of State of the United States of America, who gave to the cause of international peace and security the full measure of devotion.

Launching a Book-Scottsburg, Oreg., Style

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, there occurred recently in the 111-yearold Emma Hedden General Store in Scottsburg, Oreg., an event which is illustrative of the spirit of my home State and its citizens in this, Oregon's centen-

nial year of statehood.

The residents of the little southern Oregon community of Scottsburg and the surrounding area held a huge potluck picnic to help one of their number launch a book she had written. Representatives of the publisher of Mrs. Gladys Workman's book, "Only When I Laugh," are reported to have been amazed at the unique event; they were said to have been used to the cocktail party methods of New York or Hollywood.

The story of Mrs. Workman, her inspiring and amusing book and the party which launched it is told by Anna Olds and by Don Brown, writing for the Portland Oregonian and the Eugene Register-Guard, respectively. unanimous consent that these articles. together with a brief editorial, "Gladys' Laugh," from the Oregon Statesman of Salem, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Oregonian, Portland, Oreg., May 20, 1959]

PICNIC AT SCOTTSBURG ATTRACTS 1,000, STARTS AUTHOR ON BUSY WHIRL OF EVENTS

(By Anna Olds)

"To launch a book you usually have a cocktail party in New York or Hollywood," Stuart L. Daniels of Prentice-Hall, Inc., said Tuesday during a Portland visit. "But this, in Oregon, is the most unusual one I ever attended."

He was talking about the spectacular picnic in Scottsburg Sunday, a potluck event attended by 1,000 persons who converged on that small town to honor Gladys Work-

man, a Scottsburg resident. Her book, "Only When I Laugh," published this week tells about the neighbors, the country, and the Workman family in the Umpqua Valley.

The story evolved after the author's appearance on Ralph Edwards' "This Is Your Life," 2 years ago. The script was a melodrama of her travails: Illnesses, operations, a period of being blind, deaf, and dumb; various accidents leaving her with broken bones, and more illnesses.

#### EMCEE LOSES TRACK

Her troubles seemed ludicrous to Gladys in retrospect, and she collapsed in laughter. Her husband, Norman, wandered in front of the teleprompter and the master of ceremonies lost his place. Unexpectedly, the show turned into rich comedy. TV writers over the country devoted columns to this winning sequence.

So drawing from her letters to her mother, Mrs. Workman began a book on her move from San Francisco to the Umpqua when her husband's health failed. Starting in a shack with no facilities, Mrs. Workman, her husband, her nephew, and the family cats

edged into community life.

"The night Gladys tried to kill us all with clams." the greenhorn venture into the daffodil business, the brushes with flood and mudslide, the time she fell asleep while cooking food for daffodil pickers and almost set the house aftre were anecdotes to treasure.

Much of this contributed to a feeling that

Gladys was off her rocker, but her exuberant warmth and friendliness eventually affected a change for the better.

#### NEIGHBORS GIVE ASSISTANCE

The whole story was reviewed and polished by Gladys and her neighbors, who helped recall the hilarious events almost forgotten.

"The best part of writing a book has been the joy it has given the people in it," she sums up. "We had such fun getting together and talking about it."

Again, about the book launching. Emma Hedden painted her general store for the event, and the stock was in immaculate order. The town's beer parlor was washed up for the event. The grange hall had been cleaned in a frenzy of tidiness. Even the blacktop was swept.

The 1,000 put their food together in a tremendous Dutch treat collation.

#### OFFICIALS TAKE NOTICE

Telegrams arrived from Gov. Mark Hatfield, Dick and Maurine Neuberger, and Charles (Congressman) and Priscilla Porter. in Mrs. Workman's words.

"In my whole life, I could never repay them for this wonderful tribute," says the author.

The publisher's representative still pondering one woman's comment to him, This is more exciting than a pioneer's funeral."

Meanwhile, Mrs. Workman's schedule is full. Wednesday, from noon until 2 p.m., she will preside at an autograph party at J. K. Gill Co. Tuesday evening, she spoke at a writer's gathering.

Late Wednesday, she will leave for Callfornia for more autograph parties.

And when it's over, she'll continue with her work in ceramics and her husband with his bulb farming-which reach 11/2 million bulbs this year.

[From the Eugene (Oreg.) Register-Guard, May 19, 1959]

BOOK ON SCOTTSBURG REGION'S PERSONALITIES IS INTRODUCED

## (By Don Brown)

Mrs. Gladys Workman, the vivacious Scottsburg author who has put a little Ump-qua Valley community on the American literary map, visited Eugene Monday to help launch her first book, entitled "Only When I Laugh."

Her publisher is Prentice-Hall Inc., of Englewood Cliffs, N.J. The firm sponsored her book's introduction Sunday at Oregon's oldest general store, the 111-year-old Emma

Hedden Store at Scottsburg.

The whole town, and citizens from surrounding Umpqua Valley communities turned out Sunday to give the book its

sendoff

It relates how Mrs. Workman and her husband. Norman, moved from the bustle of the big-city living near Los Angeles to a dilapidated shack on the Umpqua River 12 years ago. This was after doctors gave her husband about 6 months to live because of fast-failing health. She credited Oregon's climate and terrain in the restoration of his health.

"Only When I Laugh" (which seems to be always for the author) relates stories about the personalities living in the Scottsburg area, and how the Workmans were at first rejected and then absorbed into the hearts and homes of the people there.

"If I lived 100 years and did my Boy Scout deed every day I'd never repay these people." she said in Eugene Monday in gratitude for her autograph party at Scottsburg.

The beautiful middle-aged woman with silver hair and a love for living and people, received congratulatory messages Sunday from many well-known Americans.

The book relates how, as a child, she became blind, deaf and dumb, and later had many other illnesses. Norman Workman became poisoned by dye in a plant which he managed in the Los Angeles area. Doctors thought it was leukemia. Finally, they sold their property and moved with their nephew. Norman Jackson, to land donated by a descendant of the pioneer Applegate family at Yoncalla.

The Scottsburg area was not new to Mrs. Workman, who had lived with Annie Applegate Kruse as a child at Yoncalla. "Mom" Kruse plays an important role in her new book, and the grand old lady of the Umpqua Valley was present Sunday at the com-

munity party.

Mrs. Workman's father, B. C. Y. Brown, once jointly published and edited the former Bohemia Nugget newspaper at Cottage Grove, with Jack Howard. Her father was also once

mayor of Yoncalla.

The author, in conversation, displays the same genius for converting adversity to humor as she has done in her writing. She has achieved the enviable ability to search out the good in everyone.

Take, for example, the time a youthful would-be-bandit confronted her in her home. She knew he had a pistol, and was intent on robbing her. But she talked the youth out of his idea, put him up for the night, and next day bought his gun for \$10 and sent him on his way with a full stomach.

Life in the Umpqua Valley is a different world from the hustle of Los Angeles and World from the hustle of los Angeles and Hollywood, she says. In Hollywood, for ex-ample, she said "People are wonderful—but the tendency there is to 'honey and darling' everyone in an insincere way." In Oregon. she says, it is different matter. Friendships are sincere and lasting.

As she said in her book, "We don't need beauty parlors or even lipstick to impress our neighbors. We arrive at meetings in jeeps. pickup trucks, jalopies, and Cadillacs."

[From the Oregon Statesman, Salem, Oreg. May 24, 1959]

#### GLADYS' LAUGH

They had quite a party down at Scottsburg a few days ago. The guest of honor was Mrs. Gladys Workman, and the occasion was written, "Only When I Laugh." Now Mrs. Workman has been laughing most of her life, and her laugh is quite infectious. She wraps up her mirth in this neat package merchandized by Prentice-Hall, New York publishers. The book is pure personalia, all about Gladys and her sick husband and how they came to the Umpqua and he got well and she got busy, and all their friends and the Scottsburg centennial and gray days on the Umpqua. It's a sort of Oregon edition of "The Egg and I," but sentimental rather than witty.

Mrs. Workman came to Salem a couple of years ago and talked to the Rotary Club. The book is like her talk—personal, intimate, homespun, good for a laugh or a (rare) tear. Just right for summer hammock reading. It should sell well to give Gladys the last laugh.

## It's Hard To Beat Senator John Williams

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an article entitled "It's Hard To Beat Senator John Williams," written by the well-known columnist Holmes Alexander.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

It's HARD TO BEAT SENATOR JOHN WILLIAMS
(By Holmes Alexander)

My candidate for Senator-of-the-year begins to take the oblong, upright shape of John Williams, Republican, of Delaware, who at last seems to have muzzled the taxeating ox called the incorporated farmer.

Williams has tentatively put a \$35,000 limit on what any producer can receive from the Government in crop support.

With Williams, this has been a long fight. It began, he tells me, in 1950 when, as a first-term Senator, he noticed that the fabulous King Ranch, owner of the face horse Swaps, was taking charity in the form of drought relief from the Federal Treasury.

Stories of this sort make flash headines, but they do not bring about instant reform. The latter, as Williams learned, takes years and years of grinding away at the whetstone of hard, unforgiving, irrefutable fact. A farmer, whether he is corporate or individual, is a constituent of two Senators and at least one Congressman.

Every constituent has a right to make, his case known, and usually the wealthy constituent has Senators and Representatives who are inclined to believe him to be right. Williams had to overcome both the inertia and the self-interest of statesmen from the agricultural South and West. Significantly, when the Williams measure passed the Senate on May 22 as an amendment to the Wheat Act, there were 21 absentees, 1 more than the 20 Senators, all Democrats, who voted against the \$35,000 limitation. But Williams got the support of every Republican who stayed on hand for the winning rollcall of 57 affirmative votes.

On Senator Williams' desk while he led the debate was a document which he did not use because, he says, "When you're winning, don't rub it in." But the weapon which he didn't hurl was a 1935 report of cotton payments under Secretary of Agriculture Henry Wallace. The report revealed that a wholly owned British firm in Scott, Miss., the Delta & Pine Land Co., had received from the U.S. Government \$114.840 in 1933, \$102.408 in 1934, \$101,039 in 1935. The point is that this

same company is still at the trough. In the past 10 years it has received \$9 million from the United States in support of crops, mainly cotton and rice.

Thus from the very inception of our present farm policy, down to the present year, the bureaucracy of socialized agriculture has been such a runaway monster that it has taxed the poor to enrich the wealthy, and in this instance, the allen wealthy.

Not only that, but the monster is robbing the U.S. Treasury with both fists. WILLIAMS showed the Seante that in 1957, 10 farming firms received over \$500,000 under the soil bank for crops they refrained from growing on part of their lands, and about \$3,500,000 for surplus crops which they did grow on other parts.

In nominating Williams for Senator-ofthe-year at the two-thirds point of the congressional session, there is some risk incurred. Who knows, but a mightier man with a more justly celebrated deed will arise?

"This is America," WILLIAMS says, "and there is a right to accumulate whatever you're able. I'm not against bigness in business, as such. But I'm against big businesses being subsidized out of the Federal Treasury."

What gives added size to the WILLIAMS achievement is that this success clears the way for more of the same kind. He is now working on loophole stopping in the soil bank, in certain features of income taxation, in boondoggling reclamation projects, and a few others. If there's a better Senator in the 86th Congress, it would be hard to name him at this point.

#### Farm Labor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Report on Farm Labor," published in the New York Times of Monday, May 25, 1959.

The editorial calls attention to the condition of a forgotten segment of our country—farm labor. It points out clearly that the agricultural employees, especially the migrant laborers, are trailing far behind the advances made by workers in other fields and in the Government protection which has been given them.

There is no question that this situation deserves our wholehearted attention in order to remedy an obvious inequity.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### REPORT ON FARM LABOR

Last February the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor held a 2-day conference in Washington to focus public attention on the condition of farm laborers in the United States. Reports from Government officials, labor leaders, and informed observers showed how far agricultural employees, especially migrants, were trailing behind the advances made by workers in other fields and in the Government protection which has been given them.

The committee has now published a summary and review of these reports which deserves wide reading. While the committee's purpose is research and public education, rather than reform, the record of the conference showed a consensus of those present as to some of the measures that ought to be taken.

Most important is the inclusion of all farm workers, now usually exempted, in Federal and State laws requiring union recognition and collective bargaining, setting fair standards for wages and hours of work and providing for unemployment compensation. Special measures for migrant workers, both domestic and foreign, are mentioned, including establishment of a Bureau of Migratory Labor in the Department of Labor to work for better standards.

The committee is doing good work in this checkup on farm labor conditions and what is being proposed to improve them. It should stage a repeat performance next year, using this first report as a benchmark from which to measure progress.

## To Insure Domestic Tranquillity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. RICHARD B. RUSSELL

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, on May 19, 1959, the Washington Evening Star published a very interesting letter to the editor, written by Mr. J. Chester Wilfong. The letter brought up an aspect of the recent integration decision of the Supreme Court regarding precedents which had not heretofore come to my attention. The letter is so interesting that I think it should be made available to the readers of the Congressional Record. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Washington Evening Star, May 19, 1959]

#### FIRST THINGS FIRST

The preamble to the Constitution of the United States still reads: "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

The Supreme Court, in its school integration decision, seems not to have noted that "insure domestic tranquillity" appears before "provide for the common defense" and "promote the general welfare." So it must have had some importance in the minds of the framers of our Constitution.

The Court, in rushing in where angels might very well hesitate, stirring up anger and ill feeling in a large section of the Nation where, immediately prior to the school integration decision, race relations were growing progressively better and happier, chose a very peculiar way of insuring domestic tranquillity, and I doubt its ultimate success in connection with the operation of our public schools.

J. CHESTER WILFONG.

La Crosse, Wis., Forward-Moving City

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, across the Nation, we are witnessing a tremendous growth of towns and cities.

As focal points of trade and commerce, as well as being local meccas of social, educational, and cultural significance, these urban areas serve as a hub for activities in surrounding communities.

In Wisconsin, for example, our cities and towns—led by public-spirited citizens—are making a real contribution toward community development.

We recognize, of course, that today, rapid urbanization movement is creating a number of serious problems.

These include the need for: adequate housing and public facilities, including water, sewage, proper zoning for business, residential and industrial areas.

Consequently, I believe that we need to take a new look at the trends in population movement, economic development, and other factors that are contributing to mass urbanization. The purpose would be to provide for such growth in a well-planned, well-designed, manner rather than allowing it to happen on a haphazard basis, with its accompanying problems, either now or for the future years.

In the past, our communities, imbued with a pioneering spirit, have carried out the growth of urban areas; at the same time, they have attempted to cope as effectively as possible with the inherent problems.

Recently, the monthly publication of Lykes Bros. Steamship Co., Inc., of New Orleans, carried a fine article on the historical development of one of our outstanding Wisconsin cities, La Crosse. Recognizing the importance of this fine city to the surrounding communities, but also the fact that it is representative of the significance of other cities to their environs, I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### WISCONSIN

At the confluence of three rivers, the La Crosse, the Black, and the Mississippi, French traders customarily stopped to trade with the Winnebago Indians encamped there. Because the Indians often played a game which reminded them of the French game lacrosse, they named the place Prairie la Crosse. From this very humble beginning grew the present city of parks, schools, churches, businesses, and homes known as La Crosse.

The first permanent trading post was established in 1841 by Nathan Myrick, who came out of New York and up the Mississippi in a keelboat. Myrick's first shelter was on Pettibone Island and that first winter he hired H. J. B. Miller to move supplies and timber across the ice of the river to raise the first house on the site of La Crosse.

By 1845, when John M. Levy and his wife came from Prairie du Chien with a horse, a cow, pigs, and a large stock of goods, Myrick and Miller (who had joined Myrick as a partner) had a competitor for the trade in the region. There were then only a few buildings at the site, giving shelter to four women and nine men, and when the Winnebago Indians were moved to Minnesota by the Government in 1848 the white population numbered 50.

Fortunately, the tradesmen, although hurt by the loss of the Winnebago Tribe, were not left long in difficulties. In the early 1850's a large group of settlers came into the region from Vermont, New York, and Ohio. Among these groups were many aggressive and visionary young men who bought land, constructed grist and saw mills, and organized the first religious congregation, Roman Catholic, in 1853.

Among the settlers who saw the commercial possibilities of the site was Lt. Gov. Timothy Burns, who moved to La Crosse in 1847 and bought half of the Myrick and Miller claim. To Burns' foresight in having the land surveyed, in laying out lots and selling them on easy terms to the people who decided to settle here, as well as his constant praising of the site of La Crosse, the city of today is indebted for its rapid growth.

La Crosse County was organized in 1851, and Timothy Burns was elected chairman by the 36 voters who appeared to exercise their democratic right. In the summer of that year the first county election was held and Burns was again elected, this time as county judge.

In 1852 a large steam mill was erected near the mouth of the La Crosse River and the saw mill became the nucleus for the lumbering industry which was to help develop the city in the years that followed.

The village of La Crosse was organized as a city in 1956 by virtue of a charter granted for that purpose. The first mayor was T. B. Stoddard. At this time the name was officially changed from Prairie La Crosse to La Crosse

Though the citizens had been anxious for the coming of the railroad in 1858, when the La Crosse and Milwaukee tracks reached the city, the steamboat traffic had by no means been inadequate. River boats carried settlers, freight, commodities, and everything necessary to sustain life and trade. In the winter when the Mississippi River froze over, sleds replaced the river boats. During 1856 and 1857, for example, steamboat landings at La Crosse averaged 20 per month.

After the railroads reached La Crosse, towboats carrying grain began to stop here to unload their cargo for shipment to Milwaukee by rail and thence east by the lake route. By 1876, with five railroads radiating from the city and having benefited by the Civil War's closing traffic on the Mississippi below Ohio, La Crosse was the most important distribution point between St. Paul on the north and St. Louis on the south.

Despite the coming of the railroads, La Crosse was the terminus for the largest transportation organization on the upper Mississippi. For years after its organization in 1860, the steamboat company of W. F. and P. S. Davidson and their associates plied their trade. By the 1870's, the decline of steamboating was balanced by the increase of logs and lumber rafts and towboating. From this decade to the early 1900's, La Crosse was headquarters for the largest fleet of raft boats on the upper Mississippi and most important center for westward travel between Dubuque and St. Paul.

Before the turn of the century, La Crosse was for a while second in importance as a manufacturing center in Wisconsin. Flour, cigars, foundry and machine products, furniture, agricultural machinery, beer and malt products, lumber and sawmill products,

doors, sashes, and blinds led manufacturing in the city.

The coming of the 20th century brought a decline in the lumber industry, due to the rapidity with which the timberlands were stripped in Wisconsin. While in 1899 the lumber industry accounted for approximately 1,800 millhands employed, 6 years later it sustained only 34.

Two early newspaper editors played an important role in the growth of La Crosse; Mark M. (Brick) Pomeroy, poet-editor of the La Crosse Democrat, and George W. Peck, editor of Peck's Sun.

Present day La Crosse is proof of the energy, enthusiasm and integrity of its early day founders. Its industry is widely diversified, its stores, residential district, its parks and playgrounds, schools, churches and modern appearance are a tribute to the founders.

La Crosse's manufacturing plants signify a great diversification in industry for a city of its size. Annually, a variety of finished and semifinished products lend themselves to worldwide markets. Manufactured for export and domestic use are heating and airconditioning products, farm machinery, refrigeration equipment, beer, office and church furniture, rubber footwear, and clothing. Fabricated steel makes up a large portion of the manufactured product and includes aircraft parts, tools, gages, name plates, clock assemblies and patterns. In 1957, 47 manufacturing plants reported gross sales amounting to \$181,665,985 and employment of approximately 9,000 men and women.

The topography of La Crosse County, which is characterized by alternating ridges and valleys resulting from erosion and dissection of the underlying Cambrian sandstone bedrock, does not lend itself to being classified as top agricultural land. However, with modern soil conservation practices, agriculture in the county ranks with the best in the Nation.

Of the total land area of slightly more than 300,000 acres, approximately 85 percent is utilized as farmland with 40 percent considered cropable. The county's 1,400 farms produced more than \$11 million in crops. Besides dairy products, cash crops include tobacco, peas, beans, cabbage, and corn.

Being pioneers in soil conservation, and realizing the value of maintaining good cropland, the average income per acre of county farms in 1957 was appropriately \$82 well above the rest of the country. The dollar value per farm increased to more than \$15,000 and for their size are worth more than most farms in the United States.

La Crosse is rich in educational institutions. Besides its 24 elementary schools, 3 junior high schools, 3 senior high schools, La Crosse is the home of an outstanding vocational and adult school, La Crosse State College, Holy Cross Seminary, Viterbo College, and the St. Francis School of Nursing.

Operating under the Wisconsin Statute which provides for a vocational school in every city over 5,000 population, these schools provide courses in trade and industry, homemaking, agriculture, and the business fields except for the professions. The disabled, the farmer and his family, the homemaker, the officeworker, the salesman, the industrialworker, the apprentice and youth find that vocational training prepares or aids them in their lifework.

Towering over the city of La Crosse, in all its rocky grandeur, is Grandad Bluff. From the protected lookout, at the very summit of the bluff (1.172 feet above sea level), you are offered a view of panoramic splendor. Spread out below you, like some unbelievable wonderful picture, you see La Crosse, with only its most impressive buildings thrusting through the foliage of century old trees \* \* you'll see the rolling green of the coulees, draped with shade \* \* \dagger you'll see the majestic sweep of the Mississippi and

Its tributaries \* \* \* and across the river you see the wooded rockiness of the Minnesota hills. On clear days, far to your left and caught up in the smoky purple shadows of distance, the Iowa bluffs are also visible from Grandad's Bluff, making it possible for you to see three States from this one vantage point. Parking and picnic facilities are modern and adequate. The road approaches are smooth and safeguarded.

Myrick Park with its zoo and picnic and recreation facilities is inviting to the vistor. At the foot of the downtown busness section is beautiful Riverside Park. There, the Mississippi, "Father of Waters," invites your intimate study. When you stroll along the flower-decorated levee in the park, you'll recapture much of the romance of bygone days on the river—especially if you happen to see one of the river boats moving its cargo on this important waterway. There you will see excursion boats with calliope music, heavily loaded barges deftly guided by river tugboats, and smaller pleasure craft, high-powered and fast.

Transportation by water, air, rail, and truck and bus makes La Crosse an ideal center for the location of all types of business. Many products manufactured in La Crosse are shipped by all methods of transportation to foreign and domestic markets. This advantage in transportation, coupled with the industrious; energetic people of the area, makes for the ideal situation, a splendid place to live and to make a living.

## Foreign Policy and Christian Conscience

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON, BYRON L. JOHNSON

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include an article by George F. Kennan, formerly policy planner with the State Department, and former Ambassador to the Soviet Union. In this article—in the May issue of Atlantic Monthly-Mr. Kennan speaks as a Presbyterian to the Princeton Theological Seminary. When our policies are examined in the light of conscience we may all conclude they could be substantially improved. I commend Mr. Kennan's views as worthy of thoughtful study. He reminds us that this generation is only the custodian-not the owner-of the earth on which we live, and that man must not now commit the blasphemous act of destroying this great and lovely world:

I should like to say at the outset that questions of method in foreign policy seem to me to be generally a much more fitting subject for Christian concern than questions of purpose. It is very difficult for us to know which of the specific undertakings of government in foreign affairs might have Christian significance and which might not. If there is any one thing that is plain about international statesmanship, it is the externe difficulty of establishing in advance the relationship between cause and effect—of gaging the likely results of one's own acts.

The English historian Herbert Butterfield has shown us with great brilliance, and so has our own Reinhold Niebuhr, the irony that seems to rest on the relationship between the intentions of statesmen and the

results they achieve. I can testify from personal experience that not only can one never know, when one takes a far-reaching decision in foreign policy, precisely what the consequences are going to be, but almost never do these consequences fully coincide with what one intended or expected. This does not absolve the statesman of his responsibility for trying to find the measures most suitable to his purpose, but it does mean that he is best off when he is guided by firm and sound principle instead of depending exclusively on his own farsightedness and powers of calculation. And if he himself finds it hard to judge the consequences of his acts, how can the individual Christian onlooker judge them?

All this is quite different when we come to method. Here, in a sense, one can hardly go wrong. The government cannot fully know wrong. The government cannot fully know what it is doing, but it can always know how it is doing it; and it can be as sure that good methods will be in some way useful as that bad ones will be in some way pernicious. A government can pursue its purpose in a patient and conciliatory and understanding way, respecting the interests of others and infusing its behavior with a high standard of decency and honesty and humanity, or it can show itself petty, exacting, devious, and self-righteous. If it behaves badly, even the most worthy of purposes will be apt to be polluted; whereas sheer good manners will bring some measure of redemption to even most disastrous undertaking. The Christian citizen will be on sound ground. therefore, in looking sharply to the methods of his government's diplomacy, even when he is uncertain about its purposes.

In the fabric of international life, there are a great many questions that have no certain Christian significance at all. They represent conflicts between those elements of secular motivation which are themselves without apparent Christian meaning: commercial interests, prestige considerations, fears, and whatnot. I do not think we can conclude that it matters greatly to God whether the free trade area or the common market prevails in Europe, whether the British fish or do not fish in Icelandic territorial waters, or even whether Indians or Pakistani run Kashmir. It might matter, but it is hard for us, with our limited vision, to know.

But these are all questions which reflect the normal frictions between peace-loving nations. How about the issues of the cold war? How about colonialism? How about aid to the underdeveloped areas? How about the United Nations as an institution? How about the atom? Are not Christian values involved in our attitude toward these questions?

## OUR COMPETITION WITH MOSCOW

In its internal policies, the state can create a decent human atmosphere, in which the individual has the maximum possibility for grappling in a hopeful and constructive way with the moral problems of personal life. Or it can, as we have seen in the examples of Hitler and Stalin and the Chinese Communists, strike out on the most appalling lines of viciousness and cruelty, deliberately fostering a real sickness of the human spirit and inculcating on people's minds, for its own purposes, suspicion, terror, callousness, and the habit of brutalitycreating conditions dreadfully adverse to the success of the Christian cause. Christianity cannot be indifferent to the existence of such doctrines and methods; and whatever prevents their spread and their triumph on a world scale serves, it seems to me, a Christian purpose.

But I do not think this means that every measure that is damaging to international communism is necessarily good and every measure that is acceptable to a Communist government is necessarily bad. The world is not that simple. Our competition with

Moscow is not the only significant reality of international affairs. Our policies, furthermore, must take into account the interests of the peoples under Communist rule as well as those of their governments. Again, we have the question of method and the fact that not even the greatest conviction of righteousness in our purposes absolves us from the obligation of decency in method. If we allow ourselves to copy our adversary's methods as a means of combating him, we may have lost the battle before we start; for this is, after all, what is most essentially at stake.

Furthermore, we must not make the mistake of regarding international communism as a static, unchanging quantity in the pattern of world realities. While the full-blown totalitarian state in all its'unnatural, nightmarish horror is certainly an abomination in the sight of God, one cannot say this of the conservative authoritarian state which has been the norm of Western society in the Christian era. And we must not forget that it is in this direction that the Soviet Government, as distinct from the Chinese Communist government, has been rapidly evolving since Stalin's death. Its gravitation in this direction has not been final or decisive, but it has not been negligible. The mere fact that the most characteristic feature of totalitarian horror, the punishment of whole categories of people for abstract or preventive reasons, has been abolished, shows how far the Russians have come since Stalin's

Now between democracy and traditional authoritarianism there are still differences, but they are relative and do not present clear-cut issues. The authoritarian regime, despite its origins and its sanctions, often rests on a wide area of popular acceptance and reflects popular aspirations in important degree. In democratic countries, on the other hand, such things as the operations of lobbies and political parties and the inevitable control of nominations by small groups of people tend to reduce the ideal representativeness of government and to make it hard to view the political process as much more than a negative expression of the popular will.

And if you conider, as I do, that the value of a democratic society in the Christian sense depends not just on the fact of its enjoying certain rights and liberties but on the nature of the use made of them, then I think you have to raise questions about our American society of this day. These questions do not need to make us lose hope or hang our heads, but they should cause us to be cautious in drawing conclusions about the merit in God's eyes of any particular form of society.

All these considerations lead me to feel that, while Christian values ofter are involved in the issues of American conflict with Soviet power, we cannot conclude that everything we want automatically reflects the purpose of God and everything the Russians want reflects the purpose of the devil. The pattern is complex, fuzzy, and unstable. We must look sharply at each individual issue before we jump to conclusions. We must bear in mind that there are things we do not know and cannot know. We must concede the possibility that there might be some areas of conflict involved in this cold war which a divine power could contemplate only with a sense of pity and disgust for both parties, and others in which He might even consider us to be wrong.

#### THE TRAGEDY OF COLONIALISM

So much for the cold war. How about colonialism? Nobody seems to suggest any more, I notice, that God might conceivably be on the side of the metropolitan power, despite the fact that of the two parties involved it is often the mother country that represents the Christian society and the co-

Ionial people the pagan one. The assumption usually encountered today is that any form of foreign rule is necessarily oppressive and worse than any form of indigenous rule. The next assumption is that any anticolonial effort is therefore automatically good in the Christian sense—that self-determination, in short, is a Christian purpose. I am confident that for such assumptions

there is not a shred of justification. erection of the edifice of modern colonialism was not a moral act or a series of moral acts but the response to obvious historical conditions and necessities. It was a phenomenon occasioned by the fact that industrialism burst forth in Europe and North America more than a hundred years earlier than it did in other parts of the globe and thus produced huge and sudden disparities in physical and administrative power. This called for a political response, and colonial-ism was this response. We Americans were spared a greater participation in it only because of our preoccupation with the development of our own continent-for no other reason.

Today the colonial relationship has outworn in many instances—though by no means all-its original technological psychological justification. A great part of the colonial system has been liquidated, and another part of it is in course of liquidation. This process could not fail to give rise to tensions of tragic bitterness and difficulty. In the anatomy of these tensions, one will look in vain, as a rule, for any Christian meaning. The resistance to change on the part of the mother country has sometimes reflected selfishness and shortsightedness, and it has also reflected in many cases a genuine sense of responsibility. Conversely, the demand for change on the part of the colonial people has sometimes reflected a real love of liberty, and it has often been borne by a spirit fiercely chauvinistic, full of hatred, undemocratic, and irresponsible.

Let us, as Christian, view these resulting conflicts for what they are: tragic situations, in which the elements of right and wrong are indistinguishable to us. remember that, insofar as these situations reflect racial differences, we ourselves stand before God and the world as one of the most conspicuous examples of the failure to find a satisfactory Christian solution to such problems. Let us learn to view this whole subject of colonialism with humility, with detachment, with compassion for both sides. Let us not abuse the confidence of Christ by invoking his judgment one way or another on situations that were obviously beyond the power of mortal man to prevent and are now beyond the power of mortal man to liquidate without pain and strife.

Or take the problems of technical assistand other forms of aid to underdeveloped peoples. Here, too, I must argue against the absolutes. I can think of no question of Christian doctrine which needs critical examination more than the question of what constitutes charity. Even in the personal sense, in the relations between individuals, I often wonder whether we do not constantly misinterpret the term and whether it does not contain a host of subjective pitfalls. Charity is not giving people things which will only encourage them to postpone facing up to the necessities under which they are going to have to live in the long run. I question the handout as a means of bringing any important benefit to anyone, even in personal life. How much more complicated, then, is the matter of charity between nations. It is difficult to benefit a whole nation, as distinct from certain factions and elements in its competitive life, by anything you do to it from outside which affects its internal terms of competition. And make no mistake about it: every infusion of foreign aid has this There are always some who benefit

from it and others whose interests are damaged by it.

But beyond this, foreign aid, to be really effective as a gesture of Christian charity, would have to be understood as such a gesture by the recipients as well as by the donors. But most foreign peoples do not believe that governments do things for self-less and altruistic motives; and if we do not reveal to them a good solid motive of self-interest for anything we do with regard to them, they are apt to invent one. This can be a more sinister one than we ever dreamed of, and their belief in it can cause serious confusion in our mutual relations.

Foreign aid has a place in our foreign policy; but the favorable possibilities for it are more slender than people generally suppose. The less it consists of outright grants, the better. The less we try to clothe it in the trappings of disinterested altruism—to view it as Christian charity—the more we can show it as a rational extrapolation of our own national interest, the better understood and the more effective it is going to be abroad.

#### THE U.N. AS A SYMBOL OF CONSCIENCE

The sovereign national state, to which so much reverent devotion is paid in the various gradations of patriotism and chauvinism that make up national feelings, has no foundation in Christian principle, whatever its secular justification. Nowhere in Christ's teachings was it suggested that mankind ought to be divided into political families of this nature, each a law unto itself, each recognizing no higher authority than its own national ego, each assuming its interest to be more worthy of service than any other with which it might come into conflict. Surely this whole theory is an absurdity from the Christian standpoint. Before we could achieve Christian foreign policy we would have to overcome this unlimited egotism of the sovereign national state and find a higher interest which all of us could recognize and serve.

How about the United Nations? it will be asked. Is this not an institution which, insofar as it represents an endeavor to transcend national sovereignty, deserves our support as a vehicle of the Christian purpose?

The U.N. represents not a supergovernment, not a separate institutional personality, but one of a number of forums on which governments communicate with one another. It does not, in reality, transcend the barrier of sovereignty. Its members are governments, not peoples, and such slender authority as it sometimes possesses is conferred upon it by these governments, each still acting within the sovereign framework.

There is no particular Christian sanctity lent to decisions taken in the United Nations by the fact that they represent the views of a majority of governments. Little countries are not necessarily more virtuous or more enlightened than big ones; and an international majority does not necessarily reflect the Christian answer, or even the most wise and courageous answer, to anything.

wise and courageous answer, to anything.
On the other hand, the U.N. does represent the germ of something immensely necessary and immensely hopeful for this endangered world: namely, a sense of conscience higher than the national one, a sense of the fellowship of fate by which we are all increasingly bound together. I cannot conceive of a satisfactory future for humanity that does not embrace, and draw its strength from, the growth of this consciousness. The present U.N. is the symbol of it. This symbol is still weak and tender, but it is not insignificant. We must therefore cherish it and guard it, not burdening it beyond its strength, not looking to it for the impossible, but strengthening it where and when we can, above all in our own thoughts and attitudes.

This does not mean that all U.N. decisions

are to be taken as automatically right and good. It does not mean that all diplomatic questions should be uncritically consigned to the U.N. whether or not this is a suitable place for their discussion. But it does mean that we should be careful and respectful of the organization as such, rememberinig that if the idea which it symbolizes is ever allowed to depart from international life, nothing else can stand between us and the horrors of a wholly chaotic world in the atomic age.

#### THE MORAL IMPLICATIONS OF WAR

This brings me now to the question on which I think a Christian might, with good conscience, really, take a stand. They involve not just the national intersts of individual governments but rather the interests of civilization: the question of war, and the atom, and the other weapons of mass destruction.

I am aware that the institution of war has always represented dilemmas for Christian thought to which no fully satisfactory answer has ever been offered. I have, in the past, found myself unable to go along with the Quakers in their insistence on a sweeping renunciation of power as a factor in international affairs. I do not see the reality of so clear a distinction as they draw between domestic affairs and international affairs. The Communists have taught us that these two things are intimately connected, that civil Wars have international implica-tions and that international wars have domestic implications everywhere. I am unable therefore to accept the view which condemns coercion on the international sphere but tolerates it within the national borders.

But that we cannot rule out force completely in international affairs does not seem to me to constitute a reason for being indifferent to the ways in which force is applied-to the moral implications of weapons and their uses. It is true that all distinctions among weapons from the moral standpoint are relative and arbitrary. Gunpowder was once viewed with a horror not much less, I suppose, than are atomic explosions today. But who is to say that relative distinctions are not meaningful? I cannot help feeling that the weapon of indiscriminate mass destruction goes farther than anything the Christian ethic can properly accept. The older weapons, after all, were discriminate in the sense that they had at least a direct coherent relationship to political aims. were seen as means of coercing people dlrectly into doing things an enemy government wished them to do: evacuating territory, desisting from given objectives, accepting a given political authority. A distinction was still generally drawn, furthermore, prior to World War I at least, between the armed forces and the civilian population of a hostile country. Efforts were made to see that military action was directed only against those who themselves had weapons in hands and offered resistance. The law of war did not yet permit the punishment of whole peoples as a means of blackmail against governments.

In all of these respects, the atom offends. So do all the other weapons of mass destruction. So, for that matter, did the conventional bomber of World War II when it was used for area bombing. In taking responsibility for such things as the bombing of Dresden and Hamburg, to say nothing of Nagasaki and Hiroshima, Americans went beyond what it seems to me the dictates of Christian conscience should have allowed (which is not to say that I think their problem was an easy one).

I regret, as an American and as a Christian, that these things were done. I think it should be our aim to do nothing of the sort in any future military encounter. If we must defend our homes, let us defend them as well as we can in the direct sense, but let

us have no part in making millions of women and children and noncombatants hostages for the behavior of their own governments.

It will be said to me: This means defeat. To this I can only reply: I am skeptical of the meaning of victory and defeat in their relation to modern war between great countries. To my mind the defeat is war itself. In any case it seems to me that there are times when we have no choice but to follow the dictates of our conscience, to throw ourselves on God's mercy, and not to ask too many questions.

#### ATOMIC TESTING

But this is not the only moral connotation of the atom. There is another in the great controversy that has raged over the question of atomic testing, its effect on the atmosphere, and its consequences for human health. My colleagues in the scientific field advise me to stay away from this subject. They point out that there is a great deal about it which is not yet known; that scientists are themselves in wide disagreement about its seriousness; that I, as a scientific layman, would not even be able to understand the terms in which it is put. All this I readily concede; but even the little that is known to the general public is enough to pose a problem of Christian conscience.

Let us take a random sampling of recent press reports. During the first 8 months of 1958, we are told, the fall-out of radio-active strontium on New York City increased by 25 percent. Readings in Los Angeles are said by the health department of that city to have revealed for limited periods a count of 500 to 1,000 times the normal radioactivity in the atmosphere and double the intensity considered safe for continuous exposure over a lifetime. Only a few weeks ago observations in Sweden showed radioactivity at 10 kilometers above sea level to be 5 times as intense as it was earlier in the year, and individual particles were detected (apparently at ground level), "larger and thought to be more radioactive, than any yet reported except from the immediate area of a test explosion." A similar report has come from Brazil.

All this is only the beginning; a large part of the fallout from the tests conducted thus far is, we are told, still in the higher atmosphere and will not descend for years. Furthermore, the effect of radioactive substances on human health is cumulative, so that any unnatural exposure presumably reduces the tolerance of exposure from natural causes or for medical purposes.

ural causes or for medical purposes.

In the face of these facts, I listen with some amazement to the statements with which some of the scientists endeavor to reassure us about such developments. The damages, they say, have been "negligible" so far. Not many deaths, they say, can be expected to ensue from this increase in radioactivity compared with those which occur from natural causes. One scientist, pained and astounded at the concern about the radioactive particles in Sweden, explained that if, for example, 100 people would be killed by the effects of a normal atomic explosion, then only 102 could be expected to die from the effects of the increased radioactivity which Sweden has been experiencing.

But whoever gave us the right, as Christians, to take even one innocent human life, much less 102 or a 102,000? I recall no quantitative stipulation in the Sixth Commandment. God did not say through Moses that to take 102,000 lives was wicked but 102 was all right. I fall to see how any of this can be reconciled with the Christian conscience.

I am delighted that our Government now shows a serious readiness to work toward the termination of these experiments with atomic explosives. We must go further and work toward the elimination of the use of atomic weapons in war as well. This cannot be done in a day, and not all that needs to be done can be done by us. But we can at least make a beginning by endeavoring to free ourselves from our unwise dependence on atomic weapons in our own military calculations, from our fateful commitment to the first use of these weapons, whether or not they are used against us.

#### OUR OBLIGATION TO THE FUTURE

There is a principle involved here which has application beyond just the field of weapons, to a number of other effects in the introduction of modern technology. We of this generation are only the custodians, not the owners, of the earth on which we live. There were others who lived here before, and we hope there will be others who are going to live here afterward. We have an obligation to past generations and to future ones, no less solemn than our obligations to ourselves. I fail to see that we are in any way justified in making, for the safety or convenience of our own generation, alterations in our natural environment which may importantly change the conditions of life for those who come afterward.

The moral laws which we acknowledge predicate the existence of a certain nort of world—a certain sort of natural environment—in which people live. This setting presumably reflects God's purpose. We did not create it; we do not have the right to destroy it. We know the problems which this environment poses for man. We know the nature of the Christian effort to find answers to them. We live by this lore. When we permit this environment to be altered quite basically by things we do today, we are taking upon ourselves a responsibility for which I find no authority in the Christian faith.

Obviously, we do not know what the ultimate effects will be of the atomic weapons tests we have already conducted. I am not sure that we know what will be the ultimate effects of our methods of disposal of radioactive wastes. I doubt that we know what we are doing to the sea through the use of modern detergents and the fouling of its surface with oil. I am not sure that we know what we are doing with modern insecticides, which we employ quite recklessly in agriculture for our immediate purposes, giving little thought to their ultimate effects. We who call ourselves Christians must acknowledge responsibility in these matters, most of which are international in their implications.

We will unavoidably find in the motives and workings of the political process much that is ambiguous in the Christian sense. In approaching the individual conflicts between governments which make up so much of international relations, we must beware of pouring Christian enthusiasm into unsuitable vessels which were at best designed to contain the earthy calculations of the practical politicians. But there are phases of the Government's work in which we can look for Christian meaning. We can look for it, first of all, in the methods of our diplomacy, where decency and humanity of spirit can never fail to serve the Christian cause.

Beyond that there loom the truly apocalyptic dangers of our time, the ones that threaten to put an end to the very continuity of history outside which we would have no identity, no face, either in civilization, in culture, or in morals. These dangers represent for us not only political questions but stupendous moral problems, to which we cannot deny the courageous Christian answer. Here our main concern must be to see that man, whose own folly once drove him from the Garden of Eden, does not now commit the blasphemous act of destroying.

whether in fear or in anger or in greed, the great and lovely world in which, even in his fallen state, he has been permitted by the grace of God to live.

## Wheat Legislation Affecting Oregon Producers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, many of us in the Senate realize that, although we have passed stopgap wheat legislation, the wheat problem has by no means been solved. The ultimate solution is yet to be enacted.

In the Oregonian of Portland for May 24, Jalmar Johnson, associate editor of that daily newspaper, has analyzed some of the major questions involved in handling wheat production. I am pleased that Mr. Johnson has stressed several of the advantages of S. 1140, introduced by the distinguished Senator from Kansas [Mr. Carlson], of which I am privileged to be a cosponsor. This is the so-called domestic parity program, which would separate wheat used domestically for human consumption from that sold abroad or fed to animals.

Because we know that much farm legislation remains to be considered by this 86th Congress, I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that the article by Jalmar Johnson from the Oregonian, entitled "Wheatmen Agree Farm Program a Flop," be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHEATMEN AGREE FARM PROGRAM A FLOP (By Jalmar Johnson)

Tell a Umatilla County wheat farmer or grain marketing specialist that you think the present farm price-support program is a flop and he'll generally agree with you. He has seen the wheat acreage in this eastern Oregon hub county drop from 300,000 to 200,000 harvested acres since 1953. The high price of wheat closes him out of the feed market, except for the barley he grows on the land diverted from wheat. The great surpluses in the United States, he realizes, may force him to cut his remaining wheatland by 20 to 30 percent and he doesn't like it.

But don't tell him he's got his feet in the public trough, like the pigs he's raising on an increasing scale. He'll point out, with blood in his eye, that the national publications which have virtually said so recently are themselves the beneficiaries of immense postal subsidies. He'll point out that many businesses are protected by import quotas, tariffs, sometimes direct subsidies. City workers have the protection of strong unions and immigration restrictions. To expect farmers alone to be free enterprisers in a protected economy makes no sense in Pendleton or Pilot Rock or Athena.

Umatilla County people are still strong for the two-price plan for wheat, this writer discovered on a 2-day visit to the wheat country last week. The plan has been revised. Once known as domestic parity and going back to the McNary-Haugen legislation of the Coolidge administration, it is now

called the stabilization plan.

As set forth in Senate bill 1140, which Senator Frank Carlson, Republican, of Kansas, introduced last February, the plan now calls for lumping the estimated amount of wheat used for food in the United States (about 485 million bushels) and exports (about 480 million bushels) into a national marketing allotment. This would total about 840 million bushels, when 75 million bushels were subtracted for yearly removal from Commodity Credit Corporation stocks. Supports on the whole of this would be at 65 percent of parity, with each farmer receiving certificates entitling him to an additional 35 percent of parity on his share of the wheat used for domestic human consumption.

Acreage allotments would be eliminated, but each farmer would be required to put at least 20 percent of his wheat land in the conservation reserve to be eligible to receive certificates. Wheat grown in excess of the farmer's bushel allotment could be fed to animals on the farm where grown, sold to other farmers or to feed processors. It is estimated the stabilization plan would save the Federal Treasury \$738 million a year by lowering the cost of price-support operation, reducing CCC stocks, lowering export subsidies, and reducing CCC storage costs by placing the stocks on 5-year storage contracts.

Several persons told this writer they thought such a plan could be administered without great difficulty. A two-price plan may be said to be already in existence, with two-thirds of the acreage in high-support wheat and one-third in low-support barley,

one pointed out.

But there is little hope that Congress will enact such legislation this session. In fact, the plan is not being pushed. Corn belt Congressmen, the Farm Bureau, and the administration all are opposed to it. Midwest corngrowers, who now are free to grow all the corn they wish at support prices higher than noncompliance levels last year, don't want wheat competing for the feed market. Also other wheat exporting countries, such as Canada, Australia, and Argentina, are touchy about this country's wheat program.

If there is no chance to put over the Oregon wheat growers' favorite program, what is the next best plan? Surprisingly, one of the county's biggest handlers of wheat, who admits to no great admiration for Agriculture Secretary Exra Tart Benson, said he thought the administration plan might be the most advantageous for eastern Oregon wheat

growers.

This plan would base supports on average market prices over a 3-year period. Its effect would be gradual and not catastrophically sudden. Tempered by land bank payments, it would lead to eventual freedom from allotments and entry of wheat into animal feeding. How far the support price would drop, is problematical. It might go down to \$1.25 or so a bushel, which is much lower than the present level but not so much below the \$1.45 to \$1.55 a bushel which the average farmer probably made last year on a wheat-barley combination.

If such a plan were adopted, it might drive out of production the many 15-acre wheat plantings which add greatly to the surplus and which have been encouraged by high prices. Farmers in areas where wheat is not a traditional crop might return their land to former crops, if a profit on wheat were not assured them. The Pacific Northwest, this expert said, would be able to stand the policy reversal better than most sections and, if protected in the future by a disaster-type support, might get back into producing wheat for use rather than for storage.

Meanwhile, as the wheat problem reaches a crisis, eastern Oregon wheat men are not just a-sittin' and a-whittlin'. They are doing much to help themselves. That is another story which will be told here later.

## Neuberger Found New World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. MIKE MANSFIELD

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, in the Washington Star of June 1 there appeared an excellent article, written by Jim Bishop, entitled "NEUBERGER Found New World." I believe the article illustrates the integrity, the soundness, and the stability of the distinguished junior Senator from Oregon [Mr. NEUBERGER] and represents a tribute truly deserved. I am delighted that this tribute is paid to him, and that he, in turn, is making known his views and thoughts on the basis of the illness which he underwent last year, so that the rest of us can become more philosophical, more understanding, and more tolerant in our own lives and our own viewpoints.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

NEUBERGER FOUND NEW WORLD (By Jim Bishop)

Nothing humbles a man like the imminence of death. Once he feels that he is finished, he sees himself, in sorrow, as just one more grain of sand on a big beach. Matters that used to be important are now trivial. The patient learns the truth of the ancient aphorism: "All, all is vanity."

Sometimes the man recovers. The measure of his intelligence is in the amount of humility he retains when he gets well. A few keep it and enjoy life more than ever before. Many return to the old ways of dog-eat-dog. Arthur Godfrey, for example, has time to mediate now as never before. Last year, it was Senator Richard Neuberger's turn. Next year—who knows?—maybe mine. Or yours.

The Senator from Oregon writes well about the inner working of the human heart in distress. He has an article in the current Harper's, in which he relates how he discovered that he had cancer, of his thoughts and of his certainty that he would not get well. He had malignant growths on his tongue, a testicle, and the periphery of both lungs

testicle, and the periphery of both lungs. He was 46. The first thing he learned was that the imminence of death does not make the weak strong, nor the strong weak. "A change came over me," the Senator said, "which I believe is irreversible. Questions of prestige, of political success, financial status, all became unimportant. In those first hours when I realized I had cancer, I never thought of my seat in the Senate, of my bank account, of the destiny of the free world."

What was on his mind? His cat. He wondered who would take care of Muffet. What would happen to Mrs. Neuberger?

The Senator has not had an argument with his wife since the onset of illness. "I used to

scold her about squeezing the toothpaste from the top of the tube instead of the bottom," about not cooking the foods he liked best, about inviting people to the house without consulting the Senator, about spending too much money on clothes. Suddenly, all of these things were ridiculous.

Now the Senator gets a thrill out of having lunch with an old friend, sitting with his wife talking about nothing of importance, scratching Muffet's ears, raiding the refrigerator. "I shudder," he says, "when I remember all the occasions that I spoiled for myself—even when I was in the best of health—by false pride, synthetic values and fancied slights."

The great leveler was treatment for the cancer. Senator Neuberger began treatment and convalescence in Portland and it measured up to the best he might have had at the big name clinics. He found a cubicle in which to remove his clothes. Outside, he found a rack with linen smocks. One had his name on it. He looked at the other smocks. They had the names of a noted banker, a college professor, a society woman, a union worker, a housewife.

Wherever he went, RICHARD NEUBERGER found that he saw a world different from the one he knew all his life. The Senator was a wide-eyed Alice in Wonderland, treading lightly through a strange maze of mirrors. A brief grin from a doctor studying an X-ray plate became more important than the latest pronouncement from Nikita Khrushchev; a silent squeeze of his hand by Mrs. Neuberger meant more than a certified check for a million dollars.

The Senator did well. The treatment wasn't as difficult as he thought and, when he returned to Washington, a roentgenologist studied a new picture of Neuersons's lungs and had to ask the Senator where the cancer used to be so that he could study the area. These are the moments that constrict a man's throat.

In his office were messages from colleagues of both parties. The Senator is a Democrat. There was a note from Senator Goldwater saying that he and his wife Peggy were praying for Richard Neuerger. There were offers of transfusions, money, medical assistance, mass cards.

When he returned to the Senate, his hands feit the edges of his old chair. Vice President Nixon smiled down from the President's desk. Senator Frank Church of Idaho, 34, stood to welcome Neuberger back to the U.S. Senate. He revealed that, 11 years before, he, too, had recovered from the same kind of cancer.

Senator Neuberger was in a brandnew world.

#### Lewis Strauss

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. STEPHEN M. YOUNG

OF OHIO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, in the Cleveland Press of May 21, 1959, on the editorial page, there was published a jingle relating to the nomination of Adm. Lewis Strauss to be Secretary of Commerce. I ask unanimous consent that this jingle, which appeared on the editorial page of that great newspaper under the caption of "Joe Newman's Frying Pan," be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the jingle was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Joe Newman's Frying Pan (Father Goose rhymes)

Said Senator Young (and he wins our applause),
"Why strain at an Adams, yet swallow a

y strain at an Adams, yet swallow a Strauss?"

Never were words more courageously flung. But such are the things that you do when you're Young.

## Buildings for Brotherhood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, the Young Men's Christian Association is now at work on a program Which, I believe, merits some attention. It is called "Buildings for Brotherhood." and it is a program to build more YMCA's abroad. I understand that citizens of this Nation will be asked to give \$5 to \$6 million to this cause. My hometown, Westfield, in New Jersey, has accepted a goal of \$9,000, according to a letter I have received from Edward C. Ewen, the general secretary there. Mr. Ewen also tells me that not one U.S. dollar goes out in aid to any specific place until that community has met its share of the capital expense involved.

Mr. Ewen also writes:

It has proven to be quite a stimulus to self-help, and a push along the road to better relations, and a more peaceful atmosphere among our friends in foreign lands.

Mr. President, it seems to me that much good may come from this program. Any efforts intended to promote understanding among people of many nations is a step toward ultimate peace. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an excerpt from a YMCA publication called "Buildings for Brotherhood."

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADMINISTRATION

With the exception of the World Youth Fund in 1948—which provided \$5 million restricted to replacement and repairs in war devastated countries—little help has been given in the last 30 years by the international committee for new buildings and facilities. Inadequate facilities handicapped many movements located where recent developments offered the YMCA its greatest opportunities.

At its plenary meeting in September 1954, the international committee, composed of elected representatives of the States, areas, and Canada, appointed a study commission to investigate mounting building requests. Under Chairman William J. Grede, building needs received the consideration of laymen and secretaries at every level. A national referendum, taken after 2 years of study, reported overwhelming approval of the validity of those needs and the urgency of meeting them without delay. This recom-

mendation received the unanimous endorsement of the National Council of YMCA's. It designated the international committee as the proper body to plan and direct the campaign to begin in 1958.

Responsible leaders of national movements around the world began an intensive study of the needs of their youth in order to plan a bold program of advance through strategically placed new buildings. Each building project must be on a share basis. The result is a great cooperative undertaking of 33 countries at a total cost of \$16,039,165. Of this amount, the international committee will undertake to raise at least \$5 million.

Documented projects are submitted by the national movements to the international committee. After thorough examination by staff, they are reviewed by the projects committee of Buildings for Brotherhood. This committee refers the examined projects, with recommendations, to the executive committee of the international committee. Decisions made on separate projects use the following criteria:

Soundness of the project.

Evidence of real need for assistance toward its accomplishment.

Evidence of real effort to secure locally as large a proportion as possible of the funds required.

Satisfactory mutual understanding on matters related to the financing of the project and construction of the building. Judgment on the relative importance of

Judgment on the relative importance of the project among all the requests currently being considered.

If the project is approved, the Committee on World Service Interpretation and Income Production is authorized to solicit contributions in the United States and Canada in the amount requested or in a modified amount. Because the international committee has no capital funds, it cannot commit itself in advance to make an appropriation toward any project. Any mention of a figure for a project is descriptive only. When it has the money in hand, the international committee will make appropriations toward projects agreed upon, authorizing notification to the national movement concerned and transmission of funds in the manner agreed upon.

No more careful preparation has ever been made for any campaign in terms of grass-roots approval and thoroughly worked out policies. On the basis of necessary documentation, national movements have inaugurated self-appraisal and new long-rang planning techniques. The worldwide YMCA is now engaged in a total, Christian advance to meet the needs of youth. This courageous global program has been aptly named, "Buildings for Brotherhood."

Day Is Done-Day Has Begun

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. J. VAUGHAN GARY

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. GARY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Congressional Record, I would like to insert a very beautiful poem which was printed in the Virginia Legionnaire, official publication of the Virginia Department of the American Legion. This poem was written by my friend, Charles H. Phillips, of Richmond, Va., a former member of the Virginia General Assembly, in memory of his

brother, Henry Adams Phillips. It is based upon Army Taps.

DAY IS DONE

Over the years we men of the American Legion participate in many graveside services, the last rites to our friends, our fellow Legionnaires.

Our emotions are always stirred. We stand, the service comes to a close, ashes to ashes, prayers of thanksgiving and hope, blessings on the family have been said, the service ends.

Then, as a benediction, on it all a last farewell salute to the departed spirit there comes the clear call of a bugle. We stand at attention, some one removes the flag from the casket as the notes of the bugle rise and swell. We join with them silently repeating the words of old familiar Army Taps:

Day is done
Gone the sun,
From the land
From the sea
From the sky,
All is well
Rest in peace,
Day is done.

#### DAY HAS BEGUN

It is a most fitting farewell, leaving us in the spirit of approving our act of participating. We get the feeling that the departed spirit too approves, goes on its way calmer, confident, reassured by our love and esteem.

Could it be—I am sure that it is—that our feeling of elation, of being lifted up that we get on such an occasion, comes yet from another reason than our participation in fittingly bidding goodby to our departed comrade, comes from something far more wonderful, comes from the spirit of our departed friend taking its leave of us, telling us to be of good cheer, to have faith and hope, and that we, like him, when our time comes to follow must also call back to our graves to the same well beloved bugle call notes of the same old familiar Army Taps;

Day has begun,
Risen the sun,
On that land
Far up above
In the heavens,
I'm with God,
God with me,
My new day's begun.

## Will This Frankenstein Devour Us?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, the following article, by Lawrence Fertig, which appeared in the New York World-Telegram and Sun on June 1, offers considerable food for thought:

LABOR LAWS BLAMED FOR THREATS, CRISES
(By Lawrence Fertig)

The chickens are now coming home to roost—more insistently than ever. One serious labor problem after another threatens the country as a direct result of bad labor laws passed by Congress, and even worse interpretations by the Supreme Court and the National Labor Relations Board. Several recent happenings reveal the scope and gravity of this problem. They prove that what

is now necessary is a fundamental solution and not a palliative.

First. James Hoffa, head of the Teamsters' Union, threatened to "call a primary strike across the Nation" which would bring this country to its knees. The public and the press were shocked and outraged by this threat. But in their resentment against Hoffs few people stopped to think that he would be doing nothing illegal and that the law protects him-in fact it encourages in such action.

No other group in the United States could cossibly threaten the country this way.

Why? Because no other group has been Why? Why? Because no court group granted such monopoly power by Congress (under the Clayton Act). No other group would be protected in such action under the law which exempts unions from injunctions by the court (Norris-La Guardia Act).

Mr. Hoffa is protected by a majority opinion rendered by the U.S. Supreme Court in the Hutcheson case. In this case Justice Felix Frankfurter delivered himself of this shocker: "So long as a union acts in its selfinterest, and does not combine with non-labor groups, the licit and illicit \* \* \* are not to be distinguished by any judgment regarding the wisdom or unwisdom, the rightness or wrongness, the selfishness or unselfishness of the end of which the particular union activities are the means.'

In plain words this means that unions can do no wrong when they pursue their own interest. Those who grow violent about Hoffa or any other labor union leader should direct their fire where it really belongs-at the Congress of the United States. this body can change the basic labor laws protecting union monopolies-laws which give an excuse for the kind of frightening opinion rendered by Justice Frankfurter.

2. Another labor crisis indicating the necessity of a basic solution is the threat of a national steel strike. Steel companies are resisting the union's billion-dollar demand because they want to hold prices down. The steel industry must meet increasing competition from imported steel, as well as from other basic industries such as aluminum, etc. Why should this particular price (the price or hourly wage of workers in steel) create a national crisis threatening the entire country Every week tens of thousands of important prices are made or revised throughout the country, but the public is not threatened with a crisis in any of them. The answer is that wherever competition exists prices can be established without any crisis. Prices seek a level which favors maximum public buying-and this is done without any violence, coercion, or threat of national calamity. But since labor unions are legal monopolles there is no way in which the price they demand can be lim-They can effectively shut down an enited. tire industry and no one can stop them. Only Congress can change this.

Only Congress can change this.

3. Still another problem was pointed up by Senator McClellan. He said, "It is obvious to the whole country that the labor unions themselves cannot handle the critical problem of racketeering." The record of coercion, violence, corruption, and crime was made clear by sworn testimony before the Senate rackets committee. But why is all this so prevalent in labor unions and not in this so prevalent in-labor unions and not in business and all other voluntary organizations of society? The answer is that the labor union is a legal monopoly not subject to the ruling of the courts, as corporations and other organizations are. That is precisely what racketeers want to get hold of.

The union charter, as Senator McClellan said recently, is the racketeer's private certificate to do business. When certified by the NLRB one union becomes exclusive bargaining agent. Workers must knuckle ungaining agent.

gaining agent. Workers must knuckle un-der to those in control-minority groups are helpless. Furthermore, the union has a

stranglehold on business. The courts cannot interfere and dispense justice, as in all other

Dean Emeritus Roscoe Pound of Harvard Law School, America's most distinguished legal scholar, said in a recent study that there exist under the law, general privileges and immunities of labor unions and their members and officials to commit wrongs to person and property, to interfere with the use of highways, to break contracts, to deprive individuals of the means of earning a livelihood, to control the activities of the individual workers and their local organizations by national organizations centrally and arbitrarily administered beyond the reach of State laws \* \* things which no one else can do with impunity. Such privileges and immunities naturally attract racketeers to get control of unions.

The weak Kennedy bill, passed by the Senate, in no way touches these vital mat-To get at the heart of this problem requires congressional action to revoke the monopoly power which was granted; and to place unions, like all other organizations in society, under the rulings of our courts.

# When I Learned I Had Cancer-Article by Senator Neuberger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. BARRY GOLDWATER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, in the June issue of Harper's magazine there is a very interesting article written by one of our colleagues, the junior Senator from Oregon, RICHARD L. NEU-BERGER. It is a most interesting description of the coming of cancer to a patient by a man who has been through it. It is well written, as is always the case with this distinguished Senator.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD:

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

## WHEN I LEARNED I HAD CANCER

(By RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, U.S. Senator, Oregon)

(The intimate personal story of a successful treatment, by recently developed methods and the effect of such an experience on one man's character and outlook on life.)

My grandmother died a lingering death at the age of 57. I then was 12 years old and devoted to her, since she took my part whenever parental discipline threatened. On the day of her death I was brought into the bed-"RICHARD," she told me, "Grandma's room.

Afterward, frightened and trembling, asked the nurse what had caused my grand-mother's death. "She had cancer," the nurse replied. Not until then had I been trusted with this information. My grandmother had never known the nature of her illness, and the family had feared I might betray the secret to her.

Perhaps because of the emotional impact of this episode, I have been deeply concerned with medical-research legislation ever since I entered the U.S. Senate in 1955. Under the tutelage of Senator LISTER HILL, of Alabama,

the pioneer legislator in this field, I helped to get approval of increases in research grants for the National Cancer Institute from \$21 million to \$75 million. Many times during those debates I mentioned that 40 million Americans now living were destined to suf-fer from cancer. I believe I stressed it on the afternoon last spring when Senator Hull. Senator Humphrey, and I welcomed delegates from the Cured Cancer Congress, who dramatically thronged the Senate galleries.

Yet none of this prepared me for the day last August, in Portland, Oreg., when our family doctor-who is also my closest friendtold me that I probably had cancer. Ironically. I had gone to him merely to ask him to look at a sore in my mouth, which turned out to be trivial. The malignancy had pro-

duced no symptoms.

While I lay on the table waiting for a specialist from the University of Oregon Medical School to confirm the diagnosis, my mind kept insisting that this could not pos-This was the kind of thing which sibly be. always happened to somebody else, but never to me. I soon would awaken from the nightmare, the cold chills would subside, my heart would stop pounding—and my wife and I would be driving through evergreen forests to our annual vacation on the seacoast.

But when I did awaken, it was after surgery at the Teaching Hospital. The little lump in my testicle, caught miraculously early, was nonetheless malignant. There was no doubt about that. I lay back, physically and psy-chologically exhausted, and wondered how soon I was to die. Then I heard the doctor, who earlier had been so candid with me,

"We think you're going to be all right." Through the haze of the anesthetic which had not yet worn off, I remember that I answered, "You're just telling me that to keep me from being overcome by panic. It's not true."

The doctor's reply was dogmatic: "If the permanent histological sections tomorrow confirm the frozen section studies in the

surgery today, we're very hopeful that you are going to have a complete recovery."

I still suspected that, like my grandmother, I was just another cancer patient who was being drugged with lies.

#### THE SAVING COBALT BEAMS

And so began the long and patient effort of my physicians to teach a layman-even a layman who had been sponsor of cancer-research legislation-that cancer is not one disease, but many. If my tumor had turned out to be any of several other types, my outlook would have been hopeless. These types, explained my doctors, were not responsive to radiation, and it was on radiation that my life now depended. Fortunately, my cell-type was that of a tumor long regarded as susceptible to destruction by radiotherapy.

"Was there spread?" I inquired fearfully. Yes, admitted my doctors, there was spread. This tumor almost invariably metastasized early. Rapid dissemination was one of its characteristics. There were indications of cancer in both my lungs. They added that the spread was "minimal"—so little, in fact. that they had missed it on the first X-rays-But it was there, a very small spot on the periphery of each lung. If not destroyed, the spots would grow until they were the size of baseballs or larger. After that, they would eventually spill out of the lung, reaching to the brain and other vital organs. This, course, would be the terminal stage of the

This candor encouraged me. If my doctors were so truthful with me about the spread of the illness and its fatal possibilities, would they be lying about the vulnerability of the tumor to radiation? This glimmer of hope was strengthened when medical texts came down from the shelves and I was shown, like a schoolboy, that the cell-type named in my pathological report had been proven destruc tible by radiation over a long history of med-

I will never forget the afternoon I spent in a rowboat on a quiet mountain lake with the

radiologist who was to treat me.
"Cure is not inevitable," he began, and I felt perspiration creep over my body. "But if we get any breaks at all," continued the 'we think you're going to be radiologist, cured."

What do you mean by breaks?" I asked.

"First," he answered, "you must be able to tolerate the treatment so the necessary number of roentgens can be applied to the affected areas. That's a whole lot easier with cobalt than with the old-style X-ray therapy. Second, we hope that additional new lesions do not appear throughout your chest in such numbers that we would have to apply a high dose of radiation to your entire lungs—for that cannot be done safely. To a limited area in the chest, definitely yes; to entire chest, no."

As I started my brief daily treatments beneath the cobalt-60 cone, my doctors pared down my speaking schedule. They let me keep some speaking engagements in Oregon, because they felt it would be better for my mental outlook to be moderately active rather than to become a semi-invalid. They made me warn each sponsoring group, however, that my appearance might be canceled at the last moment because of radia-tion reactions. During 5 months of treatment, I spoke 53 times. In addition, I presided at six Senate hearings, some as distant from Portland as San Francisco and Kalispell, Mont. No one had to be can-This indicates only how I tolerated celed. This indicates only how I tolerated the cobalt treatments but also the skill with which I was treated.

Hope lives by example, and I think one of my main sources of strength during a long period of anxiety was to meet other men who had suffered the same malignancy and gone on to full recoveries. Several were in the little lumber town of Lebanon, Oreg., and called themselves "the club." My spirits soared when William C. Doherty, president of the National Association of Letter Carriers, told me one of his sons had recovered from a testicular tumor 6 years ago. I read at least a dozen times a letter from a talented Portland doctor my age, who was teaching in the medical school at Djakarta on the Indonesian island of Java. "Eight years ago I traveled the same path you are traveling now," he wrote. This kind of en-couragement to a cancer victim cannot ever be measured.

Where is the best treatment available?

From the beginning, my friends in the East were greatly alarmed that I was receiving therapy in a place which, to them, seemed so remote and even primitive. wasn't I at the Mayo Clinic, or the National Institutes of Health, or the Harvard Medical Center? Several friends generously of-fered to pay the travel and medical bills to any center of international renown. I know that throughout my entire therapy they worried over the quality of my care. A member of President Eisenhower's staff wanted to help arrange for treatment at Walter Reed.

Yet my own decision was never in doubt. I had complete personal confidence in my doctors in Portland. I think this is enormously important with a disease that imposes such heavy psychological stress. Furthermore, I was meeting people day after day who had survived malignancies more serious than mine, and they had received their care in Oregon.

This faith in my own doctors was justified when, midway during my treatments,

one of the Nation's great cancer specialists visited Portland—Dr. Sidney Farber, direc-tor of the Children's Cancer Foundation of Boston and chairman of many of the chemotherapy panels of the National Cancer In-He and I had become intimate friends through my sponsorship of legislation for medical research. He studied my case thoroughly.

At the Portland airport, as he made ready to fly back to Boston, Dr. Farber said to me, "If I had been in the least dissatisfied with your care, you would be on the Mainliner with me tonight, en route East. But you must stay here. You are being treated with skill and wisdom. I am impressed with your doctors as real medical scholars. In fact, I think you should let them complete your therapy in Portland, even if it extends over into the start of the next session of Congress. Don't transfer your case."

As Dr. Farber's plane took off, my hopes stood higher than at any time since I had heard the bad news in August. I had also been confirmed in my belief that many tal-ented doctors are scattered all over the United States and not concentrated in one or

two celebrated medical centers.

Dr. Farber left with my doctors a supply of actinomycin-one of the new chemical agents recently developed for the treatment of cancer. Administered by itself, actino-mycin often must be used in such large quantities, in order to have an effect on tumors, that it comes as a toxic reaction, But, used in conjunction with radiation. even small doses of actinomycin have helped to make the radiation far more effective on certain types of tumors. My particular type of lesion happened to be one of these.

My doctors took chest films from week to week, as they applied the cobalt rays and injected actinomycin into my arm. feared mass seeding of my lungs had not occurred. This, in itself, was a source of jubilation to the doctors. Yet I still worried. What if the original pathology had been wrong? What if the spot in each lung proved resistant to the cobalt beams and continued to grow? And would my doctors tell me the truth if this should happen? Many times I awakened in the night and imagined I could feel the lesions expanding within my chest.

What a cancer victim thinks about

In the daylight, fantasy yielded to reality. No one could have feigned the relief and satisfaction of my doctors when the lung lesions began to show signs of growing smaller relatively soon after the cobalt treatment started-indeed, far earlier than they had dared to hope. They lost their hard outlines on the X-ray film and appeared fuzzy and ghostlike. The time was to come when a trained radiologist, taking films for a routine checkup in Washington, could not discern the exact location where the lesions originally had been.

So the pathology done at the Teaching Hospital was confirmed. Equally significant, my doctors felt that the worth of the actinomyocin, as a so-called potentiating agent with the cobalt had been clearly proved.
And I recalled the day before Senator Hul's Subcommittee on Health Appropriations when Dr. Farber and his brilliant medical associate, Dr. I. S. Ravdin, had testified that, in their opinion, chemotherapy offered the single most promising avenue for hastening our ultimate conquest of cancer. While I may overdramatize my own case, I thought it was an extraordinary coincidence that a Senator so actively interested in cancer-research legislation should himself, at the age of 46, have been treated by all three methods thus far discovered-surgery, radiation, and chemotherapy.

I imagine all sensitive people have won-dered about the mental outlook of some-

body who has cancer. Of course, such re-actions are highly individualistic. "Cancer finds us as we are," Dr. Farber has said. "It does not make the weak strong or the strong weak." Furthermore, my own case, its earliest stages, was regarded as hopeful-although my doctors had a trying time convincing me of this.

Yet a change came over me which I believe is irreversible. Questions of prestige, of political success, of financial status. became all at once unimportant. In those first hours when I realized I had cancer, I never thought of my seat in the Senate, of my bank account, or of the destiny of the free world. I worried over my cat Muffet, Who would take care of him? What would happen to my wife when I was gone? And how would it feel to die?

My wife and I have not had a quarrel since my illness was diagnosed. I used to scold her about squeezing the toothpaste from the top instead of the bottom, about not catering sufficiently to my fussy appetite, about making up guest lists without consulting me, about spending too much on clothes. Now I am either unaware of such matters or they seem irrelevant. In their stead has come a new appreciation of things I once took for granted-eating lunch with a friend, scratching Muffet's ears and listening for his purrs, the company of my wife, reading a book or magazine in the quiet cone of my bed lamp at night, raiding the refrigerator for a glass of orange juice or slice of coffee

For the first time I think I actually am savoring life. I realize, finally, that I am not immortal. I shudder when I remember all the occasions that I spoiled for myself-even when I was in the best of health-by false pride, synthetic values, and fancied slights.

Politics looks different

Politically, I have changed, too. I doubt if ever again I could be wholly partisan. The response of the people in Oregon to my illness reflected no party lines. Republicans as well as Democrats offered us the use of their beach cottages or mountain cabins for convalescence. The press, without exception, was friendly and concerned. The Republican State chairman wrote a glowing letter about what a good Senator I had been. Another Republican politician telephoned my sister, offering to give blood if a transfusion were necessary. Senator BARRY GOLDWATER sent a telegram from a remote Arizona town, telling us that he and his wife Peggy were praying for me. Other Republican or conservative Senators, including George AIKEN of Vermont, Margarer Chase Smith of Maine, and ALAN BIBLE of Nevada went by my suite in the Senate Office Building frequently to inquire about my health. On the other hand there were some fellow Democratic liberals from whom I never received so much as a postcard during the 5 months of my treat-

Under such circumstances it becomes hard to bristle at people for political reasons. At the treatment center, each patient receiving radiation had a separate little shelf for his or her linen smock. Here were the names of a Republican banker, a Democratic Senator, a liberal college professor, a socially prominent housewife. We might be separated on questions of balancing the budget or public power, but we were united by something more fundamental: a realization that life itself is a privilege and not a right.

I am glad that I insisted upon my doctors' disclosing publicly, from the very start, the nature of my illness. The medical profession and the press are not the most congenial of companions, and doctors often think that what affects their patient is none of the publich's business. I disagree, when the patient is a public official of any prominence. Several times during recent years major officials

in Oregon have suffered from cancer but no announcement of the fact was made except posthumously. This contrasts with the commendable candor surrounding the illness of John Foster Dulles. Beyond all this, I believe that a heavy obligation rests on any individual who has recovered from cancer, particularly somebody who is in the public eve.

Leaders in the American Cancer Society have told me that cancer has such horrifying connotations to many people that thousands, even after they recognize their symptoms, still refuse to seek prompt medical treatment. They fear their case is hopeless and that they will be hurt by doctors to no purpose. Time for successful treatment may run out for these people while they hestate. They find it difficult to believe that 30 per-

They find it difficult to believe that 30 percent of cancer cases are being saved right now, even though no major breakthrough has yet been made. But this fact can be given dramatic impact whenever a person of prominence is included in the 30 percent. When I was welcomed back on the floor of the Senate the Senator from Idaho, 34-year-old Frank Church, revealed that he had suffered from the same sort of cancer when he was a student at Stanford University 11 years earlier.

From my experience an old word has come to have new meaning for me. It is "seren-It was coined by Horace Walpole to describe the three wandering Princes of ancient Serendip (Ceylon), who were always making lucky and unexpected finds by accident. If there is any one issue about which I long have felt strongly, it is the fact that our total investment in cancer research-Federal and private-falls far short of what we spend on permanent waves or even parimutuel wagers. It is less than 2 percent of what we spend on cigarettes and barely more than 1 percent of what we spend on liquor. out of three American families will be afflicted by cancer; yet the Federal Treasury pours out 65 times as much money on price supports for six favored crops as it does to investigate the causes of and possible cures for cancer.

Now I can talk about this situation more effectively to my colleagues in Congress. For I can tell them that I, myself, am alive today because of medical research. What would have happened in my case without cobalt radiation and actinomycin?

Like the Princes of Serendip, I was in quest of one thing and I found something else. I sought desperately a restoration to health and I discovered, along with it, the opportunity to symbolize a cause which may help in the future to bring health to countless others.

# The Irrefutable Facts of the Communist Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY

OF WYOMING

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, it was my privilege last night to be permitted to hear a notable address delivered by Dr. Charles H. Malik, of Lebanon, President of the General Assembly of the United Nations, in which he outlined irrefutable facts of the Communist crisis. With logic and eloquence he pointed out that those of us who believe in free government must realize that the struggle against the tyranny of

totaliarian communism must be waged among ourselves to strengthen our spiritual comprehension of the meaning of liberty and the dignity of man.

Dr. Malik's address was delivered on the occasion of the presentation by the University of Notre Dame to Deputy Under Secretary of State Robert D. Murphy of the Laetare Medal for 1959. This has been an annual event for more than 75 years, and a distinguished company were present at the presentation, highlighted by the notable speech of Dr. Malik. I believe this address is must reading for all friends of freedom, and I ask unanimous consent that it may be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE IRREFUTABLE FACTS OF THE COMMUNIST

(Address delivered by Dr. Charles H. Malik, President, United Nations General Assembly, at the Lactare Medal presentation dinner, Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D.C., June 1, 1959)

People have little leisure today to reflect on the ultimate things. Some of them have even lost the capacity for such reflection, so that it would make little difference even if they had plenty of leisure. In the hour-to-hour and day-to-day attention to immediate demands we often lose sight of the grand design. Nothing is more reinvigorating and necessary than to recapture as authentic a vision of what is really at stake in the world situation today as possible. Without such a vision we can never be certain that in the daily discharge of our duties we are not really serving those very forces whose aim is the destruction of the very values we wish to defend and promote.

There are two standpoints from which this perspective can be sought: the standpoint of history and the standpoint of immediate judgment. We are asking in effect: what will history 50 or a hundred years from now say about what was at stake today about the real questions in the balance, about whether my existence, whether your existence, helped or hindered or obscured the right issue. The difficulty of this approach is that the verdict of history will depend on who will write it. If one point of view prevails, then that point of view will justify itself in the history it will write. The most fundamental thing at stake today therefore is history itself, for the decisions we ourselves take determine how history will be written and what it will say as to what was really at stake. History is nothing but the creation of history, and the present is already determining how the future will view the present. This is why nothing is more awesome than immediate responsibility. are thus forced back upon the standpoint of immediate judgment.

WHAT IS AT STAKE IN THE WORLD TODAY?

How can we ourselves tell what is really at stake? We can only do so on the basis of principle and conviction. What we affirm to be at stake reveals exactly what we believe and are. If we say nothing really important is at stake, then we have already disclosed that ours is a life of drift. If we only see see an adjustment in Europe or an adjustment in the Middle East or an adjustment in the Far East at stake, then we have already exposed the extent of our analysis. If we only see economic matters at stake, such as the raising of the standard of living of this or that country or continent, then we have already displayed our economic determinism. If we only see the great social revolution in progress in Asia and Africa, then we have already declared our inability

to face the revolution that is occurring or that should occur in our own lives. Nothing mirrors a man's soul more accurately than his honest answer to the question as to what is at stake.

#### DETERMINING FORCE IS COMMUNISM

Behind and determining practically everything at stake today is the Communist menace. People have a way of congratulating themselves on the recent events in Tibet and Iraq because these events appear to have produced a wave of awakening in Asia and the Middle East. People also congratulate themselves on the independence of Yugoslavia from Moscow and on the retreat of communism in France, Italy, Greece, and Iran since the war. These are great develop-ments and they should be exploited to the full. But side by side with them consider the decisive advance of Communism in continental China; the accomplishments of communism in southeast Asia; the Communist infiltration of the Middle East, so that no important decision is taken today in or about the Middle East except as a function of the Communist thrust, whereas most certainly this was not the case 10 years ago; the striking advance made by the Communist realm both in the economic and the technological fields; the superb activity of the Communist Party throughout Asia, Africa, and Latin America; and its steppedup activity even in the United States, as some authoritative sources declared only last

#### THESE ARE REALITIES

To the complacent and comfortable I submit therefore the serious contemplation of the following six irreducible facts: (1) That for 42 years communism has never been pushed back or dislodged one inch from where it gained real political power. (2) That it monolithically controls today about one-third of mankind. (3) That it has penetrated in varying degrees the remaining two-thirds so that the field of struggle of freedom with Communism is actually in these two-thirds rather than in the realm of Communism itself. (4) That its basic objective of Communizing the world and destroying the values of freedom is absolutely unchanged. (5) That the Iron Curtain in Europe appears to be firmer than ever before. And (6) that it is now 19 months since Sputnik I and the West appears to be still behind in that field.

I will accept to be comforted by what one can be fairly thankful for but only after these facts are honestly faced and only in their light I repeat, these are irreducible facts, and when one fully grasps them one is bound to conclude that the free world has not yet demonstrated that the Communist onslaught is not irrestible and that Communism is not after all the irreversible wave of the future This demonstration is one of the greatest things at stake today, and its importance is not at all diminished by the fact that the comfortable and complacent will of course say that it is none of their business.

#### ECONOMIC TENSION IS ISSUE

Great things are at stake in the economic realm. The average standard of living in the United States is 30 times that of Asia and Africa. Regardless of how it came about, this fact by itself generates all sorts of rational and irrational tensions. And yet it is not easy to tackle this problem. There are economic, political and psychological limits to economic assistance, and even if one shared everything one owned with everybody else, still the problem is not solved. For people are happy only when they work and produce, and indeed when they work on and for that which they regard as their own, It happens, however, that what they regard as their own is in some cases innately poor. While economic development therefore is absolutely neces-

sary, and while it holds forth teremendous possibilities for the underdeveloped, there are objective human and material limits to such development. Some countries will never by their own resources achieve a very high standard of living. The tension therefore appears to be of the essence. How to live with such essential tension is one of the momentous issues at stake.

#### PRINCIPLE OF NATIONALISM IS AT STAKE

It may be that science in the future would resolve this issue. But science means universities, institutes, freedom of thought and inquiry, a whole scientific culture, and until the underdeveloped people accept, attain, and sustain all that their scientific salvation will have to come from the outside. In the meantime strong governments have arisen to keep the lid down; but in the nature of the case this is a very precarious effort. Strong governments acting on restive populations without palpable hope for real economic improvement would, even if they were the most benevolent to start with, sooner or later degenerate into tyrannies, and to keep on bolstering their position they would resort to all the tricks of demagogy. The people will have to be fed on illusion, and when illusion is a perpetual condition of survival it becomes national mythology. What is at stake here is the truth, namely, whether people can stand the real truth about themselves and their possibilities without a considerable dose of illusion. Illusion, and therewith the suppression of freedom of thought and expression, becomes a studied instrument of stability. To maintain a modicum of peace under these most trying conditions some international order, like that of the United Nations, is required under which the underdeveloped peoples would develop themselves in complete freedom, but with the temptation of aggrandizing at each other's expense reduced to a minimum. The economic necessitles of the underdeveloped world generate a strong drive toward economic mergers transcending all narrow nationalism. And so we see how, in this age of intense nationalism, the very principle of nationalism itself is at stake.

#### WAR HAS CHANGED ITS GUISE

Another fundamental question at stake today is war. I do not mean whether war will break out, but what kind of war. The very notion of war has become ambiguous. Now, in general, a state of war exists whenever the enemy is identified and steps are taken to reduce or control or eliminate him. Until recently the term "war" has been applied only to hot war, and even now when people speak of war they usually mean the fireworks. But the development in recent years of new methods of taking steps against the enemy has necessitated the distinction between "hot" and "cold" war. For the objective of reducing or controlling or eliminating the enemy can, under modern condi-tions, be reached through a variety of means short of armed conflict, and no nation will precipitate such a conflict if it can gain its objective without it. The new methods in-clude "infiltration," "the softening up of the The new methods inenemy from within," "subversion or indirect aggression," "fifth-columnism and the in-citement of civil strife from abroad," a whole host of measures which clever propaganda can take through the radio and the press and which disciplined and dedicated agents with lots of money at their disposal can administer through ruthless action by bribery or blackmail or intimidation or assassination or smear tactics or forged documents.

Thus, so far as war is concerned, this is not the age of the old legalistic notion of direct aggression. We speak of the critical world situation. A fundamental aspect of this situation is that everywhere there is a listening ear, a staring eye, a paid agent. This is not the age of war in the classical

sense, but of infiltration and indirect aggression; of espionage and counterespionage; of the softening up of the will and the resolve; of the undermining of character and morale; of slander and character assassination; of bribery and demoralization; of the manipulation of the press and the radio in the most vicious manner.

This is the age of the arousal of the darkest passions in man, the age of the dread mob spirit, the spirit of terror, and revenge, the spirit that lives on scapegoats and personalities, on blood and sacrifice, the spirit that, to be placated and propitiated, demands a victim every day. It is like the dragon in the legend of St. George who asked for a fair damsel every morning, and perhaps today also every evening; and believe me it takes someone like St. George in the name of somebody higher than himself to stab and kill the modern dragon with his mighty sword.

In short, this is the age of cold war, and those who keep on talking about aggression and about territorial integrity and political independence, as though these were the real worries, are either naive or hypocrites or not living in this age or only using these terms as temporary expedients.

#### DEFENSE AGAINST NEW TYPE WAR IS ESSENTIAL

The result has been a general terrorization of people; they are afraid to stick out their neck; they are afraid to call things by their exact name; they voluntarily accept to be hypnotized and lulled; in fact, they practice the macabre art of self-hypnosis themselves; they say to themselves, "Let somebody else do it, let somebody else take the blow, let me repair to some lee and hide myself in quiet." And he who has no adequate means of defending himself in this strange kind of warfare, in this brave new world, he who, for whatever reason, even if it be the best of reasons, is not able to retaliate in kind, is simply lost.

## WE MUST WIN COLD TYPE WAR

It is my opinion that the West is weak in this new kind of warfare; that it cannot congratulate itself because it has deterred aggression when the real question is whether it can deter subversion; and that of course communism will always carry out a peace offensive in the classical sense of no aggression when it is all the time waging a most successful war in the neoclassical sense of infiltration, neutralization, and subversion.

What is really at stake today concerning war is not so much who will win the arms race, although that is most important, as the ability of the free world to win the cold war. The difficulty of this challenge should never cause one so to lose his patience as to think of hot war as the only way out. For that is no way out at all. But if communism persists in waging its own kind of war, as I believe it will, it ought to be beaten at its own game; and I believe it can be beaten without stooping to its methods.

WESTERN CIVILIZATION MUST JUSTIFY ITSELF

Western civilization is beleaguered today. It is called upon to justify itself. Its fundamental values are not only denied and opposed by international communism and questioned by the awakened old cultures of Asia and Africa, but within its own ranks skepticism and unbelief are working havoc. So far as the Western World is concerned, the deepest thing at stake is its faith in its values and its ability to justify and defend them.

Can the Western World be conceived without the people freely electing and dismissing those who govern them? And yet it is that very principle of free representative government that is denied by communism and many another system.

many another system.

Where would Western civilization be without the doctrine that the individual human person is the highest visible reality? And yet this is precisely what is denied, and the

party or the system or the nation or some abstract set of ideas is put above man.

Where would Western civilization be without struggle and hard work and adventure and taking risks and some law by which people live? And yet look at the softness, and ease, and lawlessness, and refusal to take risks, and quest of pleasure and security, which infect the whole world.

Where would Western civilization be without the cumulative continuity of four or five thousand years of history, which enables the mind in identifying itself with this whole stretch to contemplate, for instance, the 4th century B.C. or the 13th century A.D. in itself and for itself, and to learn a great deal from it? And yet history today is precisely the rejection of history, the chopping up of the past, the setting up of a multitude of arbitrary beginnings, the selection of only those themes and values that fit into a preconceived frame.

Where would Western civilization be without the personal freedom to think and seek and speak and be? And yet in many parts of the world only the party or the dictator is free, and even this freedom is subservient to the lust for power and down.

the lust for power and glory.

Where would the wonderful tradition of science and knowledge enshrined in the great universities be without the principle that there is a fixed, independent, and attainable truth in every field of inquiry? And yet truth is regarded by many today as only that which serves the party or the nation or the revolution or the government, and the whole intellectual quest becomes the handmaid of power.

Where would Western civilization be without the imminent operation of a personal God? And yet the first principle of communism is precisely militant atheism, and in the pantheistic revivals elsewhere the personal character of God is altogether depied.

FUNDAMENTALS OF OUR CULTURE ARE AT STAKE

Free representative government, the primacy of the human person, the moral law, the continuity of history, freedom, truth, and God—it is these things that are at stake today. They are all rejected and opposed from without, and some of them are doubted or compromised from within. Is life worth living without them? And yet if people do not wake up, life will not be worth living.

A mighty spiritual revival therefore is needed. For much more than peace is at stake. The revival must take hold not only of individuals here and there, but of whole installations; not only of the leaders, but of the grass roots. The complacent and soft must be thoroughly shaken. When they congratulate themselves, they ought to congratulate themselves on real things. When they sit back and pontificate, they ought to be anxious how history will judge the 50 years from now. They ought to show that they and their culture are growing in the mastery of the deep and ultimate. They ought to prove that they are galvanized into a keen awareness of what is really at stake.

The ideal of a settled, successful, selfish life is wholly inadequate. One craves to see great themes sought and discussed, great causes espoused. One burns for the reintroduction into life of the pursuit of greatness. And yet everywhere I go I find people sitting at the edge of their seats waiting to be shown the way. It is not therefore their fault that they stay in that posture.

The time is here, I feel, for a vast advance on many fronts. I am persuaded that there are virtually infinite possibilities, both material and moral, wherewith to vindleate freedom against unfreedom, joy of living against tyranny, man against all that is subhuman and inhuman, truth against darkness and falsehood, and God against the devil and his works. The only question is

whether the realm of freedom will prove worthy of its possibilities.

Mr. Dulles understood what was at stake. He gave his life that freedom and decency and justice and real peace should not perish from the earth. He could not have given more

Mr. Robert Murphy, whom we are gathered to honor tonight, also understands what is to stake. He sees the details in the perspective of the whole. May he be granted a long life still in the service of his country and the world, to the end that wherever he goes the realm of freedom shall not shrink, and whatever he does shall be blessed with the firmness and fruitfuiness of the eternal.

# Death of Msgr. John L. McNulty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, we in New Jersey were saddened indeed to learn last week of the death of Msgr. John L. McNulty, president of Seton Hall University. He was truly an outstanding citizen, dedicated to the service of God and country.

No finer description of his many, many contributions can be found than in an editorial I have before me from the Paterson News of May 28, 1959, and I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MSGR. JOHN L. MCNULTY

The sudden passing of Right Reverend Monsignor John L. McNulty, president of Seton Hall University, is a loss not only to the Catholic Church and its people he had served with such fidelity through his lifetime, but to New Jersey as well. For here indeed was a man in whom greatness abided, a family trait so magnificently exemplified by him and his revered brother, Bishop James A. McNulty, of the Paterson diocese.

Like his brother, Monsignor McNulty was born to the cloth, and even beyond that, he was a brilliant educator who won notable awards from numerous institutions. Beginning in the comparatively obscure position as an instructor in religion and French at Seton Hall back in 1926, he rose to head of the language department, then to dean of the lurban division of the college. When the then president Msgr. James F. Kelley, now of Ridgewood, resigned, Monsignor McNulty was appointed to the post by the late Archbishop Walsh and ever since, its growth has been little less than phenomenal.

Under his dynamic leadership, Seton Hall College became a university; New Jersey acquired its first college for medicine and dentistry in the name of Seton Hall in 1956, a law school was instituted followed by an institute of Far Eastern studies and another in Italian.

Monsignor McNulty's ambition for his university was boundless and quenchless—an expansive building program brought about completion of a new dormitory in South Orange, a science laboratory and library, downtown buildings in Newark, and a coeducational college on Elison Street in Paterson where students pursue their courses night and day. Costs of these programs

mounted into the millions, but this presented no barrier to a man who knew none and for whom the world was his oyster.

Beyond church, beyond education, Monsignor McNulty, like his distinguished brother, was an outspoken protagonist of tolerance and understanding. For bigotry he had no patience, nor for anything un-American forebearance.

Typical was his denunciation as far back as 1943 of "isms," when he proclaimed in a speech:

"There is no place in the United States for Fascists, Nazis or Communists; there is no place for anti-Semites, anti-Catholics nor anti-Protestants."

Such was the universality of a leader of the Catholic church.

And so a brilliant career ends and we are all the loser for its sad close.

Especially to the brother who graduated with him from the University of Louvain, Belgium in 1925, and who was ordained with him that same year, does the earnest condolence of the people of the State pour out.

Surely the passing of his beloved priest-brother at the peak of his career is a heavy cross to bear in the midst of his great cares as the head of the vast diocese over which he presides. But the Lord is good. He is merciful and in his hour of sorrow, he and other members of the family will be warmed by the knowledge that all men and women of deep sincerity and good will will pray for peaceful repose of the departed and comfort for those who remain to mourn.

General Accounting Office Valuable Tool in Rooting Out Inefficiency, Favoritism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON, JACK BROOKS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. BROOKS of Texas. Mr. Spcaker, as we all know, much of the important work of our Federal Government for the people of this country is done by conscientious Government employees who rarely if ever receive public notice or acclaim. It is to their ever-abiding credit that they make the outstanding contribution that they do.

We here in Congress have a group of hard-working and dedicated employees who have continued to be of invaluable assistance to us ever since the creation of their position. I am speaking of the General Accounting Office—an invaluable arm of the Congress in determining the efficiency and economy of the conduct of our Federal Government.

The General Accounting Office is made up of highly qualified accounting experts whose assigned task is to present to the Congress their conclusions after independent audits to determine how well the financial affairs of the Government are being handled. A number of very revealing reports have been issued by the General Accounting Office in recent weeks but perhaps none more interesting than two which occassioned editorial comment by the Beaumont

(Tex.) Enterprise and the Beaumont Journal.

I submit, Mr. Speaker, that each citizen of the United States is personally indebted to the employees of the General Accounting Office for their long and painstaking work which has been instrumental in the savings of substantial sums of our tax money. Our people want plainly honest and efficient Government and the General Accounting Office is an important tool in rooting out inefficiency and favoritism.

So that our fellow Members of Congress may have an opportunity to read these splendid editorials pointing up the contribution of the General Accounting Office, I offer the following editorials to be printed in today's Congressional Record:

[From the Beaumont Enterprise, May 12, 1959]

SECRECY IS COSTLY

The General Accounting Office has done some more digging into the United States Air Force's ledgers and come up with results which prove that these skilled auditors should have been permitted to dig where they were shut out last year.

The GAO has accused Lockheed Aircraft Corp. of giving the Air Force cost figures on 132 transport planes in 1954 and 1956 which the company knew were \$4,110,600 too high. It's contended that this alleged overpricing would have given Lockheed a \$1,251,000 profit if GAO had not discovered it.

The Air Force, the Pentagon and the administration would do well to recall how the GAO tried for several months last year to obtain a copy of an Air Force inspector general's report entitled "Survey on Management of the Ballistic Missile Program." The Air Force claimed that if this report were entrusted to GAO, the national security might be endangered. President Eisenhower backed the Air Force but a House subcommittee dissented, saying security wouldn't be harmed.

Instead of objecting to GAO scrutiny of the missile program, the Air Force should welcome it—unless it has something to hide. At any rate, the GAO can help the Air Force make the defense dollar go further. The Lockheed case is evidence of that.

[From the Beaumont Journal, Monday, May 4, 1959]

AIR FORCE REVEALS UTIES CONTEMPT OF CONGRESS AND TAXPAYER

That the U.S. Air Force utterly disregards the taxpayer has long been known. But no one knew this branch of the Armed Forces would flout the direct orders of Congress. The General Accounting Office has revealed that the Air Force has spent or obligated on its new Academy nearly \$60 million more than Congress gave it permission to spend.

And to further rub salt in the wound, GAO says the cost of the service school may go to nearly double what Congress has authorized by law. The Air Force was granted \$139 million to build and equip the Academy. But it has already spent or obligated \$197 million "and anticipated additional cost of \$72 million, a total cost of \$269 million."

The American taxpayers haven't begrudged the Air Force its Academy, but they have expected it to be built economically. Least of all, was it thought the Air Force would switch funds around and run up the cost.

Since its conception, the Academy at Colorado Springs, Colo., has been in hot water. There have been many complaints about its ultramodern architecture and extravagance in planning. There have also been some strong complaints about the site.

Now the Air Force has shown contempt for both Congress and the taxpayer by extravagances that will far exceed its estimates. Too, more than \$6 million specifically earmarked before Congress as being for family housing has been used for other purposes.

More than \$8 million was spent on such things as a hockey rink, a museum, golfing facilities and other items which the report charges were either unmentioned to Congress or understated on costs.

It's time Congress stepped in and halted this wasting of money. Almost anything that would trim the Air Force's high-living wings would not be too harsh. It's also a good occasion to give the General Accounting Office a hearty hand of approval for its vigilant efforts to keep spending from getting out of hand. The individual taxpayer should be eternally grateful.

#### Permanent Status for Berlin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON, HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, Representative Cornelius E. Gallacher, of New Jersey, a member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, recently spent 10 days in Berlin as chairman of a special study mission.

In this capacity, he was able to observe firsthand the problems of Berlin. In a series of articles, he probes the underlying cause-and-effect of the rapidly deteriorating situation which holds such a serious threat to world peace.

In a clear-cut, concise fashion, Mr. Gallagher presents things as they are, and not as we might wish them to be In his first article he says:

We cannot abandon hope of the eventual reunification of Germany \* \* \* however, we must face up to the fact that reunification now or in the near future is not likely.

Confronted as we are with the need not only to ease the present situation by provising a temporary solution, he says:

The United States and her allies must look beyond the present crisis and insist on agreements which are clearly defined and of some permanency.

It is obvious to say that the impact of decisions which will be made in Berlin today will have far-reaching consequences for years to come.

As a guide for all of us interested in seeking out solutions and for the attention of my distinguished colleagues, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, Representative Gallagher's first article, entitled "Foreign Ministers Should Seek Permanent Status for Berlin."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Poreign Ministers Should Seek Permanent Status for Berlin

(By Representative Cornelius E. Gallagher, member, Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives)

In any negotiations between the free nations of the West and the Soviet Union, seeking to dissolve the present crisis in Berlin, the United States and her allies must look beyond the present crisis and insist on agreements which are clearly defined and of some permanency. This is the task confronting Secretary of State Herter and the ministers of the other free nations in their forthcoming meetings with representatives of Communist nations.

What is needed most in Berlin is a permanent agreement that would spell out working arrangements for the continued support of the military garrison of the Allied Powers, the citizens of West Berlin, and the maintenance of the economy and commerce of West Germany.

Only if this sort of agreement is reached can we hope to avoid in time to come—a month, a year, or longer—repetition of

It is important that the immediate problems stemming from the Berlin crisis be studied and understood against the broad background of East-West relations as they presently exist and as they may be carried on in years to come.

We are in trouble in Berlin today because there are no clear-cut and well-defined agreements. Certainly we have a right to be in that city, just as the Soviet Union has a right to be there. But nowhere is there a formal agreement which was ever intended to have any degree of permanency.

What agreements do exist were drawn up some 14 years ago, and it was never expected by those who prepared them that they were to be anything but temporary in nature.

As an example of the type of agreement on which we base certain rights in our dealings with the Russians in Berlin, the right to deny inspection of our vehicles moving through Communist East Germany is based on a memorandum for record written by Gen. Lucius Clay following a discussion on the subject with the Russian Marshal Zhukov. Clay at the time was Military Governor in Germany.

While we should aim for agreements that will work to our advantage in future dealings with the Soviet, there should be no underestimating the urgency of the present crisis. The thought is intended as a guide in seeking solutions that will do more than temporarily ease tension in Berlin.

A well-defined agreement of status will bring to both East and West Berlin a degree of stability that is badly needed. Neither sector can be expected to live from crisis to crisis. The impact of such uncertainty is telling on the economy, the Government, and the people.

The writer is aware that we cannot abandon hope of the eventual reunification of Germany, and that we must keep the desire for freedom alive in the hearts of the East Germans. However, we must face up to the fact that reunification now or in the near future is not likely

future is not likely.

Next best, then is to bring about stability in the economy, the administration, and the day-to-day, year-to-year living of the people of Berlin.

In addition to doing this, a new status of agreement would eliminate the vague and ambiguous arrangements on which we base the right to our position in Berlin. Thus, we would reduce the likelihood of new crisis and the likelihood of war.

We have in the past given up certain rights, particularly in the period following the 1948 blockade of Berlin. The Allied Powers no longer, for example, maintain motor patrols on the Autobahn from Helmstedt to Berlin, nor do we maintain rest stations or installations of any type along the way. During the 1948 blockade, telephone lines which were maintained by the allies along the corridor were cut. These have never been put back into operation.

These, admittedly, are minor points, but they are rights which we abandoned and they serve to point up the need for agreements covering all phases of our position in Berlin.

In any move toward negotiating a new status for Berlin, the West should determine what rights are necessary to the existence of West Berlin as a healthy economic and political body and should settle for nothing less than measures which will assure such a status,

## The Case Against Capital Punishment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1959

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, on January 7, 1959, I introduced H.R. 870, a bill to abolish the death penalty under all laws of the United States except the Uniform Code of Military Justice.

In this connection, I am pleased to commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by Daniel M. Berman as it appeared in the New Jersey State Bar Journal, winter 1959 issue:

THE CASE AGAINST CAPITAL PUNISHMENT (By Daniel M. Berman)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—A few months ago, Delaware, our neighbor, abolished capital punishment. As this goes to the printer, a press report indicates that a special commission has recommended the end of the death penalty in Massachusetts. The commission found that execution was not a deterrent to murder and did more social harm than good.)

As far back as 1915, the New Jersey Senate passed a bill abolishing the death penalty in this State. But the bill was lost in the assembly. However, the following year the mandatory death penalty in murder was eliminated and the jury given the power to recommend life imprisonment. In 1919, the jury's prerogative was further clarified.

The Legislature in New Jersey has again been in the process of considering whether to do away with capital punishment, without getting down to a decision. The long transcript of the well-attended, 2-day public hearing in 1958, probably constitutes the most impressive monument to citizen concern on this issue anywhere and any time in the Nation's history, according to Hugh Adam Bedau, of the Department of Philosophy of Princeton University, who has spearheaded the fight for abolition in this State. The curious fact is that, in practice, the death penalty here as elsewhere has already been curtailed almost to the point of actual abolition.

Legislatures seem to be lagging everywhere behind the courts, in this particular, and in this State it is to be wondered sometimes whether some legislators are even familiar with the opinions of the courts. In some States and in the Federal system as well, the lawmakers have actually lengthened the list of offenses which, in theory, may be punished by execution. But judges and juries show increasing reluctance to impose the ultimate penalty.

The contrast is evident in the fact that, although there are 31 separate capital offenses on the books in the United States, only 7 have ever been punish by death. New Jersey's case is somewhat typical. Although the State has executed criminals for only the offenses of first-degree murder and kidnaping, it statutes list two other capital crimes: treason, and—a whimsical item—

attempts to assault the President, any official in the line of succession to the Presidency, a Governor, or the "heir apparent or heir presumptive to the throne of a foreign state."

#### PRACTICE VERSUS THEORY

Paradoxically, then, there has been a steady drop in the number of executions in the United States, even as the list of capital crimes has been lengthened. In the 1930's, the average year saw 150 convicted felons pay the supreme penalty. By 1951 the number has fallen to 105, and in both 1956 and 1957, it stood at 65. In 1957, only 22 of the 42 jurisdictions retaining capital punishment actually used it—and a majority of the executions took place in four States, Georgia, Louisiana, California, and Texas. New Jersey has had no executions since August 1956; in the past 2 years, the State supreme court has ordered new trials in most first-degree murder cases it has reviewed.

A considerable number of State have been making efforts to abolish capital punishment in theory as it has already been limited in practice. In 1958 the six abolitionist States—Michigan, Rhode Island, North Dakota, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Mainewere joined by Delaware, and the admission of Alaska to the Union adds still another State to the ranks. In a referendum in 1958, Oregon came within 10,000 votes (out of a total of more than half a million) of approving abolition. And there are strong abolitionist movements in California, Connecticut, Illinois, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Tennessee—and, of course, New Jersey.

Thus, although theory still lags behind practice, the trend seems clear: Capital pun-

ishment is on the way out.

An important reason for its demise is the modern shift in emphasis from retribution to rehabilitation as the goal of penology. The present tendency is to attempt, first and foremost, to remove the conditions in which crime tends to breed. And, when a crime is committed, its perpetrator becomes a logical subject for study to determine whether he can be made fit for reinstatement in free society. Viewed in this light, the death penalty is an anachronistic relic of retributive justice.

## THE DEATH PENALTY DOES NOT DETER

There is, however, an even more compelling reason why capital punishment has been losing ground: It has failed as a deterrent to crime.

The death penalty as a weapon against major offenses seems perfectly good commonsense: the greater the crime, the greater the threat needed to deter it. Commonsense, however, has broken down in the face of statistics. Several deserve enumeration:

1. As the number of executions has failen, the murder rate might have been expected to increase, if the deterrent theory is valid. It has, however, gone steadily down. When proponents of capital punishment claim that the decline would have been even more rapid if there were more executions, they exchange the terra firms of provable fact for the wild blue yonder of sheer speculation.

2. States and nations which have scrapped the death penalty have generally seen no increase in the incidence of murder. A British Royal Commission, after a 4-year study of the problem, concluded: "\* \* there is no clear evidence in any of the figures we have examined that abolition of capital punishment has led to an increase of the homicide rate, or that its reintroduction has led to a fall."

3. States which have eliminated capital punishment have lower murder rates than those which retain it. In 1957, for example, the abolitionist States Maine and Rhode Island had lower rates than New England as a whole, Michigan and Wisconsin fared

better than the East North Central States generally, and Minnesota and North Dakota were well below the average of the West North Central States. In striking contrast, Georgia, with the largest number of executions in the Nation (14 in 1957), had the lion's share of the murders.

It is difficult to study these statistical facts without concluding that apparently capital punishment is totally ineffective as a deterrent to murder. Perhaps the explanation is simply that while fear of punishment often dissuades people from committing minor crimes, for which the motive may be trivial, it has no effect on major crimes, for which the motive is often overwhelming. Certainly knowledge of consequences does not enter into the thinking of a psychopath. Neither can it stay the hand of the man who kills in a wild fit of rage. The only class of murderers for which capital punishment could have any deterrent value is professional gunmen—and we have per-versely deprived the death penalty of precisely the quality which might make it somewhat effective with this group: certainly that it will be imposed on the malefactor.

As a matter of fact, only about 1 percent of those convicted of intentional homicide are obliged to walk the last mile. With odds of almost 100-to-1 in his favor, why should the professional criminal hesitate? In addition, we have made the deterrent even less effective by painstakingly attempting to make executions more "humane." Surely we are guilty of the iptome of inconsistency when, while retaining the death penalty for its deterrent value, we continue searching for swifter and more painless methods of administering it.

ministering it.

In any event, the professional gunman represents only a small fraction of the humber executed. Of the 157 men New Jersey has put to death, for example, only 45 had ever been institutionalized—and presumably few of these could accurately be labelled "professionals."

## WHO PAYS THE PENALTY?

Thus the statistics, buttressed by logic, indicate the futility of capital punishment as a deterrent. But there is an additional, tragically ironical possibility to consider: its existence may actually tend to boost the murder rate. A disturbing indication of this was furnished by the British, who began an 18-month suspension of death penalty at the end of 1955. During the moratorium, the Home Office reports, the number of murders was almost 10 percent below what it had been during the preceding year and a half. And, during the 18 months after the hangman's vacation ended, the number of murders jumped more than 25 percent. The experience of most other abolitionist countries and States also indicates the possibility that there is a contagion between executions and capital crimes.

The reasons for this are by no means clear. Perhaps capital punishment, by diminishing respect for human life, actually breaks down a most formidable barrier to murder. Or perhaps the explanation is that an execution glorifies both the killer and his deed. How else can one interpret the common phenomenon of innocent men confessing to murders? Why else does the number of murders seem to rise on the nights executions take place?

If explanations of the possible correlation between capital punishment and murder are difficult, there is nothing obscure about another fact concerning the death penalty: it has been used far more frequently against Negroes than against whites. From 1930 to 1957, with whites composing about 90 percent of the population, more than half the executions in the United States were of Negroes, according to official statistics of the Federal Bureau of Prisons. The figures are especially horrifying with regard to execu-

tions for rape: 7 Southern States which doomed 78 Negroes for the offense have never put a white man to death for it although many have been convicted.

The use of-capital punishment as an instrument of race hatred is perhaps only part of a larger problem. Clarence Darrow put his finger on it when he predicted that no rich man would ever be executed. Warden Lewis E. Lawes, of Sing Sing, who led 150 men to the electric chair, testified that the forecast was accurate. "All were poor and most of them were friendless," he reported. None could afford a good lawyer.

Much of the same statement would have to be made by New Jersey's wardens. Twenty-eight percent of those who suffered the death penalty in this State were foreign born and 34 percent were Negroes. The remainder, too, were poor and uneducated. Only a few had advanced as far as high school; hardly any had been graduated. Of the 157, only 1 had had a college education.

#### THE PENALTY IS SELF-DEEATING

But the class implications of capital punishment are something of a peripheral issue. There are other, even more relevant arguments which are helping the abolitionist cause:

1. The wrong man is sometimes convicted. Readers of Edwin M. Borchard's "Convicting the Innocent" and Jerome and Barbara Frank's "Not Guilty" do not have to be convinced that mistakes can be made. When the wrongfully accused is still alive, at least some sort of restitution can be made!

2. The existence of capital punishment results in the freeing of many gullty men, since juries are reluctant to convict when execution will probably—or certainly—follow.

- 3. In States where death is the punishment for crimes like kidnaping and armed robbery, the offender has nothing to lose by committing murder in order to liquidate the witnesses.
- Capital punishment makes jury selection difficult, since many prospective good men and true are also disbelievers in the death penalty.

#### THE HAINES BILL

As knowledge of all these facts spreads, the cause of abolition advances. The question now is; should New Jersey join the procession?

The current drive is led by C. William Haines, Republican, of Burlington. In committee hearings on his proposed bills, an array of distinguished witnesses has brought the facts about capital punishment to the attention of the legislature. Their general point of view is that New Jersey, with its streamlined court system, its progressive probation and parole methods, and its advanced institutional programs should now take the logical next step.

The next step as Mr. Haines outlines it is by no means soft on the criminal. On the contrary, the Haines measure would mean that no one convicted of first-degree murder could be paroled until he had served 30 full years of his sentence. Lifers paroled under the present law have served an average of less than 19 years. The difficult release procedure now recommended is especially deplorable, because murderers—who are seldom professional criminals—are generally considered particularly good parole risks. In New Jersey, only 10 of the 117 lifers released since the parole board was established in 1949 have violated parole. None of them committed another murder.

But although some think that life imprisonment, particularly in Assemblyman Haines' formulation, is based on the same outmoded theory as capital punishment, abolition of the death penalty would at least advance the line of scrimmage a little closer to the goal of rational penology. In

any event, some think the Haines bill is all the people will accept at the present time. Possibly, however, we give the public too little credit. One wonders what the attitude of the man-in-the-street might be if he was informed, in addition to the arguments outlined above, of the following:

Executions are not cheaper than life terms when one counts the cost of the lengthy trials and elaborate appeals to which capital cases almost invariably lead.

Thirty-three nations have discarded the death penalty without regrets, and Britain has recently abridged its catalog of capital crimes.

The death penalty used to be imposed for the most petty crimes, but it was scrapped upon the realization that it seemed to have little deterrent power even against these,

If the case against capital punishment is as overwhelming as the statistics and sound reason seem to indicate, immediate abolition would appear called for. If not, now is a good time for the death penalty's proponents to come forward and prove their

## Poison in Your Water-No. 93

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I am inserting into the Appendix of the Congressional RECORD an article appearing in the Beaver (Pa.) Valley Times of December 27, 1957, entitled "Many Industries Are Polluting Streams":

MANY INDUSTRIES ARE POLLUTING STREAMS

Beaver County communities situated along the Ohio River and its tributaries are spending or planning to spend millions of dollars for the construction of sewage disposal systems in compliance with Pennsylvania's Clean Streams Act.

Similar projects are underway in seven other States which, with Pennsylvania, are signatories to a sanitary water compact. other States are Ohio, New York, West Virginia, Virginia, Kentucky, Indiana, and Illinois. Provisions of the compact are being carried out under supervision of the Ohio River Valley Water Sanitation Commission.

In its annual report, the commission cites the progress which has been made in cleaning up streams in the eight States. Municipal sewage-purification facilities serving 76 out of every 100 people living along the Ohio River are now in operation or being completed, according to the report. Nine years ago, the report said, the ratio was less than 1 out of every 100 persons.

The report also points out that 116 communities with a total population of more than 2 million people depend upon the Ohio River for their water supply. In the entire Ohlo River Valley, with a total population of approximately 7,600,000, less than 300 communities have not yet started construction of sewage treatment systems.

But there is a disturbing factor in the commission's report. It is the fact that industries are not keeping pace with municipalities in eliminating stream pollution. Although the number of adequate industrial waste purification systems has been more than doubled in the past 9 years, 1,431 plants still discharge waste directly into the Ohio and its tributaries, the commission reported.

Unless and until all municipalities, industrial firms and mining companies along the Ohio River and its tributaries above Beaver County cease dumping sewage and other waste matter into the streams the millions of dollars being spent by county communities for water purification facilities will be

## More Economic Folly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. LEO E. ALLEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial entitled "More Economic Folly," from the Freeport (Ill.) Journal-Standard of May 26, 1959:

MORE ECONOMIC FOLLY

The response of Congress to President Eisenhower's warning concerning mounting agricultural surpluses has been far from en-The House has produced only couraging. The House has produced only gestures that seem to promise some relief, but really spell out more economic folly.

One is a House vote to restrict individual price support loans to \$50,000. The other is a House vote to lop \$100 million from the appropriation for the Commodity Credit Corporation in order to put pressure on it

to dispose of present stocks.

These are deceptive passes at a problem of which the Nation has been increasingly aware over the past several years, and which is steadily growing worse. The more the Government holds up support prices, the more the surpluses grow.

It is true, the big producers got the biggest benefits, and the vote to limit loans to \$50,000 has the appearance of an effort to shut out the big fellows and aid the small farmers. But its effect will be to cause the big farmers to sell into the open market, thus tending to bring down prices and accentuate the plight of the small farmer, increasing his dependence on the supports and necessitating the same total outlays, while surpluses continue to mount.

The cut of \$100 million in the CCC appropriation appears equally illusory. Its principal object was said to be to force Secretary Benson to dump more cotton abroad, a policy which will create friction with all other cotton-producing countries, at a time when we have more than enough trouble with them. But the incentive to the smaller cottongrower continues, and skeptics believe that in the end the net price supports cost will rise.

Thus, Congress skirts about the edges of the trouble, which is in the price support system itself, applied at a moment of history when intensive farming and scientific progress have made it possible to produce on reduced acreage the biggest crops of all

Thus, John M. MacMillan, Jr., writing in the journal published by the University of Indiana School of Business, points out that since 1930, a depression year, corn acreage in this country has declined 25 percent, but production has nearly doubled. The increase per acre averages 160 percent.

Similar stories are to be told in soybeans and wheat. Although the wheat produc-tion per acre averages only 27 bushels, big commercial producers are getting 60 to 70 bushels, and new Pacific coast varieties are expected to reach 130 bushels,

A new and more factual approach to farm relief is obviously imperatively needed, to avoid further demoralization.

## United States Plans To Sift Science

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the New York Times of Sunday, May 31, 1959:

UNITED STATES PLANS TO SIFT SCIENCE-BUT House Fund Cut Imperils Program of TRANSLATING PERIODICALS

(By John W. Finney)

WASHINGTON, May 30 .- The Government for the first time is moving to keep scientists informed on scientific developments in Communist China through translation of Chinese scientific publications.

The National Science Foundation, as the Government's central agency for dissemina-tion of international scientific information, is planning in the coming year to start trans-lating scientific publications from Com-

munist China.

The Foundation's plans have a significance far beyond the objective of dissemination of scientific information for they constitute one of the first official recognitions of the potential scientific challenge presented by the Peiping regime.

#### WOULD AVOID SURPRISE

By embarking now on a program of trans-lating Chinese scientific literature, Foundation officials frankly hope that the United States will not be caught by surprise by scientific developments on the Chinese mainland, as occurred in the case of Soviet

The Foundation's preliminary program for translation of Chinese scientific research results has become imperiled in recent weeks by \*conomy cuts made by the House in the Foundation's budget for the coming fiscal

Unless the House cut is restored in the Senate, the Foundation will have to abandon its initial attempts at translation of Chinese Communist publications. It also will have to scale down a planned expansion in the translation of Russian publications.

#### TRANSLATION FROM RUSSIA

One impact of the Soviet sputniks has been a marked increase in translation of Soviet scientific literature, with the Government now sponsoring translation of 70 publications, half of them by the Founda-

The Foundation had been planning to increase its share to 45 in the coming year as part of an overall Government program to raise the number to 100. Under the House cut, the Foundation will have to abandon plans to translate five of the additional Soviet scientific journals.

With Communist China, the Foundation had been planning to start off on a small scale with translation of two or three journals as a pilot project pointing toward a rapid expansion in 1961.

The modest program was explained by Foundation officials as resulting from diffi-culties posed by translation from the Chi-nese. One of the most critical problems is the lack of competent translators, and to meet this problem the Foundation is exploring the possibility of having the journals translated in some foreign countries, such as Nationalist China. Japan, or India.

as Nationalist China, Japan, or India.

According to a survey by the Foundation, there are about 450 scientific periodicals being published in Communist China. The Foundation does not plan to translate all of these, but it does hope that ultimately a good proportion of the significant Chinese scientific literature will be made available.

Over 200 Communist Chinese scientific periodicals are now being received by Government libraries in the capital, such as the Library of Congress.

#### MOST UNTRANSLATED

Most of these publications, according to Dr. Burton W. Adkinson, head of the Foundation's Office of Scientific Information, are lying on the shelfs untranslated—a condition reminiscent of the inattention provided Soviet scientific literature preceding the appearance of the first Soviet earth satellite.

In emphasizing the necessity for proceeding now with a Chinese translation program, Dr. Adkinson noted in an interview that while the situation, was not critical now, "in a few years Communist China may suddenly appear on the scene as one of the powers in the scientific and technical world."

"If we don't start translating their literature today," he said, "we are likely to be in the same position we were in 5 years ago with the Soviet Union, where we had a mass of untranslated material and were caught by surprise by Soviet scientific and technological advances."

As appraised by Government, technological progress in Communist China is hampered by lack of trained personnel. It is believed, however, that this is only a temporary handicap, since the Peiping Government is known to be training thousands of scientists, engineers and technicians.

An indication of the expanding effort in Communist China cited by officials is the report that the Chinese Academy of Sciences now has 68 research institutes—more than double the number existing in 1952.

## Lack of Courage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. LEO E. ALLEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial, entitled "Lack of Courage," from the Rockford (Ill.) Morning Star of May 27, 1959:

## LACK OF COURAGE

With the Democratic majority lacking the courage to face up to the financing problem confronting the Federal highway program, the House Public Works Committee voted to allow spending for construction to exceed receipts of the highway trust fund, which is running out of money.

The legislation approved 24 to 10 by the committee would empower the bureau of public roads to borrow money from the treasury, if necessary, to pay for construction under the existing program, rather than curtail the program or raise taxes. The committee recommended suspension, for 2 more years, of the pay-as-you-go provision sponsored by Senajor Byno of Virginia. The Byrd amendment to the 1956 law creating the highway

program provides that the Federal Government could not spend any more money than it had in the trust fund. Congress last year suspended the amendment for 1959 and 1960.

The politically minded Democrats have refused to accept President Elsenhower's request that the Federal gasoline tax be increased from the present 3 cents to 4½ cents a gallon to provide the revenue needed to keep the program going full scale. The President wants to keep faith with the public, which was assured when the plan was adopted that it would operate on a pay-asyou-go basis through the highway trust fund. Dipping into the General Treasury is not a proper alternative.

#### Panama Carral Alternative

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. FLOOD. Mr., Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following editorial in the May 9, 1959, issue of the Fort Worth, Tex., Star-Telegram:

THE PANAMA CANAL PROJECT AND AN ALTERNATIVE

An effort by the U.S. Government to decide what to do about enlarging and modernizing the crowded Panama Canal is coinciding with a Panamanian presidential campaign whose principal issue is apt to be greater participation in the canal's earnings and a reversion of the Canal Zone to Panama.

Before the United States commits itself to improvement of the canal the question of its future should be settled to the satisfaction of the national interest. What the Panamanians perhaps need to be reminded of forcefully is the fact that alternatives to improvement of the canal exist, the fact that the United States can exist without the canal but that Panama cannot.

If nothing except costs were involved, enlargement of the Panama ditch and perhaps its reduction to sea level would be the cheapest method of accommodating the growing traffic and bigger ships. But if control of the waterway and incessant demands for a greater share of its earnings are to complicate its administration it may be wiser to accept the additional expense and cut another canal in another place.

Treaty rights through Nicaragua already exist, but a lock canal through that route would cost some \$4 billion compared with \$1 billion for widening the Panama lock system and \$2½ billion for reducing the Panama Canal to sea level.

The Panamanian insistence upon rights to the canal have increased since the Egyptian seizure of the Suez Canal and its revenues. The claim to ownership may be more political than genuine, but it constitutes an incessant embarassment to U.S. relations in the Central American area. Through it, the Panamanians apparently hope to exert sufficient pressure upon Washington to compel a more even distribution of the revenue from the waterway, since Panama should be the first to recognize that it lacks the ability to operate it or the means of financing the necessary improvements.

Certainly, in the circumstances, the Nicaraguan alternative should be fully explored, for it can be used as a lever to compel the wihdrawal of Panamanian harassments of the U.S. position in the Canal Zone. An

example of these is the claim of a 12-mile limit for Panamanian waters. This, if it could be enforced, would leave the United States with a 3-mile limit at the canal entrances and blocked by 9 miles of Panamanian water before open sea is reached. Panama presumably could collect tolls from vessels seeking passage through its territorial seas in order to reach the canal.

It would do no harm, and might do a lot of good for Panamanian thinking, if exploratory talks with Nicaragua were undertaken. A \$4 billion canal through that country under proper safeguards might be a better investment than further expenditudes in Panama, which was a mosquito swamp until the canal was built and which easily could revert to that state if the transisthmian traffic were taken elsewhere.

## Another Honor for Joe Salerno

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, Joseph A. Salerno has been chosen as one of the seven American delegates to the International Labor Organization Convention at Geneva, Switzerland.

Mr. Salerno is New England director of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union.

His 30 years of experience in the labor movement have equipped him with the skill and understanding that represent organized labor at its best,

A man who believes deeply in the economic freedom that is expressed through collective bargaining, and is blessed with the personality and the character that inspire cooperation, he has been most successful as a laborleader.

The harmony between labor and management in the clothing manufacturing industry of New England has been of mutual benefit to workers and employers.

We who are friends of Joe Salerno, are confident that he will make many contributions to the proceedings at Geneva that will enhance world respect for the American labor movement and its achievements.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I want to insert in the Congressional Record the following story of Joe Salerno's career that was published in the May 29, 1959, issue of La Gazzetta del Massachusetts:

JOSEPH A. SALERNO HONORED BY APPOINT-MENT AS A U.S. DELEGATE TO WORLD LABOR MEETING

Joseph A. Salerno, one of the outstanding representatives of organized labor in the United States, has been named one of the seven top-ranking representatives of the United States at the convention of the International Labor Organization in Geneva, Switzerland, next week.

Representatives of every nation in the world where labor is organized will participate in the convention. The objective is to seek an acceptable program for the solution of problems affecting labor and management throughout the world.

The signal honoring of Salerno is a tribute to his high standing among U.S. Government and labor officials of the Nation.

He has been identified with organized labor for more than 40 years. In the last decade he has gained national recognition as one of the most dedicated and qualified spokesmen for labor in the Nation. His knowledge of world affairs gained by constant reading, and a great deal of travel is not excelled by any other American spokesman for labor.

For years he has been the New England director of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers union. His influence has extended throughout the Nation. He not only commands the loyalty and support of the membership of his union but the confidence and friendship of employers with whom he has participated in many bargaining and other issues.

He was born in Italy in 1897 and came to Boston with his family in 1907. He was a worker in a clothing factory at the age of 12 and was a participant in the first strike of pants makers in 1910.

He had an unquenchable thirst for knowledge to supplant his 2 years of regular schooling. He spent much of his idle time reading in the Boston Public Library. Aware that ability to speak would be of great aid, he studied at two schools of expression and later enrolled in the Suffolk Law School.

In 1921 he became an organizer for the clothing workers and 15 years later he was named New England Director. He has refused to seek political office or to accept appointments to public positions but he made an exception last year when he became a member of the State Board of Education by appointment of Governor Furcolo.

There is no more avid reader than Salerno. He is not interested in fiction but in books, magazines, and newspapers that keep him constantly informed about conditions throughout the world. He is a fluent and convincing orator. His insistence upon discussing facts has gained him prominence so that he is one of the most sought after speakers in the country.

Salerno is rated as a conservative. He has done much for the members of his union but has never been accused of making exorbitant and unjustified demands.

In the past decade he has developed a deep interest in educational problems. He believes that curricula calculated to be of permanent value to a student should be offered by every college.

He is no stranger about the campuses of colleges. Regardles of how his union business demands his time, he never rejects an invitation to address the student body and the teaching personnel of any college that selects him. He is a distinct novelty in the colleges. He makes it his practice to talk to the faculty and then to the student body and he invites questions which he answers frankly and intelligently. It is not the rule that professors agree with him but they always concede that he presents supporting facts for any argumentative answer he

Salerno has always been interested in Italy. He has been an extremely important contributor to the Boys' Towns in Italy movement. In fact, when Italy needed rehabilitation from outside, he led the movement to have the Amalgamated Clothing Workers establish a factory in Italy. It was originally supervised by Americans who taught American methods of production. The project became a profitable business but the union was not interested in deriving any profit and turned over the plant to a group of interested Italians who operated it for the benefit of Boys' Towns.

## Trends in American Agriculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. CLIFFORD G. McINTIRE

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. McINTIRE. Mr. Speaker, many are the times we hear these questions raised: What is the true position of the American farmer on the economic totem pole? What are the evident trends in American agriculture?

Because many persons are today groping in the dark for the answers to these questions, I submit to the Record a Cooperative Extension Service publication that serves to shed considerable light in this area:

FARM PRICES AND THE COST OF LIVING

The question is often argued at to what effect increases or decreases in farm prices have on the consumer's cost of living.

The figures that follow refer to food only. Over the last 20 years, on the average, it has worked out that when the farmer got \$1 more for a given amount of foods or food ingredients the consumer paid \$1.68 more for them.

The story wasn't the same when farmers' prices dropped. When the farmers' prices dropped so that he got \$1 less for a given quantity of food the consumer paid 72 cents less.

In other words, savings in wholesale costs are only partly passed on in retail prices but increases are passed on plus a substantial margin.

It should be pointed out that these are averages. There was quite a variation in the way individual cases worked out. For instance, about a third of the time cuts in wholesale prices were fully passed on at retail and about one time out of five increases were not all added to consumers' prices. But, on the average, whichever way farmers' prices went, handlers got a bigger slice.

These are U.S. (not Maine') figures.

Farmers can more justly be credited with holding down the cost of living than charged with raising it.

#### INCOMES OF FARM FAMILIES

According to estimates published in the April 1959 Survey of Current Business, the percentages of families of farm operators compared with those of nonfarm families in the United States with various family incomes were as follows in 1957:

Family income	Percent of farm operators' families	Percent or nou- farm families
Under \$1,999 \$2,000 to \$2,999	30.3	5.1
\$3,000 to \$3,090 \$4,000 to \$4,009	15.1	6. 1 11. 2 14. 2
\$5,000 to \$5,000 \$6,000 to \$7,490		14.2
\$7,500 to \$9,900 \$10,000 to \$14,009	5.0	16.0
\$15,000 or more	1.8	5.8

The farm family income figures include the estimated value of farm produced food and fuel, the rental of the farm home, etc.

The median family income of the country in 1958 was \$5,050. That means that if all the family incomes were arranged in order of size the middle figure would be \$5,050.

The average was \$6,220. The average left after Federal taxes of \$610 was \$5,610.

GROWING DOUBT ABOUT PRICE CYCLES

A basic faith in price cycles used to pretty well dominate the thinking among many who were students of farm prices.

High prices would lead farmers to increase production which in turn would knock prices down again. Low prices led farmers to reduce production and the resulting scarcity raised prices.

How long it took to get from high to low prices depended on how long it took farmers to make up their minds and to get the production increase or decrease made. That varied, naturally, with the kind of production. With annual crops like potatoes it could be done quickly and there was a short cycle. At the other extreme were orchard crops like apples that took a long time.

The same thing was true of livestock. With chickens and eggs scarcity could be replaced with surplus in a hurry. Hogs took longer and cattle much longer. So, we had short, medium, and long cycles. What there was of the dairy cycle rode along with the cattle cycle—still rides for that matter.

#### BUT TIMES CHANGE

Two (perhaps more) changes have entered in to alter the old cyclical pattern in recent years.

#### SPECIALIZATION

One is specialization with the accompanying mechanization and large-scale production in farming. Under it the farmer builds up a big investment in specialized plant and equipment. Fixed costs are high. If the farmer reduces production below the scale that gives him lowest cost per unit he raises his unit costs. He actually can't afford to cut unless the price is going to be less than that part of his costs per unit that are called variable or out-of-pocket costs.

To illustrate: These out-of-pocket costs for potatoes are those of purchased seed, fertilizer, spray materials, gas and oil, perhaps a little additional machine repairs, more or less of the hired labor, and what he could net from an alternative. Sometimes there are other minor items. When the price is going to more than cover these things the farmer (unless he is going to quit and take a job or has some attractive alternative) will be better off financially to plant up to his normal capacity. He may not cover the costs of taxes, depreciation, his own labor, insurance, fixed interest, and so on. But he will come nearer to doing it than he would by reducing.

Just the same story is true for egg production and many other lines that used to react quickly to prices. In the old days when they were more or less sidelines, something else that looked more promising could be substituted for them and assume most of the fixed costs. Now there is such a heavy investment in buildings, equipment, personal knowledge, and skill in the one line that it makes any transfer hard and costly. So adjustments and cycles aren't what they used to be. Obviously, in cases where farming has not gone through the change to specialized, highly capitalized production, the old type of price cycles may still persist. These cases, however, grow fewer year by year.

#### INTEGRATION, TOO

Then, there's another thing—integration ("vertical intergation" if you want to be fussy about names)—that appears to be a

The broiler business right now is an illustration. Instead of contracting when prices got bad as production would be expected to do in an old-fashioned farming business, the

number of broilers produced has been pushed up and up, with no end still in sight.

Apparently those who really control broiler production (and we wouldn't be so bold as to say who the final controllers are) reach their decisions on other grounds than the profit or loss in raising broilers up to the point of processing. There appear to be undercover issues that are a lot more complex than those in the mind of a farmer's wife when she was deciding how many chicks to start. What the final conclusions will be we wouldn't be bold enough to estimate. But it is safe to say that when integration takes over you can't count on the old cycles any longer.

And, the way it looks now, integration is on the march.

For agricultural economists, all this means rebuilding cycle theories—as and when the evidence accumulates and looks as though it would stay put for a while. As for the farmer, he has apparently pretty well learned not to trust the old rules. As to what to trust he is about as much at sea as the rest of us, except that intentions to plant information, etc., give him some basis for judgment as to what is likely to lie ahead in the way of production and prices. With that he can make up his mind whether to go ahead full steam or make the shift to something else—on the farm, or off. He usually can't afford to pare down a little, except in the rare cases where he is already overexpanded.

## The Dulles That Lives On

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include an article on John Foster Dulles by George Todt in the North Hollywood, Calif., Valley Times of May 27, 1959:

THE DULLES THAT LIVES ON (By George Todt)

"Call no man happy till he is dead."
Aeschylus—Agamemnon.

Today the mortal remains of the great American statesman who was John Foster Dulles will be lowered gently and sorrowfully into the earth.

But only last Sunday the immortal spirit of John Foster Dulles ascended joyously into heaven.

He is therefore not dead, neither are the other members of the human family who have preceded him in the overwhelming sleep which we have named death in this present existence of ours.

Perhaps the forbidding term might better have been labeled "the open door"—the passageway to eternal life.

For that is what death really is.

If we knew more about it, would we fear it so much?

Happy indeed is that soul which carries such a record of service to his fellow men into the beyond as did John Foster Dulles when he left this life on planet earth 3 days ago.

What else than this may a man take with him when he goes into the realm from which none return?

Material riches, as we know them in our world, will buy nothing for us at the inevitable next port of call. The only kind of riches which will count will be those of the spirit, or inner man—and Foster Dulles had these in abundance.

There is only one honest way to demonstrate our love of God, if it is real, and that is to serve unselfishly the spiritual children of God; and these are our fellow men.

Few men in history, here or elsewhere, have proven themselves better along such lines than has the recently deceased American Secretary of State.

He conducted a great global crusade whose objective was to relieve the misery and suffering of countless millions of people on both sides of the iron curtain.

He was a true friend of freedom and an enemy of tyranny wherever it might be encountered.

Above all, he was a man of courage and intellectual honesty.

He had to be all these things—and more. For never before in the history of this planet had a nation such as ours, and her allies, been forced to stand guard against so gargantuan a threat to the very liberty of all mankind as that presently descending upon the free world from the direction of the vast Eurasian steppes.

Not since the days of Genghis Khan have the ancient cultures and civilization of Christendom, Judaism, Islam, and Buddha the lands of Europe, Africa, the Near East, India, and the Far East—been threatened so simultaneously with the same bolt of conquest and destruction.

Never before have the pagan forces of anti-religion been welded so successfully together to accomplish the downfall of those who believe in God.

The mainspring of the effort to withstand the mighty onslaught of world atheism against religion of all descriptions has been no less than John Foster Dulles in recent

Until this time, it may be doubted if any man has ever faced such a powerful array of naked force on a global scale as he.

He has fought the good fight, using the weapons of intelligence, courage, forebearance, patience, and character—and the last has not been the least of these.

Being possessed of a giant's character, as well as courage, Foster Dulles stood for morality over expediency in his dealings with men and nations.

That is the legacy he has left us.

Let's do our share to preserve it in the days ahead of us.

The life and works of John Foster Dulles may best be summed up in the immortal words of John Milton in his epic poem, "Paradise Lost," wherein 'tis spoken so succinctly and well:

"Servant of God, well done. Well has thou fought The bitter fight."

## Senator Douglas Leads the List

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. IRIS FAIRCLOTH BLITCH

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mrs. BLITCH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following editorial from the Savannah Morning News, Savannah, Ga., of May 28, 1959:

SENATOR DOUGLAS LEADS THE LIST

With the announcement by the FBI that it has completed its investigation of the lynching of Mack Charles Parker in Poplarville, Miss., and turned its findings over to State authorities for further action since no Federal statute had been violated, we confidently waited to see which of the professional South-baiters in Congress would be first to revive the old demands for enactment of a Federal anti-lynch law.

ment of a Federal anti-lynch law.

We didn't have to wait long. The honor of leading the list goes to that arch-foe of States' rights with a quick political eye to minority bloc support, Senator Paul Doug-

LAS, of Illinois.

"This proves we need a Federal anti-lynch law," declared Senator Douglas, a leading apostle of the school of latter-day liberals who feel that the States south of the Mason-Dixon line are incompetent to handle their own affairs without the guiding influence of Federal custodians.

Let's take a look at this crime of lynching which has the Senator from Illinois so upset. We, like Senator Douglas, are opposed to it, in all its forms. But in reality it belongs to a bygone era of American history.

The name is derived from the acts of one Judge Charles Lynch, of Virginia, who in 1780, during the American Revolution, permitted the flogging of British loyalists without what we now call due process of law. Today it is applied only to capital offenses, and usually to cases in which mobs take the law into their own hands and kill a person for a felonious offense before the victim is tried in a court of law.

Since 1900 there have been nearly 2,000 crimes officially listed as lynchings in the United States, and they have occurred in 42 different States of the Union. Because of full publicity, the punishment of those responsible for lynchings, and a growing public disgust for this form of meb action, lynchings are disappearing.

In 1951 there was only one lynching, and in 1952, for the first time since records were begun on the crime, no lynchings occurred. The battle against lynchings had been won, not because of Federal intervention, but because the people themselves turned against it. There were no lynchings in 1953, 1954, 1956, 1957, and 1958.

The lynching in Poplarville, Miss., last April 25 was the first that has occurred since 1955.

Lynching, therefore, may only be described as a vanishing crime on the American scene. Its occurrence is isolated and infrequent—the Poplarville case was the first in 4 years.

Does this, then, sound like a serious National problem calling for the immediate enactment of Federal laws? Of course not—but that isn't the factor that motivates the Senator Douglases and others who do not hesitate to condemn an entire region of the Nation through guilt by association. Theirs is a political crusade against the South, not against any crime. Lynching is just their excuse this time—and a poor one when statistics are taken into consideration.

Whatever action is taken with regard to the Poplarville case is now up to Mississippi—no Federal law can be made retroactive to it, although we wouldn't be surprised to see Senator Douglas try. We hope those guilty can be convicted and punished, but it is up to the people of Mississippi. They cannot be encouraged to assume their responsibility for this crime by Federal intervention intended to take that responsibility from them.

This lynching may be the last—we hope it is—or it may not. If another lynching or lynchings occur, they, too, will be isolated and rare, and in time we will hear of the crime only in history books. Senator Douglas knows this. That is why his loud demand for Federal antilynching laws is a cheap demagogic appeal for minority support. To attribute sincerity, under the circumstances, would be to insinuate that he is stupid.

## Seven Anthracite Coal Miners Lived Because of a Mule

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following article which appeared in the May 8, 1959, issue of the newspaper, Anthracite Tri-District News, published in Hazleton, Pa. This historical narrative was written by Mr. James J. Corrigan, a well-known anthracite historical researcher from the heart of the anthracite industry, Wilkes-Barre:

ANTHRACITE HISTORIAN TELLS OF DIFT IN 80TH ANNIVERSARY ACCOUNT OF THE 6-DAY ORDEAL OF SUGAR NOTCH MINERS

(By James J. Corrigan)

Eighty years ago on April 23, seven mine workers found themselves compelled to gorge on a form of subsistence not exactly suited even to their coal dust-clogged, non-epicurean tastes—mule meat. And they were glad to obtain and even relish that leathery diet which they were fortunate to have at hand and "on the hoof"—because they were entombed for 6 days, with but faint hope of ever again seeing daylight or the semblance of a square meal.

Their meager food gone, the only hope for continued existence of the seven entombed was to slay and devour the fiesh of an animal—the lowly mule—that for decades, it was alleged the coal owners would prefer having harm befall 20 mine workers rather than one of these hybrids, the most productive transportation muscle at the anthracite collieries, in those distant times.

The most unique entombiment of hard coal workers in Wyoming Valley's history commenced Wednesday, April 23, 1879, at the Sugar Notch No. 10 Colliery slope workings of the Charles Parish Coal Co.

In his report on the occurrence T. M. Williams, then State mine inspector for the Wilkes-Barre district, stated: "Seven human beings were entombed, which created great excitement, that did not abate until the glad tidings of their almost incredible rescue was received and the prisoners permitted to relate their awful tale of suffering and experience under strange circumstances."

The entrapped men, and boys, were: Patrick and James Green, brothers, of Ridge Street, Ashley; John Clark, 13, of Hartford Street, Ashley, a doorboy; William Kinney, a driver of Maffet's Patch; Ernest Relly of Sugar Notch and Edward Price and Charles Hawkins, cocontractors for mining a passage-way through the Sugar Notch No. 10 workings.

A local newspaper commented, following the rescue: "It is many a day since any event has so stirred the people of Wilkes-Barre as did the bringing back to life of these entombed miners."

After sensing that hope for rescue was alim, after the extensice cave-in, it was agreed among the seven entrapped on Thursday, April 24, only the second day following the entombment, to kill the lone mule engulfed with them, as immediate and future source of subsistence.

This was done. It was related after the rescue that one of the Green brothers struck the animal with a hammer no less than seven times before he fell dead. Young Kenny is said to have cut off the mule's head

with an axe. Contractor Hawkins in turn amputated the animal's right leg. On this 'tasty morsel' the entrapped workmen made their first satisfying repast after their "dinner bucket" contents had been early consumed. They had taken the lids from their "dinner cans" and placing their lamps beneath, cooked the mule meat to an appetizing degree.

Day followed day, mostly in silence among the entombed, often in open prayer. Occasionally they gathered faint hope when they thought they heard the drill of the rescue squad. Thirteen-year-old John Clark, the doorboy, "cried a little at first, for his mother's sake, but soon grew composed and was in good spirits until released."

Rescuers had halted blasting, fearing that ignition of gas or further danger to falls of roof and sides. The entombed men waited hopefully and quietly, hearing clearer and clearer the sound of the rescuers' drill. Bit by bit the carcass of the mine mule dwindled.

Then, about 9 o'clock on Monday morning, 6 days following the cave-in and entrapment, the heroic rescue crew feverishly penetrated a deep barrier after overcoming many personal dangers. The rescuers found the missing workers, "seated on chunks of coal, silently eating their mule-meat breakfast."

Contractor Hawkins later reported his belief that the entombed workers "could have lived 10 days longer on the food they had. He thought the mule rather good. He said all the men prayed."

On reaching the surface, young mule driver Kinney of Maffet's Patch "bounded off briskly, jumping a high collier fence, and never resting until he reached home where his elderly mother awaited him with open arms."

A sequel to the entombment is that all of the seven entombed workers appeared at a benefit performance—25 cents admission—held at Wilkes-Barre Music Hall on the night following their rescue. In this remarkable drama, the rescued workers reenacted the events of the entombment—such as repeating plans discussed for possible escape, testing the air for suffocating or explosive gas; walltapping to attract possible rescuers; attitudes while praying; during which all of the time the theater's lights were turned extremely low to simulate the darkness of what, miraculously, was not destined to be the tomb of the seven men and boys from the Sugar Notch Colliery.

The last survivor of the seven entombed at the Sugar Notch mine was William Kinney, a colliery driver, who passed away on November 14, 1947, at the age of 88.

As a result of his remarkable experience, Kinney became extremely interested in local anthractic mine history and was a frequent visitor for many years at the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society on South Franklin Street, where he repeated his entombment experiences to Miss Ernestine Kaehlin then and for half a century the head historical librarian.

California Assemblymen Support 160-Acre Limitation in San Luis Project Rill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, recently I received a telegram signed by 15 members of the California Assembly in which they urge that the pending San Luis project bill contain the 160-acre limitation provision.

I am pleased to offer the views of some of the members of the California Assembly. Among those who signed the telegram are assemblymen representing two of the three assembly districts within my congressional district.

The telegram follows:

SACRAMENTO, CALIF., May 27, 1959. The Honorable James Roosevelt, Member of Congress, House Office Building, Washington, D.C.:

We, the following members of the California Assembly, urge the insertion of a 160-acre limitation provision in the San Luis project bill. Large land-owning interests spending thousands to prevent State from adopting acreage limitation in California

water program.

Phillip Burton, 20th District; William A. Munnell, 51st District; George E. Brown, Jr., 45th District; Jerome R. Waldie, 10th District; S. C. Masterson, 11th District; Edward E. Elliott, 40th District; Lester McMillan, 61st District, Charles W. Meyers, 19th District; Augustus F. Hawkins, 62d District; Vernon Kilpatrick, 55th District; Vincent Thomas, 68th District; Nicholas C. Petris, 15th District; Edward M. Gaffney, 24th District; John A. O'Connell, 23d District; Joseph M. Kennick, 44th District.

# Right To Work Laws Sow the Seeds of Depression

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I wish to include the very interesting remarks of the Honorable Herbert H. Lehman, former Senator from New York and now associated as cochairman of the National Council for Industrial Peace: [From the AFT.—CIO American Federationist] RIGHT TO WORK LAWS SOW THE SEEDS OF DEPERSISION

#### (By Herbert H. Lehman)

During more than 30 years in public life, I have been guided by the belief that our laws should serve the common good. When a law is punitive or discriminatory in its intent or application, it can do great harm. Even though its evils may be quickly recognized, much time may pass—sometimes years—before public opinion can be aroused and legislative processes reinstituted to-remove the offending law. We know this to be especially true where constitutional amendment is involved.

Some unwise laws have come into being at times of great emotional stress. Others have resulted from pressures brought by powerful lobbies that have not always represented the public interest. And many have been enacted because of a lack of public awareness of their purpose or effect,

lic awareness of their purpose or effect.

In public office, from which I am now retired, I fought such unwise legislation with all my strength. In that fight I was privileged to be closely associated for many years with a very great man, President Franklin

Delano Roosevelt. We fought together for the welfare and rights of ordinary men and women.

I am still carrying on this fight as co-chairman of the National Council for Industrial Peace, an organization devoted to the defense of the public interest, which includes the rights and welfare of working men and women and their unions. This organization has opposed the falsely called right to work laws which are being advocated by antilabor elements in a number of our States.

In this present fight against the so-called right to work laws, I am associated with President Roosevelt's widow, a great woman, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. She is cochairman of the National Council for Industrial Peace.

In the campaigns in various States by the advocates of the misnamed right to work laws we have seen attempts by a small but powerful group to enact laws under the cloak of States rights that would hold wages down and take away decent working conditions.

One of the reasons right to work is so difficult to combat is the campaign of halftruths and misleading statements waged by its sponsors.

Aldous Huxley has described the technique in these words:

"In their antirational propaganda, the enemies of freedom systematically pervert the resources of language in order to wheedle or stampede their victims into thinking, feeling, and acting as they, the mind manipulators, want them to think, feel, and act.'

In blunter terms, it is known as the tech-

nique of "the big lie."

In the campaign seeking public acceptance of right to work laws, the most misleading claim of all is the name. Such legislation does not provide a right to work. Where this misnamed proposal has become law, its effect has been to restrict freedom of contract between labor and employers by outlawing the union shop.

I believe that responsible labor unions are the greatest single safeguard of the right of the worker to be employed and to be treated fairly on the job. Right to work laws are aimed at crippling and destroying the means by which labor can safeguard these rights.

It should be pointed out that the Supreme Court has held that the Constitution secures to all a freedom of association, which includes the right to join a trade union and to bargain collectively with employers on the terms and conditions of employment.

The right to work promoters would have us believe their proposals really don't hurt a bit, that their purpose is not to wreck the collective bargaining process or to destroy unions or to legalize the exploitation of cheap labor so that some segments of industry can produce goods at 1920 wages to sell at 1959 prices.

To hear the right to work advocates tell it, the only reason the National Association of Manufacturers, the Chamber of Commerce and the so-called National Right to Work Committee spend such huge sums in efforts to enact these laws is to save working people from union bosses.

But let's see who is really exploiting whom. Nineteen States have enacted these laws. With a single exception, these are either Southern States where low wages, child labor, and substandard working conditions have been traditional parts of the economy or agricultural States where problems of labor-management relations are relatively unknown or not understood and where comparatively few people are employed in

What has happened to working people in these States? I would like to discuss some of the results of right to work laws that have come to the attention of the National Council for Industrial Peace.

I have studied a number of letters and advertisements in national publications. The letters are from mayors or chambers of commerce in southern communities addressed to industry executives in the North. The advertisements are from development groups addressed to the same audience.

Let's see what they say. Selecting at random, here is a letter signed by the chairman of the industrial division of the chamber of commerce in an Arkansas community. Another is from the mayor of a Mississippi town to a Connecticut manufacturer. full-page advertisement in a "class" publication is sponsored by a group in North Carolina. Arkansas, Mississippi, and North Carolina are all right to work States.

The Arkansas letter, marked "personal,"

says:
"I would like very much to come and have a confidential talk with you. There is much to know about the favorable labor situation here that cannot be publicized. There is plenty of darn good labor within commuting distance, now making the bare minimum

wage.
"These thousands of rural dwellers have little or no rent to pay and grow or raise most of the food they eat. They enjoy low living costs. There are no better workers anywhere. They will be with you and for you and listen to no leaders except your own.

"Closed shops are in violation of Arkansas"

freedom-to-work law."

And this is what the Mississippi mayor said about working people in his commu-

"Our wonderful labor, 98 percent native born, mostly high school graduates, will average hourly industrial wage rates 6 to 49 cents below other Southern States and from 50 to 95 cents below Northern States.

'You will also get a much higher average man production, some plants even getting double what they got in their northern plants.

"This labor is truly American, not afflicted with the something for nothing idea, and works together joyously with management for the success of both. \* \* \* No one will tell you whom you must employ, and all detrimental State laws for industrial opera-tions have been repealed. The closed union shop has been outlawed in Mississippi."

And the North Carolina advertisement read as follows:

"Within 6 months after our southern work force was hired, it was producing at greater efficiency in North Carolina than we had ever experienced. And the majority of workers are operating machines completely foreign to them. \* \* I have nothing but the highest praise for North Carolina workers. They learn rapidly, appreciate their jobs and are anxious to give a day's work for a day's pay."

An outraged secretary, reading this advertisement, wrote across it:

"People for sale-best quality-cheap." We see here a studied appeal to industry to move to right-to-work States where, shackled by such oppressive laws, a docile labor force will accept whatever wages and working conditions are thrown to them.

Then we have the recent opinion of the attorney general of South Dakota on the meaning of his State's right-to-work law.

This official ruled that the South Dakota law grants a nonunion worker the right to work for a lower wage than union workers and gives the employer the right to prefer him in promotions over union members despite provisions in an existing contract for seniority rights.

Under the right-to-work law in South Dakota, this could be used to destroy the entire structure of union contracts, to lower wages, and to wipe out the seniority system.

The question naturally arises: Have the right-to-work laws been used for union-cracking purposes, to beat down wages and to worsen working conditions in the States in which they have been enacted?

The answer is "Yes." The story is one of lost jobs, impoverishment, and heartbreak the past 12 years since section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act encouraged passage of right-to-work laws in individual States. shall cite a few instances.

In the little town of Winchester, Va., 300 men and women workers of the O'Sullivan Rubber Corp. have been out of work since 1956. Their controversy with management began in the spring of that year when the workers voted 343 to 2 to be represented by the United Rubber Workers. The union asked for an increase of 15 cents an hour. pensions, paid holidays, and impartial arbitration of unresolved grievances.

The union contended the O'Sullivan workers were being paid 40 to 60 cents an hour under the scale of similar plants elsewhere in the United States.

The company countered with a 3-cent offer. Negotiations dragged and got no-where, and about 400 production workers walked out.

About 3 weeks later the company threatened to fire the strikers and replace them. permanently. About 75 employees returned to work, and the company made good its threat and hired 165 new employees off farms in West Virginia and the Carolinas.

The employer then told union negotiators that strikers would be given jobs only as new ones opened, but without seniority.

The company spurned offers of the Federal Mediation Service. State troopers patrolled the plant gates.

The strike dragged into 1957. The company then used a device that has become a familiar maneuver in "right to work" States. It asked the National Labor Relations Board to hold an election to see if the union represented the majority of its work-

Under section 9(c)(3) of Taft-Hartley, the striking workers had no vote. In October of 1957 the election was held and the strikebreakers voted, 288 to 5, to have no union.

At Darlington, S.C., the owner of a textile mill employing 523 workers went a step further. He closed his mill and sold its machinery at auction when workers voted for a union to represent them.

The mill machinery—\$1,850,000 worth—went on the block in December 1956. One bidder offered \$1,600,000 for the complete mill, but the owner insisted that the machinery be sold piecemeal in order that the mill could not be reopened to provide jobs for the workers he was punishing.

In the cotton industry the Darlington mill was known as a moneymaker. One of the secrets was low pay and a high-pressure speed-up that began in the weave room of the mill.

In April 1956 the hard-pressed workers decided they needed a union to represent them and appealed to the Textile Workers Union of America. A National Labor Relations Board election was held in September, and a majority of the workers voted for union representation despite threats by the management.

The mill owner, who held 110,000 of the 150,000 shares of common stock, then called a stockholders' meeting and announced the mill was to be closed and liquidated. The mill was shut down and its machinery sold despite NLRB orders, the suffering of more than 500 workers, and distress to the entire community.

Right to work laws have been used elsewhere to force down wages of workers as well as to break unions or prevent unionizattion of plants. The story of the Walker

County Hosiery Mill at Lafayette, Ga., is an example.

The Georgia right to work law went into effect in 1947. The hosiery workers previously had a contract with the Walker County company providing maintenance of membership.

With passage of the right to work law, the maintenance of membership clause became inoperative. In 1948 the company demanded as the price of a new 2-year contract that it be made cancellable upon 2 weeks' notice. The company also demanded the right to reopen negotiations on wages at will. The union reluctantly agreed.

union reluctantly agreed.

In June of 1948, the company demanded acceptance of a wage cut of 10 cents an hour. The union refused, since wages were already too low and the cost of living had risen sharply after the end of the war.

The company retaliated with an antiunion campaign in which it enlisted the aid of local merchants. It advised workers to get out of the union and threatened to close the mill unless this was done.

Some workers were frightened into quitting the union. The company then gave notice of contract cancellation. Faced with pressures from community leaders, the workers panicked and the union was unable to rally support for defensive action.

The company then put the wage cuts into

There are many other instances where right to work laws have been used against ordinary workingmen and women.

These laws have been used as a weapon by the southern textile industry virtually to destroy the collective bargaining process and to force cancellation of a pension plan covering thousands of workers. In some communities the right to work laws have been reinforced by even more restrictive laws and ordinances.

A Baxley, Ga., ordinance required that any organization, union, or society, that solicits members and has a membership fee system must take out a local license costing \$2,000 annually and must pay the town \$500 for each member signed up.

An organizer of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union was convicted and sentenced to jall for refusing to comply with the Baxley ordinance.

In South Carolina six countles wrote identical ordinances requiring "a permit in writing \* \* \* before any person shall solicit membership for any organization."

A 1953 Alabama statute stated that "any public employees who joins or participates in a labor union \* \* \* shall forfeit all rights afforded him under the State merit system, employment rights, reemployment rights and all other rights, benefits, or privileges which he enjoys as a result of public employment."

Similar antiunion ordinances have been in effect in Mississippi, Florida, Tennessee, and Virginia. They have required lengthy and expensive litigation to combat. In the Baxley case, a Supreme Court decision was required to protect free speech.

What is the effect of these oppressive measures on the economy and living standards of the right-to-work States?

No set of statistics can tell the whole story of suffering and want resulting from job loss or from income insufficient to meet human needs. But in other ways they are highly revealing.

The U.S. Department of Commerce Survey of Current Business, which gives the U.S. per capita personal income average for 1957 as \$2.027, shows that income in right-to-work States was in one instance as much as \$1,069 below the national average.

The Federal survey showed these States trailing behind the national average as follows:

	Mark Control Co.
Alabama	\$703
Arizona	277
Arkansas	876
Florida	191
Georgia	596
Iowa	221
Mississippi	1,069
Nebraska	209
North Carolina	710
North Dakota	592
South Carolina	842
South Dakota	496
Tennessee	644
Texas	236
Utah	333
Virginia	367

Another set of Government statistics is equally revealing. These are the figures showing the average weekly wages for the Nation and for the individual States. They are contained in the Department of Labor's official report, "Employment and Earnings."

Here, again, the Federal Government re-

Here, again, the Federal Government reported many right-to-work States lagging far behind the national average weekly wage.

For instance, North Carolina, where right to work has been in effect since 1947, had the Nation's lowest average weekly wage—\$55.25—in spite of the fact it has been a highly industrialized textile and furniture manufacturing State for many years.

These right-to-work States were below the national average weekly earnings as follows:

	Less
Alabama	\$15.87
Arkansas	25.76
Florida	14.45
Georgia	24. 16
Mississippi	23.83
Nebraska	3.49
North Carolina	28. 28
South Carolina	27, 56
Tennessee	17.67
Virginia	18.03

In startling contrast to this depressing record of the right-to-work States is the story of steady economic progress by States that have not been shackled by these oppressive laws.

The 1957 average per capita personal income in California, one of our newest industrial States, was \$2,523, or nearly \$500 more than the national average. And the weekly earnings average of Californians was \$97.22. compared with the national average of \$83.53 and the North Carolina wage low of only \$55.25.

The per capita personal income in California jumped \$62 in 1957 over the previous year, while in other States without "wreck" laws, such as Colorado, Washington, and Ohio, it went up \$126, \$81, and \$71, respectively.

The figures also show that New Mexico, another State without right to work, had a gain of \$151 in per capita personal income, or from 2 to 2½ times that of two neighbor right-to-work States, Arizona and Texas.

As we examine the purpose behind the right-to-work laws and the manner in which this legislation is being widely used to undermine the processes of free collective bargaining, it becomes clear that "wreck" laws are not of benefit to the general welfare.

When the Wagner Act became law it was with the understanding of Congress that collective bargaining would be legalized throughout the Nation in industries which were in the flow of interstate commerce or which affected interstate commerce. The principle of free collective bargaining was reaffirmed by Congress in the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947, although this law contained built-in provisions which, as I have pointed out, have been used to do great harm

to the rights and welfare of working men and women.

During the past two decades the process of collective bargaining between the employer and workers, represented by responsible unions of their choosing, has become the accepted basis for stable labor-management relations.

Progressive employers have found it is to their advantage to deal with workers collectively through a strong and well-disciplined union instead of with workers individually. Such an arrangement promotes industrial peace, provides the employer with a stable, dependable force of skilled workers, and results in higher production and a better fabricated product.

The Taft-Hartley Act legalizes the union

The Taft-Hartley Act legalizes the union shop, which makes possible a strong and effective union that can represent all workers in a plant responsibly

ers in a plant responsibly.

Yet section 14(b) of the act provides that if a State enacts legislation concerning union security that is more restrictive than Tatt-Hartley, then the State law takes effect. This permits a State to override and nullify the intent of Federal labor-management policy, for the so-called right-to-work laws outlaw the union shop. Thus in the 19 right-to-work States workmen are denied security against the watering down of a union's strength and bargaining rights.

There is no parallel for such action in Federal law. Ordinarily, it is the rule that Federal law supersedes State law and applies equally to each State—not the reverse.

As I have shown, employers in right-towork States can and do make war on workers behind the shelter of these laws. In the process, they force wages down. This dries up purchasing power.

And, in an economy dependent upon mass consumption, the seeds of depression are sown.

Right-to-work laws are bad laws. Section 14(b) of Taft-Hartley likewise is unwise legislation. In the public interest, both should be removed from the statute books.

Rural Redevelopment Areas Prescribed by House Banking and Currency Committee in Proposed Area Redevelopment Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record order. I include the following list of the rural counties throughout the Nation who would qualify for assistance under the provisions of the Area Redevelopment Act as reported to the Rules Committee by the House Banking and Currency Committee. This information was compiled by the Area Employment Expansion Committee with headquarters in New York City:

RURAL REDEVELOPMENT AREAS PRESCRIBED BY THE HOUSE BANKING COMMITTEE IN PRO-POSED AREA REDEVELOPMENT ACT

(Nore.—The bill recommended by the House Banking Committee declares that among the rural redevelopment areas "\* \* \*

shall be included \* \* \* any county (1) which is among the 500 counties in the United States ranked lowest in level of living of farm-operator families; or (2) which is among the 500 counties in the United States having the highest percentage of commercial farms producing less than \$2,500 worth of products for sale annually.")

The counties listed below conform to these categories.

Congressman and rural county

#### ALABAMA

Andrews: Barbour, Bullock, Coffee, Geneva, Henry, Houston, Lee, Macon, Russell. BOYKIN: Choctaw, Clarke, Marengo, Monroe, Washington, Wilcox.

ELLIOTT: Blount, Cullman, Fayette, Frank-lin, Lamar, Marion, Pickens, Walker, Winston.

GRANT: Butler, Conecuh, Covington, Crenshaw, Escambia, Lowndes, Montgomery, Pike.

JONES: Jackson, Lawrence, Limestone, Morgan.

RAINS: Chambers, De Kalb, Etowah, Marshall, Randolph, Tallapoosa.

ROBERTS: Autuga, Clay, Coosa, Dallas, El-

more, St. Clair.

SELDIN, JR.: Bibb, Chilton, Greene, Hale, Perry, Sumter, Tuscaloosa.

#### ARKANSAS

ALFORD: Conway, Faulkner, Perry, Pope, Yell.

GATHINGS: Clay, Crittenden, Greene, Lee, Phillips, St. Francis.

HARRIS: Ashley, Bradley, Calhoun, Clark, Columbia, Hempstead, Howard, Lafayette, Little River, Miller, Montgomery, Nevada, Ouachita, Pike, Polk, Sevier, Union.

Mills: Cleburne, Fulton, Independence,

Izard, Lawrence, Monroe, Randolph, Sharp, Stone, White, Woodruff.

Norrell: Chicot, Cleveland, Dallas, Desha, Drew, Grant, Jefferson, Lincoln, Lonoke.

Taimele: Baxter, Boone, Johnson, Logan,
Madison, Marion, Newton, Scott, Searcy,
Sebastian, Van Buren.

## FLORIDA

MATTHEWS: Baker, Gilchrist, Hamilton, Lafayette, Madison, Suwannee, Union. Sikes: Calhoun, Holmes, Jackson, Jefferson, Leon, Okaloosa, Walton, Washington.

#### GEORGIA

BLITCH: Appling, Atkinson, Bacon, Brantley, Charlton, Clinch, Coffee, Echols, Jeff Davis, Lanier, Pierce, Telfair, Wayne. Brown: Elbert, Greene, Hart, Lincoln,

Oglethorpe, Taliaferro, Warren, Wilkes.

DAVIS: Rockdale.

FLYNT, Jr.: Butts, Carroll, Clayton, Coweta, Fayette, Heard, Henry, Lamar, Meriwether, Newton.

FORRESTER: Clay, Dodge, Harris, Marion, Quitman, Randolph, Stewart, Taylor, Wilcox. LANDRUM: Fannin, Gilmer, Rabun, Towns, Union, White.

MITCHELL: Chatooga, Dade, Douglas, Har-

alson, Murray, Walker.

alson, Murray, Walker.

PILCHER: Baker, Brooks, Decatur, Early.
PRESTON: Bryan, Burke, Evans, Liberty,
Long, Montgomery, Screven, Trattnall, Treutlen, Wheeler.

Vinson: Baldwin, Crawford, Glascock,
Hancock, Jasper, Johnson, Twiggs, Wash-

ington, Wilkinson.

#### ILLINOIS

Gray: Hardin, Johnson, Pope.

#### KENTUCKY

CHELF: Adair, Green, Metcalfe. NATCHER: Allen, Breckinridge, Butler, Edmonson, Grayson, Hopkins, Ohio.

PERKINS: Breathitt, Carter, Elliott, Floyd, Greenup, Johnson, Lawrence, Lee, Magoffin,

Menifee, Morgan, Pike, Rowan, Wolfe.
Sn.gr. Clay, Clinton, Cumberland, Jackson, Knox, Laurel, Monroe, Owsley, Pulaski, Rockcastle, Russell, Wayne, Whitley. SPENCE: Lewis.

STUBBLEFIELD: Crittenden, Graves, Mc-Cracken, Marshall.

WATTS: Casey, Estil, Powell.

#### LOUISIANA

BROOKS: Mienville, Claiborne, De Soto, Red River, Webster.

McSween: Avoyelles, Grant, La Salle, Natchitoches, Sabine, Vernon, Winn.

Morrison: East Feliciana, Livingston, St. Helena, West Feliciana.

Passman: Caldwell, Catahoula, Concordia, Franklin, Lincoln, Morehouse, Richland, Union, West Carroll.

THOMPSON: Beauregard, Evangeline, St.

#### MICHIGAN

BENNETT: Iron.

CEDERBERG: Alcona, Clare, Iosco. GRIFFIN: Wexford.

MINNESOTA

BLATNIK: Itasca. MARSHALL: Aitkin.

#### MISSISSIPPI

ABERNETHY: Alcorn, Attala, Calhoun, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Clay, Itawamba, Lee, Lowndes, Monroe, Noxubee, Oktibbeha, Pontotoc, Prentiss, Tishomingo, Webster, Winston

COLMER: Covington, George, Greene, Jefferson Davis, Jones, Lamar, Lawrence, Marion, Perry, Wayne.

SMITH: Bolivar, Coahoma, Holmes, Humphreys, Issaquena, Leffore, Quitman, Sharkey, Sunflower, Tunica, Washington.

WHITTEN: Benton, Carroll, De Soto, Grenada, Lafayette, Marshall, Montgomery, Panola, Tallahatchie, Tate, Tippah, Union, Yalobusha.

WILLIAMS: Adams, Amite, Claiborne, Copiah, Franklin, Hinds, Jefferson, Lincoln, Pike, Walthall, Warren, Wilkinson, Yazoo.

WINSTEAD: Clarke, Jasper, Kemper, Lauderdale, Leake, Madison, Neshoba, Newton, Ran-kin, Scott, Simpson, Smith.

#### MISSOURI

Vacant: Vernon.

Brown: Douglas, Ozark, Stone, Taney, Wright.

CARNAHAN: Carter, Dent, Howell, Iron, Madison, Oregon, Reynolds, Shannon, Washington, Wayne.

JONES: Bollinger, Butler, Ripley.

#### NEW MEXICO

MONTOYA and MORRIS: Mora, Rio Arriba, San Miguel, Sierra, Socorro.

#### NORTH CAROLINA

ALEXANDER: Alexander, Alleghany, Ashe, Stanly, Watauga.

BARDEN: Duplin, Onslow, Pender.

BONNER: Hyde, Tyrrell, Washington, FOUNTAIN: Halifax, Warren.

HALL: Buncombe, Cherokee, Clay, Graham,

Haywood, Jackson, Macon, Swain, Transyl-

Jonas: Avery, Burke, Catawba, Lincoln, Mitchell.

KITCHIN: Anson, Davidson, Montgomery, Scotland, Wilkes.

LENNON: Bladen, Brunswick, Columbus, New Hanover.

Scott: Caswell, Person.

WHITENER: Cleveland, Madison, McDowell, Polk, Rutherford, Yancey.

#### OHIO

HENDERSON: Guernsey, Noble. MOELLER: Gallia.

## OKLAHOMA

Albert: Atoka, Choctaw, Latimer, Le Flore, McCurtain, Pittsburg, Pushmataha.

Edmondson: Adair, Cherokee, Delaware, Haskell, McIntosh, Okmulgee, Sequoyah.

STEED: Coal, Creek, Hughes, Lincoln, Okfuskee, Seminole.

#### SOUTH CAROLINA

ASHMORE: Greenville, Laurens, Spartanburg, Union.

Donn: Abbeville, Anderson, Edgefield, Greenwood, McCormick, Newberry, Oconee,

Pickens, Saluda. HEMPHILL: Cherokee, Chester, Chester-field, Fairfield, Kershaw, Lancaster, York.

McMillan: Georgetown, Horry, Lee, Williamsburg.

RHEY: Barnwell, Lexington, Orangeburg. Rivers: Allendale, Beaufort, Berkeley, Charleston, Clarendon, Colleton, Dorchester, Hampton, Jasper.

#### TENNESSEE

BAKEE: Anderson, Blount, Campbell, Loudon, Morgan, Roane, Scott, Union. Bass: Dickson, Giles, Hickman, Houston,

Humphreys, Lawrence, Lewis, Perry, Stewart, Sumner, Wayne.

EVERETT: Haywood, Lauderdale.

Evins: Cannon, Clay, Cumberland, De Kalb, Fentress, Jackson, Lincoln, Macon, Moore, Overton, Pickett, Putnam, Rutherford, Smith, Van Buren, Warren, White, Wilson.

Frazier, Jr.: Bledsoe, Grundy, McMinn, Marion, Meigs, Monroe, Polk, Rhea, Se-

quatchie.

MURRAY: Benton, Carroll, Decatur, Fayette, Hardeman, Hardin, McNairy, Madison. REECE: Carter, Claiborne, Cocke, Grainger,

Greene, Hamblen, Hancock, Hawkins, Jefferson, Johnson, Sevier, Sullivan, Unicoi, Washington.

#### TEXAS.

BECKWORTH: Camp, Panola, Rusk, Upshur, Wood.

Brooks: Newton, Sabine, San Augustine. Dowby: Anderson, Angelina, Cherokee, Henderson, Houston, Madison, Polk, San Jacinto, Trinity, Walker.

PATMAN: Bowle, Cass, Franklin, Harrison,

Marion, Morris, Red River, Titus.

RAYBURN: Rains. TEAGUE: Freestone, Leon, Robertson, Som-

ervell. THOMPSON: Lavaca.

THORNBERRY: Bastrop, Burleson,

Young: Duval, McMullen.

#### VIRGINIA

ABBITT: Appomattox, Buckingham, Greensville, Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, Prince Edward.

DOWNING: York.

HARRISON: Bath, Highland.

JENNINGS: Buchanan, Dickenson, Lee, Russell, Scott, Tazewell, Washington, Wise.

POFF: Alleghany, Bedford, Craig, Floyd. SMITH: Fluvanna, Greene.

Tuck: Carroll, Charlotte, Grayson, Hallfax, Henry, Patrick.

#### WEST VIRGINIA

BAILEY: Braxton, Calhoun, Clay, Dodd-Balley: Bruxton, Calmoth, Cary, Bodd-ridge, Fayette, Gilmer, Harrison, Lewis, Nicholas, Ritchie, Upshur, Wirt. HECHLER: Cabell, Jackson, Lincoln, Mason, Pleasants, Putnam, Roane, Tyler, Wayne,

KEE: Mercer, Monroe, Summers. MOORE: Brooke, Marion, Taylor, Wetzel. SLACK, JR.: Kanawha, Raleigh.

STAGGER: Barbour, Monongalia, Randolph, Tucker, Pocahontas, Preston.

## More Dollars Isn't Always the Answer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

, Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include an editorial which appeared in the May 31, 1959, edition of the Huron, S. Dak., Plainsman, pointing out some of the problems that would result from an increase in the minimum wage law.

I share the conviction of Editor Robert Lusk that an increase to \$1.25 per hour would have the effect to removing job opportunities for young people, result in further price increases and inflation, and further price the American worker out of the foreign market.

The editorial is as follows:

More Dollars Isn't Always the Answer

. Youngsters who are having a difficult time finding work for the summer will find the task even more difficult if the proposed Federal \$1.25 an hour minimum wage law is put into effect.

Even in this era of the exceedingly cheap dollar, affected employers are going to hesitate before hiring youngsters at that price. It would mean paying the "kids" the equivalent of \$65 a (48-hour) week.

Before an employer would hire a youngster at that price, he would seek a more adult person—a housewife, perhaps—to fill the job.

This would take more mothers out of the homes and turn more youngsters out on the streets—a bad combination.

And such a measure could not help but have an inflationary effect on an already in-

flated economy.

It isn't just the minimum wage that would be raised by this action. There would have to be some salary adjustments all along the line if the more valuable employees were to be paid in proportion to their worth.

So in the end, the extra \$.25 an hour that workers on the lower end of the scale would receive would be eaten up by the higher prices which the employers would have to charge for their goods and services in order to pay the higher wages.

And that means more inflation, of course. Persons who advocate such an arbitrary minimum wage lose sight of a fundamental principle of economics—that production, not dollars, determines our ultimate wealth.

Although the dollar has become a symbol of wealth, any number of them aren't worth a plugged nickel on a desert island where a man has to create his comforts through his own work—production, in other words.

It is the overconcern with dollars and the underconcern about production on the part of some segments of our economy which has created and expanded the inflationary tendency in our currency.

It has reached a point now where inflation at home is affecting the markets abroad. The American worker, by demanding more and more dollars for less and less production, is pricing himself out of the export market which was the source of his prosperity.

Introducing the \$1.25 minimum wage would further aggravate an already perilous foreign market situation and further reduce the Nation's exports by making the relative price of American merchandise even higher in comparison to goods produced by the Japanese, Swiss, Germans, and other foreign Workers.

There is more that could be said on this subject—how certain small businesses would be endangered, how more unemployment would result—but what has been said so far should be enough to make the point which is: Raising the \$1 Federal minimum wage from \$1 to \$1.25 would help no one and would harm a lot of people—so why do it?

## Interstate Library Cooperation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. CLIFFORD G. McINTIRE

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. McINTIRE. Mr. Speaker, many are the benefits that have flowed from the Library Services Act, which was passed by Congress in 1956, for this authority has, in providing a modest amount of Federal funds, served to promote a substantial expansion of library services in rural America.

An immediate outgrowth of this Federal encouragement has been the development of cooperative endeavors, with many of our States coordinating their efforts toward the end of developing a comprehensive library service.

Three unique cooperative ventures are presently in process in New England, and I submit to the RECORD the following extract from the May issue of the Wilson Library Bulletin, which lucidly points up this exciting cooperative exercise in providing better library service:

INTERSTATE LIBRARY COOPERATION

(By Wilfred L. Morin)

Three very interesting cooperative ventures are being attempted in New England under the Library Services Act. Librarians have long realized the value of multicounty and regional units and have worked more or less successfully in this direction for better library service, but cooperative ventures among States constitute an area which has not yet begun to realize its full potential. In New England, where the States are relatively small geographically and relatively homogenous, experimentation with interstate cooperative ventures has every chance for success.

For some time it had seemed feasible to several of the New England State librarians that some cooperative library activities could be performed which would mean a great saving of time, effort, and even money. However, several problems continued to block progress. First, it was a question of money. Each State is small; each State needed all the funds in had for the basic State library services, and the extra amount needed to launch such a project was not forthcoming. Secondly, there was a strong legal objection to the States entering into contractual relationships with each other to carry out the desired projects. The attorney general of one State said that such a contract amounted to a treaty among sovereign state and such an action would require the permission of the U.S. Congress.

## FILM COOPERATIVE

With the enactment of the Library Services Act, and the availability of Federal funds, however, the projects seemed nearer to realization if the methods could be found whereby the States could cooperate legally. It took nearly a year of negotiation but the first cooperative venture, a film cooperative, was activated in June 1958 among the three northern New England States—Maine, Vermont, and New Hampshire. The most feasible way to achieve this cooperation, it was

found, was for the State agency, as well as the individual units within the three States, to make its own contract with the audiovisual center at the University of New Hampshire. Hence, there is no contract binding the participating agencies one with another, the only contract being between the libraries and the center.

The agencies which make up the film cooperative are the New Hampshire State Library, the Vermont Free Public Library Commission, the Maine State Library, as well as the libraries of the following New Hampshire cities: Nashua, Manchester, Concord, Laconia, and the Gordon-Nash Library of New Hampton. So far, no city libraries in the other two States have expressed a desire to join the circuit at the present time. Sixteen rural libraries in New Hampshire have taken advantage of the films available and a number of these have instituted a regular schedule of programs.

ADVANTAGES

The three State agencies decided to deposit their film collections with the audiovisual center at the University of New Hampshire because it has several points in its favor: personnel and equipment to handle the films and a location that places it nearly in the center of the three participating States. The films already owned by the center are essentially educational but these also have been made available if the States care to use them against their payments to the center.

The participating libraries sign a contract in which they agree to purchase each year at least one film to be deposited in the film library of the center. There is also in the contract a release clause, enabling any library to withdraw from participation by giving notice by April 1 of any year. In such case, the films it had on deposit at the center would be returned to it by July 1 of that

For the first year, it was decided to purchase only children's films and in the second year to expand into the adult field. The films are to be used initially for programs within the libraries but eventually the hope is to make them available to organizations and groups in the community on the same basis as books. It is estimated that the three States, at their next committee meeting, will vote to expend close to \$5,000 for the purchase of films to be deposited at the center.

A participating library is entitled to the free use (under established rules and regulations) of all films deposited in the film pool by all participating libraries to a total of the normal service charges equal to the initial cost of the films deposited by the using library during any 1 year. At the conclusion of the annual booking date, all films belonging to the participating libraries become available to the center for general circulation.

The service charge, to cover the cost of handling (postage, shipping containers, and regular care of film), amounts to 50 cents per film during the initial period of building up a backlog of films, since the tenter is self-supporting. This service charge may eventually vary according to the number of films released by the participating libraries to the center for rental.

Libraries in communities of over 10,000 population must become participating agencies in order to benefit under its provisions. Communities of under 10,000 population are enabled to borrow these films free of charge, except for return postage, against

the credit accumulated by the State library with its purchase of films. As an aid to the small rural libraries, the State library will book films and attempt to meet requests from these libraries. It is hoped that, later on, the libraries may apply directly to the audio-visual center for the films as they become more familiar with procedures.

In many cases, the State library supplies the operator and projector for the programs, Again this is a service performed initially by the State library in the hope that in the near future the local community will be able to provide these essential services.

In the spring of 1959 a series of six regional workshops will be held in New Hampshire to acquaint the librarians with the best and most economical use of films and equipment. Margery Stroud, public library consultant on the New Hampshire staff, will handle the workshops for the State. Miss Stroud is also secretary of the preview committee which selects the films.

#### PUBLISHING COOPERATIVE

The second cooperative venture is a publishing one between Vermont and New Hampshire. For many years, New Hampshire and Vermont each published a quarterly library bulletin. Exploration of the idea of merging the two publications was begun. Again, the Library Services Act made it possible to give real thought and effort to this project with the result that, in December 1957, North Country Libraries began to appear. This is published every month, except July and August, with a circulation of 3,000 copies, 1,500 for each State. It is mailed to every librarian and trustee in the two States.

Since many of the librarians do not subscribe to book review publications, the bulletin is especially strong in this area. There is also material on how-to-do-it for the non-professional librarian. If requests for reprints and extra copies are any indication of interest and worth, this little publication has already earned a reputation for itself.

In order for the two States to put into effect this cooperative project, a gentleman's agreement was worked out by the purchasing agents of both States so that duplicate requisitions for the printing of the publication would allow for bids by printers in both States. The first year a firm in Montpelier, Vt., got the order and the second year a firm in Littleton, N.H. The printer divides the bill in half and bills each State agency for one-half of the cost.

The editor, Louise Hazelton, is employed on a part-time basis. She is a professional librarian, the wife of the law librarian at the New Hampshire State Library. She is paid a flat fee per issue and, as in the case of the printer, bills each State for half the amount. The bulletin is mailed from Montpelier by the staff of the Vermont Free Public Library Commission and the New Hampshire State Library is billed one-half of the mailing costs.

The third cooperative project is the production of a film to promote library development in New England, taking into consideration its special problems and characteristics. There is a steering committee of six, one drawn from each of the New England States, exploring the possibilities of a film that would be geared to New England library needs. The committee has met several times and at this writing they have decided that the film should be in color, about 20 minutes long, with a narrator.

In New England, the administrative prob-

In New England, the administrative problem of the county is absent. There is a move on at the present time, in one State at least, to abolish the county as a unit of Government since it has practically no functions to support or funds to administer. Therefore the county base, upon which so many other library films have been made, is not an effective method of presentation. Script writers are in touch with members of the committee and Bill Allen of the New Hampshire State Library, chairman of the committee, reports that one basic idea presented by the script writers for handling the problem of presentation is most exciting and imaginative.

In this brief discussion of these three cooperative ventures among the New England
States, the cooperative spirit, the hard work,
and the determination to make the projects
worthwhile cannot be adequately delineated.
Suffice it to say that these necessary ingredients must be there or else the projects
would not have matured so rapidly and so
well. All librarians are looking forward to
these cooperative projects among the New
England States because of a feeling that
library service cannot be isolated in the community, in the county, or even in the State.

# Oklahoma House of Representatives Commends Congressman Boggs for His Efforts on Behalf of Taxpayers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1959

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following resolution adopted by the House of Representatives of the State of Oklahoma, May 21, 1959:

#### RESOLUTION 549

A resolution taking official notice to the efforts of the U.S. Government to combat communism by-bolstering the economies of foreign underdeveloped countries; taking further notice of a bill introduced in Congress by the Honorable Hale Boggs, of Louisiana, to encourage investments abroad by American industry through the establishment of reasonable taxes on foreign earnings; and officially commending Congressman Boggs on his efforts with respect to this legislation

Whereas in an effort to contain the spread of world communism, the United States is committed to a policy of bolstering the economies of friendly but underdeveloped countries by a massive foreign aid program; and

Whereas this policy results in a most heavy tax burden upon citizens of Oklahoma and on all United States taxnavers; and

on all United States taxpayers; and
Whereas it is the policy of the United
States to encourage Oklahoma and all American industry to supplement, assist, and ultimately replace such foreign aid by expending private foreign investment; and

Whereas in practice Oklahoma and all American industry seeking to make such foreign investment are at times placed at a competitive disadvantage by the adverse impact of United States taxes imposed upon the profits of foreign ventures already weighted with a heavy burden of foreign taxes; and

Whereas there has been introduced into the Congress of the United States by Congressman HALE BOGGS, Democrat of Louislana, a bill titled H.R. 5 and otherwise known as the Boggs bill; and

Whereas such bill encourages Oklahoma and U.S. industry to invest abroad by establishing reasonable U.S. taxes upon foreign earnings, taking into account the risks of such investments; and

Whereas such investment demonstrates merits of private enterprise as opposed to

communism and permits the easing of onerous rates of taxation imposed on citizens of Oklahoma and on all U.S. taxpayers for support of this direct foreign aid; and

Whereas such encouragement gives Oklahoma industry an improved opportunity to place Oklahoma manufactured products in foreign markets, all to the economic wellbeing of Oklahoma: Now, therefore, be it

being of Oklahoma: Now, therefore, be it Resolved by the House of Representatives of the 27th Legislature of the State of Okla-

SECTION 1. That Congressman HALE BOGGS, Democrat of Louisiana, is hereby officially commended for his diligent efforts on behalf of the taxpayers of Oklahoma and the United States, and upon his introduction of H.R. 5 in the United States, House of Representatives; and

SEC. 2. Be it further resolved that properly prepared copies of this resolution be mailed to Congressman Boggs and to each Member of the Oklahoma congressional delegation.

Adopted by the house of representatives the 21st day of May 1959.

CLINT G. LIVINGSTON, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Statement in Explanation of H.R. 7496, a Bill To Charge the Costs of Administration of the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act to Carriers and Self-Insurers Under the Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. CARROLL D. KEARNS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. KEARNS. Mr. Speaker, the American system of workmen's compensation is not financed out of general taxation but places its costs only on those members of the public who are also employers. In accordance with this concept, employers are charged with the costs of payments to injured employees either as self-insurers or through insurance carriers. In many States employers are also charged with the administrative costs of the workmen's compensation program, Under the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act, however, a Federal statute which applies to certain private employments in much the same manner as a State workmen's compensation law, the costs of administration are borne by the Federal Government. This places on the Federal Government a burden inconsistent with a basic concept of workmen's compensation.

The draft bill would charge administrative costs of the workmen's compensation features of the Longshoremen's Act to the industry covered by that act. Under the proposed bill the funds necessary for administrative expenses—direct expenses and the applicable share of indirect and overhead expenses—would continue to be fixed and appropriated annually by Congress. However, at the end of each fiscal year, the cost of administering the workmen's compensation provisions of the act during that year would be determined by the Secre-

tary of Labor and prorated among insurance carriers writing insurance under the act, and among self-insurers. The assessment would be based on the total money benefits paid by such carriers and self-insurers during such year. They would not be charged with cost of administering the recently enacted amendment to the act which authorizes the issuance and enforcement of safety standards

It is estimated that this proposal, if adopted, would result in a reimbursement to the Federal Government of over \$700,000 a year. The cost for administering the law was \$701,657 during the past fiscal year and because of the recent Federal pay increase it is estimated that the administrative costs will be somewhat higher during the 1959 fiscal year.

The rights of a self-insurer or carrier would be protected by an administrative hearing on assessments, if requested, and by a right to judicial review.

If it failed to pay the amount assessed when due, a carrier or self-insurer would be liable to fines and interest on unpaid balances. Similar penalties and possible suspension or revocation of its authorization to insure are provided where a carrier or self-insurer misrepresents material facts or fails to furnish information called for by the bill or by regulations of the Secretary.

This proposal would also apply to all extensions and applications of the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act with the exception of the War Hazards Act (42 U.S.C. 1701 et seq.). The existing extensions and applications to which this proposal would apply are the District of Columbia workmen's compensation law, the Defense Base Act, the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act, and the act of July 18, 1958, amending section 2 of the act of June 19, 1952 (5 U.S.C. 150k-1), applying the Longshoremen's Act to certain civillan employees of nonappropriated fund instrumentalities of the Armed Forces. The reimbursement to the Federal Government, estimated above at over \$700 .-000, includes reimbursement for the administrative costs involved in all extensions and applications of the act except for the administration of the District of Columbia workmen's compensation law.

An additional sum of approximately \$200,000, now included in the budget of the municipal government of the District of Columbia, is transferred annually to the Department of Labor for the administration of the District's workmen's compensation pay. The draft bill would credit to the District government its shares of the reimbursement received from the carriers and self-insurers.

The Secretary would also have authority, in his discretion, to establish a single, consolidated administration fund for the act and its extensions and applications, or to have separate administration funds for the act and the respective extensions and applications,

## My True Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 28, 1959

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, the U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce sponsors annually a contest on the subject "I Speak for America." It was my privilege Saturday, May 30, at the Virginia Jaycee Convention to hear Miss Barbara Jean Crenshaw of Roanoke deliver her reading "My True Security." One hundred and twenty-five Jaycee chapters in the Commonwealth of Virgina sponsored participants in this contest. Miss Crenshaw was selected to represent Virginia at the national convention in Buffalo, N.Y., in July.

Mr. Speaker, I was tremendously impressed with Miss Crenshaw's delivery and the contents of her speech. I commend it to the attention of the House and the country. I might add, Mr. Speaker, that the Jaycees of the great Commonwealth of Virginia have this year rendered a particularly outstanding service:

MY TRUE SECURITY

(By Barbara Jean Crenshaw)

When God created the world, He did not intend that we should have all of our heart's desires. In making the oyster, He gave it a shell for protection and the ability to open that shell when it was hungry to admit food. The oyster has economic and social security.

However, when God created the eagle, He made the sky his limit. The eagle may choose for his home the most dangerous mountain craig. Each day he is faced with destruction and desolation, but he rebukes them and continues to build his own life.

The eagle, not the oyster, has become the symbol of America. As long as we possess the spirit of the eagle we will continue to lead the way toward the light for the rest of the world.

What element allows Americans to be happy, to love to work, to strive to make themselves better than their neighbors? Is it not found within the heart of a person in the form of security?

What does security mean to me and to you? To most Americans, security has become the ultimate achievement through which they can find happiness and avoid misfortune.

The majority of us search in the same general areas. The alluring and promising field of wealth appears to be the greatest challenge. The old idea that the more one accumulates the happier and more secure he will be is quite false. It is absurd to believe that money will bring security when it cannot even hold its own value. Many times insecurity is the byproduct of elaborate possessions.

Second to money, man searches in the field of public programs for security. Our political leaders have promoted the idea that it can only be found through plans and programs which they provide. Some of the best known landmarks are social security and unemployment compensation. These represent probably our greatest delusion—

the belief that we can obtain security by voting for it.

Today a job applicant is usually more concerned with pensions, vacation schedules, and the certainty of seniority than the opportunities for advancement.

We Americans believe that we are the envy of the world; however, few of us have found what we are really looking for.

As teenagers, we place popularity high on the scale of achievement. We have no feeling of security unless we are one of a group. It has been said many times by many teenagers that the reason they go steady is that they feel secure. What are these same teenagers going to rely on 20 years from now? Is this where they find security?

Today we have more money, more sky scrapers being built, more machines, and more mental cases. Ours is the age of anxiety. Americans are buying enough barbiturates each year to put the entire Nation to sleep for a month.

Our search is pathetic in the sense it is self-defeating. We tend to rely on physical things. Even though we have a powerful Army, Navy, and Air Force, we can still be overcome by ignorance and decay from

within.

Each of us must realize that he is a rather drab animal composed of elements worth less than the price of a good meal at

rather drab animal composed of elements worth less than the price of a good meal at a restaurant.

If that were the end of it, security would

he simple. Money and possessions and public programs would be adequate; however, there is one more thing. It is the solid fact on which all the things that gives us assurance and protection hinge. It is strong and safe and permanent enough to provide the security we seek. All these things exist in only one place—and that is inside ourselves.

Someone has said that security is built on ideals, not dollars; principles, not pensions; character, not convenience or expediency. Character is our one possession that only we ourselves can damage. Our code of life should be the wonderful teachings of the Ten Commandments or the Sermon on the Mount. These are laws about unselfishness, honesty, truth, and love. The Golden Rule should be our motto. Each of us must be willing to give in abundance that which is the most important thing in all the world to him—himself. An eternal law has been that what a person gives to others is forever his.

The greatest thing in the world is believed to be faith. Faith is the greatest gift a person can receive. In order to find true security and peace of mind our hearts must be right with God.

## Labor Reform Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to insert my Washington Report of June 4, on the subject of labor reform legislation:

#### WASHINGTON REPORT

(By your Congressman James B. Urr)
The so-called labor reform legislation known as the Kennedy-Ervin bill, passed

by the Senate and now before the House, has generated more correspondence than any other single issue. Most of the letters oppose passage of the bill, but for different reasons. Some want no labor legislation whatsoever, but in most of the letters constituents are demanding a strong labor reform bill. This might be called a split-level attack.

As originally introduced in the Senate, the Kennedy-Ervin bill was a resurrection of the Kennedy-Ives bill which the House buried last year without ceremony and with little weeping. This year when the legislation came to the floor of the Senate, Senator Mc-CLELLAN, Democrat, of Arkansas, and chairman of the Labor Rackets Committee, introduced a set of amendments which he termed "labor's bill of rights." These amendments provided for: (1) Equal voting rights and equal protection of all union members under their own rules; (2) freedom of speech, so that a union member could express his views without fear of reprisal; (3) freedom of assembly; (4) freedom from an arbitrary levy of dues and assessments without a malority vote of the union members in a secret ballot, or a majority vote of delegates at a regular meeting; (5) the right of a member to sue his union for violation of the member's rights; (6) protection of members against improper disciplinary action; and (7) the right of a candidate for union office or his agent to inspect the union membership list.

These simple rights would seem to me to be desired by the rank and file of union members, and there is nothing therein to which each is not entitled, and I can conceive of no fair-minded American citizen who would deny a union member these rights. This list of amendments was adopted late one night, only after Vice President Nixon cast the deciding vote in favor of them after a 45-45 tie. Great rejoicing was heard on the part of millions of working people who have long suffered under labor bossism, but the rejoicing was not forlong. International labor leaders read in these amendments a threat to their dictatorship and in less than a day's time a handful of Senators became conscience stricken because they had bitten the political hand which had been feeding them for lo, these many years, and a hasty retreat was executed. A set of compromise amend-ments was offered and adopted, leaving the form but changing the substance, so that the bill of rights was made lifeless. The body was there but the soul was gone. Senator Kennedy gleefully admitted that the union bosses had prepared the tricky wording in these amendments.

Two years of hearings, and thousands of pages of testimony from the Labor Rackets Committee, were gone but not forgotten by the American people. The labor lords had permitted in this bill only as much as they thought necessary to satisfy an outraged public that had witnessed on TV and in the press the hearings of the McClellan committee, exposing as they did the corruption, the arrogance, the racketeering, and the conspiracy of the international labor bosses, many with long criminal records including arson and murder, to control this great Republic by force and violence.

After this stunning retreat, the brave Senators passed the bill by a vote of 90 to 1, even though it had more holes in it that a fresh swiss cheese. Senator Barry Goldwarer, of Arizona, was the lone member to vote "No." President Eisenhower congratulated the Senator on his vote, and said that if he were a Senator he would also have voted "No."

President Eisenhower said in his message to Congress, and has since affirmed, that no labor reform bill is acceptable which does not prohibit blackmail picketing, eliminate secondary boycotts, grant State court jurisdiction in cases where the National Labor Relations Board refuses to assume jurisdiction, and which does not require the smaller unions, which constitute 60 percent of all labor union membership, to report on their welfare funds. To this should be added, so far as I'm concerned, "featherbedding," as about 20 percent of the selling price of a home is made up of "featherbedding."

As an example of blackmail picketing, I have on my desk a letter from local 710 of the Teamsters Nnion addressed to a large trucking firm in Indiana which reads in part as follows: "Local 710, IBT, has decided to embark upon a campaign to organize your office and clerical employees. To induce your employees to join this union, we shall begin to picket your establishment on or about the 11th of May 1959. \*\*\* \* Local 710 does not represent a majority of your employees. \* \* \* The purpose of our picketing is solely to call to the attention of union members and supporters of organized labor that your office and clerical employees are not members of local 710." The next move would be a secondary boycott and "hot cargo." Any one of these procedures, and surely the combination of all three, has the power to destroy any American business which refuses to pay tribute to the international union.

People were astounded at the arrogance of Jimmy Hoffa in stating that he would call a nationwide strike if Congress dared to enact labor legislation, but most of these same astounded people prance down to the polls and vote for the puppets of Jimmy Hoffa.

Citizens are shocked to witness the spectacle of Harry Bridges hiding behind the fifth amendment on questions concerning his Communist activities, and in the next breath declaring that he would call a work stoppage if this country dared to oppose Red China. Again I say, many of these same Americans hurry to the polls to vote for his puppets, just because they have the designation "Democrat" after their names. This is truly split-level logic.

# The Late Right Reverend Monsignor John L. McNulty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. HUGH J. ADDONIZIO

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. ADDONIZIO. Mr. Speaker, the death of the Right Reverend Monsignor John L. McNulty, president of Seton Hall University, South Orange, N.J., on May 27, has taken from our midst one of the truly outstanding churchmen and educators of our times. The tremendous growth of the university during the 10 years of his presidency is eloquent testimony to his brilliant leadership and capacity. He rendered remarkable service to the cause of education during a most challenging period, and a foremost development was the establishment of the college of medicine and dentistry. college, the first in the State, will always be a monument to his memory.

Monsignor McNulty combined with his intellectual attainments and administrative ability, a great love and compassion towards the poor and unfortunate. The cause of civil rights was very dear to him, and his valiant and untiring efforts in this field were most fruitful.

Like all who had the privilege of his friendship, I shall sorely miss Monsignor McNulty. He was a wise and indefatigable servant of humanity and his loss is deeply felt by his fellow citizens of all races, creeds and color.

I should like to insert at this point the following editorial tribute from the Newark Evening News and the Newark Star Ledger of May 28:

[From the Newark Evening News, May 28, 1959]

#### MONSIGNOR MCNULTY

Msgr. John L. McNulty was president of one of the East's larger universities, yet no one in need of help ever knocked at his door in vain. He gave unsparingly of himself to distressed neighbor and to charitable, civic and cultural causes alike.

Under his 10-year administration Seton Hall grew rich in prestige, in usefulness, in size and scope. He leaves many monuments to a dedicated life—the university's medical and dental college, its law school and the 8 million in new buildings that grace the campus in South Orange.

Yet as enduring as any of these is the heritage of good works, not of brick and stone, but of the spirit, that Monsignor McNulty left to countless friends and his community.

He was an implacable foe of intolerance, which he fought not with words, but with deeds. A man of humility, he was warm, sympathetic and sincere. And above all, Monsignor McNulty was a man of profound devotion, imbued with limitless faith in God, his church and his fellow man.

[From the Newark Star-Ledger, May 28, 1959]

## A DEEPLY FELT LOSS

New Jersey will deeply feel the loss of Msgr. John L. McNulty, president of Seton Hall and one of the most respected and loved leaders in religion and education in the State.

Above all, Monsignor McNulty was a great humanitarian. His door was always open to all—no matter how high or how low their station in life.

He was very effective in community relations. His tenacity and drive knew no bounds in fighting for causes which he knew to be just and deserving. Above all, he labored untiringly so that students of all races and creeds would have a more equal opportunity for a higher education. That is why he was so interested in expanding the State's scholarship program. He worked unceasingly for this program—a program which finally was approved less than 2 days before his untimely death.

As head of Seton Hall, he carried the university through one of its periods of greatest expansion. Once a small suburban college, Seton Hall today is one of the great universities of the country. To Monsignor McNulty goes much of the credit for its outstanding record.

Although burdened with heavy responsibilities, he still found time for innumerable charities, philanthropy and good works of many kinds.

He leaves behind a world that is richer because of the 60 short years he spent with us. the Mails

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. RICHARD H. POFF

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced in the House of Representatives a bill designed to give the Post Office Department a new weapon in its war against the flow of obscene and fraudulent material in the U.S. mails.

The bill complements H.R. 1877, which I introduced on January 9, 1959, and which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 1877 deals with the criminal provisions of the United States Code-specifically, with section 1461 of title 18.

The bill I have introduced today deals with the administrative aspects of the problem. Specifically, it provides:

That there shall be in the Post Office Department a Judicial Officer, who shall be appointed by the Postmaster General, who shall perform such quasi-judicial duties as the Postmaster General may designate. This officer shall be the agency for the purposes of the requirements of the Administrative Procedure Act (5 U.S.C. sec. 1001 et seq.).

Mr. Speaker, Congress must at this session legislate to reduce the flow of obscenity in the mails. I have studied the problem in detail. I have conferred with members of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, with the Postmaster General, the Honorable Arthur E. Summerfield, with the General Counsel of the Post Office Department, the Honorable Herbert B. Warburton, and

with lawyers on Mr. Warburton's staff. On May 18, 1959, I appeared before the Subcommittee on Postal Operations of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, which was holding hearings on the general subject of obscene literature in the mails. At that time I expressed some of my thoughts concerning the need for amending the Criminal Code as proposed in my bill, H.R. 1877, and I also discussed the possibility of a uniform antiobscenity statute to be adopted by individual States and localities along the lines of the Uniform Negotiable Instruments Act, the Uniform Reciprocal Enforcement of Support Act, and others.

The bill I have this day introduced attacks the problem from another approach. At first brush, it might appear the bill had nothing to do with the fight against obscenity. The fact of the mat-ter is that the bill is designed to aid the Post Office Department in a very practical way, and perhaps only those who are familiar with some of the administrative law problems confronting the Post Office Department will appreciate the full significance of the bill.

What does my bill do?

It establishes in the Post Office Department as a matter of statute a position which already exists as a matter of

A New Weapon To Combat Obscenity in administrative decree, viz, judicial officer for the Post Office Department. The judicial officer renders the final agency decision on all obscenity and fraud matters for the Post Office Department. He is the alter ego of the Postmaster General in that respect. He is, by necessity, experienced in the legal and practical problems of curbing obscenity and fraud in the mails. He is an independent officer of the Post Office Department in the sense that he is not responsible to the General Counsel, to the inspectors, or to any person in the Post Office Department except the Postmaster General himself. Normally he renders his decisions as to whether a mailing is obscene or fraudulent on appeal by either the complainant-who is the General Counsel of the Post Office Department-or the

However, the Post Office Department has only two hearing examiners, and it is not likely that in the foreseeable future it will have any more hearing examiners. Therefore, as a matter of economy and practicality, inasmuch as these hearings are held all over the country, it is sometimes advisable to have the judicial officer preside at the reception of evidencethat is to say, at the trial-and render one decision which is both the trial decision and the administrative appellate decision.

More important, however, is the fact that sometimes it is impossible for the General Counsel of the Post Office Department to seek successfully an interim impounding order; or, as often happens, after the General Counsel once obtains the order, a purveyor of obscenity goes to court and gets the order dissolved or restrained. In such cases, it is some-times advantageous for the General Counsel to be able to move the judicial officer to hear the case and render the final agency decision all in one proceeding, thereby avoding a long delay, during which the purveyor of obscenity is successfully distributing his pornographic poison to the homes of America. This procedure for bypassing the hearing examiners has in the past been utilized selectively by the Post Office Department. However, I believe it is a weapon that the Post Office Department should have and employ as a matter of statute. After all, if a purveyor can make all his profits during the pendency of the administrative proceeding, what good is the administrative proceeding?

The rules of procedure for administrative hearings in the Post Office Department already provide that the judicial officer has this authority. However, a Federal district court in New York City, in the case of Borg-Johnson against Christenberry, held that the judicial officer, not being statutory and not being a regular hearing examiner within the purview of section 11 of the Administrative Procedure Act, could not be permitted to preside at the reception of evidence.

Thus, my bill is simply designed to overcome the effect of the Borg-Johnson decision, and to reestablish the authority of the judicial officer as the Postmaster General had established it by the regula-

tions published in the Federal Register prior to this court decision in New York City.

The need for these procedures was mentioned by the General Counsel of the Post Office Department in his April 23, 1959, statement. Accordingly, I feel confident that my bill will receive the complete endorsement of the Post Office Department.

## A Real Service Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, my recent experience with a real service project has impressed me to the extent that I feel compelled to speak about it. Distressed because of having lost my set of keys for my automobile, house, office, safety deposit box, and so forth, I was about to undergo the rather bothersome task of getting them all replaced, if possible. Then I received a package from the Identotag Department of the Disabled American Veterans, 5555 Ridge Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio, containing my set of lost keys. A brief letter indicated that someone, having found them, had dropped them into a mail box, whereupon, because of my miniature auto license tag being attached, the Post Office Department delivered them to the DAV. Its Identotag Department thereby ascertained my name and address; hence their speedy trip back to me.

I have been receiving such an Identotag each year for many years, and had faithfully responded with my successive dollar donations. It had not occurred to me that such Identotags were any more than a clever attention-getter to arouse the generosity of the recipient to help the DAV to maintain its nationwide personalized rehabilitation services for discouraged disabled veterans, their dependents and their survivors. This much needed DAV rehabilitation service, extended each year to scores of thousands, is of great humanitarian value to those directly affected, which also converts them into assets for their respective communities.

This personal experience aroused my curiosity to try to find out some pertinent facts about this DAV Identotag project. As the result of my inquiries I have come to the personal conclusion that it is a real service project, in three important ways to, first, automobile owners, second, those employed thereby, and third, those distressed disabled defenders of our country whom the DAV is thereby enabled to help with their multifarious

As to automobile owners, since 1942, some 1,400,000 sets of lost keys have been returned to them, because of attached Idento-Tags, at an extra cost to the DAV. on the average, of more than \$1 for each set returned. Incidentally, without any effort whatsover by the DAV first to find out whether the owners had previously sent in donations for their Idento-Tags. it was very surprising-and almost disillusioning as to the gratitude of some people-to learn that only about 21 percent of those persons to whom sets of lost keys have been returned have responded with any donations to at least reimburse the DAV for its extra expenses thereby incurred, Moreover, only about an additional 8 percent sent back "thank you" letters, with no accompanying donations. More than 70 percent failed to even express any appreciation. Every such return of a set of lost keys, it would seem, ought to result in a real generous donation, for the services received from this service-giving organization, the DAV.

It was even more surprising to learn that only about 15 percent of those who received Idento-Tags respond with donations. Fortunately, those who do so respond, with donations in many various amounts, have done so with such average liberalness as to have enabled the DAV to pay for: First, the costs of the carefully compiled lists of auto owners, their addresses and their auto license numbers, the Idento-Tags material, and incidental equipment; second, the salaries of its Idento-Tags employees, and third, the expenditures involved in maintaining some 140 full-time accredited trained national service officers, and their secretaries, in all of the 63 regional offices, and three district offices, and the central office of the U.S. Veterans' Administration where they have ready access to the official claim folders of all VA claimants.

Another eye-opening bit of information has been received as to "those employed thereby." The DAV policy is to extend preference of employment opportunity to its own members-all of whom, of course, are handicapped war veterans—its DAV Auxiliary members, the dependents and survivors of disabled veterans, and to other handicapped Americans. Among the 442 persons employed at the DAV national headquarters, according to a very recent compi-lation, 329, or 74.4 percent, are either DAV or DAV Auxiliary members. Moreover, most of the 113 with no veteran status are severely handicapped em-

This exemplary record of useful employment of handicapped Americans ought to be regarded as a vocational rehabilitation project in itself. Their salaries, in fairness, ought not to be charged up as a part of its fund raising expense. although that's the classification of any auditor. If such salaries were not charged up as an expense of the project, then the fund raising percentage cost would naturally be at a much lower fig-

Even more important, if a higher percentage of the Identotag recipients, and of owners of returned lost keys, would respond with substantial donations. then the percentage figure as to its fund raising costs would go drastically down, and the percentage of its net income would be proportionately higher. Such

sorely needed additional net income would maintain its national service officer setup on a more adequate basis and possibly enable it to put into effect its long cherished objective—to maintain one or more full-time national service representatives in each of the 173 hospitals operated by the U.S. Veterans' Administration, where they could accomplish so much for so many disheartened disabled veterans.

Detailed monthly service reports, required to be sent in to the DAV national director of claims, located at 1701 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C., by all of the DAV's some 140 national service officers, reveal that, during a recent 10year period, they had reviewed 3,453,604 claim folders, made 1,382,863 appearances before VA claims and rating boards, obtained 537,367 favorable awards, including 99,054 disability service connections, and so forth, thus each year bringing additional thousands of dollars of governmental benefits into every community throughout the Nation.

If each auto owner were to go to the nearest VA regional office, and there contact one of the DAV's expert special advocates, who advise and assist less well informed handicapped war veterans, then I feel sure that thereafter every such Identotag recipient would respond generously, when he receives an Identotag or the return of his lost keysknowing that his generosity will thereby help the DAV to obtain justifiable disability compensation, medical treatment, physical and vocational rehabilitation for distressed disabled war veteranswho deserve the opportunity to surmount their service-incurred handicaps, in order to be enabled to live in our American

Service to, for and by America's disabled defenders is the one-purpose program of the DAV-as its best contribution to them, to all of their communities and to America. The DAV's unique Identotag project combining a real service for automobile owners, handicapped DAV employees and to all DAV serviced claimants-deserves the enthusiastic and generous support of all Americans.

Anniversary of the Italian Republic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO

/ OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, June 2 marks another anniversary in the brief but determined recovery of Italy since World War II. It was on this date in 1946 that the Italian people voted in favor of a republic and King Humbert II went into exile.

The conditions in which the Italian Republic took root were not auspicious. There was dissension among the peoples of Italy as a result of the war. Some hoped ardently for a full restoration of

the monarchy. Others wanted a more progressive democratic constitution than they seemed to have been promised. And the Communists, cynically hoping to deliver Italy into the hands of a foreign power, were hard at work trying to frustrate the workings of any government.

Italy had many natural difficulties to overcome. The residue of the war, the damaged countryside, was a major problem. The restoration of rail lines, public works. agricultural production, all loomed large. In addition, there were the natural problems of Italy with the great need to overcome economic depression and poverty.

The Italian Republic, in this less than encouraging position, faced up to the challenge. It set to work to secure political stability, and has done so. It set to work to rebuild its military strength on a sound base, and is today a valued ally in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Recently it was announced that Italy is preparing to establish Jupiter missiles as part of the NATO defenses. Thus, Italy is one of the two countries establishing missile bases on the forward lines of the western defenses.

Italy has also set to work to rebuild enterprise and a sound economy and has put people back to work.

The results have been amazing. In recent years, there has been a sharp rise in industrial activity averaging an annual 8.2 increase from 1954 to 1957. In 1958, although industrial production slowed, a rise in agricultural production stimulated the increase in gross national product to 3.5 percent, keeping it on the upward curve.

With all this, Italy has also taken a position of leadership among the European states. She has been active in the cause of European integration and has announced her willingness to study direct elections to a European Parliamentary Assembly. She upholds the peaceful resolution of international disputes in the United Nations.

She has been a friendly host to millions of Americans who have gone to visit her as tourists and it has become one of this Nation's favorite excursion and holiday points. Of some 15 million people who visited Italy last year, almost a million were Americans.

Italy has gone on working to improve her domestic economy and society. She has done much to house her people, combat unemployment, and promote the economic welfare of the south as well as fight other problems.

In education, a 10-year plan has been created to make schooling compulsory for all children through the age of 14. In the past, facilities have unfortunately not been available to do this. Now a special appropriation of \$2 billion has been earmarked over and above ordinary appropriations. It should provide 150,000 new classrooms, and 70,000 more teachers.

So, in this anniversary of the founding of the Italian Republic, it is fitting to stop and salute what has been ac-complished. We should renew our welcome to Italy as a great ally and a progressive nation and wish her well as she continues working to improve herself and the lot of her people.

Monsignor McNulty: A Great and Dedicated Priest, an Eminent Educator, and a Great Leader

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, the many moving tributes which appeared in the press of New Jersey in expressing a deep sense of loss over the passing of Msgr. John L. McNulty, president of Seton Hall University, eloquently echo the sentiments of all who knew him.

Regardless of race, color, or creed. men and women learned to admire and revere this man of cloth for his great warmth and his deep sense of humility.

Monsignor McNulty was endowed with a richness of understanding and a penetrating wisdom that come from his never-ending toil in behalf of his fellow man and an inner feel and instinct for nurturing the bords of friendship and brotherhood among men. This humble and gentle priest was truly gifted with a greatness that was both inspired and inspiring. Men of all faiths respected and admired this dedicated servant of God. Civic and community leaders, leaders in the field of education and culture, government officials-all recognized his great contribution to our way of life-and to the preservation of our great institutions both spiritually and materially. And all of us shall ever be grateful

Monsignor McNulty has moved from this passing scene to a greater one—but the monuments, not alone of stone and mortar, but of the spirit, which he has left behind will remain as an everlasting tribute to a great, good, and gentle soul.

Under leave to extend my remarks, Mr. Speaker, I include herein the editorial tributes which appeared in the Newark Evening News and the Newark Star Ledger of May 28, 1959.

[From the Newark Star-Ledger, May 28, 1959]

#### A DEEPLY FELT LOSS

New Jersey will deeply feel the loss of Msgr. John L. McNulty, president of Seton Hall, and one of the most respected and loved leaders in religion and education in the State.

Above all, Monsignor McNulty was a great humanitarian. His door was always open to all—no matter how high or how low their station in life.

He was very effective in community relations. His tenacity and drive knew no bounds in fighting for causes which he knew to be just and deserving. Above all, he labored untiringly so that students of all races and creeds would have a more equal opportunity for a higher education. That is why he was so interested in expanding the State's scholarship program. He worked

unceasingly for this program—a program which finally was approved less than 2 days before his untimely death.

As head of Seton Hall, he carried the university through one of its periods of greatest expansion. Once a small suburban college, Seton Hall today is one of the great universities of the country. To Monsignor McNulty goes much of the credit for its outstanding record.

Although burdened with heavy responsibilities, he still found time for innumerable charities, philanthropy, and good works of

many kinds.

He leaves behind a world that is richer because of the 60 short years he spent with us.

[From the Newark Evening News of May 28, 1959]

#### MONSIGNOR MCNULTY

Msgr. John L. McNulty was president of one of the East's larger universities, yet no one in need of help ever knocked at his door in vain. He gave unsparingly of himself to distressed neighbor and to charitable, civic, and cultural causes aliké.

Under his 10-year administration Seton Hall grew rich in prestige, in usefulness, in size, and scope. He leaves many monuments to a dedicated life—the university's medical and dental college, its law school, and the \$8 million in new buildings that grace the campus in South Orange.

Yet as enduring as any of these is the heritage of good works, not of brick and stone, but of the spirit, that Monsignor Mc-Nulty left to countless friends and his community.

He was an implacable foe of intolerance, which he fought not with words, but with deeds. A man of humility, he was warm, sympathetic and sincere. And above all, Monsignor McNulty was a man of profound devotion, imbued with limitless faith in God, his church, and his fellow man.

# Strauss Controversy Said To Make Europe Wonder

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON, STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, not only Europe, but I and millions of other American citizens wonder, too, what is going on in the Senate. In this regard, I commend Mr. David Lawrence's article which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune today:

STEAUSS CONTROVERSY SAID TO MAKE EUROPE WONDER

#### (By David Lawrence)

London, June 1.—The spectacle which the U.S. Senate is making of itself nowadays is causing a good deal of comment in Europe. It is incredible to most Europeans that a President is evidently not allowed to select his own Cabinet officers without getting the consent of the opposition political party.

consent of the opposition political party.

Newspaper accounts telling how the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has undertaken to pass on the qualifications of ambassadors tend to reenforce also the criticisms which have long been made of the American form of government as lacking a sense of responsibility because it permits divided authority.

It was more than 100 years ago that Lord Macauley wrote his famous treatise on the American constitutional system and said it was "all sail and no anchor." Even allowing for the differences between European and American concepts, the fact remains that the prestige of the United States suffers when such picayunish matters as the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has been dealing with lately in passing on ambaseadorial appointments are reported in the press of Europe.

#### STRAUSS ROW STIRS COMMENT

There is more than a passing interest, moreover, in the case of Lewis Strauss, whose appointment as Secretary of Commerce has stirred up such a controversy in the U.S. Senate. Over here, where they heard tales of witch hunting and persecution under the era of so-called McCarthyism, newspapermen on European papers are asking what is back of the apparent vendetta launched against Mr. Strauss. In Europe they know him as the man who helped to prevent Communists from getting atomic secrets and as an official who has had the most cordial relations with Western governments on atomic matters. It is asked whether the pendulum has swing the other way and if the anti-Communists now are the ones being persecuted.

When some of the newsmen who inquire about the issues involved in the Strauss case are told that much of the opposition comes from Senators who favor Government ownership of electric-power projects, and that the present Secretary of Commerce has been opposed to their views, the question then raised is whether the Democratic Party is America's Socialist Party, and whether this is going to be the issue in the 1960 campaign.

#### OPPENHEIMER CASE REVIVED

There is a revival naturally of the discussion about the celebrated case of J. Robert Oppenheimer, noted scientist, who was denied security clearance while Mr. Strauss was Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission. But it was an impartial board which revealed that Dr. Oppenheimer had contacts with Communists while he was at the head of a secret laboratory project of the U.S. Government and that, when intelligence officers questioned him about these contacts, he misled them for a long while and then, 3 years afterwards, confessed that he had lied to the American intelligence officers. in the final analysis, matters involving Dr. Oppenheimer's judgment and discretion which led to his being barred, rather than any question about his loyalty. But to the European it looks like Mr. Strauss is about to be punished by the adverse votes of many Democratic Senators for the performance of his duty as a public official.

The case has come to be talked about abroad as one that is not likely to end if the Strauss nomination is rejected. For, despite the statements of various Senators who say they are giving objective consideration to it, the fact remains that rarely ever is a Cabinet officer rejected by the Senate and almost never has there been an instance where he was rejected ostensibly for his views on public policy.

## RESPONSIBILITY FOR CONDUCT

The controversy establishes an interesting precedent in that it helps to support the case for some form of parliamentary government which would provide America with a way to fix directly on one or the other of the major political parties the responsibility for the conduct of both the executive and legislative branches of the Government at the same time.

The handling of the Strauss appointment is equivalent to an "impeachment" of the Secretary of Commerce, who took the oath of office 7 months ago and has been perform-

ing the duties of his office satisfactorily ever since. But the adverse vote of Senators now means that these Senators would remove him from office not for what he has done at his post but for views he held prior to entering the Cabinet.

#### SAYS APPROACH IS UNFAIR

This is an obviously unfair approach. Conceivably it could, in time of war, take away from the commander-in-chief the power to promote a worthy military officer to a higher command post. It certainly is a means of frustrating executive operations by interfering with the right of a President to select his own advisers and aids.

It's small wonder that so many Europeans who study the abuses permitted under our constitutional system think that America

hasn't quite matured.

## The Church Speaks Out in Nicaragua

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following articles emanating from Nicaragua, which appeared in recent issues of Diario Las Americas, a Spanish language daily published in Miami, the first from the issue of May 27, the second from the issue of May 29:

BISHOP ASKS THE LORD TO SOLVE THE SAD SITUATION OF NICARAGUA

Matagalpa, Nicaragua, May 26.—"It is indeed sad to see how some rulers get carried away by egotism, how, in order to attend to their personal interests, they ignore the people, the people who are hungry, the people whose worldly goods are taken away from them, the people who clamor to be heard: 'No more corruption,' "said the Iliustrious and Very Reverend Monsignor Dr. Octavio Jose Calderon y Padilla, Bishop of Matagalpa and a figure of great moral and intellectual standing among Nicaraguan citizenry, speaking in the Matagalpa Cathedral.

The Prelate Calderon y Padilla had convoked his parishioners to a special mass at 4:30 in the afternoon in the cathedral, for the purpose of "asking wholeheartedly, with the weapons of prayer, of our Lord Jesus, that there be peace in Nicaragua, as the fruit of a peaceful and decorous arrangement, a peace which is the fruit of justice and order."

"We are gathered here," Monsignor Calderon and Padilla said, "as good Nicaraguans who love our Fatherland, to ask from the Highest that peace reign over the land, and you, as good Christians, must endeavor for the welfare of Nicaragua, because he who is indifferent to her fate is not a good Christian; he who selfishly clings to his own interests and does not seek the Fatherland's welfare, is not a good Christian."

"The purpose of this mass which you have just heard is to ask our Lord Jesus that the minds of those at the top and those at the bottom be enlightened, so that the sad situation through which Nicaragua traverses may be solved without need for the prime of youth to give of their blood; so that we may live in peace, but not in the peace of a sepulchre, but in peace based upon justice and law; so that we may all live free from fear and with our livelihoods assured. We

want peace in the form of justice, not an imposed peace. But to crystallize this ideal, it is necessary that you ask the Lord that everything be solved without bloodshed. With the weapons of prayer we will arrive at a day when we Nicaraguans will live in peace and with order."

"When I see a serviceman with his golden insignias, I think to myself: That man is responsible for the national order, quiet, for peace. He belongs to an institution useful to the citizenry. But when that serviceman serves only certain interests, when he exists at the expense of vices, he is a traitor to his mission, he dishonors the military uniform. It is not redundant to emphasize that there are many good servicemen, who are assured of the gratitude of honest Nicaraguan citizens."

"In the case of the State, subordinates, that is to say, the people in general must be served, and those who are in power are the servants. It is indeed sad to see how some rulers are carried away by egotism, how, in order to attend to their personal interests, they ignore the people, the people who are hungry, the people whose worldly goods are taken away from them, the people who clamor to be heard: 'No more corruption.' My beloved brothers, all these eylls must end, they must be resolved, but not with bloodshed. Pacific means have not yet been exhausted. As I have said, we have the best weapons, the weapons of prayer and we will not cease to knock at Heaven's door until our desires have come true. Let us pray, then, that God our Lord, may enlighten the minds of those above and those below so that all aberrations be deposed; so that the sad situation of Nicaragua may be solved through peace based upon justice."

# FATHER ALMENDARES DEFENDS CIVIC ATTITUDE OF NICARAGUAN CLERGY

Managua, May 28.—From the pulpit of his church in Diriamba Parjah, Father Luis Antonio Almendares C. gave his support to the attitude assumed by the Iliustrious Bishop of Matagalpa, Monsignor Dr. Octavio Jose Calderon y Padilla who recently, at a special mass to which he had convoked his parishioners with patriotic intentions, asked them to pray to God "to solve the sad situation of Nicaragua."

Referring to certain accusations made by a labor leader against the President of the Republic, Colonel and Engineer Luis Somoza Debayle, to the effect that his government was a three-legged stool, two legs being the army and the clergy, Father Almendares said:

"The three legs on which the present government of Nicaragua rests are not exactly as described by labor leader Roberto Gonzalez. A correction should be made because the clergy in general, the clergyman in a black cassock, has nothing to do with that; and if there is amongst us a vilified priest, one swallow does not make a summer."

Referring to the fact that in certain government sectors supporting the regime of the brothers Luis and Anastasio Somoza, insinuations have been made that the attitude of the opposition would result in violence and that both government supporters and the opposition might end up 'against the wall,' Father Luis Almendares said: "The story that I might end up against the wall is a tale of the road. If there is a Luis who is in danger, it is not I," and he added that he was "without care, walk alone, without bodyguards, anywhere, with only the protection of God."

Father Almendares stated that he gave his "humble moral support" to the sermon of Monsignor Calderon y Padilla in the mass he celebrated a few days ago in the Cathedral of Matagalpa. The attitude of Bishop Calderon and Father Almendares has been the subject of great civic discussion throughout the country.

## The Intellectual Frontier

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. ROBERT W. LEVERING

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. LEVERING. Mr. Speaker, in the words of Tom Paine, "These are times that try men's souls" and if we are to survive as a free people, we must with ever increasing vigor, pursue the de-velopment of our intellectual resources. The prominent position of Soviet Russia in the world today reflects significantly her recognition of a modern educational system. In the U.S.S.R. the teacher is regarded on a high level socially and economically, on a par with other professional people. The system has paid and continues to pay dividends. Under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix in the RECORD, I should like to include a cogent editorial from the May 31, 1959, edition of the Columbus Citizen which points up the vital necessity of this country's providing the means of developing every good mind in this land as the sine qua non to ultimate survival against the threat of the times. The editorial follows:

## THE INTELLECTUAL FRONTIER

The ability of the United States to survive in an increasingly complex, competitive, and dangerous world depends on the quality of education made available for young people and for adults.

Few would deny grave shortcomings in our present educational system. And in the long run of history they may be a greater threat to the United States than the missile gap.

gap.
"The race which does no value trained intelligence is doomed"—so wrote the great philosopher-mathematician, Alfred North Whitehead, back in 1916. The President's special panel on scientific and engineering education wisely chose this quotation as the basic thesis of a report on education which warns:

"Today the frontier is intellectual; the scholar, the research worker, the scientists, the engineer, the teacher are the pioneers \* \* \* our intellectual resources will be adequate to meet our needs only if all the brain-power of our population is fully developed and utilized."

The distinguished scientists and educators who wrote the report leave no doubt that in their opinion American brainpower is not being either fully developed or utilized, and that much of the fault lies in an educational system which is inadequate both in scope and quality.

The report is a mine of ideas for men and women interested in bringing about the revolution needed in American education—changes in curricula, attitudes toward teachers and the intellectual, a whole new approach to science and technology, and the need for educating adults long out of school to an understanding of the modern world.

Not the least of the problems in meeting the challenge of modern times in education, according to the President's special panel, is financial—more particularly the need to make the American people generally aware that they must spend a lot more money on education if they want the quality necessary for survival.

"Doubling our current annual investment in education (now about \$15 billion a year) is probably a minimal rather than an extravagant goal," the panel concluded.

The ability of this country to double its expenditures for education is not in doubt. To double the quality of our education is more difficult—although the goals outlined in this report are in the right direction of the so-called "educationists" can be kept at

## Public Works Appropriation Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. MERWIN COAD

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 28, 1959

Mr. COAD. Mr. Speaker, the public works appropriation bill is scheduled for consideration by the House on Friday of this week.

I wish to commend Chairman Cannon and the members of his subcommittee for the very thorough consideration they have given to each of the items in that bill. I wish to urge my colleagues to vote for the bill.

There is one item in the bill which is of the greatest importance to my district and to all of western Iowa.

The item to which I refer is an appropriation to enable the Bureau of Reclamation to commence construction of an electric transmission line from Sioux City, Iowa, to Spencer, Iowa, and from Sioux City to Creston, Iowa.

Many of the REA cooperatives and municipalities have been unable to receive allocations of low cost electric power from the Missouri River Dams because there has been no transmission system available to deliver the power to them. Such a transmission system has been provided in the other Missouri Basin States. In anticipation of the new projects on the Missouri commencing togenerate power, new allocations of that power are shortly to be announced. The line provided for in the public works appropriation bill will enable that power to be delivered to the places where the cooperatives and municipalities need it.

Studies show that Bureau power results in savings to the cooperatives and municipalities to be served by the proposed line of more than two and onequarter millions of dollars per year. It should be emphasized that the construction of this line will not cost taxpayers one penny. The entire cost of the line, together with interest, will be amortized over a period of 50 years by the cooperatives and municipalities through the rates they pay the Bureau of Reclamation for power. After pay-ing all costs, including replacement costs, the Government will make a profit of more than \$12,000 per year.

When the original allocations of power were made several years ago, many of our cooperatives and municipalities were told they could not receive an allocation because no transmission was available. The power companies in the area made no offer to provide such transmission and those cooperatives and municipalities have had to do without the benefits of Missouri River power. Now, with new allocations about to become available, they have come to Congress asking for an appropriation to enable the Bureau to build the necessary transmission system so that they might share in the benefits of that power. What do the power companies do now? They rush in here to oppose the line and in an attempt to block the line offer to wheel the power to the cooperatives and municipalities over the company's lines. This would be fine if their proposal would fill the needs of the preference customers. Unfortunately, it just would not do the job.

The company's lines over which they propose to wheel do not go to the places where the power is needed by the co-They operatives and municipalities. would be forced to expend large sums of money to connect to the company's systems. The proposed Bureau lines would take the power to where it is needed.

The company's wheeling arrangement would cost the cooperatives and municipalities more than \$600,000 per year in excess of their costs if the Bureau line is built. This is a staggering amount to these small consumer owned organizations, and would have a most detrimental effect on the farm economy of Iowa.

There is no assurance excess capacity will be available in the company's lines sufficient to wheel the Bureau power in the future. Also there is no firm commitment to wheel dump and secondary

The following article appearing in the Iowa Farm Bureau Spokesman on Saturday, May 16, 1959, sums up the benefits to be deprived by the construction of these lines:

URGE CONSTRUCTION OF POWERLINES FROM MISSOURI DAMS

The Iowa Farm Bureau Federation has recommended that Federal funds be used to help construct transmission lines to bring electric power into Iowa from Bureau of Reclamation dams on the Missouri River.

Farm Bureau approval of the new project came following a study by the IFBF board of directors which indicated that further delays would be costly to farmers and private funds from farmer-owned rural electric cooperatives and municipal power companies in the western one-third of Iowa were not immediately available.

In making its recommendation, the board of directors pointed out that allocation of power for this area is already available from the Department of the Interior.

The proposed transmission lines would carry power from the Bureau of Reclamation facilities near Sioux City to the Corn Belt Power Cooperative's station near Spencer. One other line would carry power to the Southwestern Federated Power Cooperative's station near Creston.

It is estimated the new transmission lines would serve 60,000 people reached by municipals and 299,000 people reached by rural electric cooperatives.

#### Poison in Your Water-No. \$4

EXTENSION OF REMARKS .

# HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I am inserting

into the Appendix of the Congressional RECORD an article appearing in the New York Times of October 3, 1958, entitled "Water Pollution Called U.S. Peril":

[From the New York Times, Oct. 3, 1958] WATER POLLUTION CALLED U.S. PERIL—FEDERAL AID SEES INCREASE LIKELY IN TALK TO PARLEY ON DELAWARE RIVER BASIN

(By Charles G. Bennett)

ATLANTIC CITY, N.J.—The likely increase in the pollution of the Nation's water over the next 25 to 50 years is a cause for concern, a Federal Public Health official warned here today.

A growing hazard was seen to be a tremendous rise in the discharge into the Nation's streams of persistent, little-under-stood contaminants that defy normal sewage treatment processes.

Sylvan C. Martin, regional director of the Public Health Service, discussed the water-pollution situation at the opening session of a 2-day conference of the Interstate Commission on the Delaware River Basin (Incodel).

The conference is being attended by about 200 persons at the Claridge Hotel. New York City derives part of its water supply from tributaries of the Delaware River.

Incodel officers reported that, largely because of effective pollution-control measures, the quality of water in the Delaware River and its tributaries is better now than at any time in the last 50 years.

Mr. Martin foresaw in the next 25 to 50 years vast increases in water use and the disposal into streams of organic and industrial wastes as the Nation's population and production grow.

He called for closing the gaps of scien-tific knowledge on the behavior of the substances that defy sewage treatment.

## Mr. Dulles Was a Man of Many Facets

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 5, 1959

GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, Mr. under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial which appeared in the May 26 issue of the Newark Evening News. It was written by a very able newspaper correspondent, Art Sylvester:

Mr. Dulles Was a Man of Many Facets-COULD SPEAK AS LAWYER, DIPLOMAT, OR CHURCHMAN; OFTEN AS ALL THREE

(By Arthur Sylvester)

GENEVA .- A man of stature is like a tree, its color changing as you view it in different lights and from different angles. Such a man was John Foster Dulles.

As president of the Federal Churches of Christ of America he could be unforgiving of a weekly magazine reporter who described him with a glass of liquor in his hand at a party in London given by his good friend, the late Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, during the first meeting of the United Nations Security Council in early 1946.

Why? Because, as Mr. Dulles told the of-fender, the president of that organization

does not drink.

But as Secretary of State he could sit down before dinner with a group of Wash-ington newsmen on an "off the record" basis and enjoy with obvious relish a couple of bourbon old-fashioneds. One will always see him stirring the ice with his index finger, engaging in what was for him light conversation.

#### THREE PERSONALITIES

He could be as lucid as spring water on these occasions and he could also be as muddy as a brook after rain. One never knew whether he was concealing his true thoughts or trying them out on his dinner hosts for size.

Were you listening to the successful corporation lawyer, the cagey diplomat, the flexible Presbyterian, or, as seemed more

likely, all three?

As Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles seemed to be able to change policy direction as casually as if he were turning a corner in his car. It was in February that he talked at a press conference of the reunification of Germany, omitting the usual qualifying phrase "by free elections."

The matter-of-fact way he dropped reference to free elections signaled a major shift

in U.S. policy.

It was the same in 1955 when Mr. Dulles signaled another major shift in American policy. He and President Elsenhower had insisted for months that before meeting the Russians at the summit a foreign ministers' meeting should prepare the way. But Sir Anthony Eden, then Prime Minister, faced an election in May and believed he needed announcement of a summit meeting to insure victory for the Conservative Party.

Sir Anthony got it when Mr. Dulles casually told a group of American correspondents, covering the admission of West Germany into NATO in Paris that April, there was no reason a summit session couldn't precede a ministers' meeting. What did this mean?

ministers' meeting. What did this mean?
"How dumb can you be?" was the scornful reply of an Assistant Secretary. "Eden thinks he needs a summit meeting to win the election and we are glving it to him because we would rather see the Conservatives in power than the Labor Party."

Assistant Secretaries of State and lesser functionaries often indulged themselves in the luxury of hurt feelings because Mr. Dulles passed them in the corridor without recognition. He wasn't snubbing them, he was simply lost in his own thoughts. Despite an abruptness he was a considerate man when a situation was brought home to him.

#### CANCELED PLANE TRIP

There was the occasion in 1946 when this correspondent, with the late Bert Andrews of the New York Herald Tribune, who like Carl W. McCardle, formerly of the Philadelphia Bulletin and subsequently an Assistant Secretary of State, was a close friend of Mr. Dulles, flew with him from London to Berlin. Mr. Dulles was then an assistant to former Secretary of State Byrnes and was undertaking a mission to the American military commander.

Flying conditions were bad and on the return 2 days later the plane was forced to land in Paris. The pilot, a major who had survived combat, confided to this correspondent that he wouldn't think of taking the plane back to London under prevailing weather conditions were not VIP's involved.

When this was relayed to Mr. Dulles he immediately canceled the flight and the party proceeded by train and channel boat to Britain.

Mr. Dulles, however, had come away without his passport or identification papers and it fell to this reporter to wangle the U.S. delegate back into England. All went well with a young British customs official until an older superior sensed something was a bit irregular.

## LECTURED MR. DULLES

All in the party, except the Secretary of State-to-be, had gotten safely through the redtape. At that point the old civil servant intervened and read Mr. Dulles a lecture on playing "ducks and drakes" with British regulations. The man whom many thought, not

without reason, overbearing and rigid listened contritely and promised never to do it again.

This complex figure could be both crafty in negotiation and prickly in personal relationships, as straightforward as a Sunday school scholar and as considerate as the best friend. He could be as vain as any successful lawyer and at the same time seek the opinion of men he trusted. At close range he was a complex, difficult, talented, and challenging man.

## The 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 28, 1959

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, the White House Conference on Youth and Children next year promises to provide answers to many of the problems which parents face in raising and educating their children. All of us are looking forward to the results of this very important conference.

Recently the Detroit Free Press published a series of articles on the coming conference and the pressures which modern civilization is placing upon our youth. Two of these excellent articles follow:

#### (By Warren H. Stromberg)

Included in the forthcoming 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth will be a study of the relationship of parents to children.

It is in this area that the trends of the

times show most clearly.

In grandpa's day, when there wasn't room at the big table, a secondary table was set for the children.

Then there came the period when children were the center of all family life.

Now the pendulum has swung toward the middle.

This has brought hope to those who teach family life and serve as counselors for family problems.

They say that a happy medium between the two extremes means growth toward welladjusted family life.

Owen Morgan, who teaches other teachers as head of parent education at Merrill Palmer School. expresses this thought in more technical language.

"Let's call the old system adult-centered and the second system child-centered," he explains. "What we should aim to have is a people-centered family.

"Children should see themselves as having a real place but not to the exclusion of other people's interests. They are participating members rather than the whole kingpin.

"It's important for the husband and wife to find happiness in their life together. The parents have needs just as much as the kids."

He cites the case of the child-centered mother—a role that had its heyday prior to World War II—who "put all her emotional eggs in one basket."

"She was such a devoted mother that when the last of her children moved away she suffered a nervous breakdown," he said. "Her marriage relationship had been completely neglected."

Morgan winces when he thinks of some family homes,

"The members of the family are like segments—and we all tend to do it," he maintains. "Father goes one way, mother another, and the youngsters in still others.

"Daughter wants to ask her mother a question but mother has to go to a club meeting and has time only to say there's

a casserole in the oven.

"Father comes home and he can't hear either. He's wondering how he can get all his papers together to make out his income tax. Sometime during the evening he'll ask his daughter if she wanted more allowance.

"Then the parents are surprised when they find out their child is getting advice from others."

Morgan sees the house as a testing ground as to whether adults and children can achieve a happy medium.

"Adults are naturally orderly. Some people won't let the children in the living room because they're afraid it will be untidy when guests come.

"Kids normally like to mess the place up. If the children find no real place they are

not psychologically at home."

One woman who came to see Morgan felt her wire-husband relationship was slipping. "We even struggle over television," her case study relates.

Dick flatly refuses to let the children watch certain programs, with the result that they are left out of some neighborhood games because they don't know what the other children are talking about.

"You've got to let a child be a product

of his own times.

"Maybe books were important when Dick was small and there wasn't much else except movies, but I don't think books matter so much any more.

"The important thing is to belong to your own group and my kids are going to have that if I have anything to do with it."

Another paragraph gives the answer to some of their problem:

"Dick and I were brought up in good sized cities—his home was Cleveland and mine was Los Angeles—and we loathe suburbs.

"But here we are in a cheap little house surrounded by dozens of other cheap little houses and we're here for one reason—the children."

Early marriage, babysitters, and working mothers are other factors which seem to fit in with the times, according to Morgan.

This is one of six subject areas—current social trends affecting children and youth—selected by a group of educators upon which to build Michigan's report at next year's conference.

Will future trends cause even more misunderstanding? Can a well-adjusted home equip children to take these future trends in stride no matter what they may be?

These are key questions which concern all parents. Part of the answers will be found in future attitudes, in future legislation, in educational molds, in the values to be accepted by and the goals of the rising generation.

#### (By Warren H. Stromberg)

One boy yawned. A little girl fidgeted with her pen. It was almost lunchtime.

But Mrs. Tommie Maddox, the teacher,

But Mrs. Tommie Maddox, the teacher, continued with the math lesson, never losing her poise.

The 35 little heads in seventh grade, Durfee Intermediate School, were turned toward the blackboard. Mrs. Maddox showed how to multiply fractions.

The last few minutes were allocated to seat work. There was now hand raising for assistance.

But both Mrs. Maddox and Miss Edith Edwards, the assistant principal, who was observing, found it difficult to move in narrow aisles between the desks.

Was the classroom-in a building constructed 31 years ago-meant for 35 pupils? Could Mrs. Maddox adequately teach that many at one time?

Overtaxed facilities could be classified as physical handicaps. With the high birth rate since World War II it is a national

It will be high on the list to be considered in the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth.

In planning for Michigan's report to the conference many other areas are being examined. Some are not so obvious but equally important.

Miss Edwards, for instance, raises this issue:

"If automation is wiping out so many jobs today, what type of jobs will there be 10 years from now? How should we better prepare the large masses of students—those least likely to be top scholars and scientists?

"They will make good citizens too. But they can't do it alone. We in the schools are concerned about preparing them for the fu-ture. But what future will that be?"

At Durfee, both boys and girls are taught, in addition to academic subjects, household mechanics and foods.

"You might say we don't know whether the man will be called on to cook the supper or fix the plumbing," Miss Edwards said

Health checks, the handling of emotional disturbances at an earlier level and remedial reading are also urgent needs, according to Miss Edwards.

Not only a citywide reading clinic but training in this field for teachers in the secondary schools is necessary to plug an existing gap, Miss Edwards insisted.

In more spacious quarters with excellent lighting, 31 pupils at the Walt Whitman Junior High in Livonia were learning the components and functions of the human eye.

Science and Math Teacher Joseph Mueller-the trend is for more men teachers everywhere-found more than just the three pupils who had seen the eye surgery program on television the night before had questions.

He was taking advantage of spontaneous interest.

An exhibit in the back of the room pertained to the history of fire.

"We're also checking into the Livonia Fire Station, fire hazards and what equipment we have in our own school to put out fires,' Mueller stated.

Pupil-to-teacher ratio at Whitman averages five or six less per class than at Durfee.

"Without good physical environment, problems are added to other problems," 35-yearold William R. McMurtrey, the school's principal, said.

Livonai has also swung back to the selfcontained room principle and away from the platoon system in the teaching of younger children.

At Durfee in the seventh grade there are seven room changes. At Whitman each pupil is in two adjoining rooms 90 percent of the time.

A much higher percentage of the Whit-man pupils go on to high-school graduation and college than at Durfee.

Each school is somewhat typical of the setting in which it is located. Durfee, at 2470 Collingwood, is in the center of Detroit. Livonia, growing rapidly, is representative of suburban areas near Detroit.

But the wonders of suburbia also come to an end.

Fifty percent of the pupils at Whitman are bused in. Most of these pupils lost 2 days of school this winter because of icy pavements.

What is this new bus culture? Is it as much of a waste as father's long automobile trek to work each day?

Bus pupils make it hard to plan after-

school events. McMurtrey conceded that the number of activities between school and home hours was limited. He said more community services are on the way.

Work opportunities for young people in suburban communities also are limited. Then there's the question of values. Upward mobility? Does this mean pressure to keep up with the Joneses?

McMurtrey, too, is troubled over adult oc cupation trends. He foresees a shorter work week. This means more leisure. Pupils early in life have to be taught how to make

leisure hours worthwhile.

The congested city schools have multiple problems. Integration is one. But the spacious suburban schools also face the challenge of new issues equally as difficult.

Some trends such as audiovision techniques are spreading everywhere. tion by television is another. Teacher vistas are expanding-seem to reflect more vision and adaptability.

Parent groups and parent-teacher rela-tionships are encouraged. There's a closer school relationship to the community.

Administration is more deeply concerned with what can be done to meet the changing

There is a growing alertness with respect to education and in other institutions dealing with children.

This gradually will be reduced to concrete ideas in the Michigan report now being readied for the White House Conference. Information already is coming from some

There are 3 million children and youth in Michigan under 20 years of age—an increase of almost 50 percent in the last 10 years.

The birthrate continues high.

These also are physical facts that make Michigan's role in the conference significant.

# Thirteenth Anniversary of the Italian Republic

SPEECH

# HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, today is the 13th anniversary of the founding of the Italian Republic. It was on June 2, 1946, that Italy began her new life as a modern democratic republic. Anniversaries are days to remember the accomplishments of the past that give us inspiration for the future. The Italian people indeed can be proud of what they have done in these 13 years. There is no need to retell once more the impact of World War II upon the Italian nation. Suffice to say that widespread economic reconstruction was necessary and the foundations of a new political system had to be laid over the ruins of fascism. But beyond this were the personal wounds of more than 20 years of totalitarian dictatorship. These had to be healed with the balm of hope that Italian freedom would not once again be snuffed out.

In 1959, it is clear that Italian democracy is working. The center coalition has a broad basis of popular support and the Italian people have rejected the minor neo-Fascist groups. Although the Communists remain a deterrent to more effective national government, they

stand little chance of coming to power because even though they receive some 22 percent of the popular vote, the other parties have isolated them and rejected all Communist offers to form a coalition.

The Italian Republic has made a frontal attack upon the economic problems facing the country. The 10-year Vanoni plan for national economic growth aims at a 5 percent annual increase in the gross national product by 1964. In order to do this capital investment has been stepped up, the perennial unemployment problem tackled, and foreign trade expanded. Special attention has been given to development of the economically less-well-off parts of the country and in particular, to southern Italy. Progress has been made though much remains to be accomplished. In 1958, Italy had a 4.1 percent real increase in its gross national product and for the second time since the early 1900's Italy was a net exporter of goods and services, by some \$200 million. Investment is now increasing after a setback caused by last year's recession and the first victories have been recorded in the battle against unemployment.

The Italian Republic has also inaugurated a new life for the nation in foreign affairs. Economic and military cooperation are now the watchwords for the day. Italy has joined with the United States and most of the countries of Western Europe for the common defense in the face of the common threat presented by Soviet Russian. Italy has nine divisions in the NATO forces and some of the first NATO intermediate range missiles are to be placed on Italian territory. On the economic front, it is apparent that Italy is linking her economic future to that of the other Western European countries. One of the first examples of this was Italian participation in the Organization for European Economic Cooperation, set up in 1947 for the success of the Marshall plan. Italian cooperation has been continued in such groups as the European Coal and Steel Community, the Common Market, and Euratom. They all give new hope for improvement of the Italian economic future and the future of the whole of Western Europe.

Italy's great political advances which successfully stemmed the tide of communism and brought about this significant economic recovery can be attributed, in the main, to the determination and foresight of one of its ablest leaders, the late Alcide de Gasperi. It was he who set the course and happily his successors followed. And today, un-der the stewardship of Prime Minister Segni and the able Minister of Foreign Affairs, Pella, Italy looks ahead to even greater tomorrows.

It is important on this 13th anniversary of the founding of the Italian Republic to pause and remember how great the progress has been in little more than a decade. This progress also gives assurance to the Italian people and to all the free world that Italy is walking steadily down the road to democracy, economic progress, and international cooperation. Italy, we salute you.

Highest Honor Navy Can Bestow on Civilian

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, Erwin C. Uihlein of Milwaukee, has recently received the Navy's Distinguished Public Service Award, highest honor which the Secretary of the Navy can bestow upon a civilian.

Rear Adm. E. P. Forrestal, commandant of the 9th Naval District, in pre-senting the award said it was in "recognition of the service of a great American" who has made "outstanding contributions to the Department of the Navy in public information, morale and welfare."

The Navy's official citation of Mr. Uihlein declared:

As director of the Navy League of Milwaukee and a leading figure in the formation of the Wisconsin State council of the league, Mr. Uihlein has been one of the Navy's strongest supporters in his State.

A member of the naval service in World War I, Mr. Uihlein has since provided innumerable volunteer services to the Navy which have been of great value to its mission and its personnel.

A strong supporter of the recruiting program of the Navy and the Marine Corps and the Reserve components of each, Mr. Uihlein has been equally helpful in his efforts to improve the morale and welfare of naval personnel at Great Lakes training center through his support of the USO program.

In these and other efforts, he has furthered the public awareness of the need for a strong and ready Navy and Marine Corps through the planning and promotion of Navy Day observances, naval air shows and appearances in Wisconsin of the Navy and Marine Corps bands.

Additionally, he has been personally responsible for his company's sponsorship of television productions with Navy back-grounds. In recognition of and appreciation of his valuable services, this award is approved.

During World War I. Mr. Uihlein served as commandant of a naval gun factory at Bedford, Ohio, which produced 3- and 4-inch guns for destroyers and merchants ships. While there he also developed an electric heat treating furnace for gun barrels and armor plate and was granted a patent, under which he gave the Navy a free license to the

Mr. Uihlein's World War I naval career also included a tour of duty as executive officer aboard the U.S.S. Hawk in the rank of lieutenant commander.

He is a member of the U.S. Naval Institute, a past national director of the Navy League, a member of the American Ordnance Association, American Legion, and Veterans of Foreign Wars, and president of Schlitz Brewing Co.

Milwaukee's Erwin C. Uihlein Receives Let's Train Citizens in the "Promise To Pay"

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1959

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, I should like to include in the Appendix to the RECORD an article by Allyn W. Schiffer, entitled "Let's Train Citizens in the Promise To Pay." Mr. Schiffer has been active in credit and collection fields for many years and is president of Allyn W. Schiffer, Inc., New York City. I think his comments will be of great interest to my colleagues:

From the University of Minnesota Gopher Grad, March 1950]

LET'S TRAIN CITIZENS IN THE "PROMISE TO PAY"

(By Allyn W. Schiffer)

James Bryant Conant, one of the foremost educators in the Nation, recently said that the primary concern of American education today is not in development of the apprecia-tion of the good life in young gentlemen born to the purple, but rather to cultivate (in the largest number of our future citizens) an appreciation both of the responsibility and the benefits which come to them.

I believe that one of the many benefits in our American way of life is the opportunity to buy merchandise and services on a promise to pay in the future.

Perhaps this may not strike many as a benefit peculiar to American living. A trip to Europe, however, will be sufficient to convince one that the Europeans are some of the greatest exponents of the cash and carry system. In fact-no cash, no carry.

This system of the promise to pay undoubtedly has had much to do with bringing a high standard of living to our population. We have broken down these implications of faith, trust, and the quality that commands belief in our fellow man into the single word-credit.

If you had been identified with the field of credit for more than 25 years, you would have observed the vitalness or need of credit to the economy of our country. According to reports, Americans have approximately \$40 billion in consumer indebtedness outstanding daily. If you were to remove that volume of business daily, production would stagnate. Such stagnation would affect our standards of living drastically. We would revert to possibly the late Eighties because the distribution of wealth and goods would be lessened to a point whereby it would be concentrated in the hands of a few rather than many.

Coincident, there is a responsibility upon those who seek a security commensurate with their ability to assume and fulfill obligations. But where is the training for such responsibility? Credit, as a business, is not being taught at secondary education levels, only to a very small degree is it taught at undergraduate levels. This is not necessarily the fault of college or universities. Rather, I think, it is the failure of business, generally, to recognize the need for credit educationits benefits and responsibilities from a business point of view.

Without question, the promulgation of education in credit is not only lacking but

also needed as a curriculum in our college and university system.

Presently, to my knowledge, there are approximately 40 colleges that offer a course in credit and collections. One university of which I am aware grants a major, but I have learned of none that offers a degree in credit management.

The correction of such failure must be presented to business and industry. The generosity to education by various foundations endowed by individuals and families who have acquired their income from business and industry are well known and deservedly appreciated. Also management has, at various times, supported and encouraged research through education in varied fields of endeavor, but the dissemination of knowledge in credit management is comparable to a neglected waif whose potentiality is bypassed and ignored.

The dean of a middle western university business school recently told me that the establishment of a 4-year course in credit management is not as simple as the fulfillment of a mere desire. The requirements necessary to establish a school of credit management require a wherewithal that must emanate from private or public resources. The budget under which a college or university must maintain itself is too meager in comparison to the present-day cost of operation and the demands placed upon the institution. Yet, the need for credit education is ever more apparent. use of credit in relation to business is becoming more complex. In addition, the causes of inflation or deflation of the monetary unit have frequently been accredited (justly and unjustly) to the extension or mitigation of the use of credit. We, in our country (with the possible exception of Canadians), are the only ones who utilize credit on a scale where it seeps down to consumer levels to a great degree. Education in credit management could hardly be given to others when our own educational system has not been able to include courses that might steer undergraduates and graduates into the study of credit, its potentialities and its vagaries. It seems obvious that business must be acquainted with this need in order to insure stability for the free enterprise system under which it operates. The Credit Research Institute of the National Association of Credit Men does contribute toward the teaching of credit for 6 weeks during the summer months at Dartmouth and Stanford, but these courses are open to credit men classified on a graduate level. Credit, as a study for the undergraduate, may be just as foreign as the study of Sanskrit might be to a major in physical education.

Thomas Carlyle once said, "An educated man stands, as it were, in the midst of a boundless arsenal and magazine, filled with all the weapons and engines which man's skill has been able to devise from the earliest times." Since Carlyle wrote this, the learning of 131 years has been added to the storehouse of knowledge.

Current events often necessitate further study of a subject. For example, the first World War brought the need to understand the difficulties of readjustment for men returning from service. Or, in 1924 the mur-der of a young boy whose body was found in the marshes of suburban Chicago helped precipitate more extensive studies in the field of psychology and psychiatry. Today, the advent of the sputnik has given rise to a reappraiseal of our scientific education. As a result, business, industry, and government appear willing to advance means so that our universities and colleges may expand the teaching of science and encourage

its study.

Do we need another depression, heaven forbid, to reappraise the value of the study of credit management? Surely such research and education must be encouraged and advanced in our colleges by all those engaged in economic activity, including every financial, commercial and productive enterprise.

James Russell Lowell points out that "in making education not only common to all, but in some sense compulsory on all," the

destiny of the "free republics of America was practically settled."

It is certain that if we intend to continue to be free and American, there must be a compelling force to maintain ourselves as leaders in the industrial, manufacturing, and production fields. The sale of our manufactured products is a potent factor in our economy, and credit is the avenue by which those sales take place. Because of this fact, it is my hope that the study of credit management will be given its proper place in the everwidening arsenal and magazine of knowledge.

## Francis Kane To Receive Interfaith Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, with pride I place in the RECORD an item from the pen of Gene Shumate, of the Washington Daily News, dated June 1. It refers to my friend Francis Kane. The article follows:

FRANCIS J. KANE, PRESIDENT OF KANE TRANS-FER CO., WILL RECEIVE THE 1959 DISTRICT INTERFAITH AWARD

The Washington Interfaith Committeerepresentatives from the Knights of Columbus, Almas Temple Shrine, and B'nai B'rith—would have had a hard time finding a nicer man for this honor.

#### OTHER SIDE

People know a lot about Francis Kane the successful businessman. Too few know of many things of no immediate concern to his business which he's done just because he wanted to.

A few months ago, the Daily News movie critic, James O'Nelll, Jr., got the ball rolling to have a park named after the late Edward J. Kelly, head of the Park Service. I called Mr. Kane and asked his support. He came through. And with the help of some of his friends on the Hill, the park was dedicated.

Just because he felt a few ruthless credit merchants were taking advantage of unfortunate people, he went to work to get a new

garnishment law for the District.

He failed last year. But the House unanimously passed it this year and the Senate is expected to do likewise.

#### PHILANTHROPY

A nursing home needed beds badly. Krancis Kane loaded up one of his trucks and sent some beds over.

His work with Catholic schools and charities earned him the Papal Knighthood of St. Sylvester a few months before Pope Pius XII died.

One of his trucks, loaded with candy, overturned in a poor neighborhood. He took the truck away but left the candy.

When he receives the award June 9, preceding the interfaith baseball game between the Senators and the White Sox, there'll be a lot of people in the stands who'll remember many things that Mr. Kane has done for Washington.

Memorial Day, a Day of Memory: Address of Brig. Gen. J. D. Hittle, U.S. Marine Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am pleased to insert the eloquent memorial ceremony address of Brig. Gen. J. D. Hittle, U.S. Marine Corps, which he delivered at the moving and colorful ceremonies for military veterans of the New York Life Insurance Co. and the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. at the Eternal Light in Madison Square Park, on May 29, 1959:

MEMORIAL CEREMONY ADDRESS OF BRIG. GEN. J. D. HITTLE, HEADQUARTERS, U.S. MARINE CORPS, MAY 29, 1959, MADISON SQUARE PARK, NEW YORK CITY

This Memorial Day which we now cele-

brate is a day of memory.

A day of memories of past Memorial Days. From our early childhood each of us has our recollections of the Memorial Day parades which thrilled us. It may have been in a great city. It may have been in a quiet country town. But regardless of where it was-large city or a village at the crossroads-the observance of Memorial Day may have differed in magnitude, but it did not differ in spirit. The excitement we felt as children as we watched the marching veterans, saluted the passing colors, and tapped our foot to the pulsing rhythm of the military bands remains with all of us a pointed recollection.

Memorial Day was a holiday, a parade, a Sunday dinner for the family even if it Sunday. And yet, there was more wasn't than the excitement, the treat at the corner soda fountain, the chicken and dumplings.

There was something we felt even though we did not completely understand. Per-haps we sensed a silent message from the then sparse-and no extinct-ranks of the old "Boys in Blue." Perhaps it was the courageous and still spritely step of the then relatively young veterans of the Spanish-American War who had traveled to distant seas and faraway fields to fight for others' freedom.

Perhaps our awareness of the deeper meaning of the day came as we watched rank after rank of the then really young veterans who had only a few years before returned from the battles of what we were sure had been the last of the world's great wars. Yet, from somewhere out of those marching columns, waving flags, and brass bands there came an inescapable reminder that it wasand is-a day for remembering.

A day for remembering many thingsachieved and preserved by suffering, bravery, God-fearing, and God-trusting determination; that those who brought forth our independence on the bloody field of battle lit

the torch of freedom which has been handed down from generation to generation of our Nation's veterans; that each generation of our veterans has manned the shell-torn ramparts of freedom, holding high that torch.

Yes, a day for remembering the milestones

of our Nations' history.

We remember the blood-stained grass at Lexington where valor and martyrdom set off the chain reaction of freedom; and the snows of Valley Forge—where the poorly clad and ill-equipped Continentals passed the acid test of determination and faith.

We remember the cold waters of the Atlantic echoing with Lawrence's "Don't give up the ship"-words enshrined as the tradition of the succeeding generations of veterans who carried the U.S. flag to the distant

waters of the world;

We remember the inescapable tragedy of 1861 to 1865, with all the suffering and gallantry that is inherent in a conflict that pits brother against brother and father

against son;

We remember the Spanish-American War, with the sinking of the Maine, the charge of the Rough Riders up the shell-swept slopes of San Juan Hill, and the great naval victories at Santiago and Manila, which made our Nation, for the first time, a great global sea power. It was a short and victorious war, unique in that it brought victory withconquest and created free and independent nations.

We remember the magnitude and the effort of World War I, from which came the honored memories of gallantry at Belleau Wood, Chateau-Thierry, and the Argonne, and then the worldwide conflict that was triggered at Pearl Harbor, and waged in the jungles of Guadalcanal, the beaches of North Africa, the hedgerows of Brittany, the fogcovered water route to Murmansk, and across the black sand beaches of Iwo Jima;

We remember more recently the resistance to Communist aggression in the then all but forgotten peninsula of Korea, where the gunfire of Red aggressors suddenly shattered the uneasy quiet in the Land of the Morning Calm. The Pusan perimeter, Inchon, and the Chosan Reservoir took their places beside the other sacred names in the history of American valor.

The review and reverence of things past will continue to be an indispensable attribute of our Nation. But the memory of past greatness is truly meaningful only when, it serves as an inspiration for the present and the future, and a reminder that the task of assuring our national independence and survival is never complete. Above all, the veterans of past wars recognize the inescapable fact that in a world threatened by ruthless and godless communism, survival rests not only on good intentions but also upon the cold, hard willingness to defend our heritoge of freedom with all the force required.

While we have loyal and ready allies who, with us, comprise the free world, we must never forget that the United States is the bastion of strength in the long, hard struggle against the ceaseless thrusts of world com-

Today, as we recall the sacrifice and bravery by our Nation's veterans over many years and many fields of battle, there is one vast and unchallengeable conclusion that emerges: You veterans and the generations of American fighting men who have preceded you have achieved and preserved independence and freedom; yet its continuation has never been, and is not now, a certainty.

Truly, each generation in its time must be willing and ready to continue, with utmost determination, the struggle to preserve our independence and freedom. This, in essence, is at once the heritage, the responsibility, and

the task which has been passed to us and which we must pass on as intact and secure

as we received it.

On Memorial Day we pay tribute to the veterans who have fought our Nation's wars. While we recognize and revere our debt to those for whom the final taps have sounded, it is appropriate to recognize the great and continuing contribution of you and your fellow veterans who are so ably discharging the responsibilities of citizenship. Personally, I have long been of the opinion that veterans, individually, and collectively, through their great national organizations, constitute an indispensable element of our national life. No person or group is more intimately aware of the responsibilities of citizenship. No individual or group is more qualified to participate in the discharge of those responsibilities. Through the years of our national existence, veterans organizations have made a continuing contribution to the betterment of our Nation. They have taken an active interest in every significant aspect of our national life—education, housing, foreign policy, and national security.

The deep understanding and patriotic motivation that characterizes the veterans' interest in our Nation has helped shape and implement the decisions so vital to our continued existence.

At home and throughout the world our national policy is strengthened by the fact that our responsible leaders know that in furthering the cause of freedom and resisting the encroachment of communism they have the unqualified and continuing sup-

port of veterans.

In matters of national security the contribution of the veterans has been meaningful in peace as well as in war. The history of our times clearly demonstrates that veterans, who so well understand the necessity for military strength and readiness, have never been lulled or misled by the false belief that peace is eternal.

They remember full well the lesson they learned in the hard school of battle, that peace is not a unlisteral endeavor. They know that peace at any price is not

peace but oppression, violence, and destruc-

And so on this Memorial Day we remember those who have done their duty and marched on, leaving to us both the heritage they created and preserved, and the responsibilities of its stewardship.

The spirit that characterizes this Memorial Day ceremony to which you have given your time and your effort, and which is being repeated by other groups of veterans throughout the Nation, is elequent proof that the memory and reverence for our departed heroes is not just for a day but for the ages. By your ceremony here today you have demonstrated again the eternal truth that the memory of those who fought the good fight cannot die.

Greetings to the Slovak League of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN H. DENT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 20, 1959

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, Slovaks in America have for many years been very active in many phases of our communal life. Through the medium of various organizations they have rendered valuable services. The Slovak League of America, as a leading civic and cultural organization, working primarily in Slovak-American communities, has been known for more than 50 years as the agency for ministering to the material and spiritual needs of these communities, and also educating immigrant Slovaks in the American democratic way of life. In greeting the 36th Congress of the league. I wish its organizing leaders success in their worthy endeavors.

## Choices for Air Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON, THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following very timely editorial that appeared in the Christian Science Monitor on Thursday, May 28, 1959. Since it is not only a sensible statement but is most constructive, it may be most helpful during today's debate on the military appropriation bill:

CHOICES FOR AIR DEFENSE

The Pentagon's promise of an early master plan for North American air defense is welcome. A complete picture of the problem and coordinated solutions for it are badly needed. Service squabbles, such as the current one over the Army's Nike-Hercules and the Air Force's Bomarc, underscore the need.

But any real examination of the air defense situation should go well beyond the relative merits of these missiles. It should survey the whole complex of planes, missiles, radar installations, and communications.

But most of all it should seek answers to several larger questions: Are present de-fenses—designed to deal with attack by manned planes—worth anything against missiles? How useful is a 15-minute warning? Should billions be put into nearobsolescent weapons that will provide safeguards only for the next few months? Should effort be centered on developing a hard deterrent (one invulnerable to surprise attack) as the surest military defense? Will emphasis on defense foster a Fortress America attitude and tend to lose essential allies?

Advance information indicates that the master plan seeks a compromise of the Nike-Bomarc controversy by recommending both programs. The Nike-Hercules is a groundto-air missile with an 80-mile range. It is already operational. Bomarc has a similar function but a 200-mile range. It will be ready in the fall. Both can carry nuclear warheads.

In defense planning it is often wise not to put all your eggs into one basket. Both missile "baskets" could have a role—but only against planes. Neither is considered effective against missiles. So for anything except immediate defense purposes both baskets appear to have unsafe bottoms. Choosing either or both of them is unlikely to meet the chief requirement of air defense in the near future-stopping long-range missiles.

Admiral Haward, one of the Navy's re-search chiefs, has told Congress that \$25 billion has been poured into this kind of defense and that under present schedules the sum will be nearly doubled by 1963. Shouldn't these programs be cut back and more effort put into developing defenses against missiles?

Defensive thinking tends to fix only on one side of the defense problem. It would try to stop attackers in the air. Another (and it seems to us more hopeful) approach is to stop them before they get into the air. This approach relies on deterrence, convincing would-be attackers that an assault would be unprofitable. It deals with motives rather than missiles.

Under the first approach a desperate search is going on for effective antimissile missiles. So far it is not hopeful. More encouraging is the prospect for forms of retaliatory power which cannot be knocked out by surprise attack. If solid fuel missiles like Polaris and Minuteman develop as ex-pected it should be possible in 5 years so to set them up that any attacker would be suicidally triggering annihilating retaliation.

But even under such conditions it will be wise for the United States to give attention to the defense of other free peoples. And always it will be wise to count moral and spiritual as well as military factors in shaping defense.

## A Reflection of Public Sentiment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 5, 1959

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues, a resolution adopted by the Riverside Drive Improvement Association of Berwyn, Ill., a strictly nonpartisan, nonpolitical organization dedicated to the betterment of the city of Berwyn.

I am doing so because I believe it reflects the concern of many Americans today over the dangers of inflation. Excessive Federal spending and inflationary tendencies must not be regarded as a political party issue but rather as a matter which is certainly everyone's concern. The high cost of living has no party label. It saps the funds of the pensioners and folks on fixed incomes regardless of whether they are Democrats or Republi-

The resolution follows:

Whereas the stability of the American dollar is in the best interests of our Nation;

Whereas inflation caused by ever-increasing spending will result in undue hardship to millions of our citizens; and

Whereas increased inflation can undermine the very foundation of our country;

Whereas Congress, as the duly constituted representatives of the people of the United States, can, through the exercise of its power, take the necessary steps to correct present inflationary trends: Therefore be it Resolved, That the Riverside Drive Im-

provement Association of Berwyn, Ill., consisting of 150 members at its regular meeting of May 15, 1959, voted unanimously to request our honorable Senators and Congressmen to exercise legislation to end present inflationary tendencies in the U.S. Government.

RIVERSIDE DRIVE IMPROVEMENT ASSO-CIATION OF BERWYN, ILL.

# The Greatest Age of All Time

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. OREN HARRIS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article written by John Park Cravens, Sr., of Booneville, Ark.:

THE GREATEST AGE OF ALL TIME (By John Park Cravens, Sr.)

After the passing of many ages of time, mankind of this small planet on which we live, is at the dawn of exploring outer space. I believe successful exploration of this type, will be done within the next few years, and it will be for the glory of God first, and material gain for our world, and those of outer space second, and all the nations of our home sphere, in results, will only be able to equally benefit. Since the beginning of time for man on this our earth, he has perhaps always had a desire to explore the heavens, and I believe he now realizes, and knows this is possible.

The peoples of our earth with few exceptions, know that such as earthquakes, wars, cyclones, disastrous fires, volcanoes, hurricanes, and other things can happen, but they have faith, and believe our home planet will continue to orbit unharmed, and hold its proper place in the universe, and it will in no way be affected harmfully by scientific discoveries, or the exploring of outer spaces. And, throughout past ages, humankind has not feared or worried about anything going wrong with the rotation, and the laws of nature in general governing the existence of our home world, which is but a small cog in the machine of a vast universe.

Down through all time since the beginning of man, people have never feared that the Sun would not rise or set, and have looked upon the Moon, Mars, the Sun, and other things of outer space with awe, and thought that a great divine spirit was the ruler of and controlled everything in the vast heavenly panorama. A small percent of those of the past ages may have believed different as some of this day and age, but the percentage is negligible.

Today a greater part of the people of all countries of our Earth are living in fear of hydrogen bombs, and other weapons of war. I do not think we should live in such a state of fear, because all the leaders of our world know and realize the using of modern weapons in a world war would mean the extermination of humanity. I believe outerspace exploration will be done peacefully, and no harm will come to our home planet, or any part of the universe, in its process, and past and future scientific achievements will be of great benefit in all respects.

According to the Scriptures, "The heavens declare the glory of God; and the firmament sheweth His handiwork." Also, "The heavens declare His righteousness, and all the people As I see it, these are two of ace His glory." the most impressive verses of the Bible. From the beginning of mankind, the peoples of our home planet have had the privilege of looking up into the heavens, and seeing His great handiwork. And, as the ages rolled by, there have been countless millions of people who were never but a few miles from the places of their births. But the eyes of practically all of them, like those of today, had the privilege and the experience of gazing upon the Moon, the stars, and other things of the celestial firmament with the realization they were, as our Earth, controlled by a master hand. When we of the present gaze upward into the heavens of a clear night, we know that people from the beginning of time did the same in seeing everything in all its great impressiveness. When we behold the things of outer space, we are impressed with the glory of a creator of all we see. We can see the love of God about us, and the beauty of His creation on our Earth in countless ways, but though the heavens be far away, when we look up into them, we see His love and glory in greater form.

I will never forget when I was a little child, and there were no electric fans and air conditioners in our home in the Petit Jean Valley below the Great Mount Magazine of the Ozark and Ouachita Mountains. the summer months came, there were always a few dry and hot days, and my mother would make pallets with homemade pieced quilts on the grass lawn of our residential yard for members of our family to sleep on until after midnight cool breezes arrived, and we would go to our bedrooms to sleep the remainder of the night. As I lay on my pallet before sleep came to me, I would look up into the heavens while listening to the singing of the crickets, the low of cattle in fields nearby, the falls of a swiftly running creek, the singing of a mocking bird, the baying of a pack of dogs chasing a fox, and other sounds that were not strange to me, but my eyes would become transfixed at the sight of the Moon and the stars which greatly fascinated me until I fell asleep.

One morning after sleeping on our residential lawn, I told my grandmother what I had seen, and asked her many questions, and she answered them as best she could. She told me about God creating the Heavens, and our Earth, and explained to me His gift of eternal life. And many times after that, when I was a child, I would lie on my pallet on the grass lawn of a night, and look up at the Moon and stars grandmother told me were so far, far away, and I won-dered if anybody would ever be able to travel to them, and if they could, what a glorious thing it would be. Sometimes I would see flocks of wild fowl winging their way from Canada to South America, and wondered if it would be possible for them to fly to the Moon. Like millions of children that have lived before me, the sight of the heavens of clear night impressed me more than all other things, and I had a feeling that they meant as much to me as the Earth on which I lived, and I could not understand why man had not in the natural order of things been able to travel to them, and return. God has not denied any human creature of all the past ages with proper eyesight, the right to look up into His heavens, and behold His great work of His own creation. And now, after ages upon ages have passed, I think it is a wonderful thing for man to be on the verge of exploring outer space, which I believe will be the most important thing ever to come to mankind.

I believe when people of this Earth on which we live, travel to and return from a foreign planet, it will open up a new phase in the spiritual life of the peoples of our Earth. When I was a youth, and would look up into the heavens on a clear and calm Ozark and Ouachita Mountain night, I did not realize that in my day the peoples of our planet would send a manmade instrument past the moon to orbit the sun. Neither did I think I would live in a space travel age, which I look upon as the Golden Age of God when improved telescopes, radar, alreraft, rockets, and other things would be the forerunners of successful space travel soon to follow which I think will mean mankind getting closer to the Creator and eternal head of all things.

head of all things.

As the ages rolled by, many changes took place in our world, and were only known to those living about them, but when a new comet appeared in the skles, it was known to

all peoples of our entire globe. Alexander the Great wept when he believed there were no more countries on earth for him to conquer. I believe during his lifetime he may have many times looked up into the vast outer spaces as his armies slept, and realized the heavens were controlled by a Supreme and Divine power, and the planet on which he lived was only a small segment or part of a great kingdom of worlds mystifying to him, and beyond his reach. I would think that his opinion was that mankind would never be able to explore outer space, and how wonderful it is that we of this age of now are on the threshold of such exploration.

Great is the reward of man to overcome the laws of nature against him in his pursuit of science for the benefit of humanity and progress of civilization, and the general benefit and longevity of life upon this earth of ours, and greater still is the reward of those who overcome the temptation of sin, and pursue a path of pureness in heart and righteousness, as after death they will receive from God the gift of eternal life. And now that we have come to the space age, we have reached in my opinion, the most vital point in our earth's history since its creation. In successful space travel, much will be accomplished scientifically, but greater will our faith in an Almighty Creator become, our souls and our religions and our brotherhoods will become broadened, and strengthened as our outlooks upon life in general, and all the races of the earth will be brought closer to God in all respects, and I think there will be less jealousy and rivalry and hate among the countries and races, and there will be a better understanding in all things, and more good will.

I believe that after space travel is achieved, in the continued advancement and progress of this world on which we live, the im-portance of human souls and eternal life, will greatly, and naturally, take precedence over that of material things. "What profiteth a man if he should gain the whole world, but lose his own soul." I think that from 3 to 10 years from now, man will begin making trips to the Moon, the planet Mars and other planets, and from them make new discoveries about outer space that will be vital and important to continued exploration. It is possible planets unknown to us now will be discovered, and some of them could have a form of life similar to ours, and in time man will explore them, and from them he may discover other planets further on out into space. It may be that man could spent millions of years in a chain of such exploration, and outer space is composed of many galaxies, and it is possible there is no end to their numbers. And it could be that man of our Earth will be limited to his own galaxy in his travels to and return from outer space. And I believe in any case, the power and glory of God will be supremely recognized by man. And no longer will our planet on which we live be a small one isolated in a vast universe, but it will be the headquarters of a kingdom of planets.

After keeping them closed for countless ages of the past, the Divine Creater of our home planet and the heavens has opened up the paths of space travel to us, and this is the greatest challenge of all time ever to come to mankind. I believe the peoples of our Earth will succeed, and will use the resulting benefits for God's glory, and man's inhumanity to man will become negligible, and there will be peace on Earth and good will toward all men, women and children. Otherwise, everything on this Earth will perish by the hands of man, and not by the will of God, and I have faith that the political, military and scientific leaders know what the results of a world war would be if the latest scientific weapons were used, and will never enter into such a conflict, and there will be peace, and man will continue to go forward in his exploration of outer space for the benefit of all the peoples of our Earth, and those, if any, that should be living on other planets, and for the glory of God. JOHN PARK CRAVENS, Sr.

American Tariff League To Reorganize Under New Name: "Trade Relations Council"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON, CLEVELAND M. BAILEY

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Record, I desire to call attention to a recent news release announcing that the American Tariff League, with headquarters in New York, which for generations has been a strong advocate of adequate protection for American industries, has been reconstituted and will continue to carry on its very important work in the future under the title "Trade Relations Council of the United States."

At this time, I desire to include some pertinent facts that should be of considerable interest to the growing number of American industries that feel that our present international trade policies, as administered under our Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, are not adequate and that a stable American that our present international trade polcles be reshaped so as to assure the necessary measure of protection that will restore the confidence of business and enable us not only to regain our lost export business, but will also curtail mounting imports, which at present exceed our export volume.

The news item, under a New York dateline, follows:

AMERICAN TARIFF LEAGUE TO REORGANIZE UN-DER NEW NAME: "TRADE RELATIONS COUN-CIL"

New York, N.Y., May 21.—One of the Nation's oldest producer organizations, the American Tariff League, has voted to reshape its policies, activities, and administration and to adopt a new name, "Trade Relations Council of the United States (TRC)."

Reorganization of the 74-year-old tariff league was announced at a news conference today by Ralph A. Butland, president of the present group and chairman-elect of the TRC board of managers. The reorganization will become effective July 1.

Butland said the league, representing several hundred industrial companies, farm organizations, and trade associations, held its final membership meeting Wednesday, May 20, and overwhelmingly endorsed the recommendations of a 15-man joint reorganization committee. The reorganization committee developed its proposals following a series of

launched last fall.

Explaining the decision to reorganize, Butland observed: "Patterns of international trade have undergone drastic changes in recent years, and members of the tariff league decided that a new organization with a broader program, reflecting their recognition

surveys and other studies that were

of these changes, would better serve the interests of healthy, mutually satisfying foreign commerce."

Butland said the name "The American Tariff League" was dropped because "it implied that our policies and activities were geared to the tariff alone. In reality, our interest has become much broader in a dynamic and ever-changing world."

namic and ever-changing world."

He declared: "The Trade Relations Council will seek to encourage an international atmosphere emphasizing freedom to trade, rather than free trade. No country has ever been able to sustain free trade for long. The realistic goal for all trading nations is fair and orderly competition in world markets."

Butland emphasized that "the TRC would continue to stress the prime importance of policies that will maintain domestic production in the interest of a diverse and healthy American economy, varied and extensive job opportunities, and a strong national security hase

"With a more descriptive name and a general understanding of the wide scope of our interests, we expect to attract widened support from industry, large and small, and from agriculture and labor."

Butland said the TRC plans to undertake a series of special fact-finding projects covering such key issues as foreign and domestic wage differentials; the Communist economic offensive; the rise of regional trading systems; disruptive trade practices here and abroad; cartels and dumping; the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade; U.S. foreign investment policy; and U.S. Government purchasing.

From these studies will emerge the materials for the TRC's major mission, "a broadbased program of public information to alert Americans to the facts about world trade and to the principles governing trade economics."

Butland said the TRC will conduct extensive research on the drastic decline in U.S. exports and the outflow of gold and dollars, Considerable controversy has developed in business, labor, and Government circles as to whether the United States is pricing itself out of world markets.

"The single common denominator in this controversy is American jobs," Butland noted. "When our competitive position weakens, either in our domestic market or in oversea markets, a loss of jobs is always one of the first signs of distress.

"There have been recent indications that some labor groups are reevaluating foreign commerce in terms of its impact on American employment. The TRC hopes to be able to enlist the support of these organizations in search of a permanent and equitable solution."

Unlike its predecessor, the TRC will eventually be headed by a full-time, salaried president charged with implementing the policy decisions of the elected board of managers.

Butland will continue to serve as president until the new salaried job is filled. He said a special committee had been appointed to recommend possible candidates. It is doubtful that the post will be filled before the TRC's first annual conference in the fall.

TRC's first annual conference in the fall.

Direction of the TRC staff, research programs, and other day-to-day activities will be assigned to the executive vice president, another new position. Butland said Richard H. Anthony, executive secretary of the Tariff League since 1946, was the new organization's choice to become executive vice president.

Still another innovation will be the creation of an advisory council composed of top-level management officials. The advisory council will meet periodically to review and recommend TRC policies and programs.

For the present, the TRC will occupy the offices of the league at 19 West 44th Street,

New York City. Research and clerical personnel of the league will be retained in the new organization. Staff expansion is contemplated as new programs are developed.

Over the years the league has been one of the most vigorous and effective proponents of Federal legislation to curb unfair foreign trade practices and to safeguard American industry, labor, and agriculture from injury due to unreasonable import competition.

The league has been sharply critical of U.S. participation in the general agreement on tariffs and trade, viewing it as a supranational body that could thwart U.S. economic objectives. The league has urged a complete revision of what it has termed "our chaotic tariff structure."

Another long-time target of league criticism has been the Trade Agreements Act, originated in 1934. In recent years the league was instrumental in persuading Congress to amend the law by providing more effective measures to regulate imports injurious to the American economy or detrimental to the Nation's mobilization base, and to relieve injuries resulting from administration of the law.

Butland declared: "The Trade Relations Council agrees with Government leaders and others that a world family of prospering free nations is not only desirable but within reach. However, we are not all going to live under the same economic, political, and social conditions, no matter how prosperous we become.

"The TRC will actively support sound policies aimed at developing the economic vigor of all free nations. Moreover, we are convinced that such policies, if carefully and selectively carried out, need not sacrifice investments, jobs, and other economic opportunities in our country or any other."

Industries to be represented in the Trade Relations Council of the United States:

Adhesives, agricultural implements, alloys and tool steel, aluminum manufactures, antifriction bearings, bicycles, brass manufactures, brushes, buttons, candy, carpets and rugs, cast iron pipe, cement, chemicals, chinaware and earthenware, clocks and watches, clothespins, copper, cordage, cotton manufactures, cutlery.

Elastic fabrics, electrical manufactures, fasteners, felts, firearms and ammunition, fishing nets, floor covering, fruits and nuts, glass and glassware, gloves and mittens, gold leaf, hats, lace, lead, leather, linen manufactures, machinery, manmade fibers and fabrics, metal products, motorcycles, musical instruments, optical products.

Paints and pigments, paper and manufactures, pencils and pens, pharmaceutical preparations, plastics, refractories, rubber manufactures, salt, sanitary ware, scientific porcelain, scissors and shears, shoes, silverware, sugar, surgical instruments, thermostatic containers, thread, tiles, tools, toys, tungsten, wire cloth, wood manufactures, wood manufactures, vinc.

Justice for the Nisei

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I wish to include the editorial which recently appeared in the Boston Daily Globe, on a matter that may well be brought to the attention of the American people:

JUSTICE FOR THE NISEI

Dean Eugene V. Rostow of the Yale Law School said, "The law has no higher duty than to acknowledge its own errors." continued, "Today we confront the fact that as a Nation we are capable of wrong, but capable also of confessing our wrongs, and seeking to explate them." Attorney General William P. Rogers pointed out that the brief ceremony was an attempt to "make up for a mistake our Nation made,"

Thus in Washington, did the U.S. Government apologize to a body of its citizens the Nisel-for the grave injustice done them during World War II. The Nisci, Americans of Japanese descent, suffered badly. In all 72,000 were displaced from their homes and put in relocation centers. They had been given no chance to display their loyalty or any disloyalty. They were penalized on the same inhuman principle that we were seek-

ing to destroy—racism,
In early 1945, after 3 years of confinement, 5,766 renounced their citizenship. Subsequently, 5,409 applied for restoration. Of these, 4,978 have been granted. Some were denied reinstatement because of evidence of disloyalty, the Attorney General's office said.

The reinstatement program ended with the little ceremony in the office of the Attorney General. Accompanying property settlements of more than \$36 million have been made. In the material realm little more can be done. The years taken from their lives, the heartbreak, the humiliation, the disruption of home life, the opportuni-ties denied them—all this cannot be undone.

Yet these people were American citizens, and a battalion of their sons, fighting in Europe, were unsurpassed for heroism and devotion. The hope is that a similar hysteria will at no time again in the United States commit so grievous a wrong.

Judge Murtagh's Book on Drug Addiction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 20, 1959

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, the problem of drug addiction remains a constant menace for our youth. Parents, teachers, welfare workers, civic leaders, and certainly legislators, have given much thought to this problem and possible ways for its solution. In March of this year I introduced a bill, H.R. 5304, to establish a Customs Enforcement Division in the Bureau of Customs to provide stricter enforcement of the antismuggling laws and thus put a stop to the smuggling of narcotics into this country. This would be a great help toward a solution.

The problem of solving drug addiction in the country and the treatment of drug addicts is, of course, a matter which should be solved primarily by our welfare workers, the courts, the enforcement agencies, and others who come in direct contact with the addicts and are thoroughly familiar with their problem.

A very interesting book on the subject has just been published, and I should like to call it to the attention of my colleagues, as well as to members of the judiciary, welfare workers, and others interested in the subject. The name of the book is "Who Live in Shadow," and its authors are Judge John M. Murtagh and Sara Harris. Some time ago they also coauthored a book "Cast the First Stone," which was an exposé of prostitution and the police approach to the problem.

Judge Murtagh is chief magistrate of the New York City Magistrates' Court. I have had the privilege of serving with him before entering Congress when I was a city magistrate in Brooklyn. He is an eminent jurist and a man who does not hesitate to express his views frankly and openly. These views are based in large measure on cases that have come before him or that he encountered in the course

of his work on the bench.

Who Lives in Shadow" is an exposé of another festering sore in American social life, drug addiction. Characterized as an inside view of the phantasmal world of "Narcotics, USA," its victims, racketeers, and police officers, the book uses vivid case histories of users and pushers of all ages and walks of life; and authentic, shocking information on the pathetically futile attempts to hunt dope smugglers and cure the addict. It is an angry, compellingly readable work of noholds-barred dramatic journalism.

Stiff fines and long jail sentences are not the answer, the authors claim. They only make the unfortunate addict feel more like a criminal. Instead, the authors suggest that clinics be set up to provide hopeless users with enough drugs to keep them from turning to crime and degradation. Take the profit out of dope, they argue, and smuggling will be cut down to almost nothing.

"A punitive, prohibitory approach to the drug problem," the authors say, "has been the official policy of the United States for 40 years. No other country in the world has been so sadistic in dealing with addicts. Still there are more addicts in the United States today than in all Western countries combined, and more juvenile users in New York City than in all Europe.'

The authors maintain further that the prohibitory approach as utilized by the Federal Bureau of Narcotics is in direct conflict with the law as stated by the Supreme Court of the United States. "There is nothing in the Harrison Act under which addicts are prosecuted," they say, "which precludes doctors from treating for addiction." Yet the Federal Bureau of Narcotics has, over the years, engaged in a reign of terror among physicians so that they have become intimidated and stopped treating addicts. Lawyers may interpret to doctors. as many of them do, the illegality of the Narcotics Bureau's position. But doctors can hardly be expected to rely on such opinions and to challenge the Narcotics Bureau. They would place in jeopardy their licenses to practice medicine. They would expose themselves

to the risk of temporary detention or even prolonged incarceration. And even though ultimately successful, they would meanwhile have incurred the cost and experienced the harassment, humiliation and embarrassment inherent in criminal litigation.

"And so, despite the pronouncements of the Supreme Court, the law of the land tends to be obscured by bureaucratic policy that is contrary to law, and the medical practitioner is effectively prevented from caring for addicts. Addicts must therefore seek their succor from the underworld instead of from legitimate society. And, of course, the price that the underworld exacts from them is so high that they are practically mandated to become criminals. How. except through criminal activity, can people with \$30, \$40, \$50 a day habits and no particular wealth or talent raise the money they need? And when they do what they are driven to, we prosecute them for their illness."

"The fact is," the authors say, "that addicts and petty pushers are practically the only ones being prosecuted today. The big moguls of the trade, who control importation and distribution, are neither caught nor stopped. In a way they must be grateful for the Government's single-minded attitude toward addiction. Our drug laws are immoral in principle and ineffectual in operation.

Calling for the Government to unshackle the medical profession, the authors cite the success of this approach in England. There they state that "there are less than 400 known drug addicts. In England, however, the words crimi-nal addict are never heard. And doctors are allowed to dispense drugs to users and to treat them either in their own offices or in clinics."

But the authors add that due to our policy we must now go beyond mere permissiveness toward the medical profession and evolve more aggressive methods

for coping with this illness.

Narcotic hospital facilities under Federal auspicies should be established in all large cities. These would institutionalize addicts for a period of at least 2 months, during which time they would be withdrawn from narcotics and exposed to a rehabilitative program, including contact with doctors, psychiatrists, social workers, vocational and recreational guidance personnel, and so forth.

After their release from the hospital. addicts would become outpatients in the clinical attachment of their hospitals. Efforts at rehabilitation would be continued, with the addicts receiving medical, psychiatric and social service. Those whose hospital withdrawal were successful would be treated without drugs; those who reverted after leaving the hospital and were proved to be in need of drugs, would get at cost the amounts their doctors prescribed for them. Gradual withdrawal would be re-attempted with them when their psychiatrists judged the supportive therapy to have taken sufficient hold so that they could rely on it instead of the drug. Those who were considered "incurable" by the clinic professionals would be released from therapy while still receiving indicated dosages of their drug.

### Dissemination of Scientific Information

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JAMES G. FULTON OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following testimony of Dr. Alan T. Waterman, Director, National Science Foundation, before the House Committee on Science and Astronautics, June 2, 1959:

DISSEMINATION OF SCIENTIFIC INFORMATION

#### I. INTRODUCTION

I appreciate this opportunity to present the National Science Foundation's views on the status of the dissemination of scientific information in the United States. My testimony will be divided into three parts. First, I shall describe briefly the nature and scope of the scientific information problem. Second, I shall indicate what the Foundation believes to be its role in this field. Third, I shall outline briefly the areas of scientific information in which the Foundation has programs and the principal kinds of activity in each of these.

### II, THE NATURE AND SCOPE OF THE SCIENTIFIC INFORMATION PROBLEM

The reason scientific information has bebecome a major problem, particularly since World War II, is that the spectacular growth in science and technology has multiplied the volume of scientific publication to a point where existing and well-organized systems are not adequate to provide for the information needs of the Nation's scientists and engineers. When one considers, too, that much of what is significant in science is being published in unfamiliar languages, it is clear that the working scientist is faced with almost insuperable problems in attempting to keep himself informed on what he needs to know. This double-edged problem has received increasing attention both within and outside the Government. Vigorous efforts to provide solutions are already underway, but much needs to be done to assure the ready availability to all U.S. scientists of the world's current and past output of significant scientific information.

Some idea of the volume of increase of scientific literature may be had from the fact, as reported in Dr. Mumford's testimony before this Committee, that the science and technology collections of the Library of Congress have doubled in the last 20 years and now total more than 1½ million volumes of books and periodicals. Statistics from other sources indicate that research literature in chemistry and related fields doubles every 8½ years. It is known that more than 55,000 scientific and technical journals are issued annually, containing about 1 million articles of significance for some branch of research and engineering in the physical and life sciences. This is the order of magnitude and growth of scientific information.

The language difficulty is reflected in the fact that more than one-third of the world's scientific and technical literature is produced in the U.S.S.R., China, and Japan. Statistics indicate this material can be read by less than 2 percent of U.S. scientists and engineers. It has been estimated that about 50 percent of all scientific and technical lit-

erature appears in English, but at least onethird of the world's literature is a closed book to U.S. scientists unless it can be approached through abstracting, indexing, and translating.

The system the Russians have developed for meeting their own scientific information problems in our judgment would not be equally effective in meeting ours. Our research efforts are organized and administered very differently, and it is illogical to suppose that a highly centralized organization for the dissemination of scientific information would serve our purposes equally well. Moreover, the Russians could not call upon the services of numerous highly developed scientific information organizations such as we find already in existence in the private enterprise structure of our country, III. BOLE OF THE NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION

I would now like to review briefly the role the National Science Foundation in the field of scientific information. As we see it the role of the Foundation is to identify and analyze the strengths and weaknesses in existing practices and then to take aggressive action both to develop solutions to present problems and to encourage and support a long-term program of research looking toward development of new and improved techniques of information handling. This involves the constructive evaluation of existing procedures and practices for the dissemination of scientific information, supplementing and assisting where necessary, and the development of solutions to problems through cooperation and coordination of the agencies and organizations concerned. We would retain the benefits of the existing complex of scientific information services while working at the same time toward remedying its defects. It is our belief in this direction lies the road leading toward effective national scientific information services.

Under the National Science Foundation Act of 1950, the Foundation has devoted special attention to the information needs of scientists and has developed a series of programs designed to help meet those needs to the extent of its limited resources. During the past year, actions taken by the legislative and executive branches have given the Foundation greatly expanded responsibilities in the field of scientific information. In addition to broadening its own programs in the area of scientific information, the Foundation has been asked to assume national leadership in efforts to improve scientific information services carried on both within and outside the Federal Government.

A. Coordination of scientific information activities within the Federal Government: The President approved on December 1958, a plan, proposed by his Science Advisory Committee, for the effective coordination of scientific information activities within the Federal Government and for the review, coordination and stimulation, on a nationwide basis, of activities in all areas of scientific information. By letter of January 22, 1959, the President asked the Foundation to carry the responsibility for the implementation of this plan. This letter was followed by Executive Order 10807, dated March 13, 1959, which not only created the Federal Council for Science and Technology, but also further delineated the role of the National Science Foundation in the scientific information field by stating as follows:

"The National Science Foundation shall provide leadership in the effective coordination of the scientific information activities of the Federal Government with a view to improving the availability and dissemination of scientific information. Federal agencies shall cooperate with and assist the National Science Foundation in the performance of this function, to the extent permitted by law."

In order to effect improved coordination

of scientific information activities within the Federal Government, the Foundation established the Federal Advisory Committee on Scientific Information which met first on January 20, 1959. The Committee is composed of senior members of 17 Federal agencies with significant information activities. Currently, this Committee has under consideration a range of matters dealing with problems involving the dissemination of unpublished research reports and the joint support and expansion of indexes to foreign scientific literature.

Considerable stress has been laid on furthering cooperation and coordination of scientific information activities among Fedral agencies. Almost every agency has a publications program, a library or an information service to collect and organize information. The three major research libraries in the country are the Library of Congress, the National Library of Medicine and the Department of Agriculture Library.

In addition to establishing a working mechanism to improve scientific information activities within the Federal Government, a number of direct actions have been taken by the Foundation's Science Information Service to coordinate Government information programs for maximum effectiveness. An example in point is the coordination and administration of budget estimates and programs for scientific information activities undertaken abroad by Federal agencies under Public Law 480 funds. We administer the program (sec. 104k) under a directive from the Bureau of the Budget and an amendment to Executive Order 10560 dated January 15, 1959. A total of \$1,200,00 was appropriated by Congress for scientific information activities under this program in fiscal year 1959. The Library of Congress administers a separate program (sec. 104n) on which we consult as to scientific information interests. Although a number serious administrative and procedural difficulties exist, the Public Law 480 program offers the possibility of making a notable increase in the quantity of foreign publications and translations available in the United States.

Another example of coordination of scientific information activities among Federal agencies includes steps taken by the Foundation to eliminate partial duplication in five federally supported bibliographies on coldregion research. All interested agencies were called together by the Science Information Service; joint temporary support was arranged to avoid a hiatus because of an immediate financial emergency; and plans were made for a study to work out a long-range solution before fiscal year 1960.

In order to provide an effective means for the exchange of information among groups working in the scientific information field, the Foundation has begun issuance of a bimonthly news bulletin, Science Information News. This bulletin reports national and international developments and it is hoped will assist in promoting increased cooperation and coordination among scientific information services.

B. Coordination of scientific information activities on a national basis: Passage by Congress of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 marked a milestone in this country's efforts to improve the availability of scientific information. Title IX of this act, which became law on September 2, 1958, directed the National Science Foundation to establish a Science Information Service which would (1) provide, or arrange for the provision of, indexing, abstracting translating, and other services leading to a more effective dissemination of scientific information, and (2) undertake programs to develop improved methods, including mechanized systems, for making scientific information available. In addition, the act provided

for the establishment of a Science Information Council to advise and make recommendations to the Science Information Service.

As one of the first steps in developing a program to provide really effective national leadership in the scientific information field. the National Science Foundation moved promptly to establish the Science Information Service and its two advisory committees. Establishment of the Science Information Service was announced on November 16, 1958. Appointment of the Science Information Council, provided in the National Defense Education Act, was completed on December 30, 1958, and the Council held its first meeting on February 2, 1959. The Council consists of the Librarian of Congress, the Director of the National Library of Medicine, the Director of the Department of Agriculture Library, the Head of the Foundation's Science Information Service, and 15 additional members drawn from various fields of science, librarianship, scientific documentation, and the lay public. The Council, which advises on overall programs, has considered a number of problems, including publication support policy, copyright of scientific information, and the mechanization of information processes.

The National Science Foundation is proceeding on the assumption that much is to be gained by close cooperation with and support of existing information services, both public and private, where they are functioning effectively. This guideline is implicit in applicable language of the National Defense Education Act and was emphasized strongly in the report of the President's Science Advisory Committee. In this connection, I believe all will agree that the Foundation's Science Information Service is not intended to be, and should not be, a large centralized agency operated by the Government which would take over and run the scientific information services of the United States. The scientific information services rendered by many of the scientific societies and pro-fessional institutions to the scientific community are world famous for their quality. It is essential that the Federal Government continue to cooperate with and assist such private groups in the achievement of longrange solutions to the scientific information problems.

The degree of organization and effectiveness of private information services varies Widely from field to field, and so the Foundation has been discussing with representatives of the various societies ways and means for increasing the effectiveness of information services in each field of science. Let me cite two examples. The Foundation pro-vided funds and staff work for a conference of major U.S. scientific abstracting and indexing services. The major accomplishment of the conference was the formation of the National Federation of Science Abstracting and Indexing Services which strives to co ordinate and improve the work of the various services and to encourage the development of abstracting and indexing services for those specialized subject fields not at present covered by such services. The National Federation has reeently employed a permanent staff, and working groups have started attacking problems requiring im-mediate attention. Major projects under-taken include compilation of a union list of journals covered by National Federation members and a world list of scientific abstracting services.

As an example of efforts to improve dissemination of a particular subject field, representatives of the Foundation's Science Information Service have met with committees estabilshed by the American Institute of Biological Sciences to discuss solutions to the many problems associated with communications among biological scientists. This forward-looking effort on the part of biologists to assess present and future needs for information services represents a truly significant development. Here is a pioneering at-tempt by scientists in a given field to develop a long-range and coordinated plan for optimum use of their information services. Successful development and operation of such a plan in the biological sciences would have far-reaching implications for other fields of science. The Foundation has sup-ported the work of the Biological Communications Study Group of American Institute of Biological Sciences which will shortly announce their recommendations.

The Science Information Service has also worked with representatives of several other professional societies in attempting to solve particular information or publication prob-

IV. FIELDS OF SCIENTIFIC INFORMATION ACTIVITY

The scientific information problem which the Nation faces has two principal aspectsfirst, improvement of present information services which use known and tested tech-niques and, second, development of new and more powerful techniques for coping with the rapidly expanding body of scientific and technical literature. With regard to the first aspect of the problem, the Science Information Service functions through effective coordination and cooperative efforts of public agencies and private organizations to improve existing facilities and techniques in such a way as to measurably increase the present availability of and access to scientific information. In the second instance, the Science Information Service encourages and supports a fundamental long-term program of research and development looking toward new and improved techniques of disseminating, processing and searching scientific information. The ultimate goal is to insure the ready availability to all U.S. scientists of the world's current and past output of significant scientific information.

With this preface, I would like to indicate in brief form the fields of scientific information activity in which the foundation has programs and the principal kinds of activity

in each of these

A. Documentation research: The broad objective of the documentation research program is to stimulate and support worthwhile research and studies that will lead to more efficient and more effective ways of disseminating, processing, and searching scientific information.

The research and the studies supported by this program are either fundamental in nature or are sufficiently general that the results can be expected to be of wide use to persons and organizations endeavoring to develop information systems for specific pur-

The more immediate goals of the program are to obtain a deeper understanding of the information requirements of scientists, to compare the effectiveness of existing systems, to devise ways of using mechanical aids to help in analyzing and organizing scientific information, and to develop systems for the mechanized production of translations that may be crude in some respects but accurate as far as they go.

The long-range goals are the development of systems, as fully mechanized as possible, for processing, storing, and searching very large volumes of information and the mechanized preparation of useful translations of foreign materials into English.

The work that has been supported to date by the Foundation falls rather naturally into three principal areas: operations research on and studies of present patterns of sci-entific communications; the organization and searching of scientific information; and mechanical translation.

A good deal of related research is being supported by a number of other Federal agencies and by private organizations both here and abroad. In order to foster coopera-tion and coordination among researchers and laboratories working on related prob-lems, the Foundation has taken the following actions:

- 1. A research Information Center and Advisory Service on Information Processing has been established jointly with the National Bureau of Standards and with some financial support from the Council on Library Resources.
- 2. Current research and development in scientific documentation is issued semiannually as a guide to current projects both here and abroad.
- 3. Nonconventional technical information systems in current use reports annually on information systems embodying new principles for the organization of subject matter or employing automatic equipment for storage and search.

Another important means of fostering cooperation among researchers and supporting agencies is the research conference, and the Foundation has supported and will continue to sponsor such conferences.

B. Foreign science information: The fundamental objective of this program is to assure the comprehensive availability to U.S. scientists of the results of foreign scientific research. Current implementation involves conducting or supporting six principal types of activity:

1. Acquisition of foreign scientific publications otherwise unavailable in the United States. Support is given to the Midwest Inter-Library Center in Chicago, a cooper-ative organization of 20 major midwestern research libraries, to acquire all hard-to-get foreign journals which are covered by "Chemical Abstracts". Journals in biology have recently been added to this program which provides service on a national basis. Foundation hopes to encourage organizations in other parts of the country to undertake similar efforts.

The Foundation is also represented on an interdepartmental committee on acquisi-tions which concentrates on the procurement of difficult-to-obtain foreign material in order to help make programs in foreign science more effective.

2. Translation of Russian scientific publications. Foundation support is now making possible the cover-to-cover translation of 35 U.S.S.R. scientific journals. These appear as English-language versions of the original periodicals and are offered for sale on a conventional subscription basis. It is planned to extend thist program to make available selected translations of important journals from other languages such as Chinese, Japanese, Polish, and Czech. Book and monograph translation also is being supported. A report on "Providing U.S. Scientists With Soviet Scientific Information" is issued and kept up-to-date by the Foundation.

As indicated earlier, just getting underway is a project whereby foreign currencies accruing to the U.S. Government through sale of surplus agricultural products will be used to pay for foreign-language-to-English trans-lation projects abroad. The first one is established in Israel; negotiations are now being pursued with Poland and Yugoslavia, and preliminary contacts have been made with Finland, India, and Indonesia.

- 3. Maintenance of information centers on translation. Clearinghouse operations of this kind enable scientists to find out what translations are available and aid them in obtaining access to copies. The Foundation is supporting, or has plans to support, projects of this kind under the direct administration of the Commerce Department's Office of Technical Services, the Special Libraries Association, and the American Institute of Biological Sciences.
- 4. Investigation of the scientific information situation in foreign countries. A

major responsibility of the Foundation's Science Information Service is to be fully aware of what goes on in the scientific information field throughout the world. A series of studies will provide information on the organization, characteristics, and generation of scientific information in every major area of the world. Those currently underway and planned concern Soviet Russia, Poland, Japan, Indonesia, mainland China, Czecho-slovakia, Yugoslavia, and Hungary.

5. Provision of bibliographic and reference aids. Current such projects being supported include maintenance at the Library of Congress of a source file of Soviet information; preparation of a variety of bibliographies and accession lists; studies of the availability and use in this country of Japanese scientific literature, including serial publications in science and technology; and investiga-tion of the foreign language-English dictionary situation.

6. Cooperation between United States and foreign nations. Separate meetings have been held by staff of the Science Information Service with representatives of the United Kingdom, Canada, Germany, the Scandi-navian countries, Israel, India, Indonesia, Japan, Poland, Yugoslavia, and the U.S.S.R. to discuss, plan and in some cases to take immediate action on cooperative scientific

information projects.

Significant discussions have also been held with international organizations such as the International Council of Scientific Unions, the European Productivity Agency of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation, the International Federation of Documentation, and the Advisory Group on Aeronautical Research and Development of NATO. The Science Information Service is cooperating with representatives of organizations in Europe looking toward the estab-lishment of a European translations clearinghouse analogous to and to operate in cooperation with the Office of Technical Services-Special Libraries Association clearinghouse in the United States.

C. Publication and information services: In this phase of the work, temporary or emergency aid is given to primary journals and abstracting and indexing services; also, funds are provided for the preparation or publication of significant monographs, reviews and reference works which could not be made generally available without subsidy. The basic considerations under which support of this kind is granted take into account the need of the scientific community and sound economic planning for the publication.

Examples of new and experimental types of journals partially supported by the Foundation include Physical Review Letters, published semimonthly by the American Physical Society, and Wildlife Disease, the official journal of the Wildlife Disease Association. The latter is jointly supported by the Council on Library Resources and is the first scientific journal ever to be published solely on microfilm.

Other efforts of the Foundation in this area concern data and information centers which compile and analyze research results, collect and organize information on research in progress, provide reference and literature searching service, etc. As total scientific knowledge has increased, the need for such information services has grown. Examples of support by the Foundation include the establishment of an Office of Critical Tables at the National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council to coordinate the activities of the various data compilation projects now in progress in this country and of the data centers currently in operation, and to stimulate new projects and centers in areas not presently being covered. The Foundation also joined with other Federal agencies to support the Bio-Sciences Information Exchange, which collects information on current research projects in the biological sciences, organizes and classifies this information, and makes it available upon request.

The third phase of the publications and information services program involves conducting, or supporting, studies of two general kinds. One is yardstick in nature, producing information useful in evaluating requests for publication and information center support. The other studies are conducted, or supported, in such areas as new publication methods, improved techniques of abstracting and indexing, optimum overall dissemination pattern for a given subject field, comparative usefulness of different kinds of publications, etc.

In the past few years several scientific societies have established programs to assess and to try to improve the entire publications pattern in their fields. The American Institute of Physics has established (with partial support from the Foundation) a research program to study the problems of physics publication and to look for solutions to these problems. Included in the program are consideration of new types of publications, more rapid and lower-cost publication methods, and studies of the publication needs of physicists. The American Chemical Society is studying new printing methods (such as the Photon) and has an active research department at Chemical Abstracts.

D. Unpublished research information: The Foundation seeks to increase the accessibility of unclassified, unpublished research information. The principal sources of such information are research reports and memoranda of Government and private institutions, theses and dissertations, and papers resulting from scientific conferences. Interested scientists frequently experience a great deal of difficulty in trying to locate such material, some of which may contain significant scientific information not otherwise found in published sources.

Support has been rendered to the Office of Technical Services (the Department of Commerce) and to the Library of Congress to increase the coverage and availability of unclassified Government research reports to the Nation's scientists and engineers.

There is a study underway with the Department of Defense and the Department of Commerce on relations between the Armed Services Technical Information Agency and the Office of Technical Services to determine whether such forms of cooperation as cataloging in a common system and coordinated acquisitions would not improve the services of both these important Federal information services.

The Foundation has accelerated its program for conducting inventory surveys of information activities of those Federal agencies operating major scientific information pro-The first inventory report, covering grams. information activities of the Department of Agriculture, has been published under title "Scientific Information Activities of Federal Agencies" (October 1958), and another issue on the Office of Naval Research is in press. The Foundation is also planning to support studies for assessing existing means of disseminating unpublished research in-formation and will assist in making arrangements for channeling the more important unpublished information into conventional publications.

Let me conclude this account of program actions taken and planned by the Foundation with a very short summary statement of administrative actions associated with establishing and organizing the Science Information Service. The need for staff ex-pansion to carry out the expanded scientific information responsibilities has been at-tacked vigorously. On July 1, 1958, 30 posi-

tions were assigned to the Foundation's Office of Scientific Information. This number has now been doubled and it is expected will be increased further before the end of this fiscal year. In order to initiate the development of our expanded programs we requested and were granted nearly twice the funds for fiscal year 1959 as for fiscal year 1958. A further increase of 40 percent has been requested for fiscal year 1960 over fiscal year 1959 expenditures. However, the request for additional funds for this activity in fiscal year 1960 was disapproved by the House Appropriations Committee earlier this month. The Foundation has appealed to the Senate for restoration of this cut amounting to \$1,480,000. If it stands, the reduction in funds would seriously handicap efforts of the Foundation to provide for improved scientific informa-tion services. In foreign science information, for example, the Foundation would have to curtail plans to translate Soviet scientific journals, abandon a program for translating important research results published in Communist China, and cut back the Foundation's research programs on mechanical translation.

### Poison in Your Water-No. 95

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I am inserting into the Appendix of the RECORD an article appearing in the Hudson, Mass., Sun of January 17, 1958, entitled "Lake Williams Believed To Be Polluted":

LAKE WILLIAMS BELIEVED TO BE POLLUTED-KEROSENE SPILLED IN WATER MAY PREVENT Use for 3-4 Months

MARLBORO .- Lake Williams may have to be closed for 3 or 4 months if it is found to be polluted by kerosene which spilled yesterday from tanks at Lakeside Oil Co., opposite the body of water. Superintendent of the Water Department Harry P. Loftus said samples of the water will be sent each week to Boston to determine if pollution exists.

The accident occurred when an oil tanker spilled about 3,000 to 4,000 gallons of oil while filling tanks at the Lakeside Oil Co One of the partly filled tanks overflowed, according to John Kelleher, plant manager.

Millhain Pond, rather than Lake Williams, will be used for Marlboro's water supply during the next several months, it was disclosed by Mr. Loftus. Even though the spilled kerosene was sanded there is still a good chance of it sceping through the ground into the water, he explained.

It takes only four ounces of kerosene to pollute 1 million gallons of water. The last time Lake Williams was polluted it was closed for 10 weeks and it appears that it will be closed at least 3 to 4 months this

Mr. Loftus explained that the only way the kerosene will leave the water is through evaporation and this process cannot start until the lake is free of ice.

In the past when appealing for a new source of water for the community, Mr. Loftus pointed out the hazards of pollution of Lake Williams. This would present an especially precarious condition if it occurred during a dry spell when the water supply is at a low ebb, he explained.

# Appendix

### Disbursement of Government Funds by the Senate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. CARL HAYDEN

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 3, 1959

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. On May 23, 1959, I received a letter from Mr. J. R. Wiggins, president of the American Newspaper Editors Association, transmitting to me, as President pro tempore of the Senate, a petition for a redress of grievances, dated May 22, 1959.

I have delayed action on the petition because at that time there was pending before the U.S. Court for the District of Columbia a civil action filed on April 1, 1959, against the Secretary of the Senate, the financial clerk of the Senate, and the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, by Vance H. Trimble, a newspaper reporter, in which the question at issue was practically identical with the request made by the American Newspaper Editors Association.

Since Hon. Alexander Holtzoff, U.S. district judge, on yesterday rendered a decision in the Trimble case, I now lay down the petition and refer it to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

If there is no objection, by unanimous consent, the U.S. District Court decision and the letter and petition will be printed in the Appendix of the Congressional Record.

There being no objection, the opinion, letter, and petition were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF CO-LUMBIA—VANCE H. TRIMBLE, PLAINTIFF, v. FELTON M. JOHNSTON, SECRETARY OF THE U.S. SENATE, ROBERT A. BRENKWORTH, FI-NANCIAL CLERK, U.S. SENATE, AND JOSEPH C. DUKE, SERGEANT AT ARMS, U.S. SENATE, DE-PENDANTS—CIVIL ACTION NO. 921-59

OPINION

(Norman S. Jeavons, of Cleveland, Ohio, and Mark P. Friedlander, of Washington, D.C., for the plaintiff.)

(Donald B. MacGuineas, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C., for the defend-

This is an action brought by a newspaper correspondent against the Secretary of the U.S. Senate, the financial clerk of the Senate, and the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, for a mandatory injunction requiring them to permit him to inspect and copy certain payroll records and other documents and papers relating to the disbursement of Government funds by the Senate of the United States. The case is before the court on a motion by the defendants to dismiss the complaint.

In order to deal adequately with the issues raised by counsel, it is necessary for us to revert to basic tenets on which the in-

stitutions of the Federal Government are founded. Although like all fundamental principles they are familiar and well known, they are nevertheless likely to be overlooked at times in the pressure of details connected with the routine activities of life. It is wholesome to pause in order to reflect and ponder over them anew at periodic intervals and thus to refresh ourselves at the fountain of our liberties.

At the foundation of the structure of the Federal Government lies the doctrine of the separation of powers among three independent coordinate branches—the legislative, the executive, and judicial departments. With certain specific, express exceptions generally known as checks and balances, each of the three departments is independent of the others. As a corollary, none of them may encroach on the powers of either of the other two.

The Federalist, one of the great sources of American political philosophy, refers to this principle as "the political maxim, that the legislative, executive, and judiciary departments ought to be separate and distinct" (No. 47). The author emphasizes the vital importance of this theory by stating that, "The accumulation of all powers, legislative, executive, and judiciary, in the same hands, whether of one, a few, or many, and whether hereditary, self-appointed, or elective, may justly be pronounced the very definition of tyranny." This discussion is expanded in paper No. 48 of the Federalist, as follows:

"It is agreed on all sides, that the powers properly belonging to one of the departments ought not to be directly and completely administered by either of the other departments. It is equally evident, that none of them ought to possess, directly or indirectly, an overruling influence over the others in the administration of their respective powers."

The judicial branch of the Government is independent of the other two departments. Its decisions and its business may not be controlled or influenced by either the legislative or executive branch. In fact, it has been often said that there can be no liberty without an independent judiciary. Recipro-cally, the judicial branch of the Government not control or direct the legislative or executive departments. Thus, the Federal courts may not issue an injunction or a writ of mandamus against the Congress. In order that there may be no interference with the business of the Congress, no Member of either House is subject to arrest, except for a criminal offense, during his attendance at a session of the House, or in going to or returning from it.1 It is recognized that for similar reasons no Member of either House may be required to respond to a subpena while the House is in session, as otherwise the quorum of the House may be broken. The estab-lished practice, the validity of which has never been successfully questioned, for a Member of Congress who is served with a subpena to appear as a witness, is to secure permission of his House to respond to the summons. Such permission may be granted by a formal resolution. Similarly, the courts may not enjoin or restrain the President, or compel him by means of a mandatory injunction or a writ of mandamus, to perform some act. It is recognized that he may not be required to respond to a subpens. In the early years of the Republic an attempt was made to subpena Thomas Jefferson when he was President, to testify as a witness at the trial of Aaron Burr. Chief Justice Marshall, who presided at the trial ruled that the subpena should issue, he expressed some doubts as to whether the President's attendance could be compelled. Jefferson took the position that he was not obliged to comply on the theory that it was not consonant with his office as President to do so, and the matter was dropped.<sup>2</sup>

It is no part of the judicial function to supervise or control the business of the executive or legislative departments of the Government. Otherwise the judiciary, instead of being one of three coordinate branches, would be supreme over the other two. We would then have a government by the courts, instead of by the Congress and the President. Manifestly the Founding Fathers did not contemplate such a result.

Chief Justice Taney remarked in Decatur v. Paulding, 14 Pet. 497, 516, that "The interference of the courts with the performance of the ordinary duties of the executive departments of the Government, would be productive of nothing but mischief; and we are quite satisfied, that such a power was never intended to be given to them." This comment is equally applicable to the business of the legislative branch.

It is a basic duty of the Federal courts zealously to maintain their independence and not to tolerate any encroachment upon it. By the same token, it is equally the obligation of the judiciary not to attempt to usurp or infringe on the powers or independence of either of the other two departments. The ringing words of Mr. Justice Stone, in United States v. Butler, 297 U.S. 1, 78-79, although uttered in a dissenting opinion, have made a deep impress on jurisprudence. He eloquently observed that, "while although unconstitutional exercise of power by the executive and legislative branches of the Government is subject to judicial restraint, the only check upon our own exercise of power is our own sense of self-restraint. For the removal of unwise laws from the statute books appeal lies not to the courts but to the ballot and to the processes of democratic government."

The nature of the judicial process and the function of the courts consist of deciding actual cases and controversies. The sole jurisdiction and duty of the courts is to pass on the individual legal rights that parties to litigation assert and seek to have vindicated. For example, the authority to declare statutes unconstitutional is not a plenary power to strike down any legislative enactment as invalid. It is merely the function of determining what law governs the actual case or controversy before the court. If one party relies upon a statutory provision but the court concludes that the statute is repugnant to a clause of the Constitution, the Constitution takes priority as the supreme law of the land. The court must then decide the case in accordance with the Constitution and ignore the statute that is incon-

<sup>2</sup> Constitution, art. I, sec. 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> United States v. Burr, 25 Fed. Cas. 30, No. 14, 692d; Beveridge, Life of Marshall, vol. 3 n 454

June 3

sistent with it, thereby, and only to that extent, leading to the conclusion that the statute is unconstitutional and therefore unenforceable. Chief Justice Marshall demonstrated this chain of reasoning with the precision of Aristotelian logic in Marbury v. Madison, 1 Cranch 137.

While, as has been indicated, no suit lies against the Congress or against the President, actions may be maintained against their subordinates, but only if an individual legal right is involved. Thus, heads of executive departments are subject to suit in the Federal courts, but only if the head of the department is acting contrary to the law that circumscribes his duties, or fails to carry out a congressional mandate; and further provided the individual legal rights of the party who brings the suit, are violated by the officer's activity or failure to act. Such a suit may not be maintained, however, in respect to a political matter or a matter that the law leaves to the officer's discretion.4 Subject to the same limitations, actions lie against individual officers of the legislative branch of the Government, such as the Comptroller General, and the Public Printer.

In order that the plaintiff in the case at bar may maintain this action, it is essential for him to establish that the defendants have violated some personal right that the law accords to him. Whether any Government records are open for inspection by the public or some segment of the public is, in the first instance, to be determined by the Congress. This subject is within the legislative power. If the Congress legislates to the effect that certain specified records are to be open to the public, or to some specified members of the public, and a person to whom this right is extended by such an enactment, is denied access to the records by their custodian, then and only then, at the behest of such person, the courts may act and enforce the right of inspection that the Congress has given him. It is necessary, therefore, to examine and scrutinize the statutes bearing on this point, since the courts may not rule that the records in question are public and open to inspection unless the Congress first legislated to

The statutory provisions on this subject are found in title 2 of the United States Code, which relates to the Congress. Section 102 requires the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House of Representatives to prepare and submit to the two Houses, respectively, at the commencement of each session of Congress, a statement showing the names of all persons who have been employed in their respective offices during the preceding year, and those of the messengers of the respective Houses; the time that each person was actually employed; and the sums paid to each. Second, the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House of Representatives are required to submit a detailed, itemized statement of expenditures out of the contingent fund for each House.

Section 103 imposes a duty on the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House to require disbursing officers acting under their direction or authority, to submit a return of precise and analytical state-

\*Youngstown Sheet and Tube Co. v. Sawyer, 343 U.S. 579. The law reports are replete with actions against the Seeretary of the Interior involving title to public lands; and against the Secretary of Agriculture in matters involving his regulatory activities, but such suits may be maintained only in respect to matters involving individual legal

<sup>4</sup> Mississippi v. Stanton, 154 U.S. 554; State of Georgia v. Stanton, 6 Wall. 50.

\*E.g., Miguel v. McCarl, 291 U.S. 442. \*E.g., Duncap v. Blattenberger, 141 F. Supp. 513. ments and receipts for all moneys expended during the preceding year. The section further provides that the results of such returns and the sum total shall be communicated annually to Congress by the Secretary and the Clerk. It should be observed that under section 103, the only documents to be submitted to the Congress by the Secretary and the Clerk, respectively, are the results of the returns made by the disbursing officers and the sums total.

Section 113 requires the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House to submit full and complete statements of their receipts and disbursements showing the items of their expenses in detail. There is no express provision and none can be perceived as a matter of necessary implication to the effect that all of these financial statements are to be termed public records in the sense of being accessible to public inspection. The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible that no statutory right is granted to the plaintiff, or to any other member of the public, to have access as a matter of course to the records that he seeks to inspect.

The plaintiff, however, does not base his claim solely on an alleged statutory right. He asserts that he has a constitutional right to inspect the records in question. He predicates this contention on two grounds, each independent of the other. First, it is urged that the right to see the records in question is part of the constitutional freedom of the press, since he desires to inspect them in his capacity as a representative of the press. Freedom of the press is, of course, one of the basic elements of the Anglo-American concept of ordered liberty. It is considered of such vital importance that it is expressly protected by the 1st amend-ment to the Constitution as against infraction by Federal law, and is safeguarded by the due process clause of the 14th amendment, as against interference or transgression by the States.7 To discuss freedom of the press at length would be superfluous, for we have reached a stage in our development at which we take it for granted. It is no longer essential to vindicate and champion it as was valiantly and convincingly done by John Milton in his "Areopagitica, in the 17th century, when the idea seemed novel, dangerous, and almost revolutionary. The Anglo-American world has progressed so that even as far back as a century ago. it was observed by John Stuart Mill in his celebrated essay on "Liberty," that "the time, it is to be hoped, is gone by, when any defense would be necessary of the 'liberty of the press'" (chap. II). In the interest of clarity of thought, however, it is essential to define our terms and consequently the phrase, "freedom of the press" needs explanation and interpretation.

Freedom of the press comprehends a right to print and publish and to disseminate, circulate, and distribute matters that have been printed, without prior restraint, without license, without censorship, and without discriminatory taxation, but subject to the consequences of the law of libel and to the criminal penalties imposed by such laws, as those that ban obscenity, fraud, incitement to crime, espionage and the like, or that protect the needs of national defense and security. The press is not liberated, however, from amenability to law generally. For example, newspaper publishers and press associations are subject to the National Labor

Relations Act, the Fair Labor Standards Act, and the Antitrust laws. The liberty of the press does not include any legal right of securing assistance from public officials in procuring information that it is desired to print. It does not comprise any alleged right of access to material not available to others, any more than it would include the privalege of attending closed meetings at which news of interest might possibly be gathered.

It is a useful device for testing the cogency and soundness of an argument to endeavor to apply it to extreme suppositious cases and determine its possible effect on them. Thus, it would hardly be argued that the press, in exercising its constitutional privilege, may insist on the admission of its representatives to meetings and conferences that are not open to the public, such as, for example, executive sessions of congressional committees, meetings of the President's Cabinet, conferences of judges in deciding cases that have been argued before them, as well as other similar groups. Similarly, it would hardly be urged that the press is entitled to access to written material that the law does not regard as being automatically open to public inspection, such as, for example, staff reports submitted to congressional committees, until the latter choose to release them: letters to the President from his advisers. unless he sees fit to make them public: memorandas written to their superiors; executive departments to their superiors; or drafts of contemplated or tentative opinions of members of the judiciary until they take final form and are publicly handed down. Numerous other instances of a similar nature may be cited at length.

The conclusion is inevitable that the constitutional privilege of freedom of the press does not include a right on the part of representatives of the press to inspect documents not open to members of the public generally.

The second basis on which the plaintiff urges that the defendants have invaded his constitutional rights is that their refusal constitutes an interference with his right to pursue his occupation and, therefore, is a deprivation of a property right without due process of law. Manifestly, the defendants have done nothing to obstruct affirmatively the plaintiff's pursuit of his shosen calling. The most that can be said is that they have declined to aid him to see documents which Congress has not seen fit to make accessible to the public. Much that has been just said in regard to the constitutional freedom of the press is equally applicable here. The conclusion is inescapable that there is no basis for the contention that there has been any unlawful interference with the plaintiff's constitutional right to pursue his vocation.

In the light of the foregoing considerations the court is of the opinion that the plaintiff has no legal right to insist on seeing the records that he desires to inspect and that, consequently, the complaint does not state a claim on which relief may be granted.

Motion to dismiss the complaint is

Alexander Holtzoff, United States District Judge. June 2, 1959.

Joseph Burstyn, Inc. v. Wilson, 343 U.S.
 495, 500-01; Grosjean v. American Press Co.,
 297 U.S. 233, 244; Near v. Minnesota, 283 U.S.
 697, 707, 723.

<sup>\*</sup>Associated Press v. National Labor Relations Board, 301 U.S. 103, 132-133; Grosjean v. American Press Co., 297 U.S. 233; Near v. Minnesota, 283 U.S. 697.

<sup>\*</sup>Associated Press v. National Labor Relations Board, 301 U.S. 103.

<sup>10</sup> Mabee v. White Plains Publishing Co., 327

n Times-Picayune v. United States, 345 U.S. 594; Lorain Journal v. United States, 342 U.S. 143, 155; Associated Press v. United States, 326 U.S. 1; Indiana Farmer's Guide Pub. Co. v. Prairie Farmer Pub. Co., 293 U.S.

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS, Washington, D.C., May 22, 1959.

The Honorable Carl Hayden, President pro tempore, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR HAYDEN: The board of di-rectors of the American Society of Newspaper Editors has directed me to present to you a petition to the Senate for the redress of grievances:

This petition is herewith respectfully submitted in conformity with the provisions-of Senate rule 7 with a prayer for the consideration of the Senate.

Sincerely yours,

J. R. WIGGINS.

President, American Society of Newspaper Editors.

A PETITION TO THE U.S. SENATE FOR THE RE-DRESS OF GRIEVANCES BY THE BOARD OF DI-RECTORS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY NEWSPAPER EDITORS, FRIDAY, MAY 22, 1959

Whereas the Secretary of the Senate, the financial clerk of the Senate, and the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate have refused to give citizens of the United States access to certain public records of the Senate; and

Whereas citizens and taxpayers of the United States are entitled to know how public funds are disbursed; and

Whereas the imposition of secrecy upon the financial transactions of the U.S. Senate protects against disclosure the acts of those who may have illegally, improperly, or recklessly disposed of pubic money; and

Whereas the cloak of secrecy which shields wrongdoers from public knowledge or indignation, at the same time spreads unjust suspicion as to the integrity of Members of the Senate who have never participated in any of the bad practices of the shielded minority; and

Whereas the Congress of the United States, historically, has been the sword and buckler of citizens endeavoring to obtain information about the transactions of the executive departments and independent agencies of government, and its effectiveness in this urgent and necessary purpose is diminished by secrecy in its own establishment: Therefore, it is

Respectfully urged, by the board of directors of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, that the officers of the U.S. Senate be directed by the Senate to disclose to the public those transactions concerning the disbursement of public funds for payrolls, salaries, expenses, and such other purposes as are a matter of record.

J. R. WIGGINS,

President, American Society of Newspaper Editors on Authority of the
Board of Directors.

### Women Adapt to a Changing World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. PRESCOTT BUSH

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. BUSH. Mr. President, every day We see more evidence of the expanding opportunities which are available to American women. The ease with which these women adapt themselves to a changing world is amazing. We have seen in my own State of Connecticut the distinguished records made by many outstanding women in business, politics, teaching, and other fields.

Particularly interested in the welfare and future of women is Mrs. Alice K. Leopold, Assistant to the Secretary of Labor, James P. Mitchell, and formerly secretary of state in Connecticut, who devotes much of her time to guidance for working women of all ages.

I ask unanimous consent that an editorial from the Hartford Courant, reviewing Mrs. Leopold's address to the Business and Professional Women's Club of Hartford, be printed in the RECorn Appendix.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Hartford (Conn.) Courant, May 13, 19591

WOMEN ADAPT TO A CHANGING WORLD

A new pattern for women that now regularly includes jobs and homemaking has taken shape as a result of trial and error over the years. Mrs. Alice K, Leopold believes that young women should plan for this type of career, combining private life with outside services to the community.

In a talk to the Business and Professional Women's Club of Hartford she predicted that young women may work outside of their homes for 25 years or more. If they face this prospect early in their lives, they will be more likely to take full advantage of their opportunities for education and specialized training. The modern custom is for women to get jobs before they are 20, work a few years following marriage and then, after their children are old enough to look after themselves, return to the work force. This may be at 35 or later. Whether it is a good trend is not the point. What is important is that it is here to stay. Mrs. Leopold's advice should be taken to heart by young people, for such a double existence requires different types of skills and can benefit by long-range planning.

At present there are shortages in teaching and nursing. These are the fields that tra-ditionally attract those who are willing to go through adequate training. In the fu-ture the Nation will need more professional and technical people. Engineering and science do attract some women, but the number is not likely to be large. Business and industry are the fields in which women can spend interrupted careers. It is safe to say that those with experience before marriage are more likely to fit into an organization when they return to work later in life than are those who don't work before

Mrs. Leopold's constructive approach to the problem was shown by her concern for the mature woman who has never worked or needs retraining. This is a field in which much remains to be done. One approach is earning-opportunities forums that are held in 14 communities throughout the country. Connecticut's program to attract mature college graduates to teaching is also a worth-while enterprise aimed at the same problem. Going to work is a hard adjustment for women who have not taken it into account until forced by family necessities. The young generation, having faced it from early years, will be ready for the change.

The 51st State

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

### HON. CHARLES A. BOYLE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 26, 1959

Mr. BOYLE. Mr. Speaker, the right of the people to actively participate in the conduct of their government at all levels is of great concern to most of the people of the entire United States of America. It is the pressing desire of the residents of the District of Columbia to be given their rights as first class citizens. Recently, Mr. Leo A. Lerner, editor and publisher of Lerner Home Newspapers of Chicago, a crusader for the rights of man, ran the following editorial entitled, "The 51st State." Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I should like to include this editorial in the RECORD:

[From the Sunday Star, May 24, 1959]

THE 51ST STATE (By Leo A. Lerner)

Now, children, gather close and daddy will tell you a story.
The State of Alaska contains about 100,000

people. Its 40,000 voters have elected 2 U.S. Senators and 1 Congressman to serve in the Congress of the United States.

The State of Hawaii has about 500,000 inhabitants. Its little more than 100,000 voters (fewer than the number eligible to vote in any of the Chicago congressional districts) will soon elect 2 U.S. Senators and 1 Congressman (maybe 2) to serve at Washington in the U.S. Congress.

The State of Nevada has about 250,000 people, including faro dealers. These citi-zens, including about 75,000 voters, have elected 2 U.S. Senators and 1 Congressman to the Congress of the United States.

The State of Arizona, a very fast-growing American State, has less than a million people in it, but elects 2 U.S. Senators, 3 Congressmen, and every village in it, including Indian pueblos, has its own government.

Hold still a minute. I'll soon be through with the statistics. The State of Wyoming contains about 300,000 people, and it, too,

elects 2 U.S. Senators and a Congressman. Now we will take a jetplane to the District of Columbia, where Washington, our Nation's Capital, is situated. A million people live in Washington. These people are Americans just like all the rest of us. They eat, sleep, dream, make love (when they get a chance), and eat banana splits in Woolworth's.

But there's one thing the people who live in the District of Columbia can't do. They can't vote.

And that's just one thing they can't do. The other is that they have nothing to say about governing their own city.

Washington, D.C., contains more people

than three States like Wyoming. Wyoming has two U.S. Senators and one Congressman. But the people of Washington, D.C., have no representation at all.

Oh, some Washingtonians, those with a permanent address elsewhere, vote in their 'home" towns, by mail or by making a special trip, but those who live in Washington have no home rule in their hometown and no voice in the American Federal Government.

Washingtonians have no aldermen, mayor, no Senators and no Congressmen. They are in the center of democracy, but as far as deciding their own destiny is concerned they might as well be living in the penal colony in French Guiana.

All that fuss about Alaska and Hawaii sounded hypocritical to me when I thought of the voteless, voiceless people in the District of Columbia.

My friend Herblock, the cartoonist, who lives in Washington, once drew a cartoon showing Nikita Khrushchev, saying, "I'll give the West a good deal—go tell them I'll guarantee West Berlin as much democracy as they allow the District of Columbia."

That hurts, mostly because it is so true. A committee of Congress runs Washing-ton, which means that Congressmen from far-off places like Nome or Howland Island

(total population four) control the destiny of a million people who can't vote.

It's nutty, but it's stranger than fiction.
What fiction writer in the 20th century would have such a fantastic imagination as to dream up this libel against the United States of America?

I am for making the District of Columbia the 51st State. The Americans who live there should be able to vote and run their

own municipal government.

If it weren't for a third baseman named Harmon Killebrew, Washingtonians could scarcely hold up their heads.

# Increased Cancer Research as Memorial to John Foster Dulles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, the distinguished commentator of the American Broadcasting Network, Mr. Edward P. Morgan, described vividly on May 27 how the Senator from Alabama [Mr. Hill] and I have suggested that a vast program of cancer research be undertaken as a memorial to the late John Foster Dulles.

Senator Hill, of course, is more qualified than any other Member of Congress to take the lead in encouraging such a memorial.

Edward P. Morgan's commentary is so cogent and so persuasive that I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that it be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EDWARD P. MORGAN AND THE NEWS, MAY 27, 1959

Already a bill has been introduced in Congress to start the ball rolling for a national memorial to John Foster Dulles. And in announcing plans to build a great church edifice in Washington, the National Presbyterian Church—of which Dulles was a member—indicated the project might include a memorial of its own to him. But today, two Senators, both Democrats, urged Congress to authorize a broader program of cancer research in the name of the ex-Secretary of State. It would be hard to think of a more appropriate move unless it could be the creation of a fund to finance the scientific study of the psychological and other causes of war.

"What greater way could there be to honor Mr. Dulles' memory," said Oregon's RICHARD NEUBERGER in endorsing a suggestion by Alabama's Lister Hill, "than to launch a rast program through the National Cancer Institute aimed at vanquishing the disease which took his life?" He was testifying at a Senate Appropriations Subcommittee hearing, headed by Hill, on a money bill for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Neuberger, who has been a victim of the disease himself, supported an expansion of Federal funds to the Cancer Institute from the present level of \$75 million, which President Eisenhower is satisfied with, to \$109 million, for the next fiscal year. The House has already raised the administration ante to more than \$83 million.

Senator H.L. noted that cancer had robbed the Senate alone of some of its greatest leaders in recent years, including Vandenberg of Michigan, Taft of Ohio, and Brian McMahon of Connecticut.

Support for more ambitious Government assistance came from an entirely different quarter today which, paradoxically enough, might have more influence in mobilizing public support than the most respected political voice in the land. Sobered by his recent brush with death in his operation for lung cancer, a broadcasting personality named Arthur Godfrey wrote the subcommittee urging a "crash program" of cancer research. Surely, he said, such a move "is as important today to America as similar projects now being pursued by nuclear fission, missiles, and space scientists."

For years some of the most prominent medical experts have urged far stronger backing, public and private, for research on many types of diseases-especially cancer. Today, Dr. I. S. Ravdin, a national authority on cancer who was consulted during Dulles illness, told the subcommittee he supported a more ambitious program. Today's testimony recalled another hearing several weeks ago before the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee at which Senator HILL, in support of his so-called health-for-peace bill to establish an international research clearinghouse, said the evidence at hand indicated that if all the world's current efforts to combat cancer could be coordinated a major breakthrough toward a cure might be expected in a short time. Next to heart disease, cancer kills more persons in the United States than any other cause—more than a quarter of a million a year.

Still, a lot of people wonder about the wisdom of putting more than \$100 million of Federal funds—tax money, that is—into the Cancer Institute whose research grants, incidentally, have been almost quadrupled in less than 5 years thanks to the efforts of such legislators as Senators Neuserger and

But, in a revealing article in the June issue of Harper's magazine, Neuerrager, after describing his own intimate experiences with the disease, gives us another reminder of the tilt in our values. Our total investment in cancer research is a pittance compared to what we pass at the parimutuel windows; two percent of what we spend on cigarettes, which, ironically, may hasten the onset of the malady.

His most convincing testimony is living proof of the effectiveness of research: himself. No wonder citizens like Senator Neubergger and Arthur Godfrey are for it. They wouldn't be alive without it.

### Military Air Transport Service in Peace and War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. J. GLENN BEALL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, each year the Congress holds special hearings on the position and use of the Military Air Transport Service. Throughout the year our newspapers and magazines contain many articles and statements by airlines executives, public officials, and other interested parties regarding the controversial charges of Government competition with commercial carriers. This is-

sue, I believe, should be discussed fully, and openly, so that all interested persons can know the facts. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that a highly interesting and informative article on the subject from the Sun of Baltimore, be printed in the Appendix of the Record. The item was written by Mr. Albert Sehlstedt, Jr., the newspaper's aviation editor, and was printed in the editions of June 1, 1959.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AIRPORTS AND AIRWAYS
(By Albert Schlstedt, Jr.)

One of the favorite whipping boys of the airlines and some other segments of civilian endeavor is the Military Air Transport Service.

Even some supposedly objective newspapermen have been known to knock or poke fun at this transportation arm of the Department of Defense.

Like the flowers that bloom in the spring, criticism of MATS seems to be a seasonal thing which bursts forth every year or so and then hibernates for another fling,

#### COMMERCIAL LINES COMPLAINT

Much of this criticism centers around charges that MATS is, in effect, the world's largest airline and takes legitimate business from the commercial carriers.

Instead of devoting the rest of this space to cataloging the latest barbs directed at MATS, we will list a few of the arguments on the military side of the long debate.

The MATS view is summed up in a recent

The MATS view is summed up in a recent statement by Lt. Gen. William H. Tunner. MATS commander, who 11 yeears ago, headed the British-American airlift that broke the Soviet blockade of Berlin.

#### BIG WARTIME JOB

"MATS, like the Strategic Air Command and the Air Defense Command, is in being only because it has a big wartime job," says General Tunner.

"This job is to fly hundreds of missions in support of the Department of Defense fighting agencies immediately after an emergency starts."

In order to be ready for such emergencies, he explains, it is necessary that MATS operate at a certain minimum level when no particular emergency exists.

### ALSO DOES USEFUL SERVICE

"While flexing our air transport muscles in peacetime, we are fortunate that we can perform a useful service to the Department of Defense because of the very nature of our job," he continues.

"We can carry a portion of our Defense Department military people, their families and cargoes overseas and thus reduce the overall cost of the Department of Defense to the taxpayers."

However, there is more business around than MATS can handle with its present size and minimum flying-hour rate, Tunner says. As a consequence, commercial air carriers get a lot of business.

SEVENTY MILLION DOLLARS WORK FOR LINES

This contract hauling done by the airlines for the military has increased annually to an all-time high of \$70 million this year. It was \$57 million last year; \$50 million in 1957, and \$43 million in 1956.

"It must be noted in passing that as MATS contracts for more business, more airlines organize and spring up to ask for a share of this business," Tunner reports.

"As a matter of fact, in the last 8 months, 17 new airlines have been added to our bidders list. Most of them are actually new airlines.

#### "WANTS HEALTHY INDUSTRY

"The real problem, of course, which we hear so much about today is, Why doesn't MATS give even more business to the airlines?

"MATS is in a tough spot here because MATS wants a healthy transport industry, one that it can depend on for support if war or other serious emergency were to come."

Tunner says there isn't any more business to give to the airlines at present unless MATS were to fly empty planes while maintaining its training program. Such an alternative would quadruple the present Defense Department airlift budget which now stands at about one quarter of a billion dollars.

#### PROPOSES MOVING MORE BY AIR

The general then asks for a solution to the problem and comes forward with his own proposal. He suggests that the military move more people and things by air than it does at present. Such a course would bring about greater utilization of people and things and create a good deal more air transport business.

"For example," he says, "today 93 percent of Air Force officers, airmen, and their familles move to and from overseas by both military and commercial air.

"This means a substantial monetary saving to the Air Force, compared to surface movements, as well as the saving of 12,000 personnel—or enough personnel to man 3 bombardment groups.

"If the Department of Defense, as a whole, were to adopt this policy it would increase our movement of Government passengers to and from overseas by almost 50 percent. This would result, of course, in increased commercial augmentation.

"Rapid airlift, cutting down on inventory costs and other outlays, already is practiced in the shipment of expensive items of military hardware, such as jet engine," Tunner says.

#### HIGHER COST ITEMS

"In this field of moving higher cost items, much more can be done and I estimate we could double the Department of Defense air movements of these items and save substantial initial procurement money—by buying a fewer number and seeing to it that these high-cost items didn't sit on the docks and decks in long, tortuous pipelines."

General Tunner declares that Americans can get full value for their tax dollars spent on military transport if MATS and the airlines settle their differences and cooperate in the development of air transportation to its full potential.

### A Tribute to Ens. Stanley W. Legro, of Houston, Tex., Honor Man at the U.S. Naval Academy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, after his graduation from the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis this week, Stanley W. Legro, of Houston, Tex., was commissioned an ensign in the Navy.

He comes highly qualified for his naval service. He was first man in his 800-man graduating class and won awards for outstanding performance in English, seamanship, leadership, ordnance, and other subjects. Ensign Legro's record at the Academy reflects very favorably on himself, his family, his State, and the Nation.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an article from the Washington Post and Times Herald for Tuesday, June 2, 1959, entitled "Houston Middie Walks Off With Six Prizes."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

HOUSTON MIDDY WALKS OFF WITH SIX PRIZES

Annapolis, June 1.—Stanley W. Legro, honor man in the Naval Academy's graduation class, received six of the prizes awarded to midshipmen today for excellence in scholastics, leadership, sports, and extracurricular activities.

Legro, 22-year-old son of Mr. and Mrs. Wayne L. Legro of Houston, Tex., qualified for two awards by finishing at the head of the 800-man graduating class. He won four others for excelling in English, seamanship, leadership, and ordnance.

Seventy-one major awards were presented. They ranged from money, swords, and radios to lifetime memberships in Navy organizations.

The presentation of prizes and commendations highlighted the fourth day of June Week at the Academy. The festivities, attracting thousands of visitors from throughout the Nation, will culminate in graduation exercises Wednesday. William B. Franke, Under Secretary of the Navy, will give the commencement address.

Most of the prizes were handed out in the Academy's huge fieldhouse. Twenty-one letters of commendations for the most officer-like midshipmen were presented at a late afternoon parade.

Also on today's schedule were boat demonstrations, movies, the Superintendent's garden party for seniors, hops for all classes, and an "N" dance for varsity letter winners and their "drags."

Leaden skies threatened the parade and garden party but didn't seem to dull the spirit of the midshipmen, their families, sweethearts, and friends.

The day got off to a colorful start with a rehearsal for the traditional flag-passing ceremony which will take place at 5 pm., Tuesday. In one of the most crowd-pleasing events of the week, Susan Graham of Bloomington, Ill., will transfer the United States and brigade flags from the 3d Company to the 8th.

The pretty Penn State coed was chosen as 1959 Color Girl by Douglas Volgenau of Clarence, N.Y., commander of the 8th Company. His outfit's general excellence won it the right to lead the brigade at all functions next year.

A kiss climaxes the color ceremony. Volgenau and Miss Graham rehearsed that part about 20 times today for the benefit of photographers.

Volgenau got other rewards later on. He automatically qualified for the Forrestal award, a silver tray which goes to the commander of the color company, and he won the Weems wrestling prize.

### Job Outlook for Graduates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, with graduation from America's high schools and colleges now in progress, hundreds of thousands of students will be looking for jobs.

Imbued with zeal, enthusiasm and ambition, these young job hunters seeking employment—some temporary, some permanent—will be knocking on doors of business, industry, and farms throughout the country.

Today the Nation is recovering from its economic setback, with an increasingly large volume of formerly jobless people now being reemployed. However, there is still too large a number of jobless.

The flood of new potential workers on the market may indeed pose difficult problems, not only for the students graduating from our educational institutions, but for permanent workers and their families competing for the available jobs.

The Congress must continue to seriously examine this situation and do all it possibly can to improve the employment outlook. In addition, States, local communities, as well as labor and industry, also must attempt to make an effective contribution toward dealing with our unemployment problems.

To assist our young job hunters in finding work, a recent edition of the Milwaukee Journal carried a fine article, by Laura Pilarski, on tips to young jobseekers. The article also outlined the constructive efforts made by our Wisconsin State Employment Service in assisting these young people to find work.

Believing that these ideas contain helpful advice that will better enable graduates to make a useful contribution to community life—in Wisconsin and elsewhere in the Nation—I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TEENAGERS AND JOB TESTING—HOW TO FIND WORK? YOUNGSTEES GET TIPS—4,500 TO 5,000 HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES TO LOOK FOR PERMANENT EMPLOYMENT

#### (By Laura Pilarski)

Some 4,500 to 5,000 teenagers graduating from Milwaukee area high schools next month will be looking for permanent jobs.

These are the young people who will not

These are the young people who will not continue their formal education. They represent a majority of the community's 8,000 total high school graduates.

Willett S. Main, district manager of the Wisconsin State Employment Service (WSES), estimates that during the last school year, the service has counseled and tested at least 4,500 pupils in some 25 high schools.

#### QUESTIONS ARE ASKED

This job probing was aimed at answering these questions of the voluntary participants:

Am I sure of the kind of work I want to do?

Do I know what my ability is to do the job?

Do I know all about the opportunities in the field of work I want to enter? Where can I find the job I want?

To aid young people further in job hunting, the State service has issued several pamphlets. These are available through the district headquarters at 634 North Second Street. They will be mailed to those who call Broadway 1-7682 and request them.

#### REQUIREMENTS ARE LISTED

"How To Get and Hold the Right Job" includes information on analyzing oneself for specific work requirements and what to do

letter of application is given.
"Job Tips for Teenagers" lists everything from jobs not permitted for those under 18 to how to apply for a work permit. It also emphasizes a WSES theme, which is that high schoolers should try to continue their education, through college or vocational

REASONS ARE GIVEN

These reasons for extending schooling are listed:

It will make it possible for you to obtain better opportunities in whatever field you enter.

It will help you develop skills that can be used in a future job.

It will help you mature and learn how to

get along with people.

Elaborating on this final point, the pamphlet points out that surveys show some 80 percent of those who lose jobs do so because they cannot get along with others.

#### CAN'T RUN ELEVATORS

The publication includes the information that those under 18 cannot work for street carnivals or other traveling shows, run elevators or other hoisting machines, be employed where alcoholic beverages or explosives are made, and work on outside construction and repair of electric and communication wires.

"The Road to the Right Job" and "How To Land That Job" list ways of selling yourself.

HERE ARE SOME TIPS

Here are suggested tips for the young jobseeker:

Prepare for the interview. Have at your fingertips your education and job record. Be prepared to give references.

Look presentable.

Be on time and go alone.

Speak with confidence and leave troubles at home. Don't bluff or exaggerate your experience.

Avoid arguments with the prospective employer, for you may win your point but lose the job.

ADVICE: BE DEPENDABLE

Once you are hired, the problem is to keep the job. These are recommendations on holding a post:

Be dependable, for your employer counts on you.

Be pleasant. Remember, you wanted the Job.

Do your best and do it willingly.

Learn everything you can about your job. Fit yourself to your job. Don't expect your employer to fit the job to you.

#### JOS PICTURE BRIGHTER

The employment picture is brighter now than it has been, according to State and local WSES sources.

For boys, opportunities mostly are in industry, the trades, service fields, and office and sales work. Typist and stenographer posts and sales and service work represent job fields for girls.

The district employment office estimates some 500 to 600 young people will be placed in summer jobs this year. These will include seasonal jobs tied in with agriculture and food processing.

### The Need To Halt Deficit Financing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

### HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I request unanimous consent to have printed It's a peach of an idea.

if one is interested. Advice on preparing a in the Appendix of the Record an editorial which was published in the Laconia Evening Citizen of May 28, 1959.

Mr. Edward J. Gallagher, the distinguished publisher and author of this editorial, has pinpointed the need for the enactment of Senate Joint Resolution 99, which I introduced on May 26, 1959, on behalf of myself, the Senator from Virginia [Mr. Byrn], and the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS]. The editorial clearly points out that a nation, like a person, must live within its means or it will soon be in trouble and that the voters should be given a chance to impose their will in an effort to halt deficit financing. I commend to the attention of my colleagues the contents of this editorial, which so thoughtfully and realistically deals with one of the great problems of our time.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEFICIT SPENDING-A WAY TO END IT AT WASHINGTON

A dispatch from Washington in yesterday's Evening Citizen reported Senator BRIDGES this week proposed an amendment to the U.S. Constitution which would require balancing of the Federal budget. He introduced a resolution on the subject, cosponsored by Senator Byrn, Democrat, of Virginia, and Senator Curtis, Republican, of Nebraska.

The amendment would require the President to submit a balanced budget to Con-gress, and it would compel Congress to pass a balanced budget prior to adjournment. The only exception would be in time of war or a national emergency.

Ordinarily we would say the question of Federal spending is for Congress and the President, our duly elected Representatives to decide, and that they should not clutter up the scene with demands for a referendum. The present situation, however, is decidedly different. We welcome any device to give the people of the United States an opportunity to register their opinion as to deficit spending. Such spending which follows unbalanced budgets is the primary cause of inflation. If the people want a Government living within its means they could make their wishes effective by the simple expedient of approving the constitutional amendment which Senator BRIDGES and his two colleagues, representing both major political parties, have recommended. Sad experience indicates this may be the only way to introduce the much-needed pay-as-you-go policy at Washington. If the people actually want spendthrift Government, which we find it difficult to believe ever could be the case, barring the dark days of war, they could get it by voting down the suggested amendment to our Constitution. Political spenders will continue to degrade and eventually destroy the dollar unless stopped and it may be up to the voters themselves to deal the decisive blow that will halt the wreckers of the national economy. The Manufacturers' Trust Co. of New York in a recent publication said: "National economy is sound. But there is no assurance that it will remain that way unless we think and act to make it so. Nation, like a person, must 'live within its means' or it will soon be in trouble."

Senator Bringes is not passing to the people the sort of hot potato that Members of Congress and other legislators toss hither and yon. Far from ducking an issue, he is seriously requesting that the voters be given a chance to impose their judgment on the type of national spending that reduces the value of every dollar they earn, diminishes their life savings by cheapening our currency.

Reduction of the 271/2 Percent Oil Depletion Allowance Would Seriously Injure the Small, Independent Operator

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. YARBOROUGH, Mr. President, although oil has become a major industry in the United States since the first well was drilled 100 years ago, there has recently been a 17-percent drop in the number of oil wells drilled in the United States.

This is of vital interest to every American because oil is not only one of our most valuable peacetime resources, but is a vital link in our national defense chain,

Because of the special character of the oil industry-the risk of investing thousands of dollars in drilling to strike only dust-a 271/2-percent depletion allowance is provided to help oil operators stay in business and weather these staggering financial setbacks. As the distinguished Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Long] stated recently-

Our oil and gas industries are really no more profitable than the average manufacturing industry.

And the Nation's oil industry is threatened by a flood of foreign oil into this country, much of it from fields controlled by the international oil cartel.

The independent oilmen-the small businessmen of the oil industry-and the drillers and other workers in the fields, and the people in related jobs such as the manufacture of drilling tools and sales of supplies and transporting of oil, have been hurt by this flood of foreign oil. To cut the domestic 271/2 percent depletion allowance, would be a serious, perhaps fatal blow to a large number of small, independent oilmen. In addition, it would damage the oilproducing economy because of the loss of money which the oil industry distributes through lease and royalty payments and in a hundred other ways. Reducing the depletion allowance would put this Nation's independent producers in a worse position to compete with the importing companies and their tax-free foreign oil imports.

A reduction in the depletion allowance reduces the share of the consumer dollar that goes into domestic production and increases the share going into the pockets of foreign producers. When the share of the consumer dollar going for domestic production declines, to that extent American industry declines.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a resolution adopted by the Commissioners' Court of Ward County, Tex., on May 25, 1959, opposing reductions in the oil depletion allowance.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

On this the 25th day of May, A.D. 1959, at 10 a.m., came on to be had a special meeting of Commissioners' Court of Ward County, Tex., held in the commissioners' courtroom in the county courthouse of said county in the town of Monahans with the following members present and presiding: Carl D. Estes, county judge; Warren Goode, commissioner, precinct No. 1; G. W. Thurston, commissioner, precinct No. 2; O. O. Williamson, commissioner, precinct No. 3; Le Roy Price, commissioner, precinct No. 4; Mary M. Childs, county clerk and ex-officio clerk of commis-sioners' court when and where the following

proceedings, were had to wit: 'Whereas it has been called to the attention of the Commissioners' Court of Ward County, Tex., that there is now pending in the Congress of the United States of America a bill, or bills, to reduce the depletion allowance on oil production over the Nation from 27½ percent to 15 percent, and the Commissioners' Court of Ward County, Tex., being familiar with the oil business due to the fact that the principal source of income of the citizens of Ward County, Tex., is derived from the production of oil, and further knowing the drilling conditions, production expenses, and other costs involved in the cost of securing and producing oil, is of the opinion that such reduction would be extremely harmful to all those persons engaged either directly or indirectly in the oil business, and seriously affect, not only the economy of Ward County, Tex., but of the entire Nation, in that such depletion allowance reduction would greatly curtail the drilling of new wells, the working over of old wells, and the production of oil generally. That the economy of this Nation depends greatly on the production of oil and that should such depletion allowance be reduced, it would seriously affect the standard of living of all of the citizens of our country: Wherefore, be it

"Resolved by the Commissioners' Court of Ward County, Tex., meeting on this 25th day of May A.D. 1959, That such commissioners' court is unalterably opposed to any such depletion allowance reduction, and that they urge the Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson and the Honorable RALPH YARBOROUGH, U.S. Senators from Texas, and the Honorable J. T. RUTHERFORD, Representative of the 16th Congressional District of the State of Texas, to oppose any reduction, and that they use their great influence to see that such bill, or bills, advocating such reduction, be defeated in the Congress of these United States of America. Further, that copies of this resolution be forwarded to the said Honorable Lynpon B. JOHNSON, the Honorable RALPH YARBOROUGH, and the Honorable J. T. RUTHERFORD, as well as to any other parties interested in said

Residents of British Columbia Favor Protection of Fraser River Fisheries

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

### HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, an article in the Vancouver, British Columbia, Sun of May 9, 1959, demonstrates that the people of British Columbia, as surveyed by a public-opinion poll, decisively favor development of the Columbia River for power production, rather than the Fraser River system.

This expression of sentiment by the residents of a great Canadian Province is of direct interest to those of us who live in the Northwest. Not only does it demonstrate public support of the decision of Canadian Government officials concerning power development on the Columbia River; it also indicates that Canadians are willing to sacrifice present power development on the Fraser River. so that the \$50 million salmon fisheries resource of that waterway can be protected. This attitude of our Canadian friends and neighbors is of special significance in connection with the decision, now facing people in the Northwest, as to whether we ought to sacrifice or risk the great salmon fisheries resource of our own Salmon River watershed of the Pacific Northwest, through present authorization-provisional or wise-of the high Nez Perce Dam.

British Columbia is willing to forego the kilowatts of the Fraser River, so that the valuable sockeye salmon runs can be preserved. We of the American Northwest should be equally vigilant in safeguarding the chinook salmon resource of the Salmon River in our own country. Our Canadian neighbors are setting a worthy and wise example.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous con-sent that the article on this very illuminating public-opinion survey in British Columbia, as published by the Vancouver Sun, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Vancouver (British Columbia) Sun of May 9, 1959]

COLUMBIA FIRST, SAY TWO OUT OF THREE-FEW FAVOR POWER ON FRASER UNTIL FISH INDUSTRY PROTECTED

### (By Ben Crow)

The people of British Columbia, by a margin of 2 to 1 favor development of the Columbia River before the Peace.

Few persons even consider the Fraser until the salmon industry is protected.

A poll of more than 500 homes throughout the Province also showed interior residents are even more in favor of power on the Columbia first

"Jobs, industrial development, and business where people live-not in the north," they sav.

Citizens agree with recent Federal and Provincial government announcements that the Columbia should be developed by a Government agency.

#### LITTLE KNOWLEDGE

About one-quarter of respondents show little knowledge or concern.

Arguments for the power development of each of the three rivers were as follows:

People favoring the Columbia mention: 1. Must protect Fraser River salmon, 22

- 2. Nearer to lower mainland area, 11 percent.
- 3. Benefit from U.S. participation, 6 percent.
  - 4. A cheaper source of power, 6 percent. 5, A source of employment, 5 percent.
- 6. A large number of other answers include development of the surrounding area; downstream benefits; it's considered best by experts; more power potential; survey work has been done, 50 percent.

#### PEACE ARGUMENTS

Proponents of the Peace River counter: 1. Will aid in the development of the north, 35 percent.

2. To protect Fraser River salmon, 11 per-

3. Will provide jobs, 10 percent.
4. A large number of other answers include: an all-Canadian project, less controversy with United States, 44 percent.
Some people favor the Fraser, in spite of

the fish:

- 1. It's close to the lower mainland, 28 per-
- 2. Other answers include: for flood control, serves a larger area, 72 percent.

### Maintenance of a Fair System of Veterans' Benefits

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, on Memorial Day just passed, we paid tribute to the millions of veterans who, throughout the years, have sacrificed to defend the ramparts of our country.

As we all know, the ravages of war live long after the guns stop booming. Across the Nation, millions of lives of individuals and their families still bear the deep scars of war.

Today in Wisconson, for example, there are more than 479,000 living veterans; 312,000 of them from World War II.

In our tributes on Memorial Day we recounted "in words" the measureless sacrifices which these sons and daughters of America have made on battlegrounds around the world to defend freedom.

Currently, there are before committees a number of pieces of legislation dealing with veterans' benefits. A number of the measures would increase the benefits: others would reduce them.

If we mean what we said in our memorial services, let us very carefully and sympathetically consider legislation that would affect the welfare of our veterans and their families.

It is true that we are spending a substantial amount for veterans' benefits. As the conflicts for which these exservicemen are receiving benefits recede farther into the past, it may well be that we can take a new look at the overall program and make some equitable adjustments. Sometimes this may be desirable in the light of the needs of the veterans themselves, as well as in the interest of maintaining a good overall program.

However, we must remember that benefits cannot restore years of life given to the service of our country. Nor can they adequately compensate for wounds. or loss of "limb or life," in battle. Consequently, we must continue to review our veterans' programs in the selfless spirit with which the millions of guardians of liberty have sacrificed to keep our country free.

Recently the Milwaukee Journal carried a detailed article on the scope of the veterans' aid program in Wisconsin entitled "Thousands in State Getting Veterans Aid." In addition to reviewing the kind, and volume, of benefits received by veterans, the article is also a grim reminder of the thousands upon thousands of ex-service personnel among us who still bear the wounds of war. I ask unanimous consent to have this article printed in the Appendix of the

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THOUSANDS IN STATE GETTING VETERANS AID

Thousands of Wisconsin veterans and their dependents or survivors share in the benefits that the Nation has provided in its gratitude for war service.

The State has an estimated 479,000 living veterans of wars and armed conflicts, the largest proportion being 312,000 veterans of World War II, according to J. P. Cullen, Milwaukee, regional manager of the Veterans' Administration.

It has 94,000 living veterans who saw service in the Korean war but not in World War II, 71,000 living veterans of World War I and 2,000 veterans of earlier wars and peacetime service.

Expenditures of the Federal Veterans' Administration in Wisconsin in the last fiscal year for veterans or their survivors reached a record \$103,149,795.

#### GRANTS, LOANS MADE

In addition, the State of Wisconsin, through its department of veterans' affairs, disbursed \$5,153,771 in the fiscal year ended April 30 in grants or loans to veterans and assisted them in many other ways, according to Gordon A. Huseby, Madison, director of the department.

Wisconsin veterans also collected \$2,350.800 in 1958 in normal and emergency jobless benefits, paid by the Wisconsin Industrial Commission at Federal expense.

The largest sum expended for Wisconsin veterans or dependents of deceased veterans was \$58,047,855 in compensation or pension benefits paid to 56,618 living veterans and the dependents of 16,235 decreased veterans.

### GET PENSION BENEFITS

Wisconsin no longer has any survivors of the Mexican war but the Veterans' Administration is paying benefits to 2 survivors and to 6 dependents of the Indian wars, to 62 dependents of Civil War soldiers and to 773 survivors of the Spanish American War and to 1,233 dependents.

Compensation or pension benefits are being paid to 22,400 veterans of World War I and to 8,800 dependent survivors of World War I They are being paid to 27,614 vetveterans. erans of World War II and to dependents of 5,234 deceased veterans of that war.

Korean' war benefits are being paid to 4.273 servicemen and to 575 dependents of decreased servicemen. Benefits for peacetime service are being paid to 1,556 service-men and to 316 dependents.

For administration and hospitalization in Wisconsin in the last fiscal year, the VA paid \$21,736,680. This was largely for the operation of the four veterans hospitals at Wood in Milwaukee, Waukesha, Tomah, and Madison, and numerous VA clinics.

Dependents of Wisconsin servicemen last year received \$7,453,241 in death benefits from GI insurance policies.

#### HELPED TO TRAIN SELVES

Under its vocational rehabilitation program for disabled veterans, the VA paid \$735,-538 last year to help 465 former servicemen in Wisconsin train themselves for useful lives.

A total of 9,554 Wisconsin veterans of Korean service took advantage of the GI till last year for training, education, and aid in readjustment to civilian life. The expense was \$13,790,869.

Wisconsin still had 3 World War II veterans receiving training under the GI bill last year and it aided in the college education of 44 orphan children of World War II veterans for an additional cost of about \$75.000.

Under the Government's program guaranteed loans to veterans, through April 30 had made 89,524 loans to Wisconsin former servicemen in a total amount of \$735,488,828. The administrative cost of this program in Wisconsin last year was \$1,124,186.

Certain disabled veterans are eligible for aid in purchasing automobiles. The sum of \$24,000 was spent for this in Wisconsin last year. The VA also provides housing assistance for paraplegics. This program in Wisconsin cost \$127,286 last year.

#### EMERGENCY AID GIVEN

In the year ended April 30, the State paid \$55,291 in grants to 491 veterans of World War II and the Korean war where emergency financial aid was deemed necessary to prevent want and distress.

The State made 915 rehabilitation loans to veterans last year, totaling \$599,775, and made 1,534 housing loans totaling \$4,498,705.

Wisconsin last year started a mortgage guarantee life insurance program for veterans with housing loans. The cost to the veteran is 22 cents per \$1,000 of his unpaid balance. Since last September, the State has paid up the unpaid balances of 13 mortgages for deceased veterans at a cost of \$23,950.

The Wisconsin Department of Veterans' Affairs also assists Wisconsin veterans in claims against the Federal Government. Last year, as a direct or indirect result of this service in Wisconsin, the Federal Government made additional awards of \$1,141,000 in compensation and pension benefits to Wisconsin veterans of all wars.

#### Equitable Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF "

### HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, the concern of the American people over our patchwork Federal tax structure is becoming more and more apparent each day. Last month the distinguished senior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. WILEY], I, and other colleagues, introduced S. 1885, which provides for the establishment of a commission to investigate the fundamental tax policy and tax structure of the Federal Government. This proposal was met with overwhelming approval by the people of my State.

A representative indication of the response from the newspapers in New Hampshire is manifested in the editorial from the Concord Daily Monitor of June 1, 1959. I ask unanimous consent that this editorial, entitled "Equitable Taxes," be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### EQUITABLE TAXES

Examination of the Nation's tax structure is getting attention in Washington and gives some hope to taxpayers in all economic brackets that injustices will be remedied.

Senator Bamges is joining with Senator ALEXANDER WILEY of Wisconsin in sponsoring legislation designed to review the tax setup with the objective of necessary reforms. A committee in Congress is also making a tax

Senator Bamges wants a Hoover-type commission created which would report to Congress. Such a commission presumably would make a more detailed examination of taxes than the congressional committee. which is scheduling public hearings.

The Federal income tax structure has grown and grown since the 16th amendment to the Constitution gave Congress the power to lay and collect taxes on income.

During the Second World War there was a phenomenal rise in income taxes to levels undreamed of 30 years ago. Rate increases were accompanied by myriad exemptions and deductions. These catered to one group or another, but often were unfair to taxpayers as a whole.

Tax relief is long overdue for parents who are sending sons or daughters to college. While Washington is demanding more education for American youth, the least it can do is to lighten the heavy financial burden on parents who foot the bill.

Lack of adequate exemptions for insurance costs and-medical expenses also needs to be reviewed. More consideration should be shown by the Government for the plight of those struggling to provide essential secu-rity and health protection for themselves and their families.

The income tax system should encourage financial success and thrift. Now it penalizes them by confiscatory taxation. Incentives for private investments should be strengthened to provide more jobs and eco-nomic growth. Present levies are discouraging these investments.

High income taxes are disliked by almost everyone. It is a responsibility that would be borne more willingly if inequities in present laws were eliminated and loopholes closed to minimize evasions.

### Loans Under the Cooley Amendment to Public Law 480

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

### HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, hardly a day passes that I do not receive at least one inquiry about the progress of operations under the so-called Cooley amendment to Public Law 480. This is the provision which authorizes loans of foreign currency acquired under Public Law 480 for the expansion of private American business enterprises in foreign countries or for the development in those countries of expanded commercial markets for our agricultural products.

In order that I might make available to Members of the House and others interested in the latest information on this program, I have asked the Export-Import Bank, which handles the program, for a current report on its opera-

I now have the information requested: a letter from Mr. Lynn U. Stambaugh, First Vice President of the Export-Import Bank, to which is attached a brief summary of operations of the loan program to date and a statement showing the amounts of foreign currencies available for this program. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the letter and attachments be printed in the Record immediately following my remarks.

Mr. Speaker, this program of loans of foreign currency to private industry is turning out to be one of the more successful parts of the whole Public Law 480 operation. It is playing a very important part in stimulating the development of commerce and trade between other countries and the United States and to develop new, private, commercial markets abroad for our agricultural products—two objectives which the Committee on Agriculture considered paramount when it wrote this law.

I understand that the Bank is now considering the possibility of combining foreign currency loans with dollar loans under its regular program. This strikes me as a constructive and sound principle.

Altogether, Mr. Speaker, I think the Export-Import Bank is to be most highly commended for its intelligent, sympathetic, and—above all—imaginative handling of this foreign currency loan program. I am pleased to note from Mr. Stambaugh's letter, in response to my specific inquiry, that the Bank is not unhappy with this additional responsibility which Congress has imposed on it and has no desire to rid itself of the program.

For my part, I think that Congress made the wisest possible choice in placing responsibility for this program in the Export-Import Bank and I am completely unsympathetic with proposals that it be transferred to any other agency:

EXPORT-IMPORT BANK OF WASHINGTON,
Washington, D.C., May 21, 1959.
Hon. Harold D. Cooley,
House of Representatives.

House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN COOLEY: The attached memorandum is intended to keep you informed on the current status of our work under the amendment of section 104(e) of Public Law 480, which authorizes this Bank to make foreign currency loans to private enterprise.

We believe that we have made good progress to date, that the 104(e) loan program has been and will be of great assistance to many U.S. businesses, and that these loans can be an important force in attracting sound dollar investments by U.S. businesses in the foreign countries. To some extent these loans can also assist in financing the expansion of markets abroad for U.S. agricultural commodities.

It has come to our attention recently that an impression exists that this program is unwelcome at the Export-Import Bank. In fact, our attitude is just the reverse. We feel a considerable sense of accomplishment with respect to the credits that we have authorized and those which we have put before the foreign governments for their approval. We regard the loans made under this program as a useful adjunct to our basic dollar credits. Combinations of dollar and local currency loans will provide more complete financial assistance to sound proj-

ects abroad than was possible when the Bank's facilities were limited to dollar loans.

The Bank has made numerous arrangements with foreign governments and commercial banks in the foreign countries through which loans are now being made in an expeditious manner. The bulk of these arrangements would have to be renegotiated if the program were to be transferred to another agency and we are, therefore, strongly of the opinion that such a transfer would be a wasteful and time-consuming process, seriously interrupting the continued flow of loans made under this program.

As further evidence of the Bank's desire to continue the successful implementation of the section 104(e) loan program, it has been seriously considering making a formal recommendation that the Bank's share of the sales proceeds be designated a revolving fund. Since the law is not clear on this point the Bank has been assuming that the funds made available to it for such loans were not revolving. Our experience indicates that putting them on such a basis would permit the Bank to make better use of the funds.

Sincerely yours, LYNN U. STAMBAUGH, First Vice President.

STATUS OF WORK UNDER SECTION 104(E) LOAN PROGRAM

To date the Export-Import Bank has authorized 64 credits under this program in 9 countries for a foreign currency equivalent of approximately \$30.7 million. The Bank has also recommended for the approval of the respective foreign governments nine additional credits in five countries, aggregating the equivalent of \$4.7 million. Thus, to date the Bank has acted favorably on 73 credits involving a foreign currency equivalent of \$35.4 million. This would absorb at least 35 percent of the funds which we estimate to be actually available to us at this time. Three-fourths of the uncommitted funds consist of Indian and Pakistani rupees for which very few applications have as yet been received. The Bank is continuing to seek appropriate borrowers for these curcencles and has sent a representative to New Delhi who will devote a substantial portion of his time to this program.

The amounts which this Bank might receive for 104(e) loans under commodity sales agreements announced since August 1957 are shown in the attached table. The table also indicates the currencies for which applications are now being received and the amounts, in foreign currencies, of the credits authorized to date. You will note that commodity sales agreements have been negotiated with 25 countries; in 20 some provision was made for loans under section 104(e); and in 15 the full 25 percent authorized by the law is provided for. Whenever less than 25 percent is called for under

the sales agreement, other agencies of the Federal Government certified that there were compelling reasons for the departure from 25 percent.

Under the agreements announced to date the Bank could eventually receive the foreign currency equivalent of about \$200 milion. This is, of course, a ceiling figure. If the foreign country does not purchase all that it can under the sales agreement, the amount received by the Bank is reduced. Moreover, the foreign currencies actually become available for 104(e) loans only after the commodities have been delivered and paid for in the foreign country and a share of the deposits has been apportioned to the Bank. We estimate that at the outside we could actually obtain for loans at this time only about half of the foreign currency equivalent of \$200 million which is the maximum receivable under the existing sales agreements.

All but 5 of the 64 credits authorized to date have been made to U.S. firms or their affiliates. The exceptions are four credits to Israeli firms for grain storage facilities and one credit to a Peruvian firm for a malt factory. In these five cases the Bank has been advised by the Department of Agriculture that the credits would assist in improving the markets abroad for U.S. agricultural commodities.

Most of the credits are of comparatively modest size, the equivalent of between \$100,-000 and \$500,000. Only 9 of the 64 are equivalent to \$1 million or more.

The credits will assist firms in a wide variety of industries, including the manufacture of refractory brick, boilers, farm machinery, electrical supplies and machinery, pulp and paper products, detergents, livestock feeds, aluminum products, pharmaceuticals, shoes, tires, carbon black, automobtive parts, industrial pumps, and petrochemicals. Credits have also been authorized for a dairy in Peru, a retail enterprise in Mexico, a hotel in Colombia, distributors of petroleum products in Israel, Greece and Finland, and a supermarket in Milan, Italy.

The loans continue to be repayable in the local currency in which they are made, without maintenance of value. The interest rates are equivalent to those charged on similar loans by comparable institutions in the host country and range from 6 to 10 percent. The term of repayment ranges from 5 to 10 years including a waiting period when appropriate. Nearly half of the credits authorized have been made on the general credit of the borrower. When additional security is required the general practice to use the guarantee of the U.S. firm with which the applicant is affiliated. In some cases the guarantee of a local bank is used instead. In every case the Bank has satisfied itself that the security or assets behind the loan offer reasonable assurance of repayment.

Public Law 480 commodity sales agreement programs, Aug. 13, 1357-May 20, 1959
[Money amounts in millions]

Country	Unit of currency	Market value com- modity sales agree- ments in dollars	Maximum EIB share for sec. 104(e) loan funds			Credits author-
			Percent of sales proceeds	Dollar equiva- lent	Foreign currency	ized, foreign currency
Applications being accepted: Coylon China (Talwan) Ecuador Finland France Greece Icoland India	Rupee NTD Sucre Markka Frane Drachma Krona Rupee	14. 9 12. 1 1. 8 13. 1 55. 9 19. 8 3. 1 295. 8	25 25 25 25 25 25 15 25 25 25 25	3.7 3.0 .5 3.3 113.0 2.9 .8 73.9	17. 5 81. 8 7. 0 1, 044. 2 6, 368. 9 87. 3 19. 4 352. 8	340. ( 2, 645. ( 15. (

Footnote at end of table.

Public Law 480 commodity sales agreement programs, Aug. 13, 1957-May 20, 1959-Con. [Money amounts in millions]

Country	Unit of currency	Market value com- modity sales agree- ments in dollars	Maximum EIB share for sec. 104(e) loan funds			Credits author-
			Percent of sales proceeds	Dollar equiva- lent	Foreign currency	ized, foreign currency
Applications being accepted—Con. Israel * Korea Pakistan Pertt Philippines Turkey United Arab Republic Uruguay Vietnam	Pound		25 4 19 25 25 25 15 25 25 25 25 25	19.8 2.0 28.7 2.0 1.0 13.0 12.1 2.5 1.5	35.7 1,000.0 137.0 46.9 2.0 90.2 5.0 10.1 52.5	16, 5 1, 0 29, 0
Total		# 856, O	22	2 183. 5		
Receipt of applications terminated: Colombia	Peso Lira. Peso	13. 7 25. 0 28. 2	25 25 25	1 3. 2 6. 3 7. 1	22. 8 3, 906. 3 88. 7	22. 8 1, 825. 0 88. 0
Total		66.9	25	1 16.6		
Agreements providing no 104(e) loan funds:  Burma Iceland Poland Spain United Kingdom Yugoslavia		18.0 2.2 119.1 208.0 13.0 167.8				
Total		528, 1				
Grand total	-	1 1, 450. 9	14	3 200.1		

Adjusted for changes in the exchange rates applied to apportioned funds.
 Receipt of applications for loans in Israell pounds will terminate on May 31, 1959.
 Column does not add due to rounding.

### Scientific Information Activities of the U.S. Department of Commerce

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 26, 1959

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement of Mr. John Green, Director of Technical Services, Department of Commerce, before the House Committee on Science and Astronautics, June 3, 1959:

ACTIVITIES OF THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

A brief history of the scientific information activities of the Department of Commerce since 1945 will be of value. I will restrict these comments to the efforts carried out by my own office. However, you will recognize that the Department's important scientific and technical agencies such as the National Bureau of Standards, the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, and the Weather Bureau each have extensive information programs pertinent to their responsibilities.

At the close of World War II, it was considered that the military research and development which had been held secret during the war years should be declassified and distributed. Such a measure was intended to speed conversion from a wartime to a peacetime economy. Accordingly, on June 8, 1945. President Truman signed Executive Order No. 9568. The language of this order defines a national policy which favors the declassification and dissemination of scientific research when considerations of national security so permit.

A Publication Board, comprising five Cabinet officers is described in the order. At the first meeting of the Board, operational responsibilities were entrusted to the Department of Commerce and this resulted in the creation of the Office of Technical

Shortly-after we had begun to function under this Executive order, President Truman signed a second Executive Order No. 9604. This substantially expanded the scope of our efforts to encompass German and Japanese science and technology. It was under this latter order that we, and the Department of the Army, collaborated on a most intensive exploitation of foreign scientific and technical information.

At the height of that activity, there were nearly 1,000 people, a combination of German and American, actively functioning in this program. We had location teams which leapfrogged across Germany visiting scientists, research institutes and industry, locating personnel to be interrogated and records to be analyzed. These teams were followed up by investigators accompanied by microfilm teams who photographed the original records for cataloging and dissemination here.

Some 600 Americans experts participated in this activity, preparing reports in English based on their findings. Equipment was removed and brought here for demonstration and tests. Outstanding German scientists were transferred. In addition, all pending patent applications were photographed in the Berlin patent office. Perhaps most important, 600 outstanding German scientists were recruited to write reviews on scientific developments. When accomplished, these reviews totaled 84 volumes and summarized the significant developments in Germany from 1939 to 1945—the years when she was cut off from general communication.

The job of collection was substantially accomplished and the job of organization was in the early stages when the Congress raised a legislative point of order questioning the authority for the effort. This resulted in a speedy close down and disposal of the unanalyzed records. The Department felt that the Executive Order had spelled out a desirable authority. Therefore, we sought specific legislation. This was obtained when the 81st Congress passed Public Law 776 in September of 1950. It will be noted that this legislation directs the Secretary of Commerce to set up a clearinghouse for scientific and technical information and gives him broad authority with respect to the collection of the materials to be included in such a clearinghouse.

Since the Federal Government is financing roughly half of the total scientific effort in this country, it seemed to us that the best use of our resources was in the announcement and distribution of Government-sponsored efforts. Accordingly, we established close cooperative links with the four primary sponsors of research within Government—these are the three armed services and the Atomic Energy Commission. Our program in disseminating Government research has occupied our major attention until this fiscal year. Under it we announce about 10,000 titles and sell 300,000 reports annually.

Shortly before the Russians announced the first sputnik, our friends in the National Science Foundation called all pertinent Government agencies together to see what might be done to speed the release of translations, abstracts, reviews, and similar materials prepared by Government units for internal use. It was generally agreed that the Department of Commerce was the logical communications mechanism between the Government and the scientific commu-When this matter was brought to the attention of the Secretary of Commerce, he agreed to seek funds for a clearinghouse of foreign science and technology to collect. catalog, announce, and supply such information. Our request for the clearinghouse was approved and we began this operation in the current fiscal year.

Since I understand the emphasis at these hearings is on the accessibility of foreign scientific information to the American scientist, I will go into some detail on what we are now doing.

First, we are offering English translations of three series of the abstract journals known as Referativnyi Zhurnals produced by the Soviet Institute of Scientific Information. These three series are physics, biology, and chemistry. These translations will be increased to encompass additional areas of science shortly.

Second, twice each month we distribute

a report prepared by the Central Intelligence Agency which summarizes significant Soviet scientific developments.

Third, we are distributing a weekly journal on Soviet activities in the international geophysical field.

We are distributing cover-to-cover abstracts of 90 leading Soviet scientific and technical journals. These abstracts, obtained under a cooperative program with the Air Force, are available in a short period of time after the original Russian journals are issued in Moscow.

We distribute Government prepared translations of selected Soviet bloc materials. Current estimates are that these will run about 10,000 titles a year.

We are producing a carefully indexed journal titled, "Technical Translations," which identifies translations made in and out of Government. This journal relies in large measure on the cooperation of the Special Libraries Association, other Government agencies, private translators, and cooperating foreign governments. For example, through the Special Libraries Association's Cooperative Center we obtain translations made by private industry, universities, and

others. Commercial translators assist us by making their activities known to our clear-

inghouse.

We have a network of six depository libraries, including the Special Libraries Association Center at the John Crerar Library in Chicago. They are as follows: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Georgia Institute of Technology, Pennsylvania State University, Carnegle Library in Pittsburgh, and the University of California at Los Angeles.

We are providing a reference service for these materials whereby inquiries as to translations completed or contemplated can be furnished. (I should also have mentioned that Technical Translations contains a section titled "Works in Progress" to avoid duplication of effort in translation.)

A new and significant development is the "State of the Art" publication which brings together information on outstanding Soviet bloc scientific developments. It seems to us that such reviews will be the keys which help make useful the large amount of foreign scientific information being released.

We anticipate between 25 to 50 of these a year.

Another point I should mention is that we are not restricting our efforts to information produced in Government, as we do on the domestic side of our program. We are approaching a true clearinghouse on Soviet science and technology since we include materials from industry, from universities, from other governments, and from commercial translating firms and publishers.

Our program is essentially a cooperative one. We do not produce translations ourselves. We collect them from all sources and provide a communicating link to the scientific community. Although we are still in the early stages, we have some substantial figures to report in the way of distribution. For example, since August 1958 over 13,000 issues of the International Geophysical Year Weekly have been sold, 2,750 copies of the Scientific Information Report, and over 16,000 copies of the English abstracts of the 96 leading U.S.R. journals. For the period January 2, 1959 to May 25, 1959, individual articles, monographic and book translations sold in paper copy form (plus a few items sold in late 1958) have reached total figure of 8,835.

In closing I should say that we do not rely in Government efforts alone to announce the availability of the material. We have enlisted the cooperation of the technical press and the major abstracting and indexing societies. In fact, we consider their interest and cooperation to be one of the most important factors in prompt and effective distribution.

#### Improving the Rural Life of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, my colleagues will recall that recently I introduced proposed legislation to establish a Country Life Commission. The purpose of the measure would be to take a longrange look at problems and challenges in agriculture, and come up with some sound solutions on the problems we face today.

Fortunately, the Agriculture Committee in the House of Representatives has seen fit to hold hearings on similar proposals pending before that body.

I have respectfully urged that similar action be taken as early as possible in the Senate.

In view of the fact that we have been unsuccessful in resolving our farm problems—as evidenced by the discussions currently now going on in the Senate—a long-range, objective look at the agricultural scene, I believe, is definitely merited.

As always, I am of course delighted to see individuals and groups, on their own initiative, attempting also to deal with challenges in a particular field.

I am especially referring to the activities of the American Country Life Association, which has as its objective the encouragement and promotion of more satisfactory and wholesome rural life in America.

The annual conference of this association is scheduled for July 13 and 14, 1959. The theme of this conference is, "Making the Most of Human Resources Through Community Development."

Among the specific topics to be discussed at the meetings are:

Economic adjustments in rural life and agriculture:

The rural community as a unit for rural development:

Rural educational institutions and agencies responsible for development.

Recently, I received from Roy C. Buck, president of the American Country Life Association, a statement of the purposes and objectives of that organization. Believing that this represents a thoughtful, constructive approach to dealing with the problems now in agriculture, I ask unanimous consent to have the statement printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The purpose:

To study and promote discussion of the problems and objectives in country life.

To clarify and integrate the objectives and efforts of various agencies and organizations that work with rural people.

To facilitate means of the attainment of these objectives.

To sponsor meetings for discussion and media for analysis of problems, trends, and influences affecting the pattern of American country living.

To evaluate the special contributions of country people to American citizenship and freedom.

To aid in rural improvement.

### Our Agricultural Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. CLARK W. THOMPSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. THOMPSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, it is unfortunately true that it

has become popular to be against agriculture and to oppose the efforts of those of us who seek to solve the many and perplexing problems of this important phase of our economy.

It is deplorable that much of the publicity so unfavorable to our farmers is based on information coming from the Department of Agriculture. The impression left on casual readers of press and periodicals is that farmers are chiselers and seekers after handouts. If the truth were told in full, the public would have a far different picture.

The current newsletter of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Ikard] tells in a clear and concise manner some of the favorable aspects of the agricultural program which ought to be read and remembered as the Congress prepares to wrestle with some of our most troublesome problems.

The newsletter follows:

(By Congressman Frank Ikard)

Recently the House acted upon the appropriation for the Department of Agriculture. While there can be no real question but what our present agricultural program needs to be changed in many respects-in fact, probably completely reworked—there is a great deal of misunderstanding about the program, and about the use for which funds appropriated are used. Many implications recently in the press leave the impression that all of the money spent by the Department of Agriculture goes directly into a farm subsidy program. The truth of the matter is that a great number of activities are carried on by the Department of Agriculture for the benefit of the public generally and should not be charged to the farmer or to those engaged in farming exclusively. In the first place, the Department is the largest regulatory body in the Federal Government. It administers over 50 different laws, many of which protect the consumer, such as insuring clean, healthy meat and poultry through Federal inspection, and the grading of meat products. Second, all of the farm commodity export the Department is is handled through the Department. program is is handled through the Department. Third, millions of dollars in form of loans are made annually through the Farmers Home Administration and the REA. This money is all in the form of loans, and the rate of repayment has been very high. The Department also conducts an extensive market research program which has developed new handling methods of farm produce and has provided the technique for reducing food handling costs, all of which are of primary benefit to the consuming public, and about \$22 million a year is spent on the eradication of brucellosis which is primarily a program to protect the health of the public. The Department of Agriculture also disposes, through sales to friendly foreign countries, of a substantial part of our agricultural surpluses. Up to now they have sold over \$7½ billion worth. It also administers the school lunch program and the program which provides dairy products to veterans in Armed Forces hospitals. In addition, the Department also handles soil and water conservation work which is one of the most vital and important programs to those of us living in the Southwest. The simple point is that even though there is a need for substantial revision in our agricultural program, much of the expenditures that are allegedly charged up to the farmer never reach him but are spent on programs for public benefit.

Text of Remarks by the Honorable Sumner G. Whittier, Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, Memorial Day Services, May 31, 1959, VA Center, Mountain Home, Tenn.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. B. CARROLL REECE

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. REECE of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, each year, Memorial Day is observed in a fitting manner at the Veterans' Administration facility at Mountain Home, Tenn. The setting, the program arrangement, and the whole atmosphere make this an inspiring occasion. We were delighted to have as the principal speaker for the Memorial Day services this year the Honorable Sumner G. Whittier, the able Administrator of Veterans' Affairs. He delivered a wonderful address. It moved and inspired a large audience. The address is of such importance I feel that it should be included in the Congressional Record, that it might be widely available.

Text of Remarks by the Honorable Sumner G. Whittier, Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, Memorial Day Services, May 31, 1959, VA Center, Mountain Home, Tenn.

"I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills, from whence cometh my help. My help cometh from the Lord, which made heaven and earth."

How fitting seem the words of the warriorpoet King David on this Memorial Day, 1959; at this spot hallowed by the even rows of graves of men fallen in battle; with these majestic hills standing silent watch over the dead.

And how comforting are the words as we stand here and ponder the meaning of life and death on this earth—a small planet spinning around a small star in an infinite universe with an infinite number of stars.

As I look out over these even rows of white markers, and at this replica of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, framed in the fresh new green of springtime, how much, I think, is this Memorial Day, 1959, like the Memorial Days I used to know as a school boy in New England.

The setting may be different, but what memories these silent graves evoke!

Veterans of the Grand Army of the Republic, in faded uniforms, visited my school and delivered their speeches, and we went out to the cemetery—past the forsythia bursting in explosions of gold and the perfumed purple of the illacs—and scanned the white graves, so much like these graves at Mountain Home, and listened to the speakers intoning their message of everlasting remembrance of the dead.

Only there was a difference between those Memorial Days and this. Then, we were very young, and war was something out of the past. Its sacrifices and heartaches were ghosts of half-remembered days long ago. We who were young had not known war. The spring was so fresh with a burst of new life that we did not dwell long on the memories of death.

But today we live in a different world, and we cannot look upon these graves with the detachment of youth. For in our own time this generation has come to know war at first hand, in all its stark terror and destruction; and not just once, but two times, three times, and for some of you here today, four times. Four wars in a single life-span. We have known entire cities razed to dusty rubble: and torture camps where fine young Americans were subjected to brainwashing, more vicious than anything dreamed of by the Inquisitors of Spain; and the dry heat of furnaces where men and women were roasted to death by the millions; and bombs lazily floating down from the blue sky on a spring day like this, exploding in a deafening roar of twisted metal and shrieking, maimed mankind.

metal and shricking, malmed mankind.

Today, as we stand here, we see not the graves of remote warriors, but the graves of our brothers, our fathers, our sons, our fellows-in-arms. We know how they died, for war is still fresh in the minds of our generation.

And sorrowing for the loss of our departed comrades, we ask ourselves, "Why did they die?" And we cannot be content with the answer in this uneasy hour of Geneva and Quemoy and Berlin, that "They died to make the world safe for democracy."

For how safe is the world for democracy, when Soviet Prime Minister Nikita S. Khrushchev boasts to a visiting group of newspaper editors that his country has the power to wipe the Western nations off the face of the earth?

How safe, when Soviet First Deputy Premier Anastas I. Mikoyan, revealed during his recent visit to America: "I have seen a secret motion picture made of the results of a hydrogen bomb explosion. We are building and building, and yet one explosion would be enough to annihilate everything"

Just think. The blockbuster, the biggest bomb in World War Two, measured six tons of TNT. Then came the atom bomb, and the ton of TNT became absolutely useless as a measure. A new unit was devised—a kiloton, a thousand tons of TNT.

And then came the hydrogen bomb, and the kiloton went out of date. We created still a new measure—a megation, a million tons of TNT.

Can you picture one megaton? If you loaded TNT on freight cars, you would have a string of cars stretching all the way from Mountain Home to Union Station in Washton, D.C. One megaton.

How safe is the world for democracy, when man finally has unleashed the dark secret of complete and total annihilation? When the countries of the world scramble furiously to increase the deadly might of their weapons of war? When conferences among nations turn into wrangles of "nyets" of stony-eyed leaders from behind the Iron Curtain? When Russians cast not-so-subtle hints of their power to destroy entire countries?

Is this "peace"? No. Our brothers who lie forever still in these graves, and in graves the world over died to maintain freedombut liberty is still being threatened. The nations of the world teeter dangerously on the edge of eternal oblivion. After all the thousands of years of his existence, man inally holds in the palm of his hand the means of ending life on this whirling planet.

We know no easy answers, no quick panaceas, to this dilemma of the modern world. We know there are none. Though our hearts fervently desire a just and lasting peace in which men can live together in true brotherhood.

When each of us proves equal to the present challenge, as the men here buried proved their courage and love at the cost of life, then shall we have made their sacrifice secure.

Then shall we know that the sacrifice of these honored dead, will not have been in vain. In death, they contributed something even more precious than life itself—a way to peace, and with it liberty and justice, not just for our generation, but for all the generations to come. As each of them in his hour sought an answer to the demands of liberty, so each of us in our moment of challenge must seek our understanding.

Today we search our hearts for answers here at Mountain Home, lifting our eyes to these strong and serene hills, from whence cometh the help of the Lord our Creator.

Here, in this great Volunteer State of Tennessee, the glories of America's past are intertwined with the dreams of her vast future. We can gain fresh, new perspectives, as though we were standing on a hillton.

Here the past becomes real and meaningful. We can almost see Robert Young, hero of the American Revolution, who lived on these very grounds and who joined Tipton at Sycamore Shoals. We can almost smell the gunpowder at Kings Mountain, where the Americans conquered the British—a battle considered by many historians as a turning point in the war.

We can almost sense the excitement of 112 years ago this month, when Governor Brown called on Tennessee to furnish three regiments to serve in the War with Mexico, and 30,000 willing volunteers stepped forward. Every schoolboy knows how Tennessee earned its proud title, the "Volunteer State."

We can almost feel the fierce sense of supreme individuality of those early citizens who formed the independent State of Franklin. with Jonesboro its capital, a bare 6 miles from here.

And we can still savor the pride of Tennessee at sending three of her sons to the White House—salty Andrew Jackson, James K. Polk, and Andrew Johnson.

And here, amid these ghosts of a glorious past, are the bright promise and rich anticipation of the future, shining as clearly and invitingly as the sun overhead. For only a little to the west of here is Oak Ridge, the atomic energy capital of the world.

Here man is looking ahead. Here is the heart of research and development that can harness the mighty energy of the atom for the good of mankind—for the same source that can create nuclear bombs can also create health and well-being for all the people of this globe.

Think what Oak Ridge has contributed to medicine—radioisotopes to disgnose illness and disability more thoroughly and more accurately than ever before; and how proud I am of our VA researchers who, with atomic scientists at Oak Ridge and elsewhere, have led the way.

And now, with the inspiration and guidance of your atomic energy capital of the world, our own VA hospital in Omaha, Nebr., soon will become the first hospital in the United States to get a nuclear reactor of its own—a small brother of the giant reactor at Oak Ridge.

Buried deep in the ground for the sake of safety, think what this reactor can mean to the march of medicine. Now we will be able to probe the secrets of life itself—how the food we eat becomes energy and muscle and bone and sinew; what the human body does with its chemicals. Now we will be able to make more progress in treating brain tumors with radio active boron, a substance available only in the immediate neighborhood of a reactor.

Yes, this is as much a part of the atomic age in which we live as are atomic power-plants and atomic submarines and atomic bombs. And we are only on the threshold; what we have known is but a slight sampling

of what we shall know in the days and decades ahead.

What lessons can we learn from the past as it has been written on the pages of history, and from the future which we can see nov but as through a glass darkly? What lessons can we learn as we stand before these graves, surrounded by these hills, where past and future merge in a mysterious symphony of human existence?

I think one important lesson is this:

What has distinguished America in the past, and what will distinguish her in the future, are the dreams and ideals that burn richly and steadly in the hearts of her cit-We do not shape our ideals to fit our lives; we shape our lives to fit our ideals. And further, if the need arises, we have always been and shall always be willing to die the high principles upon which this Re-

public was founded and built.
Robert Young and all the other heroes of the Revolution; the 30,000 Tennessee vol-unteers of the Mexican War; those rugged individualists of the State of Franklin; the dedicated scientists at Oak Ridge; the men who lie in this sacred ground—they knew and understood this truth. They knew the strength and the power of an idea-a tiny impulse of the brain powerful enough to

reshape a world.

We who are Americans, are idealists; we are dreamers. Yet at the same time we are a people of action. We do not fear bold visions; of striking westward across uncharted for-ests and plains and deserts; of conquering the atom; of sailing under the ice to the North Pole; of training men for flights into the cold silence of outer space; of dredging the St. Lawrence River so that massive ocean liners can travel to the heartlands of America; of searching for cures for diseases once thought incurable; of probing into the very nature of life itself.

And now we are coming to what I believe is the deep, underlying meaning of the sacrifice of these heroes who lie here; and of our war dead who lie in graves the world over.

They sacrificed their lives for the cause of liberty and freedom on this earth-for without liberty and freedom, there can be no ideals: there can be no dreams.

The mind of man cannot live in a straitjacket. It must be free to soar to limitless heights. It must be nourished in the sunlight of liberty and freedom. If it is not, it will wither and we shall end up, not with man, but with a living robot.

Man must be free. It is as simple as that. Man must be free.

When man is free, when his mind is free to think and to dream, he need not live in constant cringing fear of Russian threats, of hydrogen bombs, of the total annihilation of war. For he can meet the challenges, bravely and with the infinite richness of his imagination.

Not long ago I stood in Tillyschantz, a little German town on the Czechoslovak border. There in all its ugliness and terror, I saw what fear can do to men and to nations. I saw the brutal thing that Winston Churchill

called the Iron Curtain.

I saw, every 200 yards, towers with booted guards with rifles slung over their shoulders, or tommyguns in their hands. I saw elec-trifled barbed wire strung for hundreds of miles. Touch it and die. I saw land mines spread to blow off the legs of any man who dared to try to escape. And trip flares—catch your foot in that wire and a shooting rocket makes you a brilliant target for those gunsights overhead.

I saw the great strip of plowed earth, inspected morning and night. They plow the land so that inspecting teams can see the footprints of anyone able to muster the courage to wander those terrifying acres.

This is the Iron Curtain, or more literally, the curtain of fear. This is what can hap-pen when freedom is allowed to die.

What a contrast between that land and this.

In America, in freedom and liberty, man has met challenges before. Witness the greatness and might of our beloved country. And he can meet them again and again.

But he must be free. This is the message of the brave men who lie beneath these rows of white markers, watched over forever by these hills. -This is the meaning of their sacrifice.

As the poet said:

"May we, their grateful children, learn Their strength, who lie beneath this sod. Who went through fire and death to earn At last the accolade of God.

In shining rank on rank arrayed. They march, the legions of the Lord; He is their Captain unafraid,

The Prince of Peace who brought a sword."

### H. R. Gross, Taxpayers' Friend

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

### HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, our colleague from Iowa [Mr. Gross] has earned and received the deep respect of the Members of this body for his unflagging attention to the details of all legislation reaching the floor. His dedicated work and study has, in instance after instance, resulted in the improvement of bills before they are passed. In almost every one of these instances a savings to the country's taxpayers has resulted. Although no accurate reckoning of the total amount Mr. Gross' efforts have saved the taxpayers, undoubtedly it runs into the hundreds of millions of dollars. As a taxpayer myself, I take this means of expressing my deep appreciation to him, and in so doing know I reflect the similar appreciation of many millions of his fellow citizens. Staff Reporter Jack Eisen of the Washington Post and Times Herald took note of Congressman Gross' commendable work in the following article appearing in this morning's paper:

REPRESENTATIVE GROSS TILTS AGAIN IN BEHALF OF THE TAXPAYER

(By Jack Eisen)

The House was about to vote \$100 million yesterday to keep things humming on Capitol Hill in the coming fiscal year.

It looked as if nobody was going to talk cainst it. Such things just aren't done against it. among gentlemen.

Then up popped a wiry little man from Waterloo, Iowa. If nobody else was going to ask the embarrassing questions, he would. And he did.

The man was Representative H. R. Gross, a Republican whose favorite topic is the taxpayers' money and whose aim is saving it. He's been at it now for 10 years in the House.

How much Gross wanted to know, will "this new dream castle down here on Independence Avenue"-the third House Office Building-cost when it's finished?

When, after insistent prodding, he got the figure-\$82 million-Gross shook his head. That's worse than I thought," he said.

But he admitted that any attempt to keep from spending the latest \$16.5 million installment would be hopeless, considering that 3-block hole in the ground where the building will be erected.

Somebody reminded Gross that the project was a special pet of House Speaker Sam Ray-BURN, Democrat, Texas, who heads the House Office Building Commission.

"I understand that perfectly." Gross replied. "It's still the taxpayers' money being spent."

The bill, which carries \$42.4 million for operating expenses of the House and the balance for other Capitol Hill costs, was voted unanimously. By this time Gross was eveing some suspicious language in the next bill coming up on the floor.

Gross is a never-ending source of amazement among his colleagues for spotting pro-spective leaks from the Federal Treasury.

"I don't spend much time fishing or golfing or at the beach," the 59-year-old former newspaperman and radio newscaster explained to a reporter.

He thinks the District has to be frugal, too, and that the Federal Government must be frugal with the District beyond what he calls "an adequate annual contribution,"

### Military Discharges

SPEECH

### HON. LEON H. GAVIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Armed Services Committee. I have followed with great interest the development of the bill H.R. 88 with respect to military discharges, introduced by the gentleman from California [Mr. DOYLE].

I fully support this measure because I believe that it will, if enacted, provide relief for some people who today have derogatory discharges which are not truly reflective of their character and worth as American citizens.

At this point I would also like to indicate my understanding of H.R. 88 and the necessity for its enactment.

The proposed legislation, as recommended by the committee, will make the following changes in the law with regard to the review of discharges of service personnel:

First. It will require the Boards of Review, Discharges, and Dismissals, as well as the Boards for the Correction of Military, Naval, and Air Force Records to operate under uniform procedures established by the Secretary of Defense, That uniformity does not exist today.

Second. It will require the boards to take into consideration the following factors in all cases that are being reviewed by the respecive boards:

(a) The conditions that prevailed at the time the incident, statement, attitude, or act which led to the original discharge or dismissal:

(b) The age of the individual at the time of the incident, statement, attitude, or act which led to the original discharge or dismissal:

(c) The normal punishment that might have been adjudged had the act or incident been committed in civilian life:

(d) The moral turnitude if any involved in the incident, statement, attitude, or act which led to the discharge or diemiecal.

These will be the minimum criteria for all future reviews. The boards may es-

tablish other criteria.

authorized to award an Exemplary Rehabilitation Certificate in those cases where the individual requesting a review of his discharge or dismissal introduces evidence of not less than 3 years of exemplary postservice conduct in justifica-tion of his request for a review of his discharge or dismissal. The same criteria will be applicable in these cases as in all other cases reviewed by the boards. But under the proposed legislation, the boards will be required to take into consideration, as a factor, postservice conduct indicating that the individual has rehabilitated himself, that his character is good, and that his conduct, activities, and habits since discharge have been exemplary for a period of not less than 3 years following discharge.

Fourth. The committee also recommends two additional changes in existing law dealing with the Boards of Review.

Discharges, and Dismissals.

At present these boards do not have authority to review the sentences of general courts-martial since discharges isissued pursuant to a general courtsmartial can be reviewed by the Boards for the Correction of Military, Naval, or Air Force Records. However, an indi-vidual with a dishonorable or badconduct discharge issued pursuant to a general courts-martial will, under the proposed legislation, be able to submit his case to the Boards of Review, Discharges, and Dismissals in order that that Board, composed entirely of military officers, may first review the case before it is again submitted for review by the Board for the Correction of Military, Naval, or Air Force Records, which is composed entirely of civilians.

In addition, the committee has eliminated the termination date, contained in present law, for the filing of applications of review by the Boards of Review. Discharges, and Dismissals. Under present law, the review must be requested within 15 years after discharge, or 15 years after June 22, 1944, whichever is

later.

More than 278,000 persons have received administrative undesirable discharges since 1940.

More than 200,000 persons have received bad conduct and dishonorable discharges since 1940.

### Pressure Groups and Race Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON, GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, this morning I received a copy of the Sunday, May 31, 1959, issue of the Herald, South Carolina's leading Negro newspaper, published in Anderson, S.C. This outstand-Third. In addition, all boards will be ing newspaper contained a front page editorial in which Publisher Davis Lee comments on the adverse effect which pressure groups are having on race relations in the South and throughout the country. This editorial is of great importance to the thinking people of this country, and I feel privileged to insert it herewith in the Congressional Record. under leave heretofore granted:

> PRESSURE GROUPS HAVE AROUSED PREJUDICE. BITTERNESS, AND HATRED NEVER HEARD OF BEFORE IN THIS NATION

> > (By Davis Lee, publisher)

Racial prejudice, bigotry, and intolerance is on the increase in this great country of ours. Rape, murder, floggings, denial of elementary rights, and a rising tide of hatred is sweeping our land.

The black man and the white man have squared off at each other. The smiles and the friendly feelings that once existed between the two races have disappeared. The lines of communications, that once was a great help to both groups, have been broken

It appears on the surface that our highly developed educational system, and our religious institutions, have all failed in doing the job of disseminating knowledge and the true spirit of brotherhood that they were established to do. There seems to be no educational, religious, moral, or economic force in existence in this Nation to restore the reason, sanity, and balance that both races need so badly at this time.

One begins to wonder just what has happened to our people. No one has more to lose than us, and we have everything to gain by being sensible, intelligent, and reasonable.

Let me state here that I am not an Uncle Tom, and I feel that I am a full-fledged, true-blooded American, who is entitled to enjoy every right, every privilege, and oppor-tunity that is enjoyed by any other Ameri-But I don't believe that we will ever achieve our full potentiality by pressure, agitation, and force. I am opposed to forced integration, and I am opposed to forced seg-You don't enjoy the friendship, help, counsel, and good will of those that you make mad.

This race issue has gotton out of hand to the extent that our race has been set back from 15 to 25 years, and the only ones who have benefited are the pressure groups and a few unscrupulous politicans. Those of us who have gone abroad with these agitators have become willing tools of the Communists. They have set out to divide us, and then conquer us.

Practically everyone knows how some Negro newspapers and the NAACP have tried, and are still trying, to destroy me because of my

views. They have, by pressure, forced many people to shun me, and have caused me to lose thousands of dollars worth of business.

Recently Mr. Constantine Brown, famous columnist for the Washington Evening Star, quoted an editorial of mine. He wrote me that the NAACP hit the ceiling, and that a Negro paper in Baltimore told him to stay clear of me that I am not the owner of Lee Publications. However, it doesn't matter to me who hits the ceiling, I am going to lay it on the line in this editorial.

The white man has done more for the Negro than the Negro would have done for him had their positions been reversed. The southern white man has done more for the Negro than the Negro was able to do for himself, and there are thousands of southern white people who are still doing for the Negro more than he can do for himself.

When we were first brought to this country we could not speak the English language, but the southern white man through patience and understanding taught us the grand Anglo-Saxon language. When we were first brought to this country we were worshiping the cow, the sun, and the mooneverything was God to us but the true and living God.

The southern white man taught us to believe in the real God, and in Christ, the Saviour of all men, black and white. one revelation changed us from a savage into the likeness of God with a soul to save.

Once we embraced Christianity we became a different people, and through our simple religious concept, thousands became our friends and benefactors. We had God on our side and in our corner. White people began to cultivate us as friends, as trusted and loyal people. The slaveowners had so much faith in us, that when they went off to the War Between the States over us, that they left black men behind to care for their wives and children

They could not have paid us a finer tribute than this No slaveowner was afraid that we would force our attention upon his wife. We were people of character: we had demonstrated that we could be trusted.

The southern white man, after emancipation, did not inaugurate this system of segregation that we have now. The separate church was started by Richard Allen, founder of the great African Methodist Episcopal Church. In fact, by his doctrine in which he urged Negroes to establish their own churches, schools, and businesses, he may rightfully be regarded as the father of Negro progress in this Nation.

Following his teachings and examples, Negroes everywhere began to establish their own churches. One hundred years ago there were more Negro members at the First Baptist Church in Newnan, Ga., than there were white members, but the Negro members wanted their own church, and they asked their white pastor for letters to join a Negro

Right after emancipation Negro and white kids attended the same schools in many southern communities. It was the Negro leaders of that day who felt that our kids would do better in our own schools.

No fairminded person, black or white, will deny that the Negro has made his greatest strides in the South, and the only Negroes who are leaving the South today for other sections of this Nation, are the misfits, the square pegs in round holes. The educated, intelligent Negroes realize that the South offers our race its greatest opportunity, and that our best friends are here.

The Negro enjoys the kind of individual respect in the South that he does not enjoy in any other section of this Nation. There are a very few banks in the South that Negroes do not carry the keys to. In many towns and cities, the leading white businessmen never go into a barbershop operated by whites. They go to the barbershop operated for them by Negroes.

Recently I interviewed a Negro in Lawrenceville, Ga., who graduated from the University of Georgia at Athens, Ga., 40 years ago. No one objected to him attending the university because everyone knew that he was seeking an education, and not

forced integration.

Because of the interest that southern white people have in us, the southern Negro owns more businesses, more homes, has finer schools, and controls more wealth than do the Negroes anywhere else in the world.

In our city we have a total population of 42,000. About 9,000 of these are Negroes. We employ more Negroes than any other Negro business. And all of the Negro businesses combined in our city do not employ 100 Negroes. This means that our people are dependent upon the white people for their livelihood and survival. This is true throughout the South, and throughout this Nation.

One begins to feel that the southern Negro has not only been misled, but he is a tool. He has been poisoned against true, tried, and trusted friends and benefactors. He has been made to feel and to believe that white people are his enemies, that they are against his best interest. These pressure groups have sowed well the seeds of suspiction. Their mass appeals have created in our people the kind of bitterness and resentment never seen before in this Nation. They have done such an effective job that many Negroes who knew better won't listen to a Negro leader now unless he carries two guns and curses white people out.

Many Negro preachers are preaching integration and race hate instead of preaching Jesus Christ and true brotherhood. A large number of our teachers are for forced integration even though it may result in them losing their jobs. Yet no sensible person is going to take biscuits off his own table.

Unemployment among Negroes has reached an alarming stage, and is still mounting because of pressure, agitation, and because of the changed attitude of our people.

We can enjoy the dignity of man, and receive all of the courtesies, respect to which we are entitled if we will just use a little commonsense. Be tactful, diplomatic, courteous and act intelligent. You can still catch more flies with molasses than you can with vinegar.

There is one thing that should keep us on an even keel during this crisis. If you need several hundred dollars, need your home financed, need a car financed, or need any real help, to whom will you have to go to get it?

The Negro who has money, property, and security is not going to help the less fortunate members of his race. Eighty percent of the Negroes in the South are wholly dependent upon the white people for survival, and this is true throughout the Nation. When you are the other fellow's equal then you don't have to go to him for help. So be sure that you don't need him before you start popping off. You don't have to be an Uncle Tom, be a man, but be a sensible man.

Pressure and agitation are not going to solve our problem.

### Progress in Air Transportation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. KLUCZYNSKI. Mr. Speaker, it is a well-established fact that the continued progress of commerce and industry in the Chicago area is predicated on the continued advances made by our airlines. Pan American World Airways has applied to the Civil Aeronautics Board for authority to operate between Chicago and Tokyo and beyond by way of Alaska.

Fortunately, this application has been greeted with enthusiasm by the newspapers of Chicago and by various civic bodies. Certainly it behooves us all who have an interest in the continued growth of Chicago to be concerned with this application of Pan American.

Editorials from the Chicago Daily News issue of May 21, 1959, entitled "Bring in the Jets," and from the Chicago Sun-Times issue of May 20, 1959, entitled "To Link Chicago and Tokyo," now follow:

[From the Chicago Daily News, May 21, 1959]

#### BRING IN THE JETS

The domestic airlines are fighting the application of Pan American World Airways to give direct service from Chicago to the Orient by jet aircraft. The motives of the objecting carriers are neither mysterious nor censurable; they naturally want to haul passengers to the west coast for the Pacific takeoff.

But such business considerations should no more influence the decision of the Civil Aeronautics Board than the desire of the railroads to handican the sirlings.

railroads to handicap the airlines.
Swift, high-capacity jetiliners can now bring Tokyo within 15 hours of Chicago—a saving of 16 hours over present schedules. The advantages of this to Chicago and the traveling public appear overwhelming. In the forthcoming hearings, we trust the CAB will keep first things first.

[From the Chicago Sun-Times, May 20, 1959]
To Link Chicago and Tokyo

The Civil Aeronautics Board has agreed to hold hearings on a proposal for direct onestop jet flights between Chicago and the Orient. Permission for such flights, via the Great Circle route, is sought by Pan American Airways, which also wants to provide similar service from five east coast cities and Detroit.

At present, passengers from Chicago and the other cities must first fly to the west coast and transfer to transpacific planes. Pan Am's plan to originate flights from Chicago and the other cities was opposed by domestic airlines, but the CAB wisely brushed the objections aside.

There is no reason whatever why Chicago should not be a gateway for direct flights to the Far East, just as it is a gateway for direct flights to Europe and Mexico. This arrangement might cut into the domestic

lines that haul passengers from Chicago and the other cities to the west coast gateways, but that is hardly sufficient cause for denying Chicago its right to be an international air center.

What with transfers and conventional piston-engine planes, the total elapsed time from Chicago to Tokyo is now about 30 hours. The direct jet flight, with a refueling stop at Anchorage, Alaska, would reduce this by more than half—to a scheduled 14 hours and 45 minutes.

Northwest Orient Airlines is presently the only American carrier authorized to fly the Great Circle route, while Pan Am flies the longer island-hopping route. But President Eisenhower rightly has called for competitive transpacific service, along the lines proposed by Pan Am. The CAB's decision to consider Pan Am's plan in its original form is a step in the right direction and good news for Chicago.

### Feeding the Hungry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. GEORGE S. McGOVERN

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, as one vitally interested in the use of American farm surpluses to meet some of the widespread human hunger which afflicts our world, I was very much impressed with a letter sent to me by a vacation church school class of the First Congregational Church of De Smet, S. Dak. This letter, signed by Bernadine Penney, Ricky Williamson, Margaret Pratt, and Bob Montross, embraces sound Christian ethics and, in my judgment, good commonsense.

If properly used, our food surpluses can become a great instrument for peace and freedom. Most of the people of the world are more impressed by America's agricultural productivity than by our factories and laboratories. As the author of legislation designed to make greater use of our food reserves in feeding the hungry, I am especially pleased that young people in my home State share the same concern. Believing that it will be of interest to my colleagues in the Congress, I include at this point in the RECORD the letter sent to me by the four above-mentioned church school students:

FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH,
De Smet, S. Dak., May 27, 1959.
Hon. Representative George McGovern,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE McGOVERN: Our vacation church school class has been studying how people live all over the world. We learned in our lessons that most of the people in the world are much poorer and hungrier than we are.

We have found out that our country raises much more food than we can eat and that the extra is stored away instead of being given to those who are hungry. We were told that storing the extra food costs millions of dollars. Why can't that money be used to give out the food and feed the starving people in our country and in the rest of the world? Jesus taught people to share what they had with others. Why can't we do what he taught us to do? We were told that the problem is not this simple, but we feel that things should be changed.

We also read many terrible things about war. We looked at pictures of people whose homes were bombed. We heard the story of how our country killed many, many people in two cities in Japan in World War II with atomic bombs. We didn't know that our own country had done such bad things.

We don't think it is right for the United States to spend so much money on weapons and so little to help others. Can't this be changed soon?

Please write and tell us what you think about these things and what you are doing about them.

Sincerely,

BERNADINE PENNEY (Age 11). RICKY WILLIAMSON (Age 12). MARGARET PRATT (Age 12). BOB MONTROSS (Age 12).

Excerpts From Address by Paul M. Butler, Chairman of Democratic National Committee, Before the Western States Democratic Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, during the Western States Democratic Conference, which was held in Denver in May, a fine address was given by the charman of the Democratic National Committee, Paul M. Butler.

Mr. Butler voiced an impressive call to action in support of the principles to which our party is dedicated; and he echoed many of the sentiments I have expressed about the necessity to have our party fulfill its pledges if it expects a vote of confidence in 1960.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that excerpts from his fine address be printed in the Appendix of the Rec-

ORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts from the address were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows: EXCERPTS FROM SPEECH OF PAUL M. BUTLER,

CHAIRMAN, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COM-MITTEE, BEFORE WESTERN STATES DEMO-CRATIC CONFERENCE, DENVER, COLO., MAY 16, 1959

The great victory won by our party at the polls only a few short months ago placed upon us an enormous responsibility. It constituted a stimulating challenge and a tremendous opportunity.

It was a stimulating challenge to the ingenuity of our leadership, to the creativeness of our imagination, to the caliber of our vision, and to the boldness of our courage. Rarely before has the need for these qualities been more clearly evidenced by the nature of the times in which we live.

It was a golden opportunity for our party to further the great ideals espoused by peaceful, awe inspiring social, economic and political revolution of the Roosevelt and Truman eras. It was an opportunity to enlarge the boundaries of human freedom and cooperation. It was an opportunity to establish once again the right of our party, based squarely on the record, to lead the Nation once again in 1960 from the White House.

While the results of last November were extremely gratifying, they were not without their difficulties for our national party. The repudiation of the lethargy and lack of leadership of the administration was overwhelmingly clear. Our mandate for positive government by the Democratic Party was strong. But the peculiarities of the American political system, while greatly increasing our majorities in the Congress of the United States, left us short of the required two-thirds in each House necessary to override a veto of a lame duck Republican President.

This was demonstrated vividly only recently when the House failed by only four votes to override the President's antifarmer veto of the important bill concerning Rural Electrification Administration loans.

Since then we Democrats have been the objects of a great outpouring of free advice from recently repudiated Republicans, from some elements of the press friendly to the administration and from the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers, to the effect that we had better abandon any ideas we had about progressive legislation. We are told that we should water down any proposals that we might have for expanding the economy, building schools, reinvigorating depressed areas, developing our resources. that we should give up this talk about moving America forward and settle for what is practical, what is attainable, and what is realistic.

In other words, we are being counseled to repudiate our promises, ignore the wishes of the electorate as expressed in the November elections, and not even to make a try to match our promise with our performance.

What we are really being told is that a lameduck Republican administration and a decimated Republican congressional minority, having suffered one of the worst repudiations in modern electoral history, should call the tune on legislation.

And what is startling and frightening is the extent to which some Democrats have swallowed the hook, balt and all.

I am positive that I speak for the overwhelming membership of our party in all sections of the Nation when I say that the Democratic Party is not content to let the Republican administration or its minority forces in the Congress determine what shall be the Democratic legislative achievements in the present 86th Congress. We are not content to have our legislative efforts circumscribed in advance by the Republicans telling us what bills the President intends to veto

The Democrats are not willing to give up or surrender on what should be the minimum legislative program of the Democratic majorities in the Congress simply because we are led to believe that it is not possible of attainment under existing conditions.

We are realistic enough to know that the very real problems which our Nation faces both at home and abroad must be met with a greater concern and more adequate remedies than those yet offered by this tired, unimaginative administration.

We are practical enough politicians to know that it was the Democratic Party that won the last election, and we know that the only way we could lose the next one is to act and perform just like the Republican Party. There could be no more certain guarantee of defeat.

To those who would say that it is un-

reasonable, because of a threatened Presidential veto, to push for the enactment of the vital Murray-Metcalf bill for aid to education, I say that it is disgraceful that today, 10 years after President Truman listed Federal aid to education as a must piece of legislation, that we are far short in schoolrooms and teachers, and still we have no Federal action on education.

To those who claim that it is impractical to make a fight for increased defense appropriations or more adequate funds for the vital Development Loan Fund, and other items of national security, I say that it is playing with national safety not to do these things.

To those who say that the Sparkman-Rains housing bill and the Monroney airport bill are irresponsible pieces of legislation, which must be watered down or eliminated completely, I ask you how responsible it is to keep on ignoring the vital needs of our Nation in these areas.

Should we in the name of "respjonsibility" refuse to even try to write a decent farm program to rescue American agriculture from the depths to which it has been dragged under this administration?

Should we abandon any attempts to reverse this administration's do-nothing policies with regard to the development of the great natural resources of the West?

I believe with all my heart and soul that the greatest mistake our party could make is to be intimidated in any way or to any extent by the threatened vetoes of a standpat administration and to water down our vital program on the grounds that it is all that is attainable.

If our Nation or our party had ever been satisfied to strive only for what some timid people believed to be attainable, we would be a much poorer people.

History is replete with examples of people who bettered the lot of mankind by refusing to stop striving for what some other people thought could not possibly be achieved.

If he had been guided by what was attainable, Christopher Columbus never would have discovered the New World.

If Thomas Jefferson had been satisfied to settle for what was then thought to be attainable, he never would have written the Declaration of Independence.

The American colonists never would have fought the Revolution; Andrew Jackson never would have fought the Bank of the United States; the slaves never would have been freed; Woodrow Wilson would not have fought for a new economic freedom; Franklin Roosevelt never would have enunciated the economic bill of rights or the four freedoms; Harry Truman never would have proposed his program of human rights.

And you and I would not be gathered here in Denver tonight if Lewis and Clark had listened to those who believed that it was not worth going west beyond St. Louis.

The great genius of our party has always been that we have shown the American people how by their own efforts they could attain the things previously thought to be unattainable.

Ours has been a party which has always assumed it to be a part of its task to educate the people to the facts, to elevate their sights, and to lift their hearts to higher aspirations for a better life.

Our party still believes in these things today.

Our course must be to remain firm but just in our determination to stand for the right as we see it.

We must remain faithful to our pledges to the people and take as our proper standard of judgment of our policies not what is the most expedient, not what someone believes to be attainable, not what merely gives an appearance rather than a reality of action, but rather how fully do our acts measure up to the real needs of our Nation

and our people.

The Democratic Party is not a party of accommodation or attainability or compromise. People who are willing to accommodate themselves and the objectives of the Democratic Party to existing obstacles and obstructions to achievement do not typify the real spirit, the true courage, or the genuine zeal of our party. Those who are genuine zeal of our party. Those who are content to seek only what is believed to be attainable, rather than to strive to achieve essential goals for our country and our people which are absolutely necessary even though difficult or impossible of attainment, do not typify the qualities of the great leaders of our party—Jefferson, Jackson, Wil-

son, Roosevelt, and Truman.

The Democratic Party is a party of principle. It is a party with deep convictions and, as Woodrow Wilson once said, a party of great emotions. The Democratic Party is one that believes strongly in positive government and vigorous leadership in both the executive and legislative branches of our Federal Government. It is a party which recognizes its responsibility to work and fight for the achievement of those things which are vital to our national security and

well-being.

What is done by the Democratic majorities in the 86th Congress will bear heavily upon the presidential election of 1960. Positive and aggressive action by our party will redeem our pledges and weigh heavily with the voters.

The needs of our people and of our Nation should be the proper determinants of the program for which we stand and for which

we are prepared to fight.

Only upon this foundation can our party, drawing upon the heart, mind, and conscience of our people, create abroad in the land a new stirring and a new spirit and condition of excitement which has always been the necessary prelude to the moments of our greatest advancements as a Nation.

Let us Democrats win in 1960, only because we deserve to win. Let us win only because we have demonstrated to the American people, by the way we have handled the trust which they reposed in us in 1958, that ours is a party not alone of great men, not so much of outstanding personalities, but above all a party of great principles and steadfast dedication to them.

### John Foster Dulles, the Century's Greatest Diplomat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

### HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 3, 1959 Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, on

Tuesday of last week I stood before this body to join with my colleagues in paying tribute to the late John Foster

The service which this great man rendered to his country as Secretary of State during the most trying period in our history is the subject of an article written by Constantine Brown, entitled "The Century's Greatest Diplomat," which was published on May 26, 1959, in the Washington Evening Star.

This penetrating article outlines in detail the sincerity and firmness of Mr. Dulles' approach to foreign policy. I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, and I commend it to the attention of my

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

THE CENTURY'S GREATEST DIPLOMAT-DULLES' RANK SEEN IN DETERMINATION, UNFLINCH-INGNESS, AND SINCERITY

#### (By Constantine Brown)

Flags all over the free world are at half staff as a last token of respect for John Foster Dulles. The chroniclers of the future will surely describe him as the greatest diplomat in his strife-torn century.

Mr. Dulles died with his boots on. though he resigned as soon as he realized he would no longer be able to keep a firm hand on the tiller, he continued to give advice almost until his last breath.

Although in agonizing pain, Mr. Dulles refused until 10 days ago to take strong sedatives lest they interfere with his thinking. He wanted to serve his own country and the free world for as long as it was humanly possible. He accepted powerful pain killers, which kept him in torpor most of the time, only when he realized that his end was at hand and the will of the Almighty was to be accomplished.

People have wondered what made Mr. Dulles tick and why he remained so uncom-promising in his fight against international communism. Some said that it was his ambition to run America's foreign relations the way he wanted. Others said that he was just stubborn and paid no attention to con-The few intimates who structive criticism. had been at his side for many years knew that it was his strong religious conviction and his godliness which made him impervious to criticism and cajoling. A man who believes in God as deeply as Mr. Dulles did could have no truck with the enemies of religion, the Red atheists.

Mr. Dulles was a pillar of the Presbyterian Church in which he was born and one of the most prominent Protestant laymen in the country. Yet, while a devout Presbyterian, he was not parochial. When his son Avery wanted to join the Catholic Church, Mr. Dulles did not remonstrate. He told him that if he believed that he would thus best serve the Lord he had better follow his convic-Avery was ordained a few years ago. The father was in the church and the first to congratulate and embrace the new pastor.

Mr. Dulles was able to carry on his mankilling task with devotion, energy, and re-lentlessness only because he was a devout man of God.

Mr. Dulles' greatness as a Secretary of State came not only from his determination to remain unflinching in the face of the danger from international communism but also from the fact that he was able to carry his sincerity to the rest of the administration and thus become the real policy maker of our foreign relations.

Despite President Eisenhower's affection .for some of the White House advisers who did not agree with the Dulles "brink policies," he trusted his Secretary of State so implicitly that he seldom went counter to his recommendation. This was in contrast with the position of another chief of the State Department. Cordell Hull, President Franklin D. Roosevelt insisted on being his own Secretary of State. There were occasions after Pearl Harbor when Mr. Hull was informed only much later about certain diplomatic moves made by the Chief Exe-cutive with the advice of Harry Hopkins. No such unpleasantness ever occurred during Mr. Dulles' tenure.

There is no doubt that Mr. Dulles made mistakes. Only the timid and innocuous

can go through life without blundering. But considering the many facets of our for-eign relations, the credit side is far longer than the debit side of the ledger.

This country has had a number of able Secretaries of State in this century. One of the most outstanding was Charles Evans Hughes. But he ranks far behind as second best to Mr. Dulles. The problems which Mr. Hughes had to face from the turn of the century to the outbreak of World War I were paltry compared with the complexities we have had to face since, particularly in

the last 6 years.
In Mr. Dulles term of office the United States not only had to resist the onslaught of the Russians and Chinese Communist enemies but had to walk a tight rope in relations with our own allies. A person with less determination and real dedication to the cause of the free world than Mr. Dulles could never have succeeded in keeping the existing tenuous alliances together.

There was the great effort by a number of our allies and neutrals to give Communist China a seat in the United Nations. Mr. Dulles worked tirelessly and successfully to prevent this crime against the principles for which the free world is fighting.

In the past the chief adviser on foreign affairs to the White House had to be pretty well conversant with only one sector of the world. Mr. Dulles had to deal simulta-neously with increasingly complex problems

all over the globe.

And until his last days on earth Mr.

Dulles handled his tasks with as much success as a human being was capable of, considering the violent tugs and pulls of the era in which we live. He was accused of being inflexible. He accepted this accusation as a compliment for he understood that under existing world conditions flexibility is synonymous with surrender.

### Lodge's Leadership in U.N.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

### HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 7, 1959

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave

to extend my remarks in the RECORD. I wish to include a very interesting report by the editor-in-chief of the Hearst newspapers, William Randolph Hearst.

LODGE'S LEADERSHIP IN U.N.

(By William Randolph Hearst, Jr., editor-inchief, the Hearst Newspapers)

The other evening, in New York, the Overseas Press Club held what it called "Hearst Media Night" at its attractive new clubhouse. This fancy title covered the fact that editorial executives and staff members from our various enterprises were present—our two New York newspapers, the Journal-American and The Mirror, The American Weekly, King Features Syndicate, Hearst Headline Service. Hearst Radio, News of the Day, Hearst Metrotone News, and so on.

Also present to speak briefly was our able American Ambassador to the United Nations, Henry Cabot Lodge. He was kind enough to say that in his opinion the editorial support of the Hearst Newspapers had played a deci-sive role in changing the attitude of the American public toward the United Nations from a sparse 40 percent who thought it was doing a good job a few years ago to a solid 90 percent in support of it at the present

While there is probably some truth in Cabot's generous statement, the whole truth is that Cabot himself is the person most responsible for changing the opinion of the American public toward the United Nations.

His tough tactics, his skillful diplomacy, his swift rebuttal whenever the Communists launched a propaganda balloon have earned the support of many people who previously held serious reservations about the U.N. Little by little Americans began to understand that Uncle Sam could more than hold his own on the world stage when represented by an alert, forceful personality of Cabot Lodge's caliber.

Now I'll let you in on one of the chief reasons why I myself gradually changed my own personal attitude toward the U.N. In my travels through the world, in conversations with diplomats, journalists, and leaders of many nations, it slowly became apparent that they regarded it not as the place where sophisticated foreigners took the gullible Americans into camp, but as an agency run and dominated by American policymakers. "Why, it's nothing but an arm of your State Department," the brilliant English publisher, Lord Beaverbrook, once said to

Those Americans who still take a dim view of the U.N. might consider the fact that we have never suffered a major reverse in its councils, thanks largely to the tough but patient diplomacy of Cabot Lodge. Red China is still on the outside looking in and I'm sure we'll be able to keep her there until there's a marked change in her present belligerent attitude toward the free nations.

Speaking of Red China, the Communists scored a major breakthrough on Thursday when the world committee which runs the Olympic games voted to bar Nationalist China as the Chinese representative and indicated that Red China would soon be recognized at the Olympic games.

You may remember that when we returned from our 1955 visit to Russia we emphasized that the Communists had em-barked on an "all fronts, all fields" strategy. We specifically pointed to the sports world as one area earmarked for an ambitious Russian penetration. The first real evidence of this policy came at the Olympic games in 1956 and it has not yet reached its full impact. In July a Russian track and field team will compete with an American team in Philadelphia and all along the sports front the Reds are stepping up their activity.

Now they have achieved a spectacular victory and one that will have deep political repercussions. Using the customary Communist tactics of threat and bluster, Soviet representatives at a meeting in Munich succeeded in forcing Nationalist China off the committee.

Avery Brundage, the American represent-ative, appears to have been asleep at the switch and for no apparent reason concurred in the committee vote without lodging a protest. He must realize that the United States will now have to reconsider its whole attitude toward the Olympic games-in fact, consider whether it will participate at all in the 1960 games at Rome.

You'd be surprised how often we get a blank stare from our leading public figures and politicians when we mention the sports field as one in which the Russians have launched a determined program. Now they can see for themselves how the Communists convert such an area into a political conquest. Lincoln White, State Department spokesman, correctly called the committee vote a "political action of a discriminatory nature."

The new "surrender at Munich" which, I repeat, will have serious political ramifications, could never have happened if we had a planning board coordinating American overall policy in all fields—what we called for want of a better title a "competitive coexist-ence council." Maybe the Communist political victory in the Olympic Council will open people's eyes to the true scope of Mr. Khrushchev's program.

In all the excitement generated this week by the magnificent achievement of bringing two monkeys back alive from 300 miles in space, a significant part of the story received little attention.

That was the perfect teamwork of the U.S. armed services in accomplishing the feat The Army shot the missile and trained one of the monkeys for the flight. The Navy trained the other monkey. The Air Force helped the Navy rescue the monkeys from the sea.

Just to make the cooperation even more notable, all the services worked with the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, the civilian agency which was running the show as preparation for eventually sending a man into space.

This unified job was in sharp contrast to the interservice jealousies and squabbling which have been running high again, to the distress of the great American public.

The unhappy fact is that, although the United States has had unification of the armed services in name since it was made law in August 1949, it has been unification in name only. The services have not yielded their independence or rivalries.

A few years ago the big bone of contention power and the bickering services was air were the Air Force and the Navy.

Recently the quarreling has been over missiles, and currently that has narrowed down to a hassle over rival antiaircraft missiles, the Army's Nike-Hercules and the Air Force's Bomarc.

In fact, in taking on the role of referee, the House Appropriations Committee on Thursday sharply rapped the knuckles of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the group that is supposed to make unification work.

"The President, the Secretary of Defense, the Congress, and the American people," the committee declared, "have a right to expect a better job from the Joint Chiefs of Staff in the way of military guidance."

The committee report quoted from testimony of Army Chief of Staff Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor that the chiefs don't look at problems horizontally and determine whether each function is properly supported by the appropriate forces of all contributing serv-

In other words, each chief is in there plugging for the prerogatives of his own service. Defense Secretary McElroy on the same day

rebuked the services for their quarreling. It seems to me that there is more than just the waste of money and effort involved in service rivalry and duplication.

We won World War II by the greatest teamwork of services. If there is another big war the potential enemy is Soviet Russia. And let's not kid ourselves-everything in the Soviet's warmaking apparatus is unified.

We would all do well to heed the words of Vice Adm. Hyman G. Rickover, who got us the atomic submarine by overriding the protocol of Navy brass. Admiral Rickover does not mince words and gives short shrift to service jealousies. He told newspapermen

"Depending on the color of your uniform, you follow a different party line. There is something fishy about that. I think we would be better off if we all wore the same uniform. You have three outfits that feel they must each defend the United States all by themselves \* \* one organization should be responsible for the offensive forces of the United States.'

I'm with Admiral Rickover 100 percent on this, and I think the American people are, too.

It's one United States and it should be one U.S. Service Command.

One uniform would help get that point across to the squabblers.

WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST, Jr.

### The Politics of Agriculture: A Dilemma

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

### HON. GEORGE S. McGOVERN

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, the inimitable Doris Fleeson has written a most incisive piece on the current political dilemma confronting those concerned about the agricultural crisis. I commend it to the attention of my colleagues.

Miss Fleeson's column appeared in the Washington Star, June 2, 1959, as follows:

DEBATING THE AGRICULTURE BUDGET-SENATE CRITICIZED AS DRIFTING ON ISSUE AND NOT CHALLENGING ADMINISTRATION

#### (By Doris Fleeson)

The Senate debated the Agriculture Department appropriation bill this week with all the enthusiasm of schoolboys confronted with oversize doses of castor oil.

It is going ahead with an indefensible program under a Secretary it hates and a President whose intentions with respect to farm policy it mistrusts. Yet it is failing to challenge either one strongly enough to get action, and it has proved unable or unwilling to devise a decent alternative of its own.

Politicians have their faults and their standards of what is permissible in a free society are no better than those of anyone else-and no worse. But they really do not like bad government and they are aware that the farm policy mess in Washington is the king of them all on the domestic side.

A new Library of Congress study shows that Agriculture Secretary Benson, now occupying his high office for the seventh year, is the biggest spender in the Department's history. Its expenditures from 1932 to 1953 were \$25.2 billion. Since Mr. Benson came in with Mr. Eisenhower net budget expenditures have reached \$31 billion.

Yet the President and Mr. Benson did not offer Congress a new program this year, much less plan, work and fight for it. Their curious apathy, occurring as it does in the midst of administration anti-inflation, antispending ballyhoo, has given rise to a deep, dark suspicion on the part of many observers that they are content to let the present system become disastrous so that they can junk it altogether.

Such an act is not the political impossibility it would once have seemed. Mr. Benson's price support payments are an expensive luxury for the taxpayer and he is practically an untouchable in politics, but he has been richly successful in his divide-andconquer maneuvers with respect to the farm bloc. It has disintegrated and the big consumer States have bought the fallacious idea that prices of farm products are mainly responsible for the high cost of living.

This is the main reason even the most conscientious Members of the House and Senate shrink from trying to frame a farm bill in the legislative branch and subject it to revision on the floor. They are afraid the farmers will be outvoted at every turn on a measure vital to their well-being.

Rather than let that happen, they drift. Yet they bitterly concede that they have failed to force the President and Mr. Benson to make the basic decision on which any reform of farm policy must rest.

That decision is whether farmers can today be turned loose in a free market, subject to supply and demand, or whether the Government is obliged to protect the Nation's food supply as a matter of public welfare and national defense. With increasing boldness some business and industry sources suggest the former; by far the majority here still gives at least lip service to the latter thesis.

Yet the results are almost universally condemned and nothing substantive is being done about it. Whether the strange quiet of the budget-balancers at the White House as the price support billions slip away can last through November 1960, is questioned by a Congress all to fatalistic in its own attitudes toward the problem.

#### Pie Plates by the Hundreds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

### HON. IRIS FAIRCLOTH BLITCH

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mrs. BLITCH. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Tenney Griffin, staff writer for the Valdosta (Ga.) Daily Times has written a most interesting story containing an account of the establishment of a branch of the Standard Container Corp. in my

hometown of Homerville, Ga.

The citizens of Homerville are justly proud of this industry. While they raised the money for the building itself, they are already receiving 3 percent interest on their loan and they rightfully feel a proprietary interest in the plant. I would also point out that Standard Container receives no special local or State tax benefits. As responsible citizens, the plant officials wanted none nor were they offered any. What they did want was a community in which they would be welcome, and a labor resource that could be relied upon. The success of the operation proves that they received both-and we, in turn, received excellent citizens. I might say, Mr. Speaker, that all industry of the same high caliber as Standard Container would find just as warm a welcome in any of the 20 counties of southeast Georgia which comprise the Eighth Congressional District that I have the honor to represent.

Mr. Griffin's story follows:

PIE PLATES BY THE HUNDREDS-HOMERVILLE CONTAINER PLANT SPREADS PRODUCTS FAR BEYOND BUG SPRAYERS

(By Tenney Griffin)

HOMERVILLE.-Homerville's Standard Container plant started its operation just a little more than a year ago, making only insect sprayers for home use.

Now after a plant expansion program and the installation of much new equipment, Standard Container is making a lot of other things.

But sprayers are its biggest item of manufacture that the more than 150 workers produce each day.

Standard Container, the pride of every citizen of Homerville, is now operating four production lines for the manufacture of its

basic product. Its present capacity is 25,000

sprayers a day—and that is a lot of dead bugs.
In addition to its sprayer lines, the metal fabricating firm also produces canisters for movie film, parachute canisters for the Armed Forces, pie plates, dust caps for natural gas lines, ammunition cans for the Government and a few other related items. And to produce its sprayers and other prod-

ucts takes a lot of steel.

Presently Standard Container here is consuming about 100,000 pounds of tin steel month, most of which comes from Birmingham, Ala.

The steel tin plate is received, in many cases already printed with the appropriate trade name, and from there is cut, stamped,

rolled and fitted into the particular product. But not only does it take tremendous amounts of tinplate to produce the firm's many products, it also takes a vast amount of lead solder.

Like the tinplate the monthly consumption of solder is in the thousands of pounds. Under its present operating load, the plant uses about 4,000 pounds of the metal solder a month.

The history of the company in Homerville is a tremendous success story. It started with a fire—one which wiped out several thousand acres of Clinch County's most valuable product-pine trees.

With much of the county's principal in-come cut off and hundreds out of work, Clinch leaders began looking around for payrolls. They found one in Standard Container and through public subscription raised the necessary moneys to construct the handsome building just west of the city.

Then the firm, whose home offices are in New Jersey, moved in and with about 35 workers began making fly sprayers. Today the story is the same—success all the way through.

The firm has been good for Homerville and Clinch County and they have been good for the firm.

### Texas Salutes Colorado

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. BYRON L. JOHNSON

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 27, 1959

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, with your permission I should like to insert in the RECORD the impressive document I received this week from the Senate of the State of Texas-it is Senate Resolution No. 13, passed May 21, congratulating my State on its centennial this year. This typical Texan gesture is a poetic masterpiece not often encountered in dry political circles, and I submit the full text:

SENATE RESOLUTION No. 13

(By Dorsey B. Hardeman, State Senator, District No. 25, San Angelo, Tex.)

Whereas it is with interest that the Senate of the State of Texas notes the centennial of the founding of one of the younger members of the Union of States of these United States; and

Whereas the romantic land of majestic mountains and verdant valleys furnish a recreational playground for vast and increasing numbers of visitors annually, as well as for its own people, to enjoy and share its cool and invigorating climate and unparalleled and picturesque vistas; and

Whereas, it includes such natural and scenic marvels as Glenwood Canyon, with its brilliant colorings, the Royal Gorge, with its sheer granite walls, and the majestic Black Canyon of the Gunnison; also the Red Rocks near Denver, the Garden of the Gods at the foot of Pikes Peak, and the Seven Falls at Colorado Springs, to mention only a few of nature's handiworks; and

Whereas this fine State, familiarly known as "cool, colorful, Colorado," has made great contributions to the welfare of America from the days of the earliest fur traders. Jean de la Maisonneuve and a Swiss named Preneloupe, who arrived at the present site of Denver on July 20, 1799, through the period of the explorers, James Purcell in 1803, Capt. Zebulon M. Pike in 1806, Maj. Stephen H. Long in 1820, Capt. John C. Fremont in 1842, and Capt. John W. Gunnison. all noted explorers and pathfinders, followed by the trappers, scouts, and Indian agents and fighters which included such romantic and historical figures as Kit Carson, Jim Bridger, Charles and William Bent and

Thomas Fitzpatrick; and

Whereas following the establishment of the "Terriory of Jefferson," as it was originally known, great builders and political leaders appeared with William Gilpin, the first Territorial Governor and John Evans, railroad builder and second Governor of the Territory, also the founder of the University of Denver; Gen. William J. Palmer, founder of Colorado Springs and builder of the Denver and Rio Grande Rairoau; nearly R. Teller, U.S. Senator and Secretary of the Interior in President Arthur's Cabinet H. A. W. ("Haw") Tabor, colorful, fabulous, legendary pioneer mining operator, speculator and U.S. Senator, together with such later-day celebrities as Homer Lea, soldier, author, and adviser to Sun Yat Sen, in establishing the China Republic in 1912, Helen Hunt Jackson, author of "Ramona," Anne Parrish, author of many novels, including "The Perennial Bachelor"; Eugene Field, poet and journalist, Gene Fowler, journalist and playwright, Fred Stone, of musical comedy fame. Douglas Fairbanks, Sr., stage and screen star and Paul Whiteman, "the King of Jazz" have made lasting contributions to the development of the State: and

Whereas, as a land abounding in natural resources, it plays an important part in the economy and recreation of her own people, as well as of the entire country with her two national parks and six national monuments with their mauve and snow-capped peaks, the most famous being Pikes Peak, more than 14,000 feet into ethereal blue, greeting and radiance of the morning light at the first blush of dawn and stripping the splendor from the sunset's golden blow, then to be followed by the lengthening shadows of darkening purple, fading insensibly into neutral twilight, as night gathers her gentle mantle over its awesome stillness and the grandeur and magnificence of this wildly weird domain, she stands as the highest State in the Union, with an average altitude of 6,800 feet; and

Whereas that part of Colorado lying south and west of the Arkansas River was ceded by Mexico to the United States by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, which Treaty also related to lands within the State of Texas thereby providing, to some extent, a common background for these two great American commonwealths; and

Whereas that part of Colorado lying south and west of the Arkansas River was ceded by Mexico to the United States by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, which treaty also related to lands within the State of Texas thereby providing, to some extent, a common background for these two great American commonwealths; and

Whereas it is the desire of the Senate of the State of Texas to join with the people

of Colorado in their centennial observance and to express the hope for another and other centuries of progress therefor: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate of the State of Texas, That its good wishes be, and they are hereby, extended to the State of Colorado and her people on the occasion of their first centennial and the hope for additional centuries of progress for this romantic and picturesque commonwealth; and, be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution, under the official seal of the Senate of Texas, be forwarded by the secretary of the senate to the Governor of Colorado, the Lieutenant-Governor of Colorado, the Speaker of the house of representatives of Colorado, the United States Senators and the Members of the U.S. House of Representatives from Colorado, and the secretary of state of Colorado.

BEN RAMSEY,

President of the Senate.

I hereby certify that the above resolution tion was adopted by the Senate on May 21,

1959. [SEAL]

CHARLES SCHNABEL, Secretary of the Senate.

#### Cartoonist

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. A. S. HERLONG, JR.

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, in my Fifth Florida District, an honor has come to a friend of mine who is one of the great editorial cartoonists of our age. His name is Lynn Brudon. Since 1943 he has worked for the powerful newspaper of central Florida, the Orlando Sentinel.

Now the Sentinel has two honors. The first, of course, is having my friend, Lynn Brudon, on its staff. The second is this: the Orlando Sentinel is the only newspaper in the United States which 7 days a week—year in and year out—publishes a color cartoon on the front page.

After making another of its studies on mass communication, analyzing the influence of the Brudon cartoons, the Center for Practical Politics, located at Rollins College and organized under a grant from the Maurice and Laura Falk Foundation, invited Mr. Brudon to stop by for a visit. When he arrived the conference room was overflowing with central Florida leaders from my district.

Under the signatures of Mayor Robert Carr, of the city of Orlando, Mayor J. Lynn Pflug, of the city of Winter Park, Prof. Paul Douglass and Miss Alice Mc-Mahon, who guide the policy of the distinguished educational enterprise which contributes so much to Florida politics, presented to my friend, Lynn, a plaque on which were inscribed these words:

Lynn Brudon, editorial cartoonist, the Orlando Sentinel sincé 1943, cynical protagonist of public rectitude, whose acid pen exposes folly, sham, and pretense and champions integrity, competence, and sound judgment in leadership.

As a part of this study the Center for Practical Politics sent interviewers all over the metropolitan area to find out whether they read the Brudon cartoon and whether they agreed with it. The statistical tabulations of the interviews showed that the Lynn Brudon cartoon is a major influential feature of communication.

From the content analysis of the cartoons, Judy Baez, center analyst, described the cartoon idiom of Lynn Brudon as—

both goodnatured and constructive, which in general is a tonic acid helping people to see their problems so that they can laugh 'at themselves while others laugh at and with them.

I wish you could know Lynn Brudon, Mr. Speaker. On the day the Center for Practical Politics was going to honor him he was so overwhelmed with work that he said he couldn't leave his drawing board. And he wouldn't—until Henry Balch and William Conomos called him into Martin Andersen's office and ordered him to take a half hour off. And that's all the time he did take off.

With a modesty which characterized his life, Lynn Brudon was touched by the tribute to him—so much so that he made one of the few talks of his life. With a sincerity expressive of the highest ethics of journalism, Lynn said to the distinguished citizens—and my constituents—who had gathered to honor him:

I never intend in any of my drawings to put any venom in what I cartoon. Sometimes people come to me and say: "You say you weren't mad at me when you drew that. God help me if you had been." What I try to do is pick an incident and help a man to see his folly and laugh at himself. I can laugh at myself. My drawings are like an editorial. Time and time again I've sat there drawing and said to myself: "No, that's not it. I've flopped this time." The next day the man calls up for the picture.

The Sentinel likes to bring out issues. If it's right, we stand up and say so. If it's wrong we holler. Mr. Andersen says: "I can hire all the big national cartoonists in the country—but we don't live in New York or Chicago or California. Our beat is central Florida."

Now what I do is keep track of issues. It is my job to keep the record straight. It's not a big job. But it's an important job. And best of all it's my job. I like it.

Mr. Speaker, because of my job here in Washington, I missed that conference to honor Lynn Brudon just as he almost missed it himself because of his duty to the Sentinel. I merely want to call the attention of this House to my hope that our world can have more men like Lynn Brudon in it. For 16 years I have known him and respected his courage and his political judgment. For more than a quarter of a century I have known his publisher, Martin Andersen, and worked with him to make central Florida become the great region that it is. Lynn Brudon I send my own personal greetings and congratulate the Center for Practical Politics on the outstanding research in communication which identifled the work of this great visual journalist to honor.

### DAV Services in Indiana

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. EARL HOGAN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, an exceptional record of vital rehabilitation services freely extended to thousands of Indiana citizens has recently come to my attention. These splendid humanitarian services are not sufficiently appreciated by those who have benefited thereby, directly or indirectly.

Among the several congressionally chartered veteran organizations, which have State departments and local chapters in Indiana, is the Disabled American Veterans. The DAV is the only such organization composed exclusively of those Americans who have been either wounded, gassed, injured, or disabled by reason of active service in the Armed Forces of the United States, or of some country allied with it, during time of war. I have been a member of the DAV since 1946.

Formed in 1920, under the leadership of Judge Robert S. Marx, DAV legislative activities have benefited every compensated disabled veteran very substantially. Its national adjutant is John E. Feighner, of Cincinnati, Ohio. Its national legislative director is Elmer M. Freudenberger, its national director of claims, Cicero F. Hogan, and its national director of employment relations, John W. Burris—all located at its national service headquarters at 1701 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

Inasmuch as less than 10 percent of our country's war veterans are receiving monthly disability compensation payments for service-connected disabilities-some two million-the DAV can never aspire to become the largest of the several veteran organizations. Nevertheless, since shortly after its formation in 1920, the DAV national headquarters, located in Cincinnati, Ohio, has maintained the largest staff, of any veteran organization, of full-time trained national service officers, 138 of them, who are located in the 63 regional and 3 district offices of the U.S. Veterans' Administration, and in its central office in Washington, D.C. They have ready access to the official claim records of those claimants who have given them their powers of attorney. All of them being war-handicapped veterans themselves. these national service officers are sympathetic and alert as to the problems of other less well-informed claimants.

DAY SERVICE FACILITIES IN INDIANA

The DAV presently maintains one national service officer in Indiana, Mr. John H. Weiss, located in the VA regional office, 36 South Pennsylvania Street, Indianapolis. The department adjutant is Mr. Gerald M. Smitley, 436-438 K of P Building, Indianapolis, Ind. The Department service officers are Mr. George McWilliams, 117 South Williams Street,

South Bend, Ind.; Mr. Ralph Kincaid, Post Office Lock Box 248, Indianapolis, Ind., and Mr. John Roth, Courthouse, Boonville, Ind.

Four hospitals are maintained by the Veterans' Administration in Indiana; a 200 bed general and medical hospital at Fort Wayne; a 486 general and medical hospital at Indianapolis, a 241 bed tuberculosis hospital at Indianapolis and a 1,650 bed neuropsychiatric hospital at Marion.

The DAV department of Indiana has nationally appointed representatives to the Veterans' Administration Voluntary Services Advisory Committees at each of the Veterans' Administration hospitals servicing Indiana veterans. These DAV representatives and the hospitals are as follows: Fort Wayne VA Hospital, Leo N. Cashdollar, 9091/2 Powers Street, New Haven, Ind.; Indianapolis VA Hospital, Mrs. Helen Miller, 257 East Minnesota Street, Indianapolis, Ind., and Mr. Bernard Van Sell, 219 South Arlington Avenue. Indianapolis, Ind.; Marion VA Hospital, Mrs. Mary Schmidt, 705 West Franklin Street, Hartford City, Ind.

During the last fiscal year, the VA paid out \$106,493,000 for its veteran program in Indiana, including \$30,729,528 disability compensation to its 36,031 service disabled veterans. These Federal expenditures in Indiana furnish substantial purchasing power in all communities.

About 19 percent—7,092—are members of the 69 DAV chapters in Indiana.

This 19 percent record is strange, in view of the very outstanding record of personalized service activities and accomplishments of the DAV national service officer in behalf of Indiana vetgrans and dependents during the last 10 fiscal years, as revealed by the following statistics:

Claimants contacted (esti-	
mate)	50, 486
Claims folders reviewed	42,072
Appearance before rating	
boards	20, 275
Compensation increases ob-	0.000
tained	3,370
Service connections obtained_	
Nonservice pensions	2, 116
Death benefits obtained	
Total monetary benefits ob-	209
tained	\$1,989,250.71

These above figures do not include the accomplishments of other national service officers on duty in the central office of the Veterans' Administration, handling appeals and reviews, or in its three district offices, handling death and insurance cases. Over the last 10 years, they reported 83,611 claims handled in such district offices, resulting in monetary benefits of \$20.850,335.32, and in the central office, they handled 58,282 reviews and appeals, resulting in monetary benefits of \$5,337,389.05. Proportionate additional benefits were thereby obtained for Indiana veterans, their de-pendents and their survivors.

#### SERVICES BEYOND STATISTICS

These figures fail properly to paint the picture of the extent and value of the individualized advice, counsel and assistance extended to all of the claimants

who have contacted DAV service officers in person, by telephone, and by letter. Pertinent advice was furnished to all

disabled veterans-only about 10 percent of whom were DAV members-their dependents, and others, in response to their varied claims for service connection, disability compensation, medical treatment, hospitalization, prosthetic appliances, vocational training, insurance, death compensation or pension, VA guaranty loans for homes, farms and businesses. and so forth. Helpful advice was also given as to counseling and placement into suitable useful employment-to utilize their remaining abilities. Civil service examinations, appointments, retentions, retirement benefits, and multifarious other problems.

Every claim presents different problems. Too few Americans fully realize that governmental benefits are not automatically awarded to disabled veteransnot given on a silver platter. Frequently, because of lack of official records, death or disappearance of former buddles and associates, lapse of memory with passage of time, lack of information and exeprience, proof of the legal service connection of a disability becomes ex-tremely difficult—too many times impossible. A claims and rating board can obviously not grant favorable action merely based on the opinions, impressions or conclusions of persons who submit notarized affidavits. Specific detailed, pertinent facts are essential.

The VA, which acts as judge and jury, cannot properly prosecute claims against itself. As the defendant, in effect, the U.S. Veterans' Administration must award the benefits provided under the laws administered by it, only under certain conditions.

A DAV national service officer can and does advise a claimant precisely why his claim may previously have been denied and then specifies what additional evidence is essential. The claimant must necessarily bear the burden of obtaining such fact-giving affidavit evidence. The experienced national service officer will, of course, advise him as to its possible improvement, before presenting same to the adjudication agency, in the light of all of the circumstances and facts, and of the pertinent laws, precedents, regulations, and schedule of disability ratings. No DAV national service officer, I feel certain, ever uses his skill, except in behalf of worthy claimants, with justifiable claim.

The VA has denied more claims than it has allowed—because most claims are not properly prepared. It is very significant, as pointed out by the DAV acting national director of claims, Chester A. Cash, that a much higher percentage of those claims, which have been prepared and presented with the aid of a DAV national service officer, are eventually favorably acted upon, than is the case as to those claimants who have not given their powers of attorney to any such special advocate.

Another fact not generally known is that, under the overall review of claims inaugurated by the VA some 4 years ago, the disability compensation payments of

about 37,200 veterans have been discontinued, and reduced as to about 27,300 others at an aggregate loss to them of more than \$28 million per year. About 1.7 percent of such discontinuances and reductions have probably occurred as to disabled veterans in Indiana with a consequent loss of about \$476,000 per year.

Most of these unfortunate claimants were not represented by the DAV or by any other veteran organization. Judging by the past, such unfavorable adjudications will occur as to an additional equal number or more during the next 3 years, before such review is completed. I urge every disabled veteran in Indiana to give his power of attorney to the national service officer of the DAV, or of some other veteran organization, or of the American Red Cross, just as a protective measure.

The average claimant who receives helpful advice probably does not realize the background of training and experience of a competent expert national service officer.

#### COSTS OF DAV SERVICES

Measured by the DAV's overall costs of about \$12,197,600 during a 10-year period, one would find that it has expended about \$3.50 for each claim folder reviewed, or about \$8.80 for each rating board appearance, or, again about \$22.70 for each favorable award obtained, or about \$123 for each service connection obtained, or about \$54 for each compensation increase obtained, and has obtained about \$14.10 of direct monetary benefits for claimants for each dollar expended by the DAV for its national service officer setup. Moreover, such benefits will generally continue for many years.

#### METHODS OF PROVIDING SERVICES

Evidently, most claimants are not aware of the fact that the DAV receives no Government subsidy whatsoever. The DAV is enabled to maintain its nationwide staff of expert national service officers primarily because of income from membership dues collected by its local chapters and from the net income on its Idento-Tag-miniature automobile license tags-project, owned by the DAV and operated by its employees, most of whom are disabled veterans, their wives. or their widows or other handicapped Americans-a rehabilitation project in thus furnishing them with useful employment. Incidentally, without checking as to whether they had previously sent in a donation, more than 1,400,000 owners of sets of lost keys have received them back from the DAV's Idento-Tag department, 13,917 of whom, during the last 8 years, were Indiana residents.

Every eligible veteran, by becoming a DAV member, and by explaining these factors to fellow citizens, can help the DAV to procure such much-needed public support as will enable it to maintain its invaluable nationwide service setup on a more adequate basis. So much more could be accomplished for distressed disabled veterans, if the DAV could be enabled, financially, to maintain an expert service officer in every one of the 173 VA hospitals.

MEMORIAL HONOR ROLL

During the last 10 years, the DAV has also relied on appropriations from its separately incorporated trustee, the DAV Service Foundation, aggregating \$3,-300,000 exclusively for salaries to its national service officers. Its reserves having thus been nearly exhausted, the DAV Service Foundation is therefore very much in need of the generous support of all serviced claimants, DAV members and other social-minded Americans-by direct donations, by designations in insurance policies, by bequests in wills, by assignment of stocks and bonds and by establishing special types of trust funds.

A special type of memorial trust fund originated about 3 years ago with concerned disabled veteran members of the DAV chapter in Butte, Mont., which established the first perpetual rehabilitation fund of \$1,000 with the DAV Service Foundation, to which it recently added another \$100. Since then every DAV unit in that State has established such a special memorial trust fund, ranging from \$100 to \$1,000, equivalent to about \$5 per DAV member—an excellent objective for all other States. Benefactors from 29 States have, up to this time, become enrolled on the memorial honor

Inasmuch as only the interest earnings from special donations will be available for appropriation to the DAV for its use in maintaining its national service officer program in the State of residence of each such benefactor, this is an excellent objective also for Indiana. Each such special benefactor is enrolled on a permanent memorial honor roll which, updated, is then included in the annual report of the DAV and of its incorporated trustee, the DAV Service Foundation, to the U.S. Congress.

Each claimant who has received any such free rehabilitation service can help to make it possible for the DAV to continue this excellent rehabilitation service for other distressed disabled veterans and their dependents in Indiana by sending in donations to the DAV Service Foundation, 631 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C. Every such serviced claimant who is eligible can, and should, also become a DAV member, preferably a life member, for which the total is \$100-\$50 to those born before January 1, 1902, or World War I veterans-payable in installments within 2 full fiscal year periods.

Every American can help to make our Government more representative by being a supporting member of at least one organization which reflects his interest and viewpoints-labor unions, trade associations, and various religious, fraternal, and civic associations. All of America's veterans ought to be members of one or more of the patriotic, servicegiving veterans' organizations. All of America's disabled defenders, who are receiving disability compensation, have greatly benefited by their own official voice—the DAV. I consider it a privilege and an honor to belong to the Disabled American Veterans.

### International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, when one calls the roll of the great unions which have contributed to the building of the American labor movement as we know it today, high on the list is found the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Since its formation in 1900, the ILGWU has worked tirelessly and in a spirit of dedication to lift the living standards of the fine men and women who make up

the workers of the industry.

The story of this great union is told in a supplement of the New York Times of May 17. It is, I might say, an excel-lent recital. I hope that it will be widely read, especially by our young people, who, I am afraid, are not too well aware today of the hard work, suffering, and sacrifice which went into the building not only of this union, but of so many others. Today, we tend to take for granted a strong and vigorous American labor movement. We forget that it was but a few years ago when the vast majority of American workers were without the benefit of a trade union to represent them in collective bargaining with management. The organized labor movement has been one of the great and effective instruments of bringing higher living standards to the people of our country.

The ILGWU has not grown old and tired with the coming of its great successes. It still displays imagination and vigor to meet the new problems which face the people of its industry. The president of the ILGWU, David Dubinsky, points out just what the problems are which the union faces today, in an article which he wrote for the New York Times supplement.

limes supplement.

Mr. Dubinsky is one of the outstanding men of our country—a great citizen, a labor statesman, and a respected civic leader. His union, the ILGWU, has earned the same respect and admiration.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that this article by David Dubinsky, entitled "The Problems of Success," be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

I take this opportunity to salute David Dubinsky and the International Ladies Garment Workers. They serve as an inspiration to the young men and women who are today entering the labor movement.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE PROBLEMS OF SUCCESS—GROWTH OF UNIONS OPENS NEW AREAS OF RESPONSI-BILITY FOR LABOR LEADERSHIP IN AMERICAN LIPE

(By David Dubinsky)

A little boy of about 12 strayed from his home in a slum tenement on the Lower East

Side and found himself in front of Macy's Department Store. As he saw the huge store with its vast display of merchandise, the scores of busy salesgirls and the mass of customers, he was so overcome that he raised his hands to his head and stared incredulously. A passerby, observing the boy's apparent bewilderment, inquired what the trouble was. The boy replied, "Mister, my mama has a little grocery store and she worries all the time about debts, the rent, bills, and collections." Shaking his head sadly, the boy said, "This Mr. Macy, by golly, he must have more worries even than my mama."

Looking down at the boy, the man smilingly replied, "Yes, your mama has problems of poverty and smallness but Macy too has its problems—the problems of bigness and success."

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union which is entering the 60th year of its existence, and is a recognized and respected force in our community, is reputed to be a success as a union.

On this occasion, however, I should like to discuss not our successes, but the problems arising from our success. These are the problems of being grown up, of maturity, of responsibility to the community. I want to review these problems not only because we are facing up to and trying to cope with them, but also because I believe that sooner or later the entire American labor movement must also deal with and resolve the same or

similar problems.

Our union, like most unions in America, came into existence in response to a deep human emotion: the worker's passion to be respected as a human being and to participate in determining and improving his working and living conditions. For this passion they required no evidence from statisticians, economists, time-study experts or lawyers. The garment workers' burning aspiration for economic freedom was born in the foul air of the sweatshop, in the bark of the boss, in the cold pangs of hunger. Out of this anger and frustration arose the union. It was the union which first voiced the workers' cry of protest against the evils of the garment jungle. The contract was a measure of the degree to which the protest was heard: recognition, wages, hours of work. By the 1920's, however, it was clear that the industry itself was so unstable that the contracts rested on quicksand. To write a contract that was firm and enforceable it was necessary to bring some stability to the industry.

The basic instability of the garment industry arose from the auction block system under which the jobber—the creator of style and the merchandiser of apparel to the retail market—encouraged such intense cutthroat competition for the work of producing the garments that each season Seventh Avenue was strewn with bankruptcies.

Thousands of workers employed in the contracting shops were forced to make deals with their desperate employers to submit to substandard wages in order to grab a few "bundles" of work. The workers often lost wages when a fly-by-night contractor could not meet the payroli or filed for bankruptcy. And the great jobber—the lord of the garment manor—washed his hands of all responsibility to the contractors and to the workers.

A special commission, appointed by Governor Smith in 1924, recommended that a limitation be placed on the number of contractors a jobber might use and that the jobber be made primarily responsible for the wages and work conditions in contractor shops to protect both the workers and the public interest in decent conditions in a vital industry. It was some time later that these reforms became part of the industry-wide collective agreements. This placed upon the union the responsibility of serving as the great stabilizing factor in the trade. This role required accurate knowledge about

scientific approaches to the problems of pay rates and factory production and the overall economics of the garment trade and all its branches.

As the need for factual information increased our union created and expanded various departments. We set up a research department to provide factual ammunition for bargaining and the overall statistical information needed for stabilizing the industry. This was followed by the creation of a management-engineering department—timestudy men with a union heart.

In recent years the statistician and the industrial engineer have been added to the staff of many unions. They are more than new departments; they represent a new age of unionism.

Another mark of the new age is the labor When our union first came into lawver. being, labor-management relations were a jungle, without law and without order. In primitive form, a group of workers-in a moment of anger and despair-would get up from the machine, walk out of the factory, picket the plant, and try to work out an understanding with the boss on the sidewalk. In modified form, this was the core of collective bargaining for many years. With the passage of time, these shapeless relations began to take form. In place of the spoken deal on the sidewalk came the written contract. In place of the repeated stoppage to enforce the contract came the umpire, the impartial chairman in the in-dustry. The lawyer began to play a role now in labor relations. It was not until the enactment of the National Recovery Act in 1933 that the labor lawyer began to come into his own. Collective bargaining was made the law of the land and the fostering of industrial peace became the declared public policy of the United States. Section 7a of NRA, followed by the Wagner Act and then the Taft-Hartley Act, established a basic body of legislation on labor-management relations, on top of which was raised a giant structure of Labor Board and court decisions. Labor law—until then a specialty only of a few radicals with trade-union connections-became a respected category of the legal profession.

Today there are many lawyers engaged by our union and other unions on retainers and fees. But, in addition, the ILGWU has a legal department and a sizable legal staff, operating at both the local and national level, as an integral part of the union, counseling with us on policy and advising with us on strategy, as well as arguing cases before boards and courts.

The need to operate within a legal framework—through the labor lawyer and a legal staff—is characteristic of modern unionism in the new age.

Another problem of union success is the handling of its growing and highly complex financial affairs. This was very definitely no problem years ago when unions had plenty of nothing. But as unions have grown, as dues payments have become more regularized, income and treasuries have expanded. At the same time, health, welfare, and retirement funds have come into existence. These developments have accentuated the need to devise ways and means for safeguarding and conserving large resources. The modern union must set up well policed accounting procedures to insure the honest and economical use of its funds. Union moneys are dollars held in trust. They are not the personal property of the union officer. They are the property of the union membership with the union officer in the role of a trustee who is accountable to his rank-and-file, under uniform and systematic bookkeeping procedures.

Our union was the first to set up, many years ago, an elaborate accounting department, routinely and periodically checking on the books of every local union in every area and hundreds of localities throughout the country. This is more than a policing procedure; it is a method of budgeting, allocating available financial resources and getting the maximum return for every dollar.

A special problem arises in connection with the investment of reserves. To get good returns, under conditions of safety, our union employs a full-time investment counselor.

We prefer to invest our money in projects that not only yield a fair return, but are socially useful. New cooperative housing has, therefore, been one of our major sources for investment. It is gratifying to know that our investments help to promote a cleaner and happier community.

The management of health, welfare, and retirement funds, most of which were established after World War II, requires the union—as trustee for these funds—to manage millions of dollars of income, of expenditures and of reserves. There is the problem of collecting the funds, disbursing payments to provide proper medical care and financial assistance during illness; sending monthly pension checks to those who have retired; investing surpluses. In miniature, the union becomes a tax collection agency, a clinic, a department of social security and disability payments, a capital investor. To do this work in a responsible way, our union established two new departments; a health and welfare department

and a death benefit department.

While welfare funds represent a tremendous advance in providing added security for wage earners, they also present a problem of management requiring a high degree of administrative skill and integrity. In developing its codes of ethical behavior, the AFI.—CIO devoted much of its attention to the handling of union and welfare funds as a public trust with proper accounting and accountability. This, too, is a mark of the new age.

Two generations ago, the organization of workers into unions on the American industrial frontier was a rough business. Employers were arrogant and unyielding. Workers were bitter and angry. Violence was inevitable.

When employers, accustomed to unquestioned rule, brought in their paid strike-breakers, their coal-and-iron police, or their gangsters, workers did not know where to turn. They could not turn to the Government, because the Government—police and courts—were hostile. They could not turn to the public conscience, because the unions, especially during a strike, were regarded as social outcasts. And the press—the channel for public appeal—was overwhelmingly antilabor. In desperation, some unions organized their own physical defense. And, in the extreme, some unions tried to neutralize the employer's gangsters with their own mercenafies.

For many decades, the union was an outcast and, inevitably, the outcast is driven to the methods of the outlaw. To the extent that unions become accepted and integrated into the community, to that extent the unions follow the law and custom of the community.

In recent years, unions have leaned ever more heavily on the power of public persuasion to advance their cause. They have appealed to the self-interest of the worker, to the conscience of the community, to the responsibility of government, even to the employer who wants a productive and happy

The attempt to handle labor relations in this more civilized way is not without difficulties. There still are employers who insist upon the attitudes and the methods of the past. Unfortunately, in many communities they are backed by the local citizenry and sheriff. In some cases, gangsters

still make their living from the protection racket or may even be the legal and respected owners of factories. Where these conditions exist, violence inevitably breaks out.

To move ahead into the new era of labor relations requires the cooperation of a labor movement that respects the laws of the community and a community that respects the rights of labor. Our union has recently initiated a major move to establish such a relationship; an appeal to the conscience of the community to war against the unethical elements in the garment industry. We are appealing to the American women to buy apparel bearing the ILGWU label, because by such a judicious use of their purchasing power as consumers, they can strike a blow at the chiseller and the gangster shop.

For our part, we are convinced that as the conscience of the community is aroused and as this democratic will is expressed through government we can create the social climate for modern labor relations. There will be those who cling to past methods, but the future belongs to those who realize that both industry and labor can prosper most in an atmosphere of mutual respect.

As can be seen from this account, as we grow, our problems grow. First, our problem was confined to the shop. Then, we had to worry about the industry. Then our concern spread to the local, and national, and ultimately, the international community.

To play our expanding role properly, we could not limit our efforts to the shop and the shop contract nor even to the industry contract. We had to play a part in the community. And that means creative participation in politics, for it is through government that we shape the life of our community.

When a union enters politics, however, much more than a resolution is required. It is necessary to teach the workers his responsibility and rights as a citizen.

To discharge this duty in a constructive way is another of the problems of maturity, involving lectures, literature, trips to State capitals, and Washington, canvassing, registration drives, publications, rallies, committees and conferences. This is part of a vast movement to raise American democracy to a high new level by encouraging men and women, many of whom were habitually nonvoters, to participate actively in the electoral process. To conduct this full-time "course in civics" we have a Political Department—another mark of the age.

To deal with the problems of success, the union needs the right kind of personnel. And this is in itself probably the greatest problem of all.

In the early days of our union, a man could be elected to almost any post if he could make a speech. An open mouth was often the open door to a union post. If, by this means, a man won popularity, he could be elected to a variety of positions, for none of which he need have any special competence. Hundreds of men were elected to the position of financial secretary although they didn't know the difference between dues and debit.

On one thing almost every union did insist: that the elected officer carry a union card in the trade. The theory was that the man, coming from the work bench himself, would know the feelings and needs of the rank and file. In part, this theory was correct. But being a craftsman in his trade does not make a man competent in the craftmanship of running a union, especially a modern, complex union with its many problems of success. A dues card alone is hardly a diploma for a license to practice union administration, involving among other things, complex financial affairs.

Many of these old-line "leaders"—loyal card carriers and amiable politicians—were devoted and honest, even if uninspired and uninventive. But there have been others in the labor movement such as the Bioffs, Browns, Scalises and Fays who lacked these virtues but whose rise to leadership was based on their reputation as muscle men and their facility with the blackjack and the brass knuckle. And more recently, there have been somewhat refined versions of this prototype who, with more polish than their predecessors, nevertheless treat the union as a business for private gain.

The problem of developing modern union leadership for a new age is one of the most important facing the American labor movement. The modern union officer must be much different. He must have more than a smile, a line of talk, a paidup card. He must have a devotion and dedication, intelligence and inventiveness, social vision and public concern. To him a union is not a business but an opportunity for service. The ABC of union leadership is ability, brains, and

conscience.

In the past, many able people have risen out of the union ranks. But, there is a need for men of liberal view and intellectual power in unions in which they do not necessarily carry a membership card of the craft. The integration of such "outsiders" into the unions has been a slow evolution. It began timidly with the use of brain trusters as hired hands for special skills. I remember the time when the former Teamster president, Dan Tobin, employed a highly skilled economist as research director and apologized because he had to engage an intellectual instead of a dues-paying teamster.

For a number of years now the ILGWU has been enlisting outside blood to work in a variety of capacities. Indeed, the executive secretary of our international was, for a full generation, a man who did not come from the trade, but whose background in law, finance, and administration made him a superb man for the post. Many key posts in the union requiring special skills—administrative, publicity, research, education, engineering, and legal—are held by professionally qualified people who are not members of the ILGWU but are devoted to the union and to the objectives and principles of the labor movement.

In recent years, this concept-the right man for the right job-has been extended. The regular union officer-not simply the outside specialist-has greater ultimate use in a modern union if he has a better understanding of the economic, social, and political environment within which he moves. modern union officer cannot do his best job by just leaving the work bench, getting himself elected, serving a brief term and then returning to the workbench. No serious efficient organization would risk its existence by turning over its key posts to such random transient administration. Likewise, union leadership today is and should become a career and only through career development can the skills involving union administration be acquired.

Because we believe that the officers of a union should be both dedicated and trained, our union established its own "West Point" about a decade ago. Each year, about 2 dozen young men and women are put through a solid year of training on a full-time basis. About 130 of these now serve in the union.

In the development of staff members and officers of the union, we endeavor to find qualified men and women who reflect the many ethnic, linguistic, geographic currents in our trade. The work force in the garment industry is highly fluid, with a rapid turnover and great inflows of new population groupings. To develop a corps of officers who reflect these changes, we do not rely solely on our training institute, but

develop rank-and-filers through activity in piece rate determinations, in posts as shop stewards, executive board members, convention delegates, organizers. Through such experience and training, these rank-and-filers mature for appointment and election to full-time posts with the union.

This emphasis on developing honest and able people at all levels is part of our union's blueprint for progress in the new age. The policies we formulate to guide us in this new era are not self-enforcing. No policy is worth much if they are not convinced and conscientious people behind the policy. We therefore believe that the answer to many of our problems of success is to develop men and women of high caliber for union posts.

This review of our problem of success does not exhaust the subject. I have discussed several phases to show that union maturity—like human adulthood—solves some

problems and brings others.

This means that a union, like any growing and living thing, must be ready to change in changing times. Within the American trade unions there is an inner development creating new concepts and actions. In the last quarter century, organized labor has accepted the concept of social legislation and has added the idea of industrial unionism to the older craft form. More recently it has modified its notion of "autonomy" to discipline racketeer-ridden affiliates; has supported corrective legislation governing the conduct of union affairs; has spelled out ethical codes; has displayed a greater responsibility to the community and a sensitivity to international problems.

As labor has grown, it has shown a remarkable flexibility. But, even this flexibility can be a problem, for together with its adaptability, labor must possess a kind of rigidity of purpose. In fitting into modern times, labor dare not forget the old times, the original principles. It is just too easy for success to dull the memory of the days

when.

When unions are being born, the great aim is clear, for men and women, leaders and rank-and-filers alike must make vast sacrifices to create the union out of the existing chaos. This act of birth is painful but inspiring. With the passage of time, however, the original pain and purpose are sometimes forgotten.

As we look ahead, therefore, we must also look back; to our origin, to our reason for being, remembering that a union does not exist simply to perpetuate and perfect itself. A union is not an end in itself. A union comes into being as a means toward an end, the end being the full development—economic, political, cultural—of free men in a free society. No matter what successes we experience, they must not dull our sensitivities to the unfinished business on the agenda of a democratic civilization.

Only in this way, by a constant return to the original well of ideals, can we derive the necessary spiritual nourishment for constant growth and renewal.

Let's Back Smathers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. A. S. HERLONG, JR.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I want to include an editorial which appeared in the Sarasota (Fla.) Evening Journal of Monday, May 11, 1959:

LET'S BACK SMATHERS

On further thought, why not push the name of Senator George Smathers, of Florida, for nomination as Democratic candidate for President?

There has been much mention of Senator Kennedy, of Massachusetts, and Senator

HUMPHREY, of Minnesota.

Certainly our Senator SMATHERS would qualify quite as well as those two, and even better.

In these days and times of minority rule, there is a tendency to write off any possible candidate from the South on the assumption that he might not be able to swing the big minority blocs up North.

But this would not necessarily be the case. Senator SMATHERS has now served more than 8 years. He has performed well and has gained much experience, after serving in the House.

Florida could not be considered as one of the "solid South" States, since there are now hundreds of thousands of former northerners living in the State.

In addition, the State bolted the Democratic ticket in 1952 and 1956 to follow the magic of the name of Dwight D. Eisenhower.

What's more, Florida has come of age. Back there several decades ago, the State had only four Congressmen. Now there are & and after next year there will be 12.

In other words, Florida will have a much greater voice at the Democratic convention

than it did in former years.

A good ticket for the Democrats would be George Smathers for President and Gov, Pat Brown, of California, for Vice President. A Florida-California combination would be a natural.

That ticket should certainly sweep the South and West, and pick up enough other votes to beat any Republican combination.

Florida politicians still have an inferiority complex in talking about the Presidential race. They talk about Gov. LeRoy Collins or Senator SMATHERS for Vice President. Senator SMATHERS is a terrific campaigner

Senator SMATHERS is a terrific campaigner and is a liberal with conservative leanings, or vice versa.

Let's boost him for the top spot.

### Address by Secretary of the Treasury at University of Houston Commencement Exercises

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. PRESCOTT BUSH

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. BUSH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an address delivered by Secretary of the Treasury Robert B. Anderson at the commencement exercises of the University of Houston, at Houston, Tex., on Saturday, May 30.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

REMARKS BY SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
ROBERT B. ANDERSON AT THE COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES, UNIVERSITY OF HOUSTON,
HOUSTON, TEX., MAY 30, 1959

This evening I should like to talk about a trilogy—men, money, and minds. The effective merger of men, money and minds is crease in our standard of living to technolan aim of the educational process. It pre-sents pressing problems with which you as university graduates are particularly concerned.

The most obvious characteristic of a civilization, society, or nation is that it is an association of people. It is directly concerned with human beings-their wants and needs, their fears and hopes, their capacities and limitations. We in this country believe that the sole purpose of a political economy is to make life for people more We believe decent and rewarding and free. further that by giving the individual the maximum chance for expression, the whole community-whether one nation or manymay more nearly reach the goal of fulfillment for all its members. This is our objective, however imperfectly we may have realized it so far.

One of our greatest challenges today arises out of the fact that the human community is growing very fast—and its needs are growing in proportion to its numbers. There are well over two and a half billion people, By the time you have been living today. out of college as long as I have there will easily have been added a billion more. That means, if you please, one hundred million more Americans by the time your children sit where you do now.

Talk about growth. Your generation is

obviously in for a lot of it.

Within the next 25 years we will virtually double the producing capacity of America. We are going to have to create some 35 to 40 million new jobs. We shall need something like 1 million additional school-rooms and 30 million more homes. We shall have to build hundreds of thousands of miles of new highways and thousands of new hospitals, and somehow find room for 60 million more automobiles and trucks. must develop more than 10 million acres of bare land for homes and streets in our spreading metropolitan areas. The development and conservation of water resources will be a major task, and so will the development of an energy base to meet a demand which may well triple.

These are a few of the problems with Which the process of growth will confront us. We must solve them in terms of benefits to people—and in ways which maintain and strengthen our traditional freedoms. We know that our growth will not be even; there will be difficult problems of time and adjustment. Some of the answers must Wait on yet undiscovered scientific truths; others on the refinement of data already known. All require the coordinated action of millions of Americans and all require staggering amounts of money, running to the hundreds of billions of dollars.

This brings me to the second point: money. From what source are we going to accumulate the necessary capital for a doubling of output over a 25-year period?

From just one place: savings. The excess of what we earn as a people over what we spend. There is no other acceptable source.

To achieve these savings, individuals must set aside a part of their earnings. Corporations must retain some earnings for capital account. Improvements and techniques which enable us to increase our savings potential through using our resource more efficiently must be constantly sought. are the principal sources of investment funds, Whether they are used to build a steel mill, a highway, a university, or a space ship to Mars.

Wealth is not created merely by increasing the number of dollars in the economy. It cannot be brought into being by Government decree. Wheels must turn, hammers must fall, and people must work with mind and hand, before anything definable as wealth emerges. We owe the handsome in-

ogy, invention, and hard work—not to any fiscal or monetary legerdemain. We live better than we used to because we produce

There are hopeful signs in our economy that Americans are becoming increasingly aware of that simple but important fact. They are becoming increasingly alert to both the dangers and the futility of trying to bring about greater growth during periods of prosperity by simply pouring more money into the economy. With gov-ernments, as with individuals, spending in excess of income must be financed by means of loans. During periods of high activity, when the private demand for loan funds is high, a considerable part of Government borrowing must come from the banking system. Such borrowing is inflationary-it increases the number of dollars in the economy without necessarily increasing the things that can be bought with them.

Backed by public opinion, outstanding leaders of both parties in Congress are now giving strong support to a program for sound management of the Government's fiscal af-One of the significant developments behind this attitude is the resilience which our economy has recently demonstrated. Despite the predictions of many, the change from recession to recovery occurred with little direct Government intervention. In most sectors of activity the economy has now advanced beyond its former record highs. While there are still areas of employment dislocation, it is heartening that employment generally continues to improve noticeably contrary to some predictions that large-scale Government intervention would be required to open up job opportunities for many of those out of work.

These experiences have served to demonstrate once more a long-standing characteristic of the American economy. Reasonable stability of prices is not the enemy of a high rate of economic growth. Rather, we find that economic progress has thrived on the basis of sound money when the inflationary impact of war finance is taken out of the picture.

A notable example is the tremendous economic growth which took place in this country during the latter part of the 19th century. when prices were in a general downtrend following the rise associated with the Civil War. Again, from 1910 to 1915, manufacturing production expanded by almost one-third auginst a background of moderate price decline. In the 1920's, also, national output increased 50 percent during an 8-year period characterized by remarkable price stability. More recently, between 1951 and 1955, a high level of prosperity was accompanied by relative stability in the broad indexes of wholesale and consumer prices.

In the face of this evidence, there are still some who unwisely argue that continual deficit spending and the inflation which it promotes are somehow necessary to encourage growth. But what really happens when inflationary forces are at work in the economy?

First of all, the buying power of both current earnings and accumulated savings begins to shrink. This brings cruel hardship to those who cannot bargain effectively for wage and salary increases and to those living on past savings-annuities, pensions and so Savings eroded through price inflation command fewer goods in exchange. They have less ability to transform human effort and ingenuity into productive capacity and in consequence their potency as a positive instrument of economic growth is seriously weakened

Second, continuing inflation brings about maladjustments in the economy which beget recession-and recession is the enemy of sustained; rewarding economic growth. When we dilute the worth of the standard by which we measure value, dislocations necessarily result. Businessmen who must replenish their inventories and capital equipment at higher prices raise their prices in turn. Labor demands and gets higher wages which add further to costs. People are discouraged from saving-indeed, many in the fixed-income groups find it impossible to save. With declining savings, sufficient capital to finance normal growth is not forthcoming, and the cost of available capital is high. Programs for expansion and improvement are cut back, and output may be restricted-at the same time that costs are rising. And so the spiral goes.

Now the most hopeful aspect of this entire situation is that it happens to be one of the major problems that we can-and must-do

something about.

As a primary step, we can exercise the discipline and restraint needed to keep Government spending within Government income during prosperous times like the present. The evidence of growing support on the part of Congress and the public for sound fiscal policies gives hope that we can be successful in reaching this goal in fiscal 1960.

In other areas, also, it is within our power to keep inflationary pressures from growing so strong as to disrupt the process of growth. Any practices which act as a continual spur costs and prices must be carefully examined. Waste and inefficiency must be eliminated—not only in Government, but wherever they may be found. In all of our affairs, public and private, we must endeavor to look at the whole economy; not just at the sector of it with which we ourselves are most concerned.

This is a task for the mind-the third element of the merging process I mentioned earlier.

What a person does is something which comes from the inner part of his being. It is the fruit of his mind. And in a free society, each individual has a personal responsibility for developing his powers of judg-ment and decision to the fullest.

Goethe has said that what one inherits from his father he must earn all over again. or it will not be truly his. This is a penetrating commentary on the quality of wisdom required in our own day. We must earn, all over again, the freeedom and security, the capacity for growth and adaptability to change, which constitute our American heritage from the past.

It is true that there are periods in an individual's life, as in a nation's, when change seems to be occurring almost imperceptibly. At these times, little seems to be required beyond the application of established rules and precepts received unearned-as Goethe

would say—from the past.

But when change takes place rapidly or abruptly, a crisis may occur. Decisive new actions may be required. It is not enough, then, to look only to patterns of the past. What we require are principles which have been developed from historic precedents and out of our own experience and ingenuity. In the absence of such principles, the tendency will be to take a negative attitude. Generalities will be sought which can obscure the need for action, and reasons will be found why things should not be done.

Let me give you an example right out of recent newspaper headlines. There are those few who are coming forward with reasons why we should not maintain a balanced budget, why we cannot plan to pay off any of our huge debt at any foreseeable time. They cloak their arguments with the generality that more growth is needed—and then move on to the false assumptions that infiation stimulates growth and that a creeping erosion in the value of the dollar need be of little concern. The end result

of what they are advocating is a destruction of values which will advance so slowly that it will not be noticed by the naive and

trusting.

How long could we expect the habits of thrift and savings which have built this country to survive in such an atmosphere? How could we, under any circumstances, morally justify a program which is a continuing invitation to unsoundness as a way of purporting to meet our obligations? leave these questions with you. As educated people, I hope and believe that you will never be deluded by those who say that safe-guarding the value of our money isn't really very important.

It is the responsibility of each one of us to develop convictions strong enough to replace a shallow approach of this kind. And this can only be done by dedicated thoughtby the application of mind to the experience of the past and the problems of the present. More than four centuries ago, Leonardo da Vinci wrote: "Wrongly do men cry out against experience and with re-proaches accuse her of deceitfulness. \* \* \* Experience is never at fault; it is only your judgment that is in error."

Today, a great deal-probably more than any of us can now comprehend-depends on the judgment of the American people. It is not too much to say that the future of freedom in this world may depend on what we do and what we achieve here in America

during your lifetimes.

We are living in a time of great international tension-but it is also a time of great promise. Our particular system of competitive enterprise is superbly equipped to meet the growth needs which are clearly foreseeable in the period just ahead. the maintenance of discipline in both our public and private affairs, the possibilities for the further development of the American economy are truly dazzling.

We are starting off on firm ground—a

fact, you may be sure, which is being carefully evaluated in other countries as well as

in our own.

The American private enterprise system is sound.

It is healthy.

It is growing.

It is capable of adjusting to changes which are inherent in the growth process.

It is capable of adjusting—we have re-cently seen—without resort to the dangerous stimulus of massive Government intervention.

Economic growth is compounded from many ingredients. It requires basic research-in an atmosphere of free-ranging in-It requires technological advance, following closely on the leads provided by It requires an efficient producresearch. tion process-and the planning which goes with successful marketing and distribution. It requires mobility of resources, so that the old and outmoded can give way to the new and improved without crippling after effects. It requires, finally, sufficient savings and investment to make all of these things possible.

Let us never forget that the merger of men, money, and minds which is the essence of the growth process can be fruitful only if we keep steadily in view this important truth: Values, in whatever form they may take—a political system, a university education, a powerplant—have no meaning except in relation to people.

Woodrow Wilson once said, "Sometimes people call me an idealist. Well, that is the

way I know I am American."

In the eyes of the world, America stands freedom and humanity, as it has throughout our history. We can be rightly proud of the fact that the first postage stamps issued by the Republic of Indonesia turned out to bear the portraits of Washington, Lincoln, Franklin, and Hamilton, side by side with the founders of the new republic.

But we cannot rest complacently on the achievements of our forefathers. During the past 15 years 700 million people in 20 countries have won political independence. Whether these new nations swing toward East or West will depend largely on youon what you in your generation do to help them achieve the conditions of living which give scope for the inventiveness and resourcefulness of the human mind.

This, then, I conceive to be our Nation's charge to all of us: Enter your chosen professions with a keen awareness of the lessons of the past and the challenges of the future. Apply your minds not only to the problems of daily living but also to the pressing national and international issues which must be resolved if freedom is to be preserved at home and furthered abroad. In so doing may we remember the inquiry of Edwin Markham, the American poet who was deeply dedicated to the cause of his fellow men;

"Why build these cities great If man unbuilded goes. In vain we build the world Unless the builder also grows."

### Lest We Forget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

### HON, PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, speaking at Memorial Day exercises at Westminster, Mass., I hailed the unforgettable contributions of American heroes in every generation, who, by their devotion and sacrifice, preserved the Nation.

I said in part:

All of us living in this period of great stress and great threat to our precious liberties must give something more than lip service to perpetuate the ideals and principles for which these heroes fought and died.

We have special and urgent responsibilities, not only to exercise vigilance, but to work unceasingly to guard and defend the Nation and the Government from the great perils of the hour.

If we would adequately protect the free-doms we cherish, we must exert every effort, and be prepared to make every sacrifice, to safeguard the way of life bequeathed to us by the noble defenders of the country we honor today.

Military strength alone, though essential and vital, will not meet this challenge. Economic prosperity, though imperative, will not of itself preserve this Nation.

Only the indomitable will and fierce determination of free Americans to live by the spiritual tenets of religion and patriotism that have nurtured and built our national greatness can stem the surging tides of revolution and moral deterioration that are beating upon our shores, threatening to destroy institutions and invading our very

It is for all of us, regardless of class, creed, or station, as never before, to cease petty bickering, bury inconsequential differences, renounce selfishness and greed and rally as a united people resolved and dedicated to defend the peerless edifice of American liberty, if we hope to preserve freedom and spirit-

ual values in a world where tyrannical, powerful forces are marching to enslave mankind. Victory will be ours, if we emulate the inspiring example of those who gave their all that American freedom might live.

### Everybody Prays at Sholl's

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

### HON. JOHN A. BURNS

DELEGATE FROM HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. BURNS of Hawaii. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD. I insert herewith an article entitled "Everybody Prays at Sholl's," in the May 1959 issue of Good Business.

This article emphasizes the inspiring life story of Evan Andrew Sholl, whose name is a familiar one to legislators and to many thousands of visitors to the National Capital, for they have eaten in his cafeterias and have come away impressed at the reasonable prices and the atmosphere in these places. He has set a fine example for the program of religion in everyday life which we all need.

The article is by Larston D. Farrar, the noted author whose books are read throughout the United States and overseas. Mr. Farrar is among the best known writers for magazines in the United States today, with articles featured in big and little publications in all parts of the country. He is known to Members on both sides of the aisle on Capitol Hill.

The article is as follows: EVERYBODY PRAYS AT SHOLL'S (By Larston D. Farrar)

More than 2 million persons a year eat breakfast, lunch, or dinner in one of the two cafeterias operated by Evan Andrew Sholl, in Washington, D.C. There is no telling how many millions of persons in the past 30 years have enjoyed a quiet, clean repast at a cafeteria operated by Sholl, who never went past the second reader, and is noted today as one of the most religious restaurateurs in the Nation's Capital.

Actually there are several cafeterias in the various areas of Washington that bear the Sholl name, but these are businesses which he once owned and then sold to his employees. He is working now toward disposing of his two present cafeterias to his employees, who, he says, helped him to build his business and helped greatly to make his wealth possible. Sholl feels keenly his responsibility to his employees. his fellow men, and his church.

When you learn of the tremendous handicaps he had to overcome to become a success you understand the value of the word that serves as his guiding light in business. The word is give.

"I have always gone on the belief that if I am to get, I must first give-give of myself, give to my employees, give the best to my customers, give service and give quality." he said recently.

'The word 'give' is one of the magic words in the English language, and absolutely indispensable in any businessman's philosophy. Until I truly learned to give, I never really was able to get. When I did learn to give, I was rewarded most generously in every way.

"Later, when I gave my heart to God and the church, I learned the value of another word. It is truth. The poet said: For truth and duty, it is ever the fitting time.' I made these two words—'give' and 'truth' the kingpins of my life, and since I have done so, I have had peace always."

At Sholl's cafeterias there are prayers for Roman Catholics, Protestants, and Jews, on a little printed card at each table. Eating in the cafeterias can indeed be a spiritual experience, due to the cleanliness, the decor of the surroundings, and the attitude of the employees. The quality and quietness of Sholl's personnel, and their gentle courtesy, have impressed many, who ask, "How can you find people who will work at low wages and yet be so efficient and clean and courteous?"

"Our first reply to that question is that 'low wages'—for our employees—is a myth," Sholl points out. "We pay a bus boy \$65 or \$75 a week, whereas he would get \$45 a week at some other place. We pay counter girls and those in similar jobs \$75 a week and up, again compared to about \$45 or \$50 they might get elsewhere.

"We screen our employees carefully in hiring them, but not according to faith, for we hire Catholics, Protestants, and Jews. The screening refers to their attitude about serving humanity, and to background and home life. We do hire people who are regular in church attendance and devout in the practice of their faith, rather than people who have no interest in spiritual matters.

"Seldom, if ever, in our long experience, have we had any slight altercation with our employees. Our experience has proved to us that spirituality promotes cleanliness in our employees, a devotion to their daily work far above the average, and thoughtfulness toward our customers, who of course appreciate such good service at once."

A prayer service is held for all the employees, from Evan Sholl to the newest member of his 180-person payroll. Attendance, of course, is voluntary, but usually 75 to 90 percent of all workers are in attendance.

Once a year a retreat is held, for those who want to attend, and an annual, interdenominational communion breakfast is held at the Mayflower Hotel.

"All of these things are just ribbons leading to the ideas which I want to disseminate," Sholl says. "There must be a spirit in all things, and we strive to promote the good

spirit."

Evan Andrew Sholl opened his first Washington restaurant in the late 1920's in the All-State Hotel. It was a cafetoria designed to serve the regular and transient guests of that hostelry.

"We were going to charge them so much a month for their meals, and we were able to persuade many of them to put up \$12.50 apiece in advance for two tickets giving them the right to eat every meni for 2 weeks. This gave us more capital and actually enabled us to stay in business during the first months, when expenses were heavy."

From then on, Sholl opened a new place every year for 7 years. Year by year, as he prospered, he would open new cafeterias and sell the others to employees, increasing both the prestige of his name and the good will that he was determined to build. His watchword always was give, and he never operated on any other principle.

During World War II he was operating many cafeterias, and, he says, "the money came in so fast, I really became very rich, from a material standpoint, before I realized it." He slowly began the process of selling the various cafeterias to his employees. In the two he still owns, business is excellent. Today he says:

"One thing businessmen must remember is that God gives us our reward. We may fight against giving—to the poor and to

others. But if we are smart, we must realize that we work only through people. The strength we obtain through our faith helps us better to work with people, in every way. It is the sugar of life, the oil that greases the machinery; it takes out the groans and the conflicts and smooths the way for us to do our jobs better, and render our greatest service."

### Near-Miracle in Laos

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, during the past few months the newspapers and congressional hearings have resounded with charges of mismanagement and bungling in our mutual security program in Laos. The impression has been left that the program is a costly failure. Nothing could be further from the truth. As I stated during debate on the mutual security program a year ago and as Assistant Secretary of State Robertson testified eloquently before the Foreign Affairs Committee in its recent hearings on the program, we have succeeded in what we set out to do: we have preserved the independence and freedom of this little country dangerously threatened by Communist forces and infiltration along its 600-mile border with Communist China and Communist Vietnam.

The fact is that American diplomats and American aid personnel have successfully fought one of the most difficult and bitter battles in the cold war against almost impossible odds and, so far, have won.

It is important that Members of the Congress should understand and appreciate the achievement which these hardworking people, living and working under the most primitive conditions have made. The actual situation in Laos is described by Mr. Ernest K. Lindley, of Newsweek, in the following article:

NEAR-MIRACLE IN LAOS (By Ernest K. Lindley)

VIENTIANE.—A near-miracle has occurred in landlocked Laos, most remote, most primitive, least organized of the free nations which sprang from French Indochina. It is not entirely a miracle because it is due to the intelligence and courage of Laotian leaders who understand communism and are resolved to preserve the independence of their country. The American Government has given effective help. As a result the situation in Laos is utterly different from that depicted in recent congressional rehashings of the past.

To appreciate the near miracle it must be remembered that Laos has a very long border with Communist North Vietnam and China. It's two northern provinces were controlled by Laotian Communist troops when the Indochina war ended in 1954. Two Communists were admitted to the cabinet in 1957. Only a year ago, the Communists and their allies scored an ominous political victory, winning a majority of the additional seats in the enlarged national assembly. Meanwhile, corruption had made Laos a highly publicized example of badly administered American aid.

Last summer the near miracle began to develop. Most of the older anti-Communist leaders put aside their feuds and united in a new party: Rally of the Laotian People. Concurrently, progressive younger Laotians who had never held elective office, although most of them had served in appointive posts, organized the Committee for Defense of National Interests, dedicated to clean government as well as to saving Laos from communism. A new cabinet was formed, including four of these young men and excluding the Reds.

#### REPULSE

Last October the new Government removed the chief source of graft by abolishing import licenses and develuating the currency. It firmly withstood a phrenetic Communist counteroffensive—demands for reactivation of the International Control Commission (including a Communist member) which had left Laos in July, supported by a strong propaganda campaign from North Vietnam and raids across the border by Vietninh troops. In January, it obtained a 1-year grant of special powers from the National Assembly and added three Army officers to the cabinet.

Four months ago this new regime launched a campaign designed to destroy communism at the rice roots. One arm of the campaign is village improvement—most of the 2 million Laotians live in some 10,000 villages. The government is giving the villages cement and roofing materials, and they are building schools. The village campaign includes public health and local roads. The other arm of the campaign is the strengthening of the administrative pyramid, extending downward to the villages.

#### ADVANCE

Traditionally, each village elects its own headman and the headmen of each group of 6 to 10 villages elect their district leader. Now these lower officials must be approved by the national government. The Communists and their dupes are being eliminated. The prestige of reliable lower officials is being built up by giving them officials huts and staff assistance. In this, the Laotian Army, trained, at our expense, has an active role. Six picked Army men are assigned as staff to each district leader. Meanwhile, graduates of the U.S. training programs in agriculture, public health, etc., are beginning to move into the field.

Thus while backward-looking Congressmen rake over the past, Laos has moved ahead. I talked with Premier Phoui Sananikone and with such younger officials as Inpeng Suryadhay, Secretary of State for Education, and Lt. Col. Oudone Sananikone, Secretary of State for Social Affairs and Public Health. They seem to me to be both capable and socially enlightened. The changed situation in Laos justifies two conclusions: (1) Despite past waste and corruption, American aid has been a success; and (2) not to give this new regime our unstinting support would be blind folly.

Fair Trade: For Whom?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I am inserting into the Appendix of the Concressional Record an article appearing in Business Week on May 23, 1959, en-

editorial properly characterizes fair trade as being clearly against the public interest.

However, the editors make the mistake of assuming there is not much danger that the bill will become law. Quite to the contrary, unless the consumers and intelligent businessman of this country act with more vigor than they have in the past, they may very well find themselves shackled to a national fairtrade system. The editorial, which conforms with unanimous expression of editorial opinion in the country, is in opposition to the fair trade bill, H.R. 1253.

FAIR TRADE: FOR WHOM?

By a 20 to 9 vote, the House Commerce Committee has approved Representative OREN HARRIS' bill to legalize retail price fixing on a national basis.

By the simple expedient of issuing notices, a manufacturer or distributor of a brandnamed product could require retailers, regardless of State laws, to sell the product at a specified price. Individual contracts with retailers aren't necessary. What's more, this latest version of the so-called fair trade laws would be far simpler to enforce than its predecessors. In fact, since the bill takes the form of an amendment to the Federal Trade Commission Act, the FTC is afraid it could be required to assist manufacturers and dealers in prosecuting violators, even though the FTC is dead set against the bill.

The bill is an obvious weapon to plug the loopholes of the McGuire Act, which permits States to use fair trade laws. But last year many manufacturers dropped factory-fixed prices when the State laws proved unenforcible. The Harris bill would

solve that sticky problem.

Such a bill, backed by a powerful lobby of small retailers, has no place in the kind of economy we enjoy today. Perhaps in the depressed 1930's a case could have been made for fixing minimum prices on national brands. But there are already too many built-in ratchets in our economy that keep pushing prices upward-farm supports, protective tariffs, commodity subsidies, loan guarantees, wage escalators. The Harris bill would be another. It is an anachronism which, in the long run, would not help the manufacturer, the dealer, the national economy-or the consumer.

Fortunately, there is not much danger of the bill becoming law. But the philosophy behind it—which, in effect, legalizes price fixing-is dangerous. It is symptomatic of the kind of thinking that has given protection to too many special groups.

Liberals' Glow Gets Dim-Eisenhower Becomes Stronger President With Inflation Fight

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. LEO E. ALLEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial, entitled "Eisenhower Becomes Stronger President With Inflation Fight," from the

titled "Fair Trade: For Whom?" The Rockford (III.) Register-Republic of in the teeth of increasing deficits. It is true June 1, 1959:

LIBERALS' GLOW GETS DIM-EISENHOWER BE-COMES STRONGER PRESIDENT WITH INFLA-TION FIGHT

(By Raymond Moley)

The President's perceptible rise in popularity is due to a number of circumstances, past and present. So far as the immediate situation is concerned, the reasons are obvious. The big Democratic majority is caught in the net of past pledges and future ambitions. Liberal Democrats elected in the sweep of 1958 won votes by irresponsible promises. With little regard for what actually might be done, they offered panaceas for every ill. Fiscal realities were ignored. If they thought about it all, they assumed deficits to be inevitable and unimportant. With nothing very clearly in mind, they recklessly talked about better ways of keeping the peace of the world, and violently attacked the President and Secretary Dulles.

The fact that so many are greenhorns and of little stature makes things worse for their party and their experienced leaders. Speaker RAYBURN once said that he would much rather have a small than a large majority to manage in the house.

Many in the majority have real problems about the next election. In most cases they were elected in marginal districts, and at home there is a strong conservative and Republican opposition whetting the ax for 1960.

On the Senate side there are at least four presidential candidates—Kennedy, Johnson, Humphrey, and Symington. Except son, Humphrey, and Symington. Except for Johnson, none of these would be contenders if there were really notable and commanding figures in the party. The Democratic Party is rich in quantity but poor in quality.

Against this inchoate opposition the President's situation and qualifications stand out with great clarity. He doesn't have to worry about his own future. Moreover, in an appeal to the public he has a vast advantage. He is a single figure, understandable, able to speak for his party with authority. He has a national audience at all times. International affairs, which are so critical, permit him to have the headlines. The opposition is many things with many tongues. Hence the public is confused about what the alternative might be.

Most important, the President has seized an issue that everybody can understandinflation. And the people of the country are worried. Specific pockets of inflation show that there is beginning an ominous "flight from the dollar"—land booms, reckless stock market activities by unsophisticated investors, city workers buying land in the nearby countryside, purchases on credit, and a shift in preferences in life-insurance buying.

At long last, the President is fairly from the sort of advisers who have infuriated conservatives and regular Republicans. Nothing so impaired the President in the past as those who professed to help him. He is more sure of himself now. He has graduated from his novitiate in politics. Now the real character of the man is emerging from the fog of assistants and advisers.

And that real character is in the pattern of a sincere, liberty-loving American who has a feeling for the principles that American have lived by. He shuns the piling up of bureaucracy because he has been able to see its workings at home and abroad. He realizes that concentrated power in Washington is a dangerous thing. He even feels that the excessive growth of the President's power is not in the American tradition.

He is close to the fiscal management of the Government and realizes how difficult it is becoming for the Treasury to borrow money

that he has been an expensive President, but he has come to see the limits of spending. And after years of attempting to appease labor-union leaders and ultraliberals, he realizes that he can never win them to his party. At the moment he is angry over the nagging of the opposition, and that is not hurting his popularity with people who want, enjoy, and expect a show of fire in their

A few strong vetoes will help mightily to cement his advantage, and from all indica-tions these will be coming before long.

#### The Soviet Cosmic Rocket

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

### HON. LEONARD G. WOLF

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, by now those who believe the Soviet lunik or mechta was a hoax have had their say. The officials who are equally convinced it performed approximately as advertised have also been heard. There have been opportunities before the House Committee on Science and Astronautics for rebuttal and counterrebuttal. Short of a full disclosure by the Soviet Union, little more is likely to be gained by pursuing the subject.

The committee, of which I am a member, will write its report in due course. Personally I suspect that the editors of True magazine which carried Lloyd Mallan's articles wish they had done more independent checking of the material before printing it for national circula-

tion.

Having heard a parade of witnesses, some with access to all the facts available and equipped with the scientific training to evaluate these facts, the conclusion is almost inescapable, as these witnesses have testified, that a Soviet rocket was launched, that it went to the vicinity of the moon, and that the only reasonable interpretation is that it is now in orbit around the sun.

The hearings have been instructive in a broader sense. They have brought forth many illustrations of the problems of scientific fact gathering, interpretation, and evaluation. They have also thrown some light on the general scope of Soviet scientific endeavors and capabilities. They illustrate a need for continued committee study of Soviet scientific programs, whose size and impetus give pause to our own policymakers. The hearings show the importance of the work this committee is conducting in study of our own science education and manpower needs, dissemination of technical information, research and development programs, use of computers, and a number of other matters.

Perhaps it is time that we turn from worrying over past Soviet accomplishments to steel ourselves for the surprises which lie ahead, and that we make sure our own house is in order to meet the challenges which will confront us.

John R. Giese, Noted Bridgebuilder

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

### HON. WALTER M. MUMMA

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. MUMMA. Mr. Speaker, a prominent engineering firm in my district that is well known for its bridge building activities throughout a large part of the United States, the nationally known firm of Modjeski & Masters, of Harrisburg, Pa., has just lost one of its partners who passed away suddenly on

I feel that many Members of Congress would be interested to know of the passing of John R. Giese, who, as they say, was one of the noted bridgebuilders in our country. Some of you may have known him from his boyhood days where he grew up in Louisville, Ky.

Right now his firm has been chosen as the engineers for the Roosevelt Island Bridge and are proceeding with

plans for construction.

Also, many Members of Congress from the Mississippi and Ohio River areas might remember him as being a member of the firm that designed most of the bridges from Huey Long and Greater New Orleans Bridges, and on up the river.

To his widow, to his family, and to Modjeski & Masters, my heartfelt sympathy in this, their hour of bereavement.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to include herewith an article from the Patriot for June 1, 1959, telling about his activities and his death:

JOHN GIESE, 52, DIES, NOTED BRIDGEBUILDER

John R. Giese, 52, partner in the Harrisburg firm of Modjeski & Masters and nationally known bridgebuilder, died unexpectedly Sunday afternoon in his home at 232 Willow Avenue, Camp Hill.

Death was attributed to a heart ailment. A native of St. Louis, Mo., he attended schools there and was graduated from Harvard University with a bachelor of arts degree in engineering sciences. He was assoclated with Modieski & Masters since 1928

and became a full partner in 1947.

Among the many bridges whose construction he directed were the Louisville Municipal Bridge; Tennessee River and Cumberland River bridges near Paducah; Huey P. Long Bridge over the Mississippi River near Orleans; the suspension bridge the Mississippi at Davenport, Iowa; International Bridge over the St. Clair River between Port Huron, Mich., and Sarnia, Ont.; M. Harvey Taylor Bridge here and the South Bridge now under construction; Walt Whitman Bridge over the Delaware River, Philadelphia; Greater New Orleans bridge over the Mississippi at New Orleans; Memphis Highway bridge; Cairo-Illinois Central railroad bridge; South Capitol Street before over the Anacostia River, Washington, D.C.; and the Penrose Avenue bridge over the Schuylkill River, Philadelphia.

Mr. Giese was a member of the American Society of Civil Engineers; Pennsylvania Society of Professional Engineers, and the National Society of Professional Engineers.

He was a member and trustee of Camp Hill Presbyterian Church.

He is survived by his wife, Mrs. Edith H.

Giese; his son, John D. Giese, attending Harvard University; his daughter, Miss Edith C. Giese, at home, and his mother, Mrs. Estelle B. Giese, Louisville, Ky,

Funeral arrangements have not yet been completed.

### Michigan Week in Review: State Loyalty and Prosperity Dominant

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

### HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, from May 17 to May 23, we Michiganders celebrated Michigan Week. It was a whopping success. The surge of State loyalty was tremendous. Partisan prejudices fell by the wayside. All her citizens rallied 'round Michigan's flag. This response was inspiring indeed. It ran the length and breadth of the State. Its fervor showed that State loyalty comes before politics. Its zeal put State interests ahead of private interests.

Under permission to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I place an editorial which appeared in the Detroit Times under date of May 28, 1959. The article follows:

#### PRIDE IN MICHIGAN

As reports come in on the just completed Michigan Week, there is apparent a gratify ing and enthusiastic response to it. Don Weeks, director of the Michigan Department of Economic Development, in Lansing, has talked with six regional Michigan chairmen, and expresses it in this way:

'Instead of sighing with relief that their job is over, local groups are already thinking

in terms of next year's plans."

Hillsdale reports the biggest celebration the town ever had; Genesee County reports 3,587 students competed in a Michigan Week essay contest; businessmen in Howell became schoolteachers to establish direct contact with youth; in Kent County the ministers exchanged pulpits; Marquette reports the biggest civic meeting ever under one roof; 25 outstate daily newspapers instituted a round robin exchange of articles about their communities, which ran for 25 days.

It was in accord with one principle; a better understanding of Michigan throughout the State, with the pride and unity bound to result.

That leads to a normal, reasonable progression of thought. If understanding can bring State pride and unity for one week it can accomplish even more in 52 weeks. Understanding is not limited by a calendar.

We neither wish nor hope for a útopia in which Republicans and Democrats think alike. We expect no epidemic in which management showers its workers with benefits, and finds them magnanimously declined by labor. No business will urge its customers to take big orders to competitors.

But it is possible to place State loyalty and the State prospertly first—to exercise partisan politics, economic bargaining, business competition within the limits of the common good throughout the State.

It is not only possible, but wise. Michigan prosperity is a big canoe in which everybody is riding. No one benefits by tipping it over.

### Oregon's Brighter Outlook

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 28, 1959

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, in May the economy of my State took a significant step forward. Six cities moved out of the surplus labor category according to Federal Government standards. Those cities were Albany, Coos Bay, Eugene, and Roseburg in my district, and Pendleton and Portland in other congressional districts.

This is encouraging. It comes during the centennial year of Oregon. It means the number of unemployed is decreasing. Not rapidly, admittedly. But this does mean that the grim outlook of 1957 and 1958 has changed considerably. I wish this were true in all parts of our Nation today.

In my State there are economic indicators which confirm the Department of Labor's action. For example, Doug-las-fir and pine prices in the Roseburg. Oreg., area were at \$58.60 a thousand late in May. The appraised price was almost \$17 less, at \$41.90.

This is the highest bid in many years, I am told.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include articles which in more detail describe the climb in Oregon economy. This climb will continue if it is given nourishment-nourishment of the kind contained in the housing bill which will soon be discussed in conference. It is also contained in legislation which would put a halt to boxcar pirating which the Senate will soon consider and which Chairman Harris tells me will soon come before the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

[From the Portland, Oreg., Journal, May 25, 19591

#### OUR BRIGHTER JOB OUTLOOK

The person who is still out of a job is not cheered very much by the news that more of his fellow citizens are working. And in the Portland area, some 14,500 persons who are actually seeking jobs haven't found them, according to the Portland office of the State employment service.

But this cannot disguise the fact that the total job picture is enough brighter that we can no longer be considered a recession area.

The proof is that we are enjoying a new classification from Washington, D.C. have moved out of the substantial labor surplus category, a place we had won when unemployment rose in January 1958, to 10.54 percent of the total labor force, with 33.800 persons out of work. Unemployment now is down to 4.5 percent of the total work force. What is even more encouraging is that this change in classification is based not on just the situation of the moment but on the prospect that employment will grow in the months ahead. This in turn is related not to a single development but to a great variety of industrial and commercial activities.

One must assume that the centennial itself will produce added employment, not merely at the exposition itself, but from added services required to accommodate the influx of visitors to our State. The experience of other expositions of this nature is that they produce economic stimuli of a

lasting nature.

Job improvement is not limited to Portland. Albany, Coos Bay, Eugene, Pendleton, and Roseburg likewise have been lifted out of the labor surplus category. This obviously means that the lumber business, the bulwark of our economy, is better. There is no reason to believe this improvement is of a temporary nature.

Last year some Oregon citizens thought it was wrong to call public attention to our State's economic distress. The Journal, and some others, thought it was right to do so and to call for steps to remedy the situation. Now it is right to call attention to our improved status but to do it soberly, with the knowledge that we will have some distress among us and that we cannot be satisfied until all those who want jobs can find them.

[From the Portland, Oreg., Journal, May. 23, 1959]

PORTLAND'S LABOR SURPLUS VANISHES-1,000 JOBS REPORTED AS UNFILLED

(By Stan Weber)

Portland Friday was moved out of the substantial labor surplus classification by the Federal Government as a result of a significant improvement in the city's employment picture.

Clark M. Woodcock, manager of the Portland office of the Oregon Employment Service, announced the new classification after word was flashed to him from Washing-

ton, D.C,

It means Portland is changed to class C (areas with 3 to 5.9 percent of the labor force unemployed) from class D (6 to 8.9 percent unemployed).

Portland had been in the class D category since January 1958, when unemployment rose to 10.5 percent of the total labor force with 33,800 persons out of work.

As of Friday, Ray Anderson, statistical manager of the Portland office, estimates the list of unemployed has been pared to roughly 14,500. That would be 4.5 percent of the total work force.

The last official estimate was on May 1 and showed 15,600 (4.8 percent) out of work. As of April 15 there were 17,300 unemployed in the metropolitan area, representing 5.3 percent of the labor force of 325,700.

Portland will lose one advantage as a result of its improved employment picture. By moving into class C, it no longer will enjoy certain priorities on Government procurement contracts it received while in class D.

Woodcock had no official figures on how much extra business the priorities had brought to Portland while in class D but he said he heard an estimate that it was about \$3 million or \$4 million.

Woodcock said other Oregon towns moved out of the surplus labor category today by the Federal Government are Albany, Coos Bay, Eugene, Pendleton, and Roseburg.

"The significance of all this is that things are getting better for our area economically," said Woodcock. It also means that his staff and the Federal Government agree that the situation is likely to stay favorable in this area for a substantial time.

Anderson said the improvement in employment had been gradual ever since joblessness was at its worst early in 1958.

One of the brightest spots in the current picture, according to Harlen Klausen, assistant manager, was the fact that Thursday there were 1,000 unfilled job openings listed in the Portland office.

"That's about the biggest total we've had in several years," said Woodcock.

The list of job openings included not only many skilled positions such as engineers and

accountants but, significantly, there were jobs available for some unskilled workers.

Woodcock said the improved economic picture here is "broad based," covering virtually all segments of the economy.

[From the Oregon Journal, May 23, 1959] PRICE NEAR 1955 RECORD—BOHEMIA BID HIGH ON UMPQUA TIMBER

ROSEBURG, May 22.—Bohemia Lumber Co., of Culp Creek, paid a price for Douglas-fir and pine Thursday that approached the highest bid made in the bumper sale year of 1955 for U.S. Forest Service timber.

The company bought a tract of 4,600,000 board feet of Umpqua timber 32 miles southeast of Cottage Grove and paid \$58.60 a thousand for the 4,300,000 feet of fir and pine in the tract. It was appraised at \$41.90. The highest price paid in 1955 was \$60.25.

The 300,000 feet of western hemlock and other species sold at the appraised price of \$12.20.

Total sale price was \$255,640. It was appraised at \$183,830.

Patriotic Brotherhood of America, With Headquarters at Kingston, Pa., Sponsors Movement To Make America Flag Conscious

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times Leader of Thursday, May 28, 1959:

BROTHERHOOD SPONSORS MOVEMENT

The Patriotic Brotherhood of Americans with headquarters at Kingston, a nonsectarian, nonprofit organization, incorporated here in 1942, is sponsoring a new movement to make the community and the country American flag conscious. The thought occurs that Greater Wilkes-Barre has a splendid opportunity to cooperate in this laudable project the coming weekend when Memorial Day will be observed, as well as on Flag Day in June and Independence Day in July

The brotherhood is dedicated to God and country. A statement of its principles emphasize that "we believe that our loyalty to the United States of America, its Constitution, its flag and institutions, should be second only to our loyalty to God."

Its chief aim is to cement together all American citizens, native or foreign born regardless of religious belief or race, for the purpose of building a stronger and more solid United States of America.

With this lofty purpose, it is easy to understand the organization's anxiety stemming from the indifference of large segments of the population on matters of patriotism. One of the problems of immediate concern is the failure of so large a percentage of the populace to display the colors on set days, as well as on special occasions.

In wartime, the public generally responds, but in peace there have been holidays when only 5 percent of the people displayed the flag from their homes.

One of the handicaps, the brotherhood has discovered in its campaign, is the lack of literature concerning the flag. Several organizations have issued pamphlets, but for

the most part they are incomplete or too expensive for general distribution by an organization with limited financing.

Apprised of the efforts of the brotherhood,

Apprised of the efforts of the brotherhood, President Eisenhower not only expressed his appreciation, but disclosed that the Department of Defense has prepared a revision of a Marine Corps edition, to be made available to the public. With billions going to foreign lands from the U.S. Treasury, it would seem that a few cents might be invested to acquaint the individual American with flag etiquette and to promote patriotism.

This year, there is added incentive in the recurring international crises and in the designing of the new flag, first to include Alaska and later Hawaii. This should lend impetus to the efforts of the brotherhood and the Government itself to stimulate public interest in the undertaking.

Poison in Your Water-No. 97

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF DIMOTEL

### HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I am inserting into the Appendix of the Congressional Record an article appearing in the Corpus Christi (Tex.) Caller of May 17, 1958, entitled "Water by South Beach Swim Area Is Polluted":

WATER BY SOUTH BEACH SWIM AREA IS POLLUTED

(By Jim Wood)

Water adjoining the South Beach swimming area in Corpus Christi Bay is contaminated. The water dumps from a storm sewer that lets into the bay.

A wooden lid which the city built last year to cover the sewer is rotted. Scum-covered water surrounds it. A chunk of wood is used to keep the lid on the sewer cover. And although bay water washing in on the beach is only ankle deep, water fronting the storm sewer box is several feet deep.

The area is just north of the Glasscock fill. Immediately south of the fill area is another contaminated water area. This one is in Cole Park near Booty and Ocean Drive. Earlier this week it was reported to be contaminated.

The water dumping into the swimming area is street surface drainage. All tests by the City-County Health Unit in recent months have indicated the water contains enough bacterial count to be considered polluted.

The area is slightly back from the actual bay and is generally not used for swimming. However, since it is right on the beach it is easily accessible, especially for children.

Dr. W. R. Metzger, public health officer, said yesterday health unit sanitarians are checking possible sources which might be contaminating the water in Cole Park.

Earlier this week he said a food-processing plant on South Staples was believed responsible. Now he fears there may be some accidental or illegal discharge of sewage into the storm sewer lines, he said.

Dye is being put into drains in the area in question and outlets checked in an effort to track down the source.

He said the potential dangers of the pollution continuing and building up are greater than actual dangers at the moment.

### The Polish Legion of American Veterans, U.S.A.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

### HON, EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Polish Legion of American Veterans, U.S.A., an organization composed of veterans of Polish extraction who have served in the world wars and the Korean conflict, met in their 14th national convention at Hartford, Conn., August 29, 30, 31, and September 1, 1958. During the course of this convention, they adopted numerous resolutions, many of which are today still exceedingly pertinent.

In view of the nationwide scope of membership of the Polish Legion of American Veterans, I hereby list pertinent points of the resolution passed at

their national convention:

1. We pledge our loyalty to the Government of the United States of America and declare our devotion and dedication to the principles that the United States is dedicated to liberty, equality, and equal justice for all.

2. We commend President Eisenhower on his action in sending American military forces to Jordan, Lebanon, and other places in the Middle East to preserve peace; we urge our President to withdraw these forces only on condition that the U.S.S.R. withdraw its troops from the satellite countries of Eastern

3. We wholeheartedly approve the admission of Alaska to statehood and urge speedy admission of Hawaii as our 50th State

4. Recognizing that many veterans of both world wars and especially the Korean war suffered serious economic dislocations with resulting hardships, we urge that wherever possible employers should hire veterans in preference to nonveterans and that appropriate provisions accomplishing this purpose be included in all union contracts; that special care be given to veterans over the age of 45 in job placements.

5. We urge that May 1 of each year be proclaimed Loyalty Day by the President of the United States and the Governors of the United States, and that all P.L.A.V. posts enthusiastically observe Loyalty Day.

6. We urge that the death gratuity presently awarded to veterans of World War I and the World War II by the Federal Government be extended to veterans of the Korean war.

7. We urge the Postmaster General of the United States to prepare and order issued a suitable postage stamp commemorating the 350th anniversary of the landing of the Polish settlers in Jamestown, Va., in 1608.

8. We commend the Government of the

United States for following the policy of nonrecognition of Communist China and the erection of trade barriers which was first promulgated by President Truman, and we urge that we follow the policy of a veto vote on any action to admit Communist China to the United Nations.

9. We realize because of military service many veterans have suffered severe economic hardships which they have not yet been able to correct, which hardship serves as a legitimate basis for demanding adjusted compensation in the form of a so-called bonus. Nevertheless, we feel that this is a most inappropriate time to demand payment of the bonus because of the present state of the American Federal budget and demands for increased spending for foreign aid, establishment of a large military organization. and other fiscal matters. Instead, we urge that the PLAV devote itself to the continuance and expansion of those veterans' benefits which are presently available. We must defend the veteran from being deprived of his legitimate rights against the onslaught of those groups in our society who fail to recognize the legitimate and proper station of veterans.

10. We extend our sympathy and con-dolence to the Gold Star Mothers of our Nation and to all persons who suffered loss of their loved ones in defense of our country, and we want to assure them by this resolution that all members of the PLAV and their auxiliaries are devoted to the ideas and principles for which they paid the supreme sacrifice.

11. We urge the Congress of the United States to grant a national charter to the Polish Legion of American Veterans and to several other veteran organizations which have members throughout the United States.

12. We urge the United States of America and the entire world to be ever vigilant and on guard against Russian treachery and their dealings with the U.S.S.R. We cite as a typical example the wanton murder of many thousands of officers of the Polish Army and Polish civil servants at Katyn Forest by Russia in the early days of World War II. To rectify this human atrocity we urge the speedy enactment of anti-Genocide Convention by the United Nations with the United States leading for its enactment.

13. In these times of international crisis with new aggression developing in various parts in the world suddenly and without prior notice the United States of America must take the lead to defend the peace. We must have the best fighting men equipped with the best weapons and to this end we urge continued research with greater appropriation by Congress, therefore, in order that we lead in the field of new weapons such as guided missiles, nuclear weapons, atomic powered ships, planes as well as submarines, and so forth. In this field we direct special commendation for Admiral Rickover, the father of the atomic submarine, the son of Polish immigrant parents.

Resolutions Committee: Benjamin C. Stanczyk, chairman, Michigan; Benjamin J. Ko-pacz, Connecticut; Walter Weglarz, New Jersey; Thaddeus Buczko, Massachusetts; Frank Todro, Illinois; A. T. Purta, Ohio; and Bronislaus Tencz, New York.

Poison in Your Water-No. 98

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

### HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I am inserting into the Appendix of the Congres-SIONAL RECORD, an article appearing in the Richmond (Va.) Times-Dispatch of May 22, 1958, entitled "Water Board Warns City On Pollution":

WATER BOARD WARNS CITY ON POLLUTION

The State Water Control Board told the city of Richmond yesterday to come up with specific plans by September 1 to stop polluting the James River with untreated sewage from the temporary jail at Deepwater Terminal.

Earlier, the city told the board that no treatment facilities had been proposed at the terminal because "it has not been determined that the facility (the temporary jail) will remain at its present location for any protracted period."

The board told Gate City and Webber City to send representatives to the next meeting and show cause why a special order should not be issued against them to cease pollution. Honaker was told also to appear and discuss its plans.

The Charlottesville Woolen Mills and Say-

ers Sand Co, of Marion were told to get started on definite plans for waste treatment. And the Albemarle County School Board was told to begin plans for treatment facilities at Scottsville High School.

Representatives of Smithfield and Arlington County will appear at the board's meeting today to discuss pollution problems.

### Resolution of Indonesian Parliament on Geneva Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD. I include the following resolution adopted on May 20, 1959, by the Parliament of Indonesia. It is a sincere appeal from one of the new and uncommitted nations of Asia for a determined effort by all of the foreign ministers at Geneva to find a peaceful way to settle international differences and safeguard mankind and the world. The resolution is an expression of the deep concern of people everywhere that peace may be achieved by honest negotiations and the burden of fear and anxiety be lifted from men's hearts and homes. The resolution fol-

INDONESIAN PARLIAMENTARY RESOLUTION OF MAY 20, 1959, ON FOREIGN MINISTERS' CON-FERENCE, GENEVA

Considering:

1. That the continued existence of a cold war between the Western bloc and the Eastern bloc is a danger to world peace.

2. That the nations which suffered the Second World War are not yet completely recovered.

3. That, as a direct result of the failure to reach agreement between the Western bloc and the Eastern bloc in settling the various world problems troubling these two blocs, there has been no lessening of the possibility of world war three.

4. That the result of this failure is felt by nations throughout the world which are concentrating their strength for develop-ment in order to raise their standard of

5. That the outbreak of war with modern weapons would result in the destruction of all mankind.

Remembering:

- 1. The fact that the foreign policy of the Republic of Indonesia is free and active and continuously attempts to establish world
- 2. The resolutions of the Afro-Asian Conference in Bandung-similar to the above, for example, those in the Bandung declaration.

3. The principles included in the Charter of the United Nations.

Resolves to: In the name of humanity:

1. Take full notice of the existence of the Foreign Ministers' Conference in Geneva currently in session.

2. Call upon the representatives of the nations participating in the Geneva Conference, both those who represent the Eastern bloc as well as those who represent the Western bloc, to devote their full energy to the ending of the cold war and to the reaching of an agreement which can safeguard mankind and the world-

3. Call upon the parliaments of all the nations of the world affiliated with the Inter Parliamentary Union to support the result of the present Geneva Conferences.

We Need a U.S. Crime Census-A Proposal by Former President Herbert Hoover

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

### HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1959

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, the following article is one that deserves the consideration of every Member of Congress in that it points up a very grave shortcoming of our present law enforcement system on the Federal level, and that is that there is not available through any agency or department a correlation of all criminal activities of any given individual or group which could be made available to either Federal or local law-enforcement officials.

There are better than some 50 lawenforcement agencies within the Federal Government. Each operates to some extent as a separate unit and without the advantage of having all their efforts correlated and all of the information acquired separately to be made available to each jointly. This is a serious shortcoming that the former President has pointed out and one that I think Congress must seriously consider.

It is axiomatic to say that the Bill of Rights guarantees to all Americans the right to be secure in their persons, and, as the former President said:

Our people must be able to walk the streets free from holdups, muggers, murderers, hoodlums, and teen-age gangs.

Congress has the responsibility to do everything in its power to bring this about.

I have introduced a series of bills which I think to some extent will have the effect of helping stamp out crime. Serious consideration must be given to this additional problem as pointed out by former President Hoover, as well.

The article follows:

FORMER PRESIDENT HOOVER SAYS "WE NEED A U.S. CRIME CENSUS"

(By Hon. Herbert Hoover)

The Bill of Rights guarantees to all Americans the right "to be secure in their persons."

Surely that must include the right of our people to walk the streets free from holdups,

muggers, murderers, hoodlums and teenage gangs. Our people also should have protection from racketeers, blackmailers, extortionists, kidnapers, forgers, embezzlers, bank robbers, and auto thieves. Our children need protection from rapists.

But in actual fact, how secure are we? What do we know about the crimes being committed in our country? What happens to these criminals? And, what can we do

In this article I propose to state the statistics on crime such as I have been able to secure, and to point out the deficiencies in facts which our country needs. I shall also propose a new kind of national crime census which will give us these facts and thus help us mount an effective all-out attack on the problem.

#### WHAT WE KNOW ABOUT CRIME

Every report of the FBI lists the horribleincrease of crime. J. Edgar Hoover has been a magnificent voice crying in this wilderness of multiplying criminals. And there is a host of crime commissions in our cities daily proclaiming the failure to protect our people. But the forward march of crime goes on and on.

The FBI by herculean effort secures reports from local authorities as to the number of known major crimes. These major crimes are: murder, manslaughter, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, larceny, automobile thefts, and burglary. The reports they rethefts, and burglary. ceive cover possibly 85 percent of the population. They do a good job.

These reports show that major known crimes have grown from 1,685,000 in 1946 to approximately 2,800,000 in 1957, or 3 times as fast as the increase in population. The minor offenses generally follow the trends of the major offenses

Other FBI reports indicate increases in the number of major offenses in the single year of 1958 alone all the way from 2 per-cent to 14 percent. Rape offenses alone had increased 10 percent.

The most heartbreaking increase in crime is among the teenagers under 18 years. During 1957 there were 740,000 of these youngsters arrested. Since 1952 the population group under 18 years of age has increased 22 percent while arrests of persons under 18 years have increased 55 percent.

In the face of the FBI's staggering lists of 2,800,000 known major crimes in 1957, it is interesting to note that the Bureau of Prisons reports that there were on January 1, 1958 only 195,414 persons in Federal and State prisons, and only 80,408 were received from the courts the previous year. These exclude county and city jails whose inhabitants are mostly pending cases and minor offenses.

The Bureau of Prisons also reports that in the previous year 43,357 prisoners were paroled and 12,096 were returned to prison for crimes committed when on parole or other reasons.

WHAT WE DO NOT KNOW ABOUT CRIME

There remains a vast area of things about crime which we don't know.

What we do not know is what happens after those crimes are committed. In other words, how efficient are our procedures and methods of justice in stemming this rising flood of crime? That is the major question in determining any plans for better portection for our people.

Our information on this question is abso-

lutely inadequate.

The only data which the FBI is able to secure on this phase of the problem comes from reports sent to them. And, these reports constitute but a "sample" which covers only about 25 percent of the total population.

The figures in the box below for the total known offenses in the eight categories are from the FBI and cover, as said above,

approximately 85 percent of our population. However, the figures for the number found guilty are mine. These are based on the FBI "sample." I have applied that sample to the total population. I repeat, the estimates are mine, but the reader can discount them by a large percent and still find them startling and depressing. If so small of total offenders is found percentage guilty the reader may well wonder as to our processes of government in protecting

#### WE NEED THE WHOLE TRUTH

Before we can do anything constructive about this terrifying problem we need to know its dimensions. In every war it is necessary to know your enemy and nowhere is that more important than in our war against crime.

As to this situation, I venture to make a suggestion. It is not a proposal to reform criminals. It is a proposal to publicly illuminate some of the spots where our governmental machinery fails to provide our constitutional rights of protection.

This requires a determination of many more facts which we do not have from any public or private agency. My proposal is that the Census Bureau be instructed by Congress to conduct a special and separate census by canvassing the police and the prison records.

The U.S. Bureau of the Census is skillful, accurate, well-equipped and long ex-perienced for large undertakings of this kind.

Every 10 years the Census Bureau lists every person in the United States, not only making a count (now 170 million of them) but also collecting a number of items about each of them. It also collects special data as to our industries and agricultural and educational systems which require information from immense numbers of people.

When it collects such massive information it punches holes in a card. Each hole indicates an item collected. Then when they pass these cards through batteries of machines, the total can be obtained on any item wanted.

Such a census should include the following: the name of each person who has been arrested for a crime during the past 2 years. (These names should be held confidential so as not to reflect on reformed persons); a record of the nature of the crime; the date of the crime; the date of arrest; the amount of ball set; how many jumped bail; how many committed crime when out on bail; whether tried or not; the date of the trial; whether convicted or not; the date of the sentence, the sentence imposed.

If fine or imprisonment, the amount of me fine or the term of imprisonment; whether an appeal was made to a higher court; whether the higher courts confirmed the sentence or modified it; the date when the fine was paid, or the criminal finally sent to prison; the months served in prison, whether paroled, and whether any crime was committed during parole, whether the criminal was pardoned, and how many months of the term were served.

Facts should also be recorded on probation and suspended sentences. The information collected should also show whether more than one crime was committed by the same individual.

Holes can then be punched in a card for each of these items or other items as our national crime prevention agencies might

The job is not so great as one might think since this would not be a personal canvass, but a search of public records.

Today the FBI figures on known crimes are our only important insight into comparative crime between cities and States.

ONE-HUNDRED-PERCENT COVERAGE

In my proposed census, these FBI figures could be used, so far as they go, to enable the census to cover 100 percent of the population, and in this way eliminate any duplication of work. It would simplify the task and give the FBI a useful index number for its future annual estimates.

Also to further simplify it, persons fined less than \$50 or sentenced to less than 60 days in jail, could be omitted. And, to make it better still, we should have a separate card

for youthful delinquents.

As important as the number of known crimes is, the purpose of this census is far

deeper than this.

The machines would tell us how many of the known offenses resulted in arrests, how long it took from the discovery of the crime until a perpetrator was tried, how long it took from conviction to prison, and how long was the average length of time in prison for each category of crime. From such data we could judge whether the courts were being lax or effective.

The census could show as far as possible what races the offenders come from It might stir the leaders of the various racial groups to action and we might be surprised as to where the great fault lies. It would show the weakness or strength of the present parole systems. It might show the failure of the courts to give adequate confinement in cells so that people could no longer trespass on our constitutional rights.

The teenage cards should show what are the family situation of our teenagers who are arrested. The cards should show how many have lost one or both parents, how many of them have divorced parents, how many of them have had religious training in our schools, how many of them have had religious training even in reformatories, in fact, how many of them have ever tasted religious training at all.

WHAT WE WOULD LEARN

The first thing we would learn is: What is the matter with our governmental machinery for the protection of our fundamental constitutional rights?

A report of the type I suggest would help every local, State, and Federal agency concerned with the prevention of crime to do

a better job.

And such a census would take a load of blame from our generally courageous and efficient police forces and would help relieve

their too-frequent frustration.

The story from this census might bring realization to the American people that freedom in the United States is in more jeopardy from crime than from all the Communist conspiracies. It might show that our freedom and safety are overwhelmed by these eight categories of thugs. It might show whether we have elevated crime into a pastime with occasional free board and lodging. It might show that we have to duty to get tough.

Remember that the enemies of our civilization numbered over 2,800,000 in 1957

On every side our freedoms are being eaten away by criminals. We have reached a time when decent Americans have an imperative duty to mobilize all our resources of knowledge and power to check the inner blight of crime.

CRIME VERSUS PUNISHMENT: A SHOCKING CONTRAST

(Note.—The figures below as to the known offenses are from the FBI. The figures of those found guilty are my own application of the FBI sample of 25 percent to the whole population.—H.H.)

Murder and nonnegligent manslaughter: There were 6,920 known offenses. Only 48 persons were executed. (No records can be found on how many were serving life sentences.) Manslaughter by negligence: There were 5,740 offenses known. About 1,400 defendants were found guilty, or 24 percent.

Rape: Of the 21,080 offenses known, there were about 7,900 persons found gullty, or approximately 37 percent.

Robbery: Of the 61,410 offenses known,

Robbery: Of the 61,410 offenses known, there were about 16,000 found guilty, or 26 percent.

Aggravated assault: There were 100,110 offenses known, and of these 27,000 were found guilty, which is 27 percent.

Larceny: There were 1,721,170 offenses known to the FBI. Only about 171,000 of these offenders were found guilty. This is approximately 10 percent of the total.

Automobile thefts: There were 289,950 offenses known with about 41,000 of the offenders found guilty, or 14 percent.

Burglary: There were 590,020 offenses known and 72,000 offenders found guilty, or 12 percent.

Remarks by the Honorable Edwin B. Dooley, Memorial Day Services, Larchmont, N.Y.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. EDWIN B. DOOLEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. DOOLEY. Mr. Speaker, Memorial Day is a period of tremendous spiritual significance to millions of Americans, particularly the bereaved families of war dead, and the friends and neighbors of those who have made the supreme sacrifice in behalf of our country.

In my hometown of Mamaroneck and its villages of Mamaroneck and Larchmont, fitting tribute is reverently paid annually to the deceased members of the Armed Forces.

On last Memorial Day, I was one of those chosen to pay homage to the departed men and women of the Armed Forces who once lived in these communities

My remarks follow:

On this day which is commemorated across our country, we pause to pay reverent tribute to those who gave the full measure of their devotion to this great land, and we pause also to reflect on the course which our country has taken since these men and women whom we honor, made the supreme sacrifice.

It has been said, and said sagely, that the pragmatic axioms of the past are not a reliable index to guide future actions. Never was a fact so evident as that is today.

Without in any sense diminishing the stature of the Father of our Country, whose memory is enshrined in every good citizens' heart, it must be said nevertheless that the admonition he gave us against foreign alliances was made at a time, before days were telescoped into hours—before space was annihilated by supersonic speeds, and before nations were so interdependent on one another.

The course of our country, its material wealth, its idealistic concepts, and its immutable ties to the free way of life, delineate in bold lines its historic destiny. By all the tenets given us by God, through our Judeo-Christian heritage, and by all manmade patterns of life, as evidenced by our common and statutory law, we are irrevocably committed to accept the Biblical phrase, "I am my brother's keeper."

Therein lies all the Justification needed for our global generosity—for our constant effort to feed the world's hungry; to give inspiration and moral and physical aid to the distressed multitudes of the Asia-African block who are rising in belated revolt against the unmoral imprisonment and abuse they have endured through the centuries. If we believe in freedom as we proclaim so steadfastly, then we believe that the people of Nyasaland, of Ghana, and of other areas of the world have the same God-given right to preserve their destiny, unhampered by the imperialistic whims of other nations and other men.

We believe that Vietnam has a right to repel the invasions of the Communists, that each nation and each people in fact has an innate right, a tacit right, if you will, to

fashion its own destiny.

But today with the world teetering recklessly on the brink of self-annihilation, with mankind's ingenuity focused on the problem of how to devise the most destructive instrument of mass slaughter attainable, it is necessary, yes, even urgent, that we reexamine our attitude toward our allies and our attitudes toward ourselves, with the aim of trying to rescue reason from chaos, and of preserving what we can of our way of life and the preclous heritage which was handed down to us from our forebears.

First, I think that in appraising our position we must express thanks to our Almighty Father for the infinite variety of blessings he has showered upon this land and on our

generation.

He gave our forefathers a source of natural wealth virtually unprecedented in human history. Sturdy and courageous people that they were, they could not have survived had it not been for the boundless forests, the rivers teeming with fish, the rich soil, and the proper climate.

Europe and other lands from which our ancestors came had long since exhausted their resources. And from the bounty inherent in the new land our forebears built the great cities, the industries, the educational institutions, the norms, and the culture which are ours today.

Now we face the supreme test of whether those things which are ours can be preserved for ourselves and our children's children.

When we reflect on the fact that a fleet of enemy submarines halted momentarily off our coast has the power to virtually obliterate all of us, and our culture, we realize that we have reached a critical stage from the standpoint of our chronological history—a turning point in our destiny.

We have reached a time when more than ever before we must be willing to make sacrifices for our country that Americans were never called upon to make before. I am not referring to the imminence of sudden extinction which the present strategy of warfare makes possible, but rather to the need for sacrifice of material things in order that our Government can have the resources to carry on.

The burden of our defense program is oppressive, but so long as the Communists continue to threaten, so long as Khrushchev makes a mockery of international diplomacy, and a toy of protocol, we must of necessity keep our sinews of preparedness sturdy and resilient. All of this costs money and our taxes are our chief source of revenue. We must be willing to pay our fair share, if we are to survive.

We must too sacrifice certain illusions, the illusion for example that we can stand alone in this tumultuous and somewhat fearsome world.

We must of necessity forge stronger the links which bind us to friendly peoples of distant lands, not out of humanitarian impulses alone but out of enlightened selfishness so that we may weather any storm that may eventually buffet us.

We must sacrifice funds if need be for the development of our young people's minds—and for the just remuneration of those who teach them—in order that they will be fittingly equipped to meet the problems which they will be called upon to face. Fluency in language, adaptability to science, flexibility of mind and loyalty to country are the virtues our young people must acquire if they are to adjust to the swiftly changing patterns of the world.

As one prominent aspirant for high office put it, "He who sells freedom cheaply is a deceiver, or is himself deceived. He who sells it cheap or offers it as the byproduct of this or that economic system is a knave or a fool. For freedom necessitates infinitely more care and devotion than any other political system. It puts consent and personal initiative in a place of command and-obedience. It supplants the harsh and oppressive disciplines of dictatorial tyrannies with individual devotion and personal initiative."

All of these qualities are compatible with adherence to our principles, and to the heritage which the honored dead handed down to us.

Ours is a great land, but we must respect other men and women who love their native lands; ours is a great and opulent country, but if we are to enhance it, we must be willing to do our fair share in its behalf.

One thing is certain, in this confusing world, we have much to be grateful for, and we must never lose heart. Ours is a land rich in blessings, ours a tradition bright as a star. All of us must ever be grateful, for out of gratitude flows patriotism and loyalty undying.

# Williams Winning Long Fight Against Huge Farm Handouts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. LEO E. ALLEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial, entitled "WIL-LIAMS Winning Long Fight Against Huge Farm Handouts," from the Rockford (Ill.) Register-Republic of June 1, 1959:

WILLIAMS WINNING LONG FIGHT AGAINST HUGE FARM HANDOUTS

(By Holmes Alexander)

Washington.—My candidate for Senator of the year begins to take the oblong, upright shape of John Williams, Republican, of Delaware, who at last seems to have muzzled the tax-eating ox called the incorporated farmer.

WILLIAMS has tentatively put a \$35,000 limit on what any producer can receive from

the Government in crop support.

With Williams, this has been a long fight. It began, he tells me, in 1950, when, as a first-term Senator, he noticed that the fabulous King Ranch, owner of the racehorse Swaps, was taking charity in the form of drought relief from the Federal Treasury.

Stories of this sort make flash headlines, but they do not bring about instant reform. The latter, as Williams learned, takes years and years of grinding away at the whetstone of hard, unforgiving, irrefutable fact. A farmer, whether he is corporate or individual, is a constituent of two Senators and at least one Congressman,

Every constituent has a right to make his case known, and usually the wealthy constituent has Senators and Representatives who are inclined to believe him to be right. Williams had to overcome both the inertia and the self-interest of statesmen from the agricultural South and West. Significantly, when the Williams measure passed the Senate on May 22 as an amendment to the Wheat Act, there were 21 absentees, 1 more than the 20 Senators, all Democrats, who voted against the \$35,000 limitation. But Williams got the support of every Republican who stayed on hand for the winning rollcall of 57 affirmative votes.

On Senator Williams' desk while he led the debate was a document which he did not use because, he says, "When you're winning, don't rub it in." But the weapon which he didn't hurl was a 1935 report of cotton payments under Secretary of Agriculture Henry Wallace. The report revealed that a wholly owned British firm in Scott, Miss., the Delta & Pine Land Co., had received from the U.S. Government \$114,840 in 1933, \$102,408 in 1934, and \$101,039 in 1935. The point is that this same company is still at the trough. In the past 10 years it has received \$9 million from the United States of America in support of crops, mainly cotton and rice.

Thus from the very inception of our present farm policy, down to the present year, the bureacuracy of socialized agriculture has been such a runaway monster that it has taxed the poor to enrich the wealthy, and in this instance, the alien wealthy.

Not only that, but the monster is robbing the U.S. Treasury with both fists. WILLIAMS showed the Senate that in 1957, 10 farming firms received over \$500,000 under the soil bank for crops they refrained from growing on part of their lands, and about \$3,500,000 for surplus crops which they did grow on other parts.

In nominating Williams for Senator-ofthe-year at the two-thirds point of the congressional session, there is some rick incurred. Who knows, but a mightler man with a more justly celebrated deed will arise? But who could it be?

Kennedy? His big effort was the 90 to 1 labor reform bill, coupled with the promise of further labor-management relations legislation before the session ends. It now appears (certainly from my own mail) that Kennedy failed to catch the public fancy with his labor measures.

JOHNSON? His January brilliance does not carry the same luster in June, although he's far from finished. The familiar Democratic prophets of gloom-and-doom, HUMPHREY and DOUGLAS? No. The Eisenhower prosperity has singed their high-flying wings. PROXMIRE? He was going to unhorse Majority Leader JOHNSON and restore the reign of King Caucus—remember? FULBRIGHT? KUCHEL? DIRKSEN? CLARK? What has happened to the brave beginners?

When the honor candidates are reviewed, it is hard to see how any has a better chance of solid achievement, for the public good, than Williams. He won a big victory on the Senate floor and, during the same week, the House passed an appropriations rider which limited crop subsidy receipts to \$50,-000. This is a higher figure, and looser law-making (a farmer might be able to get two or more \$50,000 handouts under the House provision) than the Williams measure. But the Senator himself feels that his principle has been established in both Chambers of Congress and that limitation of some substantial sort is now inevitable.

"This is America," WILLIAMS says, "and there is a right to accumulate whatever you are able. I am not against bigness in business, as such. But I am against big businesses being subsidized out of the Federal Treasury."

What gives added size to the Williams achievement is that this success clears the way for more of the same kind. He is now working on loophole-stopping in the soil bank, in certain features of income taxation, in boondoggling reclamation projects, and a few others. If there's a better Senator in the 86th Congress, it would be hard to name him at this point.

# A Letter From Tom Montgomery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. LEONARD G. WOLF

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert into the body of the RECORD a letter by Thomas Montgomery, which appeared in the Clinton Herald on May 28. Tom Montgomery is a young man who is going to be a great man. He is aware of the fact that charges of creeping socialism and slogans like "balance the budget" are nothing more than the cries of people who are forgetting the heritage that made this country great. The great men of this country are not the McKinleys. Coolidges, and Hardings. The great men of this country are the Lincolns, the Roosevelts, the LaFollettes, and the Norris'. They are the men who have made the United States a land where men may breathe free air and think and act

We are too quick to forget our true heritage and take up the cudgel for the private corporate and military interests. We are too quick to forget about better schools for the illusory phrase "balance the budget." We are too quick to forget the farmer in favor of inadequate and fallacious economic theories of the vested interests. We are too quick to forget about the economic and social inequality which Negro people of this country suffer. We are too quick to forget the meaning of the individual in a free society in favor of the illusory phrase, "national security."

But I do not think we can forget for long when men like Tom Montgomery prod our consciences, remind us of our historic heritage, and demand that we deal with the real problems which confront our society today.

TELLS WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IF CREEPING SOCIALISM IS HALTED

DEAR EDITOR: Seldom am I ever moved to write a letter in reference to our editorials, nor do I particularly care for many of the opinions, both pro and con, of those who do write. However your article of May 25, and many of the prior ones, have focused my admiration on such a proponent of rugged American individuality, and I am forced to pour forth my wholehearted support.

I agree that now is the time to sit up and take notice of this creeping socialism and put a stop to it.

Let us start at the root of this socialistic growth and kill it in the budding stage:

Schools: After all what are they except an instrument for educating those children of the rabble from below the tracks at the great expense of the enlightened upper class?

Government: Let us get Government out of its roles as promoter and manager and back to the practice of laissefaire, even though this theory is as obsolete as Malthusianism.

The farm program: Let us stop those outrageous subsidies to the farmer and return him to his impoverished condition of the late twenties and thirties.

Postal service: Let us make the farmers and newspapers pay their own way in the sending and receiving of the mail and stop this expensive service of free rural delivery and reduced rates for the distribution of newspapers and magazines.

Labor relations: It is certainly time to return to that philosophy of master-servant bond relationship and give back into the hands of those great American titans of industry, such as the notorious Fricks, James J. Hills, Andrew Carnegies, Jay Goulds, the decisions as to what should constitute a living wage. We must ignore the propaganda or our Dickens as to the conditions this fosters, for had God not intended the laborer to live by the sweat of his brow he would not have been born into such a miserable world.

Foreign policy: The time is indeed here when we must discard this mythical Judeo-Christian teaching of brotherly love our churches have so laboriously taught us and ignore the pitying wants of our foreign brothers in the interests of a balanced budget. Let us take our ball and bat and go home from these countries who refuse to play the game according to our rules and insist on throwing rocks at our Vice President.

Taxation: I believe that it is time to rise up against this burden of outrageous taxation and put a stop to the income tax that raises such havoc with our destitute upper income brackets and revert to the more comprehensive, if regressive, sales tax and damn the man who must feed the mouths of seven on an income of \$3,500 a year.

Crime prevention: Last but not least, let us also throw off our reactionary ideal, so enumerated in article I section 8 of our State constitution and in amendment IV of our Federal Constitution, and so stubbornly guarded by Governor Loveless, of the sacrecy of our person. In the interest of better law enforcement and for the benefit of our local businesses we must put this personal security at the discretion of our businessmen, however doubtful their judgment may be.

Yes, Mr. Editor, it is time to stagnate the democratic principles set down by our fore-fathers and reverse the wheels of dynamic Government. In this way only can the basic rights of mankind, as set forth by John Locke, be reached. We must crawl back into the shell of 19th century individuality that brought forth the cries of such demagogs as William Jennings Bryan, Eugene V. Debs, James B. Weaver, Theodore Roosevelt, Robert M. LaFollette, George W. Norris, and culminated in that hideous theory of Franklin D. Roosevelt: Freedom from want.

Thus can we save from posterity the enormous burden of an unbalanced budget and throw off the crown of world leadership that the free countries of the world in their desperation did place upon our brow. A burden too heavy? In contrast we shall leave the relatively simple problems of outmoded Government, poverty, communism, nationalism, and those social problems which fostered the bloody Haymarket, Homestead, and Pullman affairs.

Then we can face our Maker free from the conscientious stigma of social justice and stained only by our selfish concern for economic progress.

THOMAS MONTGOMERY.

#### Fallout and Home Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, Ralph Lapp is correct when he says that the general prevailing impression is that civil defense is hopeless. He is right that no one in Washington expects any massive infusion of funds to support a national civil defense program on the scale of multibillion dollar appropriations.

His conclusion follows that the problem of civil defense transforms to home defense, and the citizen must look to his own security.

If my colleagues and other readers of the Appendix are interested in survival in time of fallout or suspected fallout, I recommend they take a few moments to read the following article entitled "Fallout and Home Defense," by Dr. Ralph E. Lapp. It appeared in the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists for May 1959 and is included under a previous unanimous consent:

#### FALLOUT AND HOME DEFENSE (By Ralph E. Lapp)

Soviet successes in the nuclear weapons and missiles field together with an unremitting arms race call for a new look at the problem of home defense. This is all the more necessary because of a general prevailing impression that civil defense is hopeless.

There is no use in avoiding this blunt statement of the issue at this stage of world affairs. Moreover, the rapid succession of mounting hazards—the megaton, fallout, and ballistic missiles—forms a terrible triad. Civil defense planners have never been able to keep step with the tempo of arms development and very often they were hamstrung in their efforts to obtain the necessary planning information from the Defense Department and the Atomic Energy Commission.

Excellent studies of the civil defense problem were made available in 1958, notably the testimony of Dr. Ellis A. Johnson, Director of the Operations Research Office, Johns Hopkins University, and the RAND Report the gist of which was presented by Dr. Herman Kahn in the January Bulletin. These analyses deserve careful consideration because they point out the profound interrelation of population survival and sound defense policy; furthermore they maintain that an effective civil defense is possible.

The triple impact of megatons, fallout, and missiles convinces most Americans that their lot will be a hopeless one should the United States be subjected to a nuclear attack. The ORO and RAND assertions to the contrary have not as yet made an appreciable dent in the public attitude, certainly not in congressional attitudes. The reshuffle of the Federal Civil Defense Administration into the new Office of Civil Defense Mobolization has made little apparent change in the administration's handling of the civil defense issue. Civil defense is still in the research and development and planning stage. And it is now almost 14 years since Hiroshima.

Footnotes at end of speech.

No one in Washington expects that OCDM will be energized with a massive infusion of funds to support a national civil defense program on the scale of multibillion dollar appropriations. The Congress continues to be highly skeptical of any increases in civil defense appropriations, and the White House has given no indications of asking for a budget sufficient to finance a national shelter program.

I feel that under these conditions, the problem of civil defense transforms to home defense, and the citizen must look to his own security. This would seem to be in line with the views of Civil Defense Administrator Governor Leo Hoegh, who answered in reply to a question about shelter construction: "Of course, we have not advocated a Federal construction program. We advocate this, the self-help program. That's nothing new. For instance, back in the Indian age our forebears, when they built their homes, also provided a fortress. In 1958 the American people in their own home should provide themselves protection from radioactive fallout. We give the guidance and the direction."

Our forebears were confronted with the challenge of the bow and arrow and the tomahawk. Today we face the swifter-thansound ICBM, the incomprehensible megaton, and the unsensed threat of radioactive fallout. This disparity is so immense that the average person is overwhelmed; he looks to his Government for guidance, and he is advised to do it himself.

#### MISSILE WARHEADS

Mr. Khrushchev has implied that the Soviets have a compact nuclear warhead with a 5-megaton explosive equivalent. It is assumed that this nuclear explosive is compact enough to fit into an ICBM nose cone and that it is about 1.5 tons in weight. This constitutes a very considerable accomplishment in weapon development. Little is known about the actual weight of the Soviet bomb package, but analysis of the October 1958 tests shows that the Soviets released about 20 megatons (strontium equivalent) of fission energy to the stratosphere. would seem prudent to assume that the Soviets have developed a 5-megaton ICBM warhead. The radiochemical data available to the author suggest that compactness in this missile warhead has been achieved at some expense in terms of nuclear material. The burning of cheap Ums involves a weight disadvantage in missiles but is useful in highyield air-dropped bombs such as the 20-megaton weapons carried by the U.S. strategic bomber, the B-52.

Continued nuclear testing should result in an early doubling of megatonnage in missile warheads and with increased development of rocket fuels, warheads of 20 megatons must be anticipated. By the same token, bomber weapons may be doubled and tripled in power, i.e., 40 and 60 megatons. It is understood that the Strategic Air Command is thinking in such terms for B-52 and B-58 carried bembs.

With the development of mega-thrust propulsion plants and possibly with the perfection of nuclear-powered ramjets the transportation of 100 megaton bombs appears feasible, although this is farther in the future. The military worth of such high-yield weapons is arguable, depending upon what purposes are involved in the military applications. If the weapons are meant for blast applications for the reduction of strategic targets of "hardened" construction, then blast pressures of the order of 100 pounds per square inch are required. A 1-megaton warhead such as might be developed for a Polaris missile would produce 100 pounds per

square inch at five-eighths of a mile: a 5-megaton warhead (present Soviet ICBM capability) would extend this blast to 1 mile; a 20-megaton SAC bomb would reach to 1.7 miles, and a super 100-megaton bomb would range out to 3 miles.

Given a missile accuracy such that 50 percent of the warheads land within a circle of 5 to 10 mile radius, it is obvious that huge numbers of Polaris-type missiles would be required to knock out a hardened missile site and very considerable numbers of 5-megaton missiles would also be required. On the other hand, 20-megaton bombs launched from short range by B-52's or B-58's with greater accuracy could be very effective; this is a prime reason why the U.S. Air Force believes that bombers will still be in business

5 to 10 years from now. Judging from U.S. bomber capabilities, our strategic retaliation against Soviet attack would involve a 1-day level of attack in excess of 10,000 megatons. Actual on-target deliveries might reduce this considerably depending on the alert status of SAC bases and the nature of Soviet defenses. It is not clear why such a high level of attack is contemplated on a second-blow basis since in making the first-strike Soviet military installations would presumably have fulfilled their prime role. Adm. Arleigh A. Burke, Chief of Naval Operations, has questioned the strategic mission of the Air Force in a recent speech in which he stated: "\* \* We recognize that in general nuclear war missile forces can no longer attempt to destroy their enemy's counterpart without destroying the corporate body of the enemy state itself, provided all these forces are stationed within the heart of the homeland." This raises the fundamental issue of the wisdom of locating prime strategic bases within continental United States. The level of enemy attack upon the United States will depend upon the number and nature of U.S. strategic bases; thus our military leaders may be making profoundly wrong decisions in locating hardened missile sites within the U.S. borders. Each hardened site may cause the enemy to allocate immense megatonnage to its destruction but the fallout from these bombs will inevitably spill out over the U.S. population and food areas.

The foregoing suggests that "the megaton assumptions" for the USA meaning the commitment of bombs to U.S. targets may vary within wide limits and may actually be determined by our own decisions. The present 30-odd strategic bases within continental USA are nonhardened or "soft" and it appears that Russia could be forced to commit a minimum of 1,000 megaton to these targets. Additional targets would double or triple this megatonnage during the time span of the next 3 years. It is within the framework of this assumption that the author proposes to view the civil defense problem. Obviously, the feasibility of civil defense depends very critically upon the megaton assumptions because a decade from now 3,000 megatons may be a small fraction of the Soviet strategic capability.

#### FALLOUT AND SURVIVAL

The current status of our civil defense offers little hope that the primary effects of thermonuclear weapons can be minimized to any significant degree. The protective construction necessary to reduce the sledge-hammer effect of the megaton-blast on cities involves a degree of metropolitan surgery which is deemed unattainable now. When there was time our cities were not made less vulnerable by dispersion, and now that there is little time the metropolitan areas cannot be hardened like a missile site.

However, the random sprawl of our cities coupled with the inherent inaccuracy of ballistic missiles makes it probable that very large chunks of our metropolitan areas will remain outside the zones of heavy blast damage. Population-wise, the situation is even more favorable since Ground Zero is equally probable for downtown and the suburbs.

As I see the problem for the average American, he can't do very much about combating the primary effects of megation weapons; only the rara avis will go to the trouble and expense of building a blast shelter. However, the big problem once the impact of the blast-heat ceases to be felt upon the stricken community is protection against radioactive fallout. This problem centers upon the family home, and it is for this reason that the term "home defense" applies.

Vast areas remote from the actual bomb bursts will be subjected to lethal radioactive fallout; in some cases where there are multiple bursts and strong winds the lethal distance may extend to 500 miles from Ground Zero. Areas downwind of prime strategic targets will fall in this category. Thus the true lethal potential of a nuclear attack derives from the fallout hazard. Primary lethality of megaton weapons centers upon an area 20 to 40 times smaller than that subject to lethal fallout.

I believe that the average American's understanding of radioactive fallout is pitifully inadequate. Judging from contacts with thousands of people during the past 5 years, I arrive at the conclusion that there is a deep-rooted feeling that there is no way to escape death from fallout. It is for this reason that I reexamined the fallout radiation hazard.

The fallout field which has been assumed seems realistic, i.e., 2 kilotons of fission debris per square mile corresponding to an actual rate of 4,000 roentgens/hour 1 hour after the tomb burst. The first day radiation exposure depends very critically upon the time of fallout. It may require only 1 hour for complete fallout close to the target or as much as 18 hours farther downwind.6 Reliable data on megaton-class fallout are fragmentary, but Dr. Paul C. Tompkins, Scientific Director of the U.S. Naval Radiological Defense Laboratory, testified before the Holifield civil defense subcommittee that "the major residual radiation threat does not occur within range of physical damage." It was stated that peak radioactivity never occurs at the crater but about 50 to 75 miles downwind.

The first day fallout is illustrated by the following schedule of roentgen doses:

#### TABLE I

	Gamma dose (roentgen)	
Time interval: (roen	tgen)	
1 to 2 hours	2,500	
2 to 3 hours		
3 to 4 hours	800	
4 to 5 hours	550	
5 to 10 hours	1,500	
10 to 24 hours	1,550	

Each hour that the fallout is delayed reduces the first-day integrated dose by hundreds and thousands of roentgens. If we assume an effective time of fallout as 3 hours, the first-day exposure to a person standing in the open is about 4,000 roentgens. Some analysts believe that a nuclear attack upon the United States would produce areas in the Northeast where the 2-day radiation dose would exceed 10,000 roentgens. It is estimated that the variable fallout patterns would overlap to blanket many States in a coat of radioactive contamination.

Subsequent in-the-open radiation exposures are listed in another table.

#### RADIATION PROTECTION

The fundamental rule for survival in time of fallout or suspected fallout is below-ground shelter. This evasion action must take priority over all other activities during

the first few days following the outbreak of nuclear war.

Since it is doubtful if many Americans will possess prebuilt radiation shelters, the do-it-yourself approach must be followed. The hours of grace before lethal faflout may reach the earth allow time for last-minute improvisation of radiation shelters. The ordinary basement provides a 10- to 20-fold reduction in the radiation dose. Further reduction can be attained by lying prone in one corner of the basement but for many regions it will be necessary to provide additional below-ground shelter. This can be provided by use of the foxhole principle" or by shielding with some dense material. A tunnel dug in the cellar wall would provide excellent protection. Stacking up bags of coal, sand, or containers of water in a corner of the basement would also reduce the radiation dose.

A committee of the National Academy of Sciences is pondering the problem of setting up a schedule of "allowable" radiation doses for a nuclear catastrophe but the final report is not expected for several months. Presumably, 25 roentgens might be stipulated for the first day and 100 roentgens for the first week. The shelter protection factor required to keep the dose below 25 roentgens the first day would range from 100 to 500 for most areas. It is seen that this protection factor drops rapidly during the first week permitting the holed-up survivors to emerge from cramped quarters after 2 or 3 days and enjoy more freedom of movement in the basement.

During the third day the external radiation would drop to 10 roentgen-hours and limited excursions within buildings would be possible for adults. At the end of 1 week the outdoor radiation level would drop to 4 roentgen-hours in open fields (it might build up to higher values in built-up areas where the fallout debris naturally concentrates), and limited above-surface excursions could be made.

#### DECONTAMINATION

Natural decontamination of building materials may occur as a result of weathering processes. Because the Nevada Proving Grounds showed that a 2-inch rainfall following fallout reduced the indoors radiation dose to one-tenth-one-twentieth the dose measured in an adjoining field. The radiation level just above the floor was one-tenth that at a height of 7 feet inside the house.

F. P. Cowan 12 has investigated the buildup of fallout on construction materials and he has found that smooth-surfaced materials such as aluminum accumulate the least fallout and yield most quickly to decontamination, whereas asphalt and asbestos shingles hold the fallout more tenaciously.

After 1 week a properly indoctrinated householder might attempt to reduce the contamination on the roof. A 20-fold reduction of the roof contamination (as compared with open field levels) seems feasible. Since the roof contamination contributes as much radiation dose to the basement as the skyshine of radiation from adjoining land <sup>13</sup> an overall 10-fold dose reduction for basement dwellers is possible.

Decontamination of ground areas and pavements will involve an organized effort and substantial equipment. The U.S. Navy has had practical experience in radiological decontamination as a result of the Bikini bomb tests in 1946. Data <sup>14</sup> from the U.S. Naval Radiological Defense Laboratory show that fire-hosing of asphalt surfaces contaminated with dry fallout can reduce the level of radioactivity 30-fold.

In the absence of extensive decontamination it would appear wise to live very cautiously during the 1-week to 1-month period after attack. The second week dose of about 500 roentgens should be kept be-

low 20 roentgens and preferably below 10 roentgens. The same rule applies to the third week. The 140-roentgen dose which would be accumulated by full above-ground exposure during the fourth week can be cut to 7 roentgens by an overall reduction factor of 20; this still requires basement living unless decontamination has been effective.

#### BEYOND 1 MONTH

Once the challenge of the first month of post-attack living has been met, the radiation hazards in the following months can be put into manageable proportions by cautious living. At about this time the outdoor levels will be about 10 roentgen-day—still too high for long-term above-ground movement. However, local decontamination and restricted movement plus indoor living as much as possible should make it possible to keep the radiation dose below 10 roentgens for the second month. Thereafter the radiation exposures call for caution but the problem is clearly no longer an acute one.

After 4 months the maximum 24-hour dose for a man in the open would be about 1 roentgen although it might be 10 times less in a decontaminated area. At the end of 1 year an untouched area should exhibit about 0.1 roentgen-day and the total dose in the second year after attack would be about 20 roentgens so that return to ordinary life so far as the external hazard is concerned would be indicated. For people who had accumulated 100 roentgens in the first year an additional 5 roentgens in the second year (allowing for shielding) would not constitute undue risk. Since the impact of the attack might replace our industrial economy with a colonial type of existence millions of people would have to till the soil; this would involve greater exposure but it would not be prohibitive.

These conclusions apply to the radiation field specified by a fallout of 2 kilotons of fission products per square mile. It would seem that this kind of a fallout field is a reasonable projection through the early 1960's. Beyond that time it is probable that more intense fields must be considered, doubling and tripling the radiation doses specified in this article.

The assumed radiation field would be accompanied by a fallout of 200 curies of strontium 90 per square mile if there is no fractionation which depletes the local fallout in Sroo. This heavy fallout raises the question as to the human use of foods grown on such contaminated land. Besides Sreo, one has to consider the shorter lived fission products and induced activities which might pose a hazard as food contaminants. If the nuclear attack took place during the growing season much of the crop would have to be sacrificed. Thereafter, many areas would be denied to dairy farming for a decade and the survivors would be forced to derive their calcium from other sources (currently the average American takes 80 percent of his calcium from dairy products). Thus, in projecting to the emergency conditions in the postattack years the present Sroo levels must be adjusted to apply. There are many un-knowns involved in estimating the ultimate biological damage from crops grown on land, contaminated to a level of several hundred curies of Srie per square mile, but the gradual buildup of Sroo in human bone would present an acute health problem. Unless heroic measures were adopted to inhibit the intake of Srao the body burden of this radiopotson would exceed the threshold for lethality.

The strontium 90 levels which might be anticipated for 100-megaton bombardment of hardened missile sites, such as are planned for 10 areas in our Western States, would approach the kilocurie/square mile value and such land would be denied to agriculture for more than just a decade. One wonders whether this point has been considered in the siting of these military installations.

As a weapon of ultimate venegance, the threat of soil contamination is a victous one. However, it is also a rather subtle hazard requiring a degree of imagination for its full appreciation. In this sense the strontium 90 hazard resembles the genetic hazard. On the other hand, a country such as the Soviet Union would be vulnerable to deprivation of future crops since it has small food reserves. Conceivably, the threat of crop contamina-tion might act as a deterrent to the Soviets. The concept of a Carthage on a continental scale is new to war and is a direct offshoot of the megaton-class weapon.18

In summary, the biological consequences of local fallout present an immense challenge to civilization. Over the short term the external radiation threat appears to be of manageable proportions providing people understand the nature of the hazard. The internal hazard does not appear to be of the same degree of lethality as that formed by the external radiation. Orop contamination poses a serious long-term problem and it is not clear whether a post attack economy could support the kind of agriculture which could minimize the uptake of strontium 90 from the food supply.

Pp. 241-269 of the Holifield civil defense hearings, House Government Operations Committee, May 5, 1958.

"Report on a Study of Nonmilitary De-RAND Corp. Report R-322-RC (July

"Transcript of "Meet the Press" television

program of Sept. 7, 1958.

\*Speech of Dr. W. F. Libby, Mar. 13, 1959. The author has also received radiochemical

analyses from Japanese scientists.

Given before the Chamber of Commerce,
 Charleston, S.C., Feb. 20, 1959.
 W. W. Kellogg, R. R. Rapp, and S. M.
 Greenfield, "Close-in Fallout," J. Meteorol-

ogy, 14 (1957), p. 1.

7 Pp. 209-210 of reference 1 (May 2, 1958). It appears that these data focus upon Pacific tests where the substratum is largely water. Very little data exist for the case of megaton bombs burst on continental sur-

\*For example, Dr. Ellis A. Johnson in his speech before the Washington Philosophical Society, Washington, D.C. (Mar. 28, 1959).

\*R. E. Lapp, "Radioactive Fallout," Bulle-

tin, 11 (February 1955), 45.

10 See L. Machta and K. M. Nagler, "Meterology—Fallout and Weathering." p. 3 in AEC publication, "The Shorter Term Bio-

logical Hazards of a Fallout Field (1958)."

"R. T. Graveson, "Radiation Protection Within a Standard Housing Structure,"
NYO-4714 (November 1956).

"The Accumulation of Radioactive Fall-

out on Typical Materials of Construction,"

BNL-497 (March 1958).

<sup>13</sup> J. A. Auxier et al., "Experimental Evaluation of the Radiation Protection Afforded by Residential Structures Against Distrib-uted Sources," CEX-58.1 (Jan. 19, 1959). See also M. J. Berger and J. C. Lamkin, "Simple Calculations of Gamma-Ray Penetration Into Shelters: Contribution of Sky-

shine and Roof Contamination," Report NBS-2827 (February 1958).

14 "Radiological Recovery of Fixed Military Installations," USNRDL report dated Aug. 1953.

25 This point was emphasized in "Strontium Limits in War and Peace," published in the Bulletin, 12 (November 1956), 287, in which it was stated; "The best hope for peace, it would appear, may be common understanding of the state of the st derstanding of the nuclear consequences of recourse to superbombs. If this be true, then man's foreknowledge of the effects of nuclear weapons may serve as the ultimate deterrence to war."

This discussion has not embraced the short-term toxic effect of the retention in the body of gross fission products.

Poison in Your Water-No. 96

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I am inserting into the Appendix of the Congressional RECORD an article appearing in the Dallas (Tex.) Times Herald of August 3. 1958, entitled "Thirty Stricken Here-Unfit Water Cited":

THIRTY STRICKEN HERE-UNFIT WATER CITED (By Judy Bonner)

At least 30 persons in the West Dallas area have become violently ill recently after drinking apparently contaminated water sold in barrels and tanks from private trucks, the Times Herald learned Saturday.

The illness, which resembles dysentery, includes severe stomach cramps, vomiting and diarrhea. In some cases, all the members of one family have been stricken. Many of the victims have been treated at Parkland Memorial Hospital.

Two private dealers who have been peddling the water in West Dallas were apprehended Saturday and ordered to appear Mon-day before Dr. J. W. Bass, city health officer. Dr. Bass said the dealers admitted selling

the water but told him it was not being sold for drinking purposes. It is city water, he said, but apparently becomes contaminated during handling and storing in the barrels and tanks.

#### TO LABEL TRUCKS

"We will instruct the dealers to clearly mark their trucks and the barrels that the water cannot be drunk," the health officer said.

He added that no legal action can be taken against the dealers unless persons who bought the water testify that it was sold to them as drinking water.

"At any rate," Dr. Bass said, "we will put a lot more health inspectors in the area to make certain the water is sold only for non-drinking purposes."

Many homes in the West Dallas area do not have city water supplies—a main target of the Times Herald and other organiza-tions interested in bringing reforms to that

#### BAD SITUATION

"It's a bad situation, we realize that," Dr. Bass said. "The city is getting water supplies out there as fast as possible."

Some West Dalias families get their water from shallow private wells. In at least one instance this has resulted in cases of typhoid

Two families that have purchased the apparently contaminated water told the Times Herald Saturday they were not informed it was not drinkable, or that it should be sterilized before drinking.

"The trucks come around every day or so selling the water for 50 cents a barrel," one woman said. "Nobody told us it wasn't fit to drink. We thought it tasted like it had moss in it or something. My husband and I and all our children got sick the next day after drinking it."

Dr. Bass said dealers must have licenses before they are permitted to sell drinking water. Licenses are not required to sell nondrinking water.

He said city water should be rechlorinated if it is sold from barrels or tanks.

The city health department laboratories now are testing the water to see what con-tamination it has. Dr. Bass did not say when the tests will be complete. Uncommon Man

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, it was my honor and privilege this morning to attend the graduation exercises of the FBI National Academy. Law enforcement officers from all over America were awarded their diplomas during this program. We are proud of these men at the local and State level who receive this excellent training and who will work and cooperate with our great Federal Bureau of Investigation in its crusade against crime and communism.

The program was an excellent one featuring Assistant Director Quinn Tamm, Deputy Attorney General Lawrence E. Walsh, Director J. Edgar Hoover, and excellent addresses by Daniel S. C. Liu, president of the graduating class with the Honolulu Police Department, Hon. Preston J. Moore, national commander of the American Legion, and His Eminence Richard Cardinal Cushing.

Mr. Speaker, I was particularly proud to see on the platform our own Hon. STYLES BRIDGES, the Honorable JOHN W. McCormack, our beloved majority leader of the House, and the Honorable JOHN J. ROONEY who have always been strong supporters of the FBI and its principles and ideals. Dr. Edward L. R. Elson of the National Presbyterian Church pronounced the invocation and the benediction. Appropriate music was furnished by the U.S. Marine Band. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the entire Congress and American citizens everywhere the outstanding, challenging timely and superb address of His Eminence Richard Cardinal Cushing, Archbishop of Boston:

THE NEED FOR UNCOMMON MEN

(Address by Richard Cardinal Cushing, Archbishop of Boston, at graduation exercises of the FBI National Academy, Washington, D.C., June 3, 1959)

A few years ago a capable but somewhat bewildered public servant published his campaign speeches and other addresses under the title "The Century of the Common Man." He meant by the title that we are now living in a century in which the average citizen, the ordinary person, has entered into the full enjoyment of his rights and dignity not by privilege of birth, class or talent, but simply as a man, a creature composed of body and soul and made in the image and likeness of God. His further meaning, at least by implication, was that the coming of this happy day had been and would be further hastened by the ultraliberal principles and progressive programs set forth in his speeches and his book.

Both contentions were naive and misleading. It is absurd to describe as the "century of the common man" a period of history which finds the average citizen of countries in almost two-thirds of the inhabited globe living under communism and its despotle restraints once considered the wretched lot of slaves, and which finds the ordinary person not merely despolled of his privileges as a common man, but forbidden to proclaim

himself, publicly at least, as the child, the image or even the creature of God. To style such a period of history the century of the common man was indeed confusing rhetoric; not less so was the suggestion that the way out of the 20th century plight of the common man lies in the empty pretensions of those who shared the political views of the author of "The Century of the Common Man."

And yet, you and I, and Americans generally, should face the disturbing fact that we are living in the century of the common man in an unfortunate, embarrassing sense not intended by the title of the book in question. Ours sometimes seems to be the century of the common man in a pathetic and perilous sense, a sense pathetic for mankind, perilous for America, partly because of our apathy and indifference to those twins of inequity-communism and crime; partly because of a prevailing standardization which tends to level all values, accomplishments and interests in our civilization; partly because of an emphasis on least common denominators of belief and of worth which tends to discount those differences which impel to greater virtue and more lofty vision; partly because of some of the less attractive byproducts of our honest democratic effort to lift the level of the inferior and the underprivileged, sometimes with the unnecessary but frequent reduction of the superior to a common general average, ours has become the century of the common man in a sense which no one who loves faith or freedom would possibly wish.

It is good when common men are given every means and opportunity to rise to greater heights of excellence and achievement. But it is not good when the common becomes the norm of excellence and accomplishment, when the man of uncommon ability is resented and the person of uncommon performance is perpetually cut down to size. It is best for our traditions of faith and our institutions of freedom when citizens are inspired to seek uncommon heroism and uncommon stature, to avoid the merely common and to aspire after that which is more noble, more truly humane, and more nearly divine.

A century of literally common men would be a disaster for civilization; our need, our urgent, compelling need at the moment is for uncommon men, men of uncommon devotion to the highest and best, the uncommon spiritual ideals and civic objectives.

When did Americans have it for their ambition to be common men? Which of the Hebrew prophets held out to their hearers the dull dream of becoming a common people among the nations of the earth? What Christian, mindful of the heroism of his Christ, the magnificence of his saints, the hopes of his martyrs, would settle for the mediocre dignity of a merely common man? Everything authentic and of value in our tradition, religious and political, spiritual and democratic, impels us to covet the tribute "he nothing common did or mean"; everything truly human in us prompts even least gifted of us to seek to excel-to attain to uncommon excellence, however common the means at hand to accomplish our noblest aspirations.

We Americans would find depressing the prospect of a century of common men. However poor, however handicapped, however limited in nature or grace we may sometimes be, our ideal has always been, must always be, to achieve uncommon excellence and to lift to uncommon well-being those less fortunate than we. The common must always leave us unsatisfied, particularly in what pertains to the service and perfection of the human person; the need is for uncommon men, not common men, and our every emphasis in religion, civil life, and education must be on how to meet that need.

Our need for uncommon men-men of uncommon vision, uncommon integrity, uncommon loyalty-arises from circumstances within the national community and without Within the national community, crime and communism are on the march and it is time for uncommon men to do something about them. The trend toward standardization in education and socialism in economic and social theory has been accompanied by a leveling away from uncommon initiative, uncommon zeal and uncommon pride in the job uncommonly well done. This has not been good for civilization; it has not been good for democracy, especially when it has all but turned mediocrity, apathy and common standards of performance into the norms of worth. It will call for uncommon courage, extraordinary boldness on the part of the generation coming up to dispel the civic indifference and moral neutralism which are comfortable enough for the common, but which prevent the uncommon greatness that America needs so badly-and expects of each of us.

But our need for uncommon men is dictated even more definitley and imperatively by circumstances outside the national community, though with dangerous influences reaching deep into the national life. The dangers which threaten faith and freedom. as Americans cherish these blessings, are by no means ordinary; our perils are uncommonly powerful and uncommonly great.
They require much more than ordinary alertness to recognize them, much more than common courage to face them and to vanquish them. World communism even more than communism in America is no common nuisance, no ordinary menace. It is uncommon in the magnitude of its evil; it demands uncommon men, not men of common intelligence and loyalty, men of heroic stature and resolution to penetrate and overcome its

The Communist Party in the United States is so small in its present numbers that it seems hardly visible to the naked eye. But only a fool supposed that it is merely a commonplace menace to our security. It is the greatest threat to our survival as a nation of free men. Fortunately for America and the world, the Federal Bureau of Investigation functions on the realistic premise that the danger of Communist intrigue is greater than ever, precisely because of the uncommon dedication, cunning and capacity for damage of the hardcore Communists who remain at work in America-and fortunately the FBI is prepared to offer uncommon qualities of the intellectual, moral, personal and organized kind needed to give America no ordinary, but uncommon protection against those who would destroy her.

Such uncommon devotion, in men of uncommon loyalty and discipline, is in the tradition of the FBI since the days of its reorganization in 1924. This Federal Bureau has met with uncommon diligence and uncommon might of the underworld on the front of crime within our borders; it has met with uncommon, resolute daring the extraordinary resources and ruthlessness of communism during the evil days before, during and since World War II. It has been frankly selective, unashamedly discriminating and exclusive in its selection and training of candidates for its service. It has been impatient with common motivation or common moral character in its personnel, because of an intense awareness that none but the best are adequate to defend faith and freedom against the worst, that none but the uncommonly strong can be trusted against the uncommonly brutal. The FBI represents America's uncommon response to the need for uncommon men to meet the uncommon menace of communism and crime to the national security.

The Bureau has achieved its uncommon prestige because of the uncommon character

to run it.

of the disciplined, dedicated, devoted Director who has just completed 35 years of uncommon service to a nation he dearly loves and the gratitude of which he so greatly deserves. Mr. J. Edgar Hoover was no common man of common promise when, at the age of 29, he took charge of the Federal Bureau of Investigation under President Calvin Coolidge. With uncommon speed and efficiency, he cleaned out the incompetent, the men of common capacity and character—and staffed this supremely important branch of government service with men who stood out as uncommon in that "good moral character" which he made the esesential qualification for his department. His career of uncom-mon trust under five Presidents of both parties is no common achievement, and his contribution to the good order of his country and its secure stability has been made with uncommon dignity and uncommon devotion to duty. He has given living proof that a Government agency can be run with uncommon probity and results, despite the smears of a few very common people—if an uncom-mon man of his caliber is given the chance

You, the latest graduates of the FBI National Academy, to whom I am privileged to speak under these solemn circumstances today, have the high vocation-the uncommon calling-of perpetuating the uncommon standards of resolute righteousness which have become the proud tradition of the FBI. As students of this academy, you have gained added knowledge of the crimes and criminals of our Nation, costing us more than \$20 billion a year and constantly increasing at the appalling rate of about 8 percent annually. You have been trained to crack the stone walls that have protected organized gangsters and created an underworld of evil that seems at times to be more powerful than the Government itself. Fortified with a knowledge and training similar to that given the agents of the FBI, you are now equipped to train others, as well as to cope with the subtle methods and modern techniques of professional lawbreakers. While congratulating you on the successful completion of your courses at the national academy, I salute you as law enforcing officers of uncommon promise, uncommon importance to the American people.

Let others be content with common love for America, ordinary interest in its well-being, mediocre pride in its institutions, commonplace contributions to its goodness and its greatness. But you are not members of the age of the common man; you are the guardians, uncommon in your courage and competence of all that our heroes; refusing to be common men, made possible—all that our sons and younger brothers need to make them not common men, but men in your pattern of uncommon manliness, patriotism, and integrity. May God, with uncommon grace and favor, bless you one and all and be with you amid all the dangers of your uncommon vocation.

The Last Veteran and Tobacco

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN L. McMILLAN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an article from the Charlotte Observer, Charlotte, N.C., April 28, 1959, concern-

ing the last of that heroic group who wore the blue or the gray, who still likes his tobacco:

LAST OF THE VETERANS: HE LIKES TOBACCO MILD, MUSIC LOUD

HOUSTON, TEX.—Walter Williams, the last of nearly four million men who fought in the Civil War, likes his chewing tobacco mild and his hillbilly music loud.

Williams, 116, frequently turns down food but frets if his tobacco isn't handy and the flavor just right. He also wants his coffee on schedule, at 5 a.m.

The frail, blind, bedridden Confederate veteran is recovering nicely from a flareup of an old aliment.

The flareup came only 2 weeks after he learned that the March 16 death of John Salling, 112, at Kingsport, Tenn., had made him the last living link with the Civil War.

A daughter, Mrs. Willie Mae Bowles, turned down the radio that was blaring western music.

"Are you asleep?" she shouted.

Without opening his eyes, Williams shook his head.

"Scratch my head," he said. The daughter scratched the back of the head and smoothed down the white hair.

"Give me a chew of tobacco and stir up the music," he said.

- Mrs. Bowles turned up the volume of the radio, full force. The small radio is on top of the big pillow, attached to the head of the hospital type bed so it will not tumble down on the former Confederate forage master.

Williams dozed off again.

"The medicine he has to take every time that old ailment acts up makes him drowsy all the time," Mrs. Bowles said. "He sleeps most of the time anyway, but he's not quite as alert when he has to take the medicine."

The old soldier normally requires no medication, although he is checked each week by a doctor and receives vitamin shots every Tuesday and Friday.

#### Anniversary of the Death of Khristo Botev

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, there have been many great leaders who fought and gave their lives for the cause of freedom and liberty, and who are not as well known to the people of the free world as they should be. Many leaders who have left their memorable legacy in their homelands and among their own

ples.

Among such gifted, resourceful, daring, and liberty-loving men Khristo Botev of Bulgaria ranks high.

people are hardly known to other peo-

As a matter of fact this doughty defender of oppressed Bulgarians and defiant challenger of the Ottoman regime in the Balkans was one of the truly great champions of freedom in 19th century Bulgarian history. As a writer as well as a fighter, in his youth he became a leader of the Bulgarian people in their fight for freedom. Though he lost his life in his youth in the bloody massacres

perpetrated by the Turks in 1876, 83 years ago, today all Bulgarians of whatever persuasion pay homage to his memory.

I am glad to join Americans of Bulgarian descent in paying my respects to the memory of this great fighter for freedom, the immortal Khristo Botev of Bulgaria.

#### The Eban Chapter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, a little more than a week ago, Ambassador Abba Eban left the United States on the start of his return journey to Israel. After outstanding service at the United Nations, he was appointed Ambassador to the United States 8½ years ago. His deep intelligence and integrity, his poise and tact gave dignity and forcefulness to his representation of this new born democracy in the Middel East.

He returns to Israel to continue his impressivel ife of public service. He is to become the president of the Weizmann Institute of Science and will run for Parliament.

Many fine tributes have been paid to this outstanding diplomat, teacher, and statesman. In the May 15 issue of Near East Report, published here in Washington twice monthly and edited by two foremost authorities in the field, I. L. Kenen and Allen Lesser, there appeared an excellent commendatory article on Ambassador Eban entitled "The Eban Chapter."

The article sets forth sweep of his life, his philosophy, and his faith. I thought that it was so outstanding that it should be brought to the attention of all Members of Congress.

The article follows:

THE EBAN CHAPTER .

Twelve years ago this month, a 32-yearold English Zionist who had been a Cambridge don and a major in the British Army in Egypt and Palestine came to Lake Success to join the Jewish Agency delegation. Shy and aloof, he buried himself in the preparation of the case for Jewish statehood.

A few months later he was in Palestine and then Geneva as liaison between the Jewish Agency and UNSCOP, the special committee which later was to recommend partition. Memorandums and pamphlets poured from his speeding pen. He traveled with the U.N. delegates, met their questions, and won their confidence and understanding.

In early 1948, the unborn state of Israel was struggling to come to life. As the mandatory regime retired from Palestine leaving the country in disorder, Arab irregulars moved in. The Jewish Agency pleaded for Security Council intervention to implement the U.N. partition resolution. The Eban briefs massed evidence of Arab aggression and British nonfeasance. Unable to meet the crisis, the U.N. Security Council abdi-

cated, prepared to abandon the partition plan, and to retreat into the shelter of a temporary trusteeship. And now the Eban oratory suddenly burst upon the U.N. scene. He had written a devastating critique of the trusteeship proposal. For the first time he presented his tract in person.

U.N. diplomats, attachés, reporters were awed and overwhelmed by this unprecedented address, at once symmetrical in grace

and withering in polemic.

A surprised Jewish Agency press officer wrily recalled that he had refused to schedule Eban on radio because he cannot speak.

An annoyed U.N. correspondent, searching through the glittering cascade of Eban's rounded phrases for the lead of his story, fretted: "He makes three words do the work of one."

"You mean 1,000," his neighbor amended. That was 11 years ago. Three days after Israel was proclaimed, Eban took his place in the U.N. Security Council as Israel's official representative, to accuse Arabs of aggression. One year later—10 years ago this week—he wrote around the clock and delivered a monumental address calling for Israel's admission to the U.N. Eight and a half years ago, he assumed an additional responsibility. He came to Washington to serve as Israel's Ambassador as well as its U.N. delegate. Now, at the end of a dozen years, Eban is going back to Israel, his multipurpose mission completed,

#### HIS FAREWELL TOUR

Within recent weeks he has spoken many times in major cities, bidding farewell to tens of thousands of Americans who came to honor him not only as his people's advocate but as a statesman who has had an impact on the development of a rational policy for the free world in the turbulent Near Fast.

He has lifted the United States-Israel dialog from the narrow ruts of day-to-day protocol. The restoration of Israel in 1948 was not a casual incident. It was an epochal response by the international community to a moral imperative. Strategic considerations and power politics had little to do with it. Indeed, some have said that in the powerdriven and power-paralyzed world of 1959. the decision might have gone differently. He has worked to maintain United States-Israel relations within the realm of high moral purpose: two peoples, one small and one so large; two lands, one so tiny and the other so vast; and yet both nations of pioneers, both "imperishably dedicated to democracy as the highest expression of human personality."

He exalts Israel's mission, and he appeals to reason to deepen dedication. Those who have labored to aid Israel as she struggles to resettle immigrants and to restore her arid and eroded soils are exhilarated and stimulated to higher levels of endeavor. By his unique ability to bring emotion and rationality into harmonious balance, Eban bestows dignity and majesty on their joint undertaking.

He is a master of language. He has English, French, Hebrew, Persian, Arabic, and he now betters his Spanish by studying a translation of his U.N. speeches. His sparse leasure notes testify to a retentive memory; his manuscripts reveal the compulsions of a perfectionist; he is always challenged to edit himself in the search for words that are at once more gracious and precise. Ideas, faithfully arrayed and forcefully expressed, can have an irresistible impact on They can demolish hostility, surmount obstacles, reverse retreat into advance, as Eban's speeches have shown. He has gentle wit, acrid sarcasm. He has, to quote the Washington Post, "mobilized the English language and sent it into battle in defense of Israel."

#### DEST TO THE U.N.

Many times in these 12 years, Israel's friends in the United States have been dis-

appointed and disturbed by the failure to attain an Arab-Israel peace. They find it hard to understand why the U.N. and the free world appear unable to end the conflict. The international community has seemed to condone Arab aggression against Israel by falling to enforce the U.N. Charter, which requires all U.N. members to keep the peace. And sometimes, it has seemed to Israel's supporters, there has been a double moral standard both at the U.N. and in Washington, which coddles Arab aggression against Israel and censures Israel's reply.

Ambassador Eban's farewell addresses have done much to sweep away these doubts. He recalls the adoption of the U.N. partition resolution, the U.N. truce and armistice, Israel's admission to the U.N., the U.N. decision condemning Egypt's blockade of the Suez Canal in 1951, the U.N. arrangement in 1957 to bring serenity to Israel's frontiers and to free Israel's shipping through Aqaba. If the U.N. has, at times, seemed to "alienate itself from its responsibilities for Israel's security and freedom," Ambassador Eban is deeply convinced that Israel "has gained far more from the U.N. than it has lost in moments disappointment and frustration."

#### UNITED STATES-ISRAEL RELATIONS

He has done much to revolutionize American thinking on United States-Israel relations. Conflict always captures headlines; agreements are buried on inside pages. Many people have come to believe that sharp differences between America and Israel are inevitable. Arab propagandists would create a conflict between the United States and Israel. And Israel's friends, troubled by the continuing Arab war against Israel, often tend to interpret deviation in opinion as convulsive conflict.

#### PAST CONFLICTS

There have been differences between the United States and Israel. Students of the period will recall four major crises. One was in 1947 before Israel was established, when State Department experts at the U.N. prematurely retreated from the partition resolution; there was the pressure on Israel in 1949 to make concessions to the Arabs which the Israelis regarded as fatal to their secur-There was the crisis in the winter of 1955-56, when Israel was alarmed over the Soviet arms shipments to Egypt and was unable to get the arms she needed. There was the Sinal conflict of 1957, when the Arabs demanded sanctions against Israel unless she withdrew unconditionally from Sinal.

But these peaks of controversy are leveled in the perspective of Eban's dispassionate review. He places emphasis not on conflict but on agreement. He hails America as Israel's "oldest, most constant and authentic friend." He recalls that America supported the partition plan in 1947; that the United States was the first to recognize Israel in 1948 in her hour "of solitude and peril"; that she urged others to do the same; that the United States championed Israel's admission into the U.N. in 1949; that the United States joined with the United Kingdom and France in the tripartite declaration in 1950, promising to resist any effort to change the U.N. armistice frontiers by forcible means; that the United States began a massive program of economic aid to Israel in 1951, which has continued undiminished until the present moment; that the United States supported Israel in 1951 in condemning the Egyptian blockade of the Suez Canal; that the United States was the first to proclaim and practice the freedom of the seas on the Straits of Tiran and the Gulf of Aqaba.

He enlarges on the effect of this last decision, which was originally projected in the Dulles memorandum of February 11, 1957. Freedom of navigation in Aqaba enabled Israel to establish new links of trade and cooperation with Africa and Asia. For now Israel has become in fact, no longer in

theory, a pilot plant for democracy in Asia and Africa. New nations send their emissaries to Israel to examine "the mystical union between economic dynamism and polical freedom, under circumstances similar to their own and achieved without the abundance of the United States."

For if Israel, merely by the power of her example, can guide these nations "to resist the allurements of tyranny," she will have performed a mission in the service to freedom and she may be entered high on the balance sheet of the assets of the free world.

The Israel Ambassador is appreciative of the fact that the Western World is now alert to Israel's security needs. The arms embargoes are ended. He welcomes the American doctrine that the territorial integrity and political independence of the States of the Near East is a vital interest of the United States. He remembers that in 1957 the United States resisted those who were demanding territorial concessions at Israel's expense. He concedes that Jerusalem and Washington do not always see alike." But he pays tribute to the unprecedented harmony which exists in the relations of the two Governments and is carried "on deep tides of public sentiment in both countries."

Ambassador Eban sees no prospect of peace "arising from sudden diplomatic initiative or debate." He spurns the suggestion that peace can be secured if Israel is forced to contract and the Arabs are enabled to expand. History has not dealt unkindly with the Arabs, he points out. Four decades ago, no Arabs lived in freedom. Now they have 11 Arab States, in an expanse of 4 million square miles and with a population of 50 million, with great rivers of water and oil. In contrast, Israel has 8,000 square miles and 2 million people. If the Arabs feel they have been ill-treated, Ambassador Eban is ready to exchange places.

Nevertheless, Ambassador Eban is an optimist. He is convinced an Arab-Israel peace must come. There was a time when Israel's friendships were concentrated in Europe. But now "it is respectable to recognize Israel." Some 70 nations have done so. Today the Arabs are "isolated in nonrecognition." Israel's last victory showed that "he who tries to push Israel into the seas ends up in the sands." And Ambassador Eban believes that if serenity can be preserved and there is a long period of tranquility, "thoughtful Arab minds will awaken to the fact of Israel's permanence and will abandon their unjust and useless hostility." For there is no outstanding issue which cannot be resolved.

Ambassador Eban returns to Israel to become the President of the Weizmann Institute of Science. He will run for Parliament, as a member of the Mapai Party, and if that party continues to lead the coalition, it is logical to expect that he will be concerned with Israel's foreign policy. In that role, he would remain faithful to his conviction that a strong United States-Israel friendship is important to both democracies and to the cause of freedom everywhere.

America Is Dividing up the Goose That Has Kept Us Supplied With Golden Eggs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON, ROBERT W. HEMPHILL

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-

ORD, I include the following editorial from the Lancaster News, Lancaster, S.C., of May 28, 1959:

[From the Lancaster News of May 28, 1959] OFF THE RECORD

When it comes to looking after our best interests, the United States is the most fouled-up Nation in the world. When we were selfish economic royalists, we built up a prosperous, competitive economy that was the admiration and envy of every nation. We inherited world leadership because we knew how to make, sell, and deliver. Twice we threw this tremendous energy into world conflict and twice we turned the tide in favor of right and justice.

Now we are embarrassed because we have so much in comparison with the hundreds of millions of backward peoples who have so little. Because our conscience is hurting us, we want to share our prosperity with everybody on our side of the democracy-vs.-Com-

munist line.

Let's take a simple illustration of the very real danger in our current world attitude. At a recent meeting of big department store buyers two men's suits were displayed. One was the top product of a big name Amerlcan manufacturer. The other, selling for one-third the price, was a Japanese copy. These expert buyers were invited to say which was which and none could tell the difference.

No one got excited. Imported Jap-manufactured men's suits are just a drop in the bucket. Two years ago Jap cotton textiles were just a drop in the bucket. But the existence in a slow market of even a small quantity of half-price offerings was enough to wreck prices and push-low-profit mills into bankruptcy.

Let's say these were old, out-moded mills like the Victoria in Rock Hill. They couldn't compete. When someone came along with a cheaper product they had to fold. all right. We understand this in the United States. If you can't make it cheaper or

better you're out of business.

But we play this game according to set rules. The Government controls the price of raw materials, sets minimum wages and regulates competition. And unions come along with industry-wide standards no employer can ignore. These are the ground rules and they still leave room for some flexibility.

The South steals industries from the North by offering better production per manhour. The North goes into more highly skilled manufacture of new products. Detroit attracts semiskilled agricultural workers to its assembly lines with higher wages. Farmers turn to machines to replace their labor. John L. Lewis and his miners price coal too high and natural gas suppliers take over. Steel workers achieve the highest wages in any industry and pre-stressed concrete, laminated wood and substitute products begin to replace steel.

This is the pattern of a stable economy. We heal our sores, patch up our broken bones and go on to maintain a high standard of living. But we are embarrassed because our system works so well. No other nation has been able to achieve our prosperity so we decide to change the rules.

Our first move was to supply all our lends with American dollars. We called friends with American dollars. We called this foreign aid and the net result was twice-spent dollars, once for nothing and once for real, but worth only half as much as the taxpayers put up. Now we call it inflation and wonder why a dollar outside the United States will buy a dollar's worth of gold when a dollar in this country is only worth 50 cents in silver.

Our diminishing gold reserves show clearly that there is danger in this. But this danger is mild compared with the determination of the do-gooders of the U.S. State and Commerce Departments to share our prosperity still further by opening every domestic market in foreign competition.

Even the Japs are astounded. The Japanese embassy in Washington, mindful of the spontaneous boycott 2 years ago of that nation's cotton textiles, has cautioned the manufacturers of men's clothing in Japan to use restraint in rushing their products to America.

Thus, we have it. The Japs urging restraint in frank recognition of the limited capacity of U.S. markets to absorb lowwage imports while Washington fiddles with one-world theories of equal opportunity for

Neither Karl Marx nor his sidekick, Engels, would have dared predict that a triumphant America could have become so bemused with socialistic ideals that her own best interests would be forgotten. Yet, that is what has happened. America is denying a system that has made it great.

If, at this late date, Congress cannot understand that the American standard of living is high, protected wages versus the products of cheap labor, then there is no hope for our continued prosperity. We are dividing up the goose that has kept us supplied with golden eggs.

#### Discrimination in Housing Projects

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. HUGH J. ADDONIZIO

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. ADDONIZIO. Mr. Speaker, the New Jersey Committee Against Discrimination in Housing has sent the following letter to the Federal Housing Commissioner with respect to discrimination in housing projects in violation of the New Jersey law against discrimination.

We in New Jersey are proud of our fine record in advancing the cause of equal rights for all citizens. We are deeply concerned about this flagrant disregard of our laws and sentiments, and I join with the committee in urging the Commissioner to act promptly to protect the rights of our New Jersey citizens.

The letter reads as follows:

NEW JERSEY COMMITTEE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING, Newark, N.J., June 2, 1959.

Mr. JULIAN H. ZIMMERMAN,

Commissioner, Federal Housing Administration, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. ZIMMERMAN: The New Jersey Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, a committee of 42 organizations representing a large segment of the population in New Jersey, has been much concerned over the challenge to our New Jersey public policy with respect to discrimination in housing on the part of William J. Levitt and several other builders who have deliberately flaunted our law against discrimination and particularly the 1957 amendment which states, there shall be no discrimination in publicly assisted housing accommodation, any part of which is financed by a loan guaranteed by an agency of the Federal Government.

Their challenge to the law has not only been in practice, but they have sought through litigation, to prevent the New Jersey Division Against Discrimination from holding hearings with respect to complaints that they are discriminating in the sale of housing in violation of our law. This challenge has proceeded through our courts and shortly an opinion of the appellate division of our superior court will be rendered. We are looking forward to an opinion of the courts which will deny the claim of these

builders that the law against discrimination does not apply to them.

In anticipation of that ruling, we urge that you and members of your administration develop plans with respect to commitments for guarantees of mortgages in the case of building projects and operative builders against which there may be a ruling upholding the applicability of our law.

We are certain that the Federal Government, through your agency, will not assist any persons in a process in which they have evidenced in public statements or otherwise their intention to discriminate, in violation of the New Jersey law against discrimination. Our purpose in this letter is to request that you develop those procedures so that they may go into effect if and as soon as the Appellate Division rules that the challenged law against discrimination constitutional and applicable to operative builders such as Levitt and Sons and others.

We are taking the liberty of writing to you on this matter in the hope that TOU will undertake to fulfill what we consider to be a commitment from your predecessor,

Mr. Mason.

We have a sense of urgency because of the fact that much time has elapsed since the original complaints have been made and the present. Speedy administration will be of great value in seeing to it that the rights of our citizens in New Jersey are protected.

We are forwarding a copy of this letter to the Attorney General and members of the

New Jersey delegation in Congress.

Sincerely yours, Dr. IRVINE L. H. KERRISON, Chairman.

#### Capital Punishment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

#### HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, on January 7, 1959, I introduced my bill, H.R. 870 which if enacted would abolish the death penalty under all laws of the United States except the Uniform Code of Military Justice and would authorize the imposition of life imprisonment in lieu thereof.

In this connection, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following statement of the New York Board of Rabbis as it appeared on their agenda for State legislation, 1959.

#### CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

"Vengeance is mine sayeth the Lord," and therefore it is not within the power of fall-ible man to pass judgment of life and death on his brother. Experience has shown in some of our sister States, in the United Kingdom and the State of Israel that the index of capital crime has not risen by reason of the discontinuance of the death penalty. We therefore urge a moratorium of 5 years on the imposition of the death penalty in the State of New York and that during this period the matter be subjected to earnest and careful study. We further urge that monies be appropriated to heighten the work of the State's rehabilitation agencies toward the reformation of those who have been found guilty of violating the penal statutes.

# Free Market Only Answer to U.S. Farm Surpluses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. R. WALTER RIEHLMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES .

Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. RIEHLMAN. Mr. Speaker, it is becoming more evident each day that we just can't solve the economic ills of agriculture by legislation. We have tried since 1929 to provide a farm program which would give the farmer parity of income with the remainder of society. We have used schemes of all kinds—including planned scarcity, price supports at high levels, compensatory payments, disposal programs, and a myriad of other proposals. They just haven't worked out. The farmer is relatively no better off today than he was in 1929 and he is probably worse off because his very freedom has been taken from him.

Secretary Benson has made great efforts to stabilize the farmers' income and yet at the same time restore his basic freedom to sow and reap. In 6 years, the Secretary has tried to reverse the effect of 30 years of tinkering with our economic system. He has made some progress, but it has been slow. It has been slow because our agricultural planners are willing to control out of existence in order to give the farmer a high price for his product. This is fallacious, because the high price the farmer receives for his product means nothing if he doesn't have volume.

Inevitably we will get back to the free market concept where the free seller and free buyer will be the only factors in determining commodity prices and production levels. Then, and only then, will the farmer's problems be solved. An exceedingly pointed editorial on this subject appeared in the Chicago Daily News recently, and I should like to include it at this point:

EVERYTHING ELSE A FAILURE—FREE MARKET ONLY ANSWER TO U.S. FARM SURPLUSES

Remember 'way back when your Congressman would send you a free assortment of garden seeds for the asking? 'We can't recall what cynical defense was made for this handout. Doubtless it was to encourage healthful exercise. What it really was, in the simple ways of those days, was an inexpensive bid—at public expense—for your vote.

This infant aid to agriculture makes a fine illustration of the growth of a Government program. We have progressed through farm boards, the "ever-normal granary," and Agricultural Adjustment Act to a price-support program under which the Government now holds \$8 billion worth of surplus commodities

Agitation is again underway for the next step. That is the proposal to pay farmers directly, out of the Treasury, the difference between the prices they receive on a free market and the "fair" price established by Congress, The best description of this plan so far has come from Charles B. Shuman, president of the American Farm Bureau Federation. He calls it the prelude to a licensed peasantry on American farms.

Mr. Shuman's organization speaks with a powerful voice, but there is no assurance that individual farmers will reject the chance to have a federally guaranteed income.

The rebellious Stanley Yankus drew plenty of criticism for his refusal to collect a bonus for falling to grow wheat. A group of Wisconsin farmers announced their intention to retire on the payments for placing their acres in the soil bank.

Doubtless it is the recognition that all the control and price-support schemes have been costly failures that now sparks the search for a new formula. Politically, it would have the merit of ladling out the money for the years necessary to demonstrate its futility.

The income-payment scheme also has the backing of some groups which see in it the possibility of lower market prices, with their food bills indirectly subsidized by the payments to farmers. This seeming advantage would be far outweighed by the taxes required to support the plan.

Actually, any plan for artificially increasing farm incomes must be tied to production, unless we want to elevate farmers to the status of an idle aristocracy. But any payments tied to production will automatically increase output, and with it the total of the subsidy.

Experience has shown that Congress can neither order nor bribe agriculture to become prosperous for all who would like to engage in it. If some sense is ever to come out of the situation, it must start toward the only plan that has ever worked—a free market.

# The Spirit Lives On

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, I should like to include in the Appendix to the RECORD an excellent article, by David Lawrence, on one of the great Secretaries of State in our history, the Hon. John Foster Dulles:

THE SPIRIT LIVES ON (By David Lawrence)

The accolades have been bestowed and the eulogies have been spoken. The tasks performed by the departed have been delegated to an able successor. What concerns us now is whether the eminent statesman who has been lost to the free world has left an enduring legacy.

The fame of John Foster Dulles spread to the four corners of the earth because he was an indomitable fighter for a great cause. He was brave in life and braver still as, with a full awareness of his fate, he approached the brink of death.

It is our duty now to examine carefully the legacy of moral principle which he bequeathed to us. For he strove indefatigably to spare the peoples of the world another big war. He was maligned as inflexible because he would not compromise with evil. He was denounced as too rigid because he refused to bow to the deceptive wiles of an unscrupulous adversary. But he invariably tried every resource of argument and every formula of honorable ad-

justment in order to achieve acceptance of a simple truth—that peoples must be free to work out their own destiny and that military force must be renounced as the sole means of settling international disnutes.

Mr. Dulles believed in personal diplomacy. He tried with all the earnestness and sincerity of spoken words to overcome face to face the handicaps of long-range communication—the cumbersome language of instruction to faraway Ambassadors.

In an age of air travel, the American Secretary felt it would take relatively little of his time to maintain personal contact with high officials of other governments, and he didn't worry about the critics who said he was away from Washington too much. On accepting the post, Mr. Dulles explained to President Eisenhower why he believed in frequent missions overseas. He urged that he not be required to administer the details of his large department. As it turns out, a competent staff—from which the new Secretary of State was chosen—is still functioning today as it has in the past during the absences of Mr. Dulles.

But it is no criticism of the viewpoint which Mr. Dulles held to say that the multiple problems that he handled would appear to be too much for any one man. It would have been better if there could have been established, inside the Department of State, a council of five outstanding men to function without administrative duties but concerned primarily with the broad principles of foreign policy. Such a plan was outlined on this page on Nov. 14, 1952. The problem deserves anew the careful attention of the Congress and the administration.

The world is fortunate that Mr. Dulles was able to carry the load so well. He could do so only because he derived added vigor from his unswerving confidence in the rightness of the principles he espoused. God gives inspired men extra strength to fight the battles of mankind.

The essence of the Dulles philosophy in foreign policy was that morality must triumph over unmorality, that a surrender to expediency can only lead to eventual disaster. He was ever mindful of how the paths of appeasement let to two World Wars. He saw no merit in cringing before the enemy or in taking any steps that could be construed as weak or irresolute. He believed that, to avoid war, it is necessary to risk war. On this he never deviated, though the cynics ridiculed his willingness to take risks as mere "brinkmanship."

Nor did Mr. Dulles ever 'allow material considerations to sway him. His hardest decision undoubtedly was his recommendation that the United States publicly disapprove of the British-French policy in the attempted seizure of Suez by force in 1956. For this, he has never been forgiven in certain quarters in London and Paris where resentments still rankle. But the courageous application of a principle against friend and foe alike is a mark of true morality itself.

To withhold diplomatic recognition, moreover, from the regime in Peking required a heroic determination and an unflinching devotion to principle. Too many people have been ready to forgive Red China's aggression and accept criminal rulers into respectable society, endowing them with a prestige they do not deserve.

Are we who remain behind willing and ready to carry the banner that John Foster Dulles held aloft and, irrespective of political party, put moral values above the passion for material gain and ephemeral comforts that so often present such alluring alternatives in dealing with world affairs? Or are we to forsake ideals because that is seemingly the easier way?

The spirit of America has always been consecrated, on the battlefield and elsewhere.

to the attainment of unselfish ends-that liberty and freedom might be enshrined throughout the world. This was the spirit that Mr. Dulles breathed throughout his whole career. This is the spirit which will live on because it was and is the spirit that from the birth of the Republic has guided the American people in war and in peace.

# Who Will Be the Next President of the United States?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

# HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 27, 1959

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, I take great pleasure in calling to the attention of my colleagues in the House a very fine editorial from the Jackson, (Miss.) State Times which discusses the question "Who Will Be the Next President of the United States?"

I think this is a particularly enlightening editorial, and will be to many Members of the House. It contains jus-tifiable accolades for Vice President Nixon who, in my opinion, has been one of the most effective and one of the greatest Vice Presidents in the history of the country. Eight very sound arguments in favor of the Vice President's nomination and election to the Presidency are propounded in the editorial and they certainly deserve, as is suggested by the editorial, the serious consideration and deliberation on the part of the people of this country:

WHO WILL BE THE NEXT PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES?

(By Oliver Emmerich)

As the political situation stands today it appears that Vice President Nixon will be the next President of the United States.

Now hold your fire. This is neither a recommendation of the Republicans nor a de-

nunciation of the Democrats.

This editor was one of the Mississippi delegates who walked out of the National Democratic Convention in Philadelphia in 1948. He has been a delegate or alternate delegate to five or six different Democratic conventions from this State.

Our reasons for making the statement regarding Nixon are here presented. They are controversial and our readers can decide for themselves whether or not they hold up by

the side of logic and fact.

In politics no one knows what will happen tomorrow. We can only judge tomorrow's events in the light of today's circumstances.

First, Vice President Nixon has the Republican organization almost solidly behind him. It is obvious that the Republicans are striving to present a solid front. There is a movement in Republican circles to discourage opposition so that solidarity may be a factor in the Republican campaign.

Second, Vice President Nixon is the first man in U.S. history who has been particularly trained for the post of the presidency. President Eisenhower has consistently worked with his Vice President as though he wanted to be certain that in case of death a qualified man would succeed him. Thus for 7 years Nixon has been engaged in a training program for the presidency.

Third, the Democrats have many leaders who covet the Presidency. These leaders dif-fer in political philosophies. Different seg-ments of the party hold that their respective leaders are the strongest politically. One segment insists that Mr. Stevenson will again be the nominee. Others respectively espouse the cause of Hubert Humphrey, Lyndon JOHNSON, JOHN KENNEDY, and STUART SYM-The field is also open for dark-INGTON. horse candidates.

The Democrats lack solidarity. The indications point to growing division because of the varied degrees of liberalism within

the party.

Fourth, the Democrats have shown by recent reactions to circumstances that they are sorely in need of political issues. was revealed in the Democrats reaction to the threat of recession. Democratic leaders advocated large spending programs. It was revealed again in their reaction to the problem of unemployment. Time seems to have solved both of these emergencies without the need of added billions in Government spending. The effort to find a political issue has also been revealed in the Demorcatic Party's aggressive fidelity to the civil-rights program and in Democratic Chairman Paul Butler's insult to the people of the South.

Fifth, the Republicans have a platform. They are not frustrated by a lack of issues. They have capitalized upon the need of considering fiscal problems. The President has advocated balancing the budget. They have given at least lip service to the lessening of deflicit financing, curtailment of Federal spending. They have evinced less hostility to private business.

Important today in the minds of many people are the fiscal facts of national life and the Republicans have established their

platform in this field of thinking.

Sixth, the people of the United States have indicated that they find some satisfaction in maintaining Democratic leadership in Congress and Republican leadership in the White House. It is a means of slowing down progress, yet many Americans feel that it is an added means of checks and balances.

Seventh, political fortunes are often made by circumstances. The people of the United States have indicated that there are three things they want-peace, prosperity, and progress.

Today the country has peace, enjoys prosperity and has made progress.

How much of this is the result of Congress and how much is the result of White House leadership is a debatable question. But in the presidential election these three political elements of the moment will be accepted as achievements of the White House and hence will be used effectively by the Republicans in their campaign.

Eighth, earlier in his political life Nixon was regarded as an opportunist. It is generally agreed that he has applied himself during the past 7 years and has grown in

Recently in Washington he was the banquet speaker of the American Society of Newspaper Editors. His part on the program was to answer questions fired at him from an audience of more than 500 editors. He acquitted himself well, suggesting to the editors that he possessed an understanding of the acute problems confronting America.

Who will be the next president of the United States?

Obviously no one knows. However, these eight reasons suggesting that it might be Nixon, are offered to our readers for their deliberation.

In 6 months the political picture could be changed completely. But this is as it impresses us today.

# Address by Hon. Alf M. Landon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. WILLIAM H. AVERY

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, the following is an address given by the Honorable Alf M. Landon at the Rotary Club, Manhattan, Kans., May 28, 1959, in which he sets forth his comments on the Vice President's address before the Academy of Political Science. Mr. Landon discusses a very important topic in the field of international relations. It is one which should command the attention of each Member of Congress. The speech fol-

COMMENTS ON THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE U.S. ACADEMY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AD-

#### (By Hon. Alf M. Landon)

I speak today in the role I enjoy-that of objective discussion. Already the lines are forming in both parties behind the candidates for the presidential nomination in 1960. The bandwagons are being rolled out and painted and greased. The doing some preliminary tooting. The bands are

Senator John F. Kennedy evidently has deliberately timed his campaign unusually early to get out in front of the field. He probably will enter presidential primaries in more States than any other candidate. But it is interesting to note that Thomas E. Dewey carried more presidential primaries in 1940 than any other candidate-and yet was denied the nomination by the Republican Na-

tional Convention.

Senator Kennedy is the pacesetter and that strategy is forcing the other Democrat possibilities to start pushing their campaigns ahead of the normal time-except for Gov. Adlai Stevenson. Like an old pro in a 4mile race, he is letting the field set the early pace-saving his wind for the home stretch.

There is one fixed immutable law in politics. That is, the party in power is judged by the voters by whether times are good or

In the Republican Party the two obvious candidates, Vice President RICHARD C. NIXON and Gov. Nelson D. Rockefeller, of New York State, are following more customary strategy of not risking getting out too far in front at this stage of the preconvention campaign. But it is not too early for all of us to pay attention to the national candidates' positions on vital problems involving the life and death of our great and wonderful Republic.

The first of these is the next President's conception of our U.S. foreign policies. You and I are going to have the opportunities, come 1960, to have our say about what our country's foreign policies should be, and now is the time for discussion.

Come what may, there is no disagreement among Americans on standing pat on Berlin. Apparently the best that will come out of the Geneva Conference is more talking. And that was to be expected. As long as talks continue between Imperialist Soviet and the free countries there is hope of avoiding open war on a worldwide scale. History is full of agreements and treaties that were made and broken and made again. There was a time when England was called perfidious Albion.

Vice President Nixon has made what can be the most important fundamental and farreaching proposal involving a reversal in our

international policy.

On April 13, in New York City, Mr. Nixon said for himself and the administration, "the time has now come to take the initiative in the direction of establishment of the rule of law in the world to replace the rule of force" through the International Court of Justice at The Hague operating in the framework of the United Nations. That Court consists of judges representing the following 15 countries: Egypt, China, Australia, Greece, and Poland whose terms expire in 1967; France, Mexico, El Salvador, United Kingdom, and Argentina whose terms expire in 1964; Uruguay, United States, Norway, Pakistan, and U.S.S.R. whose terms expire in 1961.

Because of the attention centered on the Conference of Foreign Ministers attempting to lay the foundations for a peaceful settlement of the crucial Berlin situation, the Vice President's proposal has not attracted the attention it deserves. Any statement on public affairs by Mr. Nixon, the leading candidate for the Republican presidential nomination cannot be disregarded as just another speech. That is even more significant when he was presenting the administration's position on which the President's recommendations to the Congress would be forthcoming.

The question of whether greater resort to a World Court at this time is sound and desirable is a major one. It is somewhat of a nonpartisan one because Senator Hubert Humphrey has authored a resolution before the U.S. Senate to repeal what is commonly called the Connally amendment, by the former U.S. Senator-from Texas, that in effect reserves to the U.S. Government the right to determine what cases it will submit to what is generally called the World Court.

Mr. Nixon uses the words "modifying this reservation" in describing the forthcoming

Mr. Nixon uses the words "modifying this reservation" in describing the forthcoming changes in the national administration's policy with reference to the United States greater utilization of the International Court of Justice. But he does not say clearly and definitely what he means by "modify." In fact, what does he mean when he says:

"As the President indicated in his state of the Union message, it is time for the United States to reexamine its own position with regard to the Court. Clearly all disputes regarding domestic matters must remain permanently within the jurisdiction of our own courts. Only matters which are essentially international in character should be referred to the International Court. But the United States reserved the right to determine unilaterally whether the subject matter of a particular dispute is within the domestic jurisdiction of the United States and is therefore excluded from the jurisdiction of the Court. As a result of this position on our part, other nations have adopted similar reservations. This is one of the major reasons for the lack of judicial business before the Court.

"To remedy this situation the administration will shortly submit to the Congress recommendations for modifying this reservation. It is our hope that by our taking the initiative in this way, other countries may be persuaded to accept and agree to a wider jurisdiction of the International Court."

The first question that occurs to me is whether Mr. Nixon was loyally speaking only for the administration on the policy of modifying our world court position—or for himself as well. When he says, "Clearly all disputes regarding domestic matters must remain permanently within the jurisdiction of our courts"—the question arises who is going to determine what are or are not domestic matters.

Mr. Nixon is being widely quoted as favoring himself modifying the so-called Connally amendment that reserves to the U.S. Government the right to determine what are domestic matters—not subject to the jurisdiction of what is commonly called the world court.

Whether the Vice President—or the administration—is serious about changing the Senate resolution—known as the Connally amendment—to the U.S. ratification of the statute of the International Court of Justice—Mr. Nixon's address is being taken seriously by many.

There is quite a campaign on to get the Connally reservation repealed and thereby expecting to activate the world court that has been almost a nonentity. Quoting Mr. Nixon: "In its 12-year history an average of only two cases a year have come before the tribunal."

Our President has been talking in generalities about the world court. In his state of the Union message last January he said studies were going on about ways to utilize the Court.

Yet in a most justiciable case—President Nasser's —of Egypt—seizure and nationalization of the Suez Canal—our State Department made no attempt to get that case referred to the world court. And neither did the other countries involved.

Apparently our Allies are not interested at all in using the world court on policy issues of this nature.

France flatly stated that its hot potato— Algeria—is strictly a domestic matter and therefore outside the jurisdiction of the United Nations and world court.

When the United States attempted to cite the Soviet before the world court for shooting down an American military plane—thereby murdering its personnel—the Soviet declined to let the case go to the world court on the ground that it was within their domestic jurisdiction.

Therefore, it must be admitted that the Court of International Justice is at the present time practically a mere symbol of what it should be.

That does not mean that we should not be greatly interested in developing a world court in fact—instead of being content with a paper one—with a glittering facade—and empty interior.

Vice President Nixon used the word "reexamine" as well as "modifying" in describing his position and that of the administration future world court policy. I am all for that reexamine. But it should include our whole field of international relations.

There are highly important questions of international policy that must be pressed if the world court is to have a chance to function as it should.

Does the administration in its attempt to increase the greatly desirable independent adjudication of international agreements and disputes intend to propose to widen the jurisdiction of that court by including Red China? That would mean a reversal of our policy refusing to recognize the Government of that country and opposing its admission to the United Nations.

It is obvious that establishing a rule of law, equity, and justice in the world will require the inclusion of 600 million peoplethat is expected to exceed 1 billion by 1980—the first election for babies born this year. To leave out a country of that size would be as if the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of Kansas covered all the State except Wyandotte County.

A Court of International Justice has got to be just what the title says it is. Where you have a rule of law and order you have got to include all peoples—any single segment of mankind—which Red China is.

There is the question of what would the Court of International Law and Justice do with Premier Khrushchev or Premier Chou En-lai when they fiatly repudiate their agreements or run around in a circle of conflicting

statements. The contradictions in the Communist tyrants' statements are amazing and baffling.

Let me offer as the last witness on that point the great and most powerful noncommitted, leader in the world—Prime Minister Nehru, of India. Quoting from the Prime Minister's address to the Parliament of India a few weeks ago on Red China's doubletalk:

"When Premier Chou En-lai came here 2 or 3 years ago, he was good enough to discuss Tibet with me at considerable length. He told me that while Tibet had long been a part of the Chinese state, they did not consider Tibet as a province of China. Therefore, they consider Tibet an autonomous region which would enjoy autonomy. He told me further that It was absurd for anyone to imagine that China was going to force communism on Tibet.

"All I can say is that I have been greatly distressed at the tone of the comments and charges made against India. \* \* \* They have used the language of the cold war, regardless of truth and propriety. This is peculiarly distressing in a great nation with thousands of years of culture behind it, noted for its restrained and polite behavior. The charges made against India are so fantastic that I find it difficult to deal with them."

Countless people through the ages have dreamed of a world living under a rule of law, equity, and justice in international affairs. I think the free world has the degree of maturity that would enable it to comply with an independent court's decisions; but in view of their record, the Communist countries would not, unless it suited their avowed purpose of world conquest.

At the present their definite policy is to attempt to make their own law of force and the threat of force stick in every area and every part of the world, without the slightest base of public approval.

Until there is a basic change of that policy, I do not believe the free world can look for too much from an expanded jurisdiction of the World Court, either geographically or by removing statutory limitations.

Until the Sino-Soviet autocratic governments recognize the advantage to them of peaceful coexistence, it's too much like a game of one-o-cat with no umpires. Because the World Court cannot be an umpire in reality, unless there is some power to enforce its decisions. However, we must show the Sino-Soviet tyrants that we can survive and thrive in spite of them and beat them at every game they play.

While we are at this reexamine business, let our great and wonderful Republic go all the way in reviewing its foreign policy.

I believe it is to America's interest—and that of the free world—for the U.S. Government to vigorously support Spain's admission to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

That great nation is strategically located, with a strong and virile people, whose experience with communism was so tragic that Spanish people are definitely opposed to its bitter fruit.

As for Generalissimo Franco being a dictator suppressing democratic processes, one factor for sure exists—that is, both the Government and the Spanish people, from experience, from tradition, and from religion, are strongly opposed to communism.

That is our self-proclaimed enemy. Why concern our international policies with either the political, social, economic, or religious philosophy of any people who are as much involved—as we are—in the Communist threat to colonize them and bury them. We cannot afford the risk of being too choosey in picking friends and allies.

We should by all means reexamine our Middle Eastern policy with the Arab peoples. To them President Nasser is as much the father of his country-as Washington is to Americans

The President of the United Arah Republic has shown that he will not be pushed around by imperial Soviet-any more than he will be by any of the western democracies. In fact, President Nasser's policies are the most effective check to the Soviet attempt to reestablish colonial rule in the Middle East, Therefore, it is good sense for the United States to meet him half-way in working for the peaceful stabilization of the Middle East.

I believe these three policies-China, Spain, and Middle East-are more vital than our

world court policy.

The first step to strengthen the world court and broaden its jurisdiction by wiping out any and all unilateral reservations by all countries on what are or are not domestic matters. That first step must be taken in the broader field of international relations in order to make the Court successful as an independent adjudicating tribunal in international affairs.

The argument most used against a world court that could actually and in fact apply a rule of law is—that it whittles down our

national sovereignty.
Of course, it would. But that has been the trend since World War II-and it is going

to continue.

In 15 years we have gone a long way in participating in international organizations and subordinating our national sovereignty to collective security.

A sound, strong, and indisputable Court of International Justice of worldwide jurisdiction is greatly to be desired in the whole wide field of intertwined political and economic life.

There is considerable agitation for increase of investment in foreign countries by private

capital.

There have been suggestions of Government insurance to protect American com-panies from losses on their foreign investments through acts of foreign governments. That would mean another huge government bureau and all kinds of actuarial difficulties in arriving at fair settlements.

That would certainly precipitate settle-ments of insurance covering those losses

into the dusty political arena.

Every settlement-fair or foul-would be the target of congressional investigating committees—and an issue in every campaign.
There are two other ways that the much

to be desired investments by risk capital in the development of other countries can be encouraged.

One is to protect those investments by force. But that is neither wise nor feasible in the world of now. The old days of what was known as dollar diplomacy are gone forever.

The remaining way and the best way of protecting risk capital from unreasonable acts by government is the use—by all nations-of a workable world court-and compliance with its devisions.

There is a long, rocky, hilly road to travel before the objective can be obtained of a world court rendering decisions on the basis of reason-equity and justice-that would be complied with-by all parties concerned.

That cannot and should not be attempted overnight-as the Senate resolution offered by U.S. Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY to repeal the Connelly reservation would do. If adopted by the Senate it would most decidedly and abruptly affect our inter-national relations with the rest of the world.

I believe our adoption of wider jurisdiction by a world court must be a slow and evolutionary process-because the most important aspect of such moves is the support behind them—and the court itself. It can-not be done by printing a document, Prof. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr.-writing of the formative and constructive impact of the United States on the world-said:

"Viewed as a whole-the contribution of America will be seen for the most part in the nature of methods and processes.

Professor Schlesinger's article listed great ideals in government and human relations combined with American realism that made them workable.

A world court—that would justify that title by its jurisdiction-its prestige-and its authority-is truly a great and exciting adventure

The causes of the cold war are so deep seated that I believe we must feel our way seeking areas in which our great republic could safely take some chances in trying to orient the world to the idea that it had better get used to abiding by accepted lawsor else there won't be any world left.

# Controlling Farm Prices Leads to Controlling Farmers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. JOHN J. RHODES -

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 7, 1959

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to call the attention of the House to an editorial written in the Saturday Evening Post of May 30, 1959. The editorial entitled "Controlling Farm Prices Leads to Controlling Farmers"

CONTROLLING FARM PRICES LEADS TO CONTROL-LING FARMERS

Stanley Yankus, a poultry farmer at Dowagiac, Mich., who fed his chickens with wheat grown on his own farm, has decided to emigrate to Australia, where he hopes to find farming less complicated. Over here he was fined more than \$4,000, for theoreti-cally having increased the national wheat surplus.

Despite the furor aroused by the virtual confiscation of Yankus' property for this alleged crime, the Government continues to alleged crime, the Government continues to bring these suits. One concerns Evetts Haley, Jr., who lives in Texas and ralses wheat in Oklahoma. He is a cattleman and got into trouble with the bureaucrats by raising feed for his cattle. He lost his case, although a Texas Federal district judge ruled in his favor on the ground that the law was unconstitutional. The Supreme Court reversed the decision, and Haley has to pay. Secretary of Agriculture Benson, violat-

ing the pattern of bureaucracy, wrote to Yankus, congratulating him upon his courage, explaining that he had no way of making exceptions in the law that is administered by his own Department.

More recently Mr. Benson told a gathering at the annual Farm and Home Week, Cornell University, that he, as Secertary, is required to administer "the most costly, irrational, hodgepodge program ever patched together." He cited the results of a recent poll by a natioanl farm magazine which "showed 8 out of 10 of the farmers want greater freedom and less government in farming."

Since the price support-virtual subsidyis the pivotal question, being the pretext for imposing fines for alleged overproduction. Mr. Benson quoted a breakdown of the ballot which showed that 55 percent voted for "no supports, no controls, no floors, free

market prices, get the Government clear out. \* \* \* Another 15 percent favored emer-gency supports only. \* \* \* Another 8 pergency supports only. • • Another 8 per-cent wanted adjustment supports such as recommended by the administration. • • • Only 22 percent wanted more Government price help."

His final conclusion was, "If this is what farmers want, what are we waiting for? What is Congress waiting for? We've made our recommendations, why don't they act?"

We have to face this question fairly: Does a sane agricultural policy require such unfair, unpopular and generally cockeyed

#### I Am Brooklyn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON, ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 3, 1959 -

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker. I am pleased to commend to the attention of our colleagues the following poem "I Am Brooklyn," written by the principal of Public School 212 in Brooklyn, Mr. Samuel G. Gilburt. The poem was written to commemorate Better Brooklyn Month, March 20, 1959:

I AM BROOKLYN

My myriad miles of homes, brownstone, frame and stucco, house my 21/2 million people.

Tree-lined avenues, serrated with many lawns, spattered with privet hedges, cover my expansive acres.

In spring I am sun-splashed with forsythia, azalea, and rhododendron.

My broad ribbon arteries, Kings Highway. Ocean Parkway, Linden Boulevard, with clusters of light bulbs like giant marigolds, banish the dark at night. I am Brooklyn.

A slice of America am L for I reflect the raw. healthy, polyglot strength and culture of America.

Americans all-my Irish live in Red Hook, my Finns in Sunset Park, Italians in Bath Beach, Germans in Ridgewood, Jews in Brownsville, Negroes in Stuyvesant, Syrians in Bensonhurst,

In my shipyards, lumberyards, warehouses distilleries, sugar, oil refineries, and factories work my citizens,

From Bushwick, Gravesend, Fort Greene, New Utrecht, Boro Park, Greenpoint, Crown Heights, and Flatlands.

Foreign commerce streams through my 33 miles of developed waterfront. steamship freight lines, 14 trunklines of weaving rails, through renowned Erie Basin and Bush Terminal. I am Brooklyn.

My skyscraper, "1 Hanson Place," lifts a jagged stone needle to the clouds, with a four-faced clock for an eye,

The bell of my Dutch Reformed Church built in 1796 has tolled the funeral of every American President.

My Brooklyn Museum has a permanent collection of the arts and crafts and primitive culture of Malaysian, Egyptian, Japanese, North African, and American Indian.

My Grand Army Plaza Library is a diadem among libraries, with hundreds of branches, circulating 7 million books, to more than 600,000 eager borrowers.

I am Brooklyn.

I am a wonderful place in which to live, to rear children. Neon-lighted Flatbush Avenue and Fulton Street have glittering stores, topped by A. & S., my mighty mart.

My fabled and spacious Botanical Gardens is a garden of gardens, tranquil, exotic, luxuriant, herb-garnished, and cherry-tree scented;

With its unique Garden of Fragrance for the Blind, aromatic with sweetbrush and spicebush, sage and chive, textured with furry catnip, and threadlike plumes of golden fleece, coarse-spired

cacti and prickly ivy.

My Aquarium abounds in fin-twinkling. darting, speckled, shiny, tawny fish of

all kinds and shapes.

Coney Island is the "world's largest play-ground"—kaleidoscope of freak shows, skee-ball stands, waxworks, penny arcades, sizzling red-hots, and

Carousels, cotton-candy, crisp crabs, corn-on-the-cob, chile-con-carne, and

cacophony.

Go thru the red rolling barrel of fun to
Steeplechase Park, the Mecca of millions; ride the whip, the cyclone, the chaser, and the thunderbolt.

I am Brooklyn.

Romp in my wooded Prospect Park with its rolling, verdant meadows, picnic grounds, tennis courts, baseball diamonds, lagoons, zoo, parade grounds, bridle paths, and gravel walks.

Stroll thru my quite residential streets-Evergreen, Dorchester, Esplanade, Emerald, Exter, and Celestial Court,

Or would you prefer Lamont, Lancaster, Laurel, Lee, Lefferts, Lyme, Louisa, or Lincoln Road?

My esteemed and eminent citizens include Tom Paine, the good gray poet, Walt Whitman, the flery Henry Ward Belden, the distinguished John G. Whittier, and comic Danny Kaye. I am Brooklyn.

Giant sea swans-the Queen Mary, the Mauretania, the Ile de France-with hoarse notes, slide down the gray-green carpet of my shimmering narrows to the wide Atlantic.

Flung gossamer webs of steel, air, and wire are my wondrous bridges-the Manhattan, Brooklyn, and Williamsburg.

Though the Dutchmen built my first houses on Wallabout Bay in 1637, I still grow, blossom, and flourish day by day in every way.

I am a Borough, bigger than most cities, a name known everywhere, a uniqueflavor, a tradition of respectable family life, of friendly church and synagogue.

I am always planning, building, wrecking, rebuilding—newer, bigger, better. I stand tiptoe eagerly facing the atomic future.

I am Brooklyn.

# Statement in Support of a Register of Trained Manpower

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. LEONARD G. WOLF

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert in the RECORD a part of the recent testimony of Mr. William A. Douglass before the Committee on Science and Astronautics.

Mr. Douglass is president of a private corporation which uses the National Science Foundation register of scientists and engineers to provide an employment placement service. His testimony illustrates the usefulness to the American economy of a register of trained manpower. It also points out certain shortcomings of the National Science Foundation register for mobilization purposes. Mr. Douglass stated that the value of the register could be greatly enhanced by broadening its scope, by making registration as nearly universal as possible, and by adopting uniform and simpler classifications and terminology. I believe his remarks will be of general interest for the light they shed on the problems of mobilizing scientific and professional manpower:

REMARKS BY MR. DOUGLASS

My name is William A. Douglass. I am associated with Careers Inc., a vocational publishing firm with headquarters in New York City. We publish and distribute two books, one titled "Career: For the College Man," and the other titled "Career: For the Experienced Engineer and Scientist."

Ten years ago my college classmates and I needed employment ourselves. Korean war shortages brought every day a host of com-panies to our campus. The very multiplicity of ob opportunities was confusing. company had its own glamorous pitch. We

didn't know who to believe.

Our answer to this situation was to collect and publish page-long comparative profiles of every company coming to campus before it came there. In this way we hoped to eliminate some needless blind alleys for ourselves and for the companies, who after all had only a limited time to spend on campus.

The idea was evidently a good one. It was the beginning of Careers, Inc., of which I am now the president. More than I million copies of our annually revised publication "Career: For the College Man," have now been distributed to successive waves of college seniors. I should point out that these books do not cost anything. The employers pick up the tab. Unfortunately, in the fields of science and engineering, the colleges cannot keep up with the demand. Last year, therefore, we began distributing a new publication "Career: For the Experienced Engineer and Scientist." More than 80 leading employers, including facilities of the armed services and the Federal Government, now support this project on annual contracts. One hundred and fifty thousand copies of this new publication have already been distributed

Now in the experienced field men and jobs cannot be merged simply by a publication. You have a man in Brownsville, Tex., who is wanted, we will say, by research labs in such distant points as Silver Spring, Md., and China Lake, Calif. First of all labs must find this man with his particular specialties, and furthermore, know of his willingness to move. Keep a central file, you say? Surely, but in what form? Any national file involves thousands of people. To be useful it must be completely crossreferenced, constantly updated, and in such a form that anyone—not just specialists can use it.

I have here such a file system. anywhere in the world can look at the research expert from Brownsville and be in contact with him in less than 24 hours. This folder encompasses the backgrounds of 400 men. Their qualifications were posted as of April 15. Their availability is updated every 90 days. In that 90-day period, if their qualifications look good, they may hear from as many as 20 or 30 of our co-

operating employers. Here is a shorthand system of communication which works like lightning. The adaptation of data processing to the matching of key men with needful employers has been an unqualified and exciting success. I feel it is still in the model T stage when compared to its potential for development.

Now, gentlemen, this fabulous system is not our baby. It is the work of the National Science Foundation right here in Washington. To be sure, we have had to make adaptations, but I want to impress you with the fact that we are proving day to day, again and again, and in a free market, just how practical this register is in solution to heretofore insurmountable problems of communication in the Nation's vast lob market.

Obviously, the Foundation cannot use its information to run a placement business, but think of the potential uses for this register if its mechanism is applied not just to the limited number of men interested in changing jobs, but to our Nation's entire scientific and engineering population. Such a register might list 1 million men. What a gold mine it would be for you gentlemen in this present inquiry. Instead of opinions and selected samples you would have the complete picture. How many physicists speak Russian? And of those, how many have doctorial proficiency in nucleonics? And of those, how many are located within 100 miles of Washington? Not only for defense but for constant study of utilization, education, motivation, etc.—such a register could be the conclusive source.

Now, you say, "Mr. Douglass, such a register was established by law in 1950. You know this because your company is using it. It is the very same one you have mentioned over at the National Science Foundation," and I must answer "Yes, it is the same register as established by law in 1950 but that same Congress which established it has never given it enough money to develop even We know. a pittance worth of its potential." We use it. The codes are hopelessly out of date with reference to modern technology. The sciences are heavily overbalanced to the detriment of engineering. The whole system is heavily weighted to the language of the academic world, which confuses men now accustomed to the everchanging terms developed at their work.

Some organizations have already developed what they feel to be more practical classsification systems of their own. We have sought to prove the NSF register—the only one established by law-even with its imperfections, in the hope that our success with it will help its betterment and the development of a single language for manpower classification in this country. Every anyone sets up his own register and his own code systems, the more chaos of understanding and the more imperfect the data which will result. If a national crisis developed today, our efforts to mobilize critical scientific and engineering manpower would be hamstrung by the crazy quilt methods of classification now in use.

Leonard Carmichael, now head of the Smithsonian Institution, had a staff of around 300 during World War II when he pioneered development of the National Roster of Scientific and Specialized Personnel. The present register, at a time when science is the recognized forefront of the cold war, has a staff of three professionals and two secretaries plus help from 20 or 30 people in professional societies. The societies, by the way, function as collectors of registrants through their membership. The trouble with this is that cooperation is voluntary; many men do not belong to societies; many societies particularly in engineering are not covered. Though NSF has succeeded in getting perhaps two-thirds of the scientists into the register, much of the information is several years out of date and in this era that is the equivalent of decades.

I would like to see one register only. I would like to see it completely updated annually. If that's too big a job for the Foundation, then perhaps it could be done by one of the other agencies involved in manpower data collections. I would like to make registration compulsory for every engineer and scientist in industry, education, self-employment, Government, and the armed services. Our experience indicates that cooperation of all will be easily obtained if (1) the identity of individual registrants is coded—absolutely confidential except in times of war—and (2) if reports result which will tell the individual registrant important things about himself and the field in which he works. In fact, such a register would further recognize the professional status of our engineers and scientists and will provide public recognition of their import to us.

What will all this cost? I have one suggestion that it could be done for around \$3 million a year. The gain? I think my previous statements make the many facets of our national gain clear. The tendency in the past has been to see such a register only for its original mobilization purposes. It assumes real weight, however, when one sees it as the only conclusive answer to the vital questions you men are asking in these hearings. I do not see how this Nation can hope to properly assess perhaps its most key manpower resource if it is to rely on the scanty information presently available to it.

scanty information presently available to it.

Incidentally, if the register is made an absolute reflection of the modern scientist and engineer, the mobilization purpose will be served, practiced, ever improved without cost to the Government. If the register is the best system and not, as at present, just another system, Federal agencies, the armed services, even employers will turn to it and use it for their own internal classifications. My small company already has brought the potential of the NSF system home to 80 employers, many of whom match our codes internally so they can look for a man in their own company before seeking him outside.

It will be no surprise to you to know that Russia has a register, and from all reports a very good one, used right down the line through their various ministries. Comparisons may be odious but I think any fact of life is worth bringing in if it will help bring home (1) our dangerously laggard position, and, (2) the commonsense, and the necessity, of our fully utilizing our register resource. It alone can tell us where we need to concentrate our utilization forces.

Mr. Wolf. What percentage of all of the scientists and technicians, and so forth, are registered somewhere in this country, and what percent would you say are still floating for which you have no figures?

Mr. Douglas. Well, the National Science Foundation tells me they have about two-thirds of the scientists in this country in their registry. They have a very small percentage of the engineers in this category, because the emphasis has been on science registrations.

I gather from the nature of the National Science Foundation it has been closer to the academic and government world than it has to the industrial world.

Of course I would like to see its purview expanded to include engineering talent also. This is a register for research purposes.

#### Monsignor McNulty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join in the many tributes which have appeared in the press of New Jersey in expressing a deep loss over the death of the Right Reverend Monsignor John L. McNulty, president of Seton Hall University. The passing of Monsignor McNulty a great humanitarian has saddened all those who had the privilege of knowing his friendship.

Monsignor McNulty was one of the truly outstanding churchmen and educators of our times.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include herein the editorial tribute which appeared in the Jersey Journal of May 28, 1959:

MONSIGNOR MCNULTY

If the capacity to adapt to vastly different persons and situations is one of the truly great gifts, then Monsignor McNulty was one of the most blessed men we ever had met. For he was many things to many people—all of them good.

He was, first of all, a priest—but evaluating that facet of him is beyond the scope of a secular newspaper.

He was an educator, one of the best in a State which has many good ones. If some of the groundwork for raising Seton Hall from the status of college to university was done by his predecessors, it must be admitted that he brought it through to completion handsomely.

The development of the College of Medicine and Dentistry was, however, strictly his own. Upon breaking this barrier in New Jersey education he staked his reputation as an organizer and administrator—and he won. The Medical-Dental College in the Jersey City Medical Center will be his monument in education. He never seemed to think of it as a monument yet he put his soul and heart into its development; perhaps more heart than he could afford.

He was a friend of the drunks and the bums and there is no telling how many or who among the respectable, comfortable, completely controlled men and women today owe it to him. As with the organization through which he worked diligently, helping alcoholics was an anonymous job.

He was one of the most entertaining and elevating speakers we ever heard. No matter how often he started a speech with his joke about standing in a hole (he was quite short) it always got a laugh—and always was the first step along a way paved with worthwhile thoughts beautifully expressed.

The last time we saw him was a few months ago; he had asked us to sit down in a small group and play around with some thoughts on a public relations program. It went on for a couple of hours. It seemed to bring out some worthwhile ideas. He was thankful as he hurried off for the next stop in his busy schedule.

We hope our suggestions helped. It would be a good feeling to have added a little extra touch to the monument of one of the most interesting personalities we have ever met in a business that finds most people wonderfully interesting.

Honorary Degree for Mrs. Roger L. Putnam, founder of Catholic Scholarships for Negroes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, on Monday of this week Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart at Purchase, N.Y., conferred an honorary degree of doctor of humane letters on Mrs. Roger L. Putnam, of Springfield, Mass., who founded Catholic scholarships for Negroes.

Mrs. Putnam is the very charming and gracious wife of Roger L. Putnam, former mayor of Springfield and, as many of my colleagues remember who worked closely with him, former Price Stabilization Administrator during the Korean war serving under President Truman.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I ask that the news story from the Springfield Union of June 2 concerning the honorary degree and the citation to Mrs. Caroline Jenkins Putnam, be printed in the Appendix.

Mrs. Putnam Gets Honorary Degree at Manhattanville

Mrs. Roger L. Putnam, founder of Catholic scholarships for Negroes, was awarded the honorary degree of doctor of humane letters at the 118th commencement of Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart, Purchase, N.Y., Monday. It was her fifth honorary degree. Following is the citation which was read before the conferring of the degree:

"Caroline Jenkins Putnam grew up in Charles County, Md., where atmosphere and social traditions were more southern than in the far reaches of the Deep South. Her holy and happy life of homemaking brought her into the heart of New England where she ably seconded her distinguished husband in the service of worthwhile civic causes. As her sons and daughters grew up, she found ways of translating her love of God into action outside her home, and doing the truth in charity took many forms; cofounder of the Holy Child Guild, founder of the first Catholic bookshop in Springfield, director and advisor in state-wide commissions. All this readied her for the apostolic venture which began on the memorable day in 1946 when, with her husband, she founded a perpetual scholarship for a Negro student at Regis College.

"Almost before she knew it, she was engaged on a national and international education venture. The Catholic Scholarships for Negroes was founded. With the charm

of a Southern belle, the bargaining power of a Yankee merchant, and the irresistible persuasiveness of a convinced Christian, Caroline Putnam set about opening doors and minds and hearts. Since 1946, 61 Catholic Colleges have given scholarships to 347 Negro boys and girls. These students have sticceeded academically and apostolically. Today the first holders of scholarships are making their mark as teachers, doctors, workers, engineers. They have - caught her enthusiasm and have founded an alumni association with the avowed intent of opening to other candidates the opportunities which were theirs. The sheer statistics are impressive. But much more meaningful is the moral and spiritual impact of these graduates who play their important part in the life of America and of the church. This is the glory, the so happy outcome of this work. And the end is not This work, founded on the love of Christ, carried forward with invincible hope and modest capital, gathers momentum with each passing year. The best is yet to

"So Manhattanville, which already claims Caroline Putnam as the mother of one of its dear alumnae, is proud and happy today to make her a fellow alumna of that nundaughter, as it confers upon her the degree of doctor of humane letters."

#### Farm Program Economies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I wish to take this opportunity to call to the attention of my colleagues an editorial from the New York Times of May 22, 1959, entitled "Farm Program Economies":

#### FARM PROGRAM ECONOMIES

Besides being extravagant and a failure, the farm program is also confusing. Thus two events connected with House approval of the regular agriculture appropriations bill have served to divert attention from the basic flaw of the program while creating the impression that something useful was being accomplished.

The first was a cut of \$100 million in the appropriation for the Commodity Credit Corporation, which carries out the price-support program on the ground that the CCC's expenditures were needlessly high. The argument of the Appropriations Committee was that Secretary of Agriculture Benson was not aggressive enough in selling surplus cropschiefly cotton—to foreign nations for dollars.

This was not really a cut at all. It will not affect price-support outlays now or in the future. To the extent it was aimed at forcing Mr. Benson to increase export subsidies on cotton, it will add to our problems with other cotton-exporting nations and in-crease the net cost of the price-support pro-

The other was the vote of the whole House to limit individual price-support loans to \$50,000. There is dispute over whether the amendment will have any real effect as it is now worded; but assuming it does, the farm bloc for once was right. The amendment will not cut Government outlays or farm surpluses. Its most likely effect would be merely to force more sales to the market by large farmers and more sales to the Government by smaller ones. The farm problem

would be as bad as ever.

When and if Congress is willing to reduce artificially high price supports for the handful of major problem crops, there will be some hope in sight for a solution to the farm problem and its enormous costs. Meaningless jiggering with appropriations will accomplish nothing.

### White House Conference on Children and Youth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 28, 1959

Mr. BROOMFIELD, Mr. Speaker: The problems of our younger generation are only partially understood and are largely ignored. In helping solve these problems, the White House Conference on Children and Youth which convenes next year will be a great aid.

Following are the last of a series of articles which appeared in the Detroit Free Press on the coming conference and the need for adequate study of our children and our neighbors' children:

[From the Detroit Free Press, Apr. 22, 1959] (By Warren H, Stromberg)

When a baby becomes aware that he is here and something is there identity starts.

W. Mason Mathews, authority on behavior of young children for the Merrill Palmer School, sees identity as both physical and psychological.

'Anyone who doesn't have a good opinion of himself is not well adjusted," he main-

Somewhere between infancy and the point where one becomes well satisfied with himself or herself-psychoanalysts call it egois the proving ground.

"Shortly after babies find they can manage their fingers they begin to try to manage their elders," Dr. Mathews asserts.

He contends children well adjusted from the beginning can face up to monumental strain. As they mature they build a reserve of strength against emotional invasion.

In early childhood the first behavior patterns begin to form.

"All human beings seek the positive," Dr. Mathews insists, "If they can't get that they turn to the negative. Sometimes, they just

Thus if Dr. Mathews' premises are correct and this point of view is widely accepted -the early years of a child's development set the course for the future.

Some substantiation could come from the fact that nursery schools are booming. seem to be a necessity in every community. cooperative movement is far the most popular because, under this arrangement, parents learn along with their children.

Can identity growth and positiveness succeed in a practical situation?

There are 69 member schools in the Greater Detroit Cooperative Nursery Council, serving approximately 2,400 children-400 more than a year ago-according to Mrs. Norman Cummings, Jr., council president.

Let's take a look at one of them.

The Lake Shore Cooperative, in a church annex at 22707 Harmon, St. Clair Shores, has two morning classes a week for 3-year-olds and a similar program for 4-year-olds.

There are 20 children in each. Class sessions last 2 hours.

June 3

"When I first came into the group I didn't think it would involve so much from me,' the mother of a 4-year-old said.

She and two other mothers were helping the teacher, Mrs. Robert Hanson. The three mothers assist at three class sessions in a row, then another team begins. On Thursdays, all pitch in to clear the room.

Then there are periodic conferences at Wayne State University and local monthly instructional meetings.

"A working mother can't do it," one said. "It means real progress when you have the time and the energy. My child's play habits at home are greatly improved."

Fathers also get involved in building and repairing equipment. They also provide the \$5 registration fee and the \$7 monthly dues.

To an observer the first hour of class is most intriguing. There seems to be complete freedom.

Some of the tots paint. Some mold figures, with clay or bread dough. Some pound nails into a fibrous board.

There is more to it behind the scenes. The mothers have their hands full mixing paint and supplying materials.

The children are getting their first course in citizenship-learning how to get along with each other.

"We had one little boy who insisted on hurling blocks at everyone." Mrs. Hanson said. "I took him to a sturdy table where there were piles of clay. He pounded clay against the table. But this didn't interfere with anyone else."

The second hour started with Mrs, Hanson reading the story about "Tweety," a bird. With considerable reluctance 19 little bodies gradually became still, eyes fastened on the illustrations in the book held aloft by Mrs.

The 20th couldn't seem to come to a halt. Mrs. Hanson asked him if he'd like to go to the other part of the partitioned room and help the mothers pour fruit juice.
Later, Mrs. Hanson explained: "Many are

freeting authority outside of their own homes for the first time. We attempt to redirect their activities rather than censor

"I try to make my approach kind, thoughtful, cooperative and helpful—not dictatorial."

Mrs. Hanson added, "We know children grow at different age levels. And some get buoyed up when the group is large but seem to get along well in small group ac-tivities."

In 3 years, Mrs. Hanson, a university graduate with special training in this field, has never asked a mother to take her child home.

There have been times, however, when she asked certain mothers to attend beyond their assigned dates to help with the special problems of their own children.

Yardsticks of a good nursery program, according to Dr. Mathews, are a pleasant climate, sound structure and freedom.

He also feels there's another kind of structure that's hidden: "It's when the teacher never seems to demand but the kids sense the need to live up to whatever the house rules may be.

"Children will frequently try out at home things they have learned in the nursery and vice versa. Gradually there is acceptance of the proper order of things at each place."
In later stages of childhood and in the

teens identity continues to be a primary factor in growth. These areas also will be studied as Michigan gets ready for the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth.

For example: Does identification change with respect to school and the home? At a Scout meeting? Do identities sometimes become confused in new situations?

Do the changing times create an additional pressure that interferes with such development?

[From Detroit Free Press, Apr. 23, 1959] (By Warren H. Stromberg)

Eight-year-old Leroy seems to know more about what's going on in his second-grade class than the teacher. But his school accomplishments are only average.

Whenever money is missing, the others in the class point to Leroy—blond, thin and hungry-looking. Leroy immediately says that one of his older sisters or his parents gave him the money.

Weekends, the three children scour the neighborhood for empty pop and beer bottles. At a neighborhood store the bottles bring cash. The father takes the money.

Henry, 15, dropped out of school desipte State law that says all children must attend school until they are 16.

Henry was offered a job setting pins in a bowling alley. He worked 5 months under a work permit. Then someone complained. An inspector ruled Henry couldn't work there until he was 16.

The oldest brother, Tom, is 20. He found that some of the other boys in the neighborhood who were married weren't being

called into the Army. Tom got married.

Tom and his wife are expecting a baby in June.

"That should be the clincher to keep me out," Tom said.

How do the values of right and wrong as held by members of this family affect community? Do laws provide an answer?

Are the Leroys, Henrys, and Toms so different from the others in the neighborhood?

These are questions that confront those studying children and youth in Michigan preparing for the 1960 White House Conference.

More important are the questions of how the times affect these standards. And, of course, what can be done?

Tom can't get a good job as long as he might be drafted. There are others in the same fix.

Tom isn't alone in avoiding military training. And what of the married men with children being called in some places?

Some city youths call those who go in "suckers." Yet, some who have served gain status in their group.
Should something be done to make the

draft universal?

There is some evidence so-called "middle class delinquency" is increasing. Some say this stems from the emotional instability of our times.

Those who criticize youth today must remember that now youth is brought closer to adult attitudes while adults cling to a separate set of standards.

Ernest L. Bridge, attorney and register of the Wayne County juvenile court, says:

"Youth obeys or disobeys the law to the extent of the climate in which it is reared. Nearly always youth reacts almost exactly to the type of sociological, emotional, and cultural climate that parents, teachers, and

leaders in general create around them.
"Remember that if this climate is not a good one, youth can do very little about it. Adults can change the climate in which they live. Youth cannot.

"They are forced to grow up in whatever environment we adults create for them. many children are problems to you and the community, they are probably the victims of circumstances much more than they are culprits."

Bridge feels that trouble stems from adults

having little and big laws.

"Adults are inclined to cheat and lie about their little laws," he says. "Stealing towels from hotels, false charges on expense accounts, illegal income tax deductions, de-

stroying property while on a convention in another city.

"These are bad enough, but worse when the adults brag about them in front of their families!

Bridge wonders how a teenager is supposed to react when he hears his father brag about fixing a ticket or how he told off that dumb

'We glorify crime, sex, and violence in our alleged children's programs on radio and television," he asserts, "and then scream because adventuresome youth try out the things these media teach them.

"A bill is now pending to prohibit the sale of chemicals that go into rockets. We preach the space age and then by law deny youth the right to experiment."

Grant Bogue, senior staff assistant for the Detroit Commission on Children and Youth, feels strongly about the big gap between youth and adulthood. He calls it "gaps in the rites de passage."

"All societies have ceremonies to portray the passage from one role to another," he points out.

"But for us there is an empty span between the 18-year-old and the 21-year-old.

"The graduation speaker gives them a big sendoff and they're out of school. Then what happens? Too young for an apprenticeship. Can't get a good job because they're draft balt.

"They can't buy a car although they've breathed cars all their lives and, here, we're in the motor capital of the world. A minor can't buy a house unless he has finished the military.

"What kind of a half world is this with the present and the immediate future at

Some say the tendency is toward an ab-sence of values rather than a change in values

Bridfe, Bogue, and others worry that the tendency is to offset this lack of recognition in a sort of negative conformity that often shows itself in odd dress and behavior and other times lies dangerously beneath the surface.

A 21-year-old American student on a scholarship in Holland found questions concerning the values in this country most difficult to answer. He wrote back that he found questions concerning the status of young adults even more perplexing.

# Resolution by Long Island Federation of Women's Clubs, Inc.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. FRANCIS E. DORN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 28, 1959

Mr. DORN of New York. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution adopted by the Long Island Federation of Women's Clubs, Inc. in their 108th convention assembled, held May 15, 1959 at Rockville Centre, N.Y. This federation is made up of 104 clubs in all four counties and consists of 60,000 mem-

The resolution follows:

Whereas a rising tax rate adds to the cost of Government, of consumer goods, and of services, and

Whereas such increases contribute to inflation: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Long Island Federation of Women's Clubs, Inc., in convention as-sembled this 15th day of May 1959, urges our elected representatives to resist the trend toward mounting governmental expenditures. and to work toward the restoration of a sound fiscal policy; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the following: Dwight D. Eisen-hower, President of the United States; Richard M. Nixon, Vice President of the United States; majority and minority leaders of the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives; Members of the Senate and House elected from Long Island; Nelson A. Rockefeller, Governor of New York; majority and minority leaders of the New York State Senate and Assembly; members of the New York State Senate and Assembly elected from Long Island.

# Marshall College Deserves To Be Marshall University

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. KEN HECHLER

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. HECHLER. Mr. Speaker, on May 30 the annual dinner of the Marshall College Alumni Association attracted many old grads to Huntington, W. Va. Climaxing the evening, Dr. Franklin L. Burdette, renowned political scientist, author, administrator, and educator, delivered an outstanding address which deserves wide attention.

Dr. Burdette is currently director of the bureau of government research of the University of Maryland. He was formerly Chief of the Information Center Service of the U.S. Information Agency, with which he is still serving as a consultant. He had a straight-A average as an undergraduate at Marshall College, and he is one of the few summa cum laude graduates of Marshall.

This year was the 25th reunion of Dr. Burdette's Marshall class of 1934. On May 31, at its commencement, Dr. Burdette was awarded an honorary degree of doctor of laws.

In his penetrating remarks, Mr. Speaker, Dr. Burdette stated:

Marshall College as we see it today is in fact a university. It should be so in name.

I would like to state that I not only concur heartily with these comments, but I will work along with others to speed the day when we can proudly call our institution Marshall University.

Mr. Speaker, I spent some of the happiest days of my life as an associate professor of political science at Marshall College. It was for all too short a time, but I developed a deep affection for this great institution; and I will do everything within my power to protect and further the interests of Marshall College and her alumni. On the desk as you enter my congressional office, Mr. Speaker, I proudly display my greatest treasure—a loving cup presented to me by the students of Marshall College in 1957, which is inscribed "Professor of the

I trust that the day is not too far distant when Dr. Burdette's wishes come true and we can call this great seat of learning by the term she deserves, "Marshall University."

Under unanimous consent, I include Dr. Burdette's address at this point in

the RECORD.

In these weeks American college alumni meet with mixed emotions and mixed motives for informal ritual on campuses all the country. We are touched with over the country. We are touched with nostalgia, of course, and with a high rev-erence for many of the things patiently done for us by our professors in the con-cluding years of our formal education. We hold great respect for some of the judgments of our teachers, and undoubtedly we now hold many of their rulings about us in far higher esteem than on the original occasion of vigorous imposition. Reflection and experience have given us a deeper affection for the wisdom of the past. We have found, too, that some of the problems which we could so easily have solved in our days of apprenticeship, had we been allowed carte blanche to deal with them, are far from simple and remain unsolved by the responsible leaders of our own mature generation.

We American college alumni, proud and grateful in the recollection of educational opportunities given to us, have an energizing sense of aspiration and drive not only to preserve the best of the past but also to push forward to new goals of opportunity and achievement. If we are burdened, we seek strength and inventiveness to carry new burdens. If we have met discouragement, we look for ways to turn obstacles into the steppingstones to success. Where there is a world of trouble we look with faith, if not always with confidence, for peace through preparation, cooperation, and

action.

Many of us were children of the depression, and all of us have felt its marks for good and ill upon our country and our way of living. Whatever the time of our origin, we are often and vividly conscious that the days in which we are living now are different from our collegiate days. America has become more populous, more urbanized, more mechanized, and more responsible in a world of political, economic, and social upheaval.

As we West Virginians take stock of our situation we may rightly look with amazement at our progress in the face of obstacles. As alumni of Marshall College, in particular, we have a right to look with pride at the growth in size, stature, and service of our college. As an alumnus and the son of an alumnus, I am deeply conscious of the change and, from generation to generation, of the continuous improvement of our State and of Marshall College. The rich economic resources of West Virginia, challenging both in their importance and in their frequent inaccessibility, have been developed by men of purpose and dedication. No less remarkable has been the insight and perseverance of men and women who have devoted their lives to the intellectual, spiritual, and cultural development of the people of West Virginia. Marshall College today is the product of that kind of dedication. We as alumni are the beneficiaries of a spirit in our State which has always recognized that education, including higher education, is a priceless opportunity and a community obligation without which we as sons and daughters of West Virginia cannot achieve the full promise of our heritage. Our way of life today is the result of our past educational opportunity no less than of our economic enterprise. It is a part of our strength as a people that we recognize the profound importance of education, that we are willing to make sacrifices

mined to plan and build for its greater impact and effectiveness in the future.

Marshall College as we see it today is in fact a university. It should be so in name. Its services to this State, to this metropolitan area, and to a great industrial region in three States not only justify but require that status. While I speak as an individual alumnus, and without consultation on this point with the college or State administrations, I am confident both of the wisdom and of the ultimate inevitability of university rank for Marshall. Many details of organization and of proper relationships with sister institutions require study, but the needs of the day demand both early study and action. Experiences elsewhere have shown that university status, with proper coordination within a logical system of higher education, can bring to State colleges which already perform in fact university roles notable advances in legislative appropriations, alumni and other financial support, faculty status, academic standing and achievement, pro-fessional recognition, and morale.

The educational function of a university has various aspects. I think of them as instruction, research, and service. Marshall has made significant contributions in all three and must be equipped for an even larger role in the future.

We are in a metropolitan area of great industrial expansion, and it is in such an area that many of the most stimulating changes of the century will take place. With great growth and with rapid scientific and industrial development we shall have new, one might easily say staggering, problems of transportation, housing, health, and public security. Adjustments in governmental functions and structure will test the ingenuity of us all to meet the needs for efficient service while we preserve at the same time real democratic processes and local civic responsibility. The preservation of business opportunity, small as well as large, will be one of our major and most challenging objectives. We shall need trained leadership in politics, business, labor, and the professions, and the place of Marshall in educating all who would thus serve the public interest will be a primary one. We shall see a great demand and recognition for men and women who can use facts and logic while serving their fellow men as they want to be served.

Because education does not end with the classroom, Marshall will be called on more and more to provide through its academic skill and integrity, basic research by which important public and private action can be guided. This research will take place in the natural sciences, of course, but if our social engineering is wisely planned, research will be no less important and enriching in the humanities and the social sciences. The academic leadership of Marshall will be called upon, implicitly if not expressly, to provide training, research, interpretation, and practical public services in the board fields of business and of public administration. Government as well as business is in need of vastly broadened facilities and re-sources for planning and creative action. Both will welcome and support the impartial services of Marshall today and tomorrow.

The future will require that Marshall be a living and working part, as it is now, of the community which it serves. We alumni have a great role and a singular obligation in the continuing growth and increasing service of Marshall. That role is partly financial but it is also broadly civic. We may provide not only an important part of the resources and support for Marshall but, in addition, the climate of enthusiastic cooperation which lifts the vision and the aspiration, as if by inspired contagion, of men who value knowledge for the sake of opportunity and service.

#### for its continuance, and that we are deter- LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section reusual number. Nothing in this section re-lating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938). Resolutions for printing extra copies, when

presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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### RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

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#### CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p.

#### PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the Congressional Record, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

#### CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

# Appendix

# The International College of Surgeons and the Health of Our People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. LISTER HILL

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. HILL, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address which I delivered to the Alabama section of the International College of Surgeons at its annual banquet at Huntsville, Ala., on May 21,

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE INTERNATIONAL COLLEGE OF SURGEONS AND THE HEALTH OF OUR PEOPLE

(Address by Senator LISTER HILL to Alabama section, International College of Surgeons, Huntsville, Ala., May 21, 1959)

At the entrance to the International Surgeons' Hall of Fame in Chicago there is a symbolic statue called Hope and Help. This staue depicts a suffering patient whose eyes look upward into the comforting face of the

From time immemorial, my friends, you doctors have played the key role in the alleviation of human suffering. Yours has been the truly international art, for as the great Louis Pasteur wrote, "Science does not belong to any country, because knowledge is a patrimony of humanity."

The history of surgery is shining evidence of the truth of Pasteur's dictum. Medical historians date the first document on surgery, known as the Edwin Smith papyrus, to I Em-Hotep, the earliest recorded physician of ancient Egypt. The germination of surgery then followed a cosmopolitan trail through Hippocrates, Galenus, and Ambroise Pare to Andreas Vesalius, the father of the study of anatomy who from the gallows took corpses of executed criminals that he might study

Early surgery was decidedly on the rough side. In fact, in ancient and medieval times most of the cutting was done by barbers. butchers, dentists, stonecutters and herniot-Through most of the history of mankind, the surgeon has had to work under almost unbearable handicaps; he had to perform without an effective anesthetic, and with no knowledge of asepsis and antisepsis. Preoperative and postoperative care were virtually unknown.

The modern age of surgery really began with the work of William Harvey, an English-man, who in 1628 published his findings that the heart pumped the blood continually in the body. Harvey was one of the great re-search scientists of all times—his animal studies over a 20-year period laid the groundwork for modern physiology. A generation later, the Italian Morgagni made many great contributions to the nature of disease, in-cluding the discovery that tuberculosis is a contagious disease.

The 19th century laid the precise ground-work for the miracles of 20th century surg-

It was in the 19th century that the Hungarian Semmelweis pioneered in the use of antiseptic methods in childbirth. Frenchman, Louis Pasteur, after proving that germs cause disease, developed a process to kill them. Joseph Lister, whose honored name I am privileged to bear, one of the greatest surgeons in medical history, applied the basic ideas of Pasteur to surgery. His use of antiseptics in surgery revolutionized operating procedures. My father studied under Joseph Lister in England and much of what he learned from him prepared him for that eventful night-more than 50 years ago-when on a kitchen table in a Negro shack right here in Alabama, by the flickering light of two kerosene lamps, he performed the first successful suture of the human heart in America.

It is but fair to state that the 20th century has witnessed a golden age of surgery. In 1903 a Dutchman, Willem Einthoven, with his newly developed electrocardiograph first recorded the electrical impulses in the heart. The years since have brought nothing short of miraculous techniques in surgery. 1939 Dr. Robert E. Gross repaired the first congenital heart defect to yield to surgery. In 1945 Drs. Alfred Blalock and Helen B. Taussig developed their famous blue baby operation to correct a combination of congenital heart defects which robbed the blood of oxygen and the tissues of nourishment. This blue baby operation has been demonstrated in all parts of the world, it has saved the lives of thousands of children.

It is impossible to summarize in a few moments the staggering advances of the past decade. In 1949, for the first time in the history of mankind, a surgeon, Dr. Charles Balley, performed an operation inside the heart. Today open-heart surgery is almost a commonplace, and surgeons now remove the aorta, the main artery leading out of the heart, and replace it with a plastic substi-

The International College of Surgeons, founded in Geneva a quarter of a century ago, has played a major role in many of the exciting surgical and medical developments of recent years. Your guiding principle, "Science has no fatherland," is exemplified in the fact that your 13,000 members represent 64 countries. Your general surgical congresses bring together outstanding medical minds and knowledge from all parts of the world. Your international postgraduate surgical clinics, which are held in a score of countries each year, bring the latest surgical techniques to your medical brethren around the globe.

In a truly international spirit of dedica-tion, you have shipped supplies, instruments, sutures, material, gloves and drugs to im-poverished countries whose surgical centers are most desperately in need of this vital equipment. You sponsor research grants to deserving scientists, and you give fellowships to surgeons desirous of improving their art

through postgraduate study.

As you establish new chapters of the college in various parts of the world, you lift the standards of surgical practice, you bring the gift of extended life to many areas of the world where the Biblical three score and 10 years of life is still an unattainable goal. What this means, for example, to the struggling surgeons of Asia, far removed from large medical centers and struggling with staggering problems of infectious diseases which have been wiped out in the West, is told most movingly in the words of Dr. Mu-hammad S. Quereshi at the organization meeting of the Pakistan Chapter of the International College of Surgeons in 1952:

"The establishment of this chapter will enable us to render twofold service to our country: it will place Pakistan at once on the international map of surgery, and will greatly help in the improvement of our surgical standards which means better service to Pakistan nationals. \* \* The college brings about wide, frequent and intimate contacts with the leading exponents of our art. Such contacts with men who have devoted their lives to the solution of surgical problems and have made lasting contribu-tions to our profession are undoubtedly a source of great inspiration and will stimulate us to emulate them."

The late Dr. Elmer Henderson, that gifted and distinguished son of Kentucky who held the presidency of both the American Medical Association and the World Medical Association, probably best summed up your impact when in 1951 in his farewell address as president of the American Medical Association he said:

"The work of the World Medical Associa-tion and of the World Health Organization and that of other groups, such as the International College of Surgeons, has assumed importance far beyond the field of medicine. By serving as forums for the exchange of ideas between men and women of vastly different backgrounds and environments, they initiate a realization of brotherhood that metate a realization of brotherhood that seems beyond the best efforts of diplomacy. Medicine's high role in world affairs is firmly rooted in the very nature of its own work."

In this second half of the 20th century, America holds an increasingly solid posi-tion as the medical fountainhead of the world. Reversing the trend of the 18th and 19th centuries, the trek is now westward across the Atlantic to the United States to keep abreast of the latest developments in the art and science of medicine and surgery.

In a world which modern communication and transportation make smaller each day. we become increasingly aware of the plight of our fellow men in many parts of the world. At the turn of the century the great physician Sir William Osler wrote, "Humanity has but three great enemics: fever, famine, and war; of these by far the greatest, by far the most terrible, is fever." His words still ring true. We are aware of the fact that an underprivileged two-thirds of the human race is constantly afflicted by the ravages of disease. Millions of these people suffer the age-old scourges of malaria, tuberculosis, and the various intestinal infections. many countries of the world a third of the babies die during the first year of life, and life expectancy falls 30 and 40 years short of the Biblical three score and ten.

At present we are engaged in an effort to stop the spread of Communist imperialism, which is competing with us for the uncom-mitted peoples of the world. Communism finds a ready breeding place in the ill health and poverty of the submerged peoples of the world. Communist forces of militant medi-cine are on the march. We have reports that Russia is sending about 2,000 doctors a year to do medical missionary work in these underdeveloped areas.

Yet we who once fired the shot "heard round the world," and gave a new dimension to personal liberty in the founding of a Republic which guaranteed life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness to all of its citizens, have been slow to meet this challenge.

In the closing days of the 85th Congress, I introduced a bill which would provide the mechanism through which this country would join with all the countries of the world in a united medical research offensive against the major killers and cripplers of mankind. The bill would create, as part of the National Institutes of Health, a National Institute of International Health and Medical Research. This institute would be charged with the support of worthy medical research projects submitted by competent investigators from any part of the world. It would support the training of specialized research personnel here and abroad, it would encourage and support the rapid international exchange of research knowledge conderning disease and disability.

In introducing this bill on the Senate floor, I pointed out that the unfinished tasks facing medical research are truly staggering. For example, cancer, that most ancient enemy of man, is rising in its incidence in 33 countries of the world. What more priceless bounty could be given to the suffering peoples of the world than a cure for this

universal and dread disease?
In the current session of the Congress, 63 Senators joined me in sponsoring this legislation. I am happy to say that on yesterday the Senate passed the bill by a vote of 63 to 17. During the last week in February of this year, hearings were held on this International Medical Research Act, and I think I may state that it received unprecedented and overwhelming support from doctors, scientists, voluntary health organizations, and civic leaders.

Testifying on behalf of the American Medical Association, its president, Dr. Gunnar Gundersen, told our Senate committee of a growing recognition that medicine with its resources and influence fully mobilized can perhaps do more for world peace than the billions of dollars being poured into armaments. Mr. John T. Connor, the president of one of the largest pharmaceutical companies in America, told the committee that "the International Medical Research Act strs the imagination with its opportunities for a new breakthrough in international relations as well as in medical research."

Dr. I. S. Ravdin, the distinguished surgeon who is currently serving as vice president for medical development of the University of Pennsylvania, told us that "we who have gained so much from the research of our own scientists and those from other countries, where good research has been done and is being done, must realize that the more quickly we can assist those less fortunate to begin to achieve what we have so fortunately achieved, the more quickly universal understanding will be won in our troubled world."

Your own Dr. Ross T. McIntire, who serves you so capably as executive director of the International College of Surgeons, strongly endorsed the bill in a very fine presentation before our committee. Following his testimony, Dr. McIntire wrote me that "the International College of Surgeons is so organized that the program that you are proposing in the International Medical Research Act would be a natural, in that we have outstanding men in foreign lands who are in teaching institutions and who are presently engaged in forms of research."

In Chicago you have built the International Surgeons' Hall of Fame which does honor to those great men of all faiths and of all nations who have made immortal contributions to the art and science of surgery. On the day that the hall of fame was dedi-

cated, Dr. Max Thorek, the father of the International College of Surgeons, pronounced these words, which truly epitomize the universality of all surgery:

"We shall honor these men, but not so much as they will honor us. As Agesilaus truly remarked, 'It is not the places that grace men, but men the places.' We are but paying another installment of our age-long debt to those who cleared the way for us, a debt to which we can never write 'paid in full.'"

Let me say that the International Medical Research Act is not only a payment on our debt to the physicians and surgeons of all nations but an affirmation of the ideals which motivate the International College of Surgeons. It states our belief that disease is a universal threat to the family of man, and that we must unite our medical research efforts to wipe out this threat. It accepts the fact that no nation has a monopoly on medical research, and that our own self-interest dictates a maximum effort toward the rapid pooling of the fruits of such research. It accepts the fact that we must raise a common banner under which the doctors and scientists of all lands can march to the goal of better health for all mankind.

Inspired by your devotion to the health of our people, by your courage, your faith, and your generous works for humanity, and moved by the high ideals and purposes of your International College of Surgeons, we shall press forward into the ever-widening horizons of medical discovery and medical knowledge. In the confidence of knowledge, in the strength of integrity, in the tenderness of sympathy, in the fellowship of humility, and in the love of God we shall continue to wage together the never-ending battle for the health of our people, for the health of all peoples, and for peace on this earth.

Value of Education to Women's Significant Role in Our American Life

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, today, I rise to pay tribute to the very significant way in which American women serve as the focal point of home life, and also contribute in almost limitless ways to our economic, sociological and cultural progress.

In a nation founded on family life, the majority of women, of course, continue to be primarily interested in the home. However, statistics show that today the average woman also seeks employment elsewhere at some time during her lifetime.

Very often, this occurs either immediately after completion of schooling, or later in life, when family responsibilities decrease.

Currently, more than 22.5 million women are employed in the United States. Overall, they are making constructive contributions in a wide variety of fields, including home economics, nursing, biology, chemistry, teaching, secretarial, social work, and a number of other important posts in our economy.

During the current graduating season, from the Nation's high schools, colleges and universities, hundreds of thousands of additional graduates will be seeking employment.

Unquestionably, the formal training received in our Nation's educational institutions has enabled these graduates to perform, not only more efficiently and effectively in their respective fields, but also to receive better pay for their work.

While a college degree is by no means an absolute requisite to a successful homemaking, or other type of career, the consensus of individuals interviewed indicated that their educational experience was extremely beneficial, vocationally, as well as in many other aspects of life. For example, more than ninetenths of the married graduates offering an opinion thought their college experiences helpful in their role as housewife, and an even larger proportion, in their role as mother.

Recently, the Department of Labor issued a report on the current role which women graduates of 1957 are playing in our Nation's social and economic structure. The survey illustrated that 76 percent were working full time; 3 percent were seeking work; 9 percent were still attending school full time; 5 percent were working and/or attending school part time; and 7 percent were not seeking work.

As always, the mother and homemaker, who continues to be the nucleus of America's family, the foundation of our society, deserves our high tribute. In addition, those women who find it possible to assume the responsibility of a successful home life, as well as to make a significant contribution, through their jobs, to our economic and social progress, are to be warmly commended.

The Department of Labor has just published a booklet entitled "First Jobs of College Women." Included in this fine report is a survey among women graduates of ways in which college work might have been more valuable. In view of the fact that the Senate will, before long, likely be considering legislation in the field of education, I ask unanimous consent to have a number of these observations, excerpted from the booklet printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"My college work might have been more valuable had there been better counseling with attention to my total situation, rather than the counselor just trying to schedule courses I had already chosen."

"I wish that I had had some good advice about what different majors covered. I changed my major three times for lack of knowing what different majors consisted of and what I really wanted."

"Vocational guidance should begin much earlier than the senior year; if not in the freshman year, certainly by the time a student must choose her major department. This vocational guidance should be conducted in an organized and continuous manner by the chairman of the major department in cooperation with the vocational bureau."

"Students should be given more detailed and individual guidance aid. At our school it was optional but I think it should have been required in order to determine our exact needs in our individual fields."

"Guldance toward a vocation, but by my by professors or counselors, but by my "Guldance toward a vocation was not given mother, who is a personnel director. her direction, my schooling has prepared me to work in several different fields.

"My college work was tremendously rewarding and valuable in my own personal life—culturally, intellectually, and socially. I do feel, however, that it was rather unrealistic as far as the business world is concerned."

"The college I attended greatly lacks a progressive, realistic approach in helping students plan for future careers. Many of the courses I took were of little or no help in preparing for the future."

If I had had some counseling in how to use my major in a vocation, it would have

been very helpful."

"From my own experience, colleges are very good in placing men but very seldom do they have good positions for women."
"Representatives from various employ-

ment fields should be brought on campus, not only for interviewing purposes, but for educational and informative sessions or lectures too."

Among the many other comments offered the recent graduates were some which showed concern about the quality of their college education, as revealed in some of the following miscellaneous remarks:

"I feel that not enough was demanded of me in my college education."

"I feel that the college curriculum should provide more opportunity for individual expression and formulation of ideas. much of the college material is hand fed by the professors and not enough is left to the responsibility of the students."

"A lack in my education was the stress on facts and not on ideas."

"I think that my courses that were most valuable were the ones that required outside project work to be done by the student \* made learning a very personal matter which inspired real interest instead of simply a rote memory of facts."

"Research facilities should be made available for all those wishing to do original work in any field. I feel that this experience is the single most valuable one a college can

"While many of the so-called required courses may be valuable for students entering college at 18 or 19, I found them of minimum interest and use to a woman over 30."

Although these comments do not necessarily represent the viewpoints of all the women graduates surveyed, they contain many helpful insights into some of the current problems and thinking of college women Among the large proportion who went to work immediately after graduation, there were some who thought that the difficulties encountered in the transition from college to workplace could and should be decreased. By and large, however, the recent women graduates viewed their college education favorably as they reflected upon it 6 months after graduation.

## Berlin, City of Crisis, Where Free Germans Must Trade With Communists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, in connection with the on-thespot study of the Berlin situation which Representatives Cornelius E. Gallagher made recently, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, an article he wrote on his return to this country.

In his article, Congressman Gallagher depicts the close commercial relationship which exists between East and West Germany. This working relationship between East and West Germany must perforce continue if West Berlin is to survive. As Congressman Gallagher states-

This can be if the United States and her allies remain firm and make a determined stand in Berlin.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BERLIN, CITY OF CRISIS, WHERE FREE GERMANS MUST TRADE WITH COMMUNISTS

(By Congressman Cornelius E. Gallagher, member, Foreign Affairs Committee, House of Representatives)

Berlin is a city of crisis. The current maneuvers by the Soviet Union to change the status of the divided city is nothing more than refinement of Russia's crude and cruel attempts to starve out the city in 1948.

The only normal thing about Berlin is the calmness of its 2.2 million citizens as they live their lives surrounded by Communist forces which threaten their freedom. West Berlin is an island of freedom in a Red sea.

The great fear of the West Berliner is not the possibility of war, or an attack which could not be repelled by the meager, but efficient military garrisons of the Allied Powers, The great fear is that the Communists may succeed where they failed in 1948 and starve out the city.

You understand this concern when you learn of the degree to which the survival of West Berlin depends on the commercial transport that is controlled and passes through Communist-controlled East

The raw materials and fuel which feed the great industrial plants of West Berlin are brought into the city by rail, truck and canal routes running through East Germany. The manufactured product which is exported moves over these same routes.

Even a curtailment of this transport would seriously disrupt the life of the city. While the military garrison may be supported by supplies moving over certain access corridors, mainly three air routes, one rail route and the Autobahn running from Helmstedt to West Berlin, commerce and industry requires almost the whole net of transportation linking the city with West Germany.

It has been conceded, of course, that West Berlin with its greatly increased population could not possibly be sustained, even to the point of meeting its minimum basic needs, by airlift as it was in 1948.

There exist close commercial relationships between the East and West German business communities and there is a free flow between East and West Germans across the border that divides the two sectors of the city.

The very procedures to which the United States and other occupying powers refuse to submit, such as inspection of motor vehicles, stamping of visas, inspection of cargo, etc., by the East German police, are agreed to by West German business firms and civilians.

All of the coal for heating and industrial use in West Berlin is mined in East Germany. An interesting example of complexities existing in the fields of commerce and economics between the free West Berliners and the Communists of East Germany can be found in the operation of Greater Berlin's important underground and elevated railroads. The underground railroad, the Ubahn, is

owned and operated by West Berlin interests, but the powerplant for its operation is located in East Berlin. The elevated railroad, the Sbahn, is owned and operated by East Berlin. It originates its run in East Berlin, crosses into West Berlin, where it has station stops, and then continues into East Germany beyond the city line. The power for the Sbahn is furnished by plants in West Berlin where its maintenance shops also are located.

The West German Government underwrites the delivery of materials manufactured in West Berlin, which must be moved through East Germany, up to \$125 million. This is a government guarantee of loss in any business venture in West Berlin.

Despite the expanding industry. largest of industrial cities on the continent could not survive without the economic aid

of West Germany.

This working relationship between East and West Germany must continue if West Berlin is to remain a healthy economic community.

The Germans say this can be if the United States and her allies remain firm and make a determined stand in Berlin.

#### Labor-Management Reform Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, an editorial from the Yuma Daily Sun, of Yuma, Ariz.; an editorial from the New York Times of May 22, 1959; and various other editorials, all relating to my labormanagement reform bill.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the

RECORD, as follows:

[From the Yuma (Ariz.) Sun, May 8, 1959] KENNEDY LABOR BILL IS BIG STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION

The pressure now put upon the U.S. House to pass labor reform legislation along the lines of the Senate-approved Kennedy bill is very substantial.

The Senate's 90 to 1 vote, coming on top of last year's 88 to 1 tally on a similar, though milder, measure, is firm notice that the upper Chamber considers labor reform both a compelling and a nonpartisan issue.

Last year the House chose to scuttle the Kennedy-Ives bill. With the need for reform so thoroughly demonstrated. House Members will find it extremely difficult to explain to the country any further major delay.

The bill, as endorsed overwhelmingly in the Senate, was a victory of Senator John F. Kennedy, of Massachusetts, its author and chief pilot.

To be sure, the measure was stiffened on the Senate floor with certain restrictive features not contained in the original bill as it emerged from committee. KENNEDY felt these features should have been dealt with later in other proposed labor legislation, that their presence in the basic reform bill would hurt its prospects of final enactment.

For a time that fear seemed justified. A storm was stirred when, by a 47-46 yote, a so-called union worker's bill of rights was put into the bill with the aim of assuring individual rights against the union leadership.

KENNEDY and others charged that, as framed, these changes would open the way

to unreasonable and unfair harassment of union organizations, with resultant damage to their effectiveness. Even the bill of rights sponsor, Senator John McClellan, of Arkansas, was persuaded they might go too far. He accepted a toned-down substitute.

Alerted by this test, KENNEDY and his forces blocked all later efforts to introduce strongly restrictive elements into the bill, even while accepting certain limits on picketing, the secondary boycott, and other union pressure devices.

The goal was to achieve a broad measure of union reform without hampering unions'

accepted functions.

Basically, the bill is designed to assure full disclosure of union financial affairs and to promote the operation of democratic procedures in the choosing of union leadership. It is in these areas that the worst evidences of corruption and malpractice have been turned up.

The Kennedy bill is a major stride toward reform. The Nation now looks to the House

to take a step just as big.

[From the New York Times, May 22, 1959] LABOR BILL TO THE HOUSE

All the maneuverings and pressures that played upon the Senate in connection with labor union reform—of which the Kennedy bill was the result—are now being directed to the House and, for the time being to its Committee on Education and Labor, where the bill now lies. It can only be hoped that the forces set in motion by the bill—working for greater strength or weakness—will not result in no union regulation measure at all, as occurred in the last session of Congress. That would fly in the face of one of the clearest public mandates for action ever given to Congress.

The statement on the Kennedy bill by the AFL-CIO Executive Council raises a question of strategy which bears directly on whether action will be possible. The federation has been, and still is, in favor of Federal curbs to parallel its own efforts to clean house and to cover unions outside its own ranks—witness its support, though qualified, of the original Kennedy bill. But the federation is strongly opposed to many of the changes since made in it because they would hamper legitimate and democratic union operations.

The executive council is wise to seek the bill's amendment on the basis of a careful analysis of the specific provisions it objects to—as its statement implies—rather than to oppose it now as a whole. Only extreme provocation could justify the federation in fighting a measure to curb corruption and dictatorship in labor unions.

#### [From the Janesville (Wis.) Gazette, Apr. 25, 1959]

UNITED STATES NEEDS, UNION CURBS

Labor union leaders will how loudly at the so-called bill of rights amendment tacked onto the Kennedy measure by the Senate this week, but such curbs were needed and overdue. By failing in certain quarters to clean house, the leaders themselves brought on the restrictions. There are a multitude of laws under which industry must operate—including those which insure fair treatment of stockholders—so it is difficult to see what is unreasonable about giving union rank and file the same kind of protection.

The amendment calls for identical voting rights and equal protection of union rules, freedom of speech and assembly, freedom from arbitrary dues increases, protection of the right to sue, safeguards against improper disciplinary action, and inspection of mem-

bership rolls.

Legislation to cut the power of union leaders is the result of a long investigation by Congress. The results of these hearings have been making page 1 news for months, and

they showed an ugly picture of embezzlement, intimidation, coercion, misuse of funds, and use of the fifth amendment. Beck is out of unionism and facing prison, but Hoffa is still riding high and if the only way to cut him down is through legislation, then the laws must be passed. The wonderment during these months has

The wonderment during these months has been the apathy of the rank and file. When interviewed and offered anonymity in giving replies, truckdrivers in Hoffa's union thought as a rule that he was "OK," or that he was a good guy or that "they (the Senators) were just trying to get him."

Many persons sympathetic to unionism felt unions should be allowed to clean up their own mess, but the trouble obviously is of public concern and thus becomes a re-

sponsibility of government.

Under protection offered in the bill of rights, union members who want to speak out would have the chance without fear of reprisals. The ultimate responsibility of electing clean leaders rests with them. If they don't act wisely, further restrictions will become a certainty.

Congress should approve the Kennedy bill with its amendments and the President should sign it. This much is owed to the

American people.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post and Times Herald, Apr. 28, 1959]

WELL DONE, SENATE

The most pointed commentary on the much amended Kennedy-Ervin labor reform bill is the 90-to-1 vote by which it passed the Senate. Even Senator Goldwater, who cast the lone negative vote, admitted that the bill has been immeasurably improved. Many other Senators have reservations about some parts of the bill, but the passage of a broad-gaged measure on so controversial a subject with general approval on both sides of the alse is a very striking performance.

Virtually unanimous action was possible because the Senate avoided extremes. The one decision which seemed to cut loose from well-digested reform, the adoption of Senator McClellan's so-called bill of rights, was wisely modified despite the heated row this effort provoked. The Senate clung to the substance of the bill of rights while discarding some of its sweeping language that might have given unions difficult administrative problems.

The Senate was similarly restrained in handling various other difficult problems. It did not deal comprehensively with secondary boycotts, but it voted to prohibit common interstate carriers from signing labor contracts that would prevent them from handling "hot cargo" from strikebound or nonunion plants. At least this strikes at one conspicuous facet of the secondary boycott problem. Similarly the Senate extended Senator Kennedy's very limited curb on picketing to some additional situations in which picketing is indefensible, without venturing into the most controversial sphere and the danger of thwarting legitimate aims.

Certainly the Senate has not spoken the last word on these highly complex aspects of the labor-management problem. But it has gone as far as it thought prudent in this urgent reform bill. If the House acts with comparable judgment, a constructive labor bill will soon be on its way to the White House. It is scarcely conceivable that the President would veto such a measure.

For the outcome in the Senate much credit is due to Senator Kennedy even though the Senate found it advisable to stiffen his original bill in many particulars. Special credit is also due to Senator Ervin, the cosponsor, Senator McClellan, and the group of liberal Republican and Democratic Senators who worked out the bill of rights compromise. With continued good management, this bill may well stand out as one of the chief landmarks of the present session.

[From the Raleigh (N.C.) News and Observer, Apr. 28, 1959]

HOUSE MUST ACT ON LABOR BILL

For the second time within 2 years the U.S. Senate has passed a labor reform bill with virtual unanimity. The vote last year was 88-to-0 and this time it was 90-to-1.

The bill now goes to the House where it deserves a better fate than was accorded it last year, when it met with hostile receptions by both the Labor and Rules Committees.

No one can deny that reforms to cope with abuses in labor unions are needed and no one has attempted to do so. On the other hand, no one has claimed that the Kennedy-Ervin bill, with or without the amendments attached in the Senate is perfect. Obviously, it is not.

Whatever the bill is not, however, it very definitely is a great improvement over existing law. Both last year and this year the Senate recognized this indubitable fact by voting for the bill overwhelmingly, after differences as to various sections had been threshed out.

Last year nearly all Republicans and some southern Democrats in the House took the postion that they would prefer no bill at all unless it was one that suited them exactly. Some Republicans even said openly that they preferred no legislation in order to preserve the disclosures of labor abuses revealed by the McClellan committee as a campaign issue for the 1958 congressional elections.

The elections have come and gone, with scant comfort to the Republicans and the House must act and act promptly if it is to retain its position as a responsible legislative body.

The House Labor Committee, headed by Representative Barden, is acting faster than it did last year, and is already conducting hearings on a companion House bill. Those hearings should be completed expeditiously and the bill should be carried to the floor in time for final action by the end of the present session.

Some Members of Congress feel the bill goes too far in punishing labor, others feel that it does not go far enough. The bill however, does provide a definite advance over existing law and that advance should be made.

[From the Minneapolis (Minn.) Morning Tribune, Apr. 28, 1959]

THE SENATE'S LABOR BILL

The labor reform bill approved by the Senate Saturday represents a triumph of compromise over stubbornly held opinions.

The wonder is that any bill at all was passed, considering the fact that several presidential hopefuls were involved in the preliminary tug of war. It is not easy to whittle out a labor law when so many of the whittlers are casting anxious glances toward the White House. In this case the anxious glancers included Senators Kennedy, Johnson, Humphreey, and Symington, not to mention Vice President Nixon.

Only one vote was cast against the Kennedy-Ervin bill, that of Senator Barry Goldwater, Republican of Arizona. Yet even Goldwater, the Senate's most implacable advocate of severe controls over labor, admitted that the bill was much stronger than it was when it came from committee.

It is quite true, as GOLDWATER suggests, that this measure is not a full solution to the problem attacked. Yet if it is a good partial solution, as it appears to be, surely it deserves to survive.

Perhaps the most impressive testimonial for the bill lies in the 90 votes cast for it. These included the vote of Senator Kennedy, who felt that it had not been crippled by amendments, and of Senator McClellan, who praised it as "a good strong bill that can

go a long way toward cleaning up internal problems within many unions.

The spectacle of KENNEDY and McCLELLAN closing ranks after they had disagreed vigorously on amendments was an unexpected one. In a way it symbolized the Senat's desire to conciliate, rather than to emphasize, many conflicting points of view.

The 90-to-1 Senate vote by no means assures final passage of the bill. Last year the Senate approved the Kennedy-Ives labor bill 88 to 1 only to see the lower House defeat This year another House fight may develop between those who want stiffer labor controls and those who do not. But stronger support for the Senate-passed measure is claimed.

Perhaps the House is ready to acknowledge that a bill which seeks to guarantee democratic union practices and honest union procedures is better than no bill at all even if it does not go as far in the regulation of labor as some Taft-Hartley revisionists would like.

Last year a bitter House fight resulted in no bill at all. Surely the Nation has a right to expect something better than that in 1959. It will not easily forgive another failure to make at least a beginning toward effective controls over abuses which the McClellan committee has so shockingly revealed.

[From the Chicago (III.) Wall Street Journal, Apr. 28, 1959] THE SENATE LABOR BILL

The labor bill the Senate has sent to the House is neither the Kennedy bill, not the administration bill, nor is it a McClellan bill. It is a product of many minds, hammered out on the anvil of compromise, and its value may be gaged by the view many Senators hold of it: It will wholly please neither labor nor management.

Management will not care very much for the union sweeteners retained from the Kennedy version in the present measure. For example, organizational and recognition picketing is to be permitted even where the employees of the place under siege have shown little or no interest at all in joining a union; in the building trades, the requirement of new employees to join the union when employed in a union shop has been reduced from 30 to 7 days. And the Senate gives strikers who have been replaced by nonunion workers the right to vote in union recognition elections within certain time limits. Nor, to be truthful, do these grants to union leaders appear to serve the public interest.

Balancing them, though, are some of the restrictions on and responsibilities now required of unions. The measure does demand fiscal responsibility by unions, and it grants, through the courts, the right of union members to union information, to hold secret ballots to remove union officials deemed guilty of misconduct, and to require local union elections every three years.

Nor are these all; the bill prohibits hot cargo clauses in transportation-which gave union-organized truckers the right to refuse to handle freight carried by a trucker the Teamsters disapprove of. This curb on union power is in the public interest, but it is not only the Teamsters who wielded that power. The House, in fairness, ought to extend the ban on hot cargo clauses to other industries, among them the building and garment trades, and not limit the curb only to transport.

To be sure, Mr. Hoffa did more to assure passage of this labor legislation than any so-called enemy of labor; the rights granted union members to call their leaders to an accounting, like the hot cargo clause ban, are one direct result of the McClellan committee revelations of the manner in which Mr. Hoffa rules the Teamsters' empire.

And that is, after all, the way labor laws actually come to pass. This particular measure, if it passes the House and becomes law, will not by any means cure all the ills of labor-management conflicts. It dos not, for example, come even close to doing anything shout the chief root of union power, which is union exemption from the antimonopoly laws that all others must observe.

But on balance, the public interest is better served by this measure than if there were no new labor laws at all. And the public interest is, after all, the interest the Congress should hold paramount to all other Interests.

Soviet Russia's 7-Year Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, the 7-year economic plan launched by the Soviet Union this year is a subject of widespread interest and discussion in this country. Some observers regard it as a very serious and menacing threat to the security interests of our Nation. Others view it seriously but tend to minimize its alleged threat. The proper estimate depends, of course, on the framework of reference used by the analyst, and in connection with the totalitarian nature of the empire known as the Soviet Union prime political motivations cannot be excluded from any reasonable assessment of its economic plans.

An interesting and instructive discussion of this current plan recently took place over the Georgetown University Forum. This award-winning forum, conducted under the able directorship of Rev. Francis J. Heyden, S.J., and Rev. Daniel E. Power, S.J., is well known to many Members of Congress. The Georgetown University Forum continues its public service by having offered this particular program in which a panel of close economic analysts of the Soviet Union participated. The panelists were Mr. Leon M. Herman, specialist in Soviet economy, the Library of Congress; Mr. Hans Heymann, Jr., economics research staff member, the Rand Corp., and Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, professor of economics, Georgetown University.

This discussion furnishes an analysis of the essential parts of Moscow's 7-year plan. It reveal its points of strength as well as weakness. Because of its contribution to our thinking about the significance of this plan, I request that the transcript of this discussion be printed in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the transcript was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S.S.R.'s 7-YEAR PLAN

MODERATOR. "U.S.S.R.'s 7-Year Plan," topic for the 636th consecutive broadcast of the Georgetown University Radio Forum, another in a series of educational and informative programs from Washington. The Georgetown Forum was founded in 1946.

This is Matthew Warren on the campus of Georgetown University, historic Jesuit seat of learning in the Nation's Capital.

Over 6 months ago, the Kremlin embarked on the formulation of a 7-year economic plan for the Soviet Union. Recently, there has been much discussion about the goals of the plan. Moscow's propaganda machine emphasizes that the fulfillment of the plan would greatly close the economic gap tween the Soviet Union and the United

Would you further set the scene for this 7-year plan for us, Dr. Dobriansky?

Tuesday, Dr. Dobriansky, Gladly, On January 27, this month, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will hold its 21st congress. As many of you know, the pre-ceding congress was held in February 1956. Now most Americans will certainly be bombarded by a good deal of propaganda ema-nating from Moscow about what I consider to be the grandiose features of this particular 7-year plan. I am reminded of the fact that at the last congress there was a great deal of propaganda with regard to the sixth 5-year plan. And if one goes all the way back to 1928, at the initiation of the first 5-year plan, one will find Stalin uttering pretty much the same words that I suspect Mr. Khrushchev will be uttering on Tuesday, January 27, namely, that the Soviet Union will close the economic gap with the American economy. In other words, this is the economic expression of a general political race that has already found its expression in the solar orbit, with the lunik and the sputnik, and also in the military area with the rockets and missiles, and now in the economic.

I think before going into the question as to the nature of an economic plan, one should bear constantly in mind that it would be an obstructionist error to look upon the economy of the Soviet Union as an isolated phenomenon, actually, that economy, unlike ours, is heavily motivated politically. Politically objectives are constantly set forth and ultimately determine to the largest extent the directions of economic flow and invest-

So, with this in mind, Leon, could you tell us about the nature of the economic plans.

Mr. HERMAN. Yes; I think it is a good way to begin by drawing a distinction at once between a long-term plan in the economic system used in the U.S.S.R. and the annual plan. The Soviet economic system must be governed by a plan, as we all know, because the Soviet leadership refuses to accept the market as a mechanism for balancing supply and demand. Not because they find the market inefficient, but rather because they find that it serves the wrong master, namely, the consumer

Now to make sure that the resources are used precisely as the political leaders want them used, the economy is governed not by a system of contract between individual producers and consumers but rather by a set of directives to all enterprises, issued from a single command center. This set of directives, taken together, is called the plan, and it is operative really only in its annual form. It's the annual plan which really holds the economy together, holds it in balance, and achieves the kind of results that are being watched by the leadership.

Now the long-term plan, as distinct from the so-called bread-and-butter, year-to-year plan, is an animal of a slightly different color. It represents the elements of the planning mechanism prepared for purposes of public consumption and for a general guidance in the future. The people who prepare the 5-year plan or the 7-year plan are not responsible for sighting every single indicator. They select the ones that look best, and to that extend it has to be regarded not so much as a precision document but rather as a

collection of desiderata.

The one in general, the one we're speaking about today, of course, is called a 7-year plan. It covers the period of 1959 through 1965. Why are we dealing with a 7-year plan? This has a little interesting history of its own. In February 1956, as just indicated, there was prepared and launched a plan called a sixth 5-year plan, but apparently something went wrong in the calculation and the plan fell And it's this 7-year plan that is introduced to pick up some of the wreckage of the previous plan and to take them up to this next target year of 1965.

Now we are studying, discussing this plan today largely not because we think this will tell us precisely where the Soviet economy will stand, but rather that its ingredients will tell us what the general direction of economic development will be in the U.S.S.R. think the first element to discuss, from the point of view of the general direction, would

be the investment pattern.
Mr. Hans Heymann, Jr. Leon, since you pointed out quite correctly that this plan should not be viewed as an exact blueprint, I'd just like to add one word to this: That we should not perhaps take this plan too literally, but we should take it seriously, because even though past plans often fell short of their goals, they did achieve a substantial rate of growth in the economy, and the features that characterized this or caused this rate of growth are again present in this new 7-year plan. The central feature is the investment plan, meaning the amount of the Nation's resources that the Soviet leaders are planning to plow back into the economy.

Mr. HERMAN. This is the amount that would be withheld from consumption.

Mr. HEYMANN. Exactly. It is placed into the further growth of industrial capacity. Now when you look at this total volume of investment that is planned for the next 7 years, you find that it is substantially larger than was in fact invested over the last years-in fact 88 percent larger. But when you look at the way these additional resources are being distributed among the different sectors of the economy, you find that the result of this distribution is precisely the same percentage allocation of resources as was achieved during the last 7 years. In other words, all of the sectors of the economy-industry, agriculture, housing, transportation-are to share equally in the additional resources.

Mr. Herman. Share equally? There might be a misunderstanding there, Hans. It almost seems as if everybody gets the same share.

Mr. HEYMANN. No. Share equally in the marginally added resources that are to be invested in the economy.

Mr. HERMAN. They get the same share of the total melon, so to speak.

Mr. HEYMANN. Exactly. So that when you look at the percentage distribution of Investment by sector, it is identical in 1959 through 1965 to what it was doing 1952 to 1958.

Now this doesn't mean that there was an equality of these shares. On the contrary, the thing that strikes you about this new plan is that the emphasis is placed on heavy industry, and industry generally, as against the other more consumer-oriented sectors of the economy. The share of industry is to continue to be the overwhelmingly largest share, accounting for almost half of total investment.

Dr. Dobriansky. Hans, there are certain points which you have made here that require further elaboration. When this plan was first announced, a great deal of the propaganda emphasized the great strides that are to be made in the increase in the standard of living of the people in the Soviet Union. Now this has always been, going back for that matter to the first 5year plan, starting in 1928. I just wonder,

whether there is no substantial difference. percentagewise, with regard to the flow of investments in this plan as against previous plans: whether this substantial stride in standard of living could be achieved in Khrushchev's time, or even beyond.

Mr. HEYMANN. This plan seems to differ in this respect from previous Stalinist plans. Under Stalin there was a clear-cut emphasis on one priority: heavy industry. All other objectives were permitted to be sacrificed in order to achieve this one. It seems to be that during the last few years, and again under this new plan, there are indications that Khrushchev approaches this somewhat differently. He does not allocate more resources for the benefit of the consumer, but he seems to be more reluctant to sacrifice the resources going to the consumer in order to achieve the heavy industry plan.

The unfavorable aspect is that again under this plan the overwhelming emphasis is on heavy industry. About 46 percent of total investments are to go to industry; all but 3 percent of this, of the total, is to go to heavy industry. Light industry will share in this investment plan only to the extent of 3 percent of all investments in the So-

viet economy.

Dr. Dobriansky. To put it another way, this can be said to mean that in the Soviet economy the prime product is more capacity to produce more capacity.

Mr. HEYMANN. Exactly.

Mr. Dobriansky. Yes, but is this difference substantial enough to justify these really politically motivated expressions, namely that by 1970 all the Socialist countries would produce about one-half of the total world output; secondly, that there would be such marked increases in the standard of living that the Soviet economy will be very close to the economy of the United States? let me just cite one thing. In the 7-year plan they claim that they will realize about a 70-percent increase in total agricultural output by 1965. For them to do that, and that is a basic source for the increase of about 40 percent in average real income, they would have to increase their agricultural production in foodstuffs and feeds to roughly about 50 to 66 percent.

Now, could they possibly do that? When we stop to consider that in the past 4 years Mr. Khrushchev went all-out in this whole virgin land development, he brought in many marginal lands. Yes, he reaped some success. He had 2 years of favorable weather. Now having done all that, it's very significant to me that in the plan there is no mention of a similar virgin land campaign. Where are they going to find the resources in that area to bring about that agricultural increase and, as a consequence, bring about an increase in real income of about 40 percent? Looking at these things, I am very skeptical. In fact, I think the contradiction to the fulfillment of many of these targets and the increase in standard of living rests in this one vital sector.

Mr. HEYMANN. Lev, you have put your finger on the weakest spot in the Soviet economy, and I quite share your pessimism on the ability of the Soviet economy to achieve the goals in agriculture. I see no prospect of the Soviet Union continuing to be so lucky with the weather as they have been during 2 of the last 3 years. I see no source of added virgin lands that can be brought into play on a large scale. The increases in agricultural output will have to come from greater efficiency, greater productivity in agriculture, and this is a costly operation. On the other hand, I would not share your skepticism on industrial consumers' goods, in other words, manufactured consumers' goods. Even though only 3 percent of investment is to go into the production of televisions, washing machines, and the like, this 3 percent is the same slice of a

much larger ple in the next 7 years, and therefore can be expected to yield substantial increases in some of these commodities. I think by 1965 washing machines, vacuum cleaners, and the like will cease to be the rare commodities they are today. Not so for automobiles: the Soviet economy will not be an automotive economy such as ours, and there will be tremendous segments of the consumer phase which will be totally neglected by 1965, and I would argue also by 1970.

So in this respect, I quite agree with you on consumer goods. I do not see where the Soviet economy can hope to come anywhere close to our present record, to say nothing of what we may be able to accomplish by

that time.

Mr. HERMAN. Yes. This brings us to a dilemma which now faces the planners. The formula, apparently, as they have been working it so far, is a going formula. The amount they will hold annually from consumption and plow back in terms of new plants and new machinery is giving them new growth. But they have now reached a stage in which they are asking themselves whether they will ever have enough manpower to spare to devote to the production of consumer goods. And I think it might be useful to cite a few figures to illustrate this dilemma. They look at the U.S. economy, as we all know, as the laboratory, the model which they wish to emulate.

They look at it today, say, in 1959-59 with say 1957 data as the background, and what do they see? They see they have already reached the U.S. level, and overreached it in terms of the labor force they use in industry. Citing Soviet figures here, we see that in the number of workers in industry in 1957 the Russians had 12 percent more than the United States, Moreover, in the number of engineers employed in industry the Russians had 204 percent of the U.S. level. But with this input in manpower they received a product which is less than 50 percent of ours-to be exact, 43 percent.

This raises the question to them in this form. Growth is there, it continues from year to year, but somehow they must learn this lesson of growth better than they have in the past from the United States in particular; find out how is it that the United States has a labor force in industry slightly smaller and yet produces a different productmix, and has more for the consumer.

And I think this is where Khrushchevism differs from Stalinism, I would say, in the disposition of economic resources. Which brings us to the point of what is being done in the 7-year plan to close the qualitative

gap between the two economies.

Dr. Dobriansky. Well, before you get into that, if I may bring out this point, Leon, on the matter of the labor supply. Roughly, the Soviet Union has an increase of about 1.5 percent per annum in population, and I think they are beginning to feel the pinches of a relatively inadequate labor supply. This has partly necessitated the general change or alteration in their educational plans in order to get more of the young ones in the age limits of 15 to 18 years for fulltime or parttime employment. Also, it's interesting in the plan that you have an inducement set up for women to continue to be employed, in the sense that Mr. Khrushchev is attempting to rectify somewhat the low income brackets. Now, when we take all that into consideration. I'm just wondering whether they will really be able to achieve any marked increase in labor productivity, or will it necessitate, instead of depending upon increased labor supply going into the factories and into the fields, a strain on already strained investible resources, in further mechanization, better techniques, and, if you will, in automation and in the development of synthetics and numerous other things that are incorporated in this plan.

Mr. HEYMANN, I can paint this picture even blacker for you if you want, Lev. Not only is the problem serious in labor supply; it's also serious in capital inputs. That is, if you think of economic growth being the result of two factors of production, and capital, you find a diminishing supply of labor that can be used over the next 7 years, because of the deficit in births during the war that are now entering the labor force, and you also find diminishing returns in capital investment. That is, you have to go further afield, you have to dig deeper to obtain the same increase in output that you had during the past.
Mr. HERMAN. You have to go farther geo-

graphically.

Mr. HEYMANN. Farther The problem then is with declining productivity of the two principal factors of produc-What do you do with this problem? And we are right back to the question that Leon posed: what about the qualitative possibilities for improving efficiency, internal efficiency in this system. And here we have a fairly questionable situation, because you run head on into conflict between the ideology and the long-range conception of a centrally organized, authoritarian-directed economy which wants to control everything from the center and, on the other hand, the for internal, local, decision-making, flexible, efficient organization within the plant and in the fields, and there is a con-

Mr. HERMAN. Excuse me, Hans, where do they look to in the search for better economic organization, better methods of economic calculation? Do they again look to the West? Would it be fair to say that so long as capitalism exists and progresses, socialism will continue to grow?

Mr. HEYMANN. Well, it certainly would be fair to say that they look to the West. They look to the West not only in technology, in the field of trying to obtain from us, for

the sake of copying-

Mr. HERMAN. This is standard practice.

Mr. HEYMANN, This is standard practice. I think they also look to the West now for guidance on organizational ideas. seems to be a lot of interest in the Soviet Union, for example, for getting delegations from the United States who know something about managerial organization.

Dr. Dobriansky. Well, gentlemen. suggests another important point. I just wonder whether this whole Mikoyan campaign and the campaign that's to succeed it is not in part pointed at actual, concrete American and other Western assistance in helping them buy up goods to overcome some of these problems in their chemical industries and numerous other industries; in effect, have the West assist Moscow to fulfill some of the targets in this 7-year plan.

Mr. HEYMANN. Yes, I think that's right, Lev. In this sense, Khrushchev's contribution to Soviet economic growth is evident. Khrushchev differs from Stalin in the sense that he accepts that capitalism, somehow, the doctrine notwithstanding, continues to grow, be healthy, and display tremendous capacity for progress, and he wants to learn it. At the same time, I think Khrushchev also accepts that the Soviet experiment in new forms of living is becoming more and more irrelevant to European, reality. And for that reason he seems to have, at least if not in doctrine in practice, given up trying to convert the West to communism. Instead, he is using the experience of the West to strengthen the Soviet economy and make it a model for the underdeveloped nations, where, you must remember, the face of the Soviet economy makes a quite different impression. There, there is such tremendous hunger for growth of any kind and so little concern with the niceties of democratic institutions that the Soviet economy can be looked at from the point of view of the

underdeveloped countries as an economy that has something to contribute. So I agree with you that we will probably be playing the role in the nearest future of helping the Soviet economy willy-nilly to make a better showing but to use that showing not so much vis-a-vis the West but toward the underdeveloped countries for the purpose of gaining influence, gaining converts, and perhaps expand communism in that direction.

Dr. Dobriansky. But, Hans, also for the intensification of their own growth and for their military buildup; after all, in the What cold war Moscow is still our enemy. you were saying here is that we might be put in the position-as a result of the gullibilities of certain American businessmen, and even some of our politicians-of strengthening our own enemy toward our own destruction.

Mr. WARREN. We have about a minute and a half. This question to each of you gentle-men: Is the Soviet Russian 7-year plan a challenge to the United States?

Dr. Dorriansky. I would say that it's a bogus challenge. More power will be added, to be sure. But when one looks at the American economy in all its aspects, diversified aspects, different goods, the high quality of our goods. I don't think that we have anything to fear. The 7-year plan, again, is an economic expression of typical Russian totalitarian bluster, bluff, and, of course, determination.

Mr. HERMAN. The 7-year plan will, beyond any doubt make the Soviet economy stronger and therefore enable the rulers of that system to use economic expansion as one of the avenues by which they intend to press their offensive against the free world.

Mr. HEYMANN. I consider it a challenge not so much in the sense of growth of production, but in the sense of an increased ability to utilize Soviet resources to promote and advance Soviet military objectives all over the world.

Mr. Warren, Thank you, gentlemen, for your participation in the discussion, "The U.S.S.R.'s 7-year plan."

#### The Trust That Is Left to Us

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, Americans have dedicated one day a year for special remembrance of those who have died in defense of this Nation. Memorial Day, in this time of cold war, has a particular significance. As we remember conflict of the past, we work every day to prevent conflict in the future.

The distinguished Senator from West Virginia [Mr. RANDOLPH] expressed the American determination to preserve freedom and justice when he gave an address at Memorial Day services May 31 before the Veterans of Foreign Wars of Pendleton County at Franklin, W. Va. Senator RANDOLPH'S summary of questions about our defense policies, and his declaration that we should build a true memorial in the future, are, I believe, meaningful to all freemen. I, therefore, ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, the address by the Senator from West Virginia.

There being no objection the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE TRUST THAT IS LEFT TO US

(Address by Senator Jennings Randolph, Democrat, of West Virginia, at Memorial Day services, Veterans of Foreign Wars of Pendleton County, Franklin, W. Va., May 31, 1959)

Commander George Sponaugle, members of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and guests, we are gathered today to pay tribute to the lives of our departed comrades who have passed to that bourne from which no traveler returns, where faith assures us that they have entered into a more significant phase of the divine order of the universe.

Though we cannot hope to read in this life the cipher of the universe, nor of one man's place in this order, we hold to the faith that earthly existence is not all that is meant for man. And we can say with Ralph Waldo Emerson, that though "Our faith comes in moments \* \* \* there is a depth in those moments which constrains us to ascribe more reality to them than to all other experiences."

Today offers us such an occasion when we pause to pay tribute to those who made the supreme sacrifice, for "to live in hearts we

leave behind is not to die."

At such a time as this, when we join in memoriam to the gallant dead, we well look to their lives for guidance in our own conduct and as testimony of the values which life offers to those who share with their fellows its joys and sorrows.

Our words can but revive the memories of our departed loved ones; but it is our actions and our lives which will continue to keep alive the meaning of their sacrifice. The courageous young men to whom we pay tribute today gave their blood and their lives in the cause of humanity, in the right of the individual to achieve for himself a life of freedom and dignity. This basic and primal idea has been the chief source of direction in our national history. More than any other idea, it gives meaning and vitality to present American life, and it has been the ultimate goal toward which man's constant progress through the centuries has been directed. Yet the struggle has not ended.

It has been a dispiriting and tragic disillusionment for Americans, and for citizens of other free nations as well, to see in the years since the end of World War II, the ex-tinguishment of the ideals of freedom and individual dignity among the millions of people under the domination of the Soviet Union and Communist China. In the face of such terrifying repression and assaults upon the integrity of man, we might, in moments of weakness, wonder if it has been worth the cost in blood and treasure.

For those who gave their lives in the cause of human freedom, we might find assurance in the words of the Gospel (John iv: 14) that "Whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him, shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him, shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting While this offers consolation to those of us who have lost friends and members of our families, it does not relieve us of the responsibility of carrying on their struggle and thus, in some measure, giving meaning to their sacrifice. Only in this way can we truly memorialize those who gave the full measure of devotion to their country.

When the great American poet, Walt Whitman, was confronted by the tragic death of President Lincoln he sought in some manner-as did the people of the Nation as a whole-to find a meaning in such an irrational and devastating event. For Whitman the problem is solved in the beautiful and moving poem, "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloomed." Here he indicates that since Lincoln gave his life for the Union, the only meaningful manner in which one could acknowledge his death was to contribute to the growth of the Union and the ideals for which he had worked and died. These the poet symbolized in the sprig of green lilacs which he brought to the deceased President as a token of his commitment to the future and to the promise of growth and creativity that the future holds.

that the future holds.

Thus, we too can best memorialize those we love, not by haunting regrets for a past that can be no more, but by building a true memorial in the future—a memorial made of our dedication to the ideals and values

they served.

This we can best do by maintaining a strong and vital America for the preservation and extension of the ideals of human freedom and the dignity of men. And since the malevolent forces that oppose us respect only power—and the show of power—America must maintain her power, economically as well as militarily. This means also that we can no longer afford the luxury of giving only part-time attention to full-time problems, for the problem of combatting Soviet imperialism is indeed a full-time assignment which deserves the full application of all our resources.

Within the present century we have been involved in two major wars and one localized but extremely costly conflict. In each instance our military policy was one of punishing an aggressor nation which had disturbed the peace. And in each instance we acted as though all we needed do was punish the aggressor and peace would be restored, leaving us free to follow our own carefree pursuits. But we have learned through harsh and bitter experience that the uneasy condition of peace is not so easily restored.

It would seem, therefore, that we must reexamine the military policies that have guided our conduct in the wars of this century. We must recognize that the United States has interests that endure beyond the mere punishment of the aggressor nations, interests that involve the basic values and assumptions of Western civilization itself. And these interests, these values, can be maintained only so long as the United States is capable, in alliance with the other free nations of the world, of bringing a countervailing power to bear on the Soviet Union and Communist China, whenever and wherever their imperialistic designs lead them to encroach upon free nations. Such power cannot be provided by an unwise and unrealistic attitude toward our national budget.

We devoutly pray that the present foreign ministers conference—and the possible summit meeting to follow—will lead eventually to a world in which all men may live in honor and in peace with one another.

But until that day arrives the United States must maintain sufficient strength—now and in the foreseeable future—to deter the hunger for conquest among the Soviet and Chinese leaders. This cannot be done if we are to be preoccupied solely with a balanced budget. For, as I have said elsewhere, a balanced budget in financial terms may well bring about a deficit budget in larger and more human terms.

For example, early last March, in a memorandum setting forth their views on the budget, the chiefs of each of the armed services expressed doubt about its adequacy. Typical of their comments was the statement of Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor of the Army when he reported, "The reservations which I had in mind pertain specifically to four major Army programs. These are: (1) Army modernization; (2) the antimissile missile program; (3) the personnel strength of the active Army and Reserve forces; and (4) the Army surface-to-air missile program." The chiefs of each of the other services expressed similar concern about the adequacy of the allotment for his own branch.

Yet, in the face of growing criticism from experts in the field of science, from our military authorities, from economists and business executives, and from leaders in Congress, the President has apparently decided that we cannot afford to provide for what the experts consider to be a minimum defense level. While it is true, as the President avers, that the present deterrence of mutual terror prevails, what of 3 or 4 years from today? There are those who maintain that Russia, at the present rate of development, will have a 3-to-1 superiority over us in intercontinental ballistic missiles. By thus deliberately conceding a missile superiority to the Kremlin, we are gambling with the future and gravely limiting the range of our present diplomacy.

In addition, almost a year and a half ago

In addition, almost a year and a half ago the Preparedness Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Armed Services issued its report after taking 7,000 pages of testimony. In this report the subcommittee made 17 specific recommendations covering the entire range of our defense system. These recommendations were unanimously approved not only by the subcommittee, but by every member of the committee itself and endorsed on the basis of testimony from the leading

experts throughout the country.

Yet, not enough has been done, ladies and gentlemen, to implement these recommendations. The excuse has been that we cannot afford them. I say, the leaders of Congress say, and, I believe, the American people will say that we cannot afford not to have them. If we cannot afford them under our present system of priorities, then we had better reappraise our standards of priority.

As the richest Nation in the world we can afford and must provide the defense necessary for the preservation of those values which alone make our material wealth meaningful. To do less is to lose faith with and to violate the trust of those who gave their lives for human dignity and individual free-

dom.

#### The Intellectual Frontier

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. LISTER HILL

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, the Birmingham Post-Herald of May 26, 1959, carried a most timely and thought-provoking editorial captioned, "The Intellectual Frontier." The editorial deals ably with the question of education and the problems and dangers that confront our country today. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial may be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### THE INTELLECTUAL FRONTIER

The ability of the United States to survive in an increasingly complex, competitive, and dangerous world depends on the quality of education made available for young people—and for adults.

Few would deny grave shortcomings in our present educational system. And in the long run of history they may be a greater threat to the United States than the missile gap.

"The race which does not value trained intelligence is doomed"—so wrote the great philosopher-mathematician Alfred North Whitehead back in 1916. The President's special panel on scientific and engineering

education as the basic thesis of a report on education which warns: "Today the frontier is intellectual; the

"Today the frontier is intellectual; the scholar, the research worker, the scientist, the engineer, the teacher are the pioneers \* \* \* our intellectual resources will be adequate to meet our needs only if all the brainpower of our population is fully developed and utilized."

The distinguished scientists and educators who wrote the report leave no doubt that in their opinion American brainpower is not being either fully developed or utilized, and that much of the fault lies in an educational system which is inadequate both in scope and quality.

The report is a mine of ideas for men and women interested in bringing about the revolution needed in American education—changes in curriculums, attitudes toward teachers and the intellectual, a whole new approach to science and technology, and the need for educating adults long out of school to an understanding of the modern world.

Not the least of the problems in meeting the challenge of modern times in education, according to the President's special panel, is financial—more particularly the need to make the American people generally aware that they must spend a lot more money on education if they want the quality necessary for survival.

"Doubling our current annual investment in education (now about \$15 billion a year) is probably a minimal rather than an extravagant goal," the panel concluded.

The ability of this country to double its expenditures for education is not in doubt. To double the quality of our education is more difficult—although the goals outlined in this report are in the right direction if the so-called educationists can be kept at bay.

# Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a recent broadcast commentary on foreign aid given by Eric Sevareid. Mr. Sevareid is leaving his CBS post in Washington at the end of this month. Later this year he will assume a new position for CBS in Europe. This broadcast illustrates the enormous contribution which he has made to understanding of public issues and his great skill as a broadcast essayist.

There being no objection, the broadcast was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

CBS RADIO NEWS ANALYSIS, MAY 13, 1959 (By Eric Sevareid)

Good evening, the annual foreign aid debate in Congress is now going on, in full course; the latest chapter of the remarkable modern story of one nation attempting to help a large number of other sovereignties throughout the world; for a mixture of motives—partly humanitarian, partly political because of the struggle with communism, partly economic because of our necessity to preserve and expand both foreign markets and foreign sources of raw materials.

Each year, our domestic moods and movements affect these programs. For some time we sent about as much military as economic aid to the underdeveloped countries. Congress was easier to sell on weapons aid because of the deep seated communism scare and the first thought of many newly independent regimes was the usual concern for their own physical safety. The mood here in more recent months has been to see this world struggle in political and economic terms; to see it as a long, slow process; and there has been much more awareness that paper alliances backed by intermittent parcels of arms are not necessarily bulwarks against communism.

The present case of Ethlopia is an example. The official proposal is to send that semiprimitive African country 12 Sabre jet fighter planes; that would amount to \$12 million in military aid; the program for welfare measures in that country amounts only to some \$300,000. So the questions are asked: What purpose will those modern planes serve in Ethlopia; whom will they be used against? With what results? How much more money will that poverty stricken nation have to spend for pilot training, upkeep, airfield facilities and so on? What happens when these planes are worn out? What could be done to improve the lot of that country if these millions were spent there on education, technical training, resources surveys, and so on?

The whole business of military aid to Latin America is severely questioned. What stability has it achieved, where? Has it helped or hurt the dictators? What was the sense of sending it to Batista in Cuba, for example, who, even with these modern arms, could not stop a small band of dedicated youngsters with nothing but small drms in their hands?

But the issue is more complicated than the simple contrasting of economic to military aid. By itself, economic aid in the form of simple money grants or loans can also do harm rather than good. Sometimes it simply makes it easier for incompetent regimes to postpone the real effort to deal with their country's fundamental problems.

More American lawmakers now see more clearly that all these programs—military, financial, health measures, technical assistance—must march together in each given country. In some places public health measures simply make things worse because, without partner programs of industrialization or land management of education, they only speed up the population increase. Many countries have never even had thorough surveys made of their own natural resources under the ground. That must be one first step; another must be the training for technical skills of the people involved.

The matter gets even more complicated than that. Nearly always there is the local political problem; the regimes involved must be persuaded to take this long, hard road to improvement. We have not had much success in that respect with Brazil, for one example, nor with Spain, for another. Financial loans and grants and readjustments in prices and markets for her coffee have never been anything but stopgap measures for Brazil, and she now faces financial chaos. We have put hundreds of millions into Spain in various forms, yet, by many reports, Spain is now on the verge of economic collapse and possibly political upheaval.

But there is no escaping the iron neces-

But there is no escaping the Iron necessity of trying to bring backward nations into 20th-century life. The gap between the haves and the have-nots is growing wider, and in this era of psychological revolution, with mass awareness and demands, this can only lead to more and more revolution, wars, misery, and communism. Pretty clearly, the great effort should be coordinated in detailed and specific plans; should be joined much more by the prosperous nations of Europe; and should be internationally run,

no longer subject to the moods and whims and domestic politics of this one National Capital,

Statement by Senator Byrd of West Virginia on Legislation To Expand Distribution of Food to the Needy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. ROBERT C. BYRD

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a statement which I submitted this morning to Subcommittee No. 3 of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, during the course of its hearings on certain measures to expand the distribution of our food to the needy.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR BYRD, OF WEST VIRGINIA, BEFORE SUBCOMMITTEE NO. 3, OF THE COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY, ON JUNE 4, 1959

Mr. Chairman, in your consideration of proposed measures to expand the distribution of Government food to the needy, it might be natural for you to think that perhaps the need for such legislation is becoming less urgent today. You might reason that, in view of the increasing number of indications that the economy of America is improving, there would be less necessity to broaden our national program to provide foods to welfare families.

But the plain truth is that, despite many indications of a general economic upturn, the need for an emergency foods program continues to be as great as ever. In fact, the number of Americans dependent upon Government food has just passed the highest peak in 17 years.

Figures from the Commodity Distribution Division of the Department of Agriculture show that, during the month of March, there were 6,552,592 Americans eligible for surplus commodities, and 5,741,298 actually receiving them (figures include Puerto Rico and Territories). These numbers represented an increase of more than half a million recipients in, roughly, 2 months. The Department of Agriculture states that March was the highest month in this regard since 1942.

The situation in my own State of West Virginia also was at its worst in March, when 332,085 West Virginians were eligible for foods, and 301,264 were receiving them. (The figure for March recipients includes 85,504 public assistance persons, and 215,760 non-public-assistance persons \* \* the unemployed, low-income families, etc.) The number of recipients represented 15.3 percent

of the State's population.

However, West Virginia's condition was no worse than that of several other States. Mississippi led the Nation with 18.5 percent of its population receiving surplus foods, and Arkansas was second with 16.9 percent.

West Virginia was third.

In the past week, new figures for the month of April show a slight decline in the need for surplus foods—to 6.2 million eligibles and 5.3 million recipients nationally, and to 331,641 eligibles and 299,037 recipients

in West Virginia. But this still represents a staggering number of Americans, despite the slight decline.

I cite these statistics, Mr. Chairman, in an effort to show that America's needy family problem has not just magically disappeared at an upward wave of the economic wand. Much of our Nation may be enjoying a return of prosperity, but more than 6 million of our people have been certified eligible for surplus foods, and more than 5 million of them actually are receiving the foods.

The diets of those families dependent upon Government foods are appalling to normal, well-fed Americans. Let me give you an example: At the beginning of this year, in my State of West Virginia, the average needy family of four—father, mother, and two children—was receiving the following monthly quantities of surplus foods: 10 pounds of cornmeal, 9 pounds of dried skim milk, 20 pounds of flour, 2 pounds of rice, and 4 pounds of butter. Can you imagine a family of four trying to survive for a month on such rations? Our West Virginia department of health stated publicly that such quantities of food could not, by themselves, constitute an adequate diet, as they provide only 26 percent of the needed calories, 35 percent of the required protein, and 46 percent of the necessary calcium.

Since that time, the Department of Agri-

Since that time, the Department of Agriculture has announced that butter is to be dropped from the distribution list on June 30, the end of this month. This makes matters even more disheartening.

The families dependent upon Government food face a cheerless, half-starvation existence, unless they somehow manage to obtain additional foods. Children cannot be expected to grow healthily; fathers lack nourishment and energy to face the struggle of seeking work; mothers go hungry in order that their youngsters may have larger portions of food; sickness strikes easily; and general health conditions deteriorate.

Mr. Chairman, it was with these grim facts in mind, I am sure, that each of the special food bills which you now have under consideration was drawn up. Each of the measures, I believe, recognizes the need to do something more for the 6 million Americans in need of Government foods.

For my part today, however, I shall speak only of S. 663, the so-called emergency foods bill cosponsored by Senator RANDOLPH and myself and 24 other Senators.

I sincerely believe that S. 663 would provide an effective, workable approach to the problem. The bill is based on the assumption that the best method of improving the diets of families dependent upon Government food rations is to direct the Secretary of Agriculture to purchase from the open market quantities of supplemental foods to be added to the farm surplus commodities now being distributed. The bill also is designed to be only a temporary measure, in the hope that the economic conditions which have forced these families to rely upon Government foods may be greatly improved by the end of the period which the bill would cover.

The proposed legislation would authorize and direct the Secretary of Agriculture, during fiscal year 1960, to use \$160 million of that money now available to him under section 32 of the act of August 24, 1935, to buy additional foods to augment those now distributed.

It is hoped that the Secretary would concentrate upon the purchase of basic, moderately priced, good protein items which might be effectively and efficiently transported, stored, and distributed. I am thinking of canned meats, dried beans, powdered eggs, shortening, and other such foods. These basic foods, while not elegant fare, would add tremendously to the bleak diet of flour, meal, rice, dried skim milk, and butter now available—and remember that butter is soon

to be dropped from the list.

The bill is not a mandate to the Secretary of Agriculture to expend the full amounts of money authorized. It is expected that he would adjust this supplemental purchase program so that it will augment the varieties of foods available under the regular surplus donation program. Therefore, the need for expenditure for additional foods would be lesser or greater, depending upon the amount and variety of surplus foods available.

While the Secretary should take care to plan for orderly purchases to avoid market disruption, it is not believed that the levels of expenditure set forth in S. 663, if the purchases are carefully and wisely made, can significantly disrupt a food market that retails about \$50 billion worth of food a year. In fact, I believe that such purchases would have a definite beneficial effect to the foods market, which I shall explain in just a moment.

Furthermore, it is the intent of this bill that these supplemental food items shall be made available to the States under the same terms and conditions now in effect governing the distribution of surplus commodities to needy families, these having been shipped in carload lots to points designated by the States.

One of the attractive features of this bill is the fact that no special appropriation would need to be made to put it into operation. More than enough money already is available through the provision of section 32 of the act of August 24, 1935. This act, I believe, provides a permanent appropria-tion to the Department of Agriculture of 30 percent of the receipts of all U.S. custom duties. The section specifies that the money is to be spent on programs to encourage the export and domestic consumption of American farm products. Programs now being carried out are surplus removal, export, diversion of food products to nonfood uses, and other such undertakings. These section 32 funds normally amount to more than \$200 million each year, but for the past several years the entire amount has not been used by the Agriculture Department. Although the Department is allowed a yearly carryover of \$300 million of these funds, it still has had even greater excesses for the past 2 years, and the extra money has reverted to the U.S. Treasury. In 1958, a total of \$83,585,000 was turned back, and this year it is estimated that \$43,657,000 will be turned back. Therefore, ample funds are available for the new bill.

Now at first glance, it might appear that our new bill would cause a departure from the traditional interpretation of section 32—that interpretation being that the funds provided by the section should be used only to improve market conditions for foods which are in surplus supply. It might be argued that our bill, which calls for purchases designed primarily to improve the diets of undernourished families instead of designed to uphold crop prices, would constitute a departure from the primary purpose of section 32.

But this first-glance opinion would be incorrect. Upon closer study, it can be seen that this bill not only complies perfectly with the purposes of section 32, but that it actually would make a significant contribution toward improving market conditions for foods in surplus supply. In the first place, the language of section 32 specifies only that the money provided by the section be used to encourage the export and domestic consumption of American agricultural commodities. There can be no question that providing more food for half-starving American families would constitute an increase in domestic consumption. In

the second place—and this is the important point—the proposed program would help ' in the effort to solve the dilemma of American farmers whose products are not bringing worthwhile prices.

At present, as you know, the Department of Agriculture conducts two major programs to uphold farm prices—the price support program for basic, nonperishable foods, and the surplus removal program for perishable foods and other commodities not covered by the price support program. These two programs, in order to protect farmers' incomes when surpluses begin to flood the markets, carry out nationwide purchases of the excess products.

But, the condition of America's farm products market is rarely clear-cut, with a neat dividing line between products which are in surplus supply and products which are not. There always are a number of border-line food items which present a problem. They are in excessive supply to a degree that their prices are somewhat depressed, but not to a degree that they are deemed eligible for assistance under the surplus programs. Therefore, they continue to remain in a slightly sluggish condition on the market.

Now, it is in the matter of these borderline products that I feel that S. 663 would prove to be valuable. In putting the bill into effect, the Secretary of Agriculture would be expected to make judicious, economical purchases, with his decisions as to what type of foods to buy based largely on the prevailing market conditions. Therefore, it follows that the Secretary probably would choose to purchase mainly borderline commodities, as their depressed prices would make them good bargains. And the purchases would, in turn, help improve the status of these slightly surplus items. Thus, the overrall objective of stabilizing and improving the Nation's farm prices would be well served.

Of course, gentlemen, this price-support aspect of the bill would be only a side benefit of the measure. Its basic objective still must be a humanitarian one. It is a crucially needed emergency step to alleviate the suffering and hunger of millions of American men, women and children. If we can continue to provide billions of dollars for hungry persons in foreign countries, it is unconscionable that we could refuse to give a small fraction of that amount for our own flesh and blood.

Lord Asquith once said: "The test of every civilization must be the point to which the lowest and most unfortunate are allowed to fall."

America is being put to that test today. I fervently hope that we shall not fail it.

Memorial Day Address Delivered by Representative George M. Rhodes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, on Memorial Day, Representative George M. Rhodes, of Pennsylvania, delivered a very fine address at Womelsdorf, Pa. The address cites many of the challenges before our Nation during this very perilous and difficult period. I commend it to the reading of my colleagues, and I therefore ask unanimous consent that it

may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

MEMORIAL DAY ADDRESS BY CONGRESSMAN GEORGE M. RHODES, WOMELSDORF, PA., MAY 30, 1959

In common with our fellow Americans in 10,000 communities, we are assembled here today to honor the memory of those who gave their lives that this Nation might live and all of our loved ones who have passed on—and to pay homage to the countless dead who served our country on many far-flung battlefields throughout the world.

It is fitting and proper that we should, at such regular intervals, gather reverently, to remind ourselves of the service to their country and the sacrifices made by those who died for us. Such ceremonies are a solemn obligation—a pledge of remembrance, both to the dead and to their loved ones who survive.

Memorial Day always recalls Lincoln's words, delivered not a hundred miles away, at the battlefield of Gettysburg. Lincoln, of course, was brooding over the long struggle that still lay ahead before the Union and the cause of freedom could be secure. But even so, I think his words were directed not to any one party, not to any one State, not even to any one generation, but to all Americans who honor the memory of their fallen soldiers.

"It is rather for us," Lincoln said, "to be

"It is rather for us," Lincoln said, "to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve, that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this Nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

The meaning of Lincoln's words rings just as true today as it did almost 100 years ago.

It is our duty, on this and every Memorial Day, to give thought to the ideals for which they gave their lives. We must take this opportunity to rededicate ourselves to the never-ending services of citizenship that are necessary to the success of any democracy.

Our forefathers said that eternal vigilance is the price of human freedom. That is more than ever true today as we face the threat of Communist tyranny and totalitarianism; and as we face an equally dangerous threat of nuclear and biological warfare which could destroy our entire civilization. Overnight, two great opposing nations, using the latest weapons of destruction, could destroy the major population centers, each killing more than a hundred million people in one blow. The aftermath could be even more deadly from radioactive fallout contaminating our food supplies and affecting the normal growth and reproduction of future generations of our people.

Never before have we as Americans faced such a challenge to our security and our survival and to our good sense and intelligence. The problem is not only to prevent nuclear warfare but it is equally important that we strengthen our Nation morally—spiritually and economically, as well as militarily, and show the world that democracy is superior to dictatorship as a way of life. We must prove to the other nations of

We must prove to the other nations of the world, that we can find a way to translate the great abundance with which our great Nation is blessed into a force for the common good and for the public welfare. We must have the vision and the determination to end the waste of unemployment when there is so much work that needs to be done. We must not permit want and poverty at a time when we worry about what to do with what we have so much of in surpluses of food and other essentials of life.

Poverty is an ally of communism. We have the means to wipe out poverty in our own country, and by example and cooperation we can aid other free people in this fight against poverty and communism.

To win this fight we must end the waste of human and natural resources. The real wealth of our Nation is these human and natural resources, our know-how, our productive power, and the intelligence and health of our people.

We must end the waste of lost productivity, for heavy unemployment is contrary to the best interest of our country, as is the waste of the potential of our children because of limited educational opportunities.

Our future strength, as never before, depends upon developing the best talents in our young people. Yet there are many thousands of boys and girls who will graduate from our high schools during the next few weeks, who want to go to college, who have the capacity to learn, but who will be denied the opportunity because there are not sufficient facilities in classrooms and teachers, or because of family difficulties and distress, much of which is the result of unwise and unjust fiscal and economic policies of our Federal Government.

This is more than a denial of opportunity to our children. It is a tragic loss to the Nation at a time when Communist Russia is moving ahead rapidly in this field where our Nation's future strength and leadership is being challenged.

This is a challenge to the best that is in us. The failure to provide adequate medical care and rehabilitation programs for the disabled is also wasteful and deprives these individuals and the Nation of productivity and the right of our aged and handicapped to lead more useful lives.

Our strength as a nation ultimately rests with our people—industrious, healthy, well-informed, creative Americans who fully understand the needs and objectives of our free society as a powerful force for good at home and throughout the world.

As we commemorate this Memorial Day, let us seek the vision and the courage to raise our moral, spiritual and intellectual standards which are as important as our military and economic strength in making our Nation strong and progressive and a powerful force for world peace and freedom.

The destructive powers of atomic energy are beyond human imagination. But as a force for good, it is even more fantastic in what if offers in creating abundance and a high level of living in the atomic age. It can be the servant of man as well as the destrover.

The war against communism and other totalitarian evils requires a strong and united America.

People need to have the faith, ideals and principles of their forefathers. We need to raise moral, ethical, and spiritual standards in the home, in the community, in government and in our every day life. We must make decisions in the light of reason and understanding of the facts and basic issues. We must look through the fog of confusion, and the clash of narrow, selfish interests to advance the common interest we all share in good government and in a strong and progressive Nation.

A strong America requires full educational opportunities for our youth, decent homes for all our people, job opportunities for all who are willing and able to work, and adequate pensions for the aged and disabled. We must provide the best possible hospital and medical care for our war veterance.

We need to practice economy in government, but must guard against false economy which would undermine health and educational standards, destroy essential programs such as flood control and soil conservation, and which would permit great waste of human and natural resources.

We do rightly when we honor those who gave their all for their country. We can take just pride in the many beautiful monuments which serve to remind us of their sacrifices.

We can, however, best honor the memory of our beloved dead by striving faithfully to carry forward those ideals which motivated them—by remaining true to our faith—boldly proclaiming to a troubled, uneasy world that we are still a Nation united, that we will oppose Communist tyranny and totalitarianism everywhere and unite with the democratic nations in building for a free and peaceful world.

Let us, as Lincoln said, dedicate ourselves to those unfinished tasks remaining before us. The best memorial to our honored dead will be a vigorous, healthy, sound and strong America, abounding with hope and opportunity, insolubly linked with the like-minded peoples of the earth, for mutual well-being and for mutual defense against tyranny and aggression.

As we honor our soldier dead and all of our heroic war veterans, let us dedicate ourselves to the task of making our great Nation an even greater force in world leadership through understanding, unity and prosperity at home, free from internal, sectional, religious, or racial strife, setting the example for all mankind and all nations for a better tomorrow.

#### Tribute to Robert Murphy, Deputy Secretary of State

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, in special ceremonies recently, the University of Notre Dame conferred the Laetare Medal upon Mr. Robert Murphy, Deputy Under Secretary of State.

The university confers the medal once each year upon an outstanding American Roman Catholic layman.

Over the years, Bob Murphy has made an outstanding record in the United States service, with a credit to himself and to his country, particularly as a troubleshooter to a number of areas around the world.

We, in Wisconsin, are particularly proud of Bob, our native son, and of his fine record.

I wish to join with his many friends in congratulating him upon this wellmerited recognition.

Now, I ask unanimous consent to have excerpts from the fine commendation by Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, president of Notre Dame, reviewing some of Bob Murphy's work and achievements upon presentation of the medal, as reported in the New York Times of June 2, printed in the Appendix of the Recorn.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### TRIBUTE TO ROBERT MURPHY

For more than two-score years of ardent dedication to your country's service, in a

century rife with turmoil, war and abiding menace, you have shown a noble record of selfless endeavor, of devotion to principle, of prudence and of wisdom. You have been in a diplomatic sense the world's physician; diagnosing with masterful skill its manifold ills; sitting patiently at dozens of national bedsides while political leaders tossed in a fever of fear, suspicion or ill will; and by applying a therapy of charity, patience, understanding and good will you have usually brought the patients back to normal health and peace.

## Research Into Cancer and Other Diseases

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. LISTER HILL

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, Tris Coffin is a member of the Washington radiopress corps and author of a daily news broadcast originating in this city and reaching out to sponsor stations in several States.

On June 3 of this year Mr. Coffin devoted most of his news program to recent Senate committee hearings concerning the need for increased Federal funds to help researchers hurry the day when man will conquer the ancient scourge of cancer.

The hearings were before the Health, Education, and Welfare Appropriations Subcommittee of which I am chairman. A number of this Nation's most outstanding doctors and scientists testified at these hearings to urge increased funds for medical research into cancer and other major killers of mankind.

After reading the testimony of various witnesses before the HEW Subcommittee, Mr. Coffin was so impressed that he decided to devote a series of broadcasts to the hearings.

I ask unanimous consent that excerpts from the transcript of the first of these broadcasts be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

BROADCAST ON COMMITTEE HEARINGS

A few days ago, a woman and two men listened to news that makes the heart sing with pride and joy. In a large, glistening Senate hearing room, they were told how to save the lives of 34 million Americans.

There were no banner headlines over this glad news, no happy voices crying it into the air. Sournalism seems to have a far greater fascination in death and ruin than in the quiet work of healing.

Senator Lister Hill, one of the truly great patrons of medicine, was holding a hearing on funds for cancer research. The administration had asked for a cautious \$71 million. Senator Hill wished to increase this to \$109 million. By comparison, the military budget is a thundering \$40 billion.

By Senator Hill's side were the gracious and thoughtful Senator Margaret Chase Smith of Maine, and Senator Mike Monsoney of Oklahoma, whose clear mind has won him respect and honor.

The first witness was another Senator, himself a victim of cancer last year. RICHARD NEUBERGER'S SOft voice talked of the

\$109 million, and he said, "This is about the sum needed to fire a few missiles off the launching pads of Cape Canaveral. If there was a foreign enemy that would strike down 50 million Americans, and about 34 million would die from this attack, every single resource of our Nation would be thrown into the fray. Our Treasury would be emptied, every young man and woman mobilized. Yet is a fee of this magnitude, and we spend less conquering it than on chewing gum, permanent waves, or greeting cards.

The other Senators were so still he might

have whispered and told his tale.

The next witness was Dr. Isador S. Ravdin, whose leadership is an inspiration to all those fighting cancer in the laboratories and hospitals. He was short, somewhat stout, and seemed a little weary. Yet most of all, he had the stamp of the humanitarian. This is not a mark or a medal a man wears on his chest. It is, instead, a look in the eyes, a feeling in the voice.

Dr. Ravdin told a story. In the early 920's, a distinguished pathologist came to the William Pepper laboratories and had lunch with the late Dr. Alfred Stengel.

Dr. Stengel asked him gently, "Tom, how

is young Tom?"

The other replied in a voice of the greatest sorrow and bitterness, "I wish young Tom was dead. He has diabetes. He is 13, and isn't any bigger than a boy of 6. He can't possibly live and grow up."

Dr. Stengel looked at him and said, "Tom, you ought not talk this way. The next month, the next year, or the year after, someone will come forth with a solution for diabetes."

The very next day, the discovery of insulin was announced. This boy, young Tom, was the second patient treated in this country. He began to grow rapidly. Today, he is married, has five children, and is himself a distinguished pathologist.

Finishing the story, Dr. Ravdin said, "I cannot, Senator, accurately predict the future for cancer treatment. I might be so bold, however, to assert that I believe we shall see a vast reduction in the mortality from cancer in the lifetime of the oldest of us here. I can tell you, as chairman of the clinical panel, that real progress is being made. Plans should be laid for a continued and steady increase in funds for research."

Dr. Ravdin, sitting earnest and full of his subject, went on, "While surgery and X-ray are valuable in treatment, they are not good enough to still the search for further better methods. New agents to fight cancer are being made available at an amazing rate. I, myself, have seen certain of these agents cause the rapid disappearance of malignant tumors. The tragedy is that after a period of time, these malignant lesions again make their appearance. We shall have to find agents which destroy every cancer cell in the body. Such agents, I believe and hope (he said) will be found."

Senator Hill asked in his easy Alabama drawl, "How much of this can be attributed

to research, Doctor?"

Dr. Ravdin replied, "About 9944 percent. The progress is heart warming. A few years ago, an infant with lukemia never lived out the first year. Children are now living several years. It is with a real sense of humility and gratitude that I tell you research is overcoming ignorance." He paused and went on, "Great truths in medical knowledge are usually the results of research by many workers, each of whom adds to the sum total of final accomplishment."

The talk turned to use of radioactive isotopes in cancer therapy, and Senator Mon-BONEY leaned forward and said, "I just hope there will be funds and personnel in the nuclear field turned over to medicine, instead of the constant statements from the military of the catastrophic creation of hydrogen bombs. We should let the world

know of our interest in saving life instead of destroying it."

Dr. Raydin told of the goals of cancer research-finding a vaccine useful against all forms of cancer, a simple diagnostic test, and developing agents to halt cancer. He showed slides of mice treated with agents discovered in the laboratories. In one, the cancer was completely destroyed after 11 days

Next on the stand was a great, tall man, Dr. Sidney Farber of the Harvard Medical School, whose treatment of cancer in children has saved so much suffering in the

Dr. Farber described some of the progress breaking through in the worldwide research, and said, "If we had anything like this in 1935, the program and budget we are talking about today would have been in effect in 1936."

Then, the room was darkened and pictures were flashed on a screen. Dr. Farber's voice, that of a man in a great hurry, explained the slides of shrunken cancer tumors in animals and humans. He said: "We cannot stand still because the leads are too important. We must proceed as rapidly as the doctors and the scientists know how.'

The Senators nodded their heads in silent agreement.

This is Tris Coffin. I'll be back with an interview with the happiest man in Congress after this important message.

#### Labor Reform Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record the leading editorial in the current issue of Life magazine. This editorial states the compelling need for action this year on labor reform legislation.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### IS CONGRESS BOSS, OR HOFFA?

The showdown is at hand. The issue is very simple. Is Jimmy Hoffa, whose union includes arsonists, extortionists, and associates of murderers, stronger than the Congress of the United States in all its might and majesty?

Hoffa, as Life's readers are by now very well aware, makes no bones of his de-termination to control everything that moves, and, if need be, stop everything that moves in a general strike to enforce his will on the whole Nation. He specifically threatened one if Congress is stupid enough to pass a bill banning secondary boycotts. In short, Hoffa regards himself as more powerful than Congress.

He may be right. There are already signs that some Congressmen, who have been subjected to intense Teamsters lobbying at dally breakfasts and briefings, are running away from a labor bill with the kind of teeth needed to bring Jimmy Hoffa and his gangster crew down to size. The Kennedy-Ervin bill, which would go a long way to do this, passed the Senate with only one dis- IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES senting vote. But there is doubt that the

House will have the guts to make it law.

What are they afraid of? The big city
Congressmen fear the political power of or-

ganized labor, even though numerous elections have demonstrated that union bosses can't control the votes of their members. Now that the AFL-CIO executive council, which supported labor reform, has chickened out on the bill as finally drawn, the line of political cowards is growing longer by

We've got some news for the chicken Congressmen. The ordinary people of this country—including the rank-and-file members of unions-are fed to the teeth with the arrogance, the violence, lawlessness, bribery, and stealing of corrupt union bosses. They believe in unions. They are aware of the great contribution union power has made to our high-wage, mass-consumption economy. But they are likewise angry at the misuse of unions by malefactors of great power who today stand in the role once played by malefactors of great wealth. Union members themselves, in a recent poll, voted 62 percent in favor of curbing the power of unions.

In spite of the sickening revelations by the McClellan committee, Investigator Bos Ken-NEDY reports that there is appalling public apathy and that Congressmen get virtually no mail on the Hoffa mess. We believe there is widespread latent indignation, and that what may seem to be apathy is nothing more than disgust that, after 21/2 years of those revelations, a do-nothing Congress still has not enacted the vital reforms these abuses cry

The people are certainly entitled to be They are entitled to be angry that any Congressman should be willing even to be seen with Hoffa's lobbyists, much less listen to them.

The American people want this mess cleaned up—and pronto. The very minimum they demand—and which the Kennedy-Ervin bill does provide-is a labor law that will bar criminals from union office, guarantee free elections and free speech for union members. protect union funds from misuse, and open union books to regular public inspection. They want such a law this year, now.

The AFL-CIO executive council earlier had supported basic reforms but now objects to other, last-minute provisions added by the Senate. Perhaps these should be modified in the interests of getting, at once, the most important reforms. Quibbling over others must not be allowed, as it was last year, to kill the whole measure. Yet the do-nothing Congressmen think you, the public, have lost interest in this matter. Does your Congressman think that? It is your job as a constituent not to let him. Write him how you feel. By so doing you may help Congress find the spunk to look Jimmy Hoffa in the eye and to stare him down.

For the showdown is simply a question of who's going to be boss-Jimmy Hoffa or the sovereign people of the United States of America. Hoffa's gang is not afraid to use guns, arson, terror, brass knuckles, and baseball bats to beat down the freedoms of Americans. Time was when our forebears who earned these freedoms we inherited would have taken up their muskets to end a threat as grave as this. The least you can do is pick up a pencil and a postcard.

#### Balancing the Moral Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS

OF ILLINOIS

Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, at the -18th annual Century Club dinner of the

Harlem YMCA, on last Monday evening, the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. Hum-PHREY! once again gave voice to the hopes and determination of the great majority of the American people that basic human rights shall be denied to none by reason of race, color, religion or national origin.

In his speech entitled "Balancing the Moral Budget." Senator HUMPHREY eloquently reminded his listeners of the deficits in our democracy's human budget. He also renewed his appeals for action by this Congress to back up the desegregation decisions of the Supreme Court, to assist the States and localities in compliance, and to give the Attorney General authority to seek court orders enjoining violations of individuals' rights under the 14th amendment.

This speech is a timely reminder of the importance of these national goals, a realistic appraisal of the inadequacy of certain other programs, a frank facing of the legislative obstacles still to be overcome, and a clear summary of our most effective legislative proposals in this field. For these reasons I ask unanimous consent that Senator Hum-PHREY's speech be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BALANCING THE MORAL BUDGET

(Remarks of Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY at the 18th annual Century Club dinner of Harlem YMCA, New York City, May 25, 1959)

I am glad to be here at this 18th annual Century Club dinner on the occasion of your awards for achievement in sports and in the theater

I remember the old song, "Reach down, reach down your head, O Lord, and help this child along.

This is what the Harlem branch of the YMCA has been doing all these years.

This is what Jackie Robinson is doingas a civic leader here in New York, as a member of the parole board in his adopted State of Connecticut, and as a newspaper columnist and TV personality.

I am proud to share your platform tonight with Jackle Robinson-very proud. For Jackie Robinson is a concerned person. Nothing human is alien to his interest. I know this because I have read his column and I have heard his broadcast. And I have talked with him.

He is soft-hearted but tough-minded. From his own personal experience and observation in breaking the color barrier into the big leagues, he learned the economics of integration the hard way.

He knows that it is our job-his, yours, and mine—to see that every American has the opportunity to develop into a useful

and happy citizen.

As I read and listen to Jackie Robinson, I know he is pro-Negro but above all he is pro-American. In a recent column he defined his position clearly and in a way that, it seems to me, is a valid challenge to any person in, or candidate for, public I want to quote from his May 8 column in the New York Post:

"I certainly don't want to give the impression that during the elections Negro voters will be considering only what's best for Negroes alone. As Americans, we have as much stake in this country as anyone We, too are concerned about foreign policy, farm policy, national defense, a balanced budget, and all the rest.

"Still, to effectively participate in a democracy, you must first enjoy the basic freedoms that democracy guarantees to everyone else. And since Negroes, North and South, have so long been deprived of many of the rights that everyone else takes for granted, it's only natural that we are especially interested in catching up on basic freedoms before we work up much excitement about protective tariffs or forest preserves or the like.

"Then, too, Negroes aren't seeking anything which is not good for the Nation as well as ourselves. In order for America to be 100 percent strong—economically, defensively and morally-we cannot afford the waste of having second- and third-class

citizens.

"Negro citizens this year and next will be using their individual, unpledged votes as never before. No one party or candidate can lay safe prior claim to the so-called 'Negro vote.' It is for the parties and the candidates to demonstrate themselves that they are actually helping to make de-mocracy work-not just for white people, nor just for colored people, but for each one of us separately and for all of us collectively.

"Certainly this is no more than any voter has a right to expect, and a duty to demand." I propose to try to reply to that challenge

tonight.

We have had much talk in recent months about a balanced budget—more talk about a balanced budget, in fact, than about the needs of our country and its citizens.

If we are to survive as a free people, we need to-we must-balance our human

budget.

Only as we balance our human budget can we hope to balance our money budget over the long hard pull of the next 20 or 30 years or however long it may take to establish a genuine and lasting peace among freemen.

We must wipe out unemployment by balancing our production and consumption

budget.

We must wipe out our slums by balancing our housing budget. We must wipe out our appalling losses in preventable diseases and sickness by balancing our health budget, so that every person can have the care and skill now available to those who can pay big bills.

We must wipe out the terrific losses in family development by balancing our income budget through a fair minimum wage law applicable to all workers, adequate unemployment compensation, and a greater share of our economic abundance for older citi-

We must wipe out the shocking education deficit that was exposed to the world a year and a half ago when the first sputnik was

put into orbit.

We must balance our education budget by seeing to it that every child-rich or poor, white, black, red, or yellow-in this Nation has full and equal access to education up to the limit of his potential in terms of ability and will. If we miss one Einstein, one Lise Meisner, one Nils Bohr, one George Washington Carver, we may miss the margin between survival and disappearance of freedom or civilization itself.

We must wipe out the manmade deficits in opportunities which now frustrate, blunt, or drive millions of our youth and our adult citizens to desperation and reckless dissipation of great ability.

FBI Director Hoover has recently reported that (1) crime is up, (2) crime by youth

is up. Why?

Of course the causes are many. But high on the list is the frustration, the indignities suffered by millions of our children, our teenagers and our adults because of discrim-

ination and bigotry.

To balance the picture, let it be said that there has been progress, great progress, in the field of equal opportunity in education and employment. Great progress has been made in the past 10 years here in New York, in my home State of Minnesota, in New Jersey, in Connecticut, in Massachusetts, more recently in Michigan, in Ohio, and only a few weeks ago and at long last, a State antidiscrimination bill was made law in California. But even in these States, the job is far from complete.

More tragic, more dangerous to the strength, the security and the survival of our country is the brutal fact that we have made the least progress where the need is greatest, most urgent, most difficult to achieve. must wipe out the shocking human deficit represented by these denials of full civil rights to all Americans whatever their race. color, religion, national origin, or ancestry.

We must balance the moral budget and do

it before it is too late.

It is at peril to our surivval that we shirk the balancing of our moral budget. It is folly to try to evade it by substituting for responsible legal action presidential counsels of patience and education or even legislative gestures limited to conciliation or to other forms of exhortation not backed by the equal protection of the law guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States.

We must dare to hope that by 1963, the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation, all Negroes, all Americans of whatever color, race, religion or national origin shall be truly free, in the sense that in their daily lives they shall have equal oppor-

tunity, security, and dignity.
In 1947, President Truman's Civil Rights Committee said the time for action is now. It is 12 years later and, except for the Civil Rights Act of 1957, pared down under threat of Senate filibuster, the Congress has done nothing to balance the moral budget.

Instead, it has been the courts, usually considered the combined rudder and sea anchor of our Ship of State, which have provided the most substantial progress toward wiping out our national deficit in the field of civil rights.

It is now more than 5 years since the Supreme Court, by unanimous opinion, held that separate but equal schools are unequal by the very fact of their segregation and ordered that they be integrated with all deliberate speed.

Compliance is general in the North; progress has been made in the border States; token integration is underway in the upper South; the back of massive resistance has been broken in Virginia, the intellectual and spiritual leader of the Old South. But the high schools in Little Rock are still closed.

In the simplest terms, using men as symbols of positions they represent, the issue was well stated by Senator Paul Douglas during the Senate debate on the anti-Supreme Court bills last August, when he said: The issue is Warren or Faubus."

Of course, it is more than that, as he added instantly. But it expresses the essential truth.

The Supreme Court needs help. It is entitled to help. It should have had it long before now.

Congress should act now, in this session. We cannot again go home having done nothing. We cannot ignore the continued meaning of Little Rock, the example of unrebuked, unchecked defiance of the Constitution and the courts.

We must not ignore the deeper meaning and challenge of the lynching at Poplarville, the rape at Tallahassee and all the hundreds of unknown, unpublicized daily acts of discrimination in atmospheres of violence, threats, and chronic terror.

We made a serious mistake, I think, last January, when instead of changing the Senate rules so as to permit the breaking of a filibuster by a majority of all the Members

of the Senate, the Senate voted to continue

the power of the filibuster.

Now we must again legislate the hard way—subject to a double veto threat, the veto power of a filibustering minority of one-third-plus-one in the Senate and the veto power of the President, if supported by a minority of one-third-plus-one.

We cannot permit the threat of filibuster or Presidential veto to set the standards for civil rights legislation—or any other legisla-

tion.

No matter how rough the road to civil rights legislation, we must persevere and we must win. This is one fight the American

people cannot afford to lose.

Recognizing the unlikelihood of getting the Douglas-Humphrey-Javits civil rights bill out of the clutches of Senator EASTLAND'S Senate Judiciary Committee, we must all help Chairman CELLER of the House Judiciary Committee get his bill, identical with ours, out on the House floor soon. If the House passes this bill and gets it over to the Senate in time for action before adjournment we will not tolerate having this bill tied up in Senate committee. Let the record be clearwe got a civil rights bill to the floor of the Senate in 1957 and we can do it again.

The Douglas-Humphrey-Javits bill is better than the 1957 bill in at least two vital

respects:

1. It provides an understanding step-bystep support and implementation of the Supreme Court's 1957 school desegregation decisions:

2. It provides the Attorney General with authority to act when an individual cannot enforce his own constitutional right to equal protection of the laws. Titles V and VI of this bill are an improved version of the part III that was stricken from the 1957 bill at the insistence of the anticivil rights forces.

Although our bill is designed primarily to carry out the Supreme Court's school desegregation decisions, it is not limited to that purpose. Titles V and VI provide Federal assistance to any individual unable to obtain his constitutional rights by authorizing the Attorney General to file injunction proceedings, enforceable by contempt actions, more effective than the limited usefulness of criminal action.

The very least we must have in the way of a 1959 civil rights bill is the brain, heart and soul of the Douglas-Humphrey-Javits bill:

1. A declaration of support for the Supreme Court in its integration decisions;

The step-by-step help to States and local authorities in complying with all deliberate speed;

 The authority for the Attorney General to seek court orders enjoining against violation of an individual's civil rights.

This is minimum justice in the field of

civil rights in this year of 1959.

I suggest that all true friends of civil rights concentrate on promoting House and Senate action on such a bill well before adjournment.

I agree with the statement of Roy Wilkins and the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights that this is the No. 1 civil rights bill. But I go further. I say that this is not just a civil rights bill; it is something far bigger. The enactment of this bill now is an urgently needed demonstration of our democratic faith.

For the watching two-thirds of the world's peoples who are colored, for the watching one-third of the world's peoples who are today uncommitted in the contest between communism and democracy, the single act of adopting and carrying out this bill will revalidate our credentials as practitioners at home of the rights of the individual human being that we preach abroad.

I believe that the best politics, the best diplomacy, the most expedient course in the

long run, is to do the right thing in the short run and to do it because it is the right thing.

If we may talk in the vocabulary of the moment, let us say that this bill, when made law, will have a blessed fallout that will be borne around the world on the winds of thought and human emotion.

As our example and our fresh proof of our belief in the rights of man takes hold, democracy will be better strengthened, better defended, and more secure here and everywhere in the world. It will penetrate where no weapon or missile can go—into the minds and hearts of the very people who today are uncommitted and who will either believe democracy's promise of both bread and freedom or accept communism's promise of bread now and a caricature of freedom later.

But, basically, I hope that Congress will act now in this session of Congress because it is the right thing to do. I hope that we will have the fortitude to surmount the difficulty of strong differences within the Congress. I hope we will lay this bill upon the President's desk before we go home to face and report to the American people upon our stewardship and our performance upon our promises to them.

In civil rights, as in defense and economic strength, we must not fall the Nation or the free world. We must be strong in all things now, or we shall be secure in none.

# Dedication of Albert Einstein Medical Center, Philadelphia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. JOSEPH S. CLARK

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, on behalf of the junior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Scott] and myself, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a statement outlining the celebration to take place on the 11th of this month at the Albert Einstein Medical Center, Philadelphia. This center is one of America's great institutions for research.

I direct attention to the importance of this occasion. The city council of Philadelphia has adopted appropriate resolutions, and the mayor of Philadelphia is proclaiming Sunday, June 14, as Einstein Medical Center Day.

On behalf of my colleague and myself I congratulate the members of the board and of the staff for the great work they are doing in medical research.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

On the 11th of this month (June 1959) the Albert Einstein Medical Center, one of America's great institutions for research, medical education and the care of the sick and injured, will begin a 5-day program of ceremonies and scientific meetings to dedicate, at its northern division, its fine new hospital facilities in the Greater Philadelphia area.

In recognition of the importance of this approaching occasion, the City Council of Philadelphia has adopted appropriate resolutions and the mayor of Philadelphia is proclaiming Sunday, June 14, as Einstein Medical Center Day.

On that day a message of congratulation from the President of the United States will be read at the formal dedication and the Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania will express our great State's special appreciation of an \$3,500,000 expansion the medical center has completed.

This much-needed expansion includes the splendid new Paley Clinic Building, where remarkable progress in dental work for handicapped children is already being made and the ultramodern medical surgical building, offering the Philadelphia area efficient new facilities for patient care. The entire area below the main floor level of the two adjoining buildings is integrated with a new accident ward to provide a vast X-ray and operating room complex that could handle almost any community disaster. Altogether, the new facilities add more than 2,500,000 cubic feet of space to the medical center's northern division and bring its bed capacity up to 660. When its southern division is added, the Einstein Medical Center will become a 1,000-bed institution.

In this day and age it is of special interest to realize that the northern division of the Einstein Medical Center is an outgrowth of Philadelphia's old Jewish Hospital, and that the old Jewish Hospital was founded nearly 100 years ago for the relief of the sick and wounded without regard to creed, color, or nationality.

Mr. President, that pledge was engraved in the hospital's corporate papers several years before the 15th amendment to the Constitution was proposed and ratified. It was possibly the earliest formal expression of a pledge that is part of the American credo today.

In passing it should be mentioned that 2 days of scientific meetings in connection with the dedication will be featured by recollections on the part of a surgeon of old Jewish Hospital who began his career more than a half-century ago; by a venture into the future of surgery on the part of one of America's best-known experts in that field, Dr. Isidore Ravdin, and by an exploration into space medicine on the part of an Air Force medical officer.

The medical center's new buildings are designed to operate as a functional whole. Together they will house clinics that range alphabetically from allergy to vascular, a succession of laboratories far more extensive and well-equipped than has been possible in the past, a separate pediatric floor that features indoor and outdoor play areas, a central pharmacy geared to fill more than 340,000 prescriptions a year, a series of 14 operating rooms, one of which is fitted for color television transmission over a closed circuit, and finally floor after floor of efficient patient rooms, each with piped-in oxygen and individual temperature control.

The medical center embraces the old Jewish Hospital and the former Mt. Sinai Hospital, which now is its southern division. The center has been in the forefront of the fight against cancer, and it shares in several Federal research projects.

During all 5 days of the dedication celebration, which will be brought to a close with the medical center's annual dinner meeting, the public will be welcomed to the new facilities and escorted through them by specially trained guides. The public will see a clinic building that already is in full operation. The medical-surgical building will be integrated with the hospital routine in carefully planned stages.

Before the end of this year the medical center expects to complete and start using a great new research building that will still further augment its facilities. That new building will enable the medical center to expand its research activities by approximately 70 percent.

At present the medical center is pursuing more than 70 research projects at a cost of approximately \$300,000 a year, financed in large measure by grants. In addition, its School of Nursing draws students from as far as Egypt and Lithuania, while its medical education program embraces postgraduate training for practicing physicians and dentists as well as on-the-job training for resi-dents, interns and technicians.

Einstein Medical Center is one of the few teaching hospitals that have filled and continue to fill their annual intern quota. That alone, in the field of medicine, is a solid

claim to fame.

#### Foreign Loan Assistance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a column and article recently published in the Christian Science Monitor on the need for an enlarged and more durable program of foreign loan assistance. I believe that both indicate the strong desirability of enacting the proposals which Senator FULBRIGHT has introduced as amendments to the Mutual Security Act.

There being no objection, the column and article were ordered to be printed

in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Christian Science Monitor, May 4, 1959]

#### FULDRIGHT'S 5-YEAR PLAN

From his opposition seat Senator Ful-BRIGHT has offered to rescue the President's extremely useful foreign Development Loan Fund from the yearly ravages of last-minute budget slashing. The President has responded with guarded approval.

We hope the administration will do more than this-despite the "made by Democrats" label on the Fullbright foreign aid bill amendments.

What Senator Fulbright urges is to put the Loan—yes, loan—Fund on a long-term basis. He proposes that up to \$7.5 billion be made available for development loans during the coming 5-year period.

He further proposes to permit the administration a much wider latitude to play the world situation as it comes by permitting the President to transfer as much as 30 percent of military assistance funds to economic aid where circumstances warrant.

The key point to these Fulbright amendments is that they are permissive rather than demanding. They would strengthen the administration's hand in foreign policy by permitting it to make long-range plans; permitting it to use up to \$1.5 billion a year in loans; permitting it to control the balance between military and economic support in accordance with the needs of the day.

The Development Loan Fund is more than a corporate Good Samaritan. It is a natural development of the fact that the United States is now the world's leading creditor Nation, and that at least a portion of that credit capital is put to its most productive use as an adjunct to peaceful diplomacy.

If the fund is to be treated as the poor brother to every pork-barrel program in Congress, America's, sometimes hesitant friends overseas will be left no alternative but to turn to the Hammer and Sickle Finance Company with its easy credit termsand who knows how long to pay?

[From the Christian Science Monitor, May 5, 19591

#### IS INDIA WORTH SPECIAL AID? (By William H. Stringer)

Is India worth a special foreign aid operation—as, for instance, Western Europe once was rescued by the Marshall plan?

Right now the spotlight is being focused on India by official Washington and by unofficial policy-pondering groups around the Nation. India, whose population equals that of Africa and Latin America combined, is in trouble. Perhaps India, trying to modernize by democratic methods-while Red China next door is using the police-state methods of communism-deserves a very special helping hand.

The time is fast approaching when Congress, and the American people, will need to decide whether the United States should take the leadership in a multigovernment underwriting of India's third 5-year plan to the tune of \$1 billion or \$1.5 billion a year.

Senator John Kennedy, Democrat, of Massachusetts, has proposed that a congressional contingent should tour Asia-similar to the congressional group which a representative by the name of Christian A. Herter once led to Europe in the pre-Marshal plan days, laying the basis for that aid program which so revitalized U.S. European allies.

Simultaneously Senator J. W. Fulbright, Democrat, of Arkansas, chairman of the Sen-ate Foreign Relations Committee, has pro-posed that Washington's new Development Loan Fund be augmented so that it can loan (not give away) up to \$1.5 billion a year, in-

stead of \$700 million as now.

Similarly moving toward realistic appraisal and action is the convening in Washington this week of a 2-day conference on "India and the United States." This is arranged by the Committee for International Economic Growth, an organization embracing the National Planning Association, the MIT Center for International Studies and other groups, a committee originally sponsored by people like Dr. Milton Eisenhower, Gen. Lucius Clay, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Gen. Alfred Gruenther, and George Meany.

Why should the United States give special attention to India? What is our stake here?

So far, India has had modest success in its efforts to achieve that breakthrough into better living standards which the industrial revolution brought to pass in Europe. Its first 5-year plan, aiming at agriculture, irrigation, and power generation, was a success. Its second 5-year plan, begun in 1956 and emphasizing industry, will miss full completion by 20 percent, due to the heavy import requirements which have drained off India's foreign exchange. To finish it at all, India will in the end have been assisted by foreign loans and credits totaling \$3 billion.

But now comes the third plan. Experts suggest it will require this annual guarantee of perhaps \$1 billion to \$1.5 billion a year from the West. Otherwise the plan cannot be adequate, India will be gripped by frustration and political instability, and the other underdeveloped lands—watching the rival experiments of India and Red China—will conclude that communism offers the only swift and sure route to rapid economic

As of now, Communist China is forging ahead of India in economic development. has nearly doubled food production, while India's has risen only 50 percent. China's rate of economic growth is faster. On the other hand, many of India's villagers are gaining in hope, in Initiative, and in their status as free men-an advance which China's communes never will bring about.

Let us pose the issue on its broadest terms. We are challenged in Asia-Africa and specifically in India, as Barbara Ward said brilliantly in addressing this Washington conference, with the question whether Western ideals, institutions, and Christian humanity can be applied on a worldwide front. We

may not realize it, but it was certainly the application of these ideals, in the West, which curbed the excesses of the industrial revolution and finally proved Karl Marx totally wrong in his forecasts that capitalism would simply make the rich richer and the poor poorer.

But while this has produced the more abundant life for that 16 percent of hu-manity living mainly around the North Atlantic, who enjoy 70 percent of the world's income, it has yet to be applied to the vast underdeveloped areas of earth. Can Western ideals and institutions be applied world-wide? Or must the West get richer while Asia-Africa gets steadily poorer, and finally falls into the Communist camp?

This is worth pondering. It may give us the answer on special aid to India.

Texas' 36th Division Staged World's Greatest Jailbreak in Italy During World War II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President. although other world events crowded the breaking of the Nazi Alban Hills defenses out of World War II headlines, this feat by Texas' 36th Division-the famed "T-Patchers"—remains one of the dramatic stories of the time.

What makes it more remarkable is the speed, and particularly the silence, with which it was carried off. This began the Wehrmacht retreat that led to the liberation of Rome and the smashing of the Nazi defenses: it has been called the world's greatest jailbreak.

The men of the 36th went through where three American and a British unit had been unable to penetrate before. And their move enabled the Allies to break out of the Anzio Beachhead.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by Kenneth L. Dixon which was published in the Houston (Tex.) Post for Sunday, May 31, 1959, under the heading: "Italy Break-through—36th Staged World's 'Greatest Jailbreak."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Houston Post, May 31, 1959] ITALY BREAKTHROUGH-36TH STAGED WORLD'S GREATEST JAILBREAK

(Kenneth L. Dixon was with .Texas' 36th Division in World War II when it broke out of the Anzio beachhead. He is a former As-sociated Press staff writer and now is managing editor of the Lake Charles (La.) American Press. The following anniversary story of the breakout was written bit by bit in a Galveston hospital where Dixon is recuperating from an operation.)

(By Kenneth L. Dixon)

Fifteen years ago Saturday night a com-parative handful of Texans—native and adopted—spearheaded what came to be known as "history's greatest jailbreak."

They broke the Allied troops out of Anzio beachhead after 4 months' imprisonment there, and they opened the road to Rome.

And they did it without firing a single shot—without a single cartridge in a single rife barrel, for the work that night was done in silence, with knives, bayonets, homemade garrots, and a hand grenade only as a last resort.

Those men of the 36th (Texas) Infantry Division infiltrated the German Alban Hills defense lines, worked their way up and around the key town of Velletri and started a Wehrmacht retreat that became a rout long before it reached the Tiber.

It was a classic infiltration because of its silence, its success and its almost total lack of casualties. Yet it was doomed to obscurity for three reasons.

First, Fifth Army Commander Mark Wayne Clark did not believe in identifying individual units under his command. Second, Rome fell right on the heels of the operation. And third, the Normandy invasion came shortly after the fall of Rome—and the world forgot Italy.

But even had we known, none of that would have mattered to those of us dug in on top of the Alban Hills 15 years ago Saturday morning. We knew that had we dared to climb the trees we could have seen Rome—the first Axis capital doomed to fall. But mainly, we were still alive, and word over the walkie-talkie was that the weird, impossible maneuver was succeeding.

We had walked, climbed, skulked, crawled, and fought our way some 8 circuitous miles to gain the ridge, some 3 miles behind the German lines. And behind us, platoon by platoon and company by company, the entire 2d Battalion of the 142d Regiment had come, slowly spreading out after it crossed the combat line.

By dawn the entire regiment was in position—or near it—atop the ridge, and the next regiment was flanking its way up on our right. Before it was done, almost the full effective combat strength of the division had moved through a widening hole where, short hours earlier, a single rifleman could not have walked in safety.

walked in safety.

Up there, at long last, we were looking down the Germans' throats, and they didn't know it yet. We turned and started down—and what fighting there was to be done was done.

For me it all started 24 hours earlier in the little stone cowbarn that served as division command post. Three American divisions and one British outfit had bloodied their noses against the Alban line and the word had gone out that the 36th had drawn the short straw for the next try.

Nobody gave the Texans much more of a chance than their luckless predecessors, but the 36th was almost like home to me by then—and besides, I heard that "Gen. Fred"

had a plan. So I joined them.

Sure enough, Maj. Gen. Fred Walker—as fine a division commander as ever came up through the ranks from buck private—had a plan. It was the infiltration plan. Unfortunately (from the division's point of view) Lieutenant General Clark, the Army commander, also had a plan. It consisted of piling riflemen on metal sleds that looked like hog troughs on runners and hauling them behind tanks right up to the line.

I didn't like it. Besides the last time Generals Clark and Walker had disagreed on plans had been at the Rapido River. They had used Clark's with disastrous results.

Anyhow, I told General Walker if they used his plan I wanted to go along, but if they used General Clark's, I did not care for a sleigh ride in May. He just grinned a weary grin and said he was waiting for word from the corps commander, Maj. Gen. Lucian B. Truscott, who was trying to talk Clark into letting him use his plan.

Just then a jeep raced up to the cowbarn and Truscott jumped out, grinning from ear to ear, and ran over. "It's all yours, Fred," he said. "It's all ours."

Within 30 minutes, word spread throughout the division that we were using "General Fred's plan" and you could feel the tension ease.

But nerves had tightened again an hour before dusk when we started a feint in a swing back away from the lines. The Germans could see every move from the hills.

They grew tighter as we swung back toward the combat line at dark. A sniper killed a lieutenant 5 yards in front of me. They caught the sniper, a man in civilian clothes. Two men took him back into the woods. There was a shot. They came out. The line moved on in silence.

At the checkpoint before crossing the combat line, the regimental commander—a raw-boned bemoustached West Pointer—gave the orders tersely. Not a shot was to be fired. To make certain, all rifle barrels were to be cleared. Clips and magazines could be full, but not a cartridge in a rifle chamber.

"Get this clear," the colonel said, "one shot can ruin the whole operation. This is a night for knife work—knives, bayonets, bare hands, strangling any way you can. As a last resort, you can use a hand grenade; they may mistake it for an oncoming mortar. But they know the sound of our small arms. So clear those rifle barrels and keep 'em clear."

Faces fell as the order was passed along, but Lt. Col. Sam Graham, a former West Texas school teacher who had been acting commander of the outfit in more battles than most men had commanded it, got some laughs by saying the general had promised him they wouldn't run into more than one or two Germans at a time. "So who needs guns?" he cracked.

Graham's own Second Battalion—"the Mountaineers" of Mount Lungo and Todundo infiltration experience—were tabbed to lead the operation. The regimental intelligence and reconnaissance platoon was put at point—although I am sure there will be arguments about who was at point as long as two Velletri veterans survive. I stayed right behind the walkie-talkie man who followed the I and R. Scouts. I figured that radio pack would stop a lot of bullets.

We moved out across the combat line. Although it was an impossible night to forget, it is a difficult night to remember in any intelligent sequence. It deteriorates into fragments and flashbacks.

We crawled and climbed almost as much as we walked. There was no smoking and no talking. Once after a brief halt, the man in front signaled to me and pointed. Over against a tree sat a German soldier, wearing two grins in the moonlight—a white one where his teeth were bared, and a red one 3 inches below \* \* \*

A planned fire fight broke out along the line to our left to distract German attention. It worked, but men got hit, and cries of "medic, medic," floated over to us. I heard a commotion and turned. Two men were struggling with an aid man who was trying to go. Finally he subsided and crawled along behind me but I heard him sobbing for what seemed a long time \*

Flares pinned us down in a vineyard. A dog held up the whole straggling line until one of the scouts silenced him. An I and R scout, sheathing his knife, said, "It must be safe here if you guys from regiment are along."

We passed one or two exhaustion cases, men who were gasping uncontrollably. Weariness became a nightmare. So did nervous strain. One man went berserk and had to be gagged until he calmed.

Just before dawn came a new crisis. To reach our assigned post we had to cross a clearing perhaps an eighth of a mile wide, and there was no time to crawl. We double

timed it across, single file, feeling naked in the predawn light, but there were no shots, So went the Velletri infiltration. When

So went the Velletri infiltration. When the Germans awoke to the fact that a full regiment was above and behind them, they panicked and headed out of Velletri and up the road to Rome. Those who didn't were captured or killed.

The rush to Rome was on. Except for delaying tactics, roadblocks, snipers and occasional resistance pockets, the back of the last German defense before Rome was broken.

And although I put the name of every Texan's hometown I could put into the story to give the folks back home a hint, fate was to prevent the 36th Division from ever getting full credit for history's greatest jailbreak—the Anzio beachhead breakout.

Fate treated them even worse at the moment. They got marched right on through the eternal city with order to catch up with the Germans.

Me? I got a confession to make. I stayed a while in Rome.

#### The Passing of the "Voice of Firestone"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, good music is one of the sublime creations of the human race. For many years the "Voice of Firestone" has presented outstanding musical talent and musical numbers over the air waves—first on radio, later on television.

Now, after more than three decades on the air, the "Voice of Firestone" has been forced to relinquish its television time because it could not compete successfully—in the opinion of network business managers—with synthetic cowboy thrillers and comedy shows.

This is certainly a tragedy for television and a blow to people who are dedicated to good music. I join in mourning the passing of the "Voice of Firestone." I salute the Firestone Tire & Rubber Co. for supporting and sustaining this excellent program for so long. May it soon return to our television screens and radio sets.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an article mourning the passing of the "Voice of Firestone," written by John P. Shanley, and published in the New York Times of June 3, 1959.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, June 3, 1959] Television: Death at 31—"Voice of Firestone," a Viotim of Rating, Presents Final Show on Channel 7

#### (By John P. Shanley)

After 31 years on the air, the "Voice of Firestone" presented Monday night what may have been its final program,

The fate of the musical series was mentioned during a brief statement on the channel 7 telecast. Raymond C. Firestone, president of the Firestone Tire and Rubber Co., reported unemotionally what had already been published: the sponsor, willing to continue but unable to find a suitable

period for next season from any of the net-

works, was being forced to go off the air.

Mr. Firestone did not say, as he might have, that the show was victim of television's inflexible dedication to ratings. The night's program of fine music by outstanding artists such as Rise Stevens, Heidi Krall, Richard Tucker, and Robert Merrill, undoubtedly brought pleasure to many listeners.

But probably the American Broadcasting Company telecast did not have so large an audience as the concurrent attractions on the two other television networks.

While Miss Krall was singing the tender Un bel di, from Puccini's Madam Butterfly, more earthy entertainment was being offered by the National Broadcasting Co. and the Columbia Broadcasting System.

On NBC, Peter Gunn was engaaged in a pistol duel with a hoodlum who had shot Gunn's girl friend. On CBS, at the same time, Danny Thomas and Desi Arnaz were simulating concern over their wives' shopping sprees.

Soon afterward the "Voice of Firestone" faded out gently with the singing of Auld Perhaps something can be done Lang Syne. before next fall to obtain a new lease for the program. If not, Monday night should be remembered as a time when commercial television crassly shrugged off not only quality but also tradition.

#### Seeing for One's Self About Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, an article from the Bergen Evening Record of May 26 concerns itself with the appearance of three young leaders in the Republican and Democratic Parties before the senior class of Hackensack High School in New Jersey. I think this is of significant interest.

It is noteworthy to notice the change that has come about in the last few years in relation to participation in politics. It was not so long ago that we found the businessman, the banker, the housewife evincing very little interest in the political field. But a revolution in thinking on this score has occurred. Today we see a recognition and acceptance of the fact that politics does indeed touch each one of us in our daily lives and in a very personal way. I champion this kind of thinking. Surely, we in this enlightened age have a real need to study and to practice politics. For politics means the conduct of government and obviously this is the concern of every one. So it is particularly heartwarming to me to see the interest exhibited by our young leaders in the political field and by our high school boys and girls.

I ask unanimous consent to have this editorial printed in the Appendix of the

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SFEING FOR ONESELF ABOUT POLITICS

What those three people said at Hackensack High School the other day about politics may not be so important as the people Sweeping Reform Won by Ribicoff-Hartthemselves.

The subject under discussion: "Is Politics A Dirty Word?" The audience was the senior class. The speakers were Joanne Eddy, Mary Alice Moss, and William De Lorenzo, Jr. Had they been, let's say, State Senator Walter H. Jones, Democratic State Committeeman Herman P. J. Hoffmann, and Freeholder Director E. Merrill Seaberg they might have expounded more profoundly, but they might not have been so convincing. Jones, Mr. Hoffmann, and Mr. Seaberg, estimable gentlemen all, are nevertheless officeholders, and may be presumed to have a vested interest in politics and its reputation. Furthermore, they are no longer boys.

Miss Eddy, Mrs. Moss, and Mr. De Lorenzo hold no paid political jobs. They are in politics, so to speak, for the kicks. In addition, they are not so long out of school themselves that they cannot remember when they presumed all politicians were villains. Miss Eddy is an industrious, effective toiler for many good causes, among them the Republican Party. Mrs. Moss is a young woman with a great deal of intelligence and spunk, and is one of the Democratic Party's best advertisements. Mrs. De Lorenzo is one of our more alert and intelligent young Republicans. They are the sort of people one likes to see in politics. To an audience of high school seniors they must have been thoroughly believeable.

This message about the validity of politics as a personal concern is a lot more important than it sometimes gets credit for being. Lately a good many people have been delivering it. Businessmen are telling organizations of other businessmen that they have to get into politics. Professional men, housewives, craftsmen all are being told they cannot just stand around and criticize. But the best place to preach the sermon is to the people who will be called to do the job in the years ahead. If the community's young people get the idea that politics is smelly, dingy, unwholesome, then the smelly and unwholesome people are going to take charge. The best convincer is to see fine, young people taking part in politics and Government and enjoying it. A great deal depends on who preaches the sermon.

# Legislative Record of Gov. Abraham A. Ribicoff, of Connecticut

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

#### HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article which appeared in the New York Times of today regarding the splendid legislative record of Gov. Abraham A. Ribicoff in the session of the Connecticut General Assembly which has just ended. The legislative program recommended by Governor Ribicoff this year is an outstanding example of practical reform and good government. I know of few legislative sessions in any State which in any year have achieved such a record of accomplishment.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FORD LEGISLATORS PASS VIRTUALLY ALL MEASURES REQUESTED IN INAUGURAL

(By Richard H. Parke)

HARTFORD, June 3 .- The Connecticut General Assembly worked tonight to dispose of nearly 200 bills before the adjournment deadline, set by law at midnight.

The last-minute legislation was largely routine. The biennial assembly, under Democratic control for the first time since 1876. already had approved sweeping statewide reforms in its 5-month session.

It gave Gov. Abraham A. Ribicoff, Democrat, virtually all the major governmental reorganization measures he requested in his inaugural message last January.

These included:

Abolition of the State's system of town and city courts, dating to 1639, and its replacement by a State circuit court system, effective January 1, 1961.

Abolition of county government, dating to 1666, and the assumption of its powers by the State, effective October 1, 1960.

Authorization for a \$346 million bond issue to finance a 4-year State highway construction program. The bill includes provision for State acquisition of five Hartford area bridges, two of which would be made toll

Approval of a \$57 million bond issue for capital improvements and payment of State building grants to towns.

Approval of the diversion of about \$21 million a year from the State highway fund to the general fund. Governor Ribicoff had warned that the diversion was required to avoid tax increases.

Approval of a \$536 million appropriations bill that included a \$457 million general fund budget for the 1959-61 biennium.

#### OTHER MAJOR LEGISLATION

Other major legislation to win passage included a reorganization of the State health department. The assembly also voted to continue the State education grants to the towns of \$21 a pupil.

However, the Ribicoff administration suffered a few setbacks. One, ironically, was in the field of highway safety with which the Governor has long been identified. Democratic-sponsored bills that would have established a uniform traffic ticket, maximum speed limits and standardized accident report forms were defeated.

The Governor also was unsuccessful in obtaining approval for an expanded unemployment compensation bill. The bill, a key administration measure, finally was passed but suffered crippling amendments. About all it provides for is a \$5 increase in the present \$40 weekly benefit pay.

The session was marked by many close otes. The Democrats control the senate by votes. 29 to 7, but have only a 140 to 138 margin in the House. The highway bond issue bill passed by only one vote and the appropriations measure by only two.

Political observers gave much of the credit for the Democratic victories to John M. Balley, the State leader, who worked closely with legislative leaders throughout the ses-

Poison in Your Water-No. 99

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I am inserting into the Appendix of the Congressional RECORD an article appearing in the Seattle (Wash.) Times of November 18, 1957, entitled "Two Parks Posted as 'Unsafe'":

Two PARKS POSTED AS "UNSAFE"

Ravenna Playfield will be unusable for at least a year because of the north trunk sewer break, Paul V. Brown, park superintendent, said today.

The field, Brown said, is in danger of pollution from raw sewage flowing down the creek bed in Cowen and Ravenna Parks. The playfield is at the southeast corner of Ravenna Park.

The playfield also is being used as a staging area for heavy construction equipment working on a bypass sewer line around the cave-in in Ravenna Boulevard near 16th Avenue NE.

#### BYPASS INVOLVED

Engineers plan to build a temporary bypass line, which will cross the playground's ball field on the surface. A permanent bypass, to be built later, will go under the playfield.

"I think we had better face up to the fact that the playfield will be put out of commission by this work for at least a year," Brown said

Cowen and Ravenna Parks were being posted today as unsafe by the Seattle-King County health department.

Sewage which ordinarily would go into the broken north trunk sewer was being diverted into the open creek bed in the parks,

STREAM 3 FEET WIDE

At some places in the parks, the stream was 3 feet wide.

Brown said the use of both parks will be restricted, both by the polluted stream and by construction of the bypass line.

#### World Peace Through Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. HARRIS B. McDOWELL, JR.

OF DELAWARE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Speaker, recently I introduced a measure, House Resolution 267, expressing the sense of the House of Representatives with respect to determinations of whether certain disputes involving the United States are subject to the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice

My resolution to strengthen the International Court of Justice will remove one of the major roadblocks which keeps it from being really effective. This Court is, indeed, the weakest link in the chain that is the United Nations.

Under an amendment sponsored by Senator Connally some years ago, the United States maintains the right to decide whether or not a question shall go before the Court. But this cuts two ways, and less than half of the 81 nations which are members of the United Nations accept the Court's jurisdiction. The Soviet Union and the nations dominated by it are prominent among those nations which do not accept the Court's jurisdiction. I do not think our national interest is served by standing with the Soviet Union in this matter. By staying out of the Court we

strengthen the will of the Soviet Union to stay out, and issues in which we are vitally interested and would like to have the Court deal with cannot come before it in the present situation.

Of course, I realize that this is a matter which ultimately must be decided by the Senate of the United States, but it will certainly be of assistance to the Senate to have the House of Representatives to express its view.

This whole matter is of great interest to the Department of State and it is significant that President Eisenhower told the Congress this year, in his state of the Union message, that—

All peoples are sorely tired of the fear, destruction and the waste of war. \* \* It is my purpose to intensify efforts during the coming 2 years in seeking ways to supplement the procedures of the United Nations and other bodies with similar objectives, to the end that the rule of law may replace the rule of force in the affairs of nations. Measures toward this end will be proposed later, including a reexamination of our own relation to the International Court of Justice.

One of the country's leading proponents of a change in our present relationship with the International Court of Justice is Charles S. Rhyne, chairman, Committee on World Peace Through Law of the American Bar Association, and a past president of the ABA. I am delighted to have a letter from Mr. Rhyne in which he says—

The American Bar Association in 1947 adopted a resolution favoring the idea you are now sponsoring. Our Committee on World Peace Through Law will certainly bring your resolution to the attention of others who are working on the subject.

We do hope you will push your resolution with vigor as it is a most essential thing that the self-determination clause be eliminated from our acceptance of the computsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice in order that we can provide leadership towards world peace through law.

I am including the text of my resolution, the text of Mr. Rhyne's letter, and the text of the concluding statement by Mr. Rhyne at the regional conference in Dallas, Tex., April 29, 1959, of the Committee on World Peace Through Law of the American Bar Association:

#### HOUSE RESOLUTION 267

Resolved, That it is the sense of the House of Representatives that the determination of whether an international dispute to which the United States is a party involves matters which are essentially within the domesite jurisdiction of the United States, and is therefore not within the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice, should be made by the Court itself rather than by the United States; and that any provision of law or resolution to the contrary should be repealed or otherwise nullified.

RHYNE, MULLIN, CONNOR & RHYNE, Washington, D.C., May 27, 1959. Mr. Harris B. McDowell, Jr., House Office Building,

Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. McDowell: I am very pleased to receive your letter of May 25 and the copy of House Resolution 267. The American Bar Association in 1947 adopted a resolution favoring the idea you are now sponsoring. Our committee on world peace through law will certainly bring your resolution to the attention of others who are working on the subject.

We do hope you will push your resolution with vigor as it is a most essential thing that the self-determination clause be eliminated from our acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice in order that we can provide leadership toward world peace through law.

I enclose a paper summarizing the findings of five national regional conferences of lawyers in this field.

Sincerely,

CHARLES S. RHYNE.

CONCLUDING STATEMENT BY CHARLES S. RHYNE, CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEE ON WORLD PEACE THEOUGH LAW OF AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIA-TION AT REGIONAL CONFERENCE, DALLAS, TEX., APRIL 29, 1959

This historic inquiry is the first time a nationwide representative group of lawyers has ever come to grips with the problem of creating legal machinery and procedures for nations to use in deciding international disputes by law instead of by violence.

This is the final meeting of the five regional meetings called by the American Bar Association for the purpose of obtaining the views of the leading lawyers of America on how the rule of violence, terror, and fear can be replaced by the rule of law in the control of the fate of the world. Many of you lawyers, and other lawyers at these conferences, have come hundreds of miles at your personal expense to make your contribution toward a solution of mankind's No. 1 problem—how to achieve and maintain world peace.

As was stated in San Francisco, to have hired this group of lawyers to study this problem and travel to five cities to give their opinions upon its solution would have cost more than \$1 million if paid for at usual rates. But all of you have for your compensation the satisfaction of serving mankind in seeking the answer to the problem of peace—an answer so difficult that it has eluded man since the dawn of civilization. The attendance and the helpful contributions made at these meetings prove again the great dedication of our profession to public service in America. Certain it is that no other group or profession exceeds ours in that service. My pride in you and for you knows no bounds.

We have started from the premise that the rule of law has achieved order and stability within nations and could do the same between nations if but given a chance. We began our inquiry with background working papers prepared by international law experts recording past experience. We then stretched our minds to encompass the new horizons of the new world that science and technology have created in this ever advancing and changing 20th century. We have envisioned the ways and means whereby the great new miracles of our day can be harnessed through legal procedures and institutions for man's benefit rather than his death.

With full realization that the unprecedented dangers of today create overwhelming public support for any idea which will prevent war, we have sought to develop plans and programs whereby the rule of law can bring about the same order, stability and peace internationally which it has already created nationally.

We have at these five regional conferences, after most careful consideration, decided that the rule of law can justifiably be raised as a new standard of decency in international relations. We have further decided to back this standard to the hilt as a means whereby world peace can be achieved and maintained. We have done this knowing full well that years and decades of hard labor are ahead of us before this goal can be realized. The absence of law in the world community is indeed the greatest gap in the growing structure of civilization. To fill that gap, or vac-

uum, is no easy task. The path to success is strewn with many pitfalls and immense difficulties. We face up to the job that must be done knowing that no other group or profession has, or will, or in fact should assume, a responsibility equal to ours in translating the idea of world rule of law into reality. Lawyers in centuries of effort have created the legal rules and institutions and procedures which exist now; lawyers of this and other nations are the logical group to do this new work of creating a "lawful" world.

People everywhere are hoping and searching and praying for some way to avoid the holocaust of missile-atomic war. They know that history teaches that every arms race since the world began has exploded into war by design or accident. They watch the current ever-accelerating arms buildup and fear that war is as certain as tomorrow's sunrise unless a great leap forward is made on peace machinery. World peace through law offers the greatest potential of any idea yet advanced to avoid self-destruction by mankind. The law's proven capacity in achieving and maintaining order and stability within nations augurs well for its success if used between nations.

Lawyers at these regional meetings have signified their willingness to lead the way in a great crusade to inform and unite the people of the world in support of this great idea. I sincerely believe that once the people realize what a world controlled by the rule of law means, nothing will stop the forward movement of this idea from general concept to reality. An idea can be more powerful than an atom and nothing can deny an idea whose time has come. The time of this idea is on its way. What we have done here should hasten the arrival of that great day. We have stepped across the frontiers in law to keep pace with the changed needs of our era.

While our goal may to some seem overambitious, let us remind them that it is not beyond the capacity of those to whom our plea for action is addressed—the people of

the world.

When law replaces weapons in the control of the fate of humanity our lawyers' mission will have been completed. In a world ruled by law man can walk in freedom, in

dignity and in peace.

It was President Ross L. Malone's idea that we call in the leading lawyers of the USA, as we have done in these five meetings. His idea has proved sound and has worked out in a most inspiring way. Lawyers who have come in a little doubtful have gone out as evangelists for the cause of world peace through law.

Aside from current United States of America meetings, lawyers in over 70 nations have been contacted and nearly all have offered their enthusiastic support, and it is most interesting to note that they have often reported that they are organizing to stir the grassroots in their nations as we are here.

I would summarize the opinions expressed by the more than 250 lawyers at our five

regional conferences as follows:

1. A world conference of lawyers should be held. To make it a true world conference, Iron Curtain lawyers should be invited. Lawyers from behind the Iron Curtain cannot hurt us by advancing their ideas, and we might make a dent on their thinking.

2. International regional conferences in Latin-America, Asia, Africa and Europe should be held to lay the groundwork for

the world conference.

3. The world conference should concentrate chiefly upon how to get more international disputes into court—the existing International Court of Justice and new circuit or regional courts. Consideration should be given to urging the world court to sit at the seat of the United Nations in New York and also all over the world.

4. The world conference should consider how to expand and improve procedures for settlement of disputes in the business field by extending world court jurisdiction to individuals and by encouraging the use of more legal rules in commercial arbitrations.

The world conference should lay down and express adherence to legal procedures, institutions and principles, but not attempt to write detailed legal rules on any subject. It should concentrate upon increased use of courts and arbitration bodies, with application of existing law, rather than try to draft new treaties which might bog delegates down in detail and differences. All lawyers should be able to agree now upon the general concept of applying law in judicial tribunals and ways and means of encouraging its increased use in international At future world conferences, through working committees between conferences, spadework on treaties to build new legal rules in many fields could be carried out on an extensive scale.
6. The mere fact of holding the first

6. The mere fact of holding the first world conference of lawyers in all history would be a tremendous event of world-wide impact. Lawyers have never worked together in this way on this subject before and all seem stirred at the prospects of

worthwhile accomplishments.

7. Attendance should be limited to practicing lawyers and teachers of law so as to eliminate Government officials who might be rejuctant to criticize or change the status

8. A world law day and a world law year should be considered to coordinate and further lawyer effort on this program. A clearinghouse of ideas, programs, and experience on an international scale should be created

9. If Russian lawyers will not cooperate this should not be allowed to veto this effort toward a lawful world. The effort will be a great success without Russian participation. If all nations other than the Red bloc use law in courts to decide international disputes, Russia's propaganda claim of being a civilized nation will be defeated in the area of world public opinion—an area she so assiduously seeks to influence by her extensive propaganda.

10. The U.S. Senate's Connally reservation which presently limits the usefulness of the International Court of Justice must be repealed before we can go much further with any program for world peace through law. Under the Connally reservation the United States sits as a judge of the world court's jurisdiction in each case filed against the United States and decides whether the case involves an international or domestic issue even though the United Nations Charter prohibits the Court from exercising jurisdiction over domestic issues. This Senate distrust has been a major factor in reducing the Court's prestige and usefulness to the point that it has had only 11 cases to decide in 13 years.

Lawyers from other nations say our talk of a world ruled by law is hollow when we ourselves do not accept that thesis. As the greatest users of the rule of law nationally, the U.S. Senate must by this repeal action prove that we trust the rule of law internationally. Such leadership on our part is essential and here only the U.S. Senate can act to encourage, or block through inaction, progress toward the rule of law in the world.

11. A tremendous grassroots educational proagram is essential. Most lawyers believe that there is yet no real comprehension in the public's mind of what this program is all about. All State and local bar associations, law schools, civic and other organizations, including the Junior Bar Conference and the American Law Student Association, should be requested to help in this educational program.

12. The grassroots information program should spotlight that it is essential to ex-

ercise our national sovereignty for survival to offset the claim that we are giving up sovereignty. This emphasis upon use of sovereignty to build a lawful world into the vacuum which now exists internationally is all important to a correct understanding of the program for world peace through law.

13. World government is impossible in today's world, but this program of application of the rule of law in courts, and building new law in the world community is a practical and attainable forward step toward a peaceful world.

14. This lawyers' crusade to create a lawful world should be financed by private not government money. It should be a lawyer-to-lawyer-to-people program in the hope that the people will persuave governments to adopt it.

15. We should do all we can to strengthen the United Nations by urging increased application of, and adherence to, the rule of law in the deliberations and actions of all of its bodies and agencies.

#### Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a most thoughtful article published in the current issue of Commonweal. In this article Mr. John Bresnan of the Ford Foundation sketches out most effectively the problems which must be resolved in our foreign aid program and the clear opportunities which present themselves to this and other nations of the free world.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the REC-ORD, as follows:

FOREIGN AID: FACT AND FANCY

(By John Bresnan)

We are now deep in that season when the richest nation on earth, having studied its finances, assessed the merits of its petitioners, and calculated the prospect of violence should they be refused, determines the scale of its benevolences for the coming year. By summer the representatives of the people will have settled on something on the order of I percent of the national income, and the United States will have a mutual security program for some months more.

It is a familiar process. It will produce a familiar program. But not a successful program.

As it is now constituted, the foreign aid program cannot possibly succeed. With 5 percent of the Federal budget, an assortmnt of civil servants is charged with nothing less than strengthening allied armies and, among the poorer nations of the world, maintaining economic stability, raising standards of living, heading off Communist subversion, promoting democracy, and assuring ourselves and our allies of continued access to essential raw materials. It does not take much familiarity with such matters to bring one to realize that with so little, it is not possible to do so much. We have overrated our foreign aid program—and underrated the need for foreign aid. Some

year we must redress the balance, or events will have passed the program by.

What would a feasible foreign aid program look like? And what would it take to produce it? We shall not know precisely until we have tried, but the experience of the years since World War II has been enough to suggest some answers.

We must, to begin with, end the practice of incorporating in a single program everything from cooperative weapon development with our NATO allies to our annual contribution to the United Nations Children's Fund. Stronger armies and higher living standards are related matters, but they are not at all the same, and legislating for them as if they were has caused misunderstanding at home and mistrust abroad. It has also badly misstated the problem of financing the two. This problem is not how to divide an appropriation between military and economic aid; it is how to determine the independent need for each and where, out of our whole economy, to find the funds to meet them both.

The present U.S. foreign aid program is, of course, predominantly a military aid program. Of the \$3.9 billion originally proposed for next year, \$1.6 billion appears in the major national security section of the President's budget and would go for direct military assistance—planes, tanks, guns—chiefly to nations defined by formal treaty as our allies. Another \$835 million, listed under the head of "economic and technical development" in the international section of the budget, would go to enable 12 of these allies, the poorest, to maintain their large military establishments; known as defense support, this money pays indirectly for their

support, this money pays indirectly for their soldiers' wages, food, and clothing.

Thus a minimum of 62 percent of the President's program would be allocated for military purposes. And if the military aid figure is increased to \$2 billion, as a Presidential study committee has urged it should be, or if Congress reduces the economic aid figure, as it usually does, the military portion of the program would end up being much higher. In the last fiscal year, some 80 percent of the funds obligated or reserved under the mutual security program went for direct military assistance and defense support.

The last administration report on the aid program called military assistance as importannt to U.S. national defense as expenditures for our own forces. The same can be said for defense support funds, and it is time that the Congress and the public began to conisder this assistance along with our national defense needs at budget time.

If our military and paramilitary ald were viewed in this light, it seems likely that we would come to question more seriously the extent to which we are directing this and to some of our poorer allies. Figures on direct military assistance are made public only on a regional basis, not for individual countries, but the defense support allotments indicate where the emphasis has gone in the poorer nations. Almost half these funds went last year to only two nations: Korea and Vietnam. Other large sums went to Nationalist China, Pakistan, Spain, and Turkey. The remainder was distributed among Greece, Iran, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, and the Philippines.

The primary basis for judging this military aid is, of course, the military capability of the Russian-Chinese bloc, the likelihood of armed attack on these countries, and the role that local armies would be expected to play in their defense. The Draper Committee which is reviewing this matter for the President began its list of preliminary conclusions by stating that "the Communist military threat is greater than ever," and the information on the public record amply supports this judgment. It remains a question, how-

ever, whether it is local armies or the power of the United States that is the main factor in the defense of some of these areas.

The question has special significance because of the international politics that are involved. The Draper Committee itself was in part an administration response to criticisms leveled against military aid to economically underdeveloped countries by eight members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. They told the President in a letter last August:

"Overemphasis on military assistance has tended unavoidably to involve the United States in situations in which our aid may have contributed to the maintenance in power of regimes which have lacked broad support within the countries we have assisted. It has helped to create a militaristic image of the United States which is a distortion of our national character. It has distracted attention, energy, and perhaps economic aid from more pressing problems. And, finally, we believe military assistance by its very nature tends to create and then to perpetuate military hierarchies which even in the most well-developed countries may endanger the very values of individual freedom which we seek to safeguard."

Harsh words from the chief Senate supporters of the mutual security program, they may yet have their effect. The Draper committee has defended past arms aid to Asian nations on the Communist periphery on the ground that without it their own direct defenses and our own position beyond our shores would have little substance short of a major nuclear effort. And it has argued that the large forces far beyond the capacity of these countries to maintain need to be supported in Korea, Taiwan, and Vietnam, since they are not even formally at peace with the Communist power they face. But it has also acknowledged that changes and modifications in certain of the military assistance programs can be justified. And it has underlined the importance of bringing these about by stating as its second major judgment that the Communist economic and political threat and capabilities are expanding.

Unfortunately, the changes and modifications are not likely to come about in any substantial degree for quite some time. Certainly there is little public pressure for it. Congress could reduce funds but could not take the constructive steps that would ease the impact of the change on friendly countries and allies. Considerable initiative must come from within the executive branch, and it seems ill-prepared for the effort that would be required.

In any case, there is no blinking the fact that a military aid program of substantial size is going to have to be maintained. And there is no avoiding the corollary that our economic aid will have to be greatly expanded if we are to stand before the peoples of the world as a nation with compassion for the poor as well as mistrust for international communism.

Not only this, but the increased economic aid will have to be offered on a more straightforward basis than is much of our assistance at the present time. One-third of the capital funds we are now making available directly to other countries is offered only on an emergency basis or in accordance with anti-Communist strategy. Much of the \$272 million in special assistance funds being sought by the President for next year is already earmarked for grants-in-aid to Tunisia, Morocco, Libya, and Sudan, Jordan, and West Berlin. And another \$200 million is being sought for contingencies, such as those produced by the Middle East crisis this past year. By comparison, the President is asking for only \$700 million for development loans.

This emphasis on short-run interests in our economic aid program, added to our relatively greater emphasis on military aid in the first place, has obscured the fact that the American people are capable of acting out of a spirit of generosity. In India it has resulted in a certain preference among the public for Russian rather than American assistance. In the Philippines it has moved the Secretary of Foreign Affairs to complain that adherence to democratic principles seems to be a liability so far as getting U.S. economic aid is concerned.

It even has obscured the American people's capacity for generosity from themselves. The view is often expressed in Congress that public support for military aid will carry the economic aid program through, but it is clear by now that this notion has backfired. It is a public asked to think of mutual security in narrow terms, a public urged to approve a foreign aid program out of fear of communism rather than out of a sincere desire to assist needy nations, that falls to see the point of foreign economic assistance.

economic assistance.

It is at least possible that what the American public has not been persuaded to do out of immediate interest, it would be willing to do for a greater purpose. Pope Pius XII, a few months before his death, spoke of economic assistance to the poorer nations as a program which the united voices of conscience and broad interest urge to be undertaken without loss of time. Seeking the American people's support for foreign economic aid on this basis would require raising the level of public discussion substantially above where it has been for the past few years.

Recent discussion has tended to center on such issues as trade versus aid, grants versus loans, hard loans versus soft. It has helped to clarify these issues and so it has been useful, but the issues themselves have been of only secondary importance. Economists and others will long dispute how we might best accomplish our purposes. Only the people, with the help of their political leaders, can decide what their purposes are.

It would have to be clear that U.S. economic aid will not necessarily prevent the spread of communism, maintain the stability of nations, promote democracy, or win friends for the American people, although over the long run it will produce conditions in which all these are more likely to be accomplished than they are at present.

Our aid, by lifting them out of destitution and hopelessness, could bring some people to the point at which revolution would seem possible and desirable for the first time. It could bring them to the point of hoping but, because the rate of improvement of their living standards is bound to be very low, not to the point of much satisfaction.

Our aid would not guarantee communal peace, because many of the poorest nations are also among the newest, and it is much too early to tell whether some of them have the basis for a viable political community. At present some are faced with internal issues, racial or regional, which, it seems, could tear them apart no matter how well-off they might be.

We must not make the mistake, either, of supposing there is any necessary relation between economic growth and democratic political development. Our aid, especially when it is of a spectacular sort, may imply American support of a particular government. But there is only one way to promote democracy as a form of government among the new nations, and that is to practice it more fully at home while seeking to wear down the considerable cultural barriers that stand between us and the people of these nations.

To hope that economic aid will quickly win us friends would be equally naive. The relationship of giver and receiver is never an easy one, and the best we can do is to internationalize much of our increased giving. Apart from drawing out the capital of other countries, chiefly our NATO allies, this would make it easier for others to accept our generosity. It is not necessarily an advantage to have a "made in America" stamp on our every grant and loan.

It will be quite enough, in fact, to look for our economic aid to produce economic That alone is no easy thing, development. and to bring it about in a very large part of the world is certain to require funds on a very large scale, probably over a very long period of time. No one really knows how much or for how long, because there is litle experience to show the way. There have been fewer false starts in sending rockets into orbit than there will be in bringing nations to the point of self-sustained economic growth. Economists estimate conservatively that it may require \$3 to \$4 a year for decades to come.

This is about 1 percent of the annual income of the United States and its European allies, and about half of the total would have to come from the United States alone. That would be at least three times what the United States actually paid out last year, and some \$300 million more than the President requested of Congress this year, for the same purpose. It would amount to less than one-twentieth, however, of what we are spending each year on arms. And it would come to only a portion of the increase that takes place in our national income almost every year.

There is a surfeit of proposals as to how this sum might best be made available to the poorer nations. They need not delay us here. It is more important that we give the discussion of them an air of reality by preparing ourselves to support them with funds. The chief obstacles to a more effective foreign economic aid program are not technical ones at all but deficiencies of the wall. We are not uniformed about the poverty of the greater portion of mankind; we are unmoved by it. How many times has it been pointed out to us that our children are being born to 70 years of life, while theirs are born to only 32? Is it possible that we remain ignorant of the fact that we and the other Atlantic nations, 16 percent of the world's population, are receiving 70 percent of the world's income?

If it is difficult to see what bonds the vast majority of the people of the earth can feel they have with us, it is still more difficult to see how whatever bonds that do exist can grow. Though we often forget it, the disparities between rich and poor tend to grow larger unless great efforts are made to reverse the trend. Even with the considerable redistribution of income among the America people produced by the graduated income tax, great disparities of living standards exist in the United States.

But no such redistribution is taking place among nations, and no advance among the poor can be expected. We in the West are now saving more money per person every year—and investing it in the production of new wealth-than the people of many countries are earning. In fact, the per capita income of parts of eastern and southern Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America is no greater today than it was centuries ago, and in some cases it is even lower. The reasons this are not hard to find. The chief fruit of our technological revolution to be exported has been our medical science; fewer children are dying in their first year of life, fewer mothers of childbirth, fewer fathers of disease in their prime. The result is that the poorest nations of the world must find the means of providing for a larger addition to their population each year than we in the United States; their economies must run just to stand where they

How an economically impoverished nation can raise its living standards in this situation is a harsh dilemma. Where the people are so poor to begin with, how can anything be saved for investment? Russia and China have shown one way—to squeeze the savings out of the people in the form of unremitting labor and continued poverty. In non-Com-munist countries, a growing number of non-Catholics see no help but to reduce the number of children who are being born-at the same time that a major effort is made to raise productivity. This view is deplored by the few Catholics who have addressed them-This view is deplored by selves to the problem. They point out that a serious effort has not been made to raise living standards in the face of population increase. But where is the Catholic pressure for the effort?

The serious effort must come, however, And the effort must be sustained, if not by congressional approval of a long-term program, then by the emergence of a climate of American opinion, which is the best guarantor of government action in a democratic society.

It is not surprising that the ordinary Congressman should look for help in addressing the public on this subject. It is a national question on which there must be national leadership of a vigor we have not seen for quite some time. Even that may not be enough. The climate of national opinion is not now receptive to the demands of an effective economic aid program, and it may be beyond the ability of any one man or group of men to change it. We may have to await further calamities abroad before it is timely to make the case. But we will not know whether this is so either until the attempt has been made.

#### The Market for Dairy Products in Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I am delighted that the Senate yesterday acted to increase the fund for the school lunch program above the amount requested in the 1960 budget.

If finally approved by Congress in the Senate-passed version, the total amount utilizable in this splendid school lunch program will be somewhat over \$153 million.

Over the years, the establishment of this school lunch program in our educational system has offered an increasingly important market for dairy, as well as other farm commodities. Between July 1957 and June 1958, almost 3½ billion half-pints of fluid whole milk and 170 million pounds of butter, cheese, ice cream, and nonfat dry milk solids were distributed to the public, elementary, and secondary schools. According to estimates, an additional one-third billion half-pints of milk were provided in schools serving milk only.

The record, I believe, fully justifies continued support of this program.

Across the Nation, over 12 million boys and girls are now enjoying nourishing

lunches. In my own State of Wisconsin, over 228,000 students are participating, and it is expected that another 20,000 will be added next year.

We recognize, of course, that one of the fundamental problems facing the dairy industry is that of increasing consumption of dairy products. Although surpluses have been reduced, the remaining stockpiles continue to act as an economic millstone around the necks of our dairymen.

The continuation and expansion of this program not only provides a very useful outlet for our surplus dairy and other farm products; also it is making a substantial contribution to better health for the youth of the Nation.

In addition to these benefits today, this program is laying the groundwork for a healthier citizenry for tomorrow. Too, the increased consupmtion of dairy products, for example, will educate these young folks in the desirability of establishing the dairy habit—which will encourage greater consumption of our healty, nutritional, dairy food for the future.

In view of the fact that this is June Dairy Month—in which special activities for increasing consumption of dairy products are being carried on throughout the country—I believe the extension of this school lunch program, involving the utilization of vast quantities of dairy products, is particularly fitting.

The June edition of Agricultural Marketing, published by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, contains an informative article on the significance of the school lunch program; both to schoolchildren and to the farm economy. I ask unanimous consent that this article, entitled "The Market for Dairy Products in Schools," by William S. Hoofnagle and Kenneth E. Anderson, be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE MARKET FOR DAIRY PRODUCTS IN SCHOOLS
(By William S. Hoofnagle and Kenneth E. Anderson)

The school lunch program, a growing part of the American educational system, is offering an important market for our Nation's dairy production. It is also establishing, in the very young, good eating habits and a taste for mik and other dairy products that might well carry over into their adult lives.

Between July 1957 and June 1958, slightly under 3½ billion half pints of fluid whole milk and 170 million pounds of butter, cheese, ice cream, and nonfat dry milk solids were delivered to public elementary and secondary schools having a la carte or plate lunch services. It is estimated that an additional one-third billion half pints of whole milk were consumed in schools serving milk only.

These are the figures Agricultural Marketing Service economists came up with after surveying some 500 representative schools with lunch facilities. Projected to include all 60,000 public schools in the United States having lunch services, these statistics indicate the size of the overall school market for dairy as well as other farm food products.

(Not in the sample, but estimated on the basis of an earlier study, were some 19,000 additional schools serving milk only. Public schools having neither lunch nor milk service in 1957-58 numbered approximately 27,000.)

As the school population increases and as the trend toward lunch-at-school continues, more and more food service facilities are being built into new schools and older schools are modernizing their facilities to accommodate lunch programs.

The school market for farm food products is thus expanding in two directions—through a rapidly growing school population and through a broadening of food service facilities. The effects of this expansion will be feit all through the agricultural system, from the producers and processors of fruits and vegetables to the livestock and dairy farmers. The greatest market potential, however, is offered to the dairy industry whose products already account for 45 percent (in terms of wholesale value) of the foods served at public elementary and secondary schools.

Last year, enough fluid milk was distributed at the 60,000 schools having plate and a la carte lunch services to provide 154 half-pint units to every child in attendance.

This consumption of fresh fluid milk was

This consumption of fresh fluid milk was matched by an equally impressive amount of processed dairy products—butter, cheese, ice cream, and nonfat dry milk solids.

Almost 63 million pounds of butter, donated almost entirely from Government stocks, were distributed to school food service facilities last year. This came to about 3 pounds per child—a substantial amount when one stops to consider that for the civilian population as a whole per capita butter consumption averaged only 8.4 pounds in 1958.

Large quantities of cheese also were included in public school menus during 1957-58. Often served in sandwiches and prepared dishes, more than 37 million pounds of cheese, mostly processed, were used. All told, in schools having a lunch service, each child in attendance had available an average of 1.8 pounds of cheese.

Ice cream, always a favorite dessert on any menu, was another popular school lunch item. During the survey period more than 54 million pounds of ice cream went to public school feeding programs. On a per capita basis, 2.5 pounds of ice cream were consumed by the school market.

Although nonfat dry milk solids were used by schools in rather large amounts, only minor quantities were reconstituted for drinking as a beverage. It was used chiefly in food preparation. Between July 1957 and June 1958 about 16 million pounds of nonfat dry milk were delivered to public schools in the United States. Averaged out, this came to 0.1 pound per child.

This then is the current dairy market in schools having feeding facilities. There are, however, within this market wide differences in the quantities of the various dairy products used. These differences show up in a comparison of schools participating in the national school lunch program and those not participating.

For example, lunch program schools had a 75 percent higher per capita milk consumption than schools not under the program. They also used much larger quantities of cheese. But nonparticipating schools used twice as much cottage cheese and half again as much ice cream on a per capita basis as participating schools.

Dairy products moving to both participating and nonpraticipating schools had a wholesale market value of \$267 million.

On a per child basis, \$12.43 worth of dairy products was made available to public schools with food services. Fluid milk, of course, accounted for most of this. Its share came to 88.94. Butter averaged \$1.67; ice cream, 79 cents; cheese, 70 cents; and the average for all other processed items totaled 33 cents.

The value of dairy products delivered to public schools serving lunches was highest in urban elementary schools having more than 300 pupils, in areas where family incomes were less than \$4,000, and in schools participating in the national school lunch program.

Dairy products accounted for almost half (45 cents) of the wholesale value of every dollar's worth of food used by public schools having a lunch service during the 1957-1958 survey year. Fluid whole milk was valued at 32 cents; butter at 6 cents; lee cream, almost 3 cents; and natural and processed cheese, 2½ cents. Nonfat dry milk solids, cream, chocolate drink, cottage cheese, and evaporated milk accounted for the remaining 1½ cents.

The value of dairy products used by schools participating in the national school lunch program averaged 6 cents more per child than in nonparticipating schools having lunch service.

Almost 20 percent of the total value of all dairy products delivered to the school lunch market was directly donated from Federal surplus supplies. Butter accounted for 67 percent of the dairy donations; cheese, 27 percent; and nonfat dry milk solids, 6 percent.

Of the total value of all donated foods, butter accounted for almost 39 percent and other dairy products for 19 percent.

Fluid whole milk still represents a major portion of the value of all dairy products utilized in public schools serving lunches. Approximately \$192 million was spent for fluid milk during the survey period. However, a portion of the cost was borne by the Federal Government.

Purchases of dairy products were made almost exclusively from local processors and wholesalers. Buying practices included the use of competitive bids, placing orders with route salesmen, personal selection, or telephone orders. Small schools generally used the more personal method.

As might be expected, larger schools (those with 300 or more pupils) usually asked for bids. Almost 50 percent of these schools obtained milk products locally through competitive bidding, while only 18 percent of the small schools used this purchasing method.

#### How To Kill Labor Reform

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an editorial from the Washington Post and Times-Herald of June 1, 1959, relating to labor-reform legislation.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald, June 1, 1959]

How To KILL LABOR REFORM

The opposition of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers to the Kennedy labor reform bill is as shortsighted as the condemnation by the AFL-CIO. Why is it that businessmen and labor leaders seem to be unable to rise above their narrow preoccupations to support labor reform legislation which is unquestionably in the public interest?

The representatives of both labor and management know that neither side is going to get precisely the kind of bill that it deems desirable. Is it then asking too much for

constructive businessmen and decent union leaders to put aside their differences on a matter of national interest?

Without the support of either labor or management the House counterpart of the Kennedy bill is not likely to get out of the Labor Committee despite the 90-1 vote by which the legislation was approved in the Senate. The committee does not plan to try to reconcile the conflicting views of its members until late in June, which means that it will be practically impossible to put a labor bill through the House at this session of Congress in the unlikely event that the committee agrees on one. Such temporizing by the committee is an indication of disgraceful failure to rise above petty political and labor-management squabbles.

We do not like some parts of the Kennedy bill—particularly the sections of the so-called bill of rights which, it seems to us, try to regulate union activities in stifling detail. Furthermore, we should like to see the legislation strengthened to get at the serious abuses of some organizational picketing as well as secondary boycotts. Despite its defects we believe that the measure is a good beginning. The enactment of the Kennedy bill surely would be a vast improvement over the present prospect of yet another round of cynical blame-calling by both labor and management.

#### The Casualties

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, the Memorial Day holiday which we recently celebrated opened for many of us the outdoor season of the year. Annually at this time we find our Nation's families taking to the highways to enjoy the beauties of the countryside, the seashore trip, and the picnic areas. And this is as it should be. We have provided beautiful highways and superhighways, luxurious eating places, and comfortable picnic areas in abundance to tempt the homebody on to the road. But unfortunately we somehow neglect to adhere to the precautions to insure our own welfare in terms of preventing the horrible disasters that seem to go hand-in-hand with heavy traffic. On all sides we are reminded of this. But I wonder if it really gets throughexcept in such a fearful fashion to those of us who become a name on a casualty list. I was forcefully reminded of this in an article I read about Memorial Day in which it was stated "nearly 300 Americans lost their lives." I submit that we cannot emphasize this subject too much. We need constant reminders. As the article so well puts it:

It is going to take ever-increasing efforts to keep the highway casualties down when there are more cars and more drivers ever appearing to make use of them.

This thoughtful article from the Woodbury Daily Times of June 1 deserves wide attention, I think, and I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the Record.

was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Memorial Day was a beautiful day and it coaxed many motorists to take some kind of a trip during the weekend, even if he or she had not planned to do so. Considering the number of vehicles and the many drivers guiding them it is perhaps remarkable that there are not more serious accidents to report about after the holiday weekend.

However, when nearly 300 Americans lose their lives over the Memorial Day holiday, we wonder if all this traveling is as good as we think it is. It is foolish to think that Amercans are going to let their good automoble idle in the garage on a wonderful weekend. They have a good car and, generally speaking, they have a good driver, so why waste a fine weekend when they can

go places over excellent highways?

The only difficulty is that too many people have the same feeling at the same time. There is bound to be heavy traffic on nearly every pleasant weekend during the next several months and when a holiday is included it is much worse. It would be too much to expect that any such weekend would come and go without a casualty being reported. Even if all were the most careful of drivers, it is certain that something unusual will occur to cause an accident.

No one can expect to make the casualties of our highways disappear entirely, but we should do our best to seek a reduction of the terrible toll we must pay for our week-end traveling. We are striving to get rid of those who drive when drinking, and those

who disregard the speed limits when and where they see fit.

The big trouble is that the police cannot be everywhere. The average motorist won't report another driver, no matter what he does, unless there is a subsequent accident.

Every year the number of motor vehicles on our highways is growing. We seem to be frantically building new roads to accommodate them, but no matter how many highways we build they always seem to fill up on weekends and holidays. It is going to take ever increasing efforts to keep the highway casualties down when there are more cars and more drivers ever appearing to make use of them.

One thing is certain, we did not make a good showing over this past weekend and there will be experts trying to figure out the reason. What they find as causes will mean very little unless everyone who drives a car will try to be a little more careful on the next holiday weekend. We must become more careful or we will ultimately find our driving greatly restricted.

## The Independent Laboratory and Consultant

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an address delivered by Dr. Foster D. Snell, of New York City, presented on the occasion of his receiving honorary membership in the American Institute of Chemists, at a dinner sponsored by the New York chapter, January 8, 1959, at New York,

There being no objection, the article N.Y. This address was reprinted in a recent issue of the Chemist magazine.

> There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

> THE INDEPENDENT CONSULTANT AND INDEPEN-DENT LABORATORY AS A PROFESSIONAL

> > (By Dr. Foster D. Snell)

One may look at the independent laboratories as constituting an industry of which the output is pieces of paper. These range from a simple analytical report to a complex bound research report, or a blueprint of an engineering design. That is the view-point I take in this discussion of the professional opportunities offered by that in-

dustry.

The facetious definition of a consulting chemist is a chemist sitting on a door step waiting for a job. There is an equally facetious one that a chemical engineer is a man who does not know enough chemistry to be a chemist or enough engineering to be an engineer. The famous chemical who coined the latter phrase shortly afterwards became a consulting chemical en-

The industry being discussed may consist of a few dozen laboratories, or a couple of hundred, or about 2,500 across the country, depending on where we place the cutoff point in terms of size. In other words, every city of 25,000 or 50,000 has its own local laboratory. Then there are a considerable number of individual consultants. Cynics even say that every professor of chemistry is also a consultant. I am limiting the definition to laboratories of some size, perhaps about 100, with personnel of 10 or more people each.

The existence of such independent laboratories is purely an American institution, including Canada. There are almost none in

other countries.

A considerable number of the independent laboratories are primarily testing laboratories. Thus, their function is to see that the contractor in highway construction uses the proper mix of concrete, or they serve as intermediary between buyer and seller as to the quality of an item. Others are research organizations which compete with the captive laboratory of a company for its research appropriations. A captive laboratory is owned by and generally serves only one firm. Some captive laboratories compete with the independent laboratories for Government contracts.

Many of the larger independent laboratories are joined together in the American Council of Independent Laboratories, which I define as being a trade association, though some people do not like the term. From a standpoint of laboratory administration, the problems of a research laboratory and a testing laboratory are much the same. Therefore, in that council we share experience on business matters, such as the amount of floor space required per employee or the dollar income per unit area, or the prob-lems of internal and external communica-

There is a good reason why I picked a personnel of 10 as a cutoff point. Any management study comes up with the same answer that the Romans had in their legions. Each person should be directly responsible for no more than 10 people, preferably for less. Therefore, when you get beyond 10 people in a properly organized laboratory, you have multiple groups. Practically speaking, those groups differ in no essential feature from the research or development groups which are the basis of the organization of the captive laboratory. But there is a difference in character. To strike the contrast, the captive laboratory persuades the officers or the board of directors to appropriate annually some sum of money. It may be as little as \$50,000. Perhaps it was Maurice Holland who said that was an absolute minimum and an undesirably low one. From there the sums range up to the multimillions of dollars which are appropriated by the large chemical corporations each year. Whatever chemical corporations each year. Whatever the appropriation, it is then cut up into pieces for individual projects.

The subject of many conferences has been the management of research and how to appraise results. Actually they can only appraised over a considerable period of time, and the rubber yardstick used by the director of research and by top management is not at all the same.

The independent laboratory has basically the same financial structure. There are various appropriations for various projects. the difference being that they come from different sources rather than from a uniform source. But there another difference

Accounting wise, the independent laboratory has all of its costs on each project in such form that one can balance against the results. It must have-for billing purposes. Some captive laboratories do, but many do not. The concept that I am presenting that laboratory operation constitutes an industry is not at all fanciful. I quote from an address of E. Duer Reeves, of Esso Research & Engineering Co., given several years ago:

"I think the day is fast approaching when industrial research will product technology as an industrial product in its own right. As this day approaches, industrial research will become more and more a separate industry creating an important raw material under highly competitive business condi-

"It seems evident to me that as time goes on a greater and greater share of our technology will be provided by independent research organizations not attached to specific industrial concerns. These independent research organizations by competition amongst themselves will establish the competitive market value of various form of technology and our present captive research organizations will remain in business only extent that they can compete with the indeepndent groups and do an even better job. This will tremendously increase our capacity to make new discoverles and provide technical solutions to an ever-broadening field of problems,"

I hold the same opinion. I am trying to be more specific in view of my own expe-rience. In practical terms, the best clients of the consultant and the independent lab-

oratory are the large organizations which have their own laboratories.

The relation of the independent laboratory to laboratories maintained by industry can be simply described as both parallel and analogous to the relation of the independent legal firm to the legal staff of a company. The company furnishes its requirements for professional service with its salaried employees up to a point; beyond that point outside professional services are preferable. This is best established by illustrations.

In the purchase of oils, cottonseed, and many other materials, the price is based on oil content, protein content, free fatty acid, etc. The seller may be unwilling to have the buyer make the analysis and pay on the basis of this analysis. The buyer may be equally averse to having the seller determine the quality of the product being sold. Large commercial laboratories are devoted almost entirely to the furnishing of data in response to such needs.

Firms abroad are making large purchases of chemical materials in the United States. The purchase contracts usually call for the chemical to be sampled at the point of shipment by a specific commercial laboratory and certified to be of the quality specified. Mistakes can occur, such as a shipment of caustic soda grossly contaminated with so-

dium chloride, or a shipment of an organic chemical which contained none of the material specified. The other day we found a shipment of ether which was 90 percent water-soluble. It was ethanol denatured with ether. The purchaser pays the bill for the independent laboratory to protect him. The management of a company recog-

nizes the need for research at a given stage in their development. The company is still small. They do not feel able to invest an initial \$25,000 or more in a research laboratory and equipment. They do not want to set up a payroll of \$25,000 plus for research. And the overhead costs of a small laboratory operation are necessarily much higher in proportion than for a large laboratory. They retain the services of an independent laboratory for 1, 5, or 10 years before the installation of their own research laboratory is justified. Thereafter, the in-dependent laboratory often serves as adviser for a period of years. An association of modest size runs a cooperative program for its membership. It can install a research laboratory. More commonly the funds available for such research are allocated to an independent laboratory.

A large company has no bacteriological department and is not sure that it needs one. A new product which they are bringing out requires bacteriological research and control. An independent laboratory conducts that for months or years. If the field grows with that company, it then installs a bacteriological laboratory. If it does not grow, or the product is abandoned, they have not invested a substantial sum in a laboratory which they no longer need and made the concomitant investment in fitting into their organization personnel which will

now have to be released.

A company, large or small, needs occasional use of specialized equipment. The use is not sufficient to justify the space and investment to own the equipment and the training of personnel to operate it. Samples are sent out. The last I knew, the General Electric Co. had Norma-Hoffman bomb tests on greases done by an independent laboratory. Other large companies con-

tract research, not just testing.

A company with both control and research laboratories has a temporary overload. Rather than to equip for short-term use, such work is sent out. A company has a knotty problem which its personnel have not the experience to solve. It is sent to an independent laboratory known to have spe-cialized knowledge in the field. A company requires ideas for guidance and amplifica-tions of its research program. It calls in a mature person from an independent laboratory to attend its research conferences. There are many other specialized cases.

Reference has been made to parallelism between the chemical and legal professions. At the next stage they approach each other closely. Litigation arises, as it will. Perhaps the matter is a claim for product liability; perhaps it relates to the cause of a fire or explosion; perhaps it is concerned with the allegation that the company is infring-ing a patent or a claim that a competitor is infringing one of theirs. It is the almost universal practice in such cases to use an independent laboratory because of its dissociation from the management of the company. The outside laboratory is remote enough from the problem to get a more disinterested point of view. Courts give more weight to results from the independent lab-

oratory.

Finally we come to the gist of the topic the payoff. How does the professional man fare in the consulting and independent laboratory as compared with his financial return in industry? The Los Alamos scientific laboratories of the University of California have for 12 years collected increasingly comprehensive statistics.

The 1958 survey, off the press only a short time, covers 82,539 nonsupervisory salaries of 353 companies, and 15,586 supervisory salaries of 347 companies. They are not identified by individual or company, but the companies who furnished the statistics are listed as an appendix. The data are broken down into hundreds of tables and graphs, 225 pages of them with 3 tables on many of the pages.

The data are probably slanted a little. They show that in general small organizations pay less than larger organizations and the tendency is surely to miss more of small companies than of the large. Many small organizations with captive laboratories are absent, but I miss only one large organization that I know. So the figures may tend to be a little high.

Approximately two-thirds of those covered are in industry. The balance are in the independent laboratories, the research institutes, or are employed by Atomic Energy Commission contractors, or Government laboratories. oratories. They are broken down to show subdivisions of private industry, sections of the country, laboratories according to the number of employees, and the type of degress the man has. I once figured out that if compensation was the sole objective, a man should get a job with a petroleum company having a laboratory of 50 to 100 employees located in the Mountain States.

The data are broken down by the number of years since a man received his degree and by whether his position is rated as super-visory or nonsupervisory. There are sup-plementary data which are collected by the Sandia Laboratory and also by a Govern-ment contractor. Both check closely with the American Chemical Society surveys for the years in which those are made, but the ACS surveys are not made every year.

I shall give you 10 representative figures to make my point as to how the professional working for the independent laboratory fares as compared with all the other possibilities. The mean of all B.S. and M.S. graduates reported in the 1958 survey in nonsupervisory capacities is used, because it is the largest group and therefore presumably the most valid statistically. The figure is \$693, a synthetic salary for 72,985 people of all ages. Let us see how subdivisions compare with that. The mean for all private industry is \$10 a month more. The mean for AEC contractors is \$21 a month more. The mean for Government laboratories is \$28 a month less. And now here is the payoff figure. The mean for the 1,136 employees in this category classed as consultants is \$20 more, within \$1 of the highest of any of the cate-gories mentioned. That is what the record

Just two more figures. The synthetic salary, similarly derived, of the B.S. and M.S. supervisory capacity has a mean of \$1,008 and as a close check on the other figures I gave, the mean for consultants is \$19 higher. There are my 10 figures. The consultant is at the top of the scale.

One evidence of the recognition of laboratory operation as an industry appeared in The American Institute of Management issued the first management audit rating and independent laboratory in terms of the 10 factors which go to make up management. The laboratory organization was ours and scored over 80 on a scale of 100.

So, in summary, the consultant and the independent laboratory represent an industry, fulfill a genuine need, and compensationwise represent a top scale.

Achievements of Elkdom Are Reflected in the 50th Anniversary of Philipsburg. Pa., Lodge No. 1173, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker during the week of June 6 to 13 inclusive, the Philipsburg, Pa., Lodge No. 1173, of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks will celebrate its 50th anniversary.

As a member of Elks Lodge No. 386, Altoona, Pa., it is a pleasure to congratulate Philipsburg Lodge No. 1173 on the occasion of the observance of a half century of service to humanity, State, and Nation.

Patriotism and loyalty, combined with brotherly love, have marked the progress of the Philipsburg lodge from its inception in 1909 to the year of its golden anniversary. The principles and ideals of Elkdom have woven themselves into the very fabric of this lodge and have contributed strength and permanence to the life of the entire community.

It is a never-ending source of gratitude and pleasure to observe the deep roots of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks. In our large cities one sees massive lodge buildings, perhaps constructed at high cost, expressive of the progress of our organization. But, by the same token, when one turns off the main highways of this Nation and travels along the countryside and in the smaller towns, one finds more humble abodes of Elkdom where fraternalism also takes on a rich meaning within the community. Within the Elks lodge halls of this Nation, whether sumptuous or humble, one finds the existence of a fraternalism which has grown and prospered on the principles of friendship, love, and truth.

The record of Philipsburg Lodge No. 1173 is one of which we can be proud; a record written not by any one man or group of men, but by hundreds of loyal Elks. This represents the very essence of real Americanism—the sum of individual effort. The friendship and brotherhood found in Elkdom have few parallels in life. It typifies America at

The record of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks is engraved indelibly on the tablets of our country's history. Among our brothers have been leaders in the outstanding accomplishments of our Nation. It is not strange that the Order of Elks, through the years, has attracted men with innate qualities of leadership. It offers a wide field for useful endeavor. To bring out the best qualities in men of different backgrounds is profoundly and constructively significant in our order.

When the Order of Elks was started approximately 91 years ago, the Golden Rule became its foundation. The eternal truth of this foundation has been proved by the growth and virility of our order.

Fifteen men founded the Elks in New York City on February 16, 1868. Little did the first members know that their idea would grow into a fraternal organization which today has a membership well over 1 million. Out of the good fellowship which characterized the first group of Elks developed a purpose and direction until it became a benevolent and patriotic order.

One of the most inspiring chapters in Elk history is the order's services in the defense of our Nation in two World Wars. In World War I, the Elks War Relief Commission spent more than \$1 million for hospitals and for the rehabilitation of disabled veterans. It helped the Salvation Army and afforded loans to 40,000 veterans, enabling them to receive rehabilitation training.

In World War II, the grand lodge alone spent \$1,500,000 on national defense programs under direction of the Elks National Defense Commission and its successor after Pearl Harbor, the Elks War Commission. Subordinate lodges poured out hundreds of thousands of dollars more in war work.

In recruitment of flying cadets, more than 400 Elks lodges organized and conducted refresher-course schools to qualify for the Air Corps. Impressed by the Elks' flying-cadet program, the Army asked the order to help it recruit 45,000 men for Air Corps ground crews. In a brief period, 97,000 men were obtained. The Navy then asked for help in recruiting flyers, and the Elks responded with a campaign that obtained quick results.

When the Army and Navy desperately needed men for the Corps of Engineers and the Seabees, respectively, they turned the job over to the Elks exclusively. The quota was filled 3 months ahead of schedule.

Elks operated 135 fraternal centers adjacent to training camps and stations where military personnel received refreshments, recreation and entertainment in the traditionally hospitable Elk manner.

At the war's end, the Elks turned to the thousands of veterans in hospitals. Under the national service commission, the order carried on a continuous program of entertainment in hospitals.

Parties, variety shows, and athletic exhibitions are staged. Ambulatory patients are taken on picnics, fishing trips, and to ball games. Elks collect and present to veterans' hospitals each year tons of hides and leather, old clocks, watches, electrical appliances, and other materials used by patients in occupational therapy.

Accenting help to youth, Elks' activities range from sponsoring 1,000 smallfry baseball teams and conducting an annual National Youth Day on May 1 to recognizing the achievements of junior citizens and awarding several hundred college scholarships annually totaling thousands of dollars in value for deserving youngsters.

The Elks National Foundation is a perpetual trust dedicated to philanthropic work. Gifts from individual Elks, from local lodges and from State Elks associations have brought the foundation's assets to approximately \$6 million.

The Elks National Foundation most valuable student contest for the past 23 years has been opening the doors of universities to brilliant students with empty purses who otherwise might have been lost to the country in times when the call for the United States to assume world leadership has been most insistent.

More and more, the warm humanitarianism of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks is becoming recognized in its youth and old-age programs that go beyond the social features of the organization.

Resting firmly upon the principles of charity, justice, and brotherly love, it is the mission of Elkdom to build up our country and ourselves.

On the altar of every lodge we find reverently spread the flag of our country. The founders of our order, with hearts full of lofty patriotism and brotherly love, showed the noble purposes to which man's efforts can be directed.

It was with these noble purposes before them that the founders of Philipsburg Lodge No. 1173 came into being 50 years ago. Through the years our brothers of this lodge have taught patriotism as the highest type of civic virtue. They have covered the shoulders of the poor, the weary, and the disheartened. Continually, they have spread the altruistic principles of brotherly love which are the foundation stones of any lasting civilization, and which will ever be the hope and highest destiny of man.

On the occasion of 50 years of achievement as a part of the great sphere of Elkdom, I congratulate the Philipsburg lodge. Through the years its members have sought the noble attainment of relieving human suffering. But beyond that, they have recognized at all times that there is an imperishable spirit in every man which is worthy of earnest development. And always the brother Elks of Philipsburg have been dedicated to the principles of our order, which are the principles of America.

#### Mr. Dulles' Memorial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, it is difficult to express the deep sense of loss and respect felt by a sorrowing world at the death of our late and beloved Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles. Of the many words of tribute that have attempted to express that feeling. I feel the following editorial from the May 26 edition of the Omaha World-

Herald is outstanding, and I would like to share it with my colleagues:

MR. DULLES' MEMORIAL

The most fitting memorial to the life and work of John Foster Dulles is the fact that on the day he died the world was at peace.

It is not an easy peace. Conceivably it might dissolve overnight into the nuclear catastrophe which Mr. Dulles so courage-ously tried to prevent. Yet peace it is. The gunfire heard tomorrow and reechoing the world around will be that of the military salute over his grave, shots fired in sorrowing tribute to him and not in anger at a warring enemy.

The illness and death of Mr. Dulles have served to focus attention on the free world's strength and weaknesses. They have caused the Americans to take stock, to look at what has prevented the war which several times in the past few years has appeared almost inevitable.

Invariably such discussions come around to two factors.

One is the might of the Strategic Air Command.

The other has been the firm, patient, tireless diplomacy of John Foster Dulles.

SAC's strength is there for all to see. Mr. Dulles' strength was a subtler thing, a matter of mind and spirit, a moral force based on firmly held religious principles. Lesser men were awed by it and some thought him too rigid and unbending. They could not understand such a man.

But even the Russians, the Soviet Communists as Mr. Dufles usually called them, respected him for his fierce adherence to principle. They knew, as all the world knows, that Foster Dulles was completely sincere in his granite resistance to Soviet threats. If the Soviets had been in any doubt about America's willingness to defend itself there might have been, almost certainly would have been, an East-West war.

But it was a first principle with Mr. Dulles that the enemy should know which steps they could not take, which lines they could not cross, without military retaliation by the

United States.

It was Mr. Dulles' firmness, in combination with the mailed fist of the Strategic Air Command, that kept the world from war.

The free world today hopes and prays that an equal firmness will be found in his suc-

#### An Influence Greater Than the Labor Racketeers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. JACK WESTLAND

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, the Concrete (Wash.) Herald published each Thursday is well known in my congressional district. Its publisher and editor is Charles M. Dwelly, better known as Chuck. His editorials whether they take up one paragraph or a whole column are earnest, straightforward, and fear-

The following editorial, although short and written with tongue-in-cheek is no exception and should strike a responsive cord within all of us:

When a labor leader can threaten Congress with strangulation of the entire country if they dare to pass laws contrary to his ambitions for dictatorship, then the feeble attempts of a small town editorial writer to point out the shame of the situation must surely be wasted space.

This is no feeble attempt, Mr. Speaker. It is a strong, direct and effective editorial that points up a danger to this Nation that must be eliminated.

Without such editorials appearing in the more than 10,000 weekly newspapers across the country, it would be difficult, if not impossible, for the Members of this body to measure public opinion. This great group of newspapers exerts immeasurable influence in the lives of millions of people in small towns and rural areas, and reflects their ideals and purposes.

I am proud there are men in my district and across the Nation, who are fearless and whose influence is greater than a few labor racketeers.

#### Out of Every Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial from the Omaha World-Herald. I feel there is little that can be added to the wisdom of the President's remarks or to the editorial comment:

OUT OF EVERY DAY

At the Air Force Academy the other day the cadets stood stiffly at attention as the President of the United States walked into their mess hall.

"At ease," said Mr. Eisenhower. And as the young men relaxed, he turned to those with him and with a smile remarked: "I don't like to see men standing there like they're going to take a shot at me." Then he talked to the cadets.

"As an old soldier," he began, "I would like to say a thing or two."

And as an old soldier he did. He spoke of the service academies and their traditions, and of the opportunities which lie before the graduates of this newest of the institutions.

However, it was not as an old soldier but as a warm, friendly human being that he made these closing remarks:

"Make sure you get enjoyment out of every day. Life should be a thing to enjoy. Make sure that your face doesn't grow longer as the day grows older. Go to bed with a smile and remember a very fine day. And with that custom I am quite sure you will end a long, happy, and fruitful life—fruitful to yourself, to your country, and to humanity."

The politicians sometimes scratch their heads in wonder at the vast, continuing popularity of Dwight Elsenhower. But there is really no mystery about it. The people know Mr. Elsenhower to be a kindly man of simple faith. They trust him. They know that in the most elemental sense of the word he is a "good" man.

And, as for the quality of Mr. Elsenhower's leadership, we wonder what better counsel anybody could give in this age of tension than that contained in his simple words to the Air Force cadets.

#### Time for Time Out

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, earlier today, during the debate on H.R. 3610, the so-called antipollution bill, I made reference to our congressional responsibility to consider the effect of our actions not only on the budget for the forthcoming year but for years to come. Along the same lines, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following thought-provoking editorial from the Wall Street Journal of May 26, 1959:

TIME FOR TIME OUT

Resisting all appeals to prudence, House Democrats the other day jammed through a wildly extravagant housing bill. It would not only unbalance the Federal budget for the 1960 fiscal year beginning July 1; it would also saddle the Nation with even heavier expenditures in years ahead.

In this future impact of present actions, it seems to us, is the significance of President Elsenhower's effort to get a 1960 balanced budget. The important thing is not simply the state of the Government's books in the one period. It is in reality a question of the long-term direction of the Government and hence of the Nation.

The question is this: Whether the Government is now at last going to turn from its long record of inflationary deficit financing. And, to that end, whether the Government is at last going to get its expenditures—which is to say itself—under control.

Unless the answer is yes, the facts for the future are bleak. Consider what is already known about the trend of Federal spending.

Outlays for the 1959 fiscal year ending the last day of next month will total some \$81 billion. For the 1960 year Mr. Eisenhower wants them held to \$77 billion, but it is doubtful that Congress will hold them to that level even if such monstrosities as the House's housing bill do not become law. In any event, even the proposed \$77 billion spending budget presages a great future growth of spending.

So it is that Federal budget officials, as reported in this newspaper the other day, do not dispute a recent private estimate that spending by 1968 may be between \$87 billion and \$115 billion a year. The lower figure assumes conservative policies; the higher assumes a freer spending attitude in Government.

That is the future trend implicit in present spending. And it is perfectly plain—experience demonstrates it—that each big new increase will contain its own seeds of still further growth. When we get to \$100-bil lion-plus budgets, we will shortly thereafter face \$150 billion and \$200 billion ones; from such levels the leaps become geometric.

It is said by self-styled liberals that warnings of this sort are but scarecrows put up to make a fright of the future. But the fact is that the future is being created right now, and what is being done now—with reckless actions like the housing bill and many other things—points unmistakably to a future of overpowering Government. The Government would dominate the people, and almost certainly such spending would be financed by inflationary deficits, which would ultimately ruin the people.

Still, we are not asking for the moon; we are not saying it is politically possible for the

Government to cut spending drastically and immediately by returning to its proper, limited, constitutional role. What is, however, urgently necessary as a minimum is that there be a breathing spell—that after 30 years of mostly improvident and inflationary Government we must have a period of years of fiscal stability before we permit the politicians to send the Nation on another binge.

That is the true meaning of the much misunderstood, much maligned attempt to balance next year's budget. Even a drunkard with no intention of quitting has to take time out sometimes.

### Let's Get Up to Date

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. JOSEPH W. BARR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. BARR. Mr. Speaker, last night at 6:45 I answered "aye" when my name was called for the passage of the defense appropriation bill. With that vote I committed the people of my district to a Defense Department appropriation of just about \$39 billion. To prepare myself for this vote. I spent approximately 10 hours on the floor of the House listening to the general debate and the debate over the amendments. I took the bill home with me on Monday night and Tuesday night and put in about 2 hours' work each night. So I went into this vote with approximately 14 hours' study under my belt. I also had a few other qualifications to bring to bear on this decision. I hold a master's degree in theoretical economics; I have had 3 years' formal training in accounting; I have been treasurer of five small business corporations; I have been treasurer of several charitable and political organizations. I have spent my life with budgets and financial statements and probably know more about this one field than any other aspect of business. But with this background and all this study, when my name was called to vote I was forced to rely on the word of Congressman Mahon. of Texas, the Democratic chairman of the subcommittee, and Congressman FORD, of Michigan, the Republican minority leader of the subcommittee. These are two of the ablest men I have ever met in this Congress, but I was bitterly disappointed that I had no more valid reason for the "aye" vote that I cast

What was the trouble? Why could not I make an intelligent decision after the hours of study and my years of preparation? Basically, the trouble is that the Defense Department still keeps its books just about the same way that they did during the Civil War. Essentially, they are on a cash bookkeeping system. Any good treasurer or comptroller can make a cash system do just about anything he wants or show anything he wants. It is an antiquated and almost useless method of accounting today.

Andrew Carnegie introduced cost accounting to the United States of America. I honestly believe that the introduction of cost accounting is one of the most important reasons for the industrial growth of this country, because through cost accounting anyone can get a true picture of what any operation will really cost. Under a good cost-accounting system, it is very difficult to conceal the truth or to distort the facts.

The 84th Congress passed a law stating that the President should require all of the 1,220 bureaus and agencies of the Federal Government to submit their budgets on a cost-accounting basis when prepared to do so. So far about 200 bureaus and agencies have complied. Unfortunately, these 200 do not spend much money. The Defense Department, insofar as I can learn, is paying only lipservice to this law and is making no real attempt to get their accounting on a cost basis.

The 85th Congress went even further and passed an expense accrual law. This law would give the Congress a positive control over just how much any agency would spend in any one year. However, there seems to be resistance to this vitally important law in the Appropriations Committee. There is no real attempt there to put this law into effect.

What has been the result of this negligence? When one of the taxpayers in Marion County asks me how much will the Defense Department spend in 1960, the only honest answer that I can give is, "I do not know." We voted them about \$39 billion in new authority. But they had a carryover of \$31 billion which they have not used. Now they can go in two ways. They can live off their inventory and probably spend as little as \$25 to \$30 billion. In other words, they can spend less than we gave them. On the other hand, if they want to use their obligational authority and the Secretary of the Treasury could sell the bonds, they could spend as much as \$70 billion. So when my taxpayers ask me how much is the Defense Department going to spend in 1960, I can only answer, "I do not know-they can spend some place between 30 and 70 billion dollars." This is the most horifying example of bad government that I have encountered in this Congress.

The Constitution of the United States gave to the House of Representatives the power of the purse. We are the ones who spend the taxpayers' money, and we have to go back to the taxpayers every 2 years to give them an accounting. This, in my opinion, is the way it should There is no reason for this Congress to let the executive department of this Nation squander the hard-earned tax dollars of our voters. But I want to warn everyone in my congressional district that unless we force the executive department to bring their accounting system up to date, no Member of Congress will have the facts that he needs to safeguard the tax dollar. That appropriation yesterday amounted to about 50 cents out of every dollar in taxes that will be paid in Marion County, Ind.

I can only hope that it will be spent wisely. But I have found one real crusade. At every opportunity—on every appropriation vote, I am going to be on the floor yelling about the completely out-of-date accounting system used by this Government. The corrective laws are on the books, and I intend to do all in my power to force the President and the executive departments to use them.

#### D-Day 15 Years Ago

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following: On Saturday, June 6, this Nation will observe the 15th anniversary of one of the most heroic chapters ever written by the Armed Forces of this Nation. It was on this day in 1944, when American troops, in concert with our allies, stormed the Normandy beach and launched the invasion of the European Continent—the day that started the beginning of the end of World War II.

Many great books, articles, and speeches have been written about the heroism of our American soldiers and their leaders. This was indeed a day that the entire free world had waited for in the hope that the horror of World War II would soon come to an end.

As a tribute to the memory of those who made the supreme sacrific during the initial phases of this most difficult and daring invasion, I hope that all Americans will take time from their busy schedules this Saturday to pay homage to these gallant soldiers.

In order to bring full meaning to this day, I am enclosing in the Congressional Record an article written by Don Whitehead, the correspondent for the Associated Press, who personally praticipated in this invasion and prepared his dramatic reports at the time for the entire world to know of the supreme heroism of our soldiers. I am also enclosing an editorial dealing with the 15th anniversary of this great day. Both Mr. Whitehead's penetrating recollection of D-day and the editorial appeared in last Wednesday's editions of the Chicago Sun-Times. The articles follow:

[From the Chicago Sun-Times, June 3, 1959] D-Day: Bravery, Death on "Easy Red Beach"

("The first 6 hours will be the toughest," Don Whitehead, AP correspondent with the 1st Infantry Division, heard an officer say aboard the ship carrying them to Normandy on D-Day—June 6, 1944. And tough those hours were, testing brave men to the utmost. Here, he recreates the drama as he lived it.)

#### (By Don Whitehead)

The first soft layer of dusk had fallen ever drab, war-weary London dropping a veil outside the patched windows of my Chelsea flat. The telephone rang and when

I picked up the receiver I heard Ernie Pyle's voice saying: "Hey, Don, come on over and bring your jitters. I'm lonesome."

I found a crusing taxl which took me through Hyde Park to the Dorchester Hotel where I found Ernie in his room finishing a column.

I told Ernie about a talk I had had that afternoon with Gen. Omar Bradley. "Bradley is certain the casualties won't be as bad as most people think. He's not buying the prediction that we're going to have up to 80 percent of the first waves killed or wounded. He made me feel a lot better."

I drew the blackout curtains and switched on the light and we had a drink of bourbon.

#### PARTY UNTIL DAWN

Later we joined a group of correspondents at the Savoy and made a round of London night spots. Behind the blackout curtains there was music, laughter, and a reckless sort of gaiety that overlaid the tension and the loneliness. Dawn was near when the party broke up.

It seemed I had hardly closed my eyes when the phone rang and a voice ordered me to report with my field equipment at an address near Hyde Park. Somehow I sensed that this was the beginning of the great adventure. When I reached the address, I found Ernie and friends from other campaigns unloading their gear from taxis. It was May 28, 1944.

We loaded into jeeps and were driven from London toward the channel. We spent the night in a dreary temporary camp and then bid each other goodbye. I was taken to Weymouth and realized that I was entering the assembly area for the 1st Infantry Division with whom I had campaigned in Sicily.

#### THE FLEET MOVES

Maj. Gen. Clarence Huebner, the division's commander, greeted me. "We're glad to have you with us, Don," he said.

The hours moved swiftly—troops filed onto the invasion craft packed into the harbor, bells rang, chains clanked, booted feet clumped on steel decks, ship loud-speakers blared commands—and then Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower made his decision and the great invasion fleet moved into the channel.

Not until we were underway aboard the chaser did I know our destination—the coast of Normandy. Col. George Taylor, commanding the 1st Division's 16th Regiment, unfolded the invasion plan. "The first 6 hours will be the toughest," I heard him say. "That is the period during which we will be weakest. We've got to open the door. Somebody had to lead the way—and if we fail \* \* \* well \* \* \* then the troops behind us will do the job."

#### WADE ASHORE

Then we saw the beach. Easy Red Beach, they called it. Shells exploded in the surf and machinegun bullets whipped up ugly little spouts of water. The roar of naval gunfire engulfed us and there were vicious hisses from shells whipping by our craft.

We moved in with the assault waves toward the jagged barrier of steel rails, barbed wire, concrete blocks, and devices planted by the Germans.

The ramp of our craft lowered. We jumped into the surf and waded ashore, throwing ourselves behind a slight bank of shale where thousands of troops were huddled.

#### GET ME OUT

Many officers were killed before their craft reached the beach. German guns poured a murderous fire on the craft at close range, Machinegun bullets cut down soldiers as they stepped from the ramps of the boats. Units were landed in the wrong places. Squads and companies were landed without leaders and the men milled about in an agony of confusion with no one to tell them what to do other than burrow into holes in the sand. And still they came, plling up on the beach, shoulder to shoulder.

I remember a wounded youth crying, "Oh, God! Please stop the hurt! Get me out \* \* \* get me out!" But there was no one to get him out.

I lay on the beach and thought, "This time we have failed. \* \* \* I wonder when they'll come over that bluff and finish this thing."

But no gray-clad figures came down the

And suddenly I felt a strange sort of peace. The panic and fear were gone. If death had to come, then it must. I climbed out of my hole and began doing what I could to help and to watch the bravest men I have ever known.

[From the Chicago Sun-Times, June 3, 1959]

FIFTEEN YEARS AGO THIS WEEK

Fifteen years ago this week, Dwight D. Eisenhower made a momentous decision. He gave the order that sent American and British forces against Normandy beach. That D-Day of June 6, 1944, is recalled in a reminiscent account by former AP reporter Don Whitehead in our news columns today. Thank God, our men are not being slaughtered anywhere today as they were on the day he describes.

Sometimes World War II seems so far behind us in time that its horrors are only dimly remembered by those who weren't on the battlefront. When President Eisenhower talks of peace he remembers its awful alternative; if war requires sacrifices, peace requires even more.

Today the free nations are engaged in a different kind of Normandy beachhead. Fifteen years have not been long enough to reach agreement with the Russians on the kind of Europe nations dedicated to peace ought to have. It may take another 15 years. It may develop that as long as the Communists rule a large portion of the earth's surface no real agreement can be reached with them. But the nations no longer can regard war as an alternative to peace; as horrible as was World War II, the means of war have so changed that the words of Thomas Jefferson are charged with meaning he never could have understood when he wrote, in 1794, "War is as much a punishment to the punisher as to the sufferer."

Karl von Clausewitz' definition of war no longer applies to the great states: "War is not merely a political act, but also a political instrument, a continuation of political relations, a carrying out of the same by other means."

For the great states the "other means" today are suicidal. The field of conflict has carried over into the economic sphere. Today our beachheads against the enemy are manned by diplomats, economists, and sociologists. They must have the same full support we gave those on the Normandy beachhead if those who died there are not to have died in vain.

#### China and the Olympics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. FRANCIS E. DORN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. DORN of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in

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the Record, I include an editorial from the New York Times of May 30, 1959, regarding the expulsion of Nationalist China from the International Olympic Committee. This has been a shameful action and once denounced by our State Department:

#### CHINA AND THE OLYMPICS

In expelling Nationalist China from the International Olympic Committee—and thus eventually from Olympic participation—the committee has yielded to the rawest sort of political blackmail. The action is not only, in the words of our State Department, totally inconsistent with its (the Olympics) nonpolitical tradition. It is cowardly, evasive and shameful. The United States is reported, rather vaguely, to have been opposed to this move. If there is a spark of courage left in our Olympic representatives they will make it clear that this bit of international chicanery was abhorrent, and not maintain their timorous silence.

Red China walked out of the 1956 Olympic games at Melbourne because representatives of Free China were allowed to participate. Red China walked out of the International Committee early this year because Free China—a member for years—continued to be recognized. Now, under the open leadership of Moscow, the Communists have cracked the whip and forced the committee to carry

out their political aims.

In the light of what has happened, the wistful hope that both Red China and Taiwan might eventually participate is obvious nonsense. The Red Chinese do not propose to tolerate that and they have now made it plain that they can bend the International Committee to their will. Similarly the statement of Avery Brundage, president of the committee, that Nationalist China "no longer represents sports in the entire country of China" is unworthy of a forthright American. The Nationalist Chinese were representative enough to participate at Melbourne. And Mr. Brundage knows that no Communist regime, anywhere in the world, truly represents sports unless they are an adjunct to policy and conspiracy.

This is not the first time that the Olympics have been used as an instrument for ignoble ends.—The least we can do is to make it plain that it must be the last, if the Olympics are to survive.

## Address of Hon. John Lesinski Before the U.S. Chamber of Commerce Committee on Business Statistics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS-

#### HON. RALPH J. SCOTT

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted me, I am inserting in the Appendix of the Record the following address given by the Honorable John Lesinski, of Michigan, chairman of the Subcommittee on Census and Government Statistics, before the U.S. Chamber of Commerce Committee on Business Statistics at the Statler-Hilton Hotel in Washington, D.C., on June 3, 1959:

#### BUSINESS STATISTICS

I appreciate very much the cordial invitation that your chairman, Mr. Lester S. Kellogg, has extended to me and members of my staff to meet with your committee at this semiannual meeting of your group to briefly discuss with you the program of our Subcommittee on Census and Government Statistics. Mr. Kellogg's offer for your organizattion to be of assistance in our study of statistical activities in the Federal Government is most welcome. We realize that the cooperation of business and industry and labor groups, as well as the general public, will be necessary in order to achieve full benefits of the subcommittee's program.

Anyone who is interested in the Government's statistical program cannot help being aware of the contributions made by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. Your work in giving the businessman a better understanding of the Government's program merits special mention. In explaining the desirability of prompt reporting, the chamber has been of inestimable help to the Government and, I might add, to the taxpayers, since prompt reporting reduces costs. Of major importance, however, is your work in reviewing and appraising the Government's statistical program.

Our subcommittee has been most favorably impressed with the accomplishments of the Advisory Council of Federal Reports, which is sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce and other national organizations. This Council, under the able direction of its Executive Secretary, Mr. Russell Schneider, serves most effectively as a two-way means of communication between Government and industry on problems relating to questionnaires and reporting forms and statistics

generally.

I know that some of you have appeared before congressional committees to point out ways of improving the Government's statistical program. This is precisely what our subcommittee is interested in, and I feel that we can be of great assistance to each other.

The Post Office and Civil Service Committee of the House of Representatives has jurisdiction over Bureau of the Census activities and the collection of statistics generally, as well as matters pertaining to the Post Office, the Federal civil service, and manpower utilization throughout the Federal Government. Specific authority for the committee or its subcommittees to conduct investigations and studies is contained in House Resolution 78 of the 86th Congress.

The membership of the Subcommittee on Census and Government Statistics for the 86th Congress consists of Mr. Porter of Oregon, Mr. Shipley of Illinois, Mr. Dulski of New York, Mr. Prokop of Pennsylvania, Mr. Johansen of Michigan, Mr. Cunningham of Nebraska, Mrs. St. George of New York, and myself as chairman. Although the subject of Government statistics in general has been within the scope of the jurisdiction of the committee ever since the Reorganization Act of 1946, only limited efforts have been devoted to this important subject by the committee in the past due to the need for attention to other pressing matters having to do with postal operations and civil service matters.

In describing the plans of our subcommittee, I might go back and underscore a word I have just mentioned. That is "study." This is not a scandal-seeking investigation, with headlines in mind. We are interested in determining if the laws of Congress, with respect to statistical work, are soundly framed and properly administered. Furthermore, we intend to approach this study with a view to reducing the cost to Government of obtaining and processing information where possible and minimizing the burden upon business enterprise and the general public. As useful byproducts of our inquiry, we hope to provide helpful information to you and to those you represent, and to make of ourselves a well-informed body of legislators that can give continuing and intelligent attention to this important subject.

The subcommittee intends its study to be broad in scope. It will include not only those statistical activities which the Federal agencies conduct directly, but also those conducted by outside firms or organizations under contract. It will cover not only those activities which the agency may narrowly define as statistical by its own precepts, but all activities concerned with collecting and compiling information from the public, including, therefore, the demands of the regulatory and administrative agencies. These latter, we have already learned, impose more of a reporting burden upon the business community than the purely statistical agencies.

The subcommittee's study will also include the development of information on the number of employees and the cost involved, in all Federal departments, in the collection, compilation, preparation, and publication of statistical data. This phase, which is already well along, will give us a base from which to measure trends, and to examine the proportion of funds spent for each kind of statistical information. It will also give us a figure representing the total cost within the Government, to contrast with the undoubtedly larger figure representing the cost to the public of filling the Government forms.

One of the specific matters that the subcommittee will consider is the quarterly reporting requirement of the Federal Insurance Contributions Act. The Second Hoover Commission estimated that if the form 941-A were reduced to an annual report, a saving of possibly \$22 million a year might be realized by business enterprises. Like some of the other problems that we are becoming acquainted with, this cannot be resolved by agency action alone, but requires changes in legislation.

Earlier this year our subcommittee held a hearing at which the Director of the Bureau of the Census and his associates discussed the Bureau's plans for taking the 1960 census. The Director discussed some of the important uses that will be made of the results of the 1960 census. He pointed out that the Census Bureau will make full use of modern equipment, including electronic computers, in its 1960 census operation.

In view of the increase in the use of electronic data processing equipment by Government agencies in many phases of the Nation's Government-wide statistical activities, and the committee's interest in the broader subject of how the use of such equipment affects manpower requirements throughout the Government, the subcommittee will make an overall review of the use of such equipment by Government agencies. It is important to stress that periodic reviews should be made to ascertain that reports produced by an electronic data Processing system serve useful purposes. The equipment should not be allowed to become gigantic "paper mills" merely because they can process information at terrific rates of speed. Government officials should be aware of the fact that too much information, if it is not properly coordinated, can be as harmful as too little.

I would like to assure you that we recognize that Government statistics are a vital part of our system of economic and social intelligence, both for public policy formulation and for business planning. We appreciate that some programs may deserve building up, not tearing down. Our overall goal is to make the system better, not necessarily smaller or larger, giving considerable attention to getting the best possible product with the least burden.

To this end, we most cordially solicit your cooperation and that of your fellow organizations, such as the American Society of Association Executives, the National Indus-

trial Council, the National Association of Manufacturers, the American Retail Federation, and others. Specific, carefully considered recommendations, whether pro or con, can be of great help to us. You have access to us at any time by letter. At a later date, after the Congress has adjourned, we expect to hold open hearings at which representatives of business and industry and labor groups will be given an opportunity to testify. These hearings, which may be held in cities other than Washington, will supplement other hearings involving representatives of the Bureau of the Budget, the Bureau of the Census, and other government agencies. I hope that we can all work together to achieve really substantial improvements in this most important aspect of the Government's work.

#### Look at the Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial which appeared in the New Republic of June 1, 1959:

LOOK AT THE BUDGET

It is hard for this column to maintain its pose of genteel railiery when it comes to the subject of Eisenhower and education. The fact is our blood pressure mounts on this topic. Let's try not to bat the typewriter keys too vindictively and review what is to us, at any rate, a shameful record.

America's pauperized education was apparent when Elsenhower took office. In fact, none other than Bob Taft, in 1949, got through the Senate a \$300 million general aid bill—which foundered on religious controversy in the House. Eisenhower took office in 1953 and for 2 years Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby studied the subject. Then she introduced a piddling, preposterous self-help bill that nobody took seriously.

Eisenhower's second, election-year bill rec-

Eisenhower's second, election-year bill recommended \$250 million a year for 5 years. It was a straightforward general-aid measure. The conservative GOP-Dixie coalition blocked it in the House. Eisenhower blamed defeat entirely on the Democrats and campaigned against them on the issue, repeatedly promising to do in 4 years what he had previously wanted to do, he said, in 5.

Yet, with the election over, Eisenhower did not lift a finger for the measure. When it came up in the House in 1957, it lost by 5 votes. All the major GOP leaders voted against it. No word came from the White House. Secretary Folsom (Oveta's successor) quietly quit.

Then came sputnik, October 4, 1957. The administration trembled. The White House fear was that the public might panic. First the administration tried ridicule. Then the President made a gesture of action—he called in Dr. James Killian as special science adviser and urged Federal scientific scholarships. Congress approved the latter in 1957. But not a thing was done for general school construction. Too expensive. "Look at the budget," Eisenhower kept saying.

Today the third Education Secretary, Arthur Flemming, has reverted to the original piddling type of self-help bill—\$100 million a year in loans to needy areas, with nothing at all until 1960, and then under a legal formula so complex as to require either ref-

erendums or constitutional changes in half the States! All told—in view of circumstances at home and abroad—this neglect of education, represented in the current bill, strikes us as perhaps the most typical and the most shameful act of the myopic man in the White House.

This is not the end of it. A year and a half after Killian's appointment he comes forward now with a bright new 16,000 word study, gravely stating in behalf of a ninemember panel of experts that the Nation's investment in education is too little. It should be at least "doubled."

What strikes us most in all this is the simple cheekiness of it. The administration announces that the world is round. What reply is there that is adequate? Let us take a deep breath, then, and merely set down what two others have said. Senator WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, Democrat, of Arkansas, at Columbia University, May 7, noted that the United States is spending about 3 percent of its gross national income on education—the Soviet Union 8 percent. And Dr. Alvin C. Eurich, of the Ford Foundation, back from Russia, stated: "To me, the accomplishments in the field of education which Russia has made in a relatively short time are much more frightening than announcements that come from Russia concerning atomic or hydrogen bombs or guided missiles."

#### The Welfare State, Inflation, and Taxation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, returns from my ninth annual congressional question-naire are coming to me with anxious messages from constituents who are sick and tired of big government, the welfare state, inflation, and the heavy burden of taxation. One of the most expressive comes from a young mother at Wooster, Ohio, and I offer it as part of my remarks:

WOOSTER, OHIO.
DEAR MR. Bow: I am grateful for the op-

DEAR MR. Bow: I am grateful for the opportunity to give some expression of my opinions. I am a Democrat, but I am beginning to have some serious misgivings about the policies of my own political party,

I am getting sick and tired, fed up to the very limit, on the utter disregard that some Congressmen have for my money. I am well aware of my responsibility for my fellow man, but when it reaches the point that my fellow man can loaf around the house all day and drink beer all night while I go out and work, to supplement my husband's income to send our sons to college, then I am ready to fight.

There may well be a recession in business, and there undoubtedly and obviously are many unemployed. But I am of the firm and unshakable opinion that when a man wants a job, he can find something to do. It may not be the glamorous and high-paying job he had, or wants, but if my children were hungry, I'd haul garbage or scrub floors to feed them. Why in the name of all that is democracy, should I work overtime, night and day, in an office and later doing my washing and ironing at night, so that some man can draw unending dole?

Why should I have to keep my children from going to college so that I can pay more taxes to build a house for some person in Alabama? Or California? I don't want anybody building my house—I want to do it myself, then I know, in my mind and my heart, that I can be justly proud of my accomplishment.

I would far rather triple the amount of Wayne County taxes that I pay, and know that the money not only is spent here, but the way it is spent is decided here.

I am sick and tired of the pleas of farmers, here and across the country, that I should be willing to pay more for my eggs and butter so that they can have more money. Why should I? The shoes for my children cost just as much as for their kids. Why should I buy butter, when for half as much money I can get oleo? Not me, I work so that my family can have a better life, not so some farmer can have a new tractor.

It has reached a point where it is not only disgusting, but frightening as well. There is no reason to work. Those who don't have little less than we who do. Why save and try to invest in stocks when the tax makes it a penalty to be diligent and farshighted?

I say, Representative Bow, cut down on this spend, and spend, and spend. It sounds cruel and heartless and unconcerned, and I really am not that kind of a person, but I say "let those who are willing to work enjoy the fruits of their labor, and let the rest either do without or get busy and work too." This, I assure you, does not include the mother with small children, or the physically unfit. It does mean to me, however, those who are just too darned lazy to shift for themselves.

Commencement Address of Hon. Robert W. Hemphill Before 1959 Graduating Class, Kershaw (S.C.) High School

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. JOHN L. McMILLAN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a copy of a speech delivered to the Kershaw (S.C.) High School graduating class by my colleague, Hon. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL.

I personally want to congratulate Congressman Hemphill on his fine address and hope that the other Members of Congress will be interested in reading Mr. Hemphill's very informative remarks:

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS OF HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL BEFORE 1959 GRADUATING CLASS, KERSHAW, (S.C.) HIGH SCHOOL

Superintendent Graves, members of the faculty, parents who are justly proud, and last, but far from least, members of the outstanding graduating class of 1959, of Kershaw High School, it is an honor to be on your program. I share with your valedictorian and salutatorian the honors you have accumulated.

In this hour of triumph, I share your pride of a good job well done. You are Mr. and Mrs. America of tomorrow, and I am glad, I am confident. You will, I know, be equal to your responsibilities,

Today you accept the token and symbol of achievement—a diploma. Tomorrow, you accept the responsibilities of mature citizen-

ship—I glory in anticipation of your good works.

Twenty-seven long, but exciting years ago, I stood in your place—thrilled, excited, and uncertain. I can almost hear the valedictorian as he spoke, "We are the children of the depression—this is a red-letter day in our life—we are equal to the task ahead—let us go forward with courage and determination."

About a month ago, along with classmates, I took a silent poll of our class. Scattered to the far corners of the earth, they had made their way—the American way a dominant part of the life of the particular community—a productive life, and a beneficial existence.

A great teacher here—a successful but humble businessman there—a coach—pilot—wife of a mayor—executive—salesman—surgeon—many who know the satisfaction of motherhood and housewife—a cross-section of contribution to the past, present and future of the country. I catalog and judge with pride my class. You will, I am sure, be proud of yours through the years.

I suppose everyone who has talked to you has told you that you have a challenge. Be thankful you have. How meaningless would life be without a thousand challenges—economic—social—political? You can glory in the fact that you face an exciting tomorrow, and that will master your problems.

You will be tempted with a 35 hour week.

You will be tempted with a 35 hour week. You will be told you must spread the work—but you must realize you cannot substitute social desire for efficiency and production. When you spread the work you invite automation. You can not substitute spreading the work for doing the work.

You will be tempted to spread the dollar; you cannot have a wage-price spiral of inflation without losing dollar value.

Ultimately, if not presently, most of the young men here will be called on to give some measure of service in the defense forces of our country. Many of the young ladies will await their return. Those men who join either the National Guard or Reserves, or who enlist for or are drafted into the Army, Navy, Air or Marine Forces, will be told that we are maintaining our forces merely for purposes of peace and defense. Our progressive development in missiles, hydrogen, and space warfare capabilities, are classified as necessary for deterrent or retaliatory purposes. And the remarkable truth is that despite the magnitude of our defense effort and high cost to the American taxpayer, we prepare for war only that we may insure peace. Neither the American people, nor their leaders, have any desire for war, no ambition for any other territory, and no plan or scheme for world conquest. Every American knows this. The sad and real fact is that the world does not.

We have failed to carry our message of peace to the peoples of the world. I do not mean the leaders of our friends or our enemles—they know we want no war. But the peoples of the world have seen us send armies and ammunition around the world—how they must wonder that we speak so softly, while the rattle of our swords may sound of peace to us, but sound of aggression to others.

Today we witness a defense department torn with a fight over which missile we should develop. Some say Nike-Hercules is not adequate, because its range may be limited to 100 miles or less. Millions have been spent on a Bomarc missile yet unproved. While the controversy rages, have we convinced the world we build only for defense?

Why do I speak to this audience in such a manner—why not, oh, why not, my friends, make a regular little address on some moral issue. I will tell you.

You and I are partners in America today, America tomorrow. We must progress and work together.

You have graduated. The preliminary accomplishment of your education has been halled and recognized. You have more supervised education already than Benjamin Franklin, Abe Lincoln, John Paul Jones, and many others. You get news from Paris quicker than your forefathers got it from Lancaster. You have light to dispense the the darkness, heat against the cold, cold against the heat, vitamins, wonder drugs—a thousand wonders to inspire and secure.

Now, my partners in freedom, what is our course?

While we speak of defense, we must not be on the defensive. I do not endorse a program of aggressive warfare—I believe we should be ready. Every athlete knows a ready opponent is hard to surprise, harder to defeat.

We must be aggressive in our demands for peace, freedom, and justice. You and I must defy those who endorse the tyrant, or dictator, because of his friendliness, because that endorsement countless times in the past has caused a people, a nation, to despise us.

There is no such thing as passive resistance to the socialistic trends that threaten our land. Remove the tinsel and the tarnish from any welfare state, and we find slavery, with state bureaucracy the master.

Great Britain tried nationalization of industry—the results were disastrous.

Great Britain tried socialized medicine. Today we find those who want major surgery wait an average of more than 30 days, minor surgery more than 60 days. Yes, it is free, but is it?

No, no, my friends, we do not want a Government as a parent, or guardian. I do not like for my Government to tell me what to do. Neither do you. Three million people are employed by our Government. Do you want them to be your bosses?

Only an aggressive attack against the forces seeking to undermine us can be productive. Year after year a passive America has witnessed the growth of our national indebtedness. It is now authorized at \$288 billion, and we will owe \$12 billion more by July 1, 1959. Common stocks, at inflated prices, are more in demand than Government bonds backed by the full faith and credit of the people of the United States.

Only an aggressive attack on these problems can produce. The time to start reduction of this debt is now. Partners in freedom, this is our task.

A clergyman once walked into a quarry where three men were working in a secluded area. He asked one man what he was doing and received the reply, "I am making little rocks out of big rocks." He asked the second, and received the reply, "Watch and you shall see me reduce this mighty rock to dust." He approached the third, who said pridefully. "I do not accept my job that way—I am helping to build a cathedral."

These vexing problems I have discussed briefly, and many others, challenge every talent of our possession. We cannot, we must not, pursue or adopt any attitude, or any policy, which causes us to stick our heads in the sand. We can neither ignore the facts of life, nor expect any accomplishment if we march out of step. The man or woman who thinks he can keep up by standing still is out of date; in fact, retreating.

Partners of freedom, you and I challenge anyone who advocates a retreat. We are capable, we are eager to meet and conquer the onslaughts of time, the crises of the hour.

We must, and we do, guarantee to your generation, and your children, and their children, a free America, free from socialism, and certainly, most certainly not a welfare state.

I have confidence in you to do your part.

Address Before the Graduating Class, St. Stephen's School, Alexandria, Va., June 3, 1959, by the Honorable Hugh M. Milton II, Under Secretary of the Army

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Record, I include, herewith, a speech made by the distinguished Under Secretary of the Army, the Honorable Hugh M. Milton II, before the graduating class of St. Stephen's Episcopal School for Boys, Alexandria, Va., on June 3, 1959 on the occasion of their graduation:

REMARKS BY THE HONORABLE HUGH M. MILTON II, UNDER SECRETARY OF THE ARMY, BEFORE THE GRADUATING CLASS, ST. STEPHEN'S SCHOOL, ALEXANDRIA, VA., JUNE 3, 1959

Mr. Headmaster, members of the staff and faculty, members of the graduating class, distinguished guests, fathers and mothers, ladies and gentlemen, it is indeed an honor as well as a distinct privilege for me to take part in an activity of this kind, where young men are recognized for their diligence and are graduated into the further opportunities life offers. I am especially proud to be present here because many of the members of the class of 1959 are known personally to me and, also, I happen to be acquainted with one young man especially well. I am not certain that it is best for a father to be in the role of commencement speaker when his son graduates. Such speakers-I think-are supposed to give advice, offer suggestions, and present a challenge. I believe I have been doing this for some time. I could well receive an answer similar to the one received by a doctor whose son called about playing golf. The boy had a bad case of poison ivy on his hands, and the father expressed the opinion that it might be best if the game were delayed a day or two. To this suggestion the young man replied, "Look, Dad, I know you are a doctor, but I don't want your professional opinion. I want your parental permission."

I doubt if I can separate completely my professional opinion from my parental opinion, and I don't think you would want me to, for what I want for my son is what I want for every young man who arrives at such an important occasion as this.

Let's for a moment stop and consider the fact that in a very special sense, a school is a symbol of a promise for the future, because it is dedicated to the preparation of the young people who, in a few years, will be assuming the privileges and obligations of citizenship. As citizens, they will take their places in both the economic and political life of the Nation. The effectiveness with which they do so will depend in large measure on the effectiveness with which they have been prepared and equipped to meet and solve the problems which arise in the life of any individual and of any country.

As a result, the mission which our schools must perform is especially meaningful, and the responsibility they bear is a vital one. In considering their mission, however, it seems to me that there is a great deal of inspiration to be derived from taking into account the achievements which have already been attained.

And, I see here today striking evidence of this recognition and the efforts which have been expended; and the goals which have been sought are indeed extremely worthwhile. It is vital to this Nation that its youth have access to the best education which can be offered.

My friends, we in America can be proud of our schools. But we must not let our justifiable pride become complacency, self-satisfaction, and indifference. I can assure you that in many parts of the world where I have been, the public attitude toward education is one of great interest and attention.

The inescapable fact is that we can no longer afford the comfortable luxury—if indeed we were ever justified in doing so—of assuming that we could rest on our past laurels, or that our continued advance in the sciences and the arts could be expected to occur automatically.

Great as America's intellectual resources unquestionably are, we have no exclusive monopoly on brains. Progress requires intelligence, of course, but it also requires that we apply our intelligence energetically and efficiently.

It is well recognized by all that we are involved in a bitter competition with communism in the political, economic, and military fields. It must be recognized as well that in the field of education, we are also involved in a competition with communism which is equally strenuous—and equally vital.

Therefore, it is most important for me that I speak directly to the graduates. I hope you will listen and I hope you don't finish before I do. I shall also hope that I am not placed in the category of the professor who was asked by the sophomore to get his keys from the deep portion of the swimming pool. The professor did get the keys for the young man and when he gave them to him he asked, "Why of all the people around, was I asked to get the keys?"

"Well, sir," replied the sophomore, "I sat through one of your classes and you can go down deeper, stay longer, and come up drier than anyone I know. So, I figured you would be the best person to get the keys for me."

I said, however, that it was you—the graduates of St. Stephen's—that I wanted to speak to.

You all have spent considerable time preparing for this occasion, and I congratulate you upon your achievements. In a few moments you will be given a diploma which is an attest by this school that you are now ready to move forth into the stream of life. Each of you, I know, feels confident of your ability to do this. Yet, I would ask you to ponder this most important question: What are you going to do with what you have?

This is a commencement exercise. Commencement means a beginning; for you, the beginning of a larger and fuller life. Your success—20, 30, or 40 years from now—depends on what you do with what you now have.

Let's look at what you have. First, what have your parents given you? Sometimes, when young, we are inclined to feel that parents don't know a great deal. We read in Mark Twain's writings that when he left home at an early age he didn't think his father knew very much. When he returned 4 years later, however, he said that he was amazed to see how much "the old man had learned."

You have received a great deal from your parents, and I don't mean just allowances or privileges. One thing you have received is the capacity you possess; physical, mental, spiritual. You are what you see in the mirror primarily because of your heritage. Disregarding the manner in which you have your hair cut—and many parents refuse to accept the responsibility for that—the fact that you have red or blond hair was determined by those 48 chromosomes contributed

by your mother and father. Your skill at basketball, your ability to study, your talent as a musician—all these, and other attributes, come primarily from this heritage of your parents.

You have also received from your parental heritage a good name. The Bible says that a good name is of far greater value than great riches, and how true that is. What do we think of when we hear the name Benedict Arnoid? Or Adolf Hitler? Or George Washington? Or Dwight D. Eisenhower? These are only names, but each name represents the qualities of a man, the ideals for which the man stands, and the way of life which he pursues.

Almost 2,000 years ago there were two men living at approximately the same time; one was a prisoner awaiting trial; the other, a ruler of men. The names of these two men are well known to us today, but we call our sons Paul after the prisoner, and our dogs Nero after the ruler. Each name represents to us the ideals of the man.

Do you realize that many commercial businesses consider their trade names to be worth millions of dollars? What is true for a commercial name is even more true of the name you and I have received from our parents—the name which we carry forth into life and which we pass on to our children and our children's children.

Shakespeare, in the third act of Othello, scene 3, wrote this:

"Good name in man and woman, dear my lord,

Is the immediate jewel of their souls; Who steals my purse steals trash; 'tis something, nothing;

"Twas mine, 'tis his, and has been slave to thousands;

But he that fliches from me my good name Robs me of that which not enriches him, And makes me poor indeed."

You have also received from your parents example and precept. You have been taught how to live meaningful and significant lives; you have been shown the basis of a good home and you know that love for all should be warm and inclusive. You are aware of the pressures that play upon life, and you know how these pressures should be handled. You have been taught about God from childhood, and the life and teachings of our Divine Master have been demonstrated for you in everyday situations. You know, as did Jim, a young newspaper boy who, when asked by a stranger, what house he lived in, replied, "It isn't a house; it's a home."

"And what is the difference?" asked the stranger.

Jim replied, "You see that sun? It shines on a house, but it shines in a home."

Yes, you have lived in a home with the sunshine of love and the affection of your family surrounding you. With the example and precept of your parents to guide you, you are well equipped to travel the presently uncharted scope of your own personal life.

This, and so much more, is what your parents have done for you. They can do little now except continue, insofar as possible, to make available the means by which you may continue your education. They will, however, ever be with you spiritually, if not physically, because you have been endowed by them with a heritage that will live on and on in your life, no matter where you are or what you do.

What are you going to do with it? What you have thus far accomplished is very important, but what you are going to accomplish is of even greater importance.

St. Stephen's assumes a grave responsibility when it places a seal of approval on you young men. From the moment these exercises are complete, you are forever numbered among its alumni. I know that the members of the faculty have not taken this responsibility lightly. A great deal of time

has been spent in selecting the curriculum offered here. It behooves this school, as well as every other institution of learning, to give its students the best education possible. hope that you graduates have profited adequately of the time spent here.

The efforts of a faculty are to impart knowledge which is both an acquaintance with facts as well as an act or state of understanding, and a clear perception of truth. The first of these objectives is accomplished by the teacher in his lectures; the classroom. homework fulfilled, and the examinations taken. You graduates are here because you are considered qualified in this area of knowledge.

Knowledge, however, is more than just facts and figures. This faculty has also tried to help you gain proper attitudes and ideals for future life. They know, and I hope you know, that your happiness in life will be more greatly influenced by these ideals and attitudes than anything else.

The Bible says that "as a man thinketh in his heart, so is he." This, in my simple interpretation, means that no matter how much a man knows, it is what he does that counts. "What you are speaks so loudly I cannot hear what you say," is another way of putting it. How does a man live? What attitude does he have toward other people? To what standards in life does he ascribe? This is what is involved when we speak of a man having noble character, or who possesses personal integrity.

As interested as we are in what you do with the facts and figures acquired here, we are even more interested in the attitude and ideals you take with you. I need only remind you that there is a conflict being waged today which affects every one of us. It is a spiritual conflict, for there is an atheistic, materialistic society which would destroy what we cherish and place all men in a common pot of service to the state, thereby reducing the value of the individual to how much he can produce. This Nation, however, was founded and built upon the principle that there is a God and that, under God, every individual is important. Thus, because we are creatures of a Creator, we are moral beings and know the difference between right and wrong. Knowing this difference, we are obligated to choose the right and reject the wrong. We are free, therefore, and will continue to be free so long as we maintain these things.

"God, who gave us life, gave us liberty," wrote Jefferson. What are you going to do with that freedom? It is easy to give lipservice to such a principle, but intellectual assent is not enough. We must put our complete trust in it, and we must be willing to stake our lives on its continuation.

I am reminded of a story told about a man stretching a wire across Niagara Falls. Another man came along and asked what he was doing.

The first man replied, "I'm going to push wheelbarrow across this wire. Do you think I can do it?"

The second man carefully looked the situation over and said that he thought it could be done.
"Fine." replied the first man. "You can

ride in the wheelbarrow."

"Not I." said the other man as he rapidly walked away.

Here is intellectual assent, but trust is not present. It is not enough for you to go out into life giving intellectual assent to the things upon which this Nation, under God, was founded and which this school, with its excellent faculty, has endeavored to impart to you. Yours is to put your complete trust in and to apply these principles to your everyday life and work.

A man of integrity, a man of character, believes that certain things are right whereever he is or whatever he is doing and he fulfills them. Likewise, he believes certain things are wrong, regardles of the crowd he is with or the circumstances involved, and he does not do them.

There are two classes of people when it comes to character. There are those willing to settle for nothing less than the best and they are willing to pay the price for the best. Then, there are those who settle for the first bargain they find and quality is incidental. Which class are you in?

What are you going to do with what you have? There is no bargain price to success—not the kind of success the world needs today. The asking price is stiff. It includes dedication to ideals, taking the hard knocks in stride, sticking to dull routine, self-denial, hard practice. It is not too easy, but it is worth whatever it costs.

Your parents have given you the best that they can. You go forth with their love, support and aspirations. This school, through its faculty, has proven to you the pressing need for education and has tried to provide you with the education upon which you can build. It has given you knowledge-facts and figures and attitudes and ideals. It has attempted to show you the right way, and it has tried to provide you with the proper motivation to follow that way. The rest is up to you.

It will take a strong desire and a great deal of effort to make a success in life. It must be your desire and it must be your effort, for no one can do it for you. Parents and faculty, friends and associates can only step aside and give you room to move up-ward and onward. I bid you God's blessings and Godspeed on your way.

Address by Preston J. Moore, National Commander, the American Legion, Before the Graduating Class of the FBI Academy at Departmental Auditorium, Washington, D.C., June 3, 1959

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. TOM STEED

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. STEED. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to present herewith the text of a speech delivered by National Commander Preston J. Moore, of the American Legion, on the occasion of the graduation exercises of the current class of the Federal Bureau of Investigation Academy.

I feel certain every person will find this speech of great interest. There is great food for thought in these remarks by this outstanding leader of a great war veterans organization. I commend it to all my colleagues as preferred reading.

The speech follows:

AN ADDRESS BY PRESTON J. MOORE, NATIONAL COMMANDER, THE AMERICAN LEGION, BEFORE THE GRADUATING CLASS OF THE FBI ACAD-EMY AT DEPARTMENTAL AUDITORIUM, WASH-INGTON, D.C., JUNE 3, 1959

"Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called children of God."

As law enforcement officers, you gentlemen and your colleagues qualify in a very practical way for this Scriptural tribute. Peacemaking is your purpose. Few men devote their daily labor to a higher one.

So I extend to you today the American Legion's sincere congratulations on two counts: first, on your choice of the peace officer's profession; and secondly, on your completion of a training course that will enable you to better serve your communities and States.

Here in the Academy you have studied the latest theories and techniques of crime detection. As valuable as this knowledge will prove to be, I suggest that you are returning home with something of even greater value -and that is a personal sense of the dedication and standards of excellence which characterize the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Several weeks ago the founder of the Academy, Director J. Edgar Hoover, completed his 35th year of service in the Bureau. It may be another 35 years before the quality of his work can be assessed and appreciated in its full dimension. He has helped a nation understand what is meant by a government of law. He has built a magnificent investigative force and imbued it with his own zeal for honesty and efficiency. Perhaps even more important, he and his organization have proved that it is possible to wage total war against crime and subversion while at the same time protecting the civil rights of every citizen.

I sometimes think we are sent men like Mr. Hoover to save us from ourselves.

The public mind, as you know very well, is a fickle, unstable thing. Its concern for right and wrong fluctuates between indignation and indifference. We tend to switch our attention from one problem to another with the same ease-and often for the same reason—that we switch TV channels.

Unfortunately, some of the problems we face are the persistent kind that do not fade away when we lose interest in them. I want to discuss with you today certain aspects of two such problems which are related rather closely to your line of duty. You will recall that Communist subver-

sion, in the late forties and early fifties, was the focal point of public opinion. Through the efforts of a comparatively few individuals and organizations-and American Legion was one of them-it was finally exposed and identified as a tremendous threat to our national institutions and individual liberties. The Congress and a number of State legislatures tightened up security laws, there were steps toward barring traitors from sensitive positions in Government and elsewhere-and then the subject pretty much disappeared from public view.

About the only thing we've heard lately concerning our internal defenses against communism has come from the Supreme Court, and the accent in that quarter seems to be on knocking down what was built up.

Yet, as of this moment, there is strong evidence that the agents of the Kremlin are well on the way to capturing a major base of operations 90 miles from the United States. The place is Cuba. The time is much later than most Americans think.

Fidel Castro came out of the hills with the announced purpose of liberating Cuba from the tyranny of Batista. The American people by and large looked upon him as a hero-fighter for freedom who beat big odds. Now, 6 months later, what does Castro's Cuba look like?

The form of government is the same-dictatorship.

The Communist Party, previously outlawed, now enjoys government recognition and encouragement.

The army is peppered with Communists. An ardent Communist commands it. Another has directed the execution of more than 600 Batista henchmen and "enemies of the revolution," as the charge was sometimes

Communists and fellow travelers dominate a number of national labor unions. Known Communists control some of the largest newspapers. In the communications fieldradio and television-and in education at every level, there is active red penetration. History textbooks for use in the schools are to be rewritten, under the guidance of a commission headed by a fellow traveler.

This is not hearsay. It is a boiled down, composite picture of the present situation in Cuba as reported by veteran American news-

men and others on the scene.

How did it happen? The record so far Indicates that in Fidel Castro the red missionaries have found a made-to-order helpmate.

Whether Castro himself is a Communist may prove to be immaterial in the long run. He has said repeatedly that he is not. He also has demonstrated an incredibly naive view of what communism is. Visiting Washington last April, he stated that he had no knowledge of Communists in his government and if there were any, "their influence is

Apparently, the Prime Minister of Cuba is unaware that the Kremlin has laid away many a national leader whose headstones

bear that same epitaph.

In a speech on May 8 Castro described his government as the "model and hope" for other nations of the Americas. So far, only the Communst faithful in those nations have seconded the motion. On May 10 the Secretary General of the Chilean Communist Party said the Castro movement is a big step toward the "inevitable liberation of our countries from the Yankee yoke" and the kind of group with which all Latin-American reds should collaborate. The boss of Cuba's 24,000 Communists during the same week pledged "all backing and sympathy" to the Castro regime.

Perhaps it was mere coincidence that the U.S. Ambassadors serving in 10 South American countries issued a joint state-ment on May 9, warning of "intensified effort by international communism to undermine the unity of the hemisphere." Or perhaps that was the striped-pants way of serving notice that the commies mean to put their Cuban show on the continental road.

What would a Communist Cuba mean to us? It would mean, at least, a massive staging center in our front yard from which Moscow could direct economic and political broadsides against the Americas. It would place an intolerable pressure upon our military defenses in the Caribbean and Panama Canal areas. It would lead inevitably, I believe, to the active commitment of our Armed Forces.

Pray that the power of our Government and of an aroused public opinion will be asserted to head off these eventualities. When the red Chinese threatened to take over a couple of islands half a world away from us, we stood up and were counted. We shouldn't need a Communist gun in our ribs to remind us that Cuba is less than half an hour away.

The other current problem which seems to me to be receiving less than its share of real public concern is a relative newcomer on the national scene. I refer to racketeering—spe-cifically, the high-powered, free-wheeling brand of racketeering that infests vital segments of the organized labor movement.

The nature and scope of it are no secret. For more than 2 years, Senator McClellan's investigating committee has paraded the whole sordid story before the American people. It's a documented story of thievery, extortion, defiance of legal authority, and sustained abuse of the rights of millions of citizens.

Such practices are as old as society. But When they occur on a grand scale and are used openly and successfully as means to personal power and profit, the society itself is in danger of decay.

Senator McClellan declared in the Senate recently that his committee "has barely scratched the surface" of what he termed "the invasion of unionism by thugs and hoodlums." He added: "No doubt the great majority of unions and union leaders are honest and dedicated, but the largest and most powerful union in the country today. the one which is seeking more and more power-power paramount over that of the Government itself-is beyond all doubt corrunt."

He referred, of course, to the Teamsters' Union, headed by Mr. James Hoffa. In a relatively short time this man, Hoffa, has managed to establish himself as one of the Nation's most expendable burdens. His union was kicked out of the joint AFL-CIO federation for refusing to clean house. He. himself, has faced Federal juries on charges of bribery and wire-tapping. According to the McClellan committee counsel, Robert Kennedy, he and his top aides are in touch with every important gangster in the United States.

Recently, Hoffa was reported as threatening a nationwide transport strike if the Congress were to apply the antitrust law against unions. Later, he denied the threat. As a matter of fact, he long ago made it clear that one of his ambitions is to bring about a superalliance of unions in the transportation field; namely, the Teamsters, National Maritime Union, International Longshoremen's and Warehousing Union, and International Longshoremen's Association.

These four organizations combined control the flow of commerce from the gulf to the Great Lakes and from the east coast to Hawaii. As far back as December of 1958. the Senate Internal Security Committeeafter analyzing the implications of such an alliance-stated as follows:

'The alliance constitutes a monopoly in the transportation industry which threatens the economic life of the Nation and which could be employed to strangle the military forces of the Nation in the event of war \* \* Well-trained Communist conspirators have infiltrated longshoremen's unions on both east and west coasts, and have acted as the spearhead of the alliance. \* \* \* The racketeering leaders of the Teamsters Union have displayed an utter lack of concern about the Communist records and activities of dominant officials of the ILWU."

Hoffa has been heard to boast, "I'm boss of an outfit that wins." The trouble is-when he wins, the rest of us lose.

We are told it is impossible to legislate morals or individual responsibility. cerely believe that, sooner or later, the people are going to insist it is both possible and necessary to legislate protection against the

Hoffas of the country.

In terms of public expectations, the two problems I have touched on here present a striking—and sad—similarity. The people of Cuba traded Batista for Castro, and there's very little chance that they improved their lot. The members of the Teamsters swapped Beck for Hoffa, and there's no chance at all for improvement there. Despite this threat of racketeering and gangsterism, I feel that law enforcement agencies, as presently constituted, can adequately take care of the

These developments serve to point up characteristics of the public mind that are important to all of us. Your achievements in law enforcement are influenced greatly by the understanding and attitudes and concerns of the people you serve. I hope you will make it part of your job to inform yourself and others to the end that the public mind may be alert and attuned to reality. We ought to remember that public opinion is not infallible. Given time and the facts, it winds up on target but it often gets there by way of

Robin's Barn. Group opinion is importanta factor to be reckoned with. We can respect it, shape it, and at the same time keep our first reliance on those unchanging principles of human dignity and responsibility which light the way to really important service for our God and our country.

So They Say

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. BYRON G. ROGERS

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial that appeared in the Colorado Statesman and written by my good friend Earl Mann who served in World War I and was a member of the Colorado General Assembly for a number of years.

The article is as follows:

SO THEY SAY-WHITE SUPREMACY CRUMBLING (By Lt. Earl Mann)

Indisputably the theory of human rights and liberties being based upon racial lines or lineage, and these liberties being so flagrantly abused throughout the world, we are now witnessing a challenge. The white man's doctrine that black folk were permanently consigned to the task of hewers of wood and carriers of water seems to have aroused the children of Ham to aggressive combat. My personal feeling is: "It's regrettable that the ignominy now being suffered by these United States, in relation to this world crusade for equality of opportunity is the result of the publication being given the subversive activities (not communism) arising from regional traditions."

Our eminent scholar, Hon. W. E. B. Du. Bols is quoted as having said: "Sit no longer blind, Lord God, deaf to our prayers, and dumb to our dumb suffering. Surely Thou, too are not white. O Lord on the bloodless." too, are not white; O Lord, a pale, bloodless,

heartless thing."

The rapid transitions now taking place, and daily recorded must be accepted as proof that the Du Bois prayer has been heard, and that our Common Maker is taking a hand in the effecting of such spiritual and moral adjustments as will prevent further deterioration of the Christian influence among His children.

From abroad, Africa, India, and South Asia, nationalism has forced the Christian church to speed up the process of recognizing native churchmen. Just back from a 2-month tour of African missions Methodist Bishop Gerald Kennedy of Los Angeles, said that the whole future of Christianity in that part of the world depends on the speed and success of the hand-over to native ministers. We have falled in that we have tried to keep too much control by running white missions. We need to train more natives so that the missions can become more of the people. The Christian church must be an indigenous thing, or it will be rejected as a foreign faith.

#### LYNCH LAW

Human beings are socially so barbarous and stupid that they again and again create situations in which there will be misery, horror, and degradation. Mississippians again in their mad struggle to retain a status quo of white supremacy having again staged a historical drama of intimidation, viz, the lynching party. A Negro awaiting trial for the alleged offense of assaulting a white woman was taken from jail, brutally beaten, shot and his body thrown into a river. Subsequently Florida, not to be outdone, lists a nauseating depravity. Four young white men brutally and repeatedly raped a young 18-year-old Negro coed. What degeneracy next?

While we (Americans) boast more churches, chapels, and civic centers than any country in Europe yet we are swayed by the cancer of racial prejudice that transcends the understanding of peoples of the world, including Russia. The Negro of America is, unfortunately, the victim of a vicious and unwholesome condition which arises from the residential ghettos, peculiarly an American institution, to which he is assigned; its boundaries being set by covenants, statute, and simple duress. Happliy Colorado's recent legislative assembly voted to abolish these inequities, granting citizens the right to purchase residential property wherever they pleased, based upon a mutual agreement between seller and purchaser.

The tragedy of the racial picture lies in the fact that while admittedly race problems are an incident of world economics and race relations a code of behavior developing out of the contact and conflict of economic interest of groups identified as racially different, America, although disclaiming sympathy and support of vicious colonialism, none-the-less clings tenaciously to its belief in a related institution—Jim Crow.

This is a diseased century, but America could with its immense material wealth, contribute so much to better human relations. But hypocrisy still being a national virtue, mass production of bigots is the one American industry that seems to thrive in our political framework. While America is to us of great functional importance, we are often baffled in trying to comprehend its strikingly remote and complicated character. Many whites advocate return of the Negro to Africa, although there is in millions of us a high percentage of British, Irish, French, Scandinavian, German and bloods of other lineage, as to make it impossible to determine which dominates the individual. So withal why impose upon an up-and-coming nation of people, Africa, the evils of a white man's civilization? Verily, we say, the price of racial bigotry is tremendous.

#### Public Relations in Agriculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 18, 1959

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the 20th annual meeting of the American Cotton Congress was held in Waco during the first week of May this year. The theme of the congress was "20 Years of Change and Progress." One of the foremost speakers at the congress was a close personal friend of mine, Mr. R. D. Lewis, who has been director of the agricultural experiment station, located at College Station, Tex., for a good number of years.

There are few men in Texas who have as much insight and common understanding of the agricultural problem as Mr. Lewis. It is a pleasure for me to be able to insert his speech entitled "Public Relations in Agriculture," given on May 4, 1959:

PUBLIC RELATIONS IN AGRICULTURE

(By R. D. Lewis, director, Texas Agricultural Experiment Station)

Agriculture's greatest need today is understanding. Understanding among those directly engaged in farming and ranching; understanding by those who provide services and materials to the farms and ranches; understanding by those who transport, process and distribute the plant and animal products coming from farms and ranches; and above all, understanding among the great majority of our people who live in towns and cities and who are the principal consumers of the products of our agricultural industries.

As Roy Battles of the National Grange said to experiment station directors in 1957, "Our city friends do not understand us." They do not understand the basic problems of agriculture, nor the complex functions and services of those engaged in agricultural industries. Seemingly it becomes more difficult year by year to gain a reasonable degree of understanding.

Those of us engaged in agricultural endeavors have tended to take for granted that people generally and naturally understand their basic dependence on agriculture for foods and fiber. In recent years we have been rudely awakened—in cotton, for instance, by the advent of synthetics.

American agriculture is thus being forced

American agriculture is thus being forced to become public relations conscious. We now must seek consumer acceptance not only of our products, but of our services, and our policies, and of our true place in the total economy of the Nation and the world.

Through our past national history agriculture has had the sympathy of most nonfarmers. For farmers there was a substantial deposit in the bank of national good will The balance in that account is still large, but dwindling far too rapidly.

Most of the nonfarmers here today are

Most of the nonfarmers here today are only one or two generations away from active farming. This is true for vast numbers of urban families, but becoming less so each year.

The historical public sympathy toward farmers found concrete expression in a long series of preferential legislation, Federal and State

Just a few of the more important congressional actions are cited—the Homestead Act of 1862, the Morrill Act of 1862 creating the land-grant colleges, the Hatch Act of 1887, initiating the vast agricultural research programs in State experiment stations, the Smith-Lever Act of 1914 establishing the cooperative Federal-State extension services, and the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 providing the basis for an extensive system of teaching vocational agriculture in high schools. In 1917 the basic legislation for the broad system of Federal land banks and associated credit institutions was laid.

With the advent of the New Deal in 1933, and thereafter, we have witnessed a flood of preferential legislation—which essentially brings direct aid—over and above research and education—to individual farmers.

Now millions of farmers and handlers of farm products receive checks directly from the Treasury; for conservation practices, soil building, storage fees, loans on crops, sale of crops, and the like. It was inevitable that nonfarmers began to be critical of such practices, and criticism of this kind will always spill over to affect the research and educational work done for agriculture.

Seldom before have our farm programs been so bitterly embroiled in partisan politics as today. Unprecedented numbers of urban residents, as well as their Congressmen, are taking sides in the farm controversy. And many of them are not friendly to agriculture.

Lest I be misunderstood at this point let me remind you that agriculture has been following a pattern not too different from that of other sectors of the American economy, including industries in general, finance, and labor.

We must, however, conclude that agriculture does have a serious public relations problem and this is a growing problem. Judging from comments made to me by legislators and others, we might even say that agriculture is in the public doghouse.

Imagine for a moment that you live in downtown Dallas, or in Houston. You are an average urban citizen. You are several generations removed from the farm. Your work appears to have no connection with agriculture. Your contact with agriculture is your supermarket, the newspapers and the radio. What are the things about agriculture you would likely hear the most and be irritated about? Your reactions would probably be centered around one or several of nine attitudes derived from these sources. They are listed without prejudice as to their validity:

- 1. High food costs.
- 2. Big farmers are getting rich.
- 3. Heavy cost of farm subsidies from taxes.
  4. Program of planned food shortages in midst of surplus.
- 5. Special favors for agriculture, such as cooperatives, taxes, credit.
- 6. Sprawling and expensive USDA bureauc-
- 7. Agricultural research and education create costly surpluses.
- 8. Disproportionate political power in Congress and State legislatures for rural districts.
  - 9. Agriculture is a declining industry

Let's examine each of these attitudes briefly and look at a few facts and fiction about each one. (I wish I could say that some of these attitudes were limited to urban people.)

1. High food costs: We can say emphatically that this widespread urban attitude is without foundation in fact.

Food is cheap and getting cheaper in terms of how long the industrial worker must work to pay for it. It is cheaper now than before World War II. It is cheaper now than it was in 1932, in terms of how long the worker must work to get his food.

There is no country on the face of the earth today where the workingman spends so small a proportion of his working day earning the food he eats as in America. There is no other country where the workingman has so large a proportion of his working day left to buy the things that make life so pleasant in our homes.

Some of us remember the good old days in 1914, when rib roast was only 20 cents a pound. But it took 48 minutes of labor to earn the money to buy a pound of rib roast then. Today we do it within 20 minutes of labor, or in 40 percent the time it took a generation ago.

Not only do we get our foodstuffs in America with much less time spent earning it, but we eat more and better foodstuffs than ever before in our history and we are enjoying it tremendously. The things that bother most of us in America today is not so much the high cost of living as it is the cost of high living.

Foodstuffs come to the average American at bargain prices because research and education have made it possible for our great agricultural industry to produce in such abundance and so efficiently. If farmers produced as in 1940, the average family in the United States would annually require \$300 to \$400 more for food and fiber.

2. Big farmers are getting rich: In the aggregate, this surely is not true.

Individual farmers, big and small, who know their stuff and have adequate resources are doing okay, in spite of disproportionate rises in costs of purchased supplies and equipment (the cost-price squeeze). Their net incomes in recent years compare reasonably with net incomes of professional workers, skilled workers, and business execu-tives. But we must not permit urbanites to condemn agriculture because successful individuals in it make a satisfactory income. Successful farmers don't stay in the business just because they love it. They operate a big business and must enjoy financial rewards commensurate with their capital investment and managerial input.

3. Heavy cost of farm subsidies from taxes: Currently we hear on our radios that the U.S. Department of Agriculture has \$9 to \$10 billion tied up, or to be tied up, in surplus crops with high storage fees. We hear of price supports, agricultural conservation payments, commodity credit loans, surplus disposals in foreign countries at lower prices than in the domestic markets and the like. Especially when we look at the price tag on our foods do we rebel, even though, as explained before, our foods are comparatively cheap.

As agriculturists we would correctly point out that agriculture is by no means unique

in receiving substantial subsidies. Such a statement, however, is in part the "pot calling the kettle black." 4. Program of planned food shortages in the midst of surplus: We read that the Government in the fore part of 1958 purchased rather substantial sums of butter, cheese, and dried skim milk, acquired with taxpayers money, resulting in keeping the price so high that we couldn't afford to purchase butter in our grocery stores. We are also vaguely aware (remember our citizen still lives in Dallas or Houston) that all the corn

and sorghum stored in steel bins and sealed cribs around the country might make pork a little more plentiful and steaks a little less costly were it not priced into Government storage rather than into feed lots. And we realize, somehow, or other, that our tax dollars help create this situation. We

are not pleased. This typical urban attitude has substan-

tial backing in fact.
5. Special favors for agriculture: This charge is largely true. Agriculture has long been the recipient of special favors-in the form of aid for cooperatives, preferential treatment on taxes, easy credit, irrigation districts, soil conservation districts, electricity and a large variety of related items. Again, it can be vigorously argued that other sectors of the economy likewise have received special favors. That in no way minimizes this attitude held by urban people.

6. Sprawling and expensive USDA bureaucracy: USDA programs and personnel reach into every agricultural county of the country. A good deal of publicity has been directed to this situation in recent years. Some of this criticism spills over onto the agricultural extension personnel stationed in our agricultural counties, even though this service is there to do an educational job and not to direct a Federal farm program.

7. Agricultural research and education create costly surpluses: This charge is unfounded. Research and education create abundance. This is desirable. Unwise price distribution and politically expedient pro-Yet, as Digrams create the surpluses. rector of this State's agricultural experiment station, this statement comes to me repeatedly from influential citizens and legislators, who have not grasped the true causes of the farm problems. An abundance of food and fiber, produced efficiently and merchandised effectively, is the very cornerstone of a strong, dynamic and expand-

ing economy like ours. This can be attained only through the full application of science by each segment of the agricultural in-

We conclude that this urban attitude is without foundation.

8. Disproportionate political power in Congress and State legislatures: The farm bloc in Congress and our legislature exercises political power out of proportion to the numerical strength of farmers. This is true partly because agricultural States have as much voting strength in the Senate as the heavily industrialized States. Many State legislatures are farmer-dominated, even in some States which are predominantly urban in character. Periodic legislative reapportionment rarely recognizes population distribution as between cities and farms. As a consequence, in many States, city governments are severely circumscribed in authority, regulations and revenue. Urban resentment against farmer political domination is multiplying yearly.

9. Agriculture is a declining industry: Our citizen friend in Dallas or Houston hears repeatedly of the fewer numbers of people engaged in agriculture-now about 11 percent of our total work force. He hears that this trend is likely to continue. And when he reads advertisements about, or buys clothing, does he gain the concept that he is indebted to chemistry rather than to

agriculture.

In common with a major proportion of our population he still regards agriculture and farming as being synonymous or equivalent terms.

Too often agriculture is regarded as being limited to the farm and ranch; where less than 11 percent-of the population now live. The great change in efficiency of each farmworkers in producing the prime requirements of food and fiber for all people has freed labor and technology for development in other areas of our national economy. In 1850, 1 farmworker in the United States produced raw materials for 4 people. in 1900 for 7, in 1940 for 11, 1950 for 15.5, and in 1956 for 20.8. But this is only partly due to increased output per worker.

In fact, these figures are misleading, for part of this great change results from a transfer of some farm functions to towns and cities. At an accelerated rate, especially beginning in the 1930's, agriculture, operationally as well as humanly, has in part "gone to town." Thus, now in our food and fiber economy more than two persons are employed off-farm for each one on the Too often, we have divorced or removed these off-the-farm portions of agriculture from the family of agricultural industries. I am convinced that we ourselves have tended to sell agriculture short. At least, we have been too modest or negligent in recognizing and presenting the modern concept of the total agricultural industry. This conference is one of the tangible recognitions of both the "going to town" and the interdependency of the supply-production-processing-distribution segments agriculture.

To show something of the past, present, and future makeup of the agricultural work force in Texas, we have studied and forecast the distribution of the work force in Texas among agricultural and nonagricultural industries:

Percentage distribution of labor force in Texas

	-		
	1940	1957	1970
Suppliers	4	10	12
	34	12	8
	7	18	20
Total in agriculture	45	40	40
	+ 55	60	60

Such an analysis shows us the total agricultural industry tends to require about the same proportion of the total workers, but that with decreasing numbers on the farm there is an accompanying increase of suppliers of materials and services to farmers and ranchers and a marked increase in the processor-distributor group concerned with agricultural products.

Most of us would conclude that our "man in the street" in our big cities has some foundation for at least five of these nine attitudes toward agriculture.

In March of this year Senator CAPEHART outlined in the Congressional Record the four major problems facing this Nation. The farm problem was listed along with the threat of Russian communism, labor problems, and inflation. Truly the farm program has become one of the really big issues in American Government.

#### WHAT TO DO

These confusing and frustrating attitudes and situations in agriculture should actually be a challenge to us. They present opportunity and responsibility. They do suggest nity and responsibility. They do suggest that we have been negligent or inadequate in our own thinking and especially in our communications to others. We have taken too much for granted.

Several avenues of attack on public rclations for agriculture are suggested:

- 1. Correction of the misconceptions that the nonagricultural public has about us; especially let them understand their foods and fibers are not expensive, and producers, processors, and distributors are not rolling in wealth at the expense of food consumers,
- 2. Emphasis on modern agriculture and of the likely agriculture of tomorrow, and of the functions of the various segments of the total agricultural industry in relation to the welfare of consumers. Several have suggested that modern and future agriculture merits a new tag-one that may overcome the popular concept that agriculture and farming are synonymous.
- 3. Clearing up the confusion between politically designed and directed policies relating to the farm problem on the one hand and the necessity for even stronger programs of research and education in agriculture for a productive, prosperous and expanding
- 4. More research and education must be brought to bear on correction of "errors" in our public programs relating to agricul-
- 5. Seek to reverse the rising trend of going to Washington for funds or legislation on State and local problems—in the belief that We must positively accept it costs us less. more responsibility at State and local levels.
- 6. All of us in every segment of agriculture should strive to make our profession one in which we can be justly proud. The dentist is proud of his profession, the lawyer his, the schoolteacher his, and the plumber his. Let's make our farmers proud of their profession. It is truly one of which they should be proud. To do this we must dispel the "poor country cousin" attitude so many still have about agriculture.
- 7. Tell the great story of modern agricul-ture again and again to the general populace. It's dynamic and it's basic. Everybody bene-

Earl Butz, former Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, has defined public relations as (1) living right and (2) getting credit for it.

Through the decades, American good will toward and assistance for agriculture has been tremendous. The net balance in the bank of public good will is still high. But time may run out on us one of these years. We need promptly to mobilize all of our resources back of an effective public relations program.

No New Starts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON, BYRON G. ROGERS

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, June 4, 1959

ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent speech made by the Governor of Colorado the Honorable Steve McNicholes

The address is as follows: NO NEW STARTS

Distinguished Senators and Congressmen, Honorable Governors, Chairman Butler. Vice-Chairman Loucheim, national committeemen and women. State Democratic chairmen, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlewe are engaged in a novel and farreaching enterprise this weekend. We are taking part in a new development that can help bring new growth and maturity to America's two-party system.

Regionwide meetings have been held before by political parties. But only in the last several years has the purpose of such meetings been to analyze public problems, to study proposals, and to close the conference with recommendations for platform planks on vital topics.

This weekend will witness no oratorical exercises, no snake dance contests, no We are here to win stampede of delegates. the confidence of all the voters by clearly demonstrating that we are willing to probe anxious to understand, and ready to work out and accept new solutions to old and new problems. We are here to find answers to today's problems, and to put those answers to work tomorrow.

I, for one, welcome this strengthening of principle and platform in our party system. To maintain decent competition between the two major parties, I hope that the Republicans copy our new way of finding answers. The "me too" party probably will do it automatically-a habit it first began cultivating following the election of Franklin Delano Roosevelt in 1932.

We should applaud a Californian for ploneering this new type of political conference in the West. We should be thankful that we have a national chairman who recognizes the important role of such conferences as this and does all in his power to make them a success. You know I am referring to the two Pauls-Paul Ziffren and Paul Butler.

The subject matter of this conference has wisely been limited to three major topicsnatural resources, small business and transportation. Each of these is of vital importance to the West, and of equal importance to the rest of the Nation. Each is vitally related to the other.

The three topics are highly suitable for another reason. Each has been the victim of serious mishandling, mismanagement or just plain neglect by the present administration. The administration's approach to each of these topics has clearly demonstrated that Republican leaders are timid when they should be bold—thoughtless when they should be full of ideas—and asleep at the switch when they should be fully cognizant of a new era approaching.

I believe that this is one of those rare times in American history when the general public is far in advance of the present leadership in its understanding of key problems facing the American people. More impor-tant, the public is far in advance of the present administration in its willingness to

move forward aggressively to solve problems both at home and abroad.

I believe the American people feel that they are trapped in an administrative vacuum that is choking America's internal development and shrinking our stature be-fore the rest of the world. This is a serious charge. Let us briefly document the case as it relates to the three topics of this con-

There is a growing awareness of resource use across the land. This awareness is greatest here in the West, because more of the resources are in the West. Fifty years ago enlightened conservationists were concerned with the overuse of our resources. Now many are concerned with nonuse and nondevelopment of our resources.

Our administration seems to be too busy with international problems to devote much time or energy to domestic problems. Proof that an administration can do both quite handily-if it only has the imagination and the courage to invite progress-is very close We have only to look at the years that Democrats occupied the White House to see the difference. Here is a party whose work and decisions on international policy are now chapter headings in the history books-such historic phrases as United Nations Charter, Marshall plan, Truman doctrine, NATO, point 4, Korea and Berlin

Yet, the Democratic Party moved forward on the home front at the same time it was projecting the image of a strong, forthright, square-shooting America across the world. Reclamation and resource development moved forward under the Democrats. America gained postwar recovery under the Democratic party. It looked forward with such vital studies as that produced by the President Truman's Materials Policy Commission also known as the Paley Commission. This commission published the fivevolume landmark report titled "Resources for Freedom"—a title that still can and should guide America's resource policy. Paley Commission foresaw the time when America might join the other have-not nations because of its unwise resource use policies, its skyrocketing population, its huge consumption of raw materials.

Another important resource landmark under the Democratic Party was the President's Water Policy Commission, headed by Morris Cooke, which produced the known and respected work titled "A Water Policy for the

American People."

The meaning of these studies to the West was obvious then. It is even more obvious now, since the present administration has let valuable years roll by while our resource and water policies have simply drifted along on the current of time. The ancient Shake-spearian phrase, "Time is not measured by the clock, but by the intensity of experience,"

was never more appropriate.

I know I do not have to sell this audience on reclamation. We all know that it has triggered the development of the West we know today. It has made the desert bloom and lighted our farms and our cities. It drives the wheels of our industries, and creates jobs and wealth that help support all It is the best investment in the present and the future that any government has ever made in addition to providing huge tax sources to broaden the tax base and lessen individual tax burdens.

In contrast to this progress under Democratic leadership and sponsorship, the Republicans advocate the backward policy of nonew-starts.

What the present administration overlooks is that reclamation is an investment in the Nation's future. And, every day that goes by with reclamation at a standstill means revenue lost, opportunity shunned, the future

It seems that this administration is content to add up the costs of past achievements, ignore the benefits they have brought to the whole Nation, and then warn everyone that such programs cost money. They are looking backward at ledgers when they should be looking forward at blueprints.

These great projects should be carried on our books as self-liquidating assets, as the underpinning of national defense, and as guarantees against future depression.

The virtual elimination of funds for reclamation investigation has relegated new projects to the dead files and thick layers of dust gather year by year on the drafting boards of the Reclamation Bureau.

When he was dedicating Hungry Horse Dam in Montana, Harry Truman told the audience to take a good look at this latest reclamation achievement in concrete and steel. "Because," he said, "if General Eisenhower is elected it will be the last one you'll see in a long, long time." History again proved Harry Truman to be right.

I am not alone in opposing the administra-

tion's no-new-starts reclamation policy.
Don't make the mistake of thinking only one Western Governor is complaining. Just last month, in a meeting at Council Bluffs. Iowa, the Governors of the 10 Missouri River Basin States went on record with a strong resolution condemning the administration's no-new-starts policy. Here are some words from that resolution:

"The 'no-new-starts' policy impairs the economic strength of the entire country by preventing the development of natural resources as an investment in the future welfare and security of the United States as a whole. Full development of the resources of this country is required in the struggle between the free world and the Communistdominated areas of the world \* \* \* and delay in construction of planned projects weakens the economic base of this region and that of the entire Nation \* \* \*."

The general public must be reminded frequently that reclamation is far, far different from most Government-supported programs. Since reclamation was started in 1902, the Government has spent a total of \$7.8 billion on reclamation in the 17 reclamation States. In today's Federal budgets, this does not sound like very much even for a single yearand this expense is spread over a 57-year period.

But the clincher is that \$7.3 billion of this \$7.8 billion is paid back to the Federal Treasury. Putting it differently, only \$500 million of this total is not paid back to the Federal Government. Just one of the many benefits from reclamation justifies this \$500 million expenditure, in my opinion, and that is flood control. This is certainly a Federal problem, since rivers do not respect State lines, and \$500 million is a small investment to avoid the catastrophies in human life and prosperty damage caused all of us by uncontrolled water on the rampage.

It should be obvious why we call reclamation an investment in the future. We need only to point to the thousands of industriesprivate enterprise industries—that power from reclamation projects has made pos-

We should also remember the vast scope of reclamation. The spur to the fantastic industrial and population growth of southern California came from Hoover Dam, hundreds of miles away in Nevada. It can truly be said that in the far western United States the desert can make the seacoast bloom. strongly support the principle of full basin development of all river basins in the Nation.

I have spent much time here speaking on reclamation for a purpose. It deeply affects the 13 Western States represented here. plus 6 others. In all, reclamation is vital to 60 percent of the land area of the old continental United States—to which we can now happily add the great new States of Alaska and Hawaii.

This neglect of reclamation is a blow to the development of the whole Nation. For those of you who like to look at problems such as this from the standpoint of numbers and political action, let me remind you that the reclamation and Missouri Basin States represent 135 electoral votes. And to this we can now add six or seven more electoral votes for Alaska and Hawaii.

In brief, the long end of the country is getting the short end of the stick from these

short-sighted policies.

Almost any phase of America's resources policies of the past 6 years shows the same signs of indifference and deterioration. minerals, we are still stumbling along on a quasi-emergency program. More of our mines are closing every week. Our mine labor force is dispersed now into other lines of work. Reconverting to mineral production, in case of national emergency, would be cumbersome and costly.

Our mineral import-export policy is confusing at a time in history when our trade policies should be clearly drawn for the rest

of the world.

We need a national fuels policy to go with a sound minerals policy. We need to utilize our abundant coal supplies, to supplement other fuels that have a shorter life span and fewer proved reserves. At a time when oil production is spread out throughout the world, and our Nation depends heavily on imported oil, our domestic oil industry is languishing because our import program is in serious imbalance. Commercial produc-tion from our vast oil shale reserves in Colorado, Utah, and Wyoming should be encouraged and developed as one of our Nation's greatest resources.

Our national mineral policy is similar to our national farm policy in that it is the same patchwork collection of inadequate measures designed in a hurry to meet an emergency. We need long-range programs our Nation can run on, not short-term plans

that cause us to hobble, stumble, and limp. During the years 1947 to 1952, Colorado had an average of 153 lead, silver, and zinc mines in operation. Between 1953 and 1958, this number declined to an average of 98. Today, we have only four major mining operations in the whole State of Colorado. And this general situation is true in virtually every State with a mining economy.

We face a national dilemma here. original cure for domestic mining problems was the high protective tariff. Today this policy places us in an untenable position in international affairs. We can't tell the world to follow our lead in developing resources, and then shut them out completely on marketing those resources.

Another proposed cure is to reduce wage levels in our domestic mining industry so we can compete price-wise with foreign minerals. This is not only misguided, but is totally beyond the pale of American traditions and

concepts.

A third approach is to abandon the domestic minerals market to foreign producers, and closing down our own mines. The effect of this on our local, regional, and national economy would be disastrous. It would also be foolhardy from the standpoint of national security.

There is a fourth approach which, I believe, is not only practical but realistic. It lies between the protectionist theory and the free trade philosophy. I refer to a quota production program for the domestic min-

ing industry.

Production could proceed under such system, with a balance struck between both foreign and domestic consumption, and such special measures as stockpilling for defense. This would require great cooperation between the minerals industry and our Federal Government. But it is not a new or radical

The sugar industry has been operating successfully on a quota production basis for many years. And sugar has the same basic problems of export and import.

I believe the West is willing to move ahead on reasonable programs which will put our boom-bust mining industry on a solid foundation. And, America's position in international affairs could be immeasurably

enhanced in the process.

The West has certain problems that are peculiar to it because conditions in the West are so vastly different from other parts of the country. Because of our topography, all of our surface heavy freight transportation consists of trucks that must run on long, expensive highways or freight cars that must run on long, expensive railbeds. We lack the lowest common denominator in freight handling-low-cost waterway transportation.

In other parts of the country, water transportation provides an efficient and cheap means of freight movement. It also is a compelling factor in providing lower rates on other modes of transportation. sult, the other areas enjoy a freight rate advantage that the West cannot match.

For these reasons it is essential to the future of the West that the Federal Government recognize our freight rate problems as unique and give special study and attention to them.

For instance, the West should be given the benefit of our natural advantage of longhauls on a basis of per-ton-mile cost, es-pecially on intraregional transportation. We need to integrate our transportation systems for economy and better service, thus stimulating commerce within our own region and strengthening our transportation ties with

other regions.

In short, transportation should be viewed by the Federal Government as vital to all parts of our society and commerce. Transportation rates should not be set according to artificial and archiac rules laid down to benefit or relieve only one segment of industry in any single part of the Nation.

We, of the West, need and want a fair deal on freight rates, which also is consistent with and in contemplation of the critical problems facing the railroads and truckers themselves. Until we get such a fair deal, we have an automatic ceiling on our industrial and commercial development that holds back economic expansion of the entire United States.

In 1956, Congress passed the Highway Act which affected 41,000 miles of Federal interstate highways. This act created the Highway Trust Fund to finance new highway construction, and Congress raised certain highway user taxes and inaugurated new ones to support this trust fund. For instance, the Federal tax on motor fuel was raised from 2 cents to 3 cents per gallon.

Before this act, Federal money for roads came from the general fund. The Highway Trust Fund marked a distinct change—an improvement—in supporting highways. Congress knew that the highway trust would not be large enough to support construction planned for the years between 1960 and 1968. Congress anticipated that the extra funds needed for construction during this period would have to come from the General Fund-all to be paid back later from the revenues from bigger Federal highway use taxes that will flow into the Highway Trust Fund.

In other words, everyone knew that the ambitious and much-needed highway construction campaign authorized in 1956 could not be paid for on a current basis. The peak construction years would demand more funds than those amounts coming into the highway fund during those peak years. For this reason, the new and increased highway user taxes were to be in effect through 1972-3 years beyond the construction timetable

Highway trust fund receipts during fiscal 1960 are expected to be about \$2.3 billion. Construction expenses for the same period will run to \$3.1 billion.

Now we are at the crossroads. Under the present, geared up road-construction program the highway trust fund will be exhausted by June of 1960. Either additional money must come from the general fund or we must cut back the construction program to match the meager amounts collected in trust fund at that date.

The bottleneck in this mammoth con-

struction job is failure of the administration to follow the plans mapped out by the Congress. The administration does not want to provide the needed money from the general fund. Instead, the administration wants to hike highway user taxes even further-despite the fact that Congress did this in 1956 to finance the new construction.

For instance, the present administration is now asking Congress to tack another 11/2 cents per gallon increase on Federal motor fuel taxes, which, incidentally, is a poor measure of highway use. To give you an idea of how much more this would cost taxpayers, this increase would mean that Coloradans would pay an additional \$9.5 million per year. For Texas, the increase amounts to \$137 million. The crowning injustice is that the Federal Government is now diverting-every year-more than \$1.5 billion of revenue from Federal highway user taxes into nonhighway purposes.
We need some imaginative, creative think-

ing in the planning of these vital programs and a willingness to accept new and dynamic action concepts in executing them. Ramifications of this stop-and-go approach to highway construction range from greater highway fatalities to a slowing down of commerce and industry at a time when we need to give business, industry and employment

full throttle ahead.

It is no political accident that 35 Governors have agreed to oppose the new highway user taxes that the administration wants to add to the motorists' bill. Failure of the administration to plan and act has badly upset plans at the State level and will be disastrous to private industry and employment in critical areas.

This same lack of planning has placed small business in trouble. Lacking time to go into detail about its problems, let me say only that small business has been the victim of the same indifference and inattention and a monument of bankruptcies stand as evi-

dence of this national tragedy.

Let us remember why we are here. We are here to speak for the West in clear, loud We must remember that this is a tones. dramatic new West we are talking about. We are the growing, expanding part of a great Nation. We now can happily boast that resource-rich Alaska and beautiful, productive Hawaii are our sister States in an unwritten economic and political pact.

The West is no longer a poor country cousin. We have markets, as well as re-sources—we have spirit, as well as knowhow-and we have votes, as well as political

The man who is elected President of the United States in 1960 will be guiding the destinies of 25 million more citizens at the end of his term than were on the census rolls at the beginning. The political party that will be chosen by the citizens of this Nation must have this vision and foresight to assure our citizens ample food and clothing, services, schools, jobs, homes, plus autothat have mobiles and the other luxuries become necessities of American life.

The Democratic Party must be ready and

willing to establish programs and policies

designed to develop our resources, encourage mineral development, and expand our sources of raw materials for the benefit of all the people. We must have the optimism that comes from self-confidence, and the courage that comes from faith in America. In short, we must know the needs of the Nation and the ability of the West to fully participate in and meet those needs. We are gathered here this weekend to draw the political biueprints of the West's future, and to forge programs and policies that will insure full participation in a dynamic and peaceful America. We will do our part in fulfilling the destiny of the Democratic Party by bending every human effort to make this Western States' Democratic conference productive and fruitful.

Thank you.

## Richard Nixon: The Ordeal That Made Him

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following article from Look magazine:

RICHARD NIXON: THE ORDEAL THAT MADE HIM
(By Earl Mazo)

Surprisingly little is known about Richard Milhous Nixon, despite the millions of words that have been written and spoken about him. Complexity of character is not unusual among important public men, but Nixon is singularly complex, a pradoxical combination of qualities that bring to mind Abraham Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, Harry Truman, and the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy.

"I never in my life wanted to be left behind." Nixon says, conceding that he was born ambitious. Ambition is a requisite for success in politics. So are energy, brains, courage, gall, cunning, persuasiveness, the bent for rationalization and compromising, a healthy respect for realities and a rapport with fate and luck. Nixon has them all, plus characteristics that would normally be considered a drag on a politician.

Basically, Nixon is shy and taciturn. He broods, abhors backslapping and gives the appearance of being a friendless "loner," a too-smooth and humorless perfectionist. He is a political craftsman, and his instincts and training as a debater, practically from childhood, make him a persuasive salesman.

He is a fatalist, to the point of believing that whether or not he becomes President will depend more on circumstances than on anything he, his friends or his opponents might do. Although he is the most conscientious campaigner in the Republican Party, he has an aversion to, and actually shudders at the thought of, campaigning. He is a practicing Quaker, believing in the precepts of kindness to one's fellow man; yet, in fighting for votes, he has resorted to malignant innuendo against his opponents. He is a practical man, careful to master details and alternatives; still, he is at his best in a crisis.

That Nixon is often underrated indicates the extent to which he is unknown and misunderstood. At the height of the storm in 1952 over the Nixon fund, for example, practically everybody thought he was

through as Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower's running mate. The clamor for his scalp became nonpartisan. An hour before the television program on which he was to explain it all, Nixon was notified in secret that the campaign hierarchy—and, by implication, Eisenhower, too—thought he should resign as a candidate for the Vice Presidency. The experts expected his talk to be a funeral oration. Instead, he turned the ordeal to political advantage and gave one of the most noteworthy performances of its kind in American politics.

In 1950, Bernard Brennan and Murray Chotiner, then Nixon's principal political lieutenants, proposed that the new Senator campaign the year around for the Republican Party and for his own Senate seat. Creating a special fund to finance this project was Dana Smith's idea. Smith at that time was treasurer of Nixon's campaign. He was acquainted with arrangements to finance public figures of modest means whose expenses for off-season politicking could not be paid from formal campaign treasuries.

Senator Nixon's gross salary was \$12,500. He was also provided \$2,500, tax free for general expenses, a maximum of \$2,000 for telephone, telegraph, and stationery bills, \$70,000 for a staff, and one round trip home to California per session. He earned a bit more for lectures and after-dinner speeches, but it all could hardly finance his operations. His bill for Christmas cards alone was \$4,237.54.

A special trust account was opened in Smith's name at a Pasadena bank. Audits were scheduled, and an estimated budget of \$16,000 a year was agreed to. An orthodox public appeal for money was felt to be too complicated and unnecessary, so it was decided to solicit the more generous backers of Nixon's campaigns for Congress and the Senate. Donations were invited by telephone, personal contact, and mail.

The type of activities the fund would support were listed as transportation and hotel expenses; air mail and long-distance telephone charges; preparation and dissemination of Nixon's speeches, questionnaires, newsletters, and the like; Christmas cards to campaign workers and contributors; radio and television; advertising and general publicity. Smith assured those he solicited that "nobody is drawing any salary or other compensation out of this, so you can count on it that the money will be effectively used where it will do all of us, including Dick, the most good."

By primary day in June, 1952, response to the appeals was far below expectations. Nixon decided that the regular party fundraising organization had to assume the responsibility if it wanted any more cooperation from him. "I think the time has now come for us to have a shown with Republican finance on obtaining assistance for our program," Nixon wrote Smith on June 9, 1952. He suggested that \$10,000 a year from the southern California organization and \$5,000 from the northern should be requested.

In a confidential reply dated June 11, 1952, Smith complained to Nixon that the Republican leaders in San Francisco had been promising a \$5,000 contribution for 8 months, but "it is apparently more convenient for them to forget about it." Despite these and other collection troubles, Smith suggested that the "fund goal be raised to a minimum of \$20,000 rather than \$15,000, because we know that it is very desirable to step up your activities after this year, as your own reelection year begins to come closer."

At this time, Nixon's chances for the Vice Presidential nomination were far from certain, despite the fact that as early as June 1951, Gov. Thomas E. Dewey had voiced his opinion that Nixon should be

the running mate for Eisenhower. Up until the night he was chosen at the Republican Convention of 1952, Nixon doubted that he would get the nomination.

As a member of the California delegation, Nixon was pledged to vote for California Gov. Earl Warren at the convention, and he did, although it was no secret that he favored Eisenhower. He also liked Senator Robert A. Taft, but he doubted that Taft could win. After Eisenhower's nomination was assured, Herbert Brownell submitted Nixon's name to the General as a possible running mate. Eisenhower agreed the young Senator would be a good choice, Brownell told me, but said that he would leave it to Brownell to get the collective judgment of the leaders of the party. Brownell summoned about two dozen representative Eisenhower leaders to a meeting.

Thomas Dewey, the first powerful Republican figure to propose the nomination of both Eisenhower and Nixon, repeated his belief that Nixon was the right man, and the gathering voted unanimously for Nixon. Stray whispers about the Nixon Fund started soon after the nomination. A couple of California delegates at the Republican National Convention made a project of confiding to strangers that Nixon was despised by fellow Californians, that he double-crossed Governor Warren by favoring Eisenhower for President, and he was being kept by a band of favor-seeking millionaires.

One version of the Nixon story, as heard by Peter Edson, Washington political columnist for Newspaper Enterprises Association, was that Nixon got a supplementary salary of \$20,000 a year from 100 California businessmen, each of whom chipped in \$200. On September 14, after an appearance with Nixon on the television program Meet the Press, Edson asked the Senator about the alleged supplementary salary. The Senator suggested that Edson telephone Dana Smith in Pasadena for details, because Smith ran the fund and knew much more about it.

The next day, Smith gave Edson the general background and specific aspects of the fund, and later that day reviewed the operation again with Leo Katcher of the New York Post, Richard Donovan of the Reporter magazine and Ernest Brashear of the Los Angeles Daily News.

Meanwhile, Nixon had left Washington and arrived in California on September 16. For luck, he began his first stumping tour of the presidential campaign the following evening at Pomona, a community in Los Angeles County where he had started his highly successful campaigns for Congress and the Senate. An enthusiastic rally of 15,000 sent him on his way. All members aboard the Nixon special were gay in anticipation of the campaign ahead. Most of the staff had been through it before. One newcomer to the entourage was William P. Rogers, who later was appointed Attorney General by President Eisenhower.

A messenger from the Republican head-quarters in Los Angeles met the train at a water stop before midnight. He brought word that a "Nixon Fund" story, to be printed in newspapers the next day would cause trouble. Nixon summoned a few advisers to his private car at 1 a.m. Rogers, who hadn't heard of the fund before, said it was his judgment that no impropriety was involved, therefore the facts would neutralize possible criticism. Chotiner, reputed to be supersensitive to things of political importance before they even germinated, was not disturbed either. "Hell, there's nothing to this thing. It's ridiculous," he said.

Because of a 4-hour time lag between the east and west coasts, the Nixon fund story was already stirring political tempers in New York and Washington on Thursday, September, September 18, before Nixon had begun the first full day of his journey. The

New York Post's front page was dominated by the words: "Secret Nixon fund." The story ran under a two-line banner headline that said: "Secret Rich Men's Trust Fund Keeps Nixon in Style Far Beyond His Salary." Peter Edson's column was printed later that day in other newspapers. It was written as a straight news story and lacked the speculative flamboyance that made the New York Post article seem more sensational. The United Press and the Associated Press relayed the substance of both reports to other daily newspapers.

In Washington, excited groups assembled at Republican and Democratic national headquarters. The Democrats, surprised and delighted by a windfall of incalculable value; rushed to the offensive. National Chairman Stephen Mitchell demanded that Elsenhower throw Nixon off the ticket at once or eat his fulsome observations on public morals. The Republicans, fearing a possible scandal, and at the same time hoping to mousetrap the excited Democrats, launched an offensive and a defensive

simultaneously.

General Eisenhower's 18-car campaign train—the "Look Ahead, Neighbor" Special—was passing among the voters of Iowa and Nebraska. In reply to questions concerning the "fund," Press Secretary James Hagerty said, "We never comment on a New York Post story." The General would have nothing to say. The General's staff was saying plenty, however, beyond earshot of the candidate. All day, they held conferences, analyzed reports and weighed the problems of switching vice presidential candidates in mid-campaign.

At strategy meetings the month before, Gov. Sherman Adams, chief of the Eisenhower staff, and Chotiner, the Nixon manager, had formulated a liaison plan to keep the two campaign teams in intimate and constant touch during the final period of electioneering, when a mistake by one of the candidates might be compounded un-wittingly into a disaster by the other. The plan set up direct communications between the respective echelons of the two teams. Thus Eisenhower would deal with Nixon and vice versa; Chotiner would talk with Adams or Senator Fred Seaton; Hagerty and James Bassett, Nixon's press secretary, would discuss press matters. As sometimes happens with the best-laid plans, this one failed in the emergency of September 18, because Elsenhower simply didn't call Nixon, and NIXON didn't call Eisenhower.

Newspapers picked up in the evening along the route of the Nixon Special in California reported that Midwestern audiences were reacting favorably to Eisenhower's charges that the Truman administration's legacies to the Nation were a problem of morality in government, crazy Federal spending and deficits that cheapen our money. A hopedfor statement of the General's unqualified support and faith in Nixon had not materialized. Nothing had been heard from that direction, in fact, except questions and, of course, rumors. The Nixon party might have viewed the General's silence more charftably if it had been privy to a decision of the Elsenhower strategists. The decision was to break the news about the "fund" to the General after his principal speeches so as not to risk upsetting him.

A large and friendly crowd awaited Nixon at Sacramento, the ninth and last stop that Thursday. But he sensed a strangeness in the reception committee of politicians. Instead of elbowing the maneuvering to be first in line, some seemed to heattate when the time came to pose for pictures with the Senator. As his campaign special continued up the valley that night, a gloomy and angry vice presidential candidate sought the solitude of his compartment; and Pat Nixon, blinking back the tears she seldom tolerated,

wondered if any political office was worth the sacrifice of her husband's good name.

A half continent away that night, one important individual on the Eisenhower train had reached a firm conclusion. Republican National Chairman Arthur E. Summerfield had before him a report on the procedure for changing a candidate. In the mass of unoticed resolutions adopted routinely during the rush to adjourn the national convention was one that left the responsibility entirely to the Republican National Committee. If Nixon withdrew, the Republican organization probably would split irretrievably in a fight over naming a successor. Summerfield redoubled his conviction that Nixon should stay.

On Friday, September 19, when the Nixon train reached Chico, Calif., there was a telephone call waiting. It was Senator Seaton, with Eisenhower's first message for his running mate since the "fund" uproar had started. Seaton told Chotiner, then Nixon, that the General was anxious to get to the bottom of this thing. Chotiner asked what more the General required than the Senator's word. Seaton implied that the General might answer that himself in a direct telephone conversation which might be arranged

in the next day or so.

The issue was now a national sensation. Commentators analyzed and speculated; radio and television programs were interpreted for late bulletins. Adlai E. Stevenson announced he would reserve judgment until the Republicans explained how Nixon had used the money; Democratic Chairman Mitchell wondered when the General would cast away his running mate. Senator Taft fiatly approved the Nixon action. But most other Republicans of consequence either crossed their fingers and hoped for the best in silence, or sent Eisenhower and his staff assessments of the situation that showed Nixon had to be dumped or the ticket would lose.

At Eisenhower's direction, Sherman Adams phoned Paul Hoffman, chairman of the advisory committee of Citizens for Eisenhower. "He asked me to begin an immediate investigation of the Nixon fund, to find out if it was clean," Hoffman recollected. Fifty lawyers and accountants were put on the case at once and stayed at it over the week end.

Adams also telephoned Senator William F. Knowland, in Hawaii, to urge him to join the Eisenhower train as quickly as possible. Elsenhower Strategists wanted him on tap as a substitute should Nixon be dropped. The moment Knowland boarded the "Look Ahead, Neighbor" special, however, he became a vigorous backstop for Republican National Chairman Summerfield, until then the only unqualified pro-Nixon voice around Eisenhower.

In California, Dana Smith made public the fund donor list of 76 names and a report on the income—it totaled \$18,235—and disbursements—about the same amount. This bore out what Nixon had been saying, but the impact of the release was lost because Smith gave it out before getting a prearranged signal from Chotiner. Smith's explanation of the improper timing of the release was that two reporters told him they had to meet deadlines—and, ironically, in late, low-circulation editions.

Editorials calling for Nixon's replacement began to appear in some newspapers that supported the Republican ticket. The New York Herald Tribune, Eisenhower's favorite paper and also a Nixon favorite, called the fund ill-advised and suggested that the Callfornia Senator make a formal offer of withdrawal from the ticket, which Eisenhower could accept or reject as he saw fit. For Nixon, this was the hardest blow so far.

On Saturday, September 20, General Eisenhower sent word to the press car of his en-

tourage that he would like to talk to the reporters informally and off the record. He told them he had learned of the Nixon fund on Friday, a day after newspapers printed the original stories, and he was greatly disturbed. He hadn't known Nixon very long, he explained, and still didn't know him well, but the Senator seemed to exemplify the kind of honesty, vigor, and straightforward aggressiveness that he admired. He couldn't believe Nixon would do anything crooked, but Nixon would have to prove it, and convince fairminded people. Then, Eisenhower said, "Of what avail is it for us to carry on this crusade against this business of what has been going on in Washington, if we ourselves aren't as clean as a hound's tooth?

It was obvious that Eisenhower felt that Dana Smith's reports and Nixon's statements on the fund were not enough. When Nixon was told about the Eisenhower statement, he forced a disbelieving smile. Mrs. Nixon, who had held back her resentment for 3 days, wondered to a friend, "Why should we keep

taking this?"

On Sunday, there was a telegram from Harold Stassen, in which he urged Nixon to offer his withdrawal from the ticket. Stassen's was one of several hundred telegrams Nixon got that Sunday. Many urged him not to quit. But, generally, the messages contributed to Nixon's weary despondency. The various inner circles-Nixon's, Eisenhower's, and the Republican National Committee's -talked about a radio-television report. Dewey agreed that Nixon should bare his soul on national television as quickly as possible. Nixon saw a survey that showed the newspapers were 2 to 1 against him. When a message from his mother urging him to have faith was handed to him. Nixon stepped into another room to hide his tears.
On Sunday night, Nixon's staff advisers

On Sunday night, Nixon's staff advisers converged for a full-dress discussion of what to do. Rogers said Nixon had no alternative but to resign if Eisenhower requested it. Chotiner disagreed. He said the general and a lot of people around him knew very little about politics and, if Nixon was dumped, the Republican Party was sure to lose the election. Nixon listened, in silence. He got up once, during a pause in the discussion, and said, as though to himself, "I will not crawl."

The strategy session was interrupted by the long-awaited telephone call from Eisenhower. Nixon told the general the important thing was for the Republicans to win. "I want you to know, if you reach a conclusion either now or any time later that I should get off the tleket, you can be sure that I will immediately respect your judgment and do so," the Senator said. Eisenhower replied, in effect, that he didn't think he should be the one to make that decision. At this, Nixon stiffened, and he said sternly, "There comes a time in a man's life when he has to fish or cut bait." (Actually, his words were stronger.)

At midnight, Adams, Summerfield, and Public Relations Director Robert Humphreys notified Nixon from the Eisenhower train that radio and television time now could be arranged—because three Republican Party organizations had pledged the necessary \$75,000. Nixon broke off his campaign tour and flew to Los Angeles, to prepare.

A national hookup of 64 NBC television stations, 194 CBS radio stations and practically the entire 560-station radio network of the Mutual Broadcasting System was contracted to carry the Nixon speech. The program was scheduled for Tuesday night, from 9:30 to 10 e.s.t. No event in history involving a vice presidential candidate ever got such attention—before and after. For 4 days Nixon was talked and written about much more than the candidates for President. Programs were interrupted for reports that he had collapsed. They were interrupted again for statements that he was in perfect health,

There were predictions that he would stay on the ticket and predictions that he would

get off.

On Monday afternoon, the lawyers and accountants hired by Paul Hoffman sent their reports to Sherman Adams. The study found everything to be legal and in line with what Smith had made public a few days before, except for about \$11,000 deposited in the fund account after Nixon's nomination, and Smith had said that amount would be accounted for as campaign contributions.

Monday was also the day of the Stevenson fund disclosure. An official of a duplicating machine company doing business with the State of Illinois charged that Governor Stevenson personally promoted contributions from private businessmen. Stevenson confirmed it, said it has never been any secret, explained that the money supplemented the salaries of members of his administration who left better paying jobs in private business to serve Illinois. Stevenson insisted that none of the money went to him or to any other elected official, and that there was no question of improper influence, because there was no connection between the contributors and the beneficiaries.

Nevertheless, the word "fund" had been battered into something that sounded sinister, and now Stevenson became a target for the pointed questions, implied charges, and innuendo to which Nxon had been subjected.

Normally, Nixon would work a full week, at least, on a major speech. There was less than 2 days for him to prepare the most important one of his life. He started working on it while flying from Portland to Los Angeles, "I was pretty tired by that time," he recalls. "I tried to sleep, but after dozing a little while, I woke up. I pulled out some United Airlines postcards from the souvenir packet at the seat and made notes. It was not an outline of the broadcast, but of general ideas. That was when the idea came to me to mention the girls' dog, Checkers." Nixon's reference to Checkers was inspired by Franklin D. Roosevelt's masterful use of his dog Fala in a 1944 campaign speech that made the Republicans a national laughing stock.

Shortly before Nixon was to leave for the studio, Sherman Adams telephoned Chotiner to find out, for Eisenhower, what Nixon would say. Chotiner replied he didn't really know; Nixon planned to speak from notes.

"Look, we have to know what is going to be said," Adams insisted.

"Sherm," Chotiner replied, "if you want to know what's going to be said, you do what I'm going to do. You sit in front of a TV set and listen."

About 1 hour before broadcast time, a call came from Governor Dewey in New York. Dewey told Nixon that he had polled the campaign leaders and found that most felt Nixon should resign. "Dewey didn't say that was his own feeling," Nixon recalls. "He said, "I am reporting that the group feels you should. I regret this very much.'" Although Dewey didn't say so flatly, it was implied that Eisenhower agreed with the majority.

"The call was really a blockbuster," Nixon told me. "I sat alone for at least 50 minutes, debating as to what I ought to do. I had tremendous respect for Dewey as a man and for his superb political judgment. The question I had to decide was whether I was justified in putting my judgment above his as well as possibly that of the General himself."

By the time Nixon arrived at the studio, he had decided not to follow the course suggested by the General's advisers, but "to submit the case to the country and let the people decide." He still had no idea how he would conclude his speech.

The program opened with a picture of Senator Nixon's calling card. Then the camera switched to the Senator seated be-

hind a desk. "My fellow Americans, I come before you tonight as a candidate for the vice presidency and as a man whose honesty and integrity have been questioned \* \* I am sure you have read the charge and have heard that I, Senator Nixon, took \$18,000 from a group of my supporters." He went on to say that not one cent of it was for his personal use, but for "political expenses that I did not think should be charged to the tax-payers. \* \* \* "

"I am going at this time to give this television and radio audience a complete financial history; everything I've earned; everything I've spent; everything I owe." After the accounting was given, he admitted he had received one gift after his election: "It was a little cocker-spaniel dog \* \* \* black-and-white spotted. And our little girl, Tricia, the 6-year-old, named it Checkers. And you know, the kids love that dog, and I just want to say this right now, that regardless of what they say about it, we're going to keep it."

He discussed the Stevenson fund and the Alger Hiss case and finally came to the vital question of his resignation from the ticket. "Let me say this: I don't believe that I ought to quit, because I am not a quitter. And, incidentally, Pat is not a quitter." The camera moved to Mrs. Nixon, who sat at the side, her eyes glued to her husband. "After all, her name was Patricia Ryan, and she was born on St. Patrick's Day, and you know the Irish never quit."

When the signal was given that his time was almost up, he didn't see it. Tears streamed down his face as he kept talking to the camera: "Wire and write to the Republican National Committee on whether you think I should stay or get off, and whatever their decision is, I will abide. \* \* \*"
He was off the air, but still talking.

"I'm terribly sorry I ran over," he apologized. "I loused it up. I'm sorry." He made a quick retreat to the dressing room. Outside the studio, a crowd cheered as he and Mrs. Nixon got into their car. At their hotel, he was told, "The telephones are going crazy; everybody's in your corner." Nixon took a call from Darryl Zanuck, who said the telecast was "the most tremendous performance I've ever seen." Only then did Nixon begin to come to life.

In Cleveland, the Eisenhower group had watched, seemingly without drawing breath. Mrs. Eisenhower and several of the men clutched handkerchiefs and dabbed their eyes. The general had a small notebook in his hand. He jabbed at it with a pencil, his eyes never leaving the television screen. When the program ended, he said to Summerfield, "Well, Arthur, you surely got your \$75,000 worth." Eisenhower wired Nixon: "Your presentation was magnificent." Then the general explained that before he would "complete the formulation of a decision, I feel the need of talking to you and would be most appreciative if you could fly to see me at once. Tomorrow night, I shall be at Wheeling, W. Va."

Shortly thereafter, the General's praise grew more lavish. As a warrior, he told an audience, he had never seen courage to surpass that shown by Nixon. But the General didn't get around to telling the audience what it wanted most to hear. "I am not ducking any responsibility," he declared. "I am not going to be swayed by my idea of what will get the most votes. I am going to say: Do I myself believe this man is the kind of man America would like to have for its Vice President?"

The crowd shouted. "We like Drck."

When Nixon got Eisenhower's telegram, expressing the need for face-to-face explanations in Wheeling the next night, his morale dropped again. He wired the General that he intended to resume at once his

campaign tour, which would end Saturday, September 27. "Will be in Washington Sunday, and will be delighted to confer with you at your convenience any time thereafter." Nixon added. This unusual show of independence delighted the Nixon staff and shocked more people than it pleased in the Eisenhower entourage.

Summerfield telephoned to urge that Nixon come to Wheeling, as requested. He was told that Nixon was going to Missoula, Mont., as planned. Nixon would meet Elsenhower only after the General's mind was made up, one way or the other. "Dick is not going to be placed in the position of a little boy coming somewhere to beg for forgiveness," Chotiner said. More calls followed from the Elsenhower train, and finally the General himself sought to reach Nixon. By then, the Senator's party was en route to Missoula.

A news report quoted Dewey as calling the Nixon telecast "a superb statement by a man of shining integrity and great purpose in the service of his country." A telegram from the Republican National Committee reported that 107 of its 138 members were reached in a quick poll, and all voted enthusiastically to keep Nixon on the ticket. There was also a telegram from Harold Stassen: "Congratulations on a superb presentation, Dick, and best wishes always to you and to Pat."

Summerfield called again, relaying Eisenhower's assurance that everything would be all right. Only then did Nixon head for the emotional reunion with his chief. The plane landed at. Wheeling in the late dusk. Chotiner rushed off to find out where Nixon was to go. Then, a lone figure darted up the ramp into the plane and asked. "Where's the boss of this outfit?" A newsman said, "Up there, General." Eisenhower went up to Nixon as he stood helping his wife with her coat. Nixon remembers he was flab-bergasted to see Eisenhower. "What are you bergasted to see Eisenhower. doing here, General? You didn't have to come here to meet us," he said. Eisenhower put his arm around Nixon and said. "I certainly did, Dick. You're my boy." Mrs. Nixon patted her husband and said, "Shall we go?"

Eisenhower and Nixon posed for pictures shaking hands. Then Nixon spotted his senior colleague, Senator Knowland. "It was quite a tense and emotional situation." Knowland recalls. "I said, 'Everything's going to be all right, Drck,' and he came over and said, 'Good old Bill!" The picture of Nixon weeping on Knowland's shoulder was one of the most poignant of the campaign.

The next day—exactly 1 week after the initial uproar—all was peaceful, happy and harmonious in Republican ranks. Nixon had transformed himself into a campaign asset. Newspaper support swung back heavily in his favor. His success sent the Republican campaign soaring, establishing him as a national figure and the best-known, largest-crowd-drawing vice presidential candidate in history. The cocker spaniel Checkers became to some a national hero—and to others a symbol of Madison Avenue sentimentality.

In retrospect, the affair was both good and bad for Nixon. The people who remember it most vividly thought it was horrible. The Democrats and Nixon Republican enemies have kept the embers aglow. Much of the "I-don't-like-Nixon, but-don't know-why" talk stems from the incident. But if it had not been for the immediate impact of that speech, the vice presidential nominee might have been dropped from the ticket, an unprecedented action in American history. And because of the suspicion and dissension such an action would have engendered, the ticket might have lost election. Nixon would have had to bear that stigma for the rest of his political life.

## Love Letter to San Francisco: Where Else for Summit Meeting?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON, JOHN F. SHELLEY -

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. SHELLEY. Mr. Speaker, I am very happy to note a recent article appearing in the San Francisco News, by Andrew Tully, in which he points out the obvious charms of San Francisco and also indicates what a perfect choice our city by the Golden Gate would be if the Foreign Ministers selected San Francisco as the site for a summit meeting, if one is held.

As a native San Franciscan, I am very happy to read remarks such as Mr. Tully's when he describes the people of San Francisco as the "most gently and amiably civilized on the continent."

Mr. Tully has been selected by our San Francisco Chamber of Commerce as "ambassador extraordinary" from the city and county of San Francisco. This is a truly high honor and one which is not given to many citizens of note; however, all San Franciscans recognize that with the charm and beauty of our great metropolis, all visitors become unofficially and by common acclaim, "ambassadors extraordinary" and these are the people and visitors who have carried the charms of our greaty city far and wide. I call the attention of my colleagues to the article following by Andrew Tully, Scripps-Howard staff writer:

[From the San Francisco News, May 7, 1959]
A Love Letter to San Francisco: Where
Else for Big Four?

(By Andrew Tully)

Washington, May 7.—People who know an elegant city when they see one will be pleased to know that the Big Four foreign ministers will consider San Francisco as a site for the summit meeting when they convene in Geneva Monday.

Such people will wonder why there has to be any discussion at all. San Francisco is the obvious choice, and even diplomats

should realize it.

For San Francisco is not so much a city as it is a way of life—a pleasant, relaxed, fun-loving formula for getting the most out

of each day.

People work in San Francisco, but not desperately as in, say, Los Angeles and New York. They work to acquire the where-withal to buy play, to earn the money to pick up checks in some of the finest restaurants in the world.

Apart from its people, who may be the most gently and amiably civilized on the continent. San Francisco is a kind of phys-

ical grandeur.

San Francisco has weather, too. In a few weeks, when most of the rest of the country will be baking in the oven of summer's heat, San Francisco will work and play in the cool of nature's own air conditioning system—the fog.

If diplomats appreciate pretty girls—and who doesn't—San Francisco's feminine population compares favorably with that of Paris and Rome. And there is a special delight in watching the pert secretaries spreading their lunches in Union Square.

San Franciscans are outwardly cynical, in a pleasant cosmopolite way. But they nevertheless are proud of their city—proud of their Bay Bridge, longest in the world and one of the few that goes through a tunnel, proud of their Golden Gate Bridge, longest suspension span in the world, proud of their fine shops.

They are even proud of their earthquakes. Far from sticking a chamber of commerce nose in the sand, San Franciscans boast that the big one in 1906 was the biggest of the century in the Western World.

And in 1957, when there was a much

And in 1957, when there was a much smaller one, the average San Franciscan wept not, but rather went about boasting that the damage was reckoned in millions of dollars.

Our statesmen by now must be sated with conferring in tired old Europe. If they seek inspiration, and surely they need it, they should stop horsing around and buy their plane tickets to San Francisco. They may never go home again.

#### Air Force Academy Graduates First Class on June 3

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON, J. EDGAR CHENOWETH

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. CHENOWETH. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege yesterday to attend the graduation exercises of the first class to graduate from the U.S. Air Force Academy at Colorado Springs. It was indeed an inspiring sight to see these 207 young men receive their diplomas, and their commissions in the Air Force. I am confident they will render outstanding service to our Nation, and justify the confidence we have expressed in them.

The graduation address was delivered by Hon. James H. Douglas, Secretary of the Air Force, who was introduced by Maj. Gen. James E. Briggs, Superintendent of the Academy. The presentation of the Air Force commissions was made by Gen. Thomas D. White, Chief of Staff of the Air Force, and the oath of office was given by Maj. Gen. Robert M. Stillman, first commandant of cadets at the Academy.

Secretary Douglas delivered a challenging address to the class of 1959, which I am sure will be of interest to the Members of the House. The address follows:

Members of the Air Force Academy class of 1959, I am honored to have this part in your graduation ceremonies. During the 10 years I have served the Air Force, in uniform and as a civilian, I have had no experience that I shall prize more than this. Your graduation as the first class of our Academy is a splendid event for the Air Force, and for each of you a distinction you will always cherish.

You are the product of long planning and effort. Although proposals to establish our Academy go back more than 30 years, no action was taken until 10 years ago, when the first Secretary of Defense, James Forrestal, appointed a Service Academy Board, with Dr. Robert L. Stearns as Chairman, and President Eisenhower, then at Columbia University, one of the members.

This Board recommended that an Air Force Academy be established. My own introduction to Academy planning took place 6 years ago, when General Harmon, your first Superintendent, described the proposed curriculum to me. The stamp of his imagination and judgment can be read upon it today. Indeed, he exercised these qualities in every phase of the Academy's creation. I wish that General Harmon, General Vandenberg, Secretary Talbott, and Secretary Quarles had lived to see the magnificent result of the project to which they each contributed so much. 'We are grateful to them; and to Generals Mitchell and Arnold and Fairchild; to General Spaatz who is here today; to General Twining, from whom I bring you greetings; and to many more who have given of themselves to realize the Air Force Academy dream.

You have now completed 4 years of rigorous training. Some aspects of Academy discipline have been tedious, I do not doubt; but neither do I doubt that from this discipline you have gained an advantage over most of your contemporaries elsewhere. You have developed physical fitness, and habits of orderliness, that elsewhere are often conspicuous by their absence. You have followed a curriculum designed to provide an understanding and appreciation of man, of his relationships, and of the world in which he lives, along with technical knowledge of military aviation, and training for the responsibilities of leadership that will be yours. I am glad that the Academy curriculum has emphasized the liberal arts and sciences.

The basic general education you have had here is the best possible preparation for mastering the extraordinarily varied problems of the Air Force of the future. Thanks to the Academy's system of small classes with recitation and discussion, rather than lectures, you are on the road to thinking for yourselves—which is far more important for the long pull than any amount of technical knowledge,

The Air Force is proud of its first Academy graduates. I congratulate you upon your diploma and your commission that you will soon receive, and upon the navigator's wings you now wear. I congratulate you also for the part you have played in creating the Academy. You have accepted and adapted great traditions. You have organized student activities.

You were our first representatives in Intercollegiate competition. You will always remember—and so will I—the Academy's first undefeated football team. In short, you have accomplished much, but what you have accomplished up to the present is most significant as preparation for a lifetime of discovery and learning and service.

Gentlemen, you are beginning your careers at an exciting time. Man's achievements in science and technology have created new standards of living for millions of people, and now suggest that in peace these standards might be brought within the reach of all people. But communism, fomented by the Soviet Union, has engulfed China and threatens the world with a new serfdom.

The Communist threat is a combination of great military power, technical and industrial skills, aggressive trade policies, propaganda, and subversive political activity. Soviet communism is materialistic. It is fed by zeal and ambition and fear. It is a menace to our way of life and to the dignity of freemen everywhere.

We have responded to the military threat by a great military effort, an effort that annually accounts for one-tenth of our national product, keeps more than 2½ million persons under arms, and provides extensive military aid to our allies.

Enormous as this effort is, it is essential, for military power is our best assurance of peace today; and in the event of war, it is our only assurance of survival.

Today we have great military power in our forces and those of our allies, and its central feature from a Soviet point of view, you may be sure, is the Strategic Air Command. Today that overall power provides a strong deterrent to any attack upon us or our allies; and we can maintain the deterrent for the future, if we are alert in selecting and developing modern weapons and the forces to employ them, and if we continue to make explicit our determination to meet aggression with force.

Your first concern and mine is our military posture. But we must also recognize that communism seeks control over minds of men, and we must meet this challenge with a confident, articulate faith in our democratic way of life. Our way recognizes the individual's right to think and speak and worship as he believes, and to work as seems of him most likely to bring satisfaction. Although this way of life appears chaotic to regimented Communists, it is the way of freemen, and it has made of these United States a nation productive beyond the dreams of past years, a nation that believes in man's destiny, and a nation increasingly dedicated to preserving the free world.

If we are to play our part in the struggle for the minds of men, we must ourselves understand our American system and we must see that it is better understood everywhere. Our Government is a government of laws, not a government of men. founded upon respect for the individual. Its rules must be like signposts telling where a road will take you, rather than where you must go. As Lincoln said, "The Government should do for the people whatever they need to have done but cannot do for themselves in their individual capacity. The Government can do many things, but it cannot long engage in detailed central planning and control of economic activities without destroying individual freedom.

The goals of our free society are unlimited. We can no more define them, except as general ideals, than a dictator could have forseen or planned the achievements of American life. All our history supports our faith in what our freedoms can yet achieve.

I know that you understand these characteristics of a free society, because you have discussed them in the history, philosophy, economics, and political science courses that have had so important a place in your general education.

You will have opportunities to strengthen the way of freedom in the commands to which you are assigned, both here and

I urge you to lead orientation and current events courses. The more our men understand the principles of free government and our obligations toward the free world, the more is the effectiveness of our Armed Forces increased.

You will serve in many parts of the globe, on air bases which unite the free world. Working with our allies, you will live among people with cultures widely different from ours. In such assignments, each of you becomes an ambassador without portfolio, a one-man demonstration of the kind of people we are. And each of you will have an opportunity to play his part in confronting the challenge of communism with the faith and understanding of freemen.

Now let us look at the Air Force in which you will in a few moments be commissioned by appointment of the President, "by reason of the special trust and confidence" he reposes in you. The heavy and medium bombers of our Strategic Air Command constitute the most powerful striking force the world has ever known. We are about to add to this intercontinental ballistic missiles. Squadrons of the Tactical Air Command are on station in Europe and in the Far East. The Air Defense Command, together with Army, Navy, and Canadian air defense units, guards the North American Continent. Troop carrier squadrons and the Military Air Transport Service contribute to the mobility of our forces and to effective logistic support.

Air Force operations, spanning the free world, play a major role in holding the Communist world in check. Our research and development efforts are directed toward among other things-improving jet engines, better radar, and better communications; toward nuclear propulsion for aircraft; and toward perfection of the great rocket systems that are introducing us to space. Some 4,000 contracts support the effort to keep our defenses effective for tomorrow and for the day after tomorrow. Many skills, including those of our School of Aviation Medicine, combine within our research program to assure man's ability to move deeper into

The supply and maintenance services of the Materiel Command require an inventory of more than a million different items, costing more than \$12 billion. You will appreciate the complexity of the problem of supply for modern aircraft, without reference missiles, radar, and other electronic equipment. when I say that the B-52 has 125 electric motors and 60 miles of wiring.

Training activity makes heavy demands upon Air Force manpower and resources. There are now 850 Air Force special skills

which require special training.

And at the Air University at Maxwell Field, many of our best officers, as faculty and as students, apply themselves through study and discussion, to hammering out strategic and tactical doctrines appropriate to modern technology and to the vital interests of our country.

I have mentioned certain basic activities of our great defense enterprise, as it is in them that you will serve after completing flying training. You and I will always take pride in the Air Force. You are about to become officers of the Air Force; but even more important, you are about to become officers of the United States. Your relationships with the Army and Navy will be much closer than those in the past.

Most of our operational forces are in unified commands; there are few single-service operations. You will find it desirable and valuable to be informed on Army and Navy operations. Much of your careers may be spent on staffs which comprise not only three services, but the services of our allies as well-and in posts where association with the services and with our allies is close and constant.

Days may come when your personal con-tribution to the safety of the United States and the integrity of the free world may seem insignificant, days when you view the rewards of civilian life as almost irrestibly alluring. For those days, let me say this: Never have our Armed Forces had greater need for wise, courageous leadership. experience in providing that leadership commences now as lieutenants, but in the years ahead, for some of you it will carry the responsibilities of four-star generals.

Most of you will find your Air Force careers rewarding. Here let me make a philosophical observation. The pursuit of happiness is an acknowledged American right, but there is little evidence that direct pursuit ends with capture. No, happiness is more susceptible to an indirect approach, way of self-respect and peace of mind, whether these are achieved through creative effort, or through service to one's country or to one's fellow man.

You already know the great satisfaction of service to our country, and today service in defense of the United States has become

service to freemen everywhere. You, as the first graduates of the Academy, may well play a critical role in keeping the history of Western World a history of freemen.

In all that you undertake, I wish you strength and courage, and success, and happiness.

#### The Inside Story

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. A. S. J. CARNAHAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. CARNAHAN. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the address of Rt. Rev. Angus Dun, given at the 95th commencement exercises of Gallaudet College, Washington, D.C., the only school for the deaf in the United States. The commencement was held on Monday. June 1, 1959:

THE INSIDE STORY

(Address by the Right Reverend Angus Dun, Bishop of Washington (Episcopal), at the 95th commencement exercises of Gallaudet College, Washington, D.C., Monday, June 1, 1959)

I am going to talk to you about the "Inside Story.

A wise man said long ago: "Keep your heart with all diligerice, for out of it are the issues of life." He was saying: "Take good care of the inside of your life, for what happens will come out of the inside."

Another wise person said long ago: "The eye is the lamp of the body. When your eyes are shut you are in darkness. When your eyes are open you are in the light. So if your eye is generous your whole body will be lighted up, but if your eye is selfish, the whole of your body will be dark."

This wise person was saying: "Your inmost way of looking at life will enter into everything you do and meet with in life."

graduation is exciting because a lot of young people are starting off on a journey into an unknown country, the unknown country of the years ahead. You feel the excitement. All of us do. Where will life take you? What will happen to you?

I have called the years ahead an unknown ountry. That is the truth. No one can country. That is the truth. No one can tell whether a beautiful blonde or a capable brunette will come into your life at 27, or whether a nice young chemist or a rather grouchy artist will fall in love with at 28, or whether you will get a job as a printer in New York, or in a laboratory in Ohio, or whether you will have twin boys at 32, or whether business will be good in 1965, or whether your wife will develop can-cer at 48, or whether an atomic bomb will drop on your city in 1978.

Ten years, twenty years, thirty years from now the outside story could be told. Perhaps you will write it in an alumni report in

"Graduated Gallaudet, 1959: teacher of home economics in Wisconsin, 5 years; married Jack Green in 1965; moved to Ohio; had two children; secretary of local club for the deaf; too arthritic to go back to reunion; and so on and so on."

The outside story might be something like that. But that would not give the inside story. And the inside story is even more important than the outside story.

We sometimes fall into thinking that life is made up of the things that happen to people. But the truth is that what happens to people is less than half the story. The more important part of the story is never told until we know what John or Mary did with what happened to him or to her; how they took it, what happened inside of them, and what came out of it for those around them.

There are a lot of people who do not think the inside matters very much. There are many women who take better care of their fingernails or their hair-do's or their figures than of their hearts and minds. There are many men who take more care of their automobiles than they do of their own insides. They are more worried by having a low cash income than they are by being so poor in loving and caring.

I am not saying that the outside does not matter. But the inside matters more.

Surely whether you make a good marriage depends more on whether you are good to live with than whether you are good to look at. Marriage doesn't consist in sitting down and looking at each other for 40 years. And whether you are good to live with depends on what's in your heart and on your inner way of looking at life.

Whether you are good to work with depends partly on whether you do a good job. But whether you do a good job depends greatly on what you are working for. Are you working just for yourself? Or are you working for others, or even for God?

What is at the center of your way of looking at life? Are you in the center? Then you will see everything from the standpoint of how it affects you. And you will probably never know how it affects other people.

I hope life will bring you much good fortune, but not too much; for few can stand too much without growing proud and forgetful of the needs of others. I hope you will be loved greatly by at least a few people. But even more I hope you will learn to love greatly. I know you will meet with failures and disappointments and sorrows. I hope you will have the courage to go on without bitterness or running away from life. I know that all around there will be the fears and prejudices and hatreds of men. I hope there will be peace in your hearts and that you will be makers of peace.

So as you start on your journeys into the unknown country, I wish you goodby and remind you again that the inside story of your-lives will be the most important story.

#### Salute to Israel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 18, 1959

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, we in America are proud of the wonderful spirit and remarkable progress our friend and neighbor, Israel, has made in her first 11 years.

Not too many years ago, the State of Israel was little more than a dream in the minds of men. A dream of the ancient "Promised Land." Eleven years ago the dreams became a reality, but it was a long and difficult task to make the tiny new state into a "promised land."

We in America have been willing and more than happy to do our part to aid these brave and courageous people in their struggle to create a home and asister democracy of the free world. The hardworking citizens of Israel have done an outstanding job in building their economy and their nation, in spite of difficult circumstances.

Today, Israel stands as a beacon of democracy in a strategic area of the world. Israel has taken her full share of responsibility for the humanitarian ideals of the Western World by admitting the large number of refugees and immigrants to her small area every year, and working for their resettlement.

We salute the hardy people of Israel and wish them well as they progress through their 11th year of achievement. Congratulations and best wishes for continued success are the symbols of the friendship and confidence of the people of America for our good neighbor, Israel.

# Civil Rights in Housing—Quiet Progress Based Upon Understanding

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, in the struggle for civil rights, so often marked by violence in word and action, it is heartening to observe areas of quiet progress designed to foster understanding among men.

Such quiet progress took place in my home city of Pittsburgh Monday when it became the second city in the country to enact a fair housing practices ordinance.

Pittsburgh has won justifiable recognition in recent years as the "City of Renaissance," a place of rebuilding. But progress is not marked alone in works of steel and stone. Men must also move forward in their human relationships.

It is in this respect that Pittsburgh's new law is destined to make an important contribution to the city's progress in human terms. For the new ordinance relies not on stringent punishment or mass police crackdown but upon understanding and conciliation, upon persuasion and education.

On the day the new law went into effect, Mr. Mel Seidenberg, who has been the day-to-day chronicler of Pittsburgh's rebuilding for the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, wrote a penetrating article recording the city's progress in the field of human relations.

Under leave heretofore granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the article and I commend it to the Members of the House:

[From the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, June 1, 1959]

CITY ORDINANCE TO END HOUSING SECREGATION GOES IN EFFECT TODAY—PITTSBURGH BE-COMES SECOND MAJOR TOWN IN UNITED STATES TO BAN DISCRIMINATION IN RESI-DENTIAL RENTING OR PURCHASING

#### (By Mel Seidenberg)

Today Pittsburgh becomes the second city in the United States subject to a law that makes discrimination illegal in the sale or rental of private housing. The first was New York City, which has had a similar law in effect the past year.

The fair housing practices ordinance, as it is officially known, completes for Pittsburgh a cycle of legislation deemed necessary to enforce those provisions of the Federal Constitution and Bill of Rights that guarantee equal rights to minority peoples.

#### SERVED IN PUBLIC PLACES

Since 1939, hotels, theaters, restaurants and other public places in Pittsburgh have been required to serve all people on equal terms under the State's public accommodations law. In 1952-53, the city adopted a law prohibiting job discrimination, and this legislation later was extended to the entire State.

There are State and Federal laws that apply to low-rent public housing, and Federal provisions which technically make "open occupancy" a condition for FHA, VA, and other governmentally assisted housing.

Now in Pittsburgh private housing comes under such regulation, and here is the last and most important step in the expanding national movement, as dramatized by events at Little Rock, Ark., to end racial segregation.

at Little Rock, Ark., to end racial segregation. The residential neighborhood is where basic conflicts among people can be dissolved. One commonly held view is that if people can learn to live harmoniously side-by-side, whatever the color of their skin, a natural breakdown of biased feeling and action will follow in schools, hospitals, places of employment, and other areas of human relations.

#### NOT OVERNIGHT, NOT EASY

But it won't come overnight, and it won't come easily—not without some tension, perhaps some hardship and even some resistance. All agree it will takes years of education to develop full understanding of the need for and inevitability of racial integration.

However, prointegrationists believe, on the basis of past experiences, that an educative process alone cannot accomplish the objective. They feel that legislation itself is the soundest and most effective approach to education.

Conversely, education is the approach being taken by the City Commission on Human Relations, a citizens' body appointed by the mayor and equipped with a full-time staff on the municipal payroll, in its job of administering and enforcing the law.

#### ACQUAINTING ALL WITH TERMS

Through public discussion, meetings and other media, the commission is making every effort to acquaint all property owners, landlords, realtors, and citizens with the terms and provisions of the law. It will continue to do that in the coming year.

This is of prime importance because the fair housing practices law is a new kind of law. It is not a law which seeks to punish offenders with police crackdowns, mass arrests, long prison sentences and other stringent penalties.

It is a law that relies on understanding, on conciliation, on persuasion—one that tries to educate and at the same time bring about voluntary compliance. It is expected to work much the same as the Fair Employment Practices Act.

The FEP law has not eliminated discriminatory acts in employment. But in the 5½ years since it was enacted, it has been the instrument for resolving many complaints without once forcing an alleged violator into court for prosecution.

The housing law, as enacted last December 8, is not aimed at the individual homeowner, but rather at the business of selling and renting homes.

#### REALTORS, BANKERS, BUILDERS

It applies to realtors, mortgage bankers, builders, landlords and others who engage in such business, and to owners of five or more dwelling units. It may also cover the owners of fewer than five units, but only when their transactions are handled through

a real estate agent.

Contrary to common misconception, the law does not say that owners must sell or rent to anyone regardless of race, color, religion or national origin. Landlords will not lose the right to deny apartments for economic or other valid reasons.

What the law does say is that owners cannot refuse to sell or rent solely because the prospective buyer or renter is a Negro, a Jew, Chinese or a Methodist. If a Negro prospect qualifies in every other respect, then he must be given the same opportunity as

any other person to buy or rent.

In other words, it will be illegal for owners to say an apartment or house it unavailable when in fact it is on the market, or to ask biased questions and make discriminatory statements, or use such words as "restricted" in advertisements.

It is recognized that much of this will depend on wise interpretation based on thorough investigation. It also is recognized that the law could be used by some persons to back a personal grievance or dogma.

#### COMPLAINTS PROCESSED

Therefore, as has been true in administration of FEP, all complaints will be carefully processed and analyzed by the Commission on Human Relations.

First, it must determine if there is evidence to indicate an act of discrimination, or if the complaint is unfounded. Under FEP, many complaints never get beyond this initial stage.

If it finds sufficient evidence, the commission conducts an impartial investigation to assemble all facts. If discrimination is found, the commission then tries to remove the cause in closed, confidential meetings with involved parties. These efforts may continue for many months.

If they fail or if an alleged offender fails to cooperate in the conciliatory phase, the commission can order a public hearing and issue appropriate orders. If the orders are ignored, the commission then may ask the city solicitor to take court action. The maximum penalty on convictions is a \$100 fine

or 30 days in jail.

Copies of the fair housing practices ordinance, or specific information regarding it, can be obtained without charge by writing or telephoning: Commission on Human Relations, 518 City-County Building, Pitts-burgh 19, Pa. Telephone: ATlantic 1-3900,

Extension 480.

#### Foreign Trade and Aid: Profit or Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JOHN H. DENT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 20, 1959

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, the May 11, 1959, issue of the report-American Investments Abroad—gave a few details on governmental policies which are undermining America's strength in the world, policies which are sold to the public as necessary to build our strength.

Policies of the Federal Government have saddled American industry and workers with so much redtape and expense that other nations have begun to equal us in productivity. Many American industries are closing their American fine plants for their Japanese competoperations and building plants overseas, thus creating employment and greater productivity abroad. Governmental policies are making Americans dependent on foreign factories for some goods which America once produced in greater quantity than all other nations combined. Foreign aid programs, taxing American industries to build rival industries abroad. Even the Soviets have begun to capture some of free-enterprise America's foreign markets.

Governmental programs which encourage or force American business to invest and build abroad instead of in America, coupled with foreign aid which reduces production costs in foreign nations while increasing them in America. have caused a dangerous flight of our gold reserves to foreign countries-and the depreciation of American currency throughout the world.

Yet, in 1959, the two programs which the administration exerts the most effort for are the two which will make matters worse: (1) Continuation of foreign aid and (2) special tax and other benefits for Americans who pull up stakes in America and invest abroad.

On May 3, 1959, the New York Times devoted an entire section to the World Trade Fair to be held at the Coliseum in New York, beginning May 8. The Times said:

Manufacturers and producers of raw materials in North and South America, Europe, Asia, and Africa will compete for a share of the world's wealthiest market, the United States.

The amount of (textile) goods coming into America from abroad seems to be increasing, chiefly because countries that previously did not ship here are stepping up their exports.

In 1958, total imports of cotton goods amounted to 143,290,000 square yards, increase of 16 percent, compared with 1957. And this year there is a rising trend of imports from Hong Kong and Korea.

Both India and Pakistan have received orders from importers here for substantial quantities of sheetings and drills at prices somewhat below those quoted by American manufacturers.

Japan is still by far the largest exporter of cotton goods to the United States. In fabrics alone, the Japanese exports here in 1958 totaling 105,220,000 yards comprised 70 percent of all imports. In addition it is estimated that Japan shipped an additional 130 million yards of cottons in the form of shirts, dresses, and other apparel items.

This year, imports from Japan are expected to be even larger. Japan has negotiated successfully for an increase in its voluntary quota of cottons, shipped to the United

The Japanese have contended that the previous 235 million yard quota in the form of fabrics and apparel is not "realistic" in the light of its growing industry and reciprocal purchases of raw materials.

Last week, it was announced that the quota had been increased, with the consent of the State Department, to about 247 million yards.

One reason for the remarkable growth of the Japanese textile industry is American foreign aid, building in Japan, at American taxpayers' expense, great plants with modern equipment, superior to what American manufacturers can afford, after paying taxes to help finance itors. Another reason is the lower labor costs and taxes in Japan.

The phrase about Japan's "reciprocal purchases of raw materials" is a deception. It implies that, whereas Japan may be capturing our domestic market for finished goods, she is a good customer for our raw materials. What raw materials? Cotton. Japan is using American cotton, because our Governmentunder the agricultural surplus disposal program-is making American cotton available to Japanese manufacturers at prices lower than American manufacturers have to pay for the same cotton. In fact, our Government sells American cotton to Japan-for Japanese currency. which we spend in Japan to stimulate the Japanese economy-for less than what the cotton actually costs the American taxpayers who-under the Government's domestic farm programs-must buy the cotton from American farmers and put it in storage, or dispose of it abroad, in order to keep cotton prices high in America.

But the American State Department approves of an arrangement to import even more Japanese goods, because this arrangement is more "realistic" for

It seems quite impossible for American officialdom to consider, ever, what is realistic for America.

A U.S. Senate subcommittee which studied the problems of the American textile industry-under the chairmanship of Senator John O. Pastore-found that the textile industry is suffering from foreign competition, but said it does not want to change the Government's foreign trade policy.

The Senate subcommittee said:

We do not suggest that our foreign trade policy has been the only cause of the loss of textile jobs, but we do point out that an industry faced with declining job opportunities feels the impact of rising imports more than an industry which is expanding its output and employment.

Thus we recommend that in the administration of our foreign trade program, every effort be made to channel imports into those markets which can most easily absorb production from abroad ...

As a guide to positive action, these remarks from Pastore's committee are, obviously, meaningless. But the attitude they reflect is clear, and significant. What they say, in effect, is: "Let's try to switch some of the unfair foreign competition-unfair, because it is subsidized by American taxpayers-to other American industries, as a possible means of giving the American textile industry a breather, but leave us not change Government policies which are undermining the whole American economy."

This is the personal political weakness that has caused the present condition. New people in public life who are afraid of what someone calls public opinion.

The real public opinion is that of the displaced American worker, his family, his creditors, and soon his local merchants who will have shelves full of foreign goods and streets full of American unemployed.

There is information on other Ameriican industries which are in trouble too. The New York Times said:

American makers of transistor portable radio sets may import Japanese receivers for the first time this year, and sell them here under well-known domestic brand names.

The move would be an application of the old saw: "If you can't beat 'em, join 'em." Domestic producers have watched their share of the market dwindle alarmingly and \* Japanese portables climb more than 200 percent in the last 2 years.

Another Japanese threat to American producers in the near future lies in truly port-

able television sets.

Although portable radios are the only imported products that are actually nosing American electronic home instrument producers out of their own market so far. West Germans and Japanese are penetrating

here with other devices.

Imports are cutting a wide swath in the U.S. market in home furnishings. Domestic carpet producers are becoming increasingly worried about the rising sales here of carpets from Belgium. American mills also are un-easy about the success of carpets made in Japan.

Dinnerware continues to be a thorn in the side of domestic producers, as Japanese, West German, French, and other foreign makers of dishes, cups, and saucers maintain or increase their already substantial share in

the market.

On May 1, 1959, Henry J. Heinz II, U.S. delegate to the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, meeting at Geneva, told the U.N. Commission that U.S. exports of goods and services to Western Europe totaled \$6,800 million in 1958, a decline of \$1,200 million from 1957; and that U.S. imports from Western Europe totaled \$7,200 million in 1958, an increase of \$300 million over 1957.

Mr. Heinz said:

American consumers are tending to spend an increasing portion of their income on those types of goods which European producers are especially well fitted to supply.

This overall trade development-declining production in America, increasing production in Europe-is, Mr. Heinz told the U.N. gathering, "warmly welcome" to the American Government.

What goods are European producers "especially well fitted to supply" the American market, and why are they well fitted?

A survey published in the June 1, 1959, issue of the U.S. News & World Report provides some answers. Here are excerpts from the survey:

The United States through purchases abroad, has made available \$190 billion in postwar years. Add that sum to the \$107.9 billion in gifts and loans and private investments, and the total becomes \$297.9 billion.

What has the outside world done with its \$297.9 billion? Those dollars have rebuilt industries and cities. They have been used to purchase the latest in American machinery and to acquire the highest skills with which to make industry abroad fully competitive with American industry. At the same time, nations receiving the billions have used \$11 billion to add to their financial reserves in gold and dollars.

This country today finds itself challenged by those it helped.

The American dollar, once a proud cur-rency—the strongest in the world—now is

selling at a discount in terms of some foreign currencies. Rumors in the financial centers of Europe are that the dollar may have to be revalued—depreciated in relation to gold. The dollar scarcity that alarmed planners not many years ago has been turned by U.S. generosity into a superabundance of dollars in Europe.

Gold is flowing away from the United States as some countries turn their immense reserves of dollars into gold. Foreigners at this time hold claims to \$12.7 billion of the 20.3 billions of gold in the U.S. stockpile. If these foreigners ever exercise those claims, this country could find itself in a severe financial squeeze applied by those who enjoyed so much U.S. generosity.

Goods from abroad are coming into the United States to capture more and more markets. The industry that United States spent billions to revive and that U.S. industry helped to teach efficient mass production is able now to undersell its teachers in a grow-

ing number of fields.
In 1958, the industry of West Europe, prostrate 10 years earlier, produced more steel than the United States produced. As many trucks are being produced in Europe as here. Europe's industry last year built 1.9 million new dwellings, or far more than United States. Japan today is producing at double the prewar rate, thanks in part to American aid.

The industry abroad, that American ald dld so much to revive, often is able now to undersell the products of American industry both in this country and outside. Many nations receiving aid from the United States are keeping up their barriers against Ameri-

can products.

So enticing is the prosperity of the world outside the United States that American investors are sending more than \$3 billion of private capital abroad each year for investment. A growing number of American companies are entering the foreign field, often to produce goods not only for markets abroad but for sale back in the United States.

All of this is part of the story of success that has grown from American generosity in postwar years. That generosity, in fact, has been so great that it accounts, in part, for the inflation within United States that is making it more difficult for this country to hold its competitive posit on in the world.

In addition to supplying dollars of aid, the United States has undertaken the principal burden of defense for the non-Commu-nist world. \* \* \* Americans are assuming this burden with no apparent complaint. This country's allies—now strong industrially-are not assuming equal burdens in the defense of the free world.

This survey did not point out what every one with a grain of sense knows; namely, that all of the defense of the free world which we are ruining ourselves to pay for does not provide any defense. We have neglected the vital defenses of our homeland to provide rich loot abroad for the Communists to take over.

On May 25, 1959, a Wall Street Journal editorial said:

An important shift has taken place in the U.S. economic position in the world. \* \* \* foreign subsidiary operation by U.S. firms \* \* \* is multiplying at an accelerating rate. U.S. brand-name goods are now manufactured all over the world. The United States is gradually pricing itself out of the world markets.

Here is what faces many an American business: It cannot make its product here and compete in world markets with the Germans, the British, or the Japanese. The

alternative is a drastic reduction in its business or the export of some of its capital resources to another country, the erection of a plant there and the development of its worldwide business from a foreign, not a U.S. base. \* \* All around us our economic position in the world disintegrates.

In a remarkable series of public statements in the latter part of April 1959, President Eisenhower said:

First, that inflation is a dreadful threat to the American economy.

Second, that he is making an all-out fight for a balanced budget because a sound dollar is the foundation of America's defense.

Third, and that all American businessmen should work tirelessly to obtain public and congressional acceptance of the President's recommended \$3.9 billion of new foreign-aid appropriations for this

Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY predicts that the Soviets will soon start pushing America out of world markets in agri-cultural goods. Humphrey's remedy is to enlarge the program which will make this possible. He wants bigger and more extravagant Federal farm programs, which build agricultural surpluses that are so high-priced they cannot be sold even on the domestic market, much less on the foreign market. HUMPHREY wants to increase our program of giving agricultural surpluses away abroad. Satisfy the world demand for agricultural goods by giving ours away, and we will eliminate those markets that the Soviets are going to take away from us.

On May 22, 1959, at a time when every literate person on earth knew that America is in grave danger because inflation, caused primarily by policies of Government, is driving American capital and American gold reserves abroad, causing a relentless shift of industrial and economic strength from America to other nations, Mr. Henry Kearns, Assistant Secretary of Commerce, made a speech in Dallas, to a gathering cele-

brating World Trade Week.

Mr. Kearns urged U.S. businessmen to invest their money abroad, and recommended legislation, pending in Congress, to give special tax treatment that will encourage American capital to fiee overseas.

Will the end result be peace or chaos? Your knowledge of the situation, fellow Members, is greater than mine since most of you have been here longer than I.

However, my guess is that we are breeding world discontent, fostering false and misleading hopes in our friendly allies and in the end the American people will end up disliked, distrusted, disillusioned, and at a tremendous disadvantage.

We will have to face up to a realistic revenue problem. Our basic tax is the income tax with the large part paid by individuals and limited corporate percentages. As we continue our foolish and dangerous course, we will have less and less personal and corporate income to tax. Will we then shift to consumer taxes completely?

Thomas S. Gates, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. PAUL B. DAGUE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, in a recent article entitled "Salt at the Helm," Time magazine had this to say, in part, concerning the newly appointed Deputy Secretary of Defense, Thomas S. Gates, Jr.:

Born April 10, 1906, in Philadelphia. Majored in English at Penn (1928). Joined Philadelphia's solid Drexel & Co. Served as a private in the National Guard. Commissioned in Navy intelligence in 1942, he sailed in major campaigns, performed gallantly (two Bronze Stars), was mustered out as a commander after 42 months, rose to captain in the Reserve and retired in 1953. Tapped by President Eisenhower as Under Secretary of the Navy in 1953, Republican Gates was promoted to Secretary in 1957. Anxious to return to his investment job, Gates early this year resigned his \$22,000 Secretaryship, effective June 1. But Ike persuaded him to stay in Washington as Deputy Secretary. Said Gates, "It plays hob with my personal plans, but I guess it is my duty." Says a longtime banker friend from Philadelphia: "Tom Gates has an unusually high sense of public duty. It's in the nature of the man."

With that as a preface I am honored to add that Tom Gates is one of my most distinguished constituents—ninth district of Pennsylvania—a resident of my home county, a good friend and neighbor. And because of a personal and neighborly awareness of his great abilities, which should prove so valuable in the high position to which he has been appointed, I am reassured by the fact that Mr. Gates is remaining in the Defense Department.

I was genuinely sorry—and in this I know I was joined by officials in the Government, Members of the House and a large segment of the public—when it was announced a few months ago that Tom Gates was planning to retire as Secretary of the Navy. Consequently, it was with deep satisfaction that I learned that, at the request of President Eisenhower and Secretary McElroy, Mr. Gates had consented to remain in Government in a higher and very responsible position, that of Deputy Secretary of Defense.

There can be no question but what the interests of our national security have been strengthened by Tom Gates' acceptance of this new assignment. He brings to it a wealth of experience in national security matters. His tenure as Under Secretary and later as Secretary of the Navy has been marked by highly competent leadership. He was, in every sense of the word, a strong Sec-While there was no question retary. who was head of the Department of the Navy under his regime, he encouraged initiative and acceptance of responsibility by civillan and military leaders at all subordinate levels of the Navy Department.

I think it entirely appropriate to point out that while serving as Secretary of the Navy he made an historic contribution to the betterment of national security by laying the organizational foundation for an even closer relationship between the Navy and the Marine Corps within the Department of the Navy. While Under Secretary of the Navy, he supervised, under the overall direction of the then Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Robert B. Anderson, the redrafting of the basic orders and directives governing organizational relationships within the Department.

This was indeed an important contribution for, as the House has long recognized, the unique character of balanced American seapower stems from the integration of Marine landing forces into the fleet. This relationship between the Navy and the Marine Corps, which was regularized and improved through the leadership of Tom Gates, has produced great and continuing contributions from the standpoint of our defense capabilities

During his tenure as Secretary of the Navy, there was also tremendous strides made in weapons and instruments of U.S. seapower. We moved into the age of the large fleet carrier. Atomic submarines became an operational reality. Prolonged and submerged submarine cruises became practical. The underwater passage to the North Pole was successfully negotiated. The Navy made operations in the Antarctic a routine. The Marine Corps brought to operational reality its vertical envelopment techniques. This concept, imbodying the use of helicopter-carrying transports of a modified aircraft carrier type, constitutes what is probably the most important and revolutionary contribution to combat methods since the end of World War II

It permits our balanced fleets to conduct amphibious operations in the thermonuclear age. Not only is this Marine Corps contribution another demonstration of the far-sighted and practicable thinking which has characterized the Marine Corps in its role of amphibious specialists, but it reflects the kind of progressive thinking which has been so deliberately encouraged within the Department of the Navy by Secretary Gates. Parenthetically, the understanding consideration given the Marine Corps by Mr. Gates would have assured him a place in my personal hall of fame were that the only thing to recommend him.

I would also like to point out that during the last few months of his tenure as Secretary he made another meaningful and lasting contribution for the betterment of the Department of the Navy. With his keen appreciation of the importance of organizational principals, he convened, a few months ago, a small but also highly selective Board to examine the functioning, operations, and concepts of the Department of the Navy. The membership of this Board is particularly noteworthy, as it demonstrates, again, Tom Gates' ability to recognize and utilize the great talent which exists within the Department of the Navy.

As senior member of the Board he appointed the Honorable William B. Franke, then Under Secretary of the Navy and now Secretary of the Navy. The two senior military members of the Board were Adm. James S. Russell, Vice

Chief of Naval Operations, and Lt. Gen. Merrill B. Twining, USMC, Commandant, Marine Corps Schools, Quantico, Va. As Members of this House are well aware, the selection of these two officers to the Board was another example of Tom Gates' frequently demonstrated ability to fill top positions with officers of preeminent qualifications. Both Admiral Russell and General Twining have long been recognized as keen students of balanced seapower based upon a close relationship between the Navy and the Marine Corps.

Under the overall guidance of Secretary Gates, the Board—known as the Franke Board—met for 3 or 4 days a week over a period of almost 4 months. It is recognized within the Department of the Navy and the Pentagon that this was really a unique board, inasmuch as the senior members, Mr. Franke, Admiral Russell, General Twining, and Mr. John H. Dillon, administrative assistant to the Secretary of the Navy, were also working members of the Board. This fact in itself made the Board an unusual development on the Washington scene.

The report of the Franke Board, which has been read by many Members of the House and the Senate, has become recognized as one of the most concise, practical, and understandable reports of its kind ever to emerge from the Pentagon. As those who have read the report recognize, the first portion of the report which sets forth the organizational functions of the Navy Department and the balanced fleet constitutes the most rational and persuasive exposition on the philosophy of the Navy Department and seapower yet to appear in print. Congress and the Nation are indebted to Secretary Gates and Secretary Franke. and their assistants on the Franke Board, for such a major contribution to the understanding of and furtherance of our national security.

Tom Gates can leave the Navy Department with the secure knowledge that all those who are aware of his contributions and leadership extend him a sincere "well done" as Secretary of the Navy and look forward to even more accomplishments by him as Deputy Secretary of Defense.

Letter From Steve Modla, of Warren, Mich.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. JAMES G. O'HARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1959

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, Steve Modla, of Warren, Mich., is a public-spirited citizen dedicated to the establishment of good Government. He is a friend of mine and it is largely because of the efforts of Mr. Modla and other unselfish volunteer political workers that I now have the privilege of serving in this House.

I recently received a letter from Mr. Modla in which he expressed his concern over National and International conditions and suggested basic principles which must be followed by those in positions of public responsibility. Members of Congress and others who read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD should have the opportunity of reading it. I therefore include a copy of his letter in full at this point in the RECORD:

WARREN, MICH., May 30, 1959.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: All of us are aware of, and are shocked and frightened by the cold war tactics employed by the Russians. The result is a continual increase in world tensions. We can avoid catastrophe only by rededicating ourselves to the basic principles that have made our Nation great and by expressing our national will to our elected representatives in Government.

As a people, we must recognize that our actions have not always been correct. We must refuse to think in selfish, personal terms. We must subordinate political advantage to considerations of the common

good.

Our first step should be to practice, at home, the principles of Christianity and democracy which we expect of others. If we cannot set our own house in order we surely cannot lead the world. In this country today there are millions, willing and able to work, who, because of our economic situation, are unable to earn a decent living for themselves and their families. Many of our citizens are denied an opportunity to obtain an education or employment commensurate with their ability because of race or color. Such conditions cannot be tolerated in a nation that professes principles of justice and equality.

If we wish our vows to be heard, our anxieties to be relieved, it is indispensable that all our acts conform to the laws of right and justice: succeeding not only in conquering our enemies, but also our own

evil passions.

The United States must become a showcase of democracy in action and it is our elected Representatives who should lead the way. This includes, of course, our Senators and Representatives in Congress. It also includes elected and appointed officials at every level of government. Corruption and self-interest in officeholders, even on the local level, is destructive of American ideals and is a cancer of the body politic which, if not removed, will infect all parts of our society.

The Nation will follow the pattern set by our statesmen. It is their responsibility to lead our people to a new era in which corruption and self-interest will no longer be features of American life. Democracy in action is our challenge to Russia and a symbol to the world. It is our only hope for survival. When we have achieved that ideal we will have shown the world a true picture of "government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

Sincerely yours.

STEVE MODLA.

Transmission Lines in Iowa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MERWIN COAD

OF TOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 28, 1959

Mr. COAD. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday, June 2, I spoke in support of a Bureau of Reclamation transmission line which would serve part of my district, an appropriation for which is included in the public works appropriation bill, as reported out by the Appropriations Committee. I do not wish to impose upon the House, but this line is so essential to the well-being of the rural electric cooperatives and the municipalities of western Iowa that I feel compelled to ask once again that all Members support it.

The line represents the only feasible method for western Iowa to receive the benefits of Missouri River power. A large portion of that power which would have been allocated to western Iowa went elsewhere when the original allocations were made several years ago. The proposed line will bring the Missouri River power to the locations where it is needed. Cooperatives and municipalities will save considerably more than \$2 million per year by the purchase of Missouri River power. It will be a great boon to our overall economy.

It all adds up to the fact that here is a line that is greatly needed. It will not cost any one one dime-other than the cooperatives and municipalities who receive service off of it. They will completely repay the full cost of construction, with interest, in addition to all operating and maintenance costs.

I am pleased to report that this line, while serving only western Iowa, is receiving support from the entire State. Of the 55 REA cooperatives in the State, virtually all have written to the Appropriations Committee urging the construction of the line. Many other groups have joined in its support.

I have received the following communications from the President of the Iowa Farmers Union and the Master of the Iowa State Grange voicing their support of this project:

IOWA FARMERS UNION

As the State president of the Iowa Farmers Union and on behalf of the entire membership of our organization, I wish to urge passage of the appropriation bill providing funds for Bureau of Reclamation transmission lines in Iowa.

Studies made by both the Iowa Commit-tee on Missouri River Power and the Bureau of Reclamation reveal the need and justification for these transmission lines to deliver the low cost Missouri River power into the Iowa marketing area.

Because of the growing needs for an adequate supply of electrical power on our farms and in our rural communities, and in view of the allocations of Missouri River power for the Iowa marketing area in the years to come, it is essential to have these transmission lines to bring this power into the State.

We wholeheartedly endorse the construction of these lines.

MAURICE O'REILLY, State President, Iowa Farmers Union.

#### IOWA STATE GRANGE

Realizing the importance of the rural electric cooperatives to farmers of Iowa and the increasing need for adequate electric power supply for our Iowa farms and rural communities, the executive committee of the Iowa State Grange unanimously resolves to go on record in support of the request of the Iowa Committee on Missouri River Power for construction of Bureau of Reclamation power transmission lines to deliver low cost hydro power to load centers

of the preference customers in the Iowa Missouri River power marketing area

In view of the favorable results of studies made by the Iowa committee and the Bureau of Reclamation, the executive committee urges that these lines be constructed. LOREN MURPHY,

Master, Iowa State Grange.

## Television Industry Donations to Public Service Causes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

#### HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 26, 1959

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, the March 9, 1959, issue of Television Age contains a letter from the publisher which I have taken the liberty of including in the Appendix of the RECORD. I believe this letter will be of interest to my colleagues and I should like to call it to their attention.

The letter follows:

LETTER FROM THE PUBLISHER TO SERVE A NATION

\$271 million. This is the amount of money that the television industry donated to public-service causes during 1958.

This amount of money represents 20 percent of the total revenue of the industry. Behind this figure is the dramatic story of a medium that is dedicated-

To aiding the stricken of the disasters of floods and tornadoes and droughts and hurricanes and to raising money for relief.

To alerting the Nation to the realities of

push-button warfare. To strengthening the moral fiber of our country by encouraging attendance at the church of one's faith.

To alleviating the plight of the less fortunate not only here but all over the world, and to giving hope to the hopeless because a generous nation was told of their plight.

To mobilizing the forces against the scourges of muscular dystrophy, infantile paralysis, cancer, and diseases of the heart.
To alding the Red Cross, Boy Scouts, the

local P.T.A.

To taking up the crusade for safer highways, more playgrounds, better schools. To projecting the town meeting into every

corner of the land to provide a discussion platform for the burning issues of the hour.

#### FOR A BETTER LIFE

For in a larger sense television is a mirror of America. In this reflection television is ever present, devoting time, money, ingenuity and energy to achieving a better way of life.

There are those who will say that the medium is required to do this as a trustee of a public facility.

This is an erroneous premise because television assumes a far greater responsibility of public service than could ever be required of it by either the legislators or the regula-

No one has to tell the medium to donate \$271 million in the public cause. It does this voluntarily, willingly, effec-tively. It assumes the responsibilities of good citizenship and good neighborliness on a positive basis.

To those who would criticize these efforts, let them stand up and be counted. Let them do as much or more before carping from the sidelines or hunting headlines.

IMPACT CONTINUES TO GROW

Television, like America, will continue to go forward. As it goes forward it will increase, as every year it has increased, its impact on the American public because it widens the horizons of its public service.

Cordially,

S. J. PAUL.

## How Your Congressman Becomes a Spendthrift

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, in the June issue of the magazine Nations Business there appears an article entitled, "How Your Congressman Becomes a Spendthrift," which bears the byline of our colleague and my close personal friend, "Charlie" Bennett.

This article presents a penetrating analysis of our spending program at a time when Government expenditures are rapidly approaching an all-time high.

That the good people of Florida's Second Congressional District have seen fit to return "CHARLIE" BENNETT to Congress repeatedly and in most instances unopposed, seems eloquent testimony to the esteem with which he is regarded.

I commend the reading of this comprehensive presentation to every Member of the Congress and am pleased to present it for inclusion in the RECORD: HOW YOUR CONGRESSMAN BECOMES A SPEND-

THRIFT—HERE'S A STORY OF PROSPENDING PRESSURES AND WAYS TO EASE THEM TO SAVE TAX DOLLARS

(By Representative CHARLES E. BENNETT)

Members of Congress are in a constant struggle to keep from becoming spend-

The Congressman who strives for Federal' economy today is frustrated by a combination of loose fiscal practices and the ironic prospending attitudes of much of the pub-

I've watched this phenomenon over the 10 years I have served in the U.S. House of Representatives. It has now reached alarm-

ingly expensive proportions.

Though the cards seem stacked against saving and for Government spending, this could be corrected. Congress and our citizens could adopt a three-part program which, I believe, would give new vitality to the quest for thrift and save billions of the taxpayers' dollars. The program would strike at both the attitudes and the machinery that favor excessive Federal spending.

Unless we plan some action now, evermounting costs of Government could create further inflationary deficits, dilute our purchasing power, stunt our economic growth, and threaten our national strength and

security.

Our troubles seem to be rooted, first of all. in public feelings about spending. Most people are for economy generally, but not specifically.

I remember well the tone of the mail that poured into my office a few summers ago when desire for Government economy was being fervently expressed. The letterwriters

urged me in no uncertain terms to "cut the fat out of that outrageously high budget," and "keep that Federal spending to a bare minimum." At about the same time the House was considering a multimillion-dollar measure I felt was unnecessary in spite of its popular appeal. Following my convictions, I voted against the bill.

In the weeks that followed you would

have thought that I was the most penny-pinching man alive. Scores of letters criticized my vote and not a single one recognized my action as a vote for economy.

This is not unusual in Congress. I have talked with many fellow lawmakers who tell of constituents who ask in the same breath for tax cuts and larger appropriations for

their special projects.

Since each Member of Congress must not only vote his own convictions but also be mindful of his constituents, he must weigh carefully any proposal that could benefit them. Even if a measure only appears to benefit his constituents, a Member is under great pressure to support the idea. If the legislator falls to vote with his constituents, he can be replaced with someone who does take their views.

This leads to a system of survival of the spendingest. So the primary source of econ-

omy must be the public.

However, in the eyes of a large segment of the public, progress has become synonymous with more and larger Federal programs and benefits. Each new program is excitingly and attractively presented. In the dazzle, the ultimate cost to people in taxes is obscured.

It is now taken for granted that the Federal Government should be involved in such personal or local matters as health, education, and welfare. These words are powerful symbols. The programs under these general labels could become more costly than our national defense. In the broadest sense, "welfare" could even mean two Cadillacs in every garage—at taxpayer expense.

Another problem is that once a program is begun, it is nourished until it is thriving. To end a going Federal program is almost unthinkable, even though it may have become obsolete or undesirable.

I can recall only two Federal programs that have been abolished since I was first elected to Congress: Uncle Sam no longer stables stallions for breeding cavalry horses, and is now out of the rum-distilling business in the Virgin Islands.

Lobbies now exist for every conceivable spending cause. The appeal to Congress for dollar support is seldom based on self-interest, though. The selling pitch is usually couched in terms of the benefits of a program to national security, human welfare,

or economic growth.

Sometimes a Member of Congress commits himself to a noble idea or project without realizing its potential cost Once committed, it's difficult to wiggle off the hook. When I first came to Congress, I enthusiastically introduced a measure to premit tax deductions for certain types of employe compensation in-centive plans. I was stunned to learn from the Treasury Department that the bill would cost an estimated \$1 billion in tax revenue the first year and ultimately could cut U.S. revenues an estimated \$8 billion a year. I dropped the idea as quickly as I could.

Unfortunately, the public memory is dim on heroes of economy battles, but people never forget a vote against their favorite As one of my colleagues lamented at lunch the other day:

"Nobody ever gets a statue built for econnizing. You don't even make a footnote omizing. in the history books."

The other major obstruction to economy in government today is the loose and clumsy system we use to pay for what we buy.

We are now spending about \$80 billion without the best means for resolving competing needs, judging overall cost or knowing how much money we will have with which to pay our bills.

One problem is that we act on Federal

spending in piecemeal fashion.

When an appropriation bill or other legislation comes up for action, my colleagues and I don't know whether voting for the measure will eventually unbalance the budget or not. We don't know how much will be spent for other programs still to be voted on or how the economic impact of other spending will affect revenues.

Another problem is that money matters are influenced by more than a dozen committees in each chamber of Congress, so central control is lacking. The major committees assigned to fiscal subjects are the House Ways and Means, House Appropriations, Senate Finance, Senate Appropriations, Joint Economic Committee, and Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation. But other committees get in the act in a variety of ways.

Federal spending normally must be approved by the Senate and House Appropriations Committees. Legislative committees authorize programs, then the Appropriations Committees each year grant the Federal agen-

cies the money to run them.

However, a sort of budgetary sleight of hand has come into practice by which the Treasury can be dipped into without the usual controls.

One of the most popular of these fiscal tricks is called "authority to spend from public debt receipts." With this device, Congress lets a Federal agency borrow directly from the U.S. Treasury rather than making it rely on congressional appropriations. It has become a popular method to finance the many Federal lending programs and dodge annual Appropriations Committee review. Already Congress has authorized agencies to spend about \$150 billion by this method. Housing programs, farm price sup-ports and Export-Import Bank lending, for instance, are financed this way.

Other doors to the Treasury go by the names of "contract authority," under which obligations can be incurred before appropriawhich fitions are made; "revolving funds," nance certain intragovernmental buying activities and "no-year" appropriations, under which many long-term defense projects

Add to this the fact that Uncle Sam already has billions of dollars promised each year to a number of basic programs or obligations, such as public assistance payments to the States, veterans' pensions and interest on the national debt. Control and choice over where and how public money will be spent, therefore, has been drastically limited.

In this era of towering defense costs as well as other burdensome Federal commitments, I don't think we can suddenly do away with big budgets. But I believe we can save billions of tax dollars as well as help create a Tresh public attitude toward Federal spending. We can do it by adopting a three-part program aimed at rewarding economizers, tying taxes to spending and tightening or creating new controls over the purse strings.

1. Members of Congress and other Federal officials who fight for economy could be recognized through some system of thriftratings and awards. This could best be done by a private, national nonpartisan organization, which could devote singular emphasis to the fiscal aspects of any Federal proposal.

This organization should be a responsible and respected group. It should have the resources and facilities to estimate the cost and appraise the effect of new spending ideas or programs as soon as they are proposed. It should make known its findings quickly and lucidly to Government and the public.

Particularly, it should help Congressmen with cost data even as bills are drafted.

An organization such as this has operated on the State and local level in Florida for 20 years. It is the Florida Tax Information Association, Inc. Probably other States have similar nonprofit, nonpartisan groups to promote efficient spending of public dollars.

On the national level, through awards to effective and economy-minded public servants, and objective fiscal analysis, a similar organization could command widespread attention and stimulate a new respect for sound Government paid for with sound dollars.

lars.

2. Pay-as-you-go and user charge principles, I believe, could be more widely adopted, both to pay for Government services and to impress immediately on the public the cost of a program or activity.

The Federal highway construction program is materially paid for through the tax on gasoline. Social security is financed by a tax on prospective beneficiaries. I believe many of the supporters of the expensive Federal aid for school construction proposals would think twice if a broad-based tax to pay for the program were tied directly to the legislation.

A number of existing charges and fees could be raised so that the citizen who is served pays for the service and knows what it is costing him. The cost of the postage stamp, for example, was finally raised from 3 cents to 4 cents last year—the first increase in 25 years. The Postal Service is still short of paying its way by more than

\$500 million a year.

Since no formal overall consideration is given to the budget by Congress, a joint congressional budget committee, it seems to me, could be set up for this purpose. It could also appraise public needs. It could determine whether an activity is a proper one for the Federal Government, or whether it should be done on a State or local level. It could coordinate and advise on the work of the tax-writing House Ways and Means and Senate Finance Committees and the Senate and House Appropriations Committees. And it could survey ways for putting more Federal activities on a direct pay-as-you-go basis.

3. Procedures could be tightened or new ones created for better control of Federal spending. Congress should accept a resolution sponsored by Representative Howasn W. ate and House Appropriation Committees. Chairman, aimed at stopping backdoor trips to the Treasury. Representative Smirn's idea is to require that all spending be routed through the Appropriations Committee. The legislative committees would still have the power to authorize programs, but any spending scheme would get the traditional annual check of the Appropriations Committee.

Legislative committees tend to favor their particular field of interest. The Agriculture Committee, for instance, wants to do all it can for the farmer; Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee wants to serve maritime interests. The Appropriation Committees can appraise the worth of individual programs and balance, one against another when all spending ideas go through this important unit. A like proposal to make sure all spending is channeled through the Appropriations Committees is also pending in the Senate.

A greater control over spending could be achieved if money bills were handled differently. Congress now acts on 12 to 15 separate regular appropriations bills plus other supplemental appropriations. Sometimes we

increase, sometimes we cut; but we never know whether more has been appropriated than there are revenues to pay the cost until the last bills are voted on.

House Appropriations Committee Chairman Clarence Cannon of Missouri, Senate Finance Committee Chairman Harry F. Byrn of Virginia and other congressional veterans have often proposed that all the regular appropriations bills be handled in one bill. An omnibus appropriations bill could give Congress new perspective, balance, and control over how public money is being spent.

Another related idea could have the same effect. Final action could be postponed each year on spending bills until all of them have been considered. The bills could be kept in a sort of deepfreeze until the end of a congressional session. Then individual bills could be revised up or down to keep total spending from spilling over the revenue coming in.

Congress, at the least, should have available a formal running account of its spending. In addition to the President's annual budget document and midyear revision, Congress should have up-to-the-minute information summarizing appropriations, expenditures, receipts, and the effect of pending bills on overall totals.

Finally, I'm sure untold amounts of money could be saved if the President had the power to veto separate items within appropriation bilis rather than being limited either to signing or vetoing money bills as a whole. Since the item veto first appeared on the American scene in the Confederate constitution, 40 States have adopted the idea. With the item veto, the President could effectively cut the fat out of appropriations and assist materially in what all loyal Americans really want—an effective but economical government.

I am confident that the program I have outlined could help restore the respect for and safeguards over your tax money which are so sorely needed today.

The People Are Looking to the House

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of every Member of this Congress the following editorial from the Anderson Independent, Anderson, S.C.:

Here's a Bold Threat to Nation's Safety That Neids Smacking Down

The brazen arrogance, the bold effrontery, the unmitigated gall, and the callous disregard for human and legal rights of the people displayed by James Hoffa in threatening a nationwide strike of transportation are so overwhemlingly shocking that they would be almost amusing if they were not also a revelation of our own failures.

How the American people can sit idly by and allow a man of this type to threaten the security, the freedom, and the well-being of this country is astounding in itself.

Read his words over again, the words that he audaciously blasted away at a meeting of the Longshoremen's Union. In Brownsville, Tex., the other day Hoffa, who has climbed to undoubted power with the help of crooks, thugs, and radicals, and who has been steadily boosted by laws or lack of

laws that would restrain in some degree his lust for absolute mastery, is drunk with his own success.

Hoffa is riding toward a fall and it may come soon. This country was not settled and fought for just to give one man a monopoly over its welfare. The blood spilled to obtain its freedom, the blood shed by the North and South to determine whether it should continue a Union or two separate powers, is too deeply embedded in its soil, its sacrifices are too many to allow a self-seeker barbed in the clothes of a savior of the working people to rule.

If someone were to get up and proclaim that he had a master switch that could set off explosions in every principal American city at his command, he would be hauled down and observed by psychiatrists. But Hoffa is doing just that in a way.

Set off a national strike that would crip-

Set off a national strike that would cripple all industry, cut off food from our people everywhere, throttle all the mechanism of democracy that has been built up over the centuries? Impossible, you say. But that is what this brazen little man, drunk with swelling power, is threatening us with. He threatens every home, every business, every industry in America, and we sit and take it like dull-witted cattle whipped into a coral. Why?

Have we lost our courage, our pride, our determination, our resolution—the same qualities that have pulled the Nation

through two recent World Wars?

We don't see any mass meetings of protest, we don't hear of any marches on Washington to demand that Congress stop this would-be Napoleon, this man who threatens with the wild look and gestures of a laterday Hitler. We seem to be taking it sitting down.

And Congress debates, argues, throws up a screen of amendments, appoints new committees, and likewise does little to legislate in behalf of the welfare of all the people. Congress is so concerned about the privileges and powers of a self-chosen few that it overlooks the good of all the people.

A congressional committee solemnly listens to John L. Lewis ponderously proclaim that no legislation be passed that would even mention unionism or its evils. It considers next year's votes rather than bold legislation that would cut down this rapidly-growing monopoly that thrives on graft, strife, threats, boycotts, and terrorism.

After all these months, there is no law

After all these months, there is no law passed to protect the rights of all the people against the oppression of the few.

What are you waiting on, Congress?

The threat has been boldly emblazoned on every front page in America. One little man thinks he is bigger than all our elected representatives.

Now is the time for Congress to slap down this threat of revolution, to preserve the rights of the American people to work peaceably at jobs of their own choosing and to carry on their business unhindered by gangster-type rule.

Get busy, Congress. We are waiting on you to make the first vital move.

Aid to Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, the transcript of the President's news con-

ference yesterday included the following exchange:

Am to Schools

Question (George C. Wilson, Congressional Quarterly). Mr. President, since your 1959 Federal aid to schools proposals have not received much attention on Capitol Hill, would you support your 1957 school-aid proposals as an alternative to the Democratic—

The PRESIDENT. You are expecting my memory to be a little bit more perfect than it is at this minute. For 6 years I have been saying—7 years I guess now, putting in something on the education bill. I will have to look—the details of your question, let Mr. Hagerty answer.

Mr. Speaker, in order that Mr. Hagerty may refresh President Eisenhower's memory, I am sending him a copy of page A1565 of the Congressional Record of February 26, 1959, when I traced the President's wavering, and sometimes contradictory, course on aid to schools through his state of the Union messages.

#### Leaders Wanted

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following:

LEADERS WANTED

(Address of Hon. Henry Kearns, Assistant Secretary of Commerce for International Affairs, at the National Sales Executives, Inc., convention, Roosevelt Hotel, New Orleans, Thursday, May 28, 1959)

The United States has no greater national asset than its high caliber, well-trained, efficient army of sales executives. Today, when it is becoming increasingly imperative that we develop greater recognition, worldwide, for our competitive enterprise system, and that we develop new markets both here and abroad to provide larger outlets for our constantly expanding production facilities, we as a nation are fortunate indeed that we have this valuable asset working in our behalf.

It gives me the greatest of pleasures to have the opportunity of talking with the elite of this army, the annual convention of the National Sales Executives, Inc. I believe that the salesmen of this country have within their grasp the key to the future security and prosperity of all America. Our need to increase the volume of our Nation's exports comes at a time when our security is threatened by the Sine-Soviet economic offensive. At the same time, we are faced by increasing competition from the industrial nations of the free world. The answer to these challenges rests heavily on the ability of our sales executives to adapt the sales techniques known well in our domestic markets in the development of a vigorous campaign for selling American products and ideas abroad.

It is a useful coincidence that we are given the opportunity to draw together to-day the important sales leaders of this country in one of America's greatest port cities at a time when there is this desperate need for action in our world trade affairs.

The National Sales Executives, Inc., is not unaware of the importance of world trade.

Your recent activities under the heading of "Operations Enterprise"—your program of training foreigners, through personal visits and on-the-spot seminars, the sales techniques known well in our domestic markets—have given you an insight into the opportunities and problems that face the economic world today. I am happy to have this opportunity of discussing this important subject with you.

Taking the theme as posed by one of your great leaders, "Red" Motley, "Nothing happens until somebody sells something." I would like to examine some of the headlines that are affecting our thinking today. They would include: "We Are Pricing Ourselves Out of the Market"; "There Is a World Flight From the Dollar and We Are Rapidly Losing Our Gold"; "This Business or That Is Suffering From Import Competition"; "United States Is Bucking Fierce Market Competition"; "Low Priced Labor Abroad Threatens American Industry."

This is not the first time in the history of the United States that we have faced economic challenges. In the competitive field, this country has always faced the productive capacity of Europe. However, at this time our trade outlook is faced by challenges on several fronts. Europe has renewed its economic capability, Japan, that must trade to live, has built an industrial machine that is modern and productive, and the Communists have served notice upon us that they intend to "bury us" in the peaceful field of trade. Taken together, these represent a formidable threat to us.

Of course, the timid and the shortsighted can look upon this array of trade problems and determine that we must retire into a Fortress America; that we must at all costs preserve the American market for American industry; that there is something inimical between our high standard of living and commercial contact with foreigners. Those of us, however, who have been accustomed to frontline duty in the field of competition realize that this policy bears with it a prohibitive price tag. This price will include the following:

1. We can lose the potential markets of more than 1½ billion people in the free and uncommitted areas of the world.

2. We can lose access to the foreign supplies of raw materials so desperately needed in our present and future industrial plant.

3. We may make it unprofitable and perhaps unwise for our present world allies to continue association with us once we have retired from world trade, and thus force the free world into the waiting arms of the Soviets.

4. We may drastically limit the future industrial and agricultural production of this country in such manner that needed expansion would become impossible, thereby assuring our loss of world leadership.

5. We will reduce the selectivity of products for the 175 million American consumers, and, in so doing, add to the fires of inflation. We must therefore accept as true the

We must therefore accept as true the axiom that "protectionism has priced itself out of the market."

Those of you who have participated in world-trade affairs know that upward of 4 million people gain their livelihood from this important aspect of American business; that our sales of American products abroad in the last 6 years have been more than \$104 billion and, even in 1958, were valued at \$16.3 billion; that these sales of non-military goods were greater in value than the total sales of all automobile parts and accessories, of all farm and field crops, or of livestock production, and were as great as the total sales of all the retail stores in the country for any one month. We know that this volume of business, accounting for 4 percent of our total gross national product, is essential to the economic health and the future of many thousands of American

firms who depend upon this extra business for successful operation.

Never in our trade history has there been a greater need for leaders to spark a revival of confidence in our Nation's ability to compete, to express faith in our competitive system as the most productive that the world has ever seen, and to initiate positive action in emphasizing the advantages of our opportunities rather than decrying our handleaps. The key role that the national sales executives hold in our economy leaves no doubt that you can provide the leadership so necessary at this time. Let us take a brief inventory of some of the factors you might consider:

1. Price: Actually, how much of the world's goods is really sold on price alone? Perhaps the commodities that are exchanged on world commodity markets, perhaps some heavy equipment that is sold on direct competitive bid, but the great bulk of the products that move in world trade move through some type of retail distributive mechanism. Certainly our experience has indicated that in addition to the price tag that is hung on the merchandise there are factors of service, delivery. terms, guarantee, standardization, quality, reliability, established tradition which means substantiated reliability, design and styling, and, most important of all, salesmanship. You know better than I that price is only one consideration in the success of almost any sale. Otherwise, General Motors would not be selling Cadillacs and Ford would not be selling Continentals. In fact, if price were the only consideration, how utterly drab our existence would be today.

2. Design: The markets of the world do

2. Design: The markets of the world do not always coincide with those within the United States. Customers' needs and preferences more often than not differ from country to country. It is necessary that we encourage our producers of consumer goods to understand the needs of potential foreign customers and to design production to meet these needs. It will be little satisfaction to lose our world markets and later learn of greater understanding on the part

of our competitors.

3. Terms: There is no challenge to the fact that this country has the greatest financial resources of any country in the world. It seems inconceivable, therefore, that we should be outdone in our ability to provide favorable terms to our potential buyers. It is unrealistic to believe that our competitors will sell their goods upon terms that are non-collectible. They intend to be paid just as we do. Some modification of our credit facilities to meet new situations may be necessary.

4. Delivery; No other country in the world has the comprehensive facilities to move goods from the producer to the consumer that would in any way equal ours. We have the most highways, the most trucks, the greatest railroad mileage, the most freight cars, the most ships, the most cargo-carrying aircraft, and the greatest number of the finest ports in the world. We must recognize the advantages that these tremendous facilities bring:

5. Salesmanship: We take pride in our competitive system. We know that our industrial development has been achieved to a great extent because of our ability to stimulate domestic demand for our industrial output. No people in the world have been as thoroughly trained in salesmanship as have Americans. It seems inconceivable that at this time some otherwise responsible people within this country seem to want to tell the world that we no longer believe in a competitive society.

To illustrate the need for understanding of the opportunities that exist in our world trade posture. I would like to discuss in detail one of the very many facets that can be turned to our overall trade advantage. You may be surprised to know that this important tool, which I consider one of the greatest, is the GATT, the General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade. This much maligned and little understood aspect of our world trade deserves your thoughtful con-

sideration. Let me explain:

Every one of you has probably been fol-lowing the Foreign Ministers' Conference in Geneva, Switzerland. But how many of you know that an important world trade conference is also meeting right now in the same city? The countries participating in the General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade are holding their 14th general business meeting. They're discussing a wide range of foreign trade questions, including how to get rid of import quotas and licensing restrictions which some countries maintain; what to do about the wide price fluctuation in commodities like coffee or copper which some countries depend on for most of their export earnings; and what arrangements to make for new tariff negotiations.

As I was going over the 25 or 30 items on the agenda for this May meeting some weeks ago I was struck by the contrast between the way in which trade problems have been dealt with since the war and the way in which countries had to cope with them following the First World War.

In many ways the basic economic problems in the two periods were rather similar: The need to repair and rebuild war-damaged plant and equipment; the distortion of production and trade patterns resulting from wartime controls and new political alinements; the battle with inflation in a number of countries and pressure to merge smaller nations into larger, more productive economic units, to mention a few.

But we had no trade agreements program at all when the First World War came to a close, and what commercial treaties we had Were pretty broad and general in trade mat-Trade relations throughout the world in those days were based pretty much on innumerable separate two-country agreements of various types. In Europe individual pacts Were constantly being formed, changed, and terminated. In times of relative economic stability these pacts tended to liberalize and increase the flow of trade. But in times of economic instability, when firm policies were most needed, the international obligations Were made\_loose and pliable and agreements ran for only short periods. The idea was to give yourself plenty of room to use trade restrictions if others did or if they became necessary. In fact, in the early twenties and particularly in the early thirties, Government administrators were often handed blanket authority to raise or lower tariffs, apply quotas or otherwise regulate a country's trade as they wished.

There was no universally accepted set of rules for trade among nations. When two countries got into an argument they usually had to battle it out themselves, and too frequently the method of protecting trade interests was reprisal and counterreprisal. Trade barriers were usually pushed up in the process, far higher than conditions warranted. For example, in 1931 when a number of national currencies were being depreciated, France began to levy surtaxes against imports from countries with depreciated currencies. The Spanish Government then promptly authorized its administrators to impose surcharges on goods imported from countries which levied increased import charges on Spanish goods due to the depreciated Spanish currency, and so it went. Almost every type of trade restrictive or trade disruptive device was in use.

The depression which swept the world in the early thirties put a temporary end to any broad multilateral cooperation among nations and a period of intense trade warfare was initiated. Every country tried to insulate itself from the rest of the world and solve its own problems without regard to

the effects of its actions on others. The process of reprisal and counterreprisal was in high gear.

To get wide agreement on limiting of trade controls in a period of crisis is, of course, extremely difficult. But had there been such an agreement in operation-had countries agreed on a set of principles to guide their trade relations and formed the habit of working out their problems together in regular meetings, the impact of the depression on world trade might well have been softened to the benefit of all. For when one country cuts its imports, it is actually cutting the exports of its trading partners. And with reduced exports these countries must cut back their imports. Reprisals and counterreprisals gradually choke world markets and the result is a terrible loss to all.

At the depths of the great depression in the early 1930's, this country recognized that positive action must be taken to stimulate world trade. As a result the Trade Agreements Act was passed, known generally as the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act. The purpose of this mechanism was to use the enticement of greater access to the U.S. market as an influence upon other countries to negotiate for a gradual reduction to trade impediments. Between 1934 and 1947 separate two-country (bilateral) agreements were signed with 29 countries. Even with this progress, it was recognized that trade problems dealt within separate agreements by individual countries continued to have serious limitations. It was evident that further real progress depended upon the establishment of a broadly based multilateral understanding.

Contrast this, if you will, with the present postpar period. Even before the war in Europe was over, plans were underway to ease postwar adjustments and to reestablish a truly multilateral trading system. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development was established to facilitate international investment. The International Monetary Fund was set up to stabilize exchange rates and smooth out temporary payments problems. And in the trade field an historic international agreement was concluded soon after the end of the war-the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

Originally signed by the United States and 21 other countries in 1947, the agreement is now adhered to by 37 countries which together account for over 80 percent of total world trade. Virtually all the world's major trading nations are signatories.

I suppose the most well known function of the GATT is its sponsorship of tariff negotiations. There have been 5 such conferences-one in Geneva in 1947, another in Annecy, France in 1949, a third at Torquay, England, in 1950-51, a fourth again at Geneva in 1955 during which session Japan was brought into the Western trading community, and a fifth at Geneva in 1956. All in all, some 60,000 tariff concessions have been exchanged affecting well over half the trade of the signatory countries with each

Participation in these conferences is, of course, voluntary. Each country decides for itself whether or not it will take part and what concessions it will make. At each conference participating countries negotiate for reductions, or binding against increase, or individual duties which they levy against each other's goods. The result is a set of lists, one for each country, of duty rates reductions, or binding against increase, of which that country agrees not to exceed in levying charges on imports from other parties to the agreement. This procedure has the effect of reducing tariff levels generally and of lending stability to trade relations. For although there are provisions for altering individual bound rates the international commitments have the effect of generally limiting such charges to cases in which action

is really necessary. The lists of tariff con-cessions represent one of the two major elements of the GATT.

The other major part is a set of general rules by which the Contracting Parties agree to be guided in their trade relations with each other. These rules are designed to prevent discrimination and minimize nontariff barriers.

These are very important considerations. For reductions in foreign tariffs are of little value to us so long as import quotas, licensing requirements or other types of restrictions can be applied to the products concerned. The situation is even more operous when a country discriminates against our trade by applying stricter controls on our goods than on those from other countries, or when some country refuses to take our products but imports the same goods from another source.

Of course, when the GATT was first drawn up everyone realized that for some time after the war it would be necessary for many countries to limit their purchases from abroad in order to protect their limited supplies of foreign exchange. Moreover, since the dollar was in almost universal short supply it was unavoidable that dollar imports should be restricted most severely. Therefore, an exception was made to permit the temporary use of import restrictions for this purpose. But countries taking advantage of this provision were required to remove their controls as rapidly as possible and to have their controls examined periodically by the other countries participating in the Agreement.

Today, with the very substantial improve-ment in world financial condition, the need for discriminatory restrictions against dollar imports has been dissipated in many areas. It is clear that the machinery of the GATT can be used effectively in induc-Ing our trading partners around the world to remove restrictions which discriminate against American exports, and your Government is pressing forward vigorously to open the doors for many hundreds of millions of dollars worth of American sales. This becomes a tangible benefit from our participation in the GATT.

At their annual business meetings, the GATT countries have conducted examinations of individual countries' control systems. As financial conditions improved the restricting countries were urged to modify their controls or remove them altogether. In recent years there has been a broad movement toward trade liberalization and the United States is now in a position to realize the full benefit of tariff concessions which it has received in the various negotiating conferences..

As an indication of the extent of this progress, it is worth noting that of the 14 European countries which are parties to the GATT, 4 have formally freed from licensing requirements over 90 percent of their private imports from the United States and Canada, based on 1953 import patterns, 10 have freed at least two-thirds of such imports and only 2 countries have not attained liberalization percentages of at least 50 percent. Here are the percentages for individual countries: Austria, 45 percent; Belgium, Luxembourg, 86 percent; Denmark, 70 percent; France, 56 percent; Germany, 95 percent; Sweden, 68 percent; Switzerland, 99 percent; and the United Kingdom, 75 percent. Turkey is the only country in the group which has not been able to liberalize at least some of its imports from its dollar

To see how the GATT assists us in this process we might look for just a moment at the case of the Federal Republic of Germany. When Germany came into the GATT during the Torquay Conference in 1950-51, she found it necessary to continue to restrict dollar imports for balance of payments purposes. In the following years these restrictions were gradually reduced, but we felt the progress was not fast enough in view of Germany's increasingly favorable payments position. Then in the summer of 1957 the International Monetary Fund made the determination that Germany could no longer justify restrictions on financial grounds.

The German Government recognized the finding of the IMF as well as its obligation under the GATT and proposed a specific liberalization program. Many countries considered the proposed German program inadequate and urged faster action. Discussions were continued between sessions. On January 11, 1958, Germany removed controls on more than 1,300 commodity classifications in its import statistical schedule, and in November, during the following GATT business meeting, did the same for another 50 industrial items. On January 3 of this year 66 agricultural and 33 industrial items were removed from the control list. We're now trying at the current GATT session to work out an equitable arrangement for the remaining restrictions.

The solution which is finally developed may well permit some items to remain under control. For there cannot be any absolute ban which allows no exceptions. The United States has also had to use import quotas for national security purposes and to effectuate certain agriculture programs. But the process of consultation, of many countries working together to maintain the integrity of an agreement which all recognize to be important to their trading interests, tends to reduce these exceptions to the bare minimum as the German case well demonstrates.

This process of regular consultations and working together for solutions to problems applies, of course, to a whole range of commercial questions. Trade disputes which are difficult for the two parties concerned to work out by themselves often become more manageable when an impartial panel of experts can be appointed to study the question and recommended solutions. Many disputes among GATT countries are handled

in just this way.

For example, Greece granted Germany a tariff concession on phonograph records in 1951. In 1956 the Greek Government raised the duty on long playing records, maintaining that the tariff concession did not cover this product since long-playing records were virtually unknown back in 1951. A panel of experts studied the matter and their report supported the contention of Germany and the U.S. that the Greek action was a violation of the Agreement. Further discussions were held at the GATT meeting in the fall of 1957, and the Greek Government agreed to reduce the rate of duty on

long playing records.

Problems which have been resolved through the complaint procedures of the GATT range from Swedish antidumping duties on nylon stockings and Belgian discriminatory restrictions on imports of U.S. coal to Italian regulations favoring domestic production of ship's plates which resulted in a complete stoppage of deliveries of Austrian-produced products.

In these and many other ways, the General Agreement helps to protect United States trade interests and to promote an ever increasing flow of beneficial world trade. Our participation has become today the principal way in which we achieve the purposes of our Trade Agreements Act and one of the best ways of demonstrating and promoting the principles of free enterprise throughout the world.

We must not forget in this connection that new countries are emerging from old colonial empires—that in many parts of the world economic development is changing the character of former underdeveloped nations which are assuming greater importance in world affairs. I think it is of vital impor-

tance that we have this broad agreement in the field of international trade to help these countries shape their policies in the free enterprise tradition.

Now what lies ahead for us in this field? Last year, as you know, the Congress once again extended the trade agreements legislation. The 1958 act was quite liberal, providing a 4-year period for the negotiation of new agreements—the longest in the history of the program—and giving the President authority to reduce duties by 20 percent. All of the safeguards to domestic producers were, of course, retained and some in fact were significantly strengthened.

Last fall, at the 13th business meeting of the countries particlpating in the GATT the United States proposed that a new round of tariff negotiations be held commencing in the latter part of 1960. One of our principal aims in these negotiations will be to obtain lower rates in the new uniform external tariff which the 6 countries of the European Common Market will gradually be placing in effect. As these countries eliminate tariffs and other controls on trade among themselves, it will be to our great advantage to obtain the lowest possible rates in the common external tariff to avoid serious competitive disadvantage in some of our export products.

The General Agreements on Tariff and Trade may be likened to the commodity and stock exchanges that are well known in our economic life. We recognize that it is possible to secure equity capital for business through person-to-person sale of stock, however, this is cumbersome, slow, and does not need meet modern requirements. By the same token, it is possible to negotiate favorable trade agreements on a country-bycountry, product-by-product basis, but this too becomes slow and cumbersome. GATT makes it possible to perform these negotiations upon a broad, free world basis covering thousands of subjects and actually serving to open the doors of trade quickly and effectively. When it is recognized that more than 60,000 items have been involved in the negotiations to date, it is obvious that this is a great tool for good.

Distribution of products and services within the United States is complex and upon a world-wide basis it is even more so. This outline of the General Agreements on Tariff and Trade serves to exemplify the complexity of this subject. It is obvious that this mechanism can be very effective if wisely used. This country, today, needs more than anything else, a group of leaders who are not looking for excuses to justify their failure, but who are looking for a challenge that will result in success.

We are convinced that our free, competitive society offers more of the good things of life to more people than any other yet devised. Under the leadership of your great organization a renewal of faith can prove that our system is truly superior. We will sell more of our product, we will be able to buy more from our trading partners, we will increase the product selectivity for all consumers, and we will make it desirable and profitable for the trading nations of the world to continue working with us toward peace and tranquillity in the world.

#### Abba Eban Goes Home

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial by H. B. Snyder of

Gary (Ind.) Post-Tribune is an appropriate tribute to Ambassador Abba Eban of Israel.

Ambassador Eban has well served his country and the free world in representing the only beachhead of freedom remaining in this particular area of the globe:

#### ABBA EBAN GOES HOME

Ambassador Abba Eban has headed back to Israel, concluding more than a decade of service as representative of his nation in Washington and at the United Nations in New York.

Eban has brought credit to his profession as a diplomat, both as an ambassador in Washington and as permanent representative of Israel at U.N. headquarters. Some measure of his ability is reflected by the fact that he is being replaced by two men.

He has been a persuasive and eloquent spokesman for his country. Many of the farewell tributes to him have cited the brilliance of his speaking. A sample, on the occasion of Israel's 10th anniversary, carries Eban's vision of Israel's future:

"The 20th (year) will find Israel abloom, with Jordan waters carried southward to the dry places. The pulse of commerce will beat strongly between Elath and the eastern continents, while the links grow tighter between Israel and her own Mediterranean world. Nuclear and solar energy will bring freedom from the servitudes of imported oil, and give Israel a horizon as broad as its scientific disciplines can reach. \* \*

"Peace, the final gift, is in the hands of others, although its pursuit is still among the first laws of Israel's policy."

Eban is returning home to run for the Knesset (Parliament). Assuming his election, he should be a strong force there for international responsibility on the part of Israel and for working out the peaceful and prosperous situation he envisages for his homeland a decade in the future.

#### Mr. Strauss' Integrity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, I believe it is of importance to the Members and to the American people generally to have the views of an outstanding, widely respected leader of the Washington community, Rabbi Norman Gerstenfeld, concerning the character and integrity of Secretary of Commerce Lewis Strauss. In reply to an editorial in the Washington Post, Rabbi Gerstenfeld has written a letter to that newspaper which I ask leave to include with my remarks:

#### MR. STRAUSS' INTEGRITY

For weeks now I have been observing the debate over the confirmation of Lewis Strauss with a sense of deep frustration.

By temperament and philosophy I am strongly disinclined to involve myself, however, indirectly in any political controversy; but by conviction and sense of duty, I feel I must offer my personal witness to the integrity of Lewis Strauss in the face of the unceasing attacks on him. Your editorial recommending that Mr. Strauss withdraw can serve only to encourage these unfair attacks.

I am constrained to write you now only because I feel I must in good conscience and simple justice present the evidence based on years of association and friendship with Lewis Strauss. I do not want to be neutral while a man's most precious asset, his good name, is being callously sacrificed.

He has not asked my help and I have no idea of whether he will welcome this letter. But I think you ought to know that in a score of ways over many years Lewis Strauss has demonstrated to me and to many, many others a high sense of civic and social responsibility.

You have only to look at the record to see the variety of his civic and spiritual contributions and commitments. Believe me he has served these causes well and honorably.

It is simply inconceivable that the Senate should permit a record of attainment and character established over many years to be torn down.

Lewis Strauss will live in history as a spiendid example of integrity and ability. If the Senate gives true weight to his qualifications-and indeed to the precedents it has established and followed for 100 years it will confirm him.

RABBI NORMAN GERSTENFELD.

#### Peison in Your Water-No. 101

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I am inserting into the Appendix of the Congressional RECORD an article appearing in the Denver (Colo.) Rocky Mountain News of November 22, 1958, entitled "Residents Fan Controversy Over Fitness of Water Supply":

RESIDENTS FAN CONTROVERSY OVER FITNESS OF WATER SUPPLY

(By Bill Kostka, Jr.)

Baker Sanitation District residents fanned the controversy, over whether water in the area is fit to use, with angry statements Fri-

Mrs. W. A. Robinson of 7089 Masey Street, said, "a chicken can walk across Clear Creek Without getting wet. What can you expect to find in water from there but sewage?"

Mrs. Robinson was a spokesman for a citizens group that asked the Denver Water Board for service in the area northwest of Denver. Water board officials said additional service could not be supplied now.

#### STANDARD MET

Officials of the State and tricounty health departments stated Friday the water met 'minimum standards of safety."

Joseph E. Vigfl of tricounty said, "We found 15 unsafe samples out of 30 we tested in October, but we haven't got a single un-

safe report in November."

Vigil added, "I think any sanitation district has more of a responsibility than just Providing safe water. The water must be potable—good to drink."

He said the water could be safe and still have a bad odor and poor taste.

Mrs. Robinson said, "We have flavors that vary from day to day. We never know quite what the water will taste like."

#### ILLNESS CITED

She said the water has a "fishy, nasty smell. It is sometimes so chlorinated you can't even get a glass close to your nose."

She added, "My children get intestinal cramps and diarrhea when they drink this water.

George Prince of the State health department said he didn't "feel there is any great peril out there. We are concerned about the situation because they do have tough water

Prince said the quality of the water drawn from Clear Creek drops during the summer

When two wells under construction are completed, they should be able to provide enough water for winter months, he added.

"They could have been a little more cautious," Prince said, "but they have the facilities to turn out good water."

Larry J. Anzalone, Adams County Civic League president, said the wells should be completed in a week.

Mrs. Robinson said her doctor told her not to let "my children drink this water. We carry water for drinking from Denver,

"When you carry water." Prince said, "you can create a sanitary problem that is more dangerous than the water was to begin with."

Vigil offered some hope of eventual relief.
"The two deep wells will help the situation quite a bit. Once the lines are flushed out, the water will be better," he said.

## Ouincy Junior College-South Shore's Educational Challenge-Part I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article written by Glenn A. Mc-Lain, professor of social studies, Quincy Junior College, Quincy, Mass.

Professor McLain has written an excellent article which explains in detail many of the problems confronting the youth of our Nation. The reports thus far on the Quincy Junior College have been most gratifying:

QUINCY JUNIOR COLLEGE-SOUTH SHORE'S EDUCATIONAL CHALLENGE

(By Glenn A. McLain)

On December 18, 1958, Quincy Junior College, a commuters educational institution, received State approval and authorization to offer a full 2-year program. To many in Quincy and the South Shore this represents a signal victory and the end of a 5-year struggle to establish a recognized junior college. To others who know the real nature of the problems still facing this college without frills, the important challenges lie in the immediate future. The past, present, and future of this unique educational development should be the concern of every civic minded citizen in Quincy and the South

Since the advent of sputnik in 1957 and with great public attention focused upon America's educational needs by the chal-lenge of Russian education, our 49 States and the Federal Government have been struggling with these serious nationwide problems. Quincy and the South Shore are now facing the most important call to public activity ever to develop in this area for many years. Nineteen hundred and fifty-nine is the year of decision for those public spirited citizens and educators who have struggled

with few resources but much imagination to create an educational institution which will serve the South Shore community, the expanding needs of local business for specially trained students, and for college-bent youngsters who have been forced to postpone their educational plans because of overcrowded conditions in nearby institutions.

It is the duty of every citizen in this area, every parent who wants a good but less expensive college education for his children. and for every businessman and adult who firmly believes in local improvements in higher education to meet this need-head onfor the expanding program of the Quincy Junior College. In order to evaluate this fast-moving activity in Quincy it is necessary to trace the 3-year history of the college from 1955 to the present time.

After the close of World War II many Quincy citizens, including the school committee, began to think seriously about the growing need for a community or junior college. These civic leaders were well aware of the fabulous growth of public junior colleges in the United States during this period. They also knew that changing economic and social patterns in the South Shore foretold new solutions for post high school educational developments in the near future. Their thoughts and plans were highlighted in 1953 and 1954 when Dr. Frank Wiley, of Harvard, released a study made at the request of Dr. Paul Gossard, superintendent of the Quincy schools, showing urgent needs for a 2-year

college in Quincy.

The Wiley report became the Magna Carta of the Quincy Junior College movement. It emphasized that such a program could be inexpensively supported by student tuition fees, the South Shore community, and possible funds from city of Quincy sources. A privately sponsored citizens study committee immediately swung into action to scientifi-cally survey the needs of Quincy and the South Shore: Evidence collected by this group and later presented to the school committee showed that postwar changes in manpower needs, educational facilities not readily available for students in Massachusetts and the prohibitive cost of higher education made the eventual establishment of a Quincy Junior College a vital necessity.

In the fall of 1956 it was obvious that skyrocketing college enrollments in the area were beginning to force these problems into public view. All the facts showing over-crowded colleges in and around Boston, the suitability of a low-cost Quincy community college where ample classroom space was available with no capital outlay were once more brought before the school committee by the citizens study committee civic leaders in the South Shore. This time led by Chairman Fritz Streiferd, the committee was backed up by the taxpayers association, the PTA council, church groups, and citizens from all walks of life.

The go-ahead signal was given by city officials for an experimental program to offer two college level courses at Quincy High School during the evening. On that date in September 1956 the fledgling Quincy Junior College, conceived in crisis and dedicated to serve the needs of the South Shore, was born in a spirit of hope and promise for the future.

Some strong reservations were held by a few civic leaders about the program for two practical reasons. Rising tax rates for homeowners and the very newness of the junior college idea in New England prompted a number of letters to the editor of the Quincy Patriot Ledger. The Ledger, in the tradition of both good civic spirit and the best traditions in journalism commented, sometimes adversely, in its editorial columns. All of these exchanges in public opinion were in the New England tradition of the town meeting spirit, and they helped those for and against the plans to clarify their objectives.

Critics of the program doubted whether any real educational needs demanding a junior college existed in this area, whether enough well-trained college instructors could be found and whether an expanding program would be expensive for the taxpayers. This kind of democratic give-and-take which reached the community level in Quincy from 1953-57 helped to stimulate public thinking on the subject. As the true facts have become known showing steady increase in enrollments to cut program costs, the hiring of excellently prepared and experienced in-structors and the exceptionally low cost of the entire operation of only \$3,500 to the city of Quincy from 1953 through 1958, there is now only token opposition to the Quincy Junior College. Where there is opposition today it is only found among those citizens who have not had the opportunity to study the role of the college in the local, State, and national picture.

QUINCY'S JUNIOR COLLEGE GROWS RAPIDLY

The experimental program started in 1956-57 offered two college level courses. While only a few students registered for the beginning program, the practical nature of the offerings and the urgency of higher educational needs on the South Shore soon made the effort worthwhile. Educational and civic laders all over New England alerted the general public during this period on the growing needs for public community colleges.

In Quincy the citizens study committee already creatively active in this field expanded its operations to form a corporation spotlighting South Shore's educational needs. The reports, special studies, and pioneering efforts of this group pointed up that New England was last in the Nation in providing higher educational facilities for its young people and adults. Spurred by this progressive type of public stimulus the Quincy School Committee approved a full freshman year of college courses for 1957-58. Previous predictions from South Shore educational and community leaders for the rapid yet conservative growth of this new institution were more than justified by the academic record of the college.

Sixty-seven students registered for one or more of the five courses offered in 1957-58. Classes were made up mostly of newly graduated high school students and well qualified adults. Excellent professors from Harvard, M.I.T., Eastern Nazarene, Tufts, Boston University, and other nearby colleges provided a high level of instruction with professional guidance for the students wishing to transfer to other colleges. The professional success of the program was proven in December 1957 when the Quincy School Committee officially changed the name of the program from college level courses to Quincy College. The combination of forward thinking on the part of the school committee and the educational fervor shown by the citizens study committee had won the first big victory for the junior college. challenges ahead were just beginning to show themselves, and their local implications were crucial for all citizens.

# PROBLEMS FOR QUINCY JUNIOR COLLEGE IN 1957-58

In January, 1957, Dr. Charles Akers took over the administration of the program as a part-time director succeeding Prof. Timothy Smith. Educational problems of every sort pressed for immediate solution in Quincy, the State, and throughout the Nation.

On a national level Sputnik I had galvanized the U.S. Congress to study the American educational dilemma. At Senate hearings held through 1957-58 America's schools were shown to have failed in many respects to have kept up with the eruption of new knowledges and techniques to run a modern society. Of special importance to Quincy Junior College were the facts developed by

Congressional Committees concerning America's waste of it's most precious asset—the minds of it's youth. Because of smugness miserliness, and the diversion of energies to bigger tail fins on cars instead of taking care of our educational needs we lagged behind the Russians in the basic struggle for survival.

Here in Massachusetts prominent public figures led by former Harvard President James Conant and the Furcolo Commission for the Audit of State Needs sounded the educational alarms for a completely new post-high school educational program. High on the list of new programs for Massachusetts was a comprehensive plan for nine new regional junior colleges. In the closing days of the 1958 legislative session the Furculo program was passed by an overwhelming matority.

Thanks to the legislative efforts of Representative Carter Lee and other South Shore officials the Quincy Junior College gained legal State approval for tuition subsidies up to 50 percent of the deficits incurred in any college year. This kind of imaginative educational support by South Shore political leaders gives great promise for larger State aid in the future.

The new director was successful in creating high standards for the curriculum development of Quincy Junior College. proval was gained from the State Board of Education for a 1-year program. Cooperation and support came from outstanding educators, private citizens and the school committee in the long range plans of the school. The Board of Directors of College Courses Inc. (the former study committee) led by Attorney Melvin Thorner and Cyril L. Mc-Carthy was designated by the school com-mittee as a development council to aid in furthering the aims of Quincy higher edu-cation. A volunteer Academic Policy Committee composed of 10 outstanding educators guided the academic destinies of the college. The carefully planned development of the educational policies of the college in 1957 pointed the way to a future program of sound fiscal policy in the true Quincy philosophy. The Yankee tradition of sound educational and financial investment in the youth of this area gave every promise for a permanent future for Quincy Junior College.

There were still a few people in Quincy during this first year of a regular program at Quincy Junior College who had incorrect or no information about the operation. No funds were available for the printing of educational publicity to tell of the progress, plans and expected future of the junior college. The greatest problem remaining at the close of the school year was the need for public understanding concerning Quincy Junior College. What was really needed was a "quick course" for the general public and for some skeptical city fathers who still visioned the City of Presidents as one where a public junior college was not fashionable. Gradually, since that time many of the watchers of the public purse have begun to view the Quincy Junior College in the total State and national picture. In looking at this total view it is necessary to trace the junior college movement in the United States from 1902 to the present time.

# QUINCY JUNIOR COLLEGE IN THE NATIONAL AND STATE PICTURE

The record of the public junior college has been mostly unknown in New England until recent years. Educators and civic leaders in this area, because of historical reasons, have often felt that a junior college was a sort of a finishing school for girls or perhaps a postgraduate attempt to provide courses for high school misfits.

The rapidly changing nature of the American community in our space age society has dramatically changed these "Athens of America" New England ideas throughout

Massachusetts. The public junior college has emerged from a historical background to which the private junior college has made major contributions. Although the private and public junior college have a number of features in common they are very different in sources of financial support, agencies of control, in clientele, purposes and curriculum. These factors have to be carefully considered by the taxpayers if the public junior college movement in Quincy and the South Shore is to gain the confidence of public opinion.

Quincy Junior College represents a strong educational promise to the youngsters and adults who urgently need its services. It is a vital reality that can only be appreciated by looking at the national, State and local situation in total perspective. This problem must be viewed with the unprejudiced eye of the alert public minded citizen who knows New England once led the Nation in educational pioneering, but who also knows of our State's educational lag at the present time.

The first public junior college in America was founded in Joliet, Ill., in 1902. The basic reasons for the establishment of this type of institution have remained much the same since then. Junior colleges have always had several advantages. The most important are that costs are always low and their services always go to a large percentage of people who otherwise would have lost their educational opportunities.

Studies show that twice as many high school graduates go to college in areas where junior colleges are located than go to college from areas where they are not available. When it is considered that over 50 percent of the collegeable high school graduates in the South Shore and in the Nation do not go to college, the role of Quincy Junior College becomes of major importance.

In the nation there are now over 654 junior colleges enrolling over 1 million partand full-time students—nearly one-third of all institutions of higher education. There are 12 two-year colleges enrolling over 9,000 students each. Eighty-nine percent of these colleges are publicly controlled, showing the nationwide acceptance of the value and necessity of junior college programs. Easy accessibility of colleges geared to local areas, inexpensive tuitions and flexible curricula have resulted in explosive expansion since 1940.

Only in New England where tradition centered citizens, always thinking of the ancient past when the then easily available private schools had room for all eligibles has remained out of this important national educational development.

Strong steps in the direction of a new type of realistic thinking about New England's need for junior colleges were taken in 1957 at the New England Regional Conference for President Eisenhower's Committee Beyond the High School. In a ringing criticism of past failures in this respect, the Committee called for more junior colleges to provide feeder courses for the universities and for terminal degrees for those students who needed special training for the increasing demands of competitive industry. group of outstanding Massachusetts citizens at this meeting emphasized the role of publicly supported junior colleges like Quincy by showing that State educational problems were so large that they were beyond the scope of private institutions.

# THE 2-YEAR COLLEGE IN NEW ENGLAND AND MASSACHUSETTS

About 8,500 full-time and 6,000 part-time stadents are enrolled in 28 of New England's 2-year colleges. These institutions include junior colleges and technical institutes. All but three of these, Newton, Holyoke, and Quincy are private or church affiliated, of-tering general liberal arts or highly specialized terminal occupational courses. All of

the three public junior colleges in New England are located in Massachusetts.

Newton Junior College is New England's only daytime public junior college. Newton offers a liberal arts program with sub-groups in pre-engineering, pre-teacher training and seven other fields. It is a low cost com-munity accepted institution keyed to the special needs of a modern bedroom city.

Holyoke Junior College is a publicly controlled suburban coed college offering ter-minal occupational programs, liberal arts and other courses. Holyoke gives a real opportunity for low cost education with yearly costs of about \$400. The Holyoke community has fully accepted this multipurpose program as an asset to the entire area.

The newly created Furculo two year regional community college bill offers exciting possibilities in Quincy, Newton, and Holyoke. No legislator on either side of the aisle knows exactly how the Governor's \$43 million proposal will influence the Quincy development. In the view of State Educational Commissioner, Owen B. Kiernan, "Cities operating their own college program may one day wish to turn control of their institutions over to the State, lightening the burden on their own taxpayers."

Now that the State department of education has officially approved Quincy Junior College it is possible that State authority will be given to lower tuition to the level of In this case, the State Teachers Colleges. instead of tuition costs of \$450 yearly, students would take a full year's program for about \$150. Such a development could immediately triple the enrollment at Quincy

Junior College.

Whatever benefits might eventually come to Quincy Junior College from the new State junior college plan, higher education will continue to advance under the existing program in Quincy. The expanding needs of Quincy Junior College in 1959-61 will be best served by a combination of both local and State support. Local citizens must always keep in mind that there are no real set patterns in developing control of public junior colleges. A combination of local, State and even national control would not be without precedent.

# Our Foreign Trade Dilemma

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. JAMES C. DAVIS

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, the foreign trade position of the United States is becoming a subject of increasing concern to all who are vitally affected by our foreign trade policy.

The usual conclusion, now so often expressed, is that we are pricing ourselves out of foreign markets and at the same time making our own market more attractive to imports. The result has been not only a decline in our exports in the magnitude of 20 percent in the past 15 months but a concurrent increase in imports, Beyond that we have lost over \$21/2 billion in gold since the beginning of 1958 while more and more of our industries are undertaking production overseas as the only means of holding their foreign markets.

Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that not enough attention has been given to the

rising productiveness of other countries as an explanation of their stronger competitive position. A vast amount of modern equipment, machinery, and apparatus has been shipped abroad by this country in the past 10 or 11 years. In considerable part this was done under our foreign aid program, with the remainder going out in the form of commercial exports. The total amount has been in the neighborhood of \$30 billion.

Let me point out that \$30 billion worth of machinery is a vast quantity of machinery, enough to equip thousands of factories, mills, and mines.

Of course, not all foreign industry has been modernized but obviously much of it is now either mechanized or well on the way. Some foreign plants, according to reports of American industrialists, are now equipped with more modern machinery than many of our own plants.

Considering the low wages generally prevailing abroad it should stir little wonder in us when we see the competitive results of these developments. It seems perfectly clear that the increased productivity in foreign countries, not offset by proportionate wage increases, has greatly improved the competitive advantage already enjoyed by many coun-

I believe, Mr. Speaker, that this development poses an extremely serious problem not only for particular industries in this country but for the economy of the United States.

If we can only continue to export at high levels if we continue to subsidize our producers or only by extending our subsidies into new areas, we are actually on the run. This is the very spot where we find ourselves today, and we should reexamine our position.

The remedy that we now have under the escape clause is almost worthless. It offers very little assistance because of its negative administration. tinue to expose our industries to relentless competition from abroad and then do nothing or almost nothing to offset the highly damaging effects of the exposure. In the face of this situation we are in Geneva right now planning another tariff-cutting conference.

We have a prime example of this exposure in the textile industry, in the smaller iron and steel companies and many others. Their own costs have risen sharply as a result of national policies and their competitive capacity has deteriorated in the face of foreign producers that do not bear the same cost-raising burdens as our industry.

On this subject a recent address by O. R. Strackbein sheds a light that has been sadly lacking. Mr. Strackbein has supplied us with a statistical analysis of the great expansion and inflation that have occurred during the past two decades in this country and their competitive effect. I urge all Members to read carefully what he has said. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include this address recently delivered in Chicago before the Antifriction Bearing Manufacturers Association:

OUR FOREIGN TRADE SLIP IS SHOWING

(Address of O. R. Strackbein, chairman, the Nationwide Committee on Import-Export Policy, before the Antifriction Bearing Manufacturers Association, Chicago, Ill., May 28, 1959)

In 1958 our commercial exports declined some 16 percent from the level of 1957. They have receded another 6 percent during the first quarter of this year compared with 1958. Imports, on the other hand, have increased, some 12 percent during this same first quarter over the year-ago level. In fact, during March of this year imports reached the highest monthly level in history, at \$1.3 billion for the month. I have read also that in March of this year the shipments from the United Kingdom to this country exceeded her imports from us for the first time since 1865.

In 1958 the United States ran a deficit of \$3.4 billion in her total foreign account. This included all transactions, such as tourist expenditures abroad and foreign investments, no less than merchandise imports and ex-

Are these trends merely surface symptoms, nothing more than passing ups and downs, such as might be expected at any time, or

do they have a deeper meaning? Should we be surprised at these foreign trade developments? What are their impli-

cations?

The first thing that should be said is that what we are witnessing today is not something that has come up overnight like a thunderstorm that will be gone tomorrow. We are confronted with something that has been building over the past 25 years. It consists of the fruits of two opposing lines of national policy.

The one is the outcome of our domestic

economic policy and the other is the fruit of our foreign trade policy. These policies have been contradictory but, because of many powerful interferences, such as war and subsequent defense measures, their fundamental clash has until recent years been well concealed. Therefore, the public has been oblivious of the effects rather than ready for them.

There is a third element that exerts a profound influence. This is our general foreign policy, deeply absorbed in the conflict with communism. It injects international power politics into the economic field and has succeeded in obscuring what is and what is not good foreign economic policy. It presumes to override all other considerations and to subordinate them to the supposed needs of diplomacy as interpreted by the State Department

Let us see if we can line up the ranks of the two opposing forces of economic policy, the domestic and the foreign, and then try to see what the effect has been on the inter national competitive standing of the United States. What are the implications for our domestic economy and for our foreign trade position?

On the domestic side we must go back 25 years to the inception of the domestic economic policies that have generally prevailed since 1933. It will be seen that the legislative measures that were adopted had among other objectives the increase of income in the hands of consumers. This policy then was concerned particularly with employment, labor wages, farm prices, and economic cushions against downslides. The increase of employment at higher wages was looked to as a means of increasing purchasing power while at the same time reducing the burden. Farm price supports were likewise justified in the light of enhanced purchasing

These general policies proliferated in many directions. Obligatory collective bargaining was conceived as a lever for raising wages. Minimum wages and outlawry of child labor were to eliminate the sweatshop and to remove wages as a source of competitive advantage to employers. The shorter workweek was to help spread employment. In 1946 the Full Employment Act was passed, formalizing policy in this field.

Agricultural legislation also went beyond price support into crop curtaliment, soil conservation, fertilizer subsidies, building of dams, subsidization of surplus crop exports,

etc.

The part of the program that concerned itself more with prevention of a slideback into depression took the form of unemployment compensation, bank deposit insurance, public works programs, etc., including deficit financing.

I am not concerned here with the merits of these economic programs. Whether they would have succeeded in achieving the level of employment that came with war production, is also beside the point. The that World War II bolstered the policies by creating high demand while restraining normal peacetime consumption. The post-war years to 1948 saw superimposed upon our domestic demand the call for vast shipments abroad to the war-devastated coun-This fact kept the wheels of our reconverting industry whirling. Then came the Marshall plan and in 1950, after the first postwar recession, the Korean outbreak; and thereafter the vastly expanded defense program. Each of these events broadened demand and thus supported widespread domestic industrial expansion.

The upshot was that the goals of high wages, high employment, high farm prices, swollen exports and therefore of high consumer purchasing power were achieved if not, indeed, thrust upon us. Average hourly earnings of production workers in manufacturing industries increased from 63 cents per hour in 1939 to \$1.08 in 1946, the first postwar year. By 1949 the rate was \$1.40 per hour. This was the pre-Korean rate. The \$2 mark was reached in September 1956. At the end of 1958 it had risen further to \$2.19.

The gross national product also showed a phenomenal upthrust. The figure was \$100.6 billion in 1940. In 1946 it had more than doubled to \$209 billion. Nineteen hundred and forty-nine found it at \$257 billion and the end of 1957 saw it at \$434 billion. It then fell back but has since passed that point and moved to the alltime high

of \$467 billion in April 1959.

Corporate profits after taxes rose from \$5.9 billion in 1939 to \$22.1 billion in 1950, then back to \$21 billion in 1956 and slightly further back, to \$20.2 billion in 1957. No figures for 1958 are at hand; but there was some decline. The parallel between the wage rise from 1939 to 1958 and the rise in corporate profits after taxes is phenomenal. Wages, to repeat, rose from 63 cents per hour in 1939 to \$2.19 in 1958; profits from \$5.9 billion to a figure of about \$21 billion, giving each a 3½-fold increase.

Employment-rose from 45.7 million in 1939 to 66.5 million in June 1957 and stands right at 65 million today. The payroll index of employment in the manufacturing industries has increased (1947-49 equals 100) from 34 in 1940 to 162.7 in 1957. Of this nearly five-fold increase, the expansion of the labor force by some 45 percent accounts for a considerable part.

Agricultural, forestry, and fishery income increased from \$6.2 billion in 1940 to \$16.8 billion in 1957. The highest point was in 1950 at \$17.2 billion. This increase was smaller than in the wage and profit field. A decline in farm population offset this to some extent in point of per capita returns.

These figures give us all the evidence needed to demonstrate that our economy has indeed boomed.

Along with this expansion our public debt also ballooned from \$40.4 billion in 1939 to

about \$285 billion at present. The annual interest payments on this debt has risen during the same period from \$0.94 billion to \$7.2 billion.

Our Federal expenditure in 1939 was \$8.7 billion. In 1958 it was \$72.8 billion. The present budget is some \$77 billion.

Wholesale prices (all commodities), where 1947-49 equals 100, stood at 50.1 in 1939 and rose to 103 by 1948, representing a doubling, and then on to 119 in 1958.

Purchasing power of the dollar, as measured by consumer prices, where 1947-49 equals 100, has fallen from an index of 166.9 in 1940 to 83.2 in 1957. This was a drop of 50 cents on the dollar.

These latter figures on wholesale and consumer prices indicate to what extent the other great mushroomings cited above were merely bloated expansions without substance and how much of them was solid. Our current Federal budget, if deflated to the 1939 price level, would fall in the neighborhood of \$38 or \$39 billion instead of the actual \$77 billion. The lower figure would still represent a massive expenditure.

The significance of these statistics in the field of international trade competition lies in the effect produced on our cost of production. If other countries did not suffer a similar increase in cost burdens they have gained a competitive advantage beyond that previously enjoyed, assuming that productivity here and abroad remained the same.

Many of our legislative measures did increase production costs of our producers and manufacturers. Among these are farm price supports, social security, and obligatory collective bargaining. Other factors that contributed heavily were profits, the war, and the postwar defense program. The taxes that followed in the wake of war and as a result of defense expansion also come out of production in the end and therefore represent increased costs.

To the extent that we helped other countries rebuild their industries and agriculture (and this we did extensively) we lifted from them overhead burdens that would otherwise also have raised their costs.

Now, while we were increasing the costs of our production through these various legislative measures and as a result of military events, on the domestic scene, we very busily engaged in activities that produced opposite effects in our foreign economic policy. This is to say, on the domestic front we embraced State control and extensive interference with the free market, through law and regulation, aimed at higher prices, higher wages, and higher income in general, while on the seaward side we became obsessed with the idea that the best medicine was free trade or a laissez faire policy. We started walking apart.

We greatly reduced our tariff even though it should have been clear that our international competitive position must deteriorate as a result of our domestic economic policies, unless other countries adopted policies similar to ours. In agricultural commodities this became very clear when our high prices drew imports of potatoes, cheese and other products into this country with the efficiency of a magnet. This was also true of industrial products but the fact was obscured because of the strong consumer demand in general which absorbed imports. and because the Government was under no obligation to buy domestic glassware, bicycles, watches or other items that were menaced by imports. The idea gained ground that farm products that were menaced by imports were in a class by themselves simply because the Government bought them; but actually some industrial prodbecause the Government bought ucts were equally exposed.

Three principal steps that we took, beginning with tariff reductions in 1934, were sure to weaken our competitive position. They were (1) we reduced the average protective effect of our tariff by very close to 80

percent; (2) since the institution of the Marshall plan we have shipped abroad approximately \$30 billion in machinery; (3) we have escorted upward of 8,000 foreign productivity teams through our plants with the express purpose of teaching them our techniques, production methods, assembly line routines, labor-saving devices, and so forth.

The effect of this combination has been greatly to improve the competitive position of our foreign competitors. Just as we are no longer in the foreign tin the missile and satellite field, we are fast losing our technological and productivity lead in industry.

To be sure, wages have also risen in other countries. Prices and profits, too, have moved upward. Social security likewise has

been expanded.

Yet, even though some other countries have in the past 5 or 6 years moved up with us, three factors have almost as surely widened the competitive gap. In the first place our upward trend in wages and profits and prices after the war began several years before the rise really got underway in the other countries. In the second place, obligatory collective bargaining here, together with other differences, made our labor organizations more effective in escalating wages. Thirdly, other countries superimposed tens of billions of dollars worth of machinery on lower technological base and therefore succeeded in expanding output per man-hour of work more than has been our percentage of expansion from a much higher original When a modern machine replaces a handicraft operation, as has happened in many instances abroad since 1949, it increases output much more than when it only replaces a somewhat less modern machine, as is usually the case in this country.

What we see before our eyes today is therefore precisely what should have been expected. Our programs, both domestic and foreign, have been successful, for whatever reason, in accomplishing what we set out to do; but have brought with them some un-

welcome byproducts.

In the process our exports have begun to slip; our imports are rising and many of our industries are opening branches abroad or making manufacturing arrangements of one kind or another. Lower wages and lower production costs abroad, resulting from mechanization, provide the magnet.

The proof of the pudding is in the eating. Rather than carry out their expansions in this country and shipping goods into foreign markets many industries have concluded that they cannot hope to serve foreign markets from the home base because of higher costs but must do so from abroad where lower wages and lower unit costs put them back into a competitive position. Some of them will no doubt, as some are already doing, ship foreign-made merchandise from abroad to this country. Others, in place of manufacturing abroad will no doubt do what still others have already done, namely abandon or curtail manufacturing here and engage in importation and distribution of foreign products.

Yet others no doubt will do what some manufacturers of assembled products have already found themselves forced to do, namely, to import parts for assembly in the finished product rather than buying the

parts from domestic producers.

All this adds up to a gloomy view both for exports and for any lively domestic industrial expansion that might be contemplated, except in new fields. Obviously industry will not be able to absorb the unemployed plus the new additions to the labor force each year if expansion in this country is dampened in favor of foreign plants and other investments overseas.

Exports may indeed be sustained or even expanded but only by taking a ride on the Treasury merry-go-round. Already we are subsidizing farm products to get back into

or stay in the markets out of which our farm policy effectively priced us. Loading the Treasury with further obligations merely means higher tax rates or deferment of tax cuts and this in turn will mean continuation of that much of a cost burden on production.

What is the answer?

Obviously the investment climate in this country must be made at least as attractive as the climate of foreign investment. This can only be done by removing the highly vulnerable competitive condition vis-a-vis foreign goods from which many and a growing number of our industries are suffering. If it is not done this country's economic position in terms of foreign competition will become untenable. All sorts of juggling and embarrassing retreats will become necessary. Much better to take the necessary steps before it is too late.

# Congress and President Must Face Up to Successful Communist Economic Aid Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, East European industry is pouring consumer goods, industrial equipment, and technical know-how into the vital Middle East to help the Kremlin win the economic colonic cold war. This Red economic offensive is much too successful to ignore.

Unless we face up to the successes of the Communist economic aid program, and unless we are prepared to take the economic offensive ourselves, we stand to jeopardize our status in the Middle East.

Mr. S. Lloyd Nemeyer, president of the Milwaukee Gas Light Co., is one of the many of my constituents who have stressed the importance of congressional and executive understanding of Communist efforts in this critical part of the world. He has called to my attention the following article, from the May 1959 issue of News Front:

RED SATELLITES DRIVE TO OUST WEST FROM MARKETS OF STRATEGIC MIDDLE EAST

Throughout the Middle East, the inscription "Made in Poland"—or Hungary, Czechoslovakia or even Bulgaria—is becoming at least as familiar as "Made in U.S.A."

The Baghdad policeman on a motorcycle, the Syrian grocer telephoning in a brandnew telephone booth, the passenger in a modern railway coach traveling from Cairo to Port Said, the Egyptian peasant gaping at his first farm tractor, might not even be able to find the Communist countries on a map—but he is constantly reminded that their industry is helping raise his standard of living.

The Soviet satellites' move into Mideastern markets, strategically supporting the Soviet Union's own economic offensive, has so far attracted dangerously little attention in the West.

East Europe's nationalized industry is in direct competition throughout the area with long-entrenched Western firms—and its leaders know it.

At a recent Hungarian foreign trade conference, the theme of competition with the West—and especially with the United States—was frankly and repeatedly stressed.

Gyula Karadi, Hungary's Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade, halled the 1958 U.S. recession as having had an "extremely advantageous effect on our trade offensive."

And the representative of the state-owned Beloianis Telephone Co. was greeted with roars of applause when he announced that it had broken Bell Telephone's "10-year monopoly of the Syrian market" with a \$1.2 million order for telephone switchboards.

The satellites began to penetrate the Middle East when they sought new markets to compensate for dropping raw materials prices and diminishing free world trade.

Today, however, cold war economics and psychology—winning customers away from the West and boosting the prestige of the Communist world among the uncommitted nations—seem to have taken precedence over the satellites' own real economic interests. Consumer goods and investment capital desperately needed at home are being poured into the Middle East.

Poland, in the midst of a grave economic crisis of her own, is building a sugar factory worth \$3.2 million for Iran, Bulgaria, one of the poorest and least industrialized of the satellites, has built several complete factories for Syria. And Hungary, which has one of the worst highway systems in Europe, has raised a 2,700-foot bridge—the longest in Africa—at Heluan, near Cairo, for politically temperamental Egypt.

Czechoslovakia, the world's fifth largest exporter of machine tools, has trebled its trade with Egypt over the past 5 years and increased its trade with Syria 11 times. Bulgaria's trade with both of these United Arab Republic members has jumped 11 times, and Poland's with Iran is up 25 percent, since

The satellites are offering everything from spectacular construction jobs to luxury consumer goods.

They have set up a special organization to coordinate their participation in construction of Egypt's partially Soviet-financed Aswan Dam.

The Czechs are building an oil refinery which will process 1 million tons of oil a year and are laying 42 miles of pipeline in Syria. Entire factories they have shipped and installed in Syria and Egypt include a sugar refinery, a cement plant with an annual capacity of 150,000 tons, a shoe factory, a ceramics factory, a rolling mill, and a bicycle factory. The Volce of the Arabs radio in Cairo now issues its denunciations of "imperialism" from two powerful transmitters built and equipped by Czech technicians.

Hungary is exporting machinery, motor vehicles, electric equipment, diesel engines, pumps, tractors and rails to the Middle East. Over \$20 million worth of Hungarian locomotives and railway cars are in use in Egypt alone. Hungarian engineers in Egypt are building a powerplant at El Tabin and three electronics factories. In five Middle Eastern countries, Hungarian matches are on sale and newly emancipated girls are wearing made-in-Hungary sweaters and lipstick.

Spartak cars from Czechoslovakia, Warsawas from Poland and Ikaros buses from Hungary are familiar sights on the streets of Beirut and Bagdad.

In exchange, the satellites are buying increasing quantities of Middle Eastern cotton, wool, phosphate, manganese ore, copper, rice and fruit.

The small nations of east Europe have a definite psychological advantage in the Mid East over the major Western Powers—and even over the U.S.R. itself. They have never played a political role in Africa or Asia, and are able to play effectively upon anticolonial feelings.

They make much of "aid without strings" for home consumption, too.

A Czech newspaper, discussing mideastern trade in a recent editorial, reminded its readers that the "other side of the export issue is equally important; we help these countries free themselves from colonial economic exploitation." And a Hungarian foreign trade official sounded the same themse in an interview: "Our exports to Africa and Asia are significant contributions to the cause of socialism."

But the success of the satellites' export program probably lies less in their skill in molding public opinion than in their ability

to ignore it.

Their leaders face no painful debates on foreign ald; they can ignore essential domestice needs because no one asks them for an economic accounting.

Thus, they can offer the underdeveloped nations of the Middle East—and those of the rest of Asia and Africa—everything from razor blades to power stations on a barter or credit basis, with deferred payment at low interest. They can underbid Western competitors, offer quick delivery and send along squads of technicians to service equipment and train local personnel.

And their customers, naturally, come back for more. As one Syrian businessman says, "It is none of our business if they want to

sell at a loss."

#### Sister M. Honora Honored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. RABAUT. It is a source of great personal satisfaction and an honor for me to ask for insertion into the Congressional Record of an excellently compiled and brief biography of a distinguished American educator. This American educator is Sister M. Honora IHM, who is the president of the Marygrove College for girls in my home city of Detroit.

For reasons that are personal to me I have intimate knowledge of her extraordinary achievements in the field of education and character building. I am especially pleased that her career, which has won her many honors in the past, has just been additionally recognized by her designation as the Soroptmist Woman of the Year by the Soroptmist Club of Detroit.

I would like to add on my own that few women in the history of modern education in the United States have had so profound an influence in the field of education as Sister Honora. Her personal qualities, the example of her character, her keen sense of humor, and her fine educational background have had a marked influence among a considerable student body, among faculty and among college administrators, in a life marked by industry, diligence, and progress.

The article by Vera Nolan of the Detroit Times follows:

#### SISTER HONORA HONORED

Sister M. Honora, president of Marygrove College, with outward composure but blue-gray eyes atwinkle under her stiffly starched coif, was pleased at being named Soroptimist Woman of the Year.

The award was given at the traditional dinner last evening of the Women's Service Club at the Women's City Club.

"But I don't consider the honor personal,"

she said. "It's for Marygrove."
Garbed in the voluminous habit of the religious. Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, Sister Honora admitted that she was born to be a teacher.

She added one or two more remarks, then quickly admonished, "but don't print that." Her prediction of a teaching career has been borne out with a history of instruction which began back in Ann Arbor in 1916, when she taught at St. Thomas High.

She attended Marygrove College in the early twenties by way of the IHM Mother House in Monroe, got her masters at the University of Notre Dame, a Ph. D. at Fordham

University in 1928.

Then in succession she was professor of English at Marygrove, dean of the college until 1937, when she was named president. Sister Honora frankly admits that she has

liked everything she has been given to do in her lifetime.

"In the convent you do what you're told," she chuckled. "I've always liked that, too." From 1948-51 Sister was a lecturer at Catholic University workshops in higher education.

In 1952 she received the honorary degree of doctor of science in education from

Wayne State University.

Such recognition and her listings in Who's Who in America, the American Catholic Who's Who, Who's Who of American Women, Who's Who in American Education and the Directory of American Scholars disclose her aptness as a distinguished scholar in the field of guidance and college curriculum development and her ability as an administrator.

Her leadership in the field of higher education for women has produced an ideal of rounded academic training, community service, social responsibility, and family life grounded in a fine spiritual tradition which has become a way of life for thousands of

her alumnae.

She said: "We look more sheltered than we are. Almost 75 percent of all our hundreds of students earn all or part of their tuition. This we encourage.

"There is an essential necessity for women in the world to do the things that women should do.

"Pope Pius XII once said: 'Women should be where decisions are being made and be ready for them when they are made.' We try to prepare our young women for such an eventuality."

Sister Honora is convinced that higher education for women will continue progres-

"But there is great concern across the country about women's education."

She is not entirely sympathetic with co-educational institutions. "They were founded for men specifically.

"If sacrifices need to be made it will be the women on these campuses who will make them.

"For, on coed campuses there is a tremendous amount of unconscious prejudice in the general attitude toward feminine achievement.

"Eve was made on the same quality level as Adam," she pointed out. "But something happened."

On the subject of women's colleges, "they have a definite place in society and will always have it."

On the subject of the suggested 2-year college course for women, "an unfortunate situation with which I disagree.'

Can the educational processes rendered by the cloister mold well rounded citizens? "The philosophy of eduaction is set by the character of the college. Let them look at our graduates-their success can prove it."

The Big Squeeze on Little Steel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. J. EDGAR CHENOWETH

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. CHENOWETH. Mr. Speaker, I wish to include in my remarks an address delivered by Mr. Alvin F. Franz, president of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Corp., before the American Iron and Steel Institute at New York on May 28.

I am happy to represent the district where the main plant of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Corp. is located. I refer to the Minnequa plant in Pueblo, Colo. I consider Mr. Franz one of our best informed men on steel, and I am sure his observations will be of interest to the Members of the House. His speech follows:

THE BIG SQUEEZE ON LITTLE STEEL

(By Alvin F. Franz, president, the Colorado Fuel & Iron Corp.)

#### INTRODUCTION

During the post century, the American steel industry has faced and solved many problems. However, I doubt that any of them were more critical than those we have before us today. They affect not only the steel industry, but also the entire economy, and present a threat to our American standard of living.

#### INFLATION

The basic issue underlying these problems is the inflationary trend that has persisted since the close of World War II, despite three recessions. Inflation has brought with it increasing costs, a rapid growth in foreign competition, inadequate depreciation allowances and, in some instances, the overseas migration of American business. These developments are challenging all American steel companies, both large and small. This morning I would like to discuss with you their impact on the smaller companies.

#### RISING COSTS

In spite of the present high operating rate, and the good financial performance of the steel industry during the first quarter of this year, we are all aware that steel production costs are constantly increasing. This is not a new problem, it has plagued both large and small companies for the past 15 years. However, during that time, no acute crisis was provoked since rising costs were, to a great extent, recouped through higher prices. But, in the past 2 years, it has become progressively difficult to raise prices in order to compensate for higher costs. For, during this period, we have witnessed the crystallization of a political and economic situation where continued price increases can no longer be counted on to recover rising

Therefore, because of political pressure, it will be much harder for the industry to raise prices high enough to cover any increase in cost that may develop this year. If such a pattern continues, and costs go up again next year, and the year after, getting price relief may well become an impossibil-This is not the statement of an alarmist, but a fact of political life in the United

It therefore seems to me, gentlemen, that one of the most pressing problems facing us today is how to keep the companies in the steel industry economically sound in a free enterprise system. With rising costs and little prospect of adequate price relief, the industry, and particularly the smaller steel companies, are faced with serious difficulties.

ATTACK ON COSTS

The true solution to these issues can be found only in a frontal attack on costs. Costs must be kept in line and, if possible, reduced-for, with price limitations, any increase in costs will further squeeze profit margins. This is evident from even a cursory study of steel industry finances and emphasizes the absurdity of the statement that the industry can absorb wage and other cost increases because of so-called exorbitant profits. Let us examine this statement and look as these so-called exorbitant profits, particularly the exorbitant profits of the smaller steel companies.

Consider the eight steel companies, including the Colorado Fuel and Iron Corp., whose annual ingot capacity falls in the medium range of about 11/2 to 3 million tons; net earnings for those companies averaged 4.6 percent of sales in 1957, and only 2.3 percent of sales in 1958. The average earnings of these eight companies for the 5-year period, 1954 through 1958, were only 4.4 per-

cent of sales.

Thus, it can be readily seen-certainly in relation to the smaller steel companies—that the catch phrase "wages can be absorbed because of exorbitant profits," is a myth. This proposal offers no solution to the problem of rising costs and stable prices. In fact, the management and the stockholders of any steel company must view with concern any suggestion resulting in lower profit margins that would threaten the security of the enterprise.

The attack on costs can be made in two ways: First, by fully modernizing plant and equipment to take advantage of the latest developments in technology, and, second, by keeping operating costs at a reasonable level.

#### DEPRECIATION

The modernization of plant and equipment requires large investments which should come, in great part, from depreciation re-These reserves are presently inadequate, due to postwar inflation, and a change in the tax laws to remedy this inadequacy is long overdue. The European and Japanese industries were modernized with the generous assistance of our Government. The American steel industry should now be helped by amending the tax laws so that a realistic depreciation allowance can be recovered to provide for most of the cost of replacing wornout and obsolete equipment. We certainly should be willing to do for ourselves what we have done for others.

A realistic tax policy should be adopted permitting us to recover the purchasing power of the original investment. This can then be reinvested in modern equipment and thus help reduce the cost of production. Such a reform in the tax laws does not constitute a subsidy. It merely returns to the investor what is his. I would like to stress most emphatically that the problem of in-adequate depreciation is not restricted to the steel industry alone. It affects all American industry.

In recent surveys the McGraw-Hill Co. made the shocking observation that a large proportion of the industrial plant and equipment in the United States is obsolete. Over \$95 billion will have to be spent-and spent soon-to bring our industrial facilities up to the best modern standards. Yet plans for 1959 call for little more than \$30 billion of actual expenditures.

Plant modernization is of paramount importance to the smaller steel companies who must rid themselves of obsolete facilities in order to maintain a competitive position. To modernize, their earnings must be maintained at a level sufficient to supplement inadequate depreciation charges, and, for the present, if costs go up, price relief is imperative to maintain these earnings. In fact, the smaller companies will be in greater need of price relief than the larger ones, for many of them have not had sufficient capital to modernize their plants fully. This is an

Item congressional committees do not seem to realize. In their attempt to bring pressure on the industry to keep prices down, they direct their attack against those companies who have had the capital to invest in new facilities and who have reaped the rewards of modernization through lower costs. They seem to forget that the smaller steel companies have not modernized to the same degree and so have higher costs which require price increases to cover these costs. Therefore, by keeping the price down when costs go up the protectors of the small businessman have, in reality, been squeezing his profits to an alarming degree.

#### AMERICAN FOREIGN PLANTS

Another result of the increase in the cost of production is the construction of plants by American companies in foreign countries. Thes companies, representing a wide variety of manufactured products, have felt it necessary to establish plants abroad to help retain markets and remain competitive. They have apparently concluded that a combination of American productive efficiency and foreign wages provide a solution to at least some of their problems. American-owned overseas manufacturing facilities now total billions of dollars.

An added reason given for the current interest in setting up foreign plants is that our Government is being urged to give a better tax rate to domestic corporations who would do most of their business abroad.

Many will present the point of view that any additional advantages given to foreign competition will only accentuate the problem of protecting American jobs, and that any tax reform should first be applied in this country.

#### FOREIGN COMPETITION

Foreign competition has become a problem of growing importance during the past 2 years. In many respects, its remarkable growth can be attributed to rising costs in the United States. This problem should be evaluated with a proper sense of balance, neither exaggerating its impact on the steel industry nor minimizing it. The plain-facts are—many foreign firms are well managed, aggressive and now have modern facilities. In a number of cases, their productive efficiency is equal to our own, and represents a serious competitive threat to our steel markets, both at home and abroad.

In 1957, the United States exported 5.2 million tons of steel mill products, and imported 1.1 million tons. But this ratio of almost 5 to 1—in favor of steel mill exports—dropped to less than 2 to 1 in 1958, when exports fell to 2.7 million tons, and imports reached a high of 1.7 million tons, This is significant enough, but more startling is the fact that in July and December, 1958, and again in January and February, 1959, imported tonnage of steel mill products was actually greater than steel tonnage exported.

Because of these developments, we appear to have lost much of our foreign market, and a portion of our domestic market is in Jeopardy. For example, the United States exported 721,000 tons of semifinished steel in 1957. This dropped to 124,000 tons in 1958—a decrease of 83 percent. Exports of structural shapes decreased from 453,000 tons in 1957 to 292,000 tons in 1958, while exports of plates declined from 604,000 tons to 249,000 over the same period—a drop of 59 percent. Exports of tinplate, an item in which the United States has long had a pre-eminent position, fell from 538,000 tons to 244,000 tons—a decrease of 54 percent.

Let us now have a look at the import side of the picture. In the domestic market we are at a competitive price disadvantage in such products as rods, barbed wire, nails, reinforcing bars, and other items. In 1958, for example, reinforcing ber imports totaled 473,000 tons, or about 200 percent higher

than 1957, and were equal to about 23 percent of domestic mill shipments in 1958.

Imports, until recently, were principally confined to common steel products, but, within the past year or so, a number of specialty wire products have arrived on the American market in alarming quantities. In 1958, imports of a number of steel products ranged from 30 percent to over 200 percent higher than in 1957.

higher than in 1957.

These are facts. In answer to these facts, it has been said that exports and imports represent a relatively small percentage of total shipments in the industry. Yet some companies, and, for the most part they are small companies, have been severely affected. It seems to me, however, there is a factor involved here far more significant than tonnages and percentages. It is simply this—the American steel industry in certain areas is no longer competitive with the rest of the world.

The reason behind this is no mystery. The European and Japanese steel industries were, in great part, destroyed during World War II and have been rebuilt with modern equipment, much of which was financed by the United States. Thus, many of their plants are as good as our modern installa-tions and far better than much of our older equipment. We no longer have the superiority in facilities that for years permitted us to pay higher wages, and still produce cheaper and better steel. Moreover, foreign producers have wage rates ranging from 66 percent to 86 percent lower than those paid in the United States, and, because of modern equipment, their productivity is increasing rapidly at our expense. While, in 1957, the American steel industry paid its workers \$3.22 per hour, including fringe benefits, the Japanese steel industry paid 46 cents per hour. This low labor cost, coupled with the increased efficiency of new equipment, clearly explains the reasons why a ton of Japanese steel products can be manufactured, shipped across the Pacific Ocean, stored and trans-shipped to American steel producing and market centers at a delivered price from \$20 to \$40 per ton less than the price of the American

In industry after industry throughout the country, more products are arriving from overseas. They are not confined only to raw steel. The mounting list includes such steel-consuming products as automobiles, sewing machines, typewriters, heavy machinery, electrical apparatus and many others. Whatever you make, your turn may be next.

#### AMERICAN JOBS

Gentlemen, I would like to reiterate:
Many foreign steel products are now being manufactured overseas by modern equipment. In fact, much of it has been provided by leading American machinery builders. Expanding foreign production and improved product quality has undoubtedly been influenced by the technical know-how freely given to foreign productivity teams, who have visited steel plants in this country.

Many are now asking—have we reached the turning point—are the economies of foreign countries being strengthened at the expense of our own? This is an interesting question and must be given consideration to appraise the impact this development will have on our standard of living.

Our standard of living is at present much higher than any other in the world. It is our intention to keep it this way. In the development of this standard the steel industry has made a substantial contribution and we are very proud of it.

Our national economy is built on pillars of steel. Through a large investment of capital the steel industry has created well over a half million jobs which now pay American workers an average of \$3.60 an hour, including fringe benefits. For each of the 500,000

workers directly employed in steel mills, nine others hold jobs in plants making steel products. The total accounts for more than one-third of all factory employment in the United States. If we are to preserve and strengthen these jobs for the American people, it is imperative for us to face foreign competition with improved equipment and low operating costs. We cannot afford to price ourselves out of foreign and domestic markets if American jobs are to remain secure. Unfortunately, at the present time we seem to be doing just that.

Foreign-made goods are purchased because they carry a lower price tag—certainly not because they are superior in quality. Our American workmen can produce goods equal to the best in the world—if not better. Therefore, if we are to retain the markets we now enjoy and recapture those we have lost—we must find a solution to the problems now facing the American steel industry. This calls for a united effort on behalf of all forces involved in production. Our responsibility is to help curb inflation and thus protect American jobs.

#### SUMMARY

Remember this, curbing inflation and keeping American production competitive is not a problem for steel management alone. It is also labor's problem and the public's problem. If our costs keep rising we will be faced with unemployment, a loss of business, and such a drastic decline in profits that the economic health and stability of our industry will be threatened.

This is a year of decision. If we can keep costs in line now, and for the next 2 or 3 years, and if we are able to get the proper depreciation funds to modernize our plants, we can better meet competition and solve the problems now facing the American steel industry, as we have in the past.

# LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply-to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

#### CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

#### CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the Record.

# Daily Digest

# HIGHLIGHTS

Senate passed space authorizations bill. House worked on water pollution control bill.

# Senate

# Chamber Action

Routine Proceedings, pages 8834-8859

Bills Introduced: 15 bills and 4 resolutions were introduced, as follows: S. 2105-2119; S.J. Res. 105; S. Con. Res. 44 and 45; and S. Res. 128.

Poges 8835-8836

Bill Referred: One House-passed bill was referred to appropriate committee. Page 8833

Space Authorizations: By 81 yeas to 1 nay, Senate passed with committee amendments H.R. 7007, fiscal 1960 authorizations for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

Senate insisted on its amendments, asked for conference with House, and appointed as conferees Senators Johnson (Texas), Stennis, Young (Ohio), Dodd, Cannon, Bridges, Smith, and Martin.

Pages 8859-8861

Authority To Report: Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce was authorized to file reports until midnight tonight.

Poge 8841

Nomination of Lewis L. Strauss: Senate took up the nomination of Lewis L. Strauss, of New York, to be Secretary of Commerce.

Page 8893

Treaty Ratified: By unanimous vote of 80 yeas, Senate adopted resolution providing for ratification of convention between U.S. and Cuba for the conservation of shrimp, signed at Havana on August 15, 1958 (Ex. B, 86th Cong., 1st sess.).

Pages 8882-8886

Confirmations: The following nominations were confirmed: George M. Johnson, of California, to be member of the Commission on Civil Rights; Thomas S. Gates, Jr., of Pennsylvania, to be Deputy Secretary of Defense; Fred A. Bantz, of New York, to be Under Secretary of Navy; Ogden R. Reid, of New York, to be Ambassador to Israel; Joseph V. Charyk, of California, to be an Assistant Secretary of Air Force; Frederick H. Mueller, of Michigan, to be Under Secretary of Commerce; Carl F. Oechsle, of Massachusetts, to be an Assistant Secretary of Commerce; Rosel H. Hyde, of Idaho, to be member of FCC; Frederick Stueck, of Missouri, to be member of FPC; Earl W. Kintner, of Indiana, to be

Federal Trade Commissioner; 143 postmasters; 5 Navy; 2 Marine Corps; and 10 Coast Guard. Pages 8907-8908

Nominations: 20 Army nominations in the rank of

Record Votes: During Senate proceedings today two record votes were taken, which appear on pages 8261 and 8884.

Program for Friday: Senate met today at noon and adjourned at 7:10 p.m. until noon Friday, June 5, when it will consider the nomination of Lewis L. Strauss, to be Secretary of Commerce.

Poges 8893, 8894, 8907

# Committee Meetings

general were received.

(Committees not listed did not meet)

## FOOD DISTRIBUTION PROGRAMS

Committee on Agriculture and Forestry: The Subcommittee on Agricultural Production, Marketing, and Stabilization of Prices held hearings on S. 489, 585, 663, 862, and 1884, all bills dealing with the subject of food distribution programs, having as its witnesses Senators Aiken, Kennedy, Byrd of West Virginia, Hart, Humphrey, and Yarborough; Clarence L. Miller, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, who was accompanied by his associates; William L. Mitchell, Commissioner, Social Security Administration, HEW; and John C. Raber, of Indianapolis, representing the National Farmers Union.

Hearings continue tomorrow.

#### APPROPRIATIONS—COMMERCE

Committee on Appropriations: Subcommittee held hearings on H.R. 7349, fiscal 1960 appropriations for the Department of Commerce, with testimony from Acting Secretary Lewis L. Strauss; Under Secretary Frederick H. Mueller; Under Secretary for Transportation John J. Allen, Jr.; Assistant Secretary for International Affairs Henry Kearns; Assistant Secretary for Domestic Affairs C. F. Oechsle; Assistant Secretary for Administration George T. Moore; Oscar H. Nielson,

# Appendix

Mr. Strauss' Integrity

SPEECH

OF

# HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record at this point as a part of my remarks a letter to the editor of the Washington Post, published in the June 4, 1959, issue of that newspaper, on the editorial page, under the heading "Mr. Strauss' Integrity." The letter is signed by Rabbi Norman Gerstenfeld, minister of the Washington Hebrew Congregation.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### MR. STRAUSS' INTEGRITY

For weeks now I have been observing the debate over the confirmation of Lewis Strauss with a sense of deep frustration.

By temperament and philosophy I am strongly disinclined to involve myself, however, indirectly in any political controversy; but by conviction and sense of duty, I feel I must offer my personal witness to the integrity of Lewis Strauss in the face of the unceasing attacks on him. Your editorial recommending that Mr. Strauss withdraw can serve only to encourage these unfair attacks.

I am constrained to write you now only because I feel I must in good conscience and simple justice present the evidence based on years of association and friendship with Lewis Strauss. I do not want to be neutral while a man's most precious asset, his good name, is being callously sacrificed.

He has not asked my help and I have no idea of whither he will welcome this letter, But I think you ought to know that in a score of ways over many years Lewis Strauss has demonstrated to me and to many, many others a high sense of civic and social re-

You have only to look at the record to see the variety of his civic and spiritual contributions and commitments. Believe me he has served these causes well and honorably.

It is simply inconceivable that the Senate should permit a record of attainment and character established over many years to be torn down.

Lewis Strauss will live in history as a splendid example of integrity and ability. If the Senate gives true weight to his qualifications—and indeed to the precedents it has established and followed for a hundred years—it will confirm him.

Rabbi Norman Gerstenfeld,

Minister, Washington Hebrew Congregation.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I offer this letter for the RECORD because there is already in the RECORD a sermon from

another spiritual leader, rather going in

the other direction, against Mr. Strauss.

Normally we would not place such material in the Record, but it seems to me that in the light of the fact that one such statement has already been placed in the Record, it is in order to offer an affirmative statement, stating in the most direct terms the greatest confidence in his integrity, and that it is only fair to include it in the Record.

Supersecrecy in Science Is Self-Defeating Policy; Congress, President Clash on Key Housing Bill Issues

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, on May 14, the Corpus Christi, (Tex.) Caller published a thoughtful and intelligent editorial entitled "Supersecrecy in Science Is Self-Defeating Policy." This editorial is especially noteworthy, in that it points out the dangers of too much and too little secrecy in the scientific field.

On May 23, there appeared in the same newspaper an editorial entitled "Congress, President Clash On Key Housing Bill Issues." This editorial stresses the country's need for housing legislation, and the responsibility of the President to keep in mind the importance of housing as a factor in economic recovery. I ask unanimous consent that these two editorials from the Corpus Christi Caller be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the REC-ORD, as follows:

[From the Corpus Christi (Tex.) Caller, May 14, 1959]

SUPERSECRECY IN SCIENCE IS SELF-DEFEATING POLICY

Much has been made in some quarters of Soviet Russian theft of U.S. scientific secrets or developmental techniques. There are some who would have us believe that the United States is the only reservoir of basic scientific information in the world today.

The absurdity of this contention should be apparent. There is no such thing as a national monopoly of scientific talent. Since we have devoted more effort to translating Russian scientific publications, for instance, our own scientists have benefited greatly. A treatise on mathematical probability, for instance, written by a contemporary Russian mathematician, Kolmagaroff, is widely used in the defense research field in the United States. Again, we would not have been so surprised in October 1957 by the launching of the first Soviet sputnik had we read earlier

Russian articles on the subject of rocket development.

It is certainly true that Russians have profited greatly by reading United States and other scientific publications. We, too, have profited from reading Russian and other foreign publications in the field. But this is surely not an argument for not publishing new theories or techniques nor for classifying them as secret. The basic reason for publication is to inform one's own scientists and to avoid duplication in research. Just as important, publication of new theories often stimulates independent inquiry, intellectual thought providing a ferment for new lines of scientific approach.

One of the striking characteristics of sci-

One of the striking characteristics of scientists of every nationality is the near universality of their theory is rejected outright. Each is tested and only abandoned if its invalidity is established. Every scientist draws from the common reservoir of scientific knowledge. He proceeds along established lines from hypothesis to proof. It is the universality of approach that makes it possible for a Britisher and an Italian to arrive at the same conclusion while working independently.

One of the tragedies befalling the American scientific community is the assumption by many nonscientists that new discoveries can be kept secret. This has led to an excess of security consciousness. It has resulted in ignorance among our own scientists who may be pursuing a theory that has already been proved true or false by other scientists whose findings have been kept secret.

Perhaps there are national defense secrets in the scientific field that should be kept as long as possible. But the only persons qualified to determine the security classification should be scientists themselves—not bureaucrats obsessed with security. Furthermore, security classifications should be under constant, continuing review so that downgrading can give the widest possible dissemination of information.

Very few scientists, whether they be Russian, German, or American, would defend secrecy for secrecy's sake if they could speak their mind. They know that scientific advancement can be accelerated only if there is the freest exchange of information between all scientists. Only in the rare case of a unique discovery in the field of national defense is secrecy justified. Even then, scientists know that their fellows somewhere else in the world, thinking along parallel lines, will eventually discover the same thing.

[From the Corpus Christi (Tex.) Caller, May 23, 1959]

CONGRESS, PRESIDENT CLASH ON KEY HOUSING BILL ISSUES

Three important political issues came to a head with House passage of the omnibus Federal housing bill: (1) A balanced budget; (2) public housing; and (3) urban renewal. The House, like the Senate, resolved those issues against the administration; but the House, unlike the Senate, did not do so by a majority sufficient to indicate that an Eisenhower veto could be overridden.

If President Eisenhower vetoes the measure, the Democratic Congress will, of course, try to override the veto. Falling that, it would be hard-pressed to whip together passage of a modified bill to continue the FHA's self-liquidating home mortgage in-

surance authority, which has bipartisan support and is vital to the economy. A Presidential veto thus would be a closely calcu-

lated political risk.

In regard to the first issue, a balanced budget, the House-passed bili's \$2.1 billion program is closer to the President's \$1.6 billion recommendation than the Senate's \$2.69 billion figure. In view of the remarkable economic recovery now in progress and the related possibility of trimming other spending, it cannot be stated flatly that the House bill would "unbalance the budget" or that it is a "budget busting bill," as the House GOP leadership charged.

On the other two issues, continuance of public housing and an effective rate of Federal urban renewal aid, the congressional Democratic majority appears clearly in line with the popular mandate expressed in last November's national elections. The administration's opposition has vocal support, but it is obviously a sharply limited minority

support.

In the battle against creeping slums and health-hazard housing, American cities are patently incapable of solving the problems unassisted, and they have received precious little aid in their efforts from the various State governments. Given this situation, there is no discernible practical alternative to Federal aid. If private enterprise alone "can do the job," as often claimed, the fact remains that it has yet to demonstrate any such capability in any sizable city in the United States.

President Eisenhower may veto the final bill, which is likely to spilt the difference between the Senate and House figures. But if he does, it will probably cost the Republicans whatever political gains the current economic recovery now seems to promise.

# Income Tax

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. PHILIP A. HART

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. HART. Mr. President, 3 weeks ago I sent to each Member of the Congress a series of articles from the Detroit Times entitled "The Real Truth About Michigan." Many responses from Members confirm my feeling that the Detroit Times, in presenting these articles to the public, was performing in the highest tradition the role of effective public servant, which some have suggested the press does not always fulfill.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an editorial from the Times of Tuesday, June 2, and which bears further upon the subject of Michigan.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

INCOME TAX

After months of bickering and name-calling, Michigan's major political parties have finally made it clear where they stand on taxes.

The Republicans want a sales or use tax. The Democrats want a tax on personal income, corporation profits, and financial institutions.

No reasonable person can quarrel with these proposals, or arbitrarily discard them because he may believe in one party philosophy as against the other.

These are merely proposals, to be treated as such until they have been carefully scrutinized under the spotlight of public opinion.

Taxes? We loathe them in any form, but we recognize them for what they are—practical instruments for the well being of the citizens and preservation of the State.

When we accept taxes, we do so grudgingly, on the premise they are equitable and will do the job for which they were intended.

The test of equity in the Republican plan falls short of its mark. It will hit lower income groups harder than those in the upper brackets.

It is a regressive tax, so recognized by unbiased experts. It has only one popular appeal. It is a "painless" tax.

Does it do the job for Michigan?

Republican senators say "yes" but Democrats, joined by many house Republicans, say "no." Therein, we believe, lies the weakness of the GOP position,

The tax at best will raise only \$108 millions in new revenue and it is the judgment of house members in both parties that Michigan needs at least \$120 millions.

The GOP plan will not wipe out the State's \$105 million deficit. Sooner or later the lawmakers must face this problem. The deficit will not go away by itself.

Thus, a use tax is stopgap legislation. It only postpones the inevitable day when the legislature must honestly come to grips with Michigan's financial problems whether the chief executive is friend or foe.

Let us hasten to say we are not wedded to the Democrats' income tax plan. It is another withholding tax, another chip in the paycheck and another excuse for padding State payrolls.

But is it equitable?

We think so. The personal income tax would be spread among all people who pay a Federal income tax. It would tend to equalize the tax burden on those who derive the most from our economy.

Most important, we think, it does not

Most important, we think, it does not exempt special interest groups as does the

use or sales tax.

Does it meet the need?

We believe it does. The tax package would raise enough money to pay the bill for State government and at the same time start retiring the deficit.

It would give the State badly needed buildings, restore morale at the education level and blot out such spectacles as payless paydays in government.

For business, we believe the Democrats' proposal is long overdue.

It would repeal the monstrous business activities tax that extorts money from Michigan business and corporations, without regard for ability to pay.

It would repeal the intangibles tax that bites into the savings and dividends of widows, orphans, and retired fathers and mothers.

It would tax profits, not loses.

Republican propagandists have denounced the corporate profits plan. They call the BAT repeal a "phony lure" designed to lull taxpayers into acceptance of the Democrats' package.

They have gone back to their old bag of tricks and pulled out the tax climate argument that gave Michigan a black eye around the Nation.

But nowhere in the GOP document do we find anything that remotely resembles tax relief for Michigan business.

Nowhere do we find the Republicans willing to take a positive stand on reforms that will remove tax burdens from struggling businesses and corporations.

They warn about the future, but blithely overlook the present.

They say with mock humility that Republican senators would be guilty of betraying the people if they yielded now to the "stubborn insistence of the administration for an income tax."

We say betrayal and guilt would fall harder on Republicans than Democrats if the people are led to believe that the GOP program, in its present form, is the sensible and truthful cureall to Michigan's fiscal woes.

# Preach the Story of Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. HENRY DWORSHAK

OF IDAHO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. DWORSHAK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Recore an inspiring address by Imperial Sir George E. Stringfellow of East Orange, N.J., Imperial Potentate, A.A.O.N.M.S., before the Masons and Shriners, Aloha Temple, Scottish Rite Cathedral, Honolulu, T.H., on May 8, 1959, entitled "Preach the Story of Freedom."

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

It is my good fortune to be the first Imperial Potentate of the Shrine of North America to visit the magnificent 50th State of the United States. Your star in our flag is one that many of us have longed for many years. It will, I am sure, shine with brilliance in the years that lie ahead, as the people of Hawaii shone with brilliance in the years that followed the infamous attack on Pearl Harbor 18 years ago. We are proud that at last you are to have equality of statehood and we all know that Hawaii will live up to its responsibilities in the firmament of our Union.

I bring you the greetings and the good wishes of 165 temples of the Ancient Arabic Order of Nobies of the Mystic Shrine and their 830,000 nobles. From Canada, from Mexico, from the Canal Zone, and from the mainland, they all wish you well.

There has been a strong Masonic tie between th United States and Hawaii since the New England missionaries came to what were then called the Sandwich Islands. And there has been a strong bond of friendship among the nobility since King David Kalakaua became a member of Islam Temple in San Francisco. His death was announced, along with that of William J. Florence, one of the founders of our fraternity, by Imperial Potentate Sam Briggs at the meeting of the Imperial Council in Omaha, Nebr., on June 10, 1892. The ties of Masonic love and Shrine friendship became even greater when Imperial Potentate Lou Winsor constituted Aloha Temple in March of 1901. Aloha had been granted its dispensation at the imperial council session in Washington in 1900. The imperial sir was a fun-loving traveler and expressed the thought that he would like to lead the pilgrimage himself. And so, on February 25, 1901, the imperial train steamed out of the station at Grand Rapids, Mich. All across the United States more nobles and their ladies joined the train until, when it arrived in San Francisco, there were more than 200 persons aboard.

Since that wonderful day, almost every imperial potentate has led a pilgrimage to this beautiful oasis, and with each passing year the Nobles of Aloha have established themselves as great hosts in the true meaning of the Shrine. I am proud, indeed, that I have been given the opportunity of visting in your tents in the capacity of imperial potentate.

As my year as leader of our great fraternity draws to a close, I look back on many memorable experiences, but none has given Carrie and me more pleasure than this pilgrimage to Hawaii. It is hardly possible for an imperial potentate to visit all of the 166 Shrine temples of North America in a single year, even in this jet age of air travel. However, I have visited all sections of North America; I have attended meetings of Shrine associations: I have talked with the officers and the nobility of almost a hundred temples; I have talked with grand masters and heads of other Masonic bodies in the various jurisdictions: and everywhere I have gone there has come to me the plea that I speak forth in the name of the Shrine for a more militant Masonry that somehow must preserve, or help to preserve, those freedoms for which Masons in another century sacrificed so dearly.

I cannot and do not presume to speak for Masonry or Masons, for the Shrine, or for the Shriners with respect to political affiliations. I have no desire to do so. But I do know that the dearest tenet of Masonic thought is freedom, for only if there is true freedom can there be true brotherly love, which is the pervading force of our fraternity.

I suppose there is no true definition of the word "freedom" as I use it here. Certainly freedom is not license. It is not exemption. Rather, it is, or should be, the absence of force by an organized society, public or private, against the individual. Our Nation was founded, has grown great, and can grow greater in direct proportion to the freedom of the individual to think and do as he pleases so long as no other individual is harmed in the process.

A few weeks ago I heard U.S. Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN, of Illinois, observe that it was from his Masonic lodge that he acquired the fundamental principles that the hope of the universe reposes in the individual, with his integrity, his peace of mind, and

his dignity.
Our forefathers gave us our present way of life, for which they gave their blood, their fortunes, and their lives, that they and we, their posterity, might live in liberty. And to a large extent this way of life is what it is because it was conceived by men who, for the most part, had taken their solemn obligations of Masonry. It is a fact that most of the men who signed the Declaration of Independence were master Masons. It is a fact that most of the men who signed the Constitution of the United States were Freemasons. If we are worthy of our heritage, we must stand up and be counted. We must either accept the invasion of the creeping cancer of socialism into our moral, social, and economic conscience or we must be prepared to repel it as we would any physical invaders who may seek to dominate the world. Make no mistake about it, we can be invaded and conquered mentally, perhaps, more easily than we can be invaded and conquered physically.

For example, a prominent American educator has just published the results of a careful study of 11 widely used high school textbooks in American history. The study reveals shocking facts of distorted teachings which are of concern not only to parents of school-age children but to every American. Unless interested parents, teachers and other citizens get busy and halt teachings which tend to undermine American institutions in the minds of our children, and replace them with teachings which create a wholesome respect for basic American principles, mankind's greatest blessing-individual freedom-cannot possibly survive. If we lose freedom in America, the world will be beset

with another dark age.

There has never been a guarantee that our marvelous American governmental and economic system would be handed, intact and thriving, from one\_generation to another automatically. The great truths are not automatically adopted and the great virtues are not automatically instilled into each new generation. History proves over and over again that fundamental principles do not live on from one generation to the next unless they are clearly understood, cherished, and constantly vitalized.

Teachers and school administrators in every section of the Nation have stated that cannot readily find textbooks which would create in the hearts and minds of their high school pupils a vigorous pride in their Nation's history, a respect for and loyalty to its ideals, principles, and institutions. Some of the present textbooks used in our public schools present George Washington as a rich aristocrat who had no use for people; the framers of the United States Constitution as a group of selfish, wealthy men who wanted to keep the common people forever lowly and powerless; discount patriotism as stuffy and old hat, and imply that business and industry under our private enterprise system are enemies of the people. This, of course, is playing right into the hands of the Communists. It's playing into their hands because they have a hand in writing our textbooks, or inspiring the writers who do write them.

Communism has infiltrated our religious organizations. Proof of that is found in the fact that a prominent national church group is currently urging that the U.S. Government recognize Red China and that the U.S. Government do what it can to elect Red China to the United Nations and to repudiate Chang Kai-shek, our ally. Why any religious organization would embrace communism is beyond my comprehension unless that religious organization is dominated by communism, for communism decrees that religion is an opiate of the people and must be exterminated everywhere before communism is safe anywhere. Yet, here is a religious organization doing what it can to give communism a respectable place in world affairs.

It would indeed be a travesty if we should forsake the principles of our masonic founding fathers to accept a philosophy so alien to that for which they bled and died. If and when this shall come to pass, freemasonry and the Shrine will be the first to be abolished, just as it is always the first to be abolished by any dictator or group of dictators. Errant judges and legislators may change the law to suit their whims, but so long as the soul of freemasonry and the Shrine shall live, we must and shall continue to preach the story of freedom.

This is the message I bring to you in this new 50th State, as you prepare to accept the responsibilities which are a part of the privi-lege of sisterhood in the Union of States. You may say it is a personal message, and in a way it is. But it is more than that. It is, I believe, the composite thinking of most of the Shriners and freemasons with whom I come in contact.

You know the Shrine is a great organization, and well it should be for the men who are Shriners have three times passed the tests of their masonic brethren. It has been said that the Shrine is the playground of masonry, and perhaps in a way it is, for Shriners are forever seeking and creating happiness for themselves and those around them. James McGee, who was the 26th Shriner created, said that the Shrine was formed as a sort of "relax" from the more arduous and difficult practice of freemasonry. And no doubt, through the years, there are some who have been frivolous in their search for, shall we say, freedom of spirit. But there runs a spiritual quality through the Shrine that manifests itself in brotherly love, charity and a profound belief in the fatherhood of God.

It is said that in our hospitals for crippled children, the Shrine found its soul. Cer-

tainly our hospitals, with which you are all conversant because you have one here in Honolulu, is a great philanthropy. They led the way in the Western World in seeing that something was done for little children who were threatened with a life of misery. But the Shrine is more than the hospitals. It is the ultimate expression on this earth of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

#### Unemployment Picture in Wisconsin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, we recognize that, although the unemployment picture across the Nation is brightening somewhat, there is still need for constructive action to create work for those who unfortunately still remain jobless.

In Wisconsin, for example, we still have somewhat over 40,000 unemployed. Although this represents 15,000 less during May than in the previous monthand 39,000 less than a year ago-the situation still needs improvement. According to our Wisconsin State Employment Service, the employment gains during May were general throughout industry. Increased production schedules. new contracts, plus usual seasonal factors, increased employment in the manufacturing of transportation equipment. nonelectrical machinery, and food; as well as in construction, transportation services, and other fields.

To help alleviate the critical economic problems faced by our unemployed, our State legislature has enacted a new law to extend the maximum coverage for compensation from 26½ weeks to 34 weeks as well as to provide for adjustment in top weekly benefits. In making these improvements in our unemployment compensation program, Wisconsin is continuing its fine record of work in this field-since, in 1932, it acted as a pioneer by being the first State to enact an unemployment compensation law.

We recognize, of course, that even these improvements will not meet the needs of all our jobless. However, it marks improvement in the situation.

We recall, of course, that the President has again and again recommended constructive action by the States to extend periods for which jobless would be eligible for unemployment compensation; as well as-where possible-to increase the amount of benefits to lessen the economic hardships for the unemployed workers and their families.

I request unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a brief summary of the main changes in Wisconsin's unemployment compensation program to help meet the needs of our jobless, received from Paul A. Raushenbush, director of the Unemployment Compensation Department of the Industrial Commission of Wisconsin.

There being no objection, the summary was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A number of States have made notable improvements in their State unemployment compensation programs this year. We're happy to join that group.

Here's a rough summary of Wisconsin's main unemployment compensation changes, which were recommended by our joint labor-management advisory committee, passed unanimously by both houses, and signed by Governor Nelson on June 2.

(1) Weekly benefit celling: Starting with new benefit determinations issued after December 31, 1959, the law's top weekly benefit rate will be adjusted, at 6-month intervals, to about 52½ percent of Wisconsin's gross statewide average weekly wage for covered with the year ended 6 months earlier).

work (in the year ended 6 months earlier).
Wisconsin thus joins Kansas, Utah, Wyoming, Colorado, and Vermont.

(2) Starting with new benefit determina-

tions issued after June 7, 1959:

(a) Qualifying work: The 14 workweeks now required to qualify will be increased to 18 workweeks.

(b) Maximum duration: Wisconsin's new top duration will be 34 benefit weeks, based on 45 workweeks (instead of 26½, based on 38).

# The Texas Zeitung-Chronicle

· EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, the New Braunfels (Tex.) Zeitung-Chronicle has been published since 1852, first as a German-language newspaper, and later in English. My good friend, Mr. Frederic Oheim, has been managing editor of this fine newspaper since 1941; and under his editorship the original Zeitung has prospered and expanded, and has merged with two English language papers.

The people of New Braunfels, San Marcos, and Fredericksburg have played a great role in Texas history, Mr. President. The Zeitung-Chronicle has told their story for more than 100 years. It is a story of a whole people's pride, deter-

mination, and industry.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article on the history of this newspaper, appearing in a recent issue of the Zeitung-Chronicle, be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

COLORFUL ZEITUNG-CHRONICLE HISTORY BE-GAN IN 1845 AS PEOPLES PROJECT

The long and colorful history of the Zeitung-Chronicle, one of the oldest businesses in New Braunfels, goes back to November 12, 1852. The paper in those early days was known as the Zeitung and was printed entirely German.

The citizens of New Braunfels recognized the need for a newspaper soon after the town was founded in 1845. But it wasn't until 1851 that a group of townspeople began negotiating with George Dietz, a former assistant editor of the New York Staats-Zeitung who was in Fredericksburg at the time, to run the paper. Dietz refused the editorship

and the local group hired a San Antonio man, a Mr. Lackmann, for the position, However, Lackmann died before equipment could be purchased.

A mass meeting of the citizens was held in 1852 and Ferdinand Lindheimer was chosen editor out of a list of three candidates. Money for equipment was raised by public subscription. Each subscriber received a certificate of partnership.

By July 1853, Lindheimer had bought up all the partners' shares except one, that of a G. M. Ross. Soon thereafter Lindheimer obtained Ross' lone share and became sole owner.

Karl Jonas Ludwig Almquist, famous Swedish author, was Lindheimer's assistant during the first years of the Zeitung. Almquist had been forced to flee Sweden as a result of his political escapades. He lived in New Braunfels under the name of Gustavi.

Lindheimer, who had achieved a considerable reputation as a botanist in Texas, had no practical knowledge of printing. Since there were no German printers in the colony, help had to be trained on the spot. First printer of the Zeitung was probably David Feick, a relative of Lindheimer's. Lindheimer's sons also helped print the paper.

The Zeitung was able to publish during the Civil War without missing an issue, even though paper was unobtainable and help was lost by the needs of the Army. Some of the issues had to be printed on butcherpaper, wallpaper, and even on tissue paper.

The Zeitung was unpopular with the German people in Texas during the war years because the people were strongly antislavery and pro-Union. Lindheimer published a paper that was loyal to the Confederacy.

August 16, 1872, marked the date of the last issue of the Zeitung edited by Lindheimer. Anselm Elband was the next owner and publisher, and edited the paper with great ability until his death.

Eiband was known for his brilliant mind and his vivid and colorful language. He could express himself in words that were understandable by everyone. Eiband rarely wrote his editorials and articles before setting them, by hand, into type. He would compose directly into type, making up the stories as he went.

Ernest Koebig succeeded Eiband. He also served as county judge, founded the Seguiner Wachter and the Seguiner Zeitung, installed a steam engine to run the press, and in general took an interest in everything that was happening in the community.

Julius Halm and A. G. Startz succeeded Elband, with Ludolph Lafrentz as editor. In the last decade of the 19th century Capt. Julius Giesecke, McEver Church, and Eugen Kailer were members of the Zeitung Publishing Co. Giesecke was business manager, Church, a Scot, was the foreman, and Kailer was editor.

Church sold his interest in the Zeitung to Giesecke, and in 1899 G. F. Ohelm bought Kailer out and assumed the editorship of the Zeitung. Ben F. Nebergall, shop foreman, after Church's retirement, entered the partnership soon thereafter.

Frederic Oheim grew up in the shop and office of the Zeitung and became editor in 1941 at the illness of his father, G. F. Oheim, Alfred Jung became associated with the paper in May 1948 as assistant editor and continued as such until his death in the mid-1950's.

G. F. Oheim died in 1947 and B. F. Nebergall in 1948. Frederic Oheim then became the sole owner of the Zeitung Publishing Co. Mrs. Lottie Miller, daughter of B. F. Nebergall, assisted in the publication of the paper and the operation of the commercial job printing.

Frederic Oheim and his staff put out the Comal County Chronicle once a week, in addition to the German-language Zeitung. The Zeitung and the Chronicle were merged into one weekly paper in 1952, and was known as the Zeitung-Chronicle. The paper had an English section, which was Roger Nuhn's responsibility. The Zeitung-Chronicle became more and more of an English-speaking paper, until the time the Zeitung-Chronicle merged with the Herald Publishing Co. in November 1957. The Herald, which had been published twice weekly, began to appear only once a week. The Zeitung-Chronicle appeared on Friday, completely omitting the German section.

Mrs. Charles Scruggs is today the publisher of the Herald Publishing Co. and Claude Scruggs, her son, is the business manager. Managing editor is Frederic Cheim, and Roger Nuhn is news editor, Marjorie Cook, women's page editor, has been with the original Herald for 8 years. Mrs. Lottle Miller is the society editor. Charles Sebesta is the advertising manager and office manager is Christine Keel.

The backshop is headed by Max Murphey, who has long been with the Herald. Eddie Nuckols and Leonard Fikac are two printers who were originally with the Herald. Sonny Kanz, Roland K., Gisbert Schaefer, and Al Brandt, Jr., were with the original Zeitung-Chronicle.

#### The Public Defender's Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, recently the Senate took constructive, expeditious action by passing the Senate bill 895, known as the public defender's bill.

As my colleagues will recall, this measure, if enacted, would provide that persons accused of a crime, but not able to afford counsel, would have an attorney appointed by the court. The lawyer's fees, too, would be determined and paid by the court within statutory limitations.

We recognize, of course, that under the Constitution every citizen deserves equal rights and protection. Justice should not—must not—depend upon whether an individual accused of a crime is rich or poor.

Currently, the bill is pending before the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives. I hope that the House committee will take expeditious action on the bill—which I was pleased to sponsor.

Today I received from Bernard J. Hankin, secretary of the Milwaukee Bar Association, a letter stating the endorsement by the executive committee of the public defender's bill. Likewise, I was pleased to receive a telegram from George A. Haberman, president of the Wisconsin State AFL-CIO, representing a membership in excess of 280,000, favoring the principle of the public defender's bill.

I request unanimous consent to have the letter and the telegram printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter and telegram were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

MILWAUKEE BAR ASSOCIATION, Milwaukee, Wis., June 3, 1959.

Hon. Alexander Wiley, Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR WILEY: The executive committee of the Milwaukee Bar Association has voted to endorse a public defender bill which would provide for payment to an attorney appointed by a Federal court to defend an indigent person.

We believe that such legislation is long

overdue.

Respectfully yours. BERNARD J. HANKIN, Secretary.

Senator ALEXANDER WILEY, Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C .:

The executive board of the Wisconsin State AFL-CIO, representing labor unions in the State of Wisconsin having a total membership in excess of 280,000, unanimously favor the principle contained in bills S. 895. H.R. 4185, and H.R. 4609. We urge favorable action on them.

WISCONSIN STATE AFL-CIO. GEORGE A. HABERMAN,

President. GEORGE W. HALL,

Secretary-Treasurer.

# "Why Can't United States Try Lynchers?"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. WILLIAM PROXMIRE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the Milwaukee Journal has called for action by the Attorney General and by the Congress in the Mack Charles Parker lynching case, in an unusually hard-hitting and forthright editorial. I whole-heartedly support the sentiments expressed in this editorial, and I commend a reading of it to my colleagues.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of

the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered printed in the Appendix of the RECORD as follows:

[From the Milwaukee Journal, June 3, 1959] WHY CAN'T UNITED STATES TRY LYNCHERS?

Justice is slow in Mississippi, as shown by the fact that the State won't move against suspects in the lynching of Mack Charles Parker until November. And there is reason to wonder whether justice is possible at all.

The judge who was to have tried Parker on a charge of rape and who will call the grand jury to hear evidence against his alleged lynchers said the other day: "When I heard he [Parker] was taken. I thought this-if that woman had been a member of my family, they wouldn't have to look very far to discover who took him."

The prosecutor is seeking reelection. reelected, he will present the State's case when the lynchers are tried. He says: people here ask me if I would prosecute this case enthusiastically, I tell them, "Hell, no."

The Attorney General of the United States says that there is no Federal law violation in the Parker case. He can get some legal argument on that. The St. Louis Postargument on that. The St. Louis Post-Dispatch recalls an article in the Washington University Law Quarterly in 1943 titled

"The Federal Civil Right 'Not To Be Lynched.'" It was written by the Chief of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Sec-tion, Victor W. Rotnem. Rotnem recalled section 19 of the U.S. Criminal Code, which reads:

"If two or more persons conspire to injure, oppress, threaten, or intimidate any citizen in the free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege secured to him by the Constitution or laws of the United States, or because of his having exercised the same, or if two or more persons go in disguise upon the highway, or on the premises of another, with intent to prevent or hinder his free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege so secured, they shall be fined not more than \$5,000 and imprisoned not more than 10 years, and shall moreover be thereafter ineligible to any office or place of honor, profit, or trust created by the Constitution or laws of the United States."

Parker was deprived of his right to justice under the law, to his right to a free trial. Some lawyers contend that the above code extract is applicable to lynching cases. Mississippi does not act properly in the Parker case, perhaps the United States can.

It's worth trying.

Meanwhile, how about adoption of a clearcut, Federal antilynching law?

# The Mutual Security Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Christian Science Monitor and a column by Mr. William S. White commenting on this year's mutual security debate.

There being no objection, the editorial and the column were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### MR. FULBRIGHT'S LOAN LETTER

Senator Fulbright is currently in the strange position of having to plead with the President to support a bill which would accomplish much that Mr. Eisenhower set out to do in 1957 when he created the foreign aid development loan fund. The head of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has written to the White House urgently seeking the President's backing.

We hope that the President's answer to this letter will be full and firm support for his friendly opponent, Mr. FULBRIGHT.

In 1957 Mr. Eisenhower spoke eloquently of the need for a loan fund from which developing nations could borrow to facilitate basic construction. In 1958, his administration continued to push this concept, saying that the fund should be managed on a long-term basis-for "at least 5 years, possibly even more" with capital of a billion dollars a year.

This bold and sensible policy was followed in a period when the Congress was whacking away at the program. Now, when a rescue committee from across the Senate aisle has stepped in to push essentially the same plan, Mr. Fulbright's \$1.5-a-year, 5-year guarantee of funds for foreign loans, the executive branch is found backing its own baby with apparent timidity.

Such timidity seems unwarranted. FULBRIGHT's tendered assistance passes the

administration's new inflation test. (None of the billions made available has to be spent if not needed.) It also passes the new handwriting on the wall, test which Senator Mansfield has offered as the temper of the electorate; namely that foreign aid should be in the form of loans rather than gifts. And finally it offers Mr. Eisenhower, as president of the world's largest savings and loan company, the authority to compete as he wants with the long-term, low-interest loans offered by Mr. Khrushchev's bank.

That, surely, is reason enough for the President to back Mr. FULBRIGHT's backing of the

President.

[From the Washington Evening Star, June 1, 19591

THE STRUGGLE OVER FOREIGN AID-LONG-TERM AND YEAR-TO-YEAR PLANS DIVIDE CAPITOL AND ADMINISTRATION

# (By William S. White)

Amazing is the word for the situation of cross-currents in which the Eisenhower administration's \$3.9 billion foreign aid program has been placed-partly by the administration itself.

Two internal struggles are going on, one in Congress and one downtown, as to the whole direction foreign aid ought to take

hereafter.

In Congress, many of those most expert in foreign affairs, in both parties, are trying to put economic assistance on a long-term revolving fund basis. They want to do this by greatly increasing—in some cases by doubling—the money that will go into the repayable loan fund.

Incidentally they also want to reduce military aid somewhat. Particularly, they would like to cut it down in little countries where jet planes are really not so needed, or so useful, as irrigation systems and better

roads.

Their real and basic purpose, in a word, is to set up a nonhandout kind of economic aid with a 5-year authorization. would mean that other countries could plan on construction schemes in the only way many can be sensibly planned upon-over a period of years.

As it stands, assistance is on a year-to-year schedule. It is possible to begin a big dam in a small republic, but it is not necessarily possible to finish it. The country concerned cannot be absolutely certain that the aid permitting such a start in one year will be

forthcoming for the next year.

But this basic purpose has run into com-plications beyond ready belief. The ad-ministration is described as being opposed to enlarging the repayable loan fund beyond the \$700 million asked for it by the Budget Bureau. And this is the state of affairs, even though the President himself 2 years ago was asking just such an enlargementand for 5 years.

But though the administration is taking this line, the facts underneath are these: A very important part of the administra-tion, the State Department, is quietly for, and not against, such an enlargement. Thus it comes down to this: The administration here really means the Budget Bureau and the Treasury Department. The function of these agencies is to try to keep the books balanced-and never mind what they may say in Pakistan or Peru.

Where the White House itself actually stands cannot be known until the President speaks up with unmistakable plain-He is being asked to do that by the chief Senate Democratic foreign spokesman, Senator Fulbright of Arkansas. Certain Senate Republicans are urging Senator Fulskicht on, although understandably they do not care to take an open lead with

Even this, however, is not the end of a tale of complications compounded. For even assuming that FULBRIGHT and company at last bring the true administration, the President himself, onto their side, there will be yet more trouble.

This trouble is in-built in Congress itself. For a 5-year authorization program would bypass the powerful Appropriations Committees of Congress. Heretofore, these have had the final word on money every year. It might be possible to coax the Senate Appropriations Committee to go along. It would be profoundly difficult, however, to persuade the House committee to do so.

If foreign aid is to be reformed in a businesslike way, the President will have to join his bipartisan foreign policy backers in Congress to overcome the Treasury-Budget alliance downtown and the Appropriations Committee alliance on Capitol Hill.

Lacking some such reform, foreign aid itself will surely die within a few years in the face of growing national and congressional boredom and dissatisfaction with the old model.

## Operation Brainpower

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON, LYNDON B. JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, the Ex-Students' Association of the University of Texas—known as the Texas Exes—has undertaken an extremely promising program in behalf of the university. It is called Operation Brainpower. Its goal is to recruit for the university some of the best young minds being graduated from Texas high schools.

Mr. Ed Schutze, president of the Dallas Texas Exes Club, originated the plan that grew into Operation Brainpower. He brought a group of university officials to Dallas, to explain the benefits the university could offer top students. Since then, the State organization, with Ed Schutze as chairman, has undertaken a recruitment program to finance appearances by university teachers and administrators before student groups throughout the State.

I ask unanimous consent that an article entitled "Operation Brainpower," from the Alcalde, the university alumni magazine, be printed in the Appendix of the Record. The article details the progress of this commendable program.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### OPERATION BRAINPOWER

With all the zeal and ambition of salesmen, and indeed they might be called such, the three officials mounted the stage in the Beaumont High School auditorium to expound upon their product.

The customers on this warm March 24 evening had a hard eye open for factors which would help them to choose a future academic home. They represented the top 25 percent of the high school students in the Beaumont area, and they wanted to hear what these men had to say about scholarship and its achievement at the University of Texas.

Through a unique plan made possible by

the Ex-Students' Association, the three university officials were there for just that

"When you come to the university you are moving in fast company," began Registrar Byron Shipp. The university is looking for good students, he said, pointing out that 121 members of the present university freshman class are former high school valedictorians. Registrar Shipp went on to explain admission requirements.

Arthur Cory, assistant dean of the college of arts and sciences, explained next university advisory and curriculum systems, telling the group that prospective students should not be alarmed by the idea of getting lost at a big university—"we have too much help for you."

Carl Bredt associate dean of student life, described briefly the multitude of non-academic services offered by the university and the various organizations on the perioheries of the campus.

The showing of the color and sound motion picture, "Gone To Texas," produced especially for this program, completed the orientation.

Accompanied by parents, the talented juniors and seniors with the aid of Beaumont Exes, then split into special-interest groups to fire specific questions at the three men from the university.

Thus went the 23d session of operation brainpower—a program whereby members of the Ex-Students' Association make it possible for officials to spread before local honor students the wares of the university.

Interesting students in coming to the university is not a new project for alumni. For years, Texas Exes have toiled faithfully in helping the coaching staff recruit top athletic talent for Longhorn teams. At the same time, university alumni watched in frustration while the country's leading private schools "raided" the State's high schools in search of superior brains. The university, hamstrung by a Texas law which prohibits the use of tax funds to recruit students for any State school, was helpless to do anything about it.

The Ex-Students' Association, as an independent organization supported by alumni dues, faced no such restrictions. In May 1957, months before sputnik aroused popular interest in education, one alumnus decided the time had come for the alumni to start recruiting brains as well as brawn.

He was Ed Schutze, B.S. in chemical engineering, 1948, president of the Dallas, Tex., Exes Club. With his club as sponsor, he invited a team of university officials to come to Dallas and explain the benefits offered by the university to the area's best high school students.

The meeting proved so successful (not only did prospective students show a great deal of interest, but more than half of the 150 who attended eventually came to the university) that Jack Maguire, executive director of the Ex-Students' Association, with Schutze, set into motion a statewide program of similar meetings. Schutze subsequently was named chairman of the State Operation Brainpower committee.

During 1958, \$1,00 was set aside from the associations' budget for financing the travel and housing expenses of officials making Operation Brainpower trips. Interest of Exes, students, and local school officials proved to be so great that initial and subsequent allotments have proven inadequate.

Members of the University, Students' Association formed a supporting committee under the chairmanship of Secretary Majorie Menefee. With Miss Menefee's spirited, "We only wish we could hurry progress up," the undergraduates, among other projects started publication of a handbook for prospective students. They also set up work-

shops for Instruction of fellow students who accompanied administrative officials on brainbower trips

What have been the results of Operation Brainpower during its 2 years of existence? Well, for one, the number of high school valedictorians entering the university rose from 88 in 1957 to 121 in 1958, an alltime high. Likewise, Registrar Shipp reported that 80 percent of last September's entering freshmen were in the top half of their graduating class, another record. While the sharp increase in enrollment of top students may not have been entirely a result of Operation Brainpower, there are few who would deny that it was a powerful motivating force in the increase of academic excellence.

To accommodate this brighter set the university:

Set up a junior fellows program for the top 25 freshmen. However, there were so many candidates that selection was postponed until January of this year to allow more time for interviews and the acid test of first-semester grades.

Doubled the usual number in accepting 250 entering freshmen for plan II, the liberal arts program for students selected from the top quarter of their high school classes.

Gave 555 semester hours' credit to freshmen passing new advanced placement examinations in German, college algebra, trigonometry, chemistry and English.

So many local Texas Exes Clubs, the groups that sponsor and coordinate the meetings, have requested Operation Brainpower teams for visits to their communities that many have had to be turned down—the lack of funds being the main deterrent.

In April the Operation Brainpower program was reevaluated and adjusted to handle a demand which appears will increase with the growing awareness of higher education on the part of Texas Exes and the public in general.

Beginning next fall, Operation Brainpower sessions will be centered in from 8 to 12 of the larger population centers in Texas. Meetings will be scheduled far in advance in cities like Dallas, Houston, San Antonio, Beaumont, Corpus Christi, Tyler, Amarillo, San Angelo, and others. High school students from the surrounding areas will be invited to come in to these centers.

In each case, the local Texas Exes Club will host the meeting, get out invitations to the area high schools, plan the program and arrange for refreshments.

To each of the meetings will go an Operation Brainpower team from Austin, its expenses paid by the Ex-Students' Association. Teams will include at least one representative of the university administration, a representative of the office of the dean of student services, an academic dean and two or three students.

"We are particularly hopeful that university students can attend each Operation Brainpower session in 1959-60," Chairman Schutze said, "This year, campus leaders have proved very effective in these visits to high schools. They can talk the language of the students better than anyone else."

Said the Dalias Morning News about Operation Brainpower: "It will be a good thing for the University of Texas. It is likely to turn out to be a good thing for higher education everywhere. It will, if the movement catches fire, that is, if higher educational institutions generally follow the lead of the big State institution. In a few years it could turn out to be the most revolutionary development in modern education.

"I will be an odd sort of revolution. It will consist of rediscovering the real purpose of higher education—both publicly and privately supported \* \*. The new movement toward emphasis on brainpower can bring a sweeping reform that will give us a much sounder educational system."

# Reading, Writing, and Television

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. ALBERT GORE

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Reading, Writing, and Tele-vision," written by David C. Stewart, and published in Harper's magazine for June 1959.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

READING, WRITING, AND TELEVISION (By David C. Stewart)

A young woman telephones her thanks for help in getting a job as a waitress; an errand boy calls with the glad news that he has been promoted to grocery clerk, and a carpenter to say that he has been able to take on a contracting job.

Testimonials like these are pouring innot to an employment service or vocational guidance expert—but to an educational TV station, WKNO in Memphis. Two years ago WKNO embarked on the pioneering task of Using the video screen to teach illiterates to read and write. Since then, an estimated 2,000 adults have attained what is known as "functional literacy"—roughly equivalent to the fourth grade of school, which is enough to meet the ordinary demands of life. To achieve this level, each pupil spent some 350 hours in study, divided between half-hour TV lessons given three times a week and homework supervised by volunteers at centers set up in schools and libraries as part of the program.

The idea of combating illiteracy by TV was originated by Keith Nighbert, WKNO's young Program director. His inspiration came from Dr. Frank C. Laubach, whose methods over the past 25 years have been used to teach reading to more than 100 million people, speaking 237 different languages and dialects in 94 different countries. Through a system known as each one teach one, Dr. Laubach has taught reading and writ-ing to the people of countries where the illiteracy rate is 70 percent, and no more than 10 percent of the population is sufficiently well educated to qualify as teachers, in the conventional sense.

Although illiteracy is generally considered a problem of the underdeveloped nations, there are, in fact, an estimated 10 million Americans who cannot read and write well enough to understand safety signs in a factory, follow a recipe in a cook book, or serve in the Armed Forces. It was Mr. Nighbert's notion that TV might be an ideal means of reaching them and that the only Way to prove his point was to go after the estimated 57,000 illiterates in the Memphis

This proved no small task. People who can't read are seldom anxious to admit it. Accordingly WKNO made its appeal obliquely. "Do you know someone who cannot read and Write?" asked announcers on commercial radio and TV stations in the area who co-Operated in the recruitment drive. Newspapers published descriptions of the proposed course under the heading, "Read This To Someone Who Can't Read." The word was Epread further during a literacy week, spon-Sored by the Memphis Advertising Club. pliance companies and churches donated TV sets for the centers (one set was donated by a local boy, Elvis Presley). The Memphis section of the Council of Jewish Women contributed \$1,500 to help launch the project and also provided volunteer workers. haps most important of all, the program had the enthusiastic support and advice of Dr. Laubach and his expert staff. His methods proved surprisingly adaptable to the TV screen, the great difference being, of course, that a single teacher could instruct several thousand pupils simultaneously.

#### WORDS AND PICTURES

A former Memphis elementary school teacher, Mrs. Pauline Hord, became director of the TV literacy project. At their own expense, she and another local teacher, Miss Ruth Knowlton, undertook to train themselves in TV pedagogy and the special learning problems of illiterate adults. percepts were supplied by Dr. Laubach whose disciples are told: "Cut 'no' out of your vocabulary. Never ask a student a question he cannot answer. Never talk much. Never tell him what he already knows. Talk in a low tone of voice. Do not move about nervously nor wave your hand or finger.'

Laubach pupils start out by learning the alphabet through a series of reading readiness charts. The consonants are taught first since all but c, g, and s have only one sound. The vowels, says Dr. Laubach, are "maddening chaos'-we have 8 sounds for a and

15 ways to pronounce o., The chart above shows how the first consonant, b, is taught. As the TV camera moves in for a close shot, the teacher points to the picture in the first frame and says, "This is a bird with a round body. He is reaching for a worm. Say 'bird.' The teacher pauses for the students' responses and traces the letter b. Then he points to the second frame and says "This looks like a bird with a round body. Say 'bird'." Then he points to the third frame, covering the b. and says, "This is the word 'bird.' Say 'bird'." Pointing to the first letter he then says, "Bird begins with the sound buh.' Say 'buh'." The students are asked to repeat this sound three times. Then the teacher points to the fourth frame and says, "Every letter has a sound and also a name. name of this letter is 'b.' Say 'b'." this has been repeated, there is a short explanation of capitals and then the teacher moves on to the next letter.

#### IMPATIENT LEARNERS

When the alphabet is mastered, the pupils are ready for the Laubach reading text, Streamlined English, which uses visual associations to teach a vocabulary of 1,100 "most useful" words. Pictures lead to words, then to spelling, and finally to a story. The first one starts out: "This is a hill. It is a hill. It is Mr. Hill's hill." One of the final stories goes this way: "After the world war a woman went to Washington to watch the soldiers come home. But something went wrong with her automobile and she had a wreck.

WKNO followed the first course with a more advanced one called, "A Door Opens." These stories dealt with family problems and with such fundamentals as food, health, clothing, shelter, work, recreation, citizenship, and moral and spiritual needs, and added 320 more words to the students' reading vocabulary. By popular demand, arithmetic was also included in the second course.

The televison screen, by its nature, enforces concentration. Its limitation is the fact that it cannot allow for individual dif-TV lessons are necessarily scaled down to the majority pace which may be too WKNO fast for some and boring for others. found that those who could not keep up simply dropped by the wayside. The majority were impatient learners, anxious to see immediate results but also unwilling to be rushed or pressured. Learning slowed down seriously if there was a gap of more than 48 hours between lessons.

As news of the course spread, people came from the countryside to stay with Memphis relatives for the thrice-weekly lessons. One constant viewer was the wife of an illiterate man who worked during the lesson periods; she watched each evening and taught her husband when he came off the night shift.

Heartened by the results of WKNO's ex-periments, TV stations in a dozen other cities are currently embarking on literacy training programs. To aid them, WKNO has training programs. To aid them, WKNO has now packaged 98 half-hour lessons on film

which it is offering for sale.

Of even greater importance may be the impetus which the successful WKNO experiment may give to international efforts to extend the frontiers of literacy. From 43 to 45 percent of the world's people over 15 years old are illiterate. The essence of Dr. Laubach's method is that it can be used by teachers with very little education themselves; they must, however, be trained in his techniques, and his textbooks are indispensable tools for them. To date progress has been slowed by a shortage of teacher-trainers and of materials. To fill these gaps, a new center and foundation honoring Dr. Laubach is being planned. It will occupy a 25-acre site near Memphis. The center will The center will include TV facilities and a large auditorium and will train students and prepare educational materials for use throughout the world. This is a program which may one day rank as a major American contribution in helping millions of men and women achieve their aspirations for dignity and opportunity in modern society.

# Poison in Your Water-No. 100

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I am inserting into the Appendix of the Con-GRESSIONAL RECORD an article appearing in the Green Bay (Wis.) Press-Gazette, of January 14, 1958, entitled "Pollution Problems Elsewhere":

# POLLUTION PROBLEMS ELSEWHERE

It is frequently useful for perspective to be reminded that public problems that seem peculiarly local because of their immediacy are actually common to the rest of the world and are being fought with difficulty elsewhere also.

Thus our attention was caught recently by a report from the Water Pollution Board the New York State Department of Health, which might with perfect propriety have been issued by our own State Committee on Water Pollution, at Madison.

There, as here, anxious critics have sometimes seemed unreasonably to demand that we miraculously undo in a few years prob-lems that were decades, and even centuries, in the making.

"In many instances," reminded the New York authorities, "the problems of water pollution in New York State date back to the years when settlements were being established and streams were being freely used as dumping places for waste products of community life.

"Many of the acute problems we now face had their origin well before the turn of the century. While the 8 years since the law was enacted represent a substantial period of time, the period is very short when compared to the great number of years during which the progressive and serious degradation of natural waterways took place.'

Unsaid, but clearly implied there, is the idea that we cannot reasonably expect to resort our streams and our lakes to the state of naturalness and chemical purity they may have had when the first sturdy Dutch colonists peopled New York, or when the first bold Frenchmen occupied the Fox Valley centuries ago.

All that is not to say that we ought not to proceed as effectively as our circum-stances require, and according to the objec-

tive meaning of the law.

But we cannot depart from the 20th century, or erase the fact that pollution started 3 centuries or more ago, that our Wisconsin rivers accommodate the industries that are the economic bloodstreams of the State and that urban communities are not compatible with leaping trout and glistening bass. Parenthetically, we usually remember in this context that when the first Frenchmen met the Indian natives in this part of the world, the latter passed on a decidedly uncompli-mentary description of the odoriferous qualities of Green Bay. The Fox River then, as now, was a tributary.

# Antarctica Is Important to the United States and the World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the importance of Antarctica to the United States and to the entire world, as well as the need to secure a long-range political settlement in that area, has been stressed recently by a number of our scholars. Prof. Robert D. Hayton, specialist in international law and foreign policy at Hunter College in New York, has for some time been studying the interests of the United States and of other countries in Antarctica, and is generally recognized as one of the top experts on legal and political questions of the polar regions. He believes a bold formula must be compounded to lead the interested nations toward some form of joint administration in which all participate and all make some sacrifice in order to ensure the peaceful utilization of this major frontier. He feels strongly that it is time for this country to establish a firm policy, including enunciation and active prosecution of U.S. claims if necessary, and that we must create without delay a permanent, integrated national program for Antarctic activities of the type contemplated in S. 764, the Richard E. Byrd Antarctic Commission. of which I am a cosponsor, which provides for continuity and support of study. research and development of programs for peaceful uses in science, commerce and other activities related to Antarctica. and to direct and administer the U.S. Antarctic program in the national interest. I am hopeful that action can soon be taken on this. I hope that we may soon begin hearings on this resolu-

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an adaptation of Dr. Havton's latest article. "Polar Problems and International Law—Developments in the Antarctic," published in the American Journal of International Law, volume 52, No. 4, which discusses the impact of recent specific and strategic developments on legal thinking in the United States and abroad.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

POLAR PROBLEMS AND INTERNATIONAL LAW-DEVELOPMENTS IN THE ANTARCTIC

On March 11, 1957, at the age of 68, Rear Adm. Richard E. Byrd died. His name was for many virtually synonymous with polar exploration. An era died with him. In 1955 Admiral Byrd had been named top policy officer within the Defense Establishment on Antarctic matters. Rear Adm. George Dufek succeeded him as officer in charge, U.S. Antarctic projects, inheriting the Byrd staff and mantle and the job.

In the early post-World War II period Byrd himself helped terminate the era he personified, that is, the primacy of the private and semiprivate professional explorer who penetrated a virgin and unearthly vastness of sea, ice, mountains, and snow desert with a patriotic but also a deeply personal, almost proprietary interest. Today expeditions are offical projects with multiple objectives. The operations mounted by the United States in recent years are of unprecedented scale and scope. In addition to scientific observations and basic explorations, tests of special equipment and supplies are made; valuable training is afforded officers, crews, and troop units. Since the first flights to Antarctic airfields from terrain outside the region-in this case Christchurch, New Zealand—were completed in 1956 by Navy planes and later by Air Force Globemasters, the "season" has been extended up to 3 months by making bases available long before ships can approach through the ice.

The basic stimulus for the stepped-up activity in Antarctica since 1955 was the preparations for and the conduct of the International Geophysical Year. Technically, a cooperative, nongovernmental effort on the part of the various national members of the International Council of Scientific Unions, the IGY received much publicity and con-siderable official support. Nothing approaching the number and breadth of projects scheduled for completion by the end of 1958 had ever been attempted previously. Twelve nations cooperated in the Antarctic and sub-Antarctic observations and tests for the IGY. Partly because the projects were scientistdesigned and partly because there exists a gentleman's agreement that all activities during the 18-month IGY were to be re-garded as nonpolitical (that is, without merit in making territorial or other claims), the international cooperation has been outstanding among all participants, including the

In April 1958, the Department of State announced it was conducting diplomatic conversations with the interested nations concerning an extension of the scientific cooperation beyond the International Geo-physical Year. The International Council of Scientific Unions, after an exploratory meeting in Stockholm in September 1957, created a special committee on Antarctic research (SCAR) which met in The Hague in February 1959, to discuss specifically post-IGY work. It was first announced in January 1959, that the United States would for certain continue its scientific operations in the Antarctic past the IGY's December 31 termination date.

Four of the seven U.S. stations were selected for continued observations. Operation Deep Freeze as Deep Freeze IV, under the command of Admiral Dufek, the Defense Department, and the Navy, continued the support of the post-IGY program. Coordination was continued with a number of Federal departments and agencies having interests in the region or in the results of the operations the National Science Foundation took on the task of mounting the scientific research programs. The Soviet Union, operating several stations, remained in Antarctica. Australia and the United States jointly announced agreement to cooperate in the maintenance of the Wilkes Station. The Weddell Sea Base and Ellsworth Station have been assigned on the same basis to the Argentines.

On February 11, 1959, British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan announced, during a visit to Australia, a shift in his government's traditional position of individual sector claims, and called for internationalization and demilitarization of the Antarctic. tional claims were to be ruled out and scientific research promoted. This plan brought a flurry of mixed reactions, especially in Latin America.

Latin Americans have not forgotten that President Franklin D. Roosevelt, in facing the Axis challenge, decided to extend the Monroe Doctrine to that portion of the Antarctic under South America and rethe quested the Department of State to consider the advisability of a joint claim there "in behalf of and in trust for, the American Republic as a whole." Secretary of State Cordell Hull announced flatly in 1940 that continental defense considerations made it imperative that the American Republic sustain dominant title to that quadrant.

During the winter and early spring of 1958 the U.S. Government was gathering itself for a concerted move into the field of Antarctic policy. The approaching close of the IGY as well as the presence of the Russians in the area made it obvious to a number of the interested states that further delay would be reckless indeed. Internal coordinations and external conversations culminated in the initiative, by the President on May 3, 1958, whereby the United States was dedicated to the principle that Antarctica shall be used only for peaceful purposes. Accordingly, the United States invited 11 other countries, including the Soviet Union, to confer to seek an effective joint means of achieving this objective.

A diplomatic note was delivered by the respective U.S. Ambassadors to the foreign ministers of Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Chile, France, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the United Kingdom which suggested friendly cooperative and harmonious agreement, through a treaty arrangement to insure that Antarctica be used for peaceful purposes

One month later the State Department announced that all 11 nations had accepted the President's invitation. Several of the notes of acceptance, including that of the Soviet Union, made general reservations regarding territorial claims and other rights, but these seemed to complete harmony with the "status quo" concept of the American proposal. Consultations began almost immediately in Washington on the matters of time and place for the conference and of specific draft treaty language to achieve the goals of the meeting. Simultaneously, every country began a systematic study of and search into its own position, titles, and historical activity in Antarctic lands and

Faced with a widely popular, concrete proposal, and the likelihood that the conference would be held in any event, Chile and Argentina agreed to participate. The possibilities have been the subject of repeated

contemplation in the Latin American press. Several other South American states have begun to take an interest. It is reported that at the request of Itamaraty (the Brazilian foreign office) local military circles, including the Superior War College, have begun to study the possibility of Brazilian participation in an Antarctic settlement and even of an Antarctic claim. Peru and Uruguay have also recently begun studies along similar lines, the latter having appointed a commission to study the rights of Uruguay in the Antarctic. A logical extension of the sector principle to all of the littoral states of southern South America appears to be the basic "approach" and hope of these countries. This scheme has been named "the theory of projections" by its proponents; simply by dropping a line down the "unobstructed" meridians southward to the Pole.

While these countries may have contrived their entrance into Antarctic affairs too late for actual participation in the impending conference of interested states, any discussion or later programs by United Nations organs or by any of the specialized organizations will provide an opportunity for the assertion of Peruvian, Uruguayan and Brazilian "rights."

The presence of competing state activity has caused the older claimants and interested states to redouble their efforts. In a new spirit of compromise it is now considered urgent to put into operation agreements which will preclude uncontrolled expansion of the Communist contingents and the introduction of military and other "cold war" considerations.

On July 15, 1959, Ambassador Arthur S. Lall, of India, requested that the question of Antarctica be placed on the agenda of the 13th General Assembly, suggesting that consideration be given the question. India proposed the same agenda item in 1956. Opposition to general discussion, particularly by Chile and Argentina, caused India finally to withdraw her proposal at that time. Similar and even broader resistance to a General Assembly debate (now that a 12-nation conference of interested states may be called), plus the number of other pressing world problems, has caused India to decide once again not to press the issue for the time being.

The general exploration and exploitation of Antarctica has been hampered as much by the lack of an ice-free airbase as by anything else. The only suitable location found thus far, Marble Point on the edge of McMurdo Sound, has now been surveyed and an initial 1,700-by-50-foot gravel runway has been put into use. Expansion of this initial strip to a length and surface adequate for major aircraft is a high priority project with American Antarctic specialists. In 1957 the United States specified in its renewal of the commercial aviation agreement with Australia that service be authorized along three routes, including one over the Antarctic. An agreement is being negotiated with Brazil which would allow implementation of the Antarctic route via Rio de Janeiro. Antarctic stopover is planned for Marble Point, Flights from South American capitals to Melbourne and Sydney, while not of high traffic potential, would be shortened by up to 6,000 miles over present routings. There is apparently considerable official eagerness to inaugurate such service by an American carrier as soon as navigational and landing facilities permit.

Landing strips on the ice are very treacherous and, when on the shelf, likely to deteriorate or break off and drift away, as have the Navy's best efforts in 1956, 1957, and 1958.

President Roosevelt's order of November 25, 1939, assigned a mission to the newly created (though short-lived) U.S. Antarctic Service and gave specific instructions to its commander, Admiral Byrd. The letter re-

iterated traditional policy that the "United States has never recognized any claim of sovereignty in the Antarctic regions asserted by any foreign state," and cautioned members of the U.S. Antarctic Service not to "take any action or make any statements tending to compromise this position," however:

Members of the Service may take any appropriate steps such as dropping written claims from airplanes, depositing such writing in cairns, et cetera, which might assist in supporting a sovereignty claim by the U.S. Government. Careful record shall be kept of the circumstances surrounding each such act. No public announcement of such act shall, however, be made without specific authority in each case from the Secretary of State.

The directive for the Navy's 1946 Operation High Jump listed the extension and consolidation of "U.S. sovereignty over the largest practicable area of the Antarctic continent" as one of its objectives. Operation Windmill in 1947 was similarly instructed, as was the first Operation Deep Freeze in 1955. The universal understanding to make the IGY nonpolitical led to the formal removal of claims objectives from the orders of subsequent phases of Operation Deep Freeze, the support force for the United States IGY stations.

#### PROSPECTS AND ISSUES

Attention to polar problems shows every sign of increasing rather than decreasing. There is a need for a bold, long-range polar policy—both from the politico-military and the scientific points of view.

Scholars abroad are maintaining their interest in polar problems. At home, even secondary students are being informed of the significance of the area.

An institutional framework for the treatment of the problems of either the Arctic or the Antarctic would be, under any circumstances, a major landmark in the history of international relations. A successful formula would yield priceless precedent in the international law and organization for possible broader application at some future date. Several commentators have expressed the hope for experience in the polar regions which could serve as a model for man's eventual regulation of the even more remote satellite, moon, and outer space.

Should navigational aids, weather observations, and scientific studies be carried out on a merely cooperative basis, leaving performance to the individual nations concerned, or should such tasks be undertaken by some mutually supported international bureau created especially for the purpose? Should the United Nations be given jurisdiction over all such special territories and a permanent force created which would not only patrol all regions assigned, but administer special scientific, relief, and development programs?

Decisions of the greatest importance to the human race are being thrust upon the leaders of the nations. They must cast about for a partial community in which to try out slightly more advanced forms of international administration and policing which may in time come to be recognized as a trustworthy step in the right direction.

Twelve nations are preparing to discuss settlement of the Antarctic question in a proposed forthcoming conference. Arctic inspection against surprise attack is part of the basis for a special disarmament meeting proposed for October 1958. Pressure increases for a permanent United Nations police force. It is to be hoped that in every country the statesmen responsible will bear in mind the potential for world peace of adequate solutions to the questions of the polar regions.

ROBERT D. HAYTON.

# Inflation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues an editorial which appeared in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat on Wednesday, June 3, 1959, entitled "If We Don't Curb Inflation":

#### IF WE DON'T CURB INFLATION

The American factory worker last year earned an average of \$83.15 a week. On paper, he was making \$2.17 more each week than he earned in 1957. But that wage gain was really a sham and a delusion.

The cost of living rose so much in that one year alone that his weekly \$83.15 wage was worth 6 cents less than the \$80.98 a week he had earned a year earlier. Inflation had made him property richer.

tion had made him poorer—not richer.

Washington is largely to blame for the inflation that has gone on almost without interruption ever since the end of World War II. Both the White House and Congress have approved the spending of huge sums, whether the Government had the money or not.

When the money wasn't there, the Treasury turned on the printing presses and ran off some more greenbacks and charged it off to the national debt.

Uncle Sam now owes some \$275 billion on which he pays some \$8 billion a year in interest alone.

President Eisenhower has announced his resolve to make next year's budget balance and run up no more national debt—come hell or high water. For some reason, his stand has won him few bouquets in Congress—or out of it.

At a recent press conference, he was bombarded with questions about his budget-balancing plans.

Some of the queries were sharp enough to get under the hide of a man far less thin-skinned than David Dwight Eisenhower. One of the most pointed questions was whether he is right in making a fetish out of balancing the budget. The President replied:

"I don't know why suddenly a balanced budget is getting to be a bad word. I think it is rather a good thing to be a bit frugal and say that we can live within our means \* \* \*

"If we cannot live within our means as prosperity is growing and developing, when are we going to do it? And if we are going to always live under deficit spending, what is going to happen to our currency?"

The answer to the last question is to look at what has already happened to the American dollar. Today's dollar is worth less than 1939's half a buck.

So far Congress has given the President no help at budget balancing. Either the Senate or the House has approved huge housing bills, expensive schemes for Federal aid to education, multi-million-dollar programs to bail our areas hard-hit by the vanished recession, and spend-thrift subsidies for veterans.

If all of these bills pass both Houses in about their present form, Budget Director Maurice Stans estimates next year the Federal Government will go in the red about \$3\$ billion. This, of course, in what promises to be one of the biggest boom years ever.

As the President said:

"If we cannot live within our means as prosperity is growing and developing, when are we going to do it? "And if we are going to always live under deficit spending, what is going to happen to

our currency?"

The answer to that last question is this: If Washington keeps printing greenbacks, whenever it is short of cash, then one day the American people may find out how cruel it is to live not under creeping inflation, but under the galloping variety.

It may find out what it is like to have dol-

It may find out what it is like to have dollar bills worth less than the paper they are printed on, and food, clothing and shelter so dear that money can hardly buy them.

Resolution of Wisconsin Association for Adult Education, Urging Continuation of Programs for Vocational Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, today I was pleased to receive from Clare D. Rejahl, executive secretary of the Wisconsin Association for Adult Education, a resolution adopted at the association's recent convention in Green Bay, Wis.

In essence, the resolution voices strong support for continuation of our programs

for vocational education.

We recall that in the past the Federal Government has made a contribution to vocational education. However, it is important to stress that the States and local communities bear a major portion of the cost burden, matching Federal funds at about a 5-to-1 ratio.

As we know, the 1959 budget fortunately provides for continuation of this program. From time to time, there have, however, been recommendations for withdrawal of Federal support.

Over the years, this fine vocational education system has provided folks in a wide variety of fields, including industry, agriculture, labor, nursing, homemaking, and others, with opportunities to develop skills and training, the better to perform in their vocations.

In order to give my colleagues the benefit of the deep feeling of our fine Wisconsin association on the need for continuation of Federal support, I ask unanimous consent to have the resolution printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the

RECORD, as follows:

Whereas the program of vocational education in Wisconsin has had as a primary objective the development of the skills of the working youth and adults of our State; and

Whereas the program of vocational education in Wisconsin has been developed with the assistance of Federal aids allotted to the State under the provisions of the Smith-Hughes and George-Barden Acts; and

Whereas the elimination of Federal aids for vocational education under the Smith-Hughes and George-Barden Acts would result in discontinuance of some established vocational education training programs which are essential to the basic economy of our

Nation and would hinder the development of needed new programs; and

Whereas the elimination of Federal aids for vocational education would weaken the industrial, business, and agriculture training structure of our country, the strength of which is so essential to successful competition with the Communist world; and

Whereas President Eisenhower in his 1959 budget message to the U.S. Congress has recommended the elimination of Federal aids for vocational education under the Smith-Hughes and George-Barden Acts beginning on July 1, 1960, and has stated that legislation will be introduced into the 1959 session of Congress to accomplish this objective: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Wisconsin Association for Vocational and Adult Education Conference, assembled in Green Bay, Wis., on Friday and Saturday, May 1 and 2, 1959, take action vigorously opposing the recommendations of President Eisenhower for the elimination of Federal aids for vocational education beginning on July 1, 1960; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the Honorable Dwight Eisenhower, President of the United States, Washington, D.C.; to all Wisconsin congressional representatives; and to the Honorable Gaylord A. Nelson, Governor of Wisconsin.

# Protection of the Scenic Shorelines of the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, on May 20 I was pleased to introduce in the Senate S. 2010, which is the bill sent to Congress by the administration to provide for the creation of three national shoreline parks, to be selected administratively by the U.S. National Park Service.

The bill would authorize \$15 million for the purchase of these three locations. Because I believe so strongly that our scenic seashores must be protected—whether on the Atlantic, the Pacific, or the Great Lakes—it is my hope that this legislation becomes law. I am gratified with the opportunity to work together with the administration in so worthy a cause—as I cooperated with them in saving the timber and wildlife resources of the great Klamath Indian Reservation of southeastern Oregon, last year.

An excellent editorial on this theme was published on the editorial page of the Oregon Daily Journal, of Portland, for June 1, 1959. The title of the editorial is "New Tack on Seashore Proposal." I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the Record, for the information of the large number of Senators who are interested in helping to safeguard permanently our magnificent seacoasts and shorelines.

There being no objection the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW TACK ON SEASHORE PROPOSAL

Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERCER'S decision to introduce a Department of the Interior bill on the acquisition of unspecified national seashore areas means he is willing to side-track temporarily his own bill to establish a seashore recreation area in the Oregon Dunes between Florence and Reedsport.

The new bill, sought by Acting Secretary of Interior Elmer Bennett, calls for the appropriation of \$15 million to purchase three sites from a number of possibilities on the Atlantic, Pacific, guif, and lakeshore coasts.

Senator Neurerger is confident, once this bill is passed, that the Oregon Dunes area will have a good chance of being one of the three, partly because of the modest acquisition cost compared with that of some of the leading contenders. The Oregon Dunes cost is estimated at \$3,200,000, compared with \$16 million for the Cape Cod (Mass.) Dunes, \$9 million for the Indiana Dunes, and \$10 million for the Point Reyes (Calif.) Dunes.

The Oregon Dunes proposal is controversial, but Neubergers thinks it is less so than some of the others and that this will enhance its chances. Most of the opposition, he says, is limited to the Florence area. He has found favorable opinion elsewhere on the Oregon coast and in other parts of the State. He is almost certain now that the Senate public lands subcommittee will hold hearings in Oregon this fall, at Florence or Reedsport and Portland, on the Oregon Dunes bill. The measure of public support found at these hearings can be a determining factor in the success or fallure of the proposal.

Meanwhile, it should be noted this is not the first time Neuberger has teamed with the Department of Interior on a matter relating to Oregon resources. Last year he embraced the Seaton bill on the disposition of Klamath Indian timber, after he decided it had a better chance in Congress than his own, and was extremely influential in steering it through. He now believes passage of the Department of Interior seashore bill is a necessary first step to success for the Oregon Dunes proposal.

Oregon outdoor and conservation groups should take advantage of the time between now and the fall hearings to determine their position. Their testimony might well decide whether Oregon is to have a national seasoner recreation area or not.

#### Wanted: Cancer Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, the June 4, 1959, issue of the Machinist, published by the International Association of Machinists, contains a succinct editorial entitled "Cancer," whose significant message would be diluted by further introduction. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CANCER

For 6 years, the Communists tried every trick in the book to get John Foster Dulles out of their hair. What the Commies couldn't do to our former Secretary of State, cancer did.

We may know how to defend ourselves against the Communists, but recent events prove again that our defenses against cancer are inadequate and ineffective. It's time to strengthen our national defense against cancer.

# Federal Water Pollution Control Act

SPEECH

#### HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 4, 1959

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under

House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 3610) to amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act to increase grants for construction of sewage treatment works; to establish the Office of Water Pollution Control; and for other purposes.

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Chairman, I wanted an opportunity to remind my colleagues here that the question before us really is whether we are going to have an effective water pollution law or not.

I want to recite to you some of the things that go into the water that you and I and our citizens downstream drink. If you have read some of the insertions I have put into the Appendix of the Congressional Record you will know what is being dumped by hundreds of thousands of tons into the waters of the United States. We find substances like dead cats, dead dogs, municipal waste, human feces, condoms, garbage, big gobules of fat, chicken feathers, entrails of animals from slaughterhouses and radioactive waste. These are some of the things that are in the water your constituents and mine are drinking. These are some of the things that this bill is aimed at taking out of the waters that your constituents and mine are drinking. The waters of the United States are so foul that it is really painful to drive along a river like the Potomac.

Let me tell you some of the other things that go into these waters; alkalis, acids, strong corrosive substances, substances so strong that they are eating up bridges and retaining walls, levees, canals and dams, poisons like phenol, a pea-sized bit of which will kill an elephant, substances which attack and enlarge the liver, other substances, which cause damages to body of a nature yet unknown.

When the House votes on this measure, these things should be borne well in mind.

At low water on the Ohio River one quart in every four has been through toilet, kitchen sink, mine dump or factory. One quart in every four of the water of the beautiful Ohio has been defiled with unspeakable filth, poison, and germs. What will the people of that great river valley, or any other river valley say to their elected representatives who oppose restoring, the water of our country to a safe, clean condition, especially when in the future

they find, as some now do that 1 out of every 2 quarts of water is defiled by flowing through sink, toilet, or industrial system.

# Early Settler of Wilkes-Barre Receives Recognition in National Magazine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following article that was featured in the Wilkes-Barre Sunday Independent, May 10, 1959:

CATLIN MAKES THE BIG TIME—LIPE MAGAZINE FEATURE GIVES HONOR TO WILKES-BARRE'S INDIAN PAINTER WHO DESPAIRED HIS WORK WAS WASTED

George Catlin, Wilkes-Barre native and highly controversial painter and author of his time (1796-1872), has scored big time recognition for his authentic paintings of early American Indians.

Life magazine currently is publishing a series of color-plate articles on "How the West Was Won." A double-page spread on Catiln's paintings of Indian tribes and ceremonies as well as a full-page reproduction on Catiln's painting of an Indian chief are featured.

painting of an Indian chief are featured. James J. Corrigan, of 297 Madison Street, elty, local historian and an authority on Catlin's works, has interesting comments on the Life magazine spread. His library contains many of Catlin's famous volumes on the Indians, including two purchased from book dealers in London—"Last Rambles Amongst the Indians of the Rocky Mountains and Andes (1868)" and "Life Among the American Indians (1875)."

In the preface to the latter work, Catlin noted the following biographical materials, of considerable importance to modern Wyoming Valley residents, in view of the fame gained by one of the area's natives in the field of art:

"The place of my nativity (July 26, 1796) was Wilkes-Barre, in the Wyoming Valley, rendered historically famous by its early and disastrous warfare with the Indians whom the civilized races had driven out of it, and celebrated in the popular poem by (Thomas) Campbell, 'Gertrude of Wyoming.'"

#### STUDIED LAW

"When at the proper age, I commenced reading the law for a profession, I attended the law school of the celebrated Judges Reeve and Gould, in Connecticut, for 2 years." (Catlin had previously attended the academy in Wilkes-Barre, set up in the town's courtroom and Jail, decently clapboarded for its new purpose.) "After reading for a couple of years longer, I passed my examination and was admitted to the bar, commencing the practice of law, which I followed for several years.

"During this time, fortunately or unfortunately, another and stronger passion was getting the advantage of me, that for painting, to which all of my love for pleading soon gave way. I very deliberately resolved to convert my library into paintpots and brushes, and to pursue painting as my future.

"In Philadelphia now, I again resolved to use my art in rescuing the looks and customs of the vanishing races of native man in America from the oblivion to which I plainly saw they were hastening before the approach and certain progress of civilization."

BEGAN TO PAINT IN 1832

"I started in 1832 with canvas and colors and penetrated the vast solitudes from whence I have brought the information to be given in the following pages.

"I devoted 8 years of my life in visiting about 50 tribes in North America and brought home a collection of more than 600 oil paintings (in all cases made from nature) of portraits, landscapes, and Indian customs, and every article of their manufacture, of weapons, costumes, wigwams, etc., which exhibited for several years in London and afterwards in the Louvre, Paris, at the invitation of his Majesty, Louis Philippe, who paid it many visits, with the Queen and most of the royal familiy."

Despite George Catlin's fame, even in his lifetime, his remarkable Indian paintings and books of the Redskins were strongly criticized before his end, principally by envious enemies of his artistic career. On occasions in his long life, approaching poverty dejected Catlin who attempted continuously while living abroad to gain a reward he considered fair for his Indian paintings. He lived to see his hopes fulfilled, his paintings placed in the Smithsonian Institution at Washington.

TRUE TO WILKES-BARRE

Catlin's lifelong devotion to his native town, Wilkes-Barre, is tragically revealed in the first line of a volume, by his excellent biographer, Lloyd Haberly, a Rhodes scholar, who in his work, "Pursuit of the Horizon—A Life of George Catlin," published in 1948, wrote:

"In his deaf, lonely age, after 30 years abroad, he still signed himself, 'George Catlin of Wilkes-Barre'."

George Catlin, "provided every possible comfort by his daughters," died at Jersey City on December 23, 1872. His remains were interred at Greenwood, Long Island.

# Vice President Nixon Writes About Dulles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, the most recent issue of Life magazine contains several pages of photographs covering the recent funeral ceremonies of our late great Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, as well as pictures setting forth the highlights of his illustrious career. Accompanying this pictorial study is a brief but moving article by Vice President Nixon about the character and quality of this great man whose passing was indeed a loss to the entire free world.

It is a pleasure to call the attention of my colleagues to this article and, under leave to extend and revise my remarks, to include it with them, not only for the information of my colleagues in Congress but with the expressed hope that it will be given wide circulation throughout the entire country.

It is a fitting tribute to a very great man from another great man who was closely associated with Mr. Dulles in both his work and his thinking regarding foreign policy and the dangers of international communism; VICE PRESIDENT NIXON WRITES ABOUT DULLES (By RICHARD M. NIXON)

I have had the privilege of knowing and working with John Foster Dulles since the time I first met him in 1948. And it was my great fortune that since the fall of 1955 the association between us was particularly close.

In a city where a political leader learns that the number of his friends goes up and down with his standing in the public opinion polls, I found Mr. Dulles' loyalty to his friends was no more affected by the latest poll than was his adherence to his own policies.

He was not unaware of his unique abilities. But he was one of those rare individuals who could accept-and even demand-from his friends constant critical examination of both his policies and his leadership. He was never guilty of that most deadly sin—unreasoned

pride and conceit.

I recall at least four occasions when he was under attack when he asked for my advice. His question was not as to his policies, which he believed to be right (a view I shared), but whether he, himself, might have become too controversial to be the best spokesman for those policies.

"I never want to be a burden on the President," he often used to say to me. "As a friend, I want you to tell me whenever you believe that I have become a burden, either

politically or otherwise."

He recognized the fundamental truth that a public man must never forget—that he loses his usefulness when he as an individual, rather than his policy, becomes the issue.

This trait was most in evidence on his last arduous journey to Europe when he had to call into play all his superb diplomatic talents in order to help unify the Western position on Berlin. There was seldom a moment on this trip when he was without pain. He was unable to keep down a single meal.

I asked him how he was able to carry on. He answered, "I told my associates that they were to watch me carefully and that they were to inform me immediately whenever it appeared that my physical condition in any way impaired my ability to carry on the negotiations in which we were partici-But he was never better at the negotiating table than at this most difficult period of his life.

He afterward told me, "I never felt any pain while the negotiating was taking place. Then at the end of the day it would come

down on me like a crushing weight."

So much for the quality of the man. His policies will be judged not by his dedication or his skill at the conference table but by what happens in the years ahead, when men like Christian Herter build on the foundations Mr. Dulles erected.

But whatever happens there are certain great principles which he advocated which will forever stand as a monument to his

He believed that those who are called to positions of leadership in a democracy have the responsibility to lead, not just to follow public opinion. During the crisis over Que-moy and Matsu, the mail, the polls, and the opinionmakers seemed to be overwhelmingly against the position he advocated. He told me that we had to try to change public opinion by informing the people of facts of which they might not be aware. If, after they learned the facts, the people held the same opinion, theirs of course should be the final judgment. But in this instance, his leadership helped to convince the people and thereby averted a Communist victory that could have destroyed the free world position in Asia.

History will also record that the inflexibility and brinkmanship for which he was criticized in truth represented basic principles of the highest order.

At a time when the political and intellectual climate in the West appeared to be moving slowly but steadily toward advocacy of shortsighted, opportunistic arrangements with the Soviets, Mr. Dulles' stubborn constancy sometimes appeared like an anachronism. Yet he made an unchallengeable argument for firmness where fundamentals were involved. Speaking before the National Council of Churches of Christ last Novem-ber, Mr. Dulles said: "Communism is stubborn for the wrong; let us be steadfast for the right. A capacity to change is indis-pensable. Equally indispensable is the capacity to hold fast to that which is good. So it is that while we seek to adapt our policies to the inevitability of change, we resist aspects of change which counter the enduring principles of moral law."

When he was attacked for brinkmanship Mr. Dulles stood on an ancient and honorable principle—that by looking a great danger in the face we may avert it and lesser perils. He was simply taking the same posttion which Winston Churchill saw so well in 1939: "If you will not fight for the right when you can easily win without bloodshed; if you will not fight when your victory will be sure and not too costly; you may come to the moment when you will have to fight with all odds against you and only a precarious

chance of survival."

But it is in a third area in which Mr. Dulles leaves to the free world perhaps his most lasting and valuable legacy. Some of his critics have scoffed at his advocacy of peaceful liberation of the Communist-dominated peoples and at his often reiterated faith in

the eventual collapse of communism.

Yet, what other tenable position can selfrespecting free peoples take? The Communists have no hesitancy in proclaiming their faith in the eventual domination of the world by dictators. Can we be less determined in our dedication to the cause of freedom from tyranny for all people?

If we want a foreign policy and a national attitude that bends before every Communist breeze, if we have come to the point where liberty is not worth our lives, if we are becoming convinced that the future is in the hands of dictators rather than in those of free men, then we no longer need the Dulleses or their legacy. But while American greatness and American hope endure, John F Dulles will be remembered as one of their most effective and eloquent champions.

# Too Much Information, Not Enough

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished gentleman from Texas [Mr. Mahon] and the members of the Subcommittee on Defense Appropriations do a great service to our Nation and to the security of our citizens. I wish to commend them for the long hours and great study they have devoted to the task of bringing to the House this bold, yet balanced appropriation bill. We must spend this money if we are to remain strong and able to defend our way of life.

In this connection, an editorial which appears in the June issue of Air Force Magazine written by its editor, Mr. John F. Loosbrock, will be of interest in showing the appreciation by experts of the work by this subcommittee:

Too Much Information, Not Enough Facts (By John F. Loosbrock, editor)

We have just spent a couple of days leafing through an impressive 864-page volume which will never become a selection of the Book-of-the-Month Club. Nor will it ever be done as a motion picture or a television script. Its cover is the chaste khakl of the Government Printing Office, devoid of the half-clad, bosomy females which lead to commercial success on the newsstands of the Nation.

Its title is something less than titillating-"Hearings Before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, Eighty-Sixth Congress, First Session, Subcommittee on Defense Appropriations George H. Mahon, Texas, Chairman, Part 5, Procurement."

The authors' credits include a parade of seventy-three high-ranking military and civilian witnesses ranging from Adams, Brig. Gen. A. J., to Wood, Maj. Gen. R. J. All three military services and the Department of Defense are represented, and the subject matter ranges from a learned discussion of the philosophy of deterrence to the replacement of cost of gloves.

This volume covers but one part of one group of hearings before one subcommittee of one committee of one of the Houses of Congress. And its size and scope point up in dramatic fashion just how the legislative portion of our decision-making process is being engulfed in a sea of facts, figures, conflicting opinion, as well as plain old gobbledygook.

One hardly can determine where one's sympathy lies. With the armies of generals and admirals which repeatedly storm Capitol Hill armed with flip-charts and viewgraphs in support of what they firmly believe is the answer to this nation's salvation? Or with the embattled congressmen. who snipe back with the dramatically pointed finger and the trenchant phrase?

At the moment, our feelings, admittedly colored by reading miles of fine print, lean sympathetically toward the legislators. As sincere in their solicitude for the nation's welfare as is the parade of witnesses, they must search for truth in a welter of conflicting statistics, must make decisions in areas requiring high technical competence, while simultaneously keeping a wary eye on potential holes in home political fences.

Granted, many congressmen and senators have sat on these committees for years, and some of them are more expert in certain fields than the witnesses they are interorgating. But their time is limited, and the technical resources available to them are but a fraction of those at the disposal of the executive departments.

In the defense business this dilemma is becoming critical. Not only are billions of tax dollars involved, but continued existence of the nation may well be at stake.

The situation becomes even more critical as more and more responsibility for essentially operational decisions is being flung at Congress by the executive branch while financial responsibility is more and more being withheld from, or wrested away from, Capitol Hill.

Thus, we are currently faced with a situa-tion which finds the administration warning against any breakthrough on budget ceilings while simultaneously asking Congress to make the operational choices between competing weapon systems in order that the financial ceiling may be maintained.

Not long ago, in a colloquy involving the Army's Nike concept of air defense versus the Air Force's Bomarc, the Secretary of Defense was asked flatly what decision be forthcoming from the Pentagon.
"Frankly," said Mr. McElroy, "we were

hoping you'd hold our feet to the fire on this

In other words, Congress was being asked to accept responsibility for an essentially operational decision. Yet, when it does accept the responsibility and votes funds at variance with the administration's requests, the money is quietly impounded or spent on other things.

A great part of the problem lies in our far from unified approach to defense. Under the present system Congress is denied the kind of information which it needs to make the kind of sagacious decisions expected of

Each service, operating under overall Defense Department financial ceilings, is still on its own on the Hill. The Navy may ask for a certain number of Polaris missiles, for example, and call rank after rank of expert Navy witnesses to justify its request. The Air Force will make an equally impressive case for its minimum number of Minutemen. But at no point does anyone stand up and say how many fewer Polarises will be needed if the Minutemen are voted or vice versa.

It is common to refer to our unified military forces as a team, made up of disparate elements each doing its own job. But a more nearly accurate analogy these days would be the kind of a team one would have if every man wanted to pitch, no one wanted to play right field, while the manager sat

on his hands in the dugout.

If we were on Capitol Hill, we will explore the possibility of establishing our own sources of information and advice in technical defense matters, perhaps in the form of a nonprofit corporation of the RAND type. Perhaps such a group could not furnish us with all of the definitive answers, but it could serve the salutary purpose of providing reasonable and appropriate, sometimes embarrassing, questions.

If we are to decide these matters in the public arena, let us make sure that each

side is equally armed.

#### Poison in Your Water-No. 102

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted. I am inserting into the Appendix of the Congressional RECORD an article appearing in the Burlington (Iowa) Hawke-Eye Gazette of April 30, 1959, entitled "Uproar Over

Lenox Park Sewage Mess":

UPROAR OVER LENOX PARK SEWAGE MESS

There was a full congregation awaiting the city fathers when they opened their session at city hall this morning, but no parson showed to pray over them.

Most of the audience were residents of the Surrey Road-Yoder Drive-Moody Lane-Oakland Dells-Drebenstedt Street area, and they were madder than hops about the sewage from Lenox Park.

A petition signed by 130 of them was presented to the council calling on the council to eliminate this public health

hazard. It was presented by one of the delegation's spokesmen, Mrs. William E. Kratz, of 2400 Surrey Road. First signer was Mrs. Roger Feldman of 2508 Surrey

The council discussed the matter with the petitioners and with City Solicitor H. Cosgrove Walsh and Kenneth Goldsberry, Des Moines County Health Center adminis-

Spokesmen for the delegation included Mrs. Theodore Mazur of 2534 Surrey Road and Ralph Wischmeier of 2504 Surrey Road.

Crux of the trouble lies in the fact that Lenox Park is not a part of the city and, according to Mayor Ray Morrison, does not possess property of sufficient value to justify taking it into the city and building sewer lines, etc., in the area. Sewage wastes from septic tanks in the

vicinity have been emptying into the ravine across the highway, behind the area oc-cupied by the complainants, they contend.

The council expressed sympathy with the homeowners and then adjourned as a council and went into session as the city board of health to instruct Walsh and Goldsberry to notify A. J. Stumpf, contractor, that the filled immediately, and to inform residents of Lenox Park that they must cease dumping wastes into the ravine.

#### STATE ACTION

The county board of health is to be notified of the situation, and its cooperation in abating the nuisance is to be requested.

Councilman Otto Paulsen said the situation is so bad "I'm surprised the State hasn't

moved in on it."

A few of the women questioned the council's decision to give Lenox Park residents a full month to make other arrangements for the disposal of their wastes, but Mayor Morrison pointed out that "we have to be fair to these people, too."

Goldsberry said he could see no satisfactory solution to the problem as the situa-

tion now stands.

"I'm afraid some of them will have to revert to ourdoor privies," he said.

The women said they are afraid epidemics of serious disease will start from the filthfilled ravine.

#### Tribute to John Foster Dulles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, today I received a letter from Cyrus S. Eaton. With his letter he enclosed a half-page article, from the London Times, in relation to the late John Foster Dulles. I think the article deserves real study by all of us, because it presents the concept which those abroad have of that distinguished gentleman.

In his letter, Cyrus Eaton writes as follows:

This half-page London Times obituary provides not merely a detailed review of the life and career of John Foster Dulles, but a valuable résumé of American participation in international affairs during his more than 6 years as Secretary of State. The Times obituary therefore deserves especially careful study by American statesmen for the disclosure it makes of the attitude of our most important ally toward our foreign policy.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the letter from Mr. Eaton and the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter and the article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CHESAPEARE & OHIO RAILWAY Co., Cleveland, Ohio, June 3, 1959.

Hon. ALEXANDER WILEY, Senate Office Building,

Washington, D.C.
DEAR SENATOR WILEY: This half-page London Times obituary provides not merely a detailed review of the life and career of John Foster Dulles, but a valuable résumé of American participation in international of American participation in international affairs during his more than 6 years as Secretary of State. The Times obituary therefore deserves especially careful study by American statesmen for the disclosure it makes of the attitude of our most important ally toward our foreign policy,

In my recent visits to most of our NATO ally countries, I found their leading statesmen and editors holding the views expressed

by the London Times. Sincerely yours,

CYRUS EATON.

[From the London Times, May 25, 1959] Mr. JOHN FOSTER DULLES-A POWERFUL DIRECTOR OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

Mr. John Foster Dulles was President Eisenhower's Secretary of State for more than 6 years and the first Republican to direct American foreign policy after the United States became the leader of the free world,

A distinguished churchman, he was a stanch anti-Communist, deeply convinced that freedom would eventually triumph inside the great Communist empires, and determined that the West must stand firm until Russia and China abandoned the use of force to spread their doctrines—he was convinced that was their intention—throughout the world. History may conclude that he was very often right in strategy, but wrong in tactics. These caused much controversy and ill feeling, and often set back causes in which he deeply believed. Some of his troubles were due to the difficulty of coordinating the policies of allies, while steering clear of offense to Congress, which was always capable of wrecking his best laid plans, especially in his first years of office. Others sprang from his willing-ness, on occasion, to bend foreign policy to the uses and internal necessities of a political party which had been long in opposition and was still divided on the part America should play in the world. Throughout, however, Dulles enjoyed the complete confidence of Mr. Eisenhower, who proclaimed him the greatest Secretary of State he had ever known.

He was the most enduring, the most professional and the hardest working member of the Cabinet appointed by a President who liked to delegate authority. Mr. Eisenhower once revealed that he had considered the creation of a new post-that of First Secretary to the Government-for Dulles. though this was never proposed publicly, it closely described the position which Dulles came to occupy in the administration.

Even his enemies and critics had to pay reluctant tribute to Mr. Dulles' wide experience, his ability and skill as a negotia-tor, his energy, and his dedication to his task. Yet in foreign countries he never commanded the affection and confidence won by Democratic predecessors whose technical skills fell so far short of his own. He spoke often, and felt deeply, about the need of applying moral principles to foreign affairs, but he was a hard-headed realist and was often accused of opportunism and lack of moral courage.

#### STIRRING PHRASES

As a Republican Secretary of State, Dulles labored under the political necessity of differentiating his foreign policies from those initiated under Mr. Truman. Yet, judged by his actions rather than by his campaign oratory, a great part of his achievement was to secure the acceptance of responsibilities and policies introduced by his predecessors and endangered by partisan quarrels in the United States. In his fondness for stirring phrases, on the one hand, and his care, on the other, not to involve the United States in war many commentators found a reflection of the conflicting desires of America itself, which, when Dulles took charge of the State Department, was sick of the Korean conflict but frustrated by the apparent stalemate in the cold war.

No Secretary of State had a more thorough preparation than John Foster Dulles, whom the State Department represented the height of ambition. Foreign policy was in his blood. One grandfather had been Secretary of State under Harrison, an uncle had served Woodrow Wilson in the same capacity.

Dulles was born on February 25, 1888, the son of a Presbyterian minister, and remained all his life an articulate advocate of the application of Christian principles to everyday life and to the affairs of nations. His first with foreign affairs came at Hague Peace Conference in 1907; the failure of the Versailles Treaty, in which he took a minor part, to secure the peace by providing for the inevitability of change and for the self-enforcement of its provisions, made a great impression upon him. On his return to America he practised law, specializing in important foreign cases for the firm of Sullivan and Cromwell, of which he became the senior partner; at one time he was thought to be the most highly paid corporation lawer in the world.

#### REPUBLICAN SPOKESMAN

Dulles' reentry into foreign affairs came by way of the churches. In 1941 he was appointed chairman of the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace of the Federal Council of Churches, a Protestant body. In the 1944 campaign he became adviser on foreign affairs to Governor Dewey, then running against Franklin Roosevelt for the Presidency, and approached the administration with proposals for keeping the foreign policy of the United States on a bipartisan basis His recognition that it would be dangerous to let foreign countries imagine that there would be a great change of policy if Mr. Dewey won, and his efforts to combat the isolationists in his party, led to his appointment as one of the group of consultants to the American delegation to the San Francisco Conference which created the United Nations, and to an acknowledged position as the Republican spokesman on foreign affairs. Few international conferences took place without the presence of Dulles, who accompanied Mr. Byrnes, Mr. Marshall, and Mr. Acheson abroad. In 1950 he was appointed by Mr. Truman to negotiate the peace treaty with Japan.

Dulles' only personal experience of politics came when he was appointed in 1949 to fill out the senatorial term of Mr. Wagner, of New York. In the subsequent election for the seat he was beaten despite a resort to partisan invective which Mr. Truman found offensive in a man who had enjoyed the confidence of the administration and despite a public reconciliation with his Roman Catholic son which critics felt to be

inspired by political motives.

After this rebuff, Dulles continued to serve the Government until the campaign of 1952, in which he became adviser on foreign policy to General Eisenhower. The foreign affairs statement in the Republican platform, the work of Dulles, reflected a desire to heal the split between the supporters of Senator Taft and those of Mr. Eisenhower; it also showed that foreign affairs were to be aggressively exploited in the campaign. Impatience with the policy of containment, a demand that America seize the initiative and unleash Chiang, the doctrine of liberation for the Soviet satellites, seemed to America's nervous alfies to amount to a foreign policy likely to bring on a third world war.

#### RETHINKING OF POLICY

In fact, although Dulles took office with the promise to rethink American policy, bark proved worse than his bite Appeasement of Congress, and particularly of such rightwing Republicans as Senators McCarthy and Knowland, went on longer than it should, but, as Dulles saw it, this was part of the task of rebuilding confidence in the State Department and providing a firm foundation in Congress for his foreign policy. Civil servants were warned that they must display positive loyalty and Mr. McLeod, a henchman of the McCarthyites, was appointed security officer to the Department. Diplomats whose real crime was that they had affronted the China lobby were dispensed with. However, the unleashing of General Chiang Kai-shek, to which the China lobby attached such importance, proved more a matter of words than reality. Formosa was deneutralized by withdrawing the fleet placed between the island and the mainland by Mr. Truman, but the attack on the main-land which might have set off a world war never materialized.

A similar transformation overtook the doctrine of liberation, which appealed so deeply to Americans anxious for a more active policy and to those with relatives in the oppressed countries. To those who had not read the fine print of Dulles' lawyer's brief, the risk of a war of liberation seemed real. In fact, his policy had always stopped short of war, and although he never wavered in his belief that the strains and stresses inside the Soviet empire must in time inevitably work toward greater freedom and in the interest of the West, no official steps were ever taken to encourage discontent.

Long before he became Secretary of State, Dulles, in his famous reply to the "Fortress America" speech of Mr. Herbert Hoover, had insisted that solitary defense could never be impregnable and that "a nation which sheds its allies elects a dangerous course." Dulles' attitude to America's allies and to the neutrals in the cold war caused constant criticism. His first big step in office was to announce that unless the European Defense Community were ratified, the United States would have to begin an agonizing reappraisal of its foreign policies, which had been centered on Europe.

#### BRUTAL FRANKNESS

This brutal frankness, so different from the tone of Mr. Marshall or Mr. Acheson, sprang partly from the knowledge that the restoration of German sovereignty could not be longer delayed, but also from a long-held conviction that without political and economic unity Europe could never wield the power to which its spiritual and material resources entitled it. In this Dulles proved himself a good friend of Europe; unquestionably he spoke for an impatient Congress and the American people.

Far more controversial was the doctrine of deterrence through the threat of "massive retaliation" at times and places of America's own choosing. This method of escaping from the static containment of the cold war, which gave the aggressor every advantage, and over-extended the resources of the free world, had its roots also

in Dulles' conviction that often in the past miscalculations of American intentions had led to war. He had to look no farther than Korea for an example. Yet America's allies were racked with anxiety lest a trigger be pulled in the Pacific which would plunge the whole world in war.

Much of the criticism of Dulles was caused by his Far Eastern policy. To many Europeans it seemed unrealistic and extremely dangerous, based as it appeared to be upon a refusal to accept the Communist victory on the Chinese mainland and a hope that Marshal Chiang Kai-shek might some day seize power again in a friendly China. Dulles argued, however, that the United States did not refuse to recognize the existence of Communist China-in fact it conducted long negotiations with emissaries from Peking.

In his view, diplomatic recognition would bestow quite unnecessarily very considerable advantages upon a hostile the United States abandoned Marshal Chiang, the oversea Chinese would have no alternative but to follow the policies of Peking, and this might help to undermine friendly governments in the Pacific. Moreover, any retreat before Communist threats might convince America's small allies in the area, and elsewhere in the world that they could not count on American support and that they had better come to terms with the Communists.
In 1955, after the Chinese Communists

had shown aggressive intentions towards Formosa, Congress passed almost unani-mously the so-called Formosa Resolution, giving the President authority, in advance, to use force to defend Formosa if this

became necessary. Mr. Eisenhower always insisted that he would never go to war without congressional sanction, and in the Far East, where an emergency might arise, he was given a blank check. The resolution left it to the

President and his advisers to determine whether an attack on the small off-shore islands formed part of a larger attack on Formosa. This authority, which was to play a large part in the crisis of 1958, occasioned qualms, even in 1955, on the part of some far-sighted Senators.

#### TROOPS MAROONED

In the summer of 1958 the bombardment of Quemoy and Matsu and the dispatch of American Naval Forces to help supply the islands made many Americans and many of America's allies fear that a world was might break out over these inconsiderable islands, but Dulles insisted that far wider principles were at stake. What was unquestionably true was that the Nationalists had marooned a large number of their best troops on the islands.

At a famous press conference Dulles appeared to be prepared to make considerable concessions; he said that the United States had considered the reinforcement of Quemov unwise and admitted that Marshall Chiang was unlikely ever to return to the mainland unless a revolt broke out there first. If Communist China would renounce the use of force against Formosa, a negotiated settlement might be possible. fact, on a personal visit to Formosa, Dulles wrung from the reluctant Nationalists a commitment not to use force against the mainland, and the bombardment-both of the islands and of Dulles-subsided.

The risk of war also seemed acute in 1954 when the French fell back in Indochina. Dulles returned from Europe convinced that he had secured British agreement to intervention under certain conditions. Sir Anthony Eden, however, insisted that the understanding had been to consider intervention only after a genuine effort to negotiate had failed. When Dulles returned to Europe

there were bitter words between him and the Foreign Secretary over the failure to rescue Dien Bien Phu. This failure to talk the same language was to culminate, 2 years later, in disaster over the Suez crisis.

Where Indochina was concerned, however, the President's veto of such hotheads as Vice President Nixon and Admiral Radford avoided a split with Britain and prevented an initiative which would have divided Americans as well as America's allies, It seems now that the fears expressed at that time were not exaggerated. Inspired revelations in 1956 pictured Mr. Dulles as glorying in his journeys to the brink of war and boasting that he had brought pressure upon Peking three times in this manner.

An outstanding feature of Mr. Dulles's diplomacy, and the source of many jokes at his expense, was his determination to keep all the threads in his own hands. He was convinced of the value of personal contacts, and no Secretary of State was more indefatigable in pursuing them. In part this was simply the reverse side of his impatience with administration. But it had other serious drawbacks. The importance of Ambassadors on the spot was devalued if Mr. Dulles might fly in at any moment. Failures of communication between America and its allies seemed to increase and reached their peak in the Suez crisis. Dulles also proved unwilling to delegate authority for policy at home; he was said to carry the State Department in his vest pocket. absence, the State Department hardly knew what America's foreign policy was. Policy Planning Staff, which had flourished under Mr. Acheson, fell almost into disuse.

The Suez crisis displayed Dulles' qualities at their best and at their worst. He had long appreciated the strategic importance of Middle Eastern oil to Europe and the free world; unlike Democratic Secretaries of State, he was free of political obligations to Jewish groups and hoped to play an impartial role between Arab and Jew in the Middle East. Moreover, he had long believed that it was an error on Mr. Truman's part to neglect the peoples of Asia and Africa and their national ambitions, a course which favored the success of Communist penetration.

#### ASWAN DAM

The reasons behind the brusque withdrawal of the American offer to help finance Egypt's Aswan Dam, which precipitated the Suez crisis, will long be disputed. A recent book, written after many interviews with Dulles, contends that this was a move calculated to show up the emptiness of Soviet offers of economic aid. Some observers believe, on the contrary, that the humiliation of President Nasser, who had offended many Republican Members of Congress by accepting arms from the Communists and recognizing Communist China, was a characteristic piece of appeasement of Congress by the Secretary of State.

Dulles' hasty flight to London to prevent the use of force after the Egyptian seizure of the Suez Canal and his enthusiasm for the idea of a users' association testified to his energy and resource in the cause of peace. But the British Government, which had been on the point of taking the dispute to the Security Council of the United Nations, put off this step only upon assurances that the association would be a strong one, powerfully supported by the United States; it was understandably embittered as weeks went by and Dulles in his press conferences found more and more reasons why the users' association could not be truly effective.

When finally Dulles stated that America must be careful not to associate itself too closely with colonial policies, the British Government, not unnaturally, concluded that Dulles' word could not be relied upon. Sir Anthony Eden was exasperated beyond endurance,

The truth may be that Dulles, like the great lawyer he was, had drafted his proposals with care so that they could bear many interpretations. But the damage to relations with Britain and France had been done. At home the critics of the Secretary of State regarded his assurance that peace had been saved as a transparent piece of campaigning for President Eisenhower, but the man at the poils was thankful not to be at war and asked no questions.

#### ATTACK ON EGYPT

The attack on Egypt, just as Americans were preparing to reelect Mr. Eisenhower, swept any doubts away. Americans, as a whole, felt that the demand for an unconditional withdrawal was just and one that could not have been avoided. Dulles himself felt that any sign of favoritism toward old friends would have tarred the United States with the colonial brush and destroyed Arab fatth in American impartiality.

The Suez crisis was still at its height when Dulles suddenly underwent an operation for what proved to be cancer. Many concluded that he would now be forced to retire. But with that vitality and tenacity which characterized him, he continued to direct policy from his hospital bed and by the beginning of 1957 he had evolved the Eisenhower doctrine for the Middle East. To carry this new departure through a Congress controlled by Democrats deeply resentful of what they considered to have been his political role in the campaign would have been an ordeal for a younger and stronger man.

Under the Eisenhower doctrine the United States pledged itself to respond to a request for military support from any Middle Eastern country which was attacked by another that was under the control of international communism. Dulles' aim, as it was in the Far East, was to preserve the status quo and to prevent countries with friendly or neutral governments from falling to the Communists. But the only Arab country prepared to throw in its fortunes with the West was Lebanon. Moreover, the formula provided no defense against indirect aggression or against aggression by a power not controlled by international communism, such as Egypt—two of the greatest threats to stability in the area.

Finally, many critics felt that what was needed was massive economic aid, not the threat of military intervention. In this respect, however, they did less than justice to the administration, which in 1955 had propounded a farsighted scheme combining economic aid with settlement of the refugee problem and the boundary issue.

#### ACTION IN LEBANON

The dispatch of American troops to Lebanon and of British ones to Jordan in 1958 was a response to the coup d'etat in Iraq as well as to the troubled State of Lebanon and was undertaken reluctantly, as a last resort, in the knowledge that the step would be regarded as one more affront to the Pan-Arab movement. But it showed that the United States was prepared to stand by its friends and to oppose external attempts to undermine existing governments. The withdrawal of the troops from Lebanon after the election of a successor to President Chamoun proved that the United States had no aggressive intent.

Russian eagerness for a summit meeting in 1958 found Dulles at first completely unresponsive. He believed that if the West stood firm long enough Russia would abandon its expansionist policy, but this required unity and tenacity on the part of the free world. The summit meeting in 1955 had endangered this firmness of purpose and Dulles, bitterly disappointed, insisted that it was impossible to negotiate with the Russians because they treated promises like pie crust made to be broken.

The relief of the State Department was

great when Mr. Khrushchev refused an invitation to attend a summit meeting of the United Nations Security Council. Some progress in reducing tension was made during the year, however, at the meetings between Russia and the West on means of banning tests of atomic weapons and outlawing surprise attacks.

#### AMERICANS AND BERLIN

The fear that concessions might undermine the will of the West underlay the inflexibility which many of Dulles' critics felt was prolonging tension unnecessarily and risking a catastrophic war. The other chief criticism of his policy was that while during the crisis the Secretary of State's behavior was cool and courageous and usually succeeded in attaining his objectives, little was done between crises to solve the underlying problems and prevent them from erupting at a later time.

Over Berlin, where the Russians attempted to force a decision late in 1958, Americans were more united than they had been over either Lebanon or Quemoy. But when Dulles conceded that free elections were not necessarily the only means of reuniting Germany, hopes revived that this might not be one of his characteristic and meaningless legal truisms, but a response to the changing political climate in America. Among the many Democrats elected to Congress in November 1958, were a number prepared to take some risks in the search for solutions and to consider a measure of disengagement as part of a German settlement.

Only Dulles himself could hope to induce Dr. Adenauer and General de Gaulle to accept a measure of flexibility in allied policy and he undertook the vital journey to Bonn and Paris in February although he was already suffering great pain from what proved, on his return, to be inoperable cancer. How indispensable he had become could be judged by the alarm and concern felt even by his critics. He had been the strong man of the alliance, with all the threads in his fingers.

After a hernia operation in mid-February he was given radiation treatment and went to Florida to convalesce, but the discovery that the malignancy had attacked the lower neck made it clear that his resignation could not long be postponed. Finally on April 15 President Eisenhower sorrowfully announced that Dulles had decided that he must lay down his charge.

down his charge.

-He is survived by his wife, the former Miss Janet Avery, whom he married in 1912, and by two sons and a daughter.

# Retirement of Vice Adm. John M. Will, United States Navy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I should like to call to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress the retirement on June 30 with rank of full admiral of Vice Adm. John M. Will, United States Navy, most recently commander, Military Sea. Transportation Service.

Admiral Will's relief has already been announced to be Vice Adm. Roy A. Gano, an able and gracious gentleman well-known in naval and commercial shipping circles, and a most wise choice to

take over the worldwide complexities of Military Sea Transportation Service. He has already served a tour as deputy commander of Military Sea Transportation Service before moving on to command amphibious group 2 in the Mediterranean.

"Dutch" Will, as he is admiringly known to his friends in the Navy and in maritime circles, is an admiral's admiral. His career was colorful in the combat days of World War II, and most recently vastly productive in an operational way during the years which followed—brush-fire outbreaks of hostilities and the troubled crises which mark our times

Above all things, "Dutch" Will is a man who believes in getting around and seeing things for himself. His pace is relentless and the scope of his journeys throughout the world have left younger and lesser men bobbing in his wake. He expects and demand the highest degree of performance in his staff, and of himself he demands even more—and produces it.

An axiom at his headquarters in Washington, borne out by distraught commanders in the field on the occasion of unannounced field trips, is "If the old man asks you a question, you'd better blankety blank well have the answer or know where you can get the information he wants."

Yet the retiring commander of Military Sea Transportation Service is no martinet. He runs a mighty taut ship and he gets the results he wants, but when a member of his staff—top civilian or stenographer; officer or enlisted man—gets a promotion or is recognized for his accomplishments, personal congratulations come from Admiral Will—if he is not in Tokyo, Thule, or Timbuctoo—almost as soon as he gets it from his boss.

"Dutch" Will is synonymous with Military Sea Transportation Service. Think of one and you automatically think of the other.

Keenly appreciative of the importance of smooth public relations, his judgment and decisions concerning MSTS have done astonishing things to bring about good will and admiration for the service which for years was thought of by maritime labor and management alike as a Federal agency competing against private industry.

MSTS still has its critics, and many are mighty outspoken, but few have anything but respect for the man at the helm, "Dutch" Will,

A year ago he was awarded the Robert L. Hague Trophy of the American Legion on behalf of the entire maritime industry, recognizing him as the single individual who had done more for the American merchant marine in that year than anyone else.

This year's fiscal report of MSTS shows a significant statistic, and one which even its harshest critics find difficult to refute. Out of MSTS' entire operating funds—\$425 million—78 percent went to private industry: ship repair facilities, shipyards, steamship companies, new construction, and what have you.

The thinking of top people at MSTS is constructive and progressive. "Dutch" Will insists upon it. MSTS, he feels, is an agency whose functions should include tests and experiments which will benefit private industry as well as MSTS' own ship operations.

MSTS has led the way in ship design; cargo handling methods; safety and training practices ashore and afloat; exploration and development of remote operating areas which include the discovery of a deepwater northwest passage in the Canadian Arctic; the further development of ice freeing devices which kept extreme northerly harbors open for shipping long after the termination of the normal navigation season and a full-ahead participation in this country's oceanographic research program.

MSTS, under "Dutch" Will, conceived the ice-strengthened cargo ships and tankers which have proved themselves year after year in polar operations. In the field of rollon, rolloff transportation, MSTS' prototype vehicle carrier U.S.N.S. Comet and her recently acquired running mate U.S.N.S. Taurus are under the scrutiny of industry and their effect is already being felt in new ship designs.

When the Maritime Administration converted two Liberty ships to gas-turbine and free-piston propulsion, MSTS put them to use.

The accomplishments of MSTS are varied and impressive. Statistics of passenger lifts, evacuation of refugees from troubled lands, the transportation of military cargoes, and the supply of petroleum products throughout the world by this vastly complex, yet highly efficient, organization are available for all to see.

It has been geared with emergencies in mind—Korea and Lebanon, to name but two. In such a successful manner is MSTS run that its ships were loaded and operating with units of the fleet within hours of the announcement of the existence of the emergency.

Its record for saving lives at sea is unequaled by any organization, with the obvious exception of the U.S. Coast Guard, which is in the lifesaving business and performs its task with great distinction, devotion, and magnificent seamanship.

The high standards and the very high degree of excellence of MSTS throughout its worldwide activities are, of course, not the result of any one man's inspiration, but of many thousands of dedicated people whom he encouraged.

Admiral Will has served two separate tours—as commander, Atlantic area, and most recently as overall commander. MSTS was there when he reported aboard each time. But each time he was assigned to MSTS the wheels turned even faster than before.

The Navy is losing a talented and courageous officer. Whatever segment of private industry has the foresight to grab him will be fortunate indeed.

The four-star flag "Dutch" Will will receive at the retirement ceremonies at the Naval Gun Factory on June 30 is the Navy's own way of showing the boy from Perth Amboy, N.J., that it, too, rec-

ognized his inherent ability and leadership 40 years ago this month. Midshipman "Dutch" Will bent on his ensign's shoulderboards for the first time, and steadied on the course which has brought him, after a long and eventful voyage, to the destination he knew lay over the horizon of his youth.

Yet the voyage is only half over. A second career is at hand. The experience of many commands, the mellowness and judgment that comes with this experience and the insatiable drive to tackle baffling problems are qualifications which most surely will be sought out by the very industry which at first held "Dutch" Will in suspicion, and within a few short years regarded him with great respect.

The four-star flag they will give him at his retirement may never fly at the truck, but the man who earned it will be at the conn in a controversy involving the "men who go down to the sea in ships and have business in the great waters."

As a member of the House Committees on Merchant Marine and Fisheries and Armed Services, I am certain that I speak for my colleagues on these committees when I say that in our dealings with the top officers of the Navy few men stand out as does "Dutch" Will for dedication and devotion to duty—qualities he seeks in others and demands from himself.

As a private citizen, may I speak for myself when I say that my admiration and respect for the man I am proud to call my friend is very great indeed.

# Labor Reform Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker. I appeared before the Joint Subcommittee on Labor Reform Legislation of the Committee on Education and Labor on yesterday and because many of my colleagues have expressed an interest in my testimony I am having it included in the

REMARKS OF HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS, OF MISSOURI, BEFORE, THE JOINT SUBCOMMITTEE ON LABOR REFORM LEGISLATION OF THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR, JUNE 4, 1959

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the opportunity given to me to testify before this Joint Subcommittee on Labor Reform Legislation.

First, let me read into the record an editorial appearing in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch on May 19, 1959, entitled "A Stronger Labor Bill." This editorial expresses my views on this subject in a more forceful way than I can. Furthermore, I believe it expresses pretty generally the viewpoint of the citizens of the St. Louis community, including the views of the rank-and-file union members, their families, and, I might add, many local labor leaders.

I do not believe that I need to call the attention of this subcommittee to the general philosophy of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch. It is regarded as one of the leading

liberal newspapers of the country. I say this with full knowledge of the lack of definiteness today of the adjective "liberal," but also with the knowledge that in congressional circles the term is descriptive of a particular political philosophy. I suggest to the liberal members of this subcommittee, who are by numbers in such strong control of it, when a newspaper like the Post-Dispatch writes editorials like the one I am about to read, it is time for them to take heed. The people of this country expect real labor-reform legislation, and if they don't get it they are going to hold this Congress and the leaders who control it in both Houses by almost a 2-to-1 majority responsible.

#### "A STRONGER LABOR BILL

"A House labor subcommittee has begun hearings on the Senate labor bill, and already is under intense pressure from the unions to water it down. Far from being watered down, the Senate version of this muchneeded legislation ought to be strengthened.

The public interest does not demand a union-busting bill, but it does demand a measure which effectively guarantees union democracy, makes union leaders more di-rectly answerable to the rank and file, and corrects the abuses so impressively brought out by the McClellan investigation.

"Secretary Mitchell's proposed curb on certain secondary boycotts certainly should be written into the bill. The Senate left it out in favor of a limited hot cargo clause.

Present law forbids a secondary boycottthat is, the application of union pressure a firm which is not the primary party to a dispute—in certain circumstances. First, an objective of the union must be to compel one person to cease doing business with another and second, the means employed to achieve this objective must be a strike or some other concerted action of employees.

"As the Teamsters have found, however, It is easy to slap a secondary boycott on hot cargo or anything else simply by avoiding concerted action of employees. The pressure can be applied directly to an employer, or it can be applied through an individual employee. Secretary Mitchell's proposal would close these loopholes without going so far as to outlaw all secondary boycotts, some of which might be considered legitimate—for example, those against an employer who is performing farmed-out struck work.

"Similarly Secretary Mitchell's complete proposal for dealing with blackmail picketing ought to go into the bill, instead of the weaker version which the Senate adopt-Mr. Mitchell does not urge that all picketing for the purpose of union organization be barred. But he would bar such picketing where the employees clearly did not want to be represented by that union. Top-down organizing, in which the union aims its power at the employer instead of persunding his employees, is a demonstrated evil which the Mitchell proposal would effectively deal with.

"The Senate bill is defective on this point in several respects. Its language is loose, and subject to interpretations that would weaken its effectiveness. While the bill bars blackmail picketing where a plant representation election has been held during the preceding 9 months, it does not bar such picketing during the remaining 3 months before a new election, under present law, can be held. If the purpose is to bar blackmail picketing at plants where another union has won an election, why not bar it during the whole year between elections?

"The House committee also needs to take a close look at the enforcement powers behind the bill of rights which the Senate prescribed for union members. The Senate relied chiefly on authorizing a member to file civil suit in the courts. But how many union members could afford to hire a lawyer and pay for protracted litigation against a well-financed union? The enforcement power could be strengthened, either by making unions and their leaders liable for costs of successful suits against them, or by authorizing a union member to seek redress from the NLRB. When an employer violates union member's rights, the case goes to the NLRB before it goes to the courts. haps the same procedure could be followed if the member's rights were violated by a union.

"There are no doubt other respects in which the Senate bill could be improved without converting it into a union-busting The secondary boycott, picketing, and bill-of-rights enforcement clauses seem

to us the most important.
"We hope the House will tackle them courageously despite political pressure from the unions.

Now my purpose in asking to testify was primarily to discuss one aspect of labor reform legislation, a narrow aspect perhaps but a vital aspect. I want to discuss the en-forcement power behind the bill of rights as the St. Louis Post-Dispatch terms it.

#### A RIGHT WITHOUT A REMEDY IS NO RIGHT

Under the Taft-Hartley Act and under many State statutes a union member has the to an accounting from his union leaders of his union dues. Experience has shown this to be no right at all because the remedy is insufficient. As the Post-Dispatch edi-torial states: "how many union members could afford to hire a lawyer and pay for protracted litigation against a well-financed union?" What is more important, granted the premise that a union is racketeer ridden, how many union members dare go even to a prosecuting official, let alone a private lawyer to enforce their rights to an accounting of dues? This is no hypothetical case. This is the actual situation in Missouri where the right to an accounting of union dues has criminal sanctions set up by some State statute to enforce this right. No union member dare go to court to enforce his rights though these rights have been violated for years by many unions.

The sanction in the Taft-Hartley Act de-

priving a union that fails to grant an accounting of a member's dues of the right to use the facilities of the National Labor Relations Board has likewise proved to be inadequate. The racketeer ridden union officials couldn't care less about losing the use of the facilities of the National Labor Relations Board.-Indeed, democracy in labor unions today is a bundle of rights without a remedy.

The same problem exists in trying to enforce any other provision of the union members' proposed bill of rights including the most essential and basic right of them all that of a secret ballot in periodic elections of union officials and of other important union actions.

I question very much if the criminal penalties imposed in some of the proposed labor reform bills, rigid as some of them are, will be of any greater practical use in enforcing democracy in union affairs than are the present remedies. They all hinge on an in-dividual union member complaining to local authorities or to a far away tribunal in Washington, D.C. In both instances the complaining union member never knows for certain whether his name will be passed on to the racketeer against whom he is complaining. It is a brave man who complains in

However, there is an adequate remedy available and this remedy conforms to the theory of present law. Four of the bills before this subcommittee, H.R. 3540, introduced by Mr. Kearns, pages 44-45, which contains to a large degree the administration recommendations; H.R. 4473, introduced by

Mr. BARDEN, pages 41-42; S. 1137, introduced by Senator McClellan, pages 41 and 42; and S. 748, introduced by 15 Senators, page 45, include this enforcement provision. provisions I refer to provide that a union which violates the bill of rights of its members loses the tax exempt status it presently enjoys under section 501(2) and (c)(5) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 amended.

This is the subject which I wish to develop before this subcommittee. This subject matter, of course, is within the jurisdiction of the Ways and Means Committee, of which I am privileged to be a member. With my background I though it appropriate for me to come before this great subcommittee to testify and answer whatever questions this subcommittee might have on this provision.

First, let me state quite clearly that I do not believe in using the Internal Revenue laws as a method of enforcing other laws. On the other hand, when the proper enforcement of the Internal Revenue laws happens to coincide with the enforcement of other Federal laws, I think it is highly appropriate to call this matter to the attention of the Congress and the committees of the Congress who are concerned with the enforcement aspects of other Federal laws.

This is the case before us now. proper enforcement of the section of our Internal Revenue Code which provides for "exemption from tax on corporations, certain trusts, etc." does so on the theory that these exempt organizations are within the public interest. I quote:

"Section 501(c) List of the exempt organizations." Sixteen categories are listed. Let me read the title heads rapidly to give the committee an idea of the type of organizations Congress has felt should be tax ex-

1. Government corporations.

2. Corporations which are purely holding companies for other organizations which are tax exempt.

- 3. Corporations, and any community chest, fund or foundation organized exclusively for religious, charitable, education,
- 4. Civic leagues or organizations not organized for profit.
- 5. I quote in its entirety: "Labor, agricultural, or horticultural organizations.
- 6. Again I quote in full for contrast: "Business leagues, chambers of commerce, real estate boards, or boards of trade, not organized for profit and no part of the net earnings of which inures to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual."
  7. Clubs not for profit or private benefit.
- 8. Fraternal beneficiary societies.
  9. Voluntary employees' beneficiary asso-
- 10. Other type of voluntary beneficiary associations.
  - 11. Teachers retirement fund associations. 12. Benevolent life insurance associations.
  - 13. Cemetery associations (not for profit).
  - 14. Credit unions (of certain types).
- 15. Mutual life insurance companies with assets under \$75,000.
- 16. Certain kinds of agricultural co-ops. It is apparent that the reason these organizations have been made tax exempt is because in the opinion of the Congress they are nonprofit and generally serve a desirable public purpose. Strangely enough this section written into the law in 1916 has remained largely unchanged. Yet there are only limited criteria which guide the Bureau of Internal Revenue in deciding what organizations wil qualfy under the various headings. And mark this. Limited as is the criteria set out in the statute to guide the Bureau in administering this statute there are absoutely no criteria whatsoever in respect to category (5) "Labor, agriculture, or horticultural organizations." Business

leagues have some criteria set out, "not organized for profit and no part of the net earnings of which inures to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual." Other categories have rather lengthy, although in my judgment inadequate, criteria set out.

From a standpoint of proper public policy the Congress certainly should set forth some standards which these tax exempt organizations should meet. I certainly believe one criteria which all of these organizations should meet is one which provides for the democratic control of the affairs of the organizations by its members and should include a requirement for an accounting to the members of the moneys coming into the organization hands.

Certainly if this subcommittee in its wisdom feit that it was desirous to establish additional standards which it felt any labor organization should meet if it were to qualify as being in the public interest I feel that the tax laws should reflect that judgment.

Now I want to point out the practical effect of establishing by law, certain standards which tax exempt organizations should meet, as it would relate to labor organizations, or indeed any other organization where management, as it were, might run away with the organization against the will of the membership. The enforcement of our tax laws does not require the individual complaint to do other than to call the question of a tax evasion to the attention of the Bureau of Internal Revenue. This can be done, as it is frequently done in other tax violations by an anonymous post card or telephone call to the local office of the Bureau of Internal Revenue. The Bureau takes the matter from there to find out whether or not the allegation is well founded or not.

Consider the case of a racketeer ridden labor union. Any individual member of such a union could contact the local Bureau of Internal Revenue, anonymously if he wished, saying local, or national, Union X has not given its members an accounting of dues or has not given its members the right to a secret ballot in elections, or has not held periodic elections, or whatever. The Bureau of Internal Revenue of its own initiative will carry on, check with the Union officials to verify or to disprove the allegation. If the allegation is verified in its opinion the Union forthwith loses its tax exempt status, subject of course to an appeal to the tax courts by the Union if it feels the charges are untrue.

Now I want to state that I do not agree with the manner in which the violation of internal revenue standards is set up in the four bills I referred to which utilize it as an enforcement provision. I believe the enforcement should be in the nature of a contempt citation rather than in the nature of penalty. In other words, instead of depriving a Union of tax exempt status which would result in the collection of revenues for past violations, it should deprive the Union of tax exempt status until such time as it purged itself of its violation, with a reasonable time allowed in which to purge itself. This conforms to the basic public purpose in granting tax exempt status in the first place and does not penalize the union members who have been the victims of the violations.

I think the power of the deprivation of tax exemption is sufficiently strong so that no union leader, however bull-necked he might be, about imposing his control over a union against the will of the union members, would long stand against it. This is particularly true when we consider that once the tax is

to be imposed the Bureau of Internal Revenue will have to go over the union books to determine what the amount of the tax should be. What union racketeer even though he be willing to pay a penalty can afford to have his books looked into?

Though this amendment to the Internal Revenue Code may be made appropriately in a labor reform bill, and I hope this subcommittee will include it, nonetheless, I believe comprehensive legislation setting up proper and uniform standards for all tax exempt organizations, business, farm and labor, is needed. It would be helpful to the Ways and Means Committee in writing this comprehensive language if, in respect to labor unions, this subcommittee would set forth in this bill what criteria it would wish to see applied.

Finally, I would urge this subcommittee not to use the sanction of loss of tax exempt status to enforce any measures in the labor reform bill other than those which we might call a bill of rights ensuring control of union affairs in the hands of its members. I do not believe this public policy feature of tax exemption should go beyond this point. There may be those who would argue that any union found to violate other laws such laws against blackmail, organizational picketing, or improper secondary boycotting, should not be tax exempt. However, I think that would be using our revenue laws to enforce matters which are outside the revenue field and therefore undesirable.

I might say in conclusion, however, that I believe once we insure democracy in the unions much of the abuse of power that we have seen by certain labor leaders will disappear. I have noted that those unions which are responsive to their membership seldom are those which have been the subject of the recent unfavorable publicity. Furthermore, I believe that those union leaders who are responsive to their membership are those who have done the most for their membership; not the czars who ride roughshod over their own membership, other union men, other workers, and the public.

#### Cruiser "Wilkes-Barre" Will Not Die

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following article that was featured in the Wilkes-Barre Sunday Independent of May 10, 1959:

CRUISER "WILKES-BARRE" WILL NOT DIE— SCRAP ORDER DOES NOT APPLY TO FAMED SHIP—HAD SPLENDID SERVICE RECORD IN WORLD WAR II

With the Nation poised for the start of Armed Forces Week today, Wilkes-Barre will welcome the news from the Philadelphia Naval Base that the scrap order has gone out for all cruisers berthed in the Navy yard basin with the exception of the U.S.S. Wilkes-Barre (CL 103), a 10,000-ton cruiser, veteran of more than four major battles during World War II.

\* Presently the U.S.S. Wilkes-Barre is tied up beside many of her sister ships in the mothball fleet at the Philadelphia Naval-Base. This wealth of steel has been a familiar sight to yard visitors and area Navy folk for the last 12 years.

The U.S.S. Wilkes-Barre failed to get back

The U.S.S. Wilkes-Barre failed to get back into action during Korea, although some of the cruisers berthed near the ship were reconditioned and put back into service.

The U.S.S. Wilkes-Barre has moved occasionally, however, but only from one berth to another, to let her "kid sisters" get out of their beds and cruise the high seas in her place.

Her crew of one, who watches the U.S.S. Wilkes-Barre in her mothball regalia, will continue as the cruiser remains on view. moored securely along the pler at the Philadelphia Navy Yard.

#### TRAVELED OVER 150,000 MILES

The cruiser Wilkes-Barre clocked over 150,000 nautical miles before joining the mothball fleet at the conclusion of World War II.

The ship is best remembered by many for her valiant efforts to help extinguish the burning carrier U.S.S. Franklin in her Pacific duty near the end of World War II hostilities.

The Wilkes-Barre was christened on Christmas Eve in 1943 by Mrs. Grace Shoemaker Miner at Camden, N.J. Her new crew worked on her for the next several weeks as she completed fitting out and readying for use. Finally on July 1, 1944, she was placed in commission at the Philadelphia Navy Yard. The Wilkes-Barre trained her crew en route to the Pacific via the Panama Canal and reported to the Commander in Chief, Pacific Fleet, on October 27, 1944, then on to Pearl Harbor for more exercises to train for battle conditions. She joined the history making Task Forces 38 and 58, the powerful striking arms of the 3d and 5th Fleets.

#### IN MANY BATTLES

War actually began for the Wilkes-Barre in earnest during Christmas week 1944 off the Philippine Islands. She participated in such battles as the Luzon, Iwo Jima, Oklnawa Gunto Operations. These included attacks on Formosa, China coast, Nansei Shoto, and the assault and occupation of Iwo Jima. While operating under the 3d Fleet she participated in operations against Japan properticipated the Stars and Strips over Yokosuka Naval Base.

January 30, 1946, found the Wilkes-Barre arriving in San Pedro, Calif., her mission accomplished. This was the first time her crew saw "home" since departing the States in 1944. Departing the west coast she arrived to her commissioning place, Philadelphia, where she remained and made several refresher training cruises until February 1947. It was then that she departed on a good-will tour to England and Norway. Here she displayed to the free world the magnitude of power with which she was equipped. Were she able to talk at that time, she more than likely would have said, "Here I am, folks, all power and friendly, too." After After her good-will cruise, she cruised smoothly across the vast Atlantic and left behind & memory for all who saw her.

Leaving the Atlantic and entering the somewhat calm but dangerous waters of the Delaware River she parted company with the rest of the American Fleet, made a slight starboard (right) turn to enter this river, and cruised into her resting place to await a call to perform again. Wilkes-Barre was a little tired at this point in her career. Awaiting her arrival were many of her "sisters" such as the cruisers Savannah, Augusta, Columbia, Cleveland, Denver, San Francisco, all soon to be scrapped. After a few months amongst eager shipyard workers, inspectors, and many watch standers, the Wilkes-Barre finally took her place in the "silent" fleet.

#### Poison In Your Water-No. 103

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I am inserting into the Appendix of the Congressional Record an article appearing in the Charleston (S.C.) News and Courier of April 25, 1959, entitled "Pollution Here Called 'Pretty Bad'":

SEWAGE TREATMENT RECOMMENDED—POLLU-TION HERE CALLED "PRETTY BAD"

(By Coyte White)

Sewage treatment is the only solution to what a State health official described as a brink of crisis pollution situated in Charleston Harbor and its adjacent rivers. He advised against swimming in the harbor and its rivers.

That was the gist of a summary of the water pollution situation made here yesterday by W. T. Linton, director of the State water pollution control authority. Linton addressed a local citizens committee formed recently to investigate solutions to the problem.

Terming conditions here "pretty bad." Linton said that a 9-week study in 1955: "Showel the situation to be not what you would wish it to be."

"Something must be done to remedy this problem, as a matter of preserving health in the area," said Linton. With normal development here, the problem will double in 8 to 10 years, he explained.

to 10 years, he explained.
"We (the authority) would have to require something be done then under the law,"

warned Linton.

The only solution he could advise, Linton said, "Would be some type of sewage treatment." He said the situation was not let extreme, and no immediate danger to health of citizens had been detected.

However, Linton said tests in the Ashley, Cooper, Wando and Stone Rivers as well as the harbor, indicated swimming would not

be advisable on a general basis.

The committee took the first step in solving the problem in setting a monthly meeting—the first Thursday in each month. The first formal meeting will be held May 7, at 8 o'clock, in the office of county council.

The committee, headed by businessman Edward Kronsberg, was appointed by County Council Chairman J. Mitchell Graham.

Kronsberg, Graham, County Manager Albert Hair, and other officials met yesterday with Linton and officials of the water pollution control authority to review the problem and plan steps needed to be taken.

Linton, illustrating his points with a map, said parts of the harbor, the Cooper, Ashley, Stone and Wando Rivers were polluted. The degree of pollution varies.

Pollution here does not stem from industrial waste, but from human sewage, Linton said. He said that in the Charleston area there were 11 outfalls being dumped into the Ashley and Cooper Rivers.

To a question by Dr. George G. Durst, a member of the committee, Linton replied that an activated sludge plant such as employed at the Charleston Air Force Base was a good method of treating sewage.

Linton also was highly critical of the use of septic tanks. He called them "An abomination of the Lord to begin with," adding: "In this area as urbanized as it is, with its rainfall, bacteria is bound to wash out.

"If trunk sewerlines were put in throughout the entire area, it would be the greatest thing that ever happened to Charleston. I mean no reflection on Charleston by this; it's the same in my area (Columbia)." Linton also suggested that Charleston

Linton also suggested that Charleston might be able to obtain Federal funds to aid in solving the pollution situation under

Public Law 660.

C. G. Leonard, chief of the sanitation division of the county health department, also spoke briefly on the use of septic tanks. He called their use "A potentially dangerous situation.

"Practically every ditch in Charleston County has been polluted at one time or the other," said Leonard, "and in the winter-time I've seen children eating ice they pick up from ditches."

He added, "I'd like to see something done, and I'll certainly do everything I can."

John Bettis, chief engineer of the Charleston Waterworks, noted:

"The southern end of Berkeley County is part of the problem. They have several thousand homes up there, and an outfall dumps on the ground at Goose Creek."

Representatives of the adjacent communities will be invited to participate in solving the pollution problem.

Resolution Urging Enactment of the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1959

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON, WILLIAM J. GREEN, JR.

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include a resolution adopted by the following local unions in Philadelphia urging the Congress to pass S. 1046 and H.R. 4488, the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1959: International Molders and Foundry Workers' Local Union, No. 1, AFI—CIO; International Association of Bridge, Structural, and Ornamental Iron Workers' Local Union, No. 401, AFI—CIO; Retail Food Clerks and Managers' Local Union, No. 1357, AFI—CIO; and the Building and Construction Trades Council, AFI—CIO;

RESOLUTION CALLING UPON THE 86TH CON-GRESS TO ENACT S. 1046 AND H.R. 4488

Whereas all Americans must be assured of a basic minimum standard of living if we are to maintain a healthy economy at home and a position of moral leadership in the world; and

Whereas the present Federal minimum wage of \$1 an hour is inadequate to provide a bare subsistence in the United States today; and

Whereas more than 20 million Americans lack the guarantee of even this inadequate figure and are without nay legal limitation on their hours of work; and

Whereas these shocking facts constitute a grave threat to our national economy, a challenge to our moral standards as a people, and a peril to our reputation as democracy's showcase throughout the world; and

Whereas the existence of underpaid and overworked wage earners is a particular danger to the well-being of the citizens of Philadelphia; and

Whereas there is now before Congress a bill introduced by Senator John F. Kennedy and Representative James Roosevelt and cosponsored by many of their colleagues in both Houses, S. 1046 and H.R. 4488. This bill would greatly ameliorate this problem by raising the Federal minimum wage to \$1.25 and including nearly 8 million additional workers under the protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act: Therefore be it Resolved by Local No. 1, International

Resolved by Local No. 1, International Molders and Foundry Workers' Union of North America, AFL-CIO, That we call upon the Congress of the United States to give prompt and favorable consideration to this bill without delay so this serious threat to the economic and moral strength of our Nation will be swiftly met and that the conditions above described can be corrected.

The long-needed improvements in the Fair Labor Standards Act can no longer be delayed without the most serious economic and social consequences. I urge the Members to give their vigorous support to the early enactment of these amendments.

Kansas Committee Pushing Support of Barden Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. WINT SMITH

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. SMITH of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, as you know, the citizens of Kansas voted by a majority of last November in favor of a right-to-work amendment to our State constitution.

I am proud to say that this law saferegarding the workingman's right to join or not to join a union, is proving extremely effective. We intend to see that it is scrupulously enforced, thus furnishing sound, permanent protection to Kansas working people whenever their right to work is threatened because their personal beliefs interfere with the union bosses' lust for political power.

We in Kansas have watched, with the rest of the Nation, the appalling story of corruption, terrorism, and violence which has become the stock in trade for the modern American labor movement. We shudder with other law-abiding citizens at the atrocities perpetrated in the name of organized labor. We sympathize with the plight of the workingman who in many States is a helpless pawn, in the hands of his power-hungry and often corrupt leaders.

We believe we have the proper protection against these abuses of power, for it follows that if a man has the freedom to join a union, and the freedom to refuse to join, he then has the means by which to free himself from the tyranny of those leaders with whom he disagrees, or from those who do not carry his trust. It seems to us in Kansas that right-to-work laws are the ideal union reform; their enactment and enforcement will return control of the Nation's labor movement to those from

whence it sprang, the working people.

At the same time, we realize that workers in most of the States do not have the protection of laws which guarantee their personal freedom, as they do in Kansas and 18 other States. They have, as a matter of fact, no protection at all, even though every index of opinion-both among the general public and union people themselves-shows an overwhelming demand for legislation to protect the working people from their own leaders.

Acting upon this concern for the welfare of all workers, a number of citizens in Kansas have banded together to form the Kansas Citzens Committee for Real Labor Reform. The committee feels that-short of voluntary unionism itself-the best protection for the worker is contained in the labor reform measures offered to this House by Representative Barden of North Carolina.

Accordingly, the committee is and has been urging support of all Kansas legislators for Mr. BARDEN'S measures, establishing a Bill of Rights regulating unions' internal procedures and a companion measure regulating unions' organizing tactics, even as business and other elements of our society are regulated.

This committee, headed by Philip J. Doyle of Beloit, farmer and State Senator, includes prominent Kansans in the areas of agriculture, law, small business, labor, and all persons who are interested in passage of the most effective reform legislation. They have been urging their fellow citizens to express their wishes to their Congressmen as to the nature of the union reform legislation which they desire to have enacted.

The activities of this committee are resulting in the receipt of hundreds of communications from our constituents regarding union reform. I have yet to receive my first communication from a citizen who is not in favor of strong and effective regulation of both internal and external union activities.

Because this subject of union reform will have such a serious bearing on the future course of our Nation, I ask permission to extend my remarks to include the following results of activity by the Kansas Citizens Committee for Real Labor Reform:

KANSAS COMMITTEE PUSHING SUPPORT OF BARDEN BILL

BELOIT, KANS.—Formation of a Kansas Citizens Committee for Real Labor Reform was announced Wednesday by State Senator Philip J. Doyle, Republican, of Beloit.

Doyle termed formation of the committee "a grassroots movement for a sweeping labor reform bill of rights to be enacted in this session of Congress."

He said all areas of Kansas will be covered in a drive to win active support for labor bills now in Congress sponsored by Representative GRAHAM A. BARDEN, Democrat, of North Carolina, and Senator John McCLEL-LAN, Democrat, of Arkansas, in place of "the weak and ineffective Kennedy bill which is backed by union leaders and their propaganda agencies."

The Nation has been shocked by the racketeering, gangsterism, embezzlement of union funds and property, and denial of basic rights of union members, which have been revealed in the McClellan and other hearings," Doyle said.

Doyle said there are millions of working men and women whose only hope for effective labor legislation lies in the hands of Congress.

Doyle said leading the Kansas movement is a volunteer executive committee made up of himself as chairman; Jay W. Scovel, Independence, president of the Kansas Bar Association; State Representative John D. Bower, Republican, of McLouth, a minister and farmer; Ray Frisbie, of McDonald, president of the Kansas Livestock Association; C. A. McNeal, Jr., of Towanda, a workman in an industrial plant; and Ellis K. Cave, of Dodge City, operator of a terminal grain elevator.

# Appropriations Review Essential in Federal Spending

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, many of us in the House have been contending for the last several years that many Federal programs were getting out of hand because the Appropriations Committees in the House and Senate were being bypassed by authorization committees drawing on the Federal Treasury. There is great merit in having the Appropriations Committee scrutinize budget requests by the various agencies periodi-The Appropriations Committees specialize in this particular problem and make recommendations to the Congress. This prevents authorization committees from making unusual and extraordinary grants to their own pet projects.

Abuses and waste in many instances are well known to the House. Bills now pending to give the Appropriations Committees jurisdiction over any bill which calls for money is a step in the right direction and should have the approval of every thoughtful Member who is interested in keeping our appropriations within some reasonable balance.

Mr. Speaker, I append herewith an editorial from the Decatur (Ill.) Herald of June 2 titled, "Congressional Review Essential in Federal Spending." This editorial supports the viewpoint which I have just set out and is sample thinking broadly of most people throughout the country on this problem:

CONGRESSIONAL REVIEW ESSENTIAL IN FEDERAL SPENDING

The House Appropriations Committee, jealous of its power to apportion money to the various Federal agencies, has once again launched a campaign to cut back or eliminate "backdoor spending" which bypasses the regular appropriations procedures

The committee objects to Federal loan and grant programs financed not by direct appropriations but authorizations to enter contracts or to borrow money from the U.S.

Chairman CLARENCE CANNON, Democrat, Missouri, says the dimensions of this type of spending has reached "alarming proportions." He estimates that the Senate originated a number of such schemes, with a potential cost of \$9 billion without reference to the House of Representatives which alone

has the constitutional power to initiate money bills.

A major problem is that legislative programs are authorized by a substantive committee having jurisdiction in that field, while the Appropriations Committee deals with all programs that require a direct congressional appropriation and is not bound to appropriate the amount that the substantive committee authorizes.

For example, the House and Senate Public Works Committees may initiate legislation authorizing \$100 million for Federal assistance to communities building water pollution control facilities. However, the Appropriations Committees may approve the spending of only \$50 million. Such actions Appropriations Committee sometimes cause the substantive committee to try a legislative end run.

A bill introduced by Representative How-ARD W. SMITH, Democrat of Virginia, would give the House Appropriations Committee jurisdiction over any bill that would permit the withdrawal of money from the Treasury without further action of Congress. Hearings have been held on this bill, but there is no sign of further action.

Backdoor spending is particularly likely to occur in such fields as housing, and, if Congress removes the present pay-as-you-go

restrictions, in highway building.

The Appropriations Committee's way of scrutinizing budget requests by the various agencies often works clumsily. But it is the best way yet devised to make Government departments justify their appropriation requests. Many abuses and instances of waste have been uncovered, although in the process it has seemed that many worthy proposals were also gored.

In some cases, an example being the Development Loan Fund, there is no reason why the funds cannot be allocated on the basis of 2, 3 or more years?

But all major proposed Federal outlays ought to undergo periodic congressional review, and the Appropriations Committees are the best equipped to perform such tasks.

Commencement Address by Senator Thomas J. Dodd at St. Joseph's College, West Hartford, Conn.

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, Senator Thomas J. Donn has made many great speeches in his brilliant and distinguished career. His final summation to the jury at the Molzahn spy case was a classic of its kind, and foreshadowed his magnificent address at the conclusion of the Nuremberg war crimes trials.

During his two terms in this body, his speeches on civil liberties, on the moral basis for foreign aid, and on negotiations with the Communists won national ac-

Those of us from Connecticut have watched Tom Dopp's career in the Senate with a great and growing pride. His maiden speech in the Senate on the Berlin crisis stirred the admiration and won the commendation of people throughout this country and the free

Earlier this week Senator Dopp made what I consider to be one of his greatest speeches at a commencement address at St. Joseph College in West Hartford, Conn. I found in this speech some of the underlying sources of the idealism and passion of justice that have so marked the career of this great man. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD the commencement address delivered on June 3, 1959, at St. Joseph College, West Hartford, Conn.:

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS BY SENATOR THOMAS J. DODD, DEMOCRAT, OF CONNECTICUT, AT ST. JOSEPH COLLEGE, WEST HARTFORD, CONN.

When I accepted your generous invitation to deliver the commencement address it was my intention to try to distill from the experiences of a lifetime a few thoughts which I hoped would be appropriate and useful for the members of this graduating class.

I have not found it easy to do this. It is not easy to sift from the many changing currents of an active life a few simple words of advice to a new generation facing a new world. And when I was through, the advice seemed somewhat oldfashioned and out of touch with these sophisticated times. But it is, nonetheless, sound and true, and if it is out of step there is all the more reason why these things should be said.

This is your commencement day. class is anything like my own graduating class at Providence College, 29 years ago, you are probably thinking of this day as one that marks the end of a period of your life and your thoughts are dwelling nostalgically on the happy memories associated with St. Joseph College.

But commencement does not mean the end. It means what the word implies, the beginning. You are all just at the beginning of the search for knowledge.

And you are at the commencement of a tremendous set of responsibilities.

You have been the beneficiaries of years of devoted attention and selfless dedication by this wonderful group of sisters and by the other members of the faculty.

As the father of one of the graduating class, I am sure I speak for all the parents here today when I thank the sisters of St. Joseph and the lay faculty members from the depths of my heart for all that they have done.

This is a sentimental occasion for me. For it symbolizes that my daughter, Carolyn, who has been such a joy and comfort to Grace and me through the years, is about to step into a world of her own.

I am deeply grateful that she is better prepared for that world because of the sisters and teachers of St. Joseph's.

In you and in your future are wrapped up the hopes and dreams of your parents, of your teachers, of all who have sacrificed to see this day. And, in a larger sense, in your hands and in the hands of a thousand graduating classes across this great land, lies the future of our country and of the causes we uphold in the world.

If you have been faithful to your trust thus far, if you have taken full advantage of the opportunities you have had here, you now have the basic tools to make some imprint, some influence for good on your community, on your chosen profession and perhaps on the world itself.

But you will soon find, if you do not al-

ready know, that they are only the minimum

You have an education. You have learned enough to know something of the extent of knowledge, and the extent of ignorance, something of the legacy of the past and the challenge of the future.

But this gift of knowledge, this opportunity for personal fulfillment carries with it tremendous obligations. I shall try to discuss today just a few of these obligations.

The first that comes to my mind is the obligation of continued self-improvement.

Each of us is unique. Each has different capacities and different aptitudes. Each has certain talents, and each has the obligation to develop those talents as much as the circumstances of life permit, and to use them for good purposes.

We live in a country that, from its founding has been built upon the proposition that man should have the greatest possible opportunity for personal development and personal fulfillment. The state exists for man, not man for the state. This is our creed. This was at the bottom of our struggle with nazism and fascism and it is at the root of our struggle with communism.

The opportunity freely given to you has been purchased and is kept alive at great You can refuse to exercise this freedom by ceasing to develop your mind and your skills from this day forward. Or you can justify your privileges and the human sacrifices they represent by embarking today on a lifetime pursuit of intellectual

I urge you to continue your studies, whether formal or informal.

Continue on with what you have so well begun. If you plan to go on to graduate studies, so much the better. If you do not, develop the habit of private study.

There are many examples of wasted resources in this country but none is more appalling than the waste of those who abandon all intellectual inquiry as soon as they leave school.

We hear a lot these days about do-ityourself programs. I hope you will all work out a do-it-yourself home educational program. Don't store your books away on some forgotten shelf to become dusty reminders of what might have been a fruitful and productive intellectual life.

This day will not have much real meaning in the long scheme of life unless it marks a beginning, and not an end, of broadening the horizons of the mind.

There is a second obligation which will weigh even more heavily upon you as you participate more and more in life.

You all know the difference between right and wrong. You all have learned the basic principles of morality in your homes and in your church. And here at St. Joseph's you have learned the higher refinements of these principles. You have a religious and ethical training that places a far heavier responsibility for right action upon you than that borne by others.

Alfred E. Smith, the self-educated boy from the sidewalks of New York who rose to become New York's greatest Governor, said this in the first speech he ever made to a women's group:

"I know what is right. If I ever do anvthing that is wrong, it will not be because I do not know it to be so, and you can mark it down as being willful and deliberate and hold me to account for it."

These words, spoken during an era of shameful social injustice and political corruption foreshadowed a career of remarkable achievement in advancing the public good.

And these words can be applied to everyone in this fine graduating class. You all know the difference between right and wrong, and you will surely be held to account for your actions.

We live at a time when crucial moral issues are at the heart of grave national and international problems. But there is always an attempt to deny the existence of the moral element in these questions, and these attempts often succeed in obscuring from many the path that we should follow as a Nation.

Powerful and influential leaders either cannot see the moral element in these questions or they deny its existence. For example:

The chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator FULBRIGHT, during debate with me on the Senate floor over the Berlin crisis, deplored my statement that between communism the struggle freedom is essentially a fight between good and evil. He insisted that these concepts are relative and cannot be made the basis for diplomatic action.

Former Ambassador George Kennan denies that we have any moral obligation to assist underdeveloped peoples. He says it is just a practical matter and that our foreign aid should be based solely upon self-in-

Professor Galbraith of Harvard, the eminent economist and author, says that there is no moral element involved in our responsibility to conserve our dwindling natural resources for the use of future generations, and he adds gratuitously that the injection of moral issues into practical problems is generally a source of endless trouble and confusion.

One of our leading jurists recently re-peated the oft-heard, foot-dragging statement that we must proceed toward desegregation because the Supreme Court has made this the law of the land. But only rarely does one hear the truer statement that the Supreme Court has just made legally bindwhat was always morally binding and that we should take up this cause not reluctantly or legalistically, but rather with

zeal and dedication.

Each of the men I have mentioned has great ability and has made important contributions to his field. How tragic, therefore, that they should overlook the central factor of our existence, and should thus mislead the people they seek to help.

The materialistic, secular attitude I speak of is sapping the moral strength of our country, and you have a very great obligation to carry into our community and national life the religious and ethical convictions that you cary away from St. Joseph

Every crucial question afflicting the Nation and the world is, at bottom, a question of right and wrong.

It is wrong to permit any Communist expansion that it is in our power to prevent. It is wrong to acquiesce even tacitly in permanent Communist control of its satellite empire.

It is wrong to refuse to the underprivileged peoples of the world the assistance they need and which we can well afford to offer.

It is wrong to wink an eye at corruption in organized labor, at immoral business practices, or at wrong-doing in Government.

It is wrong to practice racial discrimination whether it be in schools, in housing, in employment, or in any other activity. And we need not look to the South to find discrimination. It exists right here in Con-

But a highly developed mind and a highly refined conscience will avail little unless there is also the great and redeeming quality of courage.

A multiplicity of fears seem to afflict this country and a fear complex threatens to bethe buoyant optimism and indomitable confidence that characterized the national attitude of a century ago.

These fears and uncertainties are stunting the national growth and damaging our national posture.

We frequently hear of surveys of the aspirations of college graduates, young men and women who we would expect to be anxious for new challenges and new conquests. All too often the results reveal that they are interested primarily in security in confromity, in a safe berth and an easy journey. Fear is at the bottom of this.

The advertising industry, expert as it is in judging our motivations, devotes much of its energy to exploiting the petty fears of

everyday life.

In the home there is the fear that to moderately but adequately discipline the child would result in some terrible phychosis or personality problem.

The fear of national bankruptcy hinders the building of an adequate national defense.

Fear of radioactive fallout has convinced many that we should abandon our efforts at further nuclear development regardless of what the Russians do.

Fear is at the root of a hundred subtle influences which tempt us to surrender and

appeasement in foreign affairs.

Of all the admirable qualities that are in short supply, courage is the one most needed by this generation.

Fear is the inevitable end result for those who try to face the uncertainties and in-comprehensibilities of life without faith in God and belief in eternal life.

This Nation was founded, developed and preserved by men and women who faced the unknown with a courage born of a great faith. If our people ever lose those qualities the foundations of our national strength will crumble.

Surely there is no cause for the devout young women of this graduating class to approach life fearfully. For those who know the transitory nature of man's earthly existence, for those who truly believe in our eternal destiny, there should be no room for fear of the misfortunes of this life.

The qualities which I have mentioned thus far lead inescapably to another.

You will carry throughout your life an obligation to show a very special kind of loyalty to your country. In this sophisticated age it seems somewhat "corny" to speak of patriotism at an occasion of this

In some quarters patriotism is scorned today. It has gone out of fashion. And there is even a fuzzy notion current that patriotism stands in the way of the development of an international order of peace and justice.

Those who talk of patriotism today run the risk of being thought naive or boorish by people who do not understand what patriotism really means,

When I speak of it I do not mean chauvinistic breast beating or flag waving, or the hollow veneration of mere symbols.

If this were all there was to it, then patriotism would indeed be an empty thing. Our loyalty is not to the symobls, but to the ideals and traditions of our country and to the great causes it represnts.

Love of country is one of the deepest and most abiding of human instincts. Strange indeed is the man or woman who does not feel a special love for his homeland. As often as not, it is the most humble, the most abused, and the most misgoverned who will, in an hour of crisis, display the flercest

and most selfless loyalty to their country. So it can be said that the instinct of patriotism is almost universal. John Foster Dulles called it, "One of the great and indispensable virtues" and the heroic example of his life and death provides perhaps the best answer to the scoffers of our time.

Americans have a special reason for a special kind of loyalty that goes far beyond the love of things that are familiar. I do not say this merly because our country has been able to give us more advantages and privileges than other lands.

I say it because our country, its institutions, its traditions, its strength today compose the sustaining force which preserves government based on human dignity and human decency.

Whatever may be the faults and weaknesses of our people as individuals, and they are many; whatever may be the mistakes and weaknesses of our Government, and they have been many, the United States of America as a nation has historically acted with honor, with courage, with charity, with justice, and with idealism.

Perhaps we are too close to the scene to appreciate the significance of the role of our country and of our generation. The new apostolic delegate from the Vatican to the United States, Archbishop Vagnozzi, had this to say 2 weeks ago in Washington:

"Washington has become the fountainhead of freedom. We may well say that the road of freedom, of democracy, of self-determination of peoples, and the respect for human personality leads today to and from Washington and it is to a large degree in the United States that the hopes for the survival of human freedoms rest."

No nation has ever carried such an awesome burden as this. I sometimes think that our entire history has prepared us for and guided us toward this crucial role that we

now play.

Surely a sense of national mission and destiny has moved our country from its earliest days. The opening paragraph of the "Federalist" papers, pleading for the adoption of our Constitution, said:

"It seems to have been reserved to the people of this country, by their conduct and example, to decide whether societies of men are capable of establishing good government. Failure on their part would be the general misfortune of mankind."

What Longfellow said 100 years ago applies more to our generation than his:

"Sail on O ship of State,

Sail on O union strong and great, Humanity with all its fears With all the hopes of future years Is hanging, breathless, on thy fate."

All of the forces that have shaped our history, all of the good fortune, all of the noble aspirations, all the blessings of material strength, have combined to give us the means and the obligation to preserve the temple of Christian civilization from the barbarism of first nazism and now commu-

Why do I say all this? I say it because our country and its ancient ideals are more in need of the loyalty, the devotion, the understanding, and the unselfish help of its young men and women than ever before. has a nation been so in need of a generation that recognizes its destiny, represents its ideals, and embraces its traditions.

Two thousands years ago Simon of Cyrene stood at a crossroads in Jerusalem and watched our Divine Saviour pass, carrying His cross to Calvary.

Simon had no real knowledge or special interest in what was going on. He was there by what seemed to him an accident. But because he was there, and because of his apparent strength, he was pulled from the crowd and given our Lord's cross to

He shouldered his burden unwillingly and with a resentment that we can all understand. But as he trod in the footsteps of our Lord, as he began to recognize the significance of his action, the burden became lighter and the labor sweeter. He was fulfilling his destiny.

In this century the United States has stood at a great crossroads of history, at a time when morality and decency were being persecuted and crucified all over the world. We had just arrived on the world scene as an important power at the turn of this century. We were curious onlookers at the terrible tragedy that was beginning to un-fold in Europe. Our people had no desire to become deeply involved in the problems of other nations.

But events drew us irresistibly to the vortex of the world crisis. Because of our strength, because of the logic of events, we took up the cross of preserving decency in the world, without realizing the full significance of our act, without realizing that it was the fulfillment of our national mission.

If the destiny of a nation is to be fulfilled, each generation must renew its understanding of it.

Many of our countrymen today resent our role in the world because they do not understand it. There are mounting signs that our people are growing weary of the burden and wish to lay it down.

But our task is far from completed. Our country needs new strength, new zeal, new idealism. I believe that when the full realization dawns upon our people of the nobility of our role, of the meaning of our labors then our burden-like that of Simon-will seem to grow light, the labor sweet.

Those who understand now the true nature of things, the duty and the privilege that has fallen to us, have a sacred obligation to lend their strength to the just cause and to help keep America ever young in its ideals, its courage, and its fervor for the right.

That is the full meaning of patriotism in our time.

My visit with the young women of St. Joseph College has strengthened my confidence in the future. I envy you the journed ahead. Good luck and Godspeed to each of you.

# Expansion of Food-for-the-Needy Programs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. PHILIP A. HART

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. HART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement I presented to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, on June 4, dealing with the problem of expanding our domestic food-for-the-needy programs, together with a memorandum, prepared by the Michigan State Supervisor of the Commodities Distribution Section indicating the operations of this program in Michigan during the last several years.

There being no objection, the statement and memorandum were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows: EXPANSION OF FOOD-FOR-THE-NEEDY PROGRAM

Mr. Chairman, it is encouraging to be having hearings on the various bills on expanding the use of our Nation's agricultural abundance for the well-being of the many Americans who are unable to have adequate and sufficient food. I am hopeful that following the close of these hearings every effort can be made by those of us who are members of the Agriculture Committee to report to the Senate a sound and greatly expanded program for taking our surplus farm production and putting it on the tables of Americans who just are not able to buy the minimum food that they and their families need and must have. Congress must not adjourn this session until a new surplus food distribution program is law.

There is a growing realization that the difficulties accruing from our mounting farm surpluses are not going to be resolved simply by assuring all Americans an adequate diet. Even if we achieved a reasonably adequate dlet for all our citizens, I do not believe this would be more than a partial step toward meeting the challenge of our surplus produc-

So it is not with the hope that the bills before the subcommittee would miraculously eliminate our huge stockpiles that I support an expanded food distribution program for the needy. Rather, I believe that we in the Congress cannot morally justify a continuance of governmental programs which stimulate agricultural production and build surpluses while there are hungry children, older people, unemployed workers, and others who have wholly inadequate diets week after week and year after year.

We must put farm surpluses to use because it is wrong for people to be hungry in the midst of abundance. We must expand food distribution programs to bring more adequate diets to the needy and the dis-tressed if we are to obtain the necessary public support for the future recasting of a strong and sound agricultural economy in the United States.

The State of Michigan has been a bene-ficiary of the present limited food distribution program. During March 1959, 514,850 persons received federally donated surplus food in Michigan. Unlike many States, Michigan has been able to have almost all sections of the State participate in this Federal pro-gram. Seventy-four of our 83 counties are now participating. The city of Detroit has pioneered in administering a very sizable program.

There is need for the Congress to recognize this program for what it is—basically a welfare program designed to help people. This is one of the reasons I was pleased to join With Senator KENNEDY and many others of my colleagues in sponsoring S. 1884. I thought that the basic administration of the Welfare aspects of the program were not compatible with the duties and responsibilities vested in the Department of Agriculture, but could be much more effectively admin-. istered in the Department of HEW. I would hope that such a transfer would alleviate some of the public confusion that results When nonfarm programs are being budgeted and charged to the Department of Agriculture.

Perhaps the \$150 million authorized in the Kennedy bill will not be adequate to do all that is needed, so I would hope that your subcommittee would attempt to obtain the very best assessment of the true needs of our people and, if more funds are necessary, an increased authorization made in the bill.

There have been many letters coming to my office inquiring as to why more foods, such as edible oils, shortening, peanut butter, and other commodities presently held by the CCC, could not be processed and used to supplement the rather drab and limited food items now being distributed. I have been unable to find satisfactory answers as to What is preventing the Department of Agriculture, under present law, from expanding the range and variety of foods available. So I hope that your subcommittee will find where the roadblocks to these expanded programs may lie.

Last year, I understand, it was necessary for the Congress to enact special legislation to move edible oils in an oversea program for distribution by relief agencies. But today no edible oils are available for the domestic food-distribution programs, and this is a time when butter may be removed from the domestic program.

A transfer to the Department of HEW, as provided under the Kennedy bill, of the responsibilities for screening and supervising the standards of eligibility of persons coming under the program would result in alleviating some of the hardships and unfairnesses that now occur when arbitrary liquidassets standards are applied. I would hope your subcommittee would develop testimony

on this limiting part of the present program.

The Kennedy bill and the similar bills are not, of course, the only approaches to this basic problem of providing adequate diets to our families of very low income. I would only mention that there is pending before the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare a bill which I am cosponsoring with Senator Symington to establish a food stamp program. A food stamp program is not incompatible with these present proposals before the Agriculture Committee, and in fact I hope that, in the near future, hearings may be held on the various food stamp proposals so that this session of the Congress will have full data on every approach.

Mr. Chairman, later you will be hearing from experts from the State of Michiganmen who have been intimately associated with the workings of the existing program. They will represent retail food interests, the public agencies responsible for the program, and groups whose memberships have benefited. Much better than I, they will furnish firsthand data on the need for improving and expanding the existing food distribution programs of our Government. But, more important, you will hear of the really wonderful experiences there are in seeing families feeding their children milk and foods that they could not eat if we had not opened our storage warehouses. My plea today is that we open these warehouses wider, and that we of this Congress do it with a full understanding of how very fortunate our Nation is that have these storehouses of abundance to which we can turn to feed our hungry and

STATE OF MICHIGAN, DEPARTMENT OF ADMINISTRATION,
Lansing, Mich., June 1, 1959.
From: Ralph J. Budd, State Supervisor,
Commodities Distribution Section.

Subject: Comparison of statistical information concerning the certification and participation of various categories regarding the use of USDA surplus commodities. Also, the receipts and value of USDA commodities allocated to the State of Michigan during the fiscal year of 1957-58, as compared to the first 10 months of this current fiscal year, July 1, 1958 through April 30, 1959.

#### Certification

Category		her of its	Number of eligibles		
	1958-59	1957-58	1958-59	1957-58	
Schools	1, 981 29 273 16 75	1, 879 26 259 20 63	382, 392 33, 460 29, 912 236 831, 895	362, 889 32, 235 28, 263 571, 388	
Total	2,374	2, 247	1, 277, 895	995; 130	

#### Participation

	April 1959	April 1958
City of Detroit	164, 419 478, 749	114, 375 351, 315

#### Receipts

	July 1, 1958, through Apr. 30, 1959	Fiscal year 1957-58	
Number of cars received: Secs, 32 and 416 Sec. 6	1, 231 121	1,07015	
Total Value of cars received Pounds received Receipts: City of Detroit,	1, 352 \$14, 802, 248, 05 69, 395, 304		
Department of Public Welfare, value	\$3, 343, 645. 24	\$1, 376, 269. 97	
Detroit, Department of Public Welfare	13, 024, 706	4, 837, 450	

#### Distribution

Category	July 1, 1958, through Apr. 30, 1959		Fiscal year 1957-58	
	Value	Pounds	Value	Pounds
Public schools Parochial schools State institutions Other institutions Camps Public welfare Private welfare	\$2, 592, 219, 34 408, 772, 83 720, 965, 72 525, 641, 16 78, 451, 90 10, 465, 856, 95 20, 401, 23	8, 893, 861 1, 318, 319 3, 964, 718 2, 178, 041 265, 073 49, 164, 170 98, 157	404, 706, 10 768, 301, 24 583, 482, 15 131, 753, 97 5, 070, 399, 37 26, 244, 5	7, 646, 433 1, 203, 197 4, 447, 648 2, 603, 955 476, 290 26, 244, 542 110, 471
Total	14, 812, 309. 13	65, 882, 343	9, 398, 838, 25	42, 732, 515

STATE OF MICHIGAN DEPARTMENT OF ADMINIS-TRATION, PURCHASING DIVISION-COMMODI-TIES DISTRIBUTION SECTION, LANSING, MICH.

Commodities issued to public and private welfare, July 1, 1958, through Jan. 31, 1959 (7 months)

Commodity	Number of pounds	Value		
Beans, dry	25, 837 4, 157, 413 4, 864, 74514 6, 228, 130	\$2, 588, 70 2, 577, 596, 06 2, 140, 488, 3 5 373, 687, 80		
All-purpose	297, 530 6, 950, 690 4, 362, 180 4, 895, 820	29, 753, 00 695, 069, 00 261, 730, 80 1, 370, 829, 60		

Commodities issued to public and private welfare, July 1, 1958, through Jan. 31, 1959 (7 months)—Continued

Commodity	Number of pounds	Value	
Rice	3, 800, 834	\$119, 081. 74	
Total	35, 592, 18014	7, 870, 820, 05	

Total number of pounds of commodities issued to all categories.

Total number of pounds of commodities issued to welfare.

Total value of commodities issued to all

1 35, 592, 18014

categories. \$10,776,395.75
Total value of commodities issued to welfare. \$7,870,820.05 Equals 75 percent. Equals 73 percent.

47, 182, 701

State of Michigan, Department of Administration, Purchasing Division—Commodities
Distribution Section, Lansing, Mich.

		nployment pensation	Un			ime employ-	Lov	Low income	
City or county	1957-58	July 1, 1958- Jan. 31, 1959	1957-58	July 1, 1958- Jan. 31, 1959	1957-58	July 1, 1958- Jan. 31, 1959	1957-58	July 1, 1958- Jan. 31, 1959	
Detroit, city of	165, 960 57, 540	399, 381 107, 327	291	24, 870	162	788	151, 176 9, 006	433, 476 23, 106	
Macomb Oakland Wayne	143, 605 52, 053 66, 653	51, 196 126, 531 152, 562	7, 915	126, 682 - 31, 252	2, 348		57, 402 41, 214	74, 837 6, 171	

Note.—Comparison of participation in the 4 categories, as shown above, in the use of U.S. Department of Agriculture surplus commodities in our welfare feeding program.

#### DAV Services in Ohio

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, an exceptional record of vital rehabilitation services freely extended to thousands of Ohio citizens has recently come to my attention. These splendid humanitarian services are not sufficiently appreciated by those who have benefited thereby, directly, and indirectly.

Among the several congressionally chartered veterans' organizations, which have State departments and local chapters in Ohio, is the Disabled American Veterans. The DAV is the only such organization composed exclusively of those Americans who have been either wounded, gassed, injured, or disabled by reason of active service in the Armed Forces of the United States, or of some country allied with it during time of war.

#### DAV SETUP

Formed in 1920, under the leadership of Judge Robert S. Marx, DAV legislative activities have very substantially benefited every compensated disabled veteran. Its present national commander is another judge, David B. Williams, of Concord, Mass. Its national adjutant is John E. Feighner, of Cincinnati, Ohio. The national legislative director is Elmer M. Freudenberger; the national director of claims, Cicero F. Hogan; and the national director of employment relations, John W. Burris, located at the DAV national service headquarters, 1701 18th Street NW. Washington, D.C. I am especially proud of the fact that Ohio, my home State, has led all States in membership in the DAV for the past 22 years, having about 25,000 members in its 126 chapters.

Inasmuch as less than 10 percent of our country's war veterans are receiving monthly disability compensation payments for service-connected disabilities—some 2 million—the DAV can never aspire to become the largest of the several veterans' organizations. Nevertheless, since shortly after its formation in 1920, the DAV national headquarters located in Cincinnati, Ohio, has maintained the largest staff of any veterans' organization of full-time trained na-

tional service officers, 138 of them, who are located in the 63 regional and 3 district offices of the U.S. Veterans' Administration, and its central office in Washington, D.C.

They there have ready access to the official claim records of those claimants who have given the DAV their powers of attorney. All of them being war-handicapped veterans themselves, these service officers are sympathetic and alert as to the problems of other less well-informed claimants.

#### SERVICE FACILITIES IN OHIO

The DAV national service officers in Cincinnati are Mr. Bernard Southard, Mr. Charles A. Burger, Mr. John Kirch, Mr. Thomas G. Ryan, and Mr. Ralph F. Schwamberger, located at the VA regional office, 209 East Sixth Street. Mr. Garrett J. Bowman, Mr. Pasquale B. Gervace, Mr. Albert Nigoff; and Mr. Verne Nygaard are located at the VA regional office, 234–235 Williamson Building, Cleveland.

The national headquarters of the DAV is at 5555 Ridge Avenue, Cincinnati, where the national service officer, John Delaney, is on duty. National officers for this year from Ohio are Mr. Joe Smith, 225 West Harrison, Alliance, and Mr. Joe Stefan, 864 Berghoff Street, Akron, who are the national executive committeeman and alternate, respectively, from the seventh district.

The DAV department commander of Ohio is Mr. Sam Rothenberg, 4511 Shirley Drive, South Euclid, and the department adjutant-treasurer is my long-time personal friend, Mr. A. L. Daniels, 105–07 Wyandotte Building, Columbus.

The VA hospitals coming under the jurisdiction of these offices are: A 2,116-bed NP hospital at Chillicothe, a 463-bed GM hospital at Cincinnati, a 1,013-bed GM hospital at Dayton, a 2,138-bed DOM hospital at Dayton, a 324-bed TB hospital at Brecksville, and a 852-bed GM hospital at Cleveland.

The DAV representatives with the VA Voluntary Services are Mr. George Sriner, of 1040 South Roosevelt Avenue, Columbus, at the Chillicothe NP Hospital; Mr. Joseph M. Zapatony, Post Office Box 55, North Dayton Station, Dayton, at the DOM Hospital at Dayton; Mr. George Meyers, 5868 Layor Drive, Parma Heights, at the GM Hospital at Cleveland; Mr. Robert Silva, 559 Virgil, Cincinnati, at the GM Hospital at Cincinnati; and Mr. Robert R. Boyle, 3729 West 33d Street, Cleveland, at the TB Hospital at Brecksville.

During the last fiscal year, the VA paid out \$82,890,666 for its veterans program in Ohio, including disability compensation to its 116,642 service-disabled veterans. These Federal expenditures in Ohio furnish substantial purchasing power in all communities.

The DAV of Ohio renders a most outstanding service to the wars' disabled and their dependents—as proven by the following facts and figures—for the last 10 fiscal years:

Claimants contacted (esti-	
mated)	411,054
Claims folders reviewed	352, 545
Appearances before rating	
boards	176, 533
Compensation increases ob-	
tained	13, 959
Service connections obtained_	6, 022
Nonservice pensions	9,012
Death benefits obtained	2,002
Total monetary benefits ob-	
tained	60 750 001 74

The above figures do not include the accomplishments of other national service officers on duty in the central office of the Veterans' Administration, handling appeals and reviews, or in its three district offices, handling death and insurance cases. Over the last 10 years, they reported 83,611 claims handled in such district offices, resulting in monetary benefits of \$20,850,335,32, and in the central office they handled 58,282 reviews and appeals, resulting in monetary benefits of \$5,337,389,05. Proportionate additional benefits were thereby obtained for Ohio veterans, their dependents, and their survivors.

#### SERVICES BEYOND STATISTICS

These figures fail properly to paint the picture of the extent and value of the individualized advice, counsel, and assistance extended to all of the claimants who have contacted DAV national service officers in person, by telephone, and by letter.

Pertinent advice was furnished to all disabled veterans, their dependents, and others, in response to their varied claims for service connection, disability compensation, medical treatment, hospitalization, prosthetic appliances, vocational training, insurance, death compensation or pension, VA guaranty loans for homes, farms and businesses, and so forth. Helpful advice was also given as to counseling and placement into suitable useful employment—to utilize their remaining abilities—civil service examinations, appointments, retentions, retirement benefits, and multifarious other problems.

Every claim presents different problems. Too few Americans fully realize that governmental benefits are not automatically awarded to disabled veteransnot given on a silver platter. Frequently, because of lack of official records, death or disappearance of former buddies and associates, lapse of memory with the passage of time, lack of information and experience, proof of the legal service-connection of a disability becomes extremely difficult-too many times impossible. A Claims and Rating Board can obviously not grant favorable action merely based on the opinions, impressions or conclusions of persons who submit notarized affidavits. Specific, detailed, pertinent facts are essential.

The VA, which acts as judge and jury, cannot properly prosecute claims against itself. As the defendant, in effect, the U.S. Veterans' Administration must award the benefits provided under the laws administered by it, only under cer-

tain conditions.

A DAV national service officer can and does advise a claimant precisely why his claim may previously have been denied and then specifies what additional evidence is essential. The claimant must necessarily bear the burden of obtaining such fact-giving affidavit evidence. The experienced national service officer will, of course, advise him as to its possible improvement, before presenting same to the adjudication agency, in the light of all of the circumstances and facts, and of the pertinent laws, precedents, regulations and schedule of disability ratings. No DAV national service officer, I feel certain, ever uses his skill, except in behalf of worthy claimants, with justifiable claims.

The VA has denied more claims than it has allowed—because most claims are not properly prepared. It is very significant, as pointed out by the DAV acting national director of claims, Chester A. Cash, that a much higher percentage of those claims, which have been prepared and presented with the aid of a DAV national service officer, are eventually favorably acted upon, than is the case as to those claimants who have not given their powers of attorney to any such special advocate.

#### LOSSES BY REVIEWS

Another fact not generally known is that, under the overall review of claims inaugurated by the VA some 4 years ago, the disability compensation payments of about 37,200 veterans have been discontinued, and reduced as to about 27,300 others, at an aggregate loss to them of more than \$28 million per yar. About 5 percent of such discontinuances and reductions have probably occurred as to disabled veterans in Ohio with a consequent loss of about \$1,568,000 per year.

Most of these unfortunate claimants were not represented by the DAV or by any other veterans' organization. Judging by the past, such unfavorable adjudications will occur as to an additional equal number or more during the next 3 years, before such review is completed. I urge every disabled veteran in Ohio to give his power of attorney to the national service officer of the DAV, or of some other veterans' organization, or of the American Red Cross, just as a protective measure.

The average claimant who receives helpful advice probably does not realize the background of training and experience of a competent expert national service officer.

#### COSTS OF DAY SERVICES

Measured by the DAV's overall costs of about \$12,197,600 during a 10-year period, one would find that it has expended about \$3.50 for each claim folder reviewed, or about \$3.80 for each rating board appearance, or, again, about \$22.70 for each favorable award ob-

tained, or about \$123 for each service connection obtained, or about \$54 for each compensation increase obtained, and has obtained about \$14.10 of direct monetary benefits for claimants for each dollar expended by the DAV for its national service officer setup. Moreover, such benefits will generally continue for many years.

METHODS OF PROVIDING SERVICES

Evidently, most claimants are not aware of the fact that the DAV receives no Government subsidy whatsoever. The DAV is enabled to maintain its nationwide staff of expert national service officers primarily because of income from membership dues collected by its local chapters and from the net income on its Idento-Tag-miniature automobile \_ license tags-project, owned by the DAV and operated by its employees, most of whom are disabled veterans, their wives, or their widows, or other handicapped Americans—a rehabilitation project in thus furnishing them with useful employment. Incidentally, without checking as to whether they had previously sent in donations, more than 1 million owners of sets of lost keys have received them back from the DAV's Idento-Tag department, 40,712 of whom, during the last 8 years, were Ohio residents.

Every eligible veteran, by becoming a DAV member, and by explaining these factors to a fellow citizen, can help the DAV to procure such much-needed public support as will enable it to maintain its invaluable nationwide service setup on a more adequate basis. So much more could be accomplished for distressed disabled veterans if the DAV could be enabled, financially, to maintain an expert service officer in every one of the 173 VA hospitals.

#### MEMORIAL HONOR ROLL

During the last 10 years, the DAV has also relied on appropriations aggregating \$3,300,000, exclusively for salaries to its national service officers, from the DAV Service Foundation, its separately incorporated trustee, incorporated in Ohio in 1931, incidentally, when I was Ohio's secretary of state. Its reserves having thus been nearly exhausted, the DAV Service Foundation is therefore very much in need of the generous support of all serviced claimants, DAV members and other social-minded Americans-by direct donations, by designations in insurance policies, by bequests in wills, by assignments of stocks and bonds and by establishing special types of trust funds.

A special type of memorial trust fund originated about 3 years ago with concerned disabled veteran members of the DAV chapter in Butte, Mont., which established the first Perpetual Rehabilitation Fund of \$1,000 with the DAV Service Foundation. Recently it added another \$100 thereto. Since then, every DAV unit in that State has established such a special memorial trust fund, ranging from \$100 to \$1,100, equivalent to about \$5 per DAV member. Benefactors from 29 States have, up to this time, become enrolled to the memorial honor roll.

Inasmuch as only the interest earnings from special donations will be available for appropriation to the DAV for its use in maintaining its national service officer program in the State of residence of each such benefactor, this is an excellent objective also for Ohio. Each such special benefactor is enrolled on a permanent memorial honor roll which, updated, is then included in the annual report of the DAV and of its incorporated trustee, the DAV Service Foundation, to the U.S. Congress.

Each claimant who has received any such free rehabilitation service can help to make it possible for the DAV to continue this excellent rehabilitation service for other distressed disabled veterans and their dependents in Ohio by sending donations to the DAV Service Foundation, 631 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C. Every "serviced" claimant who is eligible can and should also become a DAV member, preferably a life member, for which the total fee is \$100—\$50 to those born before January 1, 1902, or World War I veterans—payable in installments within 2 full fiscal-year periods.

Every American can help to make our Government more representative by being a supporting member of at least one organization which reflects his interests and viewpoints-labor unions, trade associations, and various religious, fraternal and civic associations. All of America's veterans ought to be members of one or more of the patriotic, servicegiving veteran organizations—the United Spanish War Veterans, the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Amvets, the Military Order of the Purple Heart, and the Disabled American Veterans—all of America's disabled defenders, who are receiving disability compensation, have greatly benefited by their own official voice—the DAV. If eligible, I would certainly be proud to be a life member of the service-giving Disabled American Veterans.

## Toward Military Disaster

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 18, 1959

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, this year we have once again seen the results of interservice rivalries, which are a detriment to our Nation's defense program, culminate in bitter arguments both between the military services and between various supporters and proponents of the services.

Mr. Speaker, this is a needless thing. The people should not be subjected to it; indeed, they would not be if our military establishment were functioning correctly.

An editorial appeared Tuesday, June 2, in the Omaha World-Herald which points up the weaknesses in our present Joint Chiefs of Staff setup. I think this editorial which contains some pertinent comments by my colleague on the Appropriations Subcommittee on the Department of Defense, Hon. Phil. Weaver, of Nebraska, is well worth reading by every Member of the House and the American people generally. I am, therefore, inserting this editorial in the Record. The editorial follows:

#### TOWARD MILITARY DISASTER

For months the Army and Air Force have been battling over antiaircraft missiles. The Army's Nike-Hercules is a tested de-

The Army's Nike-Hercules is a tested device of short range; the Air Force Bomarc is a more sophisticated weapon of longer range. Which should be built?

Secretary of Defense McElroy told a Senate subcommittee that "it would not bother me if you held our feet to the fire and forced us." Later the Secretary changed his mind and wrote the subcommittee that both were needed.

And what is the Congress to do in such circumstances? Isn't there a body of military experts authorized to make military decisions based on the military facts?

There is indeed such a body—the Joint Chiefs of Staff. And what did the Joint Chiefs say about the Bomare-Nike controversy? Nothing. Nothing whatever.

Frustrated and angry, another congressional group, the House Appropriations Committee, has lashed out at the Pentagon and particularly at the Joint Chiefs, declaring the latter body "is not providing the kind of leadership and advice which this country requires."

Nebraska's Congressman Phil Weaver, a member of the committee's Military Appropriations Subcommittee, carried the criticism farther. Here was a basically military decision, said Mr. Weaver, and the Joint Chiefs left it to a group of Congressmen.

The Bomarc-Nike controversy was wrestled around indecisively by the Joint Chiefs, but according to Mr. Weaver, the case of a \$260 million Navy request for a supercarrier was

not even discussed.

Not only does Mr. Weaver agree with his committee that something is wrong with present military planning but he says that continued lack of guidance by the Joint Chiefs could be disastrous.

An alternative to the Joint Chiefs system would be an overall general staff and a single service. This is favored by a number of eminent military men, including Gen. Curtis LeMay. It would be a drastic step, and its promise of increased efficiency and lowered costs should be weighed against the perlis of possible military dictatorship.

But if the Joint Chiefs system cannot be made to work, if the overall military decisions on planning, weapons and the like are to be left to the Congress, then the country may in desperation turn to hard-boiled military unification.

#### John Foster Dulles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. FRANK W. BOYKIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. BOYKIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein a letter and a poem by my beloved, lifetime friend Col. E. Vernon Knight, of Mobile, Ala., formerly of Indiana. He has written this poem about a great man, John Foster Dulles, and I am enclosing this poem. I wish I could compose one, not only about John Foster Dulles, but also about Col. E. Vernon Knight, who has done so much for our beloved Southland and our way of life. He came south many years ago, when his beautiful daughter, Mary Jane, and his many sons were just little children. He had a wonderful wife, Katherine. Her father endowed the great DePauw University in Indiana, and everybody knows of the great good it did, but nobody has ever done more than Col. E. Vernon Knight and his wonderful family. Katherine has gone to heaven, but we still have Colonel Knight, although he is over 80 years old and has been stricken, which was caused by his service in the Spanish-American War.

I could speak all day about my beloved friend, Col. E. Vernon Knight, but I will just put this poem in that he has written about John Foster Dulles, a great man who has done so much for all mankind—just the same as this man, E. Vernon Knight, has done.

Anyway, God bless them both, and I wanted a lot of folks to know about this, and I know the Congressional Record will go to every library in this Nation, as well as to every beat, and they will know about John Foster Dulles and Col. E. Vernon Knight:

MOBILE, ALA., May 27, 1959.

DEAR FRANK: As today I watched on my
TV all the John Foster Dulles burial ceremonies, the following thoughts came to my
mind:

#### TO JOHN FOSTER DULLES

"When names are called up yonder, John Foster.

We know your name will be upon that roster.

We know the pages of your record will be filled

With Christian thought and deeds which you have willed.

Giving of yourself, you never once did cease, You gave your life that all the world might

live in peace.
And in your passing, you have left be-

hind An unpaid debt that's owed by all man-

kind. To you, John Foster, may we ne'er for-

get
The services you gave to place us in your debt.

When heaven's angels open wide the portal We know that you, John Foster, then will be immortal."

Hastily yours,

COLONEL KNIGHT.

# A Tribute to Our Army Missile Team

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. JOHN R. FOLEY

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Speaker, recently it was my privilege to visit the U.S. Army Ordnance Missile Command, Redstone Arsenal, Huntsville, Ala., as a member of the Army Reserve Unit, Congressional Command. The briefings and inspection tours conducted by Maj. Gen. John B. Medaris, commanding general; Brig. Gen. J. A. Barclay, commander of the Army Ballistic Missile Agency; and Dr. Wernher von Braun were most revealing and reassuring. The outstanding, easily detected landmarks of the arsenal are not the tall Jupiter missiles in launching position but the high morale, the brimming confidence, the great dedication of all members of the command. Since my visit, the Army ballistic missile team scored another outstanding triumph. The story behind the team and the triumph is a matter of interest to all. It is included here as a check point on our progress into space:

A TRIBUTE TO OUR ARMY MISSILE TEAM

In the early morning half-light on May 29, the Army moved us one step closer to our national objective of placing a man in space.

Much has been made of the fact that two monkeys, Able and Baker, have returned safely from their flight into space. They did a fine job, strapped in their capsules, to tell us how primates react to the great unknown conditions of space travel, including the tremendous accelerations and decelerations of the beginning and end of their trip and the weightlessness which intervened as they soared through space.

But lost in the excitement of having passed this important milestone was the realization that this success was achieved by men, not monkeys. The development team responsible for this achievement has already received public notice on the occasion of earlier successes. It is reassuring to know that this group is continuing to advance our national capability, in scientific areas as well as military fields.

The Army Ballistic Missile Agency development team, headed by Dr. Wernher von Braun, was first to transport primates on a space flight, but that is only one of a long list of firsts earned by this ground.

list of firsts earned by this group.

As early as 1930, some of the key members of this ABMA team were laying the foundation for our recent successes, developing rocket motors and guidance systems which culminated in the German V-2 weapon, the world's first large ballistic missile.

At Redstone Arsenal, the Army team designed and built the first large U.S. ballistic missile, named for the arsenal where it was developed. This Redstone missile program started the U.S. Army Ordnance Corps and its missile team on a career marked with major successes and impressive firsts. The heart of the Redstone was the first successful all-inertial missile guidance system, and the launching of the first Redstone missile in August 1953 marked the beginning of our present ballistic missile and space programs.

In late 1955, when the Nation was faced with the urgent need for development of long-range deterrents, the Army team was selected to develop an intermediate range ballistic missile. Drawing on its wealth of experience and moving with the calculated haste of experienced men, it successfully launched the United States first IRBM only 16 months later. In developing and testing the nose cone for this Jupiter missile, ABMA launched in September 1956 the first multistage long-range missile, which traveled over 3,200 miles down the Atlantic missile range. In August 1957 this test missile, called Jupi-ter C (for "composite"), proved the success of the Army's development as ABMA scored another first by firing an ablation type heat protected nose cone 600 miles into space, and recovering it intact after its reentry through the earth's atmosphere. This was the first Object ever launched into space and recovered, and now rests in a place of honor in the Smithsonian Institution.

When the first Soviet satellite was launched, on October 4, 1957, our national consternation ran high that we should have been bested in the competition for being first in space. A second Soviet satellite on November 4 made the situation even more embarrassing, and finally, on November 8, the missile team at the Army Ballistic Missile Agency was authorized to prepare two satellite vehicles as back-up for the so-far-unsuccessful United States attempts to orbit a satellite. The same Jupiter C that held the world's long-distance flight record was designated for the task, and on November 20 the date for launching was established.

History records the success of the Army team that orbited the free world's first satellite, Explorer I, on January 31, 1958, only 84 days after it was authorized. The door to

space had opened a crack.

The ABMA team established a record again on March 3, 1959, when it launched our first successful deep space probe. A Jupiter missile equipped with the upper stages from the satellite launching Jupiter C, hurled a 15¼-pound instrumented payload past the Moon, out of the reach of Earth's gravity into an orbit around the Sun, the first made-in-U.S.A. object ever to prove the secrets of interplanetary space. Radio signals from Pioneer IV relayed measurements from instruments aboard this gold-plated cone over 400,000 miles back to earth, establishing a new point-to-point radio communication distance record. Space travel came a bit nearer.

Now the same Army team has been the first to send primates into space and to recover them, unharmed after their historymaking voyage. The vehicle used was their Jupiter missile. Into its nose cone went the two monkeys, Able and Baker. With a roar and a flash of flame from its rocket motor, the missile with its passengers soared up from the Florida coast early Thursday morning a week ago. Straight and true it sped to its target, a spot in the Atlantic Ocean Where a Navy task force awaited its arrival. So accurate was the missile and so well organized the recovery operation that the nose cone and its passengers were safe aboard the recovery ship only 76 minutes after the hose cone splashed into the water. Com-plete records of the animals' actions and reactions were received and are being studied to learn how we can be sure, when We put a man into a similar rocket, that he will survive his first voyage into space.

Reliability is the watchword with Army missilemen. The reliability of their equipment has been conclusively demonstrated; the reliability of their work is a matter of record. A task assigned is a task well done, and a schedule established with them is a commitment which will be met. The United States owes much to this ABMA team; to Maj. Gen. J. B. Medaris, who directs the Army's missile programs; and the men of the Ordnance Corps who first established the Army's missile team in 1945. May their outstanding successes continue to thrill the free world, to deter aggressors, and to lead us on into space.

#### Honors for Miss Mary Rait

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, there has been a great deal of discussion in

recent years concerning the need for construction of new classrooms to meet the ever increasing enrollments in schools throughout the Nation. There is no doubt about the necessity of more classroom space, but in concentrating on the building of schools we are prone to forget that above all else it is good teachers, rather than buildings, that make good schools.

Mr. Speaker, I am certain that throughout the land there are untold numbers of dedicated teachers, teachers who are an inspiration to their students, teachers who would make the most ramshackle and inadequate of buildings a good school. I wish that it were possible for individual recognition to be given to every such teacher. One of these is Miss Mary Rait, of Grand Junction, Colo. Miss Rait was recently honored by being named Colorado's Teacher of the Year. I have known Miss Rait personally for many, many years and can say without hesitation that she is exceptional, as a teacher and as a person. Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD an editorial from the Grand Junction, Colo., Daily Sentinel congratulating Miss Rait on her selection as Colorado's Teacher of the Year. The editorial follows:

#### HONORS FOR MISS RAIT

Grand Junction, indeed all of western Colorado, is proud of Miss Mary Rait. The recognition she has received as Colorado's Teacher of the Year is one which she richly deserves. It is, even with all of the honor that it connotes, only a small part of the debt which is owed her.

Miss Rait's career in Grand Junction schools began many years ago when she taught in Grand Junction High School. Men and women who attended her classes then are sending their sons and daughters

to her at Mesa College today.

When Mesa College was new—and was Grand Junction Junior College—Miss Rait was one of the early volunteers who started it on its way. She has continued her fine work with young people down through the years. One of the halls on the college campus was named in her honor.

Miss Rait is not only the "teacher of the year" for 1959. She has been, first of all, a teacher and a fine one for many years. Hundreds of young people have found her classrooms an inspiration to study, to work, to further their education. She has always been the approachable, the interested teacher.

Her community life has been as varied and as unselfish. Whatever she has been asked to do in the community, and many things which were never asked of her, have been done. Her career as a teacher should remain a beacon light for those who are in her profession.

Sweden: Freedom and the Good Life

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow, June 6, is celebrated in Sweden as Constitution and Flag Day.

Sweden throughout her history has stood for the ideals most cherished by Americans. Hers is a tradition of freedom, of courage, of respect for religion with tolerance, of education, progress, of high regard for the individual, and, in modern history, of peaceful conversion.

The Swedish tradition of freedom dates from earliest history. Mention is made by Tacitus of the separate, Suiones people, from whom Sweden derived its name. The Viking ships are believed to date from the Roman era. The tales of the Viking era—from about 700 to 1000 A.D.—stir our imagination and command our respect. Courage and a capacity for organization was their legacy wherever these sea kings made a permanent landing. Characteristic, above all, was, and has ever been, a love of freedom and respect for individual liberty.

As early as the Middle Ages, Christianity triumphed in the center of the old heathen realm, the land of the Valkyrie. It has flourished significantly in Sweden ever since. Soon after Luther, the Lutheran church became the church of Sweden. More than 90 percent of the Swedes are baptized and married by the clergy of that church to this day. Because of the tolerance acquired during the centuries since its foundation, however, this figure actually covers many nonconformists and those indifferent to all but certain customs of the church.

The people of Sweden have long been taught to think for themselves. The Swedish press boasts of having the oldest legally protected guarantees of press freedom in the world. A newspaper established in 1645 still appears regularly. Greater knowledge, more extensive schooling are the basis of the vigorous and alert democracy that exists in Sweden.

Sweden has been a leader in social reform. Her progress in social security has served as a model for many features of the American system. Observers from England have compared Sweden's measures favorably with those of their own country, New Zealand, and Australia. For nearly two centuries, Sweden's communities have cared for their aged, infirm, and otherwise needy peo-ple. Workmen's compensation, unemployment insurance, and compulsory health insurance are part of the national scheme of social welfare, which has been for over 70 years in the process of revision and improvement. The general aim is to protect the life and health of each citizen

The Swedes are good neighbors abroad as well as at home. Renowned neutrality, maintaining peace for nearly 150 years, has not prevented Sweden from joining in the Council of Europe, the Organization for European Economic Cooperation, the United Nations, as well as many other international organizations-with all that participation implies. In joining the U.N. Sweden did specifically declare her intention to maintain her traditional freedom from military alliances, while protecting with a strong defense her independence and democratic institutions. The world's respect for her stand is clearly evident in the choice of Dag Hammerskjöld as its leader in the United Nations.

Sweden's high standard of living is reflected in a comparatively high level of stability in national politics. Communists have played a very small role there. The two-party system, which prevailed in the era of formulation of the Swedish parliamentary democracy, inspired a stanza which strikes a responsive note in our own day. In the 18th century, the Swedish poet Jacob Wallenstein wrote of party politics by popular name:

Let Hats and Caps fight on, let discord's thunder rumble;

An oak which now and then is shaken by a blast,

Below the ground holds firm and fast.

When Rome its squabbles ceased she had begun to tumble, And England gains her peak amid disputes

and strife.

Free states from party feuds draw life.

The free states of the world and we in America, join in a salute to Sweden's freedom and good life.

# Spain and NATO

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 20, 1959

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rzcord, I include the following excerpts published in Iberica for April 15, 1957:

SPAIN AND NATO

AMERICAN POSITIONS

"Be it resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That it is the sense of the Congress of the United States that the Department of State use its good offices toward the end of achieving the earliest possible participation by Spain in the North Atlantic Treaty" (from Concurrent Resolution 14 passed by the House of Representatives on March 20).

"It is believed that the United States can best contribute to the achievement of Spanish membership in NATO by continuing to encourage the improvement of relations between Spain and the other nations of western Europe" (from a letter signed by Robert C. Hill, Assistant Secretary of State, to Senator Theodore Green, chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate).

SPANISH POSITIONS

"To admit the Spanish dictator (to NATO) is not to admit Spain. Franco is not Spain. He is its antithesis, as the movements of protests occurring within Spain these days demonstrate. The democracies of Europe and America would dishonor themselves were they to accept Franco as opposed to Spain" (from joint declaration of executive committees of the Spanish Socialist Labor Party and the General Labor Unions of Spain, Toulouse, France, Mar. 20, 1957).

"We most energetically protest the resolution passed by the House of Representatives.

\* \* Were the agreement pending for General Franco's membership in NATO to prevail, then the first to be injured thereby would be the United States for having attacked the most sacred interests of the rights of man and of the citizen, and world democracy, and thereby having to assume the historic responsibility of having suppressed the Spanish nation. Such a decision could only serve the cause of totalitarian communism by

greatly impairing the democratic free world" (from statement issued by the National Committee in the Exterior of the National Confederation of Labor of Spain).

"If Spain is considered as indispensable to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, there are but two courses open: to demand that the regime qualify by adopting free institutions; or to strike out from the charter the preamble and article 2. An admission of the present absolute Sultanate would imply that the members of NATO publicly recognize that they attach no importance to their own solemn engagements. This would thoroughly destroy the moral authority of the organization" (from statement issued by the Spanish Council of the European Movement, signed by Salvador de Madariaga, chairman).

(Note.—Unfortunately the Spaniards within Spain are not free to express their opinions on the subject of Spain's admission to NATO at this time. However the three organizations whose statements have been quoted above may be said to reflect opinion within Spain because of their great prestige and widespread connections in the interior. Needless to say these three organizations are all strongly anti-Communist.)

SPANISH ORGANIZATIONS OPPOSE ADMISSION OF FRANCO SPAIN TO NATO

JOINT STATEMENT BY SPANISH SOCIALIST PARTY AND GENERAL LABOR UNION OF SPAIN (U.G.T.)

Now, after having been responsible for the disastrous situation from which Spain is suffering, the dictator Franco is attempting to obtain new and extensive credits in the United States to save himself from catastrophe, just as he is also trying to obtain an invitation for an official visit with President Elsenhower.

The great North American democracy would be committing a grave political blunder and would become discredited before the Spanish people if, knowing as the Americans know the true feelings of the Spaniards, they were to lend themselves once again to running to the aid of a corrupt regime and a tyrannical dictator.

The ambitions of the dictator are not limited to that but, having discovered a belated attraction for Europe, he now has the audacity to want to be admitted to NATO and the different European organizations and communities and the Council of Europe \* \* \* all to defend democracy.

The General Labor Union of Spain and the Spanish Socialist Labor Party agree that the moment has come for them to state publicly and with all solemnity to the democracies belonging to these organizations that if they admit the Spanish dictator into their midst they would not thereby be serving the cause of Spanish democracy nor the ends which these organizations proclaim.

Let no one make any mistakes. To admit the Spanish dictator is not to admit Spain. Franco is not Spain. He is its antithesis, as the movements of protest occurring within Spain demonstrate. The democracies of Europe and America would be doing themselves dishonor were they to accept Franco as opposed to Spain. They would be converting themselves into accomplices in causing the misfortunes of the Spanish people.

The Spanish Socialist Labor Party and the General Labor Union of Spain ask labor groups, all democratic organizations and very especially the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions that, fulfilling their duties, they make every effort possible to prevent the ambitions of the Spanish dictator from prospering in Europe and America. STATEMENT BY THE NATIONAL CONFEDERATION

OF LABOR (CNT)

The National Confederation of Labor (CNT) raises its most energetic protest against the resolution passed by the House of Representatives favoring Spain's admission to NATO.

We wish to remind everyone, because they seem to have forgotten, of the Fascist character of the Franco regime which has been imposed by the use of force and violence on a people who struggle to revalidate democracy and to attain freedom.

Should the resolution favoring the admission of General Franco in NATO prevail, then the first to be injured thereby would be the United States of America, in having opposed the most sacred interests of the rights of man and of the citizen, and world democracy, in assuming the historic responsibility of having submerged the Spanish nation. Were it to be adopted, such a decision would only serve the cause of totalitarian communism by greatly impairing the free and democratic world.

LETTER TO NATO FROM SPANISH COUNCIL OF THE EUROPEAN MOVEMENT, BALVADOR DE MADARIAGA, CHARRMAN

We, Spanish citizens deprived of the exercise of our citizenship by a military dictatorship, draw the attention of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to the fact that the admission of Franco Spain into the Organization would utterly destroy its moral authority. The preamble of its charter says that the parties "are determined to safeguard the freedom, common heritage, and civilization of their peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual freedom, and the rule of law"; and article 2 adds that they will contribute toward the further development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions (and) by bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which these institutions are founded.

We Spanish citizens point out that the present Spanish regime has never hidden the fact, indeed boasts of the fact, that its institutions are not those of liberal democracy; and that, whatever the wording of its so-called laws, there is in fact no law or institution in Spain today but the will of the dictator, so that no Spaniard feels that either his life, property, or honor is safe if he happens to dissent from official-dom.

In the circumstances, we point out that if Spain is considered as indispensable to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, there are but two courses open: to demand that the regime qualify by adopting free institutions; or to strike out from the charter the preamble and article 2. An admission of the present absolute sultanate would imply that the members of NATO publicly recognize that they attach no importance to their own solemn engagements. This would thoroughly destroy the moral authority of the Organization.

# New England Council's Views on Federal Airport Aid Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 2, 1959.

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I wish to include the views of the New England Council for Economic Development on the Federal airport aid bill which I have received from Gardner A. Caverly, executive vice president of the council:

THE NEW ENGLAND COUNCIL FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, Boston, Mass., June 3, 1959. MEMORANDUM

To members of conference committee on Federal airport aid bills, S. 1 and H.R. 1011.

From Gardner A. Caverly, executive vice president.

The views of the New England Council on the Federal airport aid bill are set forth in the following letter addressed to Senator Corron, the New England member of the conference committee:

"JUNE 3, 1959.

"The Honorable Norris Cotton, "U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

"Dear Senator: In the hope that it may be of assistance in helping you to reach a decision, we wish to present the position of the New England Council on the airport aid bills now being considered by the conference committee.

"The council has long been active in urging the establishment of airport facilities and navigational aids in the New England area adequate for the needs of scheduled air commerce and general aviation. While we do have some of the country's outstanding airports, it is of vital necessity, both to the region and the country as a whole, that expansion and improvement be a continuing program. For this reason, it is extremely important to have an adequate Federal airport aid act passed during this session of Congress.

"We are encouraged by the fact that both the Senate and the House have passed measures to continue the program. With the principal issue appearing to be that of the amount of money to be authorized, it would be our hope that the amount called for in H.R. 1011 will prevail. It is our belief that an adequate program can be carried out under this amount and that to strive for more would likely endanger the entire program in view of the administration's expressions on the subject.

"There is one phase of the program now in S. 1 only which we would like to see incorporated in the final measure. This is the provision for aid for seal coating, a very important and necessary element to the proper preservation of an adequate system of airports.

"If we can be of further service to the committee, we shall be most happy to oblige. Meanwhile, we hope there will be an early decision along the lines we have indicated so that progress in the development of airport facilities will not be seriously affected.

"Sincerely,
"Gardner A. Caverly,
"Executive Vice President."

One Hundred and Ninth Field Artillery Battalion, Based at Kingston, Pa., Helped To Write Proud History of 28th Division—America's Oldest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article that was featured in the Wilkes-Barre Sunday Independent, May 10, 1959:

EIGHTY-YEAR UNBROKEN HISTORY—109TH HELPED TO WRITE PROUD HISTORY OF 28TH DIVISION—AMERICA'S OLDEST

The 28th—of which the 109th Field Artillery Battalion is a part—is the oldest division in the U.S. Armed Forces, according to a verified history released by the Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army.

The 28th Infantry Division, Pennsylvania National Guard, also is reported by the Army historians to be the largest Reserve component organization in the Second U.S. Army area.

(The 109th Field Artillery Battalion, with headquarters at the Kingston Armory, is commanded by Lt. Col. Frank Townend. It has five batteries and a medical detach-

The continuous history of the 28th dates back to 1879 when Maj. Gen. (later Governor) John F. Hartranft conceived the idea of having the Pennsylvania National Guard organized as a single division in conformance with Regular Army tables of organization. Since March 1879, the division, known first as the 7th Division, and redesignated the 28th Infantry Division in 1917, has an unbroken history.

#### DATES BACK TO 1747

In reality, the history of the 28th dates as far back as 1747 when Benjamin Franklin formed his Battalion of Associators, a militia organization recruited in Philadelphia "for the protection of the Commonwealth." The 103d Engineer Battalion, of Philadelphia, is a direct descendant of this organization. Other organizations of the division date back to the 18th and early 19th centuries and the 28th Reconnaissance Co. of Philadelphia boasts a continuous history since it was first organized as the First Troop, Philadelphia City Cavairy, in 1774. Units of the 28th have served in every major war from the French and Indian War and the Revolutionary War to the Korean emergency. This service is attested by the 35 battle streamers and the 15 silver bands worn on the color and guidons of units of the division. The division colors carry six battle streamers from its World War I service and five from World War II.

Today the 120 units of the division, commanded by Maj. Gen. Henry K. Fluck, is quartered in 59 armories or rented buildings located in 57 cities of the Commonwealth. Hundreds more of the communities of Pennsylvania are represented in the division's ranks as each unit recruits its members from the surrounding area.

#### DIVISION SELF-SUFFICIENT

Training in the division is carried on with the current Army equipment of all types and when the division moves to the field for training it is self-sufficient in its ability to conduct its own training, carry on ts own administration, perform its own maintenance, operate its own messes, and provide its own basic medical care. Armory and field training is supplemented by special MOS schools and staff schools conducted within the division attendance at Army Service Schools, and enrollment in Army exension courses. During the last year 57 officers and warrant officers and 49 enlisted men left their civilian jobs to attend service schools and at present over 900 officers and enlisted men are devoting additional time to their extension course studies.

Regulations require that every member of the division participate in 48 armory drills and 15 days of field training annually. With large, well equipped units, however, much more time and effort is required. This is given by many officers and enlisted men who work countless additional hours preparing for training, adding to their own military

knowledge, and assisting in the administrative and logistical work that must be done,

#### HELP IN EMERGENCIES

Every year, units of the division are called upon to render services during local emergencies. During the last few years division units have assisted in fighting forest fires, locating children lost in heavily forested areas, patrolling dikes in flood-threatened towns, delivering supplies to areas isolated by flood or bilizzard, and building bridges and assisting citizens in areas destroyed by floods. These are all a part of a guardsman's job. He leaves his family and his job to perform them just as he has left his home to defend his country during every emergency it has faced.

The east wall of the commanding general's office in Harrisburg holds 24 pictures of division commanders who have led the 8th in succession since 1879. Among them are many National Guardsmen who have distinguished themselves in civilian as well as military affairs and many Regular Army officers who have gone on to higher commands. The National Guardsmen include Maj. Gen. Ed-ward Martin, formerly Governor of Pennsylvania and U.S. Senator from Pennsylvania; Maj. Gen. William E. Price, past president of National Guard Association; Maj. Gen. Danield B. Strickler, former Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania who led the division during its first 28 months of active service in the Korean emergency, and Maj. Gen. Edward J. Stackpole, publisher and historian.

Among the outstanding Regular Army officers who have commanded the 28th during portions of its active duty tours are General of the Army Omar Bradley, Gen. C. V. R. Schuyler, and Lt. Gen. Donald P. Booth. The two distinguished officers who led the 28th during most of its combat service are the late Maj. Gen. \*Charles H. Muir, later 4th Corps commander in World War I, and Maj. Gen. Norman D. Cota, who led the division from July 1944 until its inactivation after V-J Day in October 1945.

#### THE "BLOODY BUCKET"

Pennsylvania is a varied State, rich in history and beauty, and mighty in industry, agriculture, education, and culture. The men of the 28th come from all parts of her varied populace. They wear the division emblem—a plain red keystone—symbolic of their parent State's key position in the founding of the United States. This simple, but distinctive, emblem is recognized on sight throughout the Army and by the many "alumni" from all over the Nation who have helped in times of war and other national emergencies. To General Pershing it symbolized the "Iron Division" in World War I and the Germans of World War II dubbed it the "Bloody Bucket."

In the armories where the red keystone is worn you may see a Revolutionary War musket, a Civil War battle flag, a Philippine bolo knife, one of the Kaiser's finest spiked helmets, or a souvenir from the Hurtgen Forest. During bull sessions after drill or during breaks in the field, conversation may drift back to World War II or the Korean emergency, but the main effort is always placed on the business at hand.

# The Bentley Bill, H.R. 2729

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend and revise my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I am including the following letter from Mr. George J. Burger, vice president of the National Federation of Independent Business, in a further effort to bring to the attention of the House the importance and need for my bill, H.R. 2729:

BURLINGAME, CALIF., June 4, 1959.

Hon ALVIN M. BENTLEY, House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN BENTLEY: A report reaches me from our vice president, Mr. Ed Wimmer, that recently he conferred with a store manager of one of the tire manufacturer's retail stores. The store manager said, as he reports, that due to buying tires from the factory and selling for the factory, with a store full of other items showing good profits, he could sell tires cheaper than the wholesaler. (Where he used the word "wholesaler" he meant "retailer".)
Further he said, "Isn't that good for the

consumer? Wouldn't you like to make that

savings?

He further stated, "Why should the Congress protect the independent, shouldn't it be the consumer who is protected?" He continued, "After all, suppose the Benţley bill does go through, and we have to pay the same as the independents. There is no retail price control and the money still goes to the company, no matter how they charge

It has been the universal complaint of independents in that industry that the manufacturer doesn't care whether the store runs at a profit or loss, no matter how much injury accrues to independent retailers and no matter how much money his own store loses, the manufacturer still gets the manufacturing profit.

If this is the universal procedure of those manufacturers operating retail stores, as outlined in the above quotes, then we will say for the record that the Bentley bill, H.R. 2729, is long overdue and that if Congress is determined to protect the business life of efficient independent business, then this legislation should be passed immedi-

It is my belief, as a matter of informa-tion to your colleagues, that this letter should find its place in the Appendix of the RECORD.

Sincerely,

GEORGE J. BURGER, Vice President.

# The 110th Anniversary of the Danish Constitution of 1849

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, June 5 is the anniversary of the Danish Constitution of 1849. One hundred and ten years ago the evolution of democracy in Denmark began with the adoption of this great and forward-looking instrument of government.

Representative government emerged in Denmark during an era of economic distress at home and republican protest throughout much of Europe. The Nepoleonic Wars had left Denmark in a period of poverty and economic stagnation, during which the banking system

failed, foreign trade precipitately declined, grain prices fell, and the Government's program of land reform came to a standstill. At the same time, strong opposition to the old European order of monarchical despotism emanated from the bourgeoisie and the growing working class.

Naturally, these conditions called forth criticism of Frederick VI's government. Furthermore, the principle of absolutism, itself, was attacked. Under the influence of the July revolution in France, King Frederick in 1834 established four provincial assemblies. While the function of these bodies was consultative rather than law-making, their origin marked the beginning of parliamentary practice and encouraged public discussion of political questions. A Liberal Party was formed with a program of substituting for the absolute authority of the monarch a new constitutional government which would be more representative of the people.

In 1848 the February revolution in France gave impetus to the liberal movement in Denmark and in many other centers of political protest in Europe. The ephemeral victory of liberalism in France encouraged the Danes to petition the new King, Frederick VII, for reforms. The King agreed to renounce absolute power and permitted the formation of a government responsible to representatives of the people. A national assembly convened and drafted the Constitution of June 5, 1849, which granted specific powers to a bicameral legislature.

Although the Constitution of 1849 was abrogated by a reactionary constitution in 1866, the principle of popular government embodied by the document of 1849 continued to inspire the advocates of true democracy. The Constitution of 1866 gave an overwhelming influence to the aristocracy in the upper chamber of Parliament, although the lower house continued to be popularly elected. In 1872 the group favoring an extension of land reform secured a majority in the lower house and insisted on a true parliamentary system by which the King would be obligated to select a cabinet from members of the majority party in the lower house. For about 30 years the struggle between the interests of property and reform in the upper and lower chambers, respectively, was bitter. The forces of reform steadily increased in strength until in 1901 King Christian IX requested that a government be constituted from members of the majority party in the lower house.

Then in 1915 a new constitution came into effect which abolished the privileged system enjoyed by the wealthy class in electing the upper chamber. By this new constitution, the conservatives accepted responsible cabinet government and political democracy. Important social legislation, including land reform and benefits to labor, soon followed.

The peaceful revolution by constitutional reform, which began with the adoption of the Constitution of June 5. 1849, was now accomplished. The principles of popular representation in the legislature and cabinet government by ministers responsible to the majority party were now so firmly established that the upper chamber of Parliament, once a powerful citadel of privileged and vested interests, was formally abolished by a constitutional amendment in 1953. The ability of the Danish people to resolve deep class conflicts by peaceful procedures has been unmistakably demonstrated by the past century of their political history.

For its exemplary accomplishments in the development of democratic institutions, the United States salutes the great nation of Denmark on the 110th anniversary of the adoption of the Danish

Constitution of 1849.

#### Poultry and Egg Prices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. CHARLES B. HOEVEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. Speaker, in a lengthy statement issued to the press last week, the distinguished chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture charged that the Secretary of Agriculture has refused to aid the distressed poultry industry. This statement was issued on the heels of a letter sent by the Department of Agriculture in response to a committee resolution requesting a review of existing authority for programs to assist the poultry industry and asking for a report on the actions to alleviate the situation.

The plain fact is that the Secretary of Agriculture and those under him in the Department are deeply concerned over the plight of the poultry industry and are giving very substantial direct assistance to help overcome present difficulties. The record is very clear on that. In fact, the direct help that the Department has been giving to the poultry industry has extended over a considerable period, especially in connection with

Since October of 1958 the Department has purchased more than 15.4 million pounds of dried eggs in conjunction with efforts to help move more eggs into consumption and thus relieve some of the pressure of increased production on regular markets. In the past month of May alone the Department bought more than 2.7 million pounds of dried eggs. the equivalent of more than 270,000 cases of shell eggs, at a cost in excess of \$3 million.

In total, the purchases of dried eggs made since last October were the equivalent of 1.5 million cases of shell eggs. This quantity would supply 1.6 million people with all the eggs they would normally eat in a full year. It represents more than 2.500 carloads of 600 cases of eggs per car. The cost of these egg purchases has amounted to about \$18 million. In addition to this program, the Department announced last Monday that it will make weekly purchases of frozen whole eggs to supplement other programs of assistance to poultry farmers.

Purchases of dried eggs are continuing at a stepped-up rate. They are being made every week and the product is being distributed to needy persons and charitable institutions. Schools participating in the national school lunch program have received some 12 million pounds of the dried eggs. They have been using this product since last fall and there is a considerable quantity available for use when schools reopen this fall. In summary, the Department is buying all of the dried eggs it can reasonably dispose of through the school lunch program, through distribution to needy persons, and through eligible institutions.

The Department's approach to the egg problem is a sound one, and it is based on past experience. Years ago the Department purchased huge quantities of dried eggs under a price support program and, because of the amounts involved, was forced to store the bulk of them. Not only was the cost of this program staggering but considerable quantities of the eggs so deteriorated in storage that they were unfit for consumption and had to be disposed of. That could happen again if purchases exceeded available outlets and extensive storage were necessary. The Department wants no part of such an operation and neither do those people in the egg industry who remember this costly operation.

The Department has been asked to purchase shell eggs for distribution to schools and institutions. This, too, the Department has had experience with. Shell eggs purchased by the Department in the fall and winter of 1956-57 were distributed to schools and eligible institutions. 'All too frequently the eggs donated by the Department were used in lieu of normal purchases from local sources and local production. The people who were hurt in this operation. and there were many, were quick to point out the inequities of the program. This school year is generally over. The only Outlets for shell eggs, therefore, would be through institutions and to needy persons. These groups are already being supplied with dried whole egg solids. To buy shell eggs and put them in storage would be asking for trouble. The Department did this in 1952 with very discouraging results. Eggs are highly perishable and deteriorate in quality and taste rather quickly.

Any egg purchase program aimed at boosting producer prices to the extent being advocated by some would have two immediate undesirable effects. It would encourage producers to hang on to poor layers and it would encourage the purchase of chicks for flock replacement purposes. The end to the egg industry's current problem is tied to these two actions. The culling of hens from flocks has been running almost double the rate of a year ago and on May 1 there were 13 percent fewer eggs in incubators for flock replacement chicks than a year earlier. These corrective actions are already being felt, as evidenced by the increase in producer egg prices during recent days.

The egg price problem will not be solved by buying large quantities of eggs and putting them in storage to hang over the market. The problem can be solved, and quickly, by increasing egg consumption in the modest amount of just a little over one more egg per person per month. A program to do just that is underway. On May 18 the Secretary of Agriculture called together a representative group of the major food distributors of the Nation to develop a stepped-up promotion and merchandising campaign to increase egg consumption immediately. The response of the industry was excellent. In fact many of the organizations represented already had well-developed plans for such a program. The resources of the Department are geared to lend all possible asistance to this effort. Intensive merchandising drives of this nature have been highly effective in the past in the case of beef and pork. The present effort will be equally successful.

The suggestion that the Department purchase broilers could only have been made in panic and without thought. Broiler production is a continuing process. Chicks are placed on farms for production throughout the year. The production period from egg to marketable broiler is only about 12 weeks. Because of this situation, any purchase operation by the Department would also tend to perpetuate the surplus problem by encouraging further increased production. Recent data indicate that an adjustment is underway. During the past month the number of eggs placed in hatchery incubators for broiler production has been below a year earlier. This means that by July, when the resulting broilers will be marketed, producer prices will very likely be higher than during July of 1958. If this trend continues, producer prices will be at more reasonable levels during the balance of the year. If this trend is halted, as it surely would be if the Department were to step into the market, today's problem would continue indefinitely.

The Department of Agriculture is not going to embark on any purchase programs for eggs or chickens which will hurt these industries in the long run. Extensive purchases without a home would do just that. The Department's current egg buying program for available outlets and the stepped-up merchandising effort will solve the immediate problem if left alone. Any actions in excess of this can only have one result, a continuation of the current situation and a worsening of the problem in the long run.

In conclusion, the Department has been assisting egg producers. Further, I am certain that the Secretary of Agriculture and his assistants have the whole egg and poultry situation under constant review and will not hesitate to take any further action which may be appropriate.

The poultry industry, the Department of Agriculture, and every Member of Congress who is concerned with the present plight of the poultry farmer will follow with keen interest the efforts of the Dairy and Poultry Subcommittee to formulate constructive legislation concerning poultry and egg producers. As of this date nothing has been done ex-

cept criticize the Secretary of Agriculture.

The Department's constructive actions in dealing with the present poultry situation and the various considerations that have entered into the steps taken are reviewed in the letter sent to the House Committee on Agriculture on May 25, 1959. The letter is as follows:

> DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE. Washington, D.C., May 25, 1959.

HOD. HAROLD D. COOLEY. Chairman, Committee on Agriculture,

House of Representatives.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN COOLEY: This is in response to the committee's resolution dated May 13, 1959, requesting the Department to review all existing authority for programs which "will lead toward improvement in the present critical situation within the domestic poultry industry" and to report on the ac-tions which the Department proposes to undertake to alleviate the situation.

We have made a careful review of every aspect of the problem and of the alternative methods of helping in the present situation. In our review we considered the authorities available and the effect the use of such authorities would have on both the short-and longtime benefits to the industry. We are currently using several of these authorities to the maximum practical extent.

#### CURRENT ACTIONS

Egg purchase: Dried whole egg solids are being purchased under section 32 authority for distribution to needy persons and chari-table institutions. Between October 1958 and the latter part of April 1959 a total of approximately 12 million pounds of dried whole egg solids was purchased under section 6 authorities for distribution to schools participating in the national school lunch program.

On April 16, 1959, this aspect of the program was completed and a section 32 program of a similar nature was initiated. During the month this program has been in operation, a total of 1.4 million pounds of dried whole egg solids has been purchased. Total egg solid purchases, therefore, have amounted to about 13.5 million pounds which is equivalent to approximately 1.4 million cases of shell eggs. The cost of these two programs has exceeded \$15 million. Purchases continue to the maximum extent possible consistent with outlets available for the product

Merchandising stepup: On May 18 the Secretary called together, in Washington, representatives of the major producer, cooperative and farm organizations, along with representatives of the major food distributing groups of the Nation, and urged that they develop coordinated and intensive merchandising programs for eggs to be effective the remaining weeks of the spring flush. response to this request was excellent and in the weeks ahead intensive merchandising campaigns will be underway. The resources of the Department, through its plentiful foods program, information services, and the Federal Extension Service, will be made available to assist in this effort.

Intensive merchandising drives of this nature, for not only eggs, but turkeys, beef, and pork, have been highly effective in moving temporary excess supplies in the past and have had the effect of improving market conditions.

Copies of the press release and subsequent letter addressed to all organizations are attached.

#### ACTIONS CONSIDERED

Fowl purchase program: Careful consideration has been given to the purchase of fowl as a means of reducing the marketable supply of eggs. It is our conclusion that such a program would be of doubtful value. On May 1, 1959, the Nation's laying flock was 3 percent above the same date last year. Total egg production was at a rate of 4 percent above the same date last year. In order to reduce the marketable supply of eggs to a level about equal to a year ago, it would be necessary to remove over 11 million laying hens from flocks. An additional 10 million layers would also need to be removed from flocks to compensate for the increased number of pullets expected to enter laying flocks during the next few months.

Even the purchase of 21 million layers would not likely remedy the situation inasmuch as many, perhaps most, of the fowl purchased would not be average layers but rather would be layers in either poor production or not in production at all. Except as the paying price for fowl was advanced to a high level it could not be expected that any substantial culling of good layers would take place from commercial flocks. Such flocks are normally culled on a year-round planned basis with replacements being made either continuously or at intervals three or four times a year. Since the rate of lay in such flocks is probably well above the average, and since such producers would be very reluctant to change their culling practices, the net effect on total egg production from the purchase of fowl would likely be very disappointing.

The removal of fowl from flocks through purchases would have the effect of first, raising the average rate of lay, and second, encouraging the purchase of replacement chicks. An increase in the average rate of lay of just one more egg per hen per month would increase total egg production by about 5 percent.

This is the season of the year of heavy purchasing of flock replacement chicks. Unless purchases are reduced substantially, relative to a year ago, the problem we have today will be perpetuated. A reduction in the hatch is underway. On May 1 there were 13 percent fewer eggs in incubators for flock replacement chicks than on May 1 last year. Heavy culling during the past 2 months also indicates that a correction of the situation is underway. During April, culling rates exceeded a year earlier by about 25 percent.

Shell egg purchase program: The Department has had considerable experience with shell egg purchase programs. When distribution was made to institutional users, the net effect of the program was disappointing and the results disrupting to the industry. Too frequently the shell eggs distributed merely displaced similar quantities purchased by such institutions from local sources. When distribution was to schools participating in the national school lunch program, displacement of purchases from local sources was considerably less but still a problem.

Schools will be out very shortly. Any purchases for this outlet would, therefore, require storage over the summer months. Storage is costly and, because of the perishable nature of shell eggs, the quality of the product deteriorates rather rapidly even under the best conditions.

Broiler purchase program: The Department has given very careful consideration to a purchase program for broilers to be distributed to schools participating in the national school lunch program. Aside from the fact that schools will be closing very shortly and before a distribution of broilers could be made to them, it has been our feeling that such a program would further aggravate the situation rather than help to correct it. Broiler production is a continuing process. Chicks are placed on farms for production throughout the year. The production period from egg to marketable broiler is only about 12 weeks. Because of this situation, any purchase operation by the Department which would tend to improve or even

stabilize producer prices would also tend to perpetuate the surplus problem by discouraging the production adjustment which must take place. Recent data indicate that an adjustment is underway. During the past month the number of eggs placed in hatchery incubators for broiler production has been below a year earlier. This very likely means that by July, when the resulting broilers will be marketed, producer prices will be some higher than during July of 1958. If this trend continues, producer prices will likely be at more reasonable levels during the balance of the year.

Section 32 export subsidy for fowl: As you are aware, the dollar problem is a substantial obstacle in many areas, even when prices are highly attractive. We have given careful consideration to possibilities for using section 32 funds in providing export assistance for poultry, both in underdeveloped areas and in advanced industrial areas not currently supplied with quality products from the United States. It would be less than candid, however, to say that, except as our products are forced on such markets to the detriment of trade of friendly nations, there is little possibility of significantly increasing exports in the short run.

Sales of fowl under Public Law 480, title I: The feasibility of export programs for fowl has been thoroughly explored. We have been actively engaged in promoting exports of poultry through title I, Public Law 480, programs. Growing dollar markets for high quality poultry have been developed in Western Europe, but these markets are small in relation to the size of the U.S. poultry output. The areas of the world which can store and distribute perishable products, such as poultry, on any substantial scale are mainly the advanced industrial areas which already have well established sources of supply. Development of additional markets for poultry in these areas is a slow process and market potential in the low income, underdeveloped areas elsewhere is very limited.

In summary, we feel that the efforts of the Department to help in the present situation have been realistic and are in the best long-time interest of the industry.

Sincerely yours,

CLARENCE L. MILLER,
Assistant Secretary.

Amateur Wrestlers Need \$5,000 for Tour

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call to the attention of the House, and to the attention of people throughout the United States who are interested in American prestige in the athletic field, an interesting article by Dan Parker which appeared in the New York Mirror on Wednesday, May 20, 1959:

AMATEUR WRESTLERS NEED \$5,000 FOR TOUR (By Dan Parker)

Whenever the United States sends an inferior team against Russia and suffers a humiliating defeat with a consequent loss of prestige for us in the eyes of the world, there is a lot of sound and fury. Editorials are written decrying the lack of interest, pride, or whatever it is that prevents us from puting our best foot forward in these international meets. And what happens? Every-

one forgets about it until the same thing happens again. The nadir was reached when the Russians humiliated us at basketball, our own game, during the world championship tournament in Chile last winter.

Now the same situation is about to arise in amateur wrestling unless means are taken to prevent it. The means in this case amount to \$5,000, the sum that remains to be raised if a team of eight national amateur champions, a manager, a trainer, and a coach are to return a visit the Soviet wrestlers made here last year. Of the \$11,000 needed to finance the trip, only \$6,000 has been raised by the U.S. Amateur Wrestlers' Foundation, a group authorized by the AAU to provide the funds.

Henry Wittenberg, one of the best amateur wrestlers America has ever produced, is appealing to the public to put the fund over the top so it will not be necessary to cut the size of the team and thus lessen its chances of making a good showing on the tour of Russia, Iran, Turkey, Poland, France, and Belgium. Wittenberg, who will coach the U.S. wrestlers, engaged in intercollegiate competition while in City College and later represented the United States in two Olympics, winning the 191-pound championship in 1948 and being runner-up in 1952. He was also a member of the New York Police Department after finishing his college course, but is now engaged in the photo engraving business.

"We've exhausted every avenue of approach in our efforts to raise the balance of the required funds," he says. "The State Department's cultural exchange program had no money for us. We applied to various foundations dedicated to promoting international good will through sports but all had the same story—no funds. On our own, we raised over \$6,000. But unless the public responds, we won't be able to get the minimum of \$11,000 needed to finance the trip for a full team."

When the Russians sent their wrestling team here, by invitation, last year, they paid their own fare but were reimbursed for their expenditure and also provided with return transportation when they arrived here. They paid their own expenses on tour. The same arrangement will be in effect when the Americans return the visit. Russia will pay our team's transportation over and back but the Americans will pay their own expenses on tour. The U.S. team members were selected as the national championships in Stillwater, Okla., last month. They are the champions in each division. Only one of them, Bob Marella, a student at Ithaca College, is a New York State man. A 300-pounder, he will represent us in the heavy-weight division.

The others come from various parts of the United States and all of them will have to pay their own transportation and expenses to New York City and return. Some of the expense money sought will be used for their keep while they are undergoing 10 days of training here under Coach Wittenberg and Trainer Cyril Mitchell of the Multnonah A.C. of Oregon. One of the team members, Fritz Zivian, a 160-pound student at Oregon State University from Switzerland, was so eager to go along that he became an American citizen. To beat the deadline he had to call upon Senator Neuberger, of Oregon, to speed along the process. Thanks to the Senator's wholehearted cooperation. Fritz will sail to Europe as a Yankee Doodle boy.

The important thing about this trip is that the United States wants to be represented by a good team in the Olympics next year and only through competition with the top amateurs of the countries to be visited can we hope to develop grapplers of Wittenberg's class.

Professional wrestling, it seems, could do something worth while in this campaign, now that it is rolling in wealth. In fact, I think the best move the wrestling moguls could adopt to win public favor would be to wipe out the \$5,000 deficit as their contribution to the cause of honest wrestling. If Toots Mondt swore off horse playing for a week he could do it all by himself. (I can dream, can't I?) Lovers of amateur sport who wish to participate in this worthy cause are asked to send their tax-deductible contributions to the U.S. Wrestlers' Foundation, 205 West 39th St., New York, N.Y. Checks should be made out to the Amateur Athletic Union and earmarked for the U.S. Wrestlers' Foundation. First thousand 1-buck contributions would send the drive over the top.

Mr. Speaker, since this article appeared in the New York Mirror, I have had word that a portion of the needed funds has been raised, but that there is still a shortage of more than \$2,000 that needs to be raised for this worth-while undertaking.

## Federal Water Pollution Control Act

SPEECH

OF

#### HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 4, 1959

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 3610) to amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act to increase grants for construction of sewage treatment works; to establish the Office of Water Pollution Control; and for other purposes.

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Chairman, I oppose the Cramer amendment because I favor a water pollution control program. Those who do not favor such a program. I assume will support this amendment. The minority leader has made it clear that the administration did not approve of the program at the outset and I agree on that. However, there have been some outstanding Members of the House on the Republican side and Members in the other body who did favor this program. One of the original sponsors was another great Ohioan and my good friend and former colleague, Charles Elston, and the great Senator from Ohio, Mr. Taft, was one of the original sponsors of this program in the other body.

Mr. Chairman, I rise to support H.R. 3610, and I direct my remarks to the proposed amendments.

On pages 12, 13, and 14 of the Report No. 294, House of Representatives, 86th Congress, 1st session, entitled "Water Pollution Control," submitted on April 23 by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Blatnik] from the Committee on Public Works, in which is advocated an all-out attack on the social crime that is water pollution, you will find expressed the dissenting views on this legislation.

On page 14, the last sentence in the report states that "approval of the Federal-State matching amendments proposed in this statement will greatly improve H.R. 3610." It also states that an adoption of the amendments will "pro-

vide an effective incentive to a sound and substantial expansion of our water pollution control program."

Mr. Chairman, I affirm that exactly the contrary will result if the amendment is accepted.

The proposed amendment would destroy a working program, a going concern, that for the first time in the history of our country is successfully attacking the disgraceful water pollution problem of the United States. This is a problem which affects almost every stream—lively or sluggard—in our country, no less than our lakes, our inland waterways, and the farflung shores of our oceans and gulfs.

The dissenting views are outlined in six points. The first argument advanced is that State matching would result in doubling the present grant funds without an added drain on Federal funds. But to accomplish this end. the States would have to agree to it, they would have to pass enabling legislation in each State. Most State legis-latures meet every 2 years. And most of these States are in session this year. They will, therefore, not be able to consider this proposal for 2 years hence, until after the election in 1960. Again, in 1960, only 18 States will be in session. We could go on for years trying to get States to agree to the minority proposal. It would be almost as bad as trying to get a constitutional amendment. Children could be born, grow to manhood and womanhood and die, before all of the States agree to this complicated proposal

The second point of the argument is that there would be a more effective screening of project applications since the States would have a financial interest in every application. I can only point out that a recent study conducted by Mr. Milton P. Adams, executive secretary, Michigan Water Resources Commission, found universal agreement among State water pollution control agencies that State screening of projects is now very effective and that few complaints have been turned up anywhere along the line.

The third point in the so-called explanation reads as follows:

Cooperation by the States with the Federal Government would greatly strengthen the water pollution control program.

This rhetorical flourish reminds me of the first sentence of one of ex-President Calvin Coolidge's columns many years ago. For the benefit of some of the younger Members of the House, I shall recall that after Mr. Coolidge left the presidency, he engaged in writing. His newspaper columns were widely read. Some of them were noted for their profound revelation of the obvious. One of Mr. Coolidge's columns, if I recall correctly, began this way: "All church spires point to heaven."

I should like to emphasize that the States are cooperating with the Federal Government in the water pollution control program today, and they are cooperating in a very marked way. They are cooperating in a manner that merits

the plaudits and the help of the National Congress, and not its resistence and timidity and tight-fistedness.

The fourth point advanced is that the amendment would financially benefit communities throughout the United States, since they would need to raise only 50 percent instead of 70 percent of the total cost of a sewage treatment plant project. This is based upon the assumption that the Federal grant amounts to 25 percent, and that the State grant would also amount to 25 percent. It is difficult to understand this paradoxical point. Opponents of the Federal construction grant program have long and loudly been calling for increased local participation. Now they are turning around, and are calling for smaller amounts of money from communities. However, they make up the difference by taxing the State as a State. This itself, it seems to me, is a poor example of concern over States rights.

The fifth point is that Federal-State matching would result in recognition of the rights of the States, and there would follow, and I quote, "a more wholesome atmosphere" for Federal-State cooperation. I have here Document No. 86-4 entitled, "Hearings Before the Committee on Public Works, House of Representatives, 86th Congress, 1st session, on H.R. 3610." The hearings were held on March 18, 19, and April 8 of this year. The document comprises 241 pages. The merest glance at the statements made by almost 100 witnesses, or those who wrote in or telegraphed supporting testimony, would reveal that there was nearly unanimous agreement that a very close and wholesome atmosphere in Federal-State relations exists at the present time in the carrying out of the provisions of Public Law 660.

The final point of the minority proposal is that there has been State matching of Federal funds under the Federal aid highway acts and that this system has been most satisfactory and the rights of the States in highway matters have been recognized. Mr. Chairman, this particular point is another prime example of the profound revelation of the obvious.

In conclusion, there is no sound argument against the present construction grants program under Public Law 660. A recent editorial in the New York Times stated, in commenting upon the report of the House Committee on Public Works in connection with H.R. 3610:

The House committee heard the administration's appeal for the proposed transfer (of the construction grants program) to the States. Then it provided, by an overwhelming majority, to vote instead to double the program of Federal grants, from \$50 million to \$100 million a year. \* \* The committee's reasoning was plain and persuasive: the program has worked.

Citizens all over America likewise know that the present program has worked. They know that it is getting late. Time is running out. They want this program not only continued, but expanded so that the social crime of pollution of our rivers, streams, lakes, and coastal waters may be stamped out.

## School Safety Patrol Gold Lifesaver Medal Awards

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. JOHN R. FOLEY

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Speaker, it is my honor to bring to the attention of the Members of the House the winners of the 1959 School Safety Patrol Gold Lifesaver Medal Awards. One of the heroes is a constituent of mine, 12-year-old Frederic G. Burke, Jr., one of eight children of Dr. and Mrs. Frederick G. Burke, Sr., 3307 Woodbine Street, Chevy Chase, Md.

Young Fred Burke, as a safety patrol boy, displayed extraordinary heroism to save the life of a 6-year-old child at the risk of his own life. We from the Sixth District of Maryland are proud of Fred Burke and the magnificent example of devotion to duty he showed.

In tribute to him, his fellow medal winners, and all school patrol boys and girls, there is set out below a brief history of the school safety patrol and the names and citations of the 1959 medal winners:

#### PATROL HISTORY

The school safety patrol movement has grown tremendously since its origin in the early 1920's. Today, it is a national institution—a vital force in the important work of protecting America's children from the hazards of modern traffic. Seven hundred and seventy thousand boy and girl patrol members in the United States daily help to protect millions of children enrolled in thousands of elementary schools. In cities and towns, in rural areas, and on schoolbuses, the school safety patrol serves to remind schoolchildren of hazards of street and highway crossings on their way to and from school.

Educators regard the patrol movement as an excellent school activity, as well as a method to help develop a sense of responsibility, character, and positive usefulness for community living. Commendation for patrol work is universal. It comes from par-ents, educators, police, and other outstanding public officials.

While it is obviously impossible to set any precise figures on the lifesaving results of school safety patrol work, it is certain that this movement has been partly responsible for the improvement of the traffic death rate of children 5 to 14 years of age. Since 1922, the traffic death rate for this group has continued to decrease to nearly one-half, while the death rate of other age groups has practically doubled.

LIFESAVER MEDAL AND CITATION CERTIFICATE

The American Automobile Association and affiliated automobile clubs inaugurated the AAA Gold Lifesaver Medal Award in 1949. The president of the AAA annually appoints a medal award board and authorizes the members to select patrol boys and girls whose traffic lifesaving acts have saved the life of persons in imminent vehicular traffic danger. The gold medal is awarded in cases involving extraordinary heroism, while the citation certificate recognizes actions beyond the call of

duty.

In the decade of this honor award program, beginning 1949, the brief summary following explains the considerations given by the board:

Recommendations submitted: 165. Medals awarded: 79.

Citation certificates awarded: 21.

States represented: Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Maryland, Ohio, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Virginia, Wisconsin North Carolina.

Presentation of the award is made by outstanding national leaders. It has been the good fortune of recipients to have been decorated for their valor by the President of the United States, the Vice President, Cabinet officers, the Director of the FBI, and top military leaders.

BOARD OF JUDGES, 1959, SCHOOL SAFETY PA-TROL LIFESAVER MEDAL AWARD BOARD

John J. Agnew, Deputy Chief of Police, in Charge of Traffic, Metropolitan Police Department, Washington, D.C.

Helen K. Mackintosh, Chief, Elementary Schools Section, Department of Health, Edu-cation, and Weifare, Office of Education, Washington D.C. Washington, D.C.
Arthur E. Miller, Chairman, Assistant Sup-

erintendent (retired), Metropolitan Police Department, 7804 Radnor Road, Bethesda,

John H. Mitton, traffic engineer, Department of Highways and Traffic, 301 C Street NW., Washington, D.C.

Mrs. C. Rhodes Cox, president, District of Columbia Parent-Teachers Association, 3390 Stuyvesant Place NW., Washington, D.C.

PREDERIC G. BURKE, JR., AGE 12, OUR LADY OF LOURDES SCHOOL, BETHESDA, MD.

After crossing heavily-traveled Wisconsin Avenue at East-West Highway, Bethesda, Md., with 20 other children, 6-year-old George Francis Howard ran back into the street in front of a turning truck and heavy oncoming traffic to pick up some of his school papers. Realizing the danger to George, Patrol Member Frederic G. Burke. Jr., darted into the street. He shouted and held out both arms to stop the traffic. Cars skidded to a stop, barely missing the boys, as Frederic quickly brought the small boy to the safety island. Frederic's heroic act, without thought of self, was witnessed by Police Officer Marvin R. Gulick.

Frederic is the son of Dr. and Mrs. Frederic G. Burke, Sr., 3307 Woodbine Street, Chevy Chase, Md.

RONALD T. HARVEY, AGE 12, BRYAN SCHOOL, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Acting immediately, which placed him in danger of injury in front of a turning car at 13th Street and Indpendence Avenue SE., Washington, D.C., patrol member Ronald T. Harvey heroically saved 6-year-old Eleman Queen from certain injury. The small boy was in charge of his sister, who was holding his hand. He broke away from her, ducked behind Ronald and into the path of the Without regard to his own safety, Ronald jumped into the street, grabbed the child by the coat and pulled him to safety.

Ronald is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Harvey, 1107 Independence Avenue SE., Washington, D.C.

WILLIAM JAMES HOAG, AGE 15, ST. JUDE'S SCHOOL, ST. PETERSBURG, FLA.

When the schoolbus carrying 56 of his schoolmates stalled in the path of an onrushing train, bus patrol member William James Hoag jumped from the bus and ran 400 feet down the tracks waving his arms violently to signal the engineer to stop. The engineer, recognizing William's School Safety Patrol belt, realized the situation immediately and ground the train to a halt 3 feet from the school bus. But for William's quick thinking and courage, the children, who had alighted from the bus, and the cars waiting on both sides of the track, would

undoubtedly have suffered injury and damagé.

William is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Dom-inic P. Moniz, 6413 Emerson Avenue S., St. Petersburg, Fla.

ROBERT THOMAS KOWALCZYK, AGE 13, SS. PETER AND PAUL SCHOOL, GARFIELD HEIGHTS, OHIO

When 7-year-old Jill Colette Nagy ignored the directions of patrol member Robert Thomas Kowalczyk and ran into the street in front of a fast-turning vehicle, Robert jumped from the curb, disregarding personal danger, and pulled Jill back to safety. The driver said she would have hit the child but for Robert's quick thinking and heroic action, as she could not have stopped quickly enough.

Robert is the son of Mr. and Mrs. John Kowalczyk, 4610 East 93d Street, Garfield Heights, Ohio.

THOMAS GERALD O'DONNELL, AGE 13, ST. JOACHIM'S SCHOOL, BEACON, N.Y

Impulsively jumping out of his mother's parked car, which was parked across from the school, and into the street in front of an approaching car, 5-year-old David Michael Frederick was saved from serious injury by patrol member Thomas Gerald O'Donnell, who ran into the street to halt the small boy's rash progress. Grabbing him by both shoulders, Thomas swung the boy out of the path of the moving car. The driver, making an emergency stop, proceeded past the spot where the boys had been. 'Thomas' courageous act, without thought of danger to himself, was acclaimed by David's mother, a helpless witness to the incident.

Thomas is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Gerald O'Donnell, 35 East Street, Beacon, N.Y.

BRIAN N. STEPHENS, AGE 13, ST. MARY OF SOR-ROW SCHOOL, BUFFALO, N.Y.

In the path of a skidding automobile, which finally came to a stop after running through a red traffic light, patrol member Brian N. Stephens saved six classmates of St. Mary of Sorrows School from certain death or injury. Brian's heroic action, with-out thought of self, in running into the street and pushing the children back to the curb and safety was witnessed by Mrs. Earl Paul, adult crossing guard, who was on duty at the time. The driver said he surely would have struck one or more of the children if it had not been for Brian's courage and split-second timing.

Brian is the son of Mr. and Mrs. George Stephens, 580 Wilson Boulevard, Buffalo,

#### Tribute to Sam Hood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 26, 1959

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, most of us carefully observe the news stories which bear heavily on our daily lives. However, too often we forget the dedication of men who conscientiously and ably cover these events of history which we share because of them. At times we are dramatically reminded of their significant role in our society.

Such an occasion occurred in the city of Pittsburgh recently when a tragic bus accident removed from our community a colorful and competent reporter, my good friend Sam Hood, of the Pittsburgh Press. The tributes of praise and appreciation for his contribution were heartwarming to all who knew Sam Hood, and I would like to share with others the grateful thanks extended to one who performed an important responsibility and performed it outstandingly.

From the paper he served as a reporter, the Pittsburgh Press, came the following editorial tribute entitled "Sam Hood" on March 11, 1959:

Sam Hood was a man of vast energies and many talents. He tried his hand at a lot of things.

His art criticisms for the Pittsburgh Press were pieces that the man-in-the-street could understand. But they were nonetheless solidly written against a background of study of the masters.

His available-light photographs were fine enough to be hung in a one-man show at Carnegie Institute. Yet photography was only an avocation.

As an accomplished jazz pianist he presented a one-man concert a year or so ago, writing his own arrangements.

He was an authority on George Bernard Shaw, and author of a biography on Shaw's biographer, Archibald Henderson. In these varied fields of the arts, Sam

In these varied fields of the arts, Sam Hood had perhaps won more public recognition than most talented persons can hope to attain in a long lifetime. He was only 42 when he met death yesterday on a downtown street corner.

Above all, Sam Hood was a reporter—a reporter in the best traditions of his profession. He believed in the public's right to know about the public's affairs. He was a digger and a doer, a reporter whose tenacity knew no limits that his ingenuity could not conquer.

Beyond a doubt, Sam Hood would have chosen to be remembered as such.

The Pittsburgh Sun-Telegram added their words of praise on March 12, 1959, in the following editorial, entitled "Samuel Stevens Hood":

Sam Hood was a remarkable man. As a newspaper reporter, he was of the first rank, endowed with keen curlosity, zest, persistence, and real affection for work. He was a hard man to compete with in the gathering and reporting of news.

And beyond his professional ability, Sam was highly versatile in talents and accomplishment. He was a skilled portrait photographer, as those will attest who saw the exhibition of his work given not long ago at Carnegie Institute. He played the piano with expertness, and liked especially to score his own arrangements of jazz classics. He had a wide range of literary knowledge and interests, and wrote a book about George Bernard Shaw's official biographer. In recent years, he was art critic for the Pittsburgh Press, in addition to his reportorial duties.

Sam was on the way back to his office on Tuesday, to write a news story, when he was killed in that tragic accident at Forbes and Smithfield. We in this business, who knew him, worked with him, and most of all liked him, are dazed and saddened by his death.

Other newspaper comment follows: [From the Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph, Mar. 11, 1959]

DEATH WRITES "30" TO END LIFE OF TALENTED SAM HOOD

Death ended the life of a man of many talents yesterday when it wrote "30" below the name of Samuel Stevens Hood, 42, Pittsburgh Press reporter.

Hood, of 11 East Prospect Street, Ingram, was an art critic, an expert jazz pianist and arranger, portrait photographer, and authority on George Bernard Shaw

ity on George Bernard Shaw.

Hood had just left the Penn-Sheraton, after he and other Pittsburgh reporters interviewed the president of the American Bar Association. He apparently was on his way back to the Press when fatally injured.

An autopsy showed he died of shock and hemorrhage resulting from a crushed chest and internal injuries.

Governor Lawrence told his weekly news conference today he was "very blue" about Hood's death. He said:

"Sam was a good friend of mine and a good reporter."

Hood joined the Press in 1945 after working as a reporter in Harrisburg. He covered every type of assignment except sports. He had won two Pennsylvania Newspaper Publisher Association wards for court coverage, and the Pall Mail "Big Story" award for crime coverage.

In recent years he was an art critic.

An amateur musician, he wrote many of his own piano arrangements. In 1958 he presented a program of popular and jazz music before the Pittsburgh Press Club.

He was the only amateur photographer ever to hold an exhibition at Carnegle Institute.

In 1956 his "Artists and Faces" included photographs of prominent Pittsburgh painters and sculptors. The photos were taken in natural light. He frequently photographed persons he interviewed.

Born in Morehead City, N.C., he attended high school in Raleigh, N.C., where his parents now live. His father Gurney P. Hood, is a prominent banker and State government official.

Hood graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1939. During summer vacations from high school and college he crossed the country 4 times as a hitchhiker, visiting 38 States.

He worked for several North Carolina newspapers before entering the advertising field in New York City in 1942. He returned leter to newspaper work in Harrisburg

later to newspaper work in Harrisburg.

In 1949 Hood published a book on Archibald Henderson, George Bernard Shaw's official biographer. He carried on an extensive correspondence with Shaw in gathering material for the book.

Survivors include his wife, Elizabeth Wallace (Wally) Hood; a son, Christopher Rhodes, 10; his parents, and a brother, Leland Robin.

[From the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, Mar. 11, 1959]

REPORTER HOOD MAN OF MANY TALENTS—GBS
AUTHORITY, JAZZ PIANIST, PORTRAIT PHOTOGRAPHER

Sam Hood, who was one of the victims of yesterday's tragic bus accident, was a well-known newspaper reporter and art critic. He was also an authority on George Bernard Shaw, an expert jazz pianist and portrait photographer.

Samuel Stevens Hood, 42, of 11 East Prospect Avenue, Ingram, had just left the Penn-Sheraton Hotel where he interviewed the president of the American Bar Association. He presumably was on his way back to the Pittsburgh Press, when he was fatally injured.

He joined the Press staff in 1945 after working as a reporter in Harrisburg. He was known throughout the city for his legal reporting and in recent years as the art critic for the paper.

Mr. Hood was born in North Carolina.

In 1949, Mr. Hood published a book on Archibald Henderson, Shaw's official biographer, after doing extensive research and

engaging in correspondence with the famous Shaw.

Mr. Hood, who was married and the father of a son, Christopher, about 10 years old. maintained an active interest in the field of photography, frequently taking his own pictures of persons he interviewed. In 1956, Carnegie Institute gave a one-man showing of his photographs of local artists and prominent persons.

Another of Mr. Hood's interests was modern jazz and he recently gave a piano performance of popular tunes which he arranged in the current jazz styles at the Pittsburgh Press Club.

[From the Pittsburgh Press, Mar. 12, 1959] TRIBUTES TO SAM HOOD POUR IN—GOVERNOR, JUSTICE, OTHER OFFICIALS PRAISE NEWSMAN

Tributes to Sam Hood, Pittsburgh Press reporter killed in a tragic bus accident Tuesday, continued to roll in today.

The words of praise, mixed with feelings of shock, qame from Gov. David L. Lawrence, Justice Michael A. Musmanno, of the State supreme court; Safety Director Louis Rosenberg and Mr. Hood's Congressman, Representative James G. Fulton, of Dormont.

"He was an ideal newspaperman. He often told me that he had no other ambition than to be a good newspaperman," reported Justice Musmanno.

#### FAST BUT RIGHT

It was almost a Saturday ritual for the judge and Sam to lunch together at the Hotel Pittsburgher or to take walks together.

"He was ever alert for news, moving fast, checking sources and rechecking leads so that he would not only get the story first but get it right.

"He strove not to hurt those about whom he wrote," Justice Musmanno continued. "He could be devastating but not unkind, and never unfair.

"He managed with a word or two to temper the blow when the story called for blows and blasts."

#### A GOOD FRIEND

Governor Lawrence declared that Mr. Hood "was a good friend of mine and a good reporter. He was tenacious and he usually got the story."

Director Rosenberg described the dead reporter as a "man of many talents as a newspaperman and in art and music. Too, he had a fine sense of humor that most people lack.

"In character he was basically true and good. He called the thing as he saw it without coloration or bias."

Mr. Fulton wired that he was a good friend of Mr. Hood and offered the services of his office to the Hood family.

## Whither Egypt?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JAMES E. MURRAY

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, Egyptian propagandists have been trying to impress the world with Nasser's accomplishments. It is true that Nasser has certainly made a name for himself with his adventurous foreign policies. However, what has President Nasser accomplished in terms of uplifting the living

standards of his own people? This is a key question which deserves careful thought and study. In this connection, the No. 53—winter-spring 1959—issue of Prevent World War III, published by the Society for the Prevention of World War III, Inc., 515 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y., carries an illuminating analysis of the Egyptian economy, under the title "Whither Egypt?". From the facts contained in this article, it would appear that the Egyptian economy is geared to a program of "guns instead of butter." This would explain to a large extent of the belligerent character of Cairo's present foreign policy.

I ask unanimous consent to have this article printed in the Appendix of the

RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### WHITHER EGYPT?

Moscow's recent offer to provide the equivalent of \$100 million toward the construction of a high dam at Aswan on the Nile taxed Cairo's propaganda machine to the limit. The main target of the ballyhoo was the Egyptian masses who have been told over and over again by their leaders that the Aswan Dam would transform their lives from abject poverty to plenty. The knowledge that promises wear thin after much abuse must have entered into Nasser's calculations when he appealed to the Kremlin for a sign of concrete sympathy. The New York Times correspondent Foster Hailey wrote from Cairo (Oct. 26, 1958): "This new \$100 million rabbit that Nasser has pulled out of the Red. hat should do much to restore in Egypt some of the glitter that had rubbed off the revolution. The fellaheen were proud of their leader and of his international standing. But the demands of the stomach are fully as great as those of the heart. The triumphs on the international stage had put no more bread on the table and it was obvious that Nasser has not been receiving the adulation he once did.

"But if the fellah can have his cake and bread and rice at the same time, he should

be very happy indeed."

Mr. Hailey's observations raise an important question, i.e., whether in the long run Nasser's imperialistic ambitions can be reconciled with the "bread and butter" needs of the Egyptian people. Whether the Aswan Dam is the panacea for Egypt's ills or a huge political gimmick depends on how the above question is answered.

#### EGYPT'S POVERTY

A brief evaluation of Nasser's domestic policies cannot be divorced from the basic facts about the Egyptian economy. The miserable plight of the Egyptian masses is an old but tragic story. The steady deteri-oration of their economic fortunes has been noted by writers on this subject. Thus, between the years 1920 and 1938 the total consumption of consumer goods in Egypt, including food, decreased, although the population has increased by 25 percent. In an analysis of this situation, W. Cleland reported in L'Egypte Contemporaine (May 19, 1939): "The low level of earnings means that consumption even of energy-producing goods is very low. The diet consists mainly of beans and maize, with very little milk or meat. Pellagra, rickets, and night blindness are some of the nutritional diseases frequently met with."

The grave economic distress of the Egyptian masses is intimately bound up with the land problem. In 1952, the year Nasser seized power, it was estimated that 20 percent of the entire cultivated area of Egypt

was held by 2,156 owners of holdings of 200 feddans or more each (1 feddan equals 1,038 acres). On the other end of the scale 2,018,-163 persons held one or less feddans each. The holdings of this group represented about 13 percent of Egypt's cultivated area. While most of the valuable lands are concentrated in the hands of a relatively few, it has been estimated that of more than 4 million adults working in agriculture, approximately 1½ million are landless.

The gross inequities in land tenure are further aggravated by the population problem. Egypt's population in 1952 was approximately 21,500,000. In 1957 the population had increased to 24,315,000. Projecting this rate, it is estimated that Egypt's population in 1967 will be close to 31,500,000, Meanwhile the available cultivated land area has not significantly increased. Added to these facts is the failure of Egyptian agriculture to diversify. This means that the welfare of millions are at the mercy of the ups and downs of the world cotton exchange. The backwardness of the Egyptian economy has had devastating effects on living condi-tions and health. This is the Egypt which Nasser took over in 1952.

#### NASSER'S PROMISES

Nasser capitalized on the wretched condition of the people. He spoke in glowing terms of a new day for the Egyptian masses. The top heavy, corrupt bureacracy of King Farouk would be rooted out. Economic parasitism would also be eliminated. There would be a general cleanup in the living conditions of the people. Opportunities would be open to the young people who otherwise were destined to spend the rest of their years working in the cotton and rice fields. To cap all of these promises, Nasser and his associates announced that they would distribute millions of feddans among the landiess population.

The promises roused the spirits of the people. But how has Nasser performed? Shortly after Nasser took over the reins of the government, the figure of millions of feddans that was supposed to be distributed, was whittled down to 1 million, then to three-quarters of a million. Walter Z. Laqueur, a close observer of Middle East affairs, "On the first anniversary of the 'Revolution,' Gamel Salem, the Junta member in charge of the reform project, declared that 500,000 feddans would be distributed among 150,000 families (the total cultivated area being about six million feddans, of which two-thirds were held by large owners). But according to the most recent official figures, only 247,000 feddans, or about 3 percent of the land, have actually been re-distributed up to the end of 1955."

Four years after the new promise was made the Manchester Guardian (July 2, 1956), was able to report that "two-thirds of the total land is still owned by 6 percent of the population." It also noted, "In the Cairo jubiliation after the evacuation of Suez, and during the referendum on the constitution and the surveys of what the revolutionary government has achieved, very little was said about land reform. Colonel Nasser, in his recent immensely long speech to the Cooperative Association touched on almost every problem of Egypt, but hardly mentioned this. Yet in the first days after the revolution, land reform was held out as one of the main benefits which the new government would bring."

#### ECONOMIC TREADMILL

The promise to redistribute 500,000 feddans was finally made good this year. Nevertheless, conditions have hardly been alleviated. On the contrary, the price of fertilizer has risen and is in short supply. Some of the sequestered land is definitely not suited for tiliage in small plots. A report from Cairo (New York Times, Sept. 13, 1958) notes: "Food production has been increased 12 percent over the last 6 years due largely to land reclamation. That barely keeps pace with the increase in population, however." In other words, the much advertised land distribution reform has barely made a dent in Egypt's agricultural setup. A dispatch from Cairo (New York World Telegram, Aug. 31, 1958) reported that the income of the average Egyptian farmer stays almost exactly at the Farouk level." i.e., 24 cents a day. A report by the World Wide Press Service (Aug. 21, 1958) estimates that "some three-fourths of Egypt's population lives at the brink of starvation."

These observations were confirmed by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey in an official report to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. Senator Humphrey made an extensive trip in 1957 to various underdeveloped areas of the world. Among his observations are the following: "The Egyptian standard of living, which has always been low, has been declining for several years. One wonders how much lower it can go without mass starvation. In Egyptian villages I did find new schools, hospitals, and small community clinics. Cooperatives are being formed; -fresh-water pumps are being installed; land distribution is taking place in accordance with the Land Reform Law of There was evidence of extensive construction in Cairo. But the overall facts remain: The standard of living is going down and land reform has only been partially carried out and at a very slow pace in the 5 years which have transpired since the law was passed."

While the agricultural crisis continues to weigh heavily on the Egyptian masses, they are plagued by a steady inflationary trend. This has been partially concealed by state subsidies. Nevertheless, it is estimated that living costs in 1958 are at least 8 percent over those in 1951. At the same time salaries and wages have been officially frozen to the 1956 levels. Meanwhile it is estimated that Egypt's productivity has declined by 3 percent per capita since Nasser took over (London Dally Expréss, Oct. 7, 1958).

#### FINANCIAL MANIPULATIONS

A more graphic illustration of Nasser's domestic reforms may be seen in the financial picture. The trend is unmistakably in the direction of a relatively steady decrease in expenditures for welfare and a rise in spending for military and security programs. The 1956-57 budget totaled 326,300,000 Egyptian pounds (E£). Seventy-eight million, four hundred thousand Egyptian pounds or roughly 28 percent was devoted to military needs. Another E£12,229,400 were allotted for security purposes. Thus, 31 percent of the budget was devoted to military programs of one kind or another. Many experts believe that these figures are underestimated. On the other hand, only E£33,-600,000 went for education, E£13,543,000 for health, and E£45.800.000 for econom. development. In a country where more than 82 percent of the population is illiterate, the funds for education are grossly inadequate. In contrast, there seems to be no penny pinching in expenditures for military hard-

Insofar as economic development is concerned there was an actual decrease from E£54,300,000 in the previous year to ££45,800,000. It is significant that funds for agricultural development practically disappeared from the 1956-57 budget dropping from ££5 million to ££900,000. The military figure is also noteworthy in that it represents a 50 percent increase over the previous budget and is more than twice the first military budget following Nasser's seizure of power.

Defense and security are close to one-third of the total 1957-58 budget. Expenditures for education are virtually unchanged, funds for economic development drastically decreased, while expenditures for health are also reduced. The 1958-59 budget of the U.A.R. continues along the same lines. A substantial portion of the total budget is devoted to the needs of the military while health and education requirements are allotted relatively paltry sums of money.

What other conclusion can be gained from these facts other than that Nasser, despite his oratory, hews to the favorite programs of dictators—guns instead of butter?

#### THE SOVIET "DEAL"

During his stay in Egypt, Senator Hum-PHREY discussed economic problems with Nasser. "Nasser did not accept opportunities I gave him to discuss at length his \$250 million arms deal with the Russians or the fact that the major assets of Egypt are being put into arms instead of into raising the standard of living of Egypt's population. Senator HUMPHREY's report on Nasser's reluctance to talk about his deals with the Soviets is understandable for, although the Egyptian masses may not know it, their economic well-being has been mortgaged far into the future by these deals. Statistics show that in 1957 the Soviet bloc took 46 percent of Egypt's total exports, in contrast to 33 percent in 1956. Perhaps more impor-tant is the fact that three-fifths of Egypt's cotton exports went to Soviet Russia in 1957. Since cotton is king in Egypt it is obvious that Nasser's program of exchanging Egyptian cotton for Soviet guns has placed the Russians in a strategic position. Nasser, of course, regards his dealings with the Soviets as a means of playing off East against West and thereby obtaining help from both The Russians have a reputation of driving a hard bargain. They were happy to supply Nasser with guns, but in so doing the Egyptians fell into the vise of Soviet policy.

From an economic standpoint Nasser's deals mean simply that the Egyptians have become more and more dependent upon Soviet trade policies which are always predetermined by political considerations. These policies have already proved to be quite embarrassing, to say the least, to Egypt's economic planners. Thus, Soviet deliveries of goods outside of military hardware have often proven to be slow and or of poor quality. In some cases prices are as much as 40 percent over those originally quoted to the Egyptians. As a matter of fact, Egyptian cotton has virtually priced itself out of the world market. According to the London Financial Times (April 29, 1958) the Soviet bloc's habit of settling adverse trade balances by the resale of raw material stocks at sacrifice prices, has already resulted "on several occasions in the 'dumping' of Soviet purchased cotton on Egypt's western market." There has also been a definite tendency for the Soviet bloc to purchase more from Egypt than to sell. This achieves two results: (1) It deprives the Egyptians of needed goods and (2) it makes even more dependent the Egyptians upon the Russians. The mortgaging of the Egyptian economy to the Russian Bear is further highlighted by the fact that Soviet "technicians" are playing a greater role in directing various economic projects.

The grip which Moscow now exerts on Egypt's external trade relations is reflected in the decreasing commercial contract between Egypt and the West. While there has been a considerable drop in imports to reduce the trade deficit, this has been largely based on an austerity program which, as mentioned above, involves the freezing of wages and salaries at their 1956 level. The austerity economy is a natural consequence of a policy which gives priority to guns and places the Egyptian economy at the mercy of a ruthless and gigantic totalitarian trading bloc.

NASSER'S WAY OUT

There is evidence that Nasser is aware of the potential dangers and is concerned, lest the people become fed up over his failure to put more bread on their tables. It appears that Nasser hopes to solve the dilemma along certain economic and political lines. The economic angle is tied up with the strategic importance and value of the oil resources in the Middle East. Egypt possesses little oil but where Nasser lacks oil resources he is sufficiently determined to grab other people's property. Like the buccaneers of old, Nasser's economic plan is simple. It is to grab the oil resources of neighboring Arab countries under the slogan of all for one and one for all. This would not only bring in substantial revenues to bolster up his regime but it would also turn the screws on the West.

Ever since his seizure of the Suez, Nasser has worked in this direction. It now appears that his policy of grab may be camouflaged under a highly publicized scheme to form an Arab bank. Ostensibly the purpose of this bank is to finance economic projects in the Middle East. It would be established jointly by all the Arab States on the understanding that each of them would contribute a certain amount of the necessary initial capital. It sounds like a legitimate proposition though, when one reads the fine print, so to speak, it becomes clear as day that the bank would be essentially an instrument of Cairo's policy. The inspiration for the plan comes from the Arab League and would operate within its framework. The Arab League is dominated by Cairo. The very headquarters of the bank would be in Cairo. Furthermore, as the London Financial Times notes (Sept. 10, 1958), "Egypt is the country most in need of funds from any development hank'

Theoretically, the bank's funds would come from the member Arab States. In reality, the bulk of the money will come from the oil rich states, particularly Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. The Shiek of Kuwait has already made his pilgrimage to Cairo. Presently agents of the Arab League are dickering with Kuwait officials. It is contemplated that Kuwait will join the Arab League. Once in the league, the shiek will be expected to show his generosity by offering a substantial sum to the bank. Kuwait now provides Britain alone with 50 percent of her crude oil imports. Moreover, Kuwait's investments in London, derived from the oil revenues, account for about 11 percent of all of the liquid funds available in the entire sterling bloc. These are the prizes that Nasser seeks under the guise of his Arab development bank.

Nasser has not wasted any time. He has already a substantial fifth column in Kuwait camouflaged as Egyptian teachers who. for the time being, do not attack the Sheik personally but merely call for the Kuwait public to stand by Nasser in his fight against "Arab agents of imperialism." Meanwhile the Sheik has been gently pressured by Nasser's agents to give 10-15 percent of his future oil royalties to the bank. to get that kind of money under his wing, Nasser is likely to treat the Sheik-and Kuwait-with gingerly care." (Business Week, Sept. 6, 1958.) It goes without saying that should the Sheik have second thoughts on coming in, he will become a prime target of the Cairo radio which will blast him as a British lackey, a tool of the West, and a traitor to the Arabs.

From evidence on hand it appears that the Nasser plan was developed before the Iraqi coup which broke up the Arab Federation. Thus, the New York Times (May 11, 1958), writes: "President Nasser may succeed in subverting the Arab Federation and getting control of all or part of its revenues; his

appeal to the imagination of the Palestinian refugees and to the growing urban middle class all through the Arab world is immense.

"He may by similar means get control of Saudi Arabia's oil revenues.

"Or the Arab 'have' nations may find means of sharing their revenues with President Nasser—some would say, more brutally, means of buying him off.

"Thus they might organize an Arab investment bank on which the Nasser regime could

draw for cheap credit. \* \* \*\*

More recently, Nasser's plan was discussed by William L. Ryan, news analyst for the Associated Press (New York Post, Oct. 1, 1958): "Under Gamal Nasser's leadership, nationalist-minded Arab leader's are aiming a body blow at foreign oil producers in the Middle East.

"The Arab leaders intend a serious challenge to U.S. policy. A hint of things to come is found in a little-noticed development in Nasser's capital.

"The Arab League is inviting all its member states to send delegations to what is being billed as the 'first Arab oil conference' scheduled for November 1 in Cairo.

"This is on Nasser's initiative. He is pushing hard for the idea of greater producer-state participation in the oil industry, all the way from extraction to marketing. He wants a cut of the oil riches. \* \* \*"

#### AID FROM THE U.S.A.?

Nasser's political line is simply an extension of economic buccaneering. Here he turns to the U.S.A. knowing full well that the State Department is gravely concerned with Soviet penetration in the Middle East. Very well, Mr. Nasser declares, if the U.S.A. is anxious to thwart further Soviet advances, then it must show its generosity and help a poor country like Egypt.

When the President of the United States proposed an economic development scheme for the Middle East, his suggestions were hailed by all people who realize that economic assistance is a vital necessity. Nasser is fully aware of this sentiment and hopes to turn it to his own narrow advantage. fortunately, there are State Department officials who believe that Nasser can be "converted" if only U.S. taxpayers will show a willingness to foot the bill. Good intentions on the part of the policymarkers is not the immediate issue. The point is that if the President's suggestions are tied up with Nasser's Arab bank, then the United States of America will, in effect, be subsidizing Nasser's buccaneering program which has as its final aim the complete ejection of American interests from the Middle East.

#### THE ASWAN DAM TRANQUILIZER

From the foregoing it is clear that Nasser's domestic "reforms" have been sacrificed on the altar of his imperialistic ambitions. The policy of piracy which is the essence of Nasser's economic program, may bring quick cash, but it cannot put new life into a bankrupt economy. It is against this fundamental fact that the efficacy of the Aswan dam project must be judged. Perhaps in theory the project has a certain plausibility. However, when one unties the fancy packaging covering the project, a number of facts emerge which place the entire proposition under a big question mark.

In the first place, authoritative studies have questioned the economic gains for the Egyptian people that allegedly would flow from the construction of the dam. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development made a detailed technical analysis of the proposed plan. Regarding Egypt's industrial prospects, the bank predicted that even if the dam were built, the pace of industrial growth would be slower than heretofore. The dam was supposed to increase agricultural income by 50 percent over the next two decades. Even if this should ma-

terialize, the bank noted, "Egypt will no doubt face a continuing problem in keeping pace with the growth of population. In view of the probability that the population by 1975 will be about 60 percent greater than at the present, there is little or no prospect that Egypt will have done much more than maintain the present standard of living even taking into account the greater proportion of children in the population by 1975."

Besides the doubtful economic benefits over the long run, the bank's study expressed doubt as to the ability of the Cairo regime to manage the precarious economy of the country with the necessary skill and determination so as to keep the enormous investment in the dam project from breaking Egypt's back. Indeed, the bank report sharply criticized the economic policies of the Cairo regime which is characterized as a "pell-meil

approach to development."

The American engineer Morris L. Cooke, who has served in high U.S. Government posts, also commented on the soundness of the Aswan dam project in a detailed analysis ("Panacea or Politics?" published by the Public Affairs Institute, Washington, D.C.). Mr. Cooke noted that economic weaknesses inherent in the plan were complicated by political difficulties. For example, he pointed out that the Nile passed through a number of states besides Egypt and that the dam as proposed would, in effect, discriminate against these states. Furthermore, the Egyptian economy had been gravely distorted through the arms-for-cotton deals with the Soviet bloc which have drained Egypt's resources for purposes of supporting a huge military establishment. Above all, Mr. Cooke noted, Egypt's economy has been undermined "by the militarism, fiscal manipulation, and political adventuring of the Nasser regime.

Just as Hitler's promise to provide every German with a peoples' car turned into a huge fraud by virtue of the very nature of his regime, so one can safely predict that the Egyptian masses will also discover the Aswan

dam project to be a gigantic hoax.

## Milestone in Housing for the Elderly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. THOMAS L. ASHLEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, on May 24 a significant occasion took place in Toledo, Ohio, with the dedication of one of the first housing for elderly projects, Spieker Terrace, to be completed under a special provision of Public Law 84-1020 which authorizes the construction of federally aided low-rent housing for elderly persons. The occasion was significant because it marked the recognition of a unique problem and one which will be with us more and more in the years ahead.

The figures speak for themselves. The number of older people is increasing more rapidly than our total population, thanks to modern medicine and public health conditions. Right now there are approximately 15 million people who are aged 65 or over. By 1965 these will be 18 million and by 1975 there, will be 22 million

Spieker Terrace marks a vitally important forward step in our Nation's housing problems—one more step in the direction of carrying out the basic declaration of our national housing policy which is "the utilization as soon as feasible of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family.

Mr. Speaker, at our dedication ceremony in Toledo we were honored to have as our principal speaker Dr. Wilma Donahue, one of the foremost authorities on gerontology and who holds the position of chairman of the division of gerontology at the University of Michigan. Dr. Donahue has directed and carried out extensive studies in the field of gerontology and is the author of numerous publications on related subjects. Her remarks on the occasion of the recent dedication of Spieker Terrace reflect a grasp and understanding of the problems confronting our senior citizens themselves as well as the responsibility which the Nation as a whole bears them. I am hopeful that my colleagues will find a few minutes to peruse them:

DEDICATION ADDRESS OF A. GIDEON SPIEKER TERRACE

(By Wilma Donahue)

#### 1. INTRODUCTION

It is with great humility that I participate in this dedication of the A. Gideon Spieker Terrace because so many have done so much to bring the Terrace into being and I can do so little. The faith, the knowledge, the dedication of public officials, the skill and talents of professional men and the knowledge of the men on the job who read the blueprints and made form take shape for these and for many others, I can only stand as a symbol at this dedication, representing their concern and belief in the right of Toledo's older citizens to their fair share of good housing.

The A. Gideon Spieker Terrace is more than just another housing project for older people. It is a pioneer effort to give expression to a new way of living. It stems from profound changes taking place in the cultural pattern of our society as a result of the tremendous sweep of industrialization. It is this vast readjustment of the ways to utilize natural resources and to conserve the energies of man that has made possible a new view or philosophy of aging.

#### 2. A NEW PHILOSOPHY OF AGING

At the turn of the century, aging was seen largely in terms of progressive decline and withdrawal, eventuating in permanently disabling illness, deterioration, and dependency. And for good reason, because this concept had considerable basis in fact. Life expectancy was short. Old age came to relatively few, and for those who survived, con-ditions of work and living were hard. Chronic disease was common and little was known about its treatment. Injury resulted usually in permanent disability. Retirement was a reality, in the main, only for those who became too ill or disabled to work. Retirement pensions were almost nonexistent, and the old had to depend on children, kinfolk, or public funds for support and care. All this makes it understandable that the first foci of programs for older people was in the provision of financial contributions and sheltered living facilities offering lifetime care for those without families.

Fortunately, we are able to say with reference to an increasing proportion of older people, that this concept represents a stereotype which is rapidly outliving its usefulness. It is being replaced by a positive and dynamic attitude toward aging wherein age, sickness, and poverty need no longer be confused. The new view of aging is that it is

a great social achievement—Bernard Baruch says that it is the greatest achievement arising out of our scientific culture. Such a viewpoint represents a radical change and has great implications for the future.

The great majority of all who are alive today can expect to live through the highly productive years and to enjoy a period of retirement activity with a reasonable income. The added years of life are becoming healthier and more vigorous years. Improved nutrition, easier homemaking and working conditions, a better health environment, new discoveries and procedures in medicine, and rehabilitation are having a measurable impact expressed in part by an average increase in life expectancy of 20 years during the last four or five decades.

Beyond the extension of life itself, the outstanding achievement, as I see it, lies in the increasing opportunity to live independently in the older years and to devote more time to the pursuit of activities of one's own choosing. Shortening of the hours of work and increased life expectancy alone have given us 45,000 hours or 22 years of additional free time over the past century. It is significant that independence and free time come when maturity, growing out of accumulated experience and wisdom, and when the potentials for broader social usefulness can be greater than at any other period of life.

These, it seems to me, suggest the outlines of the promises we see when we look to the future—a future which implies the greater fulfillment of man. This future is already here for some older people and they appear to be enjoying it immensely. For others, the realization must indeed seem far off, because certain things are essential if we are to make the most of these new opportunities and capitalize on a new philosophy of aging.

3. THE ESSENTIALS OF THE GOOD LIFE FOR ALPER

3. THE ESSENTIALS OF THE GOOD LIFE FOR OLDER

(a) First and fundamental is the need for an adequate income.

The incomes of older people are improving. but are still far from satisfactory. As Congressman Ashley has pointed out, income data show that approximately one-fifth of the families in which the head is 65 years of age and over have less than a \$1,000 annual income while minimum budget requirements for elderly couples exceed \$2,000. sponding figures for unattached males living alone are a median income of \$1,337 against a budget need of nearly \$2,000, and for single women a median income of \$700 compared with a budget estimate of \$1,500. Recent data show that 25 percent of older couples have liquid assets of only \$14 or less. How, then, can this fourth of our older people pay for really adequate housing, or buy the extensive medical care they may need, or secure the amenities essential for good uses of leisure time?

And yet, these are the men and women who have built our country, who have given their energies and lives to rearing the families of today, and to bringing about the improvements in our society. Caught in the dilemma of a long and persistent inflationary spiral which has made their dollars earned in another era of small value and caught, also, in the first generation to experience the new longer life they, unfortunately, antidate the social inventions created relatively recently to improve the economic status of ensuing generations of old people.

Thus, for many of today's older people,

Thus, for many of today's older people, special planning is needed. Society, business, older people themselves recognize this need. The A. Gideon Spieker Terrace is one of the answers to help meet the fundamental need for financial adequacy.

(b) Health, of course, is the second vital factor of the good life, for it is indeed the keystone to a positive approach to aging.

It is fortunate that vast amounts of research in progress is designed to improve health in the later years, and to prevent the development of chronic conditions before the

onset of old age.

Acute disease is not significantly greater among the elderly than among the young, although the older individual has a longer illness and hospital stay. But in the area of chronic disease and disability, the incidence is five times greater among the 65 years of age and over than it is in the population as a whole,

Once considered hopelessly incurable, the old were left to wait it out with nothing more than a few palliative measures and custodial care being offered during their lingering deaths Today, all this has been

changed.

Coincidental with the increasing numbers of aged persons in the population, the new and dynamic medical specialty of physical medicine and rehabilitation has developed. The pioneers of this new medical skill knew no bounds to their enthusiasm for its miracles and began applying their new techniques and philosophies to the restoration of the old and disabled. The result was electrifying.

Old persons who had spent many years bedridden as a result of a stroke began to learn to walk and to care for themselves. Some began to return to normal lives in the community. New stroke cases were introduced to training before contractures, weakness, and deformity overtook them. The orthopedic cases were fitted with limbs and taught to walk. And most significantly, they were given something for which to live, something to do which made the achievement of health and independence of preemi-

nent importance.

Communities are doing their share in this all-out conquest for good health. They are not only building hospitals and nursing homes, but are also providing geriatric diagnostic centers and clinics, hospital homecare, visiting nurse services, home helps, and 80 forth. It is thus feasible to provide living quarters where older people may live independently because these needed services are becoming increasingly available to them. Medical care, moreover, is being offered where it should be—in the regularly constituted health facilities of the community, rather than in some custodial arrangement Within the old-age home or housing project. Every community should integrate its medical care facilities—general hospitals, chronic or convalescent hospitals, nursing homes, old age infirmaries-into a health care constellation. Only in this way, can the great skills of the medical profession be mobilized and utilized for the good of all persons regardless of age.

(c) Beyond economic security and health, there is the whole matter of continuing active participation in the life of the community.

For a retired person, the greatest tragedy is only too often the loneliness and frustration which derives from being cut off from the on-going life of the community. The rapid spread of "Golden Age Clubs" and "Senior Citizens Groups" throughout the country is an indication of the need of older people for the companionship of persons of their own age, and for new interests and for creative activities. Many of the retired are taking advantage of the increasing op-Portunities for work with the voluntary agencies that contribute so much to the Well-being of the community. This is important, because it is a recognition that a free society requires the day-to-day parti-cipation of informed citizens in the life of their communities. And informed citizen-ship comes about by remaining integral, wanted, and respected members of the community; it does not generally take place in the isolation of segregated old age homes or the sick wards.

(d) Finally, there is great need for housing and lifting arrangements which will meet the special requirements of those who have achieved the opportunity of being old.

One of the principal adaptations to industrialization, urbanization, mobility, and changing social values has been the decline of the extended kinship household, and the rise of the small family consisting of a man, his wife, and immature children. The modern family must, by social circumstance, divert most of its energies and money to the training and preparation of its children to take their successful places in our competitive society. Thus, the older person cannot depend upon the younger family as in the past for physical protection and social expression.

There is, as a matter of fact, considerable evidence of a desire on the part of the older generation to live apart from the generation of young adults occupied with their own activities and family responsibilities. There are, of course, some 12 millions of older couples out of a total of perhaps 4.5 millions who do live with their children, but studies of this three-generation living show that more than one-half of the number of both older and younger adult generations involved regard the arrangement as an undesirable

expediency.

Although the changing family structure has been apparent for many years, relatively little attention was given to the housing of older people. A few old-age homes and the poor farm sufficed to take care of those without families. But with the increase in the numbers living to reach old age in good health and independency, interest in providing housing for the elderly has quickened. In spite of increased interest and action in the field, however, there is perhaps no program area in a greater state of flux today. Opinions are strong and research is at a minimum. Yet the policies being adopted today will reflect our attitudes and will determine the pattern of living for millions of people for many tomorrows. If we segregate the elderly—forgetting that it is only a stone's throw of years until we, ourselves, will join these segregated ranks; if we fail to design buildings that do more than keep the rain out and the heat in: if we provide only an unchanging, monotonous living environment-we may expect to reap a harvest of emotionally dissatisfied, mentally ill, and stagnant old people.

There are today in this country hundreds of thousands of retired couples and single people who are searching desperately to find some sort of small house or spartment that is geared to their special wants. Is the fact that they cannot find suitable accommodations a reflection of "wants" beyond those of other age groups? I think not.

of other age groups? I think not.

In fact, results of studies show that the characteristics old people would choose for their homes reflect only the same human, personal needs basic to the happiness of anyone. These requirements may be described as follows:

1. Shelter, warmth, security, and quiet—but not too quiet.

2. Privacy, auditory as well as visual, a

place to be alone—dignity.

3. Independence of action, right of choice,

self-determination—authority.

4. Nearness to relatives and friends—share life but not same roof.

5. Residence among their own kind of people—age, background, finances.

6. Variety, stimulation, absence of monotony—adventure.

7. Maintenance of family and personal traditions—"shrines the heart has builded,"

8. Physical assets—safety, convenience, closeness to services and community life.

9. Costs—rents or sales prices that are financially feasible in comparison to income.

4. TAKING MEASURE OF THE A. GIDEON SPIEKER TERRACE

We have enumerated the essentials of a good life for older people. How does the A. Gideon Spieker Terrace measure against these criteria?

- (a) Adequacy of income: Spieker Terrace is a recognition of the fact that the incomes of perhaps as many as from one-fourth to one-third of older people are too small to permit their competing on the open market for the kind of housing which will preserve their health and general welfare. Meager incomes and depleted assets are greatly augmented through this public housing plan. Here, there is a minimal rent which can be met by the resident, thus allowing him to maintain the dignity of providing for himself.
- (b) Maintenance of health: Spieker Terrace is designed around the concept that the health of older people is promoted by living an active life among other older people who are likewise busy and essentially well. The very design of the terrace reflects this concept because here in the heart of the little village is the community house where happy older people come together to do things and to enjoy one another. Contrast this to an environment in which the life of the older person is centered around an infirmary and its ailing occupants. Subtly, then, Spieker Terrace reflects a belief that busy people living independently in proper housing can maintain good health, and, moreover, that if and when they become ill they will have the right and opportunity to receive care in the regularly constituted health facilities of the community.

(c) Participation in community life: The modest size of the terrace project and its siting in the residential area makes possible its easy incorporation into normal community life and safeguards against the segregation and isolation of its residents. The terrace is so easily accessible to friends and relatives, and the residents themselves can so readily reach shops, their churches, their lodges, and social groups, that there is little danger that the project will become an island

of marooned old people.

Further, the physical plan of the terrace of organizing its life about an activities center where hobbies, practical skills, learning, reading, and social get-togethers can be pursued invited the active participation of every resident and his neighbors. Through such participation touch is maintained with the world about and mental and physical aging is staved off.

(d) Adequacy of living arrangements: The ultimate test of Spieker Terrace, however, is how well it meets the personal and basic

needs of its residents. Let us see.

There can be no doubt of the adequacy of the shelter and security it provides. The attractive one floor brick motel type apartment buildings demonstrate in the architecture that we will find here warmth against the cold of the winter winds; ease of living as one's energies grow less; quiet, but of the quality muted only by a comfortable distance from the voices of playing children.

Here, too, is to be found precious privacy—
a place of one's own in which to do as one
pleases—a place where one may be joyful or
sad—where one may conceal the hurts'from
the outrageous slings of fortune, or the deep
joys of personal and family achievement.

Corollary of privacy is independence and in Spieker Terrace, every resident has independence. The right to choose his or her pursuits, to decorate and furnish living quarters to suit individual taste, to select one's friends, to order one's own household.

Companionship, so often lacking for older people, is richly abundant in Spieker Terrace. Nelghbors of one's own age, nearness to old friends and relatives; and most importantly—the kind of living space which allows the older couple to enjoy the deep and satisfying experiences of sharing life. How often this latter privilege is denied a man and his wife because there is no place for them to be together, or because quarters are so confining that no two persons could

share them without friction.

The poet, Anne Campbell, has expressed so clearly the deep satisfaction of this

companionship when she wrote:

"It isn't that we talk so much, Sometimes the evening through You do not say a word to me I do not talk to you.

"You sit beside your reading lamp, I like my easy chair, And it is joy enough for me To know that you are there."

Stimulation and adventure both are to be found in the home of every resident of Spieker Terrace because each resident has a different life history upon which to draw and to enrich the life of his neighbors. For example, several months ago, I called upon a resident and saw the fine skill he had developed as an artisan glass etcher. He told us his hope that he might be able to pass along this fast disappearing craft of etching to some of the youth of Toledo. I took pictures of the examples of his work, and, my own life enriched by the encounter, have used the picture and told the story in many parts of the country and thus, enlarged the horizons of other older people. I'm sure that in every apartment of the ter-race there live equally striking examples of persons who have much to offer one another. High adventure, indeed, to pursue the paths of the past.

Throughout life, each person, each famfly establishes customs and habits which become for them prized traditions. Spieker Terrace, these traditional patterns can be continued without interruption. The holiday may be celebrated. Grandchildren may come for birthdays or for a night with grandma. Personal religious and spiritual observances may be carried out. And the homely little habits-airing the bedding. putting winter woolens away on the first day of May, leaving the dinner dishes till a better part of the day-these, too, may be practiced without the rules and regulations imposed from outside.

The physical assets and characteristics of the terrace are among the finest examples of good housing yet provided for the elderly in either private or public developments. Included among its features are an adequate number of rooms of good size; ample storage space in addition to three closets; private bathroom in each apartment; an entry way which offers the arriving guest and family privacy; bright, cheerful walls and a site which takes advantage of the sunshine but with 3-foot roof overhangs to protect old eyes from too great glare and reflection; electric outlets well above the floor to do away with the need of stooping; safety features, such as rails in the bathroom, inconspicuous ramping of walks, nonskid floors, are present but are not demandingly obvious. Every detail has been carefully studied and incorporated to assure a pattern of gracious safe living for Toledo's senior citizens.

5. TOLEDO'S STAKE IN THE A. GIDEON SPIEKER TERRACE

Through Spieker Terrace, Toledo has demonstrated to the Nation, and to every State and city in the country, that housing which meets the special needs of older people can be brought into being if the will to make it so is abroad in the land—be it either public housing for those of limited financial resources or privately built housing for those of more ample means.

And in Toledo the will to make it so has been found. It is no mere circumstance this project has been named the A. Gideon Spieker Terrace. You have known Mr. Spieker and the many others who cooperated for their deep interest in making a better way of life for all Toledo's citizens over the years. It is, then, no surprise that when the need became apparent, they turned their skills, under the leadership of Mr. Spieker, to improving the lot of the city's senior citizens.

And then, of course, there was that tireless worker in the vineyard-McClinton Nunn, director of the Toledo Housing Authority. Inspired by a deep understanding of and sympathy with people, he set about to learn the best possible ways to create the kind of homes that would meet the wishes and desires of older people, and would promote their well-being. But finding the answers to the difficult questions was not easy because so new is the idea of housing for older people that there are no well-established and tried patterns that require only mere replication. Mr. Nunn's task then was a pioneering one-first, to learn what to do, and, second, to find, and sometimes create, the administrative machinery for getting it done. And so, for several years, one met Mr. Nunn at meetings where housing for the elderly was being discussed; found him inspecting and evaluating the work of others; received letters from him asking for the new literature on the subject of old-age housing; and then, finally, came the report that Toledo had embarked upon a housing project for the elderly. Today-as we dictate this, the A. Gideon Spieker Terraceindirect tribute to Mr. Nunn and all those others whose vision and tireless efforts have made it possible.

And to you who are today's residents of Spieker Terrace, and to those who will live here in the future, is bequeathed a home for which John Ruskin long ago wrote a descrip-tion: "a place of peace; the shelter not only from injury, but from all terror, doubt, and division."

#### Our Om-nescient President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

#### HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article written by Frederic W. Collins which appeared in the June 1, 1959 issue of the New Republic. Mr. Collins, Washington correspondent of the Providence (R.I.) Journal since 1942, has reported on the White House through three administrations, beginning with the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

OUR OM-NESCIENT PRESIDENT—SOME FORCES
OF HIS NOT-KNOWING

#### (By Frederic W. Collins)

At a recent press conference, President Eisenhower was asked what he thought about an Air Force desire to have strategic control Polaris missile submarines. duced his answer by saying, "I haven't heard this story, this charge, before."

A week later he was asked five questions about India, for the simple reason that Eric Johnston had been holding a big confab in Washington on India. "I didn't know that

Eric Johnston had a symposium on this matter," said the President.

The next week he was asked about a suggestion by Secretary of Defense Neil McElroy that Congress should "put the Pentagon's feet to the fire to force a decision in the competition between the Bomarc and the Nike-Hercules domestic defense weapons. "Well," said the President, "I did not know about any statements made by Mr. McElroy. He hasn't informed me of that particular incident.

All three of these stories had been given a good play, including some page one treatment, by the newspapers generally read in Washington. They involved important issues of Government. They represent the kind of information all people in Washington professionally interested in public affairs naturally absorb along with their air and nourishment. But the President drew a one-two-three blank on them.

The series of answers ought to dispose forever of the claim so manfully maintained by James C. Hagerty, his press secretary, that the President keeps up with current events by keeping up with the newspapers, even as you and I. It does much more than that. It suggests that Mr. Eisenhower does not take in very much information from sources other than those in the Government. It suggests further that his Government sources, while they serve him well, do not serve him per-fectly. ("He hasn't informed me of that particular incident.")

Variety is at least as useful in the discovery of the truth as is pure objectivity. But variety is something the President plainly lacks in his intake of information, and pure objectivity is as scarce in Washing-

ton as anywhere else.

It is pertinent to note also that there are two kinds of information which can be classed as indispensable to a President. There is official information, provided by the people who work for him, on what is going on in the Government and what is going on in the country. Official information about what is going on in the country tends to have all the juice squeezed out of it. Second, there is the kind of information about what the people are thinking and feeling. about their personal disasters, personal triumphs and personal aspirations. This can be collected only by a marvelously sensitive receiving apparatus in which the vital central tuner is provided by the President's own curiosity. It is not meant to be hard on the President in saying he lacks an active curiosity. The military training is not a humanist discipline, which political government certainly is, and the military profession can be served by a hard, technical kind of intelligence in which impressionistic sensibility may be quite out of place.

Eisenhower's conspicuous shortcomings as a newspaper reader leave him all the more dependent on personal contacts with unofficial sources of information for his knowledge of what is going on in his Government and in the country. And this raises the question: Whom does he see and hear,

outside of his official family?

It doesn't take much diligence to find out. It is pretty well agreed that the President sees only three men (outside the official circle) frequently and intimately. The three are William E. Robinson, chairman of the board of Coca-Cola; George E. Allen, a Washington lawyer and financier who has made a career of knowing Presidents; and Gen. Alfred M. Gruenther, president of the American National Red Cross.

Additions to the roster can be made up from published reports of the President's golfing, fishing, and bridge parties at Au-gusta, Gettysburg, and Newport: W. Alton "Pete" Jones, chairman of the board of Cities Service; Clifford Roberts, partner in Reyn-

olds & Co.; Robert W. Woodruff, former head of Coca-Cola; Barry T. Leithead, president of Cluett, Peabody, & Co.; Philip D. Reed, consultant to the chairman of the board of General Electric; and Sigurd S. Larmon, chairman of the board and president of Young & Rubicam.

Add Gen. Lucius D. Clay, chairman of the board of Continental Can; Paul Hoffman, former head of Studebaker, former administrator of ECA; Gen. Omar N. Bradley.

Then add Milton Eisenhower, the President's brother, and George M. Humphrey, former Secretary of the Treasury, the President's host from time to time on the plantation at Thomasville, Ga.

The method and frequency of communication the President maintains with General Clay, Paul Hoffman, and General Bradley is hard to establish. They have always been discreet about it. One has the impression that it proceeds by telephone and mail more than by direct meetings, and that it has tapered off during the years of the Eisen-

hower Presidency.

With respect to the friends from the golfing and business world, it is interesting to note that the list today is essentially what it was in June of 1954, when Fletcher Knebel attempted a definite study of the crony roster for Look magazine. To a considerable extent, the pattern was established by friendships made by Mr. Eisenhower right after the war, and during his presidency at Columbia, in a group which played golf at Blind Brook, Portchester, N.Y., and at the Augusta National Club.

This catalog, which is fair as a represen-tation even if it is not complete, shows one common characteristic among the Presidential pals. With minor reservations, they come from a single economic segment of the American society—the segment of successful

corporation leaders.

Indeed, when Mr. Elsenhower sees a labor leader, David McDonald, for example, it's front page news. Now corporation heads can hardly be expected to provide for the President anything even remotely approaching a cross section of opinion. It is an incidental handicap, from the point of view of the President's awareness of what is happening in his constituency, that this one segment is not noted for its sensitivity to Popular thought and emotion. They are no doubt estimable men, and they are no doubt instructed as to trends of popular taste in soft drinks, drip-dry shirts, and refrigerators. Some of them are active in such lively and Well-intentioned organizations as the Committee for Economic Development, the National Planning Association, and the Advertising Council. It is useless to contend, however, that as a group they rub elbows with the electorate-at-large.

By all indications, the President does not discuss public affairs while golfing, playing bridge or fishing. But it doesn't make much difference what he talks about. The plankton-like minutiae which can add up to a solid helping of information don't live in the part of the stream he visits on his days

President Eisenhower has another means of communication with the world that is outside the iron railings of the House grounds-by the writing of letters. This, however, seems to be something of a one-way operation, employed by the President to enlist support among the leaders of the workaday community for pet objectives. It is reported, for example, that as part of his crusade for economy and a balanced budget he wrote to Harry A. Bullis, chairman of the board of General Mills, an energetic man, a former sewing machine wholesaler and a CED workhorse, who brings a

kind of Billy Graham ferver to the spreading of fundamentalist mercantilism and could be counted on to start spraying letters of his own all through the business world in furtherance of the Eisenhower creed. This is communication, but it is not the collection of information.

The role of Milton Eisenhower George Humphrey in "talking to the Presiis well enough understood so that it need not be labored here. The President himself is the authority as to the importance of Milton's contributions, and one may assume that they are among the most valuable available to the President because Milton does carry over an intellectual curiosity from his New Deal days and is in touch with parts of the society not preoccupied with making, buying, and selling. As to George Humphrey, it is Washington's con-viction that it doesn't make much difference how often the former captain of the Cabinet sees the President or talks with him, because one treatment seems to carry Eisenhower a long, long time. Mr. Humphrey is considered to be the inspiration for Mr. Eisenhower's zeal for a balanced budget. (Much of this, it should be forthrightly acknowledged, is conjecture, because Mr. Humphrey guards the privacy of his privileged communication with the President.) But then here again the contribution is of something other than information on the living details of the contemporary American experience in all of its variety.

Going over the field of the President's close friends in search of people who might tell him how things really are brings insistently to mind the observation of a veteran journeyman of Republican politics. When a Republican makes a million dollars, said this observer, he drops out of sight. When a Democrat makes a million dollars, he's down at the corner saloon every night

drinking with the boys.

And picking up information. What about the staff close to the Presi-

dent? Can he really learn the current facts of American life from them?

Whatever may be said about them, and one thing which can be said is that many warm and pleasant people may be found among them, it cannot be said that as a group they are gregarious, and those who would like to be gregarious find little chance to indulge their bent in the monastic immurement, in some respects almost trappist, which is their way of life. Theirs, not necessarily by their own choice, is a world apart, a world of staff meetings and staff

luncheons and long hours and hard work. As they work as a group, so do they play as a group, with their own internal fun and games and their own internal problems, and patterns of activity so fixed that they could hardly break out if they tried. Trustees of executive confidence, large and small, in an administration which regards the maintenance of its privacy as a moral end in itself, the terms of trade are against them in their interchange with us, and their imports' of information are balanced at the painfully low level of their capacity to export.

It would be interesting to run a test: Take the following names and go out on the street anywhere in the country, in Washing-ton or in Pocatello, and ask passersby at random what connection the named people have with American life:

Wilton B. Persons, Gerald D. Morgan, Thomas E. Stephens, James C. Hagerty, Da-vid W. Kendall, Henry McPhee, Philip E. Areeda, Robert E. Merriam, Gordon Gray, Rocco Siciliano, James R. Killian, Karl G. Harr, Don Paarlberg, Jack Z. Anderson, Malcolm C. Moos, Edward A. McCabe, E. Frederic Morrow, Robert K. Gray, James M.

Lambie, Jr., Maurice H. Stans, Raymond J. Saulnier, Leo A. Hoegh.1

That list represents a thorough combing of names from the 1959 Congressional Directory in those echelons of the White House which for 20 preceding Democratic years had been inhabited by a spectacular collection of performing seals, wheels, pinwheels, prodigies, prodigals, fakers, double-dealers, scholars, zealots, political vaudevillians, geniuses, spoiled messiahs, buffoons, prima donnas, votaries, acolytes, neurotics, touts, politicians, first-class public servants and charming misfits, all of whom registered on the national consciousness and who, collectively, seemed to know everybody in the country and everything that was going on.

The resident of Pocatello can have two consolations if he does badly in identfying the names. One is that the resident of Washington wouldn't do much better. The other is that the people at the White House wouldn't recognize many names in Pocatello.

Beyond the executive staff is the Government, its functionaries arranged roughly in concentric circles according to the frequency, intimacy, and scope of their communication with the President, beginning with the National Security Council, going next to the Cabinet, and beyond that to the array of leading personages who go to the White House to brief the President on specific mat-

On efficial information, as has been noted, they do their job quite well. Everyone who ever worked with Mr. Eisenhower in any of the stages of his career testifies that he absorbs (or perhaps "records" would be a better word) briefings readily. In his press con-ferences, it is fairly easy to spot by the nature of his responses which subjects he has been briefed on and which he can comment on only out of his general fund of knowledge. In the same press conference in which he flunked the question about SAC's plot to kidnap the Polaris subs Mr. Eisenhower gave an A-plus standup recitation on the particle accelerator which is to be built at Stanford University, remarking, "I had a very long presentation" on it.

Taken all together, the ranking members of Mr. Eisenhower's government form a group so large that it must be assumed some of them are in contact with popular life. One cannot forget, however, that Mrs. Oveta Hobby, when she was Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, was astonished by the extent and intensity of the public de-mand for Salk vaccine. Mrs. Hobby is gone, and HEW has not been so far out of this world under Marion Folsom and Arthur Flemming. But even if some members of his Cabinet and the hinterlands of bureaucracy

Persons, the assistant to the President; Morgan, the deputy assistant to the President; Stephens, secretary to the President; Hagerty, press secretary; Kendall, special counsel; McPhee, associate special counsel; Areeda, assistant special counsel; Merriam, deputy assistant to the President for interdepartmental affairs; Gordon Gray, special assistant for national security affairs, Siciliano, special assistant for personnel management; Killian, special assistant (science); Harr, special assistant (for security operations coordination); Paarlberg, economic adviser; Anderson, administrative assistant; Moos, ditto (speech writing); McCabe, ditto (Senate liaison); Morrow, administrative office (special projects); Robert Gray, secretary to the Cabinet; Lambie, special assistant; Stans, director of the budget; Salunied, chairman, Council of Economic Advisers; Hoegh, Director, Office of Defense Mobiliza-

have effectively operating antennas the question remains whether their findings get, to Mr. Eisenhower. precious little evidence of it in his comments on the times. Who is going to talk to the President about fallout? Dr. Killian, his science adviser, can lecture to him on the technical details, reinforced by experts from other parts of the Government, such as the Atomic Energy Commission, and Public Health. But where, except from his own grandfatherly concerns, is he going to get a sense of the popular apprehensions about the somatic effects on the living and the genetic effects on the generations now being born and to be born in the years ahead?

The President has another category of contacts, the visitors who show up on the appointment list published every day he is in Washington by the wire services and some newspapers. For the purposes of this inquiry, a period was picked at random, during March and April of this year. Twenty-eight samples of the daybook provide a list which ought to enable the reader to make up his mind rather easily as to how much general information the President can possibly gain during his sessions:

Gordon Gray, the President's assistant for national security affairs, three times; the returning Canadian Ambassador, presenting credentials; the president of Optimists International, from Memphis; T. Keith Glennan, Director of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, twice, once with the NASA Council; Dr. Killian; Gen. Nathan F. Twining, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, three regular appointments; Democratic congressional leaders, as part of a bipartisan meeting; Republican congressional leaders, six times; the president of the Junior Chamber of Commerce, from Tulsa; the National Teacher of the Year, female, Oklahoma; a 4-H Club delegation; Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson; Conrad Hilton; Secretary Flemming; Philip K. Crowe, leaving to be Ambassador to the Union of South Africa; the Cabinet, twice; news conferences, three times; the National Security Council, four times; Crown Prince Constantine of Greece; the President of El Salvador, who was met, dined, and conferred with; the president of the American Meat Institute, a high-pressure industry group; the head chaplains of the armed services; Clyde Wheeler, a new staff assistant to the President, another name to spring on the folks in Pocatello; the chairman of the Washington Flower and Garden Show; Representative James C. Auchincloss, Republican, of New Jersey; Roger W. Jones, a civil service commissioner; the new Ambassador from Malaya; the Ambassador of Austria; W. Allen Wallis, of the University of Chicago, being sworn as executive vice chairman of the Cabinet Committee on Price Stability for Economic Growth: Christian A. Herter, five times, three of them as Secretary of State; Livingston T. Merchant, Assistant Secretary of State; the Ambassador of Panama; the President of Ireland (who made a great hit); the Methodist Council of Paul-Henri Spaak, Secretary General of NATO; the Governors of Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, together; Secretary of the Treasury Robert Anderson; Chairman William M. Martin of the Federal Reserve Board; Raymond J. Saulnier, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers; Don Paarlberg, economic adviser to the President; Irving S. Olds and Arthur A. Houghton, on business connected with the Cooper Union in New York; the new Ambassador from Guinea; Gen. Melvin Maas, Chairman, President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped; the American Battle Monuments Commission; the Archbishop of the Greek Orthodox Church for North and South America: the retiring Chairman of the Tariff Commission: the president of Florida Presbyterian Col-

lege; the Director General of UNESCO; and Andrew H. Berding, Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs.

The mind reels at the thought of the exactions imposed upon the small-talk resources of the President, even conceding the intensity of his training in making small talk in military society, by such a conglomeration of visitors. But, speculating on the probable yield of information, taken against the total outlay of Presidential time and energy, one is tempted to guess that it would be impossible to draw up any other list of the same number of people from whom it would be possible to learn so little.

There is, however, evidence that the effort is not a total loss. The three Governors from New England went in to see the President about the problems of the textile industry, involving tariffs and foreign competition. When they came out (two Republicans and a Democrat) they were united in the impression that until they had talked with him, the President had not been fully informed on the subject, particularly on such esoteric matters as the differing effects of a general tariff on wool fabrics and a system of schedules applying to specific categories of such fabrics (which is what they are after). They got action, too: The es tablishment by the President, less than a month later, of an interdepartmental committee to study textile industry problems. It may sound like just another committee, but it is what the Governors wanted.

It is probably safe to assume, too, that the President learns something from the Republican congressional leaders. After all, politicians are always conducting polis, taking soundings, feeling pulses, and going back home to put their ears to the ground. After all, too, they would automatically be more interested in telling the President those things which will set him on a course calculated to protect their political skins than they are in feeding him any old stuff to make him think any course he chooses is the right one. In fact, the bold estimate may be made that the congressional leaders give Mr. Elsenhower the broadest and truest picture of the United States, within the limits of their reportorial talents, that he

There is another source of information available to a President, his party structure, and particularly, the national party chair-The best information is that President makes such negligible use of this source, whoever is chairman, that it might well be disregarded (although the new chairman, Senator THRUSTON B. MORTON, has been introduced to the weekly conference of GOP legislative leaders).

Finally, there are the White House dinners, at which the President must engage in some conversation. A study of the guest list suggests that the inflow of information to the President is probably meager. The study does turn up one rich nugget. The list of 49 guests at Mr. Eisenhower's dinner for Sir Winston Churchill on May 6, a dinner at which the President was less restricted by protocol than usually, shows no fewer than of his golf and bridge buddies present: Messrs. Allen, Pete Jones, Larmo, Leithead, Roberts, Robinson, and Woodruff, plus 2 others who are card-carrying members: Ellis D. Slater (of the Augusta and Blind Brook Country Club set) and Charles S. Jones, California oil executive and director of Douglas Aircraft.

Two notes should be added. First, the President himself hardly ever goes out into the everyday world of America. Merriman Smith, White House correspondent To.
United Press International, did an extremely interesting story on this point last winter from Gettysburg, listing, to the length of a half column or more, the things most people do which the President never has done or hasn't done for years. No visits to a supermarket, for example, or a barber shop. Second, the President in important measure denies himself the guidance of popular reaction by denying to the populace any knowledge of policies in the stages of formu-There are a few leaks, of course, and somewhat fewer trial balloons, but it is the fixed doctrine of this administration that the secrecy of the National Security Council shall be absolute, and market research on NSC products, in the sense of test reactions to trial offerings, is prohibited. This seems to be a backward and upsidedown way to form policy in a democracy, but that's the way the man wants it, and that's the way it is.

To draw the meaning of all this, using the leverage of contrasting example, it will perhaps be permissible to refer at some length to Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.'s, study of Franklin D. Roosevelt's collection and use of information. ("The Age of Roosevelt" vol. II. "The Coming of the New Deal," pt. VIII, "Evolution of the Presidency.")

While breakfasting, we are told, President \* Roosevelt "looked rapidly through half a dozen newspapers, half of them bitterly criti-cal of his administration." In Cabinet meet-ings, he joshed members "about their latest appearances in the newspapers." As to the widely varying group around him: "The reaction he got from this miscellany of administrators perhaps gave him some idea of the range of public opinion. .

The first task of an executive, as he evidently saw it, was to guarantee himself an effective flow of information and ideas. (The ordained channels could never be enough.) An executive relying on a single information system became inevitably the prisoner of that system. Roosevelt's persistent effort, therefore, was to check and balance information acquired through a myriad of private, informal, and unorthodox channels and espionage networks. At times, he seemed almost to pit his personal sources against his public sources. \* \* \* Rooseveit \* \* \* required this approach to cross-check the official system and keep it alert as well as to assure himself the balanced and various product without which he could not comfortably reach decisions.

Mr. Schlesinger speaks of FDR's "systematic effort to augment the official intelli-gence." Newspapers were only the first stage in his battle for supplementary information. He preferred to acquire both information and ideas through conversation. He did not depend wholly on experts, but profited from the variety of reactions available to him in areas where no one is infallible and any intelligent person might make a contribution. The author calls information the first responsibility of the Executive, and speaks of a President's conquest of the problem of information.

"It might be argued," says Mr. Schlesinger, "that the essence of successful administration is: first, to acquire the ideas and information necessary for wise decisions; second, to maintain control over the actual making of decisions; third, to mobilize men and women who can make the first two things possible—that is, who can provide effective ideas and information, and who can reliably put decisions into effect."

It is the first and third essentials which concerns us here. Of course. Mr. Schlesinger's saying what he says doesn't automatically make it so, nor did Mr. Roosevelt's doing as he did automatically make it right. But any prolonged experience of Washington. including the closeup observation of Presidency, provides compelling evidence that what Mr. Schlesinger says is, indeed, so, and that what Mr. Roosevelt did in acquiring information and mobilizing men and women to supplement his own reporting was eminently right.

The independent conclusion of this writer, in other words, is that to the extent Mr. Eisenhower's performance has fallen short of what must have been his deeply-held hopes, and the hopes of those who twice elected him, blame must be ascribed in significant degree to the utter inadequacy of his information and his means of collecting it. Curiosity may be fatal to cats, but it is indispensable in a President.

## Graduates of Seton Hill College From Westmoreland County, Pa.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JOHN H. DENT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I note with a great deal of pride that 15 young ladies from my district are in the graduating class at Seton Hill College, Greensburg, Pa. This college is known as one of the outstanding schools for young ladies in the entire country. Its graduates are to be found in every field of endeavor. The list of Westmoreland County graduates follows:

LIST OF GRADUATES FROM WESTMORELAND
COUNTY

Dolores Bontempelli will receive the bachelor of science in elementary education degree. She has done her student teaching in the Greensburg public schools and hopes to teach in the intermediate grades next year. For the past two summers she has been a supervisor at Camp Byrne in Connecticut and will return to the same position this summer. She is a member of the Elementary Education Club at Seton Hill, Dolores is a graduate of Derry Area Joint High School. Her parents are Mr. and Mrs. Venanzio Bontempelli, of 1111 Burns Street, Latrobe.

Angelo Bruno, a graduate of New Kensington High School, will receive the bachelor of science in elementary education degree and will do graduate work in education this summer. She has been elected to teach in the elementary grades in the New Kensington School District next year. She is a member of the Elementary Education Club and of the French Club, and is a teacher in the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine. Angela is the second daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Bruno, of 428 Charles Avenue, New Kensington, to be graduated from Seton Hall. Sarah received the bachelor of arts degree 2 years ago.

Florence Delynko will receive the bachelor of science in home economics degree. Her field of major concentration was dietetics and she has received an appointment to a 1-year dietetics internship at the Henry Ford Hospital in Detroit. The work begins in September and includes the opportunity to work toward a master's degree at Wayne University. Florence is a graduate of Hurst High School and is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Alexander Delynko, of 644 Hillcrest Drive, Greensburg.

Patricia DiLorenzo will receive the bachelor of science in home economics degree. She chose clothing merchandising as her field of major concentration and did practice work in retailing at Troutman's Department Store in Greensburg. Patricia is a graduate of Sewickley Township High School. Her parents are Mr. and Mrs. Frank DiLorenzo, of Fourth and Highland Avenues, Herminie.

Louise Ferrante, of Vandergrift, will receive the bachelor of science in home economics degree. Her major is home economics education. She did her student teaching in the Greensburg public schools. She plans to teach next year. Louise is a member of Kappa Omicron Phi, national professional home economics honors fraternity, and in her senior year was treasurer of the campus chapter. Through 4 years she has been a member of the chapel choir, the glee club, the Rosa Mystica Sodality, and the Home Economics Club. Louise is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Anthony Ferrante, of 406 Jackson Avenue, Vandergrift. She is a graduate of Vandergrift High School.

Kathleen Ferrari majored in biology and minored in chemistry and will receive the bachelor of arts degree. She was an active member of the Student Affiliates of the American Chemical Society. She was treasurer of the campus chapter in her senior year and business manager of the 1959 "Chevron," the college yearbook. Kathleen hopes to go to graduate school in the fall. She is a graduate of St. Xavier Academy and the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Louis Ferrari, of 500 Lowry Avenue, Jeannette.

Martha Haley completed major credits in psychology and a minor in sociology. She will receive a bachelor of arts degree, Through student teaching in the Greensburg High School, she also met State requirements for teaching certification, and she expects to teach next year. In her senior year Martha was president of the Student Journal Club of the American Psychological Association. She was graduated from Greensburg High School in 1955 and did her freshman college work at Mount Mercy. She is the daughter of Dr. James P. Haley, of Five Point Road, Greensburg.

Bernadette Hines will receive the bachelor of science in elementary education degree. She did her student teaching in the Greensburg public schools and expects to teach next year. She is a member of the Elementary Education Club. Bernadette is a graduate of Scottdale High School. Her parents are Mr. and Mrs. James J. Hines, of Broadford Road, South Everson.

Lois Jones has completed major credits in biology and a minor in chemistry and will receive the bachelor of arts degree. She has been employed the past four summers and part-time during the school years as a typist in a local letter shop. Lois is a graduate of the Greensburg High School, and the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Laurence W. Jones, Sr.,

of 1219 Poplar Street, Greensburg.

Florentina Lavin will receive the bachelor of arts degree. Her major field in college was biology with a strong minor in psychology. In the fall she will enter the School of Physical Therapy at the University of Pennsylvania. She was an active member of the Student Journal Club of the American Psychological Association, and secretary in her senior year. Florentina is a graduate of Latrobe High School. She is the second daughter of Mrs. Ross B. Lavin to be graduated from Seton Hill. Joan received the bachelor of science in home economics degree in 1956.

Ellen Marker, the daughter of Mrs. Henry E. Marker, Jr., of 449 College Avenue, Greensburg, msjored in biology and minored in chemistry. She will receive the bachelor of arts degree. Ellen is a graduate of Greensburg High School and did her freshman college work at Mount Mercy. She plans to be married this month.

Marie Naples Miller will receive the bachelor of science in elementary education degree. She was graduated from St. Xavier Academy in 1955. Mrs. Miller's parents are Dr. and Mrs. Louis A. Naples, of Linden Drive, Jeannette.

Kathryn Petrosky completed major credits in history with a minor in sociology. In her

sophomore and junior years she was a delegate from Seton Hill to the intercollegiate conference on government in Harrisburg. In her senior year she was the college representative to the National Student Association. Kathryn is a graduate of Greensburg High School. Her parents are Mr. and Mrs. Anthony J. Petrosky, of Slickville.

Kay Rubright will receive the bachelor of

Kay Rubright will receive the bachelor of music degree. She did her student teaching in the Hempfield Area High School and is certified to teach public school music. She has accepted a position for next year teaching music in the Monroeville-Pitcairn Joint Schools. Kay is a member of Sigma Alpha Iota, national music honors fraternity, and was successively treasurer and vice president of the campus chapter. Through 4 years she was a member of the music club and of the glee club. In her senior year she was representative from her class to the superior court of the College Government Association. Kay is a graduate of Franklin Area Joint High School. Her parents are Mr. and Mrs. Archie Rubright, of Murrysville RD 1.

Dolores Sofranko majored in mathematics and minored in chemistry. She will receive a bachelor of arts degree. She did her student teaching in the Greensburg High School and hopes to teach next year. Dolores was an active member of the mathematics club and of Der Weirmarkreis (the German club). She is a graduate of Ramsay High School. Her parents are Mr. and Mrs. Andrew F. Sofranko, of 143 Quarry Street, Mt. Pleasant.

The Famed 28th Division, Pennsylvania
National Guard, Lost Its Identity as an
Infantry Unit on June 1, 1959, and Is
Now Known as a Pentomic Division
Due to Reorganization of the 212Year-Old Pennsylvania National Guard
in Meeting With Military Demands of
the Atomic Age

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, for over 80 years the 28th Division, Pennsylvania National Guard, has occupied a place of prominence in the military life of the great Keystone State and of the Nation.

Bowing to the demands of the atomic age, the recent reorganization of the Pennsylvania National Guard is the most drastic in its 212-year-old history. The famous 28th Division on June 1, 1959, completed its reorganization along pentomic lines, giving a new face to an infantry division whose record of loyalty, bravery, and patriotic heroism has never been excelled.

For over three-quarters of a century Pennsylvanians have been thrilled by the military exploits of its own 28th Division, Pennsylvania National Guard, which earned the distinction of being one of the finest infantry units in the history of the U.S. Army.

It is understandable that there is a nostalgic note in witnessing the changes

from an infantry to a pentomic division of a unit which has meant so much in the military annals of the Nation and that a spirit of reluctance is evident in the effort to become accustomed to the reorganization affecting especially the infantry element of the old 28th Division.

Nevertheless, it is recognized that the reorganization which brought about the change in the capabilities of the 28th Division is the result of many years of experimentation and was deemed imperative in meeting the demands of the atomic age.

The famed 28th Division now pentomic—so-called because of the five battle groups that will make up the infantry element of the 28th Division—takes its place in the new training program already in effect in many regular Army units and which is designed to provide effective operations in keeping with the methods of atomic warfare.

As a mark of respect and in gratitude for the glorious record of the 28th Division, Pennsylvania National Guard, I subscribe wholeheartedly to the sentiments expressed in the fine editorial which appeared in the June 1 issue of the Altoona (Pa.) Mirror. It is a fitting salute and a well-deserved tribute to one of the Nation's finest military divisions and discloses the history and activities of its units for the past 80 years in my home town of Altoona and Blair County where Company G, 110th Infantry, has been the backbone of the infantry elements of the 28th Division, Pennsylvania National Guard. We are going to miss the doughboy with his rifle as well as the infantry emblem that has identified the infantry branch of our Armed Forces.

The editorial follows:

OUR 28TH PASSES

Taps was sounded in honor of the heroto dead of all wars in all cemeteries in the country on Memorial Day and taps likewise was sounded for the oldest division in the Armed Forces of the United States, the 28th Division, Pennsylvania National Guard.

After a notable career, spanning 80 years, the 28th Division of the National Guard of Pennsylvania passed out of existence with the ceremonies of Memorial Day officially representing "taps," for on June 1 a transition become effective. It is now the Pentomic Division, a complete modernization in keeping with the atomic era.

In Altoona, Company G, 110th Infantry, was long the representative company in the 28th Division and the "Fighting 10th," as the organization has long been known, has a most extraordinary history of action.

On Memorial Day, Company G fired the last volleys at the gravesides in Altoona cemeteries. Today this same company is Troop C.

No longer will the unit wear the blue and the crossed rifles denoting the infantry branch of the armed services.

Today's Pentomic Division is a more flexible structure to meet modern war strategy. It's actually a five-part division, rather than the square division that had existed since 1878, namely, one of four regiments. The only 28th had a strength of 17,460. The new units comprise 13,748 men and all units will be different in duties and in classification.

For instance, there are antiaircraft artillery designations, armored cavalry, transportation battalions, tactical carriers, engineering battery, heavy construction, military police, tank battalion, and the five battalion

groups will be highly mobile, flexible with terrific firepower, capable of operating over a wider area in offensive and defensive action.

All units of the 28th Division were automatically transferred over the weekend into the new division, no change in command being necessary.

The old 28th Division is historically famous and it is designated by its Red Keystone. "We met them all" is the motto of the division. Prior to 1878 it was a colonial organization. Histories, however, date from the reorganization of 1878. It was training ground of Gen. George C. Marshall back in 1906 when he held a commission in Pennsylvania.

Locally, the history of the 28th deals with the 110th Infantry and Company G. In 1879 Company C, of Hollidaysburg, the 5th Regiment was the forerunner of Company G of Altoona, this designation being effective January 1, 1910. Frequent reorganizations have been made.

Altoona also has been the home of the 28th Division Band; Regimental Headquarters Company, 110th Infantry; 2d Battalion Headquarters Company; Company A, 125th Mounted Engineers; Troop C, 104th Cavalry, later redesignated Battery B, 200th Field Artillery; 28th Quartermaster Company, and others. Two armories have housed the units, with still another in the course of completion.

So today it is goodby to a grand old organization and the familiar Red Keystone as the 28th Division becomes the Pentomic Division. Altoona units continue in service and they'll most certainly achieve high honors in the new grouping, adding to their many laurels of the past.

## Clarifying Congressional Intent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. ALBERT H. QUIE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, an editorial which recently appeared in the Faribault Daily News, Faribault, Minn., discusses the need for passage of H.R. 3. I am very happy that this important newspaper in the First Congressional District has taken a stand favorable to this legislation—and, under the unanimous consent of my colleagues, I include the editorial in the Congressional Record because it states very well the case for this bill:

#### STEPS TOWARD CLARITY

One of the burdens the Supreme Court must bear is trying to figure out what Congress means when it passes laws. Sometimes this must be done after the Congress that passed the law is dispersed—some dead, some retired, some defeated.

Now Congress is considering a new law—S. 3 in the Senate and H.R. 3 in the House—which would clear up one of the court's most vexing problems in this regard. The identical bills would make it plain whether Congress did or did not intend to keep State law from operating after the national law on a subject went into effect.

The absence of such a law has led to many injustices. One example is that the Supreme Court has held that Federal labor laws prevent State labor laws from operating. As the Federal machinery can't handle all

cases, many employees, unions and employers have found that neither Federal of State law remedies were available to them.

And the absence of such a law has taken all State and local law enforcement officials out of the fight on subversion, since the Court has ruled that Congress intended that the Smith Act should pre-empt the field of subversion.

Of course, Representative Howard Smith, of Virginia, who wrote the Smith Act, says Congress had no such intention. As the author of the act, he is in the best position to know. But there was nothing in the bill to tell the Supreme Court that Congress meant to leave the States free to fight subversion. And it isn't customary for the Court to canvass Congressmen and ask them to explain their intentions.

The "3" bills would clear up what has become something of a mess. They would not curtail the power of the court, but merely make the Court's job easier. The Constitution requires it to interpret the law, and as things now stand the puzzled justices often split 5 to 4 or 6 to 3 on what Congress' intentions really were

gress' intentions really were.

The new bills would make such headscratching unnecessary. Congress would
merely write into the bill that the new law
pre-empts State law, if that's what they
mean. If Congress did not write in such preemption, the Court could only conclude that
Congress meant to do no such thing.

## Cleveland's Great Rain of 1959

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 5, 1959

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, the Cleveland Plain Dealer of June 3 has written eloquently of what happens to a city when nature goes on a rampage and the noble heights men rise to in meeting such emergencies.

We had dramatic evidence of this in Cleveland just this week when a flash flood wreaked havoc in our streets.

Besides the heroic work of the Red Cross, civil defense, Lakeside Hospital and other civic organizations, the names of High Wells, a police reporter of the Cleveland News, Arnie Lande, Western Reserve University medical student, Jim Dallas, Ray Klopetek, Bill Shok, and many others, will long remain in the memory of Clevelanders for their personal bravery.

Under unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, I include with my remarks a copy of the Plain Dealer editorial above referred to:

[From the Cleveland Plain Dealer, June 3, 1959]

#### THE GREAT RAIN OF 1959

The great rain of June 1, 1959, probably never will be forgotten in this area, and it will require weeks of work to clean up the ravages of the flood. When nature goes on a rampage, whether of wind, water or snow and ice, man is powerless.

But when nature goes wild it seems to bring out the best in man, who, instead of cowering fearfully, rises to noble heights. Monday's storm is a typical example of the way in which adversity produces heroism and danger begets heroes. And it is reason for prayerful rejoicing that although damage is in millions, not a soul was lost.

This was due, in large measure, to the heroic work of a number of Case and Reserve students who swam through a strong current of water to reach two buses, and to pull the dazed occupants to safety. It was a far cry from the popular conception of college boys who are often pictured as self-centered, irresponsible, concerned primarily with automobiles, panty raids, and stuffing telephone booths. The men of Case and Reserve were magnificent.

Typical of the seiflessness of those who braved danger to help people in trouble was the remark made by a Forest City Publishing Co. employee, Hugh Wells, a police reporter on our sister paper, the Cleveland News, who was sent out to help cover the flash flood.

was sent out to help cover the flash flood.

"Hell, I can swim," said Wells, when he saw a CTS bus being swept down Liberty Row. "What am I doing on shore?" Where-upon Wells, who swam competitively in college, stripped down to the irreducible minimum, churned through the deep, swift, dirty water, and (according to others who saw him do it) helped rescue the 30 people who were trapped in two buses. Naturally, we're proud of him.

And such names as Arnie Lande, W.R.U. medical student, and Jim Dallas and Ray Klopetek and Bill Schok—and others—will be remembered for a long time.

Everyone helped. The Civil Defense Organization rescued 30 people in its new duck vehicle, as well as providing 130 auxiliary policemen. The Red Cross performed nobly, as usual, getting its teams into operation quickly, thus relieving policemen and firemen for other duty; working through the night to relocate families and putting marooned persons into hotels until they could be taken home. Canteens were set up in several places.

Lakeside Hospital did yeoman duty, receiving, cleaning, warming and feeding victims of the flood. Three companies of the 107th Armored Cavalry, Ohio National Guard, were called into action, together with all available vehicles. The Salvation Army was on the job, as it always is. City health inspectors began searching for and condemning flood-contaminated food.

When daylight broke yesterday morning, muck was deep all over University Circle, but 300 city workmen and rubbish pickup trucks were busy starting the cleanup operation. But there was no muck in the story of how Cleveland responded to a graye emergency. For this was a shining story of brains and courage and unselfishness, worthy of a great American city which reacted in the typical American way.

#### The Realm of the Spirit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, it has long been a matter of distress to all Americans that we spend and spend for schools and still fail to keep up with our educational needs. I submit that the reason for our distress is that we fail to comprehend the scope of the problem and invest piecemeal in the hope that a little money from time to time will keep us out of trouble.

The truth of the matter, as Prof. Frederick Mayer, of the University of Redlands in California, points out in the following editorial from the Saturday Review, is that in every period of history education has to be reevaluated and reexamined, and that we must approach our school problems on this level. "If this is not done," he says, "a culture lag results and the schoolroom becomes only a minor footnote to life with teachers having little impact on the main events of our time."

Under permission to extend remarks in the Record, I submit this editorial for the attention of my colleagues:

#### THE REALM OF THE SPIRIT

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The following guest editorial was written by Frederick Mayer, professor of philosophy at the University of Redlands, Calif.)

The story of education is the story of mankind. It is the saga of wisdom and folly, achievement and regression, creativity and lethargy, enlightenment and supersition. The aims of education represent the bases of social advancement. In every generation great educators, like Socrates, Epicurus, Comenius, Pestalozzi, Froebel, and James, have been in the vanguard of humanitarian causes and have made progress possible in man's relationship to himself and to society.

What should be the goals of education in our time? What should be its objectives? What should be its methods? These are significant questions, not merely for teachers and school administrators, but also for scientists, artists, statesmen—indeed, for all reflective human beings.

In every period, education has to be reevaluated and reexamined. If this is not done, a culture lag results and the schoolroom becomes only a minor footnote to life with teachers having little impact on the main events of our time. Thus, in the 14th and 15th centuries, medieval scholars were still debating about minor points of theology, while the world outside was rapidly changing and while a new science was being developed that would make their debates obsolete. When Locke was attending Oxford in the 17th century, scholastic methods were still being used while he yearned for a stress upon biological science. Too often in history, education has been isolated from the main currents of civilization. This has resulted in lacks of vitality and relevance of the educative process. Bergson, in his notable work, "Creative Evolution," shows how change governs all aspects of human existence. Every moment presents us with a new challenge. We are never the same and our abiding identity is only a postulate of experience. Social change, especially today, is even more rapid. To ignore it and to say it has no meaning for education, is to invite disaster for mankind.

In no field is change as rapid and breath-taking as it is in science. Indeed, more progress has been made in this field since the start of the 20th century than for the last 5,000 years. But scientists today are concerned about the direction of their inventions. Will they be used for destructive purposes? Will they contribute to the devastation of mankind? Will they create a new Leviathan that may make civilization more complex and more neurotic? Thus, scientists at conferences and through journals and books have been urgent and emphatic in their pleas for an educational system that shows the relationship between science and humanities, for they realize today that political issues have an immediate impact on their own researches and discoveries.

Artists in our society frequently feel a sense of alienation. They maintain that our taste is appalling and that, like the Romans, we tend to be exhibitionists and underrate creativity when it has no direct utilitarian consequences. A poet in our civilization ranks below the businessman, and there is a suspicion that anyone who is really concerned about art tends to be Bohemian. A classic voice of this viewpoint was Babbitt, in Lewis's great book, who admired successful artists because they made a great deal of money, but who had contempt for the dedicated artist who might live in an attic and who did not care for financial success.

It might be pointed out that we have today more courses in poetry, painting, and sculpture, more interest in dramatics, more emphasis on musical appreciation, more support of symphonies, more buyers of classical records than at any time in our history. This is true; but a real passion for art, as we find for example in the Renaissance, is lacking. Los Angeles and New York are not like Florence in the 16th century, which regarded the painters, sculptors, and architects as its foremost citizens. To create such a spirit a new type of education is needed.

But we must remember that universal education has not been achieved. Even in this Nation there are million of illiterates. What is worse, there are millions living in a twilight zone of semiliteracy.

Moreover, our investment in education has been minor compared with our investment in war. Walter Lippmann tells us that unless we make a more concentrated investment in our schools, we may experience a spiritual Pearl Harbor. We all know that we spend more on amusement than on education.

The main problem of education is not intellectual; it is the problem of human existence. How should we live? How should we look upon society? How should we act? What should be our aspirations? What is to be our vacation? These are the perennial problems of education, which fails unless it is applied to the realm of actuality and unless it creates lasting changes in man's behavior.

Real education, then, belongs to the future; most of our education is a form of tribal conditioning, a pilgrimage in routine and premature adjustment. When education becomes a journey in interior awareness, when it stirs our inner most feelings and loyalties, when it awakens us from the slumber of lethargy, when it brings individuals together through understanding and compassion, it becomes our foremost hope for lasting greatness.

In "Brothers Karamazov" we read: "Everyone is really responsible to all men for all and everything." This ideal should be the motto for the educated man of our time who can find himself only by transcending a feeling of futility and only by seeing the bonds which unite him to his neighbor and to the universe.

FREDERICK MAYER.

Poison in Your Water-No. 104

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I am inserting into the Appendix of the Record an article appearing in the Long Island, N.Y.

Star-Journal of May 1, 1959, entitled "Swamp Pollution Peril Feared."

SWAMP POLLUTION PERIL FEARED

Whitestone residents today are investigating the deplorable condition of the meadows between Flushing and College Point.

The Whitestone Civic Association said the swampy land east of the College Point causeway is becoming more and more polluted and that something should be done to rectify the situation before a major health problem develops.

The group has assigned its pollution watchdog committee to study the area in cooperation with College Point civic workers, said William Schwalm, association secretary.

A flooding problem started before when Mill Creek-a natural drain from the marshlands to Flushing Bay—became clogged and the excess water couldn't flow out of the area.

Borough Hall, the health department, the real estate department and the Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority are also study-

ing the complaints.

The Whitestone residents are also looking into a pollution problem in their own community-and this one is nothing new to

Although the association owns its own beach at the foot of 148th street it hasn't been able to use it for years because the waters off Whitestone have failed health department safe-swimming tests.

Schwalm said the group is now waiting for a report on this year's test although it doesn't have high hopes of much change.

He declared the sad thing about the swimming ban is that the water is often perfectly clear but health authorities have no means of making exceptions for these times.

During low tide or after heavy rains, which reportedly cause an overflow of sewage into the East River, the water there is "at its polluted worst.

"But in dry weather at high tide, the water would pass even the most rigid inspec-tion," said Schwalm. The civic workers make their own pollution checks from time to time.

## Hon. John Edgar Murdock

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. JOHN H. DENT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, although many years have passed since I've had the pleasure of visiting with a distinguished citizen of my district, the Honorable John Edgar Murdock, chief judge of the U.S. Tax Court, it gives me great pleasure to note his reappointment for the third consecutive time as chief judge of the court.

A brief summary of Judge Murdock's background follows:

Murdock, John Edgar: Judge, the Tax Court of the United States; born at Greensburg, Pa., July 11, 1894; son of Henry H. and Mary Martha (Machesney) Murdock; Litt. B; Princeton, 1916; LL.B., cum laude, University of Pittsburgh, 1921; married Sarah Lynch, September 24, 1923; children: John Edgar, Sarah Martha, Elizabeth. Admitted to Pennsylvania Bar, 1920; Second Assistant District Attorney, Westmoreland County, Pa., 1922-25, First assistant 1925-26; appointed member U.S. Board of Tax Appeals (now the Tax Court of the United States) for terms

1926, 32-68, elected chairman (title changed to presiding judge, 1942) for term 1941-43; reelected presiding judge for term 1944 45; elected chief judge, terms 1955-57. President of the Children's Hospital, Washington. First Lt., infantry, U.S. Army, 1917, captain, 1918; with A.E.F., 1918-19. Awarded silver star citation, Member American Bar Association, Order of Coif, Republican, Presbyterian. Clubs: Princeton (Wash); Chevy Chase; Rolling Rock. Home: 2940 Foxhill Road; Office the Tax Court of the United States, Internal Revenue Building, Washington, D.C.

Mr. Speaker, my gratitude, admiration, and best wishes are relayed to Chief Judge Murdock.

## Tribute to Pierre Harnois: Dedicated Police Officer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. JAMES C. OLIVER

OF MATNE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. OLIVER. Mr. Speaker, we, in Maine, continue to mourn deeply, the death of Pierre Harnois, the courageous Westbrook police chief who gave his life in the line of duty. "Pete" Harnois was a dedicated police officer, who saw his duty and did it without fear of the consequences.

One cannot help but reflect on what Pete Harnois would have accomplished if he had been able to live a full life. A standout athlete in high school and college, a diligent FBI agent, and a police chief of one of the largest communities in Maine at the age of 31, it is not difficult to envision the heights to which Pete would have risen.

Chief Harnois' devotion to duty is highly symbolic of the spirit of dedication possessed by law enforcement officers who continually guard our country, our lives, and our property. Americans tend to be overly critical of law enforcement officials. We are too prone to look for faults, not for the many ways in which police officers give so much of themselves in order to protect the public welfare. It takes the death of a dedicated officer like Pete Harnois to jar us our of our complacency, realizing the tremendous sacrifices that these public servants oftentimes are required to pay.

Mere words, Mr. Speaker, are inadequate to express society's debt to men of the caliber of Pierre Harnois.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to include an article from the Boston Daily Globe of May 24, outlining the highlights of Pete's career and the ordeal in which his life was ended:

## (By James H. Hammond)

PORTLAND, MAINE.-Tacked over the front doorbell of a small wooden frame house at 101 Woodford Street, is a sign advising callers to, "Please use the rear door."

The sign was placed there May 14, a few hours after Pierre Harnois, 31, Westbrook's police chief, had been killed in a battle with a berserk Limerick furniture manufacturer. It is still there tonight, and probably will be for some time.

The notice insures privacy for Pierre's mother, Evangeline, who collapsed on the kitchen floor when she heard of her son's death.

Now, just a mother with her memoriesmany trophies attesting Pierre's ability as an athlete are nearby—Evangeline Harnois is under the care of doctors and her two married daughters, Mrs. Melvin Deroche and Mrs. John Taliento, both of Portland, who are former nurses.

Arthur Harnois, the father, greets callers at the rear door, and escorts them to the kitchen in the ell which he built himself as his family of six-five girls and one boy. Pierre-outgrew the house.

"I turned the radio just in time to hear 'Chief Pierre Harnois of Westbrook is

dead'."

"My wife was standing beside me. She fell to the floor."

"She is still in shock."

Yvonne, a first year graduate student at the Boston College School of Social Work. slipped into the room through a door leading from the front of the house, and sat beside her father with a large scrapbook, filled with clippings.

"Pierre was a home boy," said his father. Even in his high school days he wanted

to be a law enforcement officer.

Yvonne interrupted with a burst of pride to say:

"You know Pierre was the first four-letter man at Cheverus High. Would you care to see this scrapbook? I've kept clippings on him."

The news items, for the most part, are devoted to Pierre's short tenure of 15 months as police chief of nearby Westbrook.

The clippings tell how he inaugurated a program of strict law enforcement; parking bans, speeding drivers. They also relate that he was a tireless worker on the community level, speaking at Kiwanis meetings, other luncheons, or referesing a basketball game.

Arthur traced his son's army career and higher education at Westbrook Junior College and Miami University.

'He came home from Miami and said that

he wanted to go into the FBI. "He was in the FBI for 2 years. One day a letter to his mother came from him in

California.

"He wanted to know if his room was still here. She said, 'Yes.'

"So he resigned and came home."

Arthur paused. The stillness of the room was broken only by the noise of an old-fashioned pendulum clock ticking away the lateness of the hour.

"Pierre had several jobs after coming home, but he was not happy.

"One day he saw a notification in the paper about an examination for the job as police chief of Westbrook. He topped the list and won the position.

"He'd been doing a remarkable job, too," the father added modestly.

Members of the Westbrook Police Department similarly praised their chief.

"Pierre was well liked," said Sgt. Philip Hansen, the officer on night duty at the Westbrook police station.

"He had a sense of humor. He always was 5 years ahead of you when he talked.

"Hansen revealed that while Harnois was strict, he was a great guy with the children in the city.

"The kids used to flock in here and he'd pass out money to them. I know, for my girl was one of them.

"When the Girl Scouts had their cookie sale, he loaded up with them.

"I'll bet he lived off them for a month. I thought he was going to turn into a cookie before he got through."

Another officer broke in to add:

"He'd never ask you to do anything he would not do himself.

"If there was a raid his was the first shoulder to hit the door."

It was this attitude of civic responsibility that led to Pierre's death.

On May 14, he and Sergeant Hansen had left the station when a call came in that a Maine State trooper was pinned down in

Limerick, 30 miles away.
"Do you have a tear gas-shotgun?" was the query. The officer on duty notified Pierre.

He could have sent the gun by police

But he didn't. True to the code of being a leader, he and Hansen roared off to help, with the tear-gas gun and shells.

On arrival at the scene, he found the

battle in progress.

Trooper Willard Parker and Game Warden Charles Corcoran, both of Limerick, were pinned down by the deadly accuracy of the fire of Gordon G. Hamlin.

Previously, Hamlin killed his wife with two shotgun blasts as she fied across the street to the home of a neighbor, Mrs. Jessie Mitchell.

He then blasted at Parker from inside the house as the trooper tried to talk through the front door.

Parker had fied slightly wounded and took refuge behind a big tree.

Corcoran was pinned down in an attempt to call for help through Parker's radio.

Most of the nearby residents had taken shelter as additional troopers, and other armed law enforcement officers converged.

Diagonally across the road at No. 3 Central

Avenue, was Doris Mongeau, 16, recovering from an operation to correct a curvature of the spine.

Doris was in a bed, her body in a cast from her neck to her hips. She had been studying to keep up with the other members of freshman class at Limerick High.

The sound of the shot startled her. father came into the living room and pulled the bed out from the living room wall so that Doris could peer through the venetian blinds.

Doris saw Parker walk up to the door and reel back under the blasts of Hamlin's shotgun.

She was propped up on one elbow and had

a commanding view of the entire scene.

As additional officers arrived, the battle Intensified.

Doris didn't know Pierre. She merely knew him as the man in a blue uniform. Later she learned his identity.

"I saw the officer (Pierre) run across the

"He leaped up and raised the gun in his arms to shoot through a first floor window. "I heard a gun go off and the officer fell back to the ground where he moved for a moment.

Doris didn't see the finish of the 5-hour battle.

She began to cry. Her father and mother lifted the mattress from the bed of the living room turned bedroom and carried the girl to the kitchen in the rear of the house.

She still finds it difficult to resume her studies at home. Until now with the aid of special instructions she had kept up with the rest of her class.

Doris' mind isn't the only one to carry the harrowing moments of the battle in this quiet Maine community. Many other

residents won't forget.

The fight took place a short distance away from the foot of Break Neck Hill.

But the area won't be known because of the steep downgrade after this.

The "Little Guy" Gets Soaked

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF T

## HON, HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ORD, I include the following editorial from the current issue of the Saturday Evening Post which has a bearing on what this Congress is doing to the small taxpayer:

It's the "Little People" Who Pay the Taxes (By L. Robert Driver)

It is a strange American political phenomenon that, although most of the vocal protest against more Government spending and higher taxes comes from the well-to-do. it is actually the small- and middle-income people who pay the taxes. This is true simply because there are so many more people with low incomes. Even if we raised the income tax to 100 percent on all taxable incomes-that is, income, after exemptions and deductions, over \$6,000 a year-the extra revenue would not pay the annual interest on the Federal debt, much less take care of the new demands of the spenders.

We are now facing a Presidential budget for the year ending June 30, 1960, of \$77 billion and tax receipts estimated at \$77,100 million, indicating a surplus of \$100 million provided gasoline taxes are increased and other tax rates remain the same. These tax receipts are probably overestimated, and we face the likelihood of another deficit. The deficit for the year ending June 30, 1959, is now estimated at \$13 billion. Regardless of this, many Members of Congress are saying that the proposed expenditure of \$77 billion is too little in view of "human needs."

The same politicians who tell us that we should spend more for defense-and they could be right-also insist on more money for public power and handouts. Going into debt for national defense can be compared to a family's borrowing money to pay doctors' bills, but no prudent family would go further into debt to build a swimming pool in the back yard with more medical bills to be expected.

Not only does the "little fellow" pay the bulk of direct taxes, but as the Federal debt continues to mount he faces the prospect of paying an even crueler tax through the medium of inflation.

If we increase our expenditures, we must increase our taxes. The burden will fall on the lower income people-because the wealthy could not pay a substantial part of our taxes even if we took all of their income. About 53 precent of our Federal taxes are derived from the personal-income tax, but 73 percent of the revenue from the Federal income tax comes from people with annual taxable incomes of \$4,000 or less. The revenues from taxable incomes in excess of \$4,000 is only 14 percent of the total Federal taxes received.

At present, income tax rates are as high s 91 percent. The Tax Foundation has prepared a table showing that, with a maximum tax of 70 percent, the revenue for the year 1955 would have been reduced by no wear 1955 would have been reduced by ho more than \$145 million. This is not enough to operate the Federal Government for 1 day. But with a 70-percent tax on the highest income, an investor in American industry would find it more worthwhile to put his money into progressive American

industry. If this happened, the Treasury would soon get back the \$145 million which it "lost" because of the lower rate.

On the other hand, if the tax should be increased to 100 percent on taxable incomes above \$26,000 it would increase the Government's receipts by enough to pay about 1 percent of the total Federal taxes proposed. Hardly enough gain to justify the liquidation of many of our most productive people.

The idea of soaking the rich is good campaign material, but the figures show that the rich cannot help us much in paying off our large debt and meeting the costs of government. Taxes have to be laid where the income is, and that means on the middle-class and the lowest-income groups as well as the millions of people who pay no personal income tax.

Federal income taxes from corporations represent 28 percent of the estimated Federal taxes included in the \$77,100 million for the next year, and excise and other Federal taxes 19 percent. The public has been led to believe that, since these taxes are paid by corporations, the rest of us need worry about them. The simple fact is that these taxes are inevitably passed on by the corporations to the purchasers of their goods and services. A corporation which didn't include taxes in its cost structure would collapse.

is a paradox that those who urge reduction of Government expenditures, which would help the tax-ridden little fellow, are denounced as reactionaries, while the spenders, whose policies are leading to his ruin, are embraced as his friends.

## Some Interesting Figures on Free American Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

#### HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 5, 1959

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, there is so much pessimism being voiced these days that it is particularly good to find an editorial in the Cleveland Press of June 3, commenting on the recuperative power of the free American economy. urging watchfulness in the matter of inflation. Under unanimous consent, I include the editorial with these remarks:

SOME INTERESTING FIGURES ON FREE AMERICAN ECONOMY

Recalling political hysterics of a short while back, it is well to take a look at some current figures from the Commerce Department:

Personal income in the United States soared to record sums in April-\$3,200 million above the month before.

Most of the increase-\$2,700 million-was in wages and salaries largely because jobs increased by more than a million. were 65 million at work.

Total personal income for 1958 was \$354 .-400 million. The estimate for this year is \$374 billion. At the present rate of increase, it will be considerably larger than that.

These are hard-dollar increases since the cost of living index has held stable now for nearly a year.

The generally favorable trend has dampened political ardor for recession busting measures which would spend more billions, just to get the money in circulation, and thus would cause more deficits and more inflation.

Here is an example of the strong recuperative powers of the free American economy, when given a chance free of additional government interference.

A principal reason for the upward trend in jobs and business is the relative stability of prices, inspiring new confidence in the

future.

The continuing fight against inflation is the thing to watch. Upon its success largely depends the prosperity of the country.

## The Terrible Thing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, for a number of years, Prince Edward County, Va., has been under the guns of the Federal judiciary. The board of supervisors, which is the governing body in the county, made a most momentous decision this week. This decision made headlines in many of the newspapers of the Nation.

There appeared in the Richmond News Leader of Wednesday, June 3, 1959, an editorial that explains very cogently the background and the reasons for this de-

cision.

Due to the interest in the situation and in the hope that at least some of the people of the Nation will know the true facts, I desire to include as a part of my remarks this editorial entitled "The Terrible Thing." The editorial is as follows:

## THE TERRIBLE THING

Clear across the country today, editorial writers and vocal politicians will select their very choicest adjectives, as a housewife picks the very ripest fruit, to fling at Prince Edward County, Va. The schools of Prince Edward are national news, and the county's decision to close those schools is a national story. By nightfall, the barrage of abuse, insult, scorn, and stupidity will be well underway.

Before the noise gets overwhelming, it may be useful to say a few things quietly.

Yes, this is a terrible thing. If the county's decision stands up (and we have in mind here only the uncertainties of Virginia law), it will mean the closing of three high schools and 18 elementary schools. For nearly 3,000 pupils—1,300 white children and almost 1,700 Negro children—it will mean a halt to public education. For 70 Negro teachers and principals, it will mean a search for new positions. For the county's white children and white teachers, the autumn will bring both the challenge and the hardship of a new private school operation.

If any of our northern critics believe Prince Edward reached this melancholy decision in any mood of defiance or bigotry or race hatred, such critics are woefully mistaken. There is not as much race hatred in the whole of Prince Edward County as there is in one precinct of Philadelphia or Detroit. The county is not defying any court. The county was ordered not to deny any child admission to a public school by reason of race, and the county will obey

that order to the letter. In September, no child will be denied admission to a public school for any reason. There will be no

public schools.

We would say to our uncomprehending brethren of the North that in the summer of 1959, in Prince Edward County, Va., there was nothing else the board of supervisors could have done but what the board did yesterday. The county had sought by every honorable means to avoid this step. White parents, whose children are numerically the minority group, taxed themselves heavily to build a new Negro high school in the hope that such an institution might satisfy legitimate demands of Negro residents. The county was fully prepared to take other steps, at the elementary level to achieve a public school system that would honestly fulfill the needs of both races.

But it swiftly became apparent, 8 years ago, that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was not interested in the education of Negro children in Prince Edward County. The NAACP's chief interest was not even in putting an end to segregation. The aim was compulsory integration—the intimate race-mixing of white and colored children in the classrooms, playgrounds, and buses of the county—and nothing less than this would suffice.

Prince Edward County resisted this demand as best it could. The county won in the district court, won again in the fourth circuit court of appeals, and then lost (the whole country lost) in the historic decision of May 17, 1954. Five years of further litigation followed, and for a time it appeared the county had won an extension to 1965. Then a few weeks ago, that wise and compassionate decision by an able district judge, Sterling Hutcheson, was rudely overthrown by a new fourth circuit court that bears no discernible resemblance to the former great court of John Parker and Armistead Dobie. The court angrily ordered an immediate beginning of integration. This fall, And while Prince Edward County is devoted, as only a rural county can be, to the cause of public schools, the county is not willing to pay for public schools at any price.

Perhaps the county could yet seek further delays in one more petition for appeal to the Supreme Court in Washington. In theory, perhaps this is what the county ought to do. But the people of Prince Edward have lived nearly 10 years in a state of suspense, apprehension and uncertainty; they have not the slightest reason to suppose that Earl Warren and his colleagues have learned anything in this time; they could expect only one more adverse decree. They are weary of litigation. The breaking point is at hand.

This newspaper alines itself solidly behind the decision of Prince Edward. We hope, in the course of time, to see some educational opportunities provided for all the children of the county. Meanwhile, we recommend to our readers, without reservation of any sort, the Prince Edward Educational Corp. We know the people at the head of this wholly private academic organization; they are good honest and upright people. Contributions or pledges may be addressed to the corporation simply at Farmville.

Let us say once more: Yes, the county's decision is a terrible thing. At a time when education is so vitally necessary to Western civilization, the closing of even a one-room country school is a pity. Yet the county's decision, made necessary by centuries of custom and by the very pattern of the county's life itself, is not nearly so terrible as the wicked and shameless act of the Supreme Court of the United States which led up to it. By abandoning every precept of constitutional construction, and arrogating power bratally to itself, the Court brought this tragedy about. The people of the county,

white and Negro alike, merit our sympathy. The Court merits only contempt.

So the lights of public education blink out in Prince Edward County. The NAACP has won its lawsuit, and the Negroes have lost their schools. It is a victory for no one. It is tragedy for everyone. But the greatest tragedy of all is the tragedy least understood outside the South—the destruction by judicial tyranny of the very safeguards once written into law to prevent such tragedies from coming to pass.

## The Spirit Lives On

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. EDWARD H. REES

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I am enclosing herewith a wonderful editorial by David Lawrence that appeared in a recent issue of the U.S. News & World Report. I am sure Members of the Congress, as well as others who read the Congressional Record, will be interested in this splendid tribute to a great American:

The accolades have been bestowed and the eulogies have been spoken. The tasks performed by the departed have been delegated to an able successor. What cencerns us now is whether the eminent statesman who has been lost to the free world has left an enduring legacy.

The fame of John Foster Dulles spread to

The fame of John Foster Dulles spread to the four corners of the earth because he was an indomitable fighter for a great cause. He was brave in life and braver still as, with a full awareness of his fate, he approached the

brink of death.

It is our duty now to examine carefully the legacy of moral principle which he bequeathed to us. For he strove indefatigably to spare the peoples of the world another big war. He was maligned as "inflexible" because he would not compromise with evil. He was denounced as too "rigid" because he refused to bow to the deceptive wiles of an unscrupulous adversary. But he invariably tried every resource of argument and every formula of honorable adjustment in order to achieve acceptance of a simple truth—that peoples must be free to work out their own destiny and that military force must be renounced as the sole means of settling international disputes.

Mr. Dulles believed in personal diplomacy. He tried with all the earnestness and sincerity of spoken words to overcome face to face the handicaps of long-range communication—the cumbersome language of instruc-

tion to faraway ambassadors.

In an age of air travel, the American Secretary felt it would take relatively little of his time to-maintain personal contact with high officials of other governments, and he didn't worry about the critics who said he was away from Washington too much. On accepting the post, Mr. Dulles explained to President Elsenhower why he believed in frequent missions overseas. He urged that he not be required to administer the details of his large department. As it turns out, a competent staff—from which the new Secretary of State was chosen—is still functioning today as it has in the past during the absences of Mr. Dulles.

But it is no criticism of the viewpoint which Mr. Dulles held to say that the multiple problems that he handled would appear to be too much for any one man. It would have been better if there could have been established, inside the Department of State, a council of five outstanding men to function without administrative duties but concerned primarily with the broad principles of foreign policy. Such a plan was outlined on this page on November 14, 1952. The problem deserves anew the careful attention of the Congress and the administration.

The world is fortunate that Mr. Dulles was able to carry the load so well. He could do so only because he derived added vigor from his unswerving confidence in the rightness of the principles he espoused. God gives inspired men extra strength to fight

the battles of mankind.

The essence of the Dulles philosophy in foreign policy was that morality must triumph over unmorality, that a surrender to expediency can only lead to eventual disaster. He was ever mindful of how the paths of appeasement led to two world wars. He saw no merit in cringing before the enemy or in taking any steps that could be construed as weak or irresolute. He believed that, to avoid war, it is necessary to risk war. On this he never deviated, though the cynics ridiculed his willingness to take risks as mere brinkmanship.

Nor did Mr. Dulles ever allow material considerations to sway him. His hardest decision undoubtedly was his recommendation that the United States publicly disapprove of the British-French policy in the attempted seizure of Suez by force in 1956. For this, he has never been forgiven in certain quarters in London and Paris where resentments still rankle. But the courageous application of a principle against friend and foe alike is a mark of true moral-

ity itself.

To withhold diplomatic recognition, moreover, from the regime in Peiping required a heroic determination and an unflinching devotion to principle. Too many people have been ready to forgive Red China's aggression and accept criminal rulers into respectable society, endowing them with a

prestige they do not deserve.

Are we who remain behind willing and ready to carry the banner that John Foster Dulles held aloft and, irrespective of political party, put moral values above the passion for material gain and ephemeral comforts that so often present such alluring alternatives in dealing with world affairs? Or are we to forsake ideals because that is seemingly the easier way?

The spirit of America has always been consecrated, on the battlefield and elsewhere, to the attainment of unselfish ends—that liberty and freedom might be enshrined throughout the world. This was the spirit that Mr. Dulles breathed throughout his whole career. This is the spirit which will live on because it was and is the spirit that from the birth of the Republic has guided the American people in war and in peace.

## Land Limitation Should Be Kept in Right Order

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 26, 1959

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, there has been a great deal of misinformation released recently by certain groups over the application of the Federal 160-acre

limitation to lands proposed to be served by the joint Federal-State San Luis project in California.

In this connection, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I commend to the attention of the Congress the following editorial from the Sacramento (Calif.) Bee of June 1, 1959:

LAND LIMITATION SHOULD BE KEPT IN RIGHT ORDER

Those who have injected the 160-acrelimitation issue into the congressional debate over the San Luis project may be well meaning enough, but by their misdirected efforts they are jeopardizing the chances of getting this much-needed project under way.

The question of applying an acreage limitation to the land to be served by the State's portion of the San Luis project is completely extraneous to the matter before Congress, which is to authorize the part of the dam and reservoir to be built by the Federal

Government.

Lands irrigated by Federal water will be subject to the 160-acre limitation in Federal law, and nothing in the proposed act would change that. It is for the State to determine what it will do in its service area, and for the Federal Government to attempt to impose Federal policy on lands irrigated with State water would be out of place and of dubious constitutionality.

Assemblyman Edwin L. Z'berg, of Sacra-

Assemblyman Edwin L. Z'berg, of Sacramento County, has introduced a resolution in the legislature calling for an interim study of acreage limitation and other policy matters in connection with the State's water

projects.

This investigation most certainly should be made and it should be made in time for legislative determination of these policies before the people are asked to vote on the huge State water bond issue.

Those who are churning the air in Washington, D.C., in respect to Federal legislation would be much better advised to exert these same efforts toward the adoption of the Z'berg resolution and in seeing that a full study is made of the issues at stake.

Congressman B. F. Sisk, of Fresno County, author of the Federal San Luis legislation, rightly is concerned by the idle furor in Washington. It does not seem to matter one whit whether the congressional act says Federal reclamation laws shall or shall not apply to the State service area since such a provision likely would have no legal standing whatsoever.

It is never easy to get legislation for western water projects through Congress and the meaningless tempest stirred up over the San Luis bill could be the straw to bring about its defeat, which would be ironic indeed.

U.S. Senator Paul Doughas of Illinois, who recently appeared in the zealot's role for the 160-acre limitation in the upper House, never has been an outstanding champion of western reclamation. And it is noteworthy that just a year ago Douglas himself sponsored a bill to modify the 160-acre clause in reclamation law.

The American Legion's Views on Pensions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 18, 1959

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I in-

clude the statement made this morning before the Committee on Veterans' Affairs by the national commander of the American Legion, Mr. Preston J. Moore.

The general subject of non-service-connected pensions has been under close and continuous study by the Committee on Veterans' Affairs and various veteran organizations for the past several years. The American Legion has been most cooperative in working with the committee and viewing this entire problem in the proper prospective.

I commend to the Members of the House the statement which the commander made before the committee this

morning:

STATEMENT BY PRESTON J. MOORE, NATIONAL COMMANDER, THE AMERICAN LEGION, BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON VETERANS' AFFAIRS, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, CONCERNING THE OPERATION OF THE NON-SERVICE-CONNECTED VETERANS PENSION PROGRAM, FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1959

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, the American Legion appreciates the opportunity to appear before this committee to testify on the operation of the non-service-connected

veterans pension program.

For some time a number of persons have been studying the pension program in an effort to recommend improvements where indicated. Certainly, this committee has shown a great interest in that objective, and I am happy that the American Legion has been able to cooperate in the study. I would like this morning to review briefly the nature of the pension program, and to discuss those areas in which change seems in order.

The pension program is a needs program.

It is not a retirement plan.

Pension is made available by the Nation out of gratitude for service in time of war and is intended to be money which the beneficiary can accept without the slightest loss of self-respect. While it is a form of public welfare, it is not the same as a dole or charity. In fact, it is provided in an effort to keep war veterans from having to fall back on public or private charity. There is a distinction because the pension flows from gratitude and not social necessity.

It is interesting to note that when the disability pension program was initiated in 1930 the needs test was set at a level high enough to insure against anyone confusing the pension with charity, or associating the receipt of pension with indigency. The Congress wanted to avoid anything which resembled the form or substance of a pauper's oath.

The concept of need for purposes of ordinary public assistance is such that the recipient is given support only up to the subsistence level. In addition, the measurement of need under the State-administered programs is such that it sometimes tends to offend and humiliate applicants. In some States the application of property liens and stringent net worth standards tends to further pauperize recipients of public assistance.

Such a concept of need will not satisfy the purpose of the war veterans pension program.

While the Nation cannot provide full support through the pension system, it wants its veterans to be able to live at a level beyond the constant shadow of want—to be able to enjoy their remaining years in comfort and dignity and not merely exist on a "bare bones" standard.

The American Legion has had experience with those in need. We have been helping such persons since our organization was founded. It is in fact our mission and our reason for being. We do not have the resources of scientific investigation possessed

by the Government, but our position on this subject has been established by the barometer of public opinion, and our mandates reflect that public opinion. As a result our requests have shown a sensitivity and a sympathy and a high degree of humanitarianism which we sometimes find lacking to a conspicuous degree in statistical data presented.

We must bear in mind that when we are considering the disability pension program we are discussing men who are permanently and totally disabled and who are in financial need. As a matter of fact many of these have service-connected disabilities but elect to receive pension because it exceeds their compensation award.

And now I would like to discuss some of the areas in the pension program that have received attention recently. It has been pointed out that the flat income limitation is imperfect because it imposes an "all or nothing at all" concept, and because it falls to provide those in the greatest need with adequate pension. The American Legion sees merit in this observation and sub-scribes to a graduated scale, provided adequate payments are authorized. I feel that the following tables indicate rates which would provide adequate pension for all, and will give substantial increases to those most in need, the great bulk of our pensioners. Veteran:

Single:	
\$0 to \$600	\$90
\$600 to \$1,200	75
\$1,200 to \$1,800	
Married:	
\$0 to \$1,000	90
\$1,000 to \$2,000	75
\$2,000 to \$3,000	
Add \$70 for aid and attendance allows	nce.
Widow:	
80 to \$600	\$60
\$600 to \$1,200	50
\$1,200 to \$1,800	30
Widow with one child:	
\$0 to \$1,000	75
\$1,000 to \$2,000	60
\$2,000 to \$3,000	
Add \$12 for each additional child.	-
Children alone:	
\$0 to \$1.800:	
1 child	835
2 children	
3 children	59

Add \$12 for each additional child. The pension awards were last adjusted in 1954. There has been a 12 percent increase in the cost-of-living index since that year (110.3 to 123.8). The rates selected must at least compensate for that rise in the cost of living.

It has been said that existing pension leg-Islation is deficit in that it does not authorize the Veterans' Administration to count all moneys the veteran may have available. feel that it would be equitable to permit the VA to take cognizance of 50 percent of a spouse's income provided the money is available to the veteran. We suggest, therefore, that if spouse's income is counted the Administrator be given authority to allow a claim for pension notwithstanding spouse's income if the Administrator determines that to count such income would work a hardship upon the veteran. I have in mind a situation where the spouse's income is not available to the veteran because it is needed for other purposes, such as the wife's medical expenses. There are a number of existing administrative regulations and legislative enactments which exempt certain income. There is much to be said for continuing these exemptions. I have particular reference to such items as:

- 1. Donations from public or private welfare organizations.
  - 2. Payments by VA for disability or death.

3. Burial expenses (including amounts used for payment of just debts and last illness)

4. Proceeds of fire insurance policies.

5. Lump sum benefits under OASL

6. Six months death gratuity.

7. Recoupment of payments made to OASDI, endowment policies, annuities, and so forth.

It has also been indicated that the present law should be strengthened by authorizing the Administrator to consider a veteran's estate in determining eligibility to pension. We note that the Administrator has possessed this authority for a number of years in determining certain claims by dependent parents for death compensation It seems reasonable to extend this test to the pension field provided we can be assured that it would be applied in the same manner that it has been in the cases of dependent parents. We would oppose any requirement, for example, that would compel an applicant to diminish his homestead.

There is a serious deficiency in pension legislation which we have recognized for many years. I refer to the fact that widows of veterans of World War II and the Korean conflict must meet different and more severe eligibility standards than widows of veterans of World War I. Since 1946 the American Legion has sought legislation which would establish equalization of requirements. We renew our request at this time.

There are, I am sure, other imperfections in pension legislation, other areas in which improvement can be made. I have stressed the most important. We anticipate that time and experience will indicate the need for further adjustments in whatever amendatory legislation is proposed.

May I close by again expressing my gratitude for this opportunity to appear and for the interest manifested by this committee in our mutual problem.

## Publisher Sheldon Sackett Brings Matter to Attention of Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD. I include the following article from the Wednesday, June 3, 1959, issue of the Coos Bay World at the request of Mr. Sheldon F. Sackett, editor and publisher of the World Newspapers, including the Coos Bay World. Editor Sackett has petitioned the Federal Communications Commission to void the proposed sale of radio station KLX to the Crowell-Collier Publishing Co. by the Knowland family.

Editor Sackett shipped copies of his June 3, 1959, Coos Bay World to Washington, D.C., this week. At his request a copy of the newspaper was distributed to each Member of the Congress.

SACKETT ACCUSES KNOWLANDS OF RADIO FRAUD, BUT SOME DOUBT ABOUT FCC, SEC ACCEPT-

(The World of Coos Bay is the first daily / newspaper in the world to break this story.) SAN FRANCISCO.-The Knowland family publishing empire today was accused of gaining fraudulent control of its radio station KLX, Oakland, and the Federal Communications Commission was asked to void the proposed sale of KLX to the Crowell-Collier Publishing Co.

The Knowlands-owners of the Oakland Tribune-are Joseph R. Knowland, elderly publisher of the paper, and his two sons, William, immediate past Republican leader in the U.S. Senate and defeated GOP California gubernatorial candidate, and his brother, J. Russell Knowland.

Bringing the charge in a petition to FCC in Washington, D.C., was Sheldon F. Sackett. Sackett is editor and publisher of The World Newspapers, including the Coos Bay He formerly owned radio KROW in Oakland.

There was some question, however, whether his petition was filed.

Mary Jane Morris, secretary of FCC, has not wired receipt of the petition up to 10 a.m., p.d.t. although the petition, and a mass of supporting documents, were sent by registered, airmail, special delivery at 8 p.m., p.d.t., Monday.

But Senator CLAIR ENGLE, Democrat of California, wired Sackett this morning he understands the petition was filed early this morning and that FCC sources said it was timely and to the point of the case now pending before FCC: transfer of the KLX license from the Tribune Building Co. to the Crowell-Collier Publishing Co.

Crux of Sackett's petition is that the Knowlands, in transferring the KLX license from the Tribune Publishing Co. to the Tribune Building Co. in 1933, failed to state in sworn affidavits that ratio of ownership of the station was affected in the switch.

The Federal Communications Commission and its predecessor, the Federal Radio Commission, have always insisted that true ownership of a company to which it grants a broadcasting license be a matter of record.

Sackett's contention is that true ownership was not a matter of record when the license was switched in 1933, and has not been since.

#### KNOWLAND GAINED CONTROL

The case goes back to the oft-quoted "Strange Case of the Oakland Tribune," whereby Joseph Knowland took over control of the big daily newspaper from Mrs. Herminia Dargie and from her estate in a long-drawn-out probate proceeding.

In Mrs. Dargie's later years, the Tribune Publishing Co. was owned 50-50 by she and Knowland, according to Sackett's petition to FCC. Mrs. Dargle was the widow of the Tribune's founder. The KLX license was in the name of the publishing company.

Sackett alleges the license was transferred with permission of the Federal Radio Commission to the Tribune Building Co. on a plea that labor difficulties would be avoided with the transfer.

What was not revealed to the FRC, however, Sackett's petition alleged, was that the Tribune Building Co. was owned approxi-mately 51 percent by Knowland and approximately 49 percent by the Dargie estate (she had died by 1933).

This, Sackett claims, is in violation of the Federal rule that true ownership of a station cannot be changed without being a matter of record.

#### PRICE SAID \$20,000

The price of the sale from the Tribune Publishing Co. to the Building Co. was only \$20,000, Sackett said. Later, the Knowland family gained control of the Dargle estate's shares in both the Publishing Co. and the Building Co. in a court sale, with the proceeds being distributed to the Dargie heirs.

The Knowlands now propose to sell KXL to the Crowell-Collier firm for \$750,000 cash. The proposition is before the FCC. Deadline for protests of Sackett's type is this coming Friday, June 5.

Regarding the sale of the station from the Publishing Co. to the Building Co., Sackett's petition said: "There is no scintilla of evidence whatsoever that the true purpose of the sale was disclosed. Nowhere does the application state that the Knowland family was moving KLX from a 50-50 ownership to a corporation controlled by the Knowlands. \* Nor is there any evidence \* \* \* that the estate of Mrs. Herminia Dargie going through probate in the superior court in Calif., was notified." Oakland.

The petition notes that sworn statements under penalty of perjury were signed by officials of the Building Co. that no true change of ownership of the license was taking place.

#### ASKS SALE DELAY

Sackett asked that the present sale be held up pending a full dress FCC probe.

Copies of the petition and evidence went to a number of persons, including President Eisenhower, Vice President Nixon, the Securities and Exchange Commission, U.S. Attorney General William P. Rogers, the California U.S. district attorney, the presiding judge of the Alameda County superior court, and the Alameda County district attorney.

But this morning there was some question in Sackett's mind, whether the FCC had received or had accepted his petition. His letter of transmittal asked that he be sent a collect wire of filing time. None had been received at midmorning, more than 31/2 hours after mailing, although Senator Engle wired that he understood the petition had been

filed early this morning.
Sackett last night sent the following night letter to Mary Jane Morris, secretary of the Federal Communications Commission in

Washington:

"At 8 p.m., p.d.t., I mailed to you from the Rincon Annex, San Francisco, post office certain matters for filing that day in the

"In my letter of transmittal I requested (1) if there were any questions to be asked about filing to call me collect at my given telephone number, 126 Sutter Street, World Newspapers, San Francisco, Calif., and (2) in lieu thereof to wire me collect at the same address the precise hour and minute of filing.

"Thus far I have received no wire what-

soever from you.

"I await your pleasure.

"For your full information, the Post Office Department informed me that the special delivery, certified, airmail letters would reach your office on about noon, June 2, e.d.t. Your silence is disquieting to citizen.

"I therefore feel obliged to wire the full text of this inquiry to President Eisenhower, who is charged with the administrative leadership of Government by his constitutional

"I am also concurrently wiring this to Senators Kefauver, Magnuson, Morse, and ENGLE, all of whom I know well. Three, as you know, represent the Pacific coast tier of States and Senator KEPAUVER is an ace investigator of proven standing.

"Frankly, I cannot understand why it is so difficult for a citizen to obtain ministerial service from a department charged by with a receipt of protest filed timely within the 30-day protest period.

"Your immediate response, collect, to this inquiry is respectfully demanded.

"SHELDON F. SACKETT Petition Pro Bono Publico, World Newspapers, San Francisco, Calif."

Western Union reported delivery of the wire to Miss Morris at 8:15 a.m., today eastern daylight time.

#### COPIES TRANSMITTED

Sackett sent the same night letter, plus a covering wire, to President Eisenhower. Senator Estes Kefauver, Senator Wayne Morse, Senator Warren Magnuson, Senator Clair Engle, and ex-President Harry S. Truman. The covering night letter said:

"The writer has just dispatched the following night letter to Miss Morris, secretary of the FCC. This matter is urgent. May you not give a citizen seeking ardently to file a perfectly proper document with his Government at Washington the consideration given to anyone else in having access to the facilities of orderly, public govern-

"I take it the right to petition is constitutional and I shall appreciate and hereby express my advance thanks, for your ve-hement, prompt, unyielding demand that there be no further suppression of my statutory and constitutional rights to petition for a redress of grievances and to have my complaints immediately, without delay and without questioning, accepted for Federal

"As you know, I have already provided each of you with full texts of my complaint plus the accompanying exhibits. wire me earliest Wednesday morning how you are faring in securing the right of an ordinary citizen to have his day in the administrative bodies chartered by the Con-

"With best regards, I am, sincerely yours,
"Sheldon F. Sackett,
"Editor and Publisher World Newspapers, San Francisco, Calif."

Western Union acknowledged delivery of the night letter to President Eisenhower at 5:32 a.m., e.d.t. and to Senator Engle, personally, at 9 a.m., e.d.t.

At noon there still had been no official confirmation from FCC of the filing. Nor had there been confirmation from the Securities and Exchange Commission of concurrent filing with that agency.

Sackett dispatched the following wires:

"Miss MARY JANE MORRIS.

"Secretary, Federal Communications Com-

mission, Washington, D.C .:

"Please immediately wire me collect replying to my letter of June 1 sent you airmail special that day. Please also reply straight wire collect to my letter of June 2 received by you 8:15 a.m. this morning. Needed for publication this day, World of Coos Bay and other publications. Expedition imperative.

"SHELDON F. SACKETT,
"World Newspapers, San Francisco, Calif."

"ORVAL L. DUBOIS.

"Secretary, Federal Securities and Exchange Commission, Washington, D.C.

"Re: my special delivery letter to you sent air mail from here 11 p.m. p.d.t. June 1, please advise wire collect if this is in your hands and if accompanying notarized petition has been filed with your Commission. Please state time of filing. Urgent. Need data for publication several newspapers this after-

"Advance thanks expeditious handling. "SHELDON F. SACKETT, "World Newspapers, San Francisco, Calif."

"Senator CLAIR ENGLE, "Senate Office Building,

"Washington, D.C .:

"Thanks for your wire. Thus far unable to obtain from FCC Secretary or anyone else any report on filing of protest although this has been asked by me three times via return wire collect.

"Similarly, SEC silent thus far as to whether or not June 1 airmail filing has been received as filed.

"Thanks for your cooperation. Extremely anxious to publish full text this afternoon but need agencies in Washington, D.C., to report filing time.

Your immediate help greatly appreciated. "Regards,

"SHELDON F. SACKETT. "World Newspapers, San Francisco, \_ Calif."

## Commencement Addresses: Smithfield. W. Va., High School

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. ARCH A. MOORE, JR.

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, Monday evening, May 26, 1959, I had the privilege and honor of delivering the commencement address at Smithfield High School, Smithfield, W. Va .Never have I been so impressed with such a fine looking group of young Americans. They simply radiated confidence, and I felt a new surge of hope and assurance that the destiny of our great country will indeed be in good hands,

The valedictory and salutatory addresses delivered by Miss Evelyn Frances Darling and Miss Colleen Ann Anderson respectively were particularly outstanding, I think, and I am submitting them herewith for consideration by my col-leagues. They are as follows:

NINETEEN HUNDRED AND FIFTY-NINE VALEDIC-TORY; COURAGE TO BE OURSELVES-THEME: YOUTH REBELLION MAY BE AN ORIGINAL IDEA TRYING TO COME OUT

## (By Miss Evelyn Frances Darling)

Ladies and gentlemen, I am pleased with the honor to give the valedictory for the senior class of 1959. The subject chosen represents an effort to defend some traits of youth which at times may be disturbing to the older generation.

You have known many of us in the graduating class as we have been growing up. You have seen us go through all sorts of growing pains. Many times we have rebelled when you, our elders, have tried to show us what was best for us. This was our way of trying to become ourselves. This was the way to prove to ourselves that we were grown and had minds of our own. This was our way of trying to convince ourselves we could get along without you.

We had to be free to be ourselves in order that we have self-respect. We could not de-pend upon you to tell us what to do and still be proud of our own accomplishments. think this is a lesson we must reflect upon and remember all our lives. Whenever we disagree with the ideas of those around us we must have the courage to hold onto our own ideas or convictions.

It is easy to be agreeable and to go along with the ideas of others. This requires no effort and we do not have to be concerned about people laughing at our ideas or telling us we are crazy.

Sometimes in our efforts and desires to be ourselves we might be criticized as just wishing to be nonconformists. But the thing which we are defending is the nonconformity which releases self expression. If the nonconformist merely wishes to attract attention to himself there may be no value in the characteristic. Such a person may wish only to shock or express contempt for more orderly people. The nonconformist who really has new and different ideas yet respects order in normal things is bound to be admired and respected.

I think a good way to become a worthwhile person is to try to forget the people who criticize or laugh at you and just go ahead and do what appears to be right. I feel that this is something people may become afraid to do. We are too often afraid to say something unusual or different. We are sometimes just afraid to be ourselves.

Winston Churchill could never have been the colorful and brilliant inspiration to the British people if he had not have had the courage to do what he saw was right regardless of those who disagreed with him.

Frank Lloyd Wright is a great architect because he has created and developed his own ideas so well that they have become a well recognized type of architecture.

Christian Dior could never have been the leading fashion designer of Paris for so long had he not been able to come forth with fresh and startling new designs each season.

Scientists like Albert Einstein have made fabulous discoveries by looking at scientific data and drawing different conclusions to the ones drawn by others.

The all-time great name in violin makers came into being only after a man rebelled against what he was being told to do and went out to make violins on his own. This man was Antonio Stradivarius, one of the greatest violin makers there has ever been. He spent a good part of his life working for another violin maker but all the time felt that he could be doing it better. A time came when he freed himself from the traditions of the celebrated master violin maker and provided an opportunity to exhibit a style of his own. His instruments reached a height of perfection which has never been equaled. They had a brilliance in tone, an excellence in form and wonderful precision in every minute detail. Once his own pattern was set he never deviated from it. just went on making the finest instruments which have ever been made.

The hope and urge of youth for the opportunity of self-expression covers the full scope of human life. The needs of national defense have focused attention upon physics, chemistry, and electronics. Teenagers have made noteworthy contributions in these fields, yet not all teenage minds run along these lines. If given opportunity, encouragement, and inspiration they might come forth with important and original ideas in social advances, in labor relations, in economics, in agricultural methods, in medicine, or in art.

It is important that any pupil who displays a natural bent should be given an opportunity with little limitation to see how much will come of it. Such pupils may find it easy to keep up with the crowd in the conventional classes and subjects. In our country people abhor the idea that they are required to limit their studies to what someone else thinks they should study. The basic courses naturally should be mastered by all. There is no question about that. However, many young people are looking eagerly for something they can do over and beyond the usual requirements. They are the ones for whom special guidance and facilities are We in high school are well aware that educators and the universities are at work on this problem.

We are aware that at times our rebellion against discipline and authority may seem completely undesirable to our parents and teachers. We hope you will believe that sometimes at least something good may be trying to come out.

Tonight is our farewell to high school days. Some tell us that we will find that high school will have been the best time of our lives. I do not want to believe that. I want each stage of my life to be more exciting and alive than the years before. I want to be capable of accomplishments that I am proud of all through my life. I want to keep learning and being excited about things even when I am old. This can be done by developing my own capabilities. Then I can offer something new to the world. I believe each of us has a unique set of talents and capabilities and only in developing them can we find the most satisfaction in living and do our part for humanity. The world needs new

ideas, new solutions to old problems and a recognition of new problems for which in turn there must be solutions.

In developing and contributing these new ideas we will find our greatest satisfactions. We will never feel that kind of thrill from just going along with the crowd. We can find it only by inventive and original thinking. We must have the courage to be ourselves.

NINETEEN HUNDRED AND FIFTY-NINE SALU-TATORY: THENAGE DAYDREAMS—ADDRESS OF WELCOME WITH STORY OF CONCEPTION OF TELEVISION BY HIGH SCHOOL BOY FARNS-WORTH

(By Miss Colleen Ann Anderson)

Ladies and gentlemen, we have often dreamed of this graduation. We welcome you to share it with us. We have been eager for our graduation because now we can start working toward our goals. Now we will each begin working toward the most important thing in our lives. This may be an enterprise or an education; it may be an idea or a conviction. I wonder how many of our high school dreams will develop into the revolutionary ideas of tomorrow.

In our schoolwork we have retraced many of the known paths of knowledge followed by the human mind. Educators have put into textbooks the lessons which they thought important for all to retrace in preparation for life.

But our minds do not always follow on the beaten path. Our studies have been planned to encourage us to think independently and to bring out new ideas. Some of our ideas are probably not very valuable. Yet it is likely that every revolutionary idea which will change some phase of life in the coming decades is a part of the dream of someone now in school. What is to come of our ideas will depend on how good the ideas are and how well we hold onto them and work with them.

How are we to develop our dreams? We may find help in an example of how an important idea recently developed from the mind of someone our age. This idea, like many, took a long time to materialize to the point of importance. But this man held onto his dream and never let it get pushed entirely out of his mind.

We think of television as something which has come to us in just the last few years. The story of its origin and development is one of the most exciting dreams of our age. This idea which has come into its own only recently had its beginning many years ago in the mind of a high school boy named Philo Farnsworth. He was sure his idea was a good one and he would never let it go yet it took a long time for the dream to become a reality. I wonder how many great ideas have been pushed aside or forgotten because they never had the proper encouragement.

The principle of television was worked out by this 16-year-old high school boy. This most revolutionary idea of our time came to light in a pleasant relationship between the high school boy and his science teacher. The boy was Farnsworth, the teacher was Justin Tolman who besides being school superintendent was teaching science. It was in Rigby, Idaho and the year was 1922. Pupil Farnsworth was in the chemistry class being taught by the school superintendent but the boy's mind wandered away from chemistry at times.

The boy had read an article in an old science magazine about a man who had studied the possibility of television and had tried to work out the idea but falled. Farnsworth thought this older scientist had come close to the right principle and he had it clear in his mind where he thought the older scientist had failed. The boy re-

peatedly went back through the steps which had been followed by the older scientist and always in his mind it was clear where the mistake had been made. The most convenient place where the boy could make drawings of anything so elaborate and complicated was on the blackboard at the high school.

One day the teacher had been helping the boy with chemistry. The teacher went about some other work and in his absence the boy's mind wandered back to his idea of television. He started making diagrams on the blackboards to show how it worked. He covered just about all the available blackboards with his drawings. The teacher returned, looked about at what the boy was doing and asked what that had to do with chemistry.

The boy, Farnsworth, said it was not chemistry but it was television and that he would explain it to the teacher if the teacher wished. The teacher was naturally very much interested in the idea. He knew the pupil to be one of unusual capability and ingenuity. He knew he had never television and he wondered if such a thing was possible, but he said to the boy that he would like to hear how it worked. The boy started at the beginning of his diagrams and went through explaining clearly every The teacher wondered about some of it but the boy was so sure about every detail that the teacher imagined it might really work the way the boy said it would.

The teacher, Tolman, next heard of the boy when the boy was trying to establish legally the exact date when he worked the idea out. He had no registered plans, no dated drawings, all he could say was that he had explained it with drawings to the school superintendent during that chemistry class and that he thought the teacher understood it all and would remember everything about it. The teacher was located and questioned and he verified everything the boy had said and that they had not seen each other or discussed the matter for many years. In this way Farsnworth established ownership of the idea and was granted basic patents on it.

This is a story of how one of the most modern of our ideas was originally the dream of a boy in high school, of how the teacher encouraged and aided the pupil with his idea and finally helped in obtaining his patent on it.

I wonder what dreams exist in the minds of this graduating class. I wonder which of us will hang onto our ideas and develop them into major improvements for tomorrow's civilization. We welcome you, our guests, tonight with the hope that you believe in our dreams. Our teenage dreams will be kept alive by your encouragement.

## D. T. Frymire and the Girl Scout Movement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. HARLAN HAGEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 20, 1959

Mr. HAGEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I would make brief comment on the personality of a distinguished constituent and offer for publication in the Record a poem he has written as part of his multiple contribu-

tions to the Girl Scout movement. The poem is the following:

TO A LITTLE GIRL SCOUT

Of all things 'round about,

Nothing is more precious than a little Girl Scout.

As they move about and whistle and sing And help their mothers with everything.

Cheerfully they go on their way, Doing a kind deed every day.

Soon we hope to have for them, A nice new home and den.

Let's give cheerfully and generously for their home.

That they may have found recollections of it. where'er they roam.

Brownies, Girl Scouts, and senior Scouts, too, Won't you help them so they may help you?

Let's cheer them on as they march with hat

and bag, As we teach them to salute our country's flag.

-By D. T. Frymire.

Mr. Frymire can be aptly described as a distinguished American citizen who believes in our institutions of government and other of our social institutions and who, more important has devoted a lifetime to making them work adequately for the general welfare. He recently retired as president of the Tulare Federal Savings & Loan Association, a successful representative of a typical private enterprise in the city of Tulare, Calif. He has retired from his principal work of a lifetime but not from an active life. Mr. Frymire will engage in an alternate principal business. In addition he will continue to devote his interest to matters of government and such splendid organizations as the Girl Scouts of America.

#### How To Raise Delinquents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein, a very thoughtful article from the Tablet entitled "How To Raise Delinquents." as contained in a leaflet issued by the Police Department of Houston, Tex., captioned "Twelve Rules for Raising Delinquent Children."

As the House will observe, the rules take the indirect approach in that they satirically prescribe parental conduct or omissions that would encourage delinquency.

The problem of juvenile delinquency has been widely discussed in the press, but little reference has been made to adult delinquency, that is, the inability of parents to discharge their full parental obligations in the upbringing and the moral and spiritual guidance of their

All too often, commentators on the subject furnish comprehensive and in-

formative analysis of juvenile problems but do not always stress the home, the church, and the school as the fountainheads of responsible juvenile and adult citizenship.

Obviously, the church plays a great part in the moral guidance of the young and old alike. The school is a decisive factor in molding the character and attitude of the young. But neither of these agencies can be expected effectively to guide and nurture the young unless they receive wholehearted co-operation from the parents in the homes.

Perhaps it is in greater and more responsible supervision by the parents that the solution to our current problems of juvenile delinquency lies.

In any event, many people believe that this is the case, and the views of the Houston Police Department are of more than passing interest in clinching the point.

For my part, I have confidence in our young people. In my work, I meet many of them at close range and admire them greatly. They strike me as being little different from the youth of any generation I have known.

They live in a much different world. a faster moving world where epochal changes are occurring. But in my opinion, they are fundamentally sound and promising. It is for the elders of this generation to reevaluate their own attitude to see whether they are making their full contribution to the proper upbringing and guidance of the young. Perhaps that would be a very helpful factor in combating so-called juvenile delinguency.

The article follows:

[From the Tablet, May 23, 1959]

How To Raise Delinquents-Houston POLICE DEPARTMENT ISSUES 12 RULES TO

Houston, Tex.-The police department of the city after a study of juvenile delinquency has issued a leastet called "Twelve Rules for Raising Delinquent Children." The rules follow:

- 1. Begin with infancy to give the child everything he wants. In this way he will grow up to believe the world owes him a
- 2. When he picks up bad words, laugh at him. This will make him think he's cute. It will also encourage him to pick up "cuter" phrases that will blow off the top of your head later.
- 3. Never give him any spiritual training, Wait until he is 21 and then let him "decide for himself."
- Avoid use of the word "wrong." It may develop a guilt complex. This will condi-tion him to believe later, when he is arrested for stealing a car, that society is against him and he is being persecuted.
- 5. Pick up everything he leaves lying around—books, shoes, and clothes. Do everything for him so that he will be experienced in throwing all responsibility on others.
- 6. Let him read any printed matter he can get his hands on. Be careful that the silverware and drinking glasses are sterilized, but let his mind feast on garbage.
- 7. Quarrel frequently in the presence of your children. In this way they will not be too shocked when the home is broken up
- 8. Give a child all the spending money he wants. Never let him earn his own. Why

should he have things as tough as you had them?

9. Satisfy his every craving for food, drink, and comfort. See that every sensual desire is gratified. Denial may lead to harmful frustration.

10. Take his part against neighbors, teachers, policemen. They are all prejudiced against your child.

11. When he gets into real trouble, apologize for yourself by saying, "I never could do anything for him."

12. Prepare for a life of grief. You will be

likely to have it.

#### The Taxes We Can Afford

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 5, 1959

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following remarks on our income tax structure appeared in the June letter of the First National City Bank of New York City.

It seems that the Congress of the United States is lagging way behind the Parliaments of the world in our handling of this very important problem. Surely we have men and women among the people's representatives capable of drafting legislation that will promote and foster opportunity and initiative instead of allowing both to be suffocated and gradually put to death:

THE TAXES WE CAN AFFORD

The President has urged some curtailment of Federal expenditures with a view to balancing the budget, retiring some of the public debt, and perhaps setting the stage for long postponed tax reforms. Chairman Wilbur D. Mills on May 17 announced that the House Ways and Means Committee was launching a study of the possibilities of broadening the tax base sufficiently to permit significant reductions in income tax rates in 1960. Mr. MnLs said that tax re-form must seek, among other things, a tax climate more favorable to economic growth: greater equity in distributing tax burdens; as little interference as possible with the operation of the free-market mechanism; and greater ease of compliance and adminis-

There are, to be sure, voices which urge the opposite course. Stressing how affluent we are, they ignore problems of execessive tax rates, disparage the idea of limiting Federal spending to the flush current revenues and commend enlarged appropriations for public services in almost every direction.

Advocates of bigger Federal outlays do not always face squarely the practical problem of where the money is coming from. Professor Galbraith, of Harvard, it is true, endorses sales taxes to take it out on the standard of living. That is where the bur-den is apt to fall anyhow in the final analysis. Others shrink from unpalatable truths and speak vaguely of closing tax loopholes, a selective form of tax increase; commend cheap money policies, a euphoni-ous way of saying print the stuff; or figure that a growing economy, stimulated by in-creased Federal spending, will enlarge in-comes and raise income tax liabilities disproportionately so that Government can take a bigger share of what we earn without formally raising the tax rates.

The idea is that, however much the indi-vidual must stint to make ends meet, our collective wealth is so great that Government can toss out millions as though they

were pennies.

It is a bad frame of mind to get into, feeling so rich we can afford anything the heart desires. Profligacy is the well-marked road to bankruptcy. Our esteemed wealth is very real but it is invested—in tools and machinery needed to equip the workman for efficient production. One thing we can least afford is to live off this capital-let our plant and machinery wear out. Yet that is what spending out of wealth implies. A growing economy demands quickened-not arrested-wealth accumulation.

What Government takes out of current production, the citizen is denied. denial may be enforced by tax rate increases, ration books, or price inflation. All these are taxes in the sense that they reduce the value of the dollar earned and saved. If taxes encourage consumption and impede saving, wealth accumulation may be ar-rested and with it our means to more

efficient production.

When we say we can afford more of one thing we mean we can give up something When we say Government can afford more we mean the citizens can get along

There is a bland assumption that we have great reserves of taxing capacity. This is open to serious question. It is possible to tax away the seed corn of future progress. But there are limits to what the citizen willingly will give up. When taxes get too high the symptoms may variously appear in lethargy, in tax avoidance, in distortions of business judgments, in inflation. All these symptoms are present.

We should not decide we are so rich we

can give up progress.

DIMINISHING RETURNS ON INCOME TAXES

In income taxation we have gone beyond what we can afford if we want work, enterprise, and a land of opportunity. Writing in the Saturday Evening Post last November, Roswell Magill, Under Secretary of the Treasury under President Roosevelt and now chairman of the Tax Foundation, pointed

"\* \* \* to raise an extra \$12 billion to meet this year's deficit, and to do it with present Federal income taxes, would require the confiscation of everyone's taxable income in excess of \$4,000; or increase of the rate on corporations from the present 52 percent to 82 percent. Income taxes of that magnitude are almost unthinkable in a democratic state. The result would be economic chaos.

As it is, our Federal income tax takes 50 percent of a single person's taxable income beyond \$16,000 and rises, step by step, up to 91 percent, the highest personal income tax known in the world. As though this were not enough, employment taxes, and sometimes State and city income taxes, get added on besides. These levies aim straight at the heart of progress.

The question is not whether we can afford to increase income tax rates further but whether we can afford so to punish the energetic, block accumulation of risk capital by normal taxpaying enterprise, and in-

vite outright evasion.

The rapidly growing number of tax loopholes in recent years has given the economy essential room to breathe but threatens to make the tax scoop into a sieve. Even people who helped set up the confiscatory rates have become alarmed and have called for rate reforms.

The latest of the special reliefs is the Keogh bill, recently passed by the House, which would permit employers or selfemployed people-small businessmen, doctors, lawyers, etc.—to put aside 10 percent of

their income free of tax, within a \$2,500 annual limit, in special retirement plans with banks or insurance companies. goal is equality of tax treatment between the self-employed and employees who already have tax deferral on employer con-

tributions to company retirement plans.

Congress is naturally sympathetic, for these people are invaluable members of our society. Congressmen know from personal experience how hard it is to build a nest egg in the face of our steep income tax rates.

The objection is that the Treasury cannot afford the revenue loss. Treasury experts figure that passage of the Keogh bill would cost \$365 million annually in lost revenues. If employees demanded and got the same tax treatment on their contributions to retirement plans the annual loss might run to \$3 billion.

Furthermore, the increasing number of special provisions in the tax law, many understandable only by tax specialists, tends to make the ordinary taxpayer feel that he is not being treated fairly, that other people "are getting away with something." Tax People morality begins to break down. learn to accept the idea that cheating the Government is not really bad, "everybody does it." The tax rates invite-indeed demand-diversion of effort from earning taxable incomes to saving on taxes. The end of this road is a demoralization of the voluntary tax system we have and its replacement by an authoritarian based on a massive army of tax "policemen."

Meanwhile, we are seeing a continuing expansion in fringe benefits, rewards for work which escape or defer the income tax burden. Although labor union leaders have assailed as loopholes such provisions for business executives, they have shifted emphasis in their own collective bargaining from taxable

wages to more fringes.

It is time we stopped using a piecemeal approach and went to the heart of the tax problem—the confiscatory rates.

#### THE GOAL OF GROWTH

Curiously, many advocates of faster economic growth ignore the drag of excessive tax rates on the economy. It has long been recognized that hardly anything surpasses tax policy in economic, political, and social importance Chief Justice John Marshall's crisp summary, "The power to tax involves the power to destroy" goes back to 1819. A 1955 congressional investigation into Federal tax policies resulted in a 930-page volume of papers on "Federal Tax Policy for Economic Growth and Stability" and evoked from Congressman Mn.1s the conclusion that: "One of the most important programs which will contribute to or detract from achieving steady, economic growth in the years ahead is our Federal tax policy." This solid evaluation we falled to heed.

It is not surprising that our tax struc-ture discourages growth. The steeply pro-gressive personal income rates we now have were put into effect in the 1930's when we thought we had all the productive capacity we needed and the aim was to discourage oversaving. However appropriate they might have seemed at the time, they have no help to give the expanding America of the space age. The problem now is not surpluses of saving and investment but shortages.

The key to economic growth is imaginative enterprise. What we need, on the one hand, are real savings for investment and. on the other, incentives to put funds to work and to attract sustained effort from creative individuals. As Arthur Burns, former Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, has said: "I don't know of a surer way of killing off the incentive to invest than by imposing taxes which are regarded by people as punitive."

At the same time, excessive tax rates sharp-

ly cut the rewards attainable for extra effort by ambitious and industrious people who are trying to climb the economic ladder. elder statesmen of American industry today moved up in an era when the demands of big jobs were matched by big rewards. The question is whether the rising young executive still has incentive to drive himself toward the rigors of top management positions or whether taxes have shaved the rewards to a point where a more relaxed life seems preferable. We are risking the deterioration of what Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY has called that greatest of American geniusesour managerial talent.

Although many people think we are soaking the rich, it is small business, the proving ground for so many business leaders and the seedbed for industrial giants, which suffers most under punitive tax rates. They dry up the sources of its most crucial need—venture capital. The personal income tax rate progression saps the unincorporated small businessman's ability to build his business. It also chokes off an important source of outside funds in years gone by: the successful individual, who once found pride and satisfaction as well as profit in giving a financial lift to a budding enterprise, no longer has the means to do so.

Government loans and subsidies to business are no substitute for tax reform. They breed dependence, destroy self-reliance. The task is to make self-reliance easier, more attractive.

Even under a fair and moderate tax rate structure, our economy may be hard pressed to generate all the savings needed to advance production and generate a rate of growth adequate to the Russian challenge. liam J. Grede, president of Grede Foundries and former president of the National Association of Manufacturers, has said: "Our survival as a nation of free people with a maximum of social values is dependent upon maximum economic development. We must strike from our system policies and practices which impede the accumulation and employment of capital on the largest possible

#### CANADIAN AND BRITISH TAX POLICIES

Our ruthless taxation of income offers a poor model for other nations, wanting progress, to follow. The resurgence of the new industrial Germany dates from the adoption of free market principles and the discard of a suffocating income tax progression that had been imposed as a result of American

It was Great Britain that set the general model of steep progression which we adopted during the Great Depression and World War Other English-speaking nations for years now have been moving away from tax policies directed at destroying initiative and wealth accumulation. Australia was first to break the bonds of socialism and reform its income tax progression. In 1952 Canada began a gradual, year-by-year reform/ In 1953 Great Britain itself, which had achieved the dubious honor of being the most heavily taxed country in the world, began to ease back its oppressive tax rate schedules. In the United States reform has been urged for years by members of both parties, as in the imaginative Sadiak-Herlong and Herlong-Baker bills which would spread out gradual income tax rate easement 5 years ahead. But nothing gets done because of political inertia and insistence that tax reductions be designed to stimulate consumption rather than enterprise and economic

The latest tax moves abroad came in April when the Canadian Government increased taxes by \$352 million, while the United Kingdom gave its taxpayers \$1 billion relief, the biggest immediate tax cut they have ever had. Although opposite in direction, there is a good deal we can learn from both these actions.

The main lesson of the Canadian experience for us is that the series of foresighted tax reforms earlier in the postwar years provided a reserve of taxable capacity for emergencies. Even with the April increases Canadian personal income tax rates are far below wartime peaks. The new 84 percent top rate for 1960 compares with a peak of 98 percent during World War II. The 11 percent rate on the first \$1,000 of taxable income compares with 30 percent on the first \$500 of taxable income during 1943. A 2 point increase to 47 percent in the corporate tax rate cancels a 1955 reduction.

Great Britain is providing an example of how a tax reform policy can invigorate an economy. A continuous string of tax concessions-including three reductions in income tax rates beginning in 1953-has cut United Kingdom income tax rates to the lowest levels since 1939-40, produced a new spirit of optimism in the business community, and helped regenerate confidence in the pound sterling. The April reductions lowered the standard rate of British income tax-to which other rates are tiedfrom 421/2 to 383/4 percent. The lowest rate of income tax payable was reduced to 83/4 percent, on the first \$168 of taxable income, While the highest rate (including a 50 percent surtax) was chiseled to 83% percent, down almost 9 points from the 97% percent peak level which prevailed from 1942 to 1953. Income tax on corporations was reduced from 521/2 to 483/4 percent; shareholders continue to get credit at the standard rate on their own tax returns for income taxes paid by corporations on dividends.

The taxation to shareholders of corporate profits paid out in dividends is now lower in many cases in Great Britain than here. The taxation of retained profits is lighter and depreciation allowances are more realistic. The top personal income tax limit, while applying at a lower income level, has been brought below ours. Capital gains are

tax free

Far from being depleted by the steady succession of tax cuts, the British Exchequer revenues have flourished. Britain's experience provides support for those in the United States who believe that a creative program of tax reliefs could pay its own way by freshening the flow of the revenues.

Congress might well ponder what The Economist of London had to say just before Britain's April tax cut: "One major incubus to a free economy alone remains, and it is the biggest of all: a rate of income tax that is blatantly higher than any society can for long carry in peacetime and still hope to remain dynamic."

#### A REFRESHING TONIC

The United States has not had a general tax reduction since 1954, when the Internal Revenue Code was rewritten, part of the tax increases invoked in the Korean war emergency were rescinded, and a number of provisions were enacted to make the excessive rates that remained more tolerable. It was understood that income tax rate reform would be undertaken at the earliest opportunity.

The result of inaction is that in an increasingly competitive world we are left with the highest rate of personal income tax—within 3 points of its wartime 94-percent peak—and a 52-percent rate of tax on corporations. It is no wonder that American industry is having trouble holding leadership in world markets under the double disadvantage of top-scale wages and top-scale taxes.

We have been adding to Government spending programs now for 4 straight years. We have felt able to afford something for everyone but the taxpayer. The time has come to change the prescription. There

could be no more refreshing tonic for the taxpayer and the economy than a wellthought-out program of income tax rate reductions.

There is no doubt that if we broadened the tax base and reduced the proportion of income which now escapes tax we could have considerably lower rates. It is not generally realized that exemptions, exclusions, and deductions of all kinds leave little more than 40 percent of total personal income subject to income tax. Congressman Mills has estimated that if we broadened the tax base "we could have a tax rate structure on individuals that began at 10 percent of the first thousands dollars and ended at 65 percent and take in as much money to the Federal Treasury as we now take in under the present Internal Revenue Code."

Whatever tax reform method is chosen will have to take account of the Treasury's revenue needs. But the important thing is to make a start by recognizing the mistake of concentrating taxes on what we want mostemployment, work, and opportunity. We need to strengthen the value of the dollar earned and saved. We need to go ahead with gradual income tax rate reform, not only to invite voluntary compliance and arrest erosion of the tax base, but to build an environment of forward-looking optimism.

If there is one thing we cannot afford any longer it is the idea that any Government spending program automatically should have priority over a citizen's use of his own money. When Government feels the necessity, for example, to spend more on defense or on aid for allies, the first place to turn is not to the citizens' standard of living through tax increases but to wasteful practices and programs within Government. In other words, our ability to afford a stronger Defense Establishment is partly measured by wastes of public funds on a variety of programs. It is not fair to expect the citizen to tighten his belt if Government does not tighten its own.

It is time we got our fiscal house in order. After all, as Roswell Magill pointed out in

the article cited earlier:

"A nation as great, as productive, as wealthy as ours cannot concede that its financial problems are beyond solution. It cannot rely continuously on borrowing and inflation as its regular method of paying its bills.

"It should not be content with patching up an inadequate and archalc tax system. We should not be satisfied with anything less than a system that will permit our economy to grow at a healthy rate, that will enable us to pay-as-we-go for the governmental services we want at home, as well as those required to maintain our place in world affairs. And we must have a means of preserving a reserve of resources that can be used to meet any great emergency that may arise—something our present tax structure and dwindling borrowing power do not provide.

"Surely American intelligence can be mustered to help our Government build a sound fiscal system, to match a sound economy and a sound defense."

Mountaineers Are Always Free

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. KEN HECHLER

OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. HECHLER. Mr. Speaker, an excellent article which traces the rich history and captures the spirit of the great State of West Virginia was printed in the Vancoram Review, published by the Vanadium Corp. of America. At Graham Station in Mason County, W. Va., the Vanadium Corp. produces Vancoram EXLO, a special low-carbon ferrochromium alloy used in making stainless and heat-resisting steels. The Vanadium Corp. is one of the great industries which have seen the vast advantages of establishing in the rapidly expanding Ohio River Valley. There follows the text of the article in the Vancoram Review:

MOUNTAINEERS ARE ALWAYS FREE

Men endowed with persistent visions of individual human rights under representative government created the State of West Virginia.

Strong men, with great objectives, they conquered rugged mountains, trackless wilderness and hostile Indian tribes. Their land was bloodled in the American Revolution and in the War Between the States, yet the dramatic history of the Mountain State is also the heroic story of legislative struggles for the democratic way of life.

The character of the founders is reflected in the motto upon their State's seal. Montani Semper Liberi, "Mountaineers Are Always Free." The State seal also appropriately carries symbols representing the cardinal, black bear, sugar maple and great laurel.

Sometimes called the most southerly of the northern, most northerly of the southern, most westerly of the eastern and most easterly of the Western States, West Virginia stretches north above the latitude of Pittsburgh, Pa., and reaches south below Roanoke, Va. Its western extremity is in the longitude of Port Huron, Mich., the eastern in that of Rochester, N.Y.

The State's area is slightly more than 24,000 square miles. An average altitude of 1,500 feet makes it the highest east of the Mississippi River. Of the State's boundary of 1,170 miles, only 200 are manmade. Natural boundaries are, the Ohio, Big Sandy, Tug Fork Rivers, and Potomac River; and the 365-mile crest of the Alleghenies. A northern panhandle—in one place barely 5 miles wide—adjoins Pennsylvania and Ohio. Maryland and Virginia squeeze an irregular eastern panhandle to a minimum width of 15 miles.

Forests occupy two-thirds of the State. Mountain ranges, peaks and deep, narrow valleys make some areas rough and isolated. Mistletoe and the great laurel grow wild. Hunting and fishing are rewarding.

#### TRANSPORTATION AIDS DEVELOPMENT

Natural barriers, which so long deterred settlement by any except the most determined, now are surmounted or detoured by highways, railroads, and airlines. Some 70,000 farms—blessed by a 40-inch annual rainfall—yield fruits, vegetables, wheat, corn, dairy products, poultry, and meats.

The transformation of part of this mountainous wilderness into an industrial empire began about 1797 with the establishment of water-driven saw and grist mills. Coal was discovered in 1742 and oil and natural gas in 1859. Many of the men who helped to create the world petroleum industry got their early training in West Virginia.

To this day, oil, natural gas, coal, glass, sait, limestone, clay, sand, and lumber are among the State's important products. Since 1931 West Virginia has been the Nation's second largest producer of bituminous coal. Reserves are estimated to be sufficient for 400 years.

In 1790 the first iron furnace west of the Alleghenies began operating in what is now West Virginia's Northern Panhandle. This furnace, of 2 tons daily capacity, made cannon balls used by Capt. Oliver H. Perry

against the British fleet on Lake Erie during the War of 1812.

Modern industrialization, while widely distributed, has shown a spectacular concentration in that relatively broad section of the Ohio River Valley known as "the American Ruhr." In the 125 miles between Moundsville to the north, and Point Pleasant to the south, nearly half a hundred modern industrial plants contribute to Weşt Virginia's growing economy. Their products range from ferro alloys, steel and aluminum to paper, glass, chemicals, abrasives, ceramics, as well as finished products such as oilfield equipment and ships.

By developing its natural resources, both coal and water. West Virginia has become a large producer of steam electric power. An extensive high-wire system is linked with interstate circuits.

Many peoples desired the land that is now West Virginia with its 55 counties. In 1675 the Iroquois controlled the Ohio Valley section, but ceded much of the area to the British three years later over the protests of the Shawnees, Delawares, Mingoes and other tribes. They fought to regain and retain it as a major source of fish and game. The land was claimed also by the French on the basis of expeditions down the Ohio River in 1749.

The original Indian rule was challenged by explorers from Virginia's Jamestown. Their 17th century search for short routes west culminated in an expedition led by Virginia's Lieutenant Governor Alexander Spotswood in 1716. His band crested the Blue Ridge and there drank a toast to Britain's king

Britain's king.

Returning to Williamsburg, Governor Spotswood organized his troop into the Transmountain Order, Knights of the Golden Horseshoe. He thought to extend crown possessions westward, but his efforts were less productive than the reports of the adventurers. There glowing tales of wooded mountains, fertile valleys and refreshing springs suggested that men might acquire and develop land in freedom.

In 1726 Morgan ap Morgan built a log home in what is now Berkeley County and thus became the first recorded settler. The next year a settlement sprang up at Packhorse Ford, now Shepherdstown. By 1735 much of the area of the Potomac Valley, or "Northern Neck." had been settled.

Many settlers—English, Scots, Irish, Welsh, Swiss, German, and the Quakers—poured into the broader valleys, especially that of the Ohio. By mid-18th century both the French and the Indians had abandoned all claims to the land. It was then proposed, by Benjamin Franklin among others, to make the region the 14th colony, Vandalia.

Men of Tidewater Virginia had been moving their families westward in an attempt to escape confiscatory taxation, to own and to retain land, to vote and to worship as they pleased. Above all, they wanted a government more representative and democratic than that dominated by Tidewater Virginia's aristocracy, which was influenced by feudal philosophies and enforced by despotic crown officials.

#### GRIEVANCES AND WAR

But King George III delayed recognition of the new colony and the breaking point came in 1774 when Lord Dunmore, Virginia's Crown Governor sought to distract attention from grievances and to discourage westward migrations by declaring war on the Indians. Under the guise of protecting the settlers, the Governor organized an army for what was to become known as Lord Dunmore's War. The army started westward in September 1774 and split into two forces. Lord Dunmore led one force northwest to Fort Pitt, now Pittsburgh, Pa. The other group, consisting of 1,200 men under a Virginian, Brig.

Gen. Andrew Lewis, was dispatched to the southwest.

Lewis brought his men to the junction of the Ohio and Great Kanawha Rivers, where they encamped on the wooded peninsula now occupied by Point Pleasant. On October 10, 1774, the Virginians were attacked by Indians led by a Shawnee warrior. Popular with the settlers, who knew him as Chief Cornstalk, he was opposed to the attack but had been overruled by the Indian council. The Virginians beat off the Indians, but lost nearly one-quarter of their men.

Chief Cornstalk sought out Lord Dunmore and pledged to keep peace for 3 years. The respite enabled settlers to fortify Point Pleasant and to extend their holdings in the valley. During the peace Cornstalk was murdered and Lord Dunmore removed from office.

#### FIRST BATTLE OF REVOLUTION

Histories customarily record the battles at Concord and Lexington, Mass., in 1775, as the first engagements of the Revolution. The honor is claimed also for Maj. John Sullivan's December 14, 1774, raid on Fort William and Mary at Portsmouth, N.H. However, in 1908 the U.S. Senate recognized the precedence of the October 10 Battle of Point Pleasant.

Historian Virgil A. Lewis, writing in 1887, described in this way the battle's priority and importance: "On that day the soil on which Point Pleasant now stands drank the first blood shed in defense of American liberty. It was here decided that the decaying institutions of the Middle Ages should not prevail in America, but that just laws and priceless liberty should be planted forever in the domains of the New World."

While the Revolution ended on October 19, 1781, with the formal surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, it is West Virginia tradition that the last battle was the September 10, 1782 attack on Fort Henry, now Wheeling.

The close of the 18th century marked the beginning of prolonged legislative battles for representative government. Differences of opinion as high as the Alleghenies separated Virginians of the east and the west. Review and revision of the Virginia State constitution in 1850 won some recognition for the people of the west. In 1860 they succeeded in electing a Governor, Joseph Johnson.

Virginians of the west had as yet no State, but they upheld principles of Federal union and of human freedom. When in 1861, Virginia approved an act of secession, the men of the western country met at Wheeling, restated their opposition to secession and initiated serious discussion of forming a separate State, New Virginia.

In June 1861, at a second Wheeling convention, plans were made for organizing a State government and electing a governor. In August formal work was begun to establish a new State to be called "Kanawha." By now Virginia was a State divided. For the east, Governor John Letcher held office at Richmond. For the west, Governor Francis H. Pierpont held office at Wheeling.

In 1862 another convention completed preparations for the State of West Virginia and adopted resolutions providing for the gradual abolition of slavery. The general assembly appealed to Congress for recognized statehood and President Abraham Lincoln signed a bill making West Virginia, as of June 20, 1863, the 35th State and member of the Federal Union.

Meanwhile the War Between the States had broken out. Its first land battle was fought at Philippi, W. Va., on June 3, 1861. Union forces under Colonel William J. Kelly defeated Confederates under Colonel George A. Porterfield and captured the covered bridge which still carries U.S. Route 250 across the Buckhannon River.

This minor engagement had major repercussions. It kept in union control the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad and opened a corridor south for passage of troops and supplies. It also started upon the part to military fame Union Gen. George B. McClellan, who had ordered the troops into action to prevent depredations by Porterfield's men.

West Virginia was the scene of many other battles, among them Rich Mountain, Laurel Hill, and Corrick's Ford. Skirmishes were frequent in the Kanawha Valley and in the eastern panhandle. One community, Romney, changed hands more than 50 times. Thousands of West Virginians enlisted in the Union Army; other thousands, among them Gen. Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson, joined the Confederates.

the Confederates.

The ending of the war and the achievement of statehood brought prosperous growth. Boundary agreements were reached with neighboring States. In 1872 a new State constitution was adopted, and in 1885 the capital was transferred from Wheeling, on the Ohio, to Charleston, on the Great Kanawha.

#### VCA COMES TO WEST VIRGINIA

Operations of Vanadium Corp. of America were started in this historic county in 1951 with the purchase of approximately 400 acres of land beside the Ohio River at Graham Station, Mason County. The site was developed by erecting a ferroalloy plant which, in 1952, was enlarged.

Since 1953 the plant, one of the most modern in the world, has been producing Vancoram Exlo, a special low-carbon ferrochromium alloy used in making stainless and heat-resisting steels; ferrosilicon, a deoxidizer and degasifier for irons and steels; and ferrochrome silicon alloys for stainless steels. Additionally Graham plant produces alsifer, noduloy, and silicomanganese alloys.

Normally providing year-round jobs for several hundred trained workmen and technicians, the Graham plant makes substantial contributions to the economies of four counties—Mason and Jackson, in West Virginia, and Meigs and Gallia, in Ohio.

#### THE PLANT ON THE BEND

The Graham plant is located in the American Ruhr at that sweeping turn in the Ohio River known as the Bend. It is served by railway, highway, and waterway. Electric power is supplied by the Appalachian Power Co.'s Philip Sporn Station, which adjoins the Graham plant property.

The site shares West Virginia's dramatic

The site shares West Virginia's dramatic history. Graham Station is named for Rev. William Graham, an early landowner, and, in the old days, was a terminus of a ferry service to Racine, Ohio.

Land in this region had been deeded by Lord Dunmore to Virginians who had served in the French and Indian Wars. Among them was George Washington, who headed a surveying party and received acreage immediately south of the Great Kanawha.

Another to receive a grant was John Polson who, in 1798, deeded a 6,000-acre tract bordering the Ohlo River to Reverend Graham. The Graham plant occupies a portion of this tract. Reverend Graham subsequently conveyed the tract to others and it became the subject of one of the first lawsuits instituted in Mason County, and an early and basic case reviewed by the U.S. Supreme Court.

Mason County, established in 1804, is named for George Mason, one of the framers of Federal and State Constitutions. Point Pleasant is the county seat. The county now contains about five times the area of the original land grants. Its place names—among them New Haven and Hartford—reflect the New England backgrounds of early settlers.

Mason County long has produced coal and sait, but farm production also has been extensive, especially of livestock, dairy products, tobacco, poultry, and eggs. The present trend is toward industrialization.

# Appendix

Senator Lyndon B. Johnson Delivers Commencement Address at Bethany College; Receives Honorary Degree

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, on Sunday, June 7, 1959, I had the honor of presenting Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, the distinguished majority leader of this body, as the speaker for the 118th annual commencement at Bethany College, Bethany, W. Va. Approximately 1,500 persons were in attendance.

The able senior Senator from Texas, with whom I had the honor of having served in the House of Representatives before being privileged to be his colleague in this body, spoke of the graduation exercises as signifying the end of formal preparation and the beginning of formal participation. His address was a significant pronouncement to the class of 126 members from two foreign countries, 15 States, and the District of Columbia.

Indeed, the Texan's speech was stimulating. It had the quality of challenge. It was patterned in the tradition of the splendid Christian college founded by

Alexander Campbell.

Senator Johnson told of the faith of the presidents of Bethany College exemplified by the founder's philosophy of education, which was also a philosophy of life. It was a well-deserved tribute to Dr. Perry Epler Gresham, the president of the college, when the majority leader stressed the steadfastness to the founder's and the institution's traditions.

I have known President Gresham for more than 20 years. It was a pleasant and a delightful experience to have heard many persons in attendance at the commencement exercise tell of the devoted leadership he is providing at Bethany.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the address by the senior Senator from Texas IMr. Johnson be printed in the Appendix of the

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Address by Senate Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson at Commencement Exercises, June 7, 1959, Bethany College, West Vir-Ginia

#### FACING THE FUTURE

I come to Bethany with a sense of pilgrimage.

This campus has been—for nearly 120 Years—an American landmark of a faith from Which I have drawn strength and direction for my own life since boyhood. Until now, I have known Bethany only from afar. To walk at last on "God's half acre" is a rich reward of this day.

But there is more than personal inspira-

tion in this journey.

Here at Bethany—deep in the beginnings of your college—there is a compelling message for Americans to hear again—and give it heed today.

#### Bondage of traditions

In these hills, Alexander Campbell had a vision of a great American future. He saw here—in this New World—the hope for fulfillment of the human spirit if men would but break free of the bondage of traditions which had lost their meaning.

Alexander Campbell had a soul of fire. He preached with zeal. And he had a sense

of purpose

He did not propose that men cast loose from safe moorings. But it was his plea that men not allow vacant traditions and empty rituals to come between them and the sources of their real strength.

His philosophy of education was also a philosophy of life. When he said "Men, and not brick and mortar, make colleges, and these colleges make men" he was describing not only education but the Nation, the State, and every human institution.

And this tradition has been carried on by the presidents of Bethany College right down to your own Dr. Perry Epler Gresham.

It was natural that such a philosophy should arise in West Virginia. This State of rugged mountains is also a State of rugged men—men of self-reliance and integrity.

It is reflected in your leaders—men like my good friends Senator Jennings Randolph

and Senator ROBERT C. BYRD.

I suppose every college commencement speaker has admonished his audience to face the future with confidence. There is little that can be said on such an occasion that is original.

#### The end and the beginning

The commencement exercise signifies the end of formal preparation and the beginning of formal participation. But all of life is continuous preparation for the battles down the road and continuous participation in the struggles with us now.

In the year 1959, the cliches of the college commencement address have taken on a fresh and more vital meaning. It is because we live in a world where development is accelerating at a bewildering rate.

It is really true that you are stepping out

It is really true that you are facing challenges greater than any which faced your predecessors.

It is really true that your fellow Americans—and your fellow human beings—are going to look to you for leadership in the years that lie ahead.

And, I believe, it is also really true that you and all those who are graduating this year will be equal to your tasks.

#### Necessary broad vision

We are living in a world where the problems cannot be solved simply by brainpower and concentration. A necessary ingredient to success is also broad vision.

All of us have a tendency to become specialists—to concentrate on a specific area and become increasingly expert in constantly narrowing fields of knowledge.

This is as true in the public life of our Nation as it is in the professions and in private enterprise. We are inclined to view the world through the eyeglasses of specialization—and to assume that what we do not see clearly is subordinate.

There are a few overriding factors in the modern world which most of us can recog-

nize:

The drive of underdeveloped nations to independence and modern technology.

The cold war between communism and freedom.

The newly unleashed power of the atom. The breakthrough into outer space.

#### · Impact of basic factors

Every one of these basic factors has a direct impact not only on your country but on your daily lives. They even affect visibly the method by which you will make your living for yourselves and your families.

Although all of us are aware of the basic factors, our response to them is certain to vary. Our attitudes and our methods of thinking are necessarily conditioned by our background and our experience.

But even though it is inevitable that our viewpoints will differ, there is a trap into which we must not fall. It is to assume that our own specialized interests hold the key to all the problems of this complicated world.

All of us live two lives.

We are private individuals with our own thoughts, our own dreams, and our own individual communion with God. As such, we go about our daily rounds, taking care of our spiritual and material needs and earning the daily bread for our families.

## Collective obligations

But we are also members of a nation and, as such, we have a deep stake in the prosperity and well-being of that Nation. As citizens, there are collective obligations imposed upon us which must be met.

As private individuals, it is essential that we be specialists because of economic necessities. But as members of the Nation, we cannot allow our views to be warped by narrow vision.

There are those who believe that the whole key to our future lies in helping the underdeveloped people of the world to economic and social security. If we do not, it is argued, they will join the forces of communism out of desperation.

There are others who believe that our freedoms will survive only through a series-of military alliances backed by crushing force. Without such alliances, we are told, we will soon be overwhelmed.

There are others who believe that we must withdraw behind strong walls and concentrate only upon our own strength. Otherwise, we are told, we will soon be too weak to help either ourselves or anyone else.

## The valid viewpoint

The truth, we find, is somewhat more complicated. There is some validity in each viewpoint. But taken separately, they could be disastrous.

There can be little doubt—to a thinking man—that considerations of humanity and self-interest demand that we help the under-developed nations.

We live in a world one-third free, onethird Communist, and one-third uncommitted. The uncommitted world is by and large that part of the globe which has failed to keep pace with modern technology.

Should the uncommitted world join the Communist world, the forces alined against us would be overwhelming.

#### The problems at home

But we cannot permit ourselves to become so absorbed in the problems of the rest of the world that we are blind to the problems here at home. If we do, we will soon find that we do not have the strength to translate good intentions into good deeds.

There are people here at home who need

jobs and who need security.

There are people here at home who need decent houses for their families.

And there are also resources of men and materials here at home which are now wasted

and idle.

Most of our internal problems are not of the same magnitude as those which confront the underdeveloped nations.

They have hundreds of millions who hunger or who live on inadequate diets. We have only a few million who are unemployed, who are seeking jobs and who cannot find their jobs.

But if the soft spots in our economy are ignored, they will spread. And the good times which most of our people now enjoy can collapse because it has an inadequate foundation.

It is a narrow viewpoint to close our eves to the great forces which are shaking the world. But it is equally narrow to forget about the people who live within our own borders.

#### The essence of survival

To survive in this world, we need our friends. We need our military alliances. We need imaginative programs to promote peace. And we need strength-not just military but spiritual and economic strength.

And we cannot stake our future on one policy or one program anymore than we can rest our bodies on a one-legged stool.

I did not come here today to give you advice. That would be presumptuous on my part and properly resented on yours.

I did come to offer my congratulations and my best wishes for the future. And the only thing I want to tell you is that those of us who 20 or 30 years ago took part in a similar ceremony have found this to be a challenging world, a fascinating world, and a world worthy of the preparation you have made

RANDOLPH. Mr. President. after Senator Johnson had spoken, honorary degrees were conferred upon five distinguished Americans, including our honored guest and a great and venerable West Virginian, Michael L. Benedum.

The citation for the awarding of the honorary LL.D. degree to Lyndon Baines Johnson noted, among other items that "his record in Congress shows that he did, and does his own thinking"; that "he has been described as one of the hardest working Members of Congress and has the respect of members of both parties"; that "he is an individual who first collects the facts in a case and then makes his recommendations without fear and without respect to personalities involved"; that "this man is a person of prodigious energy," a man who, in order to keep up with his assignments, "has to live at a gallop"; that "he has been ever alert to strike down intolerance whenever it has raised its ugly head"; and in the citation were these significant questions ·and answers:

What has this man written-what is he writing? We can summarize his achievements in these few words: He is writing pages in the history of a great democracy. To what is this man devoting his life? To living out those beliefs which have been quoted, namely, his proclamation of his political and personal philosophy in the fol-lowing words: "I am a free man, an American, a U.S. Senator, and a Democrat-in that order. I am also a liberal a conservative, a Texan, a taxpayer, a rancher, a businessman, a consumer, a parent, a voter, and not as young as I used to be nor as old as I expect to be—and I am all of these things in no fixed order. \* \* In the heart of my own beliefs is a rebellion against this labeling and filing of Americans under headings regional, economic, occupational, racial or I regard the right to hold one's own political philosophy as a cornerstone of American freedom." \*

It is indeed fitting and proper that this historic old college, founded by Alexander Campbell, who held strongly to those, same principles of individual freedom, democracy, and self-sacrifice, should honor a follower of Campbell, a member of the Disciples of Christ, at this, the mother institution.

Mr. President, Mr. Paul G. Benedum, a distinguished native West Virginian and the nephew and close business associate of Michael L. Benedum-who will, God willing, achieve the age of 90 years on July 16-accepted the honorary LL.D. degree conferred by Bethany on the pioneer oil and gas explorer, producer, financier, philanthropist, and patriotic American:

Some men become wealthy because that is their purpose in life; others accumulate great fortunes as the result of the atlainment of specific objectives. Michael Benedum's objective was exploration and the genius of the man who found more oil than any other individual in history produced the wealth which is now being devoted to religious and educational philanthropy and the communities in which he has a personal interest.

In 1944, Mr. and Mrs. Benedum established the Claude Worthington Benedum Foundation as a memorial to their only son, who died in World War I. Three-fourths of the income of this foundation is designated for the benefit of the State of West Virginia and is being used to provide scholarship loans for needy and deserving students, and to respond to the needs of civic, religious, charitable, scientific and educational institutions. This will be the Benedums' principal instrument for public service.

Entirely too many of our contemporary standards are those of a sedative society whose symbols of achievement are the tranquilizer, the consultant's couch and affluence for all men irrespective of merit. It is, therefore, particularly appropriate that we should pay our highest respects to a philosopher of action whose 90 years of indefatigable living have been characterized by courage, optimism, excellence and a profound sense of personal responsibility.

It is my honor and pleasure to present Mr. Michael Late Benedum for the honorary degree of doctor of laws.

The histories of civilization record an infinite variety of ideas and aspirations but if there has been one dominant preoccupation common to the minds of men in all ages it is the search for a philosophy by which to live.

In the year 1885 in Bridgeport, W. Va., Michael Late Benedum reported at Davisson's Mill for his first job. He was 18 years old and the starting wage was \$16 per month and although the intervening time has altered all other circumstances the work has continued without interruption—for this is part of his philosophy. "I never expect to quit work. Idleness destroys everything within its influence. It will dissipate the largest fortune, and it will ultimately destroy nations and civilization."

Our literature and our art proclaim the impotence of the individual; our classrooms and pulpits echo their despair, and, at the first sign of adversity, we turn in supplication toward the Potomac and pray to be delivered from the evil of self-determination.

The bicgraphy of the man we honor is the romantic, adventurous and inspirational epic of the discovery of oil from the days when an official of the Standard Oil Co. declared he would "drink every gallon of oil produced west of the Mississippi" to the truly fabulous fields of Oklahoma, Louisiana, Mexico, Ru-mania, and South America. And, as we observe the bench marks which identify the significant moments of triumph, tragedy, success and catastrophy along the path from lease agent for the South Penn Oil Co. to the executive offices in the Benedum-Trees Building in Pittsburgh, it is not difficult to imagine the tolerant amusement with which Mike Benedum regards the current pessimism which classifies man as solely the mechanistic product of birth and environment.

## Mazama Bulletin Heralds Oregon Dunes Seashore Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, the Mazama Club of Portland, Oreg., an organization of outstanding outdoors enthusiasts, recently printed a bulletin providing its members with detailed information concerning my bill, S. 1526, to establish the Oregon Dunes National Seashore Area. I am pleased and grateful for the excellent support given by the Mazama Conservation Committee to this proposal for adding a section of Oregon scenic shoreline to the national park system. The Mazamas are Oregon's foremost mountain-climbing club.

The Mazamas have performed numerout public services for improvement of outdoor recreation and for preservation of scenic and wildlife values. I can think of no finer endorsement for the Oregon Dunes proposal than the strong support given in the recent Mazama Bulletin, "Conservation Now." The Mazamas have provided leadership for many years in preservation of scenery of the Pacific Coast States. Its members and officials have worked tirelessly for such legislation as the Wilderness Preservation Act, and for control of billboard advertising along the Federal Interstate Highway System. I am certain that Mazama support for the Oregon Dunes Seashore Area will contribute greatly to better public understanding of the park development plan in the State of Oregon. I ask consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the article from the Mazama Bulletin entitled "Oregon Dunes National Seashore."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### OREGON DUNES NATIONAL SEASHORE

Mazamas should take special notice that no congressional legislation has been enacted in almost 60 years to add significant Oregon scenery to the system of national parks. This situation has been altered recently by S. 1526 to establish the Oregon Dunes National Seashore, and this is so unusual and important that we are impelled to devote considerable precious space to examine this proposal. Mr. Malcolm Bauer of the Oregonian points out that "Even the most promising public development needs to be understood before it can be popularly accepted" so we are printing the entire text of S. 1526:

"A bill to establish the Oregon Dunes National Seashore in the State of Oregon, and for other purposes

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, in order to Preserve for the benefit, inspiration, and use of the public certain unspoiled shoreline in the State of Oregon which possesses scenic, scientific, and recreation values of national importance, the Secretary of the Interior is authorized, as provided herein, to establish the Oregon Dunes National Seashore.

"Sec. 2. The Secretary of the Interior may designate for inclusion in the Oregon Dunes National Seashore not to exceed thirty-five thousand acres of land and such adjoining waters and submerged lands as he finds are required for the national seashore. Lands designated pursuant to this section shall consist of not more than thirty-four thousand six hundred sixty acres, referred to as Oregon Dunes, and lying between the Siuslaw and Umpqua Rivers in Lane and Douglas Counties; and not more than three hundred and forty acres, referred to as Sea Lion Caves, in Lane County, lying approximately seven and one-half miles north of the Siuslaw River

'SEC. 3. (a) Within the exterior boundaries designated by him, the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to procure, set aside, and develop in such manner as he finds to be in the public interest, the land and waters, or interests therein, that he considers necessary to assure adequate preservation and public use of such areas in furtherance of the purposes of this Act. The Secretary may procure said land and water, or interests therein, by donation or by purchase with donated or appropriated funds, and such authority to purchase with donated or appropriated funds shall include authority to condemn under the provisions of the Act of August 1, 1888: Provided, That land owned by the State or its political subdivision within the boundaries selected by the Secretary may be procured only with the concurrence of the State or political subdivisions. Any Federal land within the boundaries selected by the Secretary shall be transferred to the Department of the Interior for administration as a part of the national seashore: Provided further, That the Federal department or agency having administration over such land shall agree in advance to such transfer.

"(b) When the Secretary finds that land has been procured by the United States in sufficient quantity to afford an administerable unit, he shall declare the establishment of such national seashore by the publication of notice thereof in the Federal Register. Following such establishment, and subject to the aforesaid acreage limitation, the Secretary may continue to acquire lands for the national seashore as authorized in this Act.

"(c) The administration, protection, and development of national seashores pursuant to this Act shall be exercised by the Secretary of the Interior, subject to the provisions of the Act of August 25, 1916 (39 Stat. 535; 16 U.S.C., 1952 ed., secs. 1-4), as amended and supplemented, relating to the national park system, and in accordance with other laws of general application relating to that system as defined by the Act of August 8, 1953 (67 Stat. 496; 16 U.S.C. 1952 edi. supp. V, sec. 1c), except that authority otherwise available to the Secretary of the Inte-

rior for the conservation and management of natural resources may be utilized to the extent he finds such authority will further the establishment and preservation of the national seashore.

"SEC. 4. There are authorized to be appropriated such funds as may be required to carry out the purposes of this Act."

As was previously mentioned it has been a long time since legislation of this type affecting Oregon has been enacted—not since Crater Lake National Park was established in 1902. Oregon Caves National Monument was established by Presidential decree in 1909. There should be an impelling obligation to study and evaluate any legislation that will affect Oregon so extensively. Mazama members should visit these lands and obtain first-hand impressions, and they should also plan to attend and participate in congressional hearings which may be scheduled in Oregon this fall.

Any discussion of S. 1526 should begin with a review of the basic concepts of the National Park Service which are preservation, interpretation, and recreation compatible with protection of the main features of the designated area. To relate these concepts to the proposed legislation, the lands designated as the Sea Lion Caves in Lane County present an easy example. Their future protection would be assured and scientific management would be employed to perpetuate this wild-life resource for public enjoyment. There is general agreement that this would be wise and desirable procedure.

Some of the lands to be included in the Oregon Dunes area already enjoy develop-ment for recreation such as the excellent Forest Service camps and superb Honeyman State Park. What advantages, then, would be achieved? There could be value in having the one national agency which is responsible by law to plan, preserve, administer, and develop the entire area for recreation as a national seashore. But the unique advantage would be in the interpretation of the natural features by experts in the field of botany, land and marine biology, ornithology, geology, Outside of the Tillamook geology. Outside of the Museum with its remarkable curator, there is no place on the Oregon coast where authoritative, scientific information can be had on flowers, rocks, minerals, shells, birds, marine life, and land animals. Nowhere are there guided tours, special nature trails, natural history displays, programs, lectures, pamphlets, books, and other educational materials pertinent to the area available to the public.

Many people at the present time do not realize the significance or scientific potential of our coast area. Many people are eager for knowledge that is difficult to obtain or relate. Most need to be shown in order to know where and what to look for, and the meaning of their finds in order to appreciate "the magnificence of natural things." There are those who won't think this is important, but it is the observation and appreciation of our world around us that adds to the joy and wonder and enrichment of living. This is why tourist information centers are so popular and why there are guided tours and nature trails in national parks. Tourists flock to such places because they want to see something new, something different, something special.

Mazama tradition is rich in the lore of national parks. Our first president, Will Steel, worked 17 years for the establishment of Crater Lake National Park. He was its second Superintendent and later Commissioner, and his enthusiasm and knowledge enhanced the appreciation and enjoyment of all visitors for this scenic gem. Oregon Caves National Monument gives tourists a better experience because of its guides and information available. One may compare this with exploring caves in other parts of Oregon without any such service, and the

importance of interpretation is readily understood.

Of course there are some objections expressed, primarily by some people in and adjacent to the proposed area. These are based on dislocation or relocation of present landowners. Such changes would not be without fair compensation as for other public land uses whether for parks, schools, military use, for highways or freeways. differences are resolved in the public interest and the balance struck for the majority. should be remembered that S. 1526 is enabling legislation only with boundaries to be fixed after further survey and study. However, the introduction of S. 1526 is a fact, and future action on it will depend on public opinion, expressed to Senator RICHARD and Representative CHARLES NEUBERGER PORTER.

## Unemployment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. ROBERT C. BYRD

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
, Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a transcript of the program of the CBS television network program "Behind the News With Howard K. Smith: 'Unemployment,'" on Sunday, May 31, 1959.

There being no objection, the transcript of the program was ordered to be printe din the RECORD, as follows:
BEHIND THE NEWS WITH HOWARD K. SMITH:

"UNEMPLOYMENT"

Man's Voice. The people here in this county are starving. They haven't anything to go on; they're starving. They can't get no help.

Mr. Smith. Amid our prosperity, these Americans are unemployed. Amid our plenty,

they stand in line for food.

ANNOUNCER. The CBS Television Network presents "Behind the News With Howard K. Smith. Today's subject: "Unemployment."

Mr. SMITH. Early this month the Federal Government released its latest figures on unemployment. The news was good. Unemployment took a sharp drop in April. The number of Americans out of work declined by about 1 million.

But in the midst of our prosperity, the fact is that 3½ million Americans are still out of jobs. This is a good 5 percent of the total work force. In some cities, the percentage of unemployed goes higher.

In Bridgeport, Conn., 10 percent of the labor force is jobless; in Flint, Mich., 13 percent; in Morgantown, W. Va., 15 percent.

Much of the unemployment is seasonal or due to some other temporary factor. But some of it is long term. The areas which have the highest and most persistent unemployment are called depressed areas. The areas have one feature in common. All of them are largely dependent on a single industry and that industry is in trouble.

The coal industry, for instance, has been.

The coal industry, for instance, has been in difficulties in recent years. As a result, the areas dependent on coal have been among those hardest hit.

West Virginia is a good example. The State is the biggest coal producer in the Nation. Since coal is in trouble, West Virginia is in trouble. Its rate of unemployment is twice the national average. It has many breadlines.

Recently, the U.S. Senate voted to create a commission to investigate depressed areas.

Senator Lyndon Johnson of Texas, introduced the resolution. He promised that the Commission would in his words "taste, smell, and hear the despair of those parts of the country where men and women cannot find work.

. Today, we are going to try to taste, smell, feel, and hear some of that despair ourselves. In the next half-hour we are going to take a look at a depressed area.

We will focus on the coal industry, but we might just as well have focused on textiles

or the lumber industry.

We have selected Morgantown, W. Va., as our locale. Morgantown's story is fairly It is not the worst hit area in West Virginia or in the Nation, but it is depressed. In Morgantown, nearly one in every six persons in the labor force is out of

We want to examine in Morgantown: First, the conditions among the unemployed; second, the causes of unemployment; and third, what can be done about it? Some proposals for easing the situation. Let's take a look at conditions first.

Morgantown is located in the northwest corner of West Virginia in Monongalia County. It sprawls along the Monongahela River for a distance of several miles. It is home to some 30,000 people. It sits on top of the richest soft coal fields in the world.

To the casual observer Morgantown does not look like it's in trouble. West Virginia University is situated near the center of town. The campus is attractive and serene. The fine old homes in Hopecrest, Morgantown's best residential section, compare with any in the Nation. And in Suncrest comfortable homes are going up for the middle income groups. The town has a brand new bank building, and on Saturday mornings folks come down to High Street to shop.

But there is another side to Morgantown. The truth is the town is badly off. Like most West Virginia towns Morgantown depends on coal. When the coal economy is up, Morgantown is up; when it is down, Morgantown is down. In recent years coal has suffered. As a result, conditions in Morgantown have gone from bad to worse. Many mines have been shut down, and half of Morgantown's miners have been put out of work.

How do these men and their families manage? The answer is not pretty. It means taking a look at another part of Morgantown, the part where breadlines

This is Pleasant Street in Morgantown. The white building is the headquarters of the Salvation Army. The crowd of people in front is waiting for food. The food is distributed free the third Thursday of every month. To qualify for it, a person must show need. Among the unemployed in Morgantown, few fail to qualify.

On this day last month, 50 tons of food were given away. People came from all over Monongalia and neighboring Preston Counties to take it, women came, children and men. Each with a sack or box to lug his share away. The lines kept moving all day

In Monongalia County more than 10 per-cent of the population received food; in Preston County, more than 30 percent received it.

The miners call this food "commodities." It consists of flour, butter, rice, cornmeal, and powdered milk. The women make a kind of mash out of it which they call "molygrub."

The food comes from Federal Government surpluses. It's free, but each State and locality must pay for transportation. The county helps but it costs the Salvation Army about \$60 to distribute the food. The Salvation Army is running about \$1,500 behind in its

It's no pleasure to stand in a breadline. But these people have no choice. They need this food to keep their families going, and even this is not enough.

Man's Voice. I have three children; they all go to school and lots of times when they get up in the morning they have to go to school without something to eat.

WOMAN'S VOICE. I have 12 children. 'They come to me and they say: "Mommie, I'm hungry." Sometimes I have something to give them to eat and sometimes I don't have nothing to give them. And they go ahead and cry, and everything. Woman's Voice. I think we should have

more commodities than we do get. We don't get enough to provide for the bunch of them to eat through the month.

WOMAN'S VOICE. No, I do not believe we get enough commodities because the flour we get only lasts a week and we only get them once a month.

Man's Voice. I've been all over Preston County trying to find work and I can't find

any. There isn't any to find.

Man's Voice. But I've been over a year now looking for employment but I still have never found anything yet. There's coal mines, timber wood, hospitals, clinics, anything at all you mention and I haven't found anything yet. I haven't found a job at all.

Mr. Smith. Obviously, surplus food solves only part of the problem. What other sources of assistance are available? There are mainly three and these don't begin to meet the needs.

There is first unemployment compensation. But this money does not go very far. The most any unemployed worker receives is \$30 a week and some receive as little at \$10 a week. And the payments eventually run out. By now, more than a third of Morgantown's unemployed have exhausted their benefits.

There is next department of public assistance money or welfare. But this isn't too helpful either. In Morgantown, if a man is able to work, neither he nor his family is eligible for welfare even if he cannot find a job.

To qualify, a man must be unemployable. There is one way out. If a man deserts his family, at least his wife and children will receive help. Rather than see their families starve, many unemployed men in Morgantown have deserted their families. The only other major source of help is private charity. The wealthiest charity group in Morgantown has only \$3,500 at its disposal.

Bertha Hill is the name of a coal-mining community on the outskirts of Morgantown. Better mining communities exist but many are worse off. Bertha Hill is representative. About 50 families live on the hill but only 6 men in the entire community have full-time jobs. The rest, when they are not out looking for a job, fill their time as best they can. Many of the familles cultivate gardens. The work helps a man to feel useful.

Bertha Hill shows the impact of hard times. Many of the houses do not have sinks or hot water. There is electricity but few other conveniences.

This is a typical family on Bertha Hill. The family lives on the father's unemployment compensation, \$25 a week. We asked this mother what she feeds her family.

MOTHER. Well, I can tell you what I have in the refrigerator. A little bit of beans, a little bit of corn, and I'm fixing pork and beans for supper and some wienies and that's for six of us.

Mr. Smith. There are other expenses in addition to food, like rent and clothes and payments on the furniture. How does this family manage to meet them?

WOMAN'S VOICE. Well, we have had to borrow money and now we're back on our payments-we're way back on them. They just keep riding us for the money now and there's no way in the world I can given them any money on his unemployment check. It takes, all he gets to eat on. It's awful hard to pay bills out of it. Well, they threaten to come up and bring a truck, so I know what that means. They will take the furniture. Well. I told them they won't take nothing out of here. If they take it, they take it leg by leg because I'd bust it all up; I'd take a hatchet and bust it all up.

Mr. Smith. Despite the lack of money. Bertha Hill makes certain its children get at least one good meal a day. The community has pooled its resources to provide a school lunch program. Children whose families can afford it, pay 10 cents; those who can't eat free. It takes \$25 a week to run the program. housewife from Bertha Hill cooks the lunch. She gets \$7.50 a week from the U.S. Government, but does not keep it. for food to run the program. The rest of the money is donated by the community, nickel by nickel.

These children are eating chili, homemade bread, and salad. Their clothes are threatbare. Some are without shoes

What does this kind of struggle do to people? We went to this building to find out. It is Bertha Hill's church, recreation hall, and social center-all in one.

Rev. Walter Case, minister to Bertha Hill is 29 years old.

Case. The biggest problems that our families face may be the ones of physical need, makeshift meals and makeshift clothes. Wondering whether they are going to have to go back on the payment for their cars of their homes. How they are going to keep up on the bills. But there are other problems which are equally as important. Seems to me that hard times can do two things to people-one thing isn't necessarily bad. seen our people pull together as they've never pulled together; there is a close knit fit in some of our families which is directly related to the fact that they all have to work together. They have a wonderful way of accepting their problems. They know that life has to go on and they try to live with their chins up as if life is normal. I think that these things are good.

But then there are other problems which are created for our people. Sometimes if 3 man is out of work long enough, he gets to feeling that he's not needed, that he's use This is a terrible experience, and what it does to the human spirit is not right.

Mr. SMITH. It is not only Bertha Hill which suffers. The whole town has been hurt. This refrigerator is coming out of a home in Morgantown and going back to the appliance store. The customer wasn't able to meet the payments on it; the storeowner, Mr. Kenneth Chaplain, had to repossess.

Mr. Chaplin. We feel very badly about re possessing merchandise. We don't like to

do it and we lose money everytime we do. Mr. SMITH. With many of their customers failing to meet payments and retail sales down generally, Morgantown's small mer-chants like Mr. Chaplin have their backs to the wall.

Mr. CHAPLIN. I would say that if things continue to decline and get worse we along with many other small businesses would be forced to close.

Mr. SMITH. Because business is down and personal income is lower, the town's tax revenues have plummeted. This has meant a sharp cutback in public services. Parks and recreation facilities are neglected. The town can afford only 15 policemen.

Mr. Elmer Prince has been city manager in Morgantown for 26 years. We asked Mr. Prince what would happen if conditions did not improve.

Mr. PRINCE. If the condition becomes much worse, I am very fearful that we are back into a period of 1932 and 1933 where these folks who do not have employment, cannot buy food, cannot provide for their families through medical supplies, rent, clothing, then we are going to have that problem of people making up their minds that they are going to provide their families irrespective of how they have to do it. That means more crime, and major crime.

Mr. SMITH. "If conditions don't improve, we'll be back in the 1930's." That remark pretty well sums up what conditions are like in Morgantown today. And this brings us to our second question: What caused these Conditions?

Two factors are primarily responsible for Morgantown's unemployment. These are mechanization of work in the coal mines and a steady drop in the coal market. Let's take a look at the mechanization problem first

This is the interior of a small hand-worked mine near Morgantown. The operation is primitive. Miners attack the coal seam with picks. When they're loosened a big enough pile, they pick up a shovel and load their cart. Then the mine's donkey hauls the cart outside. The coal is dumped in a truck waiting below the loading platform.

The Christopher Coal Co. in Morgantown operates differently. Its mines are mechanized. Much of the work in the company's glant Humphrey mine is done by machines called Continuous Miners. These are huge machines that cut, load, and haul coal all in one mechanized process. The work is fast and efficient.

Hand operated mines are becoming a thing of the past. Today, about 85 percent of all soft coal produced in this Nation is cut by machine. Around 90 percent is loaded by machine. The machines are more productive, but the machines replace men. A single continuous miner, operating with a crew of 6, does the work of close to 40 hand miners. The displaced miners are put out of work.

The decline in employment has been steady. Ten years ago there were 125,000 soft coal miners working in West Virginia mines. Today, there are only about 65,000, a drop of almost half. The coal companies are aware of the problem and so are the United Mine Workers. But neither group wants to impede mechanization. Both regard it as inevitable and desirable.

Mechanization, however, is only one of the major causes of unemployment in coal. Another is the drop in coal's market. Since World War II, consumption of coal in the Nation has been declining. Today, we are using about one-third less coal than we did just 10 years ago. Competing fuels like oil and natural gas have displaced coal in several markets.

Railroads, for example, used coal exclusively at one time. Now they use practically none. Ironically, the same trains that haul coal out of Morgantown each day are pulled by diesel oil locomotives. We watched these trains as they left Morgantown bound for the steel mills of Pittsburgh.

The same displacement of coal has occurred in home heating and to a lesser extent in industry. The overall drop in coal's share of the fuel market has been great. Ten years ago, coal was the foremost source of power consumed in the United States. Today it lags behind oil and gas. The reasons for this shift from coal are complex.

One factor is price. The coal companies have done much to keep the price of coal competitive, but they are faced with two high fixed costs, one's labor and the other, transportation.

Coal miners, when they work are the highest paid industrial workers in the world. The current basic union scale is approximately \$25 a day.

Transportation of coal is also expensive. Oil and gas move through pipes or by water,

but coal moves largely on rails. And rail freight costs more money.

Another factor is convenience. Coal is bulky and dirty. It takes up space and leaves an ash. Its temperature is hard to control. Oil and gas take less space to store. They burn clean. Their temperature can be readily controlled.

Coal people are spending millions in research to lick some of these handicaps and have made much progress. But in the meantime, all this has meant unemployment for the miner. It is simple economics. When demand goes down, the labor force is reduced. Morgantown, W. Va., has felt the impact of this hard economic fact,

This brings us to our third question: What can be done about it? Obviously, there is no single, simple answer.

Mrs. LaVerne Fulton, a social worker in Morgantown, feels strongly that Federal aid is the only answer.

Mrs. Fulton. I feel that this is a bigger problem than Morgantown, and anything that can be done in a hurry needs to be done with the help of Federal grants. We could have public works but we need public works that are not on the drafting board for 1963 or 1967. We need something which can go into effect right now that would put people to work tomorrow so that next week they would draw a pay and would be able to get the food their family needs to pay the rent and to pay the mortgage payment on their home.

Mr. SMITH. Many people that Federal aid is required. But there is no massive Federal aid program in Morgantown today nor in any of the depressed areas. Congress is considering a depressed areas relief measure but there is disagreement on how much money such a measure should provide. The important point is no such money is available at present.

Other people in Morgantown, however, are opposed to Federal aid. Mr. Donald Potter, president of the power company in Morgantown, is one of these. Mr. Potter feels that Morgantown must help itself; that it must attract new industry.

Mr. POTTER. I can't see that Federal assistance is the long-range answer to West Virginia's problem. As a matter of fact, the only thing that Federal aid would do would be to eliminate the normal and natural desires the people might have to improve their own situation. We have in the past, since 1935 in fact, been engaged in an all out attempt to diversify industry in northern West Virginia. We have limestone, we have salt, we have gas, we have water transportation, and unlimited cooling water in the area, so that there is no doubt if we can call it to the attention of those industries which use those natural resources, we should be able to bring them into our territory.

Mr. Smith. But diversification of industry in Morgantown is not making much headway either. No new industry has come to town from the outside since the year 1955. The only bright spot in the immediate future is the university's new medical center in Morgantown. The center now under construction will be completed in 1961. There will be a medical school for the university and a 400-bed hospital. About 700 Morgantown residents will be employed at the center when it opens. These jobs will bring money to the town. But that is in the future.

Other proposals—the coal company operators want the Federal Government to place restrictions on oil and natural gas. They claim this will increase coal's share of the market and create more jobs. The United Mine Workers want a shorter workweek. They argue that this will spread employment around.

Perhaps the most frequently suggested remedy is relocation of the miners. It is

argued that since there is so little work in the coal-mining areas, the miners should pack up and look for work elsewhere. But there are problems involved in relocation. A husband and wife on Bertha Hill made it plain why moving away is not the answer for them.

WIFE. Well, mostly all these people are up here practically lived here all their lives and I mean they don't like the idea of going some place else. And then some of them have gone to different places and they couldn't find employment, and they went out and went to Ohio and different places and the rent and things were just too expensive for them and they couldn't make out. So they had to come back.

HUSBAND. Yeah, a lot of them came back, said that they couldn't make it.

Wife. And we're used to living out here like this. And then you go to a city. I mean there are a lot of problems there, especially when you have children, and put them in an apartment when you're used to playing out in a yard and everything like that. I mean it is really rough on the wife especially. Well, I mean, what makes it tough for the children, is they're used to having things and they still think you should give it to them, and now you don't have it to give to them.

HUSBAND. Yeah, I've tried to find work down here but can't seem to find anything.

WIFE. And there is no unemployment coming in now this week. We're trying to get something here that we can stay, but if not, we will have to leave later on if they don't get employment. Have to.

HUSBAND. It's hard to go some place when you ain't got no money. It takes a little money to go some place to hunt a job too.

Mr. SMITH. The problem of Morgantown and many other places paying the price for the progress we enjoy remains unsolved. The President has acknowledged the problem; Congress has too, but action has been slow and the effects so far doubtful. In March, the Senate approved a bill to spend nearly \$400 million on the problem. In May, a House committee approved a bill for \$250 millions for it feared the President would veto the higher amount. Two weeks ago the Commerce Department said the United States is the wealthlest society that ever existed. What it is that stands between our great means plus our ability on the one hand and a solution of this problem on the other is one of the unflatterying little mysteries of our time and our country. Good afternoon.

## Tribute to Gen. George C. Marshall

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I was not on the floor of the Senate last week when the distinguished Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. Monroney] and others paid deserved tribute to Gen. George C. Marshall. As one who served in the Armed Forces in World War II, and saw firsthand the marvelous efficiency with which General Marshall directed the training, equipment, mobilization, and deployment of U.S. soldiers for victory, I desire to add a word to what has been said.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a brief prepared statement on the lifetime of service rendered to this country by Gen. George C. Marshall.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the

RECORD, as follows:

TRIBUTE TO GEN. GEORGE C. MARSHALL; HIS SERVICES FOR WAR AND FOR PEACE

During the month of June, we commemorate the anniversaries of two great events in our Nation's history, one in war, D-day, the other in peace, the conception of the European recovery plan. These two events focus our thoughts on that great American whose unforgettable role in both was the culmination of a lifetime of service to this country in both war and peace, Gen. George C. Mar-

As Chief of Staff before and during the Second World War, General Marshall directed the Armed Forces of this country to victory, building them from a small unprepared force to one of the mightiest defense machines the world has ever known. His ability to choose the right man for the right job without regard to personal favoritism, his reorganization of the Army into ground, air, and service forces under the Chief of Staff and Operations Division under the General Staff, his coordination of military and naval strategy, his friendly relations with legislators, and the press, and his high repu-tation among the leaders of other nations are but a few of the achievements and qualities which made General Marshall a great wartime leader.

There is one accomplishment in General Marshall's military career which I would like to point out especially at this time, and that is his excellent organization and supervision of the Services of Supply. Too often, amid the justifiable tribute paid to heroes of battles, we forget the heroes whose quite, efficient, untiring labor behind the scenes is equally essential. To direct these forces well is as imperative as, in fact a vital part of, strategic planning. Shortly after Pearl Harbor, General Marshall and Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson decided on the creation of the Services of Supply, or the Army Service Forces, which took over many of the vital tasks which had be be performed for the support of military operations. Throughout the war, the service forces accomplished a prodigious task in the supply of food, clothing, munitions, and transportation, and were a decisive factor in our victory. General Marshall's role in the organization, selection of the commander, and supervision of these services, which have been described as General Marshall's own creation, should be viewed in its proper perspective as one of the most noteworthy achievements of this great man ...

Finally, I should like to pay tribute to General Marshall as one of our great peacetime leaders. As Secretary of State in one of the most critical times in our Nation's history, General Marshall played a vital role in some of those early, decisive actions which did so much to stem the tide of communism, the timely aid to Greece and Turkey and, above all, the plan to help Europe recover from the ravages of war which bears his name, the Marshall plan. Most of us would be proud if we could match even a small part of General Marshall's contributions to his country, or share even a bit of the deep effection which he enjoys from the American people. Like the Father of our Country, he is held high not only in the annals of war and peace but in the hearts of his countrymen.

## Juvenile Delinquency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include an address which I delivered at the National Institute on Crime and Delinquency at New Ocean House, Swampscott, Mass., June 1, 1959:

SPEECH OF HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY, MEMBER OF CONGRESS, SECOND DISTRICT, RHODE ISLAND, AT THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE ON CRIME AND DELINQUENCY AT NEW OCEAN HOUSE SWAMPSCOTT, MASS., JUNE 1, 1959

It is a pleasure to be here with you this evening and I welcome the opportunity to share with you my thoughts on the problem

of juvenile delinquency.

It is a problem that causes grave concern, not only to you and to me, but to millions of our fellow Americans, and rightly so.

The statistics themselves are shocking. The number of delinquency cases has risen for 9 consecutive years, in fact such cases have doubled in the last decade.

Last year more than one-half million of our children were involved in court actions because of delinquent behavior. An additional million whose cases never reached the court required police attention.

Young people under 18 are committing an increasingly disproportionate number serious offenses, according to FBI reports.
Yet you know, as I do, that these figures,

shocking as they are, do not tell the whole story. They barely hint the magnitude of the problem in the human terms of parental distress, economic burden, and loss of future potentially useful citizens.

All over our broad land, parents, teachers, the courts, civic groups, and other organizations express concern over the problem. And there are many groups attempting to solve it.

Recently I have met several times with professional people who are tackling the juvenile-delinquency problem through what they call saturation programs. This was a new term to me, but the idea it expresses that of flooding high-delinquency areas with the united services of all the agencies of the community—seems to me to be a genuinely creative technique. What impresses me most about these total community programs is the breadth of concept. Here delinquency is tackled simultaneously with every available resource. Working through existing agencies-community, school, and civic groups; welfare and medical facilities; legal and police channels, youth organizations—these programs attempt to make available to the children of high-delinquency areas every type of help they will need. Through the schools, psychometric testing, remedial reading, and vocational guidance services are given as they are needed. The dentists and physicians of the community are drawn into contact with deprived groups who are ordinarily without such care, and mental health clinics are established to help untangle some of the complex psychological problems of the people of the area. Public and voluntary welfare agencies are utilized in their particular areas of concern. Interagency registries are set up to prevent duplication of effort and assure that each agency which has contact with a family knows which other

agencies have attempted to serve members of the same family. Probation and parole officers reach out to delinquent and potentially delinquent children at a level they can understand, gradually winning the confi-dence and respect of influential gang leaders.

Let me say a special word about the people who handle the difficult tasks of probation and parole work. These are grueling jobs, taxing every resource of the worker, often placing him in actual physical danger. Yet, in spite of the long hours, the emotional and physical strain, the inadequate pay, we find young men and young women ready and willing to devote themselves to these jobs in the hope of reaching a few of the unreach-able children. With these young men and women—many of you here today—lies much of the day-to-day supervision of disturbed and often rebellious children. To me, this type of service calls for a dedication to ideals—of vocation—of equal measure as that demanded of our medical or educational professions.

But the various techniques I have mentioned which bring together all available services are only the surface manifestations of a concept of far greater depth, which was also explained to me—a concept which I be-lieve to be a thoroughly sound one of far-reaching implications. This concept rec-ognizes the supreme importance of family and community, stability in freeing children of the tensions that lead to delinquency. Consequently, programs are focused especially on strengthening the family and com-

munity structures.

Special attention is given to the adjust-ment problems of families who move from familiar surroundings into Federal housing projects, and every effort is made to establish harmonious relationships among the new neighbors who are often of different cultural backgrounds.

Attempts are made to stimulate the more responsive members of the newly established communities to develop growing attitudes of civic responsibility. Special contacts with parents are made at the first sign of troubled behavior in the child, and the parents are educated to the need for positive parental influence and control while the children are still young enough to accept it.

The young people themselves are invited to participate in councils where specific problems can be ventilated and corrective action outlined by those most actively in and af-

fected by them.

I am told that programs utilizing some of these ideas have been developed in several of our major cities: Philadelphia, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco and others, and that one of the most comprehensive at present, is mobilization for youth, the all-out total community program in New York's lower East Side. Mr. James McCarthy, executive secretary of this program, has been partly responsible for opening my eyes to the creative possibilities of this new toward comprehensive programs of action.

I am not naive enough to assume that this approach to delinquency prevention and control is a panacea. In fact the more I learn about it the more I became aware of certain additional needs in the fight against juvenile delinquency. Two important as-pects of the Mobilization of Youth project are simultaneous training of needed personnel and research to determine the effectiveness of techniques used in the effort to reduce deviant behavior. I feel that we need these training and evaluation procedures with each and every program of this type. We must set ourselves a goal of far more research in the field than is presently being We need to look into the possible

relationship between juvenile delinquency and mothers who work. We need to determine why delinquency rises in some communities and drops in others. We need to make full use of the tests which have been developed to help us identify delinquency-prone children early, before they actually get into trouble, and devise still more ways to recognize such children. We must evaluate the effectiveness of our prevention and treatment techniques and formulate new ones to fill the gaps we discover.

I have been pleased to note that as you who are active in juvenile delinquency have turned increasingly to the total treatment approach in combating it, you have also turned your attention to a consideration of our present court structures. We cannot doubt the need for strong and effective courts. We know that in the past decade the number of cases coming before the juvenile courts has increased almost five times as rapidly as the child population of juvenile court age. This is an alarming rate of increase, and projected into the future at the same rate would mean that in another 5 or 6 years the courts would be handling a million delinquent children each year.

We have seen it demonstrated again and again that the seeds of delinquency are most apt to lie within the early homelife of the child. In fact I have been told that certain tests have been devised by Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck which attempt to predict the probability of future delinquent behavior through an analysis of the family setting. The Gluecks found clues that certain factors within the home relate closely to the presence or absence of delinquent behavior in the children. These factors were supervision by the mother, discipline by the father, affection of the mother and of the father, and cohesiveness of the family group.

Recently I learned that a limited pilot study in Washington, D.C., indicates that of 60 disturbed children studied, over half had shown behavior problems in their preschool years, and an additional third had manifested difficulties by the time they were in kinder-garten. Poor family relationships and an unstable home environment were present in a significant number of the class. These facts, and other studied along the same line, indicate a clear need for family guidance facilities available while the children are in their preschool years, as well as during the school years—but they also bring me to the Point I wish to make about our present court structures.

At present in most areas juvenile offenses fall under the jurisdiction of one court while cases relating to other family matters are handled by other courts. Many of our juvenile courts are doing on excellent job of supplying the specialized services needed by the disturbed young people who come before them, but I feel it is possible that an even more effective job can be done if the total framework of family problems can be considered by a single agency. This is not a matter simply of adherence to certain constitutional guarantees about the rights of individual children, important as those guarantees are. If, as research seems to show, delinquency is usually an outgrowth of an inadequate home life, it seems logical that delinquency cases might best be handled by a court empowered to deal with all problems relating to family matters. This idea, of course, is not original with me. It is the substance of the Standard Family Court Act Which has recently been released after 4 Years of study by your organization, in co-operation with the Children's Bureau and the National Council of Juvenile Court Judges.

I think of the family court concept as a form of insurance. To return to the point I mentioned about the seeds of juvenile delinquency being sown most often in an unstable home environment, I think we might consider these questions: If, by the family court

approach we can strengthen and stabilize family relationships, may we not be supplying one more of the building blocks in our defense against juvenile delinquency? May we not help families toward the resolution of some of their problems while their children are small, before they have slipped—or been driven—into delinquent behavior?

The coordination of services to a given family seems to me to be one of the chief possible advantages of this system. You have all encountered cases where the same family may be known to several different courts at the same time. You have seen that this is confusing to the family involved and inefficient from the standpoint of the court because it results in duplication of effort and one-sided knowledge of the family's problems. A family in trouble often does not know to which court it should turn with its particular problems of the moment. The courts, in turn, acting independently of each other, with different policies and procedures, may actually be at cross-purposes in relation to the problems of a given family.

Commendable as are these efforts, I have been impressed, as I have discussed the juvenile delinquency problem for the past several years, with the lack of coordinated effort. No one group accepts responsibility for giving leadership in the attempts to prevent or ameliorate the problem. The same situation of necessity exists where there is a lack of unified probation and parole system.

Earlier, I mentioned the need for more research on various aspects of the problem. As you know, I have for many years served as chairman of the committee of the House of Representatives that hears appropriation requests for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. In the course of the years, hearing from leaders in medical and health research, it has become apparent to me and the other members of my committee that many of our scientists are, as they should be, increasingly turning their attention to study of the behavioral sciences. Such studies include inquiry into the psychological, emotional, and environmental factors affecting children and youth. From such studies can come knowledge of influences leading to deviant behavior-knowledge which in turn will, it seems to me, give us our best leads to means for preventing juvenile delinquency.

In the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare are the Children's Bureau and the National Institute of Mental Health, both with interest, experience, and resources in the fields of child behavior, child welfare, and child psychology. My deep personal conviction of the benefits to be gained from research in medical and related health fields has led me to believe that a collaborative effort by these two agencies, one oriented to research in behavioral, psychologic and psychiatric sciences and the other oriented to research in sociological science with emphasis on child welfare, could not help but lead to methods for helping reduce the tragic social burden that juvenile delinquency represents.

The members of my committee are also convinced of the desirability of such collaborative effort by these two agencies. In our report on the appropriations for the Department we, therefore, instructed the Children's Bureau and the National Institute of Mental Health to team up on the problem and let us know what can be accomplished by such collaborative effort. In addition, because we in the Congress have been convinced of the need for some one group to assume primary responsibility for leadership in this field, the National Institute of Mental Health was asked to take such primary leadership.

I hope that as a result, there may be constructive progress, or at least a clear path toward such progress, by the time your group meets next year. Meanwhile, I hope, and am confident, that you will continue your efforts to meet the problem. You may be equally confident that I, for my part, will continue my efforts in the Congress toward the end we both so greatly desire—an end to juvenile delinquency and a happier, more rewarding future for our Nation's children and young people.

## International Cooperation Can Make a Better World for all Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the meeting of the Atlantic Congress in London, to try to work out peaceful, constructive methods of international cooperation for the good of all, is worthy of a close watch by all of us.

International cooperation to fight disease and to improve agriculture and manufacturing techniques can benefit the entire world and best exemplifies the spirit of democracy.

Mr. President, I request unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Washington Post and Times Herald for Friday, June 5, 1959, entitled "NATO's Other Shield."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

#### NATO'S OTHER SHIELD

It is a compelling coincidence that the Atlantic Congress begins in London today on the eve of the 15th anniversary of Day. The times still call for collective action among free nations, but of a different kind, and the character of the meeting is itself an indication of the change. Some 650 delegates from 14 NATO nations will discuss, not military questions, but instead, ways of forging stronger links among free peoples in the areas of economics, culture and politics.

The delegates are not official spokesmen, although the member governments strongly support the Congress, and that is as it should be. The aim of the Congress is to provide a forum without a party line where private citizens may bring their talents and ingenuity to bear so as to give deeper meaning to the Atlantic community.

From the viewpoint of longer perspective, the hope of the sponsors—the NATO Parliamentarians Conference—is to strengthen the alliance's other shield. When NATO was created a decade ago, the primary impetus was military, although the pact's second article pledges cooperation in non-military areas. Today it is evident that military alliances alone are not enough to contain the thrust of communism. NATO was formed to defend a limited military area, but, as one British sponsor observes, in the next decade "we shall find our frontline has become the mind of the youth of Asia and Africa."

It is imperative, therefore, that better ways be found of pooling the talents of the West to meet the nonmilitary challenge of the East. If the recommendations of the Congress enlarge just a little the area of cooperation in scientific discovery, in eco-

nomic development programs, and in the increased exchange of persons, then the meeting can claim an important measure of

Correspondence Between Dr. Walter Becher. Secretary-General and Member of Bavarian Landtag, and Senator Byrd, of West Virginia

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. ROBERT C. BYRD

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD letters which I have received from Dr. Walter Becher, Secretary-General and member of the Bavarian Landtag, commenting on speeches I have previously made with respect to the Berlin crisis.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the REC-ORD, as follows:

> SUDETEN GERMAN COUNCIL. München, den, June 1, 1959.

Hon. ROBERT C. BYRD, Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR BYRD: I should like to thank you very much for sending me your fine speech on Germany. Please accept our best thanks for what you said in this speech. On our Sudeten German Day in Vienna.

Austria, about 400,000 Sudeten Germans took Festival speakers were several Austrian Federal Ministers, principal speakers on the Castle Hofburg's main square being the Austrian Federal Chancellor, Dr. Julius Raab, whose father was also a Sudeten German. Dr. Raab received also the Sudeten German Charles Prize

A third of the inhabitants of Vienna are of Sudeten German origin; they or their ancestors came from Sudetenland regions of Bohemia and Moravia/Silesia already before World War II and I. To the 3.3 million Sudeten Germans who were expelled after World War II from their Sudetenland by the Communists, Vienna has always been dear, it has been their capital in the past and their beloved city at present.

Your spech was brought to the knowledge of the Sudeten German political leaders. We greaty appreciate everything you said on behalf of Germany and of the free world. We shall never forget your words and will always be conscious of our duty to cooperate with the free nations in keeping freedom in the free world and in helping the enslaved people to regain their freedom.

Once more, our best thanks for your wonderful message.

With best personal regards, Yours very sincerely,

Dr. WALTER BECHER, Member of the Bavarian Landtag, Secretary-General.

> SUDETEN GERMAN COUNCIL, München, den, April 21, 1959.

Hon. ROBERT C. BYRD.

Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C. DEAR SENATOR BYRD: In addition to my earlier letter asking for your kind message for the Sudeten German Day in Vienna, Austria, I take the liberty to inform you that the principal festival speaker who will address the Sudeten German people in Vienna will be the Honorable Dr. Julius Raab, Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Austria, further speaker being the president of the Sudeten German Landsmannschaft, Dr. Rudolf Lodgman von Auen. Prominent guests will be members of the Austrian Federal Government, the West German Federal Minister of Transport, Dr. H. Ch. Seebohm (himself a Sudeten German), the Honorable Hans Schutz, Member of Parliament, the Honorable Reitzer, Member of Parliament, and many other members of the West German and Austrian Parliaments, members of the Landtags and West German State Ministers.

It would be a great honor for us if we could receive your kind message and we would appreciate greatly if we could receive it before May 1, 1959.

With best personal regards, Yours most sincerely,

Dr. WALTER BECHER, Secretary General, Member of the Bavarlan Landtag.

> SUDETEN GERMAN COUNCIL. München, den, April 8, 1959.

Hon. ROBERT C. BYRD. Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR BYRD: I take the liberty to call your kind attention to the annual Sudeten German Day which will take place on Whitsuntide, May 17-18, in Vienna, Aus-tria. Hundreds of thousands of Sudeten German expellees are expected to visit the day, coming from Austria, West Germany, and other countries, members of the Austrian Federal Government being festival speakers at the rally.

The Sudeten German people will reassert their dedication to the cause of freedom. democracy, and anticommunism, their faith in the right for self-determination for every people and in the right to live in freedom in the native homeland for all those who have become victims of Communist totalitaraniism. The Sudeten Germans will appeal to the free world for freedom for the enslaved nations, Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Ukrainians, Bates, Hungarians and all other nations and will take stand against any West German confederations with Communist regimes which could end only in the way they ended in China. The close and firm cooperation with the nations of the West, especially the United States is for the Sudeten German people the highest maxime.

It would be a great honor and encouragement for the 3.5 millions Sudeten German people if you would kindly send a few words of message for their Sudeten German Day.

With best personal regards.

Bavarian Lantag.

Yours very sincerely. Dr. WALTER BECHER, Secretary General, Member of the

Jewish War Veterans' Statement on Mutual Security Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, on May 21, 1959, Mr. Bernard Weitzer, national legislative director of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America, presented before the Committee on Foreign Relations a thoughtful statement concerning the mutual security program.

The statement emphasizes the fact that national security depends on economic strength as well as military strength, and goes on to say that we must face with vigor the economic development problems of the underdeveloped and undeveloped nations of the world. The statement calls for an expansion of our economic aid program especially through the instrumentality of the Development Loan Fund.

The statement also calls for more substantial U.S. participation in United Nations development programs. Even though this statement will be included in the record of the committee hearings, I ask unanimaus consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD because of its timeliness.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT ON THE MUTUAL SECURITY PRO-GRAM FOR THE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMIT-TEE BY BERNARD WEITZER, NATIONAL LEGIS-LATIVE DIRECTOR, JEWISH WAR VETERANS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, MAY 21,

On behalf of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America it is my pleasure to express appreciation for this opportunity to present, once again, the views of our organization in favor of the mutual security program which you are considering. For more than 10 years, our organization's support for foreign aid has regularly been affirmed and reaffirmed at our national conventions. The resolution unanimously approved at our recent national convention held in Los Angeles last August 1958, is attached to this statement and I respectfully request that it be included in the printed record of your hearings.

Your committee has had from the representatives of the State Department and other Government officials, a detailed presentation of the President's proposal for the fiscal 1960 mutual security program. In accordance with the attached resolution, I strongly support that proposal but I feel that the dollar amounts suggested should be greatly in-creased for both the military assistance and economic aid phases. The President should have greater latitude, up to 30 percent, in transferring funds from military aid to economic aid. As the Under Secretary of State stated, "I should like to emphasize my opinion that this is a minimum program. In fact, a stronger case can be made for increasing than for decreasing it."

As a veterans' organization, we naturally have a great interest in preserving our national security. We recognize that our national security depends upon economic strength as well as military strength. It is equally true that this combination of economic strength and military strength applies equally to our allies in the free world. The military assistance and the defense support which the mutual security program provides for them, adds to our national security, as the President has said, several times the strength which an equal amount of dollars spent in our country furnish.

Thus, for about 4 percent of our national defense budget for military assistance and about 2 percent of our national defense budget for defense support, we greatly in-crease the deterrents against aggression and the possibility of a world war.

However, it is clear now, as never before, that urgent as it has been and continues to be to maintain a military shield, it is equally urgent that we face up to, with vigor

and in magnitude, the economic development problems of the underdeveloped and undeveloped nations of the world. In these nations, many of which only recently became self-governing, there are hundreds of millions of people where the average per capita production is less than \$100 per year. Their lives have been marked for long years with the deep misery which flows from poverty, ignorance, hunger, and disease. Proud of their new nationhood, they expect relief from their despair which has persisted through many generations. Without help from the free nations of the world, among Which they recognize the United States as the leader, these people will not see fulfillment of their hopes and expectations. They lack know-how in government, in agriculture, and in production generally. Likewise, they lack capital and their low per capita income precludes any substantial savings from their already low consumption which could form the capital funds needed for increased production.

Your committee and the Congress have, during the past 10 years, taken important steps to make possible the measures which helped significantly, to restore and rehabili-tate the economy of the major countries in Europe. Through your action, the point 4 program was translated from an idea presented by President Truman, into a working force that has measurably transmitted American know-how to scores of nations. This has saved millions of lives, eliminated In some areas and cut down in others, debilitating diseases such as malaria. This en-abled millions of workers to work steadily and productively rather than fitfully and wastefully. Likewise, you have authorized billions of dollars in grants and loans which have furthered economic strength and increased production in many lands, too numerous to mention. Public Law 480 has permitted to us to distribute substantial amounts of our surplus agricultural commodities to relieve hunger and need. Vour committee has also initiated the authori-zation of funds to pay our share of the United Nations expanded technical assistance program and for the United Nations Special Project Fund. Finally, you have put into being, the Loan Development Fund.

In effect, you have created an enormous investment portfolio which has paid off handsomely in a field which presented and continues to present the most complicated problems the world has ever seen. These complications have been aggravated by the cruel, relentless pressures of the Communist tyranny of the Kremiin, to carry its imperialism to all corners of the earth. At the same time, the urgency for continuing and expanding this investment portfolio becomes more pressing due to the realization of millions of people that the misery and poverty which they have long endured can be sooner ended when they are helped to help themselves.

It is a key American tradition to help people help themselves. This is no time to slow down in the practice of that tradition. It will help us morally and materially to implement that tradition more vigorously than ever before. To achieve that end more effectively and more economically, the mutual security program should cease to be a year-to-year program and become at least a 5-year program with the Loan Development Fund increased to \$1½ billion per annum. The point 4 program must be stepped up and we must stimulate, in every way possible, the growth of the United Nations expanded technical assistance program. We must develop additional techniques to use Public Law 480 more effectively and more extensively.

Based on the experience of the past 10 Years, it is clear that we can get results which justify the expenditures that the

world situation requires. With a long-term and expanded program in effect, we can help to create improvements in the living conditions of the underdeveloped nations which will bring certain hope to their peoples and thus check Communist subversion by either political or economic means.

Your committee has the facts which will guide your deliberations in formulating this essential expanded program. Such a program will pay off in bringing us closer to peace and national security. This is a responsibility which will justify your uttermost favorable effort.

EXPANSION OF U.S. PROGRAM OF MUTUAL SECURITY AND TECHNICAL AID

Whereas the free nations of the world are engaged in a global struggle against the onslaught of world communism which seeks to gain world control through both overt and indirect aggression, through economic penetration, and devious propaganda attacks; and

Whereas we deem it the responsibility of the United States as a leader among the free nations of the world to organize resistance against Communist designs to subvert the free world; and

Whereas in this cold war struggle, the United States has the obligation to mobilize its moral and physical strength to help enable the free world to withstand the subversive and infiltrating activities of the Communists and frustrate the Communist intent to dominate the world; and

Whereas the programs for mutual security and technical assistance have demonstrated their value by blocking the Communist effort in many directions but are now of insufficient size and scope, particularly in the light of the Soviet's program of economic aid, trade penetration, and arms supplies, all of which are reflected in depressed economic conditions among the peoples of the have-not nations, by the drift toward neutralism of the many uncommitted nations, and by the hostility expressed by the Latin American people on the recent trips to that area by Vice President Nixon, Dr. Milton Eisenhower, and Secretary of State Dulles; and

Whereas many nations of the free world are not linked to the United States through

regional pacts; and

Whereas the United States has no effective plan whereby the nations who are members of regional pacts are encouraged to develop mutual security and technical assistance programs among themselves: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved. That the Jewish War Veterans of the United States assembled in 63d annual national convention in Los Angeles, Calif., August 3 to 10, 1958, hereby request the President and the Congress of the United States to reexamine the policy with regard to mutual security, economic aid, and technical assistance and adopt the following recommendations for expanding programs:

 The United States should reaffirm its wholehearted support of the mutual security program as the most effective expenditure which our country can make in its own national defense and for the security of the free nations of the world.

- 2. The United States should make every effort to expand, especially through the Loan Development Fund, its economic aid to those nations with whom it has entered into mutual security pacts, in order to raise the standard of living in these countries, as well as to the underdeveloped countries.
- The United States should encourage the nations of the free world to develop mutual security and technical assistance programs among themselves for their common good.
- 4. The United States should encourage new regional pacts among the uncommitted nations of the world in an effort to help in-

sure their national defense and to improve the economic conditions within these countries.

5. The United States should expand its technical assistance programs for underdeveloped countries through the bilateral technical assistance program (point 4) and through the United Nations technical assistance programs, as evidence that the American people are devoted to the cause of elevating the standard of living for the peoples within these countries. In so doing, the United States can best reaffirm its desire to help those nations which seek to implement their economic development, but wish to refrain from entering into military commitments.

## The Farm Program: Letter From Emil W. Heck

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. FRANK CARLSON

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, one of the outstanding farmers of Kansas, Mr. Emil W. Heck, of rural route 3, Lawrence, recently wrote to the editor of the Lawrence Journal-World a letter in regard to the farm program. His letter is one of the most practical and informative presentations of the present farm situation I have read, and I want to call it to the attention of the Senate.

In view of the fact that many persons are advocating that the Government remove itself from the price-support and other farm programs, I think it is fitting that we give some consideration to the point Mr. Heck mentions in his letter. He states—

To take the Government out of agriculture would be as ridiculous as advocating the removal of Government from the field of transportation, utilities, housing, and slum clearance.

There is no doubt that every farmer would like to be relieved of many of the restrictions and regulations that are now a part of the agricultural program. On the other hand, the complete removal of the Government from the price-support program, with the present farm surpluses, would be disastrous, not only to the farmer, but also to the economy of our Nation.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Heck's letter be made a part of these remarks and be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE FARM PROGRAM

EDITOR, JOURNAL-WORLD:

I read with interest the letter to the editor from I. J. Stoneback, route 4, which appeared in the Journal-World on May 22, 1959, and which dealt with Farm Bureau policy on a grassroots basis. In the main, I am in accord with the ideas expressed by Mr. Stoneback and his letter brought to mind some of the thoughts I have been harboring on the matter of Government in agriculture.

For over 80 years, the Government has been part and parcel of the farm program in

this country, attempting to educate farmers to grow two or three blades where one formerly grew, how to maintain the fertility of the soil, and control erosion, and a thousand and one other advances which have brought about a condition of surplus which everyone now seems to deplore. Some of us can remember not too many years ago when shortages existed and a surplus would have been welcomed by everyone. When day after day we hear that farmers want the Government out of agriculture; what exactly is meant by this broad general statement? If it is as all inclusive as it sounds there would be no more extension service from the land-grant colleges, marketing reports, State board of agriculture aids, soil conservation service, or any of the many desirable practices designed to promote and encourage maximum farm production, which benefits not only the farmer but indirectly all of the people. To take the Government out of agriculture would be as ridiculous as advocating the removal of Government from the field of transportation, utilities, housing, and slum clearance. Farmers who ask the Government's withdrawal should take a long hard look at the overall problem as it affects all of the people in this country.

It seems to me that rather than pay farmers for idle acres, it would be more helpful to have men in high Government office sympathetic to agriculture, rather than looking at the problem from strictly a consumer point of view. By sympathy, we do not mean the shedding of crocodile tears, but a real and genuine interest in agriculture and its problems. Surely it does not take stark hunger in this country to make us appreclate the importance of agriculture upon the economy of this Nation. A stable agricul-ture is the keystone to a healthy economy. All the farmer should really ask is a fair and reasonable return on his investment, based on the costs he must pay in order to have an efficient operation. What he receives for his product should be directly related to costs involved in producing the same. No farmer should really expect a handout for letting land lie fallow but should, in my opinion, receive parity for crops raised on productive acreage.

A rather renowned educator, some 12 years ago, made the statement that extension services alone had increased production The statement was made dur-30 percent. ing a food shortage when increased production was a desirable goal. Now, having accomplished even greater gains along that line, we find the surplus occurs and that the farmer must accept the full responsibility for it. Agricultural economists now predict what will happen 20 years from now and it's unfortunate they did not do the same thing 20 years ago, so that more thought and attention could be given to the problem. It is now proposed to limit the payments to any one individual to \$35,000 and while no one in this county would be affected by such a limitation. I strongly feel that it is unfair and undesir-Why punish big farm operators any more than we would seek to punish business in any form?

We should do everything in our power to give incentive to young men and women to stay on the farm and thus be in a position to outproduce our aggressive neighbors. A famous general once said, "an Army travels on its stomach." Let's make sure that which we call a surplus is not a curse but a blessing. Billions of dollars spent on national defense weapons and material each year become obsolete in terms of new discoveries. No one is critical of that expenditure and why should the basic requirement (food) in national defense be a curse? Who, of you, really think government should get out of agriculture?

EMIL W. HECK.

The Youth Program of Whitefish Bay, Wis.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, recently, I was pleased to call to the attention of my colleagues a constructive program in Whitefish Bay, Wis., that is serving as an effective antidote to juvenile delinquency

Specifically, I refer to the formation of a "Hot Rod Club," which—contrary to popular concepts of such clubs—is constructively serving the local community by promoting greater safety on the local roadways. In addition, members of the club are engaged in close cooperation with the local police:

By promoting greater safety on local

roadways;

By expanding safety instruction, which includes skill driving contests;

By participating in civic functions;

By providing members with invaluable experience in the automotive field; and generally by serving as a worthwhile program for the betterment-not detriment-of the community.

Today, I was pleased to receive from Lt. Alexander Boeder, of the Whitefish Bay Police Department, a résumé of additional programs by which this forwardlooking community is diverting young-sters from the path of delinquency, and is aiming them toward constructively serving the community.

Today, across the Nation, there is an ever-increasing problem of delinquency among youth. A number of factors contribute to this situation. The development of constructive programs, such as the one being carried forward in Whitefish Bay, I believe, is one of the most effective ways to curb delinquency and to channel the tremendous energies, wide interest, capabilities, and talents of our youth to worthwhile activities.

As an illustration of this type of fine work, I request unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the REC-ORD the additional factors of this fine program, as outlined in an article entitled "The Youth Program of Whitefish Bay," written by Lieutenant Boeder.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE YOUTH PROGRAM OF WHITEFISH BAY, WIS. (By Lt. Alexander H. Boeder, Whitefish Bay Police Department)

Whitefish Bay, the largest village in the State of Wisconsin, is primarily a residential community of approximately 20,000 persons, and a northern suburb of Milwaukee. Its police department consists of 23 officers and three civilian employees headed by Chief Orval H. Meister. The Whitefish Bay Police Department has many organized activities which are designed to divert youngsters from the path of delinquency, one of which is its junior police program.

This organization consists of well over 500 youngsters at the present time and is grow-

ing. Its aim is to form a closer association between members of the Whitefish Bay Police Department, its citizens and their children; to build character and health; and promote good conduct among its members. Continued attempts are made to instill respect for law and obligations of citizenship in the members and also to eliminate fear of law enforcement officers through teaching the members of the group to properly discharge some of the delegated responsibilities of adults.

Safety is also promoted, as is loyalty to the American Constitution and the community, and development of clean minds and bodies. Once a year the members are feted at a local theater with a party, funds for which are provided by the village board.

In addition, the police department inaugurated a biannual Bicycle Safety Contest in 1957 which has as its aim the development of proper and safe blcycle habits. Police offi-cers carry with them "Safety Award" cards which the officers award to a youngster who is seen displaying courtesy and proper care while riding his bicycle. If the same rider wins another citation, the second officer merely endorses the back of the card. Records are, of course, kept at the station of each card issued, the reason the card was issued and the school the rider attends. Every time a rider is cited for a violation. this record is also placed on file and an award card must be surrended if the rider has one. Parents of the violator are of course notified. At the end of each week of the contest, a panel of officers of the police department reviews the record of citations made and selects the two boys and two girls who have the best records of the week These winners are awarded special safety trophies. At the end of the contest, the school having the greatest percentage of students cited for safe riding will receive the large, traveling trophy. Much publicity is given this twice-a-year contest, with the trophies being displayed beforehand in various stores on our business streets urging participation in the event. There are seven elementary schools in Whitefish Bay; and it appears the program has been highly effective in its purpose of instilling safer bicycle riding habits. Funds for this activity are provided by the Whitefish Bay Policemen's Protective Association.

In 1955, the police cooperated with local groups of young automobile enthusiasts, guided them to incorporation under Wisconsin statutes, provided a meeting place, guided the group to experts in the field for advice, provided safety instruction, encouraged participation in skill driving contests and civic functions. They have actually pro-vided excellent aid to the police themselves in such activities as regular auto safety checks, hubcap identification, etc. "Vagabonds, Inc." police themselves well and only once in 3 years has a member ever been arrested for a traffic offense. How many adult groups can say this? Good scholastic record must be maintained. One failing grade on a semester basis results in that person being dropped from the club. club is restricted by its constitution to 25 members at any one time; however, short of 100 young men have been members in the 3 years of its existence. Drag racing on the streets of Whitefish Bay is now rare and our citizens are coming to know that a hot rod club need not necessarily mean a group of rebellious youths determined to create,2 disturbance and race on village streets. A club like this could well be an asset to any community.

In May of 1958, the student representatives of the three high schools in Whitefish Bay worked out and adopted a "youth code" setting down a group of guiding principles to be used as a basis for determining acceptable conduct regarding social etiquette, hours, driving habits, drinking, smoking and legal responsibility. The principles are recommended for the guidance of the pupils in the 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th grades and

seem to be working well.

The Whitefish Bay Police Department has trained, instructs, equips, and inspects a well trained corp of school safety cadets who assist in providing safe travel of fellow students from school to home, in the immediate vicinity of the school, and vice versa. The cadets work closely with the adult men crossing guards and very possibly we will never know the exact number of accidents prevented by this reliable, alert, dedicated, and competent group. The cadets are taken to a major league baseball game periodically as a reward for their excellent work. Funds are supplied by the police department for this activity.

Our police department works closely with all other civic organizations and maintains excellent liaison with all other local youth groups by providing speeches and guidance, etc. Assistance is provided local Scout groups by providing trained personnel to conduct examinations in such related merit

badge fields as there are.

The above activities have resulted in making Whitefish Bay, Wis., relatively free of major crime committed by juveniles, regardless of its proximity to Metropolitan Milwaukee. There have been no undesirable

gangs for years. Recognizing that there is some element of treatment in every contact between a juvenile and a policeman, efforts are made by the department's two youth officers, who have received intensive training in the field of juvenile control at the University of Wisconsin, to provide in-service training for the other officers on the department in the fields of prevention, control techniques, instruction in the juvenile code, and disposition of Juvenile cases. The officers are taught to handle all children as if they were handling their own and that while it is difficult to remain coolheaded with some young hoods, a dispassionate, professional approach is the mark of a good police officer. We all know that a youngster's first contact with the Police is ordinarily a highly emotional experience. It is our desire to guide this emotion in the right direction for the betterment both of public relations and citizen-

# Polar Explorers Are Helping This Nation Discover and Develop the Polar Regions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, to the first view, the icy wastes of the Polar regions have no value. However, when considered from their geographical Position and from the viewpoint of the animal and marine life, they can be very Valuable.

Explorers of these icy regions are helping us to find more about the secrets and resources of the areas. This has proved and will continue to prove of value to our Nation

Mr. President, as a salute to these explorers, I request unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record, an editorial from the New York

Times for April 19, 1959, entitled "Admirals of the Ice."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADMIRALS OF THE ICE

From the icy blue-white reaches of Antarctica a man and a ship came to play roles last week in ceremonies that meant their parting. Aboard the Navy Icebreaker Glacier, Rear Adm. George J. Dufek, for 4 years the commander of the U.S. Naval Support Force in Antartica, turned over his command to Rear Adm. David M. Tyree, on April 16, 1959.

Both Admiral Dufek and the Glacier, his

Both Admiral Dufek and the Glacier, his flagship, are Antarctic veterans. Admiral Dufek directed three successive expeditions to Antarctica in support of the U.S. program of research and exploration under the International Geophysical Year that ended last December 31.

A big, bluff, direct man, George Dufek has been going down to the ice since 1939 when, as a licutenant, he volunteered to serve in an expedition to Antarctica under the late Rear Adm. Richard E. Byrd. He was the first American to set foot at the South Pole and at the same time—1956—the first person ever to land at the pole by airplane. He took risks, surviving two dangerous plunges into freezing Antarctic waters.

For many persons involved with that inhospitable frozen southern continent, George Dufek is linked inseparably with the Antarctic. It is to be hoped that Admiral Dufek, one of the most distinguished polar explorers of his time, will continue to contribute his knowledge to the further exploration and development of Antarctica. To Admiral Dufek we say: well done. To his successor, Admiral Tyree, we wish the best of luck.

#### International Olympic Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. FRANCIS E. DORN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 28, 1959

Mr. DORN of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, and in connection with my efforts to have Nationalist China readmitted to the International Olympic Committee, I should like to include a press release from the Department of State on the subject:

The decision of the International Olympic Committee to expel the athletes from the Republic of China is a clear act of political discrimination.

Prior to 1958, athletes from the Republic of China and from the Chinese Communist regime participated in the IOC in accordance with its principle of political non-discrimination. In 1958, the Chinese Communists, having previously withdrawn from the Australian games, withdrew also from the IOC because they decided they would no longer participate in organizations which permit participation by free Chinese.

It is evident that Communist pressures have been directed to obtaining the expulsion of the Chinese Nationalists. We can assume this is a prelude to pressures directed to obtain the later readmission of the Chinese Communists. This is a political and discriminatory attitude which has no place in the world of sports.

Even more is involved in the IOC decision than a manifest injustice to a member

which has throughout stanchly supported Olympic precepts. The maintenance of the respected character of the Olympic games is also at stake. It is their non-political character which has been the basis for the special attitude toward the games of both peoples and governments.

We trust that the public and sports organizations, both here and abroad, will recognize the Communist threats for what they are and will insist on restoring both the athletes from the Republic of China and the Olympic principles to their deserved positions.

#### Public Responsibilities in Science and Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include an address which I delivered at the convocation of the graduate school of Brown University on June 1, 1959. The address is entitled "Public Responsibilities in Science and Education:"

Address of the Honorable John E. Fogarty, Member of Congress From the Second District of Rhode Island, at the Convocation of the Graduate School of Brown University on June 1, 1959

PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITIES IN SCIENCE AND EDUCATION

This indeed is a memorable day for all of us assembled here. You who are in the graduate school, and you who are the parents, friends, and mentors of the graduate students have reason to be proud today, And I, too, am proud—for I feel especially privileged to take an active part in these ceremonies.

I have always had great respect for Brown University. Not only is Brown the seventh oldest college in the Nation, but also the spirit of religious liberty—on which it was founded in 1764—is widely recognized as a particularly early and significant example of freedom of conscience in America. Brown's charter included the requirement that the public teaching should in general respect the sciences. This also was an unusually liberal stand for an educational institution to take in the mid-18th century, and it is relevant to what I shall have to say later. I admire Brown for this very early contribution to individual and intellectual freedom.

I like what your former president, Henry M. Wriston, has said about this university:

"Brown's central business is the increase of knowledge, the inculcation of wisdom, the refinement of emotional responses, and the development of spiritual awareness."

Surely, these four points are among the highest objectives for an institution of higher learning. Judging-from the caliber of the Brown faculty, the educational standards of the university, and the collective record of its graduates, the four objectives outlined by Dr. Wriston continue to be met in full measure

For you graduate students, this is a day of glory, a glory which should not be diminished in any way. But there are words that must be said and must be given thoughtful consideration by everyone. Think about this statement:

"The period since the war has witnessed some of the most rapid advances in science and at the same time same of the greatest revolutions in social, moral, and religious thought and practice of any time in the world's history. Yet humanity stands today in a position of unique peril. An unanswered question is written across the future: Is man to be the master of the civilization he has created, or is he to be the victim?"

Do these words sound particularly appropriate? Does the question provoke a timely challenge? The message and the question I have just quoted were spoken to the Brown graduating class in 1930; they were delivered by Edwin Grant Conklin 29 years ago today. In 1930, there were no hydrogen bombs, no so-called cold war involving one tense international crisis after another; no threat of a nuclear war. Still, men considered their peril unique. What shall we call the peril we face now? Twenty-nine years have passed since Edwin Conklin sounded the warning. The situation has intensified; we find advances in science coming even more rapidly than before, and almost it seems concomitantly, we find our peril more extreme. The basic fear is the same. The question of whether we can cope with the civilization that we have evolved and continue to modify must continue to be asked.

Let us go back to the year 1800. ence to the Brown commencement address given by Jonathan Maxey in that year, 159 years ago, could never be passed off to you as contemporary. The difference, I think, will be readily apparent to you. He said,

and I quote:

"We are baffled in explaining the causes of the most common appearances. We sigh to explore the hidden causes of things, their intimate constitutions, and their final destination. We sigh to wield a world, as we do an atom, to search the center of the earth and to sail among the stars. Experiment destroys our vain imagination."

In the intervening years, man has proved that he can explain the causes of many common appearances. He has proved that experiments no longer-perhaps never didwreck our imaginations. On the contrary the products of each generation's experiments have, in many cases, far exceeded the imagination of the previous one.

Thomas Huxley defined science as "commonsense at its best." Since his death in 1895, the commonsense of scientists has been getting better and better in many ways. Speaking as a layman who is vitally concerned with the well-being of people every-where, I would like to cite a few of these ways I consider important.

The scientist has vastly improved communications with his colleagues within the scientific community. He has done this despite the many technological advances that have created requirements for new

specialties and subspecialties.

At the same time, the scientist also has improved his communications processes with the general public. As a result, the public's image of the scientists is no longer one of an off-beat character who chases butterflies with a net or a highly introverted recluse in a basement corner or of an arrogant egotist who refuses to concede that his work and its results can be translated into words and phrases that might be undertood by those who support him.

Finally, the scientist has shown that given proper support and enlightened understanding on the part of an informed public, he can produce near miracles for the continuing benefit of mankind. In fact, researchers in the medical and biological sciences have performed so admirably that I am inclined to think of the last 15 years or so as the first chapter in what we might call the Golden Age of Medicine. The blometricians

provide us with some rather exciting projections on the health status of our people. By the year 2.000, they estimate that the average expectance of life after age 60 will increase from the current 17.5 to 22 years. They predict that the death rate from heart disease for men 50 years of age will be 50 percent of its current rate. And they predict the death rate from cancer for women aged 60 will also be only half the current

These are rather dramatic predictions, but they are not at all improbable. You may well ask, "Why is this so?" or "How can this be accomplished?" To answer these questions. I would like to review some of the developments in the recent past, from the standpoint of enlightened support and scientific accomplishment, that indicate a bright future for the health status of the American people.

Those of you who know of my principal interests and activities-both as a Representative to Congress from the Second District of Rhode Island and as chairman of the subcommittee in the House of Representatives having responsibility for Federal ap-propriations for the Nation's health programs-are well aware that my keenest interests are in the field of health research. have experienced considerable personal satisfaction in having a part in the formulation of our national program for conduct and support of scientific research for the past 18 years. In these years, there has been dramatic progress in the acquisition of new knowledge and in its application for positive health gains.

At the close of World War II, the country had its choice. Either we would return to the prewar levels of effort in medical research, or we would seek to capitalize on the opportunity to support man's effort to extend his horizons in the life sciences. question was resolved, as are all important questions in our society, by consensus. most people, whether scientists or laymen, the course seemed clear. If a nation's scientific effort could produce so well under the stress of war, surely it could flourish to provide an opportunity for better health in peace.

As a result, Congress began to increase appropriations for Federal funds used by the Government to stimulate medical research in private laboratories throughout the country-in universities and medical schools, in hospital laboratories, and in other research centers. Appropriations also were steadily increased for the operation in Bethesda, Md., of what is today one of the world's largest medical research centers-the National Institutes of Health of the U.S. Public Health Service. This is the research program in which I have been most deeply interested; my committee has had responsibility for its appropriations, which have become a significant part of the Nation's total investment in medical research.

The appropriations for NIH, including its own operations and grants for research projects and awards for fellowships and training, amounted to less than \$3.5 million in fiscal year 1946. For 1959, our current fiscal year, their appropriation stands at \$324 million. Lest you conceive of this expansion as a reckless effort to buy new knowledge, let me detail some of its elements.

First, in research project grants: In 1945, this appropriation totaled \$85,000; this year, the same appropriation is a little over \$141 million-supporting nearly 8,000 research projects in virtually every nonprofit research center in the country. Let me assure you now that prior to each year's increase, from 1946 through 1957, the Congress received convincing evidence of (1) the accomplishments and potentialities of existing research projects, and (2) the existence of promising ideas for new and needed research projects.

At the same time, it was necessary for those of us dealing with this program to keep well-informed on two other elements of medical research, namely, the existence of trained manpower to do the research and of adequately equipped facilities in which to carry out the research. To keep these three all-important elements of medical research in relative balance has been no easy task.

The level of support for research training, including fellowships, began to make solid advances in 1947. In that year the appropriation for fellowships and training grants totaled \$428,000 compared to \$57,000 in 1945. But as each year passed and as it became more and more evident that scientific manpower was the most important single factor limiting further progress in the life sciences, the program expanded until today the annual appropriation stands at about \$60 mil-

The third element of the Public Health Service's pattern for research support-research facilities-received only emergency attention during 1949 and 1950 for heart and cancer research facilities, totaling some \$22 million. More recently, again responding to an evident need for nationwide expansion of health research facilities and equipment, the Congress passed legislation authorizing \$90 million to be made available over a period of years for construction and equipment of research facilities in all the health fields. Now finishing its third year, the \$90 million available has been awarded to 256 nonprofit institutions in 38 States. Through matching funds, this initial investment of \$90 million in Federal money has been more than equally matched by funds from local SOUTCES

Your own university has grown in stature over the years to the point where its science department has merited increasing Federal support. Just in this past fiscal year, for example, the number of research projects that have won Federal support increased from 12 in 1958 to 22 in fiscal year 1959. Your Dr. Brooks, with his studies in cerebral palsy, Dr. Wilson in biology, and Dr. Mon-tagna in histophysiology are among the outstanding scientists receiving substantial grants in recognition of their excellent work.

So much for the expansion of Federal support for medical research. It is a fair as-sumption, I think, that it has played an important part in the progress that has taken place in the decade. I see these scientific achievements solely in the light of their meaning to the public as a whole. I am thinking, for example, of the discovery and development of synthetic hormones and related agents for rheumatic disease, the widespread availability of penicillin and the development of other antibotics, the development of chemical agents for control of high blood pressure, the discovery of chemical agents in the study and treatment of mental ilinesses, the improved protection against rheumatic fever and resulting heart damage. the new tests for detection of cancer, surgery of the heart, the discovery and application of a new vaccine for poliomyelitis, the use of radioactive isotopes for studies of body chemistry, the development of drugs and chemical agents for treatment of tuberculosis.

As a Congressman, I hear a great deal of discussion of new and better chemical agents. new drugs, new treatments, and even the claim that 50 percent of today's prescriptions could not have been written 10 years ago simply because the materials incorporated in them did not exist. But the acid test of progress against disease lies in statistics which show that progress in broad terms.

Perhaps the best single index of health progress is a comparison of overall death rates. I am told that the decline in death rates since World War II from some of the major illnesses dramatically shows how over a million lives have been saved by modern medicine.

Influenza, for example, has been reduced over 90 percent in its death rate. Once great killers like acute rheumatic fever, tuberculosis, diseases that cause maternal deaths, and appendicitis have all had the rate at Which they cause death reduced over 70 percent. The death rate from syphilis has been brought down over 60 percent; pneumonia, over 40 percent; some kidney disorders, 60 percent: Infant death rates, over 30 percent; and paralytic polio, the disease about which much is still unknown, has been reduced dramatically in the past 2 years. Even high blood pressure, one of the greatest medical problems in terms of the numbers afflicted, has seen some decline in death rates in the past few years.

It is this record of growth and accomplishment that gives me the confidence to support those who make such dramatic predictions concerning the future of medical research.

I would like to make one further point that emerges when one considers the human dynamics, the tangible results, and the potentials for advancement that have had a part in this first chapter of the golden age of medicine. It is this: that when the public is adequately informed, when it is assured that the basic resources and mechanisms exist to accomplish certain problems common to all people, when it is asked to support the efforts to meet these problems, the public will respond and will continue to respond almost in direct ratio to the results and Potentials realized.

It is most interesting, therefore, to speculate as to whether this principle that an informed public is a responsive public would be as effective in meeting the impending educational challengs as it has been in writing a brillian first capter in the golden age of medicine.

The statistics on education indicate at least a part of the impending challenge. In 1939, only 154 of 1,000 high school pupils went on to college; in 1954, 283 of every 1,000 entered college. Illiteracy has declined to a new low. In 1870, 20 percent of the population over 14 years of age could neither read nor write. In 1920, the figure had gone down to 6 percent; in 1952, only 2.5 percent of the Population were illiterate. The number of students enrolled in America's colleges and universities this year exceeds last year's figure by more than a quarter million. In 10 years it should pass 6 million—nearly double today's enrollment.

These statistics provide just a hint as to the problems that confront education. Certainly we cannot expect the public to respond to an array of statistics without an examination of the factors and problems that are necessarily a part of those statistics.

The U.S. educational system, as you know, has come under very close scrutiny in the Past few years due to the sudden challenges Produced by the Soviet Union. It was clearly shown that there is much room for improvement. But the fact is that our universities face the very real danger of being engulfed by sheer numbers of undergradaute students. Not only must we find staffs to handle the influx, but we must beware of their being loaded down with repetitive undergraduate teaching which leaves them with no time for imagination, contemplation, and other intellectual pursuits. Within a decade, some 495,000 college teachers may be neededmore than twice the present number. And On the salaries which the average college teacher receives, it is no wonder that quality sometimes suffers. Faculty salaries are woefully out of kilter in the current American scene.

I consider it a glaring failure—at least to date—that new impetus to American education has not been given by providing Federal assistance in the construction of schools. It is my conviction that the

strength of our democracy is intimately related to the strength of our educational processes, and I find it somewhat distressing that special interest pressures have contributed so much to this national fallure—fallure, first, to provide adequate school facilities for the increasing numbers of boys and girls in our society, and second, fallure to provide other support to decrease the teacher deficit. Here is the goal of the people which is not being met.

Today's educational effort has not been raised to the levels of other essential elements in the space age. We need not spend public money irresponsibly to show our interest. What we need is a completely revised attitude toward education and the public support of education. We must make the same order of radical change in our attitude toward education as we have made in our attitude toward medical research. We must measure our educational effort as we do our medical research effort. That is to say, we must measure it not by what it would be easy and convenient to do, but by what it is necessary to do in order that the Nation may survive and flourish. We have learned that the support of medical research, whatever the cost, pays rich dividends in the long run. We must now learn that higher education for the academically oriented is an investment in the Nation's future.

You who have just finished your graduate work today and you who have made that possible—faculty and families—have a direct responsibility as harbingers of enlightened information about the importance of higher education. Education has been called study for the purpose of understanding. You have received understanding that opens doors to you, and you will wish to share it with others. You in the class of 1959 will want your children someday to receive an education as you have done, and as good a one as possible. Support for quality education must come from every single available source.

The Federal Government, I am glad to say, has taken several steps in the right direction toward alleviation of the problem, though it has not gone far enough at all. I am speaking of the National Defense Education Act of 1958, which in its aid to students is good, in its lack of aid to teachers is bad.

The act which became a public law in September of last year is almed at strengthening the national defense and encouraging and assisting in the expansion and improvement of education programs to meet critical needs. It recognizes that our present emergency demands more adequate educational opportunities, and emphasizes that what is being offered is financial support, and not control.

The program of providing loans to students in institutions of higher education is the largest; in the 4 years from 1959 to 1962. a total of \$295 million will be lent. In selecting the students to receive loans, spe-cial consideration will be given to those who express a desire to teach in elementary or secondary schools and to those whose academic background indicates a superior capacity or preparation in science, mathematics, engineering, or a modern foreign language—the subjects where we are re-To strengthen the instruction in these subjects, \$280 million will be paid to State educational agencies over the same 4-year period. The money is to be spent for equip-ment. And here I ask—why not some financial assistance for the subject teachers themselves?

The only provision which has bearing on the teachers' situation is the program for national defense fellowships. Fifty-five hundred fellowships are to be awarded over the 4-year period 1959-1952, and preference will be given to persons interested in teaching in institutions of higher education. An important part of this is that in order to win a fellowship, the graduate program in which the student is to participate must be approved by the Commissioner of Education, and only those institutions with new or expanded graduate programs will receive such approval. The institution itself will be awarded up to \$2,500 a year. Thus, by direct pressure, encouragement is being given to higher institutions to improve their graduate training facilities. I like this provision, but I think it could stand much expansion. The stipends awarded do not exceed \$2,400; students are discouraged from taking outside work unless it pertains to their study—and rightfully so—but the temptation must be great in our time of economic inflation.

The other provisions of the act are generally admirable. Programs for the guidance, counseling, and testing of students which are aimed at identifying and encouraging the most able students will be set up in the States which desire them and which submit a State plan for their execution. Language centers and institutes are a part of the act as is research in the utilization of radio, television, and motion pictures for educational purposes. Vocational education and science information are partially covered.

College professors were strangely left out of all this. They should not have been. They deserve not only much more money than they are now receiving, but also much more prestige and distinction among their fellow Americans. Raising faculty salaries is a necessary step in giving recognition where it is long overdue.

These, then, are some of the problems that are universal to education today. Although medical research and its features that have an implication in medical education have achieved an outstanding measure of success in recent years, the leaders in these fields continue to reevaluate their roles and the foreseeable challenges that lie ahead. In a recent and unusually forthright report, a group of distinguished advisers brought to the attention of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, that if the predictable needs for physicians and scientists are to be met, this country needs some 15 to 20 additional medical schools. The same report estimates that it will cost nearly half a billion dollars to bring these new schools into being. Implicit in the report, too, is the belief that the Federal Government must bear a part of the cost of constructing these new schools.

Someday, I believe that one of these new medical schools should be brought into being in this State, preferably right here at Brown. I realize that this recommendation cannot be taken lightly, and I assure you that it is not offered without serious consideration. The location and operation of a school of medicine entail considerable responsibility.

What are some of the responsibilities of a medical school? First, it is an institution for the training of gifted young men and women to practice the greatest of all healing arts. Second, it is a haven for community services related to and including the practice of medicine. Third, it is a point of focus for medical research, both in the laboratory and in the clinic. And fourth, it is most often an extension of a university, expending and strengthening the university's traditional role as intellectual and cultural center for its community.

I do not pretend to know how Rhode Island

I do not pretend to know how Rhode Island can develop its own medical school. I do not know when it can. But I do know that it can. For ours is a proud and progressive State, and Brown University has a tradition of progress and forthright action. If we want it enough, we can have a medical school and cease to be one of the nine States that do not have one today.

This is not a decision to be made hastily. There are many critical problems to be considered. How would the new construction be financed? Would the Federal Government make funds available without insisting on a degree of control? Could an effective set of working relationships be developed with local hospitals and physicians?

There are more questions than there is

time to phrase them.

I am sure there are answers for them.

And I intend to see that the answers are sought, and my hope is that they may lead to a course of action that will add one further resource to the array of medical resources in Rhode Island that do credit to the State. These facilities and programs are a source of pride to all of us who have worked, each in his own way, to help bring them into being. I am confident that once again we will be successful in expressing the public need and carrying out the public responsibility in this important cause.

Almost a hundred years ago, in 1864, when Brown University was celebrating its centennial, the then president said this:

"We are about to open a new century, Shall it be one of increasing brightness for our university? Shall our successors, at the end of the new century, be able to give a good account of our doings?"

Here you are, his successors, and that "new century" is almost over. It would be my sincere wish for Brown to be able to include the addition of the medical school as part of its "good account" by the time it celebrates its bicentennial anniversary.

I have found, as I have said before, that when the public is informed the public will respond. Now is the time for the friends of Brown to carry their story to the people in somewhat the same manner that medical science has taken its story to the people. There is no possible reason why either the medical scientist or the educator should have to be solely responsible for his field when his work touches the lives of everyone. We, the public, have a duty which has become more important than ever before; we must share the increasing load of problems facing science and education. The public must keep informed and concerned and must be willing to give special effort and provide other resources to see that the task is accomplished that lies ahead.

I salute you upon the completion of your work at this fine university. In closing, I would like to recall for you a line written by H. G. Wells:

"Human history becomes more and more a race between education and catastrophe."

And I say let us leave no doubt; we must win the race for education.

#### Why I Want To Go to College

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following paper written by Raymond Howard Scudder entitled "Why I Want To Go to College."

Mr. Speaker, it was with pride that I learned that one of my young constituents, Raymond Howard Scudder, of Los Angeles, a senior at Huntington Park High School, recently won first place in the national Thom McAn leadership

awards program. He will receive a college scholarship and an all-expense trip to Washington, D.C., and New York City.

Young Scudder, an A student and four-letter athlete, was selected by the judges from candidates from more than 1,000 high schools across the country. The son of a postal clerk, Raymond won the \$1,000 scholarship for his outstanding scholastic record, extracurricular activities, and an original paper on "Why I Want To Go to College." He plans to attend the University of Southern California and major in chemical engineering.

Despite the necessity of working afternoons and evenings, Raymond stands third in a class of 320 students, is president of the student body, and president of the Los Angeles Association of Student Councils, chairman of the Governor's traffic safety committee for California, and sealbearer of the California scholarship federation, among many of the honors and offices he has received. He has an outstanding athletic record, including his designation as all-city tennis No. 1 player for the past 2 years.

His paper is such a striking testimonial to the fine character of American youth—in contrast to all that we hear of juvenile delinquency—that I am inspired to place it in the Congressional Record for my colleagues to read and consider.

WHY I WANT TO GO TO COLLEGE (By Raymond Howard Scudder)

In these times, youth has never been so self-sufficient and so capable of self-direction as now. Moral maturity comes early in our culture, for the teenage suddenly becomes a member of the young adult group. Young adulthood is a group apart from adult-society—independent, wise, and self-determining in its own way. This group of young people makes decisions for themselves, decisions that their ancestors were never expected to make even in adulthood, for the ancestors always moved in the protective environs of adult opinion.

As a member of this young adult society and ready to make many important decisions in life, I feel that college is the focal point of transition to adulthood and the open door to educational development. \*I have decided that seeking an education is my major goal at this period of my life. With a substantial education, I feel that I can become the kind of person that I really want

My vocational plans for the future are directed toward chemical engineering and I shall enter the University of Southern California in Los Angeles in September 1959, to prepare for this field. Yet college could expose me to many subjects I have never metefore, and I may discover that any of these new fields may stir my intellectual curlosity toward other channels. I would like college to enrich me with something truly fine so that, when anyone penetrates beneath my professional outer covering, he will fiind, not a naked shred of a man, but a complete human being, clothed in beauty, color and warmth.

Social responsibilities, ethical sensitiveness, breadth of interest in all interesting things, and a will to follow the direction that a clear and informed mind points out, are included in my motivations for going to college.

One aspect college can afford me is the enlargement of my opportunities and associations; a whole field of positions open up to the person with college experience and trainThe social and athletic side of college are also motivations, but are far from being the most prominent. I realize that social and extracurricular activities are secondary and should be kept in their proper place, but still should be developed as a part of college experience. My participation in college athletics would be to maintain a sound body and to satisfy my competitive desires.

I realize that my motivations for attending college are numerous and varied, but I feel that this is a good omen for college

success and self-realization.

Summing up, I would like college to open up to me an emotional awakening equalled by few other experiences in my life, with an intellectual vista of no less significance. I will try to further these goals by letting intelligence, education, and Christian principles by my guides.

#### A Thrust Toward World Leadership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, my attention was recently called to a most thought-provoking paper entitled "A Thrust Toward World Leadership," which was written by Howard G. Kurtz.

In his paper, Mr. Kurtz states that public safety can no longer be adequately maintained and protected by the individual nations. Due to the means of destruction which are now available, such as long-range missiles and nuclear bombs, it is necessary that there be some type of worldwide organization which has the responsibility of protecting people of the world against common dangers which we all face.

Mr. Kurtz suggests that the United States propose and work toward the creation of a world safety organization which would provide physical safety for all people, of all creeds and beliefs, and of all patriotisms and political opinions.

This paper is a condensation of a book manuscript which Mr. Kurtz recently completed. The book was begun more than 10 years ago, while the author was engaged in 2 years of graduate study into Russian-American problems at the Russian Institute at Columbia University in New York.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A THRUST TOWARD WORLD LEADERSHIP BY THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

ANALYSIS OF WORLD SITUATION

For the first time since time began, world population faces simultaneous and identical overwhelming danger, the effective end of civilization as a result of nuclear war. Common, simultaneous world public anxiety is a new fact.

There is a worldwide yearning that a new leadership will arise to show the way out of crisis, rather than leading deeper and deeper into crisis. For the first time in history, world leadership is possible, sustained by worldwide public anxiety.

For 12 years the United States has had a solely defensive policy of "containment." This assumes initiative by the opponent. The United States has waited for each new enemy-inspired event to reach the White House, then the United States reacts with a defensive maneuver and increased show of military Power. Each new show of U.S. military power has two adverse effects: (1) It intensifies Public anxiety in the enemy countries, making it easier for the opponent to mobilize its public hostility to the United States; and (2) it intensifies public anxiety in the inbetween countries, increasing their hopelessness for survival no matter whether the United States or the U.S.S.R actually starts the nuclear war. Each defensive act under U.S. policy, therefore, has the effect of strengthening the enemy's resolution to fight the United States, and the effect of weakening the resolution to fight among countries needed as allies. Each sincere and thoughtful conditioned military reflex reaction of defensive U.S. policy leads all mankind deeper and deeper into final crisis, just the opposite of the universal human need and yearning for a way out of crisis and danger.

No game can be won by defensive strategy alone. The United States has not yet seized the available opportunity for positive, or of-Iensive, or winning world leadership.

#### THE PROBLEM

The basic assumption from which all U.S. military and policy planning and action is created is a cherished concept that no longer is valid. The most serious and sincere top policy decisions are being made on the conditioned reflexes of military experience from the past, and are leading all civilization and the American people toward extermination, not toward public safety.

Man's greatest safety invention in all history has been the nation. Public safety was a basic motivation drawing men together in self-defense in increasingly larger safety units from the family, to the tribe, to the principality, then to the nation. In moments of national emergency, such as Pearl Harbor, public safety commandeers all policy of the nation and becomes the supreme

objective of national policy.

But right here there has been a rupture. The concept of national safety no longer is Valid. If every department in National Government were to be given not only its present budget requests, but twice, or three times, the money requested, for unlimited satellite launchings, unlimited nuclear bomb testing, unlimited pure research and development, unlimited stockpiling of military hardware and manpower, no nation, ever again, can assure safety to its citizens against modern scientific enemy attack. The concept of hational security has flamed out.

Public safety cannot be achieved by the U.S. Government, nor by the Soviet Government, nor by any other national government In the future. Yet it would be fatal to any people to relax present military posture until a new-dimension world safety organization is designed and in being. Safety against the total danger to all civilization now threatening can be achieved only by the evolution of a worldwide safety structure stronger than the League of Nations. stronger than the present United Nations, yet far short of the "one world" dreams of maximum world government. Worldwide Public safety is the one goal of world leadership that can magnetize worldwide Public opinion in support of such leadership, and a program of action leading civilization out of crisis, supported by people of all the world's religions and philosophies and nationalities.

This may be the moment in history for the United States to make a thrust toward leadership.

AVAILABLE ACTION BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

The President could now electrify world public opinion by announcing U.S. dedication to the long-range, difficult challenge of creating a world safety organization that would provide physical safety for all people, of all creeds and beliefs, and of all patriotisms and political opinions. This would clarify new goals for U.S. policy, to provide safety against war for all people, in direct contrast to the present world trend toward final war. Details of this world safety organization need not be spelled out, but left as a challenge to the best available brains of mankind, everywhere. No political or other leader in the world could refuse to publicly support this call for world public safety. The President's challenge might read:

"The fantastic progress of science and technology in recent years has created such overwhelming new danger to all mankind that no national government in the future can assure safety to its citizens against modern scientific enemy attack. Nuclear and even more horrible war will wipe out the Soviet people, the Chinese people, the American people, and the people of all other countries.

"The American people are perfectly willing to die, if necessary, rather than have their country dominated by any foreign power. The American people are willing to grant that every other people have equal courage and equal determination to die, if necessary, to free their country from foreign domination.

"The American people hereby dedicate themselves to the principle that all men are created with an equal need for physical safety, and a right to survival. The American people covet safety and welfare for their enemies and for their neighbors, as they do for themselves.

"American future policy will be dedicated to the eventual creation of a world safety organization stronger than the League of Nations which could not provide safety against the danger of war, stronger than the present United Nations which still cannot provide safety against the danger of war, strong enough that it can assure:

That no nation ever again will have the capacity to threaten or to wage war against

other people.

"2. That each nation and area will exist in an environment of safety, and will have its sovereignty restored to it, that henceforth, for all future time, it will not have any facet of its domestic political economy controlled by or afraid of the majority, minority, or veto whims of persons or governments in foreign nations.

"3. That, after the world has been made safe from war and safe from foreign domination manpower, money, and material now dissipated in preparation for war can be transformed into creative effort to feed, clothe, house, educate, and bring health and welfare to people of every emerging country to the extent they desire to achieve through their own efforts, with the help of all moral forces available from outside.

"The world safety organization, itself, will have to be designed and constructed with balance of power and authority and responsibility that it cannot become a tyrant supergovernment dominating sovereign national governments or dominating the minds of citizens of any nation.

"The United States invites the widest possible, freest possible, debate and discussion and exploration of the nonpolitical design details of such a world safety organization in what might be called survival seminars throughout the world, among all of the engineering and scientific and professional societies of all countries, among scholars of all academic disciplines in all of the world's colleges and universities, among philosophers and theologians of all points of view, among the publics of all countries, each person remaining 100 percent patriotic to his own native land, and each person maintaining 100 percent integrity with his religious or philosophic beliefs, but simultaneously all striving for complete interchange of ideas and recommendations for design of a safety shelter assuring existence and survival as rights of all mankind."

## Farm Organization Opposes Benson Wheat Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

#### HON. LeROY H. ANDERSON

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. ANDERSON of Montana. Mr. Speaker, as we approach our discussion of wheat legislation, I would like my colleagues to think about the telling arguments advanced by a group of wheat farmers in Montana.

They are absolutely opposed to the Benson program of cutting support levels and prices.

Tomorrow you will have an opportunity to vote for a wheat bill that will reduce the surplus, reduce the cost of the program, and, in the long run, help the American farmer.

I commend to you the following letter for your guidance. It is one which a good friend of mine in my hometown wrote to the chairmen of the Committees on Agriculture in the House and the Senate.

CONRAD MONT.

Hon. ALLEN ELLENDER. Hon, HAROLD COOLEY,

Chairmen, House and Senate Agricultural Committees, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIRS: At a meeting on April 14, 1959, we discussed the farm problem and also the Talmadge farm bill. The feeling of our group was that \$25,000 was much too high and that \$10,000 was high enough, for any one producer.

We believe that as long as we have a surplus of wheat or any other crop that we need production control. Manufacturers of all kinds control their production by laying off men, so that they can get their price and a profit and the farmer must do the same. The only difference is that the manufacturers are organized and the farmers are The farmers were organized on the referendum for quotas for the past 6 years voting over 80 percent for quotas to get a better price, and willing to control production. But about 15 to 18 percent wanted to plant or seed all they could, and that's the reason we have a surplus.

When the majority of farmers vote to control production, the rest of the farmers must abide with that decision, like any other election, on problems of any and every kind.

Flexible parity is out, it's suicide for the farmer, the last few years have proven that. If it were not for the bumper crops the last few years, many farmers would be out looking for jobs and there are none to get.

Parity should be 90 to 100 percent and nothing less. No business could last 6 months on 60 to 75 percent of parity, like Mr. Benson wants. We wonder what Secretary Benson would say if he were cut to 60 percent of the salary he gets.

Soil bank is no good when farmers are paid from \$20 an acre and up, that ground should not be put in any other crop to cause surplus of feed, or produce of any kind, like has been done in the last few years, and this caused barley to drop to 95 cents per 100 pounds or 47 cent per bushel on our local market.

Corn and cotton taken out of production should not be permitted to plant 15 acres of wheat or any other crop like has been done in the past. That is why past farm programs did not solve the problem as well as they should have.

Any farmer who overseeds or plants should not be permitted to pay any penalty, and then market his wheat, but it should be his wheat, and keep it and store it at his expense, and the Government should not loan him money to build granaries for it or loan any money on it, like it is at present, 50 percent for noncompliance for overseed-That's why we have such a surplus, no teeth in the program to keep these 15 to 18 percent of the farmers in line; that causes these large surpluses.

The question is, are we going to let 15 to 18 percent of the farmers tell 80 to 85 percent, a great majority, what to do, and shout about free enterprise, this is a free country? It's not very free when a farmer loses his home and farm and can't find a

Congress cannot pass a farm bill that is worth the paper it is written on that will please the President or Secretary Benson. Mr. Benson's record the past 5 years has proven that, by driving down prices every year. Wheat is not \$1.45 per bushel here at Conrad and bread is 29 cents per loaf. In 1948, prices for wheat were \$3.20 a bushel and bread 18 cents a loaf, so it is not the price that the farmer gets that makes food high in cost, as Mr. Benson says, and tries to make the consumer believe. The farmer is pricing himself out of the market, with high price supports.

The farmer could give the wheat and all produce and deliver it free to market and the consumer would still have to pay a high price for his food, and Mr. Benson knows it, if he would just admit it, but he won't.

I read in the paper this morning of the House proposal of raising the parity to 85 percent; that is not enough, it should be at 90 percent at the least. And cutting production is not a fair proposal for as much as 20 percent. It should be as follows:

Perce	nt
100 acres or less	2
	5
301 to 500 acres	
	10
	15
	20
	25

Large farmers can stand a larger cut in acres or bushels because small farmers haven't enough acres in the first place. That was the trouble with the 1938 Farm Act; that was the gripe of the family-size farm for 20 years, cutting the small farmer the same percentage as large producers.

Mr. Benson's proposal for 75 to 90 percent of the average market price for the last 3 years is nothing but, as the Chinaman said, "slow die, but sure die," for the small

So we hope that you will come out with a good farm bill and the President will sign. But if he does veto it, pass it over his veto and/or go down fighting.

CONRAD FARMERS UNION LOCAL NO. 34. SIMON F. NIGG, President.

#### Unemployment in West Virginia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. ROBERT C. BYRD

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the statement which was given this morning by Mr. Miles C. Stanley, president of the West Virginia Labor Federation, AFL-CIO, before the Subcommittee on Agricultural Production, Marketing, and Stabilization of the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry. Mr. Stanley spoke concerning the necessity for the enactment of legislation to provide for the distribution of greater quantities and varieties of surplus foods to needy families in West Virginia and other States of the Union.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF MILES C. STANLEY, PRESIDENT OF THE WEST VIRGINIA LABOR FEDERATION, AFL-CIO, BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION, MARKETING, AND STABILIZATION OF THE U.S. SENATE COMMIT-TEE ON AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY, JUNE 8, 1959, ON S. 1884

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I deeply appreciate this opportunity to appear before this committee on behalf of the organization I represent and, if I may be a bit presumptuous, on behalf of the tens of thousands of West Virginia citizens whose primary sustenance is derived from surplus food commodities or molly grub, as they are commonly referred to in our State.

#### THE COMMODITY DISTRIBUTION PROGRAM IN WEST VIRGINIA

The surplus agricultural food commodity program is administered in West Virginia by the commodity distribution division of the State department of public assistance. In the fiscal year of 1958-59 the legislature appropriated a total of \$10,466,480 to the department of public assistance. Of this amount, \$143,400, or approximately 1.3 percent, was allocated to the commodity distribution division. This figure represents approximately 2.5 percent of the \$6 million cost of the surplus foods which this division was charged with distributing to an average monthly caseload during the calendar year of 1958 of 237,503 recipients and reaching a high of 301,264 in March 1959.

These claimants are widely disbursed over the State with heaviest concentration in the southern coal-producing counties. On the budget indicated, the division has been able to maintain only five warehouses to serve the entire State. These warehouses are located in Beckley, Charleston, Fairmont, Logan, and Welch. These warehouses serv-ice approximately 400 distributing agencies located in practically every county within the State. These agencies, in the main, are composed of church groups, civic clubs, and labor organizations. The tremendous amount of work and expense involved in processing applications, transporting, packaging and distributing the commodities is contributed by members of the respective organizations.

#### PROBLEMS INCURRED IN THE PROGRAM

At the outset of this portion of my statement, which is intended to be a critical view of the program's operation in West Virginia, let me make it clear that, in my judgment, the division of commodity distribution has generally done a commendable tob with the resources being made available to it in terms of foods available and finances with which to administer the program.

Basically the most serious problems to come to light in West Virginia are attributable in most part to the lack of finances properly to administer the program.

In November of 1958 the U.S. Department of Agriculture investigated the program in the State and indicated that unless certain changes were made prior to March of 1959 there was a possibility of a stoppage of all surplus food shipments to West Virginia. Chief among their criticisms was the procedure used in certifying claimants and the monetary contributions which were being collected from the recipients by certain distributing agencies to pay for transporting the surplus foods from the warehouses to the point of distribution.

Faced with the possibility of having the program terminated by the USDA unless remedial steps were taken, the State legislature, meeting in January, passed a supplemental budget of \$38,000 for the current fiscal year allocable to the commodity distribution division, which would alleviate the possibility of this precipitate action. However, as the following statement will show the problem of distribution is still a major one in West Virginia.

#### WAREHOUSING AND DISTRIBUTION

As previously stated, the division is currently maintaining five warehouses in the State under the new budget for 1959-60 of \$302,000, effective July 1. It is my under-standing, it is the intention of the division to establish two additional warehouses, one in Keyser, Mineral County, to service the eastern Panhandle, and one in Parkersburg. Wood County, to service the central and northern Ohio Valley. The map [not print-ed in RECORD] shows the location of these warehouses and the approximate distances to points to be serviced.

As noted, these distances in some instances will involve more than 200 miles of driving, which, of course, is time consuming and expensive. Although the new budgfor the division provides for 14 trucks and drivers as opposed to the present 8, it is almost a foregone conclusion that division trucks alone will not be able to transport the surplus foods to the 400 distributing agencies to be serviced.

This means, of course, that many of the volunteer agencies must assume the responsibility for transporting the commodities from the warehouse to the community in which they are located. Therefore, whether eligible recipients in a given locality receive the much needed food depends upon the willingness of a local organization to bear the expense of transporting as well as packaging and distributing the surplus commodities.

We believe that so many unknown factors in what should be a public welfare program leaves a great deal to be desired in order to properly fulfill its intended purpose of relieving to some degree the hunger and suffering which exists in the midst of plenty.

Sections 5 and 9 of S. 1884 will, in our opinion, do much to remove the objections raised above; section 5 by transferring the responsibility for administering the program to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and thus identifying it as a welfare program properly concerned with the welfare of the recipients, and section 9 will supply a measure of financial assistance to the State and its political subdivisions in storing and distributing the food.

NEED FOR AN INCREASED, VARIED DIET

Sections 6 and 8 of the bill contain certain Provisions which, if enacted, would increase and enrich the diet of the recipients of surplus foods.

The following items and amounts currently being distributed in our State could not be termed either adequate or varied:

Deliveries made once a month:

Flour, 10 pound bags: 1 through 3, 1 bag; 4 through 6, 2 bags; 7 through 9, 3 bags; 10 through 12, 4 bags; 13 up, 5 bags.

Meal, 5 pound bags: 1 through 3, 1 bag; 4 through 6, 2 bags; 7 through 9, 3 bags; 10 through 12, 4 bags; 13 up, 5 bags.

Dried milk, 4½-pound packages: 1 through 3, 1 package; 4 through 6; 2 packages; 7 through 9; 3 packages; 10 through 12, 4 packages; 13 up, 5 packages.

Rice,—pound: 1 through 3, 2 pounds; 4 through 8, 4 pounds; 9 up, 6 pounds.

Butter,-pound: 1 pound per person with a 6-pound limit.

According to the information we have received, although dried eggs will be made available for the July distribution, butter Will be canceled at the same time.

Thousands of pinched faces and obviously undernourished bodies in the depressed areas of West Virginia give mute testimony to the need for the action contemplated by these two sections of the bill.

As one who has been long active not only in the labor movement but community welfare agencies as well, I am personally famillar with many such cases.

#### ELIGIBILITY REQUIREMENTS

Section 10 of the bill under discussion provides that the Secretary of the Health, Education, and Welfare Department shall be authorized to establish minimum and maximum standards of eligibility for participation in the commodity distribution pro-

There is probably no other phase of the program in West Virginia which has fallen so far below accepted standards as in the one of eligibility.

Although there are no official figures available on the question, my organization is confident that a great number of very low income families are being denied the benefits of the program because of much too stringent eligibility provisions. Information obtained in two conferences with the State director of the department of public assistance has indicated that comparatively difficult eligibility requirements were purposely maintained to avoid an even higher caseload which would make the cost of the program prohibitive to the department.

However, despite this anticipated danger It was and is our opinion that the rules as promulgated were unfair and discriminatory. For example, until recently a rule was in effect that provided that no employed person was eligible for surplus foods irrespective of what their earnings were. At the same time unemployed claimants who were drawing unemployment compensation which could total in excess of \$120 per month and recipients of cash grants from the department which in many cases ran as high as \$165 were declared eligible.

Although this particular order has been scinded there remains an income eligibility provision and a liquid assets disqualifying provision which in each case are far too low.

Following is the monthly income eligibility schedule and liquid asset schedule currently in effect in West Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania:

	West	Mary-	Pennsyl-
	Virginia	land	vania
Family size:  1	\$50	\$100	\$110
	85	100	160
	1 130	140	3 200
	100	(4)	(4)

- 1 Maximum allowance.
- Runs to \$320.

  None specified.

From the above chart it can be readily determined that West Virginia is far below that which is accepted as maximum income allowances in two neighboring States.

Inasmuch as the surplus food commodities are made available through a Federal program, it seems only right and proper that standards pertaining to their distribution should originate at the same source.

For the further information of the committee, attached hereto in addition to the map referred to previously, are the following items which we thought would be of some assistance:

1. A copy of the agreement which must be signed by all agencies that propose to become distributors of surplus foods.

2. The application form for welfare commodities which is completed by each applicant and submitted to the agency through

which they are applying.

3. The commodity distribution list which is filled in by the office of the warehouse from which the agency being utilized is serviced; returned with the commodities to the agency and signed by the recipient at the time the foods are distributed.

4. A copy of the policies and procedures governing certification and distribution of commodities issued in March 1958 and currently in effect.

#### CONCLUSION

May I say in closing that I note with pleasure that both Senators RANDOLPH and BYRD, of West Virginia, are cosponsors of

It is a privilege for our organization to join with all the sponsors of this important piece of humanitarian legislation in urging its favorable consideration by this committee and its ultimate passage.

#### Passport Regulations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter written by Jonathan Bingham to the editor of the New York Times and published in that newspaper on May 24,

In this letter, Mr. Bingham offers an alternative suggestion to the present law which requires that a person leaving the United States obtain a passport from the Government. Mr. Bingham's suggestion, I believe, is worthy of wide circulation and serious thought.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

TRAVEL PERMIT PROPOSED-PLAN BELIEVED TO OFFER ALTERNATIVE IN PASSPORT DILEMMA

(The writer of the following letter, a lawyer, was formerly Assistant Director of the State Department's Office of International Security Affairs.)

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The State Department has been asking Congress to give it broad powers to deny passports to Communists and so prevent them from traveling. Last year the Supreme Court held that existing statutes did not, as the State Department thought, give the Secretary this power, and has implied that such power unless very closely safeguarded might well be unconstitutional anyway.

The Congress is obviously torn, and the prognosis for passage of the State Department's bill is not particularly good. Mean-while, the State Department has let it be known, hundreds of Communists have been applying for passports for the first time, and the State Department has felt compelled to grant them.

In this situation, which is characteristic of both the strength and the weakness of our form of government, it seems that a new approach is needed to end the stale-

What if the Department were to ask Congress for the authority to issue simple exit and reentry permits to American citizens whose travel it finds to be undesirable? It might well find the Congress more amenable to the idea. And the Department would, by that means, have very likely evaded the threat of a finding of unconstitutionality by the Supreme Court.

#### CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS

For the Supreme Court has suggested that freedom to travel is "a constitutional right," but it has never implied that there is any equivalent "right to a passport." And the two are by no means coequal.

An American passport is more than a necessary permit to leave the country. It is also a kind of letter of introduction, an indication that the traveler's government will stand behind him, within limits, if he gets into trouble. As a high State Department official has said, a passport "\* \* \* invokes for him [the traveler] the full prestige of the United States Government; and foreign governments usually accept it as meaning that he is a reputable person."

The incredible thing is that the Department has never suggested the possibility of issuing some lesser form of travel document. Such a document could be a simple certificate of American citizenship, together with a permit to leave this country and a permit to reenter within a specified time.

The Department would have to determine the standards for denying a full passport, and issue some sort of public explanation. It would also have to establish reasonable procedures. In order to satisfy the Su-preme Court—and, indeed, basic concepts of fair play—the Department would doubtless have to specify to each applicant its reasons for denying a full passport and would have to grant a hearing on the issue if requested.

However, it could probably-and this is perhaps at the heart of the Department's present dilemma—get away with refusing to disclose all its sources of information adverse to the applicant. Where a citizen is entitled to "due process" in the denial of a right such as the "right to travel," the

courts are likely to hold that he must be "confronted" with the witnesses against him, so that they can be subjected to cross-examination. The difficulty is that this is likely to destroy important sources of information for the Government.

#### LIMITING DISCLOSURES

If the question, however, were not denial of the right to travel, but the denial of a full passport, with all the support and approval that it connotes, the courts would probably not insist on so high a standard of disclosure, i.e., confrontation and cross-examination.

What would be the practical result for the individual traveler concerned if he were to be given an exit and reentry permit instead of a passport? Probably different countries would react in different ways. It is safe to say, however, that such a permit would make travel far less convenient, secure and predictable than it is with a passport. It is also safe to say that such permits would not be popular. They would be, in effect, second-class travel documents, and would identify the holders as persons whose travel the U.S. Government did not approve of.

It is true, of course, that with such a document a determined espionage agent could leave this country to carry on his work. But such a person can do this today by using the Latin-American or Canadian route, where passports are not required. Moreover, if espionage is involved and the Government knows it, the person should be indicted and actually detained.

Such permits could also be a device for solving the problem of travel to countries not recognized by the United States, where regular passports are not valid. Enterprising newsmen might well be eager to use such "travel-at-your-own-risk documents" for travel to areas such as Hungary or Communist China. They would have no assurance of being permitted to enter, but they would be free to use their ingenuity and courage to carry out such travel and report their findings to the American public. This would avoid the ridiculous situation which now exists today in which the adventurous Americans who attempts to travel where his passport is not valid is likely to have his passport revoked.

JONATHAN BINGHAM. NEW YORK, May 19, 1959.

## The Oregon Centennial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, in this centennial year of Oregon statehood, we take particular pride in the magnificent scenic vistas of our State. These mountains, valleys, and sweeping stretches of seacoast abound in wildlife, fisheries, and birds. Few places in America are so characterized by snowy peaks and timbered hills rising far above the ocean's foaming strands.

In Sports Afield magazine for June 1959, I have been privileged to contribute an article entitled "Oregon at 100." The theme of the article is expressed in the headline added by the editors, which refers to Oregon as "one of America's great outdoor States."

Already, Mr. President, my office is receiving many inquiries from fishermen, hunters, campers, and outdoor lovers throughout the Nation. These people have read the article and they desire to spend their vacation in Oregon, the State which thrills all newcomers—whether they be bold frontiersmen like Lewis and Clark in pine-log canoes, or modern wayfarers in sleek station wagons. This is Oregon's 100th anniversary of statehood.

I wish it were possible, Mr. President, to include in the Congressional Record some of the lovely colored photographs of the McKenzie River, the Wallowa Mountains, the Rogue River, the mouth of the mighty Columbia River, and other Oregon beauty spots which have been featured by the editors of Sports Afield magazine.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record my article entitled "Oregon at 100" from the June issue of Sports Afield.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From Sports Afield magazine for June 1959]

OREGON AT 100

(By Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER)

(This year celebrating a century of statehood is one of America's great outdoor States. Here an eminent native son tells of her vast hunting-fishing-camping potential.)

When my wife Maurine and I are trudging through a wooded glade or beside an ocean strand, we have a game we play. What would be our choice if a mythical Paul Bunyan could transport us back in time to some earlier period in history? And always we come to one event. We would have chosen to go along with Meriwether Lewis and William Clark on that original westward pligrimage across this vast continent by Americans.

To us, no thrill could compare even remotely with the adventure of being the first of all our countrymen to see the marvels of Oregon—to paddle in pine-log cances down the mighty Columbia, to glimpse the snowy pyramid of Mount Hood rising out of the foothills of the Cascade Range, to peer up the chasms of the Snake and the Deschutes, to glory in the incredible quantities of fish in the swift reaches of these mountain rivers and of game on their shores, to see evergreen forests measured only by horizons, and finally to sight the great Pacific where it breaks in whitecapped splendor beyond the Columbia's bar.

Oregon affects us that way. Whenever we are separated from our native State, we are unable to feel really content or satisfied. Its surf and booming waterfalls call to us from afar. In this year of 1959, which marks the 100th anniversary of Oregon statehood, we still are dazzied by the fact that any realm on earth could be so generously supplied with all the wonders of the outdoors. And our affection for Oregon is expressed in more than mere words. One day Felton M. (Skeeter) Johnston, secretary of the U.S. Senate, said to me: "Senator Neuberger, I believe you spend more time in your home State and less time in Washington, D.C., than any other member of the Senate.

"Skeeter," I replied, "there's a good reason for that. Both my wife and I were born and raised in Oregon. We can hardly wait to see our favorite campgrounds or picnic spot in the Oregon wilderness, once the Vice

President has banged his gavel and announced the adjournment of the Senate until the next session."

Perhaps I can make you understand our fervent devotion to Oregon.

Oregon contains in abundance the three ingredients essential to a healthy and permanent wildlife community—forests, water, and ample space not yet taken over by pavement or real-estate subdivisions.

Oregon's 434 billion board feet of standing timber make it first in the Nation in forest growth. No sister State anywhere can rival Oregon's immense green blanket of fir, pine, cedar, and other needled species. Even my hometown of Portland contains more trees than any other city in the world, regardless of size. The humblest bungalow can have a Douglas-fir as high as a 20-floor office building in its backyard.

And the rivers of Oregon match the forests which guard and protect their sources. These rivers rib seacoast and upland alike with their gorges. Some idea of Oregon's prodigious quantity of water may be gained from the fact that the Columbia carries 180 million acre-feet to the ocean. The gnawing Colorado River, architect of the Grand Canyon, has a runoff with barely 10 percent this much water. Many mountain ranges in Oregon pay glacial tribute to the Columbia and its tributaries—the Cascades, Coast, Wallowas, and Blue Mountains. They soak up winter's deep cushions of snow and let the later seep downhill with the dependable regularity of a honker flock's annual migration.

Indeed, Oregon has so many rivers stockaded by awesome scenery and filled with fighting fish that each sportsman has a different favorite. That author of innumerable western tales, Zane Grey, was partial to the saucy Rogue with its salmon and steelhead. Ex-President Herbert Hoover has told me that the foaming McKenzle, with its rainbow trout, is his special jewel. The Lostine River. which claws at granite boulders with rockets of spray, is the particular trout fishing bailiwick of Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas. This illustrates Oregon's versatility, for the Rogue splashes directly into the ocean, while the McKenzie and Lostine are mountain rivers which reach tidewater only through a network of distant tributaries. Gen. George C. Marshall is another who, like Zane Grey of old, prefers Oregon streams murmuring straight to the sea-His choice is the picturesque Umpqua, which has an infinite variety of fishing—salmon, searun cutthroats, striped bass, and German

Of course, the ordinary angler, who is not on the split-second schedule of a famous military commander or former President, can try his luck both at sea level and high among the crags when he visits Oregon. Our State, in common with such favored places as Norway and the new 49th State of Alaska, has mountains whose timbered headlands kneel in the ocean. In fact, I know of no outdoor recreation which Oregon fails to afford, unless it be scrambling up coconut palms or some other tropical tree.

Giacial ascents in Oregon of varying difficulty beckon the alpinist. A whole necklace of lakes offers boating, swimming, surfboarding and fishing. My wife, who must have mermaid corpuscles in her veins, insists that no swimming—either in salt water or freshis half so invigorating as that available in Oregon. The water is cold, however, and thus not for any bather who is faint of heart or pulse. Nearly one-fourth of Oregon lies inside the boundaries of national forests, which are crosshatched with excellent trails. Timber sales are twice the value of those in any other State, but the U.S. Forest Service maintains a program of sustained-yield, which means that the annual cut is kept closely in balance with new forest growth.

Their wealth of natural resources has made Oregon's people extremely conserva-tion-conscious. When an unwise termination-conscious. tion act put in jeopardy the extensive pine forest and waterfowl marsh of the Klamath Indian Reservation, public opinion in the State mobilized speedily. This made it pos-sible for me to sponsor successfully in the Senate a \$90 million authorization for Federal purchase and preservation of such priceless outdoor assets. The saving of the Klamath marsh—which otherwise might have been drained for use as grazing landwas of special importance, because it is used for nesting and feeding by some 85 percent of the birds traveling the Pacific flyway. Of great assistance to this rescue operation in Oregon was the effective crusading carried on by Michael Hudoba, able Washington correspondent of Sports Afield.

Because of its wealth of water and trees, all of Oregon bristles with wild creatures of one kind of another. This is attested by the purchase last year of over 800,000 fishing and hunting licenses and kill-tags of various sorts, a statistic of amazing proportions in a State of only 1,700,000 population. Oregon has almost 3 percent of the country's land area, but about 1 percent of its people. This explains why there still are wide-open spaces in Oregon free of cities and supermarkets. Such spaces can be either gaunt rimrock, primeval groves or seashore sand dunes. Yet they have one characteristic in common—freedom from civilization. Forest fastnesses in Oregon stretch away to the skyllne, untouched except by an occasional lookout tower or ranger's cabin.

We have a lean and rugged friend named Rank Lewis, who recently spent 5 weeks with his family on the Skyline Trail, which threads along the summit of the Cascades. They saw other human beings only once—when they deliberately left the mountain pathway at Cresent Lake to stock up on grub. This is a rare kind of solitude in our frenzied existence. "I wouldn't have believed we could be so all alone anywhere in the continental United States," sald Hank's resourceful wife Jean, who is a member of the Oregon State Senate.

I myself remember sitting, winded and tired, on the dizzy shoulder of Olallie Butte, in the Mount Hood National Forest, just after we had returned to Oregon from a tense and hectic session of Congress. While we munched our cheese sandwiches and listened to the hum of insects in the late summer afternoon, it seemed difficult to recall that we had only just come from an environment where hordes of people pulled at our lapels and tugged at our elbows during every waking hour.

This is what Oregon means to us—rest and Peace and sanctuary from the litters of bigtime politics.

But Oregon is not only a refuge for the Pecies homo sapiens. The Malheur National Wildlife Refuge, in the State's Southeastern corner, is about the biggest migratory-bird reserve in the country primarily set aside for waterfowl, Sandhill Cranes, herons, pelicans, egrets, all kinds of ducks and geese, gulls, quall, sage hens, and loons are among its winged inhabitants.
This is the farthest north that egrets nest on our continent. A monument recently was dedicated at the heart of the refuge in tribute to a pair of illustrious Oregon naturalists, Stanley G. Jewett and Bill Finley, who fought to keep such wetlands from be ing drained for agricultural purposes. former resident of Oregon, Dr. Ira N. Gabrielson, president of the Wildlife Management Institute, journeyed 3,000 miles to make the dedicatory address while birds rustled in the reeds.

From the very beginning, Oregon's abundance of wildlife has made a vivid impact on visitors. Lewis and Clark arrived in Oregon

after having had their narrowest brush with starvation when crossing the bleak Bitter-root Range. Game had been nonexistent. Oregon's first impression was to awe the explorers with the countless thousands of salmon in the rivers and the endless procession The great of ducks and geese overhead. numbers of elk on the south bank of the Columbia, within sight of the river's wide mouth, induced the location of Fort Clatsop, which soon will be made a permanent memorial by the National Park Service. Lewis and Clark needed meat and also hides to replace their tattered garments. Therefore, they built their crude log stockade where the elk foraged, and thus it was that the first habitation ever erected by Americans on the shores of the Pacific Ocean came to be located in what today is Oregon State.

The same Roosevelt elk that befriended Lewis and Clark are numerous in Oregon now, especially along the timbered seacoast. They are larger in size and darker in color than the Rocky Mountain elk, which roam the mountains and plateaus in the interior of the State. Before I was born in Oregon 46 years ago, some of the famous Jackson Hole elk herd in Wyoming had been transplanted to the uplands of Oregon. They thrived immediately in their new habitat and have flourished ever since. These animals with such a historic past give Oregon a virtual photo-finish tie with Montana for second among the States in elk population. Idaho, with its sprawling herd on the steep slopes of the Lochsa River, leads the country in this big-game category. Ironically, the famous Lochsa elk were not in the vicinity when Lewis and Clark, stricken with hunger, staggered across the area which now is Idaho.

Nearly every wayfarer has eaten well in Oregon. Explorers like Lewis and Clark or Gen. John Charles Fremont or Capt. Benjamin Bonneville might find lean pickings elsewhere, but they dined in style on elk rump, salmon steak, and goose liver when Oregon was reached. Although he got there after pioneer times, Rudyard Kipling was the happiest traveler of all. He caught seven or eight whopping Chinook salmon on lures in the Clackamas River within a few hours, near the foot of the riffles pecking at a Southern Pacific trestle. Kipling then reported to friends at his home fishing club across the globe in India: "I have lived. The American Continent may now sink under the sea, for I have taken the best that it yields, and the best was neither dollars, love, nor real estate."

The modern sportsman may not have Kipling's gift of expression, but he will be just as pleased with Oregon. Come with me for a quick survey of this far-flung outdoor paradise on its 100th birthday as a State of the Union.

If you arrive with creel and rod, plan to fish both in the mountains and along the ocean. Oregon has at least 15,000 miles of fishing streams and more lakes than an IBM machine could tabulate. An alert and wellstaffed State game commission has kept waters efficiently stocked despite the inroads of fishing and an occasional overdose of sewage from cities or paper mills. At least 15 rivers of Oregon empty directly into the Pacific. Salmon are taken principally through trolling, casting, or still fishing. Spinners, artificial minnows, and cluster eggs are the most reliable lures. Steelhead. which I like to describe as rainbow trout that got inquisitive and went to sea, are at their peak during the damp but mild coastal winters. Chinook salmon, king of their kind, spawn in the gravel of fast-running creeks. But the smaller sockeye or bluebacks will hatch the next generation of salmon only in streams which have lakes lurking at their headwaters. Chinooks frequently weigh up to 50 pounds, and the world record sportcaught Chinook was taken from the Umpqua River of Oregon. Its avoirdupois was 83 pounds.

Fishing in the Oregon mountains depends less on poundage and more on fight for its thrills. Just about every sort of trout can be enumerated in one or another of the States' myriad of rivers. The Deschutes watershed, near the central portion of Oregon, offers steelhead, rainbows, eastern brook trout, German browns, lake trout, and the Kokanee, which is a landlocked sockeye salmon. The Deschutes, like many other Oregon streams, can be fished from boats or from the banks. If you prefer to cast your flies in a wilderness, try the Wallowa Range in the extreme northeastern sector of Oregon. A Swiss guide told me this idyllic valley was more like his native land than any spot he had yet seen in the United States. I never have visited Switzerland, but if it is anything like the needled and spired Wallowas, with their gem-shaped lakes, then I believe all the favorable comments I have heard about the domain of William Tell.

Snow in the high passes keeps wayfarers out of the Wallowa uplands before July 4. Trails are steep and no place for a tenderfoot addicted to dizzy spells. But the reward is rich in rainbow, eastern brook, and cutthroat trout, once the high alpine meadows are attained. This is the advantage of a State as diversified as Oregon. It combines the mountain wonders of a Colorado with the seacoast attractions of another Maine. If you are stout of heart and limb, you can invade the Wallowa Range or the Cascades with your fishing equipment. But if a coronary condition keeps you close to sea levelas it does in the case of that doughty angler. President Dwight David Eisenhower-then the 15 fretted streams pouring into the Pacific Ocean are your deepdish cobbler in

I myself am not a hunter. I have never pulled a trigger on a fellow mammal. But I refuse to be hypocritical about my friends who do like to hunt, because I eat meat and thus share in the benefits of a kill, whether it takes place in a packing plant or grove of Douglas fir.

I have been along on hunting trips, from the moose and brown bear ranges of the Yukon to the deer-plentiful plateaus of northern California, and I think it can safely be claimed that Oregon ranks among the major hunting areas of the Far West. Indeed, the populace takes its hunting so seriously that Governors of Oregon have lost their jobs at the next election, because they closed down deer season too hurriedly when there was forest-fire peril.

Oregon is among the few States with an abundance both of mule deer and of the majestic Columbian blacktails. Blacktails abound in the gentle Coast Range, mule deer in the lofty interior. In fact, Oregon contains more deer of these two species than any other State except vast California. Deer hunting season generally takes place during the first 3 weeks of October. Elk season then follows conveniently-from late October or early November until midway through the month. Here, again, the nomad has his choice between seacoast and alpine environment. If you are hunting Roosevelt elk near the ocean, remember that they favor burned-over or logged-off hillsides to those where extensive evergreen forests still grow. By contrast, the Rocky Mountain elk of the high uplands usually lurk in thickets of lodgepole pine, where it is difficult to distinguish dark hide from rough brown bark.

Upland game in the form of birds is also a lure in our State. These include ring-necked pheasants, Hungarian and chukar partridge, three kinds of quail, and virtually every variety of grouse. The State's lush foliage and ample supplies of water make it certain that few of these species ever die

out. Furthermore, we of Oregon are extraordinarily proud of our State game commission and its able director, Phil Schneider. It is not a quarrelsome, yapping commission which forever lectures and scolds sportsmen. Skillful game management is its goal, and Oregon's superiority as a site of hunting and fishing demonstrates that the goal has been consistently attained.

Space precludes me from listing all the outdoor recreational opportunities easily accessible in Oregon. But you name it, and Oregon has it. For example, Timberline Lodge and nearby Government Camp, in the Mount Hood National Forest, comprise the Northwest's most famous ski resort. More winter-sports visits are undertaken each year to this one area than throughout all the rest of the region combined. Ski tows, ski lifts, skyways with bus bodies on heavy cables—there is just about every possible facility except human projectiles for getting skiers back up the powdery slopes of Mount Hood so they can swoop down again. The long, cool springs keep the snow from melting away early. Ski tournaments are sponsored at Timberline as late as the middle of June, while Portland's celebrated Rose Festival is being dedicated to this most fragrant of flowers only 50 miles away.

of flowers only 50 miles away.

Timberline Lodge is a spectacle in and of itself. It was wedged into the rock-andsnow south face of Mount Hood, loftlest peak in Oregon, during dpression years as a WPA project. Master craftsmen decorated the lodge, by hand, in symbols of the Northwest Indian tribes and with mosaics portraying the lumberjack legend of Paul Bunyan and his blue ox Babe. It is one of the finest examples of hand carving and hand weaving anywhere in the Nation. President Franklin D. Roosevelt fourneyed into the heart of the Cascades to dedicate Timberline Lodge over 20 years ago. Timberline now is rented from the U.S. Forest Service by a wealthy and enthusiastic skier from New York named Dick Kohnstamm. He has installed a glassenclosed swimming pool, so that an adventurer (or adventuress) can glide in a few moments from the icy heights of Mount Hood to a diving board suspended over

steam-heated water. Oregon contains many great vistas of scenic grandeur, and I never can quite decide which is the most spectacular. It always has seemed natural to me that Oregon should have more State parks than any other State—167. Our unparalleled national park, Crater Lake, is in a class by itself. The lake, of a deep blue which puts even the Mediterranean to shame, lies in the immense vat formed when a prehistoric volcano blew its summit to kingdom come. It is 2,000 giddy feet from the rim to the indigo water far below. But is Crater Lake any more stuning than Hells Canyon of the Snake River. 6,500 feet deep, as glimpsed from Buckhorn Ranger Station in the Wallowas? As if every day were bargain day, the sightseer also can peer up the corridor carved by the Salmon River, where it joins the Snake, and this chasm is likewise more than a mile deep. And what of the fabulous Columbia River Gorge, where the country's second mightiest river has gnawed its way through the backbone of the Cascade Range? Lacy waterfalls topple into the defile from the distant snowfields of Mount Hood, while the Columbia itself slows down in pace for the meeting with the first brine of tidewater from the Pacific.

When I was barely out of college, I stood on the basaltic palisades above the Columbia with a learned man who was chairman of Sweden's Royal Board of Waterfalls. I can still recall his words. "What a fabulous river!" he exclaimed. "It falls as far as some of our brooks in Scandinavia, and yet it has all the dimensions of the Volga or Rhine."

If you seek to climb mountains when you visit Oregon, get in touch with the Mazamas of Portland or the Crag Rats of Hood River. These are our most proficient groups of mountaineers. Membership in either organization is selective, for you must conquer a peak with a "living glacier" in order to qualify. This has been done by grandmothers and grandfathers, but it should be kept in mind that such elderly folks were natives of Oregon who stayed in trim by making ascents the year round. Alpine tests in Oregon are varied. Mount Hood, for example, is a long, tedious trudge which generally is completely safe, despite the 11,245-foot elevation of its top. But slightly lower Mount deferson, by comparison, is surmounted by a sheer spire where many inexperienced lives have been forfeit. Unless you are tired of this earthly realm, never attempt any of Oregon's snowy sentinels without a veteran mountaineer.

It is good to be alive in Oregon on Oregon's first centennial anniversary of statehood. I envy those lucky people who will be reveling in the Oregon outdoors in the year 2059, when the second centennial comes around. Yet I am thankful for having been born and raised in the grandeur of this State, where the outdoors is king. I think I understand and thoroughly appreciate the sentiments of Chief Joseph of the Nez Perce, whose people were ordered to leave the beautiful Wallowa Valley so that settlers could take over their lands. Joseph looked around him at the granite mountains, at the pine forests rich with deer and elk, at the rivers bursting with salmon and trout, at grassy meadows where the ponies of the Nez Perce foraged.

"This is our homeland," said Joseph. "For as long as the grass shall grow on the hills and the sun shall set in the sky, we of the Nez Perce will fight to live here."

And fight they did—against endless reinforcements of blue-coated cavalry troopers. And when at last the Nez Perce were overwhelmed by superior numbers, in 1877, Joseph's captors could not look him in the face. They might have been recruited by the Army from afar, but they sympathized with Joseph's love for Oregon.

Today, the great peak which broods over the Wallawa Valley is known as Chief Joseph. Oregon's citizens proudly salute a man who was willing to stake his life so he and his people could stay in Oregon.

## American Politics Has No Room for Religious Intolerance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. DAVID S. KING

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. KING of Utah. Mr. Speaker, recently I received in the mail an intemperate and inflammatory diatribe against the Roman Catholic Church. It was plainly inspired by the prospective candidacy for President of the United States of a prominent member of that church.

I do not question the right of a man to publicly criticize any religious group, and, with Voltaire, I will "defend with my life his right to do so." Furthermore, I should like to make it perfectly clear that I have made no commitment and, indeed, have no learnings whatsoever in favor of, or against, any one of the many splendid Democrats whose names have been prominently mentioned in recent months as presidential possibilities. When I do make my choice, you may be certain I will be in no way influenced by religious blas-

I should like to say a word, however, upon the subject of religious bigotry in American politics. Until recent times my own church, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, repeatedly felt the stinging lash of this demon bigotry. For that reason my people are strongly resolved that unreasoning intolerance shall never become a part of their culture.

The Mormon people zealously teach that the American Constitution was Divinely inspired. They are intensely loyal. The basic principles of their fatth clearly require their unswerving loyalty to the Government, its laws, and the constitutional ideals under which they live. One of their basic principles, as proclaimed in their articles of faith, declares:

"We claim the privilege of worshiping Almighty God according to the dictates of our own conscience, and allow all men the same privilege, let them worship how, where, or what they may."

The articles also declare, in part:

"We believe \* \* in obeying, honoring and sustaining the law."

Utah history reflects the tolerance and understanding which the above articles call to mind. The Salt Lake Tribune newspaper grew into one of the most influential institutions of the State and one of the finest newspapers of America, under Roman Catholic ownership. One of its distinguished owners and publishers, the Honorable Thomas Kearns, was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1901, 5 years after Utah became a State.

The fourth Governor of Utah was a distinguished Jew, the Honorable Simon Bamberger. He was elected governor at a time when Utah probably had as small a percentage of Jews among its population as any other State in the

Tolerance and understanding are reflected today in the general respect which Utahans show religious institutions and leaders of every faith, including such Roman Catholic institutions as Salt Lake City's Holy Cross Hospital, the Judge Memorial School, and the Cathedral of the Madeleine, and including, too, the distinguished bishop of the Catholic Diocese of Salt Lake City, the Most Reverend Duane G. Hunt.

Throughout our State history, the Mormons and Catholics have lived side by side, in harmony and peace. I pray in my heart that it may remain that way, and I have resolved that no political act of mine shall ever disturb the tranquillity of that relationship.

Although, as I have indicated, I do try to live the tenents of my own particular faith, I should add that I had the privilege of attending for 4 years the famous Jesuit institution of higher learning, Georgetown University. Many of the warmest friends I have are mem-

bers of the Roman Catholic faith. Individuals are justified, I believe, in drawing conclusions from their own personal experiences. My conclusions, drawn from such experience, are that the Catholic institutions of learning are dedicated to the teaching of a type of American patriotism whose high quality and fidelity to American principles match those of any other educational institutions in this country.

To suggest that the pledge of allegiance taken by a Roman Catholic is in any way less sincere than that taken by any other member of our Commonwealth, or that such pledge taken by the Catholic carries personal reservations which another's does not, is to ignore the facts which I know to be otherwise.

If we were to subtract from the rich and variegated pattern of our national history every contribution made by the many Catholic nationalities such as the Irish, the Italians, the Spanish-Americans, and the Poles, we would find ourselves confronted by an irreparable loss. It would be heartbreaking to live in an America who knew not these wonderful people.

Over 90 Members of the Congress of the United States belong to the Roman Catholic Church, including our very distinguished majority leader, the Honorable John W. McCormack, of Massachusetts. I consider it an honor to associate with these outstanding gentlemen and distinguished Americans.

As an American, I plead with all Americans to resolve never to stoop to place a single faggot on the fire of religious bigotry and intolerance. America is great because America is bigger than the cramped provincialism which excludes diversity of belief. I can only express the hope that during the coming campaign the bigness of the American mind may spurn the confinements of the narrow sphere of intolerance, and may move out into the vast sunlight of understanding.

#### Dick Fitzpatrick: Example of Courage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

#### HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, every once in a while a person who crosses our path sets an example of high courage in the face of adversity. Such a man is Dr. Richard Fitzpatrick. "Dick" as he is known to hundreds of friends, both in Washington and in Milwaukee, has had muscular dystrophy since childhood. He has been confined to a wheelchair. But, in spite of this serious handicap, he has graduated from Marquette University, in Milwaukee, Wis., and, yesterday, he re-ceived his degree of doctor of social psychology, at American University, in Washington, D.C.

I ask consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from

the Washington Sunday Star which tells about Dick Fitzpatrick. I should like especially to call attention to his philosophy, as quoted in the news story:

One fact you've got to realize is that life is going to go on. Either you participate in it or you don't.

People with handicaps would be better off if they knew that there are so many willing to give another a hand if he shows them he doesn't want to sit still and withdraw.

Dick Fitzpatrick has been active. He has not withdrawn. He has accumulated a host of freiends willing to give him a hand. I congratulate and salute

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CRIPPLED SINCE 4, HE GETS DEGREE TODAY

Richard S. Fitzpatrick will receive his doctor's degree in social psychology today from American University while sitting in a wheelchair.

He is a muscular dystrophy victim, confined to a chair since he was 4 years old. How has he managed to persevere, despite his handicap?

"One fact you've got to realize is that life is going to go on," he said. "Either you participate in it or you don't."

Mr. Fitzpatrick, 38, is an editorial adviser for the U.S. Information Service. He has lived here since early in World War II, when his family moved to Washington.

At the time, he had a bachelor of science degree from Marquette University in Milwaukee. He was interested in journalism in his college days and reported campus news for the Milwaukee Sentinel.

After taking on some information jobs during the war, he joined the USIA in 1948. At this point he had added his master's degree from American University. Wanting to do more, he began teaching psychology in 1947 in the Agriculture Department's graduate school program.

Another favorite task is the journalism fraternity, Sigma Delta Chi, which Mr. Fitzpatrick serves here as secretary, a job he has held for 16 years. He also is associate editor of the fraternity's magazine, the Quill, and serves as a book reviewer for several other publications.

Mr. Fitzpatrick lives with an attendant at 4830 North 22d Road, Arlington. His appetite for-new psychology works is insatiable. "I'll say with no little pride that I've amassed some 1,200 books on psychology in my own library," he said.

#### SEES PEOPLE KIND

In another part of his house are several file cabinets filled with case studies conducted by Mr. Fitzptarick during his university work. He's not surprised when a friend drops by with a son or daughter seeking vocational guidance.

Although Mr. Fitzpatrick is unable to drive or negotiate downtown streets, he says there always seems to be someone who can spare a little time to "give me a push when I need it. My wonderful friends have really made the difference."

A few days ago the USIA editor received word that he had been elected to American University's honor society and a psychology honor fraternity.

Mr. Pitzpatrick plans to give a party for his friends a few days after graduation. "You know," he said, "people with handicaps would be a lot better off if they knew that there are so many willing to give another a hand if he shows them he doesn't want to sit still and withdraw."

#### The Labor Bill Vote

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a wellwritten, provocative article entitled "Labor Bill Vote Can Be a Brand," written by Roscoe Drummond, and published in the Washington Post and Times Herald of June 7, 1959.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHOSE VETO GUIDES YOU?-LABOR BILL VOTE CAN BE A BRAND

#### (By Roscoe Drummond)

The image which the two parties present to the voters in the 1960 elections will be shaped to a large degree by the kind of labor reform legislation Congress passes—or fails to pass—this session.

If the House Democrats support a weak law, rejecting every provision the union leaders want them to reject, they will be going a long way toward showing themselves a political party with a union veto.

If the majority of the House Republicans insists on everything which the U.S. Chamber of Commerce wants by way of labor reform legislation or else opposes everything. they will be going a long way toward show-ing themselves a political party with a business veto.

Some would like to avoid this test by postponing it. But that would be the worst kind of abdication. It would be a confession that Congress did not have the will to legislate against the will of opposing pressure groups.

Postponement would only make the decision more difficult. If the hurdles of labor reform legislation cannot be surmounted now, what chance is there of surmounting them on the eve of a Presidential election?

The House Labor Committee is so divided that there can be no valid forecast of what will come out of it. But whatever does come will probably go to the House with an open rule, which means that amendments can be proposed from the floor.

This means that anything the House Labor Committee offers can be strengthened or weakened; that the real test is yet to come, and that when it does, both parties will have to stand up and be counted.

Neither labor nor industry is a disinterested witness on labor reform legislation. They are the interested parties. Just as Wall Street did not write the Securities and Exchange Act, neither labor nor industry should write the labor reform legislation.

I don't mean they shouldn't be heard. They should be heard and they are-all over

Jimmy Hoffa, the Teamster union boss, is quoted as threatening a general strike if Congress dares to pass any labor reform law at all, and he is also quoted as saying that he was misquoted. Perhaps he wouldn't call it a general strike but just a little po-

lice action to keep Congress in line.

John L. Lewis, president of the United
Mine Workers, has also served notice on Congress that he wants it to keep hands off. forget the abuses and scandals revealed by the McClellan committee, do nothing about

George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, wants as little as possible and less than that, if it can be arranged. He is against the modest measure passed by the Senate and wants some of its teeth extracted.

This Congress is certainly not going to put any antilabor union-busting provisions in its reform package. And it shouldn't. But the interests of the union leaders in the management of the powerful unions are not always and automatically the same as the interests of the union members.

There is a need to safeguard the rights of union members to run their unions democratically, to require free, secret-ballot elections of officers periodically and to protect union funds through strict accounting.

It is doubtful if the Senate bill provides adequate enforcement. It seems to me that Secretary of Labor Mitchell's proposed curbs on secondary boycotts and "blackmail" picketing are reasonable, moderate, and in the public interest.

We need to bear in mind that we are not dealing with an infant labor movement or an impotent labor movement.

#### Fish-Farm Project in Arkansas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I am proud to have been the author of the bill to establish a fish-farm research project which is designed to solve many of the problems plaguing farmers who engage in this new field of agriculture.

I am pleased to report that two tracts of land in Arkansas have been purchased for the establishment of the experiment station. Headquarters for the project will be located at Stuttgart on a tract of 85 acres adjacent to the rice branch experiment station operated by the University of Arkansas. The second tract consists of 211 acres near Kelso, Ark., and it will be used for larger scale experimentation to test the laboratory findings. An appropriation of \$350,000 was included in the Interior appropriation bill for the project when the bill passed the House of Representatives. This sum should be sufficient to complete the construction of the experiment station, and I hope the station will be in operation by the end of the coming fiscal year.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix a press release by the Department of the Interior concerning the purchase of the land for the

There being no objection, the release was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LAND PURCHASED IN ARKANSAS FOR FISH-FARMING RESEARCH

Purchase of two tracts of land in two important Arkansas rice, soybean, and cotton growing areas for the development of a fish-farming research station was announced today by the Department of the Interior. The land acquired for the projects totaled 296 acres.

The purpose of the research is to provide practical ways by which fish-farming can be conducted profitably in conjunction with agricultural crop growing. The University of Arkansas, through its network of agricultural experiment stations, has long been

interested in finding income crops for rotation with rice production, and experience in recent years indicates that fish might be such a crop. However, numerous problems on stocking, disease control, predation, competition and reservoir management must be solved before that type of fish-farming can be economically feasible.

On March 15, 1958, the President signed a bill which authorizes two major fields of

activity

(1) Biological research on all the problems of fish rearing—selection of species, parasites and diseases, reproduction, food requirements, water quality, predation and competition and selective breeding for special qualities of growth, disease resistance, and tolerance to special conditions.

(2) Technological improvement—harvesting methods and preparation of fish for

the market.

The two Bureaus of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service—the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife and the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries—will work together to carry out all the provisions of the Act. The former, which does research on fish cultural problems and freshwater fishery management, and operates some 100 fish hatcheries over the country, will have responsibility for the biological research, and the latter for technological and market promotion aspects.

One of the purchased tracts comprises 85 acres immediately adjacent to the Rice Branch Experiment Station near Stuttgart. The other is 211 acres adjoining the Southeast Branch Experiment Station at Kelso (post office, Rohwer). Thus there will be excellent opportunity for close cooperation, joint research effort, especially in crop rotation, and day-to-day consultation. These opportunities are enhanced by the fact that crop research specialists of the U.S. department of Agriculture are stationed at one of the two university experiment stations.

Biologists of the Arkansas Game and Fish Commission, the Agricultural Extension Service, and the Soil Conservation Service of the Department of Agriculture have had a longtime interest in managed farm ponds and reservoirs for multiple use, including fish and waterfowl. They have provided technical and extension services and consultation to farmers and the general public on pond and reservoir construction, stocking, and management with the best information available.

Other activities, like fishery economics and market promotion and development, are long-established functions of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, and limited assistance has been given to fish farmers already. The very great problem of weed control will be given attention principally by the University or Arkansas Agricultural Experiment Station, Department of Agriculture, in cooperation with fishery biologists.

The Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife of the Fish and Wildlife Service is making plans for construction and staffing the new station. The Stuttgart site will have a headquarters and laboratory building, experimental ponds and a small reservoir. The southeastern land will be developed for larger scale experimentation to extend and test the laboratory findings. Although longrange and fundamental research will be included in the program, it can reasonably be expected that useful results will come from time to time for practical application. These will be made available promptly through publication to all interested, and to the State game and fish commission, the Agricultural Extension Service, other State conservation agencies and soil conservation service for use in their technical and extension activities

The Stuttgart property will have a modern, functional laboratory, fish holding facilities, a service building for shop, garage, and storage, a reservoir of about 30 acres, and experimental ponds ranging from one-tenth acre to 1 acre in surface area. The Kelso land already has a building and a high gallonage rice well, and an adequate surface water supply. Well-stabilized levees have been constructed on three sides of 160 acres of the plot. Five-, ten-, and twenty-acre reservoirs are planned for the site. There is excellent prospect for experimental work on two nearby 80-acre reservoirs to be constructed by the landowner.

Construction of facilities and the development of the two tracts of land for research purposes, and initial staffing will proceed as soon as appropriations are made. Engineering specifications have not been drawn up, but a general layout plan has been made with the advice and assistance of Dr. S. W. Ling, fishery expert for the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations. Dr. Ling recently visited the sites in Arkansas as well as several research stations and fish hatcheries in the South.

Professional staffing contemplates a team of research specialists in aquatic biology, microbiology and parasitology, physiology, biochemistry, biostatistics, and genetics. Three will also be supporting personnel for fish handling, water management, and maintenance,

Work with several groups of fish can be foreseen now. The catfishes, buffalo fishes, and basses will be important, and additional good possibility is for carefully controlled experiments with a desirable import which has not yet been tried in the United States.

### British Objections to U.S. Maritime Policies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, today, and possibly all this week, the State Department will be host to representatives of European maritime nations who have asked opportunity to present formally their objections to this country's maritime policies.

Senators will be interested in the British views on these meetings, as reported in the New York Times on Thursday last.

Mr. Harold Watkinson, Minister of Transportation and Civil Aviation, who will head the British delegation, is quoted as telling the House of Commons that he believes he will receive a sympathetic hearing from the American administration. Let me say here that American shipping leaders fear that he will be so received.

Mr. Shinwell, Labor member of the House of Commons, is quoted as having asked Mr. Watkinson to "make it quite clear that they—America's shipping operators—should not seek to take action detrimental to the interests of British shipping."

Another member urged Mr. Watkinson to argue "that Great Britain will no longer tolerate anything in the shape of discrimination against British shipping."

I ask unanimous consent that the article from the Times be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, June 4, 1959] BRITAIN PLANNING SHIPPING PROTEST-MIN-ISTER TO LEAD DELEGATION TO U.S. PARLEY NEXT WEEK TO URGE POLICY CHANGE

LONDON, JUNE 3 .- Harold Watkinson, Minister of Transport and Civil Aviation, told the House of Commons today that he would lead the British delegation to the shipping conference in Washington next week.

He was urged by both Conservative and Labor members to talk tough to the Amer-

"We do not think the declared joint policy of interdependence is working at all well on the sea, so far as our shipping policy is concerned," Mr. Watkinson declared. He added:

'I hope to say that very frankly and I believe I shall receive a sympathetic hearing from the American administration."

One of the main British complaints is the registration of a large number of U.S.owned freighters under so-called flags of convenience to escape U.S. taxation. Another is a U.S. law that shipments under aid programs must be carried in U.S. bottoms.

Dame Irene Ward, Conservative member, said Mr. Watkinson "will have the support of the whole House when he argues, as I am sure he will, that this country will no longer tolerate anything in the shape of discrimination against British shipping."

She urged the Minister to "argue for fair treatment, which we have not had for very

many decades."

Emanuel Shinwell, Labor member, asked Mr. Watkinson to "make it quite clear to the representatives of American maritime interests that their failure to conduct their affairs as British shipping conducts its affairs, is no reason why they should seek to take action detrimental to the interests of British shipping."

To this Mr. Watkinson said:
"I do not think that Mr. Shinwell and I are in the slightest degree of disagreement."

## Take One Giant Step: An Equitable Energy Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VINGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of an address by the Honorable William R. Connole, Vice Chairman of the Federal Power Commission at the National Coal Association 42d anniversary convention, the Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D.C. , on June 3, 1959.

The Government official spoke forcefully of the need for a meaningful, practical, and equitable energy policy for this Nation. There is no hesitancy on my part in endorsing Mr. Connole's objectivity in this connection. And it is again a privilege to speak of the National Coal Policy Conference as a useful organization formed not only to advance the interests of the bituminous coal industry, but, also, to work for the achievement of a national fuels policy which would deal with the country's energy resources as a whole.

There being no objection, the address was ordered printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TAKE ONE GIANT STEP

(By William R. Connole, Vice Chairman, Federal Power Commission, at the National Coal Association, 42d anniversary convention, the Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D.C., June 3, 1959)

When many of us were young children we enjoyed playing the game we knew as "giant steps." Remember that if we were so told by the person who was "it" we advanced toward the goal by taking one or more steps. We were especially pleased when told to take

I propose to take advantage of my position here and tell you people in the coal industry to take a real glant step in the direction of your goal. Whether I will have a similar opportunity so to invite other segments of the energy business, I do not know. You recall that the players in the children's game always had to initiate the request before the invitation was issued. Perhaps, however, the echoes of this invitation will bounce around enough that they may be heard by the oil and gas industry, the electric utility industry, and the more esoteric fields of energy production and use that are just now being born.

The goal I speak of, of course, is the same goal everybody in this business should be looking for. I am talking about a meaningful, practical, and equitable energy policy

for this Nation.

Let me begin by congratulating the coal industry, the mineworkers, the equipment manufacturing industries, the electric utility industry, and the railroads for their fore sight and courage in setting up the National Coal Policy Conference. I think the creation of this group was significant not only as an unprecedented example of cooperation and unity among groups that are often widely separated in their goals, but perhaps more importantly because it forms a jumping-off spot from which even greater progress can be made.

All of us, I suppose, have heard unfavorable comments on the conference. These have ranged all over the lot. Some have observed cynically that it was just another study and wondered with undisguised derision how often this ground would be picked over.

Some others have objected that it was obviously a one-fuel approach to the energy problem and that it promised very little for any group other than the coal operators and those dependent upon the coal industry directly. Some have even suggested it was an effort to build up one or more particular coal producing companies or coal carrying railroads.

In these days when restraint in public comment is as rare as common courtesy in the streetcar, we have become hardened to such intemperate and ill-advised comments. But it is of controlling importance, I think, that we not let this indifference to discourtesy obscure the insidious effect such comments have. Unfortunately, however, there is only one effective way of combating them. That is to make it'so abundantly clear by actions and not merely by words that all of these criticisms are as erroneous as they are ill-advised.

Positive action, then, is needed. No concentration on batting down random accusations hurled at such an organization as the National Coal Policy Conference will make such positive progress. The only effective way is the successful development and untiring promotion of a true national energy policy. It is the only completely effective way to demonstrate that an organization such as this one which you have created is more than an offshoot of a coal operators' meeting and something more valuable than a lodge meeting.

I suggest to you, then, that this positive action be in the form of a giant step forward, immodestly if you will, but confidently and without concern that you are risking the criticism of those who would be convinced you are wrong no matter what you

did.

The need for a national energy policy seems so patently obvious that I am simply unable to understand how thoughtful people concerned with this business can overlook it. I don't believe the issue is whether we ought to have a national fuels policy. The only question is what energy policy are we making and where does it lead us. fact of the matter is that everything energy producing and distributing industries do and everything that consumer preference does and everything that governmental action in the energy field does is part of an emerging energy policy. In other words, whether it is an unconscious or a conscious act on the part of the people of this country we are creating a national energy policy.

Now you might well ask: Why, then, is it

necessary for industry, consumers and Gov-ernment to exercise itself over the need for an energy policy if we are already creating one? A logical question, true. which has a ready answer. Much more important than whether we are making an energy policy is the qualitative judgment whether that energy policy is best for all segments of the economy for as many years in the future as it is possible reasonably to

plan for.

We are told that one of the proofs of the higher nature of man is the ability of his mind to withdraw from itself and look upon itself in objective judgment. This practice of self-evaluation, so indispensable to the deliberations of mankind, has applications outside the limits of the human skull. Indeed, it is only when a unit of society, whether it be a family, a community, a political unit or even an industry, can exercise the same critical ability to examine and judge itself that it, too, will measurably succeed.

I urge that the National Coal Policy Conference take steps to evaluate its segment of the industry in just that fashion. I further urge that it enlist the aid of as many other units or areas of the economy as possible so that all sides of the problem

will be seen and evaluated.

Perhaps the best starting point is to ask ourselves in what form will the ultimate judgment appear. If the effort is successful, with what will it come up? Under our system of society in which government is a matter of law and not a matter of whim, it seems clear that the ultimate conclusion will be legislation. That legislation, to be acceptable, must have been the joint product of as many groups as possible and it must have been motivated by as independent an analysis as possible.

Elimination of what should not be in a national energy policy is the quickest way to narrow down the field of choice. Such a process undoubtedly will occupy those who undertake the consideration I propose. mit me to give what I believe are two of the

most important factors to avoid.

First, I do not believe a national energy policy should be so detailed that it will set out an order of priorities in which fuels will be used in each home or industry. Indeed, it ought not to attempt to dictate what part of the country will use any particular fuel or method of burning it. That type of "social planning" comes too close to the idea of a big brother in Washington issuing

idea of a big brother in Washington issuedecrees to a slavish population.

Neither, I believe, should an energy policy for this country needlessly prefer one area of this land to another. Naturally, the economic growth of a Nation can be fundamentally altered by the kind of energy that is used in various parts and by the amount of it. To avoid a dwarfed or misshapen nation we had best be sure we know what the full grown healthy specimen is supposed to look like. There is grave danger in using our energy balance as a means of subsidy or artificial stimulus to one part of the Nation or another.

Of course, we must consider carefully the need to avoid the exact opposite. I refer to the unnatural stunting of the growth of one segment of the energy economy or the other. This can be the result of misguided, conscious government or business policy. Or, more likely, it can be the result of unconscious government or business policies that lead to that result unknown to those who are doing the damage. Only a well-planned analysis of the present direction of our energy policy can avoid this.

Starting with a firm resolve to avoid these pitfalls, a study could soon isolate the direction in which the various forces, all pushing in apparent random directions are taking us. I recall working out problems in physics involving several forces acting on one object. The idea was to see where these combined forces would push the object. I should consider the first task of an energy study would be to make such an analysis of the forces now pushing our energy economy to

see where it is headed.

Now there are two ways in which such a study or effort to evaluate an energy policy can be carried out. It can be financed and staffed by the joint efforts of the private industries and interests affected or it can be financed by public funds and staffed wholly or in part by public employees working with the agents of private interests. I have neither the right nor the inclination to recommend to you the procedure the conference ought to follow. However, certain things stand out that seem to require consideration in any study such as this.

Looking back at the experience which others have had in attempting to persuade competing industries to accept their conclusions and considering likewise the unsuccessful efforts competing industries have made—to reach voluntary cooperation it seems rather plain that if our effort to evaluate our energy policy and propose needed modifications is to succeed the direction at the top must come from a source identified

with the broadest base possible.

The practicalities of public law are such that never will there be found in a sprawling thing like the Federal Government an agency which has all the virtues of objectivity and dispassion needed to make the type of study I envision. An ad hoc institution, then, taken from sources within the Government and from industry composed of as few people as possible who start business with an agenda whose first item will be a determination of a deadline beyond which they will cease operation seems the easiest and cleanest way of doing what I suggest is necessary. The usefulness of organizations such as Resources for the Future and other research groups should not be ignored.

Such a committee could be formed of people with a broad background in the various energy fields not necessarily technical but certainly of sufficient breadth and depth that the significance of new facts would not be lost on them. It should have men with demonstrated judicial temperament and demonstrated devotion to the welfare of all

the country and not one segment of it and should be composed of men whose opinions are likely to command respect among their fellow men. Once such a body was formed, it could devote a period of time to investigation, public hearings, and task force study of the characteristics of our energy structure and at the end of this predetermined period arrive at some conclusions. These would be first, what energy use policy have we been creating; secondly, how well suited to the needs of this Nation is that policy and, finally, what changes, if any, could be made.

This independent judgment reached after public hearing and reconsideration of all affected views could then be addressed to the Congress and be used to form the background for confirmation of or changes in existing statutes, principles of taxation, governmental policies both national and local, antitrust policies, regulatory commission policies and every other aspect of the public economy involved in the pervasive business of energy use.

The genius and value of the National Coal Policy Conference is that it has been organized by a sufficiently broad base of industries to command immediate attention and respect. If it should adopt and encourage a study along such lines as I have indicated, it would be clear that this is no crackpot idea of a textbook idealist but rather the considered opinion of sound and sober businessmen.

I do not propose to enter the controversial field of what changes should be made and what is wrong, if anything, with our present policy. I am not adverse to commenting, however, that in the privacy of my own mind and not speaking as a member of the Federal Power Commission, I see much that could be improved in our present energy use pattern. I do say again that a body organized as I have suggested will be able to reach these conclusions in its official capacity, that those conclusions will be respected by legislators and opinionmakers throughout the country. I believe that a body which has the stature of a quasi-public institution which numbers among its members and staff men of the talents and qualities I have suggested and whose deliberations are based on information received in public hearings, and serious academic investigations and whose conclusions are contained in well-reasoned, clearly worked-out reports, is the only way in which the meaningful, practical, and equitable energy policy I urged at the outset of this talk will be developed. There are simply too many interests in this country ever volun-tarily to bring them together. There are too many who would be hurt at that particularly sensitive place in the human body, the pocketbook, ever to expect voluntary energy policymaking.

The key suggestions I make, in summary, are these. The study ought to be wide enough to cover all forms of energy, not just one or two. The study ought to decide first where our present policy is taking us. The study ought to be made by an objective group dominated by Government but using the facilities of industry and independent research groups. The study should employ public hearings across the Nation as well as task force studies. The study should have as its aim, legislation.

When we think that our energy resources are being consumed at such an incredible rate that, for an example, all the fossil fuel consumed in the history of the world up to the year 1900 would last only 5 years at today's rate of consumption, we know how important this whole subject is to all the peoples of the world.

And when we think how directly and acutely Government and business policies affect our energy industries, we know how important a policy is to industry. Natural gas

pipeline certification and ratemaking, natural gas and oil importing problems, freight ratemaking for coal movements, tax structures and their effect on incentive and development of competing fuels, all these are but a partial catalog. Indeed, there is much that needs doing here.

With our strong and good neighbor to the north, Canada, just now considering legislation to create a National Energy Board to administer that nation's energy policy, a more propitious time could scarcely be imagined. And, with world peace such a delicate matter that a change in the energy balance could upset it, a more necessary time would be hard to find.

Again, I congratulate the National Coal Policy Conference. Again, I urge you to take a glant step forward to promote the creation of an energy study board of the type I have suggested to avoid the criticisms which inevitably will be directed to you but, and this is of infinitely greater importance, to achieve the lofty and honorable purpose which you have set out for yourselves.

## A Pension for World War I Veterans Is Long Overdue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, following is my statement to the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs, June 3, 1959, in support of my bill, H.R. 1181, which provides for payment of a pension of \$100 monthly to World War I veterans who have attained the age of 60 years based on income limitations of \$2,400 if single, and \$3,800 with dependents:

STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVE JAMES E. VAN ZANDT, MEMBER OF CONGRESS, 20TH DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA, BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON VETERANS' AFFAIRS, JUNE 8, 1959, IN SUPPORT OF THE VAN ZANDT BILL, H.R. 1181, AT HEARINGS ON VETERANS' PENSION LEGISLATION

Mr. Chairman, the announcement of the decision to hold these hearings on pension legislation has been the means of providing a ray of hope to the 2,796,000 World War I veterans still living out of the 4,744,000 Americans who served their country in 1917 and 1918.

It is well known that as a State and national commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States and since coming to Congress some 20 years ago, I have always been a stanch advocate of a pension for the veteran of World War I. Bills bearing my name have been sponsored by me in each Congress. When privileged to do so, I appear before this committee in support of them. In addition, when such legislation reached the floor of the House the Congres-SIONAL RECORD will show my active support both in debate as well as in rollcall votes. In other words, let no one misunderstand my position in favoring a pension for World War I veterans because it is in accord with a traditional American principle adopted following the Revolutionary War.

Today the average age of the 2,769,000 surviving veterans of World War I is 64.8 years and from April 1958 to April 1959, the Veterans' Administration reports 96,000 died, of which 33,303 were listed as receiving pension benefits at the time of their death.

It is on behalf of the veterans of World War I—truly the forgotten veteran of the Nation—that I appeal to this committee for favorable consideration of my bill H.R. 1181. The bill is designed to provide \$100 monthly to veterans of World War I at age 60 with 90 days of honorable service, with income limitations of \$2,400 to those with no dependents and \$3,800 to those with dependents and providing that social security or other pension and annuities payable to the veteran be excluded by the Veterans' Administration in computing income.

In this connection, on May 19, 1959 President Eisenhower signed into law a bill amending the Railroad Retirement Act which contained a provision excluding railroad retirement benefits from being counted as income in establishing eligibility for non-service-connected disability pension benefits

In fact, similar legislation is now pending before the House Ways and Means Committee that would grant the same privilege with respect to social security benefits.

Mr. Chairman, H.R. 1181 was introduced by me on January 7 and was followed by my request to the chairman of this committee for departmental reports and hearings at an early date. According to the information furnished by this committee, departmental reports were requested January 19, 1959 and as late of June 3 had not been received.

Meanwhile, H.R. 6432 was introduced and heralded as a measure to modernize the pension programs for certain veterans and their dependents. It did not take long for the major veterans organizations to recognize that the so-called new look was nothing but a bold attempt to destroy the traditional American concept of a pension system for aging veterans.

The result was that H.R. 6432 was promptly assailed as pauper legislation for its approval would in reality be a high-sounding method of placing aged and alling veterans on a par with non veterans re-

ceiving public assistance.

At this point, I wish to make it emphatically clear that I join the several veterans' organizations in denouncing H.R. 6432 as a pauper bill. It is an affront to the veterans it proposes to benefit, and further it is an insult to our ailing and aged veterans and especially to the dwindling ranks of World War I veterans who, with an average age of nearly 65 years, are dying at the rate of nearly 100,000 a year.

Reverting to a discussion of my bill, H.R. 1181. let me emphasize that, despite criticism of those who seek to destroy the veterans' benefits programs, the proposed legislation does not—as is often insisted by antiveteran groups—make Treasury raiders out of our World War I veteran population.

H.R. 1181, as previously explained, is no "hand-out" to wealthy veterans because it provides for income limitations that must be considered before eligibility for a pension of \$100 monthly at age 60 can be established.

It should be remembered that nearly 100,000 World War I veterans died during 1958 and since the average age of surviving veterans of the First World War is about 65 years, their fast-dwindling ranks due to a high death rate will reduce from year to year the cost of my bill, H.R. 1181.

From an economic standpoint, approval of a pension of \$100 monthly to veterans of World War I who meet the income limitations gives assurance that pension money will be channeled into the economic stream of the Nation.

It will be spent for the necessities of life and will include the grocer, landlord and the family physician. It will serve as an effective builder of morale by aiding in preserv-

ing the self-respect and pardonable pride of veterans who served their country with honor in a national emergency and who, it is understandable, have a natural reluctance against becoming objects of public charity in their declining years.

In theory, Congress has always considered the pension rate as an adjunct to income rather than as supporting income. In this connection, however, many World War I veterans because of advanced age and disability have no other income to support them.

At this point I should like to discuss briefly the situation faced by members of our Armed Forces serving in World War I. At that time, the American doughboy in 1917 received \$21 monthly pay which later was increased to \$30, with 10 percent additional for overseas service.

There was no family allotment plan as in World War II whereby the Government contributed to the serviceman's deduction from his pay and the total contributions resulted in a family allowance check being mailed monthly to dependents.

In 1917 and 1918 the doughboy was strictly on his own in worrying about the comfort and health of his loved ones and any so-called allotment could only be paid out of the meager \$30 monthly pay he received, as there was no helping hand from Uncle Sam.

When time for discharge arrived, the World War I veteran was given \$60 as a separation allowance to assist him in adjusting himself to civilian life.

Mr. Chairman, contrast this treatment with the many fringe benefits made to World War II veterans in the form of GI home and business loans, mustering out pay, and unemployment insurance benefits for 52 weeks at the rate of \$20 weekly which commonly became known as the 52-20 Club.

In addition, World War II veterans were given the option of continuing their education in trade schools, colleges, and universities with the cost of tuition, books, and a subsistance allowance for them and their dependents—all paid for by a grateful Government.

Compare these fringe benefits for service in World War II to the \$60 separation allowance paid to veterans of World War I—an amount of money that was not sufficient to purchase a good overcoat because as many will recall, the \$60 was received in an era that boasted of high wartime wages accompanied by skyrocketing prices and a craze for silk shirts that cost from \$12 to \$15 each.

Mr. Chairman, let me make it unmistakably clear that I am not critical of the treatment accorded World War II veterans because I served in both world conflicts. While I have not found it necessary to avail myself of GI loan and educational benefits: provided for my comrades in World War II, I thank God they were made available for those who deserved them as they represent an expression of gratitude by a grateful Government and serve as a measure of compensation for the sacrifices of those who served in World War II.

My point in comparing the treatment accorded veterans of World War I and World War II is to emphasize that Congress has been negligent in recognizing the economic plight of the veteran of World War I.

Congress met its responsibility to veterans of the Spanish-American War by approving legislation to pay them and their dependents a reasonable pension and has from time to time granted increases in such benefits.

In like manner the benefits made available to those of us who served in World War II were not possible until Congress placed its stamp of approval on them.

In all sincerity, I ask, "How much longer are we going to ignore the economic status of the World War I veteran?"

When you search your conscience for an answer keep in mind the paltry \$60 separation allowance paid veterans of World War I which in reality was an amount insufficient to purchase a good suit of clothes.

Later you will recall the so-called bonus issue rocked the country because of high unemployment among returned veterans and the absence at that time of any 52-20 Clubs to serve as a crutch in adjusting to civilian life.

Finally, the issue was decided by Congress when it overrode President Roosevelt's veto of the adjusted service bonus which was in the form of 20-year certificates and averaged about \$300 per veteran. On the other hand, World War II veterans received mustering-out pay immediately upon discharge, which is further evidence of the disparity in the treatment accorded veterans of the First World War.

It is ironical that many of those in Congress and elsewhere opposing a pension for World War I veterans are themselves veterans of World War II.

Frankly, it is difficult to understand their lack of appreciation for the fact that World War I veterans have been in the frontline of battle since their discharge from service nearly 40 years ago in seeking improvement in hospital and medical care for veterans of our Nation's wars.

In fact, the veteran of World War I has for years been occupied in improving the Government's program of caring for veterans of all wars and pioneered in the struggle to establish what is now the Veterans' Administration as the successor of the old Pension Bureau.

Now at an average age of 65 the World War I veteran's span of life is nearing the end and it is unthinkable that some of his comrades from World War II are proving to be the most vociferous in urging that the World War I pension bill, H.R. 1181, be defeated.

As a veteran of World War I and while serving the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States as a department and national officer, I joined with other veteran leaders in the country in alding the Spanish-American War veteran in obtaining increases in his pension granted him 20 years after the close of the war and which today amounts to \$101.50.

My support of the Spanish-American War pension was based on my belief in the traditional American concept of giving special grants of one kind or another to those who have performed honorable military service not as pay but in token of their fellowcitizens' appreciation.

As I have said before, this traditional policy of our Government was established in the days of George Washington and recognized by Congress which granted service pensions to the veterans of all wars from the days of Valley Forge to and including the Spanish-American War.

Unfortunately, Congress has ignored the World War I veteran while approving various fringe benefits to World War II veterans. The approval of these deserving benefits is proof positive that Congress recognizes military service requires great sacrifices and merits recognition.

But again I ask why ignore the ailing and aged World War I veteran and be guilty of such rank discrimination?

When you stop to consider the merits of my bill, H.R. 1181, keeping in mind that the income limitations make the measure no so-called handout I am convinced that you will find the legislation worthy of your favorable consideration.

Therefore, I respectfully request that you give thought to the obligation Congress owes to the forgotten veteran of America's wars as revealed by the plight of the ailing and aged indomitable doughboy of 1917 and

Congress has an opportunity through enactment of my bill, H.R. 1181, or any one of the pending bills to give tangible and practical evidence that the World War I veteran is not to be left a pension orphan while his comrades of other wars have been taken care of in more generous terms.

In closing, I would remind the members of this committee that since the precedent has been established of requiring income limitations for non-service-connected pensions, it is the World War I veteran against whom such departure in the pension policy of the Nation has been made effective. Prior to that time there were no strings attached to pensions for honorable military service.

Be that as it may, H.R. 1181, in meeting the new requirement, has income limitations which definitely provide that the \$100 monthly pension will be payable strictly in adherence to such limitations.

It is my sincere hope that upon the conclusion of these hearings, this committee will find it possible to report H.R. 1181 to the House or one of over 100 similar measures since I have no pride of authorship so that the House of Representatives may have an early opportunity to approve the legislation as an important step in wiping out the discrimination that has prevailed against World War I veterans when legislating for the veteran population of the Nation.

#### The Progress of Socialism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. SPESSARD L. HOLLAND

OF FLORIDA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD excerpts from the June Letter of the First National City Bank of New York entitled. "Business and Economic Conditions. These excerpts appear under sub-headings entitled, "The Progress of Socialism," "'Liberalism' and "Progressivism.'" "Taxes and Forced Philanthropy," "Socialism by Fragments," and "Opportunity and Progress." They bring out forcefully the dangerous and disturbing trend toward socialism in our country today. I ask to have this matter printed in the Record so that Senators who desire to do so may have the opportunity to read this most enlightening treatment of a subject which is of tremendous importance to all the people of the Nation.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

#### THE PROGRESS OF SOCIALISM

The role of Government in economic life—a topic of earnest, often heated debate since Plato's time—has lately come in for increased attention. More and more thoughtful people, public officials as well as private citizens, have been expressing concern, even alarm, over our steady drift away from individual to Government responsibility.

A Cabinet official warns that Government "impinges on our lives every hour of the day and night." A business leader decries "creeping interventionism" by Government. A distinguished lawyer refers to the defeatist view: "The democratic process is fast with-

ering in the nuclear blast. We must have total, secret, monolithic Government; the individual no longer counts." An historian predicts: "We are entering an era when there will be less emphasis on private enterprise, and more on public, and when there will be less need for the 'rugged individualist' and more for the social-minded civil servant." A respected newsletter sums up 1958 for its clients: "This has been a year during which the United States has taken further strides down the inflationary road to socialism." Although a threat of natinalization hung

Although a threat of natinalization hung over the steel industry in 1952, Government ownership of industry, communication, transportation has never been popular in this country. Our traditions of private property and free enterprise are deeply rooted in custom and in law. Nevertheless, modern-day welfare economics contain the most essential element of socialism which is, in the name of social justice, to weaken self-reliance.

A business enterprise can become dependent upon Government for orders, for protection of property during labor disputes, for reasonableness in the enactment and administration of rules and regulations. Taxation, carried to extremes, can take away funds needed for self-support. Meanwhile, benefits dispensed free of charge represent an invitation to dependence.

#### LIBERALISM AND PROGRESSIVISM

Through European eyes, the American usage of liberalism or progressivism in place of socialism seems a bit strange. The distinguished Socialist, Ernest Bevin, then Foreign Minister in the British Labor Government, commented in 1949 that "the United States of America is as much a welfare state as we are. Only it is a different form." Earl Browder, former leader of the U.S. Communist Party, wrote in 1950: "State capitalism has progressed farther in America than in Great Britain."

Senator Harry Byrd, long a critic of wasteful Government spending, warned in 1951:

"In many Federal programs we are chasing a mirage of easy money in the form of deficit dollars. Some of us have been duped into believing that the easy dollars handed out by the Federal Government are something for nothing but, actually, these programs are adding to the public debt, are undermining the will of individuals, regimenting the production of agriculture and labor, controlling the practices of business, curtailing the solvency of States, and destroying the self-determination privileges which are traditional in our local governments and domestic customs.

"Make no mistake: It is socialism which lies at the end of this rainbow and, in this rainbow, the predominating color is the red of Federal deficit spending under which a whole new generation of Americans has grown and developed."

Part of the reason for growth of government is that our country is bigger, social and economic problems more complex. In this age of specialization, we are interdependent as never before. Yet there is a need to guard against undue interference by government in our Gally lives.

It was concern over where we are headed that provoked Edgar Eisenhower, the President's older brother, it to commenting last fall:

"For a great many years I have watched our country rushing down the road to socialism. We have allowed fuzzy thinkers to pull their welfare wool over our eyes. \* \* \*

"I have two grandchildren and I would like them to enjoy the kind of Government I experienced in this country when I was a boy.

"In those days the Government didn't tell my employer what he must pay me, it didn't limit my hours of work, it didn't furnish me with school lunches, it didn't require me to

belong to some kind of organization in order to work."

#### TAXES AND FORCED PHILANTHROPY

Socialist reformers, in their quest for "economic justice for the masses," display two qualities: Impatience and doubt as to the charitable instincts of man. The feeling is that individuals are slow about giving and, in any case, their generosity is insufficient. Thus, the power of government must abolish "income inequalities."

The income "leveling" process goes forward on many fronts—e.g., with Government-decreed minimum wages, social-security programs, Government-subsidized housing. The major tool, however, is the tax system which forcibly redistributes income, compels people to give. The idea is to tax away income from some and spread it around among the "less fortunate"—what has been aptly described as robbing selected Peter to pay collective Paul.

This philosophy reached its high-water mark among English-speaking peoples generally during the early postwar years. In Great Britain, especially, tax rates were at confiscation levels while the Government, with its cradle-to-grave social security, assumed vast areas of responsibility once left to the people.

Such programs, even though well meaning, defeat themselves by dealing a double blow to the real ingredients for economic progress and rising living standards. Sharply progressive taxes penalize the productive and cripple accumulation of capital for risky ventures, while welfare programs make more remote the tie between a person's income and what he contributes to society. Individual responsibility and the will to work are undermined and people become increasingly dependent on a paternal government.

Loss of opportunity takes the zest out of life for those who, in other circumstances, might have built great enterprises and made great gifts. Government meanwhile accumulates more and more dependents, removed from the labor force. The growing tax burdens shift inexorably toward the same masses the Socialist state is intended to help. In the end everyone is poorer than he would have been if rare and gifted individuals had been stimulated to go ahead and seek out new and better ways to produce and satisfy human needs and wants.

Individual income-tax rates in this country climb above 90 percent. Although there is no direct Government ownership of a major industry, the 52 percent corporate tax rate in effect makes the Government the major stockholder. Or, as a business leader describes it: "We are already over half way to socialism with respect to three-quarters of the Nation's production."

Social welfare spending in this country has more than doubled in the postwar period. Last year these Government transfer payments, which include such major programs as old-age pensions, veterans' benefits, unemployment compensation, and public assistance, totaled more than \$24 billion—equal to about 10 percent of the pay people earned before deductions, in wages and salaries for working. Public assistance payments alone, which were supposed to "wither away" with the advent of the social security program, amounted to \$3.4 billion in 1958—double their level only 10 years ago.

Robert Tyson, chairman of the finance committee of United States Steel, commented not long ago on what he termed the American people's wholesale resort to the "political means of getting something for nothing from each other":

"Through progressively bitter tax punishment of the more productive and an everwidening rewarding of the nonproductive, we are steadily adopting the Marxian dictum: 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his need.' "This is something that Communists warmly advocate we adopt, but which they themselves would not think of practicing because they know, having tried it out, that there is no more certain way to divert people from being productive to being indolent than to tell them that no one will be allowed to benefit very much from working harder, better, or longer than his neighbors, and that no one needs to suffer very much from not working diligently."

It is worthy of incidental note that Soviet Russia itself makes sparing use of income taxation. Indeed, Mr. Khrushchev spoke not long ago of plans to discard income taxation entirely. Adial Stevenson, who visited Russia last fail, reported that a Soviet construction chief made "perhaps \$18,000 a year and his taxes are only about 6 percent." It could be that the speeding of industrial progress in the Soviet Union may be related to the new emphasis given to reward for achievement.

Crawford H. Greenewalt, president of Du Pont, noted in his recent book, "The Un-

common Man":

"If financial rewards in the two countries are examined quantitatively, the Russians are not far behind us. What troubles me is to note that at the very time the the Soviets are embracing our principle of incentive and show signs of benefiting thereby, we ourselves seem intent upon abandoning it."

#### SOCIALISM BY FRAGMENT

Norman Thomas, six times an unsuccessful candidate for President on the Socialist Party ticket, is reported to have declared: "\* \* this country would never vote for socialism as such, but \* \* under the label of liberalism, the people will vote for every fragment of socialism until one day we'll have it. \* \* ""

If we are in danger of such socialism by fragment, it is because there has developed among the people a willingness to let government assume a bigger role. A generation ago people relied more on their own efforts to solve problems, meet difficulties; now, all too often, the tendency is to turn to government—especially Federal Government.

President Eisenhower, at the 1957 Governors' Conference at Williamsburg, described

this tendency:

"Year by year, responding to transient popular demands, the Congress has increased Federal functions. So, slowly at first, but in recent times more and more rapidly, the pendulum of power has swung from our States toward Central Government. \* \* \*

"Those who would be and would stay free must stand eternal watch against excessive concentration of power in government."

Each day's newspapers bring reports of new demands on government—for subsidies at the State level to provide middle income housing (defined, in New York, as families with earnings from \$5,000 to \$12,000 a year); for Federal funds to clear slums, purify streams, aid distressed areas, build H-bomb shelters; for a national fair trade law to protect consumers; and for Federal standards for State unemployment compensation laws.

Some of these things are good and worth the cost. But should the responsibility be accepted at home or should it be shrugged off onto the shoulders of ever-burgeoning Federal agencies? Which way is appropriate in a society which puts its faith in the selfrellance of the individual?

Inevitably, as government programs proliferate and spending totals and tax exactions mount, impetus is given to inflation. This breeds even more government encroachment as people, discouraged by rising prices, seek protection—with price, wage, and profits controls—and more government handouts—e.g., payments for medical and hospital bilis and for education costs.

William A. McDonnell, chairman of the First National Bank in St. Louis, warned last month that infiation and democracy are not congenial bedfellows:

"Time and time again freedom has been won by blood and lost by handouts of the people's own money—handouts usually financed by depreciation of the currency. In the days of old Rome, these handouts were called bread and circuses. In modern times they go by the more euphemistic term of social welfare."

#### OPPORTUNITY AND PROGRESS

We look upon our society as free and our country as the land of opportunity. Our forebears came to escape the regimentation of old Europe.

Opportunity for self-reliant people makes progress. Less than three centuries after the landings at Plymouth the United States had moved up to the head of the procession in production and levels of living. A social system of incentives and rewards, with reliance on private rather than Government enterprise, brought unparalleled economic progress and security. Here was the most promising path to the universally sought goal of maximum human welfare.

There is a great tendency to forget how we got ahead in the past and to seek progress on a foundation of government-administered weifare, displacing charitable instincts of the individual and making the Government a philanthropic institution.

Treasury Secretary Robert B. Anderson, in an April address before the Associated Press, reached back in history for this solemn

warning:

"In writing of the Greeks and Romans, one of our greatest classical scholars summed up their story in these words: 'In the end, more than they wanted freedom, they wanted security, they wanted a comfortable life, and they lost it all—security and comfort and freedom. \* \* When the Athenians finally wanted not to give to society but for society to give to them, when the freedom they wished most for was freedom from responsibility, then Athens ceased to be free and was never free again."

We are morally bound—and can afford—to help the unfortunate. But we cannot afford, by vote-buying handouts, to destroy initiative or, by oppressive taxes and regulations, to remove opportunity for honest people to

get ahead in life.

#### **Immigration Quotas**

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. CLARENCE CANNON

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend remarks in the Record I am including a resolution by the Missouri House of Representatives at their concluding session May 31, 1959:

House Resolution 161

Whereas there are many Americans who have filed petitions with the immigration authorities of the United States for the entry of their sons, daughters, brothers, and sisters, which petitions are classified in the fourth preference quota of the Immigration and Nationality Act; and

Whereas of the four preference quotas established by the Federal Immigration and Nationality Act, the first, second, and third quotas are allotted 100 percent of the total annual entry quota; and

Whereas, as a result, those persons who fall

within the fourth preference section must depend for entry into this country upon deficiencies in the first three quotas; and

Whereas there is frustration and despair resulting from the law that gives hope to Americans by permitting them to file petitions, getting them approved, and then compelling them to wait for their kin who may never come; and

Whereas thousands of discontented people abroad, whose hopes are first raised and then dashed, certainly cannot believe in the good will we try to engender through our foreign policy, and thus become easy prey to the propaganda of unfriendly nations; and

Whereas Congress has recognized and alleviated a similar problem through Public Law 85-316, which includes provision for reuniting spouses and minor children of aliens legally residing in this country whose petitions were approved prior to July 1, 1957:

Now, therefore be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the 70th General Assembly of the State of Missouri, That this house respectfully request the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States to amend the provisions of Public Law 85–316 to include cases which fall within the fourth preference quota, in order to provide for entry of the many thousands, petitions for whom have piled up in a backlog in prior years, that in order not to create another problem of separated families, those applicants who are married and have families be permitted to bring them; and that a suitable copy of this resolution be sent by the chief clerk of the house to each Congressman and U.S. Senator from the State of Missouri.

#### Poison in Your Water-No. 105

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I am inserting into the Appendix of the Record an article appearing in the Charleston (S.C.) Post, of April 25, 1959, entitled "Local Water Pollution Is Discussed":

LOCAL WATER POLLUTION IS DISCUSSED—STATE
OFFICIAL CITES NEED FOR SEWAGE TREATMENT

W. T. Linton, of the State board of health outlined pollution condition of waters in the Charleston area at the initial meeting yesterday of a special citizen's committee to study methods of controlling water pollution.

At the meeting in the Francis Marion Hotel, Mr. Linton said large areas of Charleston Harbor have been condemned for swimming and the taking of shellfish because of pollution from untreated sewage.

He said this has influenced the basic condition of waters at some of the beaches around Charleston, but not to the extent that they are condemned.

At the present rate of development of the Charleston area, he warned, the degree of pollution would probably double within 8 or 10 years and then the health department would have to take more stringent measures.

Mr. Linton, who is director of the State water pollution control authority and of the State health department's sanitation division, said the pollution control authority has already refused to approve discharge of any more raw sewage.

He said the authority is now requiring that all sewage receive at least chlorination and comminution treatment, which is not a highly acceptable type of treatment.

He suggested that the problem be considered as a problem of the entire area and added that the only method for correcting the problem is to treat the sewage.

The citizens committee, which is headed by Edward Kronsberg, was appointed to develop recommendations for county council on how to control water pollution.

The committee plans to meet monthly with pollution officials and engineers to develop a program. The first meeting will be held May 7. Representatives from Dorchester and Berkeley Counties will also be invited to attend the meeting.

Mr. Kronsberg said he felt the committee's job was to develop a recommended program and sell the community on the need for it.

He said the first problem facing the committee would be to determine methods for financing the engineering studies which are needed.

#### Industrial Uses for Corn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. CHARLES B. HOEVEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. Speaker, the Department of Agriculture recently reported an encouraging development in the search for industrial uses of corn. The USDA scientists who are experimenting with amylose corns predict a bright future for a new high amylose starch. This research development is extremely significant not only to farmers, but to the public as well. Corn is grown in every State in our great country. Farmers receive more income from corn than from any other crop. Corn is truly vital to the basic economy of our country.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert into the Record the following USDA press release setting forth the program toward industrial use for corn:

PROGRESS TOWARD NEW INDUSTRIAL USE FOR CORN, REPORTED IN USDA RESEARCH

Washington, June 1, 1959.—An industrial future for high-amylose starch—a new starch from a new corn—is predicted by scientists of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. High-amylose corn would be a new raw material for the corn-refining industry, which normally uses about 140 million bushels a year.

Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Ervin L. Peterson terms this promising new industrial use for a farm product another example of the Department's broad-ranging and farreaching utilization research effort.

In 20 years—a relatively short history for a research program—USDA's utilization on research has found many useful products. Scientists have contributed to the development of industrial uses for vegetable oils, animal fats, and fiber crops; they have developed industrial processes that have increased the use of these and other farm products, and, in the food field, their research has provided such market-developing

innovations as frozen concentrated orange justice, powdered eggs, and potato flakes and granules.

Mr. Peterson believes that a strong Department Utilization Research effort will materially broaden the markets for farm-produced commodities. It will also prevent inroads into the farm market by commodities of nonagricultural origin.

High amylose starch is but one example of many present and potential benefits to farmers from utilization research.

Mr. Peterson states that USDA has the administrative organization, the experience, and the ability to operate as extensive a utilization research program as can be provided. It has a long record of close cooperation and collaboration with the State experiment stations and with private industry which enables it to bring to bear most effectively the full force of agricultural science to the benefit of farm producers.

Chemists of USDA's Agricultural Research Service have demonstrated that amylose starch forms tough, durable films with many industrial packaging, wrapping, and coating possibilities. Department, State, and private plant breeders have shown the feasibility of developing corn hybrids with a high—perhaps 100 percent—amylose starch content,

A 16-year search for ways of broadening the industrial market for corn has turned up these potential uses for amylose or amylose derivatives:

As transparent wrappers in the general packaging field.

As water-soluble films for packaging measured amounts of such water-dispersible products as detergents, dyes, insecticides,

medicines, and industrial chemicals.

As transparent, edible, and water-soluble films for wrapping foods. Quick-frozen meats and vegetables might be cooked without unwrapping.

As grease-resistant sausage casings and coatings for special kinds of food-packaging paper.

As a coating of high adhesive strength for paper.

As a binder between pulp fibers in paper. As a permanent finish on fabrics. As suspending agents in detergents.

As a constituent in molded plastics.

As a constituent in lacquers.

Standing as an obstacle to the commercial development of these uses has been the lack of an economic source of amylose—a problem being attacked by plant breeders, who in 10 years have raised the level of amylose starch in experimental corn hybrids from 27 to more than 80 percent. Their rapid progress has encouraged them to ultimately hope for a 100-percent amylose starch corn. Reinforcing this hope is their earlier success in developing corn hybrids containing 100 percent amylopectin, another starch of commercial importance.

A more practical measure of progress was the 1958 harvest by commercial interests of several thousand bushels of corn with starch of 50-60 percent amylose. This provides, for the first time, enough high-amylose corn for industrial-scale milling and processing trials, Department scientists, meanwhile, are continuing studies of pilot-piant separation of starch from gluten and of chemical modifications of high-amylose starches to adapt the starches to the potential uses.

Scientists at the ARS Northern Utilization Research and Development Division, in Peoria, Il., early recognized the potential of amylose as raw material for films and fibers and saw the need for an economical source of it. They studied the physical, chemical, and mechanical characteristics of films made from amylose and from mixtures containing amylose, and measured the tensile strength, stretch, flexibility, and burst resistance of these films. They found that these qualities

increased with the percentage of amylose in the films.

They learned that amylose film is insoluble in water, but that its solubility can be modified by chemical means. They reasoned that amylose should be digestible because it is a component of ordinary starch, which is digestible. They measured the permeability of amylose films to water, to vapors, and to a variety of organic and inorganic chemicals. They established the fact that, for all-around industrial usefulness, amylose starch should contain no less than 80 percent amylose. Ideally, it should have 100 percent amylose.

A natural source of a high-amylose starch would relieve the need for removing amylose from ordinary corn starch which contains about 25 percent amylose and 75 percent amylopectin. Such fractionation is costly, and the high cost would have to be borne almost entirely by the amylose fraction. The amylopectin fraction would have to compete with waxy corn starch, which would bear no fractionation cost because it is 100 percent amylopectin. These facts called for a search among plant species for a natural source of high-amylose starch. This search led to the cooperative effort between plant scientists and chemists.

Hundreds of samples of starch in corn, wheat, sorghum, root crops and other crops, including inbred lines and crosses from both the United States and foreign countries were tested by Northern Laboratory chemists. The trail led, at first, to wrinkle-seeded peas in which the starch contains as high as 60 to 70 percent of amylose. Peas, however, contain too little total starch—only about 45 percent. Corn is 70 percent.

A study at Harvard University found that certain combinations of genes could give corn containing starch with 65 percent amylose. Unfortunately, total starch content of these new strains was very low. In 1950, the Northern Division and Crops Research Division of ARS, the Missouri Agricultural Experiment Station, and the Bear Hybrid Seed Co. of Decatur, Ill., initiated cooperative research to develop a field type corn with high amylose content. More than a thousand samples a year were examined for amylose content over the next several years.

In 1952, the Bear Co. reported one of the most important findings in the breeding effort-discovery of a gene (usually referred to as ae) that substantially increased the amylose content of corn in which it appeared. Using gene ae, breeders had, by 1954, developed corn with 60 percent starch of which 62 percent was amylose. Today. samples of corn with more than 70 percent amylose are quite common, and a sample with more than 80 percent amylose was analyzed at the Northern Laboratory in 1957. These higher amylose corns are the work of the Missouri station and the Bear Hybrid Co. utilizing a "modifier gene complex" which combines specifically with the ae gene to boast amylose above the normal ae level of 50 percent.

Until recently, most scientists in the amylose research effort have referred to high-amylose corn. Now they are thinking in terms of high amylose corns. They believe that when breeding is completed, it will be possible to produce a whole series of high-amylose corns, with starch ranging from 50 percent amylose up to whatever upper limit breeders achieve. Preliminary research with amylose-amylopectin mixtures indicates that the different starches may well find a wide range of industrial uses.

Carried to a successful conclusion, the research for high-amylose corns will offer an example of how a crop can be tailored through cooperative work of plant breeders and chemists to meet specific industrial needs.

Life. Because of the Lack of True Charity and Faith

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, ROLAND V. LIBONATI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 20, 1959

Mr. LIBONATI. Mr. Speaker, I have heard pretty words used by great orators of my time. Fitting words, too, like, "No man walks alone." The late Secretary of State, Dulles, did. Right to the hospital as a patient of the select few of the medical fraternity. And he died there soon enough because, as God knows, and man learned, he was refused his last chance—to be administered krebiozen, the nontoxic drug which, in similar cases, holds an impressive medical record in terminal cases of his type of ailment, cancer of the lower bowel and rectum.

Only the lack of pure charity, a growing malignancy in the "doubters" of the medical profession, prevented the late John Foster Dulles, former Secretary of State, from receiving krebiozen.

Dr. Andrew C. Ivy and the Krebiozen Foundation offered the drug but it was refused. Its use could have done no harm. It might have helped. But John Foster Dulles lost his chance to live. Who dictates the policy of the medical profession and controls the very medical life career of a doctor? Why the pseudopolitical leaders of the American Medical Association, of course. Its hatred for krebiozen and all persons connected with its present and future progress is well known to informed per-

In a letter to General Heaton, Chief of Walter Reed Hospital, where the ailing Secretary of State, Dulles, was treated, Dr. Ivy wrote that 70 cancer patients. similar to Dulles' case, were treated with krebiozen. Of these 70 cases, 23 were helped and 7 had a dramatic recovery. But, perhaps because of the bitter prejudice and hostility of organized medicine against krebiozen, the offer was refused. All medical men who have used krebiozen say it might have saved or prolonged his life. And they say it would, at the very least, have alleviated his pains. In their unscrupulous fight against krebiozen, which several AMA officials have declared worthless, based on forged data, presented by an underling with 2 years of experience in the cancer field. possibility that the drug may show beneficial effect on such an illustrious patient; and so they preferred to let him die in a comatose state, under narcotics, than to try a nontoxic substance which, according to the reports on similar cases, could only have helped him. Millions of Americans will die under the same conditions if the problem of an honest evaluation of kreblozen, without prejudice and hate, is not resolved.

More than 300 physicians in this country who tried krebiozen on 1,500 patients support the opinion of Dr. Andrew C. Ivy, world-known scientist, that

And So He Went to His God. Unspared in krebiozen is active in the treatment of cancer. These opinions together with other scientific medical data were given in the Report of Krebiozen Research Foundation, which I introduced in the Appendix of the Congressional Record on Wednesday, May 27, 1959.

Not even the greatness of this great American counted with these cruel men. His determined study of the political dimensions of world events, as well as the moral values of nations, won for him the high praise and confidence of world leaders in every field, meant nothing to them. His accepted philosophy in public service, measured him as a dedicated man, with deep devotion to the belief that power, force, diplomacy, arms and negotiation were parts of our living world, but that the definition of these matters was in the other world of moral and spiritual values. We cannot lose face they said.

And so, this devoted friend of mankind died when his services were needed the most, because the conscience of man failed to conceive the meaning of true charity. Humanitarianism is dving before corrupt materialism and the medical profession is fast falling victim to corrupted man's philosophy.

Bring back true charity, so that human life will enjoy its highest dignity and medicine will again take its valued place of honor, healing the wounds and the hurts; restoring the health, the hope and confidence of men. Man deserves the chance to keep alive. So did Dulles.

The correspondence referred to fol-

CHICAGO, ILL., May 28, 1959. The Honorable ROLAND V. LIBONATI,

Congressman from Illinois, House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN LIBONATI: I am responding to your letter of May 27 regarding the results obtained following the use of krebiozen in patients with advanced cancer of the colon, patients who have been written off as hopeless.

On February 24 of this year I was asked by a U.S. Senator to send the same information to Dr. Leonard D. Heaton, the attending physician to Mr. Dulles. The information I sent is as follows:

"Insofar as carcinoma of the colon is concerned, as I recall, we have treated with krebiozen roughly some 70 patients. I have not made an accurate review of the colon cases since November 1955. However, we have observed definite improvement for a variable period of time and to a variable extent in approximately 30 percent of the cases. Decided and dramatic improvement has occurred in about 12 percent of these cases.

"(1) I enclose a brief of the history of a - which I prepared some time ago to illustrate recurrences and remissions on stopping and starting krebiozen therapy.

"(2) Another patient, whose name I cannot disclose because he does not know that he has a cancer, was opened in 1951. An inoperable carcinoma of the colon was found with widespread metastases. The patient was closed. It was thought useless to give X-ray therapy, so he was given krebiozen. All complaints disappeared, the patient gained weight and is in perfect health to-

"(3) A third patient's name is Mrs. -She is a patient of Dr. - Chicago. She was opened for carcinoma of the colon in 1950. The lesion in the colon was resected; there was widespread lymph node and peritoneal involvement which could not be completely removed. She was given krebiozen and is alive and in good health today. You may call Dr. - about this patient.

"(4) A fourth patient's name is Miss — (age 34). She is a patient of Dr.

Toledo, Ohio. She had a carcinoma of the caecum. She had, like the above patients, lost a great deal of weight and was out of bed only some of the time. She was operated in 1954. At the operation there was widespread metastases which could not all be removed. Three months after the operation the patient had considerable pain requiring 100 milligrams demerol, q. 3-4 hr., and nembutal gr 1.5, q. 4-8 hrs. This patient after the start of krebiozen required no narcotic or analgesic or sedative and gained much weight. About 2 years after the start of krebiozen she developed an intestinal obstruction which was thought to be due to a recurrence of the cancer. On exploratory laparotomy, the abdomen was clear of cancer and the adhesions causing the obstruction were removed. You may call Dr. if you wish.
"I could give you several other dramatic examples but the hour is late.

"If you would like to send someone to Chicago I could show him the records of these and other cases.

You will find one of these four cases referred to in the monograph on krebiozen by

Ivy, Pick, and Phillips.

"You may call me by phone at any time.
"There is one other item of information which I should give you. That is x-radiation, all radiation, all substances like nitrogen mustard which depress the reticuloendothelial system including some upper respiratory infections and cortisone annul or reduce the effectiveness of krebiozen. However, we have observed that krebiogen given to persons susceptible to radiation sickness decreases or abolishes the sickness. So Krebiozen may be given along with x-ray but it will have little effect on the progress of the cancer although it will probably make the patient feel better.

- and I would be willing to visit Washington, if you desire, to discuss the dosage-rate in more detail in relation to the clinical condition of the patient. However, this can be discussed with me by phone, if

you desire.'

With best wishes, I am,

Yours sincerely, A. C. Ivy, Ph.D., M.D.

FEBRUARY 25, 1959.

DEAR DR. HEATON: Among the items of information I sent you last evening, I forgot to include the forms which must be completed before krebiozen is sent to a physician. This is in compliance with the regulations of the Food and Drug Administration for the distribution of new drugs to physicians for clinical trial.

I forgot to give you the name of the physician of the second patient. He is - Chicago. The name of the physician of the first patient is given in the abstract of her case.

Yours sincerely, A. C. Ivy, Ph.D., M.D.

Atomic World of Affairs -

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, June 6, 1959, the Pennsylvania State University held its annual commencement day program at which time some 3,300 graduates received their degrees. The principal address entitled "Atomic World of Affairs," was delivered by the Honorable John A. McCone, chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, and his address follows:

THE ATOMIC WORLD OF AFFAIRS

Mr. President, faculty, and graduating class, it warms my heart to come to this great university which I have known for so long but never before visited and to find a few old friends and to have an opportunity to make new ones. In my present responsibility it is most encouraging to find here, as I have this morning, a great center of nuclear physics and engineering. Indeed, you pioneered in this effort, being the second university to have a research reactor on your campus.

The Atomic Energy Commission is proud to play a part by helping with this important activity. I assure you, Mr. President, of our continuing interest in you and in all that you do. We are determined to help you whenever and wherever we can. You have made a great step forward by acquiring a particle accelerator—a most important research tool and we are pleased to join with you in contracts for its use in the field of

low energy nuclear physics.

You are equipping men and women in a field of science and engineering more advanced and difficult than any other. In doing so, you are serving the Commission for we need men and women equipped with this special knowledge. Also, you are serving the great industrial complex which is rapidly building around the atom.

In doing so, you have introduced your students to the most rapidly developing field of science and engineering. The nuclear sciences are young, very young, but they are destined to grow and, as they grow, they will affect every one of our life's activities. Therefore, this subject should be understood by you regardless of the path of your future life. If you are a doctor or a lawyer, a businessman or banker, a writer or a teacher of our young, you will find the atom commanding your attention on an ever-increasing scale.

I will not now discuss the infinite horizon of the atom in its peaceful role. It is sufficient, I believe, to tell you that its use in agriculture, in research, in industry, and in biology and medicine has increased thirtyfold in the past 5 years and its use is forecast in increase another 4 or 5 times in the next

few years,

Nuclear power is now in its very infancy. It is destined to take its place as one of our principal sources of electrical energy. Power demands in the United States will double every 10 years. More and more large generating plants must be constructed to meet the ever-increasing needs of our people for electricity. Many of these plants

will be nuclear powerplants.

We believe the 10 years immediately ahead of us will see nuclear plants perfected. They will be competitive in areas where power is costly because of absence of local fuels. We believe that in the 10 years following, and these are important years to the young men and women who have today received their diplomas, the atom will furnish a substantial percentage of all new energy sources constructed to meet this country's ever-growing demand for power.

Standing here, in the heart of one of America's most productive coal regions, our attention turns, at this prospect, to the question of the impact of nuclear power on coal production.

It is reckless to say that nuclear energy will replace coal and oil. What it will do is to supplement coal and oil as a source of

power. It will provide a percentage of the tremendous growth of the Nation's power industry.

The central question here is economics. Nuclear power is proving more expensive, and more difficult to produce than was once thought. It is hard to harness the atom and a plant designed to do it safely is expensive. Consequently, the power produced in the plant is also expensive.

But, this condition will not always exist. Improvements are being made and these improvements will reduce the cost of nuclear power. Then the atom will take its place beside coal and oil as a source of our electrical energy on a strictly competitive basis. Thus, it will prove to be an added resource; an additional tool in our economic structure; a spur to growth of all industry and all of our Nation's activity.

The atom must also continue as the guardian of peace and the protector of our way of life. When World War II abruptly ended with the capitulation of Germany and the surrender of Japan, the world looked forward eagerly to peace. Men had suffered for the cause of justice and freedom, and they determined to now go their way of life in a peaceful world.

Our leaders did likewise. They felt that the arrangements agreed upon among the victorious allies would be honored. A peaceful word for years ahead was their

confident hope.

We, therefore, turned away from conflict. We were confident that differences, if they arose, would be resolved through understanding, not through military conflict or the constant threat of war.

We found, however, the Soviet dictator felt differently. Joining the free world in its bitter fight against Nazism was merely an incident in the Communists' plan to dominate all people and subject all people to their dictates.

We demobilized; they did not. We opened our country freely; they created an Iron Curtain around theirs. We urged nations throughout the world, many of which had been occupied and destroyed, to rebuild and to develop politically as they freely chose. They occupied one country after another, subjugating all to their will, destroying individual freedom and eliminating the most precious of all of man's rights, the privilege to worship as he chooses.

The Soviets intensified the war of international communism against the free world. A war designed to destroy our way of life

and to replace it with theirs.

It is a cold war, but back of it to guarantee the Communist dictator's success are 175 line divisions, trained and fully equipped; supported by vast air power and now a missile capability of alarming proportions.

The West faced a danger of being crushed by the sheer weight of the manpower of the East. It was apparent that only through strength could we counter the ruthlessness of the Soviet dictator. How could we provide this strength so necessary for our security? It would be futile to match him man for man or division for division. Hence, we determined to build our defenses around nuclear weapons—a new and mighty source of power which providentially had fallen into our hands.

This we have done with great determination and skill. Because we have done this well, there is no hot war today. Nuclear defense has guaranteed freedom for ourselves and for our allies.

The decision to build our military security around the atom was a wise one. It was a decision of all of America and has stood the test of passing years. I believe the decision valid today, just as it was originally. Nuclear weapons are costly, yet cheap compared to the cost of the massive armies nec-

essary to balance the manpower of the Soviets.

The atom has provided for our security and for the protection of you and of your families. We must never let it deteriorate or take a second place in the armament race in which we are now unfortunately engaged. If we do, our strength will disappear. Free men throughout the world will fall to the domination of the Soviet dictator. Gradually our own freedom would be lost.

To avoid deterioration of the bulwark of our military strength, the atom has had to keep pace with the latest technological developments. As weapons systems have changed and become more complex, nuclear weapons have had to change and improve. For example, delivery of nuclear weapons by aircraft poses entirely different problems from delivery of nuclear weapons by mis-Development of new, improved and more efficient nuclear weapons require developmental tests to prove evolving concepts. Such testing is as necessary for nuclear weapons as for any other military equipment, or for that matter commercial products. Testing is equally essential for developing your automobile and your television set.

Have we gone too far with testing? Have unnecessarily created a radiation condition which endangers our people and our future generations? This question has given me great concern. I have sought the advice of the most competent scientists and as a result have reached two conclusions.

First, the radiation hazard from all tests conducted to date-ours, the British, and the Soviets'-has not reached dangerous proportions. Second, unrestricted and with no limitations, continued nuclear weapons testing in the atmosphere might so increase the radioactive content of the atmosphere that a serious hazard could result. This must be avoided. Your Government has sought a dependable agreement with other nuclear powers for the cessation of tests. The basic purpose for such an agreement is the hope of easing the world tensions which add momentum to the disastrous conventional and nuclear armament race. While such an agreement will not of itself stop the production of nuclear and conventional arms, it may be a helpful first step toward this vital objective. Moreover, fears of the con-sequences of radioactivity fallout do exist. even though expert opinion says these fears are greatly exaggerated. Stopping all nuclear tests would allay these fears.

Protracted and exhaustive meetings to accomplish this goal have taken place in recent years in New York, in London, and now are being carried on in Geneva. A principal concern has always been finding acceptable means of effectively safeguarding an agreement. The American people and the people of the free world must know as they lay aside their means of further developing their nuclear defenses that the Communists will do the same. We must know the Soviets cannot cheat and proceed in secrecy with their own nuclear weapons developments.

This is an essential point. It must not be discounted. The central point is finding means to assure the world that all parties are abiding by the agreement. The U.S. Government will give its sacred promise to live up to the letter and the intent of an agreement. It will back up this promise by permitting the installation in the United Straes of inspection posts internationally manned and equipped with proper instruments, as well as mobile inspection teams. Moreover, we will permit on-site inspection teams to go to any area where the instruments indicate that a nuclear explosion might have taken place.

Adequate inspection is essential. The Soviets will not agree. For months they have attempted to cripple the entire control system by steadfastly insisting on veto rights. particularly with respect to the dispatch of

on-site inspection teams. For months they have insisted that the control stations and inspection teams manned by nationals of the country wherein they are located.

Can the American people accept these conditions? Can the American people be expected to lay aside developments so important to the preservation of their security on uncertain Soviet promises? Can we close our eyes to the scores of broken treaties and ignored sacred agreements and enter a treaty in this vital field without reasonably adequate safeguards?

We have answered that question with an emphatic "No." We will continue to insist upon an agreement which will insure to the world that once agreement is reached to stop testing, all parties will conform to the agreement. The world will know by the reports of the international inspection teams that

no cheating goes on.

This we have made abundantly clear in these long months of negotiations. World opinion and the constancy of our position have brought limited concessions from the Soviet side. They have agreed that a few American and British personnel might be allowed in control stations in the Soviet Union. They have indicated that they might consider a few on-site inspections over which no veto would be exercised. However, they do not relate this number to what the seismographs say or other instruments indicate. On the contrary, they insist this is a political matter. They ignore the scientific realities of the problem. To this we cannot agree. It is imperative that the number of inspections be based upon the technical capabilities of the control system.

On Monday, negotiations are to resume in Geneva. We are hopeful that agreement can be reached. We will not, however, depart from the basic principles which I have just

reviewed.

Nuclear tests can be conducted in three environments. Let me review them briefly.

First, tests in the lower atmosphere. Tests up to about 30 miles in the atmosphere can be adequately detected and there are good prospects of attaining adequate capability for identification. Properly equipped con-trol posts in the principal land masses and oceans of the earth, together with aircraft sampling flights to look for radioactive debris, can determine with an acceptable degree of assurance whether a nuclear explosion has taken place in this portion of the atmosphere. An occasional natural event, such as a volcano, or a very large falling meteor might create disturbances which would confuse the instruments. But we believe the system could adequately distinguish such natural events from weapons tests.

An agreement to suspend tests in the lower atmosphere, to establish the necessary properly equipped control posts, and to man them with an international organization would be a feasible first step that could be taken to solve this problem. This we have proposed to the Soviets.

Secondly, tests in the higher atmosphere and at extremely high altitudes, above 30 miles to thousands and perhaps hundreds of thousands of miles above the surface of the earth. Tests in the higher atmosphere would not eliminate the fallout problem. However, almost no fallout would be expected from tests well beyond the atmosphere in space. Detection here poses serious questions to known scientific technology. Much further research is necessary before a dependable method of detection can be developed. It is possible, although no one knows, a system of satellites equipped with sensitive instruments for measuring signals and reporting back to receiving stations on the earth might be one of the answers to this problem. The problem of identifying an event as a nuclear explosion, and not a celestial disturbance is even more severe. Moreover, identifying the responsible nation becomes very difficult. As we proposed at Geneva, we believe that the nuclear powers, the Soviet Union, Britain, and the United States, should work together on developing this technology and inaugurating a system under international auspices.

Thirdly, there are the underground explosions where weapons are buried in the earth so that radioactive debris does not escape into the atmosphere. Although this is a difficult environment for testing nuclear weapons, it can be done, and very significant advances in weapons technology, particularly with respect to missiles and small weapons, would result from such testing.

In this area detection and identification become extremely difficult. Here, the principal signal to the control system is the earth shock, registered on seismographs spaced around the world. As you know, many thousands of natural earth tremors occur every year. Not only is it difficult to detect many underground nuclear explosions, but once detected, it is difficult to distinguished them from these earthquakes. For this reason, it is necessary for men to freely inspect the area where the instruments indicate a nuclear explosion might have occurred. Even then, final proof that a nuclear explosion had occurred would be difficult, as it requires drilling deep into the earth and securing a sample of radioactive debris.

These are some of the technical difficulties that confront us. Added to this problem is Soviet unwillingness to forego the veto over a great many important aspects of effective inspections. Despite these problems, our objective remains unchanged—an eventual cessation of all nuclear weapons tests.

If we are to be sure our agreements are safeguarded, and this is the announced policy of our Government, then we must find ways to detect violations of such an agreement with reasonable certainty. This is the most difficult of all of the problems our negotiators face at Geneva. It is difficult because the instruments, irrespective of how sensitive, may not record and will not identify all explosions. The small ones will go undetected. Therefore, we must have the right to go to the site and actually inspect the area where the event has taken place.

An added complication is the fact that scientists and engineers believe they can devise ways of muffling underground nuclear explosions. Muffling has been done for many years with dynamite and with TNT in mining operations and in construction work. Other techniques producing this effect can probably be applied here. This, then, would further reduce the effectiveness of any detection system and would remove from the people of the world the assurance that the agreement is being properly and adequately safeguarded.

We believe, however, that by research and study answers to this problem can be found. We have proposed that the Soviets join with us in the research necessary to devise an effective control system. We have laid before them technical information of great significance, and will present them with extensive additional information for consideration during the forthcoming meeting.

So far the Soviet negotiators have refused to continue some of the most vital technical discussions. They prefer to adhere to the position that the first conclusions reached by technical experts in the summer of 1958 must be considered as final. With this we cannot agree, for we know as do they that the conclusions reached at the meetings of last summer were based on the limited data then available, some of which has been superseded by better data from subsequent experiments and research.

There must be a resolution of the technical problems involved in establishing a proper and agreed method for detecting and identifying underground explosions. Unless the Soviets agree to such discussions, and to the necessary experimentation and research, no satisfactory assurances can be given that all parties to a suspension agreement will comply at all times.

The temptations to cheat will be very great for the Soviet scientists, and military planners will see, as ours do now, that small tactical weapons will enormously improve the effectiveness of ground forces. Indeed, some believe that these weapons might entirely revolutionize ground warfare.

These are the problems which we face in this Geneva negotiation concerning which so much has been written. It is our fervent hope that through patience and careful negotiation the questions can be satisfactorily disposed of. We believe, as I have said, that a dependable and safe agreement to stop nuclear weapons tests is a first hopeful step toward disarmament. This step, if taken properly, and with understanding, could lead to others and better understanding among people will result.

If disarmament, both conventional and nuclear, could be achieved eventually, and an initial step taken now, tension would be relieved. The fear that entire cities, indeed nations, will be instantly destroyed by weapons of unbelievable power will disappear. Then, the full efforts of the nations of the world can be devoted to meeting man's needs and to his welfare and his betterment. This must be our objective. It must represent a goal which we must seek with determination. But in seeking our goal, we must not reach for it recklessly. We must not lay down our arms until we can assure the people of the world that others are doing likewise.

I realize this complex problem of nuclear weapons testing and the arrangements under which it might be stopped is a serious subject for such a pleasant occasion as this graduation. I would have preferred to have devoted these minutes to discussing the vast opportunities of your future, to indicating the extent to which the atom, the subject of my principal concern, will play an ever-increasing role in your lives, and to discussing how it will offer to each of you new and exciting interests.

However, the world today with its hope and its great opportunities is in grave danger. This danger will continue until a better understanding is established among men, and this understanding will permit them to willingly and safely lay aside their means to destroy. To accomplish this understanding means thought and work and patience. If we succeed, the future becomes your challenge. You are the young—the courageous—and the imaginative. You must assume the burden and the challenge of the future.

I congratulate you sincerely and enthusiastically upon your graduation day. Also, I congratulate you on the new duties and responsibilities you will assume tomorrow.

## Archbishop Francis P. Keough

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, it was with some pride that I noted in the Record a few days ago a tribute inserted by the distinguished gentleman from Maryland [Mr. Fallon], on the occasion of the silver jubilee of Archbishop Francis

P. Keough of the archidocese of Balti-

I should like to lend my wholehearted suppor to the justified praise that is being heaped upon Archbishop Keough and add to it the praise of my district—of which Archbishop Keough is a native. He was born in New Britain, Conn.

Archbishop Keough, who has devoted his life to the betterment of mankind, is beloved by all who know him. He has administered to his flock as a priest of the Roman Catholic Church in his home State of Connecticut, as bishop of Providence, R.I., and now in the primal see of the great metropolis of Baltimore.

He has exemplified not only a devotion to the principles and teachings of his church, but a genuine loyalty and love for the principles of Americanism.

On May 10, 1948, in the city of his birth, New Britain, the Connecticut Council of B'nai B'rith, a worldwide Jewish fraternal organization, presented Archbishop Keough a citation for his impressive achievements in sponsoring the spread of Americanism. This was a wonderful demonstration of the respect in which Archbishop Keough is held.

Born on December 30, 1891, of hardworking parents in a community which is known far and wide as the Hardware City of the World, Archbishop Keough is the first native of New Britain to reach that exalted station in the Catholic Church.

He attended St. Mary's Parochial School in his native city and St. Thomas Seminary in neighboring Hartford, and St. Sulpice Seminary, Issy, Paris. He completed his training for the priesthood at St. Bernard's Seminary, Rochester, N.Y., and was ordained in St. Joseph's Cathedral, Hartford, June 10, 1916.

The archbishop of Baltimore is concerned not only with the spiritual life of his people but also with their material pursuit of peace and happiness. He is often called the archbishop of the poor, aged, and infirm because it is to these he has devoted special care and consideration.

My fervent prayer at this time—as Archbishop Keough marks 25 years in his exalted office—is that he continue to serve God and country for many, many years ahead.

## Do Our Critics Ask Return to No. 1 Problem Status?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. J. CARLTON LOSER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr.\LOSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I am including an excellent editorial which appeared in the Nashville Tennessean on June 5, 1959, concerning the claim by some New York Congressmen that TVA has taken away industries from New York.

Representative Charles A. Buckley, of New York, and chairman of the House Committee on Public Works, challenged such unsubstantiated generalities in a recent statement, and the editorial commends Representative Buckley for speaking out for TVA at this particular time. The editorial follows, and I suggest that every friend and critic of TVA read it:

Do OUR CRITICS ASK RETURN TO No. 1 PROBLEM STATUS?

"Republican Congressmen from New York are trying to make an issue of the TVA vote on the ground that TVA has taken industry away from New York. This is a phony issue raised by the private power companies and their spokesmen, the chambers of commerce. I am a little tired of these unsubstantiated generalities. It would be more enlightening if they would name the industries so affected and the dates they were lured away."

This refreshing statement from a New York Democrat, Republican Charles A. Buckley, chairman of the House Committee on Public Works, could apply to widespread critics of the TVA, as well as to the propaganda disseminated by those who fear encroachment on their vested interests.

Complaints of industry luring omit some rather important facts. Since World War II, the trend of industry has been toward dispersal, so plants no longer are being built in bunches around or on top of home offices. Secondly, the vast majority of new plants in the South are branches or subsidiary operations. They were going to be built somewhere.

When the South turned toward industrialization in a big way, it had to turn to sources of capital and know-how. Where else could it go except to the heavy industrialized areas?

Finally, and most importantly of all, these shouters against industry kidnaping over-look the fact that industrial growth of the Nation as a whole far exceeds the Valley States. Even some Southern States outside the valley—Florida and North Carolina, for example—have attracted new plants at a greater rate than the valley.

Another argument often used against the TVA area is that it is subsidized by the rest

of the country.

First, this view overlooks the fact the TVA pays in lieu of tax money to the States and also repays the Government for its investment. But to examine the picture further: Recently, Gen. Herbert Vogel, Chairman

Recently, Gen. Herbert Vogel, Chairman of the TVA Board, told a House committee that per capita Federal expenditures in the Tennessee Valley from 1934 to 1953, including the TVA, totaled \$2,600. For the Nation as a whole, and including Federal installations, expenditures of the Federal Government per capita totaled \$5,400 for the same period.

Thus, the valley is getting only half its share in Federal outlays for welfare, match-

ing funds, social security, etc.

It is also true, as Representative Buckley asserted, that Tennesseans help pay for such projects as the St. Lawrence power project, Lake Champlain Waterway, and even the port of New York itself, on which \$80 million in Federal funds has been spent since 1881.

Now, to look backward. Before the advent of the TVA, the South was labeled the Nation's No. 1 economic problem. It had a one-crop economy. It was at the mercy of annual floods which destroyed millions of dollars worth of property. It was malaria ridden and poor. Per capita income was only 45 preent of the national average. The TVA region, in 1933, contributed only 3.4 percent of the total Federal income tax.

Since the TVA, the rivers have been tamed, the economy diversified, and malaria eradicated. The region is healthy and progressive, and it is fairly prosperous. Its Federal tax

contribution has doubled. The Government's gain in taxation alone between 1933 and now is five times the amount invested in the whole of the TVA. There is another benefit. Since 1933, the valley region has made purchases outside the area amounting to more than \$3 billion.

But the valley is not, however, the economic Eden its critics like to picture. Other than trailing the Nation in new industry, it still has a per capita income slightly above \$1,400 annually. The national average is

\$2,100.

The paramount question for the valley's critics is: What would they have it do? Shall it go back to the dark decades of pre-1933, and fail to exist as partner in the Nation's progress? Do these critics prefer it as an area paying only a small percentage of the tax burden, and buying only tiny amounts of products produced elsewhere? Do they prefer it economically backward, and perhaps draining off double the national average in Federal expenditures?

We do not believe they would, for it is a part of the Nation and shares in a common progress. We believe the critics would not deny that each area is entitled to make the most of its own resources and, by so

doing, strengthen the whole.

The problem is misinformation which amounts to a fraud against the country through half-truths and generalities and propaganda of those who think it is good local politics to stir envy and enmity against another area.

It is fortunate there are such discerning people as Representative BUCKLEY to speak out in the interests of the whole Nation. The valley is grateful. The entire country should be.

#### Tennessee Colony, One of Texas' Top Communities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JOHN DOWDY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, a recent issue of the Athens (Tex.) Daily Review carried an article about Tennessee Colony, a fine community of splendid people in the Seventh Congressional District of Texas. Their untiring campaign for community improvement has been so successful that this year Tennessee Colony was ranked second in the State of Texas in the competition for Texas' outstanding rural community.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the article in the Appendix of the RECORD:

TENNESSEE COLONY, ONE OF STATE'S TOP COMMUNITIES

"We work together, play together, and pray together."

This statement, often expressed by the people of Tennessee Colony, is the foundation on which their community builds.

Back of it all and the hub of activity is the Old Union Church which is the house of worship for the people of all faiths. On the second and fourth Sundays a Baptist preacher fills the pulpit. On the third Sunday a Methodist and the other Sundays will find a Christian minister preaching.

find a Christian minister preaching.

In 1954, after repeated urgings by the Methodist minister, the people of Tennessee Colony decided to organize for community improvement. Lonnie Carroll was the first

President. Since that time there have been five others, and each year visible improvements have taken place in the old Anderson County community which lies west of Montalba a few short miles.

Henderson countians have heard of Tennessee Colony. It was known for its ollfields for years. Now it is better known for its community spirit and progress and for the Union Church that binds its people in their goal to provide a more abundant life for themselves, for those about them and for their children.

Friday was judging day at Tennessee Colony in the statewide contest sponsored by the Farmer Stockman magazine to name Texas' outstanding rural community. Tennessee Colony was chosen as the outstanding community in a 22-county district and one of the five in the State. Through the judging Friday, the position that this community will occupy among the top five will be decided. Announcement of the State winner will probably be made Monday afternoon.

The area included in the improvement organization extends approximately 3 miles in all directions from Tennessee Colony. Most of the people in the area are among the 56 families that work in this worthwhile

program.

Five other communities in Henderson County are organized along the same lines as Tennessee. Many of them are outstanding but the one that stands next to Tennessee for their record of work this year is Bethel. It is only in its second year of organization.

Hamlet DuPuy, president, moved into the top job in the community in mid-1958 when Clifford Gore, who was president at the time, moved away. He said Friday that there were 38 people who actively worked on various

committees this past year.

Their group meets each month and has a program. This is by no means the only activity. It is one small part of the overall program. Their committees set up objectives at the first of the year after taking an inventory of the community's needs. With this as the basis for community action, they develop a program and during this past year it included everything from taking part in five community workshops to landscaping the community center, around private residences and even the highways.

During the year the Union Church underwent a remodeling which cost \$6,000. This amount was raised by popular subscription.

The main objective, as expresed by Hollis Hudson, was to increase family income and to help the families in the management of family income. This was done through soil testing, pasture improvement, upgrading of cattle and in many other ways.

Health comes in for its share of consideration. This included such things as conducting first aid courses which were attended by 38 who received their certificates. There were 65 who attended the 4-hour refresher course on driver education. Ten of the younger children took swimming lessons last summer. Even the dogs had their day when all of them in the area were vaccinated against rables.

The scrapbook showed that improved pastures increased in acreage during the past Year from 10,000 to 17,000; crop acreage dropped from 3,400 to 3,300; the number of head of beef cattle went from 1,932 to 2,495 and dairy cattle jumped from 573 head to 931.

The youth of Tennessee Colony held their meetings the same night each month as the adults. They had their own aggressive program and much of the adult work was centered around the youth.

There are 675 organized communities in Texas. The four judges who will pick the State's top community said that the competition this year is the greatest it has ever

been. They spend 1 day in each of the top five communities. Friday's visit to Tennessee Colony concluded their week-long tour. They spend equal time in each of the communities arriving at 10 a.m., and concluding their stay at 2 in the afternoon.

The competition is judged for the Farmer Stockman by Mrs. Katharine Randall, woman's editor of the magazine; Sam Whitlow, Texas editor of the Farmer Stockman; Miss Peggy Williford, assistant 4-H director for the Extension Service of Texas A. & M. College; and Bob Cooper, agricultural economist for the extension service.

The community that is selected as the top one will receive \$500; the second place one gets \$400 and so forth with the community judged fifth, receiving a plaque.

Commencement Address by James Francis Reilly at Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Md.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. RABAUT, Mr. Speaker, Mount St. Mary's College at Emmitsburg, Md., was founded on September 24, 1808, by Farther John Dubois, a French priest. It is the second oldest Catholic college in the United States and has a rich heritage of accomplishments in the field of Christian and Catholic education. On June 3, the college held its 151st annual commencement exercises which were presided over by the Most Reverend Francis P. Keough, archbishop of Baltimore. One hundred and thirty-six young men received their degrees at these exercises. The college honored five of its alumni with the honorary degree of LL.D.: Rt. Rev. Francis A. Costello, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.; Rev. Thomas J. Barrett, Schenectady, N.Y.; Thomas L. Golibart, Detroit, Mich.; John V. Morgan, New York City; and my good friend, James Francis Reilly, a prominent lawyer in the District of Columbia. Mr. Reilly also delivered the commencement address and I am proud to insert his address in the RECORD:

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS BY JAMES FRANCIS REILLY, MOUNT ST. MARY'S COLLEGE, EM-MITSBURG, MD., JUNE 3, 1959

No one at any time, at any place, has ever been happier and more grateful than I am this morning.

I am grateful to the president and council for the highly coveted honorary degree which has been bestowed on me and for the privilege of being your commencement speaker. My happiness is unbounded because the award comes from my alma mater, the second oldest Catholic college in the United States, a school whose history and tradition in the field of Catholic and Christian education in America has been and is unequaled.

However, in a larger sense, I consider that this honorary degree is not so much a personal tribute to myself as it is a tribute to all my fellow alumni everywhere because I feel that I am but a symbol of or representative for them on this occasion. I am particularly happy and thankful that a number of my fellow alumni from the District of

Columbia area have arranged to be at these exercises.

As I stand on this platform this morning, I am reminded of an occasion 29 years ago when almost by physical force by Monsignor Culhane, I was a last-minute entry in the oratorical contest in June 1930. But the pressure of time and other things were just too great for me because in the middle of my oratorical effort, I forgot my lines. I promise you, Monsignor Culhane, that I will not forget my lines this morning, at least not as noticeably as I did in 1930.

I have fond recollections of many other incidents of my student days here, but the time which my family has allotted to me for my speech this morning will permit me

to recall only one more.

It is a recollection of grateful appreciation for the opportunity given me to be a student here. I was given a secretarial job in return for free tuition and board, but I must confess that I have always felt that the school by that arrangement was trading a horse for a rabbit because the education which I received far surpassed by insignificant contributions to the administrative affairs of the college.

I say to you, Monsignor Sheridan, that since 1929 I have promised myself that some day in some more substantial way than I have to date I would endeavor to reciprocate for the education and training which I received at the Mount; and I live by the Irish proverb that "a promise is a debt."

Everyone in this auditorium sensed the relaxed and good feeling which you young men had when you received your degrees this morning. You have worked and studied hard for four long years and all of us in this fine gathering pay tribute to each of you on the consummation of a job well done.

I am not so rash as to expect that what I say here will be remembered by you graduates in any detail for very long; but if I could be certain that only one thing which I do say thall be helpful to you in the future, in even a very small way, then I will have justified the council's judgment in selecting me to be your speaker this morning.

What then can or should I speak about this morning which will be most fitting and appropriate as you young men prepare to cross over another and greater threshhold of life?

Should I call upon my experience as a prosecutor in the criminal courts and talk about crime, or juvenile delinquency and parental responsibility? Or, from my ex-perience in the commercial air transport industry since 1940, should I talk of the coming of the jet and space ages and the great hopes that they hold for all men every-where? Or, should I call upon my experience as trial and legislative counsel to a large electric utility company and speak to you about the high promises which the atom or nuclear age holds for this and coming generations? Despite the temptation to talk on one or all of these subjects, I have decided to be a bit more personal in my remarks this morning, even at the risk of being tagged provincial.

Suffice to say on these other and probably more dynamic and dramatic subjects, I am an enthusiastic optimist about the future. To me, the future will bring material rewards, luxuries and pleasures far beyond the most fantastic imagination and vision of the human specie.

And I have infinite optimism about your generation's mental and physical capacities to fulfill these great promises of and for the future.

My only reservation about the future is a prayer—that my generation, your generation, and the generations which are to come will accept and use the amazing scientific, medical, and other great benefits, which are to come, as gifts from the omnipotent and omnipresent God and shall be ever mindful that it is only by and through Him that these

benefits are and shall be ours.

Undoubtedly, each of you graduates has resolved to be successful. Indeed, such a resolution is natural and praiseworthy, provided that you have a proper understanding of success. Since your education and training here at the Mount has thoroughly indoctrinated you in the God-given truth that it is what you give, not what you get, that counts, you know that true success cannot be measured solely in the terms of either financial reward or rank in life, or both. Believe me, the achievement of mere riches and rank simply intensifies frustration and unhappi-The careers of men like Henry Ford II, Peter Grace, and Frank Folsom, and two of our own esteemed and beloved honorary alumni, President Eisenhower and Thomas Pangborn, clearly demonstrates that one may achieve wealth and rank and, at the same time, be a success in the best sense; but too often rank and riches becloud the perspective of the best of men as they rush down the short corridor of earthly time.

After more than half a century of life, I am convinced that the basic, fundamental rules for true success, which can be measured only in terms of how effectively one serves his fellow man, remain unchanged from the days Christ walked this earth.

The cynic, the nihilist, the iconoclast, and even many of the well-intentioned will consider me pedestrian to talk about the basic fundamental rules or standards for true success. But I reiterate them with enthusiasm because I believe that each repetition of these basic rules—like the repetition of the Lord's Prayer, the Sermon on the Mount, the Bill of Rights, and the Pledge of Allegiance—adds to their meaning and significance—both to those who repeat them and to those who hear them again.

Basically, and admittedly, the whole secret of success in life is wrapped up in the first two commandments—love of God and love of neighbor. But this is stating the matter just too simply for a generation which appears hellbent on making everything in life more complicated.

Every human being has a continuing need for love, affection, sympathy, and understanding; and true love spends itself in action. If you remember this in your daily dealing with people with whom you must associate in the years to come, you will attain and maintain a success more satisfying and more enduring than all the dollars in the world and passing prestige can ever bring to you.

Every worthwhile vocation and avocation in life serves some human need. The minister serves the sinless and the sinful; the husband and wife comfort each other and their children; the doctor attends and cures the sick; the lawyer instructs and counsels to maintain justice; the businessman, the chemist, the clerk, the laborer, and the skilled mechanic each in his own way contributes to the bodily and spiritual needs of his neighbors.

First, if you aspire for success, you must perspire freely and often to achieve it. There is no substitute for industry and hard work. For almost 30 years I have been exposed to, associated with, and opposed to, many so-called geniuses; and I have been inspired, sometimes almost mesmerized, by their flashes of intellectual alertness and brilliance, but more often I have been disheartened by their consistent erratic behavior and intellectual instability.

In any event, I am generally not unhappy when the other side has the geniuses and I have the workers. Believe me, I not only have more comfort of mind but am also more confident of enduring success. You can see that I agree wholly with Thomas Edison that

genius represents 1 percent inspiration and 59 percent perspiration.

On the other side of the intellectual coin, I don't believe that I have ever met a really dumb person in my life; and I urge you never to be careless in your dealings with a so-called dumb person—or you may find that his I smart minute, hour, day, or month may be when you have your intellectual guard down.

In my opinion, an absolute essential for true success is integrity of desire, purpose, and action. Honesty is not only the best policy but the only safe policy; and that means not only honesty with others but also honesty with one's self.

Without exception, the people whom I have found the most widely respected and genuinely admired are those whose motives are beyond reproach as to truth and veracity; even when others violently disagree with their decisions and conclusions. Take it from me, the best merchandise in anyone's spiritual, mental, physical, and material storehouse is honesty. Honesty not only creates and maintains an unimpeachable reputation, but its rewards are enduring beyond the measurement of time and material value. As success begets success, honesty begets honesty from others.

Successful people also have a passion for loyalty. They are loyal to God, to church, to country, to their families, to their associates, their patients, their clients, and the causes they espouse, defend, or represent. Loyalty is a priceless ingredient of true success; and absolute loyalty is so rare these days that it seems as if it were a birthright, a heritage; it cannot be taught, learned, or simulated. As an example of what I mean by loyalty, I cite the recent warming exemplary loyalty of President Eisenhower to his and our former great Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, during the latter's last and fatal illness.

Successful people have an affinity for perseverence, stick-to-it-iveness; the so-called never-say-die spirit. Too many people quit too soon. Too many people tire just before the finish line. Too many people discourage too easily; and discouragement breeds pessimism, a mortal obstacle to success. Too many people lack that extra bit of faith in God, in themselves, in their fellow man and in their cause.

You have to be an optimist and to learn to laugh at yourself, and enjoy it. People avoid the pessimist and the sourpuss like the plague, and since you must live and work with people to achieve success, you just have to learn to be attractive to people and to get along with them.

A great deterrent to success is fear of the future and for one's personal security. As Lloyd Douglas said: "He who harbors a fear, plays landlord to a ghost."

There is rather general agreement today that probably the worst obstacle which your generation has placed in your own path is the increasing tendency of young people to concentrate on personal security. This conconcentrate on personal security. This con-centration on security is particularly unfortunate in light of the infinite challenges, opportunities and the new and great economic, industrial, social and moral frontiers which are opening all over the world for the brave. the intrepid, for those who have the heart mind and will to conquer in order that all men everywhere will more effectively and justly know and serve each other. These opportunities and challenges, my young men, are the legacies of my generation to Please cherish and nourish them to the full so that you may participate in their divine-designed fruition.

You might keep in your heart the words of the so-called Lost Prayer:

"O God, give us serenity to accept what cannot be changed courage to change what should be changed and wisdom to distinguish the one from the other."

You must learn to recognize, accept and discharge responsibility. This will require the making of decisions, sometimes very hard and difficult ones; but make them you must, if you are to succeed. Be sure of your facts; test them against truth and morals, then make your decision sharply and clearly. You won't be right all the time but you will be most of the time; and the indecisive person even when he is right is most often too late.

However, this doesn't mean that you should never change your mind, particularly when to do so would be sound, right, just and fair. The cemetery of failures has a long waiting list for graves for the stubborn, the inflexible.

Be curious, inquisitive and a good listener. As the old adage goes, "You ain't learning when you're talking."

Improve your ability to communicate your thoughts and actions to others. Most of the violent and costly controversies, of which I have personal knowledge, were basically nothing more than overheated misunder-standings, resulting almost entirely because the people involved just never understoodin most cases didn't even attempt to understand—each other's purpose and position. So make sure you understand the other fellow, and that he understands you—then, if he wants an argument, let him have one, but good.

Don't be depressed about your imperfections, but be thankful for them. It isn't your accomplishments which are important but your mistakes. It is through your mistakes that you will become more perfect, more resolute in virtue and more tolerant of your fellow man. It is a fortunate person who knows his limitations; indeed even learns to use them in the achievement of real success in both his public and private life.

One of the great lessons my beloved and heroic mother taught me was to never succumb easily to the adversities which I would suffer; but to try hard to learn something from each defeat, repulse or setback. And I assure you that any measure of success which I have achieved can be directly traced to what I learned in my many adversities. You young men will be well advised also to follow implicitly this excellent advice of my mother.

Be tolerant and kind to your less fortunate brethern and always find time to give help and comfort to these people. This is the silent phase of a successful life but oftentimes the most effective way of serving one's fellow man.

Be a good citizen, and take an active interest in your local, State, and National Governments. Become informed on the various phases of our laws and of our history. Vote, run for office, and take a posttion on local and national issues. Join a political party-be an active Democrat of Republican. I remind you of the statement of Elihu Root, Secretary of State in President Theodore Roosevelt's Cabinet and one of the really outstanding lawyers ever produced by our country, that "Politics is the art of good government." I firmly believe that next to the Roman Catholic Church the strongest bulwark against any kind of "Ism" in this country is the continued maintenance of a truly strong two-party system of government.

Have respect for duly constituted authority. Unquestionably, the evil root most responsible for the deterioration—yes, even the destruction—of every fallen government has been a breakdown in respect for authority. On this subject, I am going to quote from an article I read recently, not by a Cardinal, not by a Justice of the Supreme Court, nor by an eminent lawyer, nor by a Senator, or Congressman, but by a baseball umpire; and I quote:

"The umpire's job is tought enough, but what makes it even harder is the basic lack

of respect for authority that exists in the world today. Take teachers. When I was a kid, if there was trouble between the teacher the pupil the parent backed up the teacher. Today he backs up his kid. 'It can't be my kid's fault,' he says. No respect for authority. People don't respect policemen or even, in many places, the Government. So when they come out to the ball park, why should they respect the umpire?

I'll wager that there was and is proper respect for authority within the home of

this umpire-philosopher.

Follow the example of truly successful People, since example is one of life's most Potent instructors, though it teaches without a tongue. It is the practical school of mankind, working by action which is always more forcible than words. All persons are more or less apt to learn through the eye rather than the ear. The best advice that I can give to you this morning on this matter of example is to pattern your lives after your parents.

Your parents are true successes; the pure exemplification of love, sacrifice, tolerance, and charity. It is their example which you have imitated; which has culminated in this great occasion for you-and for them. You are dramatic proof of the vast importance

of proper domestic training.

For whatever may be the efforts of Mount St. Mary's or any other school, the example set in the home is of vastly greater influence in forming the characters of our future

men and women.

The home is the crystal of society, the nucleus of national character; and from that source, be it pure or tainted, issue the habits, Principles, and maxims which govern public as well as private life. Truly, the Nation comes from the nursery. The characters of Parents are constantly repeated in their children; and the acts of affection, discipline. industry, and self-control, which they dally exemplify, live and act when all else which may have been learned through the ear has long been forgotten. So this morning, I know that each of you

join me in a loving salute to your parents as successes in the truest and purest sense and in a silent prayer that the example you shall set and the image which you shall create in your own homes shall continue unbroken the rich heritage with which your fathers and mothers have endowed you.

I promise you young men that if you build your future upon the solid foundation of the education and self-discipline training Which you have had here at Mount St Mary's; and, if your conduct meets the rules and standards which I have outlined this morning, you shall achieve success in the moral and best sense and also a quality and a quantity of material reward necessary to bring to you and yours happiness beyond your fondest dreams.

I urge each of you graduates to remember always the lessons which you have learned here and to firmly resolve that you will make repeated pilgrimages back to your mountain home to pay homage to Mary at her grotto on the hillside and to give thanks again, again, and again to the omnipresent and omnipotent God for the great gift He gave you in permitting you to be educated in the arts and sciences and trained in Catholic self-discipline here at Mount St. Mary's under the patronage of His devoted and beneficent mother.

In closing, I quote for your thoughtful consideration an ancient Chinese proverb:

"Life is like climbing mountains. Looking up after reaching a summit, You still find other peaks towering above you.

"Or at times you may feel lost Among huge waves in the midst of the ocean.

Yet a way is found wherever there is a will."

Military Surplus, a Defense Headache

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

#### HON. WINT SMITH

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. SMITH of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, our former colleague, Hon. Errett P. Scrivner, now special assistant to Assistant Secretary of Defense McNeil, on June 2, addressed the Kansas City, Kans., Rotary Club on "Billions for Defense". In his speech Mr. Scrivner discussed the problem of defense surplus. This portion of his remarks follows:

One of the Pentagon's big headaches is the matter of surplus. It is a \$9 billion headache created by obsolescence—old age and the rapid advance in military science. Yes, \$9 billion-new cost-but today's actual value is less than 10 percent of the original price.

Tomorrow's wars cannot be won with yesterday's weapons. If and when the call comes there will be no time for buildup, and with missiles in the picture, that time may be measured in minutes. to fight with what we have at the time. That simply means we must keep modern, securing the new-discarding the old, the obsolescent and obsolete.

The new cost personal property inventory of the Army, Navy, and Air Force is \$120 billion, more than the 10, 12, or more biggest corporations in the United States of America. Each year an added \$15 billion worth of new material goes into the inventory. If war comes, that may not be enough; if it does not, it is too much. Ninety percent of this huge inventory is military equipment with little or no civilian use: ships, planes, tanks, guns, ammunition, and military vehicles.

A large portion of each year's purchases are consumed-used up. But the majority of it has a long useful life—3, 5, 10 years, or 20 years in such items as ships. The useful life of a military plane cannot be safely stretched to more than 10 years. Vehicles have an average life of 6 to 8 years.

Radar could have a very long useful life were it not for the advances made in weapons. But a radar, costly though it was—which could detect big, comparatively slow, low-flying bombers, just cannot do the job required against fast, high-flying bombers, not to mention missiles. So science produces new, more complex, more costly radars to replace the old ones which go into surplus-the scrap heap.

Not very long ago, 10 or 12 years, the B-36 was halled as the world's finest bomber. It could go far, carry enormous bomb loads, and had the capacity of dropping bombs on any chosen enemy target. Our B-36 fleet cost more than \$2 billion. Just a few weeks ago the last B-36 went out of the inventory. Motors and electronics were salvaged: the rest of the planes will be melted down into aluminum ingots.

Waste? Down the drain? Kicked away? No. Although no B-36 ever dropped a bomb in anger, who can say that the mere existence of the powerful fleet has not been one of the big reasons we have been at peace—a big price for preparedness and peace, but it's been worth it.

Tanks, another costly weapon, must be constantly improved with lower lines to make a smaller target, faster, with greater protection against improved antitank weapons and ammunition, and now, against atomic radiation, with better guns, better communications and more powerful, better engines. No civilian market exists for obsolete tanks. So it is with battleships, cruisers, destroyers, submarines and many other naval craft, originally costing hun-dreds of millions of deliars.

Weapons, once capable of splendid service, are now outdated and outranged. The expensive, much-heralded sky sweeper, the almost automatic antiaircraft gun is a thing of the past due to the new ground-to-air missiles, such as the Nike-Ajax, already obsolescent as a result of the new Hercules model. There is no civilian market for the multimillion dollar antiaircraft guns-so, they too go to surplus.

In a more familiar field—vehicles, the old must make way for the new as the mileage runs up. As a general rule, no military vehicle is retired until it is at least 6 years old or has run at least 60,000 miles.

Everyone realizes that any car-Cadillac. Olds, Buick, Plymouth, Ford, or Chevrolet, just isn't worth its original purchase price after 4, 6, 8, or 10 years of service-or, for that matter, if it stood idle. So it is with military equipment, much of which was rolled up at the end of World War II and the Korean war, and is now made old by the rapid progress of science.

It is not waste, but actually good, sound business for Uncle Sam to dispose of surplus just as rapidly as possible. It costs over \$100 million a year to manage, control and

store old useless equipment.

So Uncle Sam is engaged in disposing of \$6½ to \$9 billion of old items each year. But mark this—that is the new cost, not the present worth, which is about 10 percent of its original cost. So we are talking about getting rid of \$600 to \$900 million worth of military material.

All surplus items are under constant review. Some goes to other military services and government agencies; some goes to classrooms for instruction purposes; some goes to allies, although they too want the new, and finally, there is no alternative except junk. Another fact often overlooked is that this "junk" returns about \$300 million each year to the U.S. Government.

As each day brings new scientific advances, new equipment, better, faster and more complex, more accurate and more deadly weapons, the old must make way for the new.

Commencement Address of Hon. Thomas J. Dodd, of Connecticut, at Dean Academy and Junior College

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, yesterday Senator Thomas J. Donn, of Connecticut, delivered the commencement address at Dean Academy and Junior College in Franklin, Mass.

It was a notable address that made a real contribution in clarifying the basic issues invoved in our struggle with world communism.

I think it deserves the widest possible circular, and I include it in the Appendix of the RECORD:

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS OF SENATOR THOMAS J. Dodd, Democrat of Connecticut, at Dean Academy and Junior College on JUNE 7, 1959

It is a very great honor and personal pleasure for me to be here with you today. I say this because of my high regard for

President Garner and for all the faculty members of this great institution, and because it is graduation for my son, Jeremy, It is an additional honor in that one of the trustees of Dean is and old friend of mine and one of the great Americans of our time, Representative JOSEPH W. MARTIN Who has represented this district in Congress so long and so well. I could not appear here without saying that there is no more admired respected or genuinely beloved man in the Congress than JOE MARTIN

And if I may add a personal word, I would like to say to Jerry, that I am pleased and grateful for the progress that he has made here and throughout his life. He is a good man. He has always been a good man. And he is a better man for his years at Dean.

Commencement day is an occasion to reflect upon the past and to attempt to assess the future. No assessment of the future can be in any way realistic that does not include the great problem of our time, the danger of aggressive world communism.

World communism, like a mammoth cloud, darkens the future of individuals and of nations. One-third of the world's people is already enslaved by it; another one-third is teetering on the edge of the chasm: and the lives of all who live in the avowedly anti-Communist world are altered and complicated because of it.

You will pay the heavy price of commu-nism whether you realize it or not.

At the least, your lives may be interrupted by military service; you will have to pay the expense of resistance to communism in the form of high taxes and continuing inflation; you must sacrifice the inestimable benefits that could otherwise have resulted from the enormous amount of national energy that must go into resisting communism; and day-to-day anxiety and uncertainty over the future will continue to affect the daily lives of each of us. Thinking and compassionate men and women must be deeply and continually saddened by the knowledge that one billion fellow human beings are at the mercy of a ruthless, conscienceless barbarism. Communism stands in the way of peace, of progress, and of security for all mankind.

At the worst, it poses for all of us the threat of war, of enslavement and even of annihilation.

That is why it is so important that we have a proper understanding of this fearful specter walking the earth. Unfortunately. there is a great deal of confusion, fuzziness, and apathy abroad concerning communism, some of it stemming from academic circles.

There are a number of stock arguments which one hears continuously that tend to obscure the real nature of communism and dissipate one of the principal weapons against it, the moral condemnation of decent people.

We hear repeatedly that nothing is gained by calling Communists harsh names or con-tinually raking over their past crimes, as though it would somehow be better to forget the true nature of the enemy.

We read a lot of newspaper accounts of how things have improved behind the Iron Curtain, but precious little about the essential barbarism upon which communism is founded and which sustains it in power.

There is a philosophy current that much of our difficulties with the Communists are due to misunderstanding, which implies that the Soviets and the Red Chinese are perhaps well meaning and that our difficulties could be resolved if we would only look at their side of things and get them to look at our

Perhaps the most popular phrase of those who minimize the evils of communism is that we cannot look at the world scene in terms of "black and white," which of course carries the implication that both the free world and the Communist world are at fault for the present danger and that each side has its good points and its bad points. I will-ingly concede our bad points, but I have never been able to discover the good points of communism.

This type of thinking, seeping into the American consciousness from all sides, amounts to a tremendous cumulative attrition which is utterly confusing. People who are weary after long years of anxiety are only too happy to seize upon such news items as the building of children's playgrounds in Moscow as an indication that the Kremlin masters are human and after all

that everything is going to be all right.
This sort of thing, constantly repeated, causes us to let down our guard, to look for an easy way out, and it eventually leads to fatal concessions to the Kremlin.

So first of all, let's get one thing straight.

Let's get communism in true focus.

Communism is total evil. It is all black. There is nothing gray about it. There is nothing good about it. Its ends are evil. Its means to those ends are evil.

If, by force of circumstance, Communists are for something right, it is only as an expedient to advance their evil ends.

If they occasionally appear in a worthy light, it is because they must make some

appeal to human needs and aspirations.

When they educate the ignorant, it is to perfect their apparatus of enslavement.

When they industrialize, it is to strength-

en their capacity for aggression.

When they talk peace, it is just another

means of waging war. When they allow long overdue improve-

ments in living conditions, it is evidence that even Communist oppressors must make some concessions to the wishes of the onpressed.

There is no evil so appalling that communists would shrink from it, if it would effectively advance their ends. There is no atrocity so hideous that they would not willingly commit it if it served their pur-

The Red Chinese regime, in the 10 short years of its existence, has a matter of governmental policy murdered 30 million men, women, and children. The horror con-tained in this statistic is too great for the human mind to assimilate or the human soul to ponder. And this is but a repetition of the crimes of the Russian communists, which have been committed on the same scale.

A penetrating New York Times editorial pointed out a few days ago that more shocking than the Red crimes themselves, are the reasons behind them. I quote from that editorial:

"The whole 'commune' system, it comes out, is an attempt to destroy the accepted moral and rational basis of the society.

"Thus the atrocities are directed not merely against the human body. They are It is not aimed at the heart and soul. merely the man and woman who must be killed but the ideas, concepts, hopes, sense of values and traditions that have made the lives of those persons worthwhile.

"The details of the killings as related in the testimony are shocking. They are, however, not nearly as profoundly terrifying as what underlies them."

Communism is at war with the whole human race. It is based on the blasphemy that a human being is just a particle of matter, without independent mind or spirit. It seeks to destroy the family as an institution. It seeks to wipe out religion. It seeks to blot out the human conscience and to distort all concepts of right and wrong. It seeks to reduce man to a mere beast of burden, without a will, without a personality, without a home, without personal property, without knowledge of God, without hope of eternal life.

Of course, they have not vet been successful in this task. They have found the objective of permanently defacing human nature somewhat beyond them. The task has been too great. There have been many retreats, deviations, new approaches.

But the end goal never changes. We must always remember that; and we must continually renew our understanding of it.

Certainly we must live in the world with them, but we must never forget what they

Certainly we must confer with them, but we must never concede to them on any basic principle

The Western World is presently engaged in negotiations with the Communists. Unless there is a fundamental change in Communist doctrine, there is no hope that these negotiations will lead to peace.

I say this for three reasons:

First, communism is fundamentally dedicated to the destruction of the free world and of the ethical and rational bases of that world. Its fixed and unswerving objective is to destroy us. The Communists may have to postpone this destruction, they may have to adopt new approaches to it, but it remains their central objective in foreign affairs. As long as this remains true, there is no hope of any lasting settlement, or of any relaxation of tensions, since such things must be based on some common interest between East and West.

Second, whereas we in the West regard peace as the normal order of things, and warfare as an interruption of that order, Communist doctrine regards warfare, ceaseless conflict, and violence as the essential order of life. There is no such thing as peace to them. There is only the absence of armed conflict, an absence which must be utilized for other forms of warfare. Therefore, it is only the West that seeks peace, and the notion that peace is being prevented by mere misunderstandings or resolvable differences is absurd.

Third, there is almost no hope that arguments based on reason and truth will have any effect whatsoever on Communists at the bargaining table. For the true Communist, there is no criterion of truth but Communist dogma. While we in the West subject our policies and our principles to many tests of truth which are above, beyond, and independent of our political credo, the Communist is incapable of doing so. Argumentation will not move him. Truth will not pierce his dialectical armor. Only the force of events, demonstrating the falsity of Communist doctrine, can erode away Communist certainty.

These facts are fundamental to any successful coping with communism. It is impossible to exaggerate their importance.

It is all too easy to fall into the error of assuming that the Communists are essentially like ourselves. They look like us; they dress like us; they can be affable and good-natured; their capacity for pretense is infinite.

It is hard to keep our eye on the Communist ball continually and keep in mind the fact that on basic issues we do not have and can never have anything in common with them.

This having been said, I hasten to add that mere rejection by us of communism offers no solution to the worldwide danger. It is not rejection that the world is seeking. but affirmation.

The impoverished, despairing peoples of the world are in search of a prophet, a philosophy, an ideology that promises a way out of their present degradation.

Americans have an old familiar saying you can't beat something with nothing We cannot beat false prophets with no prophets. We cannot beat dedication to evil with lack of dedication. We cannot solve the desperate problems afflicting half

the world by merely rejecting the Communist solution. We must offer a solution of our own.

We must put forward our solution in the face of many disadvantages. The uncommitted peoples of the world are generally so impoverished that they feel a kinship with the Communist masses, a kinship that they could not feel with the prosperous and advanced peoples of the West.

The record of colonialism of our European allies stands against us in the eyes of those Who do not understand that communism is the most ruthless and total imperialism the world has ever known. The totalitarian Communist bloc can act with a unity, a decisiveness, and a single-mindedness that is impossible for the democratic coalition. And in the nature of things, the aggressor has an initiative that the free world cannot seem to wrest from it.

But communism possesses on fatal disadvantage. It runs against the grain of human nature. It chokes and destroys the spirit of man.

Communism is essentially evil and man is essentially good. Communism cannot satisfy any of the higher needs of man, the aspirations, the hopes, the yearnings that distinguish man from lower forms of life.

Only ignorance or despair will drive men to communism. Therefore the principal task of the West is to offer light and hope.

But the battleground today is not the higher needs of man. It is the lower needs, the more tangible, the immediate day-to-day necessities of existence.

Freedom, and all the values that this term suggests, cannot flourish or have meaning Without the existence of certain material conditions.

We in America have become used to a constantly rising standard of living. We have come to expect it, as though it were in the nature of things. The college students of today live better than their parents, and you expect your children to enjoy higher standards than you now have. But for a large part of the world, living standards have actually been declining despite the enormous technical advances of the past century.

It is a commonplace to say that one-third of the world goes to bed hungry at night. But it is not so generally understood that a large portion of this one-third is eating even less than they were 10 or 20 years ago. And 10 years hence, the outlook for them is even bleaker.

This inevitably feeds the hopelessness upon which communism thrives.

To men who are faced with these basic problems of existence, communism offers a coherent, exciting, tempting body of ideas and programs. And Russia provides the example of a nation which in a short period of time has bridged the chasm from a primitiev, agricultural order to that of a highly industrialized state.

The West, despite its primacy in the realm of the spirit, seems unable to offer a con-

Vincing ideological antidote.

Nor is the example of our high standard of living or of our flourishing political institutions causing the unfortunate peoples Of the world to flock to our colors.

Our talk of democracy, of free institutions, of representative government seems too parochial, too involved, too concerned with forms, to go to the heart of man's basic needs. And in the eyes of millions our alliances with totalitarian regimes make a mockery of our professional ideals.

We seem unable to make our ideological system intelligible to others.

At a time of crucial importance to Western civilization we seem unable to produce leaders who can so articulate the needs and hopes of men as to inspire the love and admiration and trust that America once enjoyed.

In our history, in our philosophy, in our religion, in the practical programs of assistance already in effect, we have all the needed elements for a new order of justice and peace and plenty—an order that will satisfy the lowest and the highest needs of men. We lack only the statesmen, the prophets, who can combine these elements in a form that will rekindle the hope and enthusiasm of the world.

Perhaps the young men and women of your generation will fill this need.

If the Western World, with its unparalleled capacity for producing material wealth, can meet the immediate material needs of men, if we can lead the way to the eradication of social injustice, of poverty, of discrimination, of material degradation, then the battleground for the hearts and minds of the world's people will change to a conflict in which we of the West will have all the advantages.

For man's higher needs are the very things that Western civilization answers and which the cold, merciless dogma of communism

cannot supply.

The highest value that Stalin could put upon man was that he was the most precious form of capital. If that were true, if that were the full signifiance of man, then communism would indeed inherit the earth.

But it is not true. Man possesses mental and spiritual attributes above and beyond the material world. Man has needs and appetites that no material order or philosophy can satisfy.

He needs friendship. He needs understanding. He needs truth. He needs love. Our Judaic-Christian civilization, nourished by contributions from the Greco-Roman world, is in its finest aspects the highest response to these higher needs of mankind.

Whatever may be our weaknesses in the West, we have one great strength. Our universities are free. Our churches are free.

We have preserved unbroken the tradition of free inquiry started by Plato and Aristotle. We have preserved the knowledge of the tradition, the revelation, and the moral law of God.

The people of the West remain free to seek truth and to love God. It is we and not the Communists, who are able to satisfy man's highest needs. This and this alone will save us.

Our alliances, our weaponry, our economic strength, important as they are, will never establish peace on earth. But the church and the university, in God's good time, will do so.

Ten years ago Dr. Charles Malik, President of the General Assembly of the United Nations, made one of the most profound statements of our century when he

"Communism is a doctrine of despair. Its only and complete answer therefore lies in the existence of hope. If the Western World can show a way to eradicate the shame and scandal of poverty, of exploitation, of op-pression, of greed, without resort to social revolution and class struggle and dictatorship; if it can place these material values in their proper subordinate place within the context of a mighty spiritual movement which will be revolutionary without being subversive, and which will draw its substance from the infinite riches of the Western positive tradition, then the necessity for communism will vanish and the specter which now walks the earth will be laid for-

The terrible example of communism is having one salutary effect on the Western World. It is purging us of our own follies.

The example of their total materialism is

making us righly ashamed of our own materialism.

The example of their total atheism is calling forth a spiritual rejuvenation in the West.

Their attempt to destroy all moral values is causing us to reexamine our own neglect of those values.

Their record of ruthless imperialism has caused the West to be ashamed of its own imperialism.

Their brutality is enlarging our compassion.

In the sins of communism, we see our own sins writ large.

In our desperate need to overcome evil, we are rediscovering our own capacity for

To the young men and women in our colleges, there opens the greatest challenge, the greatest responsibility in the long history of our civilization. If you, the products of our free institutions, cannot refine from our heritage a ringing message, an inspiring, uplifting ideology that will satisfy the universal hunger for truth and justice, then our civilization will have lost the capacity to lead, and leadership will pass on to others. Perhaps never in human history has so much been staked upon the performance of a single generation. The stakes are mortal, for they are the preservation of all that we have known and cared for, all that is worth preserving.

Thus your lives are endowed with an enormous significance. Always keep in mind the fact that you must not toil for yourself alone but for the whole future of man.

I hope, I pray, I believe that the young men and women of this class and of this country will make an effort worthy of the noble task and that, with the grace of God, they shall not fail.

Congressman Patman Awarded Doctor of Laws Degree by Cumberland University, Tennessee's Famed Law School

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, Cumberland University, Tennessee's famed law school, on June 6 conferred an honorary degree of doctor of laws upon our distinguished colleague the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Parman]. Congressman Parman delivered the commencement address at Cumberland on this occasion-Cumberland being his alma mater. Cumberland University is justly proud of the accomplishments and achievements of Congressman Parman and conferred upon him a doctor of law degree on this occasion. Others receiving an honorary doctor of law degree on this occasion were Dr. Harry L. Armstrong, president of Castle Heights Military Academy, Mr. Lewis Gruber, chairman of the board and chief executive officer of the P. Lorillard Co., Dr. Athens Clay Pullias, president of David Lipscomb College, and Dr. L. L. Rice, noted author and lecturer and former president of Cumberland University. In this connection, Mr. Speaker, I desire to have reproduced and preserved in the Congressional RECORD the commencement address of Congressman Parman delivered at Cumberland on the occasion of the university conferring upon him the degree of

doctor of law. The address of Congressman Patman follows:

Address by Wright Patman, Member of Congress, at Cumberland University, Lebanon, Tenn., June 6, 1959

President Stockton, members of the board of trustees, distinguished alumni, graduates, and friends: It was 43 years ago that I walked away from this campus with the diploma of bachelor of laws under my arm. In the years since some very highly prized honors have been accorded me, but I doubt that any of them has filled my heart with the pride I felt at having earned a degree from Cumberland University. That was an honor which is exceeded only by the honor of being with you here today.

This campus looks much different from

This campus looks much different from the way it did 43 years ago. The physical plant is much changed and greatly improved. And it is still being improved. Certainly it is wonderful to know that such good progress is being made on the Cordell Hull Library, on the new dormitories, and on other

physical improvements.

But the real substance of this great university has, I think, not changed. The real substance of any university is in its continuing philosophy, its dedication to imparting the spirit of learning, the traditional attitudes and ideals which it instills in its students. These are, of course, the intangible things; yet they are the things which move the world. They are the things which give a university its reason for being. They are the qualities which make one university distinctive from another, as they are the qualities which make one man distinctive from another. As Woodrow Wilson put it:

from another. As Woodrow Wilson put it:

"The final synthesis of learning is in philosophy. You shall most clearly judge the spirit of a university if you judge it by the philosophy it teaches; and the philosophy of conduct is what every wise man should wish to derive." This is what he meant when he said that the ideal at the heart of the university is an "awakening

of the whole man."

Cumberland University was founded in the spirit of the pioneer days and committed to the revolution of the human spirit which brought our Nation together. It has carried this spirit of pioneering into the learning processes, always opening new frontiers of learning, new approaches and new methods, while at the same time preserving the stout principles of democracy, self-reliance, and assistance to one's fellow men which have marked our pioneer traditions. Let us hope that the heart and spirit of this great uni-

versity will never change.

You who are graduating today are joining a very distinguished company. One hundred and forty times before this Cumberland University has sent out into the world groups of men and women to help mold our Nation closer to its ideals. And through these 140 years there has been something special about the stamp that Cumberland has placed upon its graduates. The remarkable contributions it has made to molding the great men of our Nation include two justices of the U.S. Supreme Court, 16 U.S. Senators, and more than 116 Members of the House of Representatives. And as you probably know, at least nine almuni of Cumberland are now serving in Congress. Among these is my distinguished friend and colleague, the Honorable Joe L. Evins, who represents this congressional district—this land of Andrew Jackson. These distinguished alumni also include the Honorable OREN HARRIS of Arkansas, chairman of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee; the Honorable OMAR Burleson of Texas, chairman of the House Administration Committee; the Honorable FRANK CHELF of Kentucky, a ranking member of the Committee on the Judiciary; the Honorable Morgan Moulder of Missouri, famous for his investigation of the regulatory commissions of the Government; and last

but not least, two other outstanding Members of the House of Representatives from Tennessee, the Honorable J. Carlton Loser, member of the great Committee on the Judiciary, and the Honorable Tom Murray, chairman of the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

We have had among our fellow alumni some 450 ministers of the gospel—many distinguished ones among them—some 50 college and university presidents, more than 100 professors, and a great many leaders and outstanding administrators of business.

I have been reflecting on this extraordinary contribution that Cumberland University has made to the list of distinguished citizens of our country—a contribution which very few other universities can surpass, regardless of their size or age.

And, by way of contrast, a quotation comes

to mind:

"Give me the making of the songs of a nation, and I care not who makes the laws." My Bartlett's tells me that Andrew Fletcher said it.

That quotation has always struck me as containing a useful idea—provided your purpose is to make a revolution. If you wish an overthrow of order, an era of mob rule, a backward step of civilization, then perhaps those things can be accomplished by songs of a martial sort.

Perhaps even indolence, stagnation, and slow deterioration of a society can be accomplished through the mood of song.

But if our objective is progress by orderly processes—if our objective is a social order which expands the individual freedoms and moves constantly toward the elimination of poverty, ignorance, disease, and crime—then I would say, "Give me the making of the Nation's universities." I would make universities such as Cumberland to educate not merely the minds of men but to educate the hearts of men.

How seriously do we mean it when we say we wish only to have a Nation of laws and not of men?

There can be tyranny under law. There can be tyranny when the laws are made by the wrong men. There can be tyranny when the wrong men are on the bench to interpret the laws. And there can be tyranny under good laws when the practice of law is in the hands of bad lawyers.

The written law—the statute—is only negative. It only proscribes. It says only "you shall not." Where is the affirmative law, the law which says "you shall"?

Where is the law which says to every man you shall strive to make our community, our Nation and our world a better, wiser, and happier place for people to live? Where is the law which says you shall work untiringly to see a job well done? Where is that law which says you shall speak out against injustice done to any man? Where is the law which says to the lawyer "you shall love the law, you shall be bound by an inner com-pulsion, not to manipulate the technicalities of the law, but to search without rest for the justice in the law"? What is the source of this compulsion to find in the law what justice Holmes called "a hint of the universal law"? These are, of course, the laws in the hearts of men. They are in part innate; they come from inner compulsions, from every man's instinct for workmanship, and from our religious heritage. But they are also largely a product of our university They are in the ethics and philostraining. ophy which we acquire here. They are at least polished and made into meaningful, conscious ideals by this training.

Yes, of course, we all want a nation of laws. We do not want ad hoc laws nor arbitrary, capricious judgments. We do not want different ultimate standards of justice for different men. But we can progress toward ideal justice only when we have the right kind of men making the laws, inter-

preting the laws, and practicing the law. We want more than mechanics, more than the kind of justice that might be dispensed by an electronic computer or a punched card.

We want to strive for the more perfect justice that can be achieved only by having a nation of men who understand the relationship of the law to our whole social order and to the ideals and aspirations which have brought about this order. This measure of concern which the individual develops for his fellow man is, of course, the measure to which civilization progresses.

Incidentally, they tell me that a book on the best seller list out in cannibal country is one titled "How To Serve Your Fellow Man."

The distinctive character of Cumberland University, the distinctive philosophy it imparts to its students, has been given it by its teachers, past and present. It has always seemed to me that nowhere does a man's good works live after him, continuing to multiply, as in the teaching profession. I have always regarded it as my extreme good fortune to be a student here under Dr. Nathan Green, Dr. Andrew Martin, and Judge E. E. Beard. Surely these teachers were among the alltime great. But I think that the present graduating class has profited from these teachers no less than I. It is such men as these whose inspiration and ideals live on to give this university its continuing substance.

I want to speak now about a rather peculiar role which lawyers play in society today. It is not the role we usually think about, but it is no less important than the practice of

law.

Lawyers are, it seems to me, the nearest modern-day counterpart of what we used to call the liberally educated man. This was the man who was trained not just in a specialized field, but who was informed at least in a general way with the state of progress and culture in all fields. He was the kind of man we used to ridicule as one who "learned more and more about less and less until he ended up knowing everything about nothing."

Yet this was the cultured man, and the articulate man. He was a man well grounded in the principles and ideals of his society. He could interpret events in terms of their meaning to the whole society. He was the "whole man." He communicated ideas, he expressed individual judgments, and he took positions on right and wrong. He was, as we would say in politics, a man who made issues. Unfortunately, he has tended to

I believe, as I have said, his role has fallen to the lawyers today more than to the people of any other profession. It is an important role. It must somehow be expanded, not only for lawyers, but for all educated individuals in our Nation.

The increasing specialization and complexity of the modern world have somehow brought about a breakdown in the communication of individual ideas. And this, it seems to me, is one of the most serious prob-

lems facing our country today.

In many ways the increasing complexity of the world in which we live has served our national aspirations extremely well. scientific and technological revolution which has been made possible by the increasingly fine divisions of labor has gone a long way toward eliminating poverty and eliminating many of the diseases which formerly racked men's bodies and sapped their thinking abilities. This scientific and technological revolution has also created opportunities for an expansion of individual freedoms-opportunities for larger numbers of people to participate in the decisions which affect the welfare of all of us. It has given people more leisure time, freed them from drudgery and disease, and given them the time and the frame of mind in which to think. Yet I doubt if these opportunities have really resulted in an expansion of the individual freedoms. Rather, it seems to me that in many ways individual freedoms have been narrowed and individual participation in the decision-making has been contracted. Two

things have happened.

First, along with the increasing productivity and increasing outpouring of material wealth, there has taken place the socalled organizational revolution which has brought about giant business, giant labor unions, and giant government. The number of decisions important to all individuals is multiplying, and they are being made in giant bureaucracies of one kind or another. The fashion today is the organization man—the individual with no opinions or only good gray opinions worked out and approved by the bureaucracy. There is an expert bureau for everything. Only the scientist can speak on matters of science, only the educator can speak on matters of education, only the banker can speak about banking, and so on. After all too frequently the individual specialist does not speak his individual views, but feels constrained to parrot the party line of his bureaucracy—his organization or his trade or professional association.

A second thing which has happened to restrict the communication of ideas has occurred in the communications industry itself. At the same time that new electronic devices and other techniques of communication have developed, actual communications have been restricted. Yes; these new techniques of communication give us the so-called news with remarkable speed. The so-called news is communicated to all the local newspapers of the country within minutes or hours after the news occurs. And We can on television frequently see the news by means of on-the-spot movie cameras. But such news has come to consist more and more of only the surface facts. The new form of communication is well adapted to a selective kind of news, such as street crimes. auto and plane accidents, and so on, and the human experiences involved in such events are frequently conveyed in dramatic and meaningful ways. But as to the substance of the big decisions, the meanings underlying the surface facts-in short, the ideas—these tend to be omitted or capsuled into a slogan or phrase which is likely to be more misleading than informative. For example, most of the laws enacted by Congress these days are never mentioned in the press, on the radio or the television. Even the debate and enactment of major bills Which affect the lives of all of us frequently go unmentioned. And it is rare, indeed, that the public receives any real explanation of the content and significance of important new laws.

Here, then, is where the lawyer-the independent man, the articulate man-must play a larger role, the role of communicating ideas and making moral judgments, on both individual and group conduct. And this is especially true, I think, of the Cumberland lawyer. Why? Two reasons. For one thing, there has always been an awareness here at Cumberland of the importance of intelligent participation in government, and particularly of the lawyer's place in good government. When other law schools have become in-creasingly preoccupied with producing cor-poration lawyers, tax lawyers, patent law-yers, and so on, Cumberland has continued to stress the contribution the lawyer can and should make to his community, to his State, and to his Nation.

Second, a quotation lives in my memory. It is associated in my mind with my first few months here at Cumberland. It is this:
"A man will never amount to something

unless he stands for something."

It is to the everlasting credit of Cumberland that it has turned out men and women who stand for something.

Jefferson is our philosopher. He set down the principles in clear and glowing words. Jackson is our example. He demonstrated the principles in dramatic, unhesitating action. Can anyone imagine Jefferson or Jackson as an organization man? Can anyone imagine Jefferson or Jackson deferring individual opinion to the party line of some vast bureaucracy of government, business, or labor? Can anyone imagine Jefferson or Jackson as men without judgment and failing to articulate judgment on the morality of conduct in any field, save in the narrow field of his particular expertness? Can anyone imagine Jefferson or Jackson making a big fanfare over the small immoralities and remaining silent about great abuses of power? Can anyone imagine Jefferson or Jackson being confused about the principles of democracy or uncertain as to where the power of government should reside?

No; and I cannot imagine any Cumberland man or woman in such a state of mind

either.

No: I cannot imagine any Cumberland graduate as an organization man.

To complete my theme, let me read a quotation from Mr. Justice Holmes:

"General propositions do not decide concrete cases. The decision will depend on a judgment or intuition more subtle than any articulate major premise."

Because I know the judgment and intuition of this graduating class to be good, I know that the practice of law will be in good hands, the role of citizen will be well performed, and our Nation's ideals are a step nearer achievement.

#### - End the Foreign Handouts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, in a few days the House of Representatives will be confronted with the foreign handout bill—the annual multibillion dollar gouge of American taxpayers. I have started reading the hearings and report in connection with this bill and I can say that seldom have I found more hogwash assembled in one package as alleged justification for dissipation of this Nation's resources.

A veteran newspaper columnist, Mr. Constantine Brown of the Washington Evening Star, has written an excellent and timely article, "Time To Appraise Foreign Aid," which was published in the June 2, 1959, issue of that newspaper. It is in the hope that others beyond the primary circulation area of the Star will read Mr. Brown's article that I ask to have it reprinted in the RECORD at this point:

#### TIME TO APPRAISE FOREIGN AID

At long last it begins to look as if our freespending Government might take a careful, appraising look at the whole business of foreign aid.

In the past a few determined but outnumbered lawmakers, with an occasional assist from conscientious administrators in the executive branch, have every year called attention to the wastefulness, inefficiency, and, in many cases, the foolhardiness of the program. But they have never been able to

do more than force moderate cuts in the billions appropriated for our lavish bureaucrats to strew about

This year, however, some of the stanch friends of foreign aid have questioned the further propriety of scattering American taxpayers' resources in the hit-or-miss fashion pursued for so long.

Of course, men like Senator Mansfield, who suggested recently that the whole aid program ought to be totally reorganized or totally abandoned, are not opposed to the principle of foreign aid. They would spend more, not less, in the long run. But they want to know where the money is going and whether it is doing any good.

Few Americans realize the stupendous scale

Few Americans realize the stupendous scale on which American funds are distributed around the world. The total of our aid to the little nation of Laos in Indochina is about double the entire budget of that country. What will Laos do if and when that immense financial contribution is with-

drawn?

Then there is the question of effectiveness, in which we should be interested. Is the foreign-aid program achieving the purposes for which it was created? There are a great many informed voices which say "no." And not all of these are perennial foes of all foreign aid. Many of them see American assistance as a necessary arm of international policy and as a dependable prop against the constant pressures of Communist infiltration.

Some of the criticism is directed at the character of the aid being rendered. Overemphasis on military assistance, for example, is cited as a major drawback in the program. It is charged, with some justification, that sending military equipment and technical missions to certain countries merely bolsters existing regimes, many of them hated dictatorships. Quite naturally, this earns the undying hatred of the people concerned for the United States.

Of course, while tensions threatening our security continue, it will be necessary to help out countries such as Turkey, Pakistan, Iran, Vietnam, China, and Korea. They continue to be our first line of defense.

Whatever details or aspects of the program may be attacked as mistaken, it certainly appears to be demonstrable by this time that the entire program has outlived its usefulness in many areas. Despite the staggering amounts poured into foreign countries since 1945, the actual disparity between the haves and have-nots is wider than ever. The underdeveloped nations are still underdeveloped. American loans and grants-in-ald, however large, vanish like drops of water in the sands of the desert.

If Congress will face up to the realities this year, perhaps this costly absurdity will be on the way off the books. It will be very difficult indeed to end all indiscriminate foreign aid programs, principally because the greatest (and one is tempted to say the only) beneficiaries are the fat American bureaucrats who administer them. They are entrenched behind a multimillion dollar fortress supported by all those persons and interests who gain financially from the continuation of Uncle Sam's generosity.

But when the traditional congressional supporters of the giveaways begin to ask questions, there is hope that reason and commonsense will finally conquer the emotional, sloganized nonsense that has been used to justify the expenditure of America's resources for so long. At the very least, some of the more glaring wastes may be ended. Perhaps we will finally quit building expensive highways where there are no automobiles to use them. Or we might venture to insist that Governments such as that of Afghanistan tell the people that the wheat in Russian-built silos is American and not Russian.

Let the lawmakers measure up to their responsibilities. American exhaustion cannot help the free world to resist Communist imperialism.

#### Booze in the Sky

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. CHARLES B. HOEVEN

OF TOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. Speaker, the June 8-13, 1959, release, this week in Washington with Clinton Davidson, entitled, "Booze in the Sky," should stimulate and arouse the thinking of all Members of Congress as to the need for legislation to ban the serving of liquor on airplanes. The article is as follows:

I flew between New York and Miami at 15,000 feet and watched a man who had had too much to drink toss a lighted match into a container for discarded drinking cups.

No sober person would have taken such a terrible risk. If the plane had caught fire and been destroyed no one would have known the cause.

The liquor on which the man became intoxicated was served him by the airline stewardess. He made himself so objectionable to the stewardess that she had left her post near the drinking fountain to get away from him.

House Speaker Sam Rayburn, who makes frequent airplane trips, has become so concerned that he has asked for action on bills before the House Interstate Commerce Committee to ban the serving of liquor on airplanes.

#### APPREHENSIVE OF ACCIDENT

"I am apprehensive," Mr. RAYBURN said, "that the serving of liquor in excessive amounts to airplane passengers could cause a serious disaster."

Representative OREN HARRIS of Arkansas chairman of the Interstate Commerce Committee, expects to hold public hearings later this month or early next on seven bills before the committee to ban the serving of liquor in the air.

The bills pending are by Representatives John Bell Williams of Mississippi, Roy Wife of Minnesota, Thomas Lane of Massachusetts, Ken Hechler of West Virginia, Robert Hemphill of South Carolina, Carl Elliott of Alabama, and Walter Judd of Minnesota.

A spokesman for the Civil Aeronautics Board, which investigates all air accidents, told us the CAB has no evidence that any crash has been caused by a drunken passenger. But, he conceded, there have been many accidents for which no cause was ever determined.

The associations representing both the airline pilots and the stewardesses have urged legislation to ban the serving of drinks to passengers. The Federal Aviation Agency, which administers safety regulations, told us "the serving of drinks aloft is strictly a concern of the airlines" so long as there is no law against it.

#### TIME FOR ACTION

The time for action is now, before a drunken passenger causes an accident. Besides the safety factor, the annoyance of other passengers by someone made noisy and boisterous by drink is reason for action.

It may be that some of the unexplained causes of airplane accidents are due to liquor being served, but whether that is so or not,

it is certain that accidents will be due to the serving of liquor if it continues.

On a recent overnight flight I watched a man who had had several drinks try to light a cigarette while standing up. A pillow slip hanging from the upper rack was within two inches of the match.

I feit certain that he was going to set the pillow slip on fire unless it was fireproofed. Later I asked the stewardess if the pillows and upholstery were all fireproof. "No," she said. "they are not."

I am not in favor of parents on such flights turning over a box of matches to little children to play with, but that is no more danderous than handing them to drunks.

#### **Everett Proud of Identity**

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JACK WESTLAND

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. WESTLAND, Mr. Speaker, the Everett (Wash.) Daily Herald on May 23, 1959, paid special tribute to one of the city's largest industries, the Simpson Paper Co.

By publishing this tribute, the newspaper again has proven a point that I have presented a number of times before this body. The point is that Everett is an entity in itself, is capable of standing on its own industries and is not a part of Seattle. As much as we admire our large neighbor which shares Puget Sound, we do not believe Everett and Snohomish County should be included as part of the Seattle Standard Metropolitan Area because of an administrative order of the Bureau, of the Budget.

The Simpson Paper Co., through its predecessor the Everett Pulp & Timber Co., traces its history to 1892 when Everett was a village. The original mill and the village have grown to maturity together.

I have known the people of Simpson all my life. These people include workers, clerks, and management personnel. All have contributed to the development of Everett and its environs through their association with the company. The Daily Herald carried many stories and articles about the efforts of these people and their company in the 48 pages of this special tribute edition.

The following editorial which I want to insert in the Record sums up these stories and points out the reason why Everett is the pulp and paper capital of the world. The people of Everett are proud to be identified by this designation and do not want to lose it by becoming part of Seattle.

SIMPSON GROWS IN EVERETT—A TRIBUTE TO PIONEER PLANT

"Simpson Grows in Everett." And therefore a tribute to the Simpson Paper Co. is also a tribute to a community on the move. The Simpson Paper Co., successor to the Everett Pulp & Paper Co., is as much a part of Everett as the seagull on its important waterfront. To one who has resided here half a century or more the big plant at Lowell is accepted and acceptance is great if one's

acceptance continues to be based on the part the company plays within the commu-

Simpson Paper Co. today is a factor in giving Everett its designation of pulp and paper capital of the world. Yesterday it had been known as an integral part of our economy. Today it is a participant in a cooperative journey to an ever-growing industrial status for the community.

The Herald's tribute this evening to the

The Herald's tribute this evening to the Simpson Paper Co. contains more than a tribute to a splendid payroll It is a tribute to the pioneer spirit that started it all \* \* a tribute to faith and confidence in a town-site that always held promise \* \* and a tribute to people individually and collectively.

Once upon a time this community predicated its future on the lumber industry. Out along the banks of the Snohomish River there was built a plant to make paper. The pioneer little dreamed that some day the ranking industry of timber gradually would give way to the manufacture of pulp and paper and that our stands of trees would be known as yielders of crops from which a multitude of products would come forth to supplement finished lumber.

The Herald salutes—the community salutes—the Simpson Paper Co., an institution which verily did grow up with the little village on the banks of the Snohomish, on the shores of Port Gardner Bay and now a city ever extending its boundaries as it extends its horizons.

## Effects of Inflation on Assets and Income of Retired People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, concern about the effects of inflation on the assets and income of retired people is one of the most frequent subjects of comment on my annual questionnaire. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include a message from a Wooster, Ohio, constituent:

I am getting "fed up" with the idea that capitalism must be bolstered up with subsidies in order to work.

It is immoral to take off Peter to pay Paul-We, in the 65-year-age class, never enjoyed any subsidies—if we couldn't make a profit at one thing we changed to another and in that way we kept supply and demand working automatically at all times. We had depressions but that was before we found out that the dollar was not unchangeable and that it was the Government's duty to see that it is used to and for the benefit of the people who work as well as those who depend on clipping coupons, interest, and et cetera.

We worked all our lives trying to keep off relief and out of jail. Now, being too old to work, we see prices and Government debts, taxes going so high that what we thought was ample to tide us over is hardly enough to see us through a slight illness.

If capitalism cannot work without interferring with supply and demand, then ditch capitalism because it is not worth saving-

When you start out to keep one class of people at the expense of another, like subsidies, you have added to the demoralization of capitalism, and free enterprise. What does free enterprise mean if you subsidize me so I keep on producing more surpluses?

#### Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 27, 1959

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following newsletter of June 6, 1959:

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Congressman BRUCE ALGER)

The Defense appropriation bill of 1960 provided \$38,800 million, that is, \$38.8 billion (\$1 billion is a stack of tightly packed thousand dollar bills 666 feet high) for the year's military needs. A 44-page bill, 80-page report, and 6 volumes of hearings document and explain the needs although much information was deleted for security reasons. Here's a digest:

The common enemy of freedom-loving People is the Communist Russian totalitarian dictatorship. They are determined to win control of the earth. They can do this through three methods: (1) Subversion; (2) limited warfare; (3) total worldwide nuclear war. Russian leaders are gearing Russia for all three. They have certain ad-Vantages: (1) Greater manpower; (2) control over more natural resources; (3) increasing scientific and technical advancement; (4) totalitarian control and harnessing of all their people toward the accomplishment of specified goals. Our problem is to prevent the domination and subjugation of those who want freedom, including the United States. Further, we must do this: (1) Without straitjacketing ourselves, but as free people, and (2) in warfare, letting the enemy select the time and place of attack; we will not strike the first blow. Therefore, militarily, economically, and constitu-tionally preserving individual freedom from government domination, we tailor our de-Iense to these needs. We cannot squander human lives as they can and do. Economically, we must fashion a burden we can carry for the long haul, wherever possible, avoiding the peaks and valleys involving hasty or crash programs.

Here's the dilemma—we know a good offense is the best defense, yet we will not offensively strike the first blow. So to resolve this militarily our Nation has conceived and perpetuates a staggering powerful retaliatory capability, a defensive offense or offensive defense. It's an offense to be used after being attacked. As such, it is a war deterrent, we hold. On Russia's respect for this powerpacked force rests the world's uneasy peace, the present cold war. In manpower, we must rely on quality, not quantity, and multiply our strength through increased firepower and better weapons. Our allies add to our numbers.

The gravest threats are in three areas—missiles, airpower, and submarines, and our defense is geared to meet these threats. First, a balanced missile attack force, comprised of the Titan, Atlas, Thor, and Jupiter (ballistic is self-contained, not air breathing) intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM), can be fired from fixed bases (thus Yulnerable to destructive attack by enemy). These are supplemented by our atomic bombers, B-47, B-52, and B-58 from air-

bases all over the world. Secondly, our mobile striking force comprised of missiles such as Minuteman (fired from barge or flatcar), the Polaris (fired from submarine), and our Air Force air-to-surface missiles to be launched from bombers serving as mobile launching platforms. There are more than 60 missiles to provide defenses against attack of many types—surface-to-air, air-to-air, air-to-surface, underwater-to-surface, air-to-underwater.

Some continuing problems. (1) Offense abilities have outrun defense capabilities. We have no sure protection yet against missile attack, nor against submarine attack on our country (though hunter-killer fleets and missiles are being developed); (2) we may have neglected our limited warfare capability by concentrating on our all-out nuclear weapons; (3) Should we maintain an airborne alert? (4) Are we disposing properly of mountains of surplus material annually (at 8 cents on the dollar)? (5) Is the Russian submarine threat overemphasized in view of their lack of submarine bases? (6) Are we selecting the right weapons, in view of the time lag between research and production (example-Regulus II, in being, was canceled, replaced by Polaris, not yet ready). Obviously, no one can benefit from nuclear war, but we are dealing with people of fanatical dedication to conquering the world. We must be prepared. This defense bill is designed to get maximum protection for the amount expended. We are strong, but we must not be complacent.

The Water Pollution Control Act to increase Federal grants for construction of sewage disposal plants brought to us the tired old arguments again that the Federal Government can do for us locally. Additional Federal help was asked despite these facts—(1) Only 25 percent of the projects involved water pollution abatement; (2) Federal Government has jurisdiction over interstate waters and can demand that the States handle (without Federal money) disposition of sewage; (3) It costs more to send our money to Washington in order to get it back.

Definitions: Socialism—You have two cows and give one to your neighbor. Communism—The government takes both and gives you some milk. Facism—The government takes both and shoots you. New Dealism—The government buys both, shoots one, milks the other, and throws the milk away. Capitalism—You have two cows; you sell one and buy a bull.

Public Works Appropriations, 1960

SPEECH

OF

#### HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 5, 1959

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 7509) making appropriations for civil functions administered by the Department of the Army, certain agencies of the Department of the Interior, and the Tennessee Valley Authority, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1960, and for other purposes.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I again wish to bring to the attention of the committee that the amendment offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Fulton] as it is now presented in the form of an

amendment to the amendment by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Fenton] is entirely acceptable to us, to me and to our friends. I would be very grateful that this amendment be embellished by the hyacinths with which we were so recently concerned.

#### Be Wary of Federal School Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 27, 1959

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I have urged that Congress be wary of general Federal school assistance. I have felt independence in education is threatened by programs to reduce State responsibility for financing education.

Here are two editorials which support my contention. Under unanimous consent I include these, the first of which is from the May 28, 1959, Tacoma News Tribune; the second is from the May 28, 1959, Bainbridge Review.

FEDERAL AID TO SCHOOLS

The attack on the principle of Federal aid to local education made recently by Representative Thomas M. Pelly in Congress was logical and well founded. Perhaps it may induce the advocates of Federal school support to give it a second thought.

The Congressman from the First Washington District was moved to action by receipt of several letters from Seattle school children, evidently composed at the behest of their teachers. He made two main points in answering them: First, that Federal aid can mean Federal control of our schools; and second, that Federal aid from its nature is bound to increase school costs.

He argued that our forefathers left education to the individual States through fear that a President, a dictator, or a King such as George III of England might I day gain control of our schools and ordain what should be taught. He recalled that Hitler, Mussolini, and the Japanese militarists did just that, and he might have added that the Red rulers are doing it right now.

He predicted that if Federal aid once starts it will be expanded until the Central Government selects textbooks and paves the way for regimentation of all schoolchildren into one pattern of thought.

On the subject of increased costs he maintained in his answering letters, as published in the Congressional Record, that after all, the money for Seattle schools derives from Seattle taxpayers, regardless of who spends it. He declared that commonsense confirms that school money raised locally will go further if spent by State and local officials. He observed that if school money is sent back to the city of Washington a considerable portion of it will be lost in the shuffle before it gets back to the State of Washington, where it originated.

Mr. PELLY says he stands firm on constitutional grounds. He notes that the U.S. Constitution gives the Federal Government no authority to finance education, but that the Washington constitution imposes upon the State the duty of affording an education to every child.

#### "FEDERAL" SCHOOL AID

We are pleased, but not surprised, to see Congressman Tom Pelly out in the open as an opponent to an expanded and all-inclusive program of Federal financial aid for school. This is not to be confused with Federal reimbursement for financial stress caused a local school district by a Federal installation. We're talking about a nationwide program of largess doled out to school in every State from Washington, D.C.

We agree with Mr. PELLY that this would be a highly dangerous thing for it would center the control of one of our last great freedoms—freedom of education—in the tentacles of the Federal octopus.

We also think the proposition is a highly stupid one from the taxpayer's standpoint. Who, in heaven's name, is the "Federal" Government but we and thee? Money doesn't grow on the Japanese cherry trees lining the Mall in Washington, D.C. It comes from us. Why send it to Washington, D.C., there to be siphoned off for "supervision" and then doled back?. Why not spend it all right here at home?

#### Karl Marx, R.I.P.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. ALBERT H. BOSCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1959

Mr. BOSCH. Mr. Speaker, why is it that whenever one advocates "what is good for the goose is good for the gander" he is immediately classified as antilabor, if he believes that any labor legislation should include provisions to eliminate some of the lurid examples brought forth in the McClellan hearings in the other body. Why is it that because equal treatment is sought for both management and labor the cry is "you can only take into consideration those things which are good for labor?" If you do otherwise, you are then only interested in big business without regard to the rights of the little man.

I was pleased indeed to note that the President of the United States has pointedly refuted the unwarranted charges that the White House (the administration which also includes the Republican

Party ) is antilabor.

Under leave to extend my remarks I include an editorial on this subject which appeared in the New York Daily News of June 8, 1959:

#### KARL MARX-R.I.P.

At his latest news conference, President Eisenhower was drawn into a brief discussion of capital-labor relations in the United States, and made what we thought were some

very well-taken points.

Asked about charges by the likes of Jimmy Hoffa that the White House these days is antilabor, the President said that just isn't so. Necessarily, he pointed out, he is more interested in the welfare of tens of millions of working people than in that of a few thousand captains of industry and business. He wouldn't be worthy of his high office if it were the other way around.

A demagog—a rabble-rouser—would have

stopped at this point in the discussion. But the President, being anything but a dema-gog, went on from there to voice what we think should be a part of all Americans' eco-

nomic thinking.

He is sorry, said General Eisenhower, to see some of us infected with Karl Marx's oldtime notion that there must be endless warfare between employers and workers, because the two groups have nothing in common.

This may have been true to some degree in the early years of the industrial revolution in Europe, when Marx and Friedrich Engels outlined the philosophy of communism.

There is next to no truth in the notion today, even in industrial Western Europe; and there is less truth in it in the United States.

#### THE KEY WORD: COOPERATION

The fact is, as the President pointed out, that all of us have a variety of stakes in the American system, and a vital interest in pulling together to make that system work better for all of us all of the time.

U.S. workers can and do buy stocks in industries and business concerns, take out life insurance, put their savings into banks or building and loan associations, buy homes, etc., etc.

The continued operation of all these things depends mainly on the cooperation of all of us to keep them sound and profitable.

This doesn't mean that workers shouldn't ever strike, or that employers should give in to every demand voiced by unions. It does mean that workers and employers must cooperate most of the time if ours is to go on being the most productive economic system in the history of the world.

Let's let Karl Marx rest in peace as the Reds' exclusive idol-a clay-footed idol to which they are more than welcome.

#### Search for Reality

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. HAMER H. BUDGE

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 28, 1959

Mr. BUDGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, there follows an article appearing in the Gooding Leader, published at Gooding, Idaho. The article appeared on June 4, 1959. and was written by the Honorable James P. Gossettt, probate judge of Gooding County. It occurs to me that it is certainly most appropriately titled "Search for Reality":

SEARCH FOR REALITY: TWIN FALLS CITIZENS AGAINST FEDERAL SCHOOL AID-COST OF BU-REAUCRATIC ADMINISTRATION EXCESSIVE

#### (By James P. Gossett)

If ever a group of people deserved a 21-gun salute for all-to-seldom-seen. American independence and "hoss sense," it is the group of Twin Falls citizens who blew a loud raspberry at Federal aid to public schools 10 days or so ago. If just one group-just one equally outspoken groupin each State in the Union were to take a determined stand on the issue we would have a running start at demolishing the absurd, but very dangerous, idea of operating our schools on Federal money.

In 1955 Senator HARRY F. BYRD, of Virginia. chairman of the Senate Finance Committee. warned in omnious words of the consequences of this type of misuse of the Federal money. In an address made May 4, 1955, before the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in Washington, D.C., Senator Byrn said:

"Nothing is more true than the rule that power follows the purse. When the Federal Government makes a grant, it directs exactly the manner in which the funds are expended, even though the States partially contribute to the project. Time and time again I have seen the iron hand of the Federal bureaucracy with grants compel the States to do things they did not want to

There are the words of a man who grew up with the New Deal. In fact, Senator BYRD took his oath of office as a Senator on the same day that the late President Roosevelt took his oath of office for his first term as President—on March 4, 1933. From that time Senator Bysp has watched our Government grow from a servant of the people into a colossal, virtually omnipotent boss that now, in one or more vital ways, dominates the life of every man, woman, and child in the land. And he has fought the growth of this bureaucratic giant every step of the

At the discussion at Twin Falls in which Federal aid to schools was informally, but overwhelmingly rejected, the matter of matching funds arose—of course. "Matching funds" and "grants in aid" are two of the most seductive phrases used to put a false face on Federal subsidies. But they are even more deceitful than false faces. Just what happens when you match funds? You are tempted to spend money you never intended to spend in the first place simply because. by spending it, you will get a Federal hand-

But what is this Federal handout? It is nothing more or less than your own money taken away in Federal taxes, coming back; but coming back to you less the excessive cost of bureaucratic administration—somewhere between 30 and 40 percent. So-you spend 5,000 you didn't intend to spend to get 5,000 of your own money back, and for the 5,000 you get back as matching funds you will have paid 7,000 (or thereabouts) in taxes. Five thousand for you, two thousand tribute to the octobus.

Surely you wouldn't pay freight on an automobile from Magic Valley to Washington, D.C., and back when you are buying from a Magic Valley dealer. That is exactly what you are doing with matching funds, but with the added disadvantage that from then on, with matching funds, the Federal Govern-ment will have a hand on the steering wheel.

Did it every occur to you to ask why it should be necessary (as some insist) for the Federal Government to help pay for your schools? And what is happening when it does contribute? Let's look at some things Senator Byrn, the top expert on Government finance, had to say before the National Taxpayers Conference in Washington on March 17, this year. "In the process of centralizing power, the

Federal Government is usurping State and local revenue sources. At the same time it is encouraging greater spending at all levels" (matching funds for example—James P. Gossett.)" And through expanding paternalism, great segments of business, agriculture, and taxpaying individuals are being brainwashed with Federal subsidy. States have been pushed to a point where they are having difficulties paying their bills. Highway programs are examples. Localities also are running out of funds and sources. They will be in Washington this week asking for Federal payments in lieu of taxes on federally owned real estate.'

Senator Byrn points out that the Federal Government owns more than 455 million acres of land in the United States, which amounts to nearly one-quarter of the land within our national confines. That, of course, is real estate on which no State of

local government can collect taxes.
Did you notice how closely "guidance"
was tied to "maching funds" in the heated
discussion at Twin Falls? Why was such emphasis placed on guidance in connection with Federal aid to schools? We better start asking such questions as "How much guidance?" and "Guidance in what direction?" and "Guidance for what purposes?" Twin Falls Attorney Edward L. Benoît slammed that "guidance" business squarely on the nose with his part in the discussion.

Guided minds, like guided missiles, can be

directed at a variety of targets.

Guidance within strict limitations, and for severely limited purposes, and for specific, recognizable needs is acceptable—even describe. But we should never lose sight of the oft repeated truism—"Give us the child, and we'll make the man in our image."

We must remember that the ponderous American bureaucracy is already breaching effective restraint of the Congress. We must recognize the self-evident fact that vast bureaucracies, by their very nature, seek always to expand their powers and to perpetuate themselves. That is what Communism is in Russia—an enormous, complex bureaucracy with a son of a ———, well, with a dictator at the top.

As Senator Byan said: Power follows the

As Senator Byan said: Power follows the purse. And as the wise Lord Acton observed early in the last century: Power corrupts; absolute power corrupts absolutely.

The American Way of Life

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON, KATHARINE ST. GEORGE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 8, 1959

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following article by Mr. George Sokolsky appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald this morning, June 8, 1959.

It is perhaps good for us as Representatives in Congress to realize that we are not living up to our trust as representatives of the people of the United States if we spend our time trying to get votes for ourselves, rather than in upholding the dignity and power of the Congress.

It matters very little if we are reelected or not. But it matters very much if through our actions the Congress loses the respect of the people and therefore loses its sole purpose and usefulness.

The quotes from Mr. James Hoffa are Dicturesque and salty. He has no

doubt as to his power.

Let us turn to the Constitution and assert the power of the Congress without fear or favor. These are times when only courage of the highest order can save us.

The Post article follows:

THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE (By George E. Sokolsky)

The United States is a republican form of government, the laws for it being made by two Houses of Congress in which sit representatives of the people duly elected. This form of government is being challenged by the formidable James Hoffa, leader of the Teamsters. He makes his own laws. He decides how the country is to be controlled. He does so in his own words, which leave nothing to the imagination. Take this from a prolonged interview which appeared in Life magazine;

"He (Hoffa) established what he regards as the cardinal Teamsters rule; 'We don't arbitrate grievances,' he proclaims. 'We strike the bastards instead.' And once a strike is started, Hoffa literally strangles his victim by degrees. 'First,' he says, 'we close down this guy's outfit where the trouble is. Then, if he won't settle, we close him down (i.e., prevent him from doing business) in the surrounding States. Then if he still won't settle, we close him down across the whole goddamn country.'

(Begging pardon for the language, which is

Hoffa's, not mine.)

In a word, controlling transportation, he will strike the entire United States, if it suits his purpose. Is this man to be our Mussolini or Hitler or are we to have representative government in accordance with the Constitution?

As one reads this extensive interview with Hoffa, it is not possible to avoid fearing for the welfare of the country. This man respects nothing. He will do anything and says so. Describing his bribery of John Cye Cheasty, a lawyer hired to purloin data from the McClellan committee, Hoffa said:

"This was a war, and Cheasty was a goddamned double agent. Cheasty even admitted in sworn testimony that I hired him first. So the committee was really hiring

my lawyer."

Brought up on this bribery charge, Hoffa was acquitted by a jury which included eight Negroes and during the trial, Joe Louis sauntered into the courtroom and overtly fraternized with Hoffa. Nobody was going to convict Joe Louis' friend in that court. It may have been clever but it was also foul.

This is what Hoffa thinks of Congress and the Constitution: "\* \* If Congress is stupid enough to pass a bill banning secondary boycotts we'll fix it so all our contracts expire on the same day."

In a word, he denies the right of Congress to legislate for the United States. He, Hoffa is the law and whoever challenges him had better look out. He will devise methods to avert the law and no employers of labor will dare to oppose him.

The real danger is not Hoffa, who is a small guy with a big head. The danger is that the Congress of the United States bows to such creatures. More and more, the American people are not electing the most able and competent persons in their States to either House of Congress. They are electing men who talk big but who are tightly controlled by those who contribute to their campaign funds. Less often does one see a noble figure in either the House of Representatives or the Senate. Competent men are unwilling to run for office; more and more men run for congressional representation for the income it brings.

When Hoffa shows his contempt for Congress, he does it as a master for those who serve him, and he has neither the background nor training to be moved by any cause nobler than his will. He may mature into a leader of higher moral caliber than the parochialism of his own union, but that will take more time than this country can afford.

The McClellan committee has served the country well to expose Hoffa to the American people. He is contemptous of that committee, but this country has seen punks rise to be big shots before and has found ways to limit their exercise of power. Dave Beck, who was Hoffa's superior in the Teamsters Union, has discovered that no matter how handicapped and delayed, the law somehow does catch up with those who regard themselves as above the law whether they be racketeers, gangsters, industrialists, or labor leaders. In the end, even those in Hoffa's union will support the law.

## Eugene V. Alessandroni

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. JOHN H. DENT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 20, 1959

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, in the City of Brotherly Love, Philadelphia, Pa., there is a good and honorable American, Eugene V. Alessandroni, president judge of the courts of common pleas.

Judge Alessandroni, besides being an outstanding jurist, has been for many years the grand venerable of the Order

of Sons of Italy in America.

During all of his years in public and in private life the judge has been known as a nonprejudicial, openminded, and sympathetic person.

No citizen has a better record of public service. He is famous for his unflinching Americanism and all it stands for. [From the Times, May 16, 1959]

CHANCELLOR ALESSANDRONI WINS OUTSTAND-ING PRIZE

Walter E. Alessandroni, chancellor of the Philadelphia Bar Association, today was named Philadelphia's outstanding Italian-American of the year.

He was selected as winner of the first annual award of the Geater Delaware Valley Lodge of Order Sons of Italy in America. Presentation will be made June 7 at Palumbo's by Venerable Arnold Orsatti at, a banquet scheduled to begin at 8 p.m.

Alessandroni comes from a family of lawyers. His father, Joseph, Sr., and brother, Joseph, Jr., are members of the bar. His uncle is Judge Eugene V. Alessandroni, grand venerable of the Order Sens of Italy in America. Another uncle, John Alessandroni is a lawyer.

He is a graduate of Villanova University and the University of Pennsylvania Law School. He is executive director of the Philadelphia Housing Authority. Formerly, he was secretary to two Philadelphia mayors, Robert Lamberton and Bernard Samuel.

He is married and has two children. He lives in the Overbrook section of Philadelphia.

It is therefore refreshing to see a man of such caliber take the time to put his finger on actions that are tainted with the bad faith of bigotry and prejudice.

I submit for the RECORD, pertinent remarks by the Honorable Judge Eugene V. Alessandroni in Philadelphia on May 16, 1959:

[From the Times, May 16, 1959]

"RESENT TV SLURS" SAYS ALESSANDRONI

President Judge Eugene V. Alessandroni, grand venerable of order Sons of Italy in America, today took exception to TV's interpretation of gangsterism in the United States.

"The television industry has slurred entire groups of Americans," said the Philadelphia jurist, "and we of the Sons of Italy deeply resent it.

"Of recent months, television actors have been given accents that identify them as being of this or that nationality, although persons being long-time Americans.

"This happened in the case of Al Capone in the recent production, "The Untouchables.' The character who played Capone

spoke with what was supposed to be an Italian accent, although the original grew up in Brooklyn.

"Of course, this is only a small part of my objection. I object strenuously to the impression given in this story that the underworld of that day was composed exclusively of Italian-Americans. Whether this was intended or not, this is the way the television public saw it.

"In the noise of all the terrible killings, I may have missed it, if it was shown at all, but did this television play establish that Al Capone could never have existed without crooked politicians and crooked policemen?

"I remember when Al Capone came to Philadelphia back in those days. He was promptly arrested, held for court, tried and sent to prison. He served his term and wasted no time getting out of Philadelphia.

"If there had been honest men in the honest jobs in Chicago, there never would have been an Al Capone."

Judge Alessandroni told the Sons of Italy membership that "plays like this are put on

television to make money.

"If we let them know they will make no money from us, that we will not buy their products unless we receive fair treatment from them, I believe the television shows of the future will be honestly written and honestly presented."

## Now Russia Takes Over Olympics From Brundage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. FRANK J. BECKER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 6, 1959

Mr. BECKER. Mr. Speaker, I regard this article from Dan Parker's column in the New York Daily Mirror as worthwhile reading:

NOW RUSSIA TAKES OVER OLYMPICS FROM BRUNDAGE

(By Dan Parker)

If the Soviet Union has captured the International Olympic Committee and made it another medium for its propaganda as the expulsion of Nationalist China from membership at the behest of the Russians strongly indicates, it is time for the amateur sports groups of all free world nations to consider pulling a Gromyko on the Bear that acts like a Boor.

Since it has been proved time and again that we can't get along with them, let's show them we can get along without them, in sports, at least. "Them," of course, refers to the Soviet ruling class, not the Russian people who, in the field of sport, bear no resemblance, except outwardly, to the arrogant, ruthless gang that has kept the world unhappily on edge for so long with its bombbrandishing tactics.

Sports has no more room for politics than for dishonesty. But, in whatever field the Soviet Union is performing, the propaganda motif is paramount. The expulsion of Nationalist China is typical of what to expect from the Reds if we continue to go along with them, weakly catering to their demands in the sophomorish belief that, somehow or other, meeting them on the field of sports, will bring about a friendly understanding and a peaceful world. Avery Brundage, our representative on the International Olympic Committee and its chairman, should live so long.

Avery's characteristic attempts to brush off the Russians' coup as something the rest of us, including the State Department, aren't capable of understanding, is itself beyond comprehension by many American sports followers, like most of his statements on the subject of Russian amateurism. such a thing as being blinded by idealism. Purity not leavened with commonsense can become stupidity when one is dealing with sharpies. Brundage's Americanism can't be challenged but his naive belief that sportsmanship motivates Russia's representatives on his International Committee and that their subsidized athletes are amateurs makes us look silly in the eyes of the world. If we've grown so weak that the Russians can dominate us in the sports councils to which we invited them, let's get out before they kick us out ignominiously, too. They can have their Olympics and we can have ours and good riddance to them.

#### Poison in Your Water-No. 106

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted. I am inserting into the Appendix of the Con-GRESSIONAL RECORD an article appearing in the Palmyra (N.Y.) Courier of April 16, 1959, entitled "Local Physicians Recommend Modern Sewage Disposal":

LOCAL PHYSICIANS RECOMMEND MODERN SEWAGE DISPOSAL

Three local physicians have expressed their opinions on the desirability of early construction of a modern sewage disposal system for Palmyra.

Dr. William Braell stated:

"I have been requested to express my views in regard to the proposed sanitary sewer system for Palmyra. Most people will agree, I think, that a safe, efficient and trouble-free system for disposing of our sewage waste is a crying need in our community now. As Palmyra grows, this need will become more pressing and even more obvious than at present. To me the advantages so far outweigh the objections that there seems little reason even to debate the subject. Both as a physician and as a private citizen I am wholeheartedly in favor of installing such a

"Naturally, as a physician, I am more interested in the health advantages than the The credit esthetic value of a sewer system. for the declining death rate and the greater longevity in our country is due as much or more to the work of the sanitary engineers as to medical progress. The elimination of the appalling epidemics of typhoid, dysentery, and cholera is more a credit to those who built systems to provide sanitary drinking water and sewage disposal for the home than to medical progress in curing these diseases. It is far better, far easier and far safer to prevent disease than to cure disease once it strikes.

'Have you ever asked yourself where our waste goes? True, it drains into a septic tank or cesspool and finally leaches into the soil, but this is not where it stays. Eventually this water, contaminated with the viruses and bacteria from thousands of toilets, finds its way into the brooks and creeks which form the natural drainage of the landscape. Some of this water even finds its way back into our own homes—or has your cellar never been flooded?

"Our children play in these waterways.

Yet here are fertile breeding grounds for

mosquitoes and sources of contamination for flies once the fish are killed by the poisonous wastes. It seems a pity to try to protect our little ones from polio, etc. with inoculations and then to leave cesspool drainage, contaminated ponds and the like where flies and insects can pick up diseases

for transmission to other people.
"All the above seems to me so obvious that it hardly bears repetition, and I think very few people would attempt to dispute these facts. The one objection which continually recurs is that of cost. The initial cost of a sanitary sewer system will be at least partially offset by the increase in property value and by the permanent elimination of installation of septic tanks and cesspools as well as of the recurrent expense and nuisance of their repair, cleaning and servicing. Consider, too, that regardless of what such a system costs today, it will cost even more next year and still more the year after that. In another 10 years the cost of installation for the same system may well be double what it is today. I think that a sewage system for Palmyra is inevitable. If we do not install one voluntarily now, we may be compelled to do so later on when the market is even less favorable.

"Unfortunately, today, as in the past, we can't get something for nothing. I believe we must consider the cost of a sewer system in the same fashion as we consider expenses for food, clothing, and shelter, and the funds to maintain our schools, police and fire departments. These are expenses for necessities, not for luxuries. Other communities smaller and poorer than our own have built theirs. Why cant' we?"

The following article prepared by Dr. George M. Avery, expresses several good reasons for positive action by Palmyra in obtaining adequate sewage disposal:

#### "PALMYRA'S GREATEST DEFICIT

"The term 'excreta' is collective and is applied to both human feces and urine. These discharges have a direct relationship to health for the following reasons:

"(a) Several different types of infective agents leave the body by this means, from which they may be carried to other persons by the agencies of contact, contamination of water supplies with excreta, and by the contamination of house flies with excreta.

"(b) In addition, lack of care in the collection and removal of these discharges will give rise to collections of decomposing organic matter about habitations, which are exceedingly offensive to the senses. In other words, it then constitutes a nuisance.

"The necessity for these methods has arisen from the extreme congestion of urban's population which characterizes the present era. Urban sewer systems were originally devised for the removal of storm water and ground water, not for the removal of excreta. Thus not until 1815 was fecal matter permitted in the sewers of London, in 1833 in Boston, and in 1880 in Water closets as we know them date from the report of the English Health of Town's Commission in 1844 and were not connected with sewers until 1847.

"While difficult to prove, the odor pervading the atmosphere of a warm summer's night in Palmyra, is highly suggestive of the inadequacy of waste disposal in this community.'

Dr. James D. Bramer expressed his views on the advantages of a modern disposal system as follows:

"As health officer of the village of Palmyra, I wish to comment on the excellent informative article which Edward Dickinson so conscientiously presented to us in last week's edition of this paper. It is certainly a revelation that the opportunity to correct our present unhygienic, unsanitary makeshift sewage system is now at hand. I hope everyone will foresee the advantages that a modern, up-to-date sewage system will offer Palmyra. Until the installation of the system is a reality, we cannot truly call our village of Palmyra progressive, and if not done now this village will revert backward another 20 years."

## Address by Hon. Frank Coffin at Bates College Commencement Exercises

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, in 1940 one of the summa cum laude graduates of Bates College was Frank Coffin. Last Sunday, the same Frank M. Coffin, our good friend and colleague who so ably represents the second district of Maine, returned to his alma mater and delivered the address at the commencement exercises.

In this speech, Mr. Coffin took a long look at the era ahead for the class of 1959, and presented not only to those graduates but to all of us a challenge to meet the needs of citizenship in the next decades and a reminder that progress does not just happen because of some predetermined law of nature, it is the hard work of individuals.

I commend the following thoughtful remarks to my colleagues:

LOOKING FORWARD

(An essay dedicated to the class of 1959)

In 1887 Edward Bellamy wrote a minor classic "Looking Backward." In the form of a novel describing life in the year 2000, it was at heart a work of social criticism aimed at looking backward to the injustices and waste of the 19th century industrial revolution.

For Bellamy, looking forward to the year 2000 was an ingenious way both of describing how he thought society ought to be organized and of criticizing the times in which he lived.

For you to be looking forward to the year 2000 is not an exercise in philosophy, in literature, or in social criticism. It is a mandate of common sense. At that magic bimillenial year your class will have reached the average age of 60. You will be at the peak of your powers, responsibilities, and influence. For 40 years you will have had more and more to say about what kind of families, communities, States, Nation, and world would exist in 2000 A.D.

That historic New Year's Eve could be an occasion for justified rejoicing over progress in the arts of peace; it could be an occasion for melancholy regrets over missed opportunities; and it could merely signal another orbit of the sun by the earth, noticed but little by the vestigial remains of life on a blighted planet.

Those of us destined to live and serve in these mid-century decades envy you. All I can do is to wish hopefully that, as an interested octogenarian, I can share in your rejoicing. I would like to think that shortly after midnight on January 1, 2000, I could turn off my TV by remote control, sip a dram of vintage 1959 champagne, say a heartfelt "well done," and get back to my desk to write my final speech for the June Primary election.

THE MYTH OF AUTOMATIC PROGRESS

Although I would have you look forward over the next four decades, I do not propose to waste your time in speculating what life will be like. Edward Bellamy showed that prophetic intuition is not a reliable indicator. His world of 2,000 had long been run on a giant credit card cooperative basis, where money was known, where all citizens served in the industrial army according to their skills, where communities were served by one giant supermarket and one communal dining house. Indeed, Bellamy's vision was something akin to that of Lewiston merchant Bradford Peck, set forth in his book entitled "The World a Department Store." These were really not so much utopian as myopian. Variety is still the spice of life.

If the intuition of reflective man is no sure guide to the future, what about the tools of economic analysis and statistical projections? Cannot they outline the face of the future, particularly the future of the next 40 years? An object lesson in the fallibility of prophecy is a heavy tome, of prophecy is a heavy "America's Needs and Resources," published in 1947 by the 20th Century Fund. Its goals were modest; Merely to predict our growth in resources and needs as far as 1960, a 13year period. Equipped with trained economists, statisticians, census figures, trends, and charts, it predicted that by 1960 our population would reach 155 million and our gross national product would be \$202 billion. Actually, our population is already 175 million and will be 180 million by 1960. while our gross national product will soon pass the \$500 billion mark.

When we ask why it is that our shafts fall so wide of the mark, our answer is found in the very last, humble sentence of this great statistical volume. As the authors lay down their charts, adding machines, and slide rules, they say, "In the last analysis, it is people who make progress."

In short, there is nothing automatic about progress. It is people who are responsible for progress. What this Nation will become in the next 40 years is not in the books. A small part of it is in this place, now. It is in you and your contemporaries throughout the land.

Perhaps the most dangerous myth that faces us is this myth of automatic progress, the comfortable conviction that destiny is on our side, that a government of the people, by the people, and for the people cannot perish from this earth.

There are three reasons why this myth might be acceptable to your college genera-tion. The first is simply that our history has been one of almost continued success. the Athenian democracy went into an eclipse after about the same length of time as we have been a Nation, but that example seems so remote and unreal. The second is that your generation has not known the Great Depression or the Second World War, when automatic progress and victory were by no means taken for granted. Finally, you entering the adult stage at a period when the American people have been yielding to their sense of weariness of conflict, crisis, discipline, and sacrifice. You have come of age in a period characterized by an almost frenetic pursuit of happiness. This has happened to us with almost cylical regularity.

As we entered this century, we had two decades of ferment, the years of Teddy Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson; these were succeeded by a decade of repose after World War I; then came two decades of convulsive action to combat depression, to fight a great war and a small one; finally, a decade of release from the colled spring of public crisis, a decade of concentration on one's job, and home, and family. For you the decade was one of immersion in your high school and

college experiences. You cannot be justly blamed for thinking that domestic repose and tranquillity is the permanent posture of our national life.

#### THE EDGE OF AN ERA

The greatest danger facing you is to assume that our country will grow, act, and be as it should, without effort on our part beyond tending to our own affairs. The greatest opportunity facing you is to sense that you are on the edge of a new era, an era that may not see the swing of a pendulum between action and repose, an era of continuous challenge to citizenship.

It will be an era which will demand citizenship in depth from all our citizens, and particularly those who have had the benefits of exposure to a college education. By "citizenship in depth" I mean that concern for the public weal must no longer be an outer garment which one puts on for PTA meetings, political elections, United Fund campaigns, but that it must enter even into the fabric of private life, the choice and content of one's career, one's values and goals.

THE NATION'S NEED FOR A NEW CITIZENSHIP

What we need most of all in these next 40 years is a new dedication to citizenship based on a realistic recognition of the material, intellectual, and spiritual needs of this Nation.

If once we recognize these basic needs, what is required of us will be more clear.

We should recognize that by the year 2000, we in the United States shall be perhaps 300 million in a world of 6 billion.

We should recognize that by the year 2000 we shall be ever more dependent on other nations, many of them governed by dark or yellow skinned peoples, for critical natural resources.

We should recognize that the year 2000 will see many other nations competing with us in the markets of the world for capital and consumers' goods. Our ability to compete and prosper will depend on the perceptive forecasting of markets, increasing our productivity, and engaging in commercial enterprise with the utmost vigor and resourcefulness. We shall never again have the world's markets to ourselves as we did after World War II. The ages of political, economic, and psychological colonialism will be relics of the past.

We should recognize that we cannot, in such a world, afford a schoolroom shortage, a lack of effective teachers, and a waste of trained and educated manpower, because of our unwillingness to provide education calibrated to the character and ability of our young people.

We should recognize that we cannot afford to waste or jeopardize any natural resource, whether it be timber, soil, water, food, or space for outdoor recreation.

We should recognize that we cannot afford, either at home or abroad, to allow people needlessly to be sick, diseased, or to die prematurely.

We should recognize, finally, that we cannot afford to have less than our best men and women in public office nor less than our best efforts put into deciding who shall serve us and to what ends.

THE REQUIREMENTS OF CITIZENSHIP IN DEPTH

Perhaps it is unrealistic to think that the new citizen can gear his life to the demands which will be made on this Nation in the years to come.

I do not think so. I think that the satisfactions of citizenship in depth far outweigh the sacrifices.

Before stating what these are, let me hark back to the kernel of truth which Edward Bellamy saw in his book 72 years ago. He pointed out that our Nation, in moments of crisis, when it was a question of dying for it, depended on other motives than

higher wages and the accumulation of wealth. It depended on honor, and the hope of men's gratitude, patriotism, and the inspiration of duty. And it was never let down. Is this, then, a unrealistic hope, that men and women will respond to their highest motives through decades of crisis when peace, progress, and justice lie in the balance?

If it is an unrealistic hope, then such colleges as Bates have existed in vain and the liberal arts values are structures of straw. Being of a third generation Bates family, you will forgive me for assuming that this is not so.

The new citizen will be characterized, not by a definition, but by a commitment. At some point he or she will say this: "These are times of greatness. The largest of issues are being decided. I want to play my part." In revolutionary times this is the spirit that made a man drop his hoe and grab his musket off the mantle. In complex times such as ours it is difficult to distinguish the hoe from the musket. Each one of you must make that decision himself. The important thing is that the decision be made.

The decision is made when a young man or a young woman sees his or her career against the background of the life and needs of the times. A trade, a business, or a profession becomes then not merely a means of making a living, but the best way in which one can serve the vast and complex society of man.

This kind of decision can be dismissed as hopelessly idealistic—except that it has been made by countless citizens in depth within my personal acquaintance.

There are doctors in Maine who practice profitably and well, who also devote many hours a week to bringing better medical care to our rural communities, to pioneering in problems faced by the aged, to the kind of work that cannot be measured in currency or time.

There is the talented lawyer devoting his energies to this Nation's intelligence efforts at far less compensation than he could earn in private practice. There is the able lawyer in private practice who devotes half of his time to the defense of liberties and rights, where the possibility of injustice exists, to the individual, or in legislation aimed at chipping away the Bill of Rights, the constitutional powers of the Supreme Court, or the Federal system itself.

A young scientists, content by nature and training with a job challenging his own skills and judgment, gropes to better the organization of this Nation's scientific effort and step uncomfortably into the political arena—at some personal risk—to prove his point.

There are businessmen who have made a citizenship commitment at home or overseas, venturing capital, ideas, and orders to test new human relationships and new markets so that private enterprise may take root in alien soil.

The teacher, the administrator, the agricultural expert, the public health officer, had to make a commitment to citizenship on the grand design before he took his family to some uncomfortable far-off post.

The Madison Avenue man, whom we are apt to look upon as one whose profits are measured in the quick turnover of ideas, made a commitment when he took the time to create word and picture images which would sympathetically portray American life to other peoples.

There are politicians I know who do not content themselves with safe positions on controversial questions. They have taken most seriously the function of the educator, appealing not to the lower common denominator among us, but raising our sights to a better understanding of national and international needs.

THE SATISFACTION OF THE NEW CITIZENSHIP

If commitments of this nature were made by an increasing number of the class of 1959 and succeeding classes, the pace of the United States would be significantly changed. The face of history itself would be altered.

The making of such commitments would imply that security and wealth had become less than your primary goals in life. With minimum security becoming more routine and wealth more rarely achieved, neither status will be the hallmark of success it once was. It would become quite irrelevant whether you had the latest model of car each year, a swimming pool, your dreamhouse, or a country-club membership. You might not be able to retire as early as others, but the last thing you would want to do would be to retire. Our most important measuring device would no longer be the comfort index.

Your satisfactions would be those of service, creativeness, and craftsmanship. Your service would be not only to your fellow citizens but to all members of the world family, not only to those living in this century but those who will follow. When I talk about the satisfactions of service, I am not talking about feelings or expressions of gratitude by others. The currency of gratitude is fluctuating and uncertain. The satisfaction lies rather in the feeling that one's life is spent in a large cause, larger perhaps than self, family, nation, and generation.

The satisfaction of creativeness comes when one puts together bits and pieces of the past within the framework of his own intuition and experience and comes up with something new, a new way of making, a new way of doing, a new way of using or making available to those in need, a new way of saying what needs to be said.

Even when flashes of creative inspiration are denied us, we all have the constant opportunity to be craftsmen. The craftsman has a sensitivity about his objective, the materials at hand, and how to use them most skillfully to gain the objective. To be a craftsman is to approach one's job and one's life with the consistent attitude of doing one's best.

The credo of craftsmen has nowhere been better expressed than by the contemporary dean of judicial craftsmen, Judge Learned Hand: "Whether it be in building a house, or in planning a dinner, or in drawing a will, or in establishing a business, or in excavating an ancient city, or in rearing a family, or in writing a play, or in observing an epidemic, or in splitting an atom, or in learning the nature of space, or even in divining the structure of this giddy universe, in all chosen jobs the craftsman must be at work, and the craftsman gets his hire as he goes."

These, then, are the rewards of citizenship in depth: Service, creativeness, and crafts-manship.

## IS IT ASKING TOO MUCH?

It is one thing to chart the outlines of a more deeply rooted commitment for citizenship. It is quite another thing to predict that such a new citizenship on a large scale is probable or even possible.

One thing, however, we can predict. We can look forward to continued prosperity and progress in a world where free nations are in the ascendancy only if the public well being is foremost in the minds of citizens. Not foremost because of requirements imposed from without, but foremost because of concern generated from within.

A new era of citizenship, new levels of civic responsibility, new values and goals of living—these are much to ask.

But, after all, a millenium comes only every 1,000 years. How few there are chosen to usher one of them in. May I be the first to wish you a happy new millennium.

## The American Veterans Committee Platform on International Affairs, 1959

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the American Veterans Committee held its 1959 convention May 15-17, at Sackett Lake. Monticello, N.Y. I wish to congratulate Mr. Mickey Levine, of New York, upon his election as national chairman of AVC.

In keeping with its objectives of achieving a more democratic and prosperous America and a more stable world, the American Veterans Committee formulated and adopted forward-looking platforms in the fields of international affairs, national affairs, and veterans' and Armed Forces affairs.

As a member of the national advisory council of AVC, it is my pleasure and privilege to submit for the RECORD the international affairs platform of the American Veterans-Committee adopted at the 1959 convention:

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS PLATFORM OF THE AMERICAN VETERANS' COMMITTEE, ADOPTED IN CONVENTION MAY 15-17, 1959

1. The American Veterans' Committee has as its central concern a more stable world. But a stable world is not an unchanging world. The first requirement for American diplomacy is that it identify itself sympathetically with those changes that can lead to greater freedom from want and from fear-

2. We believe that our Nation's security requires continuous collaboration between the United States and other countries for the preservation of peace, the improvement of living standards, and the enjoyment of personal liberties. At the same time, just as the welfare of the American veteran depends upon the health of the whole American community, so does the welfare of the American community depend upon the strength and solidarity of all nations that are or aspire to be free.

Moreover, the standing of the United States abroad will in great measure be determined by what we do within our country. Specifically, the military capacity to resist aggression, whether nuclear or conventional, wherever and in whatever form aggression may occur, is the indispensable foundation of a successful foreign policy.

Such a foreign policy also demands that we produce and develop those goods, services, and new ideas which will satisfy essential domestic needs and the greater needs of less-privileged peoples. The present rate of U.S. economic growth is inadequate to meet these needs.

And, finally, no foreign policy will be persuasive for the other peoples of the world if Americans continue to permit racial and religious discrimination in political, economic, and social activities in our own country.

3. For some years past the foreign policy of the United States has been limited to "holding the line" against aggression. From the adoption of the United Nations Charter to the end of the Korean conflict the United States led the world in combating the economic conditions that lead to war. More recently U.S. foreign policy has been very largely one of reaction to Communist initia-

tives rather than affirmative action of our own. The result has been that during periods of relative calm we have done little or nothing to solve basic problems and have been forced to face them at times of crisis when solutions were difficult, if not

impossible.
4. Too often our foreign policy has not been sufficiently attuned to world realities and our Government has been unwilling or unable to anticipate things to come. Often Americans have been preoccupied with the menace of communism to the exclusion of all else, and our leaders have shown neither the imagination nor the daring to risk new approaches to peaceful settlements. The assumption of our foreign policy has been that if the status quo vis-a-vis the Communist world can only be preserved long enough, the Communist world will collapse under the weight of its own injustices and inconsistencies. The history of recent years demonstrates the futility and danger of that assumption.

5. The continued presence of unemployment and the misunderstanding of the econòmic necessity for high taxes, the weakening of our competitive advantage in world markets, the failure of the Government to move on domestic social and economic reforms, the preeminence of nuclear armaments in thinking about national security and the unreasoning acceptance of fallacious notions of racial supremacy, may give rise to a new withdrawal from world responsi-bility by the United States. But the isolationism to which they may give rise can only harm the United States. For isolationism has become an impossible doctrine in every sense-economically, politically, and technologically.

6. Yet, how ever interdependent the world has become through technology, it remains sharply divided in a variety of other ways. On one level, it is split among the Com-munists, the anti-Communists, and those who are neither. We are obliged to recognize the differing demands that each of these worlds makes upon U.S. foreign policy and to recognize at the same time the di-Vergent interests within each world.

There is first of all the Communist challenge. It requires that the military defenses of the non-Communist world be made progressively stronger and more flexible. We hope, however, that the leaders of all nations are aware that in this nuclear missile age the avoidance of war between major Powers has become an essential. The controlled reduction of all armaments and the abolition of atomic weapons must continue to be a central objective of U.S. policy—a disarmament which is reliably policed and enforced. Meanwhile, we cannot in safety discount the influence of Sino-Soviet military power and the threat of blackmail implicit in that power.

8. At the same time, greater emphasis should be given by the United States to diplomatic initiatives, which demonstrates our Nation's unflagging interest in achieving a more peaceful, free, and prosperous world. Our governments should, for example, press forward with a program through which all peoples may benefit from the peaceful uses of atomic energy. We believe, further, that the Sino-Soviet challenge at this point is a challenge to the Western World's capacity to associate itself constructively with the struggle of nations, in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East to raise their living standards and to achieve a democratic

society.

9. We welcome the interchange of persons between the United States and Communist states and hope that the present exchange program will be considerably broadened. also recognize that high-level discussions between leaders of the western great powers and those of the Soviet Union may be of value in clarifying their respective positions and diminishing international tensions over areas which are their special concern. But we point out that they do not have either the right or power to determine by themselves how the rest of the world shall be managed. It is essential that our Government form its foreign policies in concert with all It is essential that our Government our friends so that at all times there shall be the widest possible consensus on how best to deal with threats to peace and freedom.

III

10. This brings us to America's relations with its allies. We believe our Government should think and act on the realistic basis of cooperation between consenting partners. This requires a sharing of decision-making between the United States and friendly governments on problems which directly affect their interests. And this applies not only to Western Europe but to Latin America and elsewhere. If division and discord among non-Communist nations is a prime Sino-Soviet objective, and we believe it is, the closing of ranks and the building of confidence among non-Communist nations should be a prime objective of U.S. policy. The American Veterans Committee supports measures which promote the unity of the non-Communist world through political consultation, the lowering of trade barriers and in certain instances the pooling of ideas and resources for mutual benefits and the active fostering of the European Common Market, the free trade area, and the budding Latin American Common Market.

11. Then there are our country's relations with those nations described as neutralist or uncommitted. We believe that the United States has much to learn from as well as give to the peoples of Asia, the Middle East, Latin America and Africa, and that underdeveloped areas can be helped to progress along their own lines of development. diplomacy which succeeds with these many races and histories must be sensitive to local traditions, aspirations and material needs. Foreign economic assistance, technical cooperation and long-term loans repayable at low interest rates all on a scale far beyond that presently in effect—are required from the United States in order to remove dangerous inequalities of opportunity, as well as to counter enterprising Sino-Soviet trade operations in these areas. Wherever feasible U.S. economic assistance should be channelled

through the United Nations.

12. Nor should we expect in exchange for such assistance that less developed nations will approve of U.S. foreign policies or that they will spurn whatever assistance may be offered them by the Communist world. Our government cannot command cooperation; it can only encourage it by respectful, generous and continuing interest in the rapid development of those countries. velopment should have high priority in our national thinking. For we know that if present trends continue, despite assistance presently being given, the gap between the industrialized nations of the West and the under developed regions will become wider, not narrower. And the Communist world, pointing to the rapid technological advances of the Soviet Union and Communist China as examples, will do all it can to convince the underdeveloped nations that progress demands the kind of collective organization championed by communism. The alternative path to progress, one consistent with free association and humane values, must be made to work.

13. The American Veterans Committee supports the peaceful settlement of international disputes and a strengthened United Nations. But the peace for which we work, like the disarmament we seek, will not come from capitulation to aggressive threats; it will come from courageous, intensive effort to harmonize the positive purposes of the United States with the needs of the world at large.

14. Finally, the prime task of nations in this second half of the Twentieth Century is to find a method of banning war. Both the United States and the U.S.S.R., regardless of which may have the preponderance of power, are now capable of destroying each other as well as scarring all humanity on this planet for all time to come. All nations must find the means somehow of surmounting the barriers of ideology, mistrust and past errors on both sides so that the prophecy will be realized: Neither shall man know war any more."

## An Anniversary Tribute to Hon. Robert F. Wagner, Sr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, many of our colleagues in both the House and the Senate may recall that today would have been the birthday of one of New York's most beloved Senators, the late Robert F. Wagner. Senator Wagner was the father of New Yorks' most respected present mayor, the Honorable Robert F. Wagner, Jr., who has just reason to be proud of his father. Were the late Senator alive today, I am certain he would be just as proud of his son who appears to be following the excellent example set for him.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include an editorial which will appear today in the East Side News, a local publication circulated throughout the 19th Congressional District of New

AN ANNIVERSARY TRIBUTE TO HON. ROBERT F. WAGNER, SR., MEMBER OF U.S. SENATE, 1877 то 1953

## (By Abraham Schlacht)

The Nation pauses on Monday to honor the memory of the birth of a great American, the late U.S. Senator Robert F. Wagner. It does so, because of his many contribu-tions to the Nation's growth and because his life affords a constant inspiration to the people of our land.

Born of God-fearing parents, this intrepid son of New York, a German immigrant and product of the East Side, through his sheer will and strength of intellect coupled with his high concept of honor and humility, has written his name and fame across the fleshy tablets of our hearts

His life with all its varying vicissitudes is a reminder that only in America a humble beginning is no deterrent to one's success. Indeed, many of our great men and women spent their youth under such circumstances.

His life is a great unfolding of the growth of a man achieved through self-discipline and self-teaching. His was a personality that comes all too rarely in the life or our His was one devoid of brusqueness, affectation or arrogance, but who possessed such qualities as graciousness, kindness, and sympathetic understanding of other people's problems.

In all the things he did, the sacrifices he , made, in his devotion to every trust to him by our State, we find the exalted example

to which all public servants may go for in-

struction and guidance.

Let us turn back the pages of history and behold the record of this American whom we pause to remember. We see a man who came to our shores, an immigrant lad who worked his way in the face of many obstacles, financial and otherwise, through City College and the New York Law School. We see him rise step by step from assemblyman, State senator, Supreme Court Justice, member of the Appellate Division to U.S. Senator, the highest elective honor which our people can bestow upon a foreign-born citizen.

To his everlasting credit he initiated the National Emergency Relief Act and the Un-employment Relief Act which later became the basis for the Social Security Act, as well as the railroad pension law and the National Labor Relations Act. He introduced and developed the widows pension law and the minimum wage and hour bill for women and children. He was hailed as labor's great emancipator, and was decorated by Pope Leo XIII for his humane services to the oppressed and underprivileged.

Wagner loved America, its in-Senator stitutions, its ideals and traditions.

And loving her, he served her unselfishly. To America, he owed all. To America, he gave all.

He took his successes in stride and with modesty. He took his failures and disappointments serenely, and philosophically. He looked upon life as an arena in which to enhance our American way of life.

He met every major issue fearlessly throughout his long and turbulent public career. And when he felt that he had won his many legislative battles and skirmishes. he retired, and then returned his warrior's helmet and shield without blemish.

Yes, his place in history is secure. legislative achievements, his fidelity to our Nation's best interests, his simplicity and gentleness of character will ever be enshrined in our hearts as a great American and a great statesman.

#### A Switch

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I have asked consent to insert in the RECORD a telegram I have today received from the president and secretary of the South Da-kota Stockgrowers Association, which met in its annual meeting last week.

The reason I have asked to insert this telegram in the RECORD is because it is a complete switch from the ordinary messages coming to a Member of Congress. This telegram asks that the appropriation for one of the very important programs to the stockgrowers of South Dakota and the Nation be reduced. Until more groups and associations assume that attitude, the national debt limit, which the President was forced to ask Congress to increase again today, will climb steadily higher year by year, and as it goes up, the value of the American dollar will go down correspondingly.

The telegram to which I refer reads as follows:

Be it resolved, That the South Dakota Stockgrowers Association request the conference committee of the Senate and the House on the agriculture appropriation bill to reduce the funds made available for the brucellosis eradication program from the \$17½ million requested by the Senate to not exceed the \$15 million as originally passed by the House.

Passed unanimously as a special order of business by the general assembly of the South Dakota Stockgrowers Association on June 4, 1959, at Rapid City, S. Dak

SOUTH DAKOTA STOCKGROWERS ASSOCIATION, LOUIS BECKWITH. JACK MCCTILOH

#### Bitter Root To Be the Guinea Pig Again

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, it is unfortunate that programs which are set up for the good of the entire country can end up doing more harm than good. But this is what has sometimes happened in the programs to control the harmful pests of our Nation's forests.

The programs have removed the harmful pests but, at the same time, they have removed many desirable animals. In fact, sometimes they have destroyed more than they have saved. As an example of the excesses that occur. I would like to include an editorial from the Hamilton, Mont., newspaper, the Western News, entitled "Bitter Root To Be the Guinea Pig Again."

BITTER ROOT TO BE THE GUINEA PIG AGAIN

Knowledge that the Forest Service is again about to tamper with the balance of nature and endanger another part of the Bitter Root fisheries cannot fail to cause consternation among Ravalli County people.

In 1955 the Forest Service engaged in a

spraying project which wrecked the greater portion of the upper East Fork for trout fishing. It had been one of the outstanding trout streams of this area. While fish are again beginning to reappear there in numbers the marvelous fishing of yesteryear is now but a memory.

The Forest Service announcement that

particular care will be exercised by the fivboys in spreading the poison from the clouds is good news, but whether such care, even if diligently practiced, will prove practical with good spraying practices is another matter.

The Forest Service this year plans to spray poison from the clouds on other streams than the one it ruined in 1955. In another section of this newspaper the reader will find an article in which the areas to be sprayed are delineated. Some of them are also fine trout fishing streams. If they are poisoned so that the fish and aquatic life therein is also poisoned, considerable loss will be felt in this valley.

The project is the dream of some entomologists of the Forest Service into whose hands has been dumped a quantity of Federal coin which they must expend in spray-ing. There are some Montanans who entertain much doubt as to whether it is wise for their regions to be used as guinea pigs in the experimentation by these folks bent upon proving their nostrums.

The theory is that unless the heavens are loaded with poison which descends upon the earth beneath, that beetles will destroy great values in spruce and perhaps other timber. There still is to be proved that the spruce will be saved by this wholesale aerial polson-ing. But while engaged in proving it these experimenters with life itself are going to slaughter fish, birds, bees, and unnumbered species of insects, some good and some bad.

Even if the poison can in some way be dropped from the sky so that it will not hit streams and lakes there remains doubt of the efficacy of the spraying and also doubt as to whether it might not do more harm than good-even if the fish are not included

in the calculation.

It seems to me that it would have been far better to have taken a chance on Nature clearing up the trouble caused by the bettels, gamble upon the timber loss, than to risk our great recreational potential of the Bitter Root Valley. The money expended, although considerable, is not going to do the Bitter Root much good. Most of it will go for purchases of gasoline and poison and services beyond the Bitter Root horizon. Those who clip the profits will have their task done and will have decamped before the summer is gone. Bitter Roots will remain at home to harvest the whirl-

Of even more concern to us ought to be the fact that we are treated as simple pawns in this spray-merchandising game. Outsiders determine the fate of our locality and we have not a word to say about it. about home rule, grassroots control, State's rights; we have none of it. We are simply going to take what the authorities deal out for us. There seems to be no recourse. Some bureaucrat decides what is correct and proper and laces the corset upon mankind and pulls the strings tight. It would seem that the decent thing to do after the 1955 experience would have been to have a public hearing on so controversial a matter. I am not so sure the smart boys in the laboratory. reading their textbooks and trying out their poisons in their test vials, necessarily know

Before the medicine is proved let the ex-periments be localized and their efficacy demonstrated beyond doubt. It would be better not to be the guinea pig. For my money I would prefer to spray the entomologists and keep the fish. Meantime I hope that since we are going to get the does, without even being asked if we want it, that the flyboys can hit their targets and will keep the poison out of the lakes and creeks as promised. If they don't I'm not sure we should not locate and old rail and use it the next time any Forest entomologist comes into the Bitter Root.

Resolution for Establishment of a Food Stamp Plan by City of Detroit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I am inserting into the Appendix of the RECORD & resolution adopted by the Common Council of the City of Detroit on June 2. 1959. The subject of the resolution is 3 matter of great interest to me; in fact, I have introduced H.R. 5191 which provides for the establishment of a food stamp plan for the distribution of surplus food commodities to the needy in the United States.

The resolution follows:

Whereas the city of Detroit, since January 1955, has been engaged in distributing surplus food commodities to needy citizens, including not only families receiving public assistance but other needy individuals; and

Whereas in the month of April 1959 the city distributed 490 tons of surplus foods to 46,530 families, representing 164,419 persons;

Whereas it is reported that approximately 12½ percent of the labor force of the Detroit area is still unemployed, evidencing the continuing acute need among our citizens; and

Whereas this common council has adopted resolutions urging the expansion of the distribution of foods to needy persons and urging the reactivation of the so-called food stamp plan, similar to the plan in effect in the years 1939-1943, which would eliminate the present complicated, cumbersome and costly plan of distribution: therefore, be it

Resolved, That this common council urges the adoption of a program which would provide for (1) the transfer of this activity from the Department of Agriculture to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare; (2) the expansion of food distribution to the needy, and (3) the distribution of surplus food commodities through the normal channels of business through the medium of a food-stamp or coupon plan; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to members of the Agricultural Committees of the U.S. Senate and the House of Representatives, and the Members of the Michigan delegation to Congress,

## Henry Ford Museum and Greenfield Village

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JOHN LESINSKI

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 20, 1959

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker, this fall will mark the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Henry Ford Museum and Greenfield Village by Henry Ford in Dearborn. One of the outstanding tourist attractions in my district, the museum and village contain originals and reproductions of historical significance. The following article from the May 20, 1959, issue of the Dearborn Press gives an excellent description of the exhibits you would see if you were to visit the museum and village:

MUSEUM, VILLAGE FOUNDED BY FORD 30 YEARS
AGO

Thirty years ago this fall, the late automotive pioneer, Henry Ford, founded Henry Ford Museum and Greenfield Village. He was busy at the time putting the world on wheels, an achievement to always make his name remembered.

But while making industrial history, he also was starting to preserve it—to save a peaceful, tranquil America that was being changed by Ford and his model T.

Since then, the generous slice of three centuries of yesteryear preserved by Ford has grown in historical importance until today it is one of the Nation's top treasures of

Americana and also an outstanding tourist attraction. Nearly a million visitors annually are drawn to Dearborn by the museum and village.

So, while Ford changed the face of America with his Model T, he also saved for all time the America that was replaced, and there is little doubt that for this, future generations also will remember him.

Located on Oakwood between Rotunda Drive and Michigan, Greenfield Village covers 200 acres and the adjacent museum an additional 14. The museum entrance, a replica of Independence Hall, has been a Dearborn landmark for three decades.

Ford had the original in Philadelphia copied, even to include what appeared architectural errors. Flanking Independence Hall are reproductions of Congress Hall and the Old City Hall in Philadelphia. These and connecting areas stretching across the entire museum front afford more than 100,000 square feet of space which house the decorative arts collections.

Beyond spans the main exhibition hall, with a street of 22 early American shops—agricultural, power, communications, and

transportation displays.

Inside the main entrance is the cornerstone, a glass-covered slab of cement dedicated on September 27, 1928, by Thomas Alva Edison. The great inventor, a lifelong friend of Ford, inscribed his name, the date, left his footprints, and thrust the spade of horticulturist Luther Burbank into the wet cement, symbolizing the union of agriculture and industry.

Ford used this unique cornerstone for a centerpiece and the museum now extends in three directions.

Ford expressed his aims for the village and museum:

"When we are through, we shall have reproduced American life as lived; and that, I think, is the best way of preserving at least a part of our history and tradition."

a part of our history and tradition."

In the museum's decorative arts galleries, the visitor sees chronologically the whole development of American furniture and decorations from the Pilgrim century to the 20th, period by period and style by style.

In the street of shops, the first such major installation in an American museum, visitors see how crafts, industries, and trades of the late 18th and 19th centuries were practiced. These include candles, drugs, guns and locks, millinery, violins, carpentry, pewier, tailoring, and barbering.

Since agriculture is the basic, most important, and one of the earliest activities of mankind, the exhibits in the main exhibition hall start with the development of agricultural implements, from the crudest plows to harvesters and steam tractors. The agricultural section also includes more than a score of late 19th century portable steam engines.

Into the power section, Henry Ford funneled nearly every conceivable type of steam, early gas, and oil engines. The grandfather of all steam engines, an English 1750 atmospheric pumping engine designed by Thomas Newcomen, towers over its more familiar descendants. Many pieces of this engine are original and were carefully disassembled, piece by piece, numbered, brought to Dearborn, and reassembled.

The latest and also the largest engine, a gas-steam combination powerplant of 6,000 horsepower with a 7-foot stroke, weighs 1,-500,000 pounds and was used until 1928 in Ford's Highland Park Plant, where the model T was made.

In all, nearly 100 engines trace the development of power production from the Newcomen and James Watt engines up to the present day. Most are in running condition.

The museum has the most comprehensive electrical exhibit to be found anywhere. It portrays the history of generators, motors, electric lighting, telephone, telegraph, radio,

and even the early beginnings of television in the 1930's.

The transportation section comprises the largest portion of the main exhibition hall. Here are more than a hundred horse-drawn vehicles, rows of bicycles, automobiles, airplanes, and locomotives.

Nearly 175 steam, electric, and gasolinedriven vehicles trace the history of the automobile. The earliest is an 1863 Roper steam buggy; the latest, cars of the thirties and early forties.

The aviation section includes early gliders, World War I trainers, the multi-engined monoplanes that carried Rear Adm. Richard E. Byrd to the North and South Poles, the German monoplane that made the first westward Atlantic crossing, an autogiro and Vought-Sikorsky helicopter of 1941.

On parallel railroad tracks stand 12 fullsize steam locomotives, ranging from a replica of George Stephenson's 1829 English Rocket through the 1831 DeWitt Clinton and Civil War types to a 600-ton Allegheny of 1941, one of the largest steam locomotives ever made.

For a ride through Greenfield Village, the outdoor counterpart to the museum, we can climb aboard a horse-drawn carriage.

This peaceful community of yesterday, with its 100 17th, 18th, and 19th century homes and workshops, was named for the township of Greenfield near Dearborn where Mrs. Henry Ford was born and raised.

Foremost among the buildings dramatizing the life and times of Henry Ford is a simple farm homestead where he was born on July 30, 1863. Nearby is a small brick shed, known as 58 Bagley Avenue. It stood at the rear of one of Ford's early homes in Detroit and it was here, in 1896, that he built his first automobile, or as he called it a quadricycle.

Other buildings associated with Ford include the grade schools he attended, now utilized in the village school system which runs from kindergarten through the sixth grade; the Magili and Grimm jewelry stores where as a youth he earned small sums for repairing watches; and the Edison Illuminating Co. where he worked for 8 years as an engineer.

The memory of Ford's good friend, Edison, is kept alive in the Menlo Park, N.J., laboratory where Edison worked for a decade starting in 1876. On the second floor of the laboratory Edison developed some of his most important inventions, including the incandescent electric lamp and the phonograph.

The other buildings in this group, all enclosed by a white picket fence, are an office and library; carpenter work shed; a carbon shed, where kerosene lamps were kept burning to accumulate lampblack for his electric lamp experiments; a wooden shed for glass-blowing; and machine shop.

Nearby is the Sarah Jordan boarding house, where some of Edison's bachelor assistants lived. It became the first private home in the world to be lighted by the Edison electrical system. Beside it is Edison's Florida laboratory, built in 1884 at Fort Meyers, his last workshop and winter head-quarters for 40 years.

Other buildings in the village associated with Edison are Smith's Creek depot, where young Edison was ejected from a Grand Trunk train after a chemical he was using dropped and set fire to a baggage car; the homestead of his grandparents, from Vienna, Ontario, where his parents were married; and a building used at West Orange, N.J., his place of research following the decade at Menlo Park.

In the Greenfield Village craft shops, skilled artisans carry on trades long since passed from the American scene.

The Loranger gristmill, for example, operates just as it did in the 1830's, at Monroe, Mich., and turns out a superior brand of

whole wheat flour, cornmeal, and buckwheat flour using the old buhrstone method.

Textile methods of 200 years ago may be seen in the Plymouth carding mill from Plymouth, Mich., near Dearborn.

The first powered silk mill in America, from Mansfield, Conn., still operates today nearly as it did in 1810.

Glassblowing, almost a lost art today, is practiced in the Sandwich glass plant, restored with portions of an 1825 plant from Cape Cod, Mass.

In the tintype studio, the visitor may have a tintype portrait taken, just like his grand-parents, using all the old-time props—head rests, posing chairs, and even a derby hat.

At the 19th century blacksmith shop, sparks fly and the anvil's ring is heard for some distance away. The fire in the forge keeps glowing red by air forced from the bellows pumped by the smithy with one hand. Once an American community landmark, the stone building stands in the shade of a spreading chestnut tree as did the one made famous by poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.

In the pottery shop, a craftsman fashions bowls, vases, and other clay utensils, depending for the most part upon the skill of his hands as he turns the object on a potter's wheel,

The oldest craft shop in the village is the two-man Kingston Cooper shop, moved here from Kingston, N.H., where it was erected in 1785. Using the schnitzelbank, or shaving horse, and other hand tools, the cooper built watertight hogsheads for commerce, barrels for shipping fruits or vegetables, buckets for maple sap and wooden pails for every home.

The Village Green is flanked by public buildings, just as in communities a century ago. At the head is the Martha-Mary Chapel, named for the mothers of Henry and Mrs. Ford, of colonial-classic architecture. the steeple is a bell cast by the son of Paul

Other buildings surrounding the green are the Clinton Inn, first overnight stagecoach stop on the Detroit-Chicago route; Waterford General Store, still stocked with just about everything in family needs as in 1854; the Logan County Courthouse, from Lincoln, Ill., where Abraham Lincoln as a young lawyer tried cases: a school and a town hall.

Lincolniana in the Logan Courthouse includes the chair he sat in the night of April 1865, when he was assassinated in a Washington theater.

A picturesque covered bridge, among the last in the United States, was named for Joshua Ackley, a farmer, and once stood over a branch of Wheeling Creek in southwest Pennsylvania. It was built in 1832.

Just over the covered bridge, before the carriage enters the residential section, is the stately Susquehanna House.

For three centuries, the Susquehanna House stood on a high bluff overlooking the junction of the Patuxent River and Chesapeake Bay, about 90 miles south of Baltimore. Erected in 1652, its first owner was ChrisCharles II.

Oldest American home in the village is the Plympton House, built by Thomas Plymton in the mid-17th century at Sudbury, Mass. Small in size, measuring about 16 by 30 feet, the home is typical of the colonial period. One room served as a combined living room, bedroom, and kitchen, with extra sleeping room upstairs.

A Cape Cod windmill stands majestically Built in the late 17th century, it is nearby. generally believed to be the oldest still existing in the United States. Octagon-shaped and shingled, with stone foundation, its giant wood sails measured 54 feet across.

Further along, the large, gray Secretary House was built in Exeter, N.H., in the mid-18th century by a wealthy sea captain. Its name came from its next owner, Joseph Pearson, first secretary of State of New Hampshire.

The next home was built in 1822 in New Haven, Conn., for Noah Webster, the lexicographer. The large, yellow, multiroomed home contains a sound-proof study upstairs where Webster finished his monumental dictionary.

A red farmhouse from Lancaster, Mass.,

was the birthplace on March 7, 1849, of Luther Burbank.

Reminiscent of folk song composer Stephen Collins Foster, a white frame cottage stands on a high bank with the rear of the house overlooking a lagoon. The house was built about 1830 in Lawrenceville, Pa., on land once owned by the father of the composer. The home contains many Foster family heirlooms.

Below the Foster Memorial, the colorful. whistle-tooting Suwannee helps recapture the early American steamboat scene. Patafter a sternwheeler that once terned cruised the Suwannee River of Foster's song, the boat now carries visitors around a circular lagoon and is one of the village's most popular summertime attractions.

A simple, one-room log cabin that once stood in Washington County, Pa., was the birthplace Sept. 23, 1800, of William Holmes McGuffey of school textbook fame. Ford used and admired the McGuffey readers.

#### CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

#### CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

topher Rousby, collector of customs for King LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law. but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department; bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section re-lating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

#### GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer, plus 50 percent: Provided, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

#### RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the Congressional Record is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Raymond F. Noyes is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the Record at \$1.50 month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

#### PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the Congressional Record, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

# Appendix

## The Spirit of Resistance Behind the Iron Curtain Is Very Much Alive

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON, LYNDON B. JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, 4 months ago, on February 16, I had the privilege of making on the Senate floor a statement on the occasion of commemoration of Lithuanian independence. In the statement, I referred to the continuous struggle of the Lithuanian people against their enslavement by the Soviets, in violation of international agreements and human decency.

It gives me a great deal of pleasure today to extend my remarks of February 16 by the inclusion of new evidence confirming the existence of unrelenting opposition to the present regime in Soviet Lithuania.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an article prepared for publication by Dr. Albert N. Tarulis, juornalist and author, a member of the staff of the Library of Congress, and formerly a professor at Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Dr. Tarulis, quotes official statements in the Communist-controlled newspapers and furnishes the proof that the Soviet puppets in Lithuania are facing effective resistance on the part of the most active element—the writers, particularly those who grew up under the present regime.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SPIRIT OF RESISTANCE BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN IS VERY MUCH ALIVE

Boris Pasternak has been vociferously denounced by the Soviet Lithuanian writers for his Nobel-prize novel, "Dr. Zhivago." This has also been true of the whole of the Soviet Union where everything is directed from the central point—the Kremlin.

The 3d Congress of Soviet-Lithuanian Writers, held in Vilnius, the capital, recently, furnished a convincing proof, however, that their sympathies lay with Pasternak and the ferment had been going on there long before the excitement created by Pasternak. A perusal of the mouthpiece of the Soviet-Lithuanian Writers' Union, Literatura ir Menas, tells the whole truth.

In his long statement before the Congress, President of the Writers' Union A. Venclova was unable to conceal that the wave of revisionism had swept Lithuania. It had arrived, he said, from Poland, by way of the revisionist press and radio, and produced, several untoward reactions.

Revisionist writers began insisting on their unrestricted right to depict the life as they saw it. And what they saw was only the

dark side of it, as dark as Dr. Zhivago's life. They refused to be mere varnishers of the presence and follow the party's line without criticism.

In their attempts to get around strict censorship, the writers left no door untried. If the party-controlled literary journal, such as Literatura ir Means or Pergale, rejected the manuscript, they went to the state publishing house and sometimes had more luck. As a result of these efforts, there appeared in print several short stories, critical essays, and books that caused the Communist masters' wrath and bitter denunciations at the Concress.

Those who could not break through the censorship obstacles chose to avoid the so-called socialist realism and began writing about love, the beauty of nature, and other such romantic subjects. "Art for Art's Sake" became their motto. The forbidden trends of decadency, pure esthetism, formalism, and symbolism received currency again. Sympathies for modernism became apparent. Marxist ideology was forgotten or renounced outright.

Other revisionist writers took another step and started openly glorifying the heroic past of the Lithuanian Nation and presenting in favorable light the life during the brief independence period. The class struggle was shelved, giving way to the literary treatment of the so-called bourgeois-nationalist ideals. Some writers went as far as to vilify and deprecate all written in the spirit of Socialist realism by those obedient to the party. This ought to be no surprise in view of

This ought to be no surprise in view of the fact, mentioned during the congress, that only 30 percent of Soviet-Lithuanian writers are Communists. The overwhelming majority are either indifferent or opposed to communism, waiting only for an opening to smuggle in their antiparty ideas. The congress furnished the proof they were highly successful.

highly successful.

Antiparty bourgeois-nationalist tendencies found support among the professors of Lithuanian literature at the University of Vilnius. They refused to grant recognition to writers seeking party's advice on what and how to write and extolled pre-Soviet writers as true nationalists and Lithuanians. Russian and Soviet influence upon them was disclaimed. Purists insisted on cleansing the language infested with Russian barbarisms and party phraseology. The opposition to all Russian was actually so manifest at the congress that the presidium dared not to bring up the need of imitating the big brother.

The results of this concerted action came repeatedly into open during the congress. The writers who were called on the carpet refused to admit their wrongdoings. Moreover, they found new supporters, who took the floor to defend them.

The revolt was brought into evidence by the refusal to reelect former chairman of the writers' union, Stalinist A. Venclova. His place was taken by a younger writer who had proved in the past that he is an independent thinker.

The Soviets had never been able to conquer the minds of the Lithuanian people.

The Third Congress of Soviet-Lithuanian Writers has brought forth a proof even to those who had stubbornly refused to believe in it.

The wave of intellectual freedom is already pounding the Kremlin's gates. The just-

ended congress of Soviet writers' union ousted its First Secretary Aleksei A. Surkov, a foe of liberalism in thinking, a partyliner, and a man who led the campaign against Boris Pasternak. The latter's lifelong friend, Konstantin A. Fedin, was elected in Surkov's place.

These are unmistakable signs that the spirit of resistance behind the Iron Curtain is very much alive.

#### End the Controversy-II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. J. GLENN BEALL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, on June 27, 1958, I inserted in the Record an address delivered by Walter L. Fowler entitled "End the Controversy." This address concerned the relationship between the District of Columbia and the Federal Government.

On June 5, 1959, Mr. Fowler delivered another address on this subject entitled "End the Controversy—II."

I ask unanimous consent that this address, delivered before the bankers convention in Hot Springs, Va., be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

END THE CONTROVERSY—II
(By Walter L. Fowler)

Senator J. Glenn Beall of Maryland, on June 27, 1958, inserted in the Congressional Record (p. A-5854) a speech which I made at Georgetown University on June 18, 1958, entitled "End the Controversy." The controversy referred to began with the creation of the seat of Government at Washington and has centered around the sums of money to be appropriated by the Federal Government as its share of the expenses of the city. In view of the critical financial crisis now confronting this Federal City, I offer for those who are willing to give serious though to this subject, "End the Controversy—II."

It would be impossible to estimate the time, labor and thought put into this subject over the years. In addition to volumes of debate in the Congress, many congressional and departmental investigations of our fiscal relationship have been made. The end of all investigations has been continued debate and controversy. Our friends in the Senate and House are no longer interested in the same old arguments and, in their apparent frustration, seek something new. Examine, if you will, Mr. RABAUT'S report from the Committee on Appropriations in explanation of the bill making appropriations for the District of Columbia for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1960. Instead of the \$32 million requested, the committee recommended \$25 million as the Federal payment which was 25 percent above the amount appropriated for 1959. This committee knew our needs and it was friendly to the District of Columbia. It had a problem that I, as budget officer, appreciate. It had to justify its action for the increase. On page 3 of the House report, we see how an attempt was made to do so. The committee applied a very interesting formula. An estimate was made of the amount that would be payable as taxes if the Federal, foreign governments, and miscellaneous properties were taxable, with an increase of 9 percent resulting from the reassessment program.

The Commissioners, after noting their appreciation for the increase, assert that this is not the proper basis for limiting the amount of the Federal payment and argue that if the Federal Government were taxable as a private business, it would probably pay total taxes of about \$56.2 million.

I made reference to formulas in the speech of June 18, 1958, and in a statement before the Senate Subcommittee on Appropriations in 1954. Senator Overton's formula, Senator O'MAHONEY'S formula, and others were discussed.

In my opinion, as of this date formulas of the types suggested are not the answer, and will never be satisfactory.

It is interesting to reflect upon the Commissioners' statement that they consider the Federal Government as its major "industry." Some have wondered why large industry did not center in this city in the days when plenty of farmland was available. I recall working for a short period of time in the great steel plant on the now Bolling Field site in 1914. This was large industry. The steel plant was producing shells for the great European nations. In that same year, Senator Gallinger (whose name was associated with our city hospital) told the world: "We discourage all efforts to establish manufacturing establishments here. Many such attempts have been withdrawn upon representations that some of us have very urgently made." In the same year, Congressman Borland, most interested in District affairs, said: "It is entirely unlikely that Congress could tolerate manufacturing districts here, with the massing of industrial population, the danger of strikes, boycotts, lockouts, etc."

The purpose always has been to maintain this as a governmental city—the center of the Nation's artistic, literary and scientific life. The Federal Government, therefore, is

our major industry.
In the 1959 "State of the Nation's Capital," the Commissioners recommended that the Congress adopt a policy in these words:

"That it is hereby declared to be the policy of the Congress, in exercising its exclusive legislative authority over the District of Columbia, to provide financial support, over and above that which can be derived from taxing District residents and businesses at rates comparable to those of surrounding communities, to the extent necessary to make the District a modern, attractive, and efficient community that meets the requirements to be the Capital of the United States."

If the Congress does not want to adopt this as policy, then let it be adopted as a formula. I have long since come to the conclusion that it is the only sound formula.

Some of our learned friends are prone to shy away from "new ideas" on this subject. We hasten to say that the idea is as old as the city and that this perfect formula was first recommended 84 years ago.

On July 19, 1913, two newly appointed civilian Commissioners took their oath of office-Oliver Peck Newman and Frederick Lincoln Siddons. Mr. Newman was elected president of the Board and remained as its president until October 9, 1917. Commissioner Siddons served about a year and a half. He was appointed to the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia and there served for many years as one of our outstanding judges.

In January of 1915 a young man by name Louis Brownlow took his oath of office as a Commissioner.

When Commissioner Newman departed, Commissioner Brownlow became president of the Board and served in that capacity from October 9, 1917 to September 17, 1920. It was in October 1917 that I entered the District service.

In 1915 the then Commissioners were dealing with a budget amounting to \$10 million. on a 50-50 basis; \$5 million from the taxpayers and \$5 million from the Federal Govern-That's the way it had been from the beginning of the Organic Act of 11, 1878 which provided for a 50-50 ratio in defraying the expenses of the District government and that's the way it continued until 1921.

The controversy had reached new heights irritation and vexation in the year of 1915 and Congress found it necessary to appoint a joint select committee to investigate the District-Federal relationship. That committee, in my opinion, conducted one of the most revealing, interesting and historical investigations ever to be held on this subject. The following statesmen conducted the investigation:

Senators: William E. Chilton, West Virginia; Willard Saulsbury, Delaware; John D. Works, California. Representatives: Henry T. Rainey, Illinois (later Speaker of the House); Warren Gard, Ohio; Henry Allen Cooper, Wisconsin.

This was a most distinguished group, all able men enjoying the confidence and respect of their coworkers

Never in the history of this city did there ever appear a more brilliant array of wit-They were not pygmies on stilts who paraded as giants, but giants in intellect well fortified with historical facts and figures and capable of presenting them in a most forceful and persuasive manner.

Some knew the city in Lincoln's day. Some knew the men who composed the Levy Court and the Board of Public Works. Some knew the creators of the Territorial government and the men who created our present municipal structure in 1878.

There were two opposing forces.

One group was led by Henry Brown Floyd Macfarland who had been President of the Board of Commissioners for 10 years. His chief counsel and principal speaker was Col. A. S. Worthington, one of Washington's most noted lawyers, then well over 70 years of

The other group was led by the two civilian Commissioners of the District of Columbia, Oliver P. Newman and Louis Brownlow. Their principal supporters were Justice Siddons who served as a Commissioner of the District of Columbia for some 18 months; and Senator Joseph Blackburn, father and sponsor of the Organic Act of 1878.

The issue was: Shall the half and half principle be repealed?

Now for the big surprise. It was the Commissioners of the District of Columbia who were opposing the 50-50 division of

I quote a few sentences from the long argument of Commissioner Brownlow:

"I do not believe it is possible so to divide those functions of the District government as to say: This service shall be paid for wholly by the National Government; that service shall be paid for solely by the taxpayers of the District and the other services shall be paid partly by the Federal Government and partly by the District government.

"I do not believe it is possible to arrive at an equitable proportion by the process of

treating the holdings of the Federal Government as private property and exacting from the Federal Treasury a contribution which would equal the amount of taxes levied upon the Federal property as if it were in private ownership. Neither do I believe that an equitable proportion can be stated in terms of percentages.

"Under the plan that I propose, the plan that was proposed 40 years ago by Senator Merrill, there would be no contribution of the Federal Government to the expenses of the District of Columbia, but all these expenses would be borne by the Federal Treasury, and the only contribution would be the contribution of the local taxpayers toward meeting the Federal expenses.

"If we could get away from this half-and-half idea, get away from the notion that there is a division of interest in the District of Columbia, get rid of this arbitrary rule, we would have Congress consider the needs of the National Capital as it considers the need of any other national enterprise, and there would not enter into the congressional mind at any time the suggestion that perhaps the Federal legislature was granting an unjustifiable subsidy to a favored municipality."

Justice Siddons, in part, said in reference to the 50-50 principle:

"My own conclusions based upon observation of its operation over a considerable period of years with a brief official connection with the administration of District affairs as a Commissioner for some 18 months, is that the repeal of the 50-50 plan is eminently to be desired in the interests both of the people of the District of Columbia and the great legislature which enacts our laws. It has been forever the cause of irritation and vexation. tI has seemed to me that it will never be possible to frame legislation that will really be permanent in its character which proceeds upon the theory of a partnership between the local taxpayers on the one side and the Federal Government on the other. I find no warrant for such conception in the act of 1878 which established the socalled 50-50 principle."

Senator Joseph Blackburn (father and sponsor of the act of 1878 when he was chairman of the House District Committee) served for over 30 years in the House and Senate. He appeared and gave testimony to the point that conditions in 1915 were different from conditions in 1878 and that he was against the 50-50 principle.

The defense of the 50-50 principle was mostly founded on the fear that if it were abolished Congress would not do its duty toward the District.

This great debate started on October 20 and ended November 16, 1915.

The committee rendered a unanimous

report. One of its members, however, Senator John

D. Works, prepared a 20-page report of his additional views which give a very interesting picture of conditions existing here in 1915. In part, he said as follows: "Nothing can be more further from the

truth (that there is two distinct governmental organizations in the District responsible for the District's administration).

"The District is the Capital of the Nation. Congress is by the Constitution given complete and exclusive jurisdiction and control over it. Being exclusive, this power cannot lawfully be delegated to another municipal organization or body. In fact, none of the jurisdiction or power has been delegated to the District of Columbia.

"It is a nominal municipal corporation only, without officers, without authority, and without any function whatever to perform as such. The so-called District officers are appointed by and are in fact the officers of the National Government. It can make no laws

but is governed wholly by laws enacted by Congress. Its treasury has no existence in fact. It has no money and no power to collect any. Its nominal officers, who are in fact officers of the National Govrenment, are only instruments of the Government for the levying and collection of taxes from property owners within the District. It cannot make appropriations or pay any of its expenses. The money collected as taxes, from property owners is not paid into the treasury of the District, because it has none, but into the National Treasury. It is not paid out by the District, but by the Treasurer of the United States upon the order of Congress.

"The title to some of the property in the District is held in its name, but the property belongs to the Government and is held by the District as a mere naked trustee with-

out power or control over it.
"In short, the nominal municipal corporation of the District of Columbia is a mere shell, without any authority, power, or responsibility, and without any of the attributes or functions of a municipal govern-It is worse than that. It is a delusion and a snare.

"It has led the people of the District to believe that they have a local government that is some shield and protection to them as against the power of Congress, and at the same time has led some Members of Congress and people outside of the District to believe that the National Government can divide the responsibility of maintaining, building up, and beautifying its own Capital with such a local government. The situa-tion is wholly misleading and hurtful.

"The District of Columbia never has been liable for any proportion of the expenses of the District and never can be, properly.

"Its nominal officers, who are in fact officers of the Government have collected taxes from private individuals within the District and paid them into the National Treasury without any responsibility or liability of any kind on the part of the District as a municipal power or entity. Obviously, therefore, the real and only possible question is not what the proportion of the expenses of the District shall be paid by the District of Columbia, but what proportion of such expenses to be paid by the National Government shall be raised by taxation of the privately owned property in the District."

The full committee reported, in part, as

"We find after a most careful consideration of all the evidence and circumstances as shown to exist at this time that there is no reason for any arbitrary rule of proportionate contribution for the expenses of the District of Columbia by the residents thereof and by the people of the United States who reside outside the District of Columbia; that the correct rule should be that the responsibility in taxation of the residents of the District of Columbia be as fixed and certain as the responsibility of the residents of other American cities comparable with the city of Washington, that with the payment of such taxes as may be equitably and properly assessed against privately owned taxable property, the financial responsibility of the residents of the District should be concluded; that the present assessment valuation of privately owned real estate in Washington is fair and reasonable; that the sum of money collected as such taxes be paid into the Treasury of the United States there to be incorporated into a trust fund for the benefit of the District of Columbia, and the revenues thus collected be expended in the District of Columbia, and for no other purpose; that the United States pay from its moneys all the balance of whatever sum is deemed necessary to appropriate for the proper municipal ex-penses of the District of Columbia after consideration of the reports and estimates of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia

and the needs of said District; and as a conclusion, which should be of the greatest weight, we urge upon Congress that its appropriations for the expenses of the District of Columbia should always be in such sum as will not only continue the city of Washington and the District of Columbia in every respect as the splendid and beautiful central residence of this great Nation, but also cause it to become and be forever maintained as a model for all the cities of the

What more could the Congress seek? It had a most distinguished joint committee and a thorough investigation. It had a unanimous opinion. Why not eliminate this irritation, this endless controversy?

The Commissioners should give the greatest city council on earth their best thinking as to the needs of the city without reference to funds. The Congress, which is exclusively responsible to all the people, can determine each year, if necessary, the fairness of our taxes and then appropriate for the kind of a city it wants.

Anything other than this is pure fiction.

## Prospects for Expansion of Pulp Industryin Pacific Northwest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, many of us from the Pacific Northwest look forward to the establishment in our region of a great pulp and paper industry to utilize scrub-timber species which are not presently being tapped.

For example, great blocs of timber on the Klamath Indian Reservation are presently for sale, on a sustained-yield basis. It is our hope that a pulp industry can thus be established which will stabilize sawmill and lumber production.

An example of what a thriving pulp industry can mean to an area was presented in the New York Sunday Times of June 7, 1959, in an article describing the expansion in northern British Columbia, in Canada, of activities of the Columbia Cellulose Co. near the seacoast community of Prince Rupert. I myself have visited this operation personally with Mrs. Neuberger. We have seen it bring prosperity to an area a thousand miles north of Portland, Oreg. We recommend it as an example to our own State of Oregon and to the neighboring State of Washington.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that the article from the New York Times of June 7, by John J. Abele, entitled "New Roads Spur Timber Project," be printed in the Appendix of the

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW ROADS SPUR TIMBER PROJECT-4.5 MIL-LION PROGRAM GIVES ACCESS TO RESOURCES OF UPPER BRITISH COLUMBIA

#### (By John J. Abele)

Tall timber is where one finds it. If it happens to be in far northern British Columbia, 600 miles north of Vancouver, it takes

a bit of doing to convert the timber into useful products.

That has been the experience of the Columbia Cellulose Co., Ltd., which recently began a log drive down the Nass River, one of Canada's longest rivers.

The company's logging crews sent rafts of spruce, hemlock, and balsam, each carrying about 1 million board-feet of timber, on the way to the company's pulp mill on Watson Island, near Prince Rupert, 100 miles away. There they will be converted to pulp, which will be converted later into synthetic fibers and plastics.

The start of the log drive represented a major achievement for Columbia Cellulose, an affiliate of the Celanese Corp. of America. It has been carrying out an extensive \$4,500,-000 road-building program over the last 2 years to gain access to the vast timber resources of upper British Columbia.

Columbia Cellulose has a perpetual forest management license for 750,000 acres of timberland in the area, a tract about the size of Rhode Island. The timber is being cut on a sustained yield basis; that is, growth of new timber equals or exceeds the amount harvested. The long-range nature of the proposition is indicated by the fact that the growing cycle for the trees there is 80 to 100

#### ROADBUILDING BENEFITS

Aside from assuring the Prince Rupert mill of regular supplies of pulpwood, the roadbuilding program has had a number of side effects. These range from the prospect of a land route to lower Alaska to more stable lives for members of the company's logging crews. It also has provided access to civilization for the few settlers of the region, who formerly fished or farmed in near isolation.

The road program also has extended the working season in the vicinity, since it permits access to areas that can be worked only in certain seasons. Some sections are too swampy in summer but can be worked in winter when they freeze. Others are snowbound in winter but can be worked in summer. According to T. M. Beaupre, president of Canadian Cellulose, crews can now operate the year around, with practically no loss of work because of weather conditions.

The Prince Rupert mill turns out about 400 tons of high-grade pulp a day. It is shipped to the Edmonton, Alberta, plant of the Canadian Chemical Co., Ltd., another Celanese affiliate, and to Celanese plants in this country. Part of the production is sold to other processors and to export markets.

Columbia Cellulose entered the region about 12 years ago. Logging operations began 2 years later in preparation for the opening of the pulp mill. At first, timber harvests were confined to coastal areas. Then the crews moved up the valley of the Skeena River to Terrace, about 100 miles from the coast, with the timber being shipped back to Prince Rupert by rail.

In time, however, the company found it necessary to begin cutting on the larger tracts to the north. The road-building program began in earnest with a road from race to the Nass River, 80 miles away, which had to be good enough for trucks, cranes and other heavy-duty logging equipment. It is one of the best in the territory.

So far, Columbia Cellulose has built about 125 miles of main roads and branches and about 200 miles of access roads to timber stands. Much of the roadway passes through rugged beds of centuries-old lava flows, which had to be chopped away and the rocks used for fill for road embank-The main road reached Aiyansh, an Indian village on the Nass, last fall and logging operations began in order to have timber ready for the start of the 6-month driving season in May.

From Aiyansh, the road will be extended south 20 miles to tidewater. Then it will push northward up the valley of the Nass River. Unlike the more shallow-banked Skeena, the Nass affords good floating conditions for logs. It takes the rafts about 3 days to reach Prince Rupert, where they are sorted, cataloged and stockpiled.

Mr. Beaupre says the company has no idea of how many miles of roads it will have to build to exploit fully the area. "Our license is in perpetuity and we'll be building roads in perpetuity," he comments.

#### ROADS A BOON

The logging roads have been a boon to the Indians and farmers who live in the area. They formerly had to make arduous overland or water journeys to reach Prince Rupert. Now, in newly acquired cars, they make the trip in a few hours.

The northward march of civilization also is having a profound effect on the character of logging camps. In the old days many loggers spent the winter in Vancouver and other coastal towns, drinking up their summer wages. Now, most of the loggers are settled family men who go home for dinner each night. Instead of rough bunk houses, they live in neatly tended homes, whose diaper-be-decked wash lines are symbols of the new domesticity.

The company welcomes and encourages the family-type logger. He is assurance of a steady labor supply and also spares the company the difficult and costly job of recruiting out-of-town loggers and transport-

ing them to the cutting sites.

## Action of Polish-American Congress of Eastern Massachusetts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. WILLIAM LANGER'

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, a document indicating recent action taken by the Polish-American Congress of Eastern Massachusetts.

There being no objection, the document was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### CASE FOR POLAND

The Polish-American Congress of Eastern Massachusetts held a patriotic meeting in historic Faneull Hall in Boston, Mass., commemorating the adoption of the third of May Constitution of Poland. This bill of rights, proclaimed in 1791, was the first democratic constitution to be adopted by any European nation. A glowing tribute was paid to the authors of that constitution and to Poland. Realizing the present tragic national and political situation of Poland, the assemblage unanimously voted that:

Whereas the United States of America and the Western Powers agreed to come to the defense of free Poland in 1939; and

Whereas at no time was there a question that this aid was only against Germany; and

Whereas this did not exclude the defending of Poland against Russia; and

Whereas Stalin's cunning and treacherous maneuvering had confused the West so as to have the Western Powers thrust aside into oblivion the cause of free Poland; and

Whereas Poland was betrayed by her allies, who consented to cede to Russia half of Poland's territory and place the rest of that country under the occupation and domination of the Soviets; and

Whereas Poland lost more than 6 million people on the battlefields, in gas chambers, and forced labor camps and in the prisons in Germany and Russia Siberia:

We therefore call upon the United States of North America and the Western Powers to liberate Poland from foreign domination as solemnly promised in 1939; and

We further ask that our country and the Western Powers recognize the present boundary line between Poland and Germany as permanent, and the Oder-Neisse border as inviolate; and

We also demand the return of the territories taken by the Soviets in 1939 and which were ceded by the Yalta agreements.

We finally plead that inasmuch as the Western Powers are responsible for the presence of the Russian troops in Poland, that they request that the Soviet troops be withdrawn from Poland immediately.

Democratic Poland has faith in America. Poland places her hope in the leadership and statesmanship of the United States of Amer-

ica.

JOHN J. TWAROG,
President, P.A.C., City Councilor,
Salem, Mass.
Rt. Rev. Ladislaus A. Sikora,
Honorary President, P.A.C.
JOHN SIDERSKI, Secretary, P.A.C.

## Address Delivered by Mrs. Katie Louchheim, Vice Chairman, Democratic National Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, Mrs. Katie Louchheim, vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee, delivered a message to a luncheon sponsored by Colorado's Jane Jefferson Clubs on May 16, 1959, which summarized concisely why so many of us are Democrats—and proud to be Democrats.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of Mrs. Louchheim's address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPEECH BY MRS. KATIE LOUCHHEIM, WASHING-TON, D.C., VICE CHAIRMAN, DEMOCRATIC NA-TIONAL COMMITTEE, AT THE FOURTH ANNUAL SEMINAR LUNCHEON OF COLORADO FEDERATION OF JANE JEFFERSON CLUBS AND WESTERN STATES DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE, COSMO-POLITAN HOTEL, DENVER, COLO.

Every time I attend a Democratic gathering like this one, I think how lucky we are. We have everything a political party could possibly ask for:

We have ideas on any subject you want to mention from the cold war to atomic testing, to water conservation, to urban redevelopment to space exploration.

We have outstanding leadership beginning with that priceless diamond jubilee veteran Harry S Truman, who is a matchiess blend of wisdom and fighting spirit. We have a courageous and farsighted national chairman, Paul Butler, and more presidential timber than we can hope to chop before July 1960.

We also have what it takes to win. We have what the Republicans lack—and even admit they lack—and that is organization. Democrats are thriving from Florida to Alaska and from Maine to Hawaii. But most certainly the meeting here this weekend focuses attention on a particularly robust and progressive portion of our party—the increasingly important Western States.

Here in the West you delivered the knockout punch to the Republicans last fall. I don't think they've found out yet what hit

them.

It is only in recent weeks that they have been creeping out of the rubble of defeat and have begun to make noises like the living.

BARRY GOLDWATER—who is just about the only Republican west of the Mississippi who wasn't buried—says this was no earthquake, it was part of a long term trend for farmers, white collar workers, main street businessmen and even college graduates to switch from the GOP to the Democrats.

Now trend is a nice safe-sounding word. It sounds like you could stop a trend or start one yourself. It sounds like a do-tryourself trend kit would be on every Republican's list for Santa Claus. But, then, I guess the sole Republican survivor has to say something.

Anyway, the Republicans have set out to change their image. They have set up a committee on program and progress. This is like that scene in Alice in Wonderland where the Queen of Hearts orders her servants to paint all the white roses red.

There are a few Republicans who want to change more than the image. Red paint isn't enough for them. They want to rebuild. With all the conflicting opinions among the Republicans, what they build will probably turn out to look very much like a totem pole.

Like the primitive tribes who first built totems, these poles are designed to frighten away something. In this instance, it's bound to be the voters.

I mention all this because the contrast between the parties is so striking. I also mention it because in 1959 the Republicans do not look like very formidable adversaries—but watch out.

We could wind up like the zookeeper who, after years of effort, managed to cross a tiger and a parrot. Asked what had come of such a combination, the zookeeper replied shakily, "I don't know, but when he talks we listen."

I don't know what the Republicans may be building or painting or crossbreeding but I doubt if any of us want to be forced to listen for another 4 years

listen for another 4 years.

Here in Colorado, I see no signs of relaxation. All the outposts seem to be manned—or more important "womanned."

For all my years on the job, I have been a greaat admirer of the Jane Jefferson Clubs of Colorado. Here in this State the women's clubs have, in the span of 57 years, accomplished what often is never achieved. The women of Colorado have made the Janes an essential part of the party organization.

We have an alert Democratic businessman in Washington who's in the moving business. His name is Smith. Every hour on the hour he advertises on radio and TV—"Don't make a move without calling Smith." Here in Colorado no one—that is no one who is anyone in politics—makes a move without calling the Janes.

The Janes have long since come out of the political kitchen—thanks to their leadership, they're sitting at the policy table. I've always feit that a large part of the Jane Jefferson Clubs' success came about because of the excellent leadership available to the individual clubs as well as statewide.

And I think something might be said for "followership" in the Jane Jefferson Clubs and among Democratic women in general. There is nothing sadder in any organization than to find you have too many chiefs and

too few Indians. Because you're all politicians, I don't have to tell you what happens then.

Followership is a talent in itself. Without it there can be no successful organization of any kind. Every successful organization finds ways to reward followership as well as leadership.

I believe we Democrats are getting to be experts at recognizing followership. The Western States Conference is one good example, and the Jane Jefferson Clubs are another. They are organizations in which everybody can share by contributing ideas, opinions, and political work of all kinds.

I'm proud to be here today as a speaker at the Janes' seminar, among so many distinguished speakers. In choosing a topic, I tried to select one worthy of the occasion. And I decided to talk about the two questions most often asked of a person in my position. They are: "Why are you a Democrat? and How are the women of the Democratic Party doing?" I think they are both important questions to answer.

I suspect every one of us has no less than a dozen reasons—many of them highly personal—for belonging to the Democratic Party. I'm going to limit myself to 10.

1. The first good reason for being a Demo-

 The first good reason for being a Democrat is that the Democratic Party always' stands for the humanitarian point of view.

When we are for unemployment compensation it is not because we think of this as a way of circulating money—it is because it will help people. When we are for public housing it is not because we see a way to get more building contracts let—it is because it will give more people a better place to live. When we want to build a dam, it is not because we want somebody to make money selling the power that can be generated on the site—it is because it will prevent floods and hardship, because it will prevent floods and hardship, because it will provide electricity to make life easier for all kinds of people in cities and on farms.

The humanitarian point of view is our rule of thumb, and it is likewise pretty sound economics. Happy and prosperous people create markets. Therefore, the first question a Democrat asks is: "Whom will it help?" The first question a Republican asks is: "What will it cost?" That's the main difference between the parties and if it were the only one it would still be enough to keep most of us firmly in the Democratic Party.

2. This preoccupation with people leads us to the second reason for being Democrats. Not long ago I had the happy privilege of attending a testimonial dinner for Paul Butler in his home town of South Bend, Ind. Among the airport greeters was an important local businessman. He was our escort on the journeys in and out of town. Walking into the hotel he dropped his chamber of commerce air and said, "You know, I'm on hand to meet Republicans as well as Democrats—I have to be, but the Republicans never warm up. Democrats are different—even strangers are like old friends. I always wonder why."

So I told him why. You and I know it is because Democrats like people, all kinds of people—big shots and little shots and inbetween shots.

3. A concern for people is bound to generate ideas—new ideas, bold ideas. In this respect the Democratic Party literally holds all the patents.

Competition from the Republicans is never going to be very keen judging by a definition of regular and modern Republicans that is currently making the rounds. In case you haven't heard it, a regular Republican, it is said, is a person who does not believe in doing anything for the first time. A modern Republican is a person who does believe in doing something for the first time—but not now

4. We hear a lot these days from the Republicans about fiscal responsibility. And here is my point four for being a Democrat.

The Republicans talk about a balanced budget, a sound dollar and a stable economic future as if they had a monopoly on these worthy objectives.

What concerns Democrats—and most ordinary Americans—is not whether these goals are good but how we achieve them. A designation of where the finish line of the race lies does not put you across it.

When Democrats tackle fiscal problems they do not delude themselves by anticipating revenues for a given period and then cutting back vital measures to fit. Rather we want to expand the economy, thereby increasing Federal revenues to a point where we can provide for the schools, airports, and other development needed and still keep the public accounts in equilibrium.

The Republican approach to these problems is what I have always called penny wise and people foolish.

5. The fifth reason for being a Democrat is that we can be proud of the kind of leadership we have had during the century and a half our party has been in existence.

It is possible to imagine a Jefferson, a Jackson or a Wilson being as much a part of our party today as any of us. In every generation there have been outstanding leaders and if anything we are getting richer in leadership.

Today Democratic leadership spans the better part of a century. In the Senate we have both the oldest and the youngest Senator with nearly 60 years between THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN and FRANK CHURCH. In both youth and age we have men of great ability. Tonight you will hear one of the most remarkable men of the century—Harry Truman, who combines the old and the young.

I understand that this year Colorado celebrates its 100th anniversary. I'll be willing to bet that when it celebrates its 200th, people will still be talking about the irrepressible man from Missouri.

Next summer in Los Angeles we will be faced with the very exacting job of choosing among a great wealth of leadership for just one presidential candidate. I doubt if we've ever in our history as a party had such an embarrassment of riches. It almost makes you sorry for the Republicans having to choose between just a well-known millionaire and a well-known Cocker Spaniel fancier.

6. Certainly somewhere among the reasons for being a Democrat is the fact that we are a national party. As of today there is only one State in the Union (New Hampshire) where we haven't a Democrat on the congressional delegation, and only four States where there isn't either a Democratic Senator or Governor in office. And we'll take care of these in 1960.

Just the other day I read a newspaper story saying that it is absolutely impossible for the Republicans to regain control of the Senate in 1960. The story went on to point out that there would be 22 Democratic seats up, but that 11 of them would not really be contested. That would leave 11 seats that might be contested but most of them were so strongly held there wouldn't be much more than an outside chance of taking any of them.

On the other hand, there will be 11 Republican seats up in 1960 and practically every one of them could conceivably go Democratic. This includes one in Colorado and you and I know how that will go. You read this sort of story every time there is an election. Because the Republican Party is not really a national party it always starts with a handicap.

Because the Democratic Party is a truly national party, it makes very little difference where you live or where you move, you can be sure your vote will count. These are the big reasons for being a Democrat but there are some minor ones.

7. For instance, among Democrats there is a will to win that can't be matched. The landslide last fall brought into office a good many Democrats who had been trying for a long time to get elected. There was one Ohio congressional candidate in particular who was making his fifth try for a House seat. He took his cows to county fairs because he was embarrassed to go just as a candidate. Of course, after all these years, the Republicans were pretty well acquainted with him and they began to refer to him as a man with "detestable fortitude."

Now he's in office, I suspect it may take some "detestable fortitude" on their part to get him out.

8. Another thing I enjoy about being a Democrat is being surrounded by people who have a sense of humor. We can always laugh at ourselves.

Will Rogers once said he didn't belong to any organized political party, he was a Democrat.

Not long ago I heard a seasoned Democratic politician remark, "Democrats always put up a good fight in an election and just as good ones between campaigns. When we run cut of Republican adversaries, we can usually make do by picking on each other."

And finally, I quote a promiment Member of the Senate who likes to say: "There are two times to be generous in politics—when we win and when we're beaten. In one case there's nothing more to gain and in the other there is nothing more to lose."

As long as we can laugh at ourselves we will be protected from indulging in any outrageous political excesses.

9. Opportunity is never lacking in the Democratic Party. It is this wealth of opportunity that is particularly attractive to young people. Early this spring we set out to find the youngest woman in State legislatures. Connecticut immediately responded with a representative 25 and a senator 28. In no time at all the State of Washington countered with a representative 22. We're not about to close the books.

Not only is the Democratic Party the party of opportunity for young people, it is the party of opportunity for women. And this I would list as my 10th and final reason for being a Democrat.

Democrats have done very well in recognizing women. Women had a voice in the party before they had the vote. We have equal representation on the national committee (but Republican women don't), and we have equal representation on key convention committees.

Democrats have sent more women to the Congress than Republicans. Our score is 37 and theirs is 29. Outside of New England, the Democratic Party puts more women in State legislatures. Last fall we had 18 women running for statewide office on the Democratic tickets and we elected all but 3. The Republicans couldn't match that.

A number of our Democratic Governors have women in their cabinets and in other key posts in many States. Democratic women seem to have no trouble getting on county and city tickets. In fact, we can't keep track of all the officeholders at that level.

These are the 10 reasons why I'm a Democrat. I think they're all good reasons. The final reason brings me to the second question I'm so often asked.

That question deals with our political progress. Just how far, the inquiry goes, have women really progressed? Have they achieved political equality?

My answer is, Yes, we are gaining ground. The distance to equality is always shrinking.

Since both men and women are interested in closing the gap, over the years I have collected some "do's and don'ts" from both sides. For what they are worth, I pass them alone.

The advice men give women goes like this:

1. When in politics, do as the politicians do. Don't expect men to operate by one set of rules while you operate by another.

2. Don't nurse a grudge: never forget a favor—a simple, earthy, political version of

the Golden Rule.

3. Don't underestimate your own abilities. Don't wait to be asked. Getting into politics is like catching a husband—it's all in the illusion of who is pursuing whom.

The advice women give to men goes like

this:

1. Don't lump women. We're people. Some are leaders; others are not. Some want to go to the top; most want no more than to see their candidate win. Yet all women want to make a better world but every one of them has a different way of going about it.

Quit talking about our hats and concentrate on what's immediately under them.You'll discover brains have no sex.

3. Remember in this complex world, we'd like to bear our share of the responsibility.

Working with Democratic women's groups is a pretty fascinating business. You continually witness the political evolution of more and more women from the Parent-Teachers Association to the platform; from the garden club to the gavel holder. They are often reluctant to begin but once they do, they have boundless enthusiasm. It's global, it's even universal,

There's nothing they won't tackle. But it is hardly necessary to say this here. Who else has a better example of women at the summit of political achievement and durability than the Jane Jefferson Clubs?

All I need to say is congratulations, Janes.

Keep up the good work.

#### Grave Threat to Textile Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, the trade and foreign aid policies of the United States with respect to the subsidized exportation of raw cotton and the indiscriminate importation of finished textile goods are jeopardizing the continued existence of the American textile industry and threatening the jobs of the country's 1,919,200 textile workers.

Under present procedures foreign countries can buy surplus American cotton with borrowed American dollars 20 percent cheaper than it sells in this country and, taking advantage of wage rates which in many instances are onetenth or less of the American legal minimum and of virtually nonexistent tariff barriers, undersell comparable American textile products on the American markets. This situation will be materially worsened on August 31 when the export subsidy on cotton will be increased to 8 cents per pound.

A special subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce recently made an exhaustive study of the problem and, in an excellent report, recommended a 10-point program of help and relief for the textile industry. It is my earnest hope that Congress will take affirmative action on these proposals before the close of this 1st session of the 86th Congress.

The grave threat posed to the American textile industry has been graphically described in a recent statement by Hon. J. Craig Smith, president of Avondale Mills. I also treated on it in my weekly column of May 20.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Smith's statement and my column of May 20 be printed in the Appedix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statements were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AUGUST 31, 1959, WILL BE A CRUCIAL DATE FOR OUR INDUSTRY

(By J. Craig Smith, president, Avondale Mills, Sylacauga, Ala.)

On August 31, 1959, the export subsidy on American cotton will be increased to 8 cents per pound. The American cotton mill then will be in a completely unbearable situation unless at the same time there are definite limits placed on how much of this cotton can come back into the United States in the form of yarn, cloth, and garments.

Up to now, the principal reason our foreign competitors have been able to sell in this market is because of their very much lower wage rates. The products which have come in were those which had a high percent of labor in their total cost, such as fine combed goods and garments. With an 8cent cotton subsidy, the foreign mill will be able to ship heavy goods such as sheeting and denim into the United States based solely on the saving they will have in their cotton cost.

Anyone who feels that I may be overstating this situation need only look at the published figures of American textile companies, including Avendale. Our cotton cost is 50 percent of our selling price, on the average. This would be somewhat higher in our coarse yarn mills and somewhat lower in a mill like Birmingham. An 8-cent subsidy on cotton is equal to 25 percent of the cotton cost. With cotton being 50 percent of the selling price and with the foreigner having a 25-percent advantage in the cost of his cotton, it doesn't take a mathematical expert to figure that the foreigner can have a 121/2-percent lower selling price than the domestic mill. The advantage he has in respect to his lower wage rates is an additional advantage. The tariffs, which are based on the value in the exporting country, have been watered down to a point where they are hardly worth talking about. What little tariff is left doesn't come anywhere close to offsetting the wage advantage, so the cotton subsidy will be a net advantage to the foreign mill.

This subsidy to the foreign mill is being paid for by the American taxpayer, including those of us who look to the textile industry for our livelihood. To permit goods made from this subsidized cotton to come back into this country and take our markets is so completely unfair and unreasonable that we have difficulty getting our fellow citizens to believe that the situation exists. Surely on August 31, when the subsidy is to be substantially increased, limitations will be placed on how much can come back in. this is not done, it will not only wreck our industry but in the long run will defeat the purpose of the cotton subsidy, which is to reduce the surplus of raw cotton in the United States. Obviously, no reduction in raw cotton surplus will take place if the subsidized cotton exports are permitted to displace bales of cotton which would otherwise be used in American mills.

HERMAN TALMADGE REPORTS FROM WASH-INGTON

No other industry in the history of the world ever has been forced to compete for its existence under handicaps like those imposed on the American textile industry by this country's trade and foreign aid policies.

As the result of those policies, the industry's overseas competitors have the staggering advantages of being able to get their capital from the U.S. Treasury in the form of foreign aid grants and loans, to buy American surplus cotton with borrowed American dollars 20 percent cheaper than it sells in this country, to sell their finished products back to the American Government through so-called three-way deals under the foreign aid program, to learn American trade secrets and production know-how merely by asking, and, because American tariffs and quotas have been reduced so drastically, to undersell comparable American products on the American markets.

Those advantages are compounded by the facts that wage scales in many of the competing countries, particularly in the Far East, are one-tenth or less of the American legal minimum and that there are no bars in those countries to the imposition of working conditions which would be illegal

here in the United States.

It is small wonder in the light of those facts that the American textile industry has lost markets equivalent to 10 percent of the national production and that, since 1947, 717 textile mills have closed their doors and 345,000 textile jobs have been discontinued. It is a tribute to the vitality of the industry that its losses have been contained within those bounds.

From the things which have been done to the industry in the name of global goodness, it is no exaggeration to conclude that it is the actual, if not officially expressed, policy of the Government of the United States that the American textile industry is expendable and should be forced to help finance its own liquidation.

Fortunately, this plight has received recognition in a study recently completed by a Special Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce which, in its report, recommended a 10-point program of help and relief for the textile industry. Essentially, its recommendations entail more stringent import quotas, faster relief action under the Trade Agreements Acts, a better tax break particularly as regards depreciation and elimination of the two-price system on American cotton.

It is my resolute conviction that the American textile industry, as well as all other domestic industries, has a right not only to expect but also to demand that both Congress and the executive branch by statute and policy give it and the jobs of its workers effective protection from unfair foreign competition. For the sake of the one out of every three Georgians employed by the textile industry, it is my hope that Congress will act to give it relief and protection at this session.

## Commentary by Walter W. Heller on the Fortune Tax Series

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. EUGENE J. McCARTHY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed

in the Appendix of the RECORD a commentary on the Fortune tax series by Walter W. Heller of the department of economics, University of Minnesota.

There being no objection, the commentary was ordered to be printed in the

RECORD, as follows:

COMMENTARY ON FORTUNE TAX SERIES 1
(By Walter W. Heller, department of economics, University of Minnesota)

On problem after problem, the Fortune tax series peels off the layers of nonsense and confusion that have been wrapped around the great tax issues of our times. One need not agree with all of Fortune's analysis and recommendations to be grateful for this contribution. My comments here focus on (1) Fortune's tax erosion control program; and (2) a proposed Federal income tax credit to undergird State-local taxing efforts.

#### EROSION CONTROL

Fortune makes a courageous and convincing case for eliminating most special tax privileges and sharing the resulting revenue bounty with taxpayers-at-large. (Yet, the June Reader's Digest, by selective condensation—for example, by alloting 2 paragraphs to Fortune's 5 on the "pleasant one-half of tax reform" and 2 also to Fortune's 32 on the "tough-half"—manages to make the series' first article sound like just another broadside against high tax rates.)

The logic of restoring the tax base and cutting rates is inescapable. It makes good economic sense: The economy will deliver more goods and grow more rapidly if investment and manpower can follow the straight and natural path of least economic resistance instead of today's tortuous and unnatural

path of least tax resistance.

It makes good administrative sense: costs of compliance and enforcement will shrink.

It makes good equity sense: Fortune's program would strike a telling blow for equal treatment of equals in both income and estate taxation (though, contrary to Fortune's prescriptions, some of the revenue gain should be shared with low-bracket tax-payers since (a) they will be hit by many of the base-restoring provisions; (b) their total tax burdens, relative to income, have apparently been growing faster in recent years than those of the higher income groups; and (c) their support is needed to give the pro-

gram a chance for adoption).

But does it make good political sense? The pain attached to Fortune's tax reform program is so great that it requires nothing less than making political water run uphill. It requires, first, that the White House dramatize the general public interest in a restored, lower-rate income tax and lead the battle against the powerful coalition of sheltered special interests. It requires, second, that the Congress (a) reject the "most-favored-taxpayer principle." which a concession to one group tends to be extended to all similar groups, and (b) reverse the trend toward converting its taxing committees into second-structure appropriations committees, to which special-interest groups come for hidden subsidies under the tax laws when they cannot (or would rather not) get open subsidies from the budget authorities. It requires, third, that some way be found to mobilize the hitherto diffused interest, and amplify the hitherto muted voice of the taxpayer at large, perhaps by a prestige-packed National Tax Commission cutting across both party and economic lines.

Fortune has done a yeoman job of defining and defending the public interest in tax

reform. But one of democracy's abiding problems still remains as a challenge to Fortune's talents: how to make the political payoff for vigorously pursuing the general interest greater than the payoff for giving in to special interests.

#### A FEDERAL INCOME TAX CREDIT

In highlighting our much-neglected \$46 billion State-local revenue system, Fortune advocates that all States adopt both sales and personal income taxes.

Unlike the income tax, the sales tax does not run athwart the constitutional barrier of State uniformity clauses and the economic barrier of interstate competition for industry and wealth. Rather, inequity is the cross it bears. But the traditional (and in my opinion, justified) opposition to sales taxes will diminish (a) as economic growth puts poverty in the limited perspective to which Galbraith's affluent society has somewhat prematurely relegated it, and (b) as the States learn to build personal credits into the sales tax to temper its impact on low incomes and large families (e.g., a \$10 credit per person, paid or credited through the income tax mechanism, would exempt \$500 of purchases per capita under a 2-percent sales tax).

No such open road faces the State income tax movement. It bears the full brunt of taxpayer threats to seek haven in friendlier tax territory. This process of playing one State off against another tends to undermine the financial base of responsible self-government closest to home, striking hardest at the very tax which responds most readily to economic growth. (Netzer's figures show that for every 1 percent increase in the gross national product, State personal income tax revenues rise 1.7 percent, as against only 1 percent for the sales tax.)

Deductibility under the Federal income tax serves as a partial shock-absorber for State income taxes and, as Fortune argues, should be retained. But note that its protective impact is greater, the wealthier the State: The higher the brackets a State's taxpayers are in, the larger the percentage of the State income tax burden that is exported to the Federal Government.

To redress the balance and put a non-competitive floor under State individual income taxes, Congress should enact a Federal income tax credit. Like the existing Federal estate tax credit, it would allow individuals to pay part of their Federal tax with receipts evidencing payment of State taxes. The average ratio of State to Federal collections in the 31 income tax States is 8 percent (ranging from a low of 1.4 percent in Tennessee to a high of 28.7 percent in Oregon, in 1958). A credit averaging 8 percent would cost the Treasury just over \$3 billion annually.

To give a greater proportionate credit to the lower incomes and the poorer States calls for a negatively graduated credit; perhaps 15 or 20 percent on the first \$100 of tax, 10 percent on the next several hundred, and only 2 or 3 percent at the top. That at least a moderate interstate equalizing effect could be achieved is suggested by the following examples of variation in average tax liabilities on taxable 1956 Federal returns: California, \$659; Delaware, \$1,066; Kansas, \$416; Mississippi, \$295; New York, \$657.

The crediting device represents a paradoxical combination of freedom and coercion, Its basic purpose is to protect the power of the purse underlying State sovereignty and local independence. Moreover, Federal credits leave ample room for variations in State definitions of income, exemptions, and tax rates. Yet, the credit would virtually force 17 States, with over one-third of the Nation's population, to adopt at least minimum, credit-absorbing income taxes. It would also be understandable if Congress were to make

State acceptance of uniform rules for taxing interstate business income a condition of access to the credit privilege.

On balance, the Federal credit offers the States far more fiscal emancipation than tax bondage. Like Fortune's Spartan prescription for Federal tax reform, it makes good sense in economic, administrative, and equity terms. Whether it makes good political sense, only time will tell.

## Christian Science Monitor Supports Federal School Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, one of the most thoughtful and informative newspapers in our Nation is the Christian Science Monitor. The Christian Science Monitor for June 5 has pointedly asked, in an editorial, "Where Is Federal School Aid?"

The editorial indorses the Murray-Metcalf bill, which also has the support of the National Education Association. The Monitor emphasizes that the Murray-Metcalf bill would help to bring reality to the recent recommendations of the Science Advisory Committee appointed by President Eisenhower.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that the editorial from the Christian Science Monitor be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### WHERE IS FEDERAL SCHOOL AID?

The President's Science Advisory Committee, as its name would suggest, is urging in its significant report what should be done to bring American schools up to the standards required by an age of science. How its recommendations bear upon some of the other tasks Americans have long assigned their schools—such as general education of those without the aptitude or interest for "intellectual" subjects—warrants separate discussion. But its admonition that the Nation must double its annual investment in education bears on any index of the Nation's present effort.

The index most readily related to national concern is the interest in Federal aid to education. Last session Congress enacted the National Defense Education Act comprising some excellent features, but did not complete the job of appropriating the funds authorized. Two months ago the House restored all of the \$50 million its Appropriations Committee cut from the authorization.

There are two school bills now receiving serious congressional consideration. One is the administration's bill to take care of the omission from the present act of Federal aid to classroom construction. It would do this by way of helping school districts float and retire construction bonds on a need-and-effort basis. The Federal commitment would be \$2½ billion over 25 years.

The other is the Mansfield-Metcalf bill, patterned after proposals of the National Education Association. This measure frankly rejects financial limitations and ap-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Commentary invited by Fortune magazine for publication in its July or August

proaches the issue on the assumption that the Nation surely can spend as much for education as for cigarettes and beverage alcohol. It would leave to each State whether to spend its allotment on buildings or teachers' salaries. It would begin distribution on a school-age population basis, then move to allotments related to a "national effort index," reaching a rate of some \$4 billion a year—indefinitely.

Congress, apparently, is looking with favor on a somewhat cutdown version of this bill. And if it would encourage local effort—as it seems designed to do—instead of discourage it, the bill sounds a note of determination that might strike the needed spark.

## Participation of the Individual Businessman in Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON, PAUL H. DOUGLAS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an address entitled "The Participation of the Individual Businessman in Politics," delivered by Arnold H. Maremont, chairman of the board of the Allied Paper Corp. and president of Maremont Automotive Products, Chicago, Ill., before the American Management Association at its east coast general management conference on May 21, 1959.

Mr. Maremont is one of the ablest and most progressive-minded businessmen of the Middle West. He has made a great business and industrial success. He is also very much of a progressive in pelitics and economics. I believe that the major sections of this address which I ask to have printed will command the attention of a large number of people.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PARTICIPATION OF THE INDIVIDUAL BUSINESS-MAN IN POLITICS

(An address made before the American Management Association at its east coast general management conference on May 21, 1959, by Arnold H. Maremont)

Mr. Chairman and members of the American Management Association, the Greeks had a word, a name for those who declined to take interest in the politics of their city. That word was "idiot."

In ancient Athens, the Scythian bowmen were sent through the streets to round up the citizens and compel them to participate in the political affairs of the city.

the political affairs of the city.

In Switzerland, fines are levied on those who inexcusably avoid exercising the franchise.

I can neither levy fines nor exercise compulsion, but I do hope to contribute something to the educational process here today.

As a businessman who has maintained an active interest in politics since 1933, but who has never run for public office or been appointed to one, I do want to suggest some facts.

The essential character of a citizen is to be free and equal; being free before the law,

he is not subject to others' whims; being equal he has a voice in his own destiny. This, as the great English student Lord Bryce said, carries a responsibility for political activity: "As he is to profit by the safety and prosperity the community provides, so he (the citizen) must seek its good and place his personal will at its disposal. Benefit and burden, power and responsibility, go together."

I favor the widest possible participation in politics; it is when politics becomes the province of the elite few that I fear for the

safety of our system.

My purpose today is to seek to convince you that this present campaign to inject business as such into politics is ill-conceived, extremely dangerous, a violation of our sound democratic system, and—even worse—perhaps illegal. It seems to me, from my reading of many editorials, speeches, articles and books, that these pressures are leading us not into clear light but into a murky, grey area which may produce a catastrophe rather than the creation of a congenial governmental climate for business. To say the very least, it hardly proceeds the American way, and ultimately, it will cast a Marxist shadow over all.

A corporation is not a political entity; it is a legal entity. It was never intended to be a political entity. It is wholly different from the human entity which is the foundation stone of our Declaration of Independence and Constitution. My reading these documents-particularly sections 8, 9, 10 of article I and all of the amendments-does not find the word corporation once used. Corporations were vested with personality by a twist given to the language of the 14th amendment by conservative majorities of the Supreme Court in their interpretation of the words had state deprive any person of life, liberty, or State deprive any person of law." The terpretation of the words "nor shall any Court, not the Constitution-Supreme makers, said that meant corporations, too.

Let us consider briefly the Marxist implications of business in politics. The materialistic ideology of communism uses economic determinism to interpret all that is significant in life. With this philosophic base, its political framework, designedly, is totalitarian—as it must be in order to direct, shape, and control economic forces. The corporation has a basic and justified economic interest in advancing prosperity, the general welfare of the country, and making profits. It is a large order for any organized activity.

Those who would project the corporation into politics, I submit, are playing directly into the hands of economic determinism. Once you get the modern corporation as such, hopelessly enmeshed in politics, you are well-traveled toward economic determinism and totalitarianism. Inevitably, as in Russia, this leads to totalitarianism, the destruction of free political heritage, prostitution of free citizenship and democratic principles. All of history testifies to this, For this reason, I regard the separation of business, as business, from politics to be as important to our political health as the separation of church from state.

Why do corporations want to engage in political activity?

The first is that the hope of keeping government out of business is illusory, and therefore it becomes necessary to influence government for business.

The second is the sometimes hysterically expressed need for a counterforce to the activities of labor in government.

The frenzied shouting over welfare statism, New Deal, Fair Deal, and other political slogans has drowned out even a whisper about the life-and-death decisions being resolved for all of us in Washington. I should like to raise here several questions which should be answered by those who would involve business institutions in politics.

Under the law it is well established that a corporation cannot do indirectly what it is forbidden to do directly. How then, being forbidden to contribute money to political campaigns, can a corporation legally permit its employees, on company time and paid by company funds, to act as poll watchers, votegetters, precinct captains, and such?

If business gets into politics, as business, how can it prevent the development of those very factions which Madison described in the great 10th Federalist paper—"a landed interest, a manufacturing interest, a moneyed interest, with many lesser interests"—and who would settle the policy contests when all of these interests began their inevitable struggles for supremacy in government?

If a business organization enters the political arena, who chooses the party which will be favored with its support? The directors, the shareholders, the chairman of the Board? Where does it find authority to use shareholders' money for such purposes?

Will not the employees who belong to different organizations, unions, or political parties develop a profound antagonism for the corporation's political activities? Seeing the officers use company funds and time for political action, will they not sharpen their own demands and opposition?

What will be the effect upon the customers of the corporation who again are of many political persuasions, and interests—who are property owners and renters, union members, the white-collar workers, protagonists or antagonists of a myriad of contesting causes and ideas?

Is it inevitable that our heritage of democratic politics be lost while we give lipservice to it and perfect our manufacture of the organizational man?

Mr. George Romney of American Motors recently commented on this problem in strong language:

"We have corporate executives and whitecollar employees who have become political eunuchs and who have substituted corporate citizenship and the hope of economic advancement for their priceless heritage of independent political action."

Andrew Hacker of Cornell University, in his paper on "Politics and the Corporation" says that the corporation has certainly not set out to weaken the foundation of democratic politics, but its growth as the characteristic institution of our time is having this consequence.

Shall we accept the corporation as our characteristic institution and shall we develop a mold which shapes a pallid, faceless human of our middle-class employees, substituting the impersonal corporate interest for the personal interest? I do not believe the problem is that desperate.

I do not believe labor and management are locked in a death struggle.

Management is charged with maintaining maximum earnings, that portion which comes from sales and which is left after all costs are paid out of dollars which the consumer—the third party in the triangle—has spent. We businessmen seem to be doing very well under the competitive pressures, and the fact-finding and regulatory bodies set up to protect consumer, investor, management. Labor is charged with getting the best deal it can on wages and working conditions. That is its job.

I have never heard responsible union leaders argue that labor ought to engage in politics for the purpose of clobbering business. I think that anyone who argues that business must get into politics in order to take a fall out of labor is doing a distinct disservice to himself, his corporation and his country.

Our democratic system protects the individual's right to exercise his franchise freely and secretly. The emphasis is on the human rather than the legal being. vote as humans—not as employer, employee, father, homeowner, renter, taxpayer, or what have you. Classify us as you will, code us, punch us into cards, write us into impulses in Univac—we will emerge as humans, en-joying and exercising our right to be different which is the great force of life as remarked by Michel de Crevecour nearly 200 years ago.

There is the story of Bertrand Russell, one of our most brilliant contemporary philosophers, who was in a plane crash. Nineteen of the 40 passengers were killed in Norway and Russell was one of those who swam through the icy waters to safety.

A reporter asked him: "As the plane was

sinking, and as you were in great doubt about whether you would live of not, did you think about mysticism and logic and philosophy in general?

"No," came the reply. "I thought the water was damned cold."

If you accept my premise that we are all around humans, then we are political humans seeking action through unity of ideals and spirit, not as businessmen, workers, scientists, or as categorized interests. Our responsibility, then, as persons who want to be useful members of society, is to recognize first that politics is power, second that as citizens who can direct that power to the development of the good society, we have a responsibility to help. Power is exercised responsibly through a political party—not through mobs or debating societies.

We must participate as active, responsible, articulate individual citizens. It is not for us to judge from Olympian heights, nor to stand on the sidelines of the human parade shouting "watch those damned radicals go

by," To quote Lord Bryce once more.
"Absorbed in business or pleasure, we think
"Absorbed in business or pleasure, we think too little of what our membership in a free nation means for the happiness of our poorer fellow citizens. The eloquent voice of a patriotic reformer sometimes breaks our slumber. But the daily round of business and pleasure soon again fills the mind, and public duty fades into the background of life."

. Are we willing to engage in politics, rain or shine? Are we going to be an anvil or a hammer, as Goethe once asked?

An Illinois businessman with some experience in politics recently said, quite correctly.

It seemed to me:

"I wonder how many of those who are teaching corporations the facts of political life are now urging their student executives to get up off their hindsides of a nice fall evening and journey down to the candidates' meetings right in their backyard. Politics begins with one's own candidates, at home. If the corporation executives won't patronize their own political meetings, if they fail to set an example for less fortunate citizens, their overall program for political prominence is doomed to failure."

We pride ourselves that we value the individual as a human. We speak endlessly in such words as "freedom," "free enterprise," "free societies." \* \* Yet, withal, we Americans generally maintain a negative attitude toward politics.

Only in America could a great national publication issue regularly through 4 years of a Civil War and never once mention that titanic conflict. Yet this is exactly what happened in the case of a women's magazine between 1860 and 1865.

Nor, apparently, have we changed much in some fundamental particulars. A recent Harvard Business School Club study states

that "there exists a frightening lack of interest in the business community for its participation in the Government service" and when business does take an interest "more and more qualified business men are

serving constantly shorter periods."

The late Justice Arthur C. Vanderbilt of New Jersey once observed that "the antipathy to politics is reflected in the home, the church, and the school. In a recent national poll, it was reported that 69 percent of our people did not want their children to enter politics and almost 50 percent thought that no man could be in politics and remain honest." This is about as sad a commentary as one could imagine.

We must recognize that the political party is the only valid means of giving organization, direction, drive and expression to the public power. We must get away from the idea that when we have voted we have done the whole duty of man. We must cease thinking of politics as a dirty word and recognize it for what it is: that supreme art for harmonizing conflicting interests and views into one cooperative and sound body capable of self-preservation through unselfish actions.

Traditionally, you must remember that politics, like big league baseball, is played by experts. You were permitted to participate by rooting for your side, but not by helping to select the players. All of this has been changed. The primary system does enable you to help pick the players. be effective, you have got to poin a party. the party that most nearly represents views and supports your kind of candidates. The business of voting for the man once every 4 years and forgetting about party policies between times is utterly foolish. To make the party what it ought to be, to give it the broad representation it must have to express common ideals, you have got to be an active member of it. You have got to work to get your views adopted. I know of no one who can influence a political party by remaining aloof from it.

It is most important to be individually active as a partisan, fighting for your views I believe that such organizations as the League of Women Voters, to name just one, which concentrates only upon understand-ing the issues, without a strong accent on active party membership, have either out-lived their political usefulness, or are missing the boat so far as real political effect is concerned. Women have a great part in politics, and should have greater part. But the "standoffish" role in politics is absolutely the wrong approach. If the party to which you are inclined is not precisely what you would like it to be, you are not going to make it any better by withdrawing into your den to study the issues when you oughht to be out fighting for what you be-

lieve the party needs most.

Long ago the French philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau declared, "As soon as public service ceases to be the chief business of the citizens and they would rather serve with their money than with their persons, the state is not far from its fall. As soon as any man says of the affairs of the state— 'What does it matter to me?'—the state may be given up for lost."

You ought individually to be politically active. This is not a right; it is your duty. You ought to join and work in a political party as a whole person-not as the mouthpiece of your corporation. If the corporate view, as such, needs expression, there is advertising space to be purchased for that

Second, in joining a political party, you should not be giving up your independence of thought. Men who join political parties for purely economic motives, to represent the ends of business, actually are helping to

crystallize the party as a big business party, which in the end will result in its isolation and destruction as an organization.

I believe that one of our speakers here today, Mr. THRUSTON B. MORTON, the Republican National Chairman, told the exact truth in a recent speech before the U.S. Chamber of Commerce when he said that if the business label were ever pinned on his party, it would threaten the party's existence; that to achieve maximum effectiveness in politics, businessmen must act "primarily as American citizens, rather than as spokesmen for or representatives of just one seg-ment of our total economy." As he said, "It would be disastrous for the Nation and the party itself if any single economic, racial, or religious group were to win un-challenged control of the Republican Party." I would extend that to any party.

Political membership does not mean political subservience. I do not advocate subordination of personal ideas or principles to a leader. If we are to be effective party members, we cannot be mutes: we must be heard in party councils. Here we can talk over things in common, and here we can learn that, "I am not as good as you arebut you are as good as I am.'

Disraeli, the youth laughed at and ridiculed in his first speech in the House of Commons, uttered what should be the motto for all of us: "I will sit down now, but the time shall come when you will hear me."

Having decided to become politically active, you must choose your party as an individual who wears no man's or corporation's collar. It is your choice. Next, your job is to seek out and work with a likeminded group in your township or precinct, and the word "group" is important. You need to know who is your precinct or township committeeman, how he is chosen, who is his superior. It may be that you do not like the regular party organization, its candidates or its programs. It may have no room for amateurs like yourself. \* \* \*

There is a way for you to become active, if you are not welcomed in the regular party organization.

You can join political clubs of either party, many of which have provided new blood, new energy, and new ideas outside of the regular organizations. Here you will find that the controls are in the membership, at the grassroots, not in some remote hotel room or

rooms.

Enlightened and strong professionals will not reject you or your group for long; they will make peace quickly because they recognize that your bit of help adds to the insur-ance of victory, and that a selective exclusiveness in party affairs makes for straightout contests for party control. Indeed, the Democratic Party in May 1957 adopted a formal rule recognizing neighborhood po-litical clubs and directing the national committee to "encourage and assist groups of party members in the organization of Democratic clubs-and to issue certificates of recognition to any such Democratic club so

existing." You must be prepared to spend time, energy, and money on political work. This means the menial jobs as well as the more attractive job of brain-trusting the strategy. A great truth in politics is that virtue always triumphs in a political campaign if it has a good campaign fund and a hard-working organization. Given the issues and hard work, with at least enough money for mimeographing and postage, and your small club can accomplish wonders.

formed-or heretofore organized and now

Such inplant political activities as Aroject General Corp. sponsored in September 1958, represent the best of such efforts. This completely bipartisan effort was directed at securing voter registration and encouraging financial contributions to both parties. But there is a danger in this. It introduces the loser-winner relationship into employer-employee, or superior-subordinate relations.

A superintendent or worker is no more or less valuable an employee for not desiring to participate in political activity. He may wish to enjoy politics the way some men enjoy marriage-by remaining bachelors. If he thinks that his political attitudes may complicate his job relations, he may feel that nonparticipation is a cheap price to pay for advancement, tenure, pleasant working conditions. Recently a young man engaged in a fund-raising campaign told me, "My boss has been active in this over many When he asked me to take it on, it was sort of our company's turn. I couldn't refuse." This is definitely not the way to undertake political responsibility. The only worthwhile political action springs from individual conviction and independence of spirit.

Through political action today we are going to decide whether we are destroyed by H-bombs or our children are to be destroyed by atomic dust raining upon them.

Whether our schools and our civil rights problems will be intelligently settled or produce violent internal convulsions.

Whether foreign aid shall be used in helping to create a world in which we can live and interchange ideas and goods with freemen.

In brief, whether, as a Nation, we survive or die shortly.

We can influence our destiny only through the wisest political action—not as corporations—not as business—but as the individual human entity.

## Invocation Delivered by the Most Reverend Phillip M. Hannan, D.D.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. J. GLENN BEALL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, on Friday, June 5, I attended a dinner for the American Rheumatism Association and heard a most inspiring invocation.

I ask unanimous consent that this invocation delivered by the Most Reverend Phillip M. Hannan, D.D., be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the invocation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INVOCATION GIVEN BY THE MOST REVEREND PHILLIP M. HANNAN, D.D., AT DINNER FOR THE AMERICAN RHEUMATISM ASSOCIATION, MAYPLOWER HOTEL, JUNE 5, 1959

O God, teach us in our care of the sick that love is the fulfillment of the law, enabling us to meet the test by the beloved disciple, "How can he who does not love his brother whom he sees, love God whom he does not see?" Help us to treat each person as a brother and heir of God, seeing God's image in our sick and afflicted neighbors. May our hands be His hands, may our hearts be His heart, and my His spirit be imparted through us to all whom we serve in His name. Amen,

## Faith and Learning

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following address by Hon. James A. Farley, chairman of the board of the Coca-Cola Export Corp., delivered at the graduation exercises at Marymount School, Marymount College, New York City, on June 2, 1959:

Address by Hon. James A. Farley, Chairman of the Board, the Coca-Cola Export Corp., at the Graduation Exercises, Marymount School, Marymount College, New York City, June 2, 1959

#### FAITH AND LEARNING

Reverend mothers, your excellency, reverend fathers, distinguished guests, the faculty of Marymount School, the class of 1959, ladies and gentlemen, when I was invited to participate in these graduating exercises I gladly accepted. Marymount School has always been very dear to me and my family, and also very close in that we were neighbors for a number of years. moved to New York from Rockland County, over 30 years ago, we made our home at 3 East 84th Street just across the way. Both my daughters were Marymount pupils and my son's little girl is now attending Marymount—in the Farley tradition. We have many happy memories of our friendship and association with the Foundress of the Order of the Sacred Heart of Mary-the great and saintly lady, Mother Butler, loved and revered by all who are in any way familiar with Marymount. I recall vividly my last visit with her when in Rome with my daughters in the summer of 1939.

And since I have been a neighbor of Marymount I hope we shall be friends for all the disparity in our ages. At least I hope that you look upon me as a friend for these minutes I speak.

My schooling began at the age of 5 in the Grassy Point Grammar School—on the West Shore of the Hudson River—and I went through 7 grades there, transferring to the Stony Point Grammar School. Upon graduation from the Stony Point High School I completed a year's course at the Packard Commercial School in New York City.

It has always been my regret that unlike you I could not plan to go on to college. Since my formal education ended I have acquired 20 honorary degrees from various colleges. Each of these has made me happy as having accomplished something in the school of life, but I would gladly exchange them all for one earned in college. Not that I have any regrets, but I wish I could look back on the pleasures and the companionship of learning of college days.

That pleasure is before most of you. In your joyous expectation you are apt to forget what you have been privileged to experience. Let me tell you that the training you have already had has fashioned your life far more than you now realize. And as the years go on you will turn back more and more fondly in memory to this place. At the moment, I fancy you are more triumphant over successful accomplishment than regretful, although you must bear this place affection and gratitude.

Not long ago, a young lady I have known

since childhood was graduated with highest honors from a western university. Among her honors were Phi Beta Kappa and Phi Kappa Phi. She was editor of her school annual. She was acclaimed as the outstanding girl in the college. When she was asked to what factors she attributed her success she said it was to the years in a convent school, where she was given a firm grounding in learning and faith.

Integrity is the most sublime possession we can make for ourselves. It comes from learning and faith. I do not come here to teach you faith. That has already been done by minds more able than my own. Nor do I come here to instruct you as an educator. As you all know, I used to be in politics. Now I am in business. Both professions are concerned with integrity. The politician gives his word and the businessman gives his product. Both should be, and usually are, backed by integrity. If the politician fails to keep his word he courts not only defeat but disgrace. If the businessman fails to keep up his product he courts failure and bankruptcy.

All occupations have their codes of ethics. The foundations of these codes were implanted in you here. One may stray from the standards of any profession and meet with some success, just as one may smile and still be a villain. Aimost inevitably there is a day of reckoning, if nowhere else in the loss of peace of mind.

As you go on with life's responsibilities you will find that the honorable way you have learned here is not only the right way but the best way.

All that I am or hope to be—and time is running its inexorable course for me—I owe to the faith and learning implanted in me in my youth and to the power of prayer. Prayer has seen the world through dark days, days as dark as those we are now going through, if not darker, just as it has helped individuals over rough stretches in the way of life. Let me take you back 172 years to a meeting of the group of patriots in Philadelphia who were seeking to revise the Federal system of government. The meetings opened on May 14. 1787.

You remember the history of that situation, I am sure. The war with Britain had been won but the situation in America was near anarchy. The confederation was falling apart. Powerful forces were at work to keep the States apart. Geographical distances and poor communications made it difficult for people of one State to know a great deal about another. Northern States wanted to protect their industries; the South having no industries welcomed foreign goods free of tariffs. States levied tariffs against one another. The American people were strongly opposed to central government; because they were so jealous of the liberties we hold dear they hesitated to bestow any power on any government, local, State or Federal.

Many persons predicted that the thirteen States would never be joined in union. There were many expressions of gloom, although race, religion, language, tradition and common culture all cried out for union. Furthermore, beyond the thirteen States was a western empire begging for development. Wise minds brought about the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia with George Washington, the victorious general and popular hero, in the presiding chair. But only six States were represented the opening day. Work went slowly. Difficulties appeared to be insurmountable. Nothing was done in May and little was accomplished in June.

Finally, on June 28, 1787—172 years ago the most venerable man in the convention arose, a truly great American, perhaps the greatest American of them all, Benjamin Franklin. This patriot, philosopher and scientist was in his eightles. Listen to his words:

"Mr. President, the small progress we have made after 4 or 5 weeks close attendance and continual reasonings with each otherour different sentiments on almost every question, several of the last producing as many noes as ayes is, me thinks, a melancholy proof of the imperfection of human understanding. We indeed seem to feel our own want of political wisdom, since we have been running about in search of it. We have gone back to ancient history for models of government, and examined the different forms of those republics which having been formed with the seeds of their own dissolution now no longer exist. And we have viewed modern states around Europe, but find none of their constitutions suitable to our circumstances.

"In this situation this assembly groping as it were in the dark to find political truth and scarcely able to distinguish it when presented to us, how had it happened, Sir. that we have not hitherto once thought of humbly applying to the Father of lights to illuminate our understandings? In the beginning of the contest with Great Britain, When we were sensible of danger, we had daily prayer in this room for the divine protection. Our prayers, Sir, were heard and they were graciously answered. All of us who were engaged in the struggle must have observed frequent instances of a supertending providence in our favor. To that kind of providence we owe this happy opportunity of consulting in peace on the means of establishing our future national felicity. And have we now forgotten that powerful. Friend, or do we imagine that we no longer need His assistance? I have lived, Sir, a long time and the longer I live the more convincing proofs I see of this truth—that God governs in the affairs of men. And if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without His notice is it probable that an empire can arise without His aid? We have been assured, Sir, in the sacred writings that except the Lord build the House they labor in vain that build it. I firmly believe this; and I also believe that without His concurring aid we shall succeed in this political building no better than the builders of Babel. We shall be divided in our little Babel. We shall be divided in our little partial local interests; our projects will be confounded, and we ourselves shall become a reproach and a bye word down to future ages. And what is worse, mankind may hereafter from this unfortunate instance despair of establishing governments by human wisdom and leave it to chance, war and conquest.

"I therefore beg to move—that henceforth prayers imploring the assistance of heaven, and its blessings upon our deliberations, be held in this assembly every morning before we proceed to business, and that one or more of the clergy of this city be requested to

Officiate in that service."

This was the beginning of real work on the Constitution, this prayer of Franklin's, because his speech was of itself a prayer. How well these men worked under divine guidance we all know. They built the greatest Republic the world has known. The draft of the Constitution was completed in September 1787. When the labors of the convention were finished and members were signing the great document Franklin chanced to look upon the back of Washington's chair on which a sun had been painted. Franklin seized upon this sun to make a Drophecy.

"Painters," he said, "have found it difficult to distinguish in their art a rising sun from a setting sun. I have often in the course of this session and the vicissitudes of my hopes and fears as to its issue have looked

at that sun behind the President without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting; but now, at length, I have the happiness to know that it is a rising and not a setting sun."

We know that the sun is still rising. We know that its light still shines brighter than ever in a darkened world. We know that light was enkindled by faith and learning. Much of the world is still dark. However, in the darkest corner of the darkest night in the deepest hell of totalitarianism, we know that the light of the faith of our Founding Fathers still shines. There can be no darkness where a single candle is lit. We have two great candles with which to light the world today—the faith in liberty that is America and the faith in our Lord.

Some of the world is indeed in darkness. Nations have sinned and individuals have sinned. They have forgotten prayer. They have, in fact, forgotten God. False idols have been erected. False prophets have been honored. Man has deserted liberty and justice and human dignity. Man has listened to the promises of power-hungry men. Man has exchanged freedom for slavery on sly promises of security. Confusion has been piled on confusion. Fear is piled upon fear. Each new conquest of science over matter has seemed to increase fear rather than bring, security. Yet, we must never forget that all things are not without cause. Everything in life has meaning. Everything in man's life is related to all that has gone before and all that is to come.

These are trying times. This has been an age of splendid achievement. Man began seeking divinity in himself. Everything was explained in the laboratory. For a time man sought faith in evolution, then in science and then in progress. Men held that man came out of slime and nothing more. Men held that science had all the answers. Men held that everything had to be changed in order to be better. Now men are holding that faith must be put in evolution. They would have us make a god of the state and have us give all of ourselves and all of our souls to the state.

How pathetic and how credulous are these earnest faiths in evolution and progress and science and in the state. Man has found himself with less time for himself and less time for God. Many years ago Louis the Fourteenth proclaimed himself the state and men have come to laugh at him. In our time one who proclaimed himself the state died by his own hand in a bomb shelter in Berlin. Another was hung by the heels in Milan. Still another, more dangerous than either of the two who went before, died a little over 6 years ago in Moscow and is rapidly being forgotten. Yesterday his word might have shaken the world. Today this spectacular destroyer of faith and learning is at last face to face with the truth of faith.

How silly is the proclamation of Hitler, Mussolini, and Stalin that each of us is part of the state and nothing more. Faith and learning in our day is growing, though it may not seem so. Two great wars in this century have not darkened faith. Nor has the atomic age. Man has loosed a force that has placed him on the abyss of chaos, but faith and learning can still give him the serenity of soul that would keep him from destroying the world by fire. The no less explosive danger of communism with its chain reaction of materialism, frightening as it may be, cannot prevail against faith and learning.

But we must remember, too, that Communists are not the revolutionaries. They are the believers of brutal power which goes back to the days of man's darkness, when the earth knew not faith and had no learning. Then man knew only tyranny. The materialists of communism would turn back the clock to those days. We who believe in liberty, freedom, and the dignity of man are

the revolutionaries. Historically, the philosophy of faith and learning is newer than the darkness of communism.

Revelation and teaching-faith and learning-have turned the path of mankind from downward path of brutish darkness to sunlit paths of belief and civilization. All of you will go from here seeking more education. You will become a growing part of the light, a growing part of faith. Each generation likes to think that it is living on the edge of disaster, that the precious fire of faith and reason would go out if each generation did not cherish it in its breast. This is so, of course. However, no generation has put out that fire by sulcide, and I am confident no generation will. There have been orgies of mass murder and destruction before. We can hope that they will never come again, even though we know that we are living in a state of almost perpetual war and almost perpetual fear.

I never have taken a gloomy view of the future. Now, when the future is closer to me as I near the time of the great answer, I cannot take a gloomy attitude toward the outcome of these critical and perilous years. I do not have the slightest shadow of doubt that your generation will see the end of the whole sordid corruption and repulsive fallacy of the police state. True, I confess my generation has not done too well by yours. We have given you the aftermath of terrible wars, we have saddled you with heavy debts and the headaches of tangled thoughts and false beliefs. Yet I am sure you will find it in your hearts not only to forgive us, but to be merciful and to say that we contributed to the solution you will find.

Furthermore, I am confident that you will find the answer in faith, faith which is growing in our time. Faith is on the march. It has triumphed over the false beliefs and false dogmas of the ages of evolution, machines, and tyranny. False beliefs die, but faith endures forever. All the arrogance of totalitarians and the rantings of the scoffers and the intellectual posterings of men intoxicated with their own minds have not darkened faith. The faith of our fathers goes hand in hand with learning. The terrors of our time have not dimmed faith. Faith is growing. It has gained strength by the very rationalism which would challenge and destruth.

It seems to me a good thing that man should have gone through the trials of the past. In the return of the mind from evolution and materialism we can be sure there will be no straying in the future. That is what I mean when I say faith is growing. Tortuous doubts are being resolved. In your time man will learn not to doubt himself and his God again.

Meantime, nothing you graduates can possibly do will enrich yourselves more or hasten the triumph of faith or make a better contribution to your country or to your fellow men than to proclaim and demonstrate the faith and learning you have gathered here throughout your lives. Let each of you be living candles to bring such light to the darkened world.

#### Conditions Among Farmworkers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, in my insertion, I include a statement on

the problem of farmworkers which was transmitted last Saturday to Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell, with a copy to Attorney General William P. Rogers. Twenty-one Members of the House signed the statement and 13 Members of the Senate.

It describes conditions among farm-workers as "one of the most serious economic and human problems in our Nation." The statement deplores the "intensive pressure" campaign being conducted on Members of Congress to induce them to help prevent Secretary Mitchell from issuing "moderate" reform regulations for improvement of conditions of farmworkers and to block public hearings planned by the Secretary at which all parties concerned will be invited to give their views on the proposed regulations.

While the statement describes the new regulations as "more moderate than are called for by the evidence of the tragic conditions of the great majority of farm laborers and their families," it commends the Secretary, nevertheless, for proposing these slight improvements.

Mr. Speaker, I also include in my statement a terrible story about farm-workers from today's Washington Post. Under a three-column headline, "Sixteen Farmworkers Die in Blazing Bus," this Associated Press story from Phoenix, Ariz., describes the tragic burning to death of these workers in "a makeshift bus, with canvas sides and top and no windows" and only one rear exit, when it crashed into a tree and exploded in flames. The Associated Press ticker said 23 other farmworkers were injured in the crash, some of them seriously.

This gruesome story is, indeed, a sad exclamation point to the need set forth in the Congressmen's and Senators' statement-a need for treatment of these farmworkers as human beings, with at least some degree of decency and human dignity. It is long past time for our Government to eliminate the disgraceful transportation, living, and educational conditions characterizing employment of these workers and their families by the large-scale, corporate growers of our Nation. These conditions provide the most effective propaganda possible for the Communists and defame our form of society:

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald, June 9, 1959]

SIXTEEN FARMWORKERS DIE IN BLAZING BUS PHOENIX, ARIZ., JUNE 8.—Sixteen Mexican farm laborers were burned to death today when a heavily loaded makeshift bus smashed into a tree and exploded in flames. Thirty-two others were injured, three critically.

Those killed had been asleep on the floor or were trapped near the front of the bus—a converted truck with canvas sides and top and no windows. Witnesses said the bus exploded like a clap of thunder.

Flames immediately engulfed the vehicle as the laborers fought to reach safety through a single rear door partly blocked by suitcases and a water barrel.

The driver, Nato Manuel Gloria, Jr., told the highway patrol he dozed at the wheel. Gloria, injured slightly, said he had planned to stop at a service station just 100 yards ahead and turn the driving over to his assistant.

One of the seriously injured said the men in the front of the bus "fought like animals" to get out.

PUBLIC HEARINGS ON FARMWORKERS

Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell has proposed new regulations of employment on larger farms for consideration. Mr. Mitchell has also announced public hearings in Washington and other places during the summer at which all interested parties will be given an opportunity to state their views. We commend the Secretary of Labor for having taken these steps to deal with one of the most serious economic and human problems in our Nation.

Unfortunately, the moderate regulations which the Secretary has proposed have met with strong resistance from some of the groups involved. Intensive pressure is being applied to have the regulations withdrawn and even to prevent the holding of the public hearings. Spokesmen for the big farm operators have initiated a letter, telegram and telephone campaign to persuade Senators and Congressmen to oppose the regulations and the public hearings. A call-to-action has been sent out by Mr. William H. Tolbert, legislative chairman of the National Farm Labor Users Conference, who stated to members of the organization: "It seems the regulations indicate their own course of action that you should take. That is, do anything you can, anywhere, to stop them and to prevent the issuance of them and the holding of the public hearings."

We believe it necessary, under these circumstances, to review the facts and to indicate the purpose and the need for the new regulations and the public hearings.

The fundamental issue is the responsibility of our government to protect the basic rights of a long neglected group of citizens. We think Secretary of Labor Mitchell is correct in pointing out the contrast between the conditions of agricultural workers and the standards achieved by a majority of workers in other kinds of employment. He has expressed the opinion that the conscience of the American people will not much longer permit so large a body of workers as those in agriculture—between one and a half and 2 million workers—to remain at such low levels of pay and to live under such bad housing, health, educational, transportation and other conditions.

We believe the issue also involves the direction that agriculture is taking in this country. The proposed regulations of the Secretary of Labor are directed at large scale commercial farms which comprise less than 5 percent of the farms of the Nation and which largely rely on interstate and foreign recruitment of labor. The regulations will not apply to the typical family farm, and the hired man of the family type farm is not included in the program. This proposal is included in the program. This proposal is crucial in the competition between the family type farmers and the large-scale, corporate growers. Evidence seems to us substantial that family farmers type are losing out in this competition party because the big operators are exploiting agricultural workers in their wages and other working and living conditions.

It is likewise pertinent to note that upward of half a million Mexican and other foreign workers are imported annually as migrant farmworkers while millions of our domestic workers are unemployed. The generally low wages and working conditions of the imported workers tends to depress the standards of the domestic workers.

The sorry plight of our country's agricultural workers and the meager living standards of millions of our small farmers are problems demanding solution for the economic and social welfare of our Nation. The increased purchasing power of this large segment of our population would obviously

be an important stimulus to the Nation's economy. With their families these agricultural workers combine with the small farmers to number in the neighborhood of 20 million people.

We believe the Secretary of Labor acted within the authority delegated by Congress in promulgating the new regulations. Directives similar to this have been in force for several years. Further, the Department of Labor officials have proceeded properly under the Administrative Procedures Act in this matter. The Department has sent out copies of the proposed regulations to the concerned parties and solicited their views and recommendations. Officials of the Department of Labor are holding conferences with various governmental and semigovernmental groups in States where farm labor is most extensively used. At these public hearings all interested parties will be given an opportunity to testify. We think this procedure is in the best tradition of the American democratic way of achieving a fair de-cision. We regret the campaign now being carried on to prevent this democratic

We commend the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor, composed of religious, educational and civic leaders, for once again directing public attention to the conditions of farm laborers. That Committee includes such prominent citizens as the former President of the University of North Carolina, ex-Senator Frank P. Graham, Archbishop Robert E. Lucey, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, and President Clark Kerr of the University of California. The recent public hearings, conducted by the Committee here in the Nation's Capital, supplied ample evidence for the need of new regulations of the employment of farm laborers.

The new regulations are, in our judgment, more moderate than are called for by the evidence of the tragic conditions of the great majority of farm laborers and their families. Nevertheless, we feel the proposed regulations of the Secretary of Labor are steps in the right direction and that they merit the support of thoughtful citizens everywhere, including members of Congress.

We strongly urge a renewed concern for the working and living conditions of domestic farm labor, particularly of the migrant workers. We think that the announced public hearings of this summer are an essential step to an understanding of this problem and a prelude to long overdue action.

Signed by the following Senators: John A. Carroll, of Colorado; Joseph S. Clark, of Pennsylvania; Thomas J. Dodd, of Connecticut; Paul H. Douglas, of Illinois; Vance Hartke, of Indiana; Hubert H. Humphrey, of Minnesota; Eugene J. McCarthy, of Minnesota; Pat McNamara of Michigan; Wayne Morse, of Oregon; James E. Murray, of Montana; Richard L. Neuberger, of Oregon; William Proxmire, of Wisconsin; Harrison A. Williams, Jr., of New Jersey; Stephen M. Young, of Ohio.

Signed by the following Representatives: . THOMAS L. ASHLEY, of Ohio; CLEVELAND M. Bailey, of West Virginia; John A. Blatnik, of Minnesota; RICHARD BOLLING, of Missouri; CHESTER BOWLES, of Connecticut; EMANUEL CELLER, of New York; MERWIN COAD, of Iowa; FRANK M. COFFIN, of Maine; JEFFERY COHE-LAN, of California; JOHN D. DINGELL, of Michigan; Daniel J. Floop, of Pennsylvania; EDITH GREEN, of Oregon; BYRON L. JOHNSON, of Colorado; John W. McCormack, of Massachusetts; LEE METCALF, of Montana; CLEM MILLER, of California; JAMES G. O'HARA, of Michigan; CHARLES O. PORTER, of Oregon; Byron G. Rogers, of Colorado; JAMES ROOSEVELT, of California; FRANK THOMPSON, Jr., of New Jersey; ROY W. WIER, of Minnesota.

## Accounting Law Nullified

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. FRANK J. LAUSCHE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, I am greatly disturbed over the fact that legislation enacted by the 85th Congress dealing with an important budgeting reform recommended by the Hoover Commission, providing that Congress may have an opportunity for an annual review of huge unexpended appropriation balances, is not being put into effect.

I am pleased to observe that the Senate Appropriations Committee sought to make this accrued expenditure review effective, but I am sorry to learn that so far the other body has chosen to differ with the Senate, which, in effect, nullifies the accounting law enacted by the 85th Congress.

Mr. President, this subject is dealt with in an editorial which appeared in the June 5 edition of the Washington Evening Star, and I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Evening Star, Washington, D.C., June 5, 1959]

#### ACCOUNTING LAW NULLIFIED

The House Appropriations Committee is achieving by indirection what it failed last year to accomplish by direct attack—the blocking of an important budgeting reform recommended by the Hoover Commission. This reform was aimed at the piling up of huge unexpended appropriation balances Without control or review by Congress. Congress approved the money-saving proposal last August after much debate, with Senator KENNEDY, of Massachusetts, leading the fight for adoption.

The law, strongly advocated by President Eisenhower and the Budget Bureau, was intended to place Government appropriation requests on an "accrued expenditure" basis a system used by private industry to keep tab on funds carried over from one year to the next. This meant that the agencies would be required to report annually on unexpended funds and to justify further fund re-quests. Under the old system, enormous surpluses often accumulated while changed conditions sometimes tended to eliminate the need for such large sums. The Congress remainded uninformed as to the situation.

This year, for the first time, the President recommended application of the accrued-accounting system to certain appropriations in the Treasury-Post Office bill—among in the Treasury-Post Office bill among others. The House Appropriations Committee aptee deleted this provision and the House approved the deletion in passing the appropriation measure. But the Senate reinstated the accounting-reform provision. The House conferees, however, insisted on elimination of the amendment and, in the end, they prevailed. So there will be no accrual accounting in either department during the next fiscal year.

Meanwhile, the House Appropriations Committee has also stricken an accrual-accounting clause from the independent offices ap-Propriation bill. This measure is pending before the Senate Appropriations Committee. We hope that the accounting reform proviso will be restored to this bill and that the Senate, in the interest of businesslike governmental economy, will succeed in keep-ing it there. For the will of Congress as expressed in approving the budget-reform law will be thwarted completely if the deletion tactics adopted by the House committee are allowed to have free sway.

#### Adoption of Foreign Children

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. WILLIAM LANGER

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter I have received from a constituent about the adoption of a foreign child.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PORTLAND DRUG STORE, Portland, N. Dak., May 12, 1959. Hon. Senator WILLIAM LANGER,

Senate Office Building,

Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR LANGER: In April of 1957 my wife and I wrote to you about adopting a foreign child. Our dreams came true a year ago the 30th of this month. We received a Korean-American child, age 4 months. She is the most wonderful thing that has ever happened to us, she is a little doll as you can see by the enclosed snaps.

We are now writing to you to ask you that you support the orphan bill which is due to run out this June 30. We know that there are a lot of controversies about it, sometimes caused by people who do not know what they are talking about. We received our "Mary" by proxy adoption and we'll always thank God that we were able to receive her. tried to adopt a child for 4 years through Lutheran Welfare at Fargo and also talked to Children's Village about it but always to no avail. I imagine that we probably have a selfish motive for writing to you for support of this bill on adoption but; I am sure you will agree Senator Langer, that a child should not be brought up as the only child, and we would like to have some brothers or sisters for her.

I have read in magazines about how terrible the parents of some of these adopted children are. Well, that is not entirely true as I have plenty of customers come into my drugstore that if I did not give them medicine for their children the children would not have it, and God gave them that child. Sometimes I think some wise publicity man digs up a lot of things that are not always true, maybe half truths, and those are deadlier than lies.

Mr. Harry Holt of Creswell, Oreg., has done a tremendous amount of work on the Korean orphans. We have a picnic each year of the folks who have adopted Korean children; last year it was at Oak Grove Park in Fargo. There were about 10 children there last year, this year it will probably be in Bismarck. Senator Langer, if you could attend one of those picnics and see the children and us proud parents, you would stand on the Sen-ate floor and talk until the whole Congress was made to realize what a fine thing it is. We were married in 1950 and although we've had a fine married life it just came into bloom after we received Mary.

These children adopted by proxy are taken good care of I am sure. We have seen the others around here and know. We have asked for another child and hope we receive it soon. Sometimes with an only child they probably get a little spoiled, but then they say that children are given by God to spoil when they're young.

We certainly hope and pray that you will support this bill; it means so much to us. If you're home this summer and up around the Portland-Mayville area you should stop in and see us and you will be able to see for yourself then that these children will grow up to be a credit to God and country.

We pray that Mrs. Langer is getting along better, also that your health is good. Greetings and best wishes to both of you.

Sincerely, Mr. and Mrs. P. N. Haakenson.

## Labor and the Kennedy Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial published in the New York Times of June 7, 1959.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, June 7, 1959] LABOR AND THE KENNEDY BILL

To condemn the Senate-approved Kennedy labor reform bill as a whole or to fight for the removal of objectionable provisions, has been one of the toughest decisions AFL-CIO has yet had to make. President Meany's recent testimony before the House Committee on Education and Labor is impressive and welcome proof of a far less than totally belligerent position.

He affirmed the federation's approval of Federal curbs on improper practices, such as have been revealed by the McClellan committee, but strongly opposed any provisions of law that would hamstring what he considered essential and desirable union activities. He cited the federation's general support of the original Kennedy-Ervin bill (S. 505), which required public reporting and disclosure of the financial operations of unions and their officers, gave guarantees of democratic procedures in union elections. and put limitations on the trusteeship of locals. These are still in the amended version of the bill (S. 1555) now in the hands of the House committee.

But Mr. Meany argued that its new title I—the so-called "bill of rights"—not only would undermine other parts of the bill but would bedevil legitimate union operations through provisions which are either too general, or too detailed and inflexible, for effective administration-often with side effects that would defeat their announced objectives. "S. 1555," he said, "taken as a whole \* \* \* is a genuine 'bill of rights' of union members' without title I.

The federation's bill of critical particulars is formidable enough, but not so formidable as to warrant a blanket opposition to the entire Kennedy measure now. The items are also sufficiently explicit to be dealt with, where warranted, by further amendments in the bill or in the drafting of a new one in committee. At least they deserve the com-mittee's careful consideration in meeting the overwhelming public demand for an effective labor union reform law this year.

Officers and Employees of the Railroad Retirement Board Are To Be Commended for the Efficient Administering at a Minimum Cost of the Railroad Retirement and Railroad Unemployment Insurance Acts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, as many of you know, my congressional district on a percentage basis has the largest active and retired railroad population in the Nation. The economic security of these people is safeguarded in large measure by the Railroad Retirement and Unemployment Insurance Acts. Therefore, in serving this large railroad population I have found it necessary during my congressional career in seeking information and asistance to call upon the Railroad Retirement Board, which, as you know, administers these acts.

As a result of my frequent contacts with the officials and staff members of the Railroad Retirement Board and in visits to its headquarters in Chicago, I have been deeply impressed not only with the way the information requested was readily made available to me but also with the strong sense of interest and responsibility they take in administering the provisions of both the Railroad Retirement and Railroad Unemployment Acts.

As you know, the Board is composed of three members appointed by the President, by and with the consent of the Senate—one upon the recommendation of representatives of employees, one upon the recommendation of representatives of carriers, and one, the Chairman, without recommendation by either employees or carriers.

The headquarters of the board is located in Chicago, Ill. There are seven regional offices and about 100 field offices in localities accessible to large numbers of railroad workers. The organization of the board is so designed as to integrate the administration of the two laws without duplicating facilities or operations.

The scope of the board's operations has increased steadily, highmarked here and there by the effects of important amendments, and to a lesser yet significant extent, by economic conditions, particularly in the railroad industry. The operations carried on by the board comprise the second largest governmental system of social insurance in the United States and the only Federal system designed to serve the employees of a single industry.

Mr. Speaker, it is of interest to observe that in 1958 the board paid out more than a billion dollars in retirement, survivor, unemployment and sickness benefits. Of the amount paid out in 1958, benefit payments under the Railroad Retirement Act came to \$745 million, with \$571 million going to 526,000 retired employees and their wives and \$174 million being paid to 296,000 survivors of deceased employees. At the end of 1958, some 725,000 persons were receiving monthly retirement or survivor benefits.

Under the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act, benefit payments in 1958 totaled over \$280 million, with \$228 million in unemployment benefits being paid to 350,000 employees and about \$52 million going to 155,000 who were sick.

Despite the expanding workload and the complexities introduced into its operations over the years through legislation, the Board has maintained maximum efficiency and economy in its operations. At the present time, the number on its payroll is about 2,400.

The ratio of administrative expenses to benefit payments has been steadily decreasing through the years and has now reached a very low point. In 1957-58, under the railroad retirement system, it cost slightly more than 1 cent to pay \$1 in benefits.

Under the unemployment insurance system during the same period, administrative costs came to about 4 cents periodilar in benefits; the cost here including those for operating a free placement service for unemployed railroad workers.

I think it is quite evident that the Railroad Retirement Board has achieved a high degree of efficiency and economy in its operations. Notwithstanding the progress it has made, the Board is not content to rest on its past achievements. In fact, the Board is constantly reviewing all of its activities for the purpose of operating at the lowest possible cost.

For example, we are getting an excellent demonstration of the efficient manner in which the Board has consistently performed by the way in which it is now handling the recent amendments to the acts. The bill was signed by the President on May 19, 1959, and the increases under the Railroad Retirement Act became effective on June 1, 1959. meant that the increases were actually due and payable for the month of June to the approximately 743,000 persons on the Board's retirement and survivor benefit rolls. Virtually all of these increases will be reflected in the checks, prepared by Board personnel in Chicago, dated and mailed for July 1 delivery.

Under the amendments to the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act, approximately 450,000 employees are due to get retroactive benefits for unemployment and sickness in 1958-59 and the last half of 1957-58. This, in itself, is a gigantic job; the Board has already set up the machinery with which to expedite the handling of these retroactive payments. As a matter of fact, some 3,000 current beneficiaries are already receiving checks at the higher rates set by the amendments.

The efforts which the Board is making to administer its programs efficiently and economically and to render the maximum possible service to the millions of people in the railroad industry and their families are certainly appreciated, and it is my great pleasure to pay this well-deserved tribute to the members

and employees of the board for their record of achievement.

Mr. Speaker, in concluding this tribute to the Railroad Retirement Board and its competent staff, I wish to commend particularly the officials and employees who during my congressional career have rendered at all times the finest assistance possible when called upon for information and service.

This group includes Mr. Frank Mc-Kenna, chief executive officer of the Railroad Retirement Board, and Mr. Robert H. LaMotte, director of retirement claims, both in the Chicago office; Mr. J. E. Walsh, Washington liaison officer; Mr. Patrick F. Murphy, regional director of the Cleveland, Ohio, regional office; and Mr. Charles F. Spearing, district manager of the Altoona, Pa., district office.

#### Inflation and the Debt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. LAURENCE CURTIS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. CURTIS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, in extension of my remarks I include an excellent editorial from the Boston Sunday Herald of June 7, 1959, entitled "Inflation and the Debt," which pleads for fiscal responsibility:

INFLATION AND THE DEBT

President Eisenhower recently called the cost of servicing the national debt (now \$8.1 billion a year) almost unconscionable. Most taxpayers agree.

But the cost will be a lot higher before it is lower.

The Treasury will soon ask Congress to raise the interest ceiling on long-term Government bonds. The 4.25 percent top set by Congress in 1917 is no longer workable. The Treasury is simply unable to float 5-year bonds in the present market. And it is overloaded with short-term debt. It will have to pay higher rates.

The cheap money people insist that higher rates would be inflationary. But this puts the cart before the horse. Inflation is what has driven interest rates up. Outstanding Government bonds are now selling to yield 4.3 percent and up. New bonds can't be floated for less, no matter what Congress says.

The way to prevent high debt costs is to curb inflation and restore faith in the stability of the dollar. And this can't be done by pegging interest rates at an unrealistic level. Indeed, if Congress refuses to raise the interest ceiling, the Federal Reserve may be forced to bolster the Government bond market again, and one of our most effective controls over inflation will be lost.

Congress should give up the search for easy solutions and follow the President's lead. It should lift the interect ceiling (and the debt ceiling, too) so that the Government can borrow in the open market. But it should also hold the line on spending so that the budget can be balanced in 1960 and a beginning made on reducing the debt.

There is no other way out. Inflation is making debt service costly. And the debt is feeling the inflation. They must be handled together.

## The Common Plight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I have asked unanimous consent to insert in the Congressional Record a portion of an editorial appearing in the April 21 issue of the Sturgis (S. Dak.) Tribune which I feel merits the thought of Mem-

bers of Congress generally.

The editorial is, in part, as follows:

THE COMMON PLIGHT

During recent weeks we have been privileged to attend county-wide meetings of both the Farmers Union and the Farm Bureau. Both sessions were most interesting and informative. They also reflected the opposite approaches to the farm problem of the State's two largest farm organizations.

It is not surprising that Congress has thus far been unable to come up with a satisfactory farm program when the farmers themselves disagree so strongly on what is best for agriculture, and on what Government's role should be in it. Undoubtedly, Congress would be more inclined to go along with farm proposals that had the united backing of the farmers. But the Farm Bureau, the largest farm organization in the Nation, and the Farmers Union, second largest nationwide but the largest in South Dakota, are promoting diametrically opposite farm objectives.

#### POLITICAL ACTION

The Farmers Union, as was pointed out at the recent meeting at Elm Springs, believes that farm prices are made in Washington and that legislation is the answer to the farmer's problems. "The Farmers Union is committed to a program of political action," one spokesman said at the Elm Springs meeting, because we feel it is necessary if we are to obtain our objectives.

"We'd better play politics and play it hard if we're ever going to get a sound farm program again," commented the Grain Terminal Association spokesman at the Farmers Union meeting. He also made it plain that he meant partisan politics. A plea was made at the meeting for greater support of affiliate cooperatives so the Farmers Union would have more money for its educational fund. It was explained this fund is used to tell the "farmer's side of the story" to urban citizens and to obtain favorable farm legislation.

The Farm Bureau, on the other hand, made it plain at its earlier Elk Creek meeting that it believes there is already too much Government in agriculture. It advocates a free market and less Government control for the farmer. It also favors a flexible system of price supports guided by supply and demand rather than high rigid supports.

"The Farm Bureau is not a political organization," stated the Meade County Farm Bureau president at the Elk Creek meeting. "However, we should see to it that candidates represent our way of thinking before we vote for them, regardless of political party."

#### VARIED METHODS

Thus, both farm organizations recognize the importance of supporting candidates who are sympathetic to their objectives. Both want "economic justice for the farmer," but their methods of obtaining it are vastly

different—one wants more Government; the other wants less.

It is highly unlikely that these two farm organizations can provide a united farm program front because of these basic differences. Consequently, it is difficult for Congress to decide what is best for the farmer and the country as a whole. No matter which direction farm legislation takes, the congressional Representatives—and the administration—lose support among a sizable bloc of farmers.

Perhaps it is unreasonable to expect the farmers to present a unified stand on farm programs. There are possibly more free-thinkers among farmers than any other single segment of the population, and they cherish their right to disagree. But farmers comprise about 11 percent of the entire U.S. population and a unified minority is much more effective than a divided one.

There is little doubt that the farmer is caught in an unhealthy cost-price squeeze. His costs have been rising while prices have either stabilized or gone down.

Inflation has hurt the city dwellers, too, but generally wages have gone up there. It is true, however, that the cost of living has managed to more than eat up the increased wages. Thus, the urban residents share a common plight with their rural neighbors.

It is our guess that Congress can do more to help the farmer and city dweller alike by combating the ills that cause inflation than anything else short of keeping the peace. It is our observation that inflation is bred in Congress, and that is where it should be eliminated.

We believe the American people will present a united front if Congress will tackle that objective. And make no mistake about it, it will require the cooperation of the public if Congress is to make any progress in eliminating this economic evil. Congress is sensitive to the demands of the people, and the citizenry should cry out so loudly against inflationary measures that there is no mistaking the will of the people.

Even the voice in the wilderness is some-

#### The Food-for-Peace Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a fine newsletter prepared by Representative George McGovern, of South Dakota, be printed in the Appendix of the Record. This newsletter gives a very succinct and concise analysis of the provisions of the bill, as well as the purposes for which it was introduced.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Congressman George McGovern)

MAY 25, 1959.

DEAR FRIENDS: Although the American people are understandably concerned about the mounting level of farm surpluses, we ought not to lose sight of the potential value of our food abundance. Throughout history, those nations blessed with plentiful food re-

sources have flourished; conversely, nations suffering from food shortages have languished.

#### OUR DAILY BREAD

"Give us this day our daily bread" is still the prayer of human beings in the far corners of the earth. For most Americans, it is the prayer of gratitude for ample food. But for more than a billion human beings it is the cry of hunger—the feeble plea of the old man begging on the streets of Cairo, the child whimpering for milk in Bombay, the weary African mother trying to convert a few scraps into an evening meal for her family.

For several years, I have been advocating a more imaginative use of our farm abundance. It has seemed to me that piling up vast quantities of food in a world of misery and hunger is morally wrong, economically wasteful, and politically dangerous. Morally, we are losing sight of the Great Teacher's admonition to feed the hungry and clothe the naked. Economically, we are paying hundreds of millions of dolairs a year in storage costs for commodities that are already beginning to deteriorate. Politically, we are creating an unfavorable image of Uncle Sam abroad when we wring our hands over our surplus food problem in full view of the world's hungry inhabitants.

#### FOOD AND FOREIGN RELATIONS

I wonder if we fully realize the power of food in our relations with other countries. Is it posible that many of the underdeveloped nations now receiving expensive military shipments from the United States would be more impressed and better strengthened by less costly shipments of food?

Personally, I become more convinced each day that our most powerful material asset in building a world of peace and freedom is our food abundance. It seems probable to me that the remarkable productivity of the American farmer, if properly used, can be a more decisive factor in the struggle between freedom and communism than the sputnik. The hungry multitudes of Asia, Africa, and the Middle East are far more interested in bread, medical care, and schools than in any number of jets and sputniks. Does anyone wonder what the crafty Khrushchev would do if he had America's surplus food to use in his international operations?

#### BREAD VERSUS GUNS

In a few days, Congress will be considering the President's request of \$3.9 billion for next year's foreign assistance program. Of the \$3.9 billion the President has requested, \$2.6 billion is for military aid, including defense support and the contingency fund; \$1.3 billion is requested for economic and technical assistance

Many of us in the Congress are becoming more concerned each month with the heavy emphasis of the foreign aid program on the side of military hardware. A sizeable amount of such aid is going to undemocratic governments that rule over people suffering from poverty, hunger, and disease. It seems such people would not make very good fighters for freedom.

After pouring millions of dollars in military equipment into Iraq to bolster this country against communism, we saw our military aid used by Iraqi military leaders to destroy the local government and then engineer a working alliance with the Rus-

American military supplies, poured into Pakistan, have so frightened her neighbors that Afghanistan has made a deal with Russia for arms and India has taken a hundred million dollars out of her economic development program and placed it in orders for military equipment with the British and French.

In still other instances, guns and tanks sent by the United States of America have been used by unpopular dictators, not to fight communism, but to resist local reform movements demanded by the people.

For these reasons, I am going to support amendments that will cut several hundred million dollars from our military shipments to underdeveloped nations. At the same time, I will continue to push legislation that I have introduced calling for an expanded use of our farm surpluses overseas as well as in the United States.

#### FOOD FOR PEACE ACT, 1959

On April 20, I introduced a comprehensive bill known as the Food for Peace Act of 1959, containing the following provisions:

1. The sale of surplus farm commodities for foreign currencies to the extent of \$2 billion a year for the next 5 years.

2. Outright grants of food surpluses to countries experiencing famine or chronic

hunger.

3. Continued encouragement to church groups and other voluntary private agen-cies that wish to distribute surplus commodities overseas on a direct people-topeople basis. This section of the bill also includes grants of surplus farm stocks to public and private agencies for use in the United States in the school lunch program, nonprofit summer children's camps, charitable institutions including hospitals, and needy citizens.

4. Agreements with friendly countries to establish foundations to promote education, health, research and other projects from foreign currencies accruing to the United States through the sale of farm surpluses. We could literally convert surplus farm commodities into education and health.

5. A Peace Food Administration under the President to direct the various operations

provided for in the legislation.

Under Public Law 480, we are already moving surpluses to other countries. Included in that program is a truly fine section that permits the churches and other private institutions to distribute surplus commodities overseas. The church world service groups have done a magnificent job with this most valuable program. In my view, this particular activity is the finest single example of the kind of people-topeople relationships that the world desperately needs.

"Food for Peace" is more than a slogan, It offers a partial solution to our agricultural problem and will at the same time relieve much of the suffering of a world that looks to America for leadership in this

crucial hour. Your friend and Representative in Con-

GEORGE MCGOVERN.

Participation by State of Oregon in Atlantic Congress Meeting in London Under Auspices of North Atlantic Treaty Organization

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, which has shielded Western Europe from aggressive communism, represents one of the great and thrilling projects of our time.

This week in London, the Atlantic Congress has been meeting under the

auspices of NATO to help add prestige and strength to this alliance of 15 free nations.

We in Oregon are proud that our State has two delegates at the NATO Conference. Both are outstanding women in the life of the State. One is Mrs. EDITH S. GREEN, able Member of Congress from the Third Oregon District, who is known throughout the country for her sponsorship of legislation dealing with juvenile delinquency, libraries, and similar matters. The other is my wife, Maurine Brown Neuberger, a three-term member of our State legislature, with many interests in such realms as retarded children, physical education, modern dance, and improved nutrition.

Furthermore, another delegate to the Atlantic Congress is Palmer Hoyt, editor of the Denver Post of Denver, Colo., but formerly a native of Pendleton, Oreg., and a former publisher of the Oregonian

in Portland.

It is splendid that this participation in the great NATO meeting threads throughout the whole country-to the Rocky Mountains, to the Pacific seaboard, and to all other regions as symbolized by America's 130 delegates.

Mr. President, in the June 15, 1959. issue of U.S. News & World Report, Mr. David Lawrence has contributed an excellent editorial entitled "The Miracle of NATO," and I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Lawrence's article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD along with my remarks.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

> THE MIRACLE OF NATO (By David Lawrence)

LONDON.-It is not just a political alliance known, because of its initials, as NATO.

It is not merely a military bloc, though one of its objects is the common defense

of its 15 member countries.

Its name—the North Atlantic Treaty Organization-covers not only the military objective but something far more important to the world. For here is an association of free nations, knit together by common interests, and yet not one of them is yielding its soveregnty or limiting the freedom of its own people.

The Atlantic Congress, which has been meeting here under the auspices of NATO. is an assembly of delegates from the various countries which are members. They gathered ostensibly to celebrate the 10th anniversary of NATO itself, but in reality to explore ways and means of promoting further benefits that can accrue when free peoples get together to discuss all kinds of problems affecting their daily lives.

But, it might be asked, Wasn't this the original purpose of the League of Nations and of its successor, the United Nations? In a broad sense this was the theme of the founders of both those organizations. The open hostility of the Communist governments to the free nations made it necessary a decade ago for the countries threatened with attack to unite in a system of collective defense, which contingency was itself provided for in the Charter of the United

NATO has been an unexpected success. Whether it is the realization of the common danger or whether it is an awareness of the necessity for international cooperation even when war is not imminent, the fact remains that 15 countries, large and small, have bound themselves together without surrendering their sovereignty.

This is a time in the world, moreover, when nationalism has lost none of its fervor. Colony after colony has broken away from the mother country to assert its independence. Never before have there been so many autonomous entities as are inscribed now on the world map.

There are, at the same time, those who would curtail, if not wipe out, the last vestiges of sovereignty in a "one world" concept. There are others who argue for a union of major states in a governmental sense, and still others who, in their eagerness to remove trade barriers, would break down boundary lines and bring about actual mergers of governments. Something of this sort has developed in the Middle East in the United Arab Republic, and there are advocates of a United States of Europe who look ahead to a combination of states patterned after our own country.

But nationalism is deeply ingrained. Patriotism is an essential to national life. Tradition is dear to free peoples. So we see today a striking contradiction-at the very time when smaller nations are striving for independence, many other nations are finding a basis for more and more international co-

operation.

Undoubtedly a merged military force tends to bring about a merger of other elements in the field of government, but the success of NATO emphasizes that it isn't at all necessary to yield any sovereignty or to subordinate one government to another or to create a supergovernment to which all the For NATO components parts pay homage. is an example of togetherness that need not be formal but which progresses because a common purpose actuates all the member countries

Disputes there are between them from time to time on what might be termed local matters. These will doubtless arise in the future as they have in the past but, as long as the family spirit of today prevails, there is less and less chance of serious friction between the NATO countries.

Conferences of delegates such as have gathered here afford an opportunity for an exchange of ideas and a mingling of prominent individuals in all walks of life from every one of the member countries. Progress cannot always be recorded in a tangible sense because in international intercourse the intangibles play an even greater

An exchange of goods and services, for instance, by lowering tariff and quota barriers has come to be recognized inside Europe as essential to a prosperous economy for all countries. The fight against poverty and low standards of living is now coming to be understood as one that cannot be left wholly to the doctrine of the survival of the fittest. There must be cooperation between peoples on the economic as well as on the military and the political fronts.

NATO is a miracle primarily because it is a symbol of good feeling, of brotherhood among nations, and of successful collaboration through a sharing of skills and knowledge so that free nations may continue to live in independence, preserving all the advantages of autonomy but gaining also all the advantages that come from pooling their individual resources for the common good.

#### The Case for Fair Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. GORDON H. SCHERER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Ed Wimmer, the capable and dynamic vice president and public relations director of the National Federation of Independent Business, is perhaps the principal leader in the fight for reasonable fair trade legislation at the Federal level. Mr. Wimmer is a Cincinnatian and, I am happy to say, a constituent of mine.

Mr. Wimmer has called to my attention the lead editorial in the June 4 edition of the Cincinnati Enquirer entitled "The Case for Fair Trade." This is an excellent and well-reasoned editorial. In view of the fact that the Congress is presently considering such legislation, I feel that every Member should have the opportunity to read and study the contents of this editorial. The editorial follows:

[From the Cincinnati Enquirer, June 4, 1959]

THE CASE FOR FAIR TRADE

Few subjects in our modern economic life have been discussed as vehemently—and with less real comprehension of the underlying principle—as fair trade.

The popular concept is that fair trade laws are enacted to keep people from getting bargains, or to prevent healthful competition, or to make the public pay more for manufactured goods than they are worth.

To see what fair trade really means, and how it operates, let's suppose you organize a company. You're going to manufacture electric irons—good electric irons, the best that can be made. You pay for research, to obtain the latest features in your product. You buy expensive machinery, hire skilled craftsmen, organize a merchandising and advertising campaign to create a popular demand for your irons.

Your electric iron is not cheap, but you are convinced that the public will pay a fair

price for a really good iron.

First, though, you must sell them to appliance dealers throughout the country—unless you intend to operate thousands of retail stores yourself, which would be uneconomical if not impossible.

The thing that the appliance dealer wants to know is—can he sell them, or will be get

stuck with them?

In your case, it being a good iron and properly promoted, he can be convinced of its salability. But he might be stuck with them in another way. Suppose, after he's purchased a good inventory and sold some to his best customers, a discount house or the like around the corner starts selling them "at wholesale"?

His best customers will accuse the dealer of having gypped them. And if the retailer tries to meet the wholesale price, he is soon out of business. After all, he is renting his store, paying his help and keeping going on the usual traditional spread between whole-

sale and retail prices.

This doesn't have to happen too often, or too long, before you and your good iron manufacturing company are caught in a deadly vise. Once your product has gone the round of the discount houses and the special sales, how many retailers are going to stock up on your iron? And when you lose the promotion and merchandising support of the ethical retailers, even the discount houses and special sellers will lose interest in you. Or they'll demand special price concessions that would make it impossible for you to continue manufacturing a good iron.

Fair trade, in essence, requires all dealers in your product to observe the suggested price. It is a protection for the independent retailer as well as the manufacturer of trade-

name wares.

It does not end competition. Nonfairtraded products are subject to any price manipulation. And there always is the compelling factor of rivalry between manufacturers in the various fields.

What is so heinous about permitting a man—you, in the electric iron business—to suggest a retail price that will be adequate to keep you and your retailers in business?

The issue is being threshed out in Congress and the State Legislatures. The public, we think, would do well to look at the broad principle involved. The bargains available when fair trade breaks down may be very illusory.

Alabama: Men and Commerce

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. FRANK W. BOYKIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. BOYKIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I include an article by a great magazine which is published in my beloved State of Alabama. The name of this magazine is "Hearth and State" and it serves our senior citizens. I wish we had a way of showing the picture on the cover of this beautiful blue and white magazine, as it shows a picture of a great and good man, Charles Meri-wether, State finance director of the State of Alabama. Then follows an article entitled "Meriwether: Man With a Mission." I don't think they said nearly enough; however, what they did say about my friend, Charlie Meriwether, and about our great Governor, Gov. John Patterson, of Alabama, is very good. What a great job these men are doing.

Then, I see in the Mobile Press Register, one of the oldest papers in this Nation, issue of Sunday, June 7, 1959, in headlines that cover five columns, that Mobile tops southeastern ports in foreign shipping. I am also including that article in the Record, along with this article about Charlie Meriwether, one of the cabinet members in Gov. John Patterson's great cabinet there in the Jeff Davis Capitol and our Capitol at Montgomery, Ala.

· Well, they have another great cabinet member there, the Honorable Earl Mc-Gowin, and I wouldn't be surprised some day if we did not see this same man as Governor of Alabama. He and his three famous brothers have been such outstanding successes in their businesses. They have one of the largest lumber businesses in this country, and they have have not only had it themselves, but their father before them, as well as their uncle, had it. It is a great familythese McGowins; and Governor Patterson selected Charles Meriwether as State finance director, and he also selected the Honorable Earl McGowin as director of the great State docks at Mobile, where our taxpayers have spent about \$50 million-with not 1 nickel's worth of Federal funds going into these docks; and how thankful and how proud we are of them, and how proud I am of the Mobile Register for giving it so much publicity, saying that Mobile,

Ala., tops the southeastern ports in foreign shipping. How I wish everybody could know more about Alabama and its people.

Well, we are getting to know them, and our congressional delegation—the great Senator Lister Hill and Senator John Sparkman and all of our Representatives—are doing such a good job. I see that they honored Senator Lister Hill yesterday at Atlantic City for the great work that he is doing in health—not only for Alabama and the South, but for the entire United States. It is most gratifying to have one of our boys noticed a little up in that Yankee country.

Then, I had with me last night the great Thomas Wesley Martin, chairman of the board of the Alabama Power Co., along with the president of the Alabama Power Co., Mr. Walter Bouldin, and when we read in the paper about the great honor that had been conferred on our outstanding senior Senator from Alabama, way up in Atlantic City, there on the Atlantic Ocean, Mr. Martin said: "I did not know all about this great operation that is told about in this article-that Senator Hnl's father, Dr. Hill of Montgomery, Ala., was the first man that operated successfully on a human heart." Well, he was, and I have talked to LISTER and his wonderful wife and all of his family about it many times. Mr. Martin, this great humanitarian who has done so much for all mankind, said: Frank, I believe LISTER's father, Dr. Hill, should go in the Hall of Fame." Well, I think it is a good thought and we are going to work on it this very day.

So many good things are coming today. I flew down to Richmond, Va., yesterday in a special plane. We made it there from Washington in 25 minutes. I had a talk with those fabulous Reynolds folks, and we are going to have one of the greatest plants—metal plants—that the great Reynolds boys have on earth, right at Lister Hill, Ala.

So, truly, we are coming into our own; and Mr. Speaker, as Tom Martin said one night when he was introducing Dr. Charles Kettering, about 3 days before Dr. Kettering went to his reward-"Surely, this part of the 20th century belongs to the South and the Southwest. That is true, and you, Mr. Speaker, and our great leader, JOHN McCORMACK, and so many of my colleagues here in this great body have helped and are helping us so much. I wish we could see and talk to every one of them that are helping, but I am sure they know that our people in the great State of Alabama appreciate everything that they have done and are doing to help us.

This great CLARENCE CANNON, chairman of the Appropriations Committee, gave us \$8 million for the Jackson lock and dam last week in the public works appropriation bill. A little farther up the Tombigbee River he gave Congressman Armistead Seldon's district \$150,000. Well, our own George Andrews is on this great committee, helping, pulling, and praying—just like both of our Senators and our entire congressional dele-

gation have done, are doing, and will continue to do, and that is to work for the development of our great undeveloped country, where we have so many undeveloped resources—human resources as well as natural resources. Truly, this part of the 20th century does belong to the South.

[From the Mobile Press Register, June 7, 1959]

MOBILE TOPS SOUTHEASTERN PORTS IN FOREIGN SHIPPING—\$3,200,000 GAIN MADE IN EX-PORTS AS OTHER HARBORS DROP \$85,100,000

Mobile made the best foreign trade showing of any port in the southeastern United States during the first quarter of 1959, according to Bureau of Census reports released yesterday by Merrill C. Lofton, Commerce Department field manager at Atlanta, Ga.

While total exports through the six customs districts in the Southeast were \$85.1 million below the first quarter of 1958, Mobile had a \$3.2 million export gain.

And Mobile contributed \$7.7 million of a \$67.5 million increase in imports, handled through the six customs districts.

With Mobile reporting the only export gain, substantial drops in exports were recorded for the New Orleans, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, and North Carolina districts.

All the districts gained in imports, with the exception of Georgia, which dropped about \$1 million.

According to an Associated Press dispatch from Atlanta, exports showed a rather general pattern all over the country of being below last year but a 16 percent decline in exports from the southeastern ports was 10 percent greater than the national drop.

On the other hand, a 22 percent rise in imports in the Southeast was 8 percent more than an import gain registered for all the Nation's ports.

MERIWETHER: MAN WITH A MISSION

How does the Patterson administration hope to raise the money needed to pay the senior citizens of Alabama the \$75 they need and justly deserve?

and justly deserve?

As Gov. John Patterson has said time and time again, "by cutting out waste in government spending and allowing the taxpayer a dollar's worth of service for a dollar's worth of taxes."

The keyman in helping Patterson with this important job is the State finance director, Charles M. Meriwether.

Already, at the beginning of an administration pledged to cut out waste in government spending, records show Meriwether has saved the State thousands upon thousands of dollars by making sure the State purchases the best merchandise, at the best and cheapest prices, and all on competitive bids.

Meriwether is up early and on the job at the State capitol 5 days a week. And leaving the Capitol he usually is seen carrying a well-filled briefcase with work to be finished at home.

Around Capitol Hill, the personable Meriwether is known as a man who means business. When he moves, he moves fast.

But the former public relations man and recordbreaking salesman is also known as a man with a good sense of humor, who smiles and speaks to everyone.

In addition to keeping tab on the purse strings of the State's money, Meriwether also is active in civic affairs. He is State chairman of the Alabama Chapter of the National Multiple Scierosis Society.

He became interested in helping the thousands of Alabamians who are victims of multiple scierosis because a long-time friend of his has the disease.

Meriwether is married and has three children, Leslie Ann, 19; Beverly, 18; and Charles, Jr., 15. He is a member of the Methodist Church. He says he once played golf but doesn't have time now. He neither smokes nor drinks. In his spare time he likes to putter about the yard.

He is on record as saying the Patterson administration is working long and hard to get Alabama's senior citizens the \$75 a mouth they so justly deserve.

### Afghanistan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, I wish to salute the people of Afghanistan, His Majesty Almutawakel-AlAllah Mohammed Zaher Shah, and His Excellency M. H. Maiwandiwal, the country's

lency M. H. Maiwandiwal, the country's Ambassador to the United States, for having secured their complete political independence some 40 years ago and for today occupying a rightful and dignified place among the world's free nations.

Though presently the country lags behind many others in the various fields of human endeavor, that has not always been the case. For in bygone days history-reveals there were periods when Afghanistan enjoyed an advanced civilization which spread into the adjacent areas. It was here that the Aryans for the first time took to sedentary life and framed a rudimentary form of democratic government. The Afghans com-plain that foreign invasions directed against their independence and violations of their territorial integrity by hordes of warriors of various nationalities with accompanying wars have left the country and its people considerably lagging in the march of the 20th-century civilization.

Afghanistan, about the size of Texas and a landlocked mountainous country of some 12 million, is bordered by China, Iran, the Soviet Union, and Pakistan, is the crossroads between Asia, the Middle East, and the Indian subcontinent, and is one of the most popular countries of that section of the world.

Since World War II Afghanistan has maintained consistently friendly relations with Persia, India, China, Soviet Russia as well as with the United States. During this period Afghanistan has received from the United States \$117,294,000 in grants, loans, and assistance.

Prime Minister Daud in a radio report to the nation stated in 1956:

The main objectives before us as a sovereign and peace-loving nation are to raise the standard of living of the people and to insure their material and spiritual well-being, for the achievement of which we must fight ignorance, disease, and poverty.

Moreover, he added:

Relations between Afghanistan and other states have continued on a basis of neutrality, and by maintaining this traditional policy, efforts have been made to strengthen and develop friendly relations with the peoples and nations of the world.

The Afghan foreign policy is expressive of the collective spirit of its people. They are warmhearted, 'honest, trusting, generous, and tolerant people and mind their own business so long as they are not interfered with, I am told. Slowly becoming aware of the limitations of their life in comparison to the more advanced nations of the world, they wholeheartedly support plans and projects designed to bring them and their country more prosperity and a higher standard of life. For which reason the Afghans are highly appreciative of the technical aid and assistance extended by the big powers. Yet their desire for continued independence without interference from anyone, their love of freedom and self-respect dictated their current neutrality in an otherwise cold war

Their tradition of hospitality is well known and it is reported that a total stranger to any Afghan home would be warmly received and would be offered the best food and if there were only one sleeping room it would be his for the visit.

For Americans to be identified with such a proud people and for Afghans to accept our offers of friendship is mutually rewarding and though our entry there might have been competitively motivated, we are enriched as they by the relationship. For since time immemorial Afghanistan has not only been a marketplace for the exchange of ideas and cultural values, but it has been a birthplace for new ideas and values, a land whose history may contain some important lessons for the man who would be a scholar of history or a citizen of the world.

In the words of Afghan Minister for Foreign Affairs, Sardar Mohammed Naim, before the United Nations in 1955:

The establishment of feasible and verifiable confidence among nations will help reduce tension, and that in turn will clear the way for disarmament \* \*. Nuclear energy instead of being thought of as the angry demon of destruction bent on the annihilation of the human race, will become the powerful angel dedicated to the well-being of mankind.

Again civilization may find a new vitality in a land that nurtured our Western culture.

## The New Battle for Conservation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. ROBERT W. LEVERING

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. LEVERING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Congressional Record, I am inserting a most thoughtful editorial about conservation from the Columbus (Ohio) Dispatch for June 6, 1959.

This editorial recounts some of the history of the conservation movement in this country and it underscores the need for a new battle for conservation to pre-

vent the spoilation of our forests, lakes, and other natural resources. I commend it to the attention of my colleagues, and to the public, for I feel, as do the editors of this newspaper that this is a vital subject deserving of great thought and attention on the part of the people.

The editorial follows:

[From the Columbus (Ohio) Dispatch, June 6, 1959]

CONSERVATION

Early in the administration of Theodore Rooseveit, the President with the purpose in mind of breaking the strangle-hold of a small minority on the sources of wealth which should be open to the honest endeavors of all the people—under the guidance of Gifford Pinchot—embraced the Policy of conservation.

The established theory in regard to natural resources was that the general prosperity of the country could best be advanced by the development of these resources through private capital, and upon this theory land was either given away or sold

for a trifle.

Under this policy, over wide areas, the timber lands had been stripped bare with reckless waste; the control of the Nation's water power had to a dangerous extent passed into private hands, and the public grazing lands and the wealth in minerals and oil in the public domain were bringing enormous dividends to a few, but no returns whatsoever to the people as a whole to whom these natural resources belonged.

Under Roosevelt's administration the area of the national forests was increased from 43 to 194 million acres, the water power resources of those areas were put under Government control to prevent speculation and monopoly, and cattle raisers grazing their herds on the reserves were forced to pay for

What they got.

No policy of Roosevelt's administration excited deeper public interest or sharper opposition than his efforts in behalf of conservation. His official acts and the influence of his speeches and messages led to the adoption by both citizens and Government of a new theory regarding natural resources. It is that the Government, acting for the

It is that the Government, acting for the people who are the real owners of public Property, shall permanently retain fee in Public lands, leaving their products to be developed by private capital under leases which are limited in their duration and which give the Government complete power to regulate the industrial operations of the leases.

Unfortunately, although legislation enacted during the Roosevelt administration did much to promote conservation, the Nation's natural resources are still threatened to-

All over the country powerful interests, representing themselves as the majority, are closing in, bent on despoiling and obliterating every last vestige of original America. While national parks preserve less than 1 percent of our land in primeval condition, glant dams are proposed for four of them, and lumbermen demand the finest forests in the fifth.

National forests provide less than I percent of the Nation's cattle-feed requirements, yet embattled stockmen are asking for the forests as their private preserve. Miners and sheepmen want the national monuments. State Parks are succumbing to commercial interests. Marshes are drained, lakes emptied, and predators exterminated so that wildlife suffers from unbalance.

Each year thousands of acres of timber are indiscriminately hacked and burned, the range is depleted, soil exhausted, erosion accelerated, streams polluted, and air contaminated.

Years ago Americans who valued this original America, became alarmed at the rapidity with which it was disappearing. They started a movement for the preservation of natural resources, both economic and scenic, which has ever since been known as conservation.

The time is now at hand again for a similar battle to be waged. Thoughtful Americans must begin thinking, talking, reading, and spreading the importance of conservation.

Representative Charles O. Porter, of Oregon, Leads Fight To Improve Government Employees' Security Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, one of the outstanding young liberals in the House of Representatives is Representative Charles O. Porter, of the Fourth Oregon District. Mr. Porter has been waging a strong fight against extending the Government employee security program to jobs which are in a nonsensitive area.

In his efforts Mr. Porter has had the implied endorsement of the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, the Honorable Roger Jones, who has cast doubt in testimony on the need for such legislation. When asked by Representative Porter, Mr. Jones said he didn't know whether the Government is faced with any emergency program, and that any undesirable employee can be discharged under existing legislation.

The well-known local columnist on Federal personnel matters, Joseph Young of the Washington Evening Star, has written an article, published in his paper of June 4, 1959, describing the effective and brilliant work of Representative Porter in this field. Mr. Young adds—

The Oregonian certainly has become one of the committee's most valued members.

This refers to the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record Mr. Joseph Young's column of June 4 from the Washington Evening Star.

There being no objection, the column was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JONES DEALS BLOW TO SECURITY BILL

(By Joseph Young)

The bill to extend the Government's loyalty security program to nonsensitive jobs has suffered a considerable setback.

During House Civil Service Committee hearings yesterday on the measure, no less an administration spokesman than Civil Service Commission Chairman Roger Jones disclosed that he was not aware the Government is faced with any emergency problem because of the Supreme Court decision several years ago limiting the security program to sensitive tobs only

to sensitive jobs only.

The question as to whether an emergency existed was asked by Representative Porter. Democrat, of Oregon, who has led the fight against the Murray-Rees bill to extend the loyalty security program to nonsensitive jobs. Mr. Porter contends that such a law is not needed, and that if nonsensitive jobs are brought under the loyalty security program, employees should be given the right to full appeals and hearings, together with the right to know the charges against them and the right to confront their accusers.

Otherwise, Mr. PORTER feels, countless injustices could result against employees in the guise of security, such as the loss of their jobs and the failure to find other ones because of being condemned as security risks,

In response to Mr. Porter's question, Mr. Jones said he didn't know whether the Government is faced with any emergency problem. He said he couldn't say "Yes" and he couldn't say "No." But the fact that Mr. Jones could not definitely say that an emergency existed was selzed on by Mr. Porter and other committee members who feel that no new law is necessary to prove they are on the right track.

The bill's sponsors have contended the Government is faced with a critical situation because the Federal service is honeycombed with Communists in nonsensitive jobs who could play havoc with national security.

#### NO COMMUNISTS

But Mr. Jones declared that he did not think any of the 109 persons who were restored to their Government jobs as a result of the Supreme Court decision (the employees were all in nonsensitive jobs) were Communists,

If they were, they could have been fired under other laws which permit firing of Government workers who are Communists, regardless of whether they are in sensitive or nonsensitive jobs, Mr. Jones said.

The CSC chief pointed out that any undesirable employee on the Federal payroll can be fired under the Lloyd-LaFollette Act. Also, a 1950 law provides for the firing of any Communist in Government.

Mr. Jones did say that the Supreme Court decision posed some problems for the Government, but he did not have time to elaborate on what they were and will return for further questioning next week.

further questioning next week.

While Mr. Jones shied away from expressing a definite opinion on the Murray-Rees bill, observers at the hearing felt that he had grave reservations about extending a general loyalty-security program to all Federal workers.

Representatives FOLEY, Democrat of Maryland, and Corbett, Republican, of Pennsylvania, also expressed misgivings about extending the loyalty-security program to nonsensitive jobs.

It was stressed that such character defects as immorality, drunkenness, indebtedness, unsavory associations, etc., could be lumped under the term "security risk." when the character defect had nothing to do with the actual security of the United States.

Yet an employee so fired as a "security risk" would probably be ruined for life as far as getting another job is concerned, it was pointed out.

It was also stated that these employees can now be fired easily enough under regular civil service suitability regulations.

Incidentally, Mr. PORTER has done a brilliant job during the hearings in his examination of witnesses. The Oregonian certainly has become one of the committee's most valued members.

## Poison in Your Water-No. 107

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I am inserting into the Appendix of the Congres-SIONAL RECORD an article appearing in the Rockaway Beach (N.Y.) Wave of April 30, 1959, entitled "Reminiscing."

#### REMINISCING

Several generations ago there were many oystermen and clam diggers at the beach, who may now be classed as forgotten men. There was a time when Rockaway oysters grown in Jamaica Bay were considered among the best and were in great demand. The largest grower in the bay was Harmen Schmeelk, whose beds were in the bay between the beach and Grassy Point, Broad Channel.

G. Wilbur Doughty, of Inwood, was a large grower of oysters in the east end of the bay, and the Lundy brothers were the third largest growers in the lower bay.

But as sections near or on Jamaica Bay began to be built up and sewers were constructed emptying into the bay, there seemed to be an increase in the number of typhoid fever cases. The State and city boards of health made an inspection and took oysters from all parts of the bay and had them tested.

It was found that the pollution of the waters of the bay by the emptying of raw sewage was the cause of typhoid fever, and the State and city boards of health hibited the planting of oysters in the bay.

#### CLAMMERS STOPPED

Under this law, digging clams is also pro-hibited. Unlike the oysterman, the clam digger, without a doubt, was one of the most abused individuals known. Very frequently, the punsters took a fling at him and he was often referred to by vaudeville actors, while the general public looked down upon him as an easygoing, shiftless nondescript, whose sole object in life was to do peculiar things and digging clams when occasion required.

But this was all untrue. The clam digger possessed more than the average intelligence, ready to speak on any subject without hesitancy, and kept in touch with the outside world pretty well. As a character, he was honest, sympathetic, and kind, and he was a toiler. He found time to study the tides and to calculate on the season's catch of shellfish.

I have often spoken to some of these clam diggers and they all said they did not mind what people called them. They took the attitude of farmers and persons living in the country who did not find any offense at being called "hayseeders."

#### BATHING PROHIBITED

Putting the lid on oystering and clamming in Jamaica Bay also included bath-ing and swimming, but there are still many persons who violate the health law. Almost any day you can see scores of men, women and children taking a swim in any part of the bay. Some day when the weather is warm, just take a ride in the subway and you will notice a large number of people in the water at Howard Beach.

There seems to be as many people enjoying a swim now as there were years ago, and the health department nor the police dulging in their favorite sport.

#### FISHING HAS SUFFERED

Pollution of the bay also has tended to make fishing less popular. Old fishermen will tell you that fishing in the bay is not what it used to be. They tell you that weakfish, bass, blackfish, and other species were plentiful anywhere in the bay. other cause for the reduced number of fish in the bay, they say, is that the numerous now keep churning up the powerboats water. Before powerboats became popular sailboats glided noiselessly over the surface and did not disturb the fish.

While some good catches of flounders, porgies and the like are still being made, the gamier fish such as the weaks and bass are not as numerous.

## Bankers' Role in Higher Education Loan Plan Is Successful

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by George H. Seal, president of the Massachusetts Higher Education Assistance Corp. These bankers are to be congratulated for their worthy endeavor.

Mr. Seal's article appeared, in the American Banker of May 15, 1959:

MASSACHUSETTS BANKERS PROUD OF ROLE IN HIGHER EDUCATION LOAN PLAN SUCCESS

(By George H. Seal, president, Massachusetts Higher Education Assistance Corp.)

Throughout the United States, the commercial banks of Massachusetts are being given well-deserved credit for their part in devising and implementing "HELP" the unique Higher Education Loan Plan inaugurated in this State 2 years ago.

HELP is a creation of the Massachusetts Higher Education Assistance Corp., organized in 1956 under a special act of the legislature, for the purpose of making bank loans available to college students on more favorable terms than had ever before been feasible. It was born of the cooperative endeavor of a self-constituted group of bankers, educators, and business leaders. They recognized the need in this highly industrialized area for an increasing flow of capable graduates in higher education.

#### TWO MILLION DOLLARS LOANED TO 4,000

In its first 2 years, HELP has made available commercial bank loans to more than 4.000 students, to a total in excess of \$2 million. Applicants are required to be domiciled in Massachusetts and to have completed the first year of their program of higher education at an approved institution. Loans are limited to \$500 in any one year, and a total of \$1,500 in 3 years.

The borrowers sign notes due and payable 6 months after graduation, at which time the banks renew the loans for 3 years, and set up a schedule of 36 equal monthly payments. Currently HELP loans are being made at 41/2 percent, of which one-half of 1 percent is paid by the banks to the corporation as each loan transaction is completed. Approval of a HELP loan by the corporation carries with

do not appear to prevent them from in- it its guarantee to the lending bank of 80 , percent of the principal amount.

#### MAINE, NEW YORK FOLLOW

The outstanding success of this "Massachusetts plan," as it is called elsewhere, has already resulted in two other States, Maine and New York, establishing identical or similar loan plans. Also, enabling legislation is now pending in several other States, including Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey. Pennsylvania, and Illinois.

What we have here is striking evidence of the great change that is taking place with respect to the use of loans to finance in part the cost of a college education. Writing in the May issue of IBM's Think magazine. Devereaux C. Josephs, who was chairman of the President's Committee on Education Be-

yond the High School, says:
"It is not inconceivable that a few years from now the typical collegian will display. as inevitably as the street signs and pennants on his wall, a promissory note to indicate his membership in the most ubiquitous fraternity of all—Iota Omicron Upsilon. And to the sonorous Latin motto of his alma mater may be added the more familiar American slogan 'Go Now; Pay Later'."

#### AT TUFTS UNIVERSITY

President Nils Y. Wessell, of Tufts University, tells us:

"At Tufts University we believe that sub-stantially increased lending programs for college students will have to supply one of the important answers to the question of adequate income for our private colleges and universities. Only through such expanded programs can charges made to students be increased to permit in turn adequate compensation for college faculties."

The keystone of HELP's structure is the corporation's guarantee to the banksof 80 percent of the principal of each loan it approves. It is this assumption of four-fifths of the credit risk that warrants the banks in making HELP on such favorable terms.

#### ONLY THREE DELINQUENTS

The corporation has been exposed to the hazard of delinquents since December 1957, when some of the first borrowers were due to sign renewal notes. However, only three loans have been declared delinquent, and one of these borrowers is now making monthly payments. Equally reassuring is the fact that some 204 borrowers have repaid their HELP loans in full, on or before their due dates, to a total of more than \$76,000.

The guarantee device plays another important part in our program, of especial appeal to contributors to our capital fund. the terms of our agreement with the banks, each \$1,000 added to our capital fund makes 12,500 bank dollars immediately available for loans to students. I know of no more effective means of expanding the usefulness of contributed funds,

To maintain its capital fund in proportion to the rising total loans, the corporation seeks tax-exempt contributions from business corporations, foundations, and individuals. Our goal for the fund in 1959 is \$250,000, and our ultimate goal is to bring it up to \$500,000 by the end of 1961. That amount will not only provide for guarantee of loans of more than \$6 million, but will also yield an investment return approximating our modest administrative expenses, and make HELP entirely self-supporting.

#### ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY BANKS PARTICIPATE

Another feature of HELP that has contributed much to its success is the fact that its operation is chiefly in the hands of the 130 commercial banks participating in the program. Their skilled and experienced loan officers sustain the entire burden of interviewing applicants, obtaining essential information, and appraising them as character Ernesto De La Fé and the Trial of Fidel and credit risks

The banks also serve as the collection agencies for HELP loans, a service that will become more important as time goes on. It is their responsibility to secure the signing of renewal notes when the original HELP loans come due, 6 months after graduation.

In case a borrower withdraws from his college course prior to graduation, the bank must establish contact with him and arrange for repayment of his loan. This is usually on a basis of monthly payments, starting immediately. In relation to these procedures the policy of referring all applicants to their hometown banks is most helpful.

In its report on the Massachusetts plan, the College Life Insurance Co. of America said: "For any one bank the cost of these services is relatively small. But if the guarantee fund (MHEAC) assumed all these services the total cost of loans of these sizes and at these interest rates would be prohibitive."

#### ENTHUSE AFTER 2 YEARS

Our educational institutions are enthusiastic about their 2 years' experience with HELP in action. For example, Very Rev. Michael P. Walsh, S.J., president of Boston College, writes: "It is obvious from the fact that over 13 percent of your borrowers have been from Boston College that the HELP program has been of tremendous assistance to our students": and, "I want to express my own deep appreciation and gratitude for all that you have done and are doing to assist our students with their most difficult problem, financing their college education.

Most significant is the further comment of President Wessell, of Tufts University. "The HELP program." he states, "represents the response of private enterprise in the interest of the general welfare. In a time when the great temptation too often is to turn to the Government for assistance, the success of the HELP program is particularly encouraging and noteworthy. In this respect it serves as an extremely important lesson to our students who are to be both the taxpavers and the community leaders of the future.

#### AVOIDS PEDERAL INTERFERENCE

In Maine, Dr. Charles F. Phillips, president of Bates College, was chiefly responsible for the establishment of a student loan program identical with HELP. Dr. Phillips said re-cently, in warning of the danger of Federal control of higher education, that "if citizens of other States will establish private loan Plans, as Massachusetts and Maine have done, We can then urge the Federal Government to give up its current loan program.

Speaking for the commercial bankers of Massachusetts, Hildreth Auer, president of the Malden Trust Co., and president of the Massachusetts Bankers Association, assures me that the members are much pleased with HELP. They are convinced, he says, that their participation in the program has strengthened their community relations. One bank reports that a former HELP borrower has now become one of its customers for other purposes.

#### COMMENT BY CAPPERS

Elmer C. Cappers, president of the Norfolk County Trust Co., first president of our cor-Poration, and president of the Massachusetts Bankers Association when the corporation Was established, twice toured the State seeking first the support of the bankers for the enabling legislation, and then enlisting their Participation.

"As a result of their sincere and effective cooperation," says Mr. Cappers, "thousands of college students have been able to walk into their local commercial banks and obtain loans which formerly were not available. It is becoming more and more obvious that the program was an excellent answer to a great need."

## Castro

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON, GORDON H. SCHERER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Speaker, although our attention is no longer focused so intensely as it was for a while on Cuba, we cannot afford not to at least keep ourselves informed as to what is happening on our doorstep. In the June issue of National Review I was somewhat shocked to read an article by John Leonard entitled "Ernesto de la Fé and the Trial of Fidel Castro." It is my feeling that every Member of Congress should read this account. A former cabinet minister and widely respected Latin American newspaperman, Ernesto de la Fé, who fought against both Batista and communism, faces death in Cuba by a Castro firing squad:

ERNESTO DE LA FÉ AND THE TRIAL OF FIDEL CASTRO

#### (By John Leonard)

I went to Havana with the specific intention of interviewing Ernesto de la Fé, premier inmate of Fidel Castro's La Cabaña prison; and the general intention of learning something of the anti-Communist cause in Cuba. I went with the verbal assurance of the Cuban Embassy in Washington that there would be no difficulty in obtaining an interview with De la Fé, in that there was "complete freedom of the press in Cuba," and that the provisional government was anxious to cooperate with me, and had nothing to hide.

(I did not see De la Fé, assurances notwithstanding. I was shunted from office to office, entwined in redtape of application office, entwined in rectape of application, forms and letters of explanation, accused of representing a "reactionary, anti-Castro magazine." and asked to remain in my hotel room. I did have ample opportunity to talk with a number of Cuban journalists, businessmen, lawyers, members of the government, university students, and ordinary Most of them were eager to talk citizens. to me, although most of them requested that their names be withheld. It is from their testimony that this story has been pieced together, and it will be their good will and concern that rescues Cuba—if it can be rescued-from the tide of Communist infiltration.)

#### I. THE MAN

On a winter night in 1948 the embryonic revolutionary. Fidel Castro, fled through the streets of Havana from gangsters on the payroll of a local racketeer named Rolando Masferrer. In desperation Castro sought and received refuge in the home of a Cuban journalist in Nicanor del Campo Marianao. The next evening that same journalist was shot at while bringing Castro's sister to see him in hiding. Does the new Prime Min-ister remember the journalist who risked his life to help him 11 years ago? His name was Ernesto de la Fé.

Ernesto de la Fé is a short, dark, balding man in his late forties; one of five brothers; married, with two children; a journalist acknowledged throughout Latin America to be honest and compassionate; and incorruptibly anti-Communist.

This week Ernesto de la Fé enters his sixth month in Havana's La Cabaña prison-a dilapidated fortress at the ocean end of the

seawall, recently converted by Fidel Castro's provisional government into a political prison which holds 1,000 unarraigued, untried prisoners incommunicado, most of whom sleep by necessity at night on the prison floor. De la Fé has not been formally accused of any crime. He has not seen his lawyer, his wife, his brothers, or any of his friends since his arrest on January 4, 1959, 3 days after Batista fled into exile. He does not know that his wife gave birth to a daughter 2 months ago. Letters and tele-grams to him at La Cabaña are either diverted or destroyed

#### Political mistakes

Ernesto de la Fé is singularly important in La Cabaña because of the esteem in which his colleagues hold him, all over Latin America because of the rancor of his enemies and because of the circumstances surrounding his arrest and imprisonment, Fidel Castro's press secretary has character-ized him as "a Fascist, a traitor, and a skunk"; Castro himself has called him the "Goebbels of Cuba." And then he has been saluted by Mexico City's El Universal as a "courageous journalist persecuted for the truth of what he says." His plight has elicited hundreds of protests from newspapermen all over the hemisphere. Last week in Havana most Cuban journalists were predicting he would be shot.

Ernesto de la Fé has made political mistakes. He welcomed Fulgencio Batista's coup d'etat of March 10, 1952. Along with others, including members of the U.S. Embassy in Havana, he believed that Batista would improve upon the impotent, corrupt, and disintegrating regime of Carlos Prio. Shortly after Batista's bloodless revolution, de la Fé was appointed Minister of Information.

He served in the Batista cabinet for 2 years, identified primarily for the creation of El Movimiento de Integración Democrática Americana, an agency designed to combat Communist infiltration in the government; and his support of a new law protecting the interests of Cuban journalists. The law is still on the statute books-even though Castro's government rules by decree. These two acts comprise the substance of de la Fé's official political career. He was never charged with an act of terrorism, of brutality, or corruption.

In September of 1954, de la Fé resigned from the Batista cabinet with a violent denunciation of government corruption and cruelty. He charged Batista with a plan for election-rigging the following November, with vote buying, illegal tax rebates, and broken promises to the Cuban people. In an article published in Bohemia magazine, a nationally distributed monthly, he lambasted Batista for a secret deal with Cuba's Communists, a mutual nonaggression agreement which permitted known Communists leaders to operate within the law-so long as they did not obstruct the Batista government.

For 2 years Ernesto de la Fé campaigned in the public press for government reform. His exposés of Batista atrocities and his reports on Communist infiltration of the Sierra Maestra revolutionary army provided the best and most exciting journalism of an otherwise arid period in Cuban newspaper history. In January 1956, he wrote and published an article accusing Batista of a plot to murder . his political opponents, among them Carlos Prio (busy supplying arms and advice to Castro), Dr. Pelayo Cuervo Navarro, and Dr. Rafael Garcia Barcenas. Two days after publication of the article, Pelayo Cuervo was found mysteriously dead. Carloads of armed men circled the house of de la Fé's mother, where he often stayed, and for several days and nights cruised about the neighborhood waiting for him to apepar. He went into hiding until administrative wrath subsided.

In the February 15, 1956, issue of Bohemia, de la Fé told the story of those days of hiding, and of the armed men dispatched to intimidate him. That was the end of his journalistic career in Cuba. Batista forbade Bohemia ever to publish him again, and ordered every other Cuban newspaper and magazine to blacklist him. To enforce that order he commissioned Rolando Masferrer, the same Havana heavy of the Anastasia style who had chased Castro in 1948, to make regular rounds of the newspaper offices to drive the point home. From the winter of 1956 until Batista's defeat by the revolutionary army, Ernesto de la Fé could find no publisher in his native Cuba. His articles continued to appear, however, in other countries, notably in El Universal, the staid but vigorous Mexico City daily.

He did more than write. An active member of Cuba's National Association of Journalists, he protested bitterly when it nominated Batista as its honorary member No. 1. He devoted his energies to the Confederación Inter-Americana de Defensa del Continente (Inter-American Federation for the Defense of the Continent) -an organization of Latin American journalists and labor leaders united to fight Communist infiltration and influence in their respective countries. He was elected secretary-general of the organization in 1957.

He headed the Cuban delegation to the Third Congress Against Soviet Intervention, April 10-14, 1957, in Lima. He served as a symbol "to Latin America of intelligent, effective anticommunism and incorruptible dedication to truth," to use the words of Jorge Prieto Laurens, Mexican journalist and vice president of the Federation for the Defense of the Continent.

This is the abckground of the man arrested and dragged into prison by a revolutionary movement which proclaims freedom of press and individual, and which triumphed in Cuba largely by convincing the people that it had as its aim the restoration of the dignity and human rights Batista had degraded, dismissed and abused. Why? Three separate Cuban journalists, all pleading that their names be withheld, told me in Havana last week: "Because de la Fé is an anti-Communist."

Ernesto de la Fé was arrested prior to Castro's triumphal entry into Havana, Three men (Captains Fidel Domenech, Moisés Pérez, and Luis Fajardo Escalona-all members of the Cuban Communist Party) broke into de la Fé's office, ransacked his files, and destroyed everything they did not confiscate. They then burned his office, which served as Cuban headquarters for the Federation for the Defense of the Continent and the OIPAC (Inter-American Organization of Anti-Communist Journalists), to the ground, and marched off with their prisoner. They took with them data on Communist activities in Latin America, membership lists of local Communist organizations both overt and covert and general information reports and financial estimates dealing with the Communist movement.

#### Che Guevara

Why was the office ransacked and de-coryed? The three Communist soldiers storyed? acted under direct orders of Ernesto Che Guevara-Commandante in Castro's army, presently in charge of La Cabaña prison and Revolutionary Director of Personnel, and one of Latin America's key Communists. Guervara controls a third of the Cuban army, commands the loyalty of two Havana daily newspapers, operates a Cuban Com-inform and three Marxist schools, and is in charge of military trials and executions. He is the only important figure in Castro's government conceded to be a Communist by Jules DuBois, Chicago Tribune Latin American correspondent and author of the recent bestselling whitewash of the revolution. Guevara left his native Argentina to bolster

the Communist-dominated Arbenz regime in Guatemala, and was expelled in 1955 after Castillo Armas' successful revolution. From Guatemala he went to Mexico to handle the public relations of the Institute of Russo-Mexican Culture. He is the principal liaison between the Cuban Communist Party, its agents in the Castro government and labor unions, and the Soviet international Comintern. He is a professional revolutionary agent, a veteran of Communist activities in Panama, the Dominican Republic, Venezuela, and a host of other South American nations. It is he who ordered Ernesto de la Fé arrested, who presides over La Cabaña where de la Fé is imprisoned; and who will officiate at de la Fé's trial.

Spokesmen for the Castro government told me that the predicted charges against de la Fé are two: first (treason) that he had been a minister in Batista's cabinet-sufficient, they said, to assure his execution; second, he had plotted to assassinate Prime Minister Castro-after he had been thrown into La Cabaña.

The second charge can be dismissed as ludicrous. A man cut off from the outside world, under tacit sentence of death, unable to see even his own lawyer or wife, let alone interview political assassins, is scarcely in a position to engineer an assassination at-tempt. As for the first charge, it ignores de la Fé's public reputation of Batista, his courageous campaign against the dictator, and the persecution he suffered as a result of that campaign over a period of two years. Has everyone who was ever a minister under Batista been given such treatment? Some ex-ministers were permitted to fiee into exile. Some were sentenced to ritual penances, and quietly released. And some, e.g., Raul Lorenzo (former Minister of Commerce) and Miguel Suárez Fernández (former Minister without portfolio), walk the streets of Havana today as free men. What is it about de la Fé? He is being punished, everyone in Havana seems to agree exclusively for his anti-Communist activities.

#### II. THE DEFENSE

Ernesto de la Fé's defense will be conducted by a lawyer who is also a member of Castro's government, working for the Ministry of the Interior. He accepted the case only cause he is a personal friend of the defendant, and will conduct it on strictly professional grounds. The Communist issue will not figure in the trial. He refused to let me use his name, or to discuss the question in the anti-Communist context. He has been informed that he will be permitted to see de la Fé, for the first time, twenty-four hours before the trial. The date of the trial, often postponed, has been set for this week. Despite Fidel Castro's edict ordering civil trials for civilian prisoners, de la Fé will receive a military trial under the unsympathetic auspices of Che Guevara.

Neither lawyer nor client has been told what witnesses will be called for the prosecution, nor will there be a confrontation between witnesses and the accused. The reluctance on the part of de la Fé's friends and fellow journalists to speak out in his behalf is understandable; for those who have done so have been dealt with severely. On January 6, two days after de la Fé's arrest, Raúl Granja, a Cuban journalist who had worked actively for the revolution, protested to the new government the treatment of his friend. Granja, who had just returned from an American junket to gather arms and materiel for Castro, was promptly clapped into jail—and kept there for 41 days before his friends in the government succeeded in prying him out. Even then, he lost his job and has not been able to find work since. He is nonetheless willing to talk to anyone in Havana interested in the de la Fé case, and works constantly in behalf of his friend.

The journalists

Ramiro de la Fé, Ernesto's brother, is also journalist, and also out of a job (along with, it should be added 50 percent of the Cuban labor force). He is the most active and outspoken of Ernesto's defenders. He was the only man I met in Havana who had the courage to tell me: "Use my name whenever you want, as often as you like. I can-not stand by with my arms folded." He is, he told me, determined to "fight the Western war, the war against communism. It is the really important war."

Also in de la Fé's camp, with very limited influence, are a great many Cuban journalists, many of them newspapermen whom he helped while serving as Minister of Information. They are ready to tell anyone, off the record, of de la Fé's victimization. They will not be quoted, and they will not write the story for their own newspapers. "Cassaid one, "says there is freedom of the press. But he adds that he reserves the right to answer his critics 'with the people.' That can mean anything from boycotting to mob violence. That we can not risk." popular humor magazine Zigzag recently ampooned the revolutionary government. That is your right, Castro commented, but it is also the right of the people to let you know how they feel about ridiculing so sacred a thing as their revolution. people caught on, and imposed a boycott that almost bankrupted the magazine, which promptly made amends. It is now san-guinely satisfied with things as they are.

These newsmen also failed Ernesto de la Fé when he most needed them-when they had the opportunity to reflect, in their ac tions, some small measure of the courage of their colleague. They voted, instead, to expel him from the National Association of Journalists—the same sycophantic organization that had named Batista its member No. 'Perhaps," wrote Ernesto de la Fé in the last communication he succeeded in passing out of La Cabaña, on learning of their repudiation of him, "they are mistaken in thinking they will please Fidel. Julius Caesar never forgave that eunuch, Potinus \* \* \* for beheading General Pompey. . . The brave

do not like cowardly acts.

Journalists outside Cuba, on the other hand, have been outspoken. Newspapers throughout Latin America have taken up his cause. Telegrams of protest have flooded the offices of the Prime Minister and the government. Enrique Castro provisional Sarias, a Mexican newspaper columnist, has issued a "Call to Free Men": "I send a call to all truly democratic consciences from the Rio Grande to the cold lands of the North to stop this injustice, to raise their voices and ask—nay, demand—the freedom of this courageous anti-Communist fighter.' Jorge Prieto Laurens has written letters to newspapers and interested individuals all over the hemisphere on de la Fé's behalf. Every communication received by the Cuban Government requesting information on de la Fé is answered as in the letter reproduced on page 112 from Dr. Juan Orta, director general of the Premier's staff, to Mr. Marvin Liebman. The rhetoric is distinctly Communist: Ernesto is a Fascist, a traitor, an informer, and a counter-revolutionary; and anyone who undertakes to defend him is suspect.

#### III. THE MEANING

Ernesto de la Fé is entitled to be the object of the humanitarian impulses of the free world for the simple reason that he is a human being who made his mistake, worked mightily to overcome it, squared off bravely to the greatest danger of our time, and now has been ruthlessly victimized. But his fate is something more than personal, and there is little his friends can do about it, much as they would like to withdraw him from the limelight. The trial of Ernesto de la Fé is also the trial of Fidel Castro. The treatment of de la Fé will throw considerable light, more light indeed than any other specific decision, on how fares Castro's struggle against the Communists for preeminence in Cuban affairs.

That Castro is ringed by Communists is a dogged fact, documented fully by Stuart Novins in his celebrated CBS telecast, by the special New York Times report, by U.S. & World Report, by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, even by Cuban newspapermen themselves, however circumspect their language. It is a fact visible to anyone who has an eye for political reality. But it is not yet established, by any means, that Castro, should he will to do it, could not rise above the Communists, cast them out, and survive. It is not established that Castro himself is a Communist, or (that he is prepared to subordinate his mystical evangelism to the hard and devious demands of the Communist Party line. Two Weeks ago Castro's 26 of July Party delivered a resonant drubbing to the Communists in a number of labor union elections. In the past 10 days, Revolución, Castro's official revolutionary newspaper, went after Blas Roca and the Communist Party, accusing them of making divisive attacks on national unity, of profiteering from a Cuba in distress. Last week Castro decreed that civilian political prisoners will be tried by civil courts instead of military courts-martial, a move that diminishes the authority over the trials of the bloodthirsty Che Guevara. It has been Weeks since the last execution in Cuba. In Spite of Castro's lunatic economic measures of the past weeks—e.g., expropriation of sugar plantations at just the moment when his survival depends on the seduction of foreign capital—he shows signs of slowing down, of tempering. He has dismissed the feasibility of Cuban neutrality in a war between East and West. He has discovered that the serious problem of governing a nation are more difficult, more tedious, less theatrical, than the frenzied bloodletting and demagogic blitzkriegs which characterized his government during the first months.

Castro does not view himself as an agent of the Communist revolutionary ideal, and his people do not see him in that light. is their embodiment; the embodiment of a depressed Cuba of mutilated little streets and starving dogs and fat women leaning from windows, listening to strange music of pimps and shoeshine boys and taxicab drivers and barroom Bacardi perennials. Throughout the bazaar streets of Havana the banners, blouses, and bric-a-brac of his revolution are on display. In him the people have vested their romantic hopes-that a man with a machinegun and a knapsack full of ideals can wrest them from poverty

and degradation.

So long as Cuba is embodied in a single person, that person is indispensable to the Communists as the instrument of their policy. A showdown will have to come. It will not come over economics-Socialist Castro and the Communists move in concert in ecohomic policy. Their politics diverge where other things are concerned, principally foreign policy. It is in foreign policy, in education and religion, that the clash could come; and in the treatment of anti-Communist newspapermen.

Whence the crucial road of Ernesto de la Fé. Fidel Castro cannot succeed in persuading himself that de la Fé has a residual debt to pay for his sometime alliance with Batista; not after so spectacular a record of penitence. It will be clear, no matter how successfully the Communists ring the court with their special bombast, that de la Pé is the first clear test of the degree of Castro's reliance on the Communists. Let him set the man free, and he has taken a large step forward toward independence of them. Should he free de la Fé, he would also perform a symbolic act not easily lost upon the Latin American consciousness.

Address by Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, Chief of Staff, U.S. Army, at the Commencement Exercises of The Citadel, Charleston, S.C., Saturday, June 6, 1959

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

#### HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith a speech made by Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army at the commencement exercises of The Citadel, Charleston, S.C., on June 6, 1959:

PUBLIC SERVICE AND NATIONAL SECURITY

At the outset, I would like to express my gratitude to General Clark and the board of visitors of The Citadel for the honor which they have conferred upon me today. All remarks to the contrary notwithstanding. I am well aware that this is an honor paid to the Chief of Staff of the Army as an institution, rather than to an individual. At the same time, I receive it with subdued feelings here in the presence of the graduating class who have earned their degrees after 4 years of hard work. I share the emotions of a war-time general who, after having served safely in the rear area assignments. receives a decoration in the presence of true battle veterans.

I was most happy to receive the invitation to speak at these commencement exercises today as it affords me an opportunity to return to this distinguished college. last time I spoke to the Corps of Cadets of The Citadel was some 31/2 years ago, when the class of 1959 occupied the low estate of plebes. Is it not hard to believe that the members of today's graduating class were ever thus? So now, I am privileged to be present at the close of the full cycle of their academic lives and at the beginning of a new phase when they go forth as graduates of this famous institution.

It was with this point in mind that I should like to develop for a few moments some of the thoughts which occur to me about public service, its inevitability in the future, and its relationship to our national security. I believe that this topic is fully in consonance with the stated purpose of The Citadel: "To prepare men for civil pursuits by giving them a sound education reinforced by the best features of military training." and also with the fact that The Citadel "expects of every son \* \* \* the public spirit and unselfishness of an enlightened citizen."

In view of the nature of The Citadel as a military institution, I am confident that the appearance of an Army officer in uniform before this graduating class does not carry the ominous connotation which it might convey elsewhere-namely, that an training center is awaiting you graduates as you step off the campus. You have wisely anticipated the need to prepare yourselves for military service as Regular or Reserve officers of the Army and the Air Force. However, it is quite true that my presence here as a representative of the Department of Defense is a reminder of the fact that matters of national security will always exercise a profound influence upon your lives. This is a hard fact of the bipolar world in which we live today. Whether we like it or not, national security is a matter of prime importance impinging in many ways upon your generation of young Americans. It is inevitable that you will be called upon to perform public service contributing directly or indirectly to that security.

The most serious problem confronting the United States today is how to remain secure in the face of the Communist-bloc threat, without at the same time destroying ourselves and our way of life through the weight of our military preparations. The basic objective of our national security policy is the preservation of the security of the United States and its fundamental values and institutions. In furtherance of this basic objective, our Government seeks by all means acceptable to the American people, ways of altering the international Communist movement to the end that it will no longer con-

stitute a threat to our way of life.

Experience since World War II has impressed us with the need for an integrated national strategy blending all of our national assets in a proportion best suited to the changing nature of the threat. We recognize that an adequate response to Communist expansion is by no means exclusively military. We must learn to use our political, economic, and ideological assets as well. In recognition of this need for integrated strategy, we have developed a philosophy of security based upon the deterrence of war. have often had occasion to say that the justification for the existence of the armed services today is not the requirement to win wars, but to prevent wars from occurring. All of our military preparations find their justification in their contribution to this deterrence.

What are the factors which contribute to the development of deterrent strength? would say that we seek a combination of force, military and moral, which will produce recognition of the fact that any action of an aggressor against the interests of the United States and its allies will bring unacceptably disastrous results. The credibility of the probable reaction of the United States is an important part of this deterrent posture.

Insofar as our military deterrent strength is concerned, it finds its expression in the triservice defense team of our Armed Forces. and especially in those categories of ready operational forces to which all the services contribute in deterrence of the entire spectrum of possible war situations.

However, as I have mentioned, military strength is but a single element in the deter rence of war. Military power has value only insofar as it reinforces the other elements of our national posture and strategy. Otherwise, it is a sterile asset, a useless and costly appendage to paraphernalia of Government. Theodore Rooseveit recommended that we "walk softly and carry a big stick." The big stick, represented by our military forces, is indeed important but it is useless to its purpose unless carried in a strong steady hand which in turn is guided by a clear mind and a stout heart. National military strength must be accompanied by other evi dences of national stamina, such as a strong economy, a unity of purpose, and an evident determination to use all of our assets to attain our national objectives.

In short, if our deterrent strength is to carry conviction, it must be clear that our leaders are resolute, that our public is well informed, and that our Nation is strong in things of the spirit as well as in material weapons. Neither technological nor numerical superiority is the sole key to the preven-tion of war. We must present to a potential aggressor the evidence not only of our tangible military strength, but also of our stability of purpose in using these tools in the

pursuit of our national ends.

In whatever walk of life you may go-civil or military—each of you gentlemen of the graduating class will find a role to play in contributing to the security of our country. This is a form of public service difficult to avoid even if one so desired. Clemenceau has often been quoted as saying that "war is too serious a business to be left to the soldiers." I agree to that statement but would add that neither the waging of war nor the prevention of war is a monopoly of either the soldier or the civilian. Both call for a collaborative effort in which all classes of our citizens must engage. In this enterprise there is a place for men of all experiences, talents, and educational backgrounds. There is a place for the artisan, the businessman, the scholar, and the scientist. There is the need for technically trained men, and there is a need for men trained in the liberal as well as military tradition which you have known as The Citadel.

It may appear that the military services often seem to stress the scientific and technological aspects of national defense. true that the scientists and the technically trained graduates of our advanced schools have come to play a tremendously important part in developing the weapon systems which are so necessary if we are to maintain our superiority in this vital field. However, this concern for technology in nowise derogates the need for men reared in the liberal arts and social sciences to provide the wise leadership which must guide the use of the terrible weapons which we

possess today.

- Certainly, most of our troubles today are related to our difficulty in utilizing wisely the products of our technological advances. We seem to understand atoms in the society of the molecule much better than people in our own human society. The weaknesses of war-deterrent posture lie more in the fields of ideology and politics than in matters of strictly military nature. There is an ever present need for broad guidance of our national strategy by men who are capable of understanding people, hostile and friendly alike. This is a task which cannot be solved by the slide rule—it requires other skills and disciplines as well.

To discharge our responsibilities of world leadership, we would do well to learn all that we can about the Communist world. We Americans often decline to read about, to study, or to take cognizance of problems which are distasteful to us. We sometimes seem to feel that we can eliminate an adversary by refusing to acknowledge his existence. I hope that we are learning more mature ways and recognize that if he is to be neutralized, the adversary must be closely studied—his history, customs, lan-guage, dogma, and mode of thought. Henry Adams has said that the task of education is to teach one to react to the forces about him. A liberal education will encourage an understanding of the international forces which bear upon our security and will establish an abiding interest in their study and analysis.

Thus it is that graduation can bring no vacation from intellectual labors. Notwithstanding your hard-won diplomas, you are only beginning. The knowledge and habits of thought recognized by your degrees are but basic tools, which if allowed to rust through disuse—or to become dull by the lack of frequent resharpening-will be of little value in, shaping the career which your country has the right to expect of you. I have often had occasion to remind young

officers entering the Army that a basic part of their personal equipment should be an easy chair and an appropriate reading lamp for the continued study necessary for a future leader in the modern army. Like physical fitness, you can never afford to put aside the habits of mental fitness and intellectual growth which you have acquired

here as cadets.

Not only must our future leaders understand our international opponents, but they must understand our international friends as well. I am constantly impressed with the requirement placed upon the Army to live abroad and to adapt itself to foreign ways. Over 40 percent of our Army today lives overseas in some 72 countries. The provision of adequately trained officers to fill the key positions in these foreign assignments creates serious personnel problems for us. There is an endless need for men with a knowledge of languages, and with an understanding of foreign history and culture to serve as the representatives of our country abroad.

By and large, we Americans do not adapt ourselves readily to the conditions of life abroad. We tend to insulate ourselves from contacts with the indigenous peoples and live in colonies which are, in fact, little Americas. Formerly, this defect was little more than a handicap in the conduct of commerce and trade. Today, it is a serious problem, for our success and survival in this competitive world are dependent upon the character of our relations with the other nations of the free world. Sir Alfred Zimmer defined the problem for us when he said: "International understanding is not an acquisition of the same order as French, or constitutional history, or the laws of physics, or what we used to call Euclid. It is not a school or college subject. It is not something to be learned in class, but rather a quality of mind and spirit like happiness, or serenity, or poise. Perhaps it can best be defined in the quality of mind and spirit which enables its possessor to feel at home in the world." It is important that this country develop a wealth of men capable of understanding friend and foe alike, and in-terpreting the objectives of America with confidence and conviction-men who feel at home in the world.

This matter of conviction in our aims plays an important part in developing a national posture which will preserve the peace. We must believe in our cause if we are to convince our neighbors of our seriousness of purpose. To feel real conviction, the first requirement is to understand the issues. These issues are clear, unmistakable, and of vital importance. The choices between communism and freedom are so clear cut that there can be no room for compromise. There is no place in our scheme of things for the moral fencesitter who would wait a little longer before reaching a judgment. True fervor and devotion to our cause cannot be pretense or sham. Lack of sincerity is too easily detected to permit of any equivocation. We must believe, deeply, in our cause if we are to carry conviction to the world that we are willing to stake our all on the defense of our principles.

Today, the requirement for national unity. stemming from the Communist threat, tends to bring a new concept to public service. Just as we are attempting to merge diplomacy, economics, and ideology with military considerations to form a unified national strategy, similarly, the distinction between the public man and the private man, between th soldier and the civilian, between the official and the taxpayer, tends to merge into a single pattern. I make this point because as Citadel men graduate today it may seem that they have a choice between public life and private life. I don't think that choice really exists any more. Many of this graduating class will serve their country in uniform, as have so many of The Citadel's sons of the past. But those who do not will have ample opportunity to do work of equal importance in an era which requires dedicated men to serve our Nation in many fields of endeavor.

Disciplined through the military traditions of The Citadel and sustained by the elements of a liberal education acquired here, you gentlemen of the graduating class are well prepared to contribute to that able and resolute leadership which is an indispensable ingredient to our national war-deterrent posture. You have not been called to live in any easy time in the world's history. blunt facts are that, if we are not headed for another great war, at a minimum we face an indefinite period of tension, permitting of no relaxation of our vigilance. This is a somewhat bleak prospect, perhaps, but we would do well to recognize it and make provision for the long pull. If we looked into the books of the Soviet leaders where they list our national assets and liabilities, I am sure that we would find that they count heavily upon American unwillingness to bear for long the discomforts and hardships which are the price of world leadership. It will be the task of your generation to con-found the expectations of an enemy who counts upon the rapid dissolution of our good intentions. Any inventory of our physical assets will show that they are ample to maintain our world position and to prevent war. They will be ultimately ample, however, only if they are employed by bold leaders, sustained by courage and resolution. These are the qualities of mind and character which I look with confidence to the graduates of today to supply in the years to

Now, in closing, as Chief of Staff, I would like to take this opportunity to extend a hearty welcome to the distinguished military students of this class who have indicated their desire to accept Regular commissions in the Army or Air Force. As I approach the close of over 41 years in uniform, I would say to you that in entering the military life you are undertaking a career offering challenging and serious responsibilities. While the burdens may be heavy, the rewards are great—not so much in material gains as in the inner satisfaction derived from service to country in company with some of the finest people in the world. These are indeed rich rewards which few other professions afford in equal measure.

To each member of this graduating class I. wish you all a long career of useful service in your chosen fields, a career enriched and illuminated by the ethics and precepts acquired here at The Citadel.

State-Aided Loans for College Students

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, on February 5, 1959, I introduced my bill, H.R. 4220, to provide for a college scholarship program. New York State is already engaged in an educational loan program and I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of May 30, 1959, outlining the success of this endeavor:

STATE-AIDED LOANS FOR COLLEGE STUDENTS

The New York Higher Education Assistance Corp., set up last year by the State legislature to guarantee low-interest loans by banks to needy college students, has just reported on its first year of activity. More than 200 commercial banks participated, and 5.493 students got loans totaling \$2.903,934. With the cost of higher education rapidly

With the cost of higher education rapidly rising, few families can any longer afford its full burden. Scholarship funds will clearly not be sufficient, by themselves, to take up the slack. Nor should they have to be. Higher education is one of the surest investments a student can make, and he should be ready to finance that investment himself,

at least in part, by borrowing.

As new student loan funds are established, one thing that worries some educators is the administrative burden they place on the college, which may have to administer 20 or more such funds, each separately and on its own terms. A means of centrally coordinating such programs may eventually be necessary. But meanwhile, the important thing is that qualified students not be kept out of college for lack of present means. Toward this goal, New York's H.E.A.C.—open to all qualified residents of the State—seems to be making a fine, and much needed, start.

#### Shameful Decision

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, the action of the International Olympic Committee in refusing Nationalist China the right to participate in the coming Olympics is a shocking and shameful decision. It violates all the traditional principles of sportsmanship and fair play which are part and parcel of the Olympics. The Olympic Committee has acquiesced to the political blackmail of international communism.

We in the House of Representatives have made clear our great displeasure at this action by refusing the use of appropriated funds for the Olympics if any free nation is denied the right of participation. I am hopeful that this will be helpful in causing the Olympic Committee to reassess its deplorable decision and to restore the Olympic games to the same high plane they have always enjoyed.

Under leave to extend my remarks I wish to insert into the Record the following editorial from the Buffalo Evening News, dated June 2, 1959, presenting the opinion of this outstanding newspaper on this matter:

[From the Buffalo Evening News, June 2,

#### SHAMEFUL DECISION

The International Olympic Committee, the governing body of the Olympic games, has done something the United Nations for years has resolutely refused to do—displaced the Free China of Chiang Kai-shek in favor of the Red China of Mao Tse-tung. It has expelled Nationalist China from the committee, thus closing the door to Nationalist participation and preparing the way for Peiping's subsidized athletes to compete in their place.

It was a shameful and craven act on the part of the committee and Avery Brundage, the American chairman. It has been roundly condemned by the State Department, as wholly inconsistent with its (the Olympics) nonpolitical tradition."

Red China stalked out of the Melbourne Olympic games in 1956 because Nationalist athletes were in competition. It later walked out from the International Committee because Nationalist China remained a member. Russia threatened to withdraw and the committee caved in.

"Nationalist China no longer represents sports in the entire country of China," Chairman Brundage explained feebly. But the muscled representatives from Red China do represent the Communist conspiracy—they are its agents even when running a measured mile or leaping over a bamboo pole.

And Mr. Brundage knows it.

This may well be the biggest triumph the Communists will achieve in the next Olympic games—no matter how big a point-score their athletes run up on the unofficial record in Rome in 1960. This is an authentic, uncontested victory— uncontested unless United States and other members of the commission reassert themselves and reverse the judgment. It was a fixed decision, fixed by the Reds in Moscow and Peiping. And it could mean the discrediting and eventual dissolution of the Olympics themselves.

## Two Wrong Answers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. ALEXANDER PIRNIE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. PIRNIE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial which appeared in the May 29, 1959, edition of the Washington Daily News.

#### TWO WRONG ANSWERS

Two bills purporting to deal with this country's mountainous wheat surplus are before Congress. One already has been approved by the Senate. The other, written by the House Agriculture Committee, is scheduled for House floor debate next week.

Both are bad bills. They move in exactly the wrong direction for an answer.

For one thing, they are stopgaps designed to apply for 2 years only. Their authors hope to get through the 1960 presidential election without upsetting either farmers or general taxpayers too much. The bills provide political answers to an economic problem.

More importantly, both proposals are based on the fallacious idea that farmers can be bribed into producing less. They offer higher price supports in return for reduced acreage planted to wheat.

Any so-called solution to the wheat problem which works on this principle is foredoomed to failure. As long as the Government guarantees an artificially high wheat price, farmers are going to find ways to produce more wheat than the market can absorb. If their acreage is cut back, they will simply pour on the fertilizer and grow more wheat per acre.

The only real solution to the surplus problem is to get the Government out of the wheat business. That goes for corn, cotton, tobacco, and all the other subsidized farm products. These constitute about a fourth of American agriculture. The other threefourths—unsubsidized and unregulated—are

producing for a free market instead of Government bins, and are doing relatively well.

Admittedly, free marketing of the surplus crops cannot be restored all at once after 25 years of Government meddling. But the time to move in that direction is now—not 2 years from now.

## No Rocking Chair for This 88-Year-Old Newspaperman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1959

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, for the past 19 years, Bert (Bag) Gipple, former newspaper published and local historian, has been a member of the Trempealeau County board in my home destrict in Wisconsin. The fact that "Bag," as he is affectionately known by his many friends, is 88 years old does not prevent him from serving on the board's finance committee or writing a weekly column for his hometown newspaper, which he started back in 1897. His continued interest in community activities proves that old age is a state of mind. Under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include in the RECORD a story which appeared in the Eau Claire (Wis.) Leader about 88-years-young Bert Gipple:

FORMER PUBLISHER AND HISTORIAN—"BAG"
GIPPLE CONTINUES ON TREMPEALEAU
BOARD

WHITEHALL.—Bert (Bag) Gipple, 88, former newspaper publisher and historian, was the oldest man sitting as a member of the Trempealeau County Board of Supervisors in recent session. He was reelected without opposition to serve as supervisor from the first ward in Galesville at the spring election.

Gipple was born at La Crosse December 16, 1870, in the administration of U. S. Grant as President.

At 16 he was sent to Galesville to enroll in the Galesville University, which had been established there. Bert's father wanted him to be a doctor. This did not appeal to him; his ambition was to become a traveling salesman for a wholesale grocery.

He quit the premedic course in 4 months and clerked in a store and worked on farms.

In 1889 the Gipple family moved to Galesville and "Bag," as he is known to friends and acquaintances, took a position as shipping clerk in a wholesale grocery at La Crosse. That concern merged with another wholesale house and he returned to Galesville.

In July of 1893, at 22, he married 19-year-old Emma J. Sagen, who died in 1952.

In the fall of 1890, "Bag" started with his first newspaper, the Galesville Independent. He also worked on newspapers at La Crosse, Mondovi, Prairie du Chien and Cumberland, before returning to Galesville and launching the Republican in 1897.

He sold the paper in 1941 after being 45 years at the helm.

In 1940 when Galesville took city form of government he was elected supervisor from the first ward and has annually from that time been reelected, and is now serving his 18th year on the Trempealeau County board.

For 9 years, until he asked to be relieved, he was chairman of the county board's committee on schools and printing.

When the county floated a \$1½ million bond issue for highways back in 1948, Gipple served on the special highway committee to map the routes of new highway construction on the State trunk system in the county.

During the past 4 years he has been a member of the county board's finance committee and was reappointed to this committee at the reorganization session recently.

In his 70 years at Galesville he has held various positions, including several terms on the village board. He still writes a weekly column for the Galesville Republican, and other matter, including the 25 and 50 years ago column.

Well versed in the history of Galesville and Trempealeau County, he receives many letters a year asking for information about people and places, and he obliges them with his research.

The past winter Gipple underwent major surgery at a La Crosse hospital and was in the hospital for many days, but was in his usual good health at the county board session.

## Using the Mails for Obscene Matter

SPEECH

## HON, KATHARINE ST. GEORGE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 8, 1959

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, I also want to add my comments to the very splendid statement that the gentle-woman from Pennsylvania has made and also for the very fine leadership that she has given this subcommittee on which I have the honor to serve. This is something that many of us have had in our minds for years, but the gentlewoman fortunately has come at a time when the people are aroused and when her leadership can really bear fruit. A lot of people have hidden behind the disguise of freedom of the press. This, Mr. Speaker, is, of course, utterly and completely absurd.

Freedom is not license. Freedom is not something to promote vice here in this country or anywhere else in the world. I know that the gentlewoman will agree with me that no one should be permitted to go into a crowded hall and scream "Fire." That would be exactly the same as to say that anyone has the right to use the mails to send pornographic literature, pictures, and other material, to young people under the age of 21 or even 18. I know the gentlewoman has seriously considered the impact of all this in causing juvenile delinquency, something that every woman and every mother in the country must abhor.

Mr. Speaker, I am indeed happy that one of the distinguished women in this Congress is taking the leadership in this campaign. I sincerely hope and I also believe that all Members of Congress are going to sustain her hand in this matter, that they will follow her leadership, and that in a short time we will have the necessary legislation to continue the work that has been so well begun.

(Mrs. ST. GEORGE asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

## Presentation of Purple Heart to Richard A. Brennan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege to insert in the Congressional Record a few remarks concerning a man who has been honored by the community in which he lives for his many contributions to the welfare of that community. It is more than a privilege to insert in the Record an account of this presentation to him of the Purple Heart of the United States of America.

Richard A. Brennan, to whom it pleases me greatly to hand a belated medal of the Military Order of the Purple Heart of the United States of America, is a man of national and international experience in banking affairs. It has become old fashioned to cite the legendary Horatio Alger in speaking of today's successful men of affairs; still here is a case of the messenger boy who became president of the successor company to the many-million-dollar corporation on which he had started as office boy 23 years earlier. That was the Mortgage Corp. of New York which he reorganized from the assets of the old Bond & Mortgage Guaranty Co., largest institution of its kind in the country.

As to Mr. Brennan's biographical record, he was born January 2, 1897, in Manhattan, the third of four brothers whose parents died while they were quite young. They were raised by an aunt in New York City. He attended New York City public schools and evening high schools, and took a course with the American Institute of Banking. He went into the Army in December 1917, was wounded at St. Mihiel in October 2, 1918. Hospitalization in various hospitals in France followed, affer which he was returned convalescent to Fort Dix Hospital 6 weeks before the armistice. He was discharged from Fort Dix Hospital in March 1919 but still carries shell fragments.

Returning to banking, he in turn became a State bank examiner in 1925. many of his assignments being in Europe. He was made special deputy superintendent of banks in 1929 and from that post he was drafted by the State insurance department as deputy superintendent to handle the \$3 billion liquidation and rehabilitation of all mortgage guarantee companies in the State after the bank holiday. He has been president of the Brevoort Savings Bank of Brooklyn since 1938. Under his guidance the total deposits of that now 67-year-old institution have been more than trebled and the number of depositors increased

For several years he has been active in civic affairs in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn which is in my congressional district. In particular, as I happen to know, he has headed various fund-raising campaigns. All of these activities add up to outstanding achieve-

ments in the cause of social justice. They include: the largest church loan ever made to Negroes; racial equality in handling mortgage applications; the first bank to adopt integrated employment; the organization of Teens-in-Industry, a concept designed to alleviate youth problems; and foundation of a four-team Little League of youthful baseball enthusiasts.

He is a trustee of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis and the Georgia Warm Springs Foundation; a director of the Bay Ridge Day Nursery; treasurer of the Urban League of New York; trustee of Mercy Hospital in Rockville Center; and a member of the fundraising committee of Brooklyn Catholic Charities.

In 1956 his career was signalized by two cherished honors—the Archbishop Thomas E. Molloy Award for Interracial Justice and the William M. Moss Brotherhood of Concord Baptist Church of Christ Award for his outstanding contribution toward better human relations and understanding between all people.

And so I am glad to add this long overdue recognition of the sacrifice he made for his country, to the list of honors he has won since.

#### Louisiana Bills Show Fire Ant Foibles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, remarks appearing in the Outdoor News Bulletin of June 5, 1959, which is published biweekly by the Wildlife Management Institute, show reasons for enactment of H.R. 5813, which our colleague, the Honorable Lee Metcalf, introduced to provide for adequate research into the effect of insecticides on wildlife. The remarks to which I refer follow:

LOUISIANA BILLS SHOW FIRE ANT FOIBLES

Separate proposals before the Louisiana State Legislature show that confusion and the imported fire ant eradication campaign continue to go hand in hand, according to the Wildlife Management Institute.

The first bill would authorize the filing of suits against the State for damages alleged to have been caused by the gross negligence of the officers, agents, or employees of the Department of Agriculture and Immigration in the use of fire ant poison in the fire ant destruction program.

The second would appropriate \$156,053 for Louisiana's share of the joint Federal-State eradication effort for the coming year. Oddly, Pelican Staters are being asked to finance the poisoning campaign and to pay damages to persons whose sugarcane plantings are being destroyed by cane borers. The borers have increased because the fire ant treatments have killed off the natural predators of the destructive insects.

Information compiled by fish and game departments in Southeastern States and by the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife shows that birds, other wildlife, fish, domestic livestock and poultry have died following aerial application of poisons to eliminate imported fire ants. The losses are largely discounted by the U.S. Department of Agri-

culture, which contends that the kills are temporary and of secondary importance to the need for ridding the South of fire ants.

The two bills before the Louisiana Legislature emphasize the confusion that accompanies the fire ant eradication effort. Conservationists sought to clarify the issue when they asked the House Appropriations Committee to restrict USDA's request for \$2.4 million for continuation of the controversial program to on-the-ground spraying of infested areas. Most kills of wildlife have followed aerial applications of the poisons in granular form over large tracts.

USDA got the money with no strings at-ched. The House committee added to the confusion when it directed USDA to make sure that only granular poison is used in aerial application of the insecticides,

## A Forward Step in Our Immigration Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON, ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, our distinguished colleague from Pennsylvania, the Honorable Francis E. Walter, is to be commended upon the introduction of House Joint Resolution 397 which would permit the Attorney General, upon the recommendation of the Secretary of State, to admit refugees on parole in this country without setting a numerical ceiling or termination date.

In this connection, I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following news-release and resolution of the United Hias Service, dated May 29, 1959:

A FORWARD STEP IN OUR IMMIGRATION POLICY

NEW YORK .- United Hias Service, the worldwide Jewish migration agency, nounced it has joined with the Protestant, Catholic, and other voluntary agency groups in supporting the World Refugee Year which July 1, 1959, in accordance with a resolution of the United Nations General Assembly.

The agency's executive committee, meeting in its world headquarters, 425 Lafayette Street, passed a resolution lauding U.S. governmental officials for assuming the leadership in a concerted campaign to step up aid to millions of refugees throughout the

world.

The resolution was passed as a result of firsthand reports on the White House Conference for the World Refugee Year made to United Hias Executive Committee by Carlos L. Israels, president; Murray I. Gurfein, chairman of the executive committee; and James P. Rice, executive director. Other board members of the agency who attended the White House Conference were Edward M. M. Warburg, chairman of the joint distribution committee; Moses A. Leavitt, executive vice president of the joint distribution committee; and Walter H. Bieringer, chair-man of the Massachusetts State Refugee Committee.

United Hias, in its resolution, expressed the hope that the United States, as part of its contribution to the World Refugee Year, Would revise its basic immigration laws along the lines of recent proposals of the adminis-

tration and of Senators and Congressmen of both major political parties.

The group also heard a report on the various addresses delivered at the White House Conference, including that of Representative FRANCIS E. WALTER, in which he announced his introduction in the House of Representatives of a resolution permitting the Attorney General, upon the recommendation of the Secretary of State, to admit refugees on parole in this country without setting a numerical ceiling or termination date. was noted that Representative Walter's resolution is similar to proposals made by Senators Javits and Kennedy and Attorney General Rogers.

#### RESOLUTION

Whereas the General Assembly of the United Nations with the full support of the U.S. delegation has designated a Refugee Year to begin on July 1, 1959; and

Whereas the White House Conference called by President Eisenhower unanimously expressed its support of World Refugee Year; and

Whereas the U.S. Committee for Refugees was designated by the members of the White House Conference to enlist public support for all possible measures to aid refugees during the World Refugee Years,

United Hias Service hereby offers its full support, through all of its resources, board, its staff, and its vast membership in cooperation with the U.S. Committee for Refugees to carry out the objectives of the World Refugee Year. In addition it expresses the firm hope that the United States as part of its contribution to the World Refugee Year will not only adopt special measures for the admission of refugees to this country, but also will revise our basic immigration laws along the lines of recent proposals of the administration and of Senators and Congressmen of both major political parties.

#### Labor-Management Reform Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, I imagine that there is no more controversial or emotional issue now being discussed throuhgout the country than the question of labor legislation at the present time. Speaking personally, I am sure that I have received more corspondence on this issue than any other single important matter now pending before the Congress

With the idea of presenting my own views on this subject, I desire to include, under leave to extend and revise my remarks, a copy of my testimony before the subcommittee on Labor Management Reform Legislation of the Committee on Education and Labor which I presented on June 4, 1959. I am also including herewith the text of two newspaper articles, from the Saginaw News of June 4 and one from the Detroit Free Press of June 5, in comment on my testimony and the question and answer period which followed:

STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN ALVIN M. BENT-LEY BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON LABORT MANAGEMENT REFORM LEGISLATION OF THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR, JUNE 4, 1959

It is a pleasure to appear before this subcommittee.

I feel we have reached a point in this country when it is of necessity that we take positive steps to protect the welfare of the American worker and also to curb the present abuses in labor-management relations.

I feel the subcommittee should be interested in the results of my annual question-naire I sent to my district. Of over 9,300 answers to the question, "Do you believe organized labor is becomming too powerful? over 81 percent, made up of all occupations, felt that it was. What makes this figure even more representative of true feeling is the fact that a further breakdown shows 76 percent of the workers themselves felt organized labor was becoming too powerful.

I have introduced H.R. 1103, which would

guarantee the democratic control of unions by the rank and file membership thereof. My bill goes further than most other legislation in this field in that 15 percent of the membership of the union is given the right to petition the National Labor Relations Board to supervise the union's regular and special elections. The right to supervise would not have to be based on fraud, but would be provided at the request of the required percentage as a matter of right.

I strongly feel that the best way to clean

up the corruption and mismanagement which has been revealed during the hearings held by the Senate Labor Rackets Commit-tee, and to prevent other unions from falling under the influence of racketeers and gang-sters, is to insure that the members elect their officers in an honest election. I have faith in the judgment of the individual members of almost all unions. If we can insure their right to exercise that judgment. most of the problems that exist in this field will be taken care of as a matter of course.

My bill would give 30 percent of the union membership the right to demand a referendum to revise or repeal any section of the union's constitution, bylaws, or other regulations. This referendum would thus able a majority of the membership, if they so desired, to veto decisions by the union's officers pertaining to dues, initiation fees, salaries of officers and employees, gifts, grants, loans, donations, or investments. Under this heading would come the use of union funds for political purposes, a subject that has become a matter of much con-troversy in union affairs. My bill also covers national and local elections as well as strike votes, recall elections, and referendums. Nonsupervised elections are required to be by secret ballot and if not, a new election can be held which will be supervised. Employers are also given the right to petition for court supervision on strike votes.

Another section of my bill provides that all duly mominated candidates for union offices shall be given a reasonable opportunity to present their views to the membership by the use of union-sponsored publications. A candidate would have little possi-bility of defeating an incumbent unless he has an opportunity to use the same means of publicity available to the incumbent. Candidates must have this opportunity to criticize the officeholder and to present their programs.

The bill also provides that any person who tries to prevent a union member from exercising the rights provided in the bill will be subject to a \$10,000 fine or 5 years in prison or both. The National Labor Relations or both. The National Labor Relations Board is also given the authority to keep secret the names of the petitioners for supervised union election. Supervision of

some elections may also be transferred to State agencies which are willing to assume the duty. I feel the workingman is entitled to the protection of H.R. 1103.

Another labor reform bill I have introduced is H.R. 6455, which provides for the establishment of a temporary Commission to investigate the economic power of labor unions. This Commission would have the authority to preyent a union from becoming so big that it would have a detrimental

effect on the Nation's economy.

This Federal Labor Commission would study and investigate the present organization and methods of operation of national and international labor unions, with particular reference to the existence and growth of monopolistic tendencies and practices, industrywide bargaining, and inequities in the balance of power between employers and unions. The Commission would determine what changes in Federal law and policy affecting labor organizations and collective bargaining are needed to insure that the balance of power between employers and unions is kept.

The growth of giant unions and the expansion of their activities into diverse areas of commerce presents a danger to our free political and economic institutions. Something must be done to limit the power grabs of men such as Hoffa. Means must be devised to prevent expansion of unions into unrelated occupations and industries. This Labor Commission would have the responsibility of limiting union expansion to the same industry or craft or occupation.

This Commission would be made up of 12 members as follows: 4 appointed by the President of the United States, 2 from the executive branch of the Government and 2 from private life; 4 appointed by the President of the Senate, 2 from the Senate and 2 from private life; 4 appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, 2 from the House of Representtaives and 2 from private life. This Commission would be temporary in nature and would submit its final report to Congress not later than June 30, 1961, at which date the Commission would cease to exist.

As a further step in labor reform legislation, I am at present preparing legislation to establish a permanent Federal Labor Commission which would be similar to the Federal Trade Commission. The Federal Trade Commission was created to stop violations of the Sherman and Clayton Acts in their incipiency. A Labor Commission could serve a similar function in the labor field prevent labor violations in their incipiency. For example, the Federal Labor Commission would be able to hear private parties seeking an injunction against a secondary boycott or blackmail picketing.

This Labor Commission would hear complaints from the public as well as those parties to a union contract that the union management, or both, are engaging in practices which restrain trade or impede competition. This Labor Commission would not be required to wait for an adversary proceeding as the National Labor Relations

Board is.

The Federal Labor Commission could investigate these charges, make findings of fact and conclusions of law, and subject to appeal, issue cease and desist orders. Commission would be made up of five members, each appointed by the President, with the consent of the Senate, and they would serve for a 7-year term."

I have received much correspondence in regard to the overall labor problem. In the past few weeks it has been centered on the recently passed Kennedy-Ervin bill. Comments from my constituents on this bill have ranged from "The Kennedy-Ervin labor bill is another step to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act and to offer our employees to the union,

to "It is labor reform legislation that will not reform."

Some views of constituents as to what they feel should be done are as follows: "Labor legislation should have such end results that labor leaders will have the same rights and privileges as we other citizens, and no more"; Congress has a very definite responsibility to enact remedial legislation which will protect and preserve the rights of the citizens of this Nation against abuse and exploitation by unscrupulous and, in many instances, crooked and criminal labor bosses. Proper legislation will benefit honest, sincere labor leaders and unions"; "reform legislation must strike a blow at the enslavement and persecution of the rank-and-file union men and penalize the corrupt leaders who grow fat on their misery and yet legally escape punishment for their crimes."

The Kennedy-Ervin bill does not contain any provisions to curb two vicious practices of mobster union leaders, secondary boycotts, and blackmail picketing. I am sure this subcommittee has heard voluminous testimony concerning these two subjects already, but I can see no reason why the American public should be forced to continue to put up with

these practices.

The third party coercion brought about under secondary boycotts must be stopped. The area of industrial disputes should be restricted to the parties immediately concerned and public policy should attempt to limit participation in labor disputes to the primary parties. The existing legal structure materially fails to accomplish the job which the public interest demands. Blackmail picketing of a nature which forces workers to join or employers to accept a union which they unquestionably do not want is outrageous. I certainly hope the House will see fit to adopt amendments which will cover these two points.

(From the Saginaw (Mich.) News, June 4, 1959]

LABOR REFORMS URGED BY BENTLEY-HITS SECONDARY BOYCOTTS, ORGANIZATIONAL PICK-

WASHINGTON.—Representative BENTLEY, of Owosso, today called secondary boycotts and organizational picketing "vicious practices of mobster union leaders."

In testimony prepared for in appearance before Joint House Labor Subcommittees, the Michigan Republican pleaded for curbs on these two union weapons.

"I can see no reason why the American public should be forced to continue to put up with these practices," BENTLEY said.

He termed top-down organizational picketing (commonly described as blackmail picketing) "outrageous".

BENTLEY testified in support of two labor reform bills he has introduced.

One would strike at union corruption by seeking to insure honest union elections and by giving members the means of overturning actions of union executive boards.

The other would set up a temporary Federal Labor Commission empowered to investigate union power and growth.

Discussing his investigative measure, Bentley said:

"The growth of giant unions and the expansion of their activities into diverse areas of commerce represents a danger to our free political and economic institutions. Something must be done to limit the power grabs of men such as (Teamsters President James R.) Hoffa.

"Means must be devised to prevent expansion of unions into unrelated occupations industries. This labor Commission would have the responsibility of limiting union expansion to the same industry or craft or occupation."

Bentley's proposed labor Commission would report its findings to Congress by June 30, 1961, and then be dissolved.

The Michigan Republican now is preparing a bill which would set up a permanent Federal labor commission empowered to issue cease and desist orders in connection with labor-management practices restraining trade or impeding competition.

BENTLEY'S union elections reform bill would give 15 percent of a union's members the right to ask and receive National Labor Relations Board supervision of a union election.

The measure would give 30 percent of the members the right to demand a referendum on revising or repealing any section of the union's constitution and bylaws, or actions taken by the executive board on dues, initiation fees, officers or employees' salaries, use of union dues for political purposes, gifts, grants, loans, donations, or investments.

[From the Detroit Free Press, June 5, 1959] UNIONS TOO STRONG?-BENTLEY'S POLL OF STATE LABOR STIRS A RUMPUS

#### (By James M. Haswell)

WASHINGTON.-Michigan questionnairesshowing that substantial majorities of union members think that organized labor is too powerful—drew sharp interest Thursday from members of the House subcommittee drafting antiracketeering legislation.

Representative ALVIN M. BENTLEY, Republican, of Owosso, said 76 percent of the union members who replied to his questionnaire

expressed this view.

BENTLEY told the committee he got 9,300 replies, about a 30 percent response, from the Eighth Congressional District.

Representative ELMER J. HOLLAND, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, a member of Local 1272 of the United Steelworkers of America, was skeptical.

"There are 65,000 steelworkers in my district," he said, "and I have had only 12 letters favoring the Kennedy-Ervin bill. The climate in union meetings I have attended is not as you describe."

Representative ROBERT GRIFFIN, Republican, of Traverse City, said he circulated questionnaires in the Ninth Michigan District and got replies similar to BENTLEY'S.

Representative Charles E. Chamberlain, Republican, of East Lansing, had the same experience in the Sixth District, GRIFFIN said.

BENTLEY urged the subcommittee to con-

sider his two labor bills.

One is designed to promote rank-and-file control of union affairs. It would enable members to call in the National Labor Relations Board to supervise elections and hold referendums on the actions of local officers.

This would permit strike votes, recall elections, and referendums on spending union money in politics.

BENTLEY also would authorize employers to ask courts to supervise strike votes.

He also would set up a temporary commission to survey the economic power of labor unions as a step toward establishing a Federal policy on monopoly practices, irdustrywide bargaining, and giantism.

"Something must be done to limit the power grabs of men such as James R. Hoffa, Teamster Union president," BENTLEY said.

He told the committee he will introduce later a bill to create a Federal Labor Commission which would supervise union activitles affecting business. It would operate in the manner of the Federal Trade Commission, BENTLEY said.

The Kennedy-Ervin bill is "a step in the right direction," BENTLEY said.

Nose-counting on the Education and Labor Committee leads some members to predict a young Democratic revolt on the committee. With Republicans offering to vote out any bill, first and second-term Democrats who favor the original Kennedy bill could prevail over senior Democrats.

Most of the older Democratic members are holding out for a strict bill, or want none at all.

Following his committee testimony against the Senate-passed bill Wednesday, AFI-CIO President George Meany circulated a letter to Senator John F. Kennedy, Democrat, of Massachusetts, Thursday, emphasizing that the AFI-CIO does not oppose the original Kennedy-Ervin bill as reported out by the Senate Labor Committee. It does oppose the amended bill the Senate passed.

This letter was greeted as offering an out for prolabor Democrats from industrial areas who don't want to offend the AFL-CIO management, but at the same time say they can't go home without voting for some kind of antiracketeering measure.

Harold J. Gibbons, No. 2 man to Hoffa in the Teamsters, said Thursday the big truck union is prepared to accept some type of labor control legislation.

Gibbons said, however, that the Kennedy-Ervin bill has union-busting, punitive and repressive features and any such legislation would be unacceptable.

Gibbons, the union's executive vice president, substituted for Hoffa in the meeting with newsmen. Gibbons said Hoffa was busy in a conference.

Gibbons was asked what the Teamsters might favor. He said that for one thing the union endorses complete financial accounting of union funds to the Government.

## Senator Johnson's Tribute to Three Maryland Congressmen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished majority leader of the Senate, the Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson, has just paid a most deserving and excellent tribute to three of our colleagues from this House, who are Democratic Representatives from Baltimore, Md. They are the Honorable George H. Fallon, dean of the Maryland delegation; the Honorable Edward A. Garmatz; and the Honorable Samuel N. Friedel.

This tribute was paid them at a testimonial dinner in their honor at the Lord Baltimore Hotel in Baltimore, Sunday evening, June 7, 1959. I had the distinct pleasure and privilege to attend this dinner and to participate in the tribute to our colleagues, who have distinguished themselves in their public service to the people of Maryland and to the Nation as a whole.

I was particularly impressed by Senator Johnson's address in which he also discussed the role of the Democratic Party in Congress and in providing leadership to the Nation. Senator Johnson himself is setting a fine example of distinguished leadership and in building up a constructive record of achievements by the 86th Congress which we can proudly present to the people in due time.

In my book Senator Johnson is an able leader and a great humanitarian. He is a man who loves peace, but at the same time he is a firm believer in adequate military preparedness and in maintaining the proper defense posture for our country. As such, he is one leader upon whom the free world can depend for its future security and peace in troubled times.

In his thinking for social and humanitarian legislation, Senator Johnson belongs not only to Texas but to the entire country. He is a man who has a wide reputation for fostering unity. He is equally known for opposing divisive issues or perpetuating conflicts which can only weaken us and cause irreparable damage to the Nation.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert into the RECORD the address by Senator Johnson, which is as follows:

Address by Senate Democratic Leader Lyndon B. Johnson Testimonial Dinner, Lord Baltimore Hotel, Baltimore, Md., June 7, 1959

#### A RESPONSIBLE RECORD

Mr. Chairman, honored guests, friends, fellow Americans, we are here tonight for one of the most important ceremonies in America

We have gathered to pay tribute to three public servants—three men who have devoted their talents to serving their country.

It so happens that those three men are Democrats and I am a Democrat. All four of us bear that label proudly.

But I do not consider this a partisan meeting. It is a gathering of the citizens of one of our greatest cities to tell the three men who represent that city that they are appreciated and their work has not been in vain.

There is a special significance in holding this meeting in Maryland. This is a State which has a tradition of public service—a history of men of achievement and statesmanship.

#### TWO GREAT SENATORS

I have served in Congress with two of your greatest Senators. One was Millard E. Tydings. The other was Herbert O'Conor.

In Millard Tydings, Maryland produced one of the truly fearless men I have known. His shoulders were always back, his back was always straight, and his chin was always up.

And he always walked into battle for the principles he believed were right with the same courage that he walked into enemy fire during war.

In Herbert O'Conor, Maryland produced a Senator who had few equals. He was quiet. He was modest. And he was effective in advancing the interests of the people in whom he believed and who believed in him.

And Herbert O'Conor can walk onto the floor of the Senate today and receive the same respect and deference that he did back in the days when he had a vote and the right to make a speech.

These qualities are characteristic of Maryland Democrats.

#### THE ART OF UNITING

You have a Governor—J. Millard Tawes—who has mastered the art of uniting men to resolve issues. This is because he follows the rule of doing what is right—not just what is expedient.

You have a dynamic and energetic new mayor—Harold Grady—who brings together people from all walks of life—simply because he is trying to advance the interests of his city.

And you have a former mayor—Thomas D'Alesandro—who has served in the legislative branch of three levels of government and won friends in all three.

I want to thank your senior Senator, John Butler, for the courtesy he has extended me by his presence here this evening.

I also want to express my appreciation to Congressman Tom Johnson, Congressman Dan Brewster, and my dear friend, Congressman Victor Anguso. Congressman Anguso is one of the finest men in Washington. He is a very inspiring member of the House Aeronautical and Space Committee.

I see that former Solicitor General Perlman is in the audience. As all of you know, he was named to this important position by my good friend, and fellow Texan, the Honorable Tom Clark.

In this audience, there are many more leaders of your State. Your distinguished new comptroller, Louis Goldstein, your president of the Maryland Senate, George Della, and your new president of your city council, Philip Goodman, are also here tonight.

I have been advised that your junior Senator, GLENN BEALL, was at the airport to meet me. Unfortunately, I was late and he had another engagement.

To all of you, I am very appreciative for the opportunity to be here with you tonight. I have begun by mentioning these men be-

cause I wanted to place the three we honor tonight against their proper background.

It is a simple thing to honor ordinary men in a land where everyone else is mediocre. In the land of the blind, the one-eyed man is king.

But in the State of Tydings, O'Conor, Tawes, Grady, and D'Alesandro, men who are selected for honor must be extraordinary. And that is what you have done tonight. Baltimore has three beloved sons: George

Baltimore has three beloved sons: George H. Fallon, Samuel N. Friedel, Edward A. Garmatz.

#### FIFTY-SIX YEARS OF SERVICE

Between them, they represent 56 years of public service. I would like to recite the record tonight—not because it is unknown to you but because I would like to place it in writing for all to read who care to know the facts.

GEORGE H. FALLON, dean of the Maryland delegation and the "Mr. Roads" of Congress.

GEORGE FALLON can be proud of many things. Probably he himself would list first his wife, his daughter, and his two grandchildren—Johnnie and Stevie.

The citizens of Baltimore would probably add to the list the channel for Baltimore Harbor, the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, and the harbor pollution bill.

His colleagues in Congress would add to the list the Federal Aid Highway Act. Because of George Fallon, the time is not too far distant when people will be able to travel from coast to coast—not only in comfort but in safety without a stoplight or a traffic sign.

Samuel N. Friedel, the only man who has ever represented the Seventh Congressional District.

SAM FRIEDEL is a man who has fought the good fight for John Doe, citizen. He has tried to equalize the tax burden; to improve the social security system; to liberalize the Railroad Retirement Act.

He is a prudent man—a careful man—who realizes that a nation can advance without spending itself wild. And day after day, his work becomes more effective and his voice stronger in the Halls of Congress.

EDWARD A. GARMATZ, who is as much a part of your city as Baltimore Harbor itself.

This is a man who has never forgotten the people who trusted him so much that they sent him to Congress to transact their business. He has stood consistently for those he represents—so much so that he is known, and will always be known, as labor's friend.

And I am proud to call him my friend.

I have not reviewed these records tonight merely to pay tribute to three loyal, hardworking Americans. I have called the roll because I believe your Congressmen illustrate a point that is important to our people.

It is that there is something more to politics other than being elected. The real objective is not to win public office but to serve the public after the election is over.

#### CHOICE OF THE PEOPLE

There is a legitimate place for partisanship in the life of our Nation. The American

people must have a choice.

Partisans have not only a right but an obligation to present their views to the people vigorously and forcefully. But after the peo-ple have spoken, there is another obligation which falls upon the shoulders of those who seek office.

It is to accept the verdict of the voters gracefully-and then to go ahead and try to make our Government work. After all, it is our Government as Americans no matter which party runs it-Republican or Democratic.

Like me, the three men we honor tonight have been in both the majortly and the minority. I do not believe that any of us have ever rejoiced over the failure of a President or a Congress because the President or the Congress belonged to an opposing political party.

As a Democrat, I believe the Democratic Party is best qualified to run our country. I did not adopt my political allegiances lightly or simply out of habit.

#### A PARTY OF VISION

The Democratic Party, to my way of thinking, is a party of broad vision and progressive outlook. It brings together the people of the North, the South, the East, and the West for effective action to solve the Nation's problems.

But when the voters, in their wisdom, select a Republican President, I want that President to succeed in making our Nation strong. And when he does succeed, he will have my cooperation every step of the way.

Again speaking as a Democrat, I am very proud of the fact that three successive Democratic Congresses have gone more than half way to cooperate with a Republican Presi-

There may have been a temptation to snipe and harass; to tear down and obstruct. But it was a temptation which was sternly set aside.

When the President advanced proposals with which we agreed, we accepted them.

#### CONSTRUCTIVE ALTERNATIVE

When the President advanced proposals with which we disagreed, we either modified them or presented constructive alternatives.

Men like Fallon, Friedel, and GARMATZ were determined to make their Government work. And it has worked despite the division between a Republican President and a Democratic Congress.

The Democratic Congress has not attempted to sabotage the Republican President-and then chortled gleefully over the results.

There are two theories of politics in this country.

One is that the way to win elections is to run against something-to prove that the

opposition is motivated by bad faith. The other theory is that the way to win elections is to run on a record of construc-

tive achievement. And the second theory is the one that has been followed by your Congressmen and their colleagues in the Democratic Congress.

The first theory is one which Democrats have left to others-and I am sorry to say that it is being practiced.

#### A DANGEROUS THEORY

It is a dangerous theory, because it leads those who embrace it to take a further step. It is that unless they control an institution of government, they will not let that institution work.

We are going to have a practical test of the two theories of politics before very long. The record of this Congress, as of the pre-

vious two Congresses, will be constructive. It will be a record of highways, of houses, of health legislation, of steps to protect our working men and women, of moves to strengthen the freedoms and the rights of our people, of care for the needs of our farmers, of prudence in the Nation's fiscal affairs, of attention to the economic needs of our people, of efforts to strengthen our country's position in foreign affairs.

And those who seek to run against this record had better offer the voters something besides partisan slogans shouted hastily into a microphone on a Tuesday morning.

#### SABOTAGE OF GOVERNMENT

The American people do not take kindly to sabotage of their Government.

I came here tonight with a feeling of deep pride. I came because I wanted to help in honoring three men who believe that a public office is an opportunity for public service, and who have translated their beliefs into

And when the final record is written. Baltimore will be able to take great pride in the contributions of its three able men—Fallon, FRIEDEL, and GARMATZ.

## Curbing Oil Pipeline Rebates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1959

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, on June 9 I introduced a bill to amend the Elkins Act in order to prohibit expressly rebates to oil pipeline shipper-owners through the payment of dividends.

This bill will implement one of the recommendations contained in the Antitrust Subcommittee's Consent Decree Report on oil pipelines. In its investigation of oil pipeline operations under the terms of the 1941 consent decree, the Antitrust Subcommittee found that in 1955 and in 1956 some of the defendant pipeline companies had paid to their shipper-owners dividends equal to 20 percent to 47 percent of the pipelines' total revenues from common carrier transportation services. Since the overwhelming majority of an oil pipeline's revenues come from tariffs that the shipper-owner pays, it is clear that the dividends rebate to the shipper-owner his payments to the pipeline. The shipperowner gets an additional advantage over his competitors because part of the tariffs paid by outsiders to the pipeline also is transferred to the shipper-owner.

In its report the subcommittee found that:

Ownership of oil pipelines in 1958 continues to afford their major integrated owners substantial advantages over the other segments of the petroleum industry. In order to correct this condition, the committee recommends that Congress consider legislation that would amend the Elkins Act so as to prohibit expressly any payment of dividends by oil pipelines to the shipper-owners that are derived from transportation charges paid by the shipper-owner, or by competitors of the shipper-owner,

It is clear that the Elkins Act always has prohibited payment of dividends when such payment became a device to discriminate among shippers by returning to a favored shipper part of his transportation charges. The purpose of my bill is to have Congress at this time reaffirm the purposes of the Elkins Act and to declare expressly that dividends paid by an oil pipeline to its principal shipper from the money paid by that shipper for transportation services constitutes a rebate.

The purpose of my bill is to assure that oil pipelines operate as common carriers in fact as well as in law, rather than as private carriers for the benefit of their shipper-owners. It attempts to remedy present discriminations against outside users of oil pipelines by curtailing dividend payments to shipper-owners in lieu of divorcing oil pipelines from the ownership and control of the major integrated oil companies.

The remedy contained in my bill is less severe than divorcement of oil pipelines, which ultimately may prove to be necessary. My bill assures that the refineries owned by the major oil companies will continue to have access to necessary supply without the intervention of outside ownership. Unlike the situation which might occur if there were divorcement, continuity in management and operations will not be jeopardized and the ability of the pipelines to borrow money needed for expansion and development will not be impaired.

The objective of this bill solely is to assure that, in accordance with the intent of Congress as manifested in the Hepburn Act of 1906, oil pipelines be available for the benefit of the entire petroleum industry rather than for the private benefit of their shipper-owners. Continued discrimination by the shipper-owners against outside users of oil pipelines, who are competitors of the shipper-owners, must be stopped.

#### Poison in Your Water-No. 109

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I am inserting into the Appendix of the RECORD an article appearing in the Conway (Ark.) Log Cabin Democrat of April 30, 1959. entitled "Raw Sewage Flows on Surface in Area Adjoining Conway":

SEVERE HEALTH MENACE-RAW SEWACE FLOWS ON SURFACE IN AREA ADJOINING CONWAY

Sewage-disposal facilities in the College Oaks addition at the southeast edge of Conway are inadequate and raw sewage has been found flowing over the surface of the ground at various locations, the Arkansas State Board of Health reported to Mayor Edgar B. Parker in a letter received yesterday.

An inspection of the area was made last week by R. N. Sanders, district engineer from the State health department's office, and C. Homer Jones, district sanitarian stationed at Conway.

"Sewage-disposal facilities in this area, College Oaks, generally were found to be inadequate," G. T. Kellogg, chief sanitary engineer, wrote Mayor Parker.

Mr. Kellogg's letter continued:

"Surfacing of sewage in this area is a definite public health hazard. Such a condition can at any given time become the source of a serious epidemic of disease. Due to the fact that epidemics have no regard for geographical boundaries, a threat to the health of citizens of Conway, as well as people living in the College Oaks area, very definitely exists.

"An additional health hazard to the owners of private water supplies in this area exists in that most lots are insufficient in size in order to safely locate a water well with respect to a septic-tank installation.

"The reason for the general failure of septic-tank installations in this area are (1) poor soil conditions and (2) the prevalence of small lots.

"This office feels that the solution to the health problem in this area is public sewage. We also would like to emphasize that this same solution, public sewage, applies to other congested areas adjoining the corporate limits of Conway."

A copy of the letter went to Dr. Charles A. Archer, Faulkner County public health officer.

Mayor Parker said he asked for an inspection of the College Oaks area after he received numerous complaints about raw sewage flowing on the surface of the ground in sections of the area. He accompanied Mr. Sanders on the inspection trip.

"While not desiring to alarm anyone," Mayor Parker said, "a serious health problem definitely exists. Because these areas are outside our city limits, the city is somewhat handicapped in handling a situation like this. However, no stone will be left unturned toward carrying out the suggestion of the State board of health for public sewage. As pointed out in Mr. Kellogg's letter, we realize, too, that similar conditions exist in several other outlying areas."

#### More on Educational Television

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. HARRIS B. McDOWELL, JR.

OF DELAWARE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Speaker, on many occasions during this Congress I have indicated support of educational television. I am in favor of the establishment of ETV channels for I know that the development of this media is the realistic and economical, and a major means of meeting the increasing need for additional educational facilities in the United States. My position in this whole subject was described in detail in the Congressional Record of February 9, 1959, page 1981, and March 18, 1959, page A2363, and in testimony supporting my bill, H.R. 4284—companion to the Magnuson bill, S. 12—before the Subcommittee on Commerce and Power

of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

Within my own constituency there is a concerted effort to create an educational TV channel and it is my sincere hope that this effort will succeed. However, those working for the allocation of channel 12 in Wilmington, Del., to educational purposes have a long hard road ahead of them. The FCC has declined to decide the allocation of the channel on the broad question of ETV or commercial TV, but has chosen to decide the future of channel 12 on the basis of each specific application and the particular technical operating plan the application describes.

So, this Government's position concerning the future of channel 12 and the wider subject of educational television remains a matter of doubt and perplexity. This is a problem of nationwide scope, of Federal import, and someone in this vast organization known as the U.S. Government must define the Government's position on this matter.

It is becoming more and more evident that the "someone" who must define the Federal position on educational television is the Congress, for we must never let it be said that the Congress, when presented with a major means by which to offer education to a knowledge-hungry population, shunned the development and encouragement of that means.

Recent happenings indicate that this Congress is recognizing its responsibility in this area. In a voice vote, the Senate passed, by a great majority, Senator Magnuson's educational television bill. Last week the Subcommittee on Commerce and Power of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee met and voted to defer action on bills relating to educational television until a field study has been made of the entire subject. This study is to be conducted following the adjournment of the present session of the 86th Congress.

I sincerely hope that this study may isolate the major factors in the ETV controversy, for if it does, and if it gets down to the roots of this matter, this Government can do no other than give the greatest possible support to educational television.

As a small contribution to the work of clarifying some of the fundamental problems with which this matter is fraught, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues a letter from a Delaware proponent of ETV, Mrs. Jay O. Newlon, who vividly describes the prejudice and lack of understanding which is delaying the progress of educational television. Secondly, I have an article from the Wilmington Morning News of June 5, 1959, dealing with the work and aspirations of some of those who support educational television.

I include these items at this point in my remarks:

WILMINGTON, DEL., April 8, 1959. FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Are we Delawareans going to be deprived of educational television because the petty provincialism of "Delaware's station for Delaware" has been almost all that the general public has heard? Details of a

few conversations accompany this letter as examples to show that political pressure, ignorance and fear have motivated those in high places to fail to come to the support of educational television when they actually wish that we could have it.

As parents, my husband and I wish our children to have every educational opportunity possible. "TV and Our School Crisis," the new book by Mr. Charles A. Siepmann, should be required reading for those that think educational television costs money. For adult education, community uplift and betterment, educational television is poten-

tially a great force for good.

The Delaware Educational Television Committee is apparently made up of busy educators and intellectuals who have sacrificed to give time to trying to get people acquainted with the opportunity we now have. tunately they started seeking support from heads of organizations not realizing that prominent people feel they have to be politicians. The general public has had little opportunity to evaluate or even understand just what educational television is or what it can do. Of course it has been difficult for information concerning it to get around due to an uncooperative press and the distrust, fear, and ignorance that even prevented most of our school officials from allowing the fact sheets to be distributed through the schools.

It seems to me that television channels should be regarded in the same light as our natural resources and protected and used in the way which will be most valuable to the people. We in the United States regard the right and opportunity to be educated as vital to our democracy—you might call it a birthright. In the years to come every time Delaware people read of exciting new progress in educational television if we had lost this opportunity we would think of the local talent shows and old movies on channel 12, and we'd feel cheated. Here would be a mess of pottage received and a birthright lost.

Genuine concern for the welfare and progress of the people of this area would dictate saving this channel for education. Cooperation and sharing with those people interested in giving worthwhile educational programs would bless both them and us.

Sincerely,

Martha Newlon Mrs. Jay O. Newlon.

P.S.—Details of a few conversations typical of great numbers follow:

I called a prominent person to inquire as to whether, since the new proposals eliminated financial obligation on Delaware's part, he would not now be coming out publicly for channel 12's being made an educational station. He said that he would not. I asked him if there were an objection other than financial that I didn't know

I asked him if there were an objection other than financial that I didn't know about. I couldn't imagine an educator not preferring a genuine educational channel to the crumbs of public service time that would be doled out by a commercial operator (and those perhaps given with an eye to personal advantage). I couldn't understand Mr. X's answer.

I asked, "Have the Philadelphia educators who would be in charge been giving poor or unsound programs for the last few years over their ultra high frequency station? Are they indoctrinating children in some way that would be objectionable to us in Delaware?" I wanted to know what was wrong with them that we couldn't cooperate with them and get the benefit of their programs.

Mr. X said quite warmly that he resented any effort to put him in the position of criticizing the Philadelphia educators in any way.

I explained that I was not a reporter and not trying to embarrass him—that I was only a humble housewife with 6 children and would like to see anything that improves education or any additional educa-tional opportunity provided for them, as well as for the 6 million people of this area.

He asked where I got that figure and

after explaining I went on to tell him that it appeared to me that we, the people of Delaware, were behaving worse than the well known dog in the manger. In our case when we ourselves cannot make use of this wonderful medium for worthwhile purposes we would deny its use to someone else who was equipped to do so. To top it off they would be providing the educational programing which we ourselves could use beneficially. But instead of cooperating with them we prefer to throw this opportunity away on cheap commercial programing which would be for the most part stultifying-certainly in no sense improving the intellectual standards of our people.

Mr. X then told me how enthusiastic he had been concerning educational television and was frank in showing how hands were tled (the details would identify him, unfortunately). He said that if those to whom he was responsible would only come out for this cooperative arrangement with Philadelphia, he would be glad to do so. If I understood the conversation correctly, he must already have had rather a hard time with the political head and the body which conthe purse strings and felt obliged to avoid any further conflict. Naturally he needs their cooperation in order to do a good job in the position that he is in. I can certainly sympathize with him and realize it would be extremely difficult for him to announce publicly support for educational television

One public figure who might very well have inside information agreed with me that educational television would be in the public interest but told me that it was too late to do anything about it now. Since he thought it was all set up for Mr. Rollins he thought the only good that could be done was to show him that people wanted television time for schools. (Opportunities for schools to show off are no substitute for genuine educational television, and may indeed harm the progress of academics in leading school personnel to concentrate on getting students ready for performances. Off times given by commercial operators to public interest programs cannot be counted on as they are shifted when that time can be sold and they are not adequate to provide real courses)

A minister told me that he felt the mafority of the gentlemen of his calling recognized that educational television would be valuable and certainly superior to what we could expect otherwise, but since it is a touch subject here and leading politicians and businessmen in their congregations might be offended should they speak out for it they, in most cases, were just trying to pretend that there was nothing going on—and not taking any side at all. Many did feel they

needed more exact information.

Another minister told me that he had seen no evidence that the educational programs would be anything worth receiving. When I asked him if he thought on this basis that we should throw the station to what we knew was not worth having rather than take the recommendation of recognized educators who state that the programs will be of high caliber as they have been on the ultra-highfrequency channel, he stated that he felt he would get a better break himself with a small local channel. He did not realize that time is scheduled for religious programs also with educational channels.

[From the Wilmington Morning News, June 5, 1959]

EDUCATIONAL TV PLANNERS MEET

Educational television in this area would benefit from Delaware's cultural resources, Alexander Greenfeld, this city, told a joint meeting of program committee members from this State, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey yesterday.

Mr. Greenfeld, president of the Delaware

Educational Television Association, dressed educators and other experts in that field, at a luncheon at the YMCA.

The session here was the first of several planning conferences. Mr. Greenfeld also emphasized that the three States have common interests and needs.

"A discussion by a panel in the Wilmington studio on the growing economy of New Castle County would help communities in the other States faced with the same problems," Mr. Greenfeld said. "Art, music, chemistry, religion, drama, and community service give the same benefits regardless of where they originate."

He urged the group to create the most attractive schedule possible, and noted that suggestions from several Delaware sources indicate that once the controversy over the competition for the now dark Channel 12 is ended, and should it be resolved in favor of education television, substantial financial contributions would be forthcoming.

Mr. Greenfeld said that should the Federal Communications Commission award the channel to Metropolitan (the name of the three-State educational television organization), the channel will remain a Delaware channel and there will be a duty on the operating licensee to serve the local needs and interests of the Delaware community.

Metropolitan is one of three groups with applications before the commission. others, both commercial, are Rollins Broadcasting-Telecasting, and an out-of-State combine headed by Richard Goodman,

#### Our Water Resources Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. CLIFFORD DAVIS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 9, 1959

DAVIS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am including a statement made before the Committee on Public Works in the House of Representatives on last May 12, by Brig. Gen. John L. Person, Assistant Chief of Engineers for Civil Works. It is one of the most comprehensive, and certainly one of the most thorough, treatments of the water resource problem I have ever read or heard. In the judgment of many of us the next decade may well show the emphasis on the conservation of water in our own country.

We have made great progress under the Corps of Engineers in controlling flood waters. Many areas in the country are today short of water, and an in-creased population and a greater industrial use for water, makes this natural resource more valuable than ever before. The statement by General Person is included herewith:

STATEMENT OF BRIG. GEN. JOHN L. PERSON. ASSISTANT CHIEF OF ENGINEERS FOR CIVIL Works, Before the Committee on Pub-LIC WORKS, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. MAY 12, 1959

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, it is a pleasure, as it has always

been, to appear before your committee. This is an especially important occasion to me, since in view of my impending retirement it will probably be my last appearance before your full committee as a representatives of the Corps of Engineers. I have, therefore, given considerable thought to the statement which I am about to make.

I know that your purpose is to consider, and possibly report out, another omnibus river and harbor and flood control bill. Since enactment of the last legislation of this kind in July 1958, the Chief of Engineers has recommended a number of new projects or modifications of existing projects. These will be considered in detail and representatives of the Corps as well as interested local agencies will be called on to testify concerning them, if past procedures are followed.

I feel, therefore, that rather than discuss these new proposals at this time I can serve you best, and best serve the cause of water resources development, by reviewing the road we have traveled in development of the civil works program, and by presenting to the best of my ability and experience some of the more urgent problems that are developing in the water resources segment of the public works activity, and some thoughts on what may be done about them.

I have had the good fortune to be involved in the planning and construction of civil works improvements for the major part of my 30 years' service with the Army. span of my service, therefore, has covered the period of the greatest expansion of Federal activity in this field, since by far the greatest progress on a nationwide basis has taken place since 1936 when the first general flood control legislation was enacted by Congress

The roots of this activity, of course, go much deeper into the history of our country-to 1824 in fact, when the first river improvements were authorized by Congress and undertaken by the Corps. For almost a century thereafter, the Federal interest and activity in this field was limited largely to improvement of navigation on our rivers and harbors. During the next half century. however, we have witnessed a growing in-terest in water resources development and an ever increasing expansion of the Federal participation in this activity.

#### CIVIL WORKS ACCOMPLISHMENTS

This Federal activity in cooperation with States and local organizations has resulted in accomplishment of a major public works program which has produced large public benefits.

In the field of navigation we have over the years improved some 23,000 miles of waterways which includes some 10,000 miles of channels which provide depths of over 9 feet for modern barge transportation. fic on these waterways has increased over the past 30 years from 8 billion ton-miles in 1929 to 115 billion ton-miles in 1957. We have also improved some 500 harbors on the Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific Coasts, on the Great Lakes, and in Alaska, and in the overseas territories.

In the field of flood control we have completed or placed in operation 151 flood control and multiple purpose reservoirs, and nearly 300 works for local flood protection. We estimate that these have prevented flood damages of over \$9 billion to date which is almost three times the cost of the flood control improvements. These works are effective in most of our major river basins and on many smaller rivers and streams. The degree of protection varies, however, and is far from complete in many areas.

The large multiple purpose projects, 32 in number, which have been constructed produce a variety of benefits. Over 6 million kilowatts of power have been installed. During 1958 these projects produced 27 billion kilowatt hours of power or about 20 percent of all the hydropower generated in the United States. The increasing importance of these multiple purpose and flood control reservoirs for water supply is shown by the fact that at 18 completed projects we have more than 1,200,000 acre-feet under contract for municipal and industrial water supply; and releases of water for irrigation totaled 1,600,000 acre-feet in 1958. These reservoirs, and others where conservation pools are provided, have developed into a major recreational resource. They make available about 3 million acres of water area at normal pool levels. In 1958 attendance at these projects totaled 95 million visitor days, which is more than double the attendance 5 years ago.

I have for distribution to you a statistical summary of these accomplishments which

you may find of interest.

are a number of salient factors which have contributed to and have been an essential part of this growth, and all of these have involved the deliberations and actions of this committee.

DEVELOPMENT OF WATER RESOURCES LAW

Of primary importance has been the gradual evolution of a great mass of Federal legislation dealing with water resources. The Federal activity in flood control was ex-tended beyond the Alluvial Valley of the Mississippi for the first time in 1893 when Congress established the California Debris Commission. The act of March 3, 1909, provided for inclusion of data on development and use of water power in reports to the Congress. The act of March 4, 1913, provided a legislative basis for reports to Congress on water projects and first required consideration of related water uses on a comprehensive basis. The act of March 1, 1917, authorized flood control construction in California and in the Alluvial Valley of the Mississippi and made River and Harbor laws applicable to flood control. The Act of June 5, 1920, required the Chief-of Engineers to recommend local cooperation for special benefits that would accrue from projects.

The River and Harbor Acts of 1925 and 1927 authorized the so-called "308 surveys," which were the first attempt to appraise the resources and problems of all the rivers of the United States. These were largely completed by the corps during the ensuing decade. These studies provided a basis for much work undertaken for relief of unemployment during the early 1930's, were a basis for the TVA plan of development, and for improvements authorized by subsequent flood control acts. The act of May 15, 1927, authorized the present major project for control of floods in the alluvial valley of the

Mississippi.

Perhaps the most significant piece of leg Islation, however, was the act of June 22, 1936, which established for the first time a national policy for Federal participation in flood control in a nationwide basis. That act has been amended and extended by cmnibus river and harbor legislation in 1938. 1941, 1944, 1946, 1950, 1954, and 1958. While all of these acts authorized specific projects they also included important general legislation which has expanded and clarified the Federal interest in almost every phase of Water resource development, including:

Provisions to preserve for future use the hydroelectric power potential of projects.

Recognition of rights and interests of

Coordination with other Federal agencies such as the Departments of Interior and Agriculture.

Recognition of major drainage as a part of flood control.

Provision of facilities for access and publice use, for recreation and conservation of fish and wildlife.

Provision for disposal of hydroelectric Power by the Secretary of Interior.

Provision for planning for municipal and industrial water supply and for its disposal. Recognition of recreational navigation.

Authority for accomplishment of flood fighting, emergency work, and small justified projects.

In addition there have been related acts which have clarified the Federal interest in such matters as control of beach erosion; protection against flooding by hurricanes in coastal areas; and increased recognition of fish and wildlife preservation as a project purpose.

We are often inclined to think of these laws in their narrower sense of providing a vehicle for authorization of specific projects. And we still use the terminology of flood control law or river and harbor law. The fact that these same acts provide the present broad basis for Federal participation in almost every phase of water resources de-velopment is seldom recognized. It would be much more accurate to characterize these acts as Federal water resources law. I believe they should be dignified by a greater

recognition of their real import.

This body of law has developed in a gradual and practical way to meet needs as they have arisen. One result of this procedure, and the broad program that has developed, has been stimulation of wide interest in water resources development. As a result this subject has been studied by numerous commissions and committees of the legislative and executive branch. These studies have led to legislative proposals, generally broad in scope. Some of these proposals have never reached the Congress, while some bills of this kind are now before the Con-gress for consideration. Many have merit, but most proposals of this kind cover so many aspects of the problem that they unavoidably attract strong opposition as well as support. It seems to me that the experience of this Committee over the years affords a valuable lesson—that development of water resources legislation is a matter of evolution, a step by step process, based on practical needs and experience.

MULTIPLE PURPOSE DEVELOPMENT AND PLAN-NING

Perhaps the most significant change that has grown out of this expanded Federal interest in water resources has been the shift in emphasis from single-purpose to multiple purpose development; and from planning for some particular project to comprehensive and coordinated river basin planning.

As our country have grown and developed during the past half century, and particularly during the past decade of almost explosive growth in population and industry, it has become apparent that our rivers must be developed to meet all present needs and to serve as fully as possible the needs of the

foreseeable future.

I think the Corps of Engineers has felt the impact of this change more than any other Federal agency. Thirty years ago, when the Congress authorized the corps to make a study-even such a broad study of many rivers as the 308 surveys-it was possible for us to proceed almost unilaterally. were so many obvious needs for navigation and flood control projects that selection and recommendation of individual worthwhile project was a relatively simple task.

Those days have gone forever. The rising interest in water resources development is now shared by many Federal agencies, by the States to an increasing degree, and by industry and organizations of private citizens. Many of these have broad interests while others tend to support some particular phase or interest, to the exclusion of all others. And the inherent conflicts in use of water have been intensified by increasing demands upon a limited supply.

The pattern of study, therefore, that has emerged is one of comprehensive river basin studies in which other Federal agencies, the States and private organizations all cooperate in their respective fields of interest. studies are now underway in the Delaware and Potomac River Basins; and our review of the plan for the Columbia River Basin, which will soon be submitted to the Congress was also made on that basis.

This is a sound development as it insures that the skills and information available to the agencies and States are brought to bear on solution of these complex water problems. It does, however, require patient and difficult coordination and efforts to resolve conflicting interests. It also involves consideration of many phases of river-basin development which are emerging as of major importance and as difficult problems. Thus comprehensive and multiple-purpose planning is not an easy task, but I believe we are making prog-

We have given much attention to the requirements of coordination. I appeared recently before your Subcommittee on Watershed Development and described the relationship between our flood-control program and the flood-prevention program being developed by the Department of Agriculture under Public Law 566. At that time I told you that we have a working task group com-posed of representatives of the SCS and corps who are attempting to resolve differences and achieve coordination and uniformity in conduct of these programs. In January of this year we were able to complete a memorandum of agreement covering, at least in part, the participation by the two agencies in urban flood protection.

Enactment of the Water Supply Act of 1958 in July of last year has led us to seek and reach an agreement with the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. This will further implement our past close relations with the Public Health Service in the field of water supply investigations. We desire and have been promised their assistance in appraising needs for water supply and in evaluating it. This would be somewhat analogous to the manner in which the Federal Power Commission now assists us in estimating power needs and in evaluating hydro-

electric power.

In addition we are continuing our efforts in working with the Interagency Committee on Water Resources, and through informal interagency committees, to arrive at uniform and mutually acceptable procedures for project evaluation, cost allocation and sharing.

One of the most important and productive areas of coordination is that which involves the States. As you know the 1944 Flood Control Act specifically requires coordination with affected States in our planordination with allected states in our plan-ning. Experience has shown us that prog-ress is greatly facilitated when there is a strong State interest in conservation and use of its waters. In particular we have found that much can be accomplished when there are strong State organizations with which we can deal during the entire plan-ning and construction procedure. In addition many States, particularly those in the more humid parts of the country, are showing an increasing interest in clarifying their own water laws. We are trying to encourage more positive and effective State participation in Civil Works.

#### NEW WATER RESOURCES PROBLEMS

In addition to the problems of agency and State coordination we are confronted with many new problems of river de-These have received some velopment. consideration in the past, but largely as incidental to the matters in which there has been an accepted Federal interest. Now, however, such matters as regulation of flow for water supply and other purposes, abatement of pollution, preservation and enhancement of fish and wildlife, regulation . of flood plain use, and recreation are pressing for recognition as important problems and purposes of river basin development.

For many years we have recognized the need for regulation of the high flows of rivers—or control of floods. The economic drain upon our resources imposed by recurring flood losses was obvious. Somewhat less obvious 20 years ago was the need for regulation of rivers for all purposes. need, however, has now been plain made plain by the recent succession of drought years in the Southwest, by the crowding of industry to river banks in search of water and economic bulk transportation, and by the increasing pollution of our rivers. I predict that as time goes on the regulation and improvement of low water discharges of our rivers may become even more important than regulation of flood flows. This is merely a part of the multiple purpose concept under which we hold that our rivers must be developed for all purposes.

Conservation interests throughout the country have for many years been intensely interested in preservation of fish and wildlife values in connection with water resources development. In the past, however, their approach has been somewhat negative-largely opposition to river development, and at best an insistence that loss and damage be prevented. The new fish and wild-life coordination act provides a more positive approach which we welcome. It gives greater stature to fish and wildlife as a project purpose and recognizes the possibility of enhancement of benefits as well as mitigation of losses. We are extremely anxious to establish a working relationship under which the fish and wildlife resource can be evaluated and provided for as one of the real purposes of water resources projects. To this end conservationists and engineers must learn to talk the same language to

work out mutual problems.

It is becoming increasingly apparent that river valleys will be developed and used regardless of the flood hazard. The economic advantages of valley lands are so great that this growth seems inevitable. While we have made great progress in providing flood control works many of our river valleys are still subject to destructive floods, and the degree of protection varies widely. More-over it will probably not be possible, because of physical and economic limitations, to provide full flood protection. This leads to the inescapable conclusion that greater attention must be given by States, municipalities and industry, and by the Federal agencies concerned with development, to some form of regulation of flood plain use. I do not suggest an attempt to prevent any such use, but an intelligent appraisal of the hazards involved when these lands are used. We should be as much concerned with avoidance of creating a future flood hazard, as with means of correcting the damage after it occurs.

Another emerging problem or potentiality of river basin development that has been assuming increasing importance is recreation. When most of our flood control and multiple purpose reservoirs were authorized and built, little if any consideration was given to their recreational potential. Congress, however, in the Flood Control Act of 1944 was farsighted enough to give us rather broad authority to provide facilities for access and public use so that the potential of these projects for recreation and for fish and wildlife could be realized. As a result our records show that in 1958 the recreational use of projects under the jurisdiction of the Corps totaled about 95 million visitor-days. This real and tangilble value of water resource development can no longer be ignored

as a project purpose. It is becoming so important that we must consider and provide for recreational use in project planning.

These are important outstanding problems which confront those who are now engaged in water resources planning. I could name others, but I believe those I have mentioned are sufficient to raise the question as to how we can accomplish the complex coordinated planning that will be necessary if future needs are to be met.

#### WATER RESOURCE PLANNING

There have been numerous proposals over the years, and experiments, in carrying out water resources planning. These have run the gamut from single purpose studies by a single agency to the present coordinated studies with full interagency participation. There have been proposals for valley authorities such as the TVA. More recently the President's Water Resources Policy Commission recommended the establishment of an Executive Review Board and separate river basin commissions, which would coordinate and review the activities of the Federal and State agencies.

During the last session of Congress, two southeastern rivers and one for the State of Texas. These commissions are now recruiting staffs and building up organizations. The Corps of Engineers is represented on the commissions along with other Federal agencies. We are not yet sure just what the functions and activities of these new organizations will be, but we stand ready to provide all possible assistance. Presumably study commissions of this kind will report to the Congress through this Public Works Committee.

It is obvious therefore that there are a number of ways in which the Federal Government can participate with States and local organizations in water resources planning. We feel confident that regardless of the organizational arrangements that may ultimately evolve, the experience of the Corps of Engineers will be needed and you may be sure that we will cooperate as in the past with whatever organizational arrangements the Congress may establish.

In any event I feel very strongly that in our present and future planning for water resources development we must look forward to future needs, rather than to the past and present. In many river basins the more obviously needed projects have been built, or authorized by Congress for construction. But we know that the flood problem has not been solved and the future demands for water will increase. Our approach must therefore be a broad gage appraisal of how river basins and regions are likely to develop over the next 50 to 100 years and of the resources and developments that will be required to meet those needs. We can then proceed to develop the plans which are feasible to provide the water, power, and flood protection that will be required. Some elements of such plans may not be needed now and may not be justified for some years to come, but framework plans of this kind would enable us to proceed with the works needed under present conditions with assurance that what we do now will fit in with and not preclude the more compelte developments that will be essential in the years to

In closing. I should like to express my very real appreciation of the friendly and understanding attitude which you have always shown me. It has been a major factor in making my present assignment, which I am shortly to leave, one of the most interesting and satisfying jobs of my career.

## The Irresponsible Poisoners

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 27, 1959

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, the need for further research on the use of pesticides has become more evident day by day. These chemicals can be of great use to mankind and his natural resources if they are to be used on the basis of proper knowledge of their total effects. But, as yet, this knowledge is lacking. Thus, a bill, such as H.R. 5813, which I introduced on March 18, it is necessary to make the benefits of modern technology useful in controlling harmful plants and animals.

Without the money to carry on a program of testing to determine the effect on other plants and animals, the use of these poisons can be very dangerous. As documentation of the dangers involved when these chemicals are used without adequate knowledge, I would like to include an article by Robert L. Rudd, "The Irresponsible Poisoners," which appeared in the May 30, 1959, issue of the Nation:

## THE IRRESPONSIBLE POISONERS (By Robert L. Rudd)

From a few inches of soil, a few feet of air and a few hundred feet of the water's depths we take the food and fiber on which our survival depends. This thin, productive skin of the earth's surface, bountiful though it is, has not yielded its bounty without struggle. Traditionally, food production for man's use has been both inefficient and insufficient. Man competes here with a multitudinous complex of living forms, and throughout most of the world, even today, does not fare well in the competition. His crops, his domestic animals and his person are beset by a host of foraging, predaceous, parasitizing and disease-causing organisms. Only in those countries with well-developed agricultural technologies has the balance of competition been tipped in favor of man. In the United States particularly, the application of research and technology to foodraising has been so successful that we can and do produce far more than we actually

Relative success in controlling competing organisms is in large part due to chemicals which repel or inhibit a pest species or, through killing, reduce its numbers. The same methods of check and control are used in nature by other species of organisms. And the water and the land that produce our foods and fibers—and our pests—give us those animals for which we fish and hunt for pleasure, and that living complex whose presence we enjoy for its own sake. No living thing is unimportant and every living thing has its antagonist.

Our use of chemicals to control living things is not new. Rodents and predatory mammals have been controlled with poison for centuries; insects have been similarly controlled for at least a century. But within the last 50 years, chemical usage has changed from occasional and limited to persistent and widespread. As dramatic as any development in an era of startling technologi-

cal changes has been the discovery and application of pesticides. Within 20 years DDT was discovered, put to use, and followed by a host of other synthetic insecticides. Herbicides, dependent on totally new concepts, have been developed. The most toxic of all pesticides, Compound 1080, was discovered, tested and put to worldwide use a little over 15 years ago. But keeping pace with the increasing use of chemicals is a rising swell of doubt; do they, in the end, do more harm than good?

Many indications of biological disturbance resulting from the use of toxic chemicals in agriculture are known to scientists. Public knowledge of these effects is reflected in three controversies which occurred within the last

year.

A group of Long Island landowners, offended by unsought spraying of their lands for gypsy-moth control and concerned about wildlife damage, brought suit against the U.S. Department of Agriculture to force cessation of all such operations (see "The Pesticide That Came to Dinner," by David Cort, Apr. 12, 1958). The decision in what has come to be known as the "DDT trial" favored the Government agencies, but the issue plainly was much larger than could be settled in a single court action. In any case, the public airing of the facts resulted in much wider awareness of the hazards, both known and potential, of large-scale chemical control programs. The Government agencies involved Were made acutely aware of the hitherto largely silent opposition, and have now retrenched to consider modifications of their programs.

The opposition has not-been silent in the current program to eradicate the imported fire ant in the South. Several features mark this as somewhat different from earlier programs, although the insect species is widespread, there is clear doubt about its economic liability; the program is ambitious (some 20 million acres will be treated); the dosage (heptachlor at 2 pounds per acre) is several times that used in normal cropinsect control: in the diversified landscape of the rural South, aerial application makes it difficult to discriminate among the areas requiring treatment; whenever used, the effect of the treatment on free-living wildlife has been dramatically noticeable, often catastrophically so. The opposition has taken the form of debates, suits or threats of suits. No decision is in sight.

Livestock interests on western rangelands have been bothered for a century by the depredations of coyotes and wolves. Yet currently there is a revival of opposition to the chemical control of predatory mammals in the West. Some features of this opposition do not differ from a violent controversy on the same subject which erupted three decades ago: The emotional attitude toward wildlife in this country; serious challenges of the need for control, particularly on public lands; the use of flesh baits containing highly toxic chemicals. Much was learned from the earlier controversy; regulatory procedures were tightened.

But with the discovery and rapid acceptance of compound 1080—the most toxic chemical now used in control programs—the picture has again changed. The chemical is effective—too effective. It is stable on baits, in water, in soil and in animal tissue. It can kill easily its primary targets, coyotes and rodents; because of its stability, however, it can kill secondary targets almost as well. A dog—or coyote—which eats a rodent killed with "1080" is almost certainly going to die. Today the chief concern in the the large-scale campaigns against predatory mammals is this highly hazardous "1080." But there are other areas of inquiry. What is the actual extent of secondary poisoning? Are the extensive campaigns against predatory mam-

-mals economically justified? No one can answer these questions now. But they are legitimate questions which ultimately must be answered.

These examples of antipest campaigns given above are only three among many of lesser scope which have aroused controversy. Others are to be expected in the future, and these too will arouse controversy unless imaginative alternatives are developed. The likelihood of a quick reversal of field—the abandonment, that is, of chemical control programs—is small. Overcoming inertia and entrenched ideas will not be simple. The first step in arriving at an overall solution of the problem is to identify the major weaknesses in the present approach. I list four below:

The unrepresented: We look to the products of land and water for our survival. Beyond this, from the same land and waters, draw our recreational and aesthetic pleasures. Hunter, fisherman, photographer, vacationer, educator, naturalist, conserva-tionist, scientist—all deserve to be considered in the assessment of values derived from our productive lands. There are over 40 million fishing and hunting licenses annually sold in this country; millions of vacationers crowd our scenic areas every year. Millions more quietly appreciate our natural bounty. But in the conflict between immediate productive gain and the longrange total appreciation of the products of land, these interests do not fair well. State and Federal agencies charged with the protection of such interest have failed to discharge their function with sufficient vigor. These agencies have had wise and vigorous spokesmen in the past; they are not heard now.

Approved and recommended: This stamp

Approved and recommended: This stamp of officialdom given to a control chemical implies that all is well—no hazard exists in use. Only rarely does a grower, a control official or an administrator inquire further when he sees this mark of official sanction. But well he might. With increasing frequency, reliable reports of unexpected disturbances appear.

Ground-feeding birds, particularly robins, have seriously declined in several States where elm trees have been treated with DDT for Dutch elm-disease control. The birds die of poisoned earthworms eaten many months after the trees have been sprayed. Treatment for gnat larvae in a California lake—with low dosages of DDD—resulted in slow but inexorable accumulations of chemicals in the tissues of edible fishes many times larger than the legally allowed maximum for commercial foodstuffs.

Resistance to chemicals—the ability to withstand increasingly larger dosages—has now appeared in some 50 species of pest insects. These insects are important to man—codling moth, malarial mosquitoes, house flies, many species of citrus insects, to name a few. The list is rapidly lengthening. So also is the number of chemicals which induce resistance. Even the use of unstable nerve gases—the organophosphates, considered the solution to DDT-induced resistance—is producing resistant species.

Destruction of beneficial insects is the rule with current nonselective insecticides, and insect populations may no longer be held in check by natural enemies. The rise to pest status of spider mites—not subject to DDT—illustrates how elimination of one pest species sometimes merely results in substituting one problem for another.

This accounting could be expanded considerably. The important conclusion to draw is that hazards in the use of chemicals do exist even under the best of approved procedures. Shortsightedness, political expediency, simple apathy, and biological ignorance play too big a role in our pest-control programs:

The channelized thinker: The progressive narrowing of knowledge begins in our colleges and universities, where specialists are trained. And it is a specialist—not the crop, livestock or timber grower—who recommends this or that chemical for use in control programs. Etudents in economic entomology, for example, rarely study biology and resource management in the broad sense. Crop production is their only goal and interest. The forestry student is somewhat less restricted in perspective; the publichealth official is even less so. Too frequently, curriculums have been so narrow and specialized, that it should surprise no one that a graduating applied biologist has little awareness of the many interests affected by his specialty.

There are hopeful indications of a reversal in our educational policies regarding specialty education. Meanwhile, what is the fate of such a channelized thinker when he goes to work for industry or government? Restricted as he was before, he now becomes even more confined. Perhaps he will henceforth work on only a single commodity. In a distressingly short span of time, his closely circumscribed information and duties become a mental straitjacket. His only values stem from the narrow channel of his specialty. The mistakes of judgment in the controversial fire-ant control program in the South were a logical result of such thinking. So are the poison campaigns directed against predatory mammals in the West.

The production fetish: The recreational and esthetic values stemming from the plants and wildlife of our production areas mean very little to control specialists. The primary value is the production of food and fiber. This emphasis is necessary—up to a point. But we have long ago shown we know how to produce; we have long ago passed the threshold mark of concern for primary values. Overproduction has settled on us like a plague. Many economic and political inhibitory devices have been called into use to prevent complete chaos in crop production. Chemical use to increase production is continually stressed: and few stop to inquire "Why?" or "What do we lose in the process?" Too many of our production specialists cling to an antiquated idea that production increase is desirable and normal. Not only must there be an absolute increase, but there must also be an increase in the rate of increase. And should acreage be limited through a soil bank or other device, the remaining acreage must be made to produce more to compensate for the Chemical controls play a large role in this temporary compensation.

This is the production fetish. It is a false god to which is sacrificed a host of values important to us all. And on its surface, it is a self-defeating system. Beneath the surface shows plainly a time of reckoning.

West Virginia Is Getting Shortchanged---V

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. KEN HECHLER

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. HECHLER. Every day this week I have brought up the subject of the outrageous discrimination against my home State of West Virginia in the relative number of defense installations, military personnel, and civilian employees of the Department of Defense. I intend to keep right on talking until somebody does something to correct this discrimination.

On Saturday, May 30, the Charleston Daily Mail carried an editorial entitled "Billions for the Defense of the Nation, but Little of It Comes to West Virginia."

Under unanimous consent, I include this able editorial at this point in the RECORD:

BILLIONS FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE NATION, BUT LITTLE OF IT COMES TO WEST VIRGINIA

For some reason, West Virginia has never actively sought defense installations and their related industry. And seek them or not, it has been systematically bypassed in their location.

What a difference it makes in the subject of an interesting study by Representative Ken Hechler, of the Fourth District, in the comparison with neighboring Virginia, for example, in the distribution of the defense dollar. West Virginia comes off looking something like Outer Mongolia.

In all of West Virginia the Defense Department employs only 1,696 persons in its military and civilian establishments. In Virginia, with barely 50 percent more popula-

tion, the total runs to 160,848.

In terms of the payroll the spread is just as great. On the military side, West Virginia receives slightly more than \$2 million annually. The Virginia figure is \$288 million. On the civilian side the Defense Department employs 1,113 civilians in West Virginia at an annual payroll of \$5,822. The comparable figures in Virginia are 78,-813 employees and a payroll of \$418 million.

To some extent, of course, and due in the main to the geography, this is understandable. Virginia has the enormous Naval Operating Base at Norfolk because it has Chesa-

peake Bay in its front yard.

But this aside, the comparison is still striking. In their share of defense expenditures all of the surrounding States—Virginia, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Maryland, and Ohio—enjoy substantially more in the apportionment of the \$43 billion defense budget.

Now there is no such thing as a State's fair share of the defense dollar. Supposing that defense funds are spent only in accordance with the strictest determination of military necessity, West Virginia may not be entitled to anything. But it is puzzling (Representative Hechler calls it a national scandal) that in the outpouring of hundreds of billions of dollars over the past 20 years almost none of it has come West Virginia's way. A great deal of it unquestionably came out of West Virginia's pocket.

#### Commuters Need Protection

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 5, 1959

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the text of a statement which I made before the Surface Transportation Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce in support of the bill, S. 1331, providing greater protection of the public interest in railroad passenger train

discontinuance cases before the Interstate Commerce Commission:

Mr. Chairman, I am grateful to the subcommittee for this opportunity to appear in support of legislation to make more effective the Interstate Commerce Commission's new authority over the discontinuance of railroad passenger and ferry service.

I especially appreciate the chairman's generosity and sense of fair play in scheduling hearings on the two bills, S. 1331 and S. 1450, which are so critically important to the largest metropolitan region in the world, as well as to other areas of the country dependent on adequate railroad commuter service.

It is typical, I understand, of the chairman's willingness to see both sides of the question, and of his record on this subcommittee of recognizing not only the needs but also the responsibilities of the Nation's railroads.

If the committee is willing—in the interest of expediting testimony—I shall not read my entire statement, but simply highlight what I consider are the most important points, since the committee has the full statement available before it for the record.

Before discussing the need for and merits of S. 1331—which was introduced by my good friend and distinguished predecessor in the House, Senator Case, and which I have the honor of sponsoring in the House—I should like to emphasize certain relevant characteristics about the New York metropolitan region that bear heavily on this bill.

This metropolitan region is the largest in the world. It embraces parts of three States and contains within its compact boundaries nearly 10 percent of the population of the United States and more than 40 percent of the Nation's railroad commuters. In this area, more than twice as many commuters—an estimated 208,000—depend on rail transportation than rely on automobiles, or did so, that is, until the current rash of discontinuances.

An adequate railroad passenger system is absolutely essential to the area, since our network of highways is already taxed to capacity and no practicable substitute for rails is available. For example, one reliable friend of mine has reported that he used to drive from Union County, N.J., to New York city in 20 minutes, whereas it now requires more than an hour, along the same route and at the same time of day.

It is virtually certain that these crowded

It is virtually certain that these crowded conditions will increase in the next few years. The Harvard University study of the New York metropolitan region, which was just reported this week, predicts a likely population growth for the region of 4.5 mllion above the present 16 million by 1975, with an additional 3 million by 1985. The study also concludes that the population boom and the growth of the suburbs will put strenuous demands on suburban commuting facilities.

In the light of these facts, therefore, I would suggest that now is the time to strengthen and expand commuter transportation facilities, rather than encourage their further shrinkage.

I do recognize, nevertheless, that commuter railroads, especially in the East, have been harassed by the long-term failure of much commutation service to pay its own way. Costs have rather consistently outrun revenues, and thereby have tended to place a burden on entire railroad systems. This, of course, was the basis of the action recommended last year by this committee and approved by the Congress' which authorized railroads to come to the Interstate Commerce Commission in order to discontinue unprofitable train and ferry service, both interstate and intrastate. In many other ways, too, the Transportation Act of 1958

aided the country's railroads at a time when they reflected the depths of our economic recession. That most of the railroads have displayed great powers of recovery during the first quarter of 1959—with average earnings about 428.8 percent higher than the same-period last year—is due not only to the general improvement in the economy but also to the far-sighted wisdom of the authors of the Transportation Act of 1958.

As the distinguished chairman of the subcommittee remarked earlier this year, the commuter problem is not a new one, and was not caused by the Transportation Act of 1958. As he observed at that time, the problem is a truly complex one. It is not solely a Federal responsibility, but requires that States and local communities also join in solving it. Fortunately, some at least of the many units of government involved are now accepting their responsibility. New York State, for example, has enacted a comprehensive program to help maintain needed railroad passenger service—a program including tax relief, help in obtaining rolling stock, and other advantages. Both New York and New Jersey have entered into a bistate transportation compact, which is now awaiting approval by the Congress. Other proposals are also under active consideration, including the possibility of local tax relief in New Jersey (a particularly burdensome problem for commuter railroads) and the practicability of enlisting Port of New York Authority participation in some form of regional commuter transit system.

As a practical matter, however, the Transportation Act of 1958 did complicate the commuter crisis—though at the same time it served to alert people that effective action could no longer be postponed. By adding a provision for Federal jurisdiction over discontinuance of trains and ferries, section 13a-of the Interstate Commerce Act, the Transportation Act in effect invited frustrated railroad managements to seek quicker, easier, and simpler discontinuance at the ICC than was often possible at State agencies. The response has been impressive.

As of June 3, the ICC has informed me, 39 notices have been filed under the 2 subsections of section 13a of the act, providing for the discontinuance of about 110 trains. Railroads have filed additional discontinuance petitions with various State agencies and have announced plans to discontinue still more trains. All of them may well end up as cases before the Commission under section 13a.

The results of this action in the New York-New Jersey region have already been drastic, Among others, the Putnam division and the West Shore division of the New York Central have discontinued passenger service. Much of the Lehigh Valley passenger service and all the Lackawanna electrified service either has gone or soon will disappear. In addition, the important suburban service of the Central of New Jersey and the Erie Railroads are gravely threatened.

Whether or not any or all of these discontinuance notices are justified, experience under the new section 13a makes it clear that the ICC cannot now give adequate consideration to the public need for the threatened commuter service under the limitations and restrictions of the act.

In its report to the House Commerce Committee on H.R. 5596—a bill I introduced which is identical to S. 1331—the Commission stated that "the time now provided is extremely short," It explained that the period within which it is required to rule on discontinuance cases makes it impracticable in some cases to complete the required Commission procedure.

In writing section 13a into the Interstate Commerce Act last year, Congress provided an entirely new method for handling train discontinuance cases. Formerly, all such cases were considered local in character and subject to the jurisdiction of State law or State agencies.

The objections underlying the proposed 8. 1331 concern chiefly the procedure governing discontinuance of interstate trains; in its essentials, the procedure now governing discontinuance of intrastate trains is similar to the procedure in the proposed bill—a procedure which seems to me protects the public interest to a greater degree than the procedure in interstate cases.

Briefly, section 13a(2) now provides that:
(1) Discontinuance authorization may be

granted only after a full hearing.

(2) No time limit is set within which the ICC must rule on petitions.

(3) The Commission must make positive findings that (a) public convenience and necessity permit of such discontinuance, and (b) without discontinuance, the continued service will constitute an unjust and undue burden on the interstate operations of the railroads or on interstate commerce.

Thus, the burden of proof is left where it belongs—on the petitioning carrier; the public interest is specifically protected; and the Commission is required to exercise its authority only after full consideration.

None of these vitally important conditions, however, are present in the procedure now governing discontinuance of interstate trains, On the contrary, section 13a(1) provides, among other things, that:

 No public hearings or any other consideration is required of the ICC in advance

of train discontinuances.

(2) Railroads may discontinue service on their own volition 30 days after notice to the ICC if the Commission does not institute an investigation within 20 days after notice has been filed; the Commission, therefore, is required to make a preliminary finding in less than 3 weeks after it receives notice if discontinuance is to be halted even temporarily.

(3) After the initial 30-day period, the Commission may order service continued for a period of only 4 months, whether or not it has completed its investigation and consid-

eration.

- (4) The ICC may order service continued only after a hearing and investigation; thus the protection of the hearing and investigation procedure is accorded only to the carriers and not to the public's need for the service.
- (5) Likewise, before it can require carriers to continue service, the Commission must make a finding that (a) the service is required by the public convenience and necessity, and (b) that continuation of the service will not unduly burden interstate or foreign commerce; this is the reverse of the findings required by subsection (2), and places the burden of proof on the Commission, not on the petitioners.
- (6) In any event, the Commission cannot order continuation of the service for more than a year.

Under these circumstances, as recent experience indicates, the Commission is seriously handicapped in its obligation to protect the public interest in transportation. It cannot adequately consider the complex issues involved within the available time; and rulings which affect thousands of passengers dependent on railroad service may be necessarily based on an incomplete consideration of the facts.

The Case bill, S. 1331, is designed, as I understand it, to overcome these procedural limitations and encourage the ICC to give equal consideration to the needs of the public while it does justice to the needs of the railroads. The bill does not do violence to the constructive work of this committee in writing the Transportation Act of 1958; it does not restore jurisdiction over train discontinuances to the States; it does not hobble the ICC in granting necessary relief to the

railroads. It simply reflects the experience of the past few months in the operation of section 13a(1) of the act and seeks to adjust the law to the realities of this experience.

It is highly significant, I believe, that the experienced Interstate Commerce Commission—an agency by no means hostile to the railroads—has at least tacitly agreed with most of the chief provisions of this bill. In fact, it seems to me the report of the Commission, which I understand is presently before the subcommittee, offers a very promising basis for a compromise solution.

basis for a compromise solution.

Briefly, this is how the Case bill would amend the present provisions governing the discontinuance of interstate passenger train

or ferry service:

(1) The relevant language would be inserted as a new paragraph 19 of section 1 of the act; instead of amending section 13a, that section would be deleted, with the technical change suggested by the Commission. The new language would thus follow present provisions governing the abandonment of railroad lines, to which it is closely related.

(2) The Case bill would require an affirmative authorization from the ICC or the appropriate State agency before passenger trains or ferries could be discontinued—rather than, as at present, permitting discontinuances without such specific authorizations, The Commission favors this change.

(3) The bill would thus close a loophole in the present law which permits a carrier to discontinue service at will if no State laws are applicable; the Commission has no

objection to this result.

(4) While present law regarding discontinuance procedures applies to any train or ferry, the Case bill would apply only to passenger trains and ferries; the Commission has no objection to this provision.

(5) The proposed bill would require a public hearing in every discontinuance proceeding in which protests were received by the Commission, while under present law the Commission need not even institute an investigation. The Commission, however, proposes that it be left with a certain amount of discretion in determining whether a hearing should be held in particular cases. Since procedure respecting applications for abandonment in the present section 1(19) would apply under the proposed bill to discontinue applications, the Commission believes that this procedure would adequately protect the public interest.

It is my own view, however, that the requirement for public hearings in the bill is one of its principal purposes. With all due respect to the Commission's experience and good judgment, I would suggest it is important to make this concession to public opinion, especially since train discontinuance cases have always been a local matter in the past. I feel sure that hearing procedures could be devised in such a way that this requirement would not unduly delay the Commission's work. If the committee accepts this view, however, then appropriate changes in the present section 1(19) should be made in order to eliminate inconsistencies, as the Commission suggests.

(6) The provision in the Case bill requiring the Commission to consider in discontinuance proceedings the carrier's revenues from all freight and passenger traffic in the States in which the particular train is operated was intended to counterbalance an excessive reliance on the possible losses of the passenger train in question. Since a railroad operates under a public franchise, it has an obligation to serve the reasonable needs of that public. The fact that a particular train loses money should not, I believe, be the sole determinant in a discontinuance proceeding.

However, since the fact of a train's losses is not and would not be the only factor in considering whether the train should be discontinued, the Commission's fear that the proposed paragraph (c) of section 1(19) would be ambiguous and would invite litigation should be explored further, I believe.

(7) The Case bill would empower the Commission to attach whatever conditions it deemed in the public interest to certificates of passenger train discontinuance; this power is already provided the Commission in abandonment and unification cases. As the Commission points out, it does not possess this authority presently in regard to discontinuance proceedings under section 13a. It would seem logical that the Commission should have the power to impose necessary conditions in such an important matter, especially since it now has this authority in similar situations. The Commission has not objected to this provision.

(8) Among its most important provisions, the proposed bill would eliminate the present 30-day notice procedure and the 4-month time limit during which the Commission could require operations to be continued. The Commission strongly suggests it favors

such a change.

(9) Similarly, under the proposed bill, the Commission would be enabled to require the continued operation of a train or ferry for whatever period it deemed necessary.

(10) Finally—and of major significance—the bill' would clearly place the burden of proof upon a railroad to show that a proposed discontinuance is permitted by the public convenience and necessity; the Commission could issue a certificate of discontinuance only if such a finding of public convenience and necessity could be made on the basis of the record before it.

The Commission has stated that it favors

this change

The Commission has also proposed several technical changes in the Case bill and has suggested appropriate places in which to clear up possible inconsistencies or ambiguities.

I have tried to indicate in this statement, Mr. Chairman, that I am more concerned for the substance of S. 1331 than I am for all of its particulars. The committee, with its wealth of experience, can undoubtedly improve on the bill. I personally hope it does so.

I believe strongly, however, that its essentials should remain unimpaired. I believe it is of the greatest importance that the Commission be empowered to protect more effectively the public interest in railroad passenger transportation. This is vital to the health and welfare of the entire metropolitan New Jersey-New York-Connecticut region, as it is to other sections of the country.

This bill will not solve the commuter problem. But it is a key element to the overall effort by various levels of government and by private citizens and organizations to establish an effective and adequate commuter system, on a basis that is fair and just to the railroads and to the public which needs their services.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee.

## No Federal Reserve System for Credit Unions Contemplated

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, for 50 years credit unions have been performing invaluable service by providing low-cost credit and convenient thrift facilities for their members.

Today almost half of the 20,000 credit unions presently operating in the United States are chartered under the provisions of the Federal Credit Union Act, which was originally passed in 1934. Recently Subcommittee No. 3 of the House Banking and Currency Committee reported out a bill, H.R. 5777, introduced by myself, to amend and modernize certain provisions of this act.

Unfortunately, it has been reported in the press that this bill would establish a Federal Reserve System for credit unions. Nothing could be further from the truth. I am happy to see that the American Banker has printed a clarification of the earlier story that they ran or, this credit union legislation.

[From the American Banker, June 1, 1959] NO FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM OF OWN SOUGHT BY CREDIT UNIONS, CUNA SPOKESMAN STATES

The American Banker is in receipt of the following letter from Warren P. Lutey, public relations director of the Credit Union National Association, in which he clarifies the changes sought by the association in Federal statutes.

His letter is by way of correction of an inference which appeared in a report on the credit unions' testimony in hearings on the proposed changes. We are glad to give it space in the interest of better understanding of credit union aims and their point of view:

MADISON, WIS., May 19, 1959.

EDITOR, AMERICAN BANKER:

A May 12 story in the American Banker carried a headline "Credit Union Seeking Federal Reserve System." The article in paragraph four also states, "In essence, Federal and State-chartered union would form a Federal reserve system of their own."

We are writing to correct this misconcep-

tion of this report on the hearings.

Credit unions do not envision creating anything like a Federal reserve system, or any agency remotely resembling it.

What the proposed changes in the Federal Credit Union Act would allow is the chartering of central credit unions under Federal law, similar to the now-existing State-chartered central credit unions, operating in a number of States.

#### CENTRAL CREDIT UNIONS

This is how central credit unions operate, and the reason for their existence.

1. Under Federal credit union law. under many State credit union acts, officers of Federal credit unions cannot borrow from their own credit unions. Therefore, the central credit unions were established to give these people a place where they could get personal credit union loans.

2. A second purpose of central credit unions was to give credit unions a place where they can deposit excess funds not needed for current borrowing needs, and to allow other credit unions to borrow this money to short periods to meet occasional heavy loan demands of their members.

The central credit unions are voluntary associations, not official Government agencies, as is the Federal Reserve System.

The central credit unions have absolutely no control over their member credit unions. Each credit union is an independent corporation, supervised only by the chartering authority, be it State or Federal. Central credit unions have no power to influence credit conditions, as the Federal Reserve System does, by changing discount rates, the requirement concerning reserves, etc., and by influencing open-market operations.

We can see no parallel at all between

central credit unions and a Federal reserve system. The capital of central credit unions is not owned entirely by member credit un-ions, because the majority of the members of central credit unions are individual persons, not credit unions.

We consider it quite important that your readers do not get the impression that the credit union movement desires to set up any new Government agency similar to the Federal reserve system.

Sincerely yours,

WARREN P. LUTLEY, Director, Public Relations Department, Credit Unions National Association.

## No Freedom of Speech

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial, which appeared in the June 6 issue of the Brooklyn Tablet, is a brief, concise account of the incredible action of the International Association of Machinists in dismissing three of its members who dared to exercise the American right of free speech:

NO RIGHT TO WORK, NOR TO SPEAK

An issue has arisen in California which should be of interest to champions of the Constitution of the United States, Three workers—Cecil C. Mitchell, Edward G. Ferguson, and John Mulgrew-members of the International Association of Machinists, employed by the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation-have been ordered expelled from the union's district lodge 727-E because they campaigned in last November's election for a proposed "right-to-work" amendment to the State constitution. Their expulsion fol-lowed a district lodge "trial" for "conduct unbecoming union members."

whose livelihood is threatened The men have protested against their dismissal because, they state, their constitutional right of freedom of speech, to campaign on an issue or for any candidate for public office, has been denied. Mr. Mulgrew pleaded "not guilty, inasmuch as this is my guaranteed right under the Constitution of the United States and the Bill of Rights." He calls the dismissal notice "completely Fascist."

The decision was appealed to the president of the International Association of Machinists, Albert J. Hayes of Washington, D.C. Mr. Hayes supported the lodge's action and asserted that constitutional guarantee of freedom of speech does not entitle a union member "to openly denounce the considered position of the labor movement and his own union organization." In other words, the U.S. Constitution takes second place, the guarantees it gives can be supplanted by a local labor union.

Fortunately, the victims of this ruling— which in essence is not dissimilar to voting rights in the Soviet Union-are going to appeal to the membership of the union and, if defeated, then to the courts.

That this assault on freedom and exercise of power to defeat constitutional guarantees and to destroy one's livelihood is legal is almost unthinkable. As the Oakland, Calif., "Tribune" says: "It is a sad day for freedom when someone can tell you what issues to support and for whom you should vote, using the club of economic coercion."

## Pensions for World War I Vets 3 Years Overdue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD. I include the following statement which I made on June 9, 1959, before the Committee on Veterans' Affairs, in support of H.R. 4392, to provide for payment of a pension of \$100 per month to World War I veterans who have attained the age of 60 years:

PENSIONS FOR WORLD WAR I VETS 3 YEARS OVERDUE

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, the average age of World War I veterans is close to 65. The Congress has veterans is close to 65. failed to honor their military service to the Nation by granting to them a pension in the

last years of their lives.

In spite of the fact that those who preceded them—the veterans of the Civil War. and the veterans of the Spanish-American War—became eligible for pensions upon reaching the age of 62, close to 3 million veterans of World War I have been deprived of the pensions to which they are entitled for the past 3 years. This loss which they have suffered has become the Nation's debt to them. It could be compensated for, but only in part, but a retroactive pension to the qualifying age of 60 years.

But even this could not make amends to the tens of thousands of World War I veterans who have passed away since 1956. Late as it is, because of 3 years' delay, the very least we can do is to pass a pension bill at this session for the survivors of World War I, whose ranks are diminishing more rapidly as time moves on.

Three hundred and thirty died today. Three hundred and thirty plus will die to-

Each 24 hours' delay in passing this pension bill puts us that much more in default of our obligations to these men, the obligations we owe to them while they are living. We are denying to them the peace of mind that this pension from a grateful Nation would bring to them. It is a material benefit, yes; but it is also an honor that should bring some measure of happiness to a veteran for the few years remaining to him.

This fall, we shall observe the 41st anniversary of the day when World War I came to an end. Forty-one years have brought the veterans of that conflict to an age at which most people become eligible for retirement. It is now possible for women who are covered by social security to qualify for benefits at an earlier age of 62.

The concept of a service pension is not new. A long line of precedents, stretching back over 185 years, and applying to the veterans of all previous wars in which our Nation has been engaged, clearly establishes the right of veterans to receive such pensions during their old age.

The veterans of World War II, and the veterans of Korea, although much younger, are receiving substantial benefits in other ways and covering the active years of their Are the World War I veterans to be considered as an exception to the rule? Is there any justification for their exclusion that would stand up to the searching test of reason and justice?

The opponents of pensions for World War I veterans, unable to rebut precedents, or the fact that the veterans of 1917-18 have already passed the qualifying age, try to evade the issue through legislative maneuvers, or, when required to take a definite stand, try to scare the Nation by bringing up the costs. We did not hear that word "cost" mentioned in World War I, when we summoned millions of men to give everything for their country. Some did. Others were broken in health. The rest bear the invisible scars of time and opportunity lost, and in their aging years show the strains that can be traced to the military service of their youth.

The cost? Three and a quarter billion dollars a year at the start, but declining daily. This is about the same amount that we have been spending for foreign aid, and less than the appropriations for the Department of Agriculture which includes purchase of farm surpluses, and thousands of dollars paid to individual farmers each year just to keep part of their fields unplanted and unemployed.

The cost? If the Federal Government falls to provide a service pension for these old soldiers, it is we who will lose the faith and confidence, not only of the 2,700,000 survivors of World War I, but of every living veteran who knows that a service pension in old age is the implied promise our Nation makes to every man and woman who serves in time of war.

I speak in behalf of my own bill, H.R. 4932, to provide for payment of a pension of \$100 per month to World War I veterans who have attained the age of 60 years, or \$135.45 per month if the veteran is in need of regular ald and attendance.

This shall not be affected by payments to the veteran of social security and railroad retirement benefits and other pensions, annuities and retirement benefits, whether payable by law, contract, or otherwise.

The pension shall not be paid under this section to any unmarried veteran whose annual income exceeds \$2,400, or to any married veteran or any veteran with children whose annual income exceeds \$3,800.

I call attention to the many similar bills on this same subject as evidence of growing support for this legislation, and a realization that the time has arrived to make good on our obligations to the veterans of World War I.

#### Danny Thomas and His St. Jude Hospital Foundation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. CLIFFORD DAVIS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. DAVIS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I should like for the Members of the House to know something more about Danny Thomas, the outstanding television star who is doing so much for medical care in this country of ours, with special emphasis on research for the dread disease of leukemia among children.

Danny Thomas become acquainted with St. Jude Thaddeus, patron saint of the hopeless, in Detroit, in 1937. Danny, then still using his real name, Amos Jacobs, had married his schoolgirl sweetheart 2 years before, and had just become the father of a baby daughter, Mar-

garet. His job as a nightclub emcee had just folded. He had \$7 to his name.

Wandering into a Catholic Church to pray, Danny found a pamphlet on St. Jude. He walked to the poor box, deposited his \$7, and asked St. Jude to return it tenfold. Upon returning to his tenement rooming house, a telephone call from a radio station awaited him. Would Danny do a spot commercial for a washing machine company? Pay? \$75. Just a little more than he had prayed for—the money paid the hospital bill for Margaret.

A few years later in Chicago, Danny facing another personal crisis as to whether he should leave the theater, prayed to St. Jude, seeking advice. That day, the worst blizzard in years hit the Windy City. Trains had stopped running. This delay caused Abe Lastfogel of the William Morris Agency to be detained overnight in Chicago. Lastfogel caught Danny's act at the 5100 Club and told the comedian, "Your place is in show business." Danny took his advice and became one of the Nation's greatest comedians.

Not long afterward, Danny vowed to build a shrine—later changed to a hospital—in honor of St. Jude. Down the years, Danny has staged innumerable shows to raise funds for his project. Many of Hollywood's top movie and TV stars have appeared repeatedly as guest stars.

Money for construction of this living shrine was raised through the efforts of Danny Thomas and his St. Jude Hospital Foundation, formed in 1946. Toward this end, Danny has devoted tremendous energy in performing benefits to raise money. He has been doing this nearly single handed. This is the shrine he promised.

In 1954, Danny was dubbed a Knight of Malta by Pope Pius XII for his tremendous efforts towards aiding medical science by raising funds for all hospitals as well as his St. Jude Hospital Foundation project

The land for this ultramodern, \$2 million, 128-bed hospital was donated by the city of Memphis. Paul R. Williams, the famed architect, donated his services in designing the hospital. As part of his contribution, Walt Disney will send his staff to decorate the wards with his well-known characters.

Staffed by the Memphis and Shelby County Medical Society, in cooperation with the university of Tennessee's medical center, this hospital will provide care for the treatment of leukemia and related blood diseases in children, regardless of race, color, or creed absolutely free. There will be no accounts receivable department in the St. Jude Hospital. In addition, its laboratories will work toward the accomplishment of a cure for this dread disease. Two-men teams of scientists-a total of six-will work around the clock in three 8-hour shifts. The lights of these laboratories will never be dimmed until the cure for leukemia is discovered. When these scientists find the pharmaceutic to limit or cure leukemia, it will be made available to all children in every community throughout the known world.

ALSAC was formed and incorporated under the laws of the State of Illinois in November 1957, for the sole purpose of the maintenance of the St. Jude Hospital and its research laboratories in Memphis. Tenn.

It is ALSAC's sincere hope that its efforts will result in worldwide benefit to humanity as did the work of the

famous Dr. Salk.

Thousands of Americans of all races and creeds have and are contributing small and large amounts to the maintenance of the hospital.

#### Rich in Good Works

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, I am indebted to the Watch, publication of the District of Columbia Council, Navy League of the United States, for news of a good neighborly Navy mission which must have been an important contribution to better understanding with one of our neighbors to the south. Under leave to extend, I offer the story of the U.S.S. Edisto as reported in the Watch:

#### RICH IN GOOD WORKS

Once again the interest shared in the crimes of the moment have successfully driven a really important story from page one of your newspapers. The missing story was the humanitarian services willingly rendered by the Navy's icebreaker, U.S.S. Edisto; the scene was the countryside of Uruguay.

It rained, yes the arroyos were flooding, rushing into the rivers. The hydroelectric dam, which provides about 60 percent of the electric power for the country, was in danger of giving away. Many areas were completely isolated and helpless. This was the problem which the little Edisto was called upon to help solve. The Edisto reached Montevideo Harbor on April 17. Shortly thereafter her two helicopters were soaring northeast across the flooded plains.

And what did that first report from the Edisto contain—a simple message explaining what they were giving—powdered milk, medicines, clothing—oh, yes, they were prepared for mass blood donations when needed. There were many situation reports which were as matter of fact and business like, just the barest details, as the Navy went about its business of being modern knights in uniforms of blue. Of all the reports perhaps the one which has the deepest significance was one of less than two lines—which said in part, "Rescued 40 children from roof schoolhouse Tacuarembo area." Thus 40 children were returned to their niche in the future, courtesy the U.S. Navy.

The reports, one after another, unfolded the mighty story: "Evacuation personnel Paso de los Torres," "Operating Triento y Tres area," "Twenty-two rubber boats have been made available to assist in evacuation of Mercedes," and thus it went, nip and tuck, for several days, the helicopters scampering along the dangerous floodwaters with their rubber pontoons, bucking winds and the currents. As the Rio Negro continued to rise, and while even the modern

capital city of Montevideo had to stumble along with flickering candles, the rescuers pressed on and on trying hard to stay the moving hands of a ruthless nature, angry and killing.

Finally, a word of cheer, the weather was improving; but also the water receded in the northern area it still had to be faced further south. Almost the entire country shared in the misery in one form or an-other. As the waters receded, over 60,000 were homeless at least for the time being

Here briefly is the 5 days work of the Edisto's two helicopters-603 sorties were flown which included: The rescuing or evacuating of 208 persons, ferrying 42 technical people to the hydroelectric dam, moving 3,800 pounds of food, 3,500 pounds of supplies, and 3,500 pounds of explosives in attempts to relieve the pressure on the dam. The ship made many material contribu-tions; the crew even put on a basketball game at Montevideo to raise funds for the flood victims.

The dreams which were washed away with the rushing waters cannot be re-claimed. The cruelty of nature is a part of the price we frequently are called upon to pay as we journey along life's road. ever, in an hour of dark peril, the helping hand of a friend can provide sustaining impetus. The Navy holds out humanitarian support to help both friend and would-be enemy alike. The cries of the suffering never go unfieeded.

Closer Local-Federal Cooperation Urged as Step Toward Building Better Limited Partnership Between Two Important Levels of Government

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

#### HON, SAMUEL S. STRATTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, this morning I had the privilege of addressing the 50th annual convention of the New York State Conference of Mayors and Other Municipal Officials, which was held in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City. As a former mayor of one of New York's largest cities, and a former member of this conference, I was not only honored to have this opportunity to address the convention, but also I took this occasion to discuss what seem to me to be the proper areas of cooperation that should exist between our Federal Government in Washington and our local governments at home. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the text of my address to the conference:

A FORMER MAYOR LOOKS AT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

(By Representative SAMUEL S. STRATTON, of New York, 32d District)

Mr. President, my former friends and assoclates in the conference of mayors, it is a pleasant treat indeed to have this opportunity to come back here to renew my friendwith members of this conference, especially since I no longer can qualify for membership in my own right, and also to have this opportunity to talk with you for a few moments on a comparison of my present fate, as a Member of Congress, with my

previous privilege of being a mayor of one

of New York State's leading cities.

Let me say at the outset that while, as you perhaps will remember, I always enjoyed being mayor of Schenectady, I am even more delighted to be a Member of the House of Representatives. I can recommend the life, and I would even urge all of you to run for Congress, too, provided, of course, that you make sure not to run in the 32d District. I have troubles enough there already.

There is a great temptation here this morning to make use of this very kind invitation which you have so cordially extended to me to do nothing more than compare the life and duties of a Congressman with those of a mayor. I could dwell on the fact, for example, that there are drawbacks as well as compensations in making any such change. It's true that by being down in Washington it is hard for a Congressman to keep in anywhere as near as close and effective touch with his constituency as does the average mayor. On the other hand, you don't often get awakened in the middle of the night by some irate constituent who wants you to collect his garbage right away or raid a nearby crap game. It is true that the average Congressman is a very small frog in a very big puddle, especially after having experienced the ceremonial deference that is, upon occasion at least, accorded to the average mayor. Yet I find, too, that I can always locate a place to park around the House Office Building in the spaces reserved for Members of Congress which is a lot better than I used to be able to do back in Schenectady, even as mayor, And while a Congressman exercises much less administrative control over Federal governmental affairs than the average mayor does over local affairs (excluding those of us, of course, who got our training in city manager cities), there is at least the dubious satisfaction of knowing that as a Congressman you are assumed to be an expert in everything from foreign policy to water pollution.

Like most freshman Congressmen I found myself rather disturbed by the tight seniority system that applies to the House, whereby authority and responsibility come only after successive reelections. But then the Speaker reassured us early on this score. "Don't worry," he said. "You may not like the seniority system now, but you'll find that the longer you are down here the bet-ter you'll like it."

But while I would enjoy the chance to expand on comparative advantages like these and others I am afraid you might not feel such comments would be really worth your price of admission. And so I have chosen instead to speak on something else that has also been of great interest to me in the past few months in Washingtonnamely, the proper and desirable relationship that ought to exist between our Federal Government and the several local governments at home which you ladies and gentlemen so effectively represent here this morning.

There is one point of view-and I am sure you are familiar with it-that the Federal Government has no business dealing directly with the local agencies of Government at all-that it should always go through the State governments in each case and should leave it to the States to determine to what extent each local government, as its own creature shall benefit from or participate in Federal programs. Perhaps there is something to be said for this point of view, but I am sure you will agree with me that it does not represent by any means the whole story.

Then there is a second view, and I know that you and I have heard this expounded many times, too, and with great eloquence, and this is that the State governments are actually shortchanging the local governments, and that if the incorporated areas of our States are to continue to survive and to grow, they can no longer hope to look to the State legislatures for help but must look instead directly to the Federal Government in Washington. The suggestion has even been advanced over the past few years by some of our national municipal organizations that to meet this need the Federal Government should be reorganized, and a new, special Cabinet department be created to handle the affairs of local governments, to be known as the Department of Urban Affairs. There is no doubt something to be said, at times at least, for this point of view, too. And yet I am inclined to believe that this approach also goes too far, and that we in the cities and villages of New York do not need to feel that there is no future for us except through direct and continuing assistance and supervision from Washington. I am sure you will agree with me there, too.

And so I lean toward a third possible answer to the question of just what kind of relationship ought to exist between the State and the Federal Government, one that lies somewhere between these two extremesthat the proper role of the Federal Government should be one of a kind of limited partnership with local government agencies in those specific fields of activity where it can be especially and peculiarly helpful. In other words, the Federal Government should not replace the State but rather should only supplement it in its dealings with local agencies. And I feel very strongly too that this partnership cannot and should not exist except, as I have said, in those areas where a very definite and urgent Federal need or concern is involved.

Let me try to explain what I mean, if I may, in terms of a few concrete examples.

Take, for instance, the matter of stream pollution, and the pressing need in many of our cities and villages for the construction of sewage treatment facilities. Unless things have changed drastically in New York State since January 3, many of you represent communities which have been ordered by the State to construct these costly sewage treatment plants by such and such a date. And yet, the State itself has been unwilling to advance any of its own funds to help in the construction of such facilities. This, I know, is a very pressing problem in my own congressional district, where Amsterdam, Johnstown, and Gloversville are up against these construction deadlines, and yet are unable to find any help in meeting what is a virtually insurmountable financial burden in view of their own tight budgetary situation.

Well, water is fast becoming a major national problem, not merely in the arid West but across the land; and streams and rivers. as we all know, are no respecters of local or even State boundaries. The elimination of pollution passing across State lines, and the creation in its place of a fresh and wholesome supply of water for use by a steadily growing population is certainly a legitimate national-not just a State or local-concern. Hence we have had in operation over the past few years, as you know, a limited program of Federal assistance-up to 30 percent of the cost-for the construction of sewage treatment facilities by local governments, with a total of \$50 million allocated per year, or about \$2.7 million per year for New York State. This has been a very useful program. And while many communities are still hard pressed, even with this help, to find the other 70 percent of the money, at least here is evidence of a reasonable working partnership between the Federal Government and local governments that is both within limits and highly beneficial all

I am flying back to Washington this morning-and I hope I make it in time-in order to be able to vote on an expansion of this program which would make its benefits available more quickly to a large number of communities, by setting aside a total of \$100 million for this purpose each year for This bill, H.R. 3610, period of 10 years. the so-called Blatnik bill, has been endorsed, incidentally, by our own Governor Rocke-Teller, who wrote the House committee that its adoption would make it possible for the modest program of antipollution activity. already stimulated in New York State by the original aid bill, to be expanded and speeded up. I hardly need to tell you that this bill also has the endorsement of your conference, and I am happy not only to support it, but I am confident it will be adopted today by the House.

as I say, is one example of the This. reasonable, proper, and limited kind of partnership which I believe ought to exist between our Federal and local governments-directed to a pressing local need in which State assistance is not possible or forthcoming, at least in entirely adequate amounts, and in which a real, and urgent national need is involved. Let me give you another example of such an area, aid to areas of chronic or unusually high unem-

ployment.

Many communities here in New York State have been suffering heavily in the past few years from a sharp and painful loss of jobs. At a time when overall national statistics indicate the country is moving back out of its economic slump, we find in our own State that many spots are experiencing the same or even greater amounts of unemployment. Something is wrong. Somehow the economy of our country seems to be suffering from a kind of economic imbalance, and New York State, as you and I well know, is at the short end of the stick in this regard. Our share of national defense contracts, for instance, has been dropping off sharply in the past few years. We are told that our standards are too high to keep and to attract to our State the kinds of great productive industries for which New York is famous.

Here too in my opinion is a legitimate and urgent Federal concern. Any area of chronic unemployment in any part of the country eventually will be harmful to the country as a whole. Any imbalance in our level of employment and production, any special predominance of defense production in one area of the Nation at the expense of other areas, will ultimately hurt all of us, just as much as any cancerous growth in any isolated portion of the body will ultimately, unless removed, destroy the whole

This degree of Federal responsibility and concern is especially obvious, of course, in those areas—and I include areas right here in New York State-where this unfortunate loss of business and jobs has been caused in large measure by Federal policies and programs. I am thinking, for instance, of the glove industry of Fulton County, where our Federal tariff policies have been directly responsible for the continued serious unemployment in that area. In peace no less than in war, the Federal Government, it seems to me, has a responsibility to act to relieve the impact of any of its actions which may be harmful to individuals or to whole com-

To try to meet this serious problem, I am happy to tell you that the 45 members of the New York State congressional delegation, Republicans and Democrats alike (the largest single State group in Congress incidentally) have been meeting regularly to work out a plan of action to put our efforts and our energies solidly and unitedly behind programs to benefit our State. We have been doing this, I am proud to say, without regard for partisanship. Governor Rockefeller is to be commended for the lead which he took in April in calling such a united operation into being. And my colleagues in the House and Senate are to be commended for their willingness to go along in promoting the interests of our State. Forty-three Members of the House, after all, amount to onetenth of the total membership. If we all stick together we can be pretty darn powerful. I believe we should stick together in things of this kind to make sure that New York State's legitimate interests are fully protected, that we get our fair share of defense and Government contracts, and that the special economic needs of New York State are properly recognized by the Federal Gov-

Why, for example, should California get the lion's share of defense contracts? New Yorkers in Congress, all 45 of us, have introduced a bill to make sure that every area gets proper recognition in the award of defense contracts, and that unemployment areas are given the fullest possible consideration. We have also joined in sponsoring legislation which will end the curious situation under which New York State has been penalized, in the Federal Interstate Highway program, for having gone ahead and built the great thruway on our own with our own money. Our bill would make New York eligible for its fair share of Federal aid moneys for highways in spite of what has already been built, with the additional funds that will be coming to us because of the thruway being made available for increased State construction in the Adirondacks areas, and elsewhere where local roads are needed.

Personally, I have sponsored legislation to aid distressed and unemployment areas in their efforts to attract new industries, another bit of activity which I feel is of special interest to New York State, and I have introduced another bill that would add one more, and in my judgment a very important, incentive for industries to settle or to expand in our State rather than moving elsewhere, and that is to grant them special Federal income tax benefits in the form of fast tax write-offs-for any new construction or expansion that may be undertaken in unemployment areas, especially those areas where unemployment has been created by Federal tariff and other policies.

There are many other areas too where a proper, a limited, and a mutually advantageous working partnership between Federal and local governments can and should be put into effect. Such things, for example, as reasonable urban renewal and slum clearance programs, redevelopment planning operations, crime prevention techniques through the operation of nationally advocated FBI standards, (as well as the Federal crime census advocated Sunday former President Hoover), legislation to deal with hate bombings; legislation to deal with the vitally serious problems that will be created if communities in the South continue to emulate the example of Little Rock and Prince Edward County in Virginia in abandoning their responsibility to educate the children of our Nation without regard for race, creed, or color; legislation to deal with the deadly menace of narcotics; and finally, if I may be pardoned for a somewhat more personal reference, legislation to help meet the unexpected but very urgent danger created by the growing numbers of plastic laundry and dryclaning bags in the drawers and closets of the American home. Incidentally, in that latter connection, I am delighted to see that in response to my suggestions both the city of New York, the State of New York, as well as a number of responsible and public-spirited members of the industry, have begun to take needed corrective action to end this thoroughly unnecessary and wasteful loss of human life at the cost of a relatively minor personal household convenience.

These then are the proper areas for cooperation and mutual assistance, as I see it, between our State and local governments. But to make this relationship work most effectively in both directions, there is one ingredient that is especially necessary, and which, as I see 4t, only you can supply. That is the ingredient of closer cooperation and exchange of information and ideas between you who have the working responsibility on the local level and those of us who have the responsibility on the national level. Even though we may recognize the need and the propriety of this limited partnership I have spoken of, there is not nearly enough close cooperation, I believe, between us both. Perhaps this is the result of a certain hesitation, a certain unwillingness on the part of local officials to risk all the redtape of Federal Government bureaucracy. Perhaps we in Congress have not done all we should. Perhaps it is the result of nothing more serious than the fact that all of us have a lot more to do than we have time to do it in.

In any case, something must be done to increase this exchange of information. You would be surprised, I am sure, as I have been in the past, to find that dealing with the Federal Government is not nearly as formidable as it often appears. You would be amazed, I think, to find how much the mayors of our cities and villages are listened to in Washington, and how influential you can be in determining the kind of legislation that is adopted in Washingon, if you will but make your wishes known to us. In fact we in Congress would not only welcome but would actively want to seek out your help and suggestions on how we could better serve and represent you in our own districts.

With this in mind, then, I would like to make one specific proposal which I hope will be accepted, that we in Congress, and you in your respective communities, set up some kind of formal organization within each congressional district through which the views and thinking of the various local governments within each congressional district can be regularly passed along to your own Congressman, either on some of the matters I have discussed or any other matter of concern to you.

If we could establish such small, working groups as these and use them for the purposes I have suggested the results would be tremendous. They should, of course, be nonpartisan groups. They ought to meet with some degree of regularity. The ex-changes between us could, of course, be limited to exchanges of letters and phone calls between the local organization and the appropriate Congressman, or, as I would hope, it could also involve some periodic visits of the group to Washington during the legislative session.

Maybe those of us down there and you up here wouldn't agree on all matters brought up. I don't expect we would. But we would at least keep the channel of information open. We would have guaranteed that our representative system of Government would be truly representative. We would have established, in my opinion, the most genuine and real basis for a sound working partnership between two important levels of American government.

I might say that we in the 32d District have already tried to set up just this kind of organization, composed of mayors, and in our case directed specially to the problem of industry and unemployment, under the able leadership of Mayor Thomas Gregg, of Amsterdam. I would hope that perhaps this kind of liaison group could also be established in other parts of our State. Your Congressman, after all, is in Washington to work for you, and nothing can be more effective at cutting through official Government redtape than a Congressman. I urge you as the representatives of your cities and villages to make the fullest possible use of this important—and as far as I am concerned, most exciting and pleasant—branch of our Government and its elected Members.

We in New York State are facing critical problems in the months ahead. Our long, traditional leadership in the Nation is being challenged, just as the leadership of the United States is being challenged in the world at large. It is time that we in New York moved to set up those pieces of machinery and organization which can best utilize our strength. It is time that we in New York take advantage of the real power which we as a State possess, and begin to use it to protect our future. There is a need for all of us, I think, regardless of our party, to pull together toward this objective.

Your New York Representatives in Congress, as I have said, have already taken the first preliminary steps toward establishing the basis for bipartisan unity in behalf of our State. But more is still needed to insure that behind us and along with us we have your continuing cooperation and support on a similar bipartisan basis, and in behalf of the desperately important objective of protecting the future of our own State.

I, for one, as a former member of this organization, am confident that the mayors and other municipal officials of New York State, through your great conference here will rise to meet this challenge, that you will indeed, in the weeks and months ahead, take steps to use your vast experience and influence as representatives of the State of New York in this great task which confronts us, and that you will, both individually and through this organization, work to promote an increasingly harmonious and effective partnership between the Federal and local governments, a partnership that will en-hance not only the future of our great Empire State, which we all love, but also, through the continued health and prosperity of our State, the future and prosperity of the United States of America, the leader of the free world both today and in the years to come.

#### Racial Discrimination: A Moral Evil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JAMES G. O'HARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 26, 1959

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, the practice of racial discrimination poses the most serious moral problem that we face as a Nation.

Our failure to take vigorous action to correct this tragic situation is indefensible. Our halting history to half-measures puts us in the role of hypocrite the world around.

The Reverend William J. Kenealy, a scholarly churchman, has correctly defined racial discrimination as "a pagan desecration of Christian civilization." A report of his statement appeared in the New York Times on April 20, 1959. That all may be alerted to the moral implications of this vicious practice, I am including this report in the Appendix of the RECORD:

JESUIT DENOUNCES RACISM AS PAGAN—FORD-HAM PREACHER BRANDS IT MORALLY INDE-FENSIBLE, BLASPHEMOUS, CANCEROUS

A Jesuit priest lashed out yesterday against racial discrimination as morally indefensible, blasphemous, cancerous, and a pagan desecration of Christian civilization.

The attack on segregation was made by the Reverend William J. Kenealy in a sermon at the seventh annual observance of Interracial Sunday in the University Church on the Bronx campus of Fordham University.

Father Kenealy declared that popes, bishops and theologians all agreed that segregation, discrimination, and intolerance were "objectively wrong, morally indefensible, and anti-Christian."

He labeled racism "a malignant cancer in the body politic of America," "a pagan desecration of Christian civilization" and "a blasphemous attack upon the mystical body of Christ."

No Roman Catholic, he asserted, can be a racist or a segregationist, or approve or sympathize with any form of racial discrimination.

Father Kenealy is on the law faculty at Loyola University in Chicago. He was formerly dean of Boston College Law School and Loyola University in New Orleans.

"Racial segregation and discrimination, whether in the North or the South, whether by force of un-Christian snobbery or by compulsion of unconstitutional statutes," he said, "is essentially the same evil.

"As a matter of fact, and in all candor, except for the southern politician who says one thing in public and another thing in private, one thing to the national radio or television audience, and another thing to the White Citizens Council rally, the ordinary southerner practices what he preaches.

"Would that this were true of the ordinary northerner. We say the right thing, but shy away from practicing it. In many fields, such as employment and housing, northern practice is patently at variance with northern preaching."

The Jesuit acknowledged that race tensions had increased.

"But that is the price of progress," he added. "As long as the Negro is content to lie down and be walked upon, there will be no racial tensions."

Father Kenealy cautioned against overdoing the "gradualist" approach to integra-

"All the natural and weak human inclinations of timidity, laziness, selfishness, and conformism tend to support the thesis of gradualism and the plea of pseudoprudence," he said.

"What is most needed today is not so much an insistence upon prudence as a far greater insistence upon courage. By and large, prudence in the matter of race relations is the easy excuse; courage is the insistent need. It is not enough to hold American democratic principles.

"It is not enough to subscribe to the principles of the Christian faith; it is not enough to believe in the doctrine of the mystical body of Christ. It is necessary to have the courage to put our principles and our beliefs into practice in our private and public lives."

#### Memorial Day at Gettysburg, Pa.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JAMES M. QUIGLEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. QUIGLEY. Mr. Speaker, on May 30 the 92d annual Memorial Day Service was held at the National Cemetery in Gettysburg, Pa. The speaker on this occasion was the junior Senator from Pennsylvania, HUGH SCOTT.

Under leave to extend my remarks I would like to include Senator Scott's Gettysburg address:

Commissioner McPherson, my friend and colleague, Representative Quickey, reverend clergy, ladies and gentlemen, as your distinguished Congressman has just noted, I am much concerned about the preservation and enlargement, with due consideration to the problems involved, of this sacred National Memorial Park. It has been a privilege to work in cooperation with your Congressman for the protection and improvement of this historic shrine.

We are met again on a field of honor where brave men died for freedom. From among the ancestors of my wife and myself, Absalom R. Coolbaugh died for the Union and Hugh S. Doggett was gravely wounded for the cause of the Confederacy.

I have good reason for pride, therefore, in my membership on the Civil War Centennial Commission.

Memorial Day was first established to honor the memory of those who died in the Civil War. But each generation has had its own, more terrible war, and Memorial Day now honors all Americans who died in defense of their land in all wars.

This is a day to honor the dead and to pray for the welfare of the living. We should give thanks that today, only 6 years after the end of the Korean conflict, our Government is devoting its best efforts and assigning its best men to the task of assuring that there will not be new wars and newly hallowed ground to be recalled at subsequent Memorial Days.

This is the sacred place where was made manifest God's will that we should be preserved as a nation united to meet our destiny as leader and standard bearer of the world's free peoples.

It was of a gallant charge and a courageous defense of a famous hill in this place where we are met, of which it was said by the poet:

"God lives. He forged the iron will,
That clutched and held that trembling

Their conflict epitomized their concepts of freedom. We are all united in a single concept now.

Our President Eisenhower himself spends more time on the problems of the world peace and international good will than on any other subject that comes before the Presidency. In averting war's dredful consequence, he has labored to good effect.

His efforts are supported by men and women at all levels of government and in

many parts of the world.

Christian Herter, our new Secretary of State, has taken over the dedicated, gigantic work for peace of the late John Foster Dulles. Today, in Geneva, Switzerland, Mr. Herter and the foreign ministers of Britain and France are absorbed in the intricate and cluster task of pegotiating with the

and elusive task of negotiating with the foreign minister of the Soviet Union. Secretary Herter is a firm and skillful diplomat. Our foreign policy is in good hands. Our objective is to unify Germany and establish the foundation for a more permanent solu-

tion of European affairs.

In another part of Geneva, U.S. Ambassador James J. Wadsworth is meeting in a small conference room with British and Russian delegates. He is trying—as he has been doing for the past 7 months—to find a basis whereby the three nations can agree on the world's first treaty that would ban nuclear explosions.

Behind Mr. Wadsworth, both in Geneva and in Washington, are a battery of American specialists—nuclear scientists, generals, financial experts, security officers, and geologists—every one hoping to make a contribution that will reduce the possibilities of an-

other horrible conflict.

Our Vice President, Mr. Nixon, will visit the Soviet Union late in July. Officially he will be there to open the American Exhibit at the Moscow Trade Fair—a gathering which in itself will make a contribution to better understanding between nations. But we are all hoping that while in Moscow, Mr. Nixon will be able to convey personally to leaders of the Soviet Government the dedication to peace that is shared by all American leaders.

Our national objectives were well stated by President Elsenhower in his second in-

augural address, when he said:

"We voice our hope and our belief that we can help to heal this divided world. Thus may nations cease to live in trembling before the menace of force. Thus may the weight of fear and the weight of arms be taken from the burdened shoulders of mankind.

"This, nothing less, is the labor to which we are called and our strength dedicated."-Of these young men, our eternally remem-

bered dead, it is written:

"The muffled drum's sad roll has beat The soldier's last tattoo. No more on life's parade shall meet That brave and fallen few.

"On fame's eternal camping ground Their silent tents are spread, And glory guards with solemn round The biyouac of the dead."

I offer to you this tribute of our constant honoring of their sacrifices:

"They shall grow not old
As we that are left grow old.
Age shall not weary them
Nor the years condemn.
At the going down of the sun
And in the morning
We will remember them."

U.S. Supreme Court in Barenblatt Case
Rules House Un-American Activities
Committee Mandate From Congress
Constitutional and Affirms Lower Court
Contempt Conviction of College Instructors and Teachers for Refusal To
Answer Committee Questions About
His Communist Affiliations and Party
Membership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

#### HON. CLYDE DOYLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent granted me, I am pleased to introduce for the Record the dissenting decision by the Supreme Court of the United States rendered yesterday in the case of Lloyd Barenblatt. The majority opinion of this Court in this important case will be found in the body of the Congressional Record as of this date. I, recommend that all Members read both the majority and the minority decisions. The majority of the Court affirmed the decision of the lower court in finding Barenblatt guilty of contempt for his refusal to an-

swer certain questions of the House Un-American Activities Committee. For instance, two of the questions asked were as to his Communist affilations and as to whether or not he was a member of the Communist Party. This Barenblatt decision appears to have cleared up some very important questions being asked both by proponents of the House Un-American Activities Committee and by opponents thereof. It deals rather extensively with the Watkins decision which has been relied upon since it was rendered about 2 years ago, especially by the Communists and those who opposed the committee for legal grounds for asking dissolution of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

The Barenblatt case specifically rules that the mandate of the House Un-American Activities Committee is not so indefinite as to have caused the Court to rule its committee mandate, to wit, rule 11, as unconstitutional:

#### BLACK DISSENT

(Mr. Justice Black, with whom the Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Douglas concur, dissenting:)

Barenblatt refused to answer their questions and filed a long statement outlining his constitutional objections. He asserted that the committee was violating the Constitution by abridging freedom of speech, thought, press, and association, and by conducting legislative trials of known or suspected Communists which trespassed on the exclusive power of the judiciary. He argued that however he answered questions relating to membership in the Communist Party his position in society and his ability to earn a living would be seriously jeopardized; that he would in effect be subjected to a bill of attainder despite the twice-expressed constitutional mandate against such legislative punishments. This would occur, he pointed out, even if he did no more than invoke the protection of clearly applicable provisions of the Bill of Rights as a reason for refusing to answer.

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goes without saying that a law to be valid must be clear enough to make its commands understandable. For obvious reasons, the standard of certainty, required in criminal statutes is more exacting than in noncriminal statutes. This is simply because it would be unthinkable to convict a man for violating a law he could not understand. This Court has recognized that the stricter standard is as much required in criminal contempt cases as in all other criminal proceedings; that the vice of vagueness is especially pernicious where legisan area involving lative power over press, petition, and assembly is i. For a statute broad enough to speech. involved. support infringement of speech, writings, thoughts, and public assembly against the unequivocal command of the first amendment necessarily leaves all persons to guess just what the law really means to cover, and fear of a wrong guess inevitably leads people to forgo the very rights the Constitution sought to protect above all others. Vagueness becomes even more intolerable in this area if one accepts, as the Court today does, a balancing test to decide if firstamendment rights shall be protected. It is difficult at best to make a man guess-at the penalty of imprisonment-whether a court will consider the state's need for certain information superior to society's interest in unfettered freedom. It is unconscionable to make him choose between the right to keep silent and the need to speak

when the statute supposedly establishing the state's interest is too vague to give him guldance (cf. Scull v. Virginia, 359 U.S. 344).

#### Propaganda discussed

Measured by the foregoing standards, rule XI cannot support any conviction for refusal to testify. In substance it authorizes the committee to compel witnesses to give evidence about all "un-American propaganda," whether instigated in this country or abroad. The word "propaganda" seems to mean anything that people say, write, think, or associate together about. The term "un-American" is equally vague. As was said in Watkins v. United States, (354 U.S. 178, 202), "Who can define (its) meaning?

If the issue were merely whether Congress intended to allow an investigation of communism, or even of communism in education, it may well be that we could hold the data cited by the court sufficient to support a finding of intent. But that is expressly not the issue. On the court's own test, the issue is whether Barenblatt can know with sufficient certainty, at the time of his interrogation, that there is so compelling a need for his replies that infringement of his rights of free association is justified. The record does not disclose where Barenblatt can find what that need is.

But even if Barenblatt could evaluate the importance to the Government of the information sought, rule XI would still be too broad to support his conviction. If Congress wants ideas investigated, if it even wants them investigated in the field of education, it must be prepared to say so expressly and unequivocally.

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The first amendment says in not equivocal language that Congress shall pass no law abridging freedom of speech, press, assembly or petition. The activities of this committee, authorized by Congress, do precisely that, through exposure, obloquy and public scorn.

(A) I do not agree that laws directly abridging first amendment freedoms can be justified by a congressional or judicial There are, of balancing process. cases suggesting that a law which primarily regulates conduct but which might also indirectly affect speech can be upheld if the effect on speech is minor in relation to the need for control of the conduct. With these cases I agree. Neither these cases, nor any others, can be read as allowing legislative bodies to pass laws abridging freedom of speech, press, and association merely be-cause of hostility to views peacefully ex-pressed in a place where the speaker had a right to be. Rule XI, on its face and as here applied, since it attempts inquiry into beliefs, not action-ideas and associations, not conduct, does just that.

But even assuming what I cannot assume, that some balancing is proper in this case, I feel that the court after stating the test ignores it completely. At most it balances the right of the Government to preserve itself, against Barenblatt's right to refrain from revealing Communist affiliations. Such a balance, however, mistakes the factors to be weighed. In the first place, it completely leaves out the real interest in Barenblatt's silence, the interest of the people as a whole in being able to join organizations, advocate causes and make political mistakes without later being subjected to governmental penalties for having dared to think for themselves.

It is this right, the right to err politically, which keeps us strong as a nation. For no number of laws against communism can have as much effect as the personal conviction which comes from having heard its arguments and rejected them, or from having once accepted its tenets and later recog-

nized their worthlessness. Instead, the obloquy which results from investigations such as this not only stifies mistakes but prevents all but the most courageous from hazarding any views which might at some later time become disfavored.

#### POWER TO PUNISH

(B) Moreover, I cannot agree with the Court's notion that first amendment freedoms must be abridged in order to preserve our country. That notion rests on the unarticulated premise that this Nation's security hangs upon its power to punish people because of what they think, speak, or write about or because of those with whom they associate for political purposes. The Govern-ment, in its brief, vistually admits this po-sition when it speaks of the "communication of unlawful ideas." I challenge this premise, and deny that ideas can be proscribed under our Constitution. I agree that despotic governments cannot exist without stifling the voice of opposition to their oppressive practices. The first amendment means to me, however, that the only constitutional way our Government can preserve itself is to leave its people the fullest possible freedom to praise, criticize, or discuss, as they see fit, all governmental policies and to suggest, if they desire, that even its most fundamental postulates are bad and should be changed.

(C) The Court implies that the ordinary rules and requirements of the Constitution do not apply because the committee is merely after Communists and they do not con-stitute a political party but only a criminal gang. By accepting this charge and allowing it to support treatment of the Communist party and its members which would violate the Constitution if applied to other groups, the Court, in effect, declares that party outlawed. It has been only a few years since there was a practically unanimous feeling throughout the country and in our courts that this could not be done in our free land. Of course it has always been recognized that members of the party who, either individually or in combination, commit acts in violation of valid laws can be prosecuted. But the party as a whole and innocent members of it could not be attained merely because it had some illegal aims and because some of its members were lawbreakers.

The fact is that once we allow any group which has some political aims or ideas to be driven from the ballot and from the battle for men's minds because some of its members are bad and some of its tenets are illegal

no group is safe.

It, is sadly, no answer to say that this Court will not allow the trend to overwhelm us; that today's holding will be strictly confined to "Communists", as the Court's language implies. This decision can no more be contained than could the holding in American Communications v. Douds, (339 U.S. 382). In that case the Court sustained as an exercise of the commerce power an act which required labor union officials to take an oath that they were not members of the Communist party. The Court rejected the idea that the Douds holding meant that the party and all its members could be attained because of their Communist beliefs.

I dissented and said:

"Under such circumstances, restrictions imposed on proscribed groups are seldom static, even though the rate of expansion may not move in geometric progression from discrimination to armband to ghetto and worse. This I cannot regard the Court's holding as one which merely bars Communists from holding union office and nothing more. For its reasoning would apply just as forcibly to statutes barring Communists and their respective sympathizers from election to political office, mere membership in unions and in fact from getting or holding jobs whereby they earn a living." 339 U.S. at 449.

My prediction was all too accurate. Today Communists or suspected Communists have been denied an opportunity as Government employees, lawyers, doctors, teachers, pharmacists, veterinarians, subway conductors, industrial workers, and in just about any other tob.

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Finally, I think Barenblatt's conviction violates the Constitution because the chief alm, purpose, and practice of the House Un-American Activities Committee, as disclosed by its many reports, is to try witnesses and punish them because they are or have been Communists or because they refuse to admit or deny Communist affiliation. The punishment imposed is generally punishment by humiliation and public shame. There is nothing strange or novel about this kind of punishment. It is in fact one of the oldest forms of governmental punishment known to mankind; branding, the pillory, ostracism, and subjection to public hatred being but a few examples of it.

The Un-American Activities Committee was created in 1938. It immediately conceived of its function on a grand scale as one of ferreting out subversives and especially or having them removed from Government jobs. It made many reports to the House urging removal of such employees. How well it has succeeded in its declared program of pitiless publicity and exposure is a matter of public record. It is enough to cite the experience of a man who masqueraded as a Communist for the FBI and who reported to this same committee that since 1952 when his membership became known he has been unable to hold any job.

I do not question the committee's patriotism and sincerity in doing all this. I merely feel that it cannot be done by Congress under our Constitution.

It is no answer to all this to suggest that legislative committees should be allowed to punish if they grant the accused some rules of courtesy or allow him counsel. For the Constitution proscribes all bills of attainder by State or Nation, not merely those which lack counsel or courtesy. It does this because the founders believed that punishment was too serious a matter to be entrusted to any group other than an independent judiciary and a jury of 12 men acting on previously passed, unambiguous laws, with all the procedural safeguards they put in the Constitution as essential to a fair trial—safeguards which included the right to counsel. compulsory process for witnesses, specific indictments, confrontation of accusers, as well as protection against self-incrimination, double jeopardy, and cruel and unusual punishment-in short, due process of law.

It is this same right which is denied to Barenblatt, because the Court today fails to see what is here for all to see-that exposure and punishment is the aim of this committee and the reason for its existence. To deny this aim is to ignore the committee's own claims and the reports it has issued ever since it was established. I cannot believe that the nature of our judicial office requires us to be so blind, and must conclude that the un-American Activities Committee's identification and exposure of Communists and suspected Communists, like the activities of the committee in Kilbourn v. Thompson, amount to an encroachment on the judiciary which bodes ill for the liberties of the people of this land.

Ultimately all the questions in this case really boil down to one—whether we as a people will try fearfully and futilely to preserve democracy by adopting totalitarian methods, or whether in accordance with our traditions and our Constitution we will have the confidence and courage to be free.

I would reverse this conviction.

BRENNAN'S DISSENT

Mr. Justice Brennan, dissenting.

I would reverse this conviction. It is sufficient that I state my complete agreement with my brother Black that no purpose for the investigation of Barenblatt is revealed by the record except exposure purely for the sake of exposure. This is not a purpose to which Barenblatt's rights under the first amendment can validly be subordinated. An investigation in which the processes of law-making and law evaluating are submerged entirely in exposure of individual behavior—in adjudication, of a sort, through the exposure process—is outside the constitutional pale of congressional inquiry.

Address of Congressman Carroll Reece, Prepared for Delivery at Virginia Intermont College, Bristol, Va.-Tenn., May 31, 1959

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. B. CARROLL REECE

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. REECE of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks granted Wednesday, June 3, I include an address prepared for delivery at Virginia Interment College, Bristol, Va.-Tenn., May 31, 1959:

RESPONSIBILITIES OF FREEDOM

1

It is the custom of speakers, on occasions such as this one, to make profound observations regarding what is wrong with the Government of our great Nation and how the legislators are standing at the crossroads of destiny.

The heartening part of history is that there always seems to be another destiny beyond the one which has, according to the orators, been irretrievably compromised.

But this is going to be a different kind of speech—sort of a "man bites dog" proposition.

I am not going to talk about what is wrong with the Government of the United States—I am going to talk about what is wrong with the people of the United States.

For a man in public office this could be a dangerous form of heresy, but I have reached the time of life when one builds up a certain immunity to criticism.

At any rate, the subject of my remarks will be the character of the American people and the responsibilities of freedom.

This particular audience is particularly important to this subject because it is the women of a nation who are in the best position to shape the character of a nation.

I do not necessarily agree that the hand that rocks the cradle is the hand that rules the world, but I do agree that it is the character-forming period spent at our mother's knee that gives our lives the trajectory which guide us to the right or wrong decisions in our adult life.

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As a public servant, I hear a lot of complaints from members of the general public about what goes on in the halls of government and I would like to register some of my complaints about what goes on outside of the halls of government.

In the first place, there is no point in criticizing the Government in Washington

because what it does is generally only a reflection of what the general public wants it to do

That is the kind of government we set up-government of the people, for the people, and by the people.

If we have bad government, therefore, it is

because we have bad people.

I would not go so far as to say that the American people are bad but it must be said that for some time now their judgment has been bad in many instances.

Let's look at some of the problems that have been created by misguided public

opinion.

Let's start with what most people consider our No. 1 problem-inflation,

Inflation is fun.

It is always fun to spend money which has not yet been earned—that is, it is fun in the beginning, until the results begin to come home.

Inflation begins in Washington. But why does it begin at all? Because the people want it to.

You may say that the people do not want it to and in a way you would be right, but in a much more important way you would be wrong.

The people do not want inflation, but they do want the Government to do things for them, which can only be accomplished through inflationary spending and in infla-

tionary processes.

As long as people wish the Government to do more things for them there will be Political candidates eager to promise the fulfillment of their wishes and when the bitter fruits of inflation come to their diningroom table they have no one to blame but themselves.

Our trouble, as citizens, is that we believe so many things that are not true.

One of these things is that Government has any money to give anybody without taking it away from somebody else, or even from the same people it gives it to.

Commonsense tells us that there is no such thing as something for nothing, that there is no such thing as a free meal, but our selfishness prevails over our commonsense.

As an illustration I would like to quote a few sentences from an editorial on the fallacy that Federal aid is free by the American Economic Foundation.

It was written by two friends of mine. Fred Clark and Richard Rimanoczy.

Here is what the editorial says:

"Money, in political affairs, is the original shell game of now you see it, and now you don't.

A good example is the illusion that Federal aid is free—that it is something for nothing.

The way to dispel this illusion is to check it against two of the prime principles of economics.

The first is: Nothing in our economic life comes from nowhere or goes nowhere, there is always a source and a destination.

The second is: Government cannot give the people anything that it does not take

from them. With these two truths in mind it doesn't require much detective work to discover that Federal ald is money taken from the people, sent to Washington, and then returned to

the people. Federal aid therefore is money that could have been local and State aid, had that money stayed within the States.

To the best of our knowledge, only one State, Mississippi, gets back as much as it puts in.

IV

At this moment you are probably thinking: "But there must be more to it than this. The States and cities are always short of money and the Federal Government is always loaded."

You are right-there is more to it than this: the Federal Government has a legal right to counterfeit all the money it wants to as long as it stays within the debt limit,

"Counterfeit" may be a slightly inaccurate word but it comes very close to the truth.

Here is the way it works.

Cities and States, when they need money, must get it from the people in taxes or borrow it privately against future taxes.

In other words, cities and States must raise real money-money that has been

earned.

But the Federal Government, when it needs money, can put its I O U's (that can become permanent debt) into the banking system and cause the banks to create brand new unearned money, money that takes on value only by taking away part of the value of the earned money

That is what counterfelt money does, and that is why we use the word "counter-

feit "

Another word for this money is "inflationary.

You may say: "But this bottomless Federal purse contradicts your statement that everything Government gives to the people must first be taken from the people."

On second thought, however, you will see where you are wrong: This money is taken from the people invisibly because, as previously suggested, when it is spent the value of the people's money goes down by approximately the same amount.

For example, the \$12 billion the Federal Government is adding to the money supply this year (June 1958 to June 1959) will subtract about \$12 billion from the value of the rest of the money.

The people will give up that \$12 billion just as certainly as if it had been taxed from them.

This, too, should be ample evidence that Federal aid cannot be free.

Yet, we continue to keep pressure on the Federal Government to give away money that must first be taken away from us or, borrow it and then take from us threefold to repay it.

v

Back of public approval, or at least tolerance, of deficit spending is the rather un-admirable notion that in someway or other, when government goes deeper into debt it saves us taxes.

Actually, deficit spending is triple taxation.

The first payment is made almost immediately, because the spending of the un-earned money subtracts an equivalent amount from the value of the total money supply.

This payment is really an invisible capital levy affecting everyone-rich or poor-young or old-employed or retired.

The second payment is made over the period during which interest is paid on the debt.

This payment may amount to more than the debt itself.

If the interest were 2½ percent per year and the debt were allowed to run for 40 years (a not-at-all impossible situation) we would have paid out enough interest to retire the debt.

(Today about \$8 billion a year of our tax money is required to pay interest on the Federal debt).

The third payment, of course, is when the debt is actually paid off.

This, too, must come from our tax money. So we can easily see, even though we may refuse to look, that the \$12 billion of deficit spending in the current fiscal year could cost the American people \$36 billion.

By no stretch of the imagination could a rational person consider that this deficit saved anybody any money.

But still we persist in our delusion.

VI

Another blind spot-closely related with our attitude toward deficit spending-is our stubborn belief that higher wages-in themselves—mean a higher standard of living.

Here again we are acting against commonsense but our ignorance seems invincible. Suppose we reduce the argument to ridic-

ulous proportions and see what happens. Let's suppose that tomorrow morning everyone received twice as much money as they are now getting for their contribution

to society. We can easily figure out what would

happen.

No more would be produced.

No more things would be on sale.

But there would be twice as much money paid out for the production.

So the price would have to become twice as

Nothing else could happen.

Everybody would agree that this 100 percent unearned raise would be obviously stupid—but almost everybody would eagerly accept a 5 percent unearned raise if they could get it.

Like many other problems of human nature

this is an imponderable.

It cannot be explained-it can only be observed

And as long as there are paymasters weak enough to continue to give unearned in-creases the practice will continue.

But don't try to blame it on the Government

Another source of self-generated trouble is our attitude toward employment and unemployment.

About 25 years ago some English socialists planted the economic theory that, 100 percent full employment is both possible and desir-

The American mind was fertile soil for this planting and today public opinion is largely behind the idea that corporations can and should be expected to provide 100 percent full employment, and if they fall down on the job the Federal Government must do something about it.

The only thing wrong with this idea, as a little study will disclose, is that corporations do not provide employment, or, at least do not generate it.

Our confusion arises from the fact that employment is measured in payroll and payroll comes from corporations, therefore the corporation must be the employer.

But another look at the situation reveals that the payroll came from the customers, so if payroll is synonymous with employment the customer is the employer, or at least. generates employment.

This puts the corporations in a different light.

They are responsible for employment only to the extent that they are responsible for finding customers.

But this cannot be done by management without the cooperation of the men and women in the plant whose relative efficiency and productivity is frequently the reason why customers are either found or not found.

Unless the people on the payroll cooperate in producing goods of a quality and price that will win the customer, there is nothing that management can do to prevent unemployment.

This raises the question of why the labor leaders, whose purpose is to further the welfare of their union members, so frequently throw roadblocks in the path of management instead of trying to smooth the way.

It also raises the question of why labor union members, many of whom must know the truth, permit their leaders to handicap instead of help the very people whose job it

is to find them employment.

But as long as these union members want their leaders to have the power to interfere with management's effort to provide employment there is little that the Federal Government can be expected to do about it except to provide the machinery for freedom of action by the union members and that is just what we are trying to do.

The fact that our system works as well as it does is proof that there is a destiny which shapes our ends, rough-hew them

though we may.

VIII

There is another facet of 100 percent full employment that raises a serious economic question were the Federal Government to take the extreme measures that would be required to provide it.

One-hundred percent full employment in growing economy insures chronic infla-

tion.

To its sorrow, socialist England dis-covered this hard fact when the Socialist Government set out to guarantee it by Government fiat.

Here is what happens: in a growing economy there are always new businesses that must be able to find workers.

Under 100 percent full employment all of the people who want to work already have

What happens, therefore, is the only thing that could happen: the new business takes workers away from old business by offering them more money; old business to retain their workers raises the wages.

As we know, when higher wages are not offset with highere productivity, they simply add to the cost of production and cause

higher selling prices.

The result is an endless inflationary spiral. It is interesting to note that in England the author of the full-employment theory, Lord William Beveridge, was personally ruined financially by the results of his own plan.

He wrote the plan in 1944.

In 1956 he denounced it in a speech made before the Racial Reform Group Conference in London.

In his very personal remarks Lord Beveridge told his audience that he had retired with what he thought was enough savings for a happy old age.

Under full employment, however, his savings had lost about two-thirds of their purchasing power due to chronic inflation.

The following was the high point of his speech.

The underlying reason is claims of each industry (meaning each labor group) to fix its own money wages by sovereign ac-tion. Under full employment that is leading to the destruction of the value of money and is spreading widespread poverty among all who are trying to live on savings or fixed pensions."

The answer is a normal amount of unemployment-perhaps 3 percent of the labor force.

It must not be thought that this 3 percent consists of a starving desperate impoverished people.

Many of them don't want a job right away.

Most of them have rainy day savings.

Many of them live in families where there is more than one income.

Moreover, the unemployed is a constantly changing group.

The average period of unemployment being about 120 days, the actual number of people involved in unemployment in a year would be about four times the percentage for a given year.

So manageable unemployment is not a fearsome problem-it is essential to economic stability.

You may hear speeches challenging this statement but you can be thankful that the Government in Washington does not push the panic button every time there is a mild recession.

The final observations I would like to make are more general than the foregoing.

They are rather hard to put into words.

The present generation of Americans do not seem to love their country the way it was loved by previous generations.

Nationalism, today, is almost something to be ashamed of.

This was dramatically demonstrated during the brainwashing of American prisoners in Korea.

This was probably the largest sampling of national character that was ever conducted in controlled conditions and accurately

Regarding the results, I would like to quote from a recent radio sermon by the Reverend John F. Fisler, delivered for the Protestant Council of the city of New York.

Dr. Fisler went into a great deal of detail some of which I will read to you.

The Amercan prisoners did not behave as on previous occasions when Americans were captured.

They did not organize. They did not try to escape. They did not steal telephone and radio equipment in order to transmit reports to our lines. They did not defy the enemy with the usual American spirit.

Many of those who died, died not from disease, cold or hunger, but from what the Army psychiatrists are calling "give-up-itis." They would go to bed, pull the covers over their heads, and, in 48 hours, they were dead. Fifteen hundred men died in this

Dr. Fisler quoted part of the communica-tion from the Chief of Intelligence of the Chinese People's Volunteer Army in Korea

to his chief in China.

Based upon our observations of American soldiers and their officers captured in this war for the liberation of Korea from capitalist imperial aggression the following facts are evidenced: The American soldier has weak loyalties to his family, his community, his religion, his country and his fellow soldier. His concept of right and wrong is hazy. Opportunism is easy for him. By himself he feels frightened and insecure. He underestimates his own worth, his own strength and his ability to survive. He is ignorant of social values, social tensions and conflicts."

What Dr. Fisler says is certainly not true of our soldiers generally but it is true of the significantly large numbers who yielded to the brainwashing.

I don't suppose anybody knows for sure just what has come over so many of our young Americans.

They don't seem to believe in what we used to call the homely virtues and the eternal verites.

They know all about the faults of our country and the weakness of our economic system but we don't seem impressed with the fact that we still have the finest civilization this world has ever known.

These young people knit their brows and shake their heads over the social injustices in a nation that does not automatically provide economic security.

Angry young men write about the tyranny conformity and hard work.

What these people are expressing, without knowing it, is their reluctance to take on the responsibilities of freedom.

Freedom is for strong men and, with it, must go self-reliance.

But most people can acquire the strength when they acquire a full appreciation of freedom.

The difficulty of appreciating freedom is greater for the American people than any other people on earth because we enjoy so much of it with so little effort.

We have a tendency to see only the bur-

dens of freedom.

But there is good news for those who don't believe that freedom isn't worth the effort: of all our responsibilities it is the easiest to get rid of-all we have to do is elect the men who are all too eager to take over the problem of making our economic decisions. What can one say to a man who is weary

of being free?

You should remind him that every adult as a child of God, has the moral responsibility to be free.

As a matter of fact the idea of personal freedom came from the teachings of Jesus-The entire Western World is rooted in these teachings.

That is why communism must attack Christianity.

Communism is a form of emotional dependency upon somebody or something else and the desire for security through obedi-

To the Communists, Christianity and selfreliance are synonymous.

Their weapon against them is fearfear of personal failure—the fear that drives the individual backward to the childish instinct for security.

But the self-reliant Christian is not defeated by fear.

He has, in his religion, a mother, a father, a partner, a counsellor, and a comforter. There is, for him a different type of se-

curity through obedience—the security that comes from obedience to God's will.

With God at his side the most deserted of men do not feel alone, the most beleagured men do not feel fearful, because he has the strength and courage that overcomes panic and despair.

He does not fear economic hardship because in a Christian society there is always

Christian charity.

XI

To sum it all up what I am really trying to say to you all is that a good index of America's belief in liberty, self-government, and self-reliance is the strength of America's belief in God.

And if faith in God is the foundation of our civilization, the strength of our civilization depends upon the strength of that

That is why, in spite of any of the superficial signs of character deterioration that may occupy some of the headlines today, I cannot believe that the American dream is failing, because Christian faith is growing.

It may sound odd for a politician to say that good government is to a great extent a religious problem, but good character is a religious problem, and good government depends upon the good character of its citizens.

There is evidence to back up the correlation between Christianity and character: Not one of the American prisoners in Korea who had deeply religious convictions were successfully brainwashed by the Communists.

XII

If America's problem were a highly intellectual one, I would have less hope for our future, because mass education at the intellectual level is difficult.

But it is not an intellectual problem-it is merely a matter of commonsense motivated by good character.

Most people know what they are doing wrong; in fact they feel a little guilty about

And it is the American conscience that, I believe, will guarantee our future.

It needs a little prodding, but it is still a healthy conscience.

It needs a lot of self-appointed missionaries to talk as I have been talking, and I believe those missionaries will appear.

I hope that right here, in this audience, a few of them may have been enlisted even as I spoke. Good luck and may God bless you always.

Testimony of Hon. Wright Morrow, Civic Leader, Houston, Tex., Before Senate Committee on the Judiciary on Constitutional Amendments in Support of Senate Joint Resolution 32

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 18, 1959

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, on May 13 a distinguished Texan, the Honorable Wright Morrow, appeared before the Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary. He was speaking in support of Senate Joint Resolution 32, the purpose of which is to vest exclusive administrative control of public school and public education in the States and their political subdivisions.

I consider it an honor, and indeed, a great privilege, to include the text of his testimony in the Record and commend its contents to the Members of this body:

TEXT OF TESTIMONY BY WRIGHT MORROW OF HOUSTON, TEX., BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON JUDICIARY IN SUP-PORT OF SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 32, THE PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT SPONSORED BY U.S. SENATOR HERMAN E. TALMADGE OF GEORGIA, JOINED BY HIS COL-LEAGUES, SENATOR BYED AND SENATOR ROBERTSON OF VIRGINIA, SENATOR JOHNSTON OF SOUTH CAROLINA, SENATOR HILL AND SENATOR SPARKMAN OF ALABAMA, SENATOR EASTLAND AND SENATOR STENNIS OF MIS-SISSIPPI, AND SENATOR LONG OF LOUISIANA, THE PURPOSE OF WHICH IS TO VEST EXCLU-SIVE ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL OF PUBLIC SCHOOL AND PUBLIC EDUCATION IN THE STATES AND THEIR POLITICAL SUBDIVISIONS

Mr. Chairman, I desire to express my gratitude to this subcommittee for the privilege of presenting to the members thereof my views and testimony in connection with Senate Joint Resolution 32. As a practicing lawyer and as a citizen of Texas, I appreciate this opportunity and hope that I shall be able to present appropriate testimony which may be of some benefit to you as members of this subcommittee.

By way of introduction and identification of myself, because I am sure I am not known to most of you, I should like to say my name is Wright Morrow; I am a native born Texan and have been practicing law for about 35 years—for 30 of those years in Houston, Tex. I went to the public schools in my native town and took my law course at the University of Texas in Austin, Tex. My father, Judge Wright C, Morrow, was for 25 years chief justice of a court of last resort in Texas; my mother's brother, Judge B. D. Tarlton, was chief justice of an appellate court and later a member of the supreme court of Texas; and still later, a professor of law at the University of Texas. My two brothers and I all have practiced law in Texas. I was, when a young man, first as-

sistant attorney general of Texas, and for two terms was Democratic national committeeman for Texas. I have, therefore, been nurtured in the law and under the principles of constitutional law. I am a firm and consistent believer in the genius of our form of government and I have the highest respect for law and for the courts of our country.

Senate Joint Resolution 32 seeks to add to the Constitution of the United States in plain and unambiguous language, an article that the administrative control of any public school, public educational institution, or public educational system operated by any State or by any political or other subdivision thereof shall be vested exclusively in such State or subdivision and that nothing contained in the Constitution shall be construed to deny to the residents thereof the right to determine for themselves the manner in which any such school, institution, or system is administered by such State or subdivision.

I have the deep conviction that this proposed amendment should be submitted to the States and express the fervent hope that it will be ratified and become a part of our Constitution.

Some recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States (particularly Brown v. Board of Education (347 U.S. 483) strike at the very heart of our Republic and undermine the fabric of our system of government. I say this as a lawyer nurtured in the principles of constitutional law. I regard it as a right, not only, but as my duty as a citizen to express my views. I do not attack the place held by the Supreme Court in the makeup of our constitutional framework. On the contrary, I am a firm and strong supporter of the constitutional function and authority given to the Supreme Court.

The problem transcends the question of racial segregation. It goes to the very vitals of our constitutional framework. In my opinion, the present Court has completely disavowed judicial restraint.

We have made the constant boast as a free people that we are entitled to express our convictions privately and publicly concerning the conduct of our public officials. I intend to be constructive and temperate, but I hope to be candid and courageous.

I do not share the view expressed by some that the decisions of the Supreme Court should be beyond the criticism of the people. I do share the view expressed by Justice Brewer in an early decision of the Supreme Court, where he said:

"It is a mistake to suppose that the Supreme Court is either honored or helped by being spoken of as beyond criticism. On the contrary, the life and character of its justices should be the object of constant watchfulness by all and its judgments subject to the freest criticism. The time is past in the history of the world when any living man or body of men can be set on a pedestal and decorated with a halo."

Those who composed the convention in 1787 had risked their lives, their liberties and their fortunes in the Revolutionary struggle; they knew what they had fought for. They were fully cognizant of the suffering of their forebears in the struggle for freedom and dignity under the rule of law instead of the rule of man. They, therefore, made the Constitution say in explicit language who should make the laws and how laws should be made.

They defined "The Supreme Law of the Land" in article VI, quoted in part, as follows:

"The Constitution and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; • • • shall be the Supreme Law of the Land."

The Constitution Is the creature of the people and the States; the Constitution

formed a government of laws and not of men. The members of the Convention rejected the idea of a monarchy or of a pure democracy and set up a Republic of limited powers—separate executive, legislative, and judicial branches. It was for this reason that the 10th amendment was adopted specifically providing that all powers not delegated to the Federal Government were reserved to the States and to the people. The child—the Federal Government—was given specific and fixed rights—all others remained with the States, the people—the parents of the Federal Government.

We should never forget that those who framed this great system of government wanted to be doubly sure that the Federal Government should be obligated to control itself. It was James Madison, credited with much responsibility for the language of the Constitution, who said:

"In framing a government to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this: You must enable the government to control the governed, but in the next place oblige it to control itself."

Alexander Hamilton emphasizes this necessity in speaking in the Federalist of article VI quoted above, using this language:

"It will not, I presume, have escaped observation that it (article VI) expressly confines this supremacy to laws made pursuant to the Constitution."

As Chief Justice Taney said in a very early case:

"The Government of the United States is one of delegated and limited powers, it derives its existence and authority altogether from the Constitution; neither of its branches, executive, administrative, or judicial can exercise any of the powers of Government beyond those prescribed and granted."

George Washington, in his farewell address used this language, which is very pertinent and appropriate here:

"If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the Constitutional powers be in any part wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this in one instance may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed."

It is elementary that the law is the very embodiment of usage; that is to say, the principles of action evolved by reason of experience, traditions, habits, customs, and rules of conduct common to all people in a given area of the world make up the basis of the law and the law comes into being (as did the Constitution) by virtue of these common attributes, common privileges and common duties. The stability of the Gov-ernment depents on law-fixed law, upon which people can rely as a part of their lives. Things adjudicated—or matters litigated and determined by competent authorities-by courts of last resort—become a part of the life of the people. Better stated, it is the doctrine to stare decisis. The specific translation of this phrase means to stand by decided cases; to uphold precedents; to maintain former adjudications. The rule is based on public policy which requires that courts respect their prior decisions and that a rule once declared and uniformly followed over a long period because the law, guiding the people in their conduct. It rests upon the principle that law by which men are governed should be fixed, definite, known. The complete Latis phase is: "Stare decisis et non quieta movere." This literally means to adhere to precedents and not to unsettle things which are established.

This definition is given both in Black's Law Dictionary and Cooley's Constitutional Limitations, and has been followed by Fed-

eral and State courts throughout the history of the jurisprudence of our country.

It is my firm and considered opinion that the Supreme Court, in the 1954 decisions on racial segregation in public schools is indefensible and their interpretation of the 14th amendment has substituted the personal philosophy of its present members for a rule of law established by tradition, habit, custom, and long-time precedent of its former decisions, and in this manner has usurped the power of the States to amend the Constitution.

Mark you again the advice of George

Washington:

"The Constitution should be amended in the manner fixed therein and not by usurpation."

More than a hundred years ago Chief Jus-

tice John Marshall said:

"Courts are the mere instruments of the law and can will nothing . power is never exercised for the purpose of giving effect to the will of the judge; always for the purpose of giving effect to the will of the law."

Again, James Madison, in discussing the necessity and value of judicial precedents

"The good of society requires that the rules of conduct of its members, should be certain and known, which would not be the case if any judge disregarding the decisions of his predecessor should vary the rule of the law according to his individual interpretation."

Thomas Jefferson, in discussing the limitations of constitutional power made this

cryptic statement:

In questions of power let no more be said of confidence in man, but bind him down from mischief by the chains of the Constitution.'

And Chief Justice Marshall said again in his great opinion in Gibbons v. Ogden, that:

"The enlightened patriots who framed our Constitution and the people who adopted \* \* to have init must be understood \* tended what they said."

Let us then undertake to determine whether the Supreme Court has usurped the power to amend the Constitution by its interpretation in Brown v. Board of Education and the companion cases in 1954.

Soon after the adoption of the 14th amendment in 1877, in considering a statute of Louisiana requiring the commingling of the races, the Supreme Court then said:

"We think this statute \* \* is unconstitutional \* \* Substantial equality of right is the law of the State and of the United States, but equality does not mean identity, as, in the nature of things identity in the accommodations afforded to passengers, whether colored or white is impossible.

The Court said further:

"It is settled law that the school board may assign a particular school for colored children and exclude them from schools assigned for white children, and such regulation is not in violation of the 14th amend-

Then comes the much quoted Plessy v. Ferguson case (163 U.S. 537) in 1896. Here the Court also passed on a Louisiana statute this time requiring separate accommodation for colored and white passengers on common carriers. The Court said (Justice Brown writing the opinion):

"The object of the 14th amendment is undoubtedly to enforce the absolute equality of the two races before the law but in the nature of things it could not have been intended to abolish distinctions based upon color or enforce social, as distinguished from political equality, or commingling of the two races under terms unsatisfactory to either. Laws permitting, and even requiring their separation, do not necessarily imply the inferiority of either race to the other and have been generally, if not universally, recognized as within the competency of State legislatures."

The Court held that the establishment of separate schools for white and colored children has been held to be a valid exercise of the legislative power of the States.

Then, as if pointing to the fallacy of the philosophy or psychology of recent decision in Brown v. Board of Education case, Justice Brown, (for the Court) said:

"The argument also assumes that prejudices may be overcome by legislation and that equal rights cannot be secured to the Negro except by an enforced commingling of the two races. We cannot accept this proposition."

In view of the continuous public statements of the proponents of the Court's decision in condemning our position in the South, it is noteworthy, that the author of the Plessy case, Justice Brown, was born in Massachusetts, educated at Yale, and was a citizen of Michigan when appointed to the Court by a Republican President.

Much has also been said by the proponents of school integration about the dissent of Mr. Justice Harlan in the Plessy case. It is, therefore, significant that 3 years later-in 1899, the same Justice Harlan, wrote for the Court in the case of Cummings v. Board of Education. Here they were considering an injunction compelling the school board to withhold its assistance from a white high school for failure to provide a high school for colored students. Justice Harlan used this language and there was no dissent:

"We may add while all admit the benefits and burdens of public taxation must be shared by citizens without discrimination against any class on account of their race, that education of the people in the schools maintained by State taxation is a matter belonging to the respective States. \* \* \* "

In 1914 the Court in dealing with a statue of Oklahoma in the McCabe case, said this:

"It has been decided by this Court, so that the question could no longer be considered an open one, that it was not an infraction of the 14th amendment for a State to require separate but equal accommodations for the races."

This was 46 years after the passage of the 14th amendment.

Thirteen years later, in 1927, a beloved former Republican President, Chief Justice Taft, in a case involving a Chinese girl being denled admission to a white school (Gong Lum v. Rice 275 U.S. 78) wrote the opinion for the Court and said:

"The right and power of the State to regulate the method of providing for the education of its youth at public expense is clear."

As a matter of stare decisis, as a matter of tradition and of stability, the people of the United States had a right to rely upon these decisions. They pass on the precise state of facts before the Supreme Court in the 1954

Chief Justice Taft said further:

We think this is the same question which has been many times decided to be within the constitutional power of the State legislatures to settle without intervention of Federal courts under the Federal Constitution. \* \* \* The decision is within the discretion of the State in regulating its public schools and does not conflict with the 14th amendment."

Sitting on this Court with Chief Justice Taft in the unanimous decision were the great judges and liberals, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes and Justice Louis D. Brandels and Justice Harlan Fiske Stone. This is very good judicial company in which we find ourselves, who yet believe this is the right decision.

One of the cases cited by Chief Justice Taft was a case in the Massachusetts Supreme Court, written by Chief Justice Shaw

of that court in which they upheld the separation of white and colored under that State constitution guaranteeing equal protection of the law.

And again, when the present Supreme Court has disregarded all judicial restraint and rejected all precedent and is exercising legislative functions entrusted to the Congress and usurping the power of amendment of the Constitution, they scorn the case of Missouri ex rel Gaines v. Canada, 305 U.S. 337. This decision was by Chief Justice Hughes appointed twice to the Supreme Court from New York State and a Republican candidate for President. The action was brought by a Negro to compel admission to the Missouri State University Law School-The Missouri Constitution provided that separate free public schools should be established for the people of African descent. The contention was made that this was discrimination and denial of a constitutional right. Speaking for the Court, Chief Justice Hughes said:

The State court has fully recognized the obligation of the State to provide Negroes with advantages for higher education equal to that afforded to white students. State has sought to fulfill that obligation by furnishing equal facilities in separate schools, a method, the validity of which has been sustained by our decisions," reaffirming the holding in the Plessy and Gong Lum cases:

During the nearly 80 years of judicial determination by the Federal courts, this same subject has been before State courts without number-Northern and Southern States alike—and it has been uniformly held. in reliance on these Supreme Court that the right and power of the State to regulate the method of providing for the education of its youth at public expense is clear. Thus a great body of decisions has been built upon the faith of these cases. This rule has been upheld in New York, Ohio. North Carolina, Kansas, Missouri, Nevada, Mississippi, and most other States. The adjudication was universally the same and a way of life was established under the fixed law of our country by courts confronted with this exact problem. These decisions and this way of life was relied upon. The people had a right to rely upon them: It was a settled part of our jurisprudence.

A strange evidence of the desire of the present Supreme Court to legislate is demonstrated in the companion case to the Brown case, namely Bolling v. Sharpe, 347 U.S. 497. There the court was dealing with racial seg-regation in the public schools of the District of Columbia. The Court held that the due process clause of the muchly abused fifth amendment prohibits racial segregation in the public schools of the District of Colum-One hundred and sixty-seven years after the adoption of the fifth amendment in 1791, this Court comes up with this decision and arrives at this change-in the law-Congress had not legislated to this effect, and if separation of the races in the District of Columbia schools was legal in 1868 when 14th amendment was adopted and in 1914 and 1927, we wonder when the Constitution was changed and how it was amended, because it became unconstitutional after May 17, 1954. Chief Justice Warren said it WAS "unthinkable" that in the capital of this Republic separate schools were being maintained. Yet it had been so for many, many years.

These decisions are simply declarations of the present members of the Court expressing their individual views. They disregard all the wisdom and experience of their predecessors who over a period of almost a century passed on the same question, and substitute therefore what they call "modern authority."

The chief authority upon whose writing they rely is a man named Gunnar Myrdal. a Swedish sociologist, who spent a few years here in this country and now becomes the highest authority for our Highest Court. The same author in his book called "An American Dilemma" expressed the opinion that our Constitution is "impractical and ill suited for modern conditions" and "is Outmoded and should be abandoned."

When the doctrine of separate but equal was first announced by the Supreme Court, not one single State voiced a protest or claimed misinterpretation of the 14th amendment. Moreover, Congress, from the date of the amendment in 1868 until 1954 demonstrated their understanding of the Constitution by actively maintaining separate schools in the District of Columbia.

It is a universal doctrine in our juris-Prudence that the contemporaneous construction of a statute or constitutional provision by those who are charged with the duty of its enforcement is worthy of the most serious consideration as an aid to its interpretation, particularly where such construction has been sanctioned by long acquiescence.

Here the Supreme Court decisions for 80 years establish a uniform principle and uniform result. Here the Congress with the authority fixed in section 5 of the 14th amendment; namely, "The Congress shall have the power to enforce by appropriate legislation the provisions of this article," had not in their wisdom found it necessary or appropriate to legislate on this subject to deviate from the established law of the land under the decisions of the Supreme Court and the universal practice of the States in their regulation of public schools.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the Conference of the Chief Justices of the States meeting in California last August, should

have passed this resolution:

We are not alone in our view that the Supreme Court in many cases arising under the 14th amendment has assumed what seems to us primarily legislative (lawmaking) powers \* \* \* We do not believe that either the framers of the original Constitution or the possibly somewhat less gifted draftsmen of the 14th amendment ever contemplated that the Supreme Court would or should have the almost unlimited policymaking powers which it now exercises. It is strange indeed to reflect that under a Constitution which provides for a system of checks and balances, of distribution of power between National and State governments, One branch of one Government (the Supreme Court) should attain the immense, and in many respects, dominant power which it now wields."

This opinion of 36 supreme court State Justices finds tremendous support in the advice given by George Washington.

Witness, also, the recent statement of an eminent jurist, for many years a member of the Circuit Court of Appeals in New York, a man regarded as a liberal, but distinguished as a fearless judge who did not allow considerations of political expediency or emotional feelings to impair his reading of the Constitution or his study of the basic Precedents established by the courts in previous years. I refer to Judge Learned Hand's recent lectures before the Harvard Law School. Judge Hand finds himself perplexed by the decisions in the segregation cases; he says it is curious that the Supreme Court failed to mention section 5 of the 14th amendment which he says "offered an escape from intervening for it empowers Congress to 'enforce' all the preceding sections by 'ap-Propriate legislation."

Judge Hand further says:

"I cannot frame any definition that will explain when the Court will assume the role of a third legislative chamber and when it will limit its authority to keep Congress and States within their accredited authority."

He says he has not been able to understand on what basis the Court adopted the view that it may actually legislate. He asks the question of whether we should establish a third legislative chamber, and then says:

"If we do need a third legislative chamber, it should appear for what it is and not as the interpreter of inscrutable principles."

Further, Judge Hand says:

'For myself, it would be most irksome to be ruled by a bevy of platonic guardians even if I knew how to choose them, which I assuredly do not."

Moreover, Judge Hand says that he doubts whether any judge should be permitted "to

serve as a communal mentor."

The argument is made that the Constitution must keep step with the times and that it is subject to the changes in our lifetime. I hold to the view that truths never change and that principle is based on truth. I am no standpatter, I recognize that changes do come and must be given full and fair consideration, but I believe that those who claim that the Constitution does not mean what it says and the precedents of former decisions are not binding and establish a way of life, are usually those who labor under the delusion that there was little wisdom on earth before they were born. They forget that without them there was a yesterday, and without them there will be a tomorrow.

In his book on "The Nature of the Judicial Process" the former Justice Benjamin N. Cardozo, in discussing the right of a judge to substitute his individual sense of justice for rules of law, said this:

That might result in a benevolent despotism if the judges were benevolent men. It would put an end to the reign of law."

Justice Brandeis also quoted this truth

when he said:

"It is usually more important that a rule of law be settled than that it be settled right."

The lack of judicial restraint referred to in the resolution of the States Chief Justices, is apparent in these later decisions. One of the fine Federal judges undertook for his own guidance to say: "He will not overrule a precedent unless he can be satisfied beyond peradventure that it was untenable when made; and not even then, if it has gathered around it the support of a substantial body of decisions based on it."

This is precisely what has happened in our American life since 1868 until 1954.

The words of Justice Robert H. Jackson in the case of Brown against Allen supports the viewpoint of those who believe the Supreme Court has usurped the power of amendment confided to the States under the Constitution. Justice Jackson said this:

"Rightly or wrongly, the belief is widely held by the practicing profession that this Court no longer respects impersonal rules of law but is guided in these matters by personal impressions which from time to time may be shared by a majority of the Justices. • • • that regard for precedents and author-ities is obsolete; that words no longer mean what they have always meant to the profession; that the law knows no fixed principles."

Again, Justice Cardozo in his book discussing the difference between right and

power, he says:

"Judges have, of course, the power though not the right, to ignore the mandate of the statute and render judgment in spite of it. They have the power, though not the right to travel beyond the bounds set to judicial innovation by precedent and custom. Nonetheless, by that abuse of power, they violate the law."

Another and a different reason for the posltion I take with respect to the Supreme Court's segregation decision is the fact, little known until now that there are 12 States which upon their entrance into the United States were granted exclusive control of their

State schools. It appears from a recent check of the admission acts of all of the States that 12 have been granted this specific authority. The last such grant was made this year to Hawaii.

This, of course is an unequal and unfair treatment and will result in unlimited con-

fusion and instability.

I am informed the States of North and South Dakota, Montana, Washington, Utah, Wyoming, Idaho, New Mexico, Arizona, Oklahoma, Alaska and Hawaii have been granted this exclusive control of their State schools. While I am a Southerner and the people of the South have been charged with dereliction to duty in their refusal to accept the strange philosophy attributed largely to the authority of one Gunnar Myrdal given full credence under the judgment of Supreme Court. I am convinced not only people of the Southern States but those of many other States of the Union, Eastern, Northern and Western alike will come to the final conclusion that the rights of the States have been again seriously impaired, and regardless of their personal feelings, they will come to the conscientious belief that we in the South are upholding the fundamental concepts of our Constitutional system.

Therefore, I favor the adoption of Senate Joint Resolution 32 and reiterate my hope that it becomes a part of our Constitution.

First, its submission and adoption is proposed to be done in the manner and method prescribed in the Constitution and not by judicial decree or usurpation. The of the States are accorded their rightful and function in the amendment of the basic document.

Second, if submitted and adopted, it will reestablish for and by the people the validity and the wisdom of the judgment of the Supreme Court decided by the able and patri-otic Justices through these many years.

Third, the stability of the law will be regained, the way of life upon which the people rely and had a right to rely will be restored and sanctioned and firmly fixed.

Fourth, the continuing value of precedent and stare decisis known to our American jurisprudence through its whole life will again be recognized and enforced.

Fifth, that these decisions have produced most regrettable decline in white and Negro relationships throughout the country. particularly in the South-not on an individual basis because we still maintain warm individual relationships, but there is a wider and wider division among the races. These decisions, this departure from constitutional authority has caused the greatest disturbance since the Civil War. If this amendment is proposed and adopted, the matter will be settled in a constitutional manner and the prime constitutional ideal of "domestic tranquility" will be tremendously improved.

Sixth, this amendment, if submitted and adopted, will express the dominant view of the people of the United States that an overpowering centralized Government in Washington was not intended to be a part of the basic fabric of our system. It will prove again the wisdom of Chief Justice Taft "the right and power of the State to regulate the method of providing for the education of its youth at public expense (is)

Seventh, if submitted and adopted this amendment would show that the people believe in the specific language of the Constitution, article I, section 7, which gives to the Congress the power to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper to carry into execution the powers granted and all other powers vested by the Constitution in the Government of the United States or in any Department or officer thereof. In this manner the people of the United States will reassert that the Supreme Court is not a legislative body but a judicial body.

Eighth, since under section 2 of article II of the Constitution no nominee of the President becomes and remains a member of the Supreme Court except "with the advice and consent of the Senate", the submission of this amendment and the public debate that would necessarily follow would em-phasize the significance and importance of this privilege and duty of the Members of the Senate of the United States.

Ninth, if this amendment is proposed and adopted we will reestablish the fundamental doctrine that this is a government of law and not of men; that there shall not be substituted for the law of the land the whim of a judge or judges based on his or their personal philosophy, and the power and authority and function of Congress shall become stronger and more effective.

The foundation of our National strength lies in the freedom of man's initiative; the reward for his efforts and the recognition by just government of the dignity and personality of the citizen. As Americans, we are born with a heritage of freedom and we are, as a people, devoted to liberty and a religious faith. The Constitution is at once our shield and our sword. It is the very essence of our right to live as free men and women.

If the civil and political rights of both races be equal, one cannot be inferior to the other, civilly or politically. If one kind of person be unequal to another kind of person socially, neither the Constitution of the United States nor the opinion of any number of judges can put them upon the same social plane.

Tenth, if this amendment is proposed and adopted, the full sovereignty of the separate States will be reconstructed and reinvigorated; and if the sovereignty of the States is not preserved, the Constitution will fall. Court-made law, which has no sanction from the people nor from the Congress, nor from the Constitution, cannot stand.

I do not say that the Supreme Court can be denied the right and power in any instance to overrule a prior decision. This where the proper judicial restraint may justify such action. Certainly, it is not to satisfy the emotional or sentimental feelings of the individual members of the court, nor is it to express their social philosophy as op-posed to the fixed law. The guide which Judge Thomas Swan applies seems as sound as can be given. That is, that he would not overrule a precedent unless he was absolutely satisfied it is untenable, and not even then, if it has gathered around it the support of a substantial body of decisions based on it.

Eleventh, this amendment, if proposed and adopted, would give all of the States the same rights with respect to the exclusive control of their educational institutions, with the one exception, namely, that in the act admitting Oklahoma, there was a specific provision that the act could not be constructed to prevent the establishment and maintenance of separate schools for while and colored childern. This was specific to Oklahoma. As to the other 11 States which have already been granted this right the language seems to be uniform, even as late as when Alaska and Hawaii were granted statehood this year. This position should be uniform in the States.

Ours is the greatest system of government that man has yet conceived. It has given the people more freedom, and has devoted itself to the protection of the individual, dedicated to the dignity of man's soul, and has thus brought the greatest contentment to our people. To justify our heritage, we cannot fail to support it with all our hearts and all our minds and all our energies.

Let me express what I believe to be the sound view and obligation of those who occupy the highest judicial position under our system who hold their offices for life. (except for the right of impeachment). In the words of the Chief Justice White:

The fundamental conception of a judicial body is that of one hedged about by precedents which are binding on the court without regard to the personality of its Break down this belief in judicial continuity and let it be felt that on great constitutional questions this Court is to depart from the settled conclusions of its predecessors, and to determine them according to the mere opinion of those who temporarily fill its bench, and our Constitution will, in my judgment, be bereft of value and become a most dangerous instrument to the rights and liberties of the people.'

In my opinion this is the pattern which should be (but has not been) followed by this Court of last resort.

To you distinguished gentlemen who sit on this subcommittee, members of the greatest deliberative body in the world who have the responsibility of passing upon this most important matter, I can say to you with all the sincerity that I possess and in the light of some experience in the practice of law and in the business of trying to be a good American citizen, that in my opinion, you would be performing an act of justice and wisdom to report favorably on this proposed amendment and give to the Congress the right to offer to the people of the United States the opportunity to express their de-sire to determine for themselves the method of managing and administering their public schools according to the wishes of the people of the States.

With the permission of you gentlemen. I would like for the record to show that I appear here as a representative and speaking the views of the San Jacinto Chapter of the Sons of the Republic of Texas; and that, also, I have the same right to speak on behalf of the Paul Carrington Chapter of the Sons of the American Revolution.

Both of these societies are well known, patriotic, American organizations, who spend their time and effort to uphold the Constitution of the United States and respect for the law.

#### Poison in Your Water-No. 108

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I am inserting into the Appendix of the Congressional RECORD an article appearing in the Jamaica (N.Y.) Long Island Press of May 6, 1959, entitled "Halpern Urges Dollars for Bay":

HALPERN URGES DOLLARS FOR BAY

Little Neck Bay is gradually turning into a muddy swampland and will be lost as a natural haven for recreation craft unless it is dredged within the next 5 years, a House Public Works Subcommittee was told today.

Appealing for funds for a survey of the bay by the Army Engineers, Congressman SEYMOUR HALPERN, Forest Hills, Long Island, Republican, warned the bay might become a public menace threatening the health of people near its shores and the value of properties surrounding it.

He said former shoreline properties along the southern part of the harbor have been converted to swamp frontages. Muck and slime have driven anchored boats out beyond the shelter of protecting bluffs at the northeast corner of the bay, he added.

HALPERN echoed an appeal made on April 27 by Frank Turner, secretary of the Council for Little Neck Bay Reclamation. He asked approval of a \$13,000 survey of conditions

and needs of the bay.

Turner warned the natural filling-in process is destroying an anchorage for Queens and Nassau pleasure boats, increasing health danger by trapping sewage, and destroying the harbor's value as an evacuation point to the mainland in case of emergency.

HALPERN pointed out that New York City plans to build a large marina at the southern end of the bay if and when the muck has been removed, and the shorefront would provide playground and bathing facilities.

Army Engineers estimat would take about 18 months. Engineers estimated the survey

#### LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law. but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports of documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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# Appendix

## Address Delivered by Secretary of the Army Wilber M. Brucker

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. GEORGE D. AIKEN

OF VERMONT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, June 10, 1959

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record, the address delivered by the Honorable Wilber M. Brucker, Secretary of the Army, at the commencement exercises held at Nor-Wich University, Northfield, Vt., on June

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE WILBER M. BRUCKER, SECRETARY OF THE ARMY, AT THE COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES, NORWICH UNI-VERSITY, NORTHFIELD, VT., JUNE 7, 1959

It is a stimulating experience to visit historic Norwich University in the beautiful heartland of the Green Mountain State. It is a high privilege to share with each member of this 1959 graduating class one of life's

most significant moments.

As Secretary of the Army, I am particularly mindful that Norwich was our country's first Private military college, founded in 1819, and has ever been one of the very best. Through its 140 years, it has lived up to a noble concept of full-rounded education for the whole man which reflects lasting honor upon its Army founder, Capt. Alden Part-ridge, fourth Superintendent of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point.

Everyone connected with Norwich has a right to be tremendously proud of its rich tradition of service to America in war and

Throughout its history, this university has contributed immeasurably to the high standards of our Nation's military leadership. It is a noteworthy mark of its eminence in this field that during World War II alone more than 1,600 Norwich alumni served in the Armed Forces, 1,300 of them as commissioned officers, including 16 general officers. Of equal consequence is its record of impressive influence upon the upbuilding of our country through the outstanding achievements of its graduates in virtually every important area of civilian endeavor.

Norwich enjoys a fourfold distinction. It provides its students the opportunity for scholastic development which will lead to material success in whatever walks of life they may choose to follow. At the same time it inspires them to prize above all material things their heritage of freedom. It further prepares them morally and professionally to be effective defenders of their country in time of emergency. And, most important of all, it places major emphasis all along the line upon nurturing those vital qualities of mind and spirit which make a person manfully willing and fully able to shoulder the all-encompassing responsibilities of citizenship.

Never has our Nation had greater need for a rising generation of leaders so inspired and so equipped.

In this momentous age of ominous peril and boundless opportunity, the college grad-uate enters a world more fiercely demanding than ever before of the very best that he has to give. We are engaged today in a mortal struggle between our cherished ideals of freedom and human dignity, and the degrading philosophy of militant communism, which seeks by every means to tear down and utterly destroy everything that is good in the world, and to reduce humanity to the level of the beast. Let us not underestimate the threat—our very survival and the future of civilization are at stake.

The Nation depends upon every American. no matter how limited his talents or restricted his sphere of influence, to contribute in the full measure of his ability to the creation and maintenance of national strength to stem the powerful tide which bears against us in this hour. How great, therefore, is the obligation which rests upon those who are endowed, as you are endowed, with the God-given resources of the heart and the intellect, and who have been afforded every advantage for their maximum advance-

This is no time for a person to believe that just to get by is a worthy goal.

No man should concern himself solely in having a successful career for himself, while passing the buck when it comes to civic duty.

There is no place for the person who resolves to sit tight and wait until danger blows over.

Shame on the cynic who disparages patriotic zeal, and derides fundamental principles of morality.

The time has gone by when any of us can afford to bask languidly in the glory of past accomplishments. If we think we can rest upon our oars, the fast-running tide of events will surely sweep us to disaster.

As a means toward imposing its will upon all men everywhere, and stamping out every vestige of human freedom, the Communist conspiracy maintains the most powerful background of every move made by Communist leaders no matter nist leaders—no matter how peaceful it may appear on the surface—looms the ever-present threat of the military might at their command.

We have ample reason to be aware that they are not restrained by any moral scruples from using their millions of trained soldiers, their tanks, submarines, nuclear bombs, and intercontinental missiles to crush the free nations into submission. Expediency alone dictates the course they follow. They are deterred from armed attack only because the United States and more than 40 allied nations have built a collective defense structure strong enough to convince the Communists that they would run an unacceptable risk of defeat if they launched an assault. Equally as important as our evident military capability is our known determination to use it if necessary, no matter what the consequences.

The Communists are poised and ready to move in swiftly for the kill should we allow either our strength to decline or our resolution to waver. Meanwhile, Communist lead-ers try to keep the free world off balance and in a state of constant turmoil and tension in an effort to uncover any weaknesses which may exist, and to create a succession of crises which they might profitably exploit by propaganda, infiltration, subversion—or an appeal to military force, if they thought they could get away with it.

Our courage and constancy of purpose in such situations may well prove to be the

key to real peace.

The firm stand taken by the United States in the face of recent Communist provocations of this nature in the Taiwan Straits. Lebanon, and West Berlin has given us an invaluable advantage in the so-called cold war. It has inspired greater faith in the hearts of millions who look to us for leadership in opposition to Communist expansion. It has made a significant impression upon the peoples of the uncommitted nations. It has done more to advance our national aims than all the nuclear weapons in our arsenal.

We have demonstrated our steadfast ad-herence to the principle that armed force shall not be used for aggression anywhere on earth. We have proved beyond the possibility of an honest doubt that we will not submit to a shakedown by the Sino-Soviet

conspirators.

When the Soviets issued their ultimatum on Berlin last November, they repudiated their solemn obligations, dishonored their agreements, and provided one more indi-cation that they intend to make any negotiated settlement of the world's grave problems as difficult as they possibly can. In creating a crisis there, they seized what they probably believed was a golden opportunity to split apart the nations of the free world, to seriously damage our moral prestige, and to destroy West Berlin as a disturbing symbol of freedom and progress in an area close to their own shackled and impoverished satellites. They did not succeed.
You may recall that Khrushchev set May

27, 1959, as the deadline for the Western Powers to get out of West Berlin and leave the 21/2 million people of that valiant outpost of freedom to the tender mercies of the Communist tyranny. In response to the Soviet threat, the United States made its support evident to the people of West Berlin. In our commitment we were joined by our principal European allies.

Well, the 27th of May 1959, has come and gone, and Berlin is still free. We intend to remain there until a just and peaceful solution of the problem of divided Germany can be reached. Our adamant refusal to be blackmailed has given new inspiration to free men everywhere. We have proved once again that we will not betray those who trust us-that we will not abdicate our rights, nor shirk our solemn responsibilities in any particular, no matter how threatening the Soviets may be.

Only if we have the military capability to fight and win if war should be thrust upon us can we hope to prevent war, and establish the basis for a just and durable peace. It will be necessary for us to maintain dynamic and powerful Armed Forces for a long, long time to come—for as many years as the dark shadow of Soviet aggression pervades the earth. Obviously our Military Establishment must ever be prepared to respond promptly and effectively to any military threat. Our Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Air Force.

must be fully manned and properly equipped to perform their assigned missions under any circumstances. We must see to it that it is impossible for the Communist conspiracy to find any type or level of warfare in which it has sufficient advantage to justify aggression by the use of military force anywhere in the world.

The maintenance of the requisite military strength will demand years of dedicated sacrifice and service, not only on the part of successive hundreds of thousands of young men in uniform, but on the part of every American in every walk of life. It will demand a continuing outpouring of our wealth for the tools of war—wealth which could otherwise be channeled into productive efforts for the enhancement of the good life of the American people. However, in the situation which confronts us today, we have no acceptable alternative.

How long must we continue to live under the grievous conditions of an armed truce?

This is the question which I am sure is uppermost in all our minds. The answer will not be found in the multiplication of armaments. We cannot buy true peace with military power. We can buy only the precious opportunity to work for peace. Nor can a stable world order be built through the processes of diplomacy. It cannot be produced by the application of science and technology.

True peace can be brought about only by the growth and fruition of ideals in the hearts of men. The spiritual and intellectual field is the real battleground upon which the future of the world will ultimately be decided.

It should be clearly evident, therefore, that the major task which devolves upon each one of us today is to utilize every talent we possess with the utmost vigor, vision, and creative imagination to help make the power of our American ideals and principles felt throughout the earth.

During four decades of military pressure, false promises, terror, and subversion, the Communists have gained physical dominion over more than a third of all the people in the world, but they have not yet succeeded in persuading their captives to love their chains.

After 41 years of absolute power in Russia, the Soviet regime still cannot count upon the loyalty of millions of its people and those of its satellites who yearn for freedom. Soviet power cannot exist without a huge secret police force, brainwashing, the dictation of every activity of the people, rigid control of the press and of education, and the penalty of death or forced labor in concentration camps as the punishment for dissent. The essential sterility of the Communist system was strikingly demonstrated during the uprisings which have occurred in East Germany, Poland, and Hungary. It is highly significant that the prime movers and principal participants in these satellite revolts against Communist tyranny were students who had been carefully schooled in the Communist dogma ever since their birth. They had never known anything else. Yet they violently rejected it at the risk of their lives. Communism can destroy and enslave but it cannot build anything of lasting worth because it is fundamentally an ideology of degradation.

Freedom, in splendid contrast, has proved itself the greatest uplifting influence in the history of mankind. It is the fulfillment of man's innate longings. Fredom builds a better world because it encourages man's most productive inspirations. Only in the climate of freedom are men able to develop what is in them to the fullest extent, and reach the heights of spiritual exaltation.

It is up to us, to all of us, to work as hard to spread freedom throughout the world as the Communists do to spread tyranny. The hundreds of millions behind the iron and bamboo curtains derive a distorted view of America from the falsehoods continuously fed them by Communist leaders and their puppet press. We must get through to them with the truth about America, and with the inspiration of the spiritual force which is our heritage. We must get through to the people of the uncommitted nations, and let them see us as we really are, not as the Communists paint us in a calculated effort to destroys our influence for good.

We must make sure that all these millions of people appreciate what freedom and democracy really mean to us, that they are not just things we talk about, but that they form the living basis of our everyday life.

People who have heard a lot about our missiles and our machines, but little about our morals and our way of life, might be deceived by the diabolic Soviet charge that Americans are a nation of aggressive, warmongering imperialists. We must make sure that they learn as much about our built-in guarantees against aggression, our long history or moral idealism, and the ingrained habits of thought which underlie the American character as they do about our armaments, our refrigerators, and our automo-biles. We must make it crystal clear to the whole world that we Americans stand for peace and the peaceful triumph of justice and the democratic ideal; that we have ever been willing and ready to help those who need our help without demanding-as Communists demand-their dignity, their sovereignty, and their souls.

If we could get the truth across to the millions of confused people under the heel of the Communist conspiracy, and the other millions in Asia and Africa who are stirring with new ambition to build a better life, I am confident the power of communism, which feeds upon ignorance, superstitution, privation, and fear, would quickly crumble.

privation, and fear, would quickly crumble. That, my friends of the class of 1959, is by far the most important task America has ever faced. It is not a task for the few, but for 177 million Americans. It should be your special concern as oncoming leaders in our national life.

We cannot hope to successfully project the moral influence of America to the far corners of the earth unless we are zealous in keeping our own house in order. Democracy is not like a granite statue which is finished for all time when the sculptor has smoothed away the last rough spot. On the contrary, it is like a ship which needs constant attention by every officer and member of the crew to keep it in repair and moving steadily forward, weathering the rough buffeting of every storm, wind, and wave.

We must recognize that the strength and effectiveness of a democracy does not lie in the form of institutions of government, but stems, rather, from the people themselves, from their sense of responsibility, the respect in which they hold the rights of each other and the laws which govern them, from the dergee in which they value individual liberty and despite authoritarian control, from the measure of their self-reliance, and the quality of their self-discipline.

The American people from the very beginning have enjoyed a greater measure of personal liberty than any other people throughout the whole course of history. We have done so only because as individuals we have voluntarily shouldered the obligations which liberty entails. We have accepted the paramount jurisdiction of the moral law. We have exercised self-restraint in the conduct of our lives. We have developed to a high degree the concept of civic duty. We have recognized our dependence one upon the other, and the vital necessity for voluntary cooperative effort in every field of activity. We have been able to enjoy freedom only because we have

proved ourselves worthy of freedom. We shall continue to enjoy freedom only so long as we continue to deserve it.

Guard well our moral and spiritual bulwarks, for they are far more vital to our future than material progress or military power.

It is not given to most men to play a headline role in shaping history, but every one of us has the power to contribute in some important way to the ongoing of America, and to her beneficient influence in world affairs. If we fall to exercise that power today, we let our country down in her hour of greatest need.

It has been well said that now and in the long run the advantage in the world struggle which is now going on will go to the side which best succeeds in developing the intelligence, competence, and insight of its people.

The influence of each individual citizen upon the life of the community in which he lives can in the long run have a tremendous effect upon this development in the Nation at large.

The advancement of education is a most important area of activity. The encouragement of greater scientific and technological interest among the young people growing up around us is essential to the future well-being of America in competition with the authoritarian education of the Soviet state. However, it is equally essential that in addition to the knowledge and skills required to insure our material progress, we develop in our upcoming generations the utmost in wisdom, vision, and character which will enable man to survive the forces man brings into being. Unless man is able to achieve moral mastery of these forces, they will ultimately destroy our civilization.

The positive emphasis you place upon the development of spiritual values in yourselves and those around you through activity in the religious affairs of your community will have a far-reaching effect upon the upbuilding of America. If we as a Nation ever get away from God, we will surely sink in the morass of materialism. This is a world of constant and impressive change, but never be so dazzled by new things that you feel the old virtues are obsolete, or that their perpetuation is not worth your best efforts.

Nothing will take the place of your active and informed interest and participation in local government. This is where your responsibility you can never afford to shirk. no matter how far you may go, it is a responsibility you can never afford to shirk. In the final analysis, it is not what is done in our State capitals or in Washington which has the most ultimate significance for America, but what is done in the local units of government throughout the Nation. In a very real sense, local government is the cradle of every great decision or momentous policy upon which the destiny of our Nation may depend. Government at the upper levels can be no more decent, wholesome, and effective than is day-by-day govern-ment on the local plane, where America lives, and works, and has her real being-Unless these taproots of self-government are kept strong and healthy, nothing can pre-vent the tree from eventually withering and dying at the top.

Most of you will in the course of time become the heads of families. The family is the foundation stone of our whole social structure, the most important single element of our national power. In all parts of the world, the family has been from time immemorial the major factor in assuring the stability of nations, and the survival of the essentials of human civilization. The surest way to destroy a nation is to destroy the family, as the Communists are now doing in Red China through the establishment of their

notorious commune system. The surest way for a nation to maintain its strength and integrity is to maintain the integrity and authority of the family. From the family units of today, in which love, enlightened guidance, moral upbringing, and proper discipline are apparent, will come the young people who will be willing and able to undertake the hard jobs of tomorrow, and make the real sacrifices which are necessary in every generation to preserve our heritage of freedom. This is your crowning responsibility.

America counts upon men who are firm in faith, stout in heart, and unwavering in zeal. People are always asking: "What will the fu-It is far better to ask: "What ture bring?" we bringing to the future?" Are we bringing doubt and despair, or faith and courage? Are we bringing indecision and weakness, or strength and determination? Are we bringing dependence upon ourselves and our powers alone, or trust in God, the omnipotent? May I leave you with this thought: The future is not something that just happens; it is what we make it by what we do, or fall to do, hour by hour, throughout our lives.

In the words of the poet, Sir Owen Seaman, written during one of the world's dark periods of tribulation:

"Ye that have faith to look with fearless eyes Beyond the tragedy of a world at strife, And trust that out of night and death shall

The dawn of ampler life;

Rejoice, whatever anguish rend your heart.
That God has given you for priceless
dower,

dower,
To live in these great times and have your part

In freedom's crowning hour."

## The World Refugee Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 10, 1959

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, recently a conference of more than 160 civic volunteer welfare agency leaders from throughout the country met here in Washington to attempt to deal with the acute world refuse problem.

acute world refugee problem.

The purpose of the conference was to program the U.S. role in the World Refugee Year, created by a United Nations

resolution adopted on December 5, 1958.

The World Refugee Year starts July

1, 1959, and ends July 30, 1960.

The objectives of this special year will

First. To focus international interest

on the refugee problem;

Second. To encourage financial contributions from governments, volunteer agencies, and the general public; and

Third. To encourage further cooperation for permanent refugee solutions through voluntary repatriation, resettlement, or integration, on a humanitarian basis.

In the past, the United States has played a commendable role in the refugee resettlement field. Since 1949, we have spent well over \$1 billion on refugee problems. We recognize, of course, that the solution for the refugee problem is complex. Nevertheless, in view of its humanitarian aspects, as well as the fact that millions of persons who continue to be displaced will prolong, and perhaps even increase, economic and political problems that threaten world peace, this serious situation requires the thoughtful consideration of people everywhere.

There are, of course, a vast number of people in many areas who need to be resettled and integrated into the economic

life of the desired nations.

A recent issue of the Economic World contained an article entitled "World Refugee Problem." The article delineated six specific areas of the world in which there is a concentration of an estimated 2,350,000 refugees.

Because I believe that the seriousness of this situation continues to merit our attention, supplemented by constructive efforts to improve the outlook for these refugees, I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From Economic World, June 1959]
World Refugee Problem—Critical Areas of
Need

There are an estimated 2,350,000 refugees concentrated in six areas of the world who are in desperate straits.

Their immediate needs are for the simple basic necessities of life—food, clothing, medical supplies, housing. In addition, there are thousands more who need help in resettling in strange environments and national economies.

Those areas with the most urgent problems are:

Austria, Germany, Greece, and Italy, where 30,000 refugees still live in camps and are in need of housing, vocational training, small business loans, medical, and welfare services for the aged and infirm, and so forth. This also applies to 100,000 unsettled refugees living outside camps in these four countries plus Belgium, France, the Netherlands, and Turkey.

United Arab Republic, Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan where 1 million Arab refugees are now receiving minimum assistance from the U.N. Relief and Works Agency, but need vocational training, grants for self-support until a political solution is evolved.

Tunisia and Morocco where 170,000 Algerian refugees, mostly children, the rest women and old people, live under extremely primitive conditions, need medical supplies, clothing, soap, olive oil, and food.

Dangerously overcrowded Hong Kong where the 1 million refugees from Communist China must be absorbed into a total population of 3 million. Funds are needed to assist the Hong Kong Government provide food, medical, educational, and other supplies. Aid is needed for housing, vocational training, and small business loans.

Nepal and India with over 10,000 recent Tibetan refugees, and the Chinese refugees in Macao, Thailand, Vietnam, and Laos, all need assistance.

Nine thousand five hundred European refugees still in China need to be resettled while it is still possible for them to leave.

Others, having somewhat better status since they have citizenship rights in their host countries, but who need to be resettled and integrated into the national economies of their asylums, are the North Koreans in

South Korea, the Indians from Pakistan from India, the Vietnamese from North Vietnam, and East Germans who have fied to West Germany.

## Deficiency Payments Planned for Canadian Egg Producers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 10, 1959

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an article published in the Manitoba Cooperator of Winnepeg, Manitoba, Canada, entitled "Deficiency Payments Planned for Canadian Egg Producers."

I want my good friends from the eastern seaboard States who have been visiting with the Secretary of Agriculture concerning the egg purchase program to know what our friends in Canada are doing. In contrast to the U.S. Government, the Canadian authorities are taking positive steps to alleviate the low

price on eggs.

Mr. President, while the Department of Agriculture stands by doing little but observing the situation, group after group of our family farmers is plunged into financial disaster by drastic price breaks. It has been brought to the attention of the Senate repeatedly in these past few weeks that egg producers are in serious trouble. The world we live in has been so closely related that it is not surprising to learn that our neighbor, Canada, is also facing serious problems due to the large supplies and low prices of eggs.

In contrast to the U.S. Government, however, Canadian authorities are taking positive steps to alleviate the problem. They are planning to abandon a weak and ineffective purchase program which has many of the characteristics of our program, and undertake the only logical program for this type of commodity, a program of deficiency payments. The Manitoba Cooperator reported this move in its news column and so I ask unanimous consent to have the news article printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

DEFICIENCY PAYMENTS PLANNED FOR CANADIAN EGG PRODUCERS

The Agricultural Stabilization Board has been advised to develop "as soon as possible a method of providing price support for shell eggs by means of a payment to producers—commonly describd as a deficincy payment—rather than to continue the present method of offer to purchase," Federal Minister of Agriculture Douglas Harkness said in the House of Commons May 7.

"The payment to producers would be calculated on the difference between the actual market price for shell eggs for the period concerned and the prescribed support price. This method, as in the case of the arrangement proposed with respect to hogs, would make it possible to withhold payment from commercial organizations operating under the so-called verticle integration plan, or to restrict payment to a specific volume of eggs delivered by any one producer in a given period," he said.

Mr. Harkness explained that the existing price basis of 44 cents a dozen for grade A large eggs delivered to Montreal will continue in effect for another 12-month period

ending May 5, 1960.

"The volume of eggs marketed through registered grading stations to date this year is 7 percent more than for the same period last year. However, this does not correctly represent the actual increases because of the steadily growing movement of eggs from large-scale producers direct to retail outlets. Because of this, a greater percentage of eggs marketed through registered grading stations are offered to the Agricultural Stabilization Board." he said.

From January to June 1958 the Board purchased 354,412 cases. Up to April 27 of 1959, the Board had purchased 503,073 cases, and shell eggs are still being offered in unprece-

dented volume.

"With many countries of the world developing larger surpluses of shell eggs, the disposal of the surplus accumulated by the Stabilization Board is creating an extremely

serious problem.

"The continued expansion in egg production can be largely attributed to the growth in numbers and size of large commercial producers. Because of integration in this industry and technological developments, the present support program is providing an incentive to commercial operators to increase production," the Minister said.

#### The Late Charles Burlingham

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1959

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following: On Saturday, June 6, 1959, one of New York's most distinguished citizens passed away. Charles C. Burlingham died quietly in his home in his 100th year.

Seldom has any community been so served by any one man in a lifetime. C. C. Burlingham demonstrated to perfection the citizen's and the lawyer's role

in the community.

Normally I would not insert in the Congressional Record a newspaper article of the following length, but I believe in this case that the New York Times did such an excellent job in documenting C. C. Burlingham's life that I take the liberty of inserting the complete obituary for the enlightenment of my colleagues.

I am honored to have had C. C. Burlingham as one of my constituents: Charles Burlingham Dies at 100; Lawyer Fought for Civil Reform—Leader in Elections of Mitchel and La Guardia Advocated Improvement of Courts

Charles Culp Burlingham, lawyer and one of New York's greatest crusaders for civic virtue, died late Saturday night at his home, 860 Park Avenue, after a short illness. He was 100 years old.

Mr. Burlingham took special pride in the part he had played in election of two reform mayors of New York, John Purroy Mitchel in 1913, and Fiorello H. La Guardia in 1933.

He headed the New York City Bar Association during the period of investigation into abuses in city government that culminated in the resignation of Mayor James J. Walker in 1932. Mr. Burlingham then led the Fusion movement's harmony committee that chose Mr. La Guardia as the reform candidate for mayor.

Though he had been blind and almost totally deaf since 1953, he was described by a friend "as gay as a lark." On his 100th birthday last August, he gave a crisp interview in which he said that New York's greatest need still was to improve its courts—part of the cause to which he had devoted his life.

Mr. Burlingham was regarded by his countless friends as a spirit that could never grow old. Even in his nineties, blind and practically deaf, he retained the wit, humor, understanding, and vigor that marked his life-long career as a force for good government in this city.

His name was attached to countless organizations and activities, to communications to the newspapers, and appeals for one cause or another. But his real effectiveness was behind the scenes of politics and law in the city.

He used his personal charm, his common sense and willingness to realize that society was not perfect to achieve many of the ends that more direct attack might not have yielded.

Mr. Burlingham had been characterized as a one-man good-government party. He was a bit more modest. Chatting one day with a friend, at a conference of persons seeking the reelection of Mayor La Guardia, he said, looking around the room:

"This is the second time in my life that I've been a member of a four-man political party." The first time, he explained, was in

the Mitchel campaign of 1913.

He lent his name and respectability, as well as his activity, to the Fusion cause in 1933, 1937, and 1941, and it is in this connection that present generations knew him best.

#### CITED BY BAR GROUP

The Association of the Bar of the City of New York described Mr. Burlingham as the first citizen of the city when in 1953 it awarded to him a medal for exceptional contributions to the honor and standing of the bar in this community. In 1953 Mr. Burlingham had been appointed to an advisory committee to the executive committee of the association.

At his 90th birthday he was one of New York's oldest practicing lawyers. Even beyond this milestone, neither his influence nor his interest showed much sign of flagging.

Mr. Burlingham continued to head the Civil Service Reform Association; he was chairman of a group working for better methods for removal or rethrement of judges; he was honorary vice president of the Community Service Society (an association that dated to 1889); and he was chairman of the campaign for the restoration of St. George's Protestant Episcopal Church.

A few months before Mr. Burlingham's 100th birthday he wrote as follows to a friend whose portrait was to be presented to

the City Bar Association:

"If I am extant when your portrait is presented, I think I may attend. However, brethren, the time is short and you had better set a painter or sculptor at work soon."

He then added this postscript:
"If you have time to call on me, I should be delighted to talk with you about the attitude of the association this year toward the selection of judges."

To illustrate the need for reforms, Mr. Burlingham used to tell a story about a New York judge in the 1890's who signed documents while trying cases. One day he handed his court clerk an opinion in an important case.

"But, judge," sald the clerk, "you set that case down for argument next Wednesday." "Oh, did I?" replied the judge. "Well.

don't file the opinion yet."

On the day set, the judge heard counsel argue the case at length. After a proper interval, he filed his opinion without changing a word.

#### LAW DEGREE AT COLUMBIA

Mr. Burlingham was the son of the Rev. Dr. Aaron Hale and Mrs. Emma Starr Burlingham. He was born in Plainfield, N.J., on August 31, 1858, and received a bachelor of arts degree from Harvard, at the age of 21.

Two years later he earned a bachelor of laws at Columbia. The university conferred on him an honorary doctor of laws degree in 1933. He was admitted to the bar in 1881, and on September 29, 1883, married Louisa W. Lawrence.

Taking up practice in New York, Mr. Burlingham quickly became active in civic affairs in various fields. He became a member of the board of education in 1897 and served as its president in 1902–03.

From the start he was identified with a wide range of liberal causes. In 1920 he submitted resolutions to the city bar association urging that a committee go to Albany to condemn the assembly's suspension of five Socialist members. He backed a fusion movement to oppose John F. Hylan in 1921.

The 18th amendment, he declared in a statement submitted to an Episcopal diocesan convention in 1922, produced class antagonism and hatred. At the same time, he said it should be obeyed as long as it was law.

Mr. Burlingham was elected a director of the legal aid society in 1925, and also became active in the Civil Service Reform Association. He was deeply interested in the case of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, who had been found guilty of killing two men in a payroll robbery in Braintree, Mass. He expounded his views on legal aspects of the matter in letters to the New York Times.

Despite his manifold professional duties—he ranked high particularly in the field of admiralty law—he found time to share the sponsorship of the printing of the full record of the Sacco-Vanzetti trial and to sign a prefatory note explaining the project. His cosigners included Newton D. Baker, John W. Davis, and Elihu Root. Their purpose was to allow public study of the conduct of the controversial case.

Mr. Burlingham was a Democrat who liked to tell humorous stories about Re-

publicans

"Did you hear about the farmer in Connecticut?" he would ask. "A very respectable fellow, a member of the Congregationalist Church and very high in the Republican Party. He was trampled on by one of his own cows. I say it must have been a Democratic cow."

In 1929, Mr. Burlingham headed a special committee on oldage problems of the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. Two months after that committee reported he was elected to head the Association of the Bar of the City of New York. He was at that time senior member of the firm of Burlingham, Veeder, Masten & Feary, of 27 William Street. The firm's most recent listing at the same address was Burlingham, Hupper & Kennedy.

Mr. Burlingham succeeded Charles Evans Hughes in the bar group. Under the new president's leadership the association soon had to cope with problems that were beging to hint that a farflung city investigation might be in the offing. The association conducted the successful removal proceedings against Magistrate Albert H. Vitale.

With ramifications of the city's corruption becoming more and more evident, Mr. Burlingham addressed the State chamber of commerce in 1930 and declared flatly that all law reforms depended upon able judges. All through the period that he headed the bar group he emphasized this ideal.

When the city bar demanded that the then Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt act on charges that judgeships were frequently bought, Mr. Burlingham declared:

"Our Government, indeed our civilization, rests on the integrity of the courts."

All through the exposures that culminated in investigation of the courts the association took a firm stand, under the guldance of Mr. Burlingham. The district attorney, Thomas C. T. Crain, was assalled for inefficiency. Gradually the tenseness of the entire municipal situation increased. The investigation and resignation of Mayor Walker—ultimately the ousting of Tammany and election of the Fusion government—followed.

At the end of Mr. Burlingham's second term as president of the bar association, the nominating committee unanimously named him for a third term. When he was notified, he refused the nomination, saying:

"Dou you expect me to be an ass in a lion's skin? No other man has ever served for three terms except James C. Carter, the lion of the bar of my time, and I would not dare assume his place."

HONORED BY WILLIAMS COLLEGE

He was succeeded as head of the bar group in 1931 by Mr. Davis. A month later Williams College bestowed upon the retiring executive the honorary degree of doctor of laws.

When the Fusion movement took form in the summer of 1933, Mr. Burlingham headed the harmony committee that brought about the substitution of Mr. La Guardia for John F. Ryan as the candidate for mayor. The committee continued to function after the nomination was settled and received a good share of the credit for the Fusion victory.

Never tiring in his fight for an honest judiciary, Mr. Burlingham had in 1932 submitted a resolution to the city bar group calling for a continuous drive to keep the bench free from political and party domination. The resolution was adopted. It was an outgrowth, specifically, of the Hofstadter-Steuer judiciary deal that had been unsuccessfully opposed by a nonpartisan ticket during the November election.

Mr. Burlingham headed the Independent Citizens Committee for the election of Joseph D. McGoldrick as controller in the fall of 1934. About the same time he was chosen president of the Harvard Alumni Association.—He had previously served as president of the alumni association of the Columbia Law School.

From 1931 to 1939, a period covering most of the depression, Mr. Burlingham was president of the Welfare Council of the city of New York. But many other good causes enlisted his energies over the years. These included a Federal child labor amendment, slum clearance, minimum wages, fair employment practices, the fate of conscientious objectors and the admission of women as vestrymen. On the last named subject, he offered resolutions at six successive conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

He was a member of the American Bar Association, the New York County Lawyers Association and the International Law Association. His clubs were the Century, Har-Vard, Downtown, Coffee House and Church.

Mr. Burlingham is survived by his son, Charles Burlingham; a daughter, Miss Anne Hoe Burlingham, 5 grandchildren and 12 great-grandchildren.

By his specific request, the funeral service will be restricted to members of the immediate family. At yesterday's regular service in St. George's Church, of which he was chief warden, special prayers were said for him.

#### From Depression to Prosperity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 10, 1959

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, some people have said recently that this Nation should undo some of the constructive legislation which lifted it out of the great depression and return to more freedom.

Not only is our freedom unimpaired today, it is coupled with prosperity—a blessing unknown in the earlier time, which they so fondly recall. Our standard of living has risen greatly since those days of depression.

In his column, The Country Editor, H. M. Baggarly of the Tulia (Tex.) Herald, one of the ablest newspaper editors in the Nation, winner of many State and National journalistic awards, recalls the depression days. I believe his comments are of interest to all.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a portion of The Country Editor by H. M. Baggarly, from the Tulia Herald for June 4, 1959.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Depression is a word we would like to forget. The mention of the word sends cold chills down our back. But there are times when we need to let our minds wander back to the 1930's for a while. We need to remind ourselves of what a hair-raising depression really is.

Some people apparently have forgotten those terrible days when they demand a return to the climate which breeds great depressions. Among these people are those who demand freedom of the farmer to plant anything he likes in any quantity; those who hold in contempt social security, old age pensions and other buffers between an individual and depression contemptuously called socialism and welfare statism by their opponents; those who fail to see that there are things even worse than some of our present day problems and injustices.

Then there are those too young to remember what a real depression is like. They include many college age youth who can see nothing but the evil in some of the deterrents to depression which are on our statute books.

There are still a few people around who insist that farmers were better off during the depression of the 1930's than they are today.

Troy Morris, editor of the Ropes Plainsman at Ropesville, down in Hockley County, apparently is one who hasn't forgotten so soon the great depression. We quote some of his recent remarks since they so vividly

describe the experiences of many people who lived and suffered during that era:

"We look back over those good old days when a dollar was as large as a cart wheel and a dime would buy as much as a 50-cent piece today. The first time we felt the pinch was when our wages of \$42.50 a week with overtime were cut to \$18 a week and no overtime.

"The second thing we noticed was stores loaded with merchandise for which there was no sale.

"Next, we remember when the bank in the town where we lived got the city to declare a 10-day holiday so it could close and try to get in a position where it would not have to close its doors permanently. Then we went to looking about us—people who had been working steadily found themselves without jobs.

"There were hard times. People were not only without clothes but they were without anything to eat. We went into one place where a man, with a family of five children, had had for five days a big onion and a pan of hot water cornbread. The Red Cross ran out of money. The county could not collect taxes so it had no money with which to help. There was hunger and suffering all around us—there was no shortage of food because the grocery stores had plenty of groceries. A sack of flour sold for a dollar, eggs were 10 cents a dozen, but there were no dollars and dimes to buy them.

"During that time we saw strong men bow their heads and moan because they could not feed and clothe their families. We saw a winter when there was no money for fuel and the cold penetrated the homes of the poor, bringing sickness and death.

"Crops were left in the fields because there was no market for them and the entire Nation was on starvation."

Editor Morris could have mentioned other characteristics of the times. He could have recalled how merchants had to mark off delinquent accounts by the thousands of dollars—usually owed by good and reliable men who were jobless and couldn't pay, much as they wanted. Many of these merchants were forced into bankruptcy and often there were more vacant buildings than occupied ones around a courthouse square.

Owners of rental property often permitted a tenant to go more than a year without paying rent because eviction meant only that the building would be vacant and it might be better off occupied than empty.

So many homes and buildings were moved out of town that cities passed ordinances forbidding people to move houses away because tax rolls were dropping to dangerous levels

Farmers lost their investment in half paid for farms. Sheriff sales were held almost weekly in some localities.

Everybody took cuts—deep cuts—in wages if they were fortunate enough to keep a job. Meanwhile, many budget items such as home and automobile payments, taxes, interest, loan repayments, all remained the same.

Schoolteachers were usually paid in script or I O U's, some of which never was redeemed. Some banks would cash it by discounting it from 10 to 40 percent.

The standard of living dropped to the minimum. People swapped recipes on ways to prepare mush and red beans.

Soup lines for the hungry were established in all cities. And their patrons weren't bums and tramps by any means.

When we demand an end to devices which help protect us from another depression which would make that of the 1930's look like a picnic, we had better count the cost and then decide if acreage controls and a few other regulations are too high a price to pay for a floor to our farm economy.

#### Food For Peace Programs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

#### HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, June 10, 1959

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, today we recognize that the Nation, due to its tremendous agricultural productivity, has a surplus of farm commodities amounting to about \$9 billion worth. The other day I stated that I had been in Illinois, and had seen the multitude of bins filled with wheat and corn.

Theoretically, one would hope such a volume of additional foods would serve to be a blessing, both to our people and

to our economy.
Unfortunately, due to factors that, until now, have been unresolved, this vast volume of surplus farm commodities continues to act-not as a boon to the economy-but as an economic millstone around the necks of the Nation's farm-

ers and taxpayers. Over the years, various ways and means for utilizing these foodstuffs have been examined. There have also been efforts to design farm policies and programs that would not continue to contribute to the tremendous stockpiles. Although these are constructive approaches, no solution has yet proved sufficient to deal with the scope of this surplus problem.

We recognize, of course, that such programs as that of Public Law 480, for sale of surpluses abroad, as well as our school-lunch and school-milk programs and some types of relief programs, have helped provide useful outlets for the sur-

plus farm products.

Currently, too, there are before Congress additional legislative proposals for dealing with this situation.

Increasingly, it is felt-and, I believe. rightly so-that surplus farm products can, and should, be used, not only for humanitarian purpose, but also as strategic aids in conjunction with our foreign policy, as well as to help build friendship and good will among nations.

A recent issue of the Wisconsin Agriculturist carried an editorial entitled "If 'Food for Peace' Programs Could Prevent One Korean War, the Cost Would be Small." The editorial examines instances in which utilization of surplus food products serves humanitarian and policy purposes; and the editorial contains some suggestions for revising the

In order to give other Senators the benefit of these views, I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IF "FOOD FOR PEACE" PROGRAMS COULD PRE-VENT ONE KOREAN WAR, THE COST WOULD BE SMALL

"Food for peace" programs have the attention of Congress. Strongly backed by some Congressmen, they would shore up and improve our surplus food disposal overseas. U.S. farm surpluses have already made a great contribution in helping build economically poor nations of the free world. Up until the end of last year, we had shipped or earmarked for shipping, nearly \$6 billion worth of farm surpluses under Public Law 480. Our surplus food could make an even more significant contribution.

Up until the beginning of this year a total of \$1.6 billion of local currencies paid to us by foreign countries for farm surpluses have been loaned back to these countries for eco-

nomic development programs.

But many of these countries have not as yet seen any lasting benefits from the loans. True, the people have had more to eat. But too often there is a long lag between the time they receive the shipment of surplus food and the beginning of the development pro-

Surplus food should be used at the time the project is underway for most efficient economic development. This helps soak up the extra purchasing power of the workers on the projects and prevents inflation in the country. It means that the surplus substitutes for most of the wages paid to workers.

#### WE'VE GOT PLENTY OF FOOD

At present our Government must complete surplus sales in a short time. But to be effective, surplus food must be keyed in with the development project. In large projects this may mean a period of 5 years or more. At present the Government has no such authority.

Such programs using surplus food should also be tied in with our dollar aid. In some projects this may be from 10 to 20 percent of the total cost of the project.

Some provision should be made for shipping overseas, foods that are plentiful, but not necessarily stored up in Government warehouses. We have lots of wheat in surplus. But high starch foods such as wheat must have proteins to go with them for a balanced diet. Our Government should have authority to buy up plentiful foods—such as pork—to balance out dietwise the foods we have for surplus sale.

#### PROGRAM CAN BE MORE EFFECTIVE

If our surplus food program is to be effective in economic development, we can't afford to let the State Department use it as a short time international political weapon. Few countries would want to get involved in any longtime program if they feel that the supplies may be cut off at any moment when they disagreed with our international policies

We can make Public Law 480 into a far more effective program for economic development in the poor countries of the free world. This is the challenge that faces Con-

Such programs will cost us money. But the cost is far less than the increasing dollars we will need for an ever-growing arsenal of jets and missiles. Our military costs will continue to climb if communism captures more countries of the free world. We can afford to spend a great deal of money for economic development overseas if it prevents even one Korean war.

#### Problems of the Aged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

#### HON. PAT McNAMARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, June 10, 1959

Mr. McNAMARA, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a radio broadcast on June 4 by Edward P. Morgan over the ABC network, describing the goals of the Senate Subcommittee on Problems of the Aged and Aging, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the radio broadcast was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EDWARD P. MORGAN AND THE NEWS, JUNE 4. 1959

Is there anybody who, in trying to peer into his own private future, has not caught a glimpse of the emptiness of old age and then, with a secret shiver, quickly turned away? The insurance ads tell how the twilight of life can be warmly tinted with the sunset of a carefully financed retirement, and so it can for some, but one of the bleaker truths of the American dream is our cruel neglect of the aged.

In the United States today there are 151/2 million persons—nearly a tenth of the total population—who are 65 or over. Thanks to medical and other improvements Americans are living longer lives though not necessarily happier ones. Sixty percent of that 65-or-over class—more than 9 million men and women-have an average income of less

than \$1,000 a year.

The time has come when the politicians are going to have to give more consideration to these people than referring to them gently as "senior citizens." After all they can vote too. It is a little odd perhaps that some latter-day Dr. Townsend hasn't yet come along to weld the oldsters into a massive lobby. Fortunately, any such exploita-tion may be forestalled if an incipient move in Congress and a more remote one in the executive branch bear, as is hoped, serious fruit.

Week after next a brandnew Senate subcommittee on the problems of the aged and aging will be briefed during 3 days of public hearings in Washington by panels of experts in the fields of health, housing, employment, finances and general welfare of senior citizens. The subcommittee, a creature of Lis-TER HILL's vigorous Labor and Public Welfare Committee, was largely conceived by an ex-pipefitter, Michigan's senior Senator, PAT McNamara, whose own age is a robust 64. It includes three other Democrats, KENNEDY. of Massachusetts; Clark, of Pennsylvania; Randolph, of West Virginia; and two Republicans, GOLDWATER, of Arizona; and DIRKSEN, of Illinois

After this kickoff the McNamara subcommittee—on a modest \$85,000 budget—plans to hold hearings in various parts of country. A staff, headed by a former consultant to the Council of State Governments, Sidney Spector, who is also an authority in political science and mental health, and Research Director Harold Sheppard, an industrial sociologist from Detroit's Wayne University, will conduct investigations in homes for the aged, mental hospitals and other institutions and interview a wide variety of senior citizens all across the land. Their timetable calls for a formal report with legis-lative recommendations by January 1960. Democrats are reportedly pleased with this sequence, not only because it may give a Democratic Congress a chance to come up with some positive measures on a problem that will be a growing issue in a presidential election year, but because White House conference on aging is not scheduled until January 1961. Only 3 days ago the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Arthur S. Flemming, named a panel of 130 citizens to be the advisory committee to that conference, though plans to hold it were made months ago.

It may be one of the subcommittee's ambitions to do the White House conference's work for it-a year ahead of time-but the field, as Director Spector readily concedes,

is vast and much needs to be done. An urgent problem is illness and medical emergen-cies, "How to finance a sudden operation and care for an elderly relative can be a paralyzing fear for a whole family," he says. Some kind of hospital insurance addition to social security might be one solution but this is only part of the committee's assignment. Others include employment discrimination against the aged; and their housing needs. Most old people live alone. Spector hopes research and investigation will indicate that by improvements in health and housing, a major rehabilitation of this im-Portant segment of society may be achieved, giving the aged something to live for.

## Oregon's Centennial Exposition and Trade Fair Opens With 100-Gun Salute Today

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON, RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, June 10, 1959

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, today at noon in Portland, the biggest single event of Oregon's centennial year, the Centennial Exposition and International Trade Fair, opens for 100 days With a burst of rocketry and a 100-gun salute.

Mr. President, I do not need to recite again the highlights of this exposition or to remind my colleagues of the scenic grandeur at the end of the old Oregon Trail in my centennial State this year. I take this time only to take official notice of the opening today of the biggest of the centennial events; I am sure I will be joined by many of my colleagues and their constituents in celebrating this 100th birthday in Oregon later this year.

I ask unanimous consent that a news item from the Portland Oregonian of June 6, 1959, entitled "Festivities Kick Off Exposition," together with a telegram which I have just sent to Hon. Anthony Brandenthaler, chairman of the Oregon Centennial Commission, be included with my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article and telegram were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Portland Oregonian, June 6, 1959] FESTIVITIES KICK OFF EXPOSITION—CATTLE
DRIVE, PARKROSE FETE START BIG DAYS

The International Trade Fair and Exposition, an event all Oregon has been awaiting is almost at hand, and centennial flavored occasions the next few days point up the fact that the big show is indeed on the road.

Redmond will kick off its historical events with a cattle drive Saturday through the main street, which has been false-fronted frontier style for the celebration, when 100 head of cattle will be driven through the town in all day festivities.

#### PARKROSE FETE DUE

Simultaneously, Parkrose will open its centennial booth on Northeast 117th Avenue, and Sandy Boulevard, commencing at 1:30 p.m. A covered wagon will be pulled by manpower from 99th and Sandy to the booth through the main section of the suburb.

Monday at 3 p.m., a radio-TV press preview will be held at the exposition, and at 7:30 p.m., will be the dedication of the Hall of Religious History, with Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant participation, remarks by the architect on the building and by Carl Morris, the artist, on his religious murals.

A newspaper press preview of the exposi-tion will be at 3 p.m., Tuesday.

#### HATFIELD'S ROLE TOLD

The big day will be Wednesday, when at noon the centennial will be opened officially by Gov. Mark O. Hatfield, TV personality Raymond Burr, and dignitaries in a burst of rockets and 100-gun salute.

Opening performance of the Ice Capades will be at 8:15 p.m., Thursday.

HON. ANTHONY BRANDENTHALER,

Chairman, Oregon Centennial Commission, Jackson Tower, Portland, Oreg .:

Congratulations on opening today of Centennial Exposition and International Trade Fair. This is crowning achievement to months of hard work by you and commission colleagues. I am sure exposition's 100 days, brilliantly reflect Oregon's 100 years of statehood. Best wishes for continued success in this wonderful year's activity.

Regards.

DICK NEUBERGER, U.S. Senator.

## To Remove Inequity in Treatment of Our Disabled Veterans, H.R. 4808

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON, ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 10, 1959

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, on February 19, 1959, I introduced H.R. 4808 to increase the limitations on the amount of outside income which disabled veterans may receive from the present \$1,-400 a year for a single veteran or a widow without children and \$2,700 for a married veteran with a family or a widow with children. My bill would raise these amounts to \$1,800 and \$3,000 respectively.

The cost of living has increased since 1952, and while the social security plan and the railroad retirement plan have been adjusted, no adjustment has been made for these disabled veterans and widows and children of decreased veterans.

It was my privilege yesterday to present a statement in support of my bill to the House Veterans' Affairs Committee which is now considering the general subject of veterans pensions. My statement follows:

STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE ABRAHAM J. MULTER, DEMOCRAT, OF NEW YORK, BEFORE THE HOUSE VETERANS' AFFAIRS COMMITTEE RE H.R. 4808, JUNE 9, 1959

Mr. Chairman, may I express my appreciation to the committee for permitting me to appear before you today on behalf of my bill, H.R. 4808, which will amend existing law to increase the annual income limitation affecting pensions paid to veterans of World War I, World War II, and the Korean conflict who are permanently and totally disabled from non-service-connected causes and the widows and children of deceased veterans.

As you know, present law sets a limitation on other income of \$1,400 for a single veteran or a widow without children and \$2,700 for a married veteran with a family or a widow with children. My bill would raise these amounts to \$1,800 and \$3,000, respec-

As you know, Mr. Chairman, no change has been made in this respect since 1952 a time when the cost of living was considerably less than it is today. In that year the cost of living index (using the 1947-49 cost as 100) stood at 113.5. Today it has climbed to 123,7 using the same measuring rod. In other words, it has risen by at least 10 points. But, while today's dollar has shunken in value, and while today's wages have risen, we are still applying the same income standards with respect to disabled veterans and the widows and children of deceased veterans which were applied in 1952.

I am convinced that we must, therefore, make the same cost-of-living adjustment on their behalf which we have made in connection with other plans governed by Federal law—such as the social security plan and the railroad retirement plan in which costof-living adjustments upward have been made on two different occasions since 1952. Likewise, for the same reason, we have increased the salaries of Federal workers and made similar adjustments in other Federal programs. In the face of this record, it is inconceivable to me that we can delay any longer in making a reasonable adjustment regarding the income limitations set for veterans and their families.

We are not concerned here with an increase in the amount of pensions paidalthough we might well be, since they currently amount to only about \$66.15 a month—or \$78.75 a month for veterans who have received such a pension for 10 years or are over 65. At the same time a widow is entitled to \$50.40 a month and a widow with a child is entitled to \$63 a month, with \$7.56 added for each additional child. surviving child with no mother is granted \$27.30 a month, two children \$54.60 a month, and for each additional child \$7.56. These amounts, in themselves, are certainly not enough to keep body and soul together, let alone provide for the kind of medical attention often required because of a disability. Certainly we can, therefore, liberalize the law so that the veteran or widow who has other income-either in the form of earnings or from any other source-can be allowed to use this income, in addition to the pension payments up to the more reasonable figure of \$1,800 a year for the single veteran or widow without children and \$3,000 for the married veteran or widow with children. If it is necessary to retain this concept of relative need in the case of such payments, we should certainly be willing to adjust our measure of need to the purchasing power of today's dollars.

Another feature of the present limitation which works a particular hardship at present income-limitation levels, is the fact that when the level is reached, all pension payments for the year are canceled. this respect this provision is unlike the income limitation in social security which allows earnings of \$1,200 a year and then cancels benefits on the basis of monthly income-one benefit being cancelled for each month in which earnings above the \$1,200 figure total \$80 or a fraction thereof. The result is that an individual loses all of his monthly social security benefits only when he has earned more than \$880 in addition to the \$1,200, or more than \$2,080 in all, Moreover, social security's income limitation applies only to earned income whereas the income limitation for veterans applies both to earned and unearned income.

I feel certain that the committee will give this matter its most earnest consideration. Because I am confident of the merits of this case, I believe you will be convinced that some reasonable adjustment in this matter must be made—and that at an early date.

#### Poison in Your Water-No. 110

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 10, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I am inserting into the Appendix of the Congressional. Record an article appearing in the Pittsburgh (Pa.) Post-Gazette of April 20, 1959, entitled "Penn Hills Battles Sewage":

COMMUNITY PLANS NEW DISPOSAL SYSTEM— PENN HILLS BATTLES SEWAGE—RESIDENTS ARE SEEKING PREPAID ASSESSMENTS TO COVER COST OF INSTALLING OWN SEWER LINES

A particularly trying sewage problem that has been plaguing residents of a Penn Hills Township housing development, seems headed for solution with township officials and residents of the area teaming up to solve it.

And the solution can't come too quickly for harried Valemont Heights housewives, for whom every day brings blue Monday washday blues.

The problem arose when it became apparent that septic tanks installed when the homes were built nearly 5 years ago were wholly inadequate for the job.

Because the soil in that northern part of Penn Hills Township is predominantly clay and nearly always waterlogged, the septic tanks could not carry off the refuse adequately. Everyone began having trouble and continued having trouble, according to Mrs. William W. H. Berg, Jr., of 629 Valemont

Various residents of the section were forced to put in costly repairs and enlargements to their drainage systems, but that usually improved things for only a short time.

Now, practically all families in the area drain off all water from washing machines, sinks, and bathtubs into the street, saving their septic tank capacity for toilet drainage. The result is a constant supply of stagnant, filthy water lying along the streets, which have no storm sewers.

Finally, about 200 of the residents of the area formed the North Penn Civic Club, which got things moving somewhat.

For one thing they elected Frank Sullivan township commissioner. In his official capacity, he discovered the township wanted to build sewers for the section, but no money was available.

He conceived and started in motion a plan whereby the citizens could get sewers by raising about 65 percent of the cost in a sort of "prepaid" assessment which would run from \$600 to \$1,000 per dwelling.

The Civic Club's Sewer Committee, under the chairmanship of Attorney Carl W. Brueck, Jr., is currently trying to do just

Attorney Brueck said he hopes the money can be raised by fall to permit a quick start on the sewer project. "But many people find that money hard to raise," he said.

Township Manager John H. Immel said the township probably would be financially able to undertake the job in about 2 years.

Thus, the end of the problem is in sight.
Mrs. Berg echoed the sentiments of other
housewives in the district:

"It can't come too soon."

#### The Family-Sized Farm

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 10, 1959

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, although our Nation is currently enjoying a time of agricultural plenty this can turn into a time of national famine if we do not look ahead and plan ahead.

Some experts have predicted that the southwestern United States could become more arid. Other experts say there may be a food shortage in about a generation because of the increasing population.

Mr. President, to prevent the latter catastrophe better agricultural methods must be established, more young people must be encouraged to remain in the field of agriculture, and the family-sized farm, the basis of our food production industry, must be preserved. These are the small businessmen of the agricultural industry.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an article by State Senator Culp Krueger, entitled "Capitol Coffee Break," printed in a recent issue of the El Campo (Tex.) Leader-News.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CAPITOL COFFEE BREAK WITH YOUR SENATOR, CULP KRUEGER

DEAR HERSCHIEL AND FRIENDS: I feel sure all the people of our district would be most interested in reading the following resolution which was presented to the Senate Tuesday morning by your Senator trying to again draw to the attention of our national leadership a situation which confronts all of our smaller communities.

I was particularly pleased that on conclusion of the reading of this resolution before the senate, Senator Hazlewood of Amarillo moved that the names of the Lieutenant Governor and all members of the senate be added as cosponsors to this resolution. His motion was passed unanimously. Previously some 16 had voluntarily signed the resolution.

"SENATE RESOLUTION 569 BY KRUEGER

"Whereas a way of life, fought for throughout the ages and finding its first victory in the birth of America, dedicated to giving the youth of each succeeding generation freedom in the right of choice, not only of religion, press, speech, educational opportunities but also freedom to the pursuit of happiness by lawful means in the effort to earn a livelihood in the field of its choice; and

"Whereas earning a livelihood as a good American before God and before men embodies social and moral forces as well as economic, all of which forces penetrate the hearts and minds of men and guide the sense of our people to the true responsibilities of our cherished American way of life; and

"Whereas all basic Government policy heretofore stated and long ago acknowledged by blood, toil, and the seal has by command of its people from its inception sworn to resist at all costs any effort to detour, derail, sidetrack or destroy the will and earnest desire of a great, true and tried heritage of our people, especially the youth of our land and thereby eliminate in many ways the causes of economic stress, as well

as moral strain and social maladjustment;

"Whereas many thousands of our people have been forced to leave the soil of their birth and the lands of their ancestors to seek their livelihood away from the soil in order to gain economic survival, leaving behind without consideration the moral and social aspects entailed; and

"Whereas we find ourselves in the position of calling upon the young people of our smaller communities to leave to live; and

"Whereas this mass forced evacuation of the descendants of our pioneer people has drained the very lifeblood from our smaller rural communities simply because these young people of the soil cannot maintain themselves thereon under present Government policy, and this literal drying up of thousands of our smaller communities and family farms where family life and community get-togethers have in the past meant so much to the moral and spiritual strength of our country has reached an alarming state; and

"Whereas all of this has been done in the name of efficiency, ignoring completely the people and the human desire to the point of bowing to the Communist policy that people do not count; and

"Whereas all of this has brought into focus the fact that we are before our very eyes seeing pass into oblivion the American way of life which found its first victory in the birth of America: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the leadership of America awake to the role that the small family farmer and the small communities of our Nation have played and should continue to play in this, the great drama of America before God and man, in making steadfast and secure the desire to preserve our cherished way of life which found its first victory in the birth of America; and be it further

the birth of America; and be it further "Resolved. That the role of the small family farmer and the small community be viewed in the light of social, moral, and spiritual values, as well as in the light of

economic efficiency; and be it further "Resolved. That the leadership of America reafirm their belief in the basic tenet that people do count, and that the youth of our small communities shall not be called upon to leave to live."

## Federal Versus States Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. WALTER M. MUMMA

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 10, 1959

Mr. MUMMA. Mr. Speaker, I would like to include at this point in the RECORD an editorial from the Lebanon Daily News of June 1, 1959, entitled "Laws Must Spell It Out."

This is the general feeling in my district since the House took action last year and the Senate did not, which has been the subject of editorial comment. The article follows:

#### LAWS MUST SPELL IT OUT

Congress has a bill before it which would go far toward clearing up future legislative and judicial muddles over Federal versus States rights. The bill, authored by Representative Howard Smith, of Virginia, would require Congress to spell out in each piece of legislation whether it intends that law to supersede or complement similar enactments in the various States.

There was no need for this legislation until a few years ago. Legal experts took it for granted that the 10th article of the Bill of Rights, which says, "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the

people," meant what it said.

A liberal Supreme Court, however, began adopting what it called a policy of preemption, which holds that Federal and State laws on the same subject only confuse the picture, and the Court has specifically accepted Federal law as superseding similar ones in the States, although such intention was never voiced by Congress nor written into the law. The tendency has been to avoid Federal-State squabbles by the simple expedient of denying the States jurisdiction in areas covered by national laws.

Among the more famous Supreme Court

Among the more ramous supreme Court decisions incorporating the policy of preemption was that which upset the conviction of Pennsylvania's top Communist, Steve Nelsen, under a State subversive act. The Supreme Court, in effect, held that Federal acts preempt the field of subversive control

and State laws are invalid.

If the Constitution is not to be flavored by changing political philosophies, Congress must be more specific in its legislative intent. It is no longer sufficient to assume the States have those rights not specifically denied them by the legislative branch of the Federal Government. The judicial branch has decreed otherwise.

#### A Balanced Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 10, 1959

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, this morning's New York Times has a thought-provoking editorial. Under unanimous consent I will include it following these remarks.

Members of Congress can argue, with or without partisan bias, on the issue of budget-busting and as to the economic consequences of exceeding the President's budget. However, I suggest that inflation and an increase in the cost of living is not a threat—it is an actuality. It is here; and those of us, Democrats and Republicans alike, should stand together for a balanced budget. If we do this we can allow our voting records and our constituents to settle the argument as to which party should get the blame or the credit for the program of this Congress. The editorial follows:

NO TIME FOR STIMULANTS

No one can read the current monthly review of the New York Federal Reserve Bank, it seems to us, without coming away with the conclusion that the present recovery has now reached the stage where those who stand for economic expansion without a resurgence of inflation should take their places squarely behind the administration's objective of a balanced budget in 1960. They should recognize the fact that the time has come to take the patient, the national economy, off the artificial stimulants that, however, suitable to conditions prevailing in 1958, can promise today only a renewal of inflationary pressures in the months ahead.

Even the lag in reemployment that was the chief rationalization for the report of the

spending-minded majority of the Joint Congressional Committee on the Economic Report is on its way to early elimination. This is indicated by three facts: (1) The reemployment figures for March and April were better than seasonal; (2) the traditional prerequisite to the elimination of the lag in cyclical reemployment has now been achieved—namely, the restoration of the work week to prerecession levels; (3) finally, we moved, in April, out of that part of the year when unemployment is always abnormally high and now face a period of 6 months when seasonal influence will be increasingly favorable.

For some months after the recession struck, labor costs per unit of production declined. This situation, partly as a result of widespread wage increases, has reversed itself. There is evidence, in short, of a return to the wage-cost price push that contributed so importantly to rising living costs beginning with the spring of 1956. In fact, as the New York Reserve Bank points out, price inflation is no longer the academic subject it was a few months ago. Wholesale prices are already up 2 percent since earlier in the year and nonfarm retail prices are up 1½ percent.

#### The African Revolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. LEONARD G. WOLF

OF TOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 10, 1959

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, the Times-Democrat, a fine newspaper in Davenport, Iowa, printed an editorial by a guest editorialist on May 16 which bears considerable thought by all of us. The article was written by Francis Kanyua of Nairobi Kenya, East Africa. Mr. Kanyua is a scholarship student at Augustana College. He discusses the African revolution and the cries of "Uhuru, Uhuru"-freedom, freedom. Let us not mistake these cries of freedom. Let us hope that we will have the courage to champion freedom in Africa just as we championed freedom in 1776. Let us heed the cries of those who are struggling for such independence in Africa where millions of Africans are awakening to the fact that there is no reason that they have to be denied economic and human rights which are presently denied them as a result of foreign imperialist domination.

Let us not forget that history in the grandest sense is man's struggle for freedom and dignity; and never has this been so clear as in the 20th century:

THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION
There is revolution in Africa today.

Awakened nationalism is sweeping the continent like raging brush fire. Uhuru! Uhuru! is the cry of freedom echoed every-

Uhuru! is the cry of freedom echoed everywhere. Whether it is in Nigeria on the west coast, the Belgian Congo in the central area, or Kenya far to the east, the story is the same.

These countries are no longer content to remain under colonial powers which have long dominated and exploited them. The African today is revolting against this paternalism which does not allow for full self-determination.

Nationalistic movements are gaining momentum everywhere and nothing short of full independence wil stop them. Most of the Africans consider self-rule a right. The attempts of colonial powers to strangle nationalism never succeed.

They only lead to the adoption of a substitute which is often embraced with more vehemence and extremism, as was clearly demonstrated by the emergence of mau mau. The Africans abhor violence like anyone and are determined to get their legitimate rights by peaceful means.

Fortunately, many of the colonial powers have already promised or given independence. There is no mistake which way the

tide is moving.

Much of this trend can be attributed to the rise of an educated class which has produced very dynamic leaders such as Dr. Kwame Nkrumah; "Zik" of Nigeria; Banda, of Nyasaland; Tom Mboya, of Kenya, and many more I could name. However, contrary to common belief, these leaders have not in reality introduced anything new. They have only codified already existing ideas into a coherent program and channeled these ideas through effective political parties.

Ghana, formerly a British colony, is now independent. Under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah it is now Africa's show country. In the short span of 5 years Ghana has done wonders. Through mass education and other techniques the literacy rate has increased from 25 percent to a reasonable 75 percent—one of the highest in Africa. Other African countries are asking, if they can do it, why can't we? More countries are likely to follow Ghana's footsteps in the future for democracy cannot be withheld from masses of people forever.

As these countries become independent they will add power and influence to the Afro-Asian group and the consequences for the United State of America and the free

world can hardly be overlooked.

While there were only a handful of African nations in the United Nations in 1945, now there are 10. Next year there will be 14, and this trend is likely to continue for some time.

The Communists are not blind to this importance and are doing all they can to spread the good things that communism offers. At the moment the Communists have no stronghold in Africa, but their influence is greater than ever before.

When a Russian Ambassador was allowed to enter one West African country last month, he quickly announced that he was bringing a staff of 75 with him.

The tendency of most emergent African nations is to be neutralistic, but the position of the United States of America in Africa depends entirely on herself. At the moment she has a high prestige on most of the continent, but this may soon be lost. Money alone will not solve the problem. A better understanding and sympathy may do more than mere grants.

The United States should seek more infor-

The United States should seek more information and offer the hand of genuine friendship. On such terms will lasting friendship be found. Africa does not want to turn Communist. She has too much in common with the West in cultural and commercial affairs. The Africans also realize their dependence on the West for capital and technical help which is so desperately needed for development.

Misunderstandings and suspicion, however, may jeopardize the position of the United States in Africa. Previous encounters with colonials have been unfortunate and this has led to suspicion and mistrust.

What is the feeling of the United States about the war in Algeria where 50,000 Moslems have already been killed by the French for demanding independence? Why does the

United States not condemn the apartheid policies of the South African Government where basic human rights are deliberately denied to millions of non-Europeans?

These are things which jeopardize the leadership of the United States on the African Continent and among uncommitted

After all, America has a remarkable tradition of opposition to any form of tyranny. Why are these things ignored and allowed to go on? A firm policy deploring all forms of oppression and assisting the newly independent states to achieve economic stability would be invaluable.

When the position of the United States is clear in this matter, we may yet come to see the Afro-Asian group accept the United States as the unchallenged leader of the free world.

Statement of Fred J. Hollenbeck, National Commander, Veterans of World War I, on Subject of Non-Service-Connected Veterans Pension Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the testimony of Fred J. Hollenbeck, national commander of the Veterans of World War I of the U.S.A., Inc., before the Committee on Veterans Affairs:

STATEMENT OF FRED J. HOLLENBECK, NATIONAL COMMANDER, VETERANS OF WORLD WAR I OF THE U.S.A., INC., BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON VETERANS AFFAIRS, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, CONCERNING THE SUBJECT OF NON-SERVICE-CONNECTED VETERANS PENSION PROGRAM AS CONTAINED IN H.R. 1181 AND COMPARABLE BILLS

Mr. Chairman, Mrs. Rogers and members of the distinguished Committee on Veterans Affairs, the Veterans of World War I of the U.S.A., Inc., deeply appreciate the courtesy extended to us to appear before your committee to offer testimony in behalf of the Veterans of World War I pension program as contained in H.R. 1181 and other bills of a similar nature.

For some time past we of the Veterans of World War I have been giving careful study and serious consideration to the problem of the aging veteran of our war. I would like to briefly review the pension program and our position in connection with same.

Since the Revolutionary War, the Congress of the United States has granted pensions to veterans of all wars with no restriction except as to age and length of service and in none of these wars did the question of need appear as there does not seem to be a record of income restrictions on these pensions. Therefore, non-service-connected as we knew it before World War I was neither a needs program nor a retirement plan. It was the payment of a just debt to those who had served their country in time of war.

It should be noted in discussing the matter of pensions that Congress of the past have avoided anything that looked like the requirement of a pauper's oath in order to secure such a pension. It is with this historical reminder and brief review of the history of pensions that we premise our sincere request that this committee and the Congress pass pension legislation along the lines contained in H.R. 1181.

The files in our national headquarters are filled with appeals from men who have served in World War I pleading with us to do everything we can to secure for them a pension of \$100 per month. These letters indicate that the writers do not have social security or other outside income and they are in direcircumstances but do not want to go on the public dole to eke out an existence. They are bitter in what they feel is the lack of gratitude on the part of this Nation in not long ago having granted them the same consideration as has been granted to all other wars prior to World War I.

A recent news story under a St. Louis dateline gives us something to think about and we present it to this committee to further show the plight of those persons who have reached the age of 60 or over:

"TROUBLES TOO GREAT—ELDERLY COUPLE CHOOSE

"St. Louis.—An elderly St. Louis couple were found dead in bed Sunday. Near them was a note describing the despair they felt in trying to cope with financial problems and painful illness.

"The manner in which Joseph M. Palmisano, 65, and his wife, Sabina, 63, died is a mystery. Police found no marks of violence or other outward signs of the cause of death.

"The note was written by Mrs. Palmisano and addressed "To Whom it May Concern'. It said they had tried to get in a home for the aged but couldn't afford it.

"This is a coward's way out, but better this way than to be a burden,' she wrote. 'I have suffered more than I can tell you. We tried to get in a home, \$4,800 a year. When we heard the cost we knew there was no other out. What are people like Joe and

I to do? I pray God will forgive us for taking this way out."

We sincerely hope and trust that the Congress of the United States will never adopt need as the first criteria for eligibility for war veterans non-service-connected pension. The word "need" signifies charity, and we have always stood for the proposition that a war veteran should never be left dependent on local charity. That is one of the prime reasons the Congress has maintained pensions for war service as honorary and, further, because in most every war but particularly in World War I there have existed cases where medical records were either lost or never made or were inadequate and men with actual service-connected disabilities have existed in large numbers. Therefore, the application of the needs clause would work a grave injustice on them.

There are 2,000,796 survivors of World War I and their average age is 64.8. They are dying at the rate of approximately 100,000 a year and these men are depending upon us and the Members of the Congress to do something for them before it is too late.

H.R. 1181 is a bill which would answer the prayers of these stalwart men of another day who served their Nation well, for it is a bill designed to provide \$100 a month to veterans of World War I who are 60 years of age, who served 90 days or more, and have an honorable discharge, and it has income limitations of \$2,400 for those with no dependents and \$3,800 to those with dependents, but it also provides that social security or other pensions and annulties into which the veteran has paid shall be excluded by the Veterans' Administration in computing income.

I wonder if we would be out of orden to call the attention of this distinguished committee to the fact that the President signed into law a bill amending the Railroad Retirement Act, May 19, 1959, which contains a provision excluding railroad retirement

benefits from being computed as income for non-service-connected disability pension benefits, and I believe the record will bear us out when we call attention to the fact that there is presently pending in the House Ways and Means Committee legislation which would do the same thing to social security beneficiaries.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, at this point we wish to go on record as opposing the passage of H.R. 6432 as a bill designed to destroy the traditional American concept of pensions for aging war veterans and also because it contains restrictive legislation which has never heretofore been a requirement to secure non-serviceconnected pension. Also, enactment of this legislation will lower the standard of living enjoyed by veterans who have been receiving pensions in all wars prior to 1917, and we do not believe this committee would want to do that. Also, we wonder if the committee will take into serious consideration the increased cost of administration of this type of legislation.

Economically, the passage of H.R. 1181 will be felt the length and breadth of this Nation. for the recipient of this pension will immediately channel it into the economic stream

of the Nation.

Most, if not all, of the money will be spent for the necessities of life, and it will cause its recipient to hold his head high in respect and no longer give him a reason for saying "We are the forgotten veterans of all wars."

Mr. Chairman and members of this committee, we strongly urge at this time that pension legislation be considered which is applicable only to the veterans of World War I. We feel that the veterans of World War II should have a pension, but we would suggest a different approach to their pension legislation, and at some later date we would like to offer our thoughts along that line, but we do feel that pension legislation should be limited in this session of the Congress to the veterans of World War I as provided for in H.R. 1181 or comparable bills.

We also strongly urge and recommend that present service-connected compensation rates be increased to meet the growing cost of living. We also urge that you earnestly consider increasing World War I widows' pensions and raising the income limitations of those pensions but we sincerely and urgently suggest the committee give serious thought to including the widows of World War II in this type of pension program.

We should point out to this committee that the major veterans organizations at the beginning of World War II were made up exclusively of veterans of World War I and the Spanish American War veterans. We should further call the committee's attention to the fact that these men, World War I and Spanish War veterans, in the major veterans organizations were eligible to membership, set aside their pension program back in the forties in deference to the veterans of later wars because we of World War I did not wantveterans of World War II, our sons if you please, to receive the same kind and type of treatment we received when we were discharged from the service, so we went sledlength in the passage of unlimited legislation for the veterans of later wars and we are happy that we did so but now we of the veterans of World War I feel we should be given sympathetic consideration by this committee and by the Congress.

The last time representatives of our organization appeared before your distinguished committee the Honorable Charles Trague of California several times raised the question as to whether we should consider cost of our then proposed pension program. We desire at this time to submit statements comparing the H.R. 6432 proposal with proposed

H.R. 1181.

REPORT OF THE COST OF PENSIONS ASKED BY
VETERANS OF WORLD WAR I, SUBJECT TO PRESENT STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS

The purpose of this report is to bring accurately the cost of the proposed pension program of all eligible World War I veterans to \$100 per month regulated by the present laws (and contemplated changes which would occur with the passage of H.R. 1181 or similar legislation.)

All factual material used in this report was furnished by the Office of the Comptroller and the section of Vital Statistics of the Veterans' Administration or taken from the Annual Report of 1958 as submitted by the Administration of Veterans' Affairs dated January 30, 1959.

Life projections in the various tables of this report were made after study of the actuarial reports of several life insurance companies and the U.S. Bureau of Census. We have attempted to come as near to true statement of facts as obtained by consultation and study of known data and material of reputable commercial and Federal agencies.

In order to bring forward the true picture, the charts included in this report show how we arrive at the conclusions.

We therefore start with the number of liv-

B HOLLE HELL E LECETIONS.	
Total living World War I veterans 1	2, 800, 000
Receiving retirement pay	1,504
Receiving compensation (service-connected)	203, 654
Receiving pension (non- service-connected)	665, 218
Ineligible (less than 90 days' service)	77, 000
Total	947, 376
Total eligible	1, 851, 624
The state of the s	The state of the s

Present cost of compensation and pension: 203,654 receiving compensation \$220, 260, 639, 69 665,218 receiving pension 602, 560, 058, 30

Total present cost.... 822, 820, 697, 99

<sup>1</sup> Information given by VA May 1, 1959.

Present costs must be considered in the overall picture of future costs.

Revised actuarial table, comparison of Veterans' Administration table with that of Bureau of Census and life insurance companies:

Year ending-	VA table of expect- ancy	Revised table	Average age
1900	2, 676, 600 2, 090, 000 1, 483, 000 911, 000 452, 000 160, 000 44, 000 7, 000 1,000	2, 600, 000 2, 003, 000 1, 290, 000 510, 000 206, 000 127, 000 31, 000 3, 800 200	66, 1 70, 9 75, 5 80, 0 84, 4 88, 7 93, 0 95, 3

Based upon tables of life expectancy of all veterans of all previous wars, these figures of the revised table are conservative and the number anticipated to be living are much higher than actual experience.

(Somewhere in France in 1917 the World War I veterans must have found the elixir of life. They represent less than I percent of the population, yet they will live and live and live.)

Accepting the actuarial tables that take in all military and civilian population and taking into consideration the fact of longer longevity due to increased medical knowledge and better living conditions, we are confident that expectancies shown in the revised table are more accurate and dependable.

(Taken from report of Veterans' Affairs Committee.)

Comparison of H.R. 6432 proposal with that of proposal H.R. 1181—Annual costs

Year	H.R. 6432	H.R. 1181	Savings per year
1960	\$1,543,494,372	\$573, 192, 000	\$970, 302, 372
1961	1, 362, 585, 400	540, 932, 400	821, 653, 000
1962	1, 293, 248, 624	517, 305, 600	775, 943, 024
1963	1, 228, 636, 814	491, 144, 800	717, 196, 014
1964	1, 167, 204, 514	468, 868, 400	700, 336, 114
1965	1, 105, 667, 448	455, 580, 000	650, 087, 448
1966	1, 051, 559, 094	432, 750, 000	618, 809, 094
1967	1, 001, 746, 748	411, 112, 800	590, 633, 948
1968	948, 698, 280	390, 556, 800	586, 141, 480
1969	901, 264, 244	371, 029, 200	530, 285, 044
1970	856, 209, 608	352, 476, 000	503, 733, 608
1971	811, 327, 410	334, 611, 600	476, 716, 310
1972	772, 831, 460	317, 880, 000	454, 951, 460
1973	725, 077, 626	301, 986, 000	423, 091, 620
1974	685, 282, 576	286, 886, 400	398, 396, 176
1975	663, 005, 916	272, 541, 600	390, 464, 316
1976	603, 148, 678	258, 914, 400	344, 234, 278
1977	584, 446, 626	243, 568, 800	340, 877, 826
1978	555, 135, 654	233, 671, 200	321, 464, 454
1979	538, 779, 752	221, 868, 000	316, 911, 752
1980	509, 909, 420	-210, 774, 000	299, 135, 420
Total.	18, 799, 262, 264	7, 605, 500, 000	11, 193, 602, 264

This table shows conclusively that the total saving to the Nation by adoption of the proposal of World War I veterans, if given separate consideration, would be over \$11 billion.

This table of cost for pension of \$100 per month to all eligible World War I veterans sustains our contention for several years that the total cost of such pension would be considerably less that \$8 billion for the next 20 years. In fact, it will cost less than \$10 billion for the years to 2000.

We believe this table shows that H.R. 6432 was taking in all veterans—not World War I only

The figures contained in the foregoing tables should once and for all refute the oft repeated statements that to grant a pension as provided for in H.R. 1181 would run into astronomical figures.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, it is our sincere hope that your committee will in their considered judgment find they can report HR. 1181, or one of the similar measures introduced, to the House of Representatives so the Members of the House may have an early opportunity to vote on the subject matter thereby taking an important step in wiping out the discrimination that has prevailed against World War I veterans.

Realizing that even though the House passes veterans legislation there is the problem of having it reported to the Senate floor, we are joining the other veterans' organizations in attempting to have the Senate amend their rules to provide for a committee comparable to this distinguished committee in the U.S. Senate.

May I close by again expressing my gratitude for this opportunity to appear in behalf of the veterans of World War I and may I thank you all for the interest shown in listening to my presentation today.

#### Architect of Victory

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 26, 1959

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-

ORD, I include the following article from Roll Call of June 10, 1959:

ARCHITECT OF VICTORY: SENATOR JOHNSON PAYS TRIBUTE TO GEN, GEORGE C. MARSHALL ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF D-DAY

The phrase "architect of victory" is one often bestowed upon him for his performance in World War II. It is a glittering phrase, a happy generality, until we remember and examine once again the mammoth organization which General Marshall built to crush the most professional armies which ever inhabited this earth.

Even the inexperienced amateur was aware of the awesome size of the man who relent-lessly, quietly, and selfiessly created the Armies, the Navies, and the Air Forces in so brief a span of time—and then supplied them with the ever-mounting tools of victory.

#### H. Stewart Potter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. WALTER M. MUMMA

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 10, 1959

Mr. MUMMA. Mr. Speaker, H. Stewart Potter has been an employee of the Federal Government here in Washington, D.C., for a long time. He is the father of Lee Potter who is with the Republican National Committee.

H. Stewart Potter is well and favorably known in his community of Halifax, Pa., where, after an absence of some 30 years, he still maintains a voting residence and has a wonderful record for being back home on election day.

That he is sought after as a speaker on each Memorial Day is established by the fact that he is invited back time and again.

The following is an address which he deilvered at Eshcol, Pa., on this past Memorial Day:

MEMORIAL DAY ADDRESS DELIVERED BY H. STEWART POTTER, OF ARLINGTON, VA., AT ESHCOL, Pa., ON SATURDAY, MAY 30, 1959

I am deeply honored and privileged in having been invited to come back to Eshcol to deliver the annual Memorial Day address, Six years ago, in 1953, I was your speaker, but the rains came down in torrents so your committee asked me to come today.

I am a native of Perry County, having been born in Miller Township. My parents, a sister, a brother, and many other of my relatives are buried in the Newport Cemetery.

I am happy to come back here and in this way join you in paying tribute to the veterans—dead and living—of all wars. While Mrs. Potter and I have been domi-

While Mrs. Potter and I have been domiciled in the State of Virginia since the year 1920, we still hold our legal voting residence in Halifax, Dauphin County.

As we drove up here from Washington, both Mrs. Potter and I were greatly impressed with the care given the burial grounds in this part of the country. This is a beautiful section of a great State and you should all be thankful you are permitted to live here.

Years ago, as a boy in Newport, I was filled with pride on each Memorial Day when I was given the opportunity to gather fresh flowers to decorate the graves of the brave men who had served in the wars of the United States. Each grave had its American flag and its profusion of flowers. Then there was always an impressive parade with the members of the Grand Army of the Republic leading, and then a Memorial Day address

followed. Sometimes I wished for shorter speeches. Today, more than 50 years later, I shall not forget. My message will be brief. The custom of observing Memorial Day,

The custom of observing Memorial Day, which had its beginning at Boalsburg, Centre County, was the outgrowth of that stirring period known as the Civil War, and the desire of the American people for a day of tribute to their heroic dead. All over the land our grandmothers and grandfathers on both sides of the Mason-Dixon line united in paying tribute to their dead.

In so doing, they removed their hats, dropped a spray of flowers on some soldier's grave, lifted their heads to the stirring notes of the Star Spangled Banner and, at the same time, in their hearts they resolved that this Nation shall never again be torn asunder. That we shall never again allow internal dissention to break the solid front of all Americans.

This action on the part of our forebears took place here in Eshcol as well as in the most remote country churchyard throughout our Nation.

Spurred on by such a determined resolve, America embarked upon a course, backed by this unconquerable spirit of national unity, that transformed this Republic into a mighty and respected Nation among the people of the world. Yes, in a short span of years becames the leader of the world.

While our youth have responded to their country's call on each occasion, and our industries have hummed with activity, as they sought to produce the needs of an adequate national defense, we found in 1939 with the war clouds forming again and threatening our peace and security, we were indeed and truthfully a house divided against itself.

We lacked the spirit of our heroic dead who knew no ism but true Americanism, who saluted no flag but the Stars and Stripes, and to whom preservation and advancement of American ideals was a birthright and a solemn duty to one's country.

These honored dead whose memory we revere today believed in a true Americanism and were willing to fight and die for it; an Americanism that keeps strict faith with every word in the Bill of Rights and every line in the Constitution.

Yes, a kind of Americanism that gives you and me the right to express our own opinions, to approve or disapprove, to commend or criticize as we see fit.

That same Americanism which leaves our newspapers free to print anything not in conflict with the laws of libel or decency and which recognizes that a free press must be available to all, and if we deny it to those with whom we disagree today it may be likewise denied us tomorrow.

Memorial Day is a day of sadness and grief as we take a moment to reflect and to realize that thousands and thousands of Americans, the flower of this generation and past generations, made the supreme sacrifice for the defense of their country's freedom. Yet this is a day of fond and blessed memories for we know that our departed heroes sacrificed much for us, and they would, if alive, want us to carry on their noble tradition.

Through the heroic efforts of those who lie here, and in the other cemeteries of this area, we are now able to live in a free and democratic country. We are free because we are not afraid to speak our thoughts. Our assemblies are not held by stealth under cover of night.

We are not afraid of fine literature and art and music; we do not destroy such things, we encourage them. Truth can never be destroyed, nor can the ideas of great minds. Those in power do not use our schools to spread propaganda for personal gain. Our press is not silent. Our churches are great in number and ever increasing. Without the love of good there can be no freedom. Yet there are those in this world who threaten

our way of life. We must be alert not only for our own cause but also in honor of those who made this freedom possible.

who made this freedom possible.
Other nations, holding dear the same values as we, have also sacrified and are now sacrificing the best of their manhood in their fight against aggression. An unnecessary tragedy—for how much better the world would be if we still had with us the strength, the courage, and the determination of our departed youth and the wisdom of our fallen elders. How much better the world would be if all nations had the same intense desire for human freedom and liberty as we.

Due to the aggression of communism, we and other freedom-loving nations are faced with the necessity of spending billions for weapons of destruction, yet there are so many in the world sick in body and mind, without funds for medical attention and medicines.

Billions for arms, but not enough food to feed the world's starving millions. How many people died of heart ailments, cancer, and other diseases who might have been with us today if more money for medical research was available. This is a sad commentary on the history of our human civilization. Yet until such time as the enemies of freedom are prepared to lay down their arms and meet with us in good faith for the purpose of preserving honorable peace and freedom for all mankind we will continue to be faced with the problem of neglecting our sick, our hungry, our homeless. To do otherwise, our presence here today would be but mere mockery.

We must remember that the goal of communism is world domination. If world domination were not the goal of Communists, there would not have been a war in Korea. The dead and living dead of Korea would not have been a reality. The people of South Africa would have had the opportunity to settle their differences amicably. Europe and the Near East would not now be setting on a powder keg, which should remind us to keep our powder dry.

Would that we here today might dedicate ourselves to strive, by more than mere wishful thinking, toward ending the causes of war.

Memorial Day is a day of prayer and reflection—prayer for those who are suffering from the wounds they received in battle; reflection for the noble principles for which they gave their all, and upon the manner in which we cherish and safeguard those principles. Memorial Day symbolizes the spirit of the American people—the will of a great, free, and enlightened Nation to pay tribute to the honored dead.

Today, from countless flagpoles, Old Glory flutters at half mast as a moving reminder, that busy though we are, we still realize that it is appropriate to pause and remember the sacrifices of the heroes in whose honor we assemble here.

Memorial Day is dedicated to the tens of thousands of Americans, young and old, who have given their lives in military conquest to preserve our way of life. Memorial Day is the day of living tribute to those honored dead.

The intent of what we say here shall extend far beyond the horizon.

Our tributes to the heroic American war dead reach around the earth. Our thoughts, our prayers, and our words

Our thoughts, our prayers, and our words of gratitude shall travel swiftly with the light of day.

The sound of our voices is directed into many lands. For it is said truly that the sun never sets upon the American war dead. Let us remember that more than 150,000 American war dead have been laid to rest in foreign lands. Thousands of others have been lost beneath the waters of many oceans far from our shores.

Our war dead are buried in Asia, and in Africa, as well as in cemeteries here at home.

Yes; it is true that the sun of a single day never sets upon the graves of our honored dead because the sun shines perpetually upon some area of hallowed American ground. This assertion is proved by history and the maps of the world.

The light of the sun races across the face of the continent at great speed, 1,000 miles per hour. When it is midnight in the United States the sun is shining at high noon in Korea and the Philippines.

There is always a new dawn creeping sllently over some faraway ocean or jungle, over strange hills and cities. And there, in the pale light of each new day, the American Stars and Stripes is stirring at half mast, and beneath it are thousands of white markers inscribed with the names of our departed men.

If we could visit one of these cemeteries in the far corners of the earth and walk slow'y between the white markers we would see that some are of the Christian cross, and others the Star of David, the emblem of the Gentile and the Jew. Then we look at the flag overhead. We watch its brilliant red and white stripes curving with the shifting breeze—its folds gently to the north, then the east, then south, then west. The flag seems to speak.

At least we sense an answer coming from that proud and beautiful emblem that marks the last resting place of our hero dead. The flag seems to say that speculations about these men are of little importance. It matters not who they were, whether they were rich or poor, college graduates or uneducated. It makes little difference whether they rest under cross or star. All your questions are in the past. They deal with trivial distinctions which only the living consider important.

As we stand looking at the flag and the graves we see it all very clearly. Death is the great equalizer; only in life do we judge a man by his money or social standing. Only in life do we question his race or creed.

Then we get a final answer. The flag tells us clearly all the men who rest in soldier graves were your defenders and mine.

On occasions such as this we are prone to spend too much time and too many words eulogizing the dead and making eloquent speeches about the cause for which they fought. In a sense we glorify war. Whereas the only fitting tribute that can be paid our soldier dead, wounded and alive, is to strive with all our hearts, with might and main, to put an end to the causes which require their sacrifices so that they will not have died in vain. Most certainly, were our noble dead permitted to speak, they would cry out for some solution to our problems more logical and more sane than fruitless war.

We can pay no greater tribute to the martyrs of our Nation on this Memorial Day nor can we make a greater contribution to the welfare of our country than resolve that we will truly evaluate the manifold blessings bestowed upon us by citizenship in this great Republic.

Let us carry aloft the torch of freedom; and in so doing, let us march as a united people asking God to shower us with his choice blessings of peace and happiness.

From grateful hearts let us pour forth our prayers of thanksgiving for the American way of life and beseech God to preserve our great Republic for the countless unborn millions to follow us.

In the same breath let us in prayerful attitude ask divine providence to restore peace and tranquility to the nations of the world, that in so doing we may again look upon civilization as being rescued from the onslaughts of those who would destroy it.

With such an objective and faith in the future let us say from the depths of our hearts, "Thank God I am an American."

May Almighty God hear our prayers for a lasting peace on this Memorial Day 1959. and may He fill our hearts with a deep and abiding love for our country. May He impress upon us each day our duty as a citizen, and of our need for eternal vigilance in preserving, protecting, and defending this great Republic for which we owe an undying debt of gratitude to God for the Priceless heritage of liberty, freedom, and equality

Despite the efforts made to formulate a just and lasting peace, the goal has not been reached, because the hearts of mankind have not yet been attuned to the spirit of universal love, which is essential if the family of nations expect to dwell in harmony

with each other.

History is replete with the experiences of nations after nation, who sought power and glory through conquest and subjagation. It is written on the memories of mankind, that the nation that forgot God and refused to recognize the human dignity of every creature created by Him, traveled the road to ruin and destruction.

Yet, how short is the memory of man? Regardless of the lessons from history of the utter destruction of ancient empires, our minds were refreshed during the present 20th century by the fate that befell modern dictators who have trod the path to destruction that counterparts traversed in the dis-

The scene which surrounds us today is the evidence of the cost of war. Here in the Eshcol cemetery lie buried those whose lives have been given to their country in the past. Who can estimate the worth of these lives? What these men might have meant to the world had they lived? What their loss means in the unrecorded sorrow of their wives, sweethearts, and children. The great treasure of any country is not in its steel mills or its rolling prairies or its public buildings, but its young people.

And here we commemorate those lives, Who for the most part were sacrificed before the story they could have told could have been unfolded, or their contribution made to the family of the Nation which gave them

birth.

All too readily, because these dead cannot speak to us, we accept the fruit of their sacrifice in an unthinking way. We have many privileges in this country. We exerthese privileges every day of our lives. But that we have them is due to the fact that in the past Americans have been willing to lay down their lives for us. Privilege has always been preceded by sacrifice. Theirs has been the sacrifice. Ours now are the privilege.

We do right when we honor them with our flowers, our parades, with everything that can be provided at this most beautiful season of the year to remind ourselves of our indebtedness. We must also honor them

by making a lasting peace.
Would that we here today might dedicate ourselves to strive, by more than mere Wishful thinking, to do something toward ending the causes of war.

May I close with this poem?

If we could see beyond today as God can see, If all the clouds could roll away, the shadows flee;

If we could know beyond today, as God does know,

Why dearest ones must pass away and tears must flow;

If we could know why darkness leads to light.

Why dreary days invariably grow bright; but still we know

Some day life's hurts and wrongs will be made right-

Faith tells us so.

-H. Stewart Potter.

Stars for Summer Nights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I wish to include a message from New England as it appeared in the Christian Science Monitor on June 8, 1959.

STARS FOR SUMMER NIGHTS-AN INTIMATE MESSAGE FROM NEW ENGLAND

(By Harold Rogers)

There was a time, not too many years ago, when there was nothing to look at on summer nights but the stars in the sky.

Then came the summer theaters, and people began to look at the stars on stage. Later the summer music festivals blossomed, and people began to listen to the stars sing. play, and conduct. Stars in the heavens became stars of second magnitude.

Eight years ago a new kind of summer festival was created in Boston. It is a festival of the arts-all the arts-and it is held

outdoors in the public garden.

It features a display of painting, drawing, and sculpture, of course—in this there is nothing unusual. But it also offers performances of opera, ballet, theater, folk dancing, folk singing, poetry reading, and concerts by symphony orchestras and bands. There are also photographic displays of architecture, together with demonstrations by artists in ceramics, weaving, and jewelry.

It is, in short, a comprehensive show presented to the people of Boston by their city. It covers 17 days; there is no admission charge; the festival has proved so popular that similar ventures have been springing up

throughout the country.

Only a minority of any city's population goes to a museum, attends the opera, or listens to concerts. But an arts festival such as Boston's brings the arts to the man-inthe-street. Every summer thousands of curious people wander through the pavilions of paintings, stimulated by the battle between objective and nonobjective art. Thousands sit on the lawns for performances of grand opera, many of them hearing an opera for the first time. Thousands have their first taste of live symphonic music. played by Boston Symphony musicians under leading conductors.

In the past Boris Goldovsky and his New England Opera Theater have presented Rossini's "The Barber of Seville" and Donizetti's "Don Pasquale." Sarah Caldwell and her Boston Opera Group gave the American premier of Offenbach's "Journey to the Moon." Professional companies from New York have offered Gian Carlo Menotti's "The Consul" and 'The Saint of Bleecker Street."

On June 5 this summer's festival opened with the Boston premier of Lee Holby's "The Scarf," as one-act opera that shared an evening with Douglas Moore's "The Devil and Daniel Webster."

Among the stars and starlets to appear this summer are Roland Hayes, the noted Negro tenor; Richard Wilbur, winner of the festival's poetry prize for 1959; Paul Draper, the man who elevated tap dancing to a fine art; Russell Stanger, young virtuosic conductor of the Boston Little Orchestra; Aaron Copland and Carlos Chavez, composers, who will conduct members of the Boston Symphony in some of their own compositions; and Thomas Sherman, who will guide Boston Symphony members in Handel's "Royal Fireworks" culte.

A highlight of the festival will be twoperformances of the Gagku dancers and musicians of the Japanese Imperial Household, now in the United States for their first appearances outside of Japan.

But not all the stars are reserved for the Boston Arts Festival. On the banks of the Charles River, a new 2,000-seat theater is being built as the first building in a complex to be known as the Metropolitan Boston Arts Center. The theater will be ready by July 9 when the Cambridge Drama Festival will open with Shakespeare's "Tweifth Night," starring Siobhan McKenna, Fritz Weaver, Tammy Grimes, Michael Wager, and Geoffrey Holder. Also scheduled are "Macbeth," with Jason Robards, Jr., in the title role, and "Much Ado About Nothing," starring Sir John Gielgud as Benedick and Margaret Leighton as Beatrice.

On the Wellesley College campus not far from Boston the Group 20 Players will hold their seventh season at the Theater on the Green. There are stars in this company, too—Eric Portman, Rosemary Harris, Jerome Kilty, and Barry Morse—who will be seen in Shakespeare's "Much Ado About Nothing," James M. Barrie's "Peter Pan," Shaw's "Man and Superman," and Sophocles' "Oedipus

On the musical scene is the Boston Symphony's Berkshire Festival, at Tanglewood, with such stars as Charles Munch, the orchestra's conductor; Pierre Monteux, guest conductor; Rudolf Serkin, pianist; Isaac Stern, violinist; Nicole Henriot-Schweitzer, pianist; Lukas Foss, composer-conductor; Adele Addison, soprano; and Arthur Fiedler, conductor of the Boston Pops.

A more intimate series of New England

concerts is offered at Castle Hill, the former Crane estate at Ipswich, Mass. Jass stars—George Shearing and Dave Brubeck—will open this series; other stellar personalities to be heard will be Gina Bachauer, pianist; Anne Ayer, soprano; Jean Léon Destiné and his Haitian dangers; Betty Allen, mezzo-soprano; and the New York Pro Musica,

Is it any wonder the stars in the sky take second place when the New England summer

sets in?

Thirty-sixth Congress Slovak League of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 10, 1959

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, residents of my home city of Johnstown are preparing to welcome officers and delegates' of the Slovak League of America to its 36th Congress on June 14-16. While the influence of the Slovak people is not confined to any geographical area of this Nation, we in Pennsylvania are particularly mindful of the contributions that have come from the Slovak strain through the years.

The Slovaks were a large component of the Europeans who came to Johnstown and its environs to give impetus to America's industrial progress. They suffered with the rest of our community through the tragic flood, and their zeal, determination, and industry helped to rebuild our great city. Throughout western Pennsylvania here are many Slovak churches that give evidence of the devotion of these God-fearing people.

I thank you.

The Slovak League of America was organized on May 26, 1907, with the motto: For God and for the Nation. A cultural and civic organization of Americans of Slovak descent, it is dedicated to the American way of life and assists Slovak emigrants in becoming U.S. citizens. Its numerous other noble objectives include this statement of policy which I believe merits notation in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

The Slovak League of America has always recognized the godless philosophy of ma-terialistic communism for the dread evil and conspiracy against free humanity that it is, as the political system which threatens mankind with utter enslavement and, therefore, has fought resolutely against it in and out of season and, today, is still determined to fight against it with all the means at its command until the dread plague of communism is wiped off the face of the earth. Hence, the league does not subscribe to the policy that doing business with the Soviet Union and its satellites is in the best interests of the United States of America and the peoples concerned.

Mr. Speaker, for many years Americans of Slovak descent have served in the Armed Forces, large numbers of them sacrificing their lives for this Nation. Today the Slovak League of America carries on the battle for liberty and peace. We congratulate this patriotic organization, and may God grant the favors it asks.

#### Minimum Wage Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 10, 1959

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I again have the high privilege to include a resolution from the Laborers District Council which is comprised of eight local unions, namely; Locals 57, 135, 332, 376, 413, 420, 1034, and 1052, with an approximate total membership of 15,000 people.

I feel, Mr. Speaker, that the following resolutions will prove both informative and instructive to the Members of the House and further, that the resolution sets forth a position that of necessity is basic to present day living in this country:

RESOLUTION CALLING UPON THE 86TH CON-GRESS TO ENACT S. 1046 AND H.R. 4488

Whereas all Americans must be assured of a basic minimum standard of living if we are to maintain a healthy economy at home and a position of moral leadership in the world; and

Whereas the present Federal minimum wage of \$1 an hour is inadequate to provide a bare subsistence in the United States today; and

Whereas more than 20 million Americans lack the guarantee of even this inadequate figure and are without any legal limitation on their hours of work; and

Whereas these shocking facts constitute a grave threat to our national economy, a

challenge to our moral standards as a people and a peril to our reputation as democracy's showcase throughout the world; and

Whereas the existence of underpaid and overworked wage-earners is a particular danger to the well-being of the citizens of Philadelphia; and

Whereas there is now before Congress a bill introduced by Senator John F. Ken-NEDY and Representative JAMES ROOSEVELT and cosponsored by many of their colleagues in both houses, No. S. 1046 and H.R. 4488. This bill would greatly amellorate this problem by raising the Federal minimum wage to \$1.25 and including nearly 8 million additional workers under the protection of the

Fair Labor Standards Act: Therefore be it Resolved, by Laborers' District Council of Metropolitan Area of Philadelphia and Vi-cinity, That we call upon the Congress of the United States to give prompt and favorable consideration to this bill without delay, so this serious threat to the economic and moral strength of our Nation will be swiftly met and that the conditions above described can be corrected.

LABORERS' DISTRICT COUNCIL OF THE MET-ROPOLITAN AREA OF PHILADELPHIA AND VICINITY

RAYMOND T. LAVIN, President.

World Trade Center Resolution Favoring Enactment of H.R. 5, Providing for the Encouragement of Private Foreign Investment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 21, 1959

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a resolution adopted by the membership of the World Trade Center in New England:

THE WORLD TRADE CENTER IN NEW ENGLAND, INC., Boston, Mass.

WORLD TRADE CENTER RESOLUTION FAVORING ENACTMENT H.R. 5 (BOGGS BILL) PROVIDING FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF PRIVATE FOR-EIGN INVESTMENT

The membership of the World Trade Center in New England represents a large and true cross-section of the industrial, commercial and international business interests of the six-State region. The Center's ex-ecutive committee has long been concerned over the gravity of economic conditions in underdeveloped countries and has lamented the not always fully effective results of the enormous U.S. Government loans and grants to alleviate these conditions. The committee, then, was naturally interested in the provisions of the Boggs bill (H.R. 5) to induce an increased flow of private investments to oversea areas and created a subcommittee to study the bill.

The World Trade Center is convinced that private capital can be much more efficient and effective in the orderly expansion of underdeveloped economies and should be given tax incentives to promote foreign invest-ments to this end. The Boggs bill is in-tended to accomplish this in several ways, most important of which is permission to create special domestic foreign business corporations whose foreign source income would incur no U.S. tax liability until it was brought into this country.

If this country is to meet the high challenge posed by the politico-economic offen-sive of worldwide communism it must delegate more of the responsibility in the foreign economic field to private interests. Con-comitantly, it must remove some of the fetters which restrain private capital from seeking investment opportunities in underde-veloped areas. The Boggs bill would help materially along these lines.

Therefore, the World Trade Center in New England favors the enactment of H.R. 5 and urges the Congress to move promptly to this end without nullifying any of its principal

features.

## Second Worst Anthracite Mine Disaster Occurred 40 Years Ago

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 10, 1959

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Wilkes-Barre Times Leader of Friday. June 5, 1959, which relates the details of the second worst anthracite mine disaster which occurred on June 5, 1919, at the east end Baltimore tunnel, No. 5 colliery, Hudson Coal Co., Wilkes-Barre, Pa., where 92 men lost their lives by an explosion of powder.

[From the Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader, June 5, 1959

NINETY-TWO LIVES WERE LOST: MINE DISAS-TER AT EAST END OCCURRED 40 YEARS AGO TODAY-CAUSE OF BALTIMORE TUNNEL EX-PLOSION NEVER FIXED-SOME ESCAPED

The second most terrible tragedy in the long history of anthracite mining occurred exactly 40 years ago today.

On the morning of June 5, 1919, 92 men were killed by an explosion of powder while riding a trip of mine cars a short distance inside East End's Baltimore Tunnel, No. 5

Colliery of the Hudson Coal Co. The only anthracite mining catastrophe that exceeded the Baltimore tunnel tragedy in point of fatalities was the famous Avon-dale Colliery disaster that occurred below Plymouth on September 6, 1869. In this first major anthracite mine tragedy, 108 workmen trapped inside a burning mine shaft died of asphyxiation. The flery shaft was the sole outlet for the unfortunate mine workers. Two would-be rescuers suffered the same fate, bringing total fatalities to 110 at Avon-

Highlights of the Baltimore Tunnel disaster at East End are recounted by James J. Corrigan of this city, anthracite historical researcher whose articles on the local area's history have appeared in numerous publica-

#### NEEDLESS TRAGEDY

Corrigan prepared statistics which show that the Baltimore Tunnel tragedy which shocked the postwar Nation and was termed 'a needless tragedy," widowed 60, orphaned 162, and cast a pall over the East End, North Wilkes-Barre, Heights and Georgetown sections where most of the victims made their

Whole streets were prostrated with grief. undertakers were overwhelmed with inter-ment preparation problems, and physicians were taxed in treating the scores of severely injured who survived the terrific tunnel explosion.

One group of workmen escaped to safety from asphyxiating mine gas fumes caused by the explosion of powder when they were miraculously led to the surface through a little known outlet—the "G" vein slope—by Thomas Sheridan, of Kidder Street, East End. Mr. Sheridan, a shrewd and experienced anthracite miner, was the father of Thomas Sheridan, Wilkes-Barre city policeman. The elder Sheridan's rescue maneuver was widely acclaimed.

#### SHOELACE SAVED HIM

Another East Ender later always maintained that he owed his life to the fact that he missed the disastrous train carrying both men and kegs of powder and dynamite into the tunnel. He had stopped to tie his shoelace just as the fatal train, a few feet away, started to enter the tunnel.

Corrigan gives an enlightening résumé of the report made on the disaster by Thomas Williams, inspector for Anthracite 11th District, Luzerne, to Seward E. Button, chief of the Pennsylvania Department of Mines:

Owing to the magnitude of the disaster, a thorough investigation was made as to its cause. A commission of six inspectors made a thorough and exhaustive study of the mine, but not withstanding the carefulness of their work, the cause was not definitely determined.

It is known only that the explosion was due to the ignition of powder on a trip of 13 cars. The investigation showed that mine cars were halted at the time the accident occurred, and that the motor was uncoupled from the trip. The explosion occurred on the 10th car from the motor, about 35 feet from the mine entrance. Powder and men were carried in the same cars, namely, the 10th and 13th, and with the men were open lamps and smoking pipes.

It appears that the trolley wire was out of a hanger a short distance inside the mine. The trip was stopped when signaled and advised of the condition of the trolley wire. The motor was uncoupled and the trip left standing. The motorman then ran his motor slowly to a point just inside the Stanton vein or about 25 feet inside the hanger in question. He stopped his motor, got off and turned around facing the mouth of the tunnel just as the explosion occurred.

#### CAUSE NEVER FOUND

The investigation revealed that some lights were lit on the trip in close proximity to the scene of the accident, and it was the opinion that the explosion might have been caused by a lamp or carelessly thrown match coming into contact with powder in a defective keg.

There was no positive evidence to support this theory. All evidence, however, to connect electricity as the cause falled and the majority of the commission was of the opinion that the cause would never be ascertained.

Nationalities of men fatally hurt in the Baltimore Tunnel disaster, as calculated by Corrigan from State mine reports, were as follows: American-born, 31; Polish, 31; Austrian, 15; Russian, 11; Irísh, 2; German, 1, Welsh, 1.

Corrigan explains the absence of Slovak or Lithuanian nationalities in this listing by the fact that both coal companies and mine inspectors for a great many decades lumped the latter two nationalities under Polish.

In the last century and early in the current one, coal mine inspectors were accustomed to refer to most immigrants to the anthracite region as Hungarians.

# One group of workmen escaped to safety om asphyxiating mine gas fumes caused by the explosion of powder when they were

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 10, 1959

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, the following article represents part II:

QUINCY JUNIOR COLLEGE COMES OF AGE; 1958
AND THE FUTURE

#### (By Glenn A. McLain)

By September 1958 the permanent growth of the Quincy Junior College was an assured fact. The unsung work of the Community Colleges Association (former College Courses, Inc.), the pioneering work of Dr.Gossard and the foresight of the Quincy School Committee had finally shown concrete results. Student enrollment increased from 61 in 1957-58 to 83 in the fall of 1958. For the first time a full-time program with a student enrollment of 10 students was underway. Seventy-three part-time students were also taking a variety of mostly liberal arts courses.

College officials have maintained a firm policy of cautious professional growth based upon well planned guidance programs which are so necessary in junior colleges and other institutions. Despite the comments of some critics who feel that unqualified students might be admitted to pack the school the facts do not warrant such ideas.

The official authorization by the State board of education to Quincy Junior College to offer the 2-year program provides the citizens of this area with a number of stimulating possibilities. The future of the college belongs to the students who will attend, and the taxpayers who will support the expanding program. These problems can be summarized in four main fields: finances, administration, plant facilities, and general development. Underlying all these issues is the continuing need for more public information and more public understanding of the needs, aspirations, and future of the Quincy Junior College.

Financial worries are not expected to be of major importance according to the 3-year budget estimates made by the Community College Association and presented to the school committee by Attorney Melvin Thorner on December 3, 1958. The following figures show clearly the inexpensive nature of the estimated budget for 1959-61. The entire program for the next 3 years will cost the taxpayers of Quincy less than \$4,000 yearly. Compared with the annual school department budget of several millions, this program is an educational bargain for Quincy:

Estimated expenses \$103, 265 Estimated income 92, 471

Estimated deficit\_\_\_\_\_ 110,794

<sup>1</sup> From school department budget.

As the estimated number of students to be served during this period will be 670, the taxpayers of Quincy will be liable for a subsidy of \$14.02 per student. There is every possibility that this deficit will be further reduced through income from increased en-

rollment. Both the budget and enrollment figures are very conservative estimates. Quincy Junior College, like all others in the United States, will continue to offer minimum cost education without the extras taxpayers often justifiably complain about. The persent high quality of instruction will not be sacrificed to get these low costs.

Administrative problems include the need for a full-time director, a gradual hiring of full-time staff as needs increase, and a librarian. Some part-time instructors will still be used from nearby colleges and universities with every indication of success.

Gradual expansion of needed plant facilities is projected for added classrooms, faculty offices, more library space, and for a student lounge. No new building program is expected, and the practical utilization of unused space at Coddington School will continue to present a model of efficiency and dollarwise planning in the future.

General developmental needs for the next 4 years are highlighted by the immediate demand for a functioning library. Most junior colleges average about 7,000 volumes with about 4,000 reference works. A South Shore community drive will be started in 1959 to further this plan so essential to the continuing growth of the college. Such are the plans, needs, and hopes for the college from 1958-1961. The final problem of importance is the definition of the role of citizens in Quincy and South Shore in order to achieve these objectives.

#### PROBLEMS ON THREE LEVELS FOR CITIZENS

In the progress of Quincy Junior College from the infant to adult stage during the past 3 years the future efforts of citizens in this area can be considered on the National, State, and local levels.

With the signing of the National Defense Education Act by President Eisenhower in September 1958, tremendous possibilities were offered for the future growth of Quincy Junior College. Applications are now being made for Federal subsidies in a new student loan program and for aid in organizing summer and year-round guidance institutes at the college. Officials from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare have assured junior college leaders that small, progressive institutions will receive special consideration in the new program.

All of the Senators and Congressmen in Massachusetts are being solicited for their help in securing educational gifts for the growing junior college library. Ambassador Wigglesworth, of Milton, has started this effort by contributing very valuable Government publications to the drive.

On the State level, Quincy Junior College must be given the chance to benefit from any developmental ideas proposed by the newly created Furcolo commission. Our local legislators should continue efforts to develop State aid according to existing and perhaps new laws. Local control of the program need not be disturbed as this type of dual administration between local groups and State agencies has been the pattern in many other States.

Locally citizens should take a personal or professional interest in the sustained growth and development of the institution. Business and taxpayer groups must contribute their advice and efforts to build the type of educational programs really needed in this area. Civic clubs, community leaders, local industry, and legislative leaders should be encouraged to use the facilities of the college for special courses, programs, and to interest themselves in scholarships or serv-

ices through the college for the entire south

As the future of Quincy Junior College is finally surveyed from the vantage point of 1959, it should be obvious to all that the young, dynamic institution at 52 Coddington Street is an asset to the South Shore community. Its present growth is the direct result of local inspiration, directed energy, and imaginative leadership by South Shore citizens and educators.

Future plans to meet the accelerated demands of this area can only be extended through more community support. The watchwords of James Bryant Conant could well be used as the idea, "Our purpose is to cultivate \* \* \* in our future citizens an appreciation of the responsibilities and benefits which come to them because they are American and are free." The citizens of Quincy have such an opportunity to further this ideal by helping to speed the objectives of Quincy Junior College.

## Congress Senses Mood-Public Aware of Inflation Danger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. R. WALTER RIEHLMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Wednesday, June 10, 1959

Mr. RIEHLMAN. Mr. Speaker, as evidence of the growing public awareness of the dangers of inflation as well as ability to pinpoint its causes, I include the following editorial from the Syracuse (N.Y.) Post Standard of Sunday, June 7, 1959:

CONGRESS SENSES MOOD-PUBLIC AWARE OF INFLATION DANGER

It is encouraging to note that the danger of inflation is not being dismissed as lightly as it was a month or two ago by congressional leaders.

President Eisenhower's economy offensive

is beginning to get results.

House Speaker Sam Rayburn and Senate leader Lyndon Johnson are pressuring House-Senate conferees to trim major spending bills in order to avoid presidential vetoes, an increasing probability in view of Mr. Eisenhower's present mood.

There is evidence that the public is reinforcing the administration's economy drive. It is coming from people living on fixed or slowly rising incomes who are being hurt most by inflation.

Those who have retired and those who will join their ranks realize that the creeping 2 percent a year decline in the dollar's purchasing power could in time make present public and private pension plans meaning-

There is only one way to survive inflation and that is to stop it.

The first step is for the Federal Government to cut out deficit financing and use some of its tax money to help reduce the national debt.

The next is to call a halt to industrial wage increases not justified by gains in produc-

A third is to forgo price increases not warranted by production costs.

The dollar today is worth around 50 cents as compared to its buying power in 1939. By 1980 it could be worth 35 cents.

That prospect is enough to make workers dread the day of retirement. It is ironical that science is prolonging life while infla-tion is making longevity considerably less than a blessing.

The simple fact is that the figures on a pay check don't mean much any more. Although earnings may rise the worker may actually be earning less in terms of what he has left after taxes and what this will buy.

The American revolt against inflation is highly encouraging. It shows the people are

aware of what is in store.

Likewise encouraging is the campaign being undertaken by the Empire State Chamber of Commerce to bring about wider rebellion. It advises those who oppose further inflation to insist that Congress, before passing more big money bills, specify where the money is coming from.

If it comes from deficit financing and an increase in the national debt it is infla-And it must come from these sources if spending continues to exceed in-

There is no magic cure. The halt must be brought about by a combination of the factors mentioned. It can be done.

## Congress Still Toys With Surplus Subsidies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON, R. WALTER RIEHLMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 10, 1959

Mr. RIEHLMAN. Mr. Speaker, it is evident to me, and I am sure many of my colleagues will agree, that the taxpayers in this great country are daily growing more alarmed at the mounting tax-dollar investment in surplus farm commodities. It is somewhat ironic to me that, at the very time when public sentiment cries for an intelligent solution to farm problems, Members of the House of Representatives are being asked to support the very system of high price supports that made the original and substantial contribution to the present critical situation. Once again it appears that the demands of the poor, unorganized taxpayer are being subordinated to the desires of the special

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Syracuse (N.Y.) Herald-American of Sunday, June 7, 1959:

CONGRESS STILL TOYS WITH SURPLUS SUBSIDIES How much did you pay in Federal income

taxes last year?

As much as \$100 a month? Then a tenth of your tax is invested in farm commodity inventories and crop loans.

Or did you get by with a \$250 income tax? About half is represented in the Government's holdings of surplus farm commodi-

Six years ago your family owned \$30.74 worth of surplus farm commodities.

Since then, your holdings have increased fourfold.

The total investment of \$7 billion would have paid for all social security, welfare, and health and veterans' services and benefitsin.1958.

These dramatize the agricultural revolution of the postwar years.

They also put into stark relief the political tinkering that has been applied to a vital sector of the Nation's economy.

Here's the receiving side of the picture. Cited on the floor of Congress is the case of a Kansas wheat farmer.

He operates a 100,000-acre wheat empire. In 4 years, he collected \$791,000 in support loans for raising wheat; and \$405,000 in cash for not raising wheat.

This lawyer-turned-farmer controls, as well, a 500-well oil company which enjoys a favorable tax position; a building firm that relies chiefly on FHA mortgage guarantees; a chain of elevators on which he collects \$14.7 million a year for storing surplus wheat, corn, and grain sorghums.

These are legitimate, but subsidized enterprises.

Currently, neither the Senate nor the House are thinking seriously of tackling this problem beyond adopting variations of past practices.

The Senate passed by a standing vote, an amended measure providing a new wheat program for the 1960 and 1961 crops.

Under it, wheat growers would have a chance to select one of three different support formulas. Higher supports would come with agreement to plant smaller acreages.

In the House, a like measure—labeled as the "wheat bill nobody wants"—has been sent to the floor for debate and vote.

If the legislation survives, and wheat farmers adhere to tradition, they will vote for controls and higher supports.

And that is where the application of fertilizer and factory style cultivation pays off. The harvest still increases.

Since neither bill fits the President's prescription, the final version faces an almost certain veto.

He asked Congress to link mandatory supports to a percentage of the market price, or. falling that, to give the Secretary of Agriculture broad flexibility in fixing supportsfrom zero to 90 percent of parity.

The President, in effect, suggested to Congress that the market could serve as a greater regulator.

The outlook isn't bright.

Without doubt, the Federal Government cannot abandon a major sector of the Nation's economy. But neither can the present programs be financed indefinitely. Mounting costs-which are approaching a scandalous figure—are threatening all farm programs.

That could be the public's edict for the farm bloc no longer musters the strength to ride roughshod over opposition.

Many a farm State Congressman admits "I don't know a solution," and the legislation. to date, is proof of the confession. It merely shadowboxes with the problem.

The President has offered, so far, the only realistic but hard-to-take approach; namely, to tie supports to market prices or to increase their flexibility so that the result is nearly the same. Low prices, as the result of overproduction, will serve as acreage regula-

Marginal farmers will be hurt. And no doubt their numbers will incerase as price decline.

Yet, how long can Federal taxes be channeled into paying for unwanted and unused production?

Not much longer in the present climate of tax opinion.

## Statement by Hon. Walter H. Moeller. of Ohio

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. WALTER H. MOELLER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 10, 1959

Mr. MOELLER. Mr. Speaker, because of my unavoidable absence from the House yesterday while returning from my duties as a delegate to the Atlantic Congress, I was forced to miss the six rollcall votes which were held on H.R. 3610, the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, and on H.R. 7509, the public works appropriations bill. I wish now to state for the record the position I would have taken on each of these votes.

On rollcall No. 68, the motion to recommit H.R. 3610, I would have voted "nav."

On rollcall No. 69, final passage of H.R. 3610, I would have voted "yea."

On rollcall No. 70, the Passman amendment to H.R. 7509, I would have voted "nav."

On rollcall No. 71, the Johnson amendment to H.R. 7509, I would have voted "nay."

On rollcall No. 72, the motion to recommit H.R. 7509, I would have voted "nay."

On rollcall No. 73, final passage of H.R. 7509, I would have voted "yea."

#### Mine, Mill, and Smelters Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. A. S. J. CARNAHAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 10, 1959

Mr. CARNAHAN. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the Record, I include a resolution passed by residents of Ste. Genevieve, Mo. and surrounding areas, excerpts from a statement by Attorney General Brownell, Jr., and excerpts from the Fair Play, Ste. Genevieve, Mo. The material follows: A Joint Resolution of the Archbiocesan

JOINT RESOLUTION OF THE ARCHDIOCESAN COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC MEN AND WOMEN AND THE STE. GENEVIEVE DEANERY COUNCIL PASSED JUNE 7, 1959, IN STE. GENEVIEVE, MO.

At a joint meeting of the Ste. Genevieve Deanery Council and the Archdiocesan Council of Catholic Men and Women, held in Ste. Genevieve on Sunday, June 7, the council went on record to accept the following resolution against Mine, Mill, and Smelters Worker's Union—the Mine, Mill and Smelters Union having circulated a petition among the workers of Mississippi Lime Co., have secured a list of 30 percent of the workers and have been granted an election to occur on June 19.

The resolution follows:

"Whereas Russian communism, by it's very nature, is the implacable enemy of all re-

ligions that believe in God; and

"Whereas the same communism believes in the priority of the state over the rights, freedoms, and liberties of the individual, thus creating a social, economic, and political system althogether opposed to democracy as is understood in our Nation; and

"Whereas we are sincerely convinced that no Christian or American citizen can in good conscience be a communist, communist sympathizer, direct or indirect cooperator in communism; and

"Whereas the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers Union was expelled by the Congress of Industrial Organizations in 1949 because it was dominated by communistic leadership; and "Whereas we are of the opinion that there is ample proof that the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers Union is still communistically infiltrated and under the influence of communist leadership:

Therefore we, the undersigned, hereby resolve that for the safety and security of our country, for the good of organized labor and unionism, for the welfare of religion and for the peace and harmony of our community we believe and recommend that all the men involved in the election to be held in Ste. Genevieve, Mo., on June 19, of this year, should vote against the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers Union, and in favor of a union that is completely beyond suspicion and not under the cloud of communism, communistic leadership, subversive activities or association."

Signed and endorsed by: Mrs. Lawrence Braun. President, Ste. Genevieve District Council of Catholic Women; Mr. Herbert V. Wood, President, Ste. Genevieve District Council of Catholic Men; The Right Reverend Monsignor Edmund J. Venerloh; Rev. Charles M. DeGuire; Rev. Jos. J. Richter; Rev. F. G. Wisberg; Rev. Jos. B. Wolf; Rev. John S. Jadrich; Rev. Ralph A. Zimmer; Rev. Charles J. Rice, C.M.; Rev. Joseph L. Gottwald.

EXCERPTS FROM STATEMENT BY ATTORNEY GENERAL BROWNELL, JR.

Excerpts from a statement by Attorney General Brownell, Jr., before the Subversive Activities Control Board in the case of Herbert Brownell, Jr., Attorney General of the United States, Petitioner v. International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, Respondent, (hereinafter referred to as "the union" or "international union"), held in Washington, D.C., Monday, February 25, 1957, which were supported by evidence adduced in the months immediately following. The excerpts are as follows:

"The international organization of this union has been under the tight domination and control of the Communist Party. A majority of the members of the international executive board have been either party members or so closely affiliated with the party as to be subservient to its wishes."

"For all practical purposes membership in the party was a prerequisite to employment in any important position in the international office. The staff of international representatives and regional directors was loaded with members of the party. This staff has become a Communist Party machine within the union, used by the officers to maintain the party grip and to perpetuate their own control and to recruit members for the party.

"The educational department was used to propagate the party line among the rank and file of membership. In all matters of domestic and international politics, the union publication was but an echo of the Daily Worker. It followed every twist and turn of the party line.

"Facilities and funds of the international union were used to promote the interests of the Communist Party and its various fronts. Sometimes the international representatives who had little union work to do were assigned to work on projects for the Communist Party and its various fronts. Their salaries were paid of course by the union."

"In 1949 the party decided that the time had come to place a Negro on the international executive board. Jesse Van Camp was at that time board member for District 3 and a party member. The party decreed that he should step aside in order that Raymond Dennis, another party member, could

succeed him on the board. This was done. Dennis has been board member for District 3 since that time, and Van Camp was given a position as international representative, which he still holds in District 3."

"In 1953 the party decreed that Charles H. Wilson should step down from his position as eastern vice president so Asbury Howard could succeed him, and that was done.

"In 1950 this union was thrown out of the CIO because of its Communist leadership. It became an independent union, but its position since that time has been a lonely one. It was isolated from the main stream of labor, and its influence in the labor movement was less than nothing. It was regarded as a pariah among unions, a stench in the nostrils of labor itself.

"In 1953 the party decided that the union should get back into the main stream of labor, and to this end that the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers should merge with some other union. Since that time the officials of this union have made persistent and strenuous efforts to effect the merger. So far their efforts have not been successful.

"The Communist leadership has brought nothing but disaster and ill repute to this union. Control of the union has been more important to them than the welfare of the workers. Disruption and internal strife have been their major contribution. Maurice Travis once said in the midst of a secession fight in 1948 that he would prefer to see the union destroyed than to see the Communist Party lose control of it. John Williamson said in 1949 that it was more important to hold onto the basic sections of the industry, that is, to the mines and smelters, than to wage futile fight to hold the fabricating and fringe locals. Another high party functionary said in 1954 that the loss of Mine Mill would set the Communist Party back 30 years in the United States. Hold on to the union at all costs has been their purpose. Hold on to the mines and smelters even at the expense of losing the rest has been their policy.

"The cost to the union of that policy has been heavy. The Communist leadership and policies have been an expensive luxury which, as time has demonstrated, the union could ill afford."

"In August of 1947 the party decreed that Travis should step down from the presidency and take the less conspicuous position of secretary-treasurer. There was a reason for this. Travis was too well known as a Communist, and because of the bitter fights over the Communist issue the top leadership needed a more respectable front.

"John Clark was selected for this role, The party selected him. He was not a party member, but he was a quiet individual who would be completely subservient to the leadership of Travis. That is to say, that is what the party expected. So Clark became a figurehead president, referred to by the Communists themselves as a dummy, and Travis continued to run the union. Clark is still president and he has not disappointed his Communist supporters."

"There have been a few changes of personnel, but these changes have not diminished the party control. Perhaps they have operated to strengthen it,"

"To conceal the existence and operations of the committee, another group was established. It was called the progressive caucus. The committee members were a part of the progressive caucus. Other party members on the board and on the staff were also a

part of the progressive caucus. Otherwise, the caucus was made up of people who consistently supported the party leadership in

the union.

"Before every board meeting and before every convention there would be a meeting of the steering committee, followed by a meeting of the progressive caucus. Policies were transmitted first to the steering committee from the party, and through the steering committee to the progressive caucus, and thence to board meetings and conventions."

"With few exceptions, they have successfully concealed their party membership from the rank and file membership of the union. They have posed as the best and only friend of the workingman, while subordinating his interests to the interests of the Communist Party and to their own lust for power. They assume poses of righteous indignation at any challenge to their leadership and always denounce their opposition at disruptionists and as ambitious, unscrupluous men, lusting for power. Their opponents are always traitors and enemies of labor.

"They assumed the pose of martyrs when called to account and expelled by the CIO. The CIO was merely trying to take away their autonomous rights, so they said. Communism, they said, had nothing to do with it, and the maintenance of the autonomous rights became a holy cause."

[Excerpts from Fair Play, Ste. Genevieve, Mo.]

FOURTEEN MINE-MILL STAFF FACE CONSPIRACY INDICTMENT

Fourteen members of the International Union of Mine, Mill, & Smelter Workers staff surrendered in November 1956, to face Federal indictments charging them with conspiracy; in part they are named as follows: Jess Van Camp, Maurice Travis, Asbury Howard, C. J. Powers, and Ray Dennis. The trial is set for September 21, 1959, in the U.S. Federal district court, Denver, Colo.

Statement on H.R. 781, a Bill To Create a Federal Department of Urban Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. ROBERT A. EVERETT

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 10, 1959

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, I have asked consent to insert in the RECORD the testimony of Bernard F. Hillenbrand, executive director of the National Association of County Officials, on proposed legislation in the House which would create a new Federal Department of Urban Affairs. Mr. Hillenbrand is probably the youngest executive director of a major national association of public officials in America today-but I commend his statement to you for its maturity of reason and its soundness on basic principles of our Federal system of government. Speaking before the House Government Operations Committee, on behalf of 6,000 elected and appointed county officials, Mr. Hillenbrand pre-sented a penetrating reappraisal of Federal-local government relationships that deserves the serious consideration of this entire body.

A graduate of the Maxwell School of Public Administration at Syracuse University, Mr. Hillenbrand's career has also included service with the States of New York and Wisconsin, the city of Syracuse and as assistant director of the American Municipal Association.

The testimony follows:

TESTIMONY OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COUNTY OFFICIALS BEFORE THE HOUSE GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS COMMITTEE ON H.R. 781, A BILL TO CREATE A FEDERAL DEPARTMENT OF URBAN AFFAIRS BY BERNARD F. HILLENBEAND, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COUNTY OFFICIALS, JUNE 3, 1959.

#### SUMMARY

Mr. Chairman, the National Association of County Officials is opposed to the passage of H.R. 781, a bill that would create a new Federal Department of Urban Affairs under the direction of a Cabinet rank secretary appointed by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate. As an alternate solution to the problem of providing national coordination of the numerous Federal-aid programs dealing with States, counties, cities and other units of government, we respectfully suggest that a permanent commission on intergovernmental relations be established. We propose that the present posi-tion of Deputy Assistant to the President for Intergovernmental Relations be given major responsibility for coordinating these national programs as a staff function of the office of the President of the United States. If a national commission is appointed to study metropolitan problems we respectfully urge that counties and other local units be adequately represented.

#### REASONS FOR OPPOSITION

The National Association of County Officials represents more than 6,000 elected and appointed policymaking county officials in 48 States. We are the national representatives of our 45 affiliate State associations of county officials organized in 43 States. Our membership has specifically considered the subject to creating a department of urban affairs and unanimously voted to oppose it for the following reasons:

1. A Department of Urban Affairs would

create more Federal bureaucracy.

Our American county platform which contains our national policy reads as follows:

"Whenever possible dealings between county and other local governments and the Federal Government should be channeled through an appropriate State agency. We oppose the establishment of a Federal department of urban affairs on, the ground that it would further weaken the States and would tend to create an unwieldy bureaucracy of the type found in many foreign countries." (Unanimously approved, Portland, Oreg., July 25, 1958.)

More recently, on May 5, 1959, U.S. Senator Vance Hartke, Democrat, of Indiana, asked the National Association of County Officials for reactions to his suggestion that a new Federal agency should be created to serve as a national clearinghouse for State and local government information. He had in mind a twofold function of the new agency of: (1) Service as a national library on State and local materials (much like the Library of Congress); and, (2) retention of a staff of specialists to analyze, digest, and summarize data and interpret trends (much like the Legislative Reference Service of Congress). While Senator HARTKE did not mention creation of a Department of Urban Affairs, the purpose of his proposed new unit would be somewhat similar to the purposes identified in the preamble of H.R. 781, namely:

"The Congress finds that the pressing needs of cities and metropolitan areas are such that Federal action should be taken to assist in meeting these needs through educa-

tion, research, technical services, and such programs as the Congress may later prescribe."

We circulated this proposal to 600 of our key leaders throughout the Nation and with no exceptions they were all opposed to creation of a new Federal agency to serve as a national clearinghouse. We have tabulated typical replies and because they are so pertinent to these hearings we would like to have permission, Mr. Chairman, to make them a part of the record.

Experience of local government officials with Federal agencies has not always been good. In the first place a national program inevitably involves establishment of national uniform standards. Local needs and local sentiments are such that in most cases local officials believe that their problems are unique. Federal officials dare not risk administering a program in one area at variance with its administration somewhere else.

Then again, Federal officials appointed nationally will be responsible to national of-Experience has shown that Federal officials are therefore far less responsive to local needs. We can also see basic conflicts inherent in the position of Urban Secretary. In the case of Federal aid to airports, for example, if the local officials want such aid and the administration in power is opposed, the Secretary is in a poor position to advo-cate local governments interests in face of opposition from the boss. In this case, to whom do local officials appeal? There is no evidence to support the idea that because an Urban Secretary is in charge of urban affairs that he will be in sympathy with the feelings of the locally elected urban area officials. In fact, we have had cases of Federal officials being appointed to administer certain Federal programs which they are known to oppose.

2. Transfer of function of primary interest to localities to a single Urban Department may solve certain problems of coordination while at the same time creating others as bad or worse. Example: The Bureau of Public Roads in the Department of Commerce administers the Federal-aid highway program. With some minor exceptions the Federal Government does not build or maintain any roads. Yet the Bureau spends billions of dollars a year in gigantic partnership with State and local officials. It has been argued that there is crying need for coordination of the roadbuilding with slum clearance and urban renewal in the housing agency. This is probably true but if you transfer the Bu-reau to the new Urban Department into which you have already put the Urban Renewal Agency, how do you coordinate highway construction with agencies dealing with other means of transportation and now lo-cated in the Department of Commerce? In the case of Federal-aid airport assistance which is accomplished in cooperation with the States and local government, if you move the Federal Airport Administrator into the Urban Department, how do you coordinate airport construction with air-traffic control. weather reporting, and related functions still in the Department of Commerce.

At the present time local officials often get the runaround from one agency to another and presumably this bill would solve the problem by placing all the agencies dealing with local government into a single department. Would this help? Our smaller counties for example would like to have Federal participation in the cost of resealing runways on these glant airports that they took over after the war. An appeal to the Urban Affairs Department would most likely be advised that they would have to await a determination by its airport subunit of its overall airport plan. If they appealed to the airport unit they would likely be advised that they would have to await overall determination of department policy

on all maintenance items, including highways, hospitals, etc. We might substitute intra-agency buckpassing to interagency buckpassing.

Experience with merging the Military Establishments would indicate that because agencies have a single head does not mean that they will be coordinated.

Presumably the Urban Secretary have a staff of specialists to make studies of urban area problems. This could lead to more trouble for local officials. Example: NACO has been making a concentrated effort over the past 20 years to get the National Government to recognize that large tax exempt Federal holdings often constitute a hardship on local governments, particularly small ones that depend almost exclusively on property taxes for support. We have asked Congress to authorize a controlled program of payments in lieu of taxes. In 1953 and 1954 we pushed for passage of this legislation and the Government told us that we should await the result of a national study which was being conducted as part of the research on the President's Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. In 1955 the Commission reported favorably on our position. Still no action. We know that the next argument will be that the 1955 study is now too old and that there will have to be a new study. studies can be a fine device for delaying action and most of us are agreed that now is the time to start acting on these problems.

3. Inherent in the proposal to create a Department of Urban Affairs in the assumption that the metropolitan problem will be solved at the national level. This is not true. We know of no case where the Federal Government has contributed significantly in advancing the solution to the urban problem. On the contrary, some of the Federal policies discourage its solution. Example: Under present Federal law communities with appropriate State priority are eligible to receive 30 percent of the cost up to a limit of \$250,000 for the cost of constructing a sewage treatment plant. In metropolitan areas, logic and engineering advances indicate that it is more economical for several communities to band together and construct a single metropolitan treatment plant. Under the Federal law, each individual community is eligible for up to \$250,000 of Federal aid while if the metropolitan plant is constructed the total for the entire project can only be \$250,000. Communities ignore regional responsibilities and will choose to go it alone under this policy.

Many very well meaning people are dis appointed with our lack of progress in solving areawide problems. This is probably In part due to the fact that they are looking for the wrong things. They expect bright new super new super government encompassing whole regions and crossing State lines. This isn't likely to happen in the near future. There have been some bold experiments as for example Dade County, Fla., city-county consolidations, the Lakewood plan of municipal services being provided by contract with the county and many others. All were instituted locally and all differ considerably to meet local needs and sentiments. None take on the aspect of super government.

Of even more importance is the amazing degree to which individual functions are being performed on an areawide basis through the revitalization of county government. We have ample documentation of counties in both urban and semirural areas taking over responsibility for area-wide traffic and parking, zoning, industrial development, taxation and finance, water and sewage disposal, hospital construction, community colleges, outpatient clinics,

planning and even urban renewal.

It is often pointed out that 6 out of 10 Americans live in 170 metropolitan areas. In 100 cases, this area is encompassed by a single county. In the remaining areas two or more counties are involved. It is because of this circumstance that we think that the experiment in the six-county area of Detroit is among the most significant in the country. The district of Mrs. Martha Griffiths, the author of the bill under discussion in a part of this Supervisor's Intercounty Committee made up of representatives of the supervisors, mayors, and other local officials of the sixcounty area. They study their mutual problems and while they do not have central authority, nor do they want any, they are tackling their problems by study and their cooperative action by the area governments where necessary.

4. Finally, we are opposed to the creation of a Department of Urban Affairs because it would expand the role of the Federal Government in areas which we believe should be left to the States and localities.

The governmental philosophy of the National Association of County Officials is best summed up in the statement of principles which guided the President's Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.

"Leave to private initiative all the functions that citizens can perform privately; the the level of government closest to the community for all public functions it can handle; utilize cooperative intergovernmental arrangements where appropriate to attain economical performance and popular approval; reserve national action for residual participation where State and local governments are not fully adequate, and for the continuing responsibilities that only the National Government can undertake."

There would always be a temptation on the part of a vigorous Urban Secretary to expand the role of his Department and to get involved in matters that more properly should be handled by localities. This is sometimes called empire building and examples of this are too numerous to mention. His control over the administration of standards and his power to stop Federal aid if he disapproved of local activities would place the Secretary in a most powerful position-a position of Federal control over local activities never envisioned in the Constitution or by supporters of the Federal system.

It is also important to note that while county officials have taken a strong stand against a Department of Urban Affairs, they are by no means opposed to existing Federal technical and financial aid programs. matter of fact, you will find specific endorsement of most of them in our policy statement. It is also important to note that there is no appreciable difference between the national legislative programs of the cities and the counties. In the past 2 years, we cannot recall a single instance in which the things we have worked for in Congress have not been identical, with the single exception of a stand on a Department of Urban Affairs and our position that Federal aid programs should be channeled through the States. In a great number of cases we have joined together in support of important national programs.

With respect to the apparent contradiction in supporting Federal aid while at the same time opposing expansion of the Federal Government into local activities let me add that we recognize the dilemma. The plain fact is that if the Federal Government will not participate in the present aid programs to the extent of the national interest we cannot. We do not have the funds. We feel that any proposed new aid programs should be given the most critical review. Again we agree with the spirit of the findings of the Kestnbaum Commission

The major problem with respect to the

metropolitan problem does not lie in Washington, but rather rests squarely at the State capitol, the city hall, and courthouse.

# REASONS WHY WE ARE NOT OPPOSED

In listing our reservations about the Dapartment of Urban Affairs, it is important to clarify our position. It might be argued by some, for example, that being a national association of public officials we may be opposed simply because it might tend to weaken the association. Actually, a proposed Depart-ment of Urban Affairs would strengthen our association. All experience would indicate that when a Federal agency is charged with administering a program of special interest to a given group, the group finds it increasingly necessary to form an association to interpret the needs of the group to the Federal agency. Examples: Veterans' Administration activities have stimulated organization of veteran groups, farm programs stimulate organization of farmers, etc. There would probably be an even greater need for public officials organizations with the creation of the Department than there is now.

It should be pointed out that there are many organizations of public officials, employing about 400 people in a constant study and research program. The Urban Department would have to be careful not to duplicate this work.

### PERMANENT COMMISSION OF INTERGOVERN-MENTAL RELATIONS SUPPORTED

We agree that there is need to coordinate various national programs affecting local governments but the coordination needs to be among the governments and not just among the Federal agencies. We believe that this can more effectively be accomplished by creation of a permanent Commission on Intergovernmental Relations as originally recommended by the President's Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (Kestnbaum Commission). The Commission recommended on page 88 as follows:

"An Advisory Board on Intergovernmental Relations would be appointed by the President after such consultation as he deemed appropriate with associations that represent

various levels."

We would carry this recommendation further and in line with a bill introduced by Congressman L. H. FOUNTAIN, Democrat of North Carolina, assign the following responsibilities to the Commission:

1. Bring Federal, State and local representatives together on common problems.

- 2. Provide forum for discussion of Federal grant and other programs requiring intergovernmental cooperation.
- 3. Give critical attention to conditions and controls involved in Federal grant programs. 4. Make technical assistance available to
- the Federal Government in review of proposed legislation to determine its overall effect on Federal system.
- 5. Encourage discussion of emerging problems requiring intergovernmental coopera-

6. Recommend allocation of governmental functions and responsibilities among the

several levels of government.

A permanent Intergovernmental Relations Commission would give local officials a forum to make their needs known. It would seem to us that before we talk national organization we ought to talk national policy. is the national policy on subsidy to urban area mass transit? Direct Federal-local relations that bypass the States? Civil defense dispersal policy in urban areas? These things should be decided by the Congress with the full cooperation and participation of State, local and Federal officials. An Urban Secretary would be in a poor position to sug-gest this policy. Example: Public Law 660 provides for a non-Federal Water Pollution Control Advisory Board to suggest policy on water pollution including Federal grants to localities for the construction of water pollution control facilities. These grants have the support of the majority of local government officials and the Advisory Board unanimously supported the continuance of these grants in spite of opposition by the President. The point is that a permanent Commission on Intergovernmental Relations would provide the Congress and the public with a clearer picture on local problems of this type than could be obtained from a Federal official who would and should be guided by overall administration policy.

SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

With respect to coordination of existing Federal programs we believe that this should rest solely with the President of the United States who is the Chief Executive Officer of the National Government. He of course needs assistance and advice and we believe that this can best be accomplished by activating the office of Deputy Assistant to the President for Intergovernmental Relations as originally recommended by the Kestnbaum Commission.

STUDY COMMISSION ON METROPOLITAN PROBLEMS

With respect to legislation to create a Commission to Study Metropolitan Problems we would respectfully suggest that if such legislation is passed that the Commission have adequate representation of county officials. The original bill introduced by Senator CLARK provided for representation by mayors but excluded any county officials. The Supervisor's Intercounty Committee of the Detroit Metropolitan Area, among many other county officials, took exception to the exclusion of county officials and unanimously approved a resolution calling for the addition of two from county legislative bodies, two from county administration and two from the legislative bodies of cities. NACO, the American Municipal Association and the U.S. Conference were to nominate these candidates.

Congressman ALVIN M. BENTLEY has introduced H.R. 7282 which incorporates these suggestions except that it should identify the organizations who are to nominate candiates.

We support this bill.

# Driver of the Year Saluted

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON, ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 10, 1959

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, no thinking American will question the statement that one of the greatest needs in our country at the present moment is safer and more careful driving on our highways. The staggering total of highway facilities over the past Memorial Day weekend, far surpassing estimates and setting a new high in this tragic waste of lives, certainly indicates the need for careful driving and courtesy on the road.

It was with a great deal of pleasure and pride that this past week I met a man named Carl C. Crim. It was a great pleasure because Mr. Crim has just been named by the American Trucking Associations as the trucking industry's Driver of the Year for 1959, and there was also great pride because he is from my home State of Oklahoma.

The honored truckdriver is from Okmulgee, Okla., and drives a tank truck for the Hugh Breeding, Inc., a petroleum common and contract carrier with head-quarters in Tulsa. He was chosen Driver of the Year from the more than 7½ million truckdrivers in the Nation, high praise of his qualifications.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to make mention of the excellent safe driving record of Carl Crim and of several incidents in which he literally risked his life to assist other motorists involved in highway accidents.

Mr. Crim has a 26-year record of accident-free driving, coupled with a long record of administering first aid and assisting at accident scenes, both on and off the highway. He has driven over 11/2 million miles during this time, in all types of weather and conditions, without a single mishap. In July 1958, Mr. Crim was the first to arrive at the scene of an automobile accident near Claremore. Okla. He was successful in removing the occupants of one of the vehicles involved in the head-on collision, applied first aid, and helped in handling traffic until assistance arrived and the highway was cleared.

A number of years ago in Tulsa Mr. Crim prevented a certain gasoline explosion which would have taken countless lives had it not been for the quick thinking and heroic action of this truckdriver. While making his usual delivery at a bus terminal in downtown Tulsa to fill a 1,000-gallon-capacity gasoline-storage tank, Mr. Crim had removed the cap from the tank to determine the capacity. At this time a worker in the terminal began using an arc-weld torch on the opposite wall of the building. With the cap of the tank off, fumes began spreading across the area toward the worker. A spark from the torch ignited the fumes and sent a blanket of flames toward the storage tank and Mr. Crim. Quickly covering the area around the opening with a tarpaulin, he maganed to screw the cap back on the tank opening-all this while flames were burning around his legs. While the driver suffered only slight singes about his legs, authorities said the entire bus station with several dozen waiting passengers might have been blown to bits except for the driver's alertness and heroic efforts. These are but two of the many such instances in which Mr. Crim has lived up to and been an outstanding example of the gentlemen of the highway.

Named Driver of the Year for Oklahoma, Mr. Crim was selected by a group of judges, consisting of the Under Secretary of Commerce for Transportation. John J. Allen; Brig. Gen. E. Herbert Qualls, Director of the Bureau of Motor Carriers of the Interstate Commerce Commission; Arthur C. Butler, director of the National Highway Users' Conference; and Edward F. Jones, staff director. Subcommittee on Traffic Safety of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. Mr. Crim's record of exploits and his outstanding safe-driving record were selected as the most outstanding of all the entries in the driver competition.

He has been in the employ of Hugh Breeding, Inc., since 1947. Prior to that he drove for other trucking firms in his native State. An Army veteran, Mr. Crim spent 2 years with the Army Engineers in the Pacific theater during World War II driving heavy Army vehicles.

Mr. and Mrs. Crim have two teenage daughters and live at 900 North Griffin, in Okmulgee. As a reward for his selection as Driver of the Year, Mr. and Mrs. Crim were invited to Washington for a week of sightseeing and many radio, television, and newspaper interviews; then to New York City for a week of similar activities.

It is a great honor for me to have met with such a fine citizen of my home State of Oklahoma, for Carl C. Crim is a truly oustanding example of the competent and courteous driver whom all drivers might imitate.

# The Wheat Deluge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. ARCH A. MOORE, JR.

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 10, 1959

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, for some time, this country has been plagued with the problem of the vast agriculture surpluses that have been accumulating over a number of years as a direct result of Government trying to tell the farmer how to run his business.

Today we are discussing what our attitude should be with the problem of wheat, and it is my sincere hope that the Congress will adopt the Belcher substitute for the bill as posed by the Agriculture Committee.

The First Congressional District of West Virginia and the State of West Virginia itself are made up of small farmers, none of whom have benefited from this vast program, and I, for one, have come to the conclusion that it should be stopped immediately. I only wish that I had the opportunity to vote for legislation which would relieve the Government of spending some \$5 or \$6 billion a year to support the large corporate farmer in America, for I feel in the end, America and the true farmer would be better off.

I respectfully call to the attention of the House and ask that it be included in my remarks an editorial written by Mr. Thomas O'Brien Flynn, a highly competent writer of the Wheeling Intelligencer, entitled "The Wheat Deluge." I commend this editorial to my fellow Members for their consideration:

THE WHEAT DELUGE

The Department of Agriculture reports that on May 1 the Government had on hand surplus farm commodities costing almost \$9 billion. The increase from a year ago was just short of \$1,681 million.

Of wheat alone, the Government held 1,084 million bushels valued at \$2,803 million. Another 300 million bushels are under price support loan.

How to get out from under this mountain of grain is one of the pressing problems now before Congress.

Democrats on the House Agriculture Committee have reported out a bill which would give growers the choice of reducing their acreage allotments by 25 percent in return for a support price of \$2.13 a bushel instead of the present \$1.81 figure, or planting at will with a support price of \$1.18.

The Eisenhower administration wants all acreage restrictions removed and the support cut well below the proposed Democratic floor to discourage production for storage.

From the time he assumed the post of Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Benson has been trying to steer a course toward progressively lowered crop subsidies with the end in view of eventual withdrawal of the Government from the farm management business.

Because it contemplates a longer stride in this direction, the administration's wheat bill would appear superior, although assuming the imposition of a money ceiling on any farmer's crop support collections—a Senate approved measure fixes \$35,000, a different House bill \$50,000—either should help the situation somewhat.

Because we have been supporting crops for so many years that our entire agriculture has been geared to the device, it probably would be impracticable to scrap the whole thing at one time, although in the case of wheat at least it would appear that this is the only effective remedy.

Remarks by Fred C. Scribner, Jr., Under Secretary of the Treasury, at the Dinner Marking the 100th Anniversary of the Founding of the Maine Savings Bank, Portland, Maine, on June 8, 1959

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. CLIFFORD G. McINTIRE

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 10, 1959

Mr. McINTIRE. Mr. Speaker, Maine is justly proud of its sons and daughters who serve in responsible positions in all walks of life, and one of such distinguished citizens is the Honorable Fred C. Scribner, Jr., Under Secretary of the U.S. Treasury.

Maine is equally proud of its citizens whose service and sound management have resulted in the development of banking, commerce, educational, and other such institutions.

It was at a dinner marking the 100th anniversary of the founding of the Maine Savings Bank—a truly fine Maine institution—that Secretary Scribner addressed an assemblage of Maine citizens. Because this occasion performed as a dedication to truly sound American principles and traditions, and because Secretary Scribner's remarks served to bring these into proper focus, I commend his remarks to the attention of my colleagues:

The Maine Savings Bank, originally named the Portland 5-Cent Savings Institution, was organized in 1859 to solicit the deposit of small amounts, to provide security and safety for the sums it received and to devote all

of its earnings to the benefit of depositors either through dividend payments or through additions to surplus set aside for greater security

The new institution was not a private commercial venture created to earn a profit for its sponsors and managers. It had no stockholders. Its earnings were to belong to its depositors. Its organization represented an attempt by Portland's public spirited business and civic leaders to find a more acceptable method of aiding low income workers, many of them newly arrived immigrants and their families.

An institution for savings, organized to provide security and pay interest on the small deposits of working men and women, had been conceived some 50 years prior in Scotland by the Rev. Henry Duncan, who was anxious to substitute thrift for charity in his parish. The idea was quickly adopted in many sections of Great Britain and soon spread to the United States.

By 1859 there were eight independent mutual institutions for saving in Maine. All had been created for philanthropic purposes. They appealed for small deposits, then considered of little value by banks of discount.

Since 1859 the bank's original purposes to develop thrift and provide protection for the hard earned savings of its depositors have been firm and major guides of bank policy.

Soon after its opening the bank added a further major reason for its existence to those present on opening day. It became an important source of capital for community growth and expansion. Homes and plants and public and private ventures have found a source of capital funds at this bank. Truly, this institution has been a builder.

Savings banks, by pooling and channeling savings, perform a function essential to the growth of America. By facilitating the conversion of savings into active and productive investment areas, they help to maintain production, employment, and economic progress. For capital to come into being, saving must be followed by investing. Savings in a shoebox, while they may reduce the amount of money in circulation and help to retard inflation, previde no productive strength for the economy. The investing policies of institutions appealing for the deposit of savings must assure that capital credit is available for sound and necessary ventures.

Last week the Maine Savings Bank celebrated the 100th anniversary of its opening and began a second century of service to Portland and Maine and their people. The bank's history is one of steady and constructive growth. No depositor has ever lost a single penny. Regular dividends have been paid in every year of the bank's existence. Through Civil and World Wars, through major and minor depressions, the bank has met fully its responsibilities and has justified the confidence of its founders and its depositors.

The Maine Savings Bank begins its second century with greater assets than at any time in its history. It is responsible to its largest number of depositors—62,000—and for deposits of nearly \$70 million. Deposits have more than doubled in size in the last 20 years. The bank offers more facilities and services to its customers than ever before. Its strict adherence to the highest fiduciary standards has earned for it the trusting and loyal support of the communities it serves.

The present officers, led by H. Halsey Davis, president; the veteran Fred F. Lawrence, former treasurer and now vice president; and Barrett C. Nichols, treasurer; and the board of trustees, Messrs. Davis, Bradford, Pierce, Lawrence, Getchell, Hildreth, Ingalls, and McKusick bring to the leadership of the bank a sum total of knowledge, experience, and judgment not exceeded in any prior period of the bank's history. It has a great asset in the trained and experienced men and

women who serve the depositors in every phase of the bank's activities. The 100-year record is excellent by every test. The bank is well prépared to meet the new experiences, the unexpected challenges which are bound to come its way in the decades ahead.

The effectiveness of mutual savings banks depends on the devotion of the American people to the practice of thrift. Savings banks must constantly seek out ways of teaching the people concerning thrift and bringing home to depositors and potential depositors the individual benefits which come to a thrifty people. We cannot merely assume that the value of thrift and the essentiality of saving will be readily understood and accepted by our children and by coming generations of Americans. The energies and funds of this bank must constantly be devoted to bringing home to all the history of thrift and its great advantages. This is why the Maine Savings Bank school saving program is so fine and so essential.

This program, put into operation in 1921, while not original with the bank, was then new to Maine. It involves the rendering of a very real and vital community service, consistent with the bank's initial reasons for existence—the inculation of habits of thrift in Maine citizens. Hundreds of thousands of Maine children had their first banking experience in their school banks. Today, the Maine Savings Bank school banking system serves some 90 schools and 20 thousand children. Their deposits exceed a total of \$750,000. The success of this activity is a testimony to the unremitting efforts and devotion of its two directors, Mrs. Stevens who was succeeded by Mrs. Parker, and to those who have assisted in this teaching program.

There is another great thrift program in which this bank has written another splendid record of unselfish service. This bank, together with financial institutions throughout the country, began at the time of World War II a program of not only selling, but vigorously promoting the sale of U.S. bonds and later U.S. savings bonds. These bonds were designed and issued to appeal primarily to the same type of savers as are attracted by this bank's own savings programs. Thus in participating in this program the bank was aiding a competitive program and pushing a security which competed for savings. However, as its contri-bution to the war effort and to aid and attract funds to finance the Federal deficit, the bank from the beginning of the program has most generously, efficiently, and unselfishly devoted its facilities and its talents to this work. Here is another thrift program conducted not for profit but to aid in the financing of our national debt and to maintain the integrity of the dollar.

We at the Treasury are proud of our savings bond program. In addition to its importance in accomplishing noninflationary borrowing for the Government, it has made a large contribution to thrift in all forms and to the growth of America. Millions of Americans have saved for the first time through savings bonds deductions.

There is one other point—and if this is a selling pitch, I'm willing to make it. I believe it is important that each and every individual invest part of his or her savings in the securities of their Government. There are programs which urge people to buy stock in order to gain a better understanding of the private enterprise system. By the same token, we should urge everyone to buy and own at least a small share in this great country of theirs. I don't know of a security, on balance, that is a better buy for the great rank and file of Americans than U.S. savings bonds.

We must all understand, however, that the Maine Savings Bank and, in fact, all mutual savings banks will grow and prosper in the next century only if they can continue to function in a nation dedicated to encouraging its people to be thrifty and dedicated to practices which will maintain a sound and stable dollar. People cannot be expected to save if the ravages of inflation and imprudent fiscal policies destroy the purchasing power of that which they have put aside for future use. History has taught that inflation creates an urge for spending, not for saving. Quite recently Secretary of the Treasury Anderson, in discussing this very point, said:

"A current deficit and the fear of future deficits can keep people from saving because of possible loss of these savings to inflation. If we ever reach the point where people believe that to speculate is safe but to save is to gamble then we are indeed in trouble.

"If rising prices which will follow from continued deficits cut into saving habits, the result will be further to diminish the supply of capital for economic growth. We cannot indefinitely expect people to continue their saving if they expect prices to go on rising indefinitely."

We cannot repeat too many times that if we develop an economy in which people believe that to speculate is wise but to save is folly, then we are indeed in trouble.

For future success the needs of this bank will be best met by stable monetary standards, reasonable tax rates, and budgetary practices and policies which will check inflationary pressures. In a word, we need a balanced Federal budget and a Federal Government which will live within its income.

There is nothing more important to work for and stand for and fight for than fiscal soundness. I cannot put this point to you better than in the words which President Eisenhower used in the U.S. Savings Bond Conference in February of this year:

"Let us not be misled. A balanced budget and all that it means today in the way of fiscal soundness is a highly positive objective. It is the advocates of unbalanced budgets and deficit spending in our present economic environment who are against rather than for the maintenance of healthy growth in America. \* \* \*

"Inflation weakens the economy. It brings serious hardships to those of our citizens who are living on pensions or other fixed incomes, and works against those who are unable to bargain effectively for higher wages. Most dangerous of all, inflation weakens the incentive to save. It gives rise to a fear that the dollar will continue to decline in value and that speculation will be the only way to keep ahead of the game."

During the past two decades the value of the dollar has fallen by more than 50 percent; but there is certainly little general understanding of the inflationary dangers resulting from continuing large Government deficits. When the Government lives beyond its means, going into debt to pay for part of its requirements, as has been done, it creates heavy pressures for an inflationary price rise.

When the Government spends more than it takes in, it must borrow the difference in order to pay its bills. To the extent that these funds can be obtained only by resorting to borrowing from the commercial banking system, there is real inflationary pressure.

The reason borrowing from commercial banks increases inflationary pressures is that the commercial bank will simply credit the Government on its balance sheet for the amount requested, say, \$100 million. It does not switch out of any other investment to make the purchase. In effect this is adding \$100 million, subject to reserve requirements, to the money supply of the Nation without relation to an increase in goods. Hence, we have more money in the economy

for the same amount of goods, thereby increasing the upward pressure on prices. On the other hand, borrowing from the pool of investment funds in the hands of savings banks or other thrift institutions, does not increase the money supply; it makes use of savings accumulations already in existence.

The problem of maintaining and enlarging the proportion of the Federal debt held outside the commercial banking system is not, of course, a simple one. The thrift institutions are properly conscious of their fiduciary obligations to those whom they serve and of course they will pursue no course of action that is not consistent with those obligations.

In this area, however, to the extent that our savings institutions are able to purchase Government securities, they are making a most valuable contribution to sound Government financing. They are helping to protect the value of their dollar and of the dollars of all of us.

The other major area in which we are generating inflationary pressures is, of course, in the wage-price spiral. This is a difficult area to discuss because the minute you begin to talk about it, it is said that you are trying to indicate that labor shouldn't have its fair share of the Nation's income.

Ladies and gentlemen, you know that that's not the point at all. When you give a wage increase with no increase in production or when prices are increased arbitrarily you contribute to inflationary pressures. Purchasing the same production for higher wages or higher prices creates inflationary pressures that can produce an effect similar to Federal borrowing from the commercial banking system to satisfy a deficit. In this area both labor and management have heavy responsibilities and must constantly keep in mind the overall public interest in combatting inflation and maintaining fiscal integrity. we are to continue to carry the heavy load in the military and civilian fields which we have today, we need to have an economy which will grow, which will be dynamic. Weakening our economy will play into the hands of those who threaten our way of life just as surely as weakening our military

Some people will tell you that all the Government needs to do to aid in expanding the economy is to spend more money; that the economy will then grow faster, and we will have more resources for everything—for defense, for housing, for personal consumption. Frankly, in my opinion this is a short-sighted and unsound doctrine.

To argue that with a larger output, costs tend to fall overlooks the basic fact that a rising demand for labor and raw materials drives up costs. An economy running under forced draft, like a war economy, is bound to be inflationary. For a short while some people—not all my any means—will enjoy the illustion of good times that the inflationary boom will bring. This is an attraction on which this doctrine has been sold time after time in this world. It was sold in Germany. It was sold in France. You know the answer.

What happens a year or two later, after you have started off on this inflationary spiral and sort of relaxed and started to enjoy it? Well, the exhilaration passes off, and you then begin to pay the price. An inflationary society is a disorganized and an inefficient one. It is a very poor base from which to conduct a long-term worldwide struggle against those who would destroy us if they could. It's a particularly poor base from which to meet the strain of a sudden emergency. Under those conditions we would have a hard time taking the additional financial strain of even a minor emergency if we were to go into one already overextended.

We must constantly guard against pushing off on State and Federal Governments responsibilities which belong in private hands. It is true, of course, that some immediate problems can be solved more quickly by Government action than by the free market. But each time we resort to Government action as an easy way out, we lose something. In a technical sense, we lose some of the market's capacity to make adjustments. In a broader sense we lose some of the human stamina and fiber that have brought us to where we are today and that protect our freedom.

For the welfare of this bank and for the welfare of all Americans, we have a clear responsibility to adhere to prudent programs which will contribute to sustained growth in our economy over the long term. One of the most important of these is the maintenance of fiscal soundness. Imprudent spending and a complacent attitude toward deficit financing could in time destroy the very basis of our economic growth—the confidence of Americans in the future of this country.

Tonight, Halsey Davis bears the responsibility carried so ably by his 10 predecessors: Benjamin Kingsbury, Jr., Samuel Rolfe, William G. Davis, Eben Corey, Charles O. Bancroft, Leander W. Fobes, Jeremiah W. Tabor, Herbert J. Brown, William W. Thomas, and Robert Braun. His is not an untried hand. For nearly 6 years now he has ably discharged his responsibilities as president of the Maine Savings Bank. We know how fortunate we have been in this leadership and in the sound judgment which he and his fellow officers and all of the men and women of the bank, bring to its affairs and responsibilities.

The same opportunity for dedicated service which inspired the founding of this bank exists today. The experience and strength of 100 years now fortifies the abilities of the present officers and employees. We can look ahead to the new century, which has now begun, in the knowledge that this institution 100 years from today, while it may well function in a very different world and with different practices and responsibilities, will again be reviewing a 100-year term of faithful stewardship. It will mark a second 100-year period in which it has played a vital and helpful role in the affairs and the lives of the people of Maine.

Nine years ago, on the facing page of the booklet issued to mark the opening of the bank's new building, these words appeared:

"One ship drives east
And another drives west
With the selfsame winds that blow.
"Tis the set of the sails
And not the gales
That tell us the way to go."

We know how the sails of the Maine Savings Bank have been set. We know the course we sail. We move on confidently with a skilled captain and a veteran crew.

### Water Conservation and Treatment of Pollution

SPEECH

### HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 4, 1959

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 3610) to amend

the Federal Water Pollution Control Act to increase grants for construction of sewagetreatment works; to establish the Office of Water Pollution Control; and for other purposes.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Chairman, everyone is agreed upon the great need of water conservation and treatment of pollution. By 1980, the United States will be consuming every bit of available water; it is obvious that we cannot waste a single drop. Yet, at present, we are wasting untold amounts of this precious resource because of insufficient sewage treatment. In order to meet the demands of an increasing population and expanding industry for water, we must have greater construction of municipal waste-treatment facilities, which in turn necessitates more money. Public Law 660, enacted in 1956, has been a great boon to such construction, jumping the amount spent annually from \$222 million to \$400 million; and yet, this amount is still a big \$175 million shy of the \$575 million which we are told must be spent annually on such treatment plants to satisfy the ever-increasing needs of the land. Inasmuch as we are spending all that has been allowed under said law, it is obvious that that more money must be authorized as proposed in H.R. 3610.

The opponents of this bill have cited the fact that only 25 percent of the plants which have received Federal funds in the past 3 years have been on interstate, coastal, and Great Lakes waters and hence the program is undeserving of Federal attention. This same survey, however, revealed that a great 97 percent of all projects undertaken were based on the criterion of public health necessity. This latter is the criterion with which we must be chiefly concerned and it reveals that Public Law 660 is very definitely beneficial and crucial to the health and welfare of the Nation. Yet at the same time we know the present program is not meeting the amount Which the Public Health Service tells us must be spent to insure the health and welfare of these United States. The only way that this increase in spending can be realized is through the adoption of H.R. 3610. The facts have shown that in this area of construction, Federal funds are definitely needed as a stimulant to encourage the local governments to undertake the sewage treatment projects that will one day save the lives of their children and even themselves; it is that pressing a problem.

There is another, less tangible motive for cleaning up our country's streams, namely the need for more and more recreational facilities. If the many streams which are polluted by raw sewage or industry were cleaned up, these streams would be made available for swimming, boating, fishing—all major forms of recreation which is so important to the Well-being of all Americans. It would make you sick and disgusted to see the once beautiful and usable streams ladened with filth which make the waters unfit for consumption, recreation, or even scenery. Furthermore, this affects everyone of us, not just those who live by these disgraces to America. It is a national problem and as such re-Quires Federal aid and attention,

We are dealing with a matter which is vital to the welfare of the Nation. Our farms, industry, recreation, in fact our very lives all depend on water. We cannot go on wasting it the way we are now. The disease must be cured before it takes its victim which, in this case, would be the United States. H.R. 3610 must be adopted as a step toward the conservation of perhaps our most vital resource—water.

# "Repea! Section 315 Now or Repent Later," Says Broadcasting Magazine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 10, 1959

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, a subcommittee of the Senate will begin hearings next week on legislation designed to amend section 315 of the Federal Communications Act. These proposed amendments are important to everyone who listens to the radio or watches television as well as to all of us in public office and all who aspire to public office.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include an editorial from a recent issue of Broadcasting magazine, which serves the radio and television broadcasting industry. I recommend it to my colleagues in the hope that they will become more familiar with the issues involved and with the attitudes and opinions of the broadcasting industry:

REPEAL SECTION 315 NOW OF REPENT LATER—
THIS IS BEST, AND LAST, CHANCE TO GET
RELIEF FROM UNWORKABLE LAW

Within a few weeks the Senate Commerce Committee will hold hearings on proposals to amend the political broadcasting law.

These hearings could lead to the emancipation of broadcasters from one of the main restraints that historically have prevented broadcasting from attaining equal status with the press.

Or they could lead to the same dead end that all earlier hearings on the same subject have led to.

It will be mostly up to broadcasters themselves to determine which of the two courses develops. Never before have events been so on the side of the broadcasters' arguments against section 315, the part of the Communications Act which regulates political broadcasts. Never before have so many high officials in the Federal Government been interested in political broadcasting problems. We do not think it extreme to say that this is the best chance broadcasters have had to obtain relief from the idiocies of section 315—or to add that if they muffit, they will deserve a permanent consignment to subservience.

The history of broadcaster attempts to obtain repeal or revision of section 315 is not exhilarating. To read the record of broadcasting's struggles with section 315 is to read a record of defeatism. There has been a marked absence of the kind of universal revolt that is essential to the removal of Government restrictions. On the record it would appear that radio and television are willing, if not eager, to delegate their basic editorial functions to Government.

It is that record which must be erased

before the Senate Commerce Committee at the forthcoming hearings. Nor will it be enough for broadcasters to stand on their testimony there, no matter how persuasive it may be. After the hearings, they must persist in unremitting missionary work in both Senate and House if they are to achieve the status to which, in luncheon speeches, so many say they aspire.

There are two main bills now pending in both the Senate and House to amend section 315.

One, originally introduced by Senator Vance Harke (Democrat, of Indiana), would make several modifications in the law. It would eliminate the application of the equal opportunity rule to splinter candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency. It would exempt from the equal opportunity rule the appearances of all kinds of candidates on any news or panel program which is a "newsworthy event and in no way designed to advance the cause of or discriminate against any candidate." In exchange for retaining the present ban against a station's censoring a candidate's speech it would immunize the station from prosecution for libel.

The other, originally introduced by Representative GLENN CUNNINGHAM (Republican, of Nebraska), would make only one change in the law. It would exempt from equal time requirements the appearances of candidates on news programs where "the candidate in no way initiated the recording or broadcast."

Both bills have been endorsed by some broadcasters. Frank Stanton, president of CBS, and Robert Sarnoff, chairman of NBC, have publicly announced their support of Senator Harrke's. Leonard Goldenson, president of ABPT, the parent of ABC, has announced he favors a compromise which would do a little more than Representative Cunningham's and a little less than Senator Harrke's.

It was Mr. Goldenson's reasoning that a compromise was the best that broadcasters could hope to get. Mr. Goldenson is an eminently practical man, and he may be right in thinking that complete relief is unattainable at the moment. We suggest, however, that compromises are what one settles for after he has argued valiantly for something better.

The attitude of compromise is what has kept broadcasters under the yoke of section 315 since the law was passed 25 years ago.

To some degree it is an attitude reflected by Messrs. Stanton, and Sarnoff. For Senator Harkk's bill is itself a compromise with the maximum relief to be desired—the repeal of all provisions of section 315.

After the nationwide elections of 1952, the NAB announced it would beseech the Congress to repeal the political broadcasting law. We must confess that at the time we editorialized in favor of a more moderate approach. In retrospect we do not admire that position, for those who agreed with it were not only lost to the main effort for correction of the law but also were of no effect in obtaining minor modifications.

The facts are that for several years after the NAB's announcement no broadcaster made a serious attempt to advise Congress of section 315's imperfections.

In early 1956 the House Commerce Committee held hearings on several bills which, in sum, would have done approximately what Senator Hartke's present bill would do. These were endorsed by CBS, in testimony by Richard S. Salant, CBS vice president, endorsed with some reservations by NBC, through a statement filed by Thomas E. Ervin, and endorsed in part by the NAB, through the testimony of several witnesses. None of the bills passed.

During the national election campaign in the fall of 1956 the Senate Subcommittee on Elections held intermittent hearings to study

the conduct of the campaigns. During those hearings, Harold E. Fellows, president of the NAB, testified that the only solution to political broadcasting problems was the repeat of section 315. At the time no bill of that kind was before the committee, and none was introduced.

The campaign of 1956 proceeded under the same old law. An example of its applica-tion occurred. The FCC ruled, correctly, that if President Eisenhower appeared on a scheduled opening of the United Community Fund drive with a statement addressed solely to charitable purposes, Adlai Stevenson and other candidates for the Presidency would be entitled to equal time. A few weeks later the FCC announced it could not decide whether a speech by the President on foreign policy constituted a use of broadcasting entitling others to the same opportunity. week after that, the FCC came to a decision that others were not entitled to time. Meanwhile, however, Mr. Stevenson and other candidates had been put on the air by the bewildered networks.

It was during the 1956 campaign for the office of U.S. Senator in North Dakota that a classic court test of the equal time and anticensorship provisions of section 315 was pre-cipitated. WDAY-TV Fargo, in accord with the law, put a splinter candidate on the air who made statements which the station was powerless to prevent and which caused

a libel suit against the station.

That case was argued 2 months ago be-fore the U.S. Supreme Court. The fact that a Supreme Court decision may be imminent is noted with comfort by some broadcasters who wish to believe that the Court may declare the law unconstitutional and hence preclude the need for congressional remedies. This is cold comfort indeed. Whatever the Court does, the Congress will not lose interest in political broadcasting.

There is only one fundamental argument that can be made for retention of section 315 or for those traces of it which would remain if all the revisions suggested by the most extreme existing bill-Senator HARTKE'swere adopted. That is that broadcasters cannot be counted on to deal fairly with candidates if there is no section 315,

We suggest that a telling attack can be

made against that argument.

The long record of broadcasters in presenting broadcasts about political issues and political figures (when they are not active candidates) conclusively proves their desire to be fair. Controversy is treated every day, every year, without slanting or bias. It is also treated without the application of any law save the general standards of fairness implied by the law's requirement that the broadcaster serve the public interest.

Indeed, during the most controversial political campaign there is no special law which governs the presentation of news or information about any issue or any person except a

candidate.

What is so special about a political candidate that a special law is required to regulate his appearances on radio and television? Does a U.S. Senator who may have appeared in dozens of news spots and interview programs while not an active candidate suddenly become a commodity that broadcasting cannot manage when he announces his intention to run for reelection?

Questions like these, if asked frequently enough and by enough broadcasters are bound to provoke eventually the admission that section 315 makes no sense-for the broadcaster, for the public and, most of all, for the candidate himself.

Questions leading to equally nonsensical answers can be raised about the pending amendments to section 315. We say this with nothing but gratitude toward the sponsors of the amendments. Senator HARTKE, Representative CUNNINGHAM, and the many Members of the Senate and House who have endorsed their proposals or entered similar

bills of their own are to be thanked for trying, despite lukewarm broadcaster support, to achieve relief for broadcasters.

But, however well intended, both the Hartke and Cunningham amendments con-

tain imperfections.

The imperfections in the Cunningham approach lie chiefly in its inadequacy. It would provide only the limited relief of excluding from the equal time provisions of section 315 the appearances of candidates on news pro-All other provisions of the section would remain intact, and these are no less silly than the equal time provisions.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM would leave undisturbed the prohibition against the editing of candidates' remarks and the application of what equal time provisions remained to splinter candidates who have not the remotest chance of election. Even if Mr. Cunningham's amendment had been in effect in 1956, WDAY-TV Fargo would still be fighting a costly libel action in the U.S. Supreme Court.

On the surface, Mr. HARTKE's measure is more appealing, but it too offers only limited relief, and in one respect it actually sets a

tran for broadcasters.

It would eliminate from equal time provisions splinter candidates in presidential and vice presidential races. It would do nothing, however, to protect broadcasters against equal time demands by candidates for any other office. The extent of the problems which Mr. HARTKE would leave unsolved may be measured by the recollection that 72 candidates ran for sheriff in Milwaukee in

Mr. HARTKE's bill would retain the anticensorship provisions of section 315, but it would relieve broadcasters of liability for libel. This, we suggest, is the trap which libel. This, we suggest, is the way.

Mr. HARTKE has unintentionally set and baited. We are not lawyers, but our com-monsense tells us there is a serious legal question raised by the prospect of the Federal Government's immunizing anyone in mass communications from libel prosecution. Turn the proposal around and it means that the Government has deprived a libeled person of the right to recover damages for his injury. Turn it another way and it means that broadcasting has escaped a minor risk while giving up a major right. As long as radio and television are free from libel suits the Government will never give them the authority to edit.

The more you tinker with attempts to rewrite section 315 the more evident it becomes that the tinkering will create at least as many difficulties as it corrects. Complete

repeal is the only solution.

Already, highly placed officials have recognized the imbecilic features of the law.

President Eisenhower has used the word "ridiculous" to describe the rigid application of its equal time features. FCC Chairman John C. Doerfer has publicly stated his conviction that the whole section ought to be repealed.

These are powerful supports for the broadcasters' argument. It remains only for the broadcasters themselves to exploit the advantages they lately have been given.

If they fail to exploit them now, it may be years—and certainly not until after an-other presidential campaign—before they get another chance.

The Munitions Lobby

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. LEONARD G. WOLF

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 10, 1959

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I wish to insert into the RECORD an article by the distinguished columnist, Roscoe Drummond. Mr. Drummond poses the problem of the munitions lobby as described by President Eisenhower. He suggests that a full scale investigation of the power of these lobbyists both of the military and of the manufacturers should take place. I say "Amen" to this. It is too long that we are letting a silent conspiracy of the military and big business eat away at the very lifeblood of this Nation on the most selfish and narrow grounds; namely, that of more profits and more power to themselves. I hope that the record will be able to show that this Congress was not the servant boy doing the bidding for the military and the munitions manufacturers, but rather the watchdog over these groups in the name of the public interest; and, I might add, in the name of peace.

I would like to give an example of the problem of big business and defense. This is just a small part of the vast problem which must be attended to in this Congress. The Defense Department gives about \$5 billion yearly for research in science and scientific matters. The bulk of these research contracts go to big business. Fifty firms receive about 84 percent of the research contracts that are given by the Defense Department. Twenty-five firms receive 65 percent of the research contracts given. Among other things such a concentration in the hands of a few great firms may well put an end to small business in its fight to keep alive during the present technological revolution which American busi-

ness is presently experiencing. It should be noted that Defense Department awards its contracts for research and development under terms which guarantee the contractor a profit on the work done; consequently, such contracts are without risk to the firm. Besides this, the contracts are cost plus fixed fee and upon exhaustion of the funds provided in the contract, the contractor may either abandon the work, or by custom, ask the Department for additional funds. What is even more disturbing in this matter is that the individual contractor is allowed to take out a patent on that which he is working on for the Government. Hence, he receives a monopoly of the particular item that he prepares for the Government at Government expense. This naturally has the effect of keeping the price up when marketed for civilian use. since there is no effective competition because of the patent. Moreover, what happens in many cases is that the person who may have originally conceived the idea for a particular item and worked out all the theoretical aspects to the problem will not receive either the contract when it is awarded or the patent rights. Rather the contract is given to a very big firm which gets to keep the patent.

Besides these difficulties there is another aspect which must be explored. The firms that get these contracts are comprised of what might be called organization scientists. They are not necessarily the ones who will do the most original work because of the bureaucracy which exists in any large institution. Many times these scientists will play it safe and not do the brilliant and daring-a quality which is paramount in scientific discovery. Many times it is the supposed wrong-headed fellow who may be thought to be cracked who is the one that has the true insight into the problems of invention and scientific creation. These men will not be found only in the enormous firm More likely he may be found in a university, which, by the way, should get more contracts than it does, or the small consulting and research firm. These firms are mushrooming and should be utilized more fully by the Government.

The Defense Department attitude was made clear in a letter to the Small Business Committee. They have stated that the distribution of 95 percent to big business and 5 percent to small business of research contracts let are a fair distribution. They have stated that according to a Harvard Business School survey, only 20 percent of those firms with less than 500 employees have research and development facilities. Another reason given by the Defense Department for not letting more contracts to smaller firms is that "less than 10 percent of the research engineers and scientists in all commercial nonprofit organizations are employed by small business firms." As was pointed out by the 1956 final report of the Small Business Committee, the fact that 20 percent of small firms have adequate personnel and facilities to contribute significantly to the program, and the additional fact that small concerns employ only 10 percent of the research engineers and scientists would hardly indicate that less than 5 percent of the research and development subsidy to such firms represents a Wholesome distribution of the research subsidy.

Besides this, it may well be pointed out that many small firms have not hired research personnel and expanded facilities in research for the simple reason that they do not have the available capital to do so. Given the opportunity to share in Government research funds as has been done for the big firms, there is no Question about the fact that small firms Would expand their facilities in research and in research staffs. Therefore, it is

clear to me that-

First. Patents kept by the individual retard technological advancement in the area that the patent is held.

Second. These patents rightly belong to the Federal Government since it is the money of the Federal Government that is being spent on these projects.

Third. Individuals and small groups in science have, historically, made most of the significant theoretical and practical inventions. Consequently, we may well be suffering technologically by giving the majority of contracts to big farms where the organization man philosophy controls.

Fourth. We are forcing out small business even further in this technological revolution because we favor the big and give crumbs to the small.

Fifth. It is of importance to ascertain What profits are made by the under-

taking of a research contract in which no concrete thing has to be given. I am not quarreling with that aspect, that is, the fact that nothing may be found as a result of research. Rather I am quarreling with the amount of profit that is made from these projects.

Sixth. The analysis of this problem by the appropriate congressional committee is of paramount importance since the level of our scientific achievement is directly effected by how we allocate research contracts, to whom, how much, and for what purpose.

Herein appears the Drummond article which appeared in the June 10 issue of the Washington Post:

THE MUNITIONS LOBBY: WHERE IS PRESSURE BEING EXERTED AND FOR WHAT?

(By Roscoe Drummond)

In talking about the pernicious influence of the munitions lobby, President Eisenhower is raising a cry which will not soon be silenced.

It will not be silenced until the facts are spread on the record-and the sooner the

better.

This is a serious complaint—that big defense contractors are bringing improper pressures to bear upon Congress and upon the Pentagon in deciding what weapons ought to be manufactured.

This is the kind of issue which can become very political, very emotional, and very distracting, unless it is responsibly investigated. There will be a tendency to consider everybody guilty until proved innocent.

I am not suggesting that the President's complaint is not a valid one. What I am suggesting is that Congress ought to investigate this matter promptly, calmly, and with all deliberate speed—not drag it out. The House Armed Services Subcommittee,

headed by Representative F. EDWARD HÉBERT. Democrat, of Louisiana, is beginning hearings July 1 on the hiring of retired military leaders by defense contractors. But that is only picking at the problem by investigating a limited aspect of it. He has indicated he may broaden the inquiry. He should. His committee should go into the whole thing so that the full facts can be got out speedily and remedial actions taken, if needed.

One example will show the kind of thing Mr. Eisenhower is warning against. Pentagon and Congress are right now in the process of deciding whether to go forward with the Nike-Hercules antibomber, antimissile missile, or to rely more heavily on the Bomarc longer range antibomber missile. In the midst of this decision making, the industrial manufacturer of the Bomarc runs large advertisements in the newspapers listing 8,000 subcontractors engaged in the project. The President sees this as irrelevant pressure lobbying, since the issue to be decided is not what firms are making these weapons, but what weapons will best do the job.

It seems to me that here are the questions to which the Hébert subcommittee must get

the factual answers:

What obsolete weapons are the big contractors pressuring the services and Congress to build?

In what way and on whom-in the Pentagon and in Congress-are they exerting pressure?

Have the Defense Department and Congress yielded to these pressures?

Have the civilian or military leaders of Army, Navy, or Air Force encouraged these contractors to exert these pressures in behalf of their own favorite projects?

What evidence is there, if any, that retired military and civilian defense officials-and

retired Congressmen-have used past connections improperly in serving defense contractors?

Let's get at this munitions lobby whole, and soon.

Commencement Address at the University of Rochester, Rochester, N.Y., by John Cowles, President of the Minneapolis Star-Tribune

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. CHESTER BOWLES

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 10, 1959

Mr. BOWLES. Mr. Speaker, one of the clearest and most competent voices now commenting on world affairs is that of Mr. John Cowles, president of the Minneapolis Star and Tribune.

As an astute observer and persuasive writer, his responsible reporting has been particularly important concerning the revolutionary ferment now occur-ring in the underdeveloped countries of the world.

Last Sunday, June 7, Mr. Cowles delivered the commencement address at the University of Rochester, Rochester, N.Y.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include his statement entitled, "We're Living Through Revolutionary Times":

WE'RE LIVING THROUGH REVOLUTIONARY TIMES

It is a truism to say that you who are being graduated today have matured in the most revolutionary age in human history. The world has changed more during the last years than in any previous century.

Although I realize that prophecy is dan-

gerous, I am nevertheless going to make one. It is that change will be the dominant characteristic of the world for the rest of your lives.

Perhaps it is natural for each generation to feel that it is living in a time of crisis, but I think it is true that your generation has come into maturity at literally the most critical time in the world's history.

We face many different threats, which I will discuss later, but I am confident that we will be able to surmount them if the people of the United States are sufficiently well informed to understand the nature and dimensions of the problems, and are sufficiently openminded to modify their past convictions in the light of the new facts.

Not only is scientific progress taking place at an accelerating rate, but we are at the same time living at the center of many different revolutions, not simply one in science. Throughout the globe we have had and are having political and social and economic revolutions.

In our lifetimes most of the peoples of the world have radically changed their forms of government. Just since the end of World War II some 25 countries have already won their independence, and at least 4 additional ones have been promised theirs next

Throughout the underdeveloped parts of the world there is occurring what has been aptly called "the revolution of rising ex-Industrial development and higher standards of living are being demanded by the hundreds of millions of people who for centuries had patiently acquiesced to conditions of poverty, social, and racial discrimination, low living standards, and colonialism.

### OLD ASSUMPTIONS NO LONGER HOLD

Because things are changing so rapidly and fundamentally throughout the globe, many of the assumptions and conclusions that intelligent people have held in the past are, in the light of the new facts that have emerged, no longer valid. We simply must reexamine our past opinions and political and economic and social facts to see if they are now realistic. In this connection, I would urge, above all else, that you try to examine the facts of today and the facts of the future, whatever those facts may be, with really open minds, shed of the prejudices of past opinions.

If you agree with me that we are living in an era of extraordinarily rapid change, in a time of probably the greatest danger in which civilization has ever found itself, then I think you will agree that we as a nation may have to do many things that would have been unimaginable a generation or two ago.

If I were asked what our paramount national objective should be, what in the simplest terms it is that the American people really want, I believe I would say survival with freedom. Obviously, almost everyone wants to survive. Self-preservation is an instinctive human quality, but unless we maintain our freedom survival is meaningless. Almost universally Americans would prefer to go down fighting for their freedom than to survive in captivity.

One reason that we and much of the rest of the Western World are in trouble is because we have not thought through the implications of some of the problems confronting us. We tend to parrot outworn slogans instead of debate with open minds the issues in the world as they are today.

Let me cite a few specific examples of the type of things that I believe the American people must rethink. For generations we have believed that the principle of so-called national sovereignty was paramount. Americans and most other people in the Western World have believed so deeply in the principle of national sovereignty that they have instinctively opposed anything which it could be claimed might impair that national sovereignty.

I suggest for your openminded consideration the proposition that national sovereignty in its traditional meaning no longer exists. It has become obsolete.

If a country on one side of the globe has the capability of firing intercontinental missiles with nuclear warheads that could at least devastate, and probably annihilate, the country struck by those missiles, can one argue that the victim country really has such a thing as national sovereignty"?

If any single country can independently conduct nuclear tests which may increase radioactivity to a degree that may produce cancer through radioactive fallout in many other countries, can we say that unqualified national sovereignty still exists?

As the time approaches when it will be possible adversely to change the weather in an adjacent country so that it experiences drought instead of rainfall, can we say the harmfully affected nation still has its sovereignty?

I offer those random examples simply as illustrations of the new things that we must take into account in reexamining and reevaluating traditional opinions and policies.

### WHICH GOVERNMENT IS REALLY BEST?

In the simple, isolated, largely rural soclety that existed in the United States 150 years ago, it undoubtedly made complete sense for Thomas Jefferson to say that that government is best which governs least. But under the conditions that exist today. I suggest that Jefferson's maxim needs re-examination. It is no longer valid. Rather, that government is best that governs best, that performs best all those functions that government today must perform. The list of things that government and only government—must do for the welfare of its citizens has steadily lengthened.

As any society becomes more complex, more populous, and more highly organized, it should be obvious that there are many more such functions than was the case in a primitive rural society. When Jefferson was living there was no need for traffic policemen or school truant officers. Just a generation ago there was no need for governmental regulatory authority over aviation or over broadcasting, but such regulation is obviously imperative today.

Before repeating the slogan that that government is best which governs least, I suggest that you consider, for example, whether you would like to see the Federal Pure Food and Drug Administration abolished, with the inevitable result that the public would no longer be protected from poisonous products.

A few years before the members of this graduating class were born, a presidential campaign was fought, to a considerable degree, over the issue of Federal social security and old age pensions. One of the presidential candidates, who is still alive, called these things socialism. He also said that to give a social security number to a citizen was the equivalent of putting a license tag on a dog. I wonder how many of us today would favor the abolition of social security.

In looking back over a fairly long life, I can recall instance after instance when some new proposal which was originally denounced as "socialistic" has come to be taken for granted as acceptable by even our most conservative citizens. I remember that when Woodrow Wilson and Carter Glass proposed the establishment of the Federal Reserve Board banking system many if not most of our then leading bankers denounced it as socialistic. Although the Federal Reserve law has not been basically changed in the 45 years that it has been in existence. I would guess that if a nationwide poll of bank presidents were taken today, 95 percent would call it fundamentally an excellent law.

### OUR GENIUS IS ADAPTABILITY

The genius of the United States has been that we have not stuck rigidly to theoretical or classical political philosophy, but have done the things that the people thought needed to be done. It would be impossible today to practice complete economic laissez faire. The American genius has been in mixing laissez faire and private capitalism or the so-called free enterprise system with such Government regulations and operations and controls as would produce satisfactory overall results.

In some instances we may have put in too large a proportion of government operation or control, but on the whole the mixture has been pretty good. Capitalism in the United States has become much more serviceable to the needs of the people, and much more productive than the capitalism in Western Europe, largely because of the innovations and the modifications of the traditional concepts that we have made here.

Almost all of us compain about the burden of present taxes. Much more than half of the total expenditures of the Federal Government go for national defense or military purposes. The new weapons are so fantastically expensive and become obsolete so rapidly that I believe we are going to have to spend more money on our military in the years immediately ahead than we are now. Therefore I see no likelihood of a substantial tax cut ahead. On the contrary, I think taxes may have to be raised if we are going to balance the Federal budget.

WE MUST HAVE RETALIATORY POWER

I believe that no matter what it costs, we must build and maintain a retaliatory power sufficiently strong so as to make it certain that no matter how crippled we might be from a surprise missile assault upon us, we would nevertheless be able without the slightest question to strike back and destroy Russia. If we do maintain such a retaliatory nuclear capability, I do not believe that Russia will launch a nuclear attack on us.

I foresee not major savings in military expenditures, but rather increases, until we are finally able to secure some form of universal international disarmament, with airtight inspection and control. Probably there is no possibility of attaining that for years, but we should make every effort to persuade the Russians that is the best course for them, for us, and for the rest of the world.

Opponents of a disarmament agreement will undoubtedly contend that it would impair our so-called national sovereignty. would, indeed, according to the traditional past concepts of sovereignty. We would probably have to agree, for example, to submit any disputes that might arise over the fulfillment or nonfulfillment of the terms of the disarmament agreement to an international court for adjudication, and we would have to agree to accept the determination made by that international court. This would mean a beginning of real world law. I do not know how long it will be before we ultimately come to accept the principle of world law. It may be a long, long time, but I feel certain that ultimately we and the rest of the world will come to it.

In the meantime, while we and the Communist bloc are each armed to the teeth with nuclear weapons capable of wiping out each other, and potentially capable, for that matter, of destroying all civilization and destroying most or all of the human beings now inhabiting the globe, I think the clear-immediate threat from the Communist bloc will be in the form of economic war. I would guess that this economic warfare will take two forms-first, massive Communist economic assistance to the underdeveloped and uncommitted nations in order to draw them into the Communist orbit; and second. deliberate attempts by the Communists to disrupt and demoralize normal international trade and commerce as traditionally practiced by the Western World.

If Asia, Africa, and much of Latin America were to be taken over by the Communists, I do not believe the United States and the nations of Western Europe could long thereafter continue to live in freedom. We are so increasingly dependent upon minerals and other raw materials from Asia, Africa, and Latin America that if we were cut off from them our Government would have to impose such extreme economic controls as would greatly shrink the areas in which we now have freedom of choice. I think it is doubtful that even civil libertles could long be maintained here in a "fortress America."

To meet this double-edged sword of economic warfare, I think it is in our own national security interest for us to embark on a bold, imaginative, long-term program of massive economic aid to the underdeveloped nations. In addition, to meet the Communists' attempts to disrupt and demoralize the Western nations' normal international trade, I think that before long it will become necessary for us to create either an international or U.S. governmental tradeagency which can, when necessary, meet low Communist prices in selling goods abroad and meet high Communist offers for the purchase of other goods in foreign areas.

### THE POPULATION EXPLOSION

No discussion of the threats facing us could be complete without mention of the worldwide population explosion. Although this subject is largely ignored by the politicians and most other public leaders, it is, to my mind, more dangerous even than the Communist threat. The world's population today is about 2.8 billion. At the present rate of growth, there will probably be 5 billion people on the globe before the end of this century.

The population of Red China alone will probably exceed 1 billion within the next 10 years. Although India is making a strenuous national effort to increase its production of food and its output of manufactures, the Population of India is growing at almost the same rate as the increase in its gross national Product; so the improvement in India's per capita standard of living is extremely small.

In most of the underdeveloped nations, although they are now living only slightly above the bare subsistence level, the standard of living is actually declining because the population is growing at a faster rate than the increase in economic output.

### SCIENCE MUST DEVISE A SOLUTION

This population explosion is the result of What medical science has done to eliminate disease and pestilence, to reduce infant mortality, and lengthen the average span of human life. Anyone who has been in Egypt or India knows what excessive population means. The scientists, through reducing death rates, produced this problem. Now it has become imperative that the scientists have the resources and the drive to urgency to solve it through producing some simple, inexpensive means of fertility control which, hopefully, would be used throughout the World.

I don't believe that anyone who, with an Open mind, will study the figures on current Population growth and will ponder the social and political and economic consequences that will inevitably result from a doubling of world population within the next 40 years and another doubling within the following 40 years can fail to conclude that, of all the problems we face, this is the most fundamental.

In conclusion, let me say that while I believe your generation faces colossal problems, you are better educated and consequently better prepared to solve them than any pre-Vlous generation.

Don't assume either that you must wait until you are middle aged before you can play an effective role, or that you as an individual are impotent to help shape the course of

Don't forget that history is made by dedicated minorities, not by complacent majori-

Yours is the challenge to see to it that the human race survives, and survives in freedom, so that the dawn of the 21st century Will be bright. Good luck to you.

### Poison in Your Water-No. 111

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

Wednesday, June 10, 1959

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I am inserting into the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL REC-ORD an article appearing in the Peoria (III.) Morning Journal Star of April 3, 1959, entitled "Need Sewer System Badly at Glasford, Survey Shows":

NEED SEWER SYSTEM BADLY AT GLASFORD SURVEY SHOWS

Dire need for a municipal sewer system in Glasford is documented in the report of a 3-month door-to-door survey just completed by the Peoria County Health Department. Glasford (population 1,000) which his

twice before defeated a referendum for a municipal sewer system will vote April 21 on a \$200,000 bond issue to install a sewer

The survey conducted by Carman H. Brown as sanitarian for the county health department showed only 31 "satisfactory and approved" sewage disposal systems found in 274 calls made to residences and businesses.

Glasford at present has 56 outdoor toilets. systems discharging to old wells, wildcat sewers (tile lines connecting to inadequately treated sewage and draining to surface of the ground), 153 septic tanks, 71 cesspools, 120 residences and business with sink or dishwater draining to surface of the ground, 141 systems connected to wildcat lines-all eventually draining to the surface of the ground.

He added that Glasford grade school and

Timber Township High School, which is just completing a \$365,000 addition, will need to construct new sewage systems if a village system is not available for hookup.

Of the 274 residents and businesses only 46 had title fields considered necessary for safe residential disposal of sewage.

Brown noted that a septic tank is only 40 percent effective and a good residential sys-tem depends upon a tile field to get rid of 60 percent of solid sewage.

This means that 60 percent of the sewage from the 141 systems of wildcat sewers in Glasford is simply drained on the surface of the ground, the report stated.

Dr. Fred Long, county health director, said Thursday that the survey has shown it will be necessary to put in new individual sys-tems for most residences if the village does not construct a sewer.

"That is not the cheap way out," he

Long commended the Glasford planning committee which has been working toward establishment of a sanitary sewer system.

Clarence Stroble, village board member, said the committee "feels hopeful" that the April 21 bond issue will pass. In making the sewer survey the health department sanitarian said only three persons voiced objection to a municipal sewer system.

## Iowa Town Fights Rural Stagnation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# OF

HON. MERWIN COAD

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 28, 1959

Mr. COAD. Mr. Speaker, on a number of occasions I have pointed out to my fellow colleagues the need for a strong agriculture industry to maintain America's economic health and wellbeing. I have pointed out how towns in my area have all but turned to ghost towns, reminiscent of the old gold rush days. I have urged action on small business measures and have demonstrated the need for these acts by referring to the plight of the small businesses in the Midwest due to the trend toward larger farm operations and the disheartening decline in the number of farm families in the trade areas of our rural communities. To me, these references to the depressed agricultural situation and its disastrous effects on the traditional rural life in America are indeed very sad. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I was elated to see the following article in the June 7 Sunday issue of the New York Times, which describes a successful fight for survival by the townspeople of one of my favorite towns in my district:

IOWA TOWN FIGHTS RURAL STAGNATION-HUMBOLDT'S SONS COMING HOME TO RUN ITS THRIVING SMALL INDUSTRIES

(By William M. Blair)

HUMBOLDT, IOWA, May 25.-This small Iowa town is an oasis in the rich midwestern Farm Belt.

While other communities worry about losing people and business, this community worries about housing people and keeping a balance in the small businesses it attracts.

It has become in a decade an outstanding exception to the trend in rural America of the small getting smaller and the big getting bigger. Some Iowa and other midwestern towns under 4,000 population are fighting for their existence.

Some appear headed for a country cross roads future, their young people gone, their oldsters becoming older and disappearing.

But Humboldt and its sister town, Dakota City, seat of Humboldt County, have grown. A decade ago, Humboldt-Dakota City had a population of about 3,000. Today, the population stands at an estimated total of 4,700.

The towns had the disadvantage of being only 18 miles from Fort Dodge, a major trading center. The projections of 10 years ago favored Fort Dodge as rural America climbed out of World War II and faced the hard fact that farms were getting bigger. more mechanized, and reducing the number of farmers.

What happened then in Humboldt in the decade past?

The people of Humboldt are hard pressed to find an answer. But their words reveal a big home town pride and what one businessman, somewhat embarrassed, described as 'the real chamber of commerce attitude."

These people have neither read nor studied the reports of rural sociologists. In fact, they said, one after another, that they had not "given much thought" to what makes Humboldt stand out in the midst of dwindling small towns.

They know, however, what they have been

doing for 10 years.

They have been going after business and getting it. "Well, for one thing, we haven't worried about Fort Dodge," said John L. Campbell, president of the Humboldt Trust & Savings Bank.

Mr. Campbell regards himself as one of the oldsters in a town with more than an average of young men. He has been here 32 years. Now his son, John, Jr., a former Iowa bank examiner, has come home.

Other sons have come home, too. And at least two who will be graduated from college next month, will come back to the treeshaded, wide, paved streets.

"It's like the measles," said John L. Miller, a lawyer. "One kid catches them and everybody else gets them. Somebody caught the spirit, whatever it is, and everybody now has

Mr. Miller is a director of the Humboldt Development Corp., which had its genesis in a development commission of the chamber of commerce. It was capitalized at \$50,000 and set out to attract small business.

It recently built a \$69,000 building to rent to a manufacturer of small boats. Fire destroyed the building 2 weeks ago as the plant went into production.

No one appears worried. Insurance covered the plant and even if the Chicago boat company decides to abandon its venture the corporation officials, all townspeople, believe they can rebuild for another small business.

#### FIRE DAMAGE ERASED

Ten years ago another fire destroyed a section of the main business section. Some people, in the spring of 1949, looked upon the ruble as a monument to a dying country town.

Today, there is no evidence of that fire. Ten years ago the town's main business section was a block and a half long. Today it extends about five blocks and the drag stores have had a facelifting.

Ten years ago many residential streets were unpaved and without curbs and gutters. day most of the spacious streets have been

black topped with curbs and gutters.

Homes, ranging up to \$25,000, have been built. There are four home construction concerns in the town where there were none in 1949. All the homebuilders are local residents.

### YOUNGSTERS GET CREDIT

"The young people have done it. And they have had the backing of the old folks," was one of the most common explanations for the town's rejuvenation.

Jean Kleve, 42-year-old mayor of Humboldt, said "the leaders have been the banks and their progressive outlook. They've been willing to back us with money and encourage us with optimism." He is a farm implement dealer who came off a farm.

R. E. Bennett, cashier of the First National Bank, credits aggressive townspeople whether in business or in civic and social activities. He is one of many who work with youngsters in church and other groups.

### RECREATION EXPANDED

He pointed to a new elementary school building and a municipal swimming pool, all products of the last 10 years. And he cited the town's three parks, a number not enjoyed by many larger towns.

Tennis courts are flooded in the winter for ice skating. There is a nine-hole golf course and picnic areas. The country club has more than 200 members and recently ded-

icated a new clubhouse. State Patrolman J. F. Dickinson said there was "little of what you might call juvenile delinquency." The biggest juvenile problem of recent years, he recalled, was the auto-mobile traffic around the high school at the noon lunch hour. "But that was straightened out by cutting 15 minutes off the lunch hour.

### A FRIENDLY TOWN

Newcomers find the friendliness of the people the reason for accepting opportunities to settle here.

Mrs. Margaret Price, who works in the new

post office, cited this reason.

Wendell K. Wilson, who sells school furnishings, said "It's a good town to raise a family in."

George Kinton, who came from the East to manage the American Agricultural Chemical Co. (fertilizer) plant mentioned the country clubhouse as an example of the enthusiasm and cooperative spirit of the people.

Fred Meyer, who operates the town's lone theater and is secretary of the chamber of commerce, ascribed the town's growth to planning and the desire of people to do the planning.

Watching him sell tickets in the theater boxoffice gives another clue to the people. He never failed to say "Thank you" to the customers who on one spring Saturday afternoon recently were all children taking in a double feature.

#### AUCTION AN ATTRACTION

The Humboldt Livestock Auction is credited with a big assist. Its gross sales run about \$20 million a year. "And it's drawing from outside our 25-mile trade area," said Vandenberg, an appliance dealer. 'Farmers who come to the auction bring their wives and the wives shop in town."

Twenty new businesses have settled in the area since 1949. They offer steady employment to a wide area that includes some smaller farmers who want to keep their farms but need town work to supplement their incomes.

# Olympic Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 10, 1959

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, last week when the defense appropriations bill was up for consideration, I successfully authored an amendment which prohibited the use of funds for Army support personnel, if any friendly nation was barred from competition in the VIII Winter Olympic games. The Minneapolis Morning Tribune on Monday, June 8, 1959, carried an editorial supporting the position taken by a majority of the Members of the House of Representatives. The editorial follows:

### OLYMPIC POLITICS

The United States recognizes both Communist China and East Germany in the field of sports if not in the field of politics.

In the past, U.S. athletic teams have competed against teams from both these Communist countries even though the United States does not officially recognize the government of either one. Other anti-Communist nations which did not recognize either Communist government did likewise.

Now a new element has been introduced into this issue of politics in sports by the action of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) in expelling Nationalist China from membership.

This action was taken under Communist pressure for recognition of Communist China—and only Communist China—as a representative of the Chinese people.

The Chinese Communists pulled out of the 1956 Olympics because Nationalist China was competing. And they apparently re-fused to come back unless the Nationalists were booted out. With the Nationalists out, the Chinese Reds now are expected to apply for readmission.

While the IOC contends that the way still is open for the return of the Nationalists as the representatives of Formosa, it is unlikely that the Nationalists would seek such a move or that they would be successful even if they did try it.

It is obvious from what has happened that the Communists are not in favor of peaceful coexistence in the field of sport. they really aren't in favor of the Olympic games charter which says the games "assemble the amateurs of all nations on an equal footing and under conditions as perfect as possible."

Under these circumstances, the IOC made a mistake in expelling the Nationalist Government even though the Government on Formosa admittedly "does not control sports in the entire country of China." The fact

is that world opinion is moving toward s two-China attitude, even though that approach is resisted as stoutly in Peiping as in Taipei.

# Ike's Boy and How He Grew

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 10, 1959

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the second in a series of articles appearing in Look magazine by Mr. Earl Mazo concerning a political and personal portrait of Vice President Nixon:

IKE'S BOY AND HOW HE GREW (By Earl Mazo)

President Eisenhower hasn't referred to RICHARD M. NIXON as "my boy" in a long time. And White House wiseacres have stopped cailing him Junior. Eisenhower and Nixon are probably closer to each other than any President and Vice President have ever been.

Despite this friendly relationship, how-ever, they both prefer to limit their association to business. Nixon has few intimate friends. He has an obsession about the separation of his private life and his public life. and no one outside his family is his personal confidant. Since early youth, he has done things his way and made his own decisions.

Although both Eisenhower and Nixon have volatile tempers, they have not exchanged a cross word since taking office. But there have been times when irritations have been difficult to repress. The bond between them has weathered some serious strains and twists. A few Nixon adherents are still irked by the slights their man suffered during the 1952 campaign, particularly the "Nixon fund" episode, and are not unhappy now when the President himself becomes a target for criticism. A close friend of Eisenhower sums up the association as "a grueling re-lationship, all things considered."

Nixon, seemingly, cannot hold a grudge, not even against former Gov. Harold Stassen. who was Nixon's first political mentor and later perpetrated the abortive "dump Nixon" movement. In 1956, Eisenhower decided to seek reelection and was advised that he would have a far better chance for success without Nixon on the ticket. He offered Nixon a Cabinet post instead of a second term-Nixon planned to quit public life in disgust. then decided to run again, whereupon Stassen tried to shove him out. But the Vice President says he still has "a rather friendly feeling for Stassen. His opposition to me was a case of personal ambition. I think that he would have made a remarkable President in certain times."

In the Cabinet, Nixon's closest friends have been Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell. Attorney General William P. Rogers and former Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. Only a few have known that the relationship between Nixon and Dulles was perhaps the warmest in the administration. Although the Secretary of State was 25 years old and already an attorney in New York when Nixon was born, their friendship always was personal and professional. Dulles was Nixon's behind-the-scenes adviser in many crises, especially during Eisenhower's illness. The Dulleses and the Nixons frequently had dinner together and then just sat around and talked, sometimes into the

early-morning hours. (Nixon has called Dulles the most thoughtful and sensitive man he has encountered in public life.)

In a way, Nixon is also a fan of Harry S. Truman, despite the insults they have traded. He admires Truman's courage and, in fact, has more in common with the ex-President than either would admit. Each is his party's toughest campaigner, each has plenty of guts and is notably loyal to party and friends, and they both like to piay the piano. They also swear like troopers when it becomes necessary to release pent-up energy.

The Washington Post contrasts the campaigning techniques of Truman and Nixon as being "the difference between a warmhearted fellow who plows into a fist fight for the sheer love of it and the grim-minded fellow who charges in with a pipe wrench."

One of the most interesting relationships in that of Nixon and Senator Lindon Johnson, of Texas, who are often said to be the smartest politicians in their respective parties. There is no particular personal friendship between them, but their association is cordial, mutually respectful and ever-watchful. Johnson has often said that one of the biggest lifts to his morale after he suffered a heart attack in July 1955, was a visit to his bedside by President Elsenhower. Few are aware that Nixon had arranged that visit.

Although Nixon doubts that a southerner could be nominated, he considers Johnson the Democrat best qualified to be President. Johnson does not return the compliment. Yet he admits Nixon has shown greater fairness to him and other Democrats than previous Democratic Vice President.

dents showed to Republicans.

Nixon has never been popular in the Senate. The small group of senior Members who constitute "the club that runs the Senate" prefer to view him as a tenderfoot, since he hadn't completed his apprenticeship in that body when he was elected Vice President. Thus the Senate provides him with a smaller staff and fewer facilities than he had as a freshman Senator. The suite set aside for him in the new \$25 million Senate Office Building was so inadequate that he preferred to stay where he was in the old building.

Nixon regards his constitutional duty to preside over the Senate as the least important he performs. Usually, he opens the Session, then turns the President's chair Over to Robert T. Baker, secretary of the majority and an assistant to Senator Johnson. It is Baker's task to inveigle Democratic Members to preside in Nixon's absence. Even novice Senators grumble that someone should "make Nixon preside—he

gets paid for it."

Nixon has spent less time at his duties in the Senate Chamber and more at chores in the executive department than any of his 35 predecessors. Although a Vice President has no executive responsibilities. Nixon took at face value Eisenhower's suggestion that he keep abreast of everything a President should know. As a result, Nixon has raised the Vice Presidency to a full-time legislative-executive operation. His influence has grown steadily and he has become a strong man—in some respects, the strong man—in the administration. During the second term, Nixon has participated in most major administration decisions.

Nixon's conduct during the weeks after President Eisenhower's heart attack in 1955 raised his prestige in the administration. Previously, Eisenhower had always spoken well of his deputy, referring to him usually as a "comer" and "a splendid type of the Younger men we want in government." Afterward, Eisenhower declared flatly: "There is no man in the history of America who has had such careful preparation \* \* for carrying out the duties of the Presidency." Several of Eisenhower's personal intimates

who had had serious misgivings about Nixon, including Dr. Milton Eisenhower, became supporters of the Vice President.

Nine months after the heart attack. Risenhower was operated on for ileitis, an abdominal allment; again Nixon took over. Eisenhower's third illness-the stroke of November 25. 1957-resulted in an unprecedented agreement by which the President commissioned the Vice President to assume the powers of Acting Chief Executive should the President ever become incapacitated again. The stroke was not severe, and the President was back at his desk within a couple of weeks. It had a singular side effect, however, in that Nixon now showed the vast self-assurance and experience he had acquired since the period of the heart attack 2 years and 2 months before. Former Gov. Thomas E. Dewey has estimated that Nixon obtained 20 years' experience in his first 5 years as Vice President.

Nixon's overseas tours gave him another opportunity to do quite well for himself politically. In fact, nothing else he has undertaken as Vice President has helped so much to enhance his chance of being elected President. Politicians now realize a man has to prove himself in international affairs to win the Presidency. World traveler Adiai E. Stevenson is the only possible opponent in 1960 of either party who could seriously match Nixon in prefacing an observation with, "On my world travels \* \* \*," as Nixon often does. Through his travels, Nixon has met more than a thousand foreign statesmen outside the Communist bloc.

Before the rock-throwing Communistsinspired demonstrations against the NIXON party in Lima, Peru, and Caracas, Venezuela, political response to the Vice President's overseas operations was subtle. The tours were noncontroversial, the only Nixon enterprise that enjoyed an Eisenhowerish immunity from partisan attack. His South American adventures changed that.

Robert C. Albright reported in the Washington Post: "Before Vice President RICHARD M. Nixon's triumphant return from Latin America, Democratic politicians quite frankly considered him easy to beat in the 1960 presidential election. They don't talk that way now." On the day after an angry mob Communists in Caracas attacked the Nixou motorcade with clubs, pipes, and rocks, the House of Representatives unanimously passed a resolution commending Nixon "for his courageous and dignified conduct." On the other hand, Walter Lipp-mann declared the tour a "fiasco" and "a diplomatic Pearl Harbor"; the Boston Globe called it "one of the most ineptly handled episodes in this country's foreign relations." Democratic National Chairman Paul M. Butler saw the tour as a cleverly concealed propaganda scheme to keep Nixon in the head-lines. "All the sympathy the Republican high command is trying to squeeze out of it cannot conceal the fact that the Vice President gained his reputation as a master of the smear technique," he said.

Nixon became a nationally controversial figure long before he became Vice President. Late in 1948, as a junior member of the Un-American Activities Committee, he pushed the investigation of Alger Hiss. The Hiss case soon developed into the issue of Communists in Government, which became the mid-20th-century version of the "Party of Treason" epithet Republicans had used successfully against the Democrats for three decades after the Civil War. Nixon's opponents countered by associating him with "McCarthyism." Rightly or wrongly, Nixon was identified with everything said by all Republican orators who taunted Democrats with this issue.

Actually, Nixon was more precise than his colleagues. His charges, when examined carefully and in toto, were practically always accurate from a strictly technical viewpoint.

But this was no angels' carnival. It was what seemed to be said that paid off, not the intricate lawyerlike interweaving of facts and qualifications. Nixon did not exactly call former Secretary of State Dean Acheson a "pink," for instance. But he did refer to "Acheson's color blindness—a form of pinkeye toward the Communist threat in the United States."

Politicians before Nixon were not averse to hyperbole. But not many in modern times handled it so resourcefully. Take, for example, his much-debated manipulation of the word "traitor." In 1954, he charged that "real Democrats are outraged by the Truman-Acheson-Stevenson gang's defense of communism in high places"; and Truman, Stevenson, and Acheson were "traitors to the high principles in which many of the Nation's Democrats believed." Was that nothing more than an appeal for the votes of "real Democrats," as the Republicans insist? Or was it slick juggling, meant to highlight "traitor" and "communism in high places"? Did Nixon deliberately associate the heinous words with major figures in the party that Senator Joseph R. McCarthy was baldly accusing of 20 years of treason?

Nixon was always a fast man on the uptake. He reached a peak of nimbleness, however, in his retort to Stevenson's assertion that Nixon represented McCarthyism in a white collar. That, declared Nixon, was an attack on the working people. "What Mr. Stevenson calls me is unimportant," he stated, "but I resent his typically snide and snobbish innuendo toward the millions of Americans who work for a living in our shops and

factories."

Nixon's role as the bayonet of Republican offensives was hardly calculated to endear him to Democrats. Since it was politically unhealthy to attack Eisenhower during his first 6 years in office, Nixon drew all the fire. Truman sized him up as an "s.o.b." And Stevenson conjured up visions of a "Nixonland—a land of slander and scare, of sly innuendo, and of a poison pen, the anonymous phone call, and hustling, pushing, shovingthe land of smash and grab and anything to The Democratic campaign handbook for 1958 contained a section called "NIXON." It opened with an excerpt from a column by Walter Lippmann, assessing the Vice President as "ruthless partisan \* \* \* [who] does not have within his conscience those scruples which the country has a right to expect in the President of the United States."

Among old-line Democrats, few have taken a more definite position with regard to Nixon than Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn. "Mister Sam," who sits with the Vice President when Congress meets in joint session, has privately referred to his colleague as "that ugly man with the chinquapin eyes." He was much annoyed at an unexpected House resolution praising Nixon for his courage in South America. It passed unanimously. Rayburn became doubly annoyed when a fellow Texan, Lyndon Johnson, next day led the entire Senate to the airport to welcome the Nixons. This, Johnson explained, was a compromise to avoid paying more formal tribute; Senator Charles E. Potter had been persuaded not to introduce a resolution congratulating the Nixons on their dignity and courage in danger.

None of the instances of reprehensible conduct charged against Nixon, the campaigner, has been cited more often than the tactics by which he defeated Representative Helen Gahagan Douglas of California for Senator. It was a ripsnorting campaign.

It began with a conflict of political ambitions—Nixon's, Mrs. Douglas', Senator Sheridan Downey's and others. The Democrats had regained control of Congress in the 1948 election, and although the Hiss case had focused enough national attention on Nixon for him to be recognized by Capitol tourists, he now was not only a junior Member, but

a junior in the minority party of the House. Nixon raised his sights to the Senate.

Challenging Republican Senator William F. Knowland was out of the question. But California's other Senator, Sheridan Downey, was a Democrat whose seat would be at stak in 1950. Downey wanted a third term, and most people felt he would probably win it. Three senior Republicans coveted Downey's post, but they decided against risking the race. That left only Nixon. He was a sad but earnest underdog until his lucky star came through in the form of Mrs. Douglas' candidacy, which meant a showdown fight among the Democrats. The race between the conserative Downey and the liberal Mrs. Douglas proved to be a prize show.

On November 3, 1949-a full year before the election-Nixon announced his intention to run for Senator. His opening speech was directed at conservative Democrats. He has repeated it in one form or another during every campaign since.

The star Republican professional campaign operator in 1950 was Murray Chotiner. a Beverly Hills lawyer. Beginning with Earl Warren's election as Governor of California, Chotiner had executed a dazzling run of Republican triumphs. He was engaged as Nixon's southern manager, and also to oversee the whole campaign. A rapport developed between the two men, and Chotiner became Nixon's closest political associate and campaign adviser. (That relationship lasted until 1956, when Chotiner's name figured in a Congressional investigation of influence peddling. Nixon was in no way involved in the investigation, but he was politically embarrassed. Chotiner became a political exile. Since then, he and Nixon have resumed their personal friendship. Nixon still considers Chotiner the ablest campaign technician in America. Chotiner, in turn, respects Nixon as a master campaigner, but admits he was the hardest candidate of all to manage.)

The only way a Republican could win, Nixon had told friends, was with "a fighting, rocking, socking campaign," At the outset in 1950, all of the rocking and socking was done by the Democrats-at each other.

Two months before the primaries, Downey withdrew from the race in indignation and disgust. Mrs. Douglas switched her attack to Downey's successor, Manchester Boddy, editor and publisher of the Los Angeles Dally News.

"It is the same old plot with a new leading man." Mrs. Douglas declared, after Boddy filed for the Senate nomination. As it turned out, this new leading man was accompanied by a new campaign assault. In the weeks that followed, fellow Democrats painted Mrs. Douglas every insulting hue of red. Few of them bothered to acknowledge even obliquely that she was actually a vig-orous foe of the Communist Party and in 1948 had fought Henry Wallace's Progressive Party in a congressional district where that took courage.

Senator Downey now pledging his support to boddy, returned to the battlefront to declare in a statewide radio broadcast that Mrs. Douglas "gave comfort to the Soviet tyranny by voting against aid to Greece and Turkey." The Senator also charged that she "opposed an appropriation to enable Congress to uncover treasonable commu-nistic activities." In this, he said, she joined Representative Vito Marcantonio, of New York, "an admitted friend of the Communist Party.

Meanwhile, Nixon, with only token opposition for the Republican nomination, stumped the State. His favorite speaking topic was the Hiss case. Occasionaly, the Democrats would take a swing at Nixon. He was often tempted to respond, especially when Mrs. Douglas stated: "I have utter scorn for such pip-squeaks as Nixon and McCarthy." But he was advised to hold his fire, and nothing was said pertaining to Mrs.

Douglas in the primary.

Nixon won the Republican nomination and also got 22 percent of Democratic primary votes (under the cross-filing system then prevailing in California). Mrs. Douglas won the Democratic nomination by a plurality, since her total was slightly less than half of the votes cast by Democrats. She also got 13 percent of the Republican primary votes.

The autumn of 1950 was ready made for mean electioneering. Domestically, the post-war reaction had set in. The Nation was on the brink of recession. Spectacular congressional investigations were depicting Washington as a haven of subversion and corruption. In the Democratic Party, which controlled both the White House and the Congress, the traditional division between conservatives and liberals had broken out into a rash of grim primary fights, in which accusations of subversion were bandled about. And then, war erupted in Korea.
Under the circumstances, the general-

election contest for Senator from California, or the final, as it is called there, was a natural for the times. The isuse-communism-embraced every nightmare of treachery a voter could conjure. Seekers after a vari ety of offices milked it as best they could. And it was clear from the start that the Communist issue was Nixon's, above all others. Mrs. Douglas tried to wish it away. She declared that it was not an issue at all, but a "phony coverup by Republicans for their failure to advance a positive program for true democracy." She tried to dislodge Nixon from his perch, insisting that she had been more effectively anti-Communist than She didn't succeed.

Nixon's greatest windfall was the mass of accusations her fellow Democrats had hurled at Mrs. Douglas in the spring. Chotiner and his associates gathered them all, added an embellishment here and there and played

it back in the fall campaign.

The campaign was the most hateful California had experienced in many years. Nixon kept on the offensive all the waybeginning with a statement in which his campaign chairman established the line that Mrs. Douglas' record in Congress "discloses the truth about her soft attitude toward communism," and a speech in which Nixon announced his decision to risk the penalty of criticizing a woman because "if she had had her way, the Communist conspiracy in the United States would never have been exposed."

An analysis of the Nixon and Douglas campaigns shows that the most notable difference was in the adroitness and calmness with which Nixon and his people executed their hyperbole and innuendo. For whatever reason (perhaps because Mrs. Douglas and her friends were less blase and more conscience-stricken by improprieties), when compared with the surgeons of the Nixon camp, Mrs. Douglas' operators performed

like apprentice butchers.

The Douglas campaign's repeated linkage of Nixon and Marcantonio was overshadowed by the shrewder manner in which Nixon tied Marcantonio to Mrs. Douglas. did not rest his case with just two, three, or five Marcantonio votes, as did Mr. Douglas. Nixon went before the voters with a carefully researched leaflet, filled with dates, reference data and lawyerlike analogies that were just confusing enough to convince laymen of their authenticity. The document was labeled "Douglas-Marcantonio Voting Record." An opening explanatory statement implied that almost everyone in California was anxious to know the truth about "the voting records of Congresswoman Helen Douglas and the notorious party liner, Congressman Vito Marcantonio, of New York." Then came the revelation: They had voted the same way 354 times.

This was followed by the statement: "While it should not be expected that a

Member of the House of Representatives should always vote in opposition to Marcantonio, it is significant to note, not only the great number of times which Mrs. Doug las voted in agreement with him, but also the issues on which almost without exception they always saw eye to eye, to wit: Un-American Activities and Internal Secu-

The first order was for 50,000 of the leaflets. Chotiner says he was never able to figure whether its immediate popularity was due to the content or the suggestive hue of the paper he had selected, which was bright pink. Anyway, within a week, he ordered 500,000 more leaflets, They are known to this day—in pride or in shame—as "the pink sheets."

One of the political milestones of that campaign, hitherto not revealed, is the strategy by which an endorsement of sorts was wormed out of Governor Warren. As all his Republican colleagues quickly learned, Warren was a lone-wolf campaigner, whose rare public support of another candidate was always based on the help that individual could give Warren, and not on party affiliation. In the 1950 election, Governor Warren, seeking a third term, headed the Republican ticket on which Nixon was the candidate for Senator.

Nixon and Warren had no particular use for each other, but the Nixon forces felt & Warren endorsement important because of rumors that the immensely popular Governor actually wanted to see Nixon defeated. Any hope of convincing Warren to come through was complicated by the fact that the Democratic candidates had not expressed any support for each other. So Nixon strategists hit upon a plan to anger Warren

into speaking.

An earnest young Republicans, elected to Congress, was assigned to follow Mrs. Douglas and ask her at press conferences whether she thought JAMES ROOSE-VELT should be elected Governor. She ignored the questioner until the Friday before election, when she said, "I hope and pray he will be the next Governor, and he will be, if the Democrats vote the Democratic ticket."

Twenty-four hours later, Governor Warren statement concerning Mrs. Dougissued a las' endorsement, concluding with: "I might ask her how she expects I will vote when I mark my ballot for U.S. Senator next

Tuesday."

Nixon's campaign chairman thereupon declared, "Every voter in California who reads his statement will realize that Earl Warren intends to mark his ballot for Dick Nixon on election day." Whether he actually did is a secret Warren has yet to divulge. Nixon was elected by a 680,000-vote margin. The fact that Warren has become Chief Justice and Nixon Vice President has not altered their relationship. "We are not unfriendly." NIXON says. "We are two individuals going our own ways."

If Nixon does run for President in 1960, there is little doubt his so-called smear teachnique will again be a target for attack. In any case, his behavior in the 1950 campaign is the source of much dislike and mis-

trust of him today.

Poultry Crisis in Connecticut

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. CHESTER BOWLES

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 10, 1959

Mr. BOWLES. Mr. Speaker, the independent poultrymen of my State, and

of many other States as well, are in the grip of an economic crisis of disastrous proportions. Rising feed costs have now increased by 50 percent over the levels of 15 years ago, when I was Director of OPA. Yet, believe it or not, the price paid to farmers for poultry is below that paid during OPA, and the retail price in themarket is also below OPA levels.

Hard-pressed independent poultrymen, and many of my colleagues here. have pleaded with Secretary Benson to take emergency action in this crisis. But, as the distinguished chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture has stated so aptly, the Secretary "has callously refused to use the power and money given him by the Congress to relieve the economic disaster that now grips the poultry industry."

To provide a framework for long-range corrective action aimed at stabilizing the poultry industry and provide a fair return to these family farmers, I have joined with several of my colleagues in introducing a proposal which would allow the poultry industry to take meas-

ures to help itself.

My bill, H.R. 7557, along with the companion measures introduced by my distinguished colleagues from California, Mr. Sisk, Mr. Miller, and Mr. Hagen, Would correct the basic problem of the industry-overproduction. It is not, and was not intended to be, a substitute for the immediate, emergency measures which can and should be taken now. As has been pointed out many times, the Secretary of Agriculture already has both the power and the money to remedy this Crisis

I should like to call to the attention of my colleagues who may not be familiar with the problems of the poultry industry the following article by Mr. Charles H. La Freniere, reporting in the Norwich (Conn.) Bulletin-Record of May 31, 1959. I commend it to your attention as a concise and perceptive statement of the problem and its causes:

CAUGHT IN PRICE SQUEEZE-EASTERN CONNECT-ICUT POULTRY PRODUCERS FACING DILEMMA THAT COULD AFFECT AREA ECONOMY

### (By Charles H. LaFreniere)

Connecticut poultry producers, most of them concentrated in the eastern Connecicut region, are face to face with an economic dilemma which, if it worsens, could have an impact on the rest of the area's economy.

For some time now poultry and egg producers have been caught in a cost squeeze that is a genuine threat to the \$60

million a year industry.

Consider, for example, the plight of the broiler producers who have been turning out thousands upon thousands of birds below production costs for the past 9 months. Such a condition cannot go on indefinitely without a number of them facing economic ruin.

### EGGS AT 20-YEAR LOW

And as most everyone by now is aware, eggs are at their lowest price in nearly 20 years.

The situation has caused concern among Government leaders, some of whom are attempting to help the poultry and egg farmers to find a solution to the problem.

When the State commissioners of agriculture in the Northeastern States met just a few days ago in Easton, Md., the problem was placed first on the agenda. The proposal to place it at the head of the list of items to be discussed at the parley was made by Joseph N. Gill, commissioner of agriculture in Connecticut

Commissioner Gill is well aware of the situation in the poultry industry since he also produces broilers on his farm in Mansfield Center.

### SEEK CONGRESSIONAL AID

A joint resolution passed by both houses of the Connecticut General Assembly on May 18 and addressed to Ezra Taft Benson, U.S. Secretary of Agriculture, asked that immediate steps be taken by Washington officials to alleviate the adverse circumstances facing the poultry industry

The task of finding a solution will not be an easy one because of the complex factors involved, any one of which or maybe any combination have a tendency to produce adverse

conditions.

Since the war, the industry has mushroomed like a hydrogen bomb explosion (and there are some who feel that it has had the

same disastrous results).

Prior to that time poultry was raised and eggs produced by the small independent farmer, who, generally speaking, made money doing it. But when the demand for poultry started to increase this necessitated expansion of facilities, and these continued to grow for some time until they reached a point where overproduction started to enter the picture.

#### CUTTING COSTS

Efficiency became a watchword and the production cost cutting started a movement of the industry to the Southern States, where it was felt less expensive housing and less heating was required than in the North.

This movement south continued-and still . does-because, as one local poultryman pointed out, the States in that region offer inducements to large dressing plants to locate

He also pointed out that with the Southern States losing a large percentage of cotton culture, the bankers in the region turned to the poultry industry to offset any loss in business. His comments on bankers in the North were not typical of the gentleman, and after being distilled they come some-thing to the effect that the northern banker is a much more conservative fellow than his southern colleague, and, therefore, for the most part, the poultryman has to struggle along without the resources he has to offer.

Poultry buying by the Nation's large grocery chains is another factor sometimes blamed for industry conditions.

Because there are hundreds of dressing plants and only a comparatively few chain outfits doing a tremendous amount of buying, the latter can, by working with figures provided by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, determine almost precisely the amount of poultry that will hit the market at any given time.

With this knowledge and a little calculation, it is fairly simple to determine when the market will be loaded and prices depressed-always a good time to buy.

# GOVERNMENT FLOOR ON FEED

Still another factor tending to aggravate conditions is the Government floor on feed which prevents it from reaching its normal price level. Therefore, while the feed is subsidized and the price maintained, the unsubsidized poultry farmer has to struggle hard to pay the artificial price, which may be twice as much as it should be.

Eliminating the subsidies on feed, however, would only be a temporary panacea, according to V. A. Laakso, prominent eastern Connecticut poultry producer, who said that "It's a question of the industry regulating Itself." He then added, half seriously and half facetiously, "It'll straighten out when there are less sellers than buyers.'

It was Mr. Laakso's contention that the price picture in the broller industry will be

brighter after June. He explained this by saying that placements (chicks on the farms) have been lower recently and that consump-tion of poultry jumps in the summer months. COOPERATIVES HIT

Cooperatives have been hit by the declining market also and the tendency now is for the small cooperatives to combine into one large unit providing greater financial stability and increased purchasing power.

Integration is another word often heard in connection with the trials of the boultry industry. Some members of the industry are against it, others say that "it's progress"

and is here to stay.

Integration is that process in the industry whereby the growing operation, the feed plant, the hatchery, and the processing plant are combined as a unit, so to speak, to provide a steady production of poultry.

Because such operations have spread rapidly and with them an increase in the number of birds raised, the tendency has been to overproduction.

These, then, are some of the problems that the industry with the aid of Government have to face in any determined effort to provide relief for the producer and to create a market in which he can dispose of his products at a fair profit.

In the meantime, Mrs. American Housewife, when shopping, is taking advantage of the situation although she may not be aware of its seriousness or its possible consequences to her area's economic conditions.

### Federal Water Pollution Control Act

SPEECH

OF

# HON. ROBERT N. GIAIMO

OF CONNECTICUT.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, June 4, 1959

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 3610) to amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act to increase grants for construction of sewage treatment works; to establish the Office of Water Pollution Control; and for other pur-

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Chairman, it would seem that opponents of H.R. 3610 which would amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act to increase grants for the construction of sewage treatment works feel that its only purpose is to spend money to throw the budget out of halance.

But they do not seem to consider that we as representatives have an obligation to consider seriously the national problem of water conservation and pollution control that affects all parts of this Nation, regardless of artificial political boundaries.

The increasing problem of pollution control is seen daily in our metropolitan areas where municipalities and business concerns take the easy and inexpensive way of solving waste disposal problems.

The results are open sewers of rivers. unsanitary, filthy carriers of disease; the destroying of fish and wildlife; the lowering of real estate values and in general, a backward step in the development of our communities as places where people can live decently.

Aside from drinking, the most important use of water, is for waste disposal. Yet it is considered only in passing by most of us. The Nation's use of water has in the past few years increased enormously, not only because of increased population, but because of higher standards of cleanliness, better living, rapid industrial expansion, have all contributed to an increase in per capita use from some 500 gallons a day 60 years ago, to about 1,500 gallons a day now. This includes all uses except hydroelectric power generation and recreation.

The increasing daily demand for water is dramatized almost every summer in large cities when droughts bring about shortages—shortages scarcely if ever felt not too many years ago.

Waste disposal in our rivers and streams prohibits the use of that water for other purposes without endangering health. Thus communities must start now to provide for more sanitary methods of waste disposal so that our streams can be utilized to meet the ever-increasing demand for water.

The lack of foresight on the part of communities in planning for adequate waste disposal has been detrimental to programs bent toward proper use and conservation of water resources. If not lack of foresight, then lack of funds has prevented proper treatment of the waste disposal problem.

Federal stimulus is needed to give States and local communities the impetus to correct their waste disposal methods; to bring them into conformity with standards that would relieve our waters of the dangerous wastes that are dumped into them. Enactment of H.R. 3610 would provide that stimulus.

# In Memoriam: Hon, Clarence J. McLeod

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 10, 1959

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, I want to address myself to the memory of an old and dear friend, the Honorable Clarence J. McLeod. Clarence, as he was familiarly known, as our longtime colleague here in the House. He represented Michigan's 13th District for eight full terms and the better part of a ninth. You will recall, no doubt, that he was labeled the "baby of the Congress" when first elected at the age of 25. You may also recall him as the "mayor of Washington"—an honorary title accompanying his many years as chairman of the House Legislative District Committee.

Clarence McLeod will be remembered for many things—both in Michigan and here in the Nation's Capitol. His strong, unceasing, and articulate opposition to communism will stand in lasting tribute to his fruitful life. His leadership in the 1928 fight over the Reapportionment Act was instrumental in its passage. This

gave Michigan four additional seats here in the House. He will be remembered also for the leading role in advocating improvements for the Walter Reed Army Medical Center here in Washington. This hospital has since risen to rank with the finest in the world.

Throughout his career Clarence Mc-Leod was a dedicated public servant. He was an extremely able legislator, a fine lawyer and a respected gentleman. I shall remember him always as a dear and close friend. I commend him to your lasting memory as a longtime colleague of whom this House may always be justly proud. I am sure you will join me in extending deepest sympathy to his wife and family.

# Looking Ahead From Feitshans High School

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. PETER F. MACK, JR.

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 10, 1959

Mr. MACK of Illinois. Mr. Speaker. under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include a very interesting letter to the editor which was published in the Illinois State Register in Springfield, Ill. It is not surprising that such an event should take place in Springfield, the home of Abraham Lincoln. This whole idea of holding of the commencement exercises at the Municipal Opera site at Lake Springfield was the idea of the students themselves. All of the students in the graduating class participated in cleaning up the Municipal Opera site so that the ceremonies could be held there .-

I feel that this story is of particular interest to other Members of Congress since it is typically representative of our people and life in America.

Mr. Speaker, the author of this letter is an outstanding minister, author, and organist and is one of the leading citizens in Springfield, Ill.

The article follows:

YOUTH AND MEMORIAL DAY DRAMA

DEAR SIR: L suppose it's inevitable that on occasions like Memorial Day we should pause in tribute to "these noble dead," although most news reports I saw or heard seem to indicate the usual relatively small number turned out for the ceremonies. However, and this is entirely fitting and proper, the event was duly noted in the papers, on the radio and on TV, with pictures.

Yet something happened this past weekend in Springfield which I feel is vastly more noteworthy. So far, I've missed any follow-up news on it, and no pictures. Perhaps I'm prejudiced, because one of my daughters is involved, but I think I have enough of a "nose for news" to know that a priceless story of American ingenuity, initiative, and get-up-and-go was evidently ignored. What may well prove to be a delightful precedent was begun. What is more, the young people themselves asked a minimum of favors and did a maximum of work to bring it to pass.

I refer to the commencement exercises of Feltshans High School, Friday night, at the municipal opera site near Lake Springfield.

I don't know-how many of this year's Feitshans seniors were present on Thursday morning last, but it appeared the vast majority of the class was there to do the hot, dirty work of pulling weeds, sickling the grass, sweeping up, and otherwise getting the site ready. What's more, I recognized many, if not all, those who "made" the National Honor Society, the "egghead group" if any might be called that, out there working. What was particularly inspiring in view of the many tensions in our country and in the world today was the matter-of-fact nature of this interracial, intercultural group.

One honor society senior who was in there pitching, and who was especially presented to the large audience Friday night (probably many more people than at the Memorial Day ceremonies, by the way) was a girl who had transferred here from Little Rock, Ark,, and who had maintained her high

scholastic standing.

This may be stretching the thread of coincidence too far, I know, but even the heavens seemed to smile upon this meaningful occasion. Before and after, we'd been having rains and threatened reains. Rain was actually predicted for the time of the commencement, and special tickets had been printed for the limited admission to the Feitshans auditorium, just in case. Yet, as the large crowd present can attest, the weather was as nearly ideal as possible. Even the speaker observed, "A lot of people must have been praying."

It is just possible we may spend too much time looking backward and not quite enough looking ahead. Yes, let us honor the past but let us also give hearty encouragement and incentive to those who must live in the

future, too.

WILLIAM M. HUNTER.

# Resolution Commending Associated Tennessee Valley Chambers of Commerce

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. ROBERT E. JONES

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 10, 1959

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to present to the House of Representatives the following resolution unanimously adopted by the American Public Power Association commending the Associated Tennessee Valley Chambers of Commerce for presenting factual and convincing evidence in support of the TVA self-financing bill which was recently passed by the House. The president of the Tennessee Valley Chambers of Commerce is Mr. Barrett Shelton, publisher of the Decatur Daily, Decatur, Ala., and he and his asosciates have done a magnificant job in refuting distorted material published by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and have vigorously opposed the U.S. Chamber's policy declaration aimed at crippling TVA.

Whereas a large group of local chambers of commerce in the Tennessee Valley have formed the Tennessee Valley Associated Chambers of Commerce to protest the policies of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce concerning the Tennessee Valley Authority; and

Whereas these local people have through close association become familiar with the coustanding benefits to the Tennessee Valley and to the Nation from TVA's operation through more than 25 years; and

Whereas the local chambers of commerce representing hundreds of independent businessmen have denounced the U.S. Chamber's publications and policies in ragard to TVA as being blased, inaccurate and a disservice to the Nation and to the members of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce; and

Whereas the American Public Power Association representing more than 1,000 consumer-owned, business-managed, electric utilities throughout the Nation feels a responsibility toward presenting the facts regarding one of the Nation's great publiclyowned power system: Now, therefore, be it

Owned power system: Now, therefore, be it Resolved. That the American Public Fower Association commends the Associated Tennessee Valley Chambers of Commerce for Presenting a factual reply to the distorted material published by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, and for vigorously opposing the U.S. Chamber's policy declaration aimed at crippling TVA.

### Poison in Your Water-No. 112

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 10, 1959

Mr. DINGELL, Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I am inserting into the Appendix of the Congressional Record an article appearing in the Texarkana (Ark.) News of April 11, 1959, entitled "The Pollution Problem,"

THE POLLUTION PROBLEM

There are many odors emanating from Washington, D.C. these days, and not all of them are political in nature.

Take that beautiful stream, the Potomac River, for instance. The stench from this stream rivals anything that has occurred, Politically, in the Nation's capital for generations, and this covers a lot of territory.

The Potomac is so polluted today that no one, ignorant or foolhardy, would dare to swim in its waters. Even to get accidentally spilled in the water brings serious danger of contracting any number of serious diseases.

Pollution of the Nation's rivers and streams is a problem that endangers the health of the people, and the growth of the Nation.

Sadly enough, we have evidences of pollution of lakes and streams right here in the four States area.

In its convention in Shreveport the other day, the Red River Valley Association took up the pollution problem and there are indications that the RRVA will throw its full weight behind efforts to halt pollution of waterways in the valley.

Industries and communities which fail to correct practices which pollute lakes and streams should be dealt with promptly and effectively. There are antipollution laws which must be rigidly enforced. Other laws—should be passed if the present laws prove the factors in the process.

ineffective in curbing this problem.

The Potomac River should serve as an excellent example of what happens when citizens drag their feet on this subject.

Pollution is deceptive. To a visitor in the Nation's capitol, the Potomac is indeed a beautiful stream. The river is spanned by bridges carefully designed to fit into the scenery. Along its grassy banks are such tourist atractions as the Jefferson and Lincoin Memorials. The river is wide, and during much of the year its waters are deceptively clear and blue.

One would think that the centerpiece of

One would think that the centerpiece of beautiful Washington—the Potomac River would be as clean, as well kept as its monu-

ments, parks, and parkways.

The river, in fact, is worse than ill kept, a
Weshington correspondent reports. Its con-

Washington correspondent reports. Its condition is disgraceful. Its waters are an open sewer along part of the Washington waterfront during some of the year.

A Member of Congress recently described

the river in this way:

"Beautiful parkways and sweeping green lawns border both sides of the river, but anyone picnicking here or driving by on a still summer day would be nauseated by the smell of decomposing sewage and the sight of repulsive materials in the stream."

Fish which go up the river in the spring to spawn have difficulty getting through the polluted water, even when rains have brought down more than the usual amount of water to dilute the sewage. Only the roughest and hardiest of fish ordinarily inhabit these waters, and to catch and eat one is a health hazard.

The wide river is a favorite spot for boating enthusiasts. On pleasant days, cabin cruisers, outboard motors, sail boats, and canoes journey on its waters. Washington-Lee High School in Arlington, Va., has won three national schoolboy championships with its rowing teams trained on the Potomac. But water sports are dangerous to health, because the spray from motors and oars carry disease germs.

Not a pretty picture, is it?

What makes it even uglier and more ominous is the fact that it can happen—and has happened—elsewhere in this beautiful country. And it could happen here.

Texarkana and the four States area has a great stake in the future, with its splendid lakes and rivers. We cannot be too stern in our demands that antipollution laws be enforced.

### Public Debt Management

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following statement on public debt management by the Secretary of the Treasury, Robert B. Anderson, was presented June 10, 1959, before the Committee on Ways and Means. I respectfully submit it for the Record at this earliest opportunity so that the House membership and our citizens can benefit by its study:

STATEMENT ON PUBLIC DEBT MANAGEMENT BY SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY ROBERT B. ANDERSON BEFORE THE HOUSE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE, 10 A.M., JUNE 10, 1959

I appear this morning to support policles I sincerely believe to be in the best interests of 176 million Americans. I do so in the realization that all thoughtful people share common objectives. We realize there are honest differences of opinion as to the methods by which these objectives may be attained.

Fundamentally, we Americans endeavor to achieve sustainable economic growth in terms of real goods and services. We seek a sustainable rate of growth that would promote maximum job opportunities, continuity of employment, and real earnings. We seek as well to insure that the process of saving, which underlies the growth of this or any other country, is not diminished but encouraged. We seek to protect the welfare of those individuals who now depend for their livelihood on accumulated savings, the proceeds of insurance policies, benefits of retirement systems, the aid of social-security payments, and similar accumulations from a lifetime of effort.

We seek also to insure that those who plan for the education of their children, who guard against adversity, and who provide for their own economic well-being through any process of accumulated savings shall not have the rewards of their diligence and thrift diminished.

We live in a world of tensions and in a world where new nations with new freedoms are seeking to improve their standards of living and their economic well-being, where all eyes are turned toward America. A sound domestic economy is essential if we are to maintain sufficient military strength to preserve freedom and liberty for ourselves and our friends abroad. If we are to witness the growth of better conditions for our neighbors all over the world, we must adopt and stanchly support enduring sound monetary and fiscal policies—the same policies that we have strongly encouraged them to adopt in their own interests.

We must not be unmindful of the lessons to be learned from the financial history of others who have tried methods less demanding and less exacting; nor must we succumb to the belief that real wealth is created by any other means than by the physical and mental labor of human beings working with the physical resources with which each country is blessed.

Mr. Chairman, it is with this belief that we support the proposals which have been laid before you by the President. In a world of economic complexities there is a constant interrelationship between fiscal policy, monetary policy, and the individual and collective actions of all who participate in our economic structure. We cannot isolate one and set it apart as controlling, but we can say that each, in its own sphere, is a sine quanon to the achievement of our total objectives.

It is because of my belief that the people of our country are willing to subscribe to the disciplines which freedom exacts from government and individuals that I have confident faith in the security and well-being of our Nation's future.

our Nation's future.

I should like now to address myself to one important element of our economic life—the management of our national debt.

OUR DEBT MANAGEMENT ENVIRONMENT

The public debt rose last month to an alltime high of \$287.2 billion and is now only slightly below that figure. This represents over \$1,600 for each man, woman, and child in America. The Federal Government owes as much money as all of the corporations in the United States put together. Our debt is as large as the debts of all the individual borrowers in the country put together plus the debts of all of our State and local governments.

The U.S. Government, therefore, owes about one-third of all of the debt in the United States and is the largest single borrower. In the calendar year 1958 the Treasury issued \$69 billion of new marketable securities—\$19 billion for cash and \$50 billion in refinancing maturities, quite apart from the continuing rollover of about \$22 billion of weekly bill maturities. All of the corporations in America issued slightly under

\$10 billion of new bonds and notes last year while State and municipal new security is-

suances amounted to \$7½ billion.

In the year ahead the Treasury faces the refinancing of \$76 billion of short-term securities that will mature. In some ways the volume of this short-term debt is as important a factor in our financing picture as the size of the total debt Each time the Treasury goes to the market—either for refunding operations or for new cash borrowing needed to cover seasonal requirements or retirement of other securities-it is a significant event in all financial markets. Both the size of our borrowing requirements and the frequency of our trips to the market tend to interfere with the smooth marketing of new corporate and State and local government securities.

Another problem related to the large size of the debt maturing within 1 year is that such debt is only one step away from money. It should be realized, however, that in this country we have a large active and continuous demand for short-term debt instruments outside of the banking system inasmuch as corporations, State and local governments, foreign accounts and many other investors invest their short-term funds in this manner. Almost 60 percent of our under-1-year debt, therefore, is held outside of the banks-a larger percentage than in any

other country we are aware of.

Even though it is preferable to have large amounts of short-term securities in the hands of nonbank investors rather than in commercial banks, we must never lose sight of the fact that a well-balanced debt structure calls for continued offerings of intermediate and longer term securities whenever conditions permit if debt management is to be conducted in a manner consistent with economic growth and stability.

The quest for a balanced structure of the debt is never ending since the passage of time brings more and more of the out-standing debt into the short-term area. The high point of our under-1-year debt was reached at the end of 1953 when the total The total is now \$76 billion. was \$80 billion. having dropped below \$60 billion for short periods in 1955 and 1956.

If the Treasury should be able to do nothing but issue short-term securities to replace maturing issues between now and December 1960, instead of the present \$76 billion we would have almost \$100 billion of under-1year debt outstanding at that time.

The Treasury does not intend this to happen. We must, therefore, continue to sell intermediate and longer term bonds whenever appropriate as we try to keep the shortterm debt from growing. The only reason we have been able to keep the short-term debt from growing since December 1953 is that since then we have issued \$34 billion of 5-10-year bonds, \$2 billion of 10-20-year bonds, and \$6 1/2 billion of over 20-year bonds.

THE COMPETITION WHICH WE FACE

Let us look at some of the competitive phases of our problems. Federal Government programs to guarantee home mortgages for veterans and to provide FHA insurance on various types of mortgages have contributed to the unprecendented volume of home building in America since World War II. But they have also fostered a marked improvement in the quality of mortgages as investments for the billions of dollars that Americans each year save out of their earnings, savings which they invest directly or which insurance companies, sayings banks, savings and loan associations, or pension funds invest in their behalf.

There are a great many other debt obligations outstanding today which our Government also aids in one way or another, including securities issued by many Federal Government agencies, even though those securities are not actually guaranteed by the

term Government-aided obligations has been growing, the volume of long-term Treasury bonds has been declining. At the end of 1946, for example, there were \$117 billion of U.S. Treasury bonds outstanding which originally bore maturities of over 10 years. In contrast, there was \$61/2 billion of what might be called long-term Government-aided debt outstanding. Twelve years later—December 31, 1958—the \$117 billion total of long-term Government bonds had shrunk to \$65 1/2 billion, while the \$6 1/2 billion Government-aided total had grown to \$58½ billion, \$55 billion of which is in FHA and VA mortgages alone.

In addition, the continuation of high individual and corporate income tax rates in the postwar period has made the complete exemption from Federal income taxes which is enjoyed by State and local government securities very valuable. State and local debt outstanding has increased from \$16 billion in 1946 to \$59 billion in 1958. Tax exemption has contributed to the ability of State and local governments to sell their securities, but it has also meant that Federal securities are relatively that much less attractive.

Competition for funds available for investment has also been increased in other ways. A high corporate income tax rate has made corporations more inclined to borrow than to issue stock, since interest payments are deductible for income tax purposes, but dividend payments are not. Moreover, from the standpoint of the average small saver, Federal insurance of bank deposits and savings loan shares has practically eliminated any difference in risk between private savings and Government bonds.

The problem of encouraging more longterm investors to buy and hold Treasury securities is also increased by the tendency among some investors to prefer stocks to fixed dollar obligations because of what I believe to be a mistaken conviction that the purchasing power of the dollar will decline further. It is in this environment that the sale of enough long- and intermediate-term Treasury securities sufficient to keep the debt from getting shorter must also compete with large and growing demands for borrowing by State and local governments, by corporations for plant and equipment needs, and by home builders and buyers.

Many investors have also become increasingly confident in the continued growth potentials of our Nation. As this grows high quality of Government securities becomes relatively less important than in the past and the safest bonds in the world-U.S. Government securities-are more difficult to

In recent years there has been substantial liquidation of long-term Government securities by investors who bought large amounts of such securities during World War II, based on the improvement in the relative attractiveness of other investments.

Long-term Treasury securities are held primarily by three broad classes of private investors other than commercial banks. first group consists of savings institutions such as insurance companies, mutual savings banks, savings and loan associations, corporate pension funds, and State and local government pension funds. These investors, in the aggregate, held only \$31 billion of Government securities in December 1958, as compared with \$411/2 billion 12 years ago.

When the rapid growth of institutional assets generally is taken into consideration the decline in their holdings of Government securities is even more striking. In 1946 life insurance companies had 45 percent of their assets invested in Government securities; the percentage now is 7 percent, far below the 18 percent level back in 1939. Twelve years ago mutual savings banks had 63 percent of

U.S. Government. While the volume of long- - their assets invested in Government securities; that has now been reduced to 19 percent. Savings and loan associations now have only -7 percent of their assets in Governments, although their percentage has never been much higher. Corporate pension funds have 12 percent of their assets in Governments as against 30 percent just a few years ago. Even in State and local pension funds, where statutory requirements are much less favorable to investments outside of Government securities, the percentage invested in Governments has fallen from 54 to 35 percent in the last 6 years alone.

The second group of long-term investors includes principally personal trust accounts and individuals in the upper income brackets. Their holdings of Governments have also declined substantially in the postwar yearsfrom \$34 billion in December 1946 to \$21 biliion now. It is in this group where competition with tax-exempt State and local obligations becomes most important.

By contrast, there is a third group whose holdings have geen growing. This group includes the millions of small savers who buy and hold series E and H savings bonds. Through the savings bond program they have added substantially to their holdings of Government securities in the postwar periodfrom \$30 billion in 1946 to more than \$421/2 billion now.

There is also a fourth area of long-term investment demand for Government securities apart from private investors-Federal Government investment accounts. These accounts—social security funds, veterans' life insurance funds, civil service and railroad retirement funds, etc.—added substantially to their holdings during the entire postwar period at an average rate of about \$21/2 billion a year until last year. During the fiscal year 1959, however, trust-fund expenditures are exceeding receipts, serving to complicate further the Treasury's task of keeping the short-term debt from growing.

We are just completing a fiscal year in which the largest peacetime deficit in the history of our country had to be financed. contrast, we are looking forward to having sufficient budget receipts next year to cover our expenditures. That fact, in itself, should brighten significantly the opportunities to improve the debt structure. Budgetary soundness has a pervasive effect in improving the environment in which we operate. The confidence which grows out of proving that we can live within our means is contagious

Our willingness and ability to act soundly in managing our debt and in conducting our fiscal affairs is important also to our friends throughout the free world who have a right to look to the United States as an example of fiscal integrity.

While the gold movements of the past 18 months have been in response to the normal functioning of gold in international exchange, the correction of prior adjustments, and the historical rebuilding of monetary reserves, they should serve as a reminder that the postwar dollar shortage has long since disappeared, although there remains a shortage of capital resources in many of the less-developed countries. These gold movements should remind us that other nations have built strong financial and industrial communities and that we must recrient our thinking in order to perform our full responsibility in the conduct of our internal and international economic affairs.

We have demonstrated the ability of a free economy to come out of an economic recession: it remains for us to demonstrate the willingness to pursue appropriate poli-cles during a period of high and rising business activity. Under current conditions, such policies would include at least a balanced budget and sufficient flexibility for the Treasury to permit sound management of the public debt.

We would be less than frank, however, to suggest that living within our means as a National Government will automatically cure the entire problem of managing the public debt. We would also be less than frank if we suggested that the legislation which you have before you will solve all of our problems. We feel very strongly, however, that the proposed legislation can contribute significantly to a fuller realization of our goals of managing the debt in a way that is consistent with sound economic progress.

The President has already outlined his program to you, incorporating principally improvements in the savings bond program, removing the 4½ percent ceiling on Treasury bond interest rates, and an increase in the debt limit. Proposed legislation on these three parts of the program is incorporated in sections 1 through 3 of the first of the bills we have placed before you. With your permission I should like to discuss each of these three items with you, and also to take up the second proposed bill.

to take up the second proposed bill.

Sections 4, 5, and 6 of the first proposed bill deal with three somewhat technical matters on which I am submitting a short written statement for the record. These sections would provide a 10-year statute of limitations on the liability of paying agents who in rare instances may redeem savings bonds by erroneous payments; clarify the statute which exempts U.S. obligations from State and local taxes, and authorize the issuance of bonds to the Government's various trust funds at the same prices as bonds are issued from time to time to the public. If there are any questions on these provisions, one of my associates will be glad to answer them later.

IMPROVEMENTS IN THE SAVINGS BOND PROGRAM

The statement on the savings bond program which was attached to my letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives on June 8, 1959, contains a complete description of our savings bond plans, if the first proposed bill is enacted.

As I pointed out in that statement, the new savings bond program has three major

features:

(1) All series E and H bonds sold beginning June 1, 1959, will earn interest of 3¾ percent per annum if held to maturity—one-half of 1 percent more than at present—with lesser improved yields for shorter periods of holding.

(2) All series E and H bonds outstanding will also earn approximately one-half of 1 percent per annum more than they do now, it held to maturity, starting with their first full semiannual interest period which starts on or after June 1, 1959, with lesser improvement if redeemed earlier.

(3) All series E bonds on which an extension has already been promised and which had not yet reached first maturity before June 1, 1959, will be offered an improved extension on which 334 percent will be paid if held the full additional 10 years, with lesser yields (starting at 3½ percent) for shorter

periods of holding.

The savings bond program is a program that every American has a right to be proud of. It puts more of the public debt in the hands of long-term investors-few people realize that the average dollar invested in these bonds stays with the Treasury approximately 7 years. It also encourages desirable habits of thrift throughout the Nation. Almost half of the current E- and H-bond sales are accounted for by purchases on payroll savings plans by some 8 million Americans throughout industry and Government. Many of these savings grow out of the convenience of the payroll plan, savings which would not be taking place in such volume if were not for the savings bond program. Corporations throughout America, large and small alike, are administering these payroll savings plans on a voluntary basis because they realize their importance and the benefits to their employees of regular habits of thrift. Similarly thousands of banks and other financial institutions across the country are selling bonds every day without compensation because this is a program they sincerely believe in.

As you know, series E and H bonds are designed particularly for small savers. We have more than \$42½ billion of E- and H-bonds outstanding at the present time—\$38 billion in the accrual-type series E bonds issued at 75 percent of their face value with the interest reflected in successively higher redemption values each 6 months to maturity—and \$4½ billion in series H bonds which pay interest currently by semiannual check to give a sliding scale of investment yields approximating E-bond yields for similar periods of holding. These are the only series of savings bonds which the Treasury has currently on sale, although approximately \$8½ billion of the old series F, G, J, and K bonds (sales of which were discontinued 3 years ago) are still outstanding.

There are many reasons why so many millions of Americans buy and hold series E and H savings bonds. I have already mentioned the convenience of buying bonds on the payroll savings plan, and you are familiar with the convenience of savings bonds redemption privileges throughout the country. Owners of savings bonds never need to worry about market fluctuations; their redemption values at all times are known in advance and are guaranteed by the Treasury. Furthermore, unlike savings accounts, where rates may move either up or down from year to year, the Treasury guarantees whatever rate of interest it puts on the bond for the full term of that bond.

Americans also know that savings bonds are perfectly safe; the Treasury has replaced over a million of them which have been lost or destroyed since the program began. These are attributes of savings bonds which have not changed over the years, quite apart from the relative attractiveness of the interest rate.

### CURRENT SAVINGS BOND TRENDS

Sales of series E and H bonds improved slightly from 1957 to 1958 but were still behind sales for 1955 and 1956. Redemptions in 1958 declined significantly from the 1957 peak. But the 1959 record to date has not been good. Sales for the first 5 months are 6 percent behind a year ago, with a worsening trend. Similarly, 1959 redemptions through May are 9 percent above a year ago, also with a worsening trend. The amount of E and H bonds outstanding (including accumulated interest on E bonds) declined by \$36 million fh April and May—a greater decline than in any 2-month period since the autumn of 1950.

Furthermore, on a cash basis, the net drain on the Treasury of an excess of redemptions over sales of E and H bonds in the current quarter is expected to amount to approximately \$300 million—equal to the cash drain at the low point in the third quarter of 1957. This decline will undoubtedly become much more serious as time goes on unless the present terms of these bonds are improved. Furthermore, we can expect enthusiastic cooperation of financial groups and employers in sponsoring the program only when they can conscientiously recommend savings bonds to themselves, to their customers, and to their employees.

The rate of interest return on E and H bonds is now much less favorable in comparison with savings accounts, as well as with other types of securities—both Government and private—than in earlier years.

At the end of World War II series E bonds paid 2.90 percent for a full 10-year term of holding, as compared with 2½ on long-term

maturities of marketable Government securities, an average of 2% percent on savings and loan shares, 1% percent on mutual savings bank accounts, and less than 1 percent on commercial bank savings deposits.

At the present time the rate on E- and H-bonds held to maturity is 3½ percent as compared with more than 4 percent on long-term Treasury marketable securities, and average rates paid of 3% percent on savings and loan shares, 3½ percent on mutual savings bank accounts, and 2½ percent on accounts in commercial banks. Furthermore, the holder of an E-bond has to wait 3 years to get as much as 3 percent on his money, whereas the applicable rates on savings accounts apply to a far shorter period of holding.

This is the principal reason, therefore, that the growth of savings bonds in recent years has been far overshadowed by the rapid expansion of savings in mutual savings banks, commercial banks, and—particularly—sav-

ings and loan associations.

The percentage increases during the past 6 years are revealing: 52 percent for commercial bank savings, 50 percent for accounts in mutual savings banks, 150 percent for savings and loan shares, and only 21 percent for E- and H-bonds.

Overall series E savings bond rates were improved from 2.90 to 3 percent in the spring of 1952, and from 3 to 3.25 percent early in 1957. In neither case did the increased rate make up for the increased return on competing savings since the preceding change, SOME FEATURES OF THE NEW SAVINGS BOND PROGRAM

The Treasury's present plan attempts to correct this situation by bringing the savings bond program back approximately to the same competitive position that it held in 1952. It would, by so doing, contribute both to a greater awareness of the advantages of thrift throughout the country and to a better structure of the public debt.

Two of the three features in the new program—a higher rate on new bonds being sold and an improved extension term for bonds reaching maturity—follow the same pattern as in earlier savings bond revisions. You will note that we would like to make these changes effective as of June 1, 1959—regardless of when the legislation is approved—so that purchasers will know it is unwise to stop buying bonds on the false grounds that by waiting they could buy a better bond.

The other feature of our savings bond program is new and although it is rather completely described in the attachment to which I have been referring, I want to call it par-

ticularly to your attention.

We feel quite strongly that the Government has an obligation to the millions of Americans who hold E- and H-bonds to improve the future earnings of bonds already outstanding. We plan no additional interest on holdings of savings bonds for any period in the past. But we do feel that each holder of an outstanding bond is entitled to an increase of approximately one-half of 1 percent per annum on the future earnings of his bond if he holds it to maturity just as we are planning to pay one-half of 1 percent more to the buyers of new bonds.

Thus, present holders of E- or H-bonds would have little or no incentive to cash present bonds and buy new ones. Such switching operations would be costly both to the investor and to the Treasury.

The Treasury has, however, an even more important reason for taking this step, a reason which relates to the equitable treatment of all bondholders. The Treasury has something of a trusteeship function on behalf of millions of individual savers who do not follow interest rate trends closely. They buy bonds and hold bonds with under-

standable faith that the Government is

giving them a square deal.

The new savings bond program is expected to add \$30 to \$35 million to the savings bond part of the budget cost of interest on the public debt for the fiscal year 1960. Approximately \$5 million of this increased cost is attributable to the higher rate on new bond sales and to improved extension terms. The remainder is accounted for by increased interest on outstanding E- and H-bonds.

In assessing the true cost of the new program, however, in terms of overall budget costs of interest on the public debt, allowance should be made for some expectation of increased sales and decreased redemptions as a result of the new program in comparison with a continued deterioration of the savings bond picture if present

terms are continued.

The Treasury can borrow more economically through the proposed increase in savings bond terms at the present time than it can by borrowing through marketable securities. We believe, therefore, that the net addition to next year's budget costs for interest on the public debt because of the new savings bond program may be less than \$10 million, and could quite conceivably result in no net increase in all. It is realized, of course, that the gross cost on savings bonds will tend to build up in later years, but the saving in comparison with alternative borrowing would very likely continue to be a sizable offset.

The inauguration of the new savings bond program will depend on the favorable consideration by the Congress of section 3 of the first proposed bill. Section 3 will permit the Treasury to pay interest in excess of the present maximum rate of 3.26 percent, to pay increased interest on bonds already outstanding, and to permit future extensions of bonds for more than 10 years (the present limit) beyond their original ma-

turity dates.

# BACKGROUND ON THE 4 1/4 PERCENT INTERIEST RATE CEILING

I should like to consider next the 41/4 percent interest rate ceiling currently applying to all new issues of Treasury bonds, which includes all new Treasury issues maturing in more than 5 years. Section 1 of the first proposed bill would repeal the

present limit.

The earliest of all public debt statutes, in 1790, authorized the President to borrow money on the credit of the United States for the specific purposes of payment of the foreign debt, funding of the existing domestic debt, and assumption of the debts of the several States. The President delegated this authority to the Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton, and this pattern of responsibility continued in general until the early Civil War period. At that time (1861) the Congress directly authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to conduct the financing of the war through the issuance of bonds, 1-year notes and demand notes.

Prior to World War I, however, the Secretary of the Treasury had little discretion in the actual carrying out of the public debt operations. The acts of Congress authorizing the issuance of U.S. Government obligations usually specified the terms and conditions applicable to each individual issue.

World War I brought a change in this situation. Because of the large amounts of borrowing involved and the expectation that a number of loan operations would be required. Congress departed from its previous policy of specifying the terms and conditions of the obligations to be issued. Instead, in the first and succeeding Liberty Bond acts, Congress gave the Secretary of the Treasury broader authority to determine the terms and conditions of issue, conversion, redemption, maturities, payment, and

the rate and time of payment of interest in respect to the several classes of obligations authorized to be issued. Interest rate cellings on Treasury bonds were still set forth in the statutes, however, the last one was

the present 4½ percent rate celling. In making these changes, Congress proceeded in several steps. In the first of the war financing operations of World War I, authorized by the first Liberty Bond Act in April 1917, Congress departed from its policy of determining the specific terms and conditions of each Treasury issue. The Secretary of the Treasury was authorized, with the approval of the President, to issue securities to the extent of \$5 billion at a rate of interest on bonds issued under this authorization not to exceed 3½ percent. The bonds were to be offered at not less than par and no commissions were to be paid; other terms were left to the discretion of the Secretary.

There was an expectation that wartime rates might move higher. It was provided, therefore, that these First Liberty Loan bonds could be converted into bonds bearing a higher rate than 3½ percent, if any subsequent series of bonds should be issued at a higher rate before the termination of the war. It may be noted that the effective return on the new bonds was actually higher than 3½ percent for many owners in comparison with corporate bonds or mortgages, since both principal and interest were exempt from all taxation (Federal, State, and local) except estate and inheritance taxes.

In the same act authorization was given to the Secretary of the Treasury to issue up to \$2 billion of certificates of indebtedness (1 year or less to maturity). The interest rate ceiling of 3½ percent and the tax exemption privileges provided for the bonds

applied also to the certificates.

The Second Liberty Bond Act in September 1917 in effect increased the Treasury's bond issuing authority under both acts to \$7.5 billion and increased the interest rate ceiling on bonds to 4 percent. The conversion privilege was retained for the new bonds except that in this instance the privilege was to arise only once instead of each time new bonds were issued at a rate higher than 4 percent. In this act and thereafter, the rate of interest payable on certificates was left to the discretion of the Secretary. Tax exemption was retained under the Second Liberty Bond Act, but to a lesser degree.

By the spring of 1918, when a third Liberty loan was under consideration, the bonds of the previous loans were selling below par and industrial and other securities were yielding a return much in excess of the rate on Government bonds. The Third Liberty Bond Act (April 1918), therefore, authorized the issue of 4½ percent nonconvertible bonds. The tax exemption status of the new bonds was virtually unchanged from the second liberty loan.

The 4½ percent interest rate ceiling was retained for the \$7 billion of bonds issued under the Fourth Liberty Bond Act (July 1918). In order to make the rate more attractive, however, tax exemption privileges were considerably extended with respect to surtaxes, excess profits taxes and war-profits taxes payable during the war and within a fixed time after the termination of the war.

During the early months of 1919 it became clear that new financing would again be required in the near future. A complicating element in the situation was the fact that the final session of the 65th Congress would terminate on March 4, 1919, considerably before the expected date of the new financing. Carter Glass, then Secretary of the Treasury, wrote to the Chairmen of both the House Committee on Ways and Means and the Senate Committee on Finance and presented a strong case for giving the Treasury greater leeway in setting the terms of new issues. He cited at length the difficulty un-

der conditions then prevailing of fixing the terms of loans considerably in advance of the offering.

In a statement before the Ways and Means Committee on February 13, 1919, the Secretary made a number of specific requests in connection with the forthcoming victory loan, including the request that the interest rate ceiling be removed for notes and for bonds having maturities of less than 10 years. "To withhold from the Secretary of the Treasury the power to issue bonds or notes bearing such rate of interest as may be necessary to make this refunding possible (i. e., refunding the interim certificates issued between the fourth and fifth (victory) loans) might result in a catastrophe," the Secretary stated. He added that: "To specify in the act the maximum amount of interest at a figure sufficient to cover all contingencies would be costly, because the maximum would surely be taken by the public as the minimum." It may be noted that the interest rate on certificates issued in anticipation of the third liberty loan had risen to 41/2 percent a year earlier (February 1918) and had remained at that figure on subsequent issues in anticipation of the fourth and victory loans. Certificate rates later rose to 6 percent.

Before its adjournment, Congress responded to the Secretary's appeal in March 1919 with the Victory Liberty Loan Act. This act granted increased discretion to the Secretary of the Treasury to enable him to deal with the situation as it might develop as far as notes were concerned, but his re-

quest on bonds was not granted.

A note issue (one of the possibilities previously suggested by the Secretary) was authorized in the amount of \$7 billion "containing such terms and conditions and at such rate or rates of interest as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe." The notes were to run not less than 1 year nor more than 5 years from the date of issue. In April 1919, the Treasury offered \$4½ billion of 4½ percent 3-4 year gold notes, exempt from State and local taxes (except estate and inheritance) and from normal Federal income taxes, and convertible at the option of the holder into 3½ percent 3-4 year gold notes exempt from all Federal, State, and local taxes (except estate and inheritance). The 4½ percent interest rate ceiling on bonds was thus not involved in the final financing of World War I, but only because no bonds were authorized or issued.

# THE 4 1/4 PERCENT CEILING IN OUR CURRENT ENVIRONMENT

Until recently, the trend of interest rates in the past 25 years has made the 4½ percent ceiling a somewhat academic problem. Except for a short period in the early 1930's, interest rates were low all through the depression. Confidence in the future had been seriously shaken and available savings exceeded the demand for borrowed funds. In World War II interest rates were held down artificially on Federal borrowing and the demands for borrowed funds by State and local governments, businesses and individuals were reduced to a minimum by rationing and other direct controls.

After World War II the demand for funds by non-Federal borrowers began to grow again and interest rates started to rise. This was aided by the fact that the Federal Government has not been able to reduce its debt in the postwar period as a whole. Budget surpluses in the twenties allowed the Federal Government to reduce the public debt by more than one-third (from \$26 billion in 1919 to \$16 billion in 1930). As a direct result, interest rates declined during a period of general prosperity.

Today, current demand for funds by businesses, home builders, State and local governments, and other borrowers continue to push heavily against a relatively modest vol-

ume of savings, and interest rates have risen further. At the present time it is extremely unlikely that the Treasury would be able to issue bonds in any volume at a rate of 4½ percent or less. This is particularly true of the intermediate term area (5 to 10 years) where the volume of new bonds which the Treasury can sell is usually substantially larger than the more limited market for bonds in the long-term area. By the end of May 1959 a number of bonds with more than 5 years to run were selling in the market with yields above 4½ percent.

Chart 7 on the market pattern of rates on outstanding bonds reveals that a large part of the market curve is above 4½ percent. (Chart omitted in the Record.) Furthermore, since the market for longer bonds is very thin (very little buying or selling) the market yield curve in the longer area is low as an index of what the Treasury would have to pay for a long bond if one were to be

issued today.

To date the Treasury has been able under the 4½-percent ceiling to sell bonds beyond 5 years to maturity. Last January we sold more than three-quarters of a billion dollars of 21-year bonds to yield 4.07 percent and in March we sold more than half a billion dollars of 4-percent bonds due in 10½ years. But the market has moved down further since these offerings (down in price, up in yield), and with the present level of interest rates the Treasury would be seriously restricted by the present ceiling from taking advantage of reasonable opportunities to improve the structure of the public debt by issuing intermediate and longer term bonds.

It should be mentioned that since March 1942 the Treasury has had the right to offer securities at a discount. It is permissible under present statutory authority, therefore, for the Treasury to issue a bond with a 4½-percent coupon rate at a price below par to yield any rate of interest to the investor above 4½ percent which may be required by market conditions. The Treasury has not believed it appropriate, however, to circumvent the 4½-percent ceiling in this way and is taking the direct approach to the problem by requesting appropriate legislation.

As the President stressed in his message the Treasury borrows at the lowest interest rate at which it can successfully sell the securities it should issue. However, the Treasury must secure its funds in the competitive market for credit as it exists at the time it needs the money. It must sell its securities at rates sufficient to attract buyers who always have the alternative opportunity to buy outstanding securities or new issues of

corporate or municipal securities.

These are conditions which are true of both Government and private borrowing. Typically, over recent years the average new highest grade corporate security, for example, has cost the borrower about three-tenths of 1 percent more than the market rate on outstanding issues. The Treasury's pricing of new issues has been even closer to the market pattern of rates on outstanding issues than corporate pricing, in comparison between the new Treasury issue interest cost and the estimated market rates. All borrow-ers—including the Treasury—try to do their borrowing as cheaply as possible, but each new issue must be attractive or fail.

Interest yields on long-term Government securities are higher today in the United States than at any time since the 1920's except for a very brief period in the early 1930's. They are still, however, among the lowest in the world. Long-term Government bond yields in Canada average approximately 5 percent; long-term yields in the United Kingdom are almost the same, and have been as high as 5½ percent within the past 2 years.

Any comparison between present interest rates in the United States and the rates on

Government bonds in 1918, at the time the 4½ percent rate was originally established, should also recognize that the original 4½ percent rate was in large part a tax-exempt rate, whereas all Treasury bonds issued since February 1941 have been fully taxable—and at income tax rates which are substantially higher than in 1918.

The request for removal of the limit reflects an honest appraisal of market conditions for what they are—conditions which have now made the 4½ percent ceiling a barrier to effective debt management. Under current conditions, continuation of the 4½ percent ceiling would not only deny the Government the opportunity to extend debt, but also could easily increase reliance on short-term financing to such an extent as to result in further imbalance in the debt structure, add to inflationary pressures, and push short-term rates to relatively high levels.

It has been alleged that the removal of the 4½ percent ceiling would raise interest rates. This is simply not the case. The inflationary aspects of debt management policy under the present ceiling would raise increasing apprehension both here and abroad as to future value of the dollar. Nothing contributes so strongly to forcing interest rates upward as fear of inflation. Those investors who want to invest in fixed-dollar obligations (rather than in stocks) will demand higher interest rates to compensate for their expectation of a shrinking purchasing power of the future repayments of principal and interest.

Those who feel that removing the 4¼ percent ceiling would raise rates need only look to the market for shorter term issues, where no ceiling applies. Treasury 91-day bill rates in a competitive market have moved up and down with the business cycle—up to almost 2½ percent in 1953, down to five-eighths of 1 percent a year later, up to 35% percent in 1957, down to five-eighths of 1 percent a year ago, and up again to over 3 percent now. Even the 5-year rate has fluctuated from below 2 percent to more than 4 percent within the last business cycle.

The President has requested that the limit be removed, not just raised to a higher figure. If the principle of flexibility has any meaning at all, it is clear that applies here. Any figure selected for a new limit would carry with it the connotation that the Government thought that is where interest rates should properly go. As Secretary Glass said in 1919, such a "maximum would surely be taken by the public as the minimum."

### HOW INTEREST RATES OPERATE

Popular discussion of interest rates is often clouded by misunderstanding of their nature in a free market economy. It is often incorrectly stated that the level of rates is determined by actions of the Federal Reserve authorities, or that the Treasury determines general interest rate policy each time it issues a new security. The view is also incorrectly expressed that interest rates somehow are fixed at high levels by large financial institutions.

The rise in interest rates which has occurred since last summer—following a rather sharp decline in the preceding 8 months—has been incorrectly attributed by some to have been the result of Federal Reserve and Treasury policies, and it is said that these policies have, in effect, cost the Treasury large sums in interest payments on the public debt. This view is followed with the suggestion that interest rates are too high and that something must be done to bring them down.

A supplemental statement that I am submitting contains a description of the factors affecting interest rates in our free market economy, a discussion of the forces causing higher interest rates during the cur-

rent fiscal year, and an analysis of the various courses of action which might be effective in inducing lower rates of interest. I shall simply summarize briefly at this point the major conclusions reached in my supplemental statement.

The interest rate is a price, the price of borrowed money. It responds to forces that operate through demand and supply in free credit markets. This being the case, the primary determinants of interest rates are the actions of millions of individuals and institutions rather than those of the Treasury or the Federal Reserve. The rise in interest rates since the end of World War II has resulted primarily from unprecedented demands for credit on the part of individuals, businesses, and State and local governmental units. In addition, the Federal debt has expanded, rather than contracting as it did during the prosperity of the 1920's.

A major factor contributing to the rise in interest rates since last summer has been the record peacetime Federal budget deficit of approximately \$13 billion. During the current fiscal year expansion in several categories of debt-which reflect demand pressures in credit markets-have been moderate in comparison with other recent years. Mortgage debt has increased substantially since last summer, but the total expansion in corporate bonds and notes, State and local government securities, and bank loans has been less than in any fiscal year since 1954. In addition, growth in consumer credit, except for recent months, has been moderate. the other hand, the rise of almost \$9 billion in publicly held Federal securities is in sharp contrast to the moderate increases in fiscal years 1954, 1955, and 1958 and the decrease in 1956 and 1957.

These figures support the judgment that the Federal deficit, rather than debt management or monetary policies, has been an important major factor promoting higher interest rates during this fiscal year, a fact which my supplementary statement treats in detail.

Is there, as some suggest, some practicable way of inducing lower interest rates in this country without causing great harm to our Nation?

The interest burden on the public debt—now about \$8 billion per year—is, of course, of deep concern. Of much more concern, however, is the need to maintain freedom and flexibility in our economy and, at the same time, avoid more erosion in the purchasing power of the dollar. The causes of infiation in a highly industrialized, free market economy are many and complex. Consequently, a program of infiation control must be broad-gaged, and cannot rely on monetary and fiscal policy alone.

Nevertheless, monetary and fiscal policy are indispensable instruments in our attempts to protect the value of the dollar. Logic and experience show that attempts to maintain interest rates at artificially low levels-either through creation of highpowered money by the central bank or by legislative attempts to maintain artificially low interest-rate ceilings—foster inflationary pressures. Inflation works its greatest hardships on people of modest means, whose savings are primarily in savings accounts, savings bonds, insurance policies and similar types of fixed-dollars assets. Furthermore, an inflationary upsurge is usually followed by recession—the greatest enemy of sustained, rewarding economic growth.

Therefore, in any attempts to promote lower rates of interest, I would strongly counsel against some suggested techniques (discussed in detail in my supplemental statement) that would rely upon the ability of the Federal Reserve System to create large amounts of high-powered dollars.

This does not mean, however, that we cannot take actions which, although per-

haps not leading immediately to lower levels of interest rates, would remove some of the significant pressures in the Government fiscal field that have tended to push rates

higher during the past year.

In particular, we must have a clear demonstration of our willingness to maintain fiscal and monetary discipline. A period of high and rising business activity, such as the present, requires a surplus in Federal fiscal operations for debt retirement, and freedom for Federal Reserve authorities to conduct flexible credit policies. A budget surplus in the coming fiscal year can convert the Fed-Government from a net borrower in credit markets to a net supplier of funds, through debt retirement. Pressures on interest rates can be considerably less than if the Treasury had to compete strongly with other borrowers for funds to finance a deficit.

As I have said before, the clearly mistaken view that inflation is somehow inevitable has tended to push interest rates higher. Inflationary expectations generate higher rates primarily because borrowers are anxious to obtain funds that they expect to repay in cheaper dollars, whereas many individuals and institutions with funds to invest prefer equities over debt obligations, or will make loans or purchase bonds only if interest rates are high enough to compensate for the ex-

pected rise in prices.

Any actions that would let borrowers and lenders know that the value of the dollar will be preserved would remove one of the pressures promoting higher interest rates. This can be done only by means of a broadgaged attack on all of the forces and practices that stimulate inflationary pressures. I would reemphasize, however, that under current conditions the most important single action would be a clear demonstration of our determination to maintain fiscal and monetary discipline.

Coupled with this demonstration is the need for greater flexibility in debt management, so that a better balance in the debt structure can be achieved, and so that markets will not become unsettled over such matters as in impinging interest-rate ceiling. The removal of the 414-percent ceiling on new issues of Treasury bonds would be an important and necessary step in this

direction.

The overriding advantage of this approach to reducing pressures on interest rates stems from the fact that the actions would be consistent with the requirements of sustainable economic growth, and would also transmit effects through market forces of demand and supply rather than by means of Government decree or regulation.

By proceeding in this way, the Federal Government would be promoting "maximum employment, production, and purchasing power," as required in the Employment Act of 1946, in a manner consistent with those crucially important but often overlooked words in the act which stipulate that such actions be carried out "in a manner calculated to foster and promote free competitive enterprise and the general welfare.'

NEEDED INCREASES IN THE DEBT LIMIT

I turn now to the third part of my discussion of the major elements in our public debt legislative package, namely the President's request for an increase in the public debt limit as provided for in section 2 of the first proposed bill.

The existence of a restrictive debt limit plays an important part in our struggle for fiscal soundness. Unlike my views on the 41/4-percent interest rate ceiling, I believe a specific dollar ceiling on the public debt serves a useful purpose and can be effective in focusing attention in a unique way on the part of the executive departments, the Congress, and the public to the problems of sound Government finance. Such a limit

should be restrictive enough to accomplish this purpose, yet not so rigid as to impede the normal operations of the Treasury. debt limit changes the President has requested meet this test.

Last July the President recommended enactment of legislation to increase the regular (permanent) statutory debt limit from \$275 billion to \$285 billion and to provide for an additional temporary increase of \$3 billion to expire June 30, 1960. Instead, the act of Congress approved September 2, 1958, increased the regular statutory debt limit to \$283 billion and the temporary increase of \$5 billion for the period ending June 30, 1959, provided for in the Act of February 26, 1958, was allowed to continue in effect. As a result, the statutory debt limit will revert to \$283 billion on June 30, 1959, with no provision for any temporary increase in the limitation beyond that time.

On June 30, 1957, after 2 fiscal years of budget surpluses aggregating more than \$3 billion, the public debt subject to the statutory debt limitation was \$270.2 billion. However, as a result of the recession in late 1957 through early 1958, the Treasury incurred a budget deficit of \$2.8 billion in the fiscal year 1958 and will incur a budget deficit of almost \$13 billion during the year that will end on June 30, 1959, based on the President's January budget estimates.

The financing of these budget deficits is now expected to bring the public debt subject to limit to approximately \$285 billion on June 30, 1959-\$2 billion over the present regular ceiling. As a result the President is proposing an increase in the regular statutory limit to \$288 billion, an increase equal to the \$275 billion debt limit in effect at the beginning of the fiscal year plus the estimated deficit for the current year.

This will enable the Treasury to conduct its debt operations with a margin of \$3 billion to allow for flexibility in debt management operations and contingencies. A \$3 billion margin is essential to proper handling of the Government's operations. The Treasury has been operating on an average cash balance of about \$41/2 billion during each of the last 3 fiscal years. This is relatively small; the average operating cash balance this year has averaged only 69 percent of average monthly budget expenditures—the lowest percentage for any recent year, as is shown on the right side of the chart below.

The Treasury's cash balance is no higher today than it was a decade ago, when budget spending was half its present rate.

The efficient use of cash balances in this way has, however, gone about as far as it can without impairing efficiency of Treasury operations. There are times when a some-what larger cash balance would have given the Treasury much needed flexibility in timing its borrowing operations so that it could ride out a period of market apathy for new issues, rather than forcing the Treasury to borrow in an unfavorable atmosphere because it was running out of cash.

In addition to maintaining an adequate cash balance the Treasury should also be prepared to sell new issues of securities a week or so in advance of the maturity of old securities if such action would add materially to the success of a particular financing operation. This was true, for example, of the recently completed May 1959 financing. As part of this financing the Treasury sold \$2 billion of 11-month Treasury bills with an issue date of May 11 to provide most of the funds necessary to pay off a \$2.7 billion Treasury bill issue maturing on May 15. For the intervening 4 days, therefore, there was an increase in debt of \$2 billion. This was possible only because the Treasury had some flexibility under the \$288 billion temporary ceiling-flexibility which we requested and which the Congress approved last summer.

A third reason for our firm belief that a \$3 billion debt leeway is a minimum relates to the possibility which always exists that there may be sudden demands on the Treasury in event of a national emergency, when the Congress might not be in session.

OUR DEBT PROJECTIONS FOR FISCAL 1960

The outlook for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1959, is for a level of budget receipts sufficient to cover budget expenditures. Even with this improvement in our fiscal outlook, however, there will still be a large seasonal deficit in the first half of the fiscal year, offset by a heavy seasonal surplus next spring.

There is no distinct seasonal pattern in budget expenditures between the two halves of the year which is based on the January

budget estimates.

On the other hand budget receipts follow a distinct seasonal pattern. Even when the speed-up in corporate tax collections, growing out of revisions in the Revenue Code of 1954, is completed there will still be a substantial seasonal disparity in tax receipts. As you know, smaller sized corporations will continue to concentrate payments in the spring which, together with the concentration of individuals' declaration and final payments, will still result in relatively high tax receipts in January-June of each year. Again, the January budget estimates provide the basis for these figures.

We expect, therefore, that even with a balance between expenditures and receipts for the fiscal year as a whole expenditures will exceed receipts by approximately \$6 billion during the July-December half of the year. The July-December 1959 deficit will be only slightly more than half of the \$11 billion deficit in July-December 1958.

At intermediate points, such as December 15 and January 15, the cumulative deficitand, therefore, borrowing needs-will reach or exceed \$7 billion. That is why the President has requested a temporary debt celling of \$295 billion. We are asking that this temporary limit be provided only through June 30, 1960, although a valid case can be made for a provision that would, for a longer period of time, control the debt at fiscal year ends and yet provide for seasonal requirements within the year. It is entirely appropriate for the Congress to review the debt limit situation each year. however, if it so desires,

Table 1, attached at the end of this statement, indicates in detail our current semimonthly projection of the debt subject to the limit during the fiscal year 1960, assuming a constant \$31/2 billion operating cash balance.1 The projections are stated both before and after the allowance for \$3 billion flexibility. As you will note from the table and also from chart 16 below, on December 15, for example, even the \$295 billion temporary debt limit would appear to be insufficient for a few days but we will be able to operate within that limitation without undue impairment of our flexibility." Chart 16 also indicates the wide fluctuations in the amount of debt outstanding within each month during the fiscal year just ending.

The fiscal 1960 estimates on which the current request for an increase in the debt limitation is based are the same as those contained in the budget which the President submitted to you earlier this year—budget receipts of \$77.1 billion and budget expenditures of \$77 billion. Those esti-mates were prepared 6 months ago and as the President indicated in his message on public debt management, it now appears that interest on the public debt during the forthcoming year will amount to about \$81/2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Similar data for the fiscal year 1959 are shown in table 2 at the end of the state-

billion instead of the \$8 billion included in the budget.

As I pointed out earlier, only a negligible amount of this half billion dollar increase (perhaps less than \$5 million) represents the net additional cost of the new savings bond program. For all practical purposes the entire increase is attributable to the rise in interest rates which has taken place since the earlier estimate was made. The President also made it clear in his public debt message that the strength of our economic recovery beyond earlier expectations has improved the revenue outlook for the fiscal year 1960 sufficiently to offset the increased interest cost.

# FACILITATING EXCHANGES OF TREASURY SECURITIES

Before discussion of the remaining sections of the first proposed bill I would like to complete my statement by discussing briefly the provisions of the second proposed bill.

I have already spelled out in some detail the problem of an ever-shortening public debt and the Treasury's determination to issue intermediate and long-term bonds Whenever market conditions are appropriate. Typically, new Treasury bond issues arise either from a new issue sold for cash or a new issue offered in exchange to holders of securities which are maturing within a matter of weeks. Many of these maturing securities were originally long-term bonds, bought initially by long-term investors such as individuals, personal trust accounts, life insuracne companies, mutual savings banks or pension funds. When the bonds approach maturity, however, most of these longerterm investors have already liquidated their holdings and at maturity the bonds are usually held largely by commercial banks or by nonfinancial corporations or other short-term investors. Therefore, both of the traditional methods of issuing long-term securities which the Treasury uses involve a substantial amount of churning in the market as long-term investors seek to raise the cash to pay for a new cash issue or to buy the maturing issue which gives them to right to exchange the maturing issue for the new

There is a third approach, however, to the problem of selling longer-term securities to long-term investors, and it is an approach Which we believe would add materially to the Treasury's ability to encourage such in-Vestors to maintain investment in long-term This approach may be characterized as "advance refunding." It is a technique which was used in the Canadian conversion loan operation last summer, whereby \$6 billion of securities having from 6 months to 8 years yet to run to maturity were exchanged for securities with maturities ranging from 3 to 25 years, an operation involving about 40 percent of that country's national

Because of fundamental differences in the financial systems of the two nations, the U.S. Treasury has no intention of embarking on such an ambitious program in attempting to solve our debt problem. The basic thought behind the Canadian operation should be given careful consideration, however, as to its possible application in the United States in a much more limited way.

One of many possibilities in this direction, when and if market conditions are appropriate at some time in the future, is to offer new long-term bonds to the holders of the large amount of 2½ percent bonds sold immediately before or during World War II. Such a new issue, or issues, would be sold on terms that would be attractive to the Present holders and would permit the Treasury to do a substantial amount of debt extension on a straight exchange basis with existing holders, and, therefore, with a minimum of effect on the Government securities and capital markets. These are investors who already hold substantial amounts of

Government securities. We want to keep them invested in Governments if we can,

Under present law, however, the exchange of one Federal security for another in any refunding operation requires that the gain or loss from the exchange must be recognized for tax purposes if value of the old security on the books of the investor is above or below the market value of the new issue as of the date of exchange. In practice, this type of advance refunding operation would be expected to establish a loss for tax purposes to most holders because the Treasury would be likely to engage in advance refunding only if the obligations to be exchanged are selling below par in the market. The 21/2 percent bonds referred to, for example, were selling at prices ranging from \$83 to \$88 per \$100 bond as of end of May. The terms of the new, longer issue would, of course, be set so that it would be worth approximately the same price in the market as the issue being turned in. Whether an investor would accept such an offer or not would be entirely his own decision. No holder can be compelled to give up his present contract rights by taking an ex-change issue unless he wants to.

Under these circumstances, the present taxable character of the exchange represents an immediate tax advantage to any taxable holder since he may take a loss which he can employ for tax purposes. If he holds the new issue to maturity or sells at a higher price, he may realize a corresponding gain on the new security. He will then have to pay a tax on this gain, but in the meantime, he has had the benefit of postponing the tax on the loss deduction under present law.

Under the proposed bill postponing the recognition of gain or loss, the reason that an investor may find an exchange more attractive, despite the denial of a tax advantage, is because of his balance sheet and reserve position. So long as gain or loss on the exchange must be recognized for tax purposes many governmental authorities who supervise financial institutions require that the institution record the loss on its books. This means a corresponding reduction in earnings and in surplus, which is understandably distasteful to many investors.

If recognition of gain or loss were to be postponed until the ultimate disposition of the new security, however, it would become possible on the assumption that governmental supervisory authorities approve, for the institutional investor to carry the new securities at the same basis of valuation that he has been carrying the old ones. Thus, removal of the need to accept a book loss would make the exchange more attractive to many investors. Any investor who would benefit, under present law, from taking a tax loss could sell the old security and buy the new issue in the market.

Enactment of the second proposed bill would permit the investor to carry over the valuation basis of the bonds which are directly exchanged for the new bonds in this way. This could be done only under rules which we would prescribe for each exchange of securities so that the recognition of gain or loss for tax purposes could be deferred. There would be no change in present provisions of law where exchanges of obligations other than U.S. Government securities are involved.

I would like to emphasize again that the practical application of this bill at the time of any such exchange—to the extent that the bondholder is a taxpayer in the first place—is to postpone recognition of a tax loss and therefore would tend initially to increase rather than reduce revenues. Actually, the effect on tax revenues will be small because of the character of many of the institutions involved—pension funds, mutual savings banks, savings and loan associations, and charitable organizations.

I thank you for your patience in bearing with me through my long statement. I hope it has given you some insight into our problems and why we feel prompt enactment of both proposed bills is essential.

Table 1.—Forecast of public debt oustanding, fiscal year 1960, based on constant operating cash balance, \$3.5 billion (excluding free gold) (based on 1960 budget document)

[In billions]

	Operating balance, Federal Reserve banks and depos- itaries (ex- cluding free gold)	Public debt subject to limitation	Allowance to provide flexibility in financ- ing and for con- tingencies	Total
1959 July 15 July 31 Aug. 15 Aug. 31 Sept. 30 Oct. 15 Oct. 31 Nov. 15 Nov. 30 Dec. 15 Dec. 31	\$3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5	\$287. 1 287. 6 287. 5 288. 9 290. 8 286. 7 280. 0 292. 5 290. 6 293. 5 200. 2	\$3.0 3.0 3.0 3.0 3.0 3.0 3.0 3.0 3.0 3.0	\$290, 1 290, 6 290, 5 291, 9 243, 8 289, 7 243, 6 296, 5 296, 5 246, 5 246, 5
1969 Jan. 15 Jan. 31 Feb. 15 Feb. 29 Mar. 15 Mar. 31 Apr. 15 Apr. 30 May 15 May 31 June 15 June 30	3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5 3.5	202. 6 290. 9 291. 7 282. 8 291. 3 286. 1 288. 9 288. 3 289. 3 290. 6 284. 4	3.0 3.0 3.0 3.0 3.0 3.0 3.0 3.0 3.0 3.0	295. 6 293. 9 294. 7 292. 8 291. 3 289. 1 291. 9 291. 3 292. 3 293. 3 293. 3 293. 4

Note.—When the 15th of a month falls on Saturday or Sunday, the figures relate to the following business day.

TABLE 2.—Actual cash balance and public debt outstanding, July 1958 to May 1959

[In billions]

	Operating balance, Federal Reserve banks and depositaries (excluding free gold)	Public debt subject to limitation	
Actual	3.9 5.3 5.3 1.5 3.9 4.7 3.3	\$275. 2 275. 1 277. 8 278. 2 276. 3 276. 4 280. 0 279. 9 270. 9 270. 9 282. 7 282. 2 282. 6	
Jan. 15. Jan. 31 Feb. 15. Feb. 28 Mar. 15. Mur. 31 Apr. 15 Apr. 30 May 11 May 15 May 31	4.5 2.8 3.9 2.1 3.2 4.2 4.4 6.1 6.1	282, 6 285, 5 284, 8 284, 8 284, 8 285, 0 285, 4 285, 0 286, 8 285, 0	

NOTE.—From Feb. 26 to Sept. 2, 1968, the statutory debt limitation was \$280,000,000,000 including a temporary increase of \$5,000,000,000 which was scheduled to expire June 30, 1959. The act approved Sept. 2, 1958, increased the limitation to \$288,000,000,000, which will revert to \$283,000,000,000 on June 30, 1959.

When the 15th of a month falls on Saturday or Sunday, the figures relate to the following business day.

SUPPLEMENTAL STATEMENT ON PUBLIC DEBT MANAGEMENT BY SECRETARY OF THE TREAS-URY ROBERT B. ANDERSON BEFORE THE HOUSE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE, 10 A.M., JUNE 10, 1959.

INTEREST RATES IN A FREE MARKET ECONOMY

As I observed in the main portion of my statement before this committee, popular discussion of interest rates is often clouded by misunderstanding of their nature in a free market economy. The purpose of this supplementary statement is to discuss in some detail the nature of interest ratesparticularly the factors that cause them to rise or fall—the reasons for the increase in rates since last summer; and several alternative courses of action that might be effective in inducing a lower level of interest rates.

Demand and supply in credit markets

Speaking broadly, the interest rate is nothing more nor less than a price, namely, the price of borrowed money. As a price, the rate reacts to the same sort of influences as other prices in a free market economyinfluences that operate through the demand for and supply of funds available in credit markets. Just as an increase in the demand for goods or services tends to increase the prices of these items, so does an increase in the demand for funds tend to increase interest rates. And an increase in the supply of funds available in credit markets has the same basic effect as an increase in the supply of any good or service in any market; price tends to fall. This is true under our present market arrangements; it will remain true so long as credit markets remain free and borrowers and lenders are permitted to manage their affairs with a minimum of interference and regulation.

From the side of demand, the principal impact on interest rates reflects the actions of four groups of borrowers: Individuals, corporations. State and local governmental units, and the Federal Government. Total indebtedness of these borrowers has almost

doubled since 1946.

Individuals, borrowing to finance purchases of a variety of goods and services and to construct or purchase homes, increased their gross indebtedness from \$60½ billion to \$240 billion between 1946 and 1958. gross debt of business corporations, which seek credit to finance working capital needs and for longer run purposes in expanding and modernizing plant and equipment, rose from \$1101/2 billion to \$298 billion. State and local governmental units, confronted with growing needs for schools, highways, and streets, and a variety of other facilities, have borrowed heavily in the postwar period; their gross debt expanded from \$16 billion in 1946 to \$59 billion in 1958. The Federal Government, the fourth major borrower in credit markets, seeks funds to meet seasonal needs and to finance a deficit. The public debt increased from \$259½ billion in 1946 to \$283 billion in December 1958. As of the end of June, the debt is expected to total \$285

The postwar pressure on interest rates arising from the demand for credit is apparent. Concomitant with the large expansion in demand, however, has been a growth in the supply of funds available in credit markets. These funds come ultimately from two sources: Savings or money creation. It makes little difference to the borrower whether the ultimate source is one or the other; dollars flowing out of money creation are fully as spendable as those made available from savings. The ultimate source may be of crucial importance from the standpoint of achieving price stability and sustainable economic growth, however, simply because dol-lars generated through money creation represent an increase in the total pool of dollars available for spending and, if not matched by a more or less equal increase in output of goods and services, tend to force prices up. It is no accident that consumer and wholesale prices have more than doubled during the past 20 years, in view of the fact that a fourfold increase in the active money supply was only partly matched by an approximate doubling of real production of goods and services.

There is no need to go in detail into the various forms of savings-by individuals, business firms, and governmental units-or to differentiate sharply between funds flowing from current saving and those that represent savings of earlier years that subsequently are made available to borrowers, The really important point relates to the distinction between funds obtained from existing pools of dollars and those generated by money creation.

How does money creation take place? Largely through the lending and investing activities of the more than 13,000 commercial banks in this country. Suppose that John Does wants funds for use in his business, or to improve his home, or to meet medical or other expenses. And suppose that he applies for a loan from a commercial bank to obtain the funds. If the loan is granted, John Doe simply signs his promissory note and acquires a credit to his deposit account in the bank. This transaction represents no transfer of existing dollars; quite the contrary, John Doe an extra \$100, \$1,000, or \$10,000, depending on the amount of the loan, but no other individual or institution has any less money. Money creation has indeed taken place. Moreover, not only John Doe, but thousands of business firms, many State and local governmental units, and the Federal Government also borrow, directly or indirectly, from commercial banks. bank credit extension of this type which is not offset by a reduction in other bank loans or investments results in an equivalent amount of new money creation.

Do commercial banks have unlimited ability to create money in this fashion? Not by any means. People borrow money pri-marily in order to spend, and the banker who makes such loans knows that within a relatively short period of time the newly created deposit will probably be withdrawn from his bank. This will probably take the form of a transfer to another bank, perhaps in the same city, perhaps somewhere else in the Nation. But, the important point is that the banker must be able to meet a drain of cash out of his bank; and his ability to do so depends on his cash reserve position. In other words, he cannot afford to make large extensions of credit unless he has extra cash on hand (or on deposit with his Federal Reserve bank) to meet the resulting drains, or unless he is in a position to obtain additional cash as the drains take place.

This is where the Federal Reserve System comes into the picture. Through various devices (e.g., discount policy, open market operations, and control over member banks reserve requirements), Federal Reserve authorities can influence the cost and availability of bank cash reserves. In so doing, the willingness and ability of commercial banks to make new loans and investmentsand thus add to the flow of funds available in credit markets-is very much affected.

The resiliency of bank credit expansion and contraction can serve as an important balancing wheel in credit markets-or, it can operate as a serious destabilizing factor in our attempts to achieve a stable price structure and relatively full and efficient use of our economic resources. The critical question is, of course, the rate at which bank deposits come into or go out of existence. During a period of high and rising business activity, when credit demands are especially strong, and when men, machines, and materials are being used at high capacity, an excessive amount of money creation tends to

add to inflationary pressures. Spending in the economy as a whole may expand rapidly but, with resources in relatively full use, the volume of goods and services that can be produced can only be increased slowly. Inflation is then the result. And judging by past experience, an inflationary upsurge is likely to be followed by readjustment and recession, so that our end objective of achieving maximum economic growth is actually

Since recession is a serious deterrent to sustained economic growth, bank credit expansion may be desirable when economic activity is lagging. Under these conditions, the men, machines, and materials necessary to support increases in production are available. Greater spending by consumers

and business firms is to be desired.

Consequently, sustained and rewarding economic growth—which requires reasonable price stability and relatively full and efficient use of our economic resources can be attained only if the aggregate flow of credit is consistent with the ability of the economy to absorb that flow, when translated into spending, at a given time. And, the Federal Reserve System, in fulfilling its statutory obligations, is constrained to employ its monetary powers flexibly. In a free market economy, an inevitable result of the interaction of demand and supply forces in credit markets-including the impact of Federal Reserve actions—is fluctuations in interest rates.

Stated simply, flexible credit policies, attuned to the business situation as it unfolds over time, can be effective only if interest rates are free to respond to the forces of demand and supply in credit markets. But it must be emphasized that the major forces affecting those rates stem from actions of free and independent lenders of funds. The law of supply and demand is a powerful and inescapable economic force; attempts to thwart it in the past have inevitably led to greater difficulties later on.

At times interest rates seem to decline faster than might be expected in view of basic trends in credit demands, savings, and the availability of bank credit. At other times they seem to rise faster than might seem warranted in view of these forces. For example, the sharp decline in rates in late 1957 and early 1958 seemed to outrun basic forces of demand and supply, and the same can be said of the sharp increase in rates in the summer of 1958.

The explanation of such sharp shifts can be found primarily in the impact of expectations on credit markets. In late 1957 it became clear that recessionary forces were gathering strength. The Federal Reserve System, consistent with its responsibility to conduct its operations flexibly, shifted from the restrictive policy of the preceding 21/2 years toward a policy of monetary ease. In view of the shift in the business situation. which implied a slackening demand for funds in credit markets, and in view of the reversal of Federal Reserve policy, which implied an increase in availability of bank credit, market participants reasoned that the uptrend in interest rates that had prevailed since 1954 would be reversed, and that the outlook for some time to come was for declining rates.

Declining interest rates are synonymous with rising prices for outstanding Government and other types of bonds. Consequently, individuals and institutions with funds to invest tended to step up purchases of such instruments—the supply of funds available in credit markets expanded sharply; and individuals and institutions with bonds for sale became more reluctant to part with them-the demand for funds subsided, relatively speaking. The result: sharp declines in interest rates (or increases in bond prices), stimulated largely by expectations of lagging business and easy money.

The decline in business activity came to an end much sooner than many observers anticipated. In June 1958, the strengthening business picture gave rise to rumors that Federal Reserve policy might be in the process of shifting away from the aggressively expansive policies of preceding months. Many investors in debt instruments, including Government bonds, became anxious to dispose of the securities before interest rates rose and bond prices declined; potential buyers became less anxious to buy. The result: sharp increases in interest rates, stimulated largely by expectations.

Thus, one type of expectation is related primarily to the swings in business activity and the impact of flexible monetary policies. But at times other types of expectations exert important influences. During the past year, the increase in interest rates has been stimulated partly by a growing-but, in my judgment, mistaken-conviction that inflation is inevitable. Many investors have been reluctant to purchase debt instruments. Which carry a fixed interest return and principal payment, as opposed to equities. reluctance to purchase bonds, and the preference for equities, has contributed to relativedly low bond prices (high interest rates) and high stock prices.

It is important to emphasize, however, that effects of expectations are likely to be short-lived, unless later ratified by the expected events. The sharp decline in interest rates in late 1957 and early 1958 could not have been sustained had it not been for the fact that recession did occur, credit demands did subside, and monetary policy did assume a posture of aggressive ease. Again, the sharp rise of last summer was later ratified, in part, by the vigorous expansion of business activity, with the accompanying demands for credit, and the im-Pact of a \$13 billion Federal deficit on credit markets. Finally, the impact of inflationary expectations on the level of interest rates can be minimized only when it becomes clear to participants in free credit markets that the integrity of the dollar will be preserved.

In summary, interest rates in a free market economy are influenced by a number of factors which can best be understood in terms of the forces working through demand and supply in credit markets. Of primary importance on the demand side are borrowings by individuals, businesses, State and local governmental units, and the Federal Government. The supply of funds available in credit markets is mainly a reflection of the availability of financial savings, coupled with net changes in commercial bank credit. Federal Reserve policy, by influencing reserve positions of commrcial banks, affects the rate of flow of bank funds into credit markets.

Before examining the reasons for the rise in interest rates in this country since last summer; it might be worthwhile to discuss briefly two popularly held views concerning the nature of interest rates that, in my judgment, are mistaken.

One often hears the statement that increases in interest rates are necessarily inflationary, in that interest is a cost of doing business and sellers of goods tend to pass on rate increases in the form of higher prices. The people who hold this view overlook the fact that rising interest rates are indicative of pressures in credit markets growing out of strong demands for funds relative to the Inasmuch as individuals and institutions borrow money primarily to facilitate spending, rising interest rates reflect an inability of all potential borrowers to obtain as much credit as they would like to have. In other words, spending is impeded, and the rise in interest rates is one measure of the degree of restriction on spending. And, under normal circumstances, anything that tends to dampen spending when business activity is high and rising tends to diminish—not to augment—inflationary pressures.

Moreover, available figures indicate clearly that interest, as a cost of doing business, is a decidedly minor expense. In 1957, for example, net interest costs of all manufacturing corporations were only four-tenths of 1 percent of gross sales. Thus, of the cost of an article selling for \$100, only 40 cents represented interest cost. Admittedly, interest expenses of wholesalers and retailers, who also must finance some of their operations by borrowing, would add slightly to total interest cost included in items bought by final consumers. Still, however, the contribution of interest expense to total cost would be small.

It has been suggested that public utility rates are influenced significantly by interest costs, since such firms rely heavily on bonded indebtedness. In this case, however, net interest expense is estimated to be less than 4½ percent of gross revenues.

than 4½ percent of gross revenues. The evidence seems clear that an increase in interest rates exerts only a small direct effect on prices of goods and services, and that this impact is far outwelghed by the restrictions on total spending stemming from limited availability of funds in credit markets.

There is also a misconception concerning the identity of the recipients of interest payments on the Federal debt. Some observers appear to believe that large financial institutions are not only the major recipients of such payments, but that their share has increased as interest rates have advanced in the postwar years.

The accompanying table, which presents estimates of the distribution of interest payments on the public debt in 1946 and 1958, indicates clearly that such is not the case. In 1946, the major financial institutions—commercial banks, mutual savings banks, and insurance companies—received an estimated \$2,1 billion in interest on holdings of Government securities, or about 45 percent of the total of such payments. By 1958, the share of these institutions had declined to \$2 billion, representing only 26 percent of total payments.

Estimated distribution of the interest on the public debt, fiscal years 1946 and 1958
[In billions of dollars]

Investor classes	Rudget expenditures	
	1946	1958
Individuals: Savings bonds Other securities	0.7	1.
Subtotal Commercial banks Mutual savings banks Insurance companies Nonfinancial corporations State and local governments Miscellaneous investors Federal Reserve banks Government investment accounts	1.2 1.4 .2 .5 .2 .2 .2 .2 .2 .1 .7	
Total	4.7	7.1

Moreover, a significant portion of the interest income of banks has been passed on to customers in the form of higher rates on time and savings deposits. For example, in 1946 member bank interest payments to depositors were only 20 percent of interest income on their holdings of Treasury securities. Reflecting the sharp increase in rates paid on time and savings deposits in the past few years, member banks in 1958 paid almost 90 percent of their interest income on Governments to depositors.

Other important trends brought out by the table include an \$800 million increase in interest payments on savings bonds, held mostly by individuals; a \$700 million expansion in

parments to Federal Reserve banks, which returned 90 percent of their net earnings to the Treasury; and an \$800 million increase in payments to Government investment accounts, which are operated almost wholly for the benefit of individuals.

These figures indicate, therefore, that a substantial portion of payments on the debt accrue directly or indirectly to the benefit of individuals, many of whom are of relatively modest means. Moreover, the increase in interest payments since 1946 reflects increased payments primarily to individuals, Federal Reserve banks, and Government investment accounts, rather than to private financial institutions.

The rise in interest rates since last summer

Trends in Interest rates over a period of several years, or of several months, can be understood only in terms of the major demand and supply forces at work. Accordingly, it might be worth while to examine closely the increase in rates that has occurred during the current fiscal year in order to gain an understanding of the factors underlying the advance.

Interest rates on Treasury and other securities have risen considerably from the lows reached during the recession of 1957-58. Yields on long-term Treasury bonds, which averaged 3.12 percent in April 1958, had risen to an average of 4.08 percent in May 1959. Average issuing rates on 3-month Treasury bills, which fell below 1 percent in the spring and summer of 1958, have recently risen above 3 percent. Similarly, rates on commercial paper, bankers' acceptances, prime bank loans, corporate and municipal bonds, and other debt instruments have advanced substantially during the past year.

What factors lie behind this rise in rates? First, let's look at the demand for credit. The growth of consumer credit in the current fiscal year has been less than in most recent years. Thus, pressure on interest rates from this source has been moderate, except for the past few months, in which demand for consumer credit has risen substantially. Individuals have indeed been active borrowers of funds, primarily in the form of mortgage credit. Total real estate mortgages, consisting largely of individuals' borrowings, are expected to increase \$18 billion this fiscal year, a greater rise than in any of the past 5 fiscal years. This increase can be viewed as having contributed to demand pressures in credit markets.

Total corporate bonds and notes, State and local government securities, and bank loans have increased less than in any fiscal year since 1954. Thus, these credit demands have not exerted significant pressures on financial markets.

The demand for credit on the part of the Federal Government, to finance a record peacetime deficit of approximately \$13 billion, has been much greater than in any of the preceding 5 fiscal years. The publicly held Federal debt will increase by almost \$9 billion in this fiscal year, as contrasted with increases of \$3.1 to \$3.3 billion in fiscal years 1954, 1955, and 1958, and declines of \$4.7 and \$3.5 billion, respectively, in 1956 and 1957. (The difference between the \$13 billion deficit and the \$9 billion increase in Federal debt in this fiscal year results primarily from a reduction in the Treasury's cash balance.)

These figures demonstrate clearly that the more important demand pressures on interest rates during the past year have stemmed from the increase in mortgage debt and the record peacetime Federal deficit. However, the rise in mortgage debt, although substantial, is not much greater than in fiscal years 1955 and 1956. Thus, it appears that a major factor contributing to the sharply rising demand for credit in fiscal 1959 has been the record peacetime Federal deficit. The addition of almost \$3 billion in Federal securities

to what might be viewed as more or less normal aggregate credit demands could only exert strong pressure on interest rates.

As I noted earlier, however, trends in interest rates are also influenced by forces working through the supply of funds available in credit markets. While data on savings are difficult to interpret in term of impact on credit markets, there appears to be no evidence that a shift in the availability of savings has contributed to the rise in rates during the past year.

As to the timing of the events in the summer of 1958, it is important to note that member bank reserve positions and shortterm money market rates reflected a continmonetary ease until August-a uation of full 2 months following the reversal of market rates on intermediate—and longer term Government bonds. Thus, the market appears to have led monetary policy and, as stated earlier, the market shift resulted primarily from radical changes in expectations. The shift in expectations resulted, in turn, from: (1) a growing comprehension that the recession had ended and that vigorous recovery was underway, with its consequent impact on demand for credit; (2) a belief that Federal Reserve credit policies, in view of the shift in the business situation, would soon move toward restraint in keeping with the requirements of flexible administration of such policies; (3) a realization that in fiscal year 1959 the Federal Government would be confronted with a deficit of \$10 to \$15 billion, with its strong impact on demand for credit; and (4) a growing—even if unfounded-conviction on the part of investors that further inflation would probably occur, stemming from the rigidity of prices during the recession, the impact of business recovery, and the inflationary ramifications of a record peacetime deficit during a period of rising business activity. In addition market pressures were increased significantly by liquidation of heavy speculative holdings of Government and other securities, built up earlier in the year and in June, sometimes on relatively thin margins.

It should be emphasized again, however, that the increases in rates arising from expectations could not have been sustained had not the expectations later been ratified. And most of them were indeed ratified. Business activity has expanded vigorously; a \$13 billion deficit was confirmed by official sources; and Federal Reserve credit policy did shift away from the strongly expansive policies of early 1958. The expectation of continuing inflation has not been confirmed; whether or not it will be depends in no small measure on the degree of fiscal and monetary discipline that is maintained during this period of high and rising business activity.

Furthermore, the available evidence points only to a mild degree of credit restraint since last summer. For one thing, the strong upward trend in production, employment, and income with, as yet, absence of strong inflationary pressures, indicates that credit has been sufficiently available to meet the needs of the economy. Moreover, monetary growth since last summer, as measured by the annual rate of expansion in the seasonally adjusted money supply, has been at least equal to and perhaps slightly greater than what is usually thought of as a normal rate.

All things considered, it seems to me clear that the major factor contributing to the rise in interest rates during the past year has been the \$13 billion Federal deficit. It has exerted a twofold impact: first, by stimulating expectations in the summer of 1958 of strong credit demands and of a further erosion in the value of the dollar; and, second, by adding almost \$9 billion in Federal securities to the demand side of credit markets.

Consequences of various proposals to

Are there any courses of action, open to Congress, the executive branch, or the Federal Reserve System, which might be successful in inducing lower interest rates? It must be emphasized that any such actions, to be effective without leading to later difficulties, must operate through the basic forces of demand and supply. As I stated earlier, the law of supply and demand is a powerful economic force. Any attempt to hold interest rates to artificially low levels would be doomed to ultimate failure unless appropriate steps were taken to adjust demand and supply forces consistent with the selected level of rates. And even then, later difficulties may well arise. The situation is parallel to attempts to maintain price ceilings on goods and services during national emergencies; prices can be prevented from rising, if inflationary pressures are strong, only through resort to rationing, allocation of materials and labor, and so on. Similarly, interest rates can be kept from responding to the forces of demand and supply only through direct intervention in credit markets and a consequent abridgement of economic freedom. It is therefore assumed that any courses of action to be considered would involve influencing demard and supply.

With this stipulation accepted, six proposals might be mentioned. Several of these proposals, however, would so harm the Nation that responsible people would be unwilling even to consider them. They are presented solely for the purpose of bringing forward issues which apparently are often misunderstood.

(1) One approach would be for the Government, through various means, to promote recessionary pressures in the economy. Interest rates commonly decline during recessions, partly because of a slackening demand for funds on the part of individuals and businesses, partly because of a relative increase in availability of financial savings, and partly because of greater availability of bank credit in connection with a flexible shift of monetary policy toward credit ease.

This first alternative is, of course, absurd; no responsible government would attempt to induce recession—with its accompanying loss of production and rise in unemployment—simply to produce lower rates of interest. But the introduction of this alternative highlights the fact that high and rising interest rates are a sign of expanding business. For a responsible government, the choice between high levels of business activity and employment as opposed to low interest rates is actually no choice at all. Stated differently, high interest rates are not an end in themselves; rather they are the usual accompaniment of the active credit demands that characterize expansion in production, employment, and income.

(2) It has been suggested that interest rates could be reduced if the Federal Reserve banks were directed by Congress to purchase all new issues of Government securities; this would tend to reduce pressures on interest rates, since the Federal Reserve banks would in effect create the funds necessary for the purchase of the securities. The actual process would involve credit to the Treasury's deposit balance in Federal Reserve banks in return for the newly issued Government securities.

There are at least two serious objections to this course of action. In the first place, the prohibition of direct sales of securities by the Treasury to the central bank, except under unusual and very limited circumstances, has been an important characteristic of our financial mechanism ever since the establishment of the Federal Reserve System in 1913. As one adjunct to their primary function of influencing the flow of

money and credit, the Federal Reserve banks were envisaged, by the framers of the act, as fiscal agents for the Government—to hold Treasury working balances; to clear Treasury checks; to issue, redeem, and pay interest on Government securities; and so on—not as a source of credit to finance the Government's needs. Experience in a number of foreign countries has demonstrated the dangers of easy access to central bank credit on the part of the branch of Government that has the responsibility for financing the Government's requirements. Fiscal discipline is especially difficult to preserve if the exchequer has, in effect, a blank check on the money-creating authority.

A second major objection to sale of new Treasury issues directly to the Federal Reserve banks arises from the fact that the transaction would provide the basis for a highly inflationary expansion of the money supply. The recipients of Treasury checks drawn on the newly created deposits at the Reserve banks would deposit most of the proceeds in Federal Reserve member banks, and the member banks in turn would send the checks to their district reserve banks for payment. Payment would be effected in the usual way, by crediting-or increasingthe reserve balances of the banks on the books of the Reserve banks. Bank reserves would be increased by the amount of the credits; this would provide a basis for additional lending and investing by the banking system by an amount equal to about six times the increase in reserve balances. Growth in the money supply would there-fore, be strongly stimulated. Interest rate pressures would have been reinstated only at the cost of highly inflationary increases in bank credit and the money supply. Moreover, as I pointed out in the main portion of my statement, strong inflationary pressures tend to promote even higher levels of interest rates.

Recognizing the objection that large-scale purchases of Government securities by the Federal Reserve banks would be highly inflationary, advocates of this course of action sometimes maintain that the inflationary growth in the money supply could be avoided simply by raising member bank reserve requirements. In other words, the new reserves created by the Federal Reserve purchases would be immobilized immediately by increasing the percentages of idle funds that member banks must hold in relation to deposits.

There is an important practical objection to this proposal. The purchase of, say, \$5 billion of new Government securities by the Federal Reserve banks would result in the creation of \$5 billion in new bank reserves, but these reserves would flow into the banking system, and be disseminated among individual banks, in accordance with market forces. No one could predict the ultimate distribution of the new reserves in advance. Some banks would receive a large portion, some a smaller portion; the ultimate distribution would depend primarily upon the location of the individuals and institutions who received the Government payments financed by the deficit borrowing.

An increase in member bank reserve requirements, however, affects all banks in a given classification (central reserve city, Reserve city, and country) equally in terms of percentage points of reserve requirements. Consequently, a blanket increase in reserve requirements of the magnitude required to neutralize the reserve-creating impact of large-scale Federal Reserve purchases of governments might well lead to severe dislocations and disturbances in credit markets. Some banks would have ample reserves, others would find themselves severe'y pinched. It can be argued that market forces would tend to correct these imbalances, and

they would-over time. But in the short run, forces might well be set in motion leading to abrupt swings in interest rates and availability of credit; credit droughts in one part of the country and surpluses in another; and so on. And, in any event, the credit market, while highly efficient, by no means Operates with complete perfection in transferring funds from areas of plenty to areas of shortage.

important practical objection against selling Government securities to the Reserve banks and then offsetting the inflationary impact by raising member bank reserve requirements can be added a more basic objection, if it is assumed that one pur-Pose of the action would be to prevent interest rates from rising. As I noted earlier, purchases of \$5 billion of Federal securities by the Reserve banks would result in an equivalent increase in the money supply as the recipients of the checks deposited the proceeds in their commercial banks. In the first instance, then, there would be an important inflationary impact, resulting from the spending of the funds by the Governand the expansion in the money supply.

A large increase in reserve requirements could, indeed, nullify the growth in the money supply, but only by severely restricting the lending and investing activities of commercial banks. This, in turn, would exert pressure on individuals, business firms, States and local governments, and tend to force interest rates for such borrowers to higher levels. The inflationary impact of the increase in money supply resulting from Treasury borrowing from the Reserve banks can be offset only if credit contraction occurs in other segments of the economy; the \$5 billion increase in deposits held by recipients of the Treasury checks must be offset by a \$5 billion decline in funds of other individuals and institutions. This can be achieved, in free credit markets, only through credit restriction, which implies additional pressure on interest rates. Thus, during a period of prosperity and a growing demand for credit, the choice is either be-tween a somewhat higher level of interest rates, or stimulation of inflationary pressures through monetary expansion. There are no other choices.

The recommendation that Federal Reserve banks buy all or substantial portions of new issues of Treasury securities involves one other aspect that deserves discussion. Specifically, it has been recommended that the Federal Reserve banks be required to purchase only that portion of a new issue that investors other than commercial banks Would not purchase; thus, the Reserve banks, in effect, would replace commercial banks as buyers of Governments. This recommendation is based partly upon the assumption that commercial banks do not perform a necessary service in buying Government obli-Their ability to create money, it is maintained, permits them to buy these securities; but in fact the authority over money creation is constitutionally vested in Congress. Thus, it is argued that the Government should perform this function, through the Federal Reserve banks, without burdening taxpayers with interest charges.

This argument deserves several comments. In the first place, as noted earlier, purchases of Government securities directly by Federal Reserve banks would be highly inflationary. Secondly, whether or not the commercial banks perform a necessary service in creating money, there is little doubt that they perform an important economic function. Demand deposits in commercial banks have assumed a monetary function simply because People prefer to hold funds and make payments in that form, rather than in the form of currency. Moreover, money is essential to efficient performance of a highly indus-

trialized market economy and, if the commercial banks did not perform the moneycreating function, some other institution or

agency would have to do so.

Furthermore, commercial banks do indeed perform a useful service in purchasing and holding Government securities. The business of commercial banking, in essence, is that of holding relatively illiquid assets principally loans and investments--against liabilities that are largely redeemable on de-This involves risk and, in assuming that risk, stockholders of commercial banks are entitled to a return for a service performed. The fact that an asset is a Government security rather than a commercial loan is not germane; marketable Government securities, while devoid of risk relating to interest and principal payments, do possess risk as to the price at which they can be sold in the market. Because of the nature of their liabilities, banks must be preparedand at times may be compelled-to liquidate assets in order to meet deposit drains. They are therefore providing an economic service by holding illiquid assets which the public does not desire to hold at the time, and in return furnishing the public with the liquidity-or money-that it desires.

There are at least two important reasons why the money-creating function should not be assigned wholly to the Federal Reserve In the first place, under our institutional arrangements the money-creating function is closely allied with that of granting credit to a wide variety of borrowers. It is a cardinal principle of our type of government that private institutions should dominate credit-granting activities; otherwise, the ability to obtain credit might rest less on credit worthiness and more on non-

economic factors.

Second, lodgment of the money-creating authority wholly in the Federal Reserve banks, along with expanded authority for the Reserve banks to lend directly to the Government, would permit the Government to finance its residual needs through the Reserve banks and thus bypass the market. This would violate the basic principle set forth earlier, namely, that direct entry of the Government to the central bank for purposes of meeting fiscal requirements should be severely limited.

In many respects, the question of transferring in whole or in part the money-creating function from the commercial banks to the Federal Reserve banks is actually a question of whether the banking system should be nationalized. When it is said that "the commercial banks do not perform a necessary service in purchasing Government securities," it should be realized that there are many other services that the Government could perform for itself. It could, for example, organize its own construction crews to build the interstate highways, rather than encouraging the States to undertake this work through private contractors; it could establish its own transportation network for carrying mail and other Government property; it could set up manufacturing establishments to produce missiles, airplanes, warships, and a variety of items now purchased from private industry; it could, in short, perform many of the economic functions now performed by the private sector of the economy. The crucial question is, of course, whether it could perform those functions as efficiently as private enterprise and, of prime importance, whether the act of doing so would not ultimately destroy economic and political freedom in our Nation.

(3) A third suggestion for inducing lower interest rates would involve a congressional directive forcing the Federal Reserve banks to peg prices of Government securities at some predetermined level, presumably par. Then, if market holders decided to sell Government securities, purchases by the Federal

Reserve banks would provide a floor under which bond prices could not fall (interest rates on Governments could not rise).

The unfortunate experience with this technique between the end of World War II and 1951 should convince serious observers of the dangers involved: the Federal Reserve System could indeed be transformed into an engine of inflation rather than a responsible central bank attempting to promote sustainable economic growth. Once market yields on Governments rose to the predetermined levels, the System would be able to operate in only one direction—as a creator of bank reserves, through purchases of the securities, in whatever amounts market holders might desire. Flexible administration of credit policles would be impossible.

The dangers of this course of action, especially during a period of high and rising business activity, are obvious. Nor is it at all certain that, in the long run, the Federal Reserve banks could be successful in keeping interest rates from rising. As inflationary pressures mounted, borrowers of funds would be strongly encouraged to borrow heavily as soon as possible, in order to repay the debts in eroded dollars. Lenders would be encouraged to cut back on lending, realizing that the dollars they received in payment would be worth less in real terms. Consequently, the pressure on interest rates to increase would magnify; borrowers would be willing to pay higher rates, lenders would be willing to lend only at higher rates. In order to stem the tide, the Federal Reserve banks would have to buy more and more Govern-ment from market holders, and thus create even more bank reserves and provide a basis for further inflationary credit expansion. The spiral could ultimately come to a halt only as a result of a crisis and subsequent readjustment.

Some observers point to experience in this country in 1947 and 1948, when the Federal Reserve was indeed pegging prices of Government securities at predetermined levels, as an illustration of an instance in which the consequences were not too bad. should be recalled that the Federal Government experienced a total cash surplus of almost \$14 billion in calendar years 1947 and 1948. The lesson of that experience is that an inflationary monetary policy can be offset in part by large cash surpluses in Federal fiscal operations; but, if the cash surpluses had not existed, inflationary-pressures would have been much more severe than they were. A disastrous spiral might well have occurred. Nowadays, advocates of system pegging of Government most often do so because of a desire to facilitate easy Federal financing of deficits. The combination of a large Federal deficit and unbridled creation of bank reserves, in a period of high and rising business activity, could only result in the severest type of inflationary pressures, ultimate reaction and recession, and disruption of the process of economic growth.

(4) A fourth alternative that should perhaps be mentioned in passing relates to the apparent preference of some investors to purchase equities rather than debt instruments. To the extent this preference prevails, stock yields tend to be low and bond yields tend to be high. It might be, therefore, that some action which would contribute to a severe break in the stock market would in turn contribute to a shift from stocks to bonds; interest rates would tend to decline.

To suggest that a break in the stock market be induced either through Federal regulation or otherwise would, of course, be irresponsible. Moreover, to the extent that preference for equities over bonds reflects a fear of inflation, the answer to the problem is to remove the bases of the fear of inflation. As stated earlier, this would require, in part, a clear demonstration of the determination of the Government to maintain fiscal and monetary discipline. Conviction on the part

of investors that the value of the dollar will be protected would do more than any other single thing to increase the attractiveness of debt instruments and thereby reduce pressures on interest rates.

(5) Inasmuch as Treasury securities occupy an important position in credit markets, interest rates could perhaps be reduced if significant progress were made in retiring part of the public debt. In this respect, there have been several proposals over the past few months to set aside a specified portion of Government revenues each fiscal year; these funds would be earmarked for

debt retirement.

During a period of prosperity, retirement of some portion of our huge public debt is certainly desirable; if we cannot achieve some debt reduction when incomes are high and rising, there is serious question as to whether we shall ever be able to do so. Consequently, all proposals to establish a fixed annual percentage of debt retirement should be given serious consideration.

Many of the proposals, however, fail to drive to the heart of the problem, in that no provision is made for assuring that Government revenues would actually exceed expenditures by an amount large enough to permit the selected percentage of debt retirement. The use of, say, \$2.8 billion of tax revenues to effect a 1 percent reduction in the debt would, in the absence of a surplus in the budget, achieve nothing; additional borrowing would be necessary to supplant the tax revenues used for debt re-tirement. In essence, therefore, the securities retired would be replaced in the market by an equivalent amount of new securities; interest rate pressures would not be reduced. Moreover, total public debt would actually grow, instead of decline, if the revenue-tax relationship continued to reflect an overall deficit. Again, I should like to repeat that these plans are laudable in purpose; but undue attention to them tends to obscure the hard, basic fact that meaningful debt retirement can be effected only by means of an overall surplus of budget receipts over expenditures.

(6) There is a sixth and final alternative for reducing pressures on interest rates, although it must be admitted that success in pursuing this sixth course of action would not necessarily result in lower rates. This is because the basic trends in demand and supply in free credit markets reflect the actions of millions of individuals and institutions, and these actions might work toward higher rates even though some of the more significant pressures were reduced.

The sixth alternative can be summarized

quite' simply, as follows:

(a) Convert the Federal Government from a net borrower to a supplier of funds in credit markets by achieving a surplus in the budget during periods of high and rising business activity. A net surplus permits the Treasury to retire debt, on balance; consequently Government actions would result in a net supply of funds available for private borrowers, not a subtraction as is the case when the Federal Government borrows to finance a deficit.

(b) Convince investors that the value of the dollar will be protected, thus removing the pressures for higher interest rates stemming from a conviction that further inflation is likely to occur. This can be done only by means of attention to all of the factors and practices that stimulate inflationary pressures. But it should be reemphasized that the most important single action would be a clear demonstration of the Government's determination to maintain fiscal and monetary discipline. During periods of high and rising business activity, fiscal and monetary discipline requires a surplus in the budget, for debt retirement, and freedom for Federal Reserve authorities to pursue flexible monetary policies.

(c) Provide the Treasury with sufficient flexibility for sound management of the public debt, so that a better balance in debt structure can be achieved-including larger amounts of longer-term securities outstanding-and so that bond markets will not become unsettled over such things as an impinging interest-rate ceiling. The Government securities market is understandably sensitive to the existence of an artificial interest-rate ceiling; this is one reason why the President has proposed that the 41/4 percent limit be removed completely, rather than merely raised. An increase in the limit would only act as a signal to investors that the new ceiling is the new normal level as defined by Government action.

As I emphasized in the main portion of my statement, the interest burden on the public debt-now close to \$8 billion-is of deep concern to me. But the alternative to sound fiscal and monetary policies—further shrinkage in the purchasing power of the dollar-concerns me even more. In the long run, no one benefits from inflation; 'by stimulating the excesses that develop in a period of business expansion, and sowing the seeds of readjustment and recession, inflation actually hinders the attainment of a high rate of economic growth. Moreover, inflation strikes hardest at those groups in our society least able to protect themselves. The man of modest means, not the rich man or the large business institution, is the primary victim of a shrinking dollar.

The overriding advantage of this sixth and final approach to reducing pressures on interest rates stems from the fact that the actions it requires would not only be directly beneficial in terms of economic growth, but would also transmit effects through market forces of demand and supply rather than by means of Government decree or regulation. And I would like to repeat that, in proceeding in this way, the Federal Government would be promoting "maximum employment, production, and purchasing power," as required in the Employment Act of 1946, in a manner consistent with those crucially important but often overlooked words in the act which stipulate that such actions be carried out "in a manner calculated to foster and promote free competitive enterprise and the general welfare.

STATEMENT ON TECHNICAL PHASES OF PRO-POSED DEBT MANAGEMENT LEGISLATION BY SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY ROBERT B. AN-DERSON BEFORE THE HOUSE WAYS MEANS COMMITTEE, 10 A.M., JUNE 10, 1959

Sections 1 through 3 of the first proposed bill have been discussed in the opening statement; this statement reviews sections 4 through 6.

Section 4 of the bill would amend section 22(i) of the Second Liberty Bond Act, as amended (31 U.S.C. 757c(1)), to direct the Secretary of the Treasury to relieve any authorized agent from liability to the United States for a loss incurred in savings bonds redemptions where written notice of liability or potential liability has not been given by the United States to the agent within 10 years after the date of the payment. This limitation would be similar to the limitation upon the time within which the Government may proceed against a person who cashes a Government check upon a forged endorsement. In that case the time limit imposed upon the Government is 6 years.

Presently the law directs the Secretary to relieve an agent from liability only when he can determine that the loss resulted from no fault or negligence on the agent's part, regardless of the length of time between the date of payment and the date the loss is discovered. In some cases the time lapse may be considerable because the owner of the bonds may not discover their loss or theft until their maturity or thereabouts, and would

have no reason to expect that they might have been fraudulently negotiated. It should be emphasized that this proposed legislation in no way limits the time within which the real owner may make a claim upon a savings bond which was fraudulently ne-

Where there is a long lapse of time between the date of the payment and the date the United States discovers it has, or may have, incurred a loss resulting therefrom, it would be extremely difficult for a paying agent to prove that the loss resulted from no fault or negligence on its part. In view of this, as well as the fact that the risks involved arise from the assumption of a task which was urged upon them by the United States and which was not related to the ordinary course of their business, the Treasury Department believes that so-called qualified paying agents, that is, commercial banks, trust companies, savings and loan associations, building and loan associations, and similar financial institutions, should have some limitation upon the time during which they may be liable.

Because they would have the same problem of proof, and for the sake of uniformity and orderly administration, the proposed legislation would give the same immunity to the Treasurer of the United States, the Federal Reserve banks, and the Post Office Department or the postal service, which are also accountable for losses incurred by the United States in savings bond redemptions.

The proposed legislation excludes cases arising under special regulations issued by the Treasury Department which authorize qualified paying agents to pay savings bonds without obtaining the signatures of the owners on the bonds, if the agents unconditionally assume liability to the United States for any loss resulting from such payments. In making payments under these regulations, which paying agents requested for their own and their customers' venience, they represent that they have the owners' instructions to redeem the bonds, and guarantee the validity of the trans-

Section 5 of the bill would amend section 3701 of the Revised Statutes (31 U.S.C. 742) to clarify the exemption it accords to interest on obligations of the United States from State and local income taxes.

Section 3701 of the Revised Statutes provides that obligations of the United States shall be exempt from taxation by or under State or local authority. The Supreme Court of the United States has held that this provision also exempts the interest on obligations of the United States from taxation by or under State or local authority (N. J. Realty Title Ins. Co. v. Div. of Tax Appeals (1950). 338 U.S. 665).

In recent years the State of Idaho has taken the position that its income tax law enacted in 1933 has required the inclusion of interest on obligations of the United States in computing gross income (from which taxable net income was determined), and that the Federal statutes have not precluded this requirement. The Idaho statute provided that there shall be levied "upon every individual \* \* \* a tax which shall be according to and measured by his net income."
The term "gross income" (from which taxable net income was determined) was defined to include, among other items, interest received from Federal, State, municipal, or other bonds." The law elswhere provided, however, that "all income, except \* \* \* income not permitted to be taxed under \* \* \* the Constitution or laws of the United States, shall be included and considered in determining net income of taxpayers."

It has apparently been the position of the State of Idaho not that the Federal Government is without power to exempt the interest on its obligations from State income taxes, but rather that it has not exempted that interest from a tax such as the Idaho tax.

The reasoning of the Idaho authorities appears to have been as follows: The Federal statute has exempted the interest on Federal obligations from State taxation, and the State tax statute excluded income not permitted to be taxed by the Federal exempting statute, but the Idaho statute did not attempt to tax this income. Rather, it carefully provided that there should be levied "upon every individual \* \* a tax \* \* measured by his net income." Apparently their position has been that this has a different effect from the State statute before 1933, which provided that there should be levied "upon the net income of every individual \* \* a tax," which was therefore a tax not permitted under the

The Treasury and the Department of Justice have felt that the position of the State of Idaho rests upon a distinction of Words which is without substance. We have not, however, been able to persuade the Idaho authorities to change their position. Since this position does not rest upon a theory of lack of congressional power to exempt interest on Federal obligations from a tax such as Idaho has had, but rather upon the theory that Congress has not exercised its power, the Treasury and the Department of Justice believe that the simplest resolution of the matter would be through congressional action which would clarify exemption by expressly exempting Federal obligations and the interest on them from every form of State and local income taxes. proposed provision would accomplish that purpose.

It should be mentioned that on March 20, 1959, the State of Idaho adopted a new income tax law. The new law declares it to be its intent to impose a tax identical as far as possible to the income tax imposed by Federal Internal Revenue Code. Since the Federal Internal Revenue Code imposes a tax "on the taxable income of every individual" it has been suggested that Idaho may no longer attempt to maintain its position that the Federal exemption statute does not extend to its income tax. We have communicated with responsible State authorities, however, and have been unable to obtain assurances that the State will discontinue requiring the inclusion of interest on obligathe United States in computing tions of State income taxes.

In these circumstances, we believe it to be highly desirable for the Congress to make the exemption statute more specific at this time. If positions such as Idaho has held are adopted by other States the resulting taxation could have a serious adverse effect on the sale of U.S. savings bonds, which are so widely held by individuals, and could have undesirable effects on Treasury financing

Operations in general.

Section 6 of the bill would authorize the issuance of obligations of the United States to Government trust funds at the issue price. The Congress has established some 50 ernment trust funds. Portions of any of these funds not currently needed may be invested in obligations of the United States. With respect to six of these trust funds, however, the Congress has specified that Government obligations may be acquired on original issue only at par. Thus in the act of August 14, 1935, establishing the unemployment trust fund, it was provided that such obligations may be acquired (1) on original issue at par, or (2) by purchase of outstanding obligations at the market price." Substantially identical language has been used in four other provisions dealing with five other trust funds. The trust funds and the citations to the pertinent provisions governing them are: Federal old-age and survivors insurance trust fund and the Federal disability insurance trust fund (42 U.S.C. 401(d)); the railroad retirement account (45 U.S.C. 2280(b)); the special trust account for the payment of bonds of the Philippines (22 U.S.C. 1393(g)(5)); and the highway trust fund (23 U.S.C. 173(e)(2)). The reason for providing in these relatively few cases that acquisition on original issue must be at par is not known.

When the first of these provisions was enacted in 1935 the Treasury could not issue interest-bearing bonds at a discount In 1942 the law was amended to permit issuance at a discount, but none were issued in this manner before last November. Therefore the requirement that obligations be acquired on original issue only at par has not created a problem until recently. With the possibility of more obligations being issued at a discount or at a premium in the future, however, the requirement that these six trust funds acquire obligations on original issue only at par is highly discriminatory against them. For example, the Treasury recently issued 4 percent bonds of 1980 99; the public could subscribe for these bonds at 99 and any of the trust funds other than these six could acquire them at 99, but the law prohibited any of these six trust funds from acquiring them on original issue except at 100. If the Secretary of the Treasury had issued these bonds at par on original issue for account of these funds. they would have earned interest at a lower effective rate than any of the other trust funds or any member of the public acquiring them on original issue.

There does not appear to be any sound reason for this result. It has therefore been recommended that these provisions of law be amended to authorize these trust funds to acquire obligations of the United States on original issue at the issue price, which is the price the other trust funds or

the public would pay.

"The Strategic Lessons of West Berlin,"
a Statement by the National Planning
Association International Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. CHESTER BOWLES

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 10, 1959

Mr. BOWLES. Mr. Speaker, the National Planning Association, which has been responsible for so many constructive studies and proposals on matters of vital importance to American policy, has recently contributed a new statement of great importance on the Berlin crisis.

This statement, signed by members of the NPA's International Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Frank Altschul, is one of the best summaries I have seen concerning the broad Communist challenge now focusing on Berlin.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include this statement, as follows:

THE STRATEGIC LESSONS OF WEST BERLIN
(A statement by the NPA International
Committee, April 28, 1959—Special Report
No. 52)

Regardless of how the current crisis over West Berlin may be resolved, there are certain lessons to be learned from it which, if ignored by the United States and its allies, presage increasing success for the Soviet Union's probing strategy against the non-Communist world. These lessons are both diplomatic and military. This statement of the Committee on International Policy of the National Planning Association is intended to outline the origin and nature of the crisis over West Berlin and to comment briefly on its implications for the strategy of the Western alliance.

1. On November 27, 1958, the Government of the U.S.R. handed to the U.S. Ambassador in Moscow a note dealing with the situation in West Berlin. A lengthy exposition of the history of West Berlin since the date of occupation by the Western allies is followed by certain concrete proposals bearing on its future. In characteristic manner this historical survey is punctuated with falsifications, the nature of which it is unnecessary to go into here as they have been fully exposed in a pamphlet issued by the Department of State.

Allegedly seeking to put an erid to the abnormal and dangerous situation which has developed in Berlin because of the continued occupation of its Western sectors by the United States, Great Britain, and France, the Soviet Union proposes that the question of Western Berlin \* \* be settled for the time being by making Western Berlin an independent political entity—a free city—without any state, including either of the existing German states, interfering in its life.

The nub of the matter is contained in the statement that "the Soviet Government on its part has resolved to effect measures designed to abolish the occupation regime in Berlin, guided by the desire to normalize the situation in Berlin, in the interests of European peace, in the interests of the peaceable and independent development of Germany."

The Soviet Government asserts that it regards a period of 6 months "as quite adequate to find a sound foundation for a solution of the problems connected with the change of the position of Berlin and to prevent the possibility of any complication if, of course, the governments of the Western Powers do not deliberately work for such complications."

During this period "the Soviet Government proposes to make no changes in the present procedure for military traffic of the United States, Great Britain, and France from West Berlin to the Federal Republic of Germany." "But "if the above period is not used for reaching a relevant agreement, the Soviet Union will effect the planned measures by agreement with the German Democratic Republic."

Stripped of nonessentials, the Soviet de-mand boiled down to this: Either the United States, the United Kingdom, and France accept the Soviet proposals for a change in the status of West Berlin, including the withdrawal of their occupation forces before May 27, 1959, or the Soviet Union, in violation of its solemn agreements, will itself change this status by handing over to the East German Government both its rights and its obligations in regard to West Berlin. These proposals, for reasons clearly stated, have been rejected by all three of the Western allies immediately concerned. The Soviet Union for its part has modified the ultimative character of the date of May 27 and it now seems likely that somewhat prolonged negotiations will take place, first, in a meeting of Foreign Ministers to be held toward the middle of May, and then, by a summit conference scheduled for sometime in July or August:

Whether these discussions will lead to a negotiated settlement only the future will tell. We must hope that, in the light of the resolute position taken by President Eisenhower in accord with our principal

allies and with the full support of the American people, we shall find that the Berlin crisis has been precipitated as just another of those operations which the Kremlin conducts on the periphery of the free world.

But it would not be prudent to take counsel of our hopes. There is a wide and seemingly unbridgeable chasm between Moscow and the free world. Admittedly, the present status of West Berlin is a thorn in the side of the Soviet Union. It provides an escape hatch through which refugees, in-cluding many of the most talented and besttrained individuals, flee the Communist paradise of East Germany at the rate of approximately 200,000 a year. In marked contrast to the drab and desolate condition of East Berlin, it furnishes a showcase behind the Iron Curtain in which the enormous achievements of a community of free men and women are displayed in bright and vivid And, last but not least, it serves as a center from which, by radio and other means, the hopes and ideals of the Western, world are constantly projected into the satellites

Yet it is well to recall that this is a situation that has existed for more than 10 years. Furthermore, while this may be a matter of little import to the Soviet leaders, it is a situation of their own creating. One of the basic understandings reached among the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union, and incorporated in the Potsdam Agreement, was that during the period of occupation Germany shall be treated as a single economic unit. It was further provided that to this end, common policies shall be established in regard to a number of relevant economic factors.

From the moment of occupation the Soviet Union proceeded to nullify this provision, administering its zone in flagrant disregard of its commitments. This led step by step inexorably to the division of Germany and to the establishment in the Western zones of the freely elected government of the Federal Republic, while in the Eastern zone a Quisling government, having no sanction in the will of the people it governed, acquired its grant of authority from the Soviet Union, backed by the armed might of its occupation The incredible distortions of history to which the Soviet propagandists have ac-customed us should never be allowed to obscure these obvious facts.

Our legal and our moral right to maintain our position in Berlin has been eloquently set forth not only by the State Department. but by the President as well. It would be superfluous to reargue the case here. And there should be no lingering doubt that at whatever risk we are prepared to maintain that free access to West Berlin to which we are both legally and morally entitled an access which is responsive to the wishes of the people of that beleaguered city. The President has stated in effect that in no event will we strike the first blow. He has made it equally clear that we shall react vigorously to any attempt to deny us that free access, the right to which was formally agreed to at a meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers in New York in May 1949, and confirmed at a subsequent meeting of that body held

It would be futile to attempt to anticipate the results of the delicate negotiations which are to start with the meeting of the Foreign Ministers at Geneva on May 11. We have no means of telling with certainty just what prompted Khrushchev to raise the issue of West Berlin at this particular moment. Nor can we do more than speculate about his estimate of our will and our potential, which may powerfully affect his future course of action. Yet one thing can be said safely: These negotiations will either end with some measure of agreement reached or they will fail. In the first con-

tingency, the nature of any such understandings will exercise a profound influence on the future orientation of American foreign policy. With the possible substance of such an agreement the present memorandum, is, however, not concerned. But in either contingency, unless by some miracle the question of West Berlin has been definitively settled, we are likely to be faced at some unpredictable date in the future with a renewal of the Soviet challenge to our position there, upon which the future orientation of West Germany may well depend. We cannot tell how much time may be allotted us before the challenge will be renewed. Yet just because of this uncertainty in regard to the time element, a few observations seem pertinent.

At his press conference on March 11 President Eisenhower, in answer to a question, said: "We are certainly not going to fight a ground war in Europe. What good would it do to send a few more thousands or indeed even a few divisions of troops to Europe?" The President's later remarks were open to the interpretation that the United States might respond by the use of nuclear weapons against targets undisclosed if "any threat or any push in the direction of real hostilities" occurred "from

the side of the Soviets."

These remarks lead inevitably to the conclusion that in the administration's view, we may be faced with an appalling and unavoidable dilemma if present negotiations in regard to West Berlin fall, i.e. that we may be forced to choose between capitulation in whole or in part to the Soviet demands and the initiation of atomic and/or thermonuclear war. And we should remember that even if a modus vivendi in regard to West Berlin is negotiated, we may still face this same dilemma, unless our military posture is improved, whenever in the future the Soviets choose to provoke some similar crisis, as we may be confident they will.

But if we are granted sufficient time and apply the lessons learned from the current crisis with dedication, energy, and resourcefulness, it is just possible that we may escape such a baneful choice. There is some ground for hoping that the Kremlin is not yet ready to precipitate the ultimate catas-In any event, it is the view of the Committee on International Policy of the National Planning Association that the administration should act on this assumption. This suggests that it might be part of wisdom to take a new look "the new look."
which first saw the light of day in a speech delivered by the Secretary of State before the Council on Foreign Relations on January 12, 1954 In this address was incorporated "the 1954. In this address was incorporated basic decision" reached "to depend primarily upon a great capacity to retaliate, instantly, by means and at places of our choosing."

It may be that, at the time, this decision was grounded not only in fiscal but in sound military considerations. We then had a predominant superiority in atomic and thermonuclear weapons and, in particular, in the means of their delivery. But much has hap-pened in the 5 years that have since elapsed. The Soviet Union has built up a stockpile of similar weapons, as well as delivery systems of undetermined capability. It has materially strengthened its air defense to the end that it may be less vulnerable to bomber attack. And it has assigned priority to a major program for the development and manufacture of intermediate-range and intercontinental ballistic missileswhich since the time of the Suez crisis it seems prepared to brandish on every occasion of acute international tension.

With this growing Soviet potential, it has become apparent that we have placed our ultimate reliance primarily on weapons which we are increasingly reluctant to use. The "great deterrent" lost much of its validity with the awakening fear that, at a given moment, if SAC had not previously been neutralized by surprise attack, its use by us might invite devastating retaliation by the Soviet Union.

But other considerations began to reinforce this reluctance in the minds of thoughtful individuals. While we, for a time, were bemused by the prospect of developing a "clean bomb," the "tolerable" poisoning of the earth's atmosphere from the testing of weapons on a modest scale has raised the specter of the damage that might be inflicted on nations and peoples not involved in the conflict in the event of the early use of atomic and thermonuclear weapons on a massive scale.

This raises for us a moral issue of deep significance. In these times of uneasily balanced terror, no one can guarantee that atomic and /or thermonuclear weapons will not be used. But since their use is a possibility, it is of vital importance from the point of view of world public opinion that we shift from our shoulders to those of the Soviet Union the onus of threatening such a catastrophe. Our foreign policy has suf-fered great damage through our failure to counteract the Soviets' assumption of the mantle of high morality and their efforts to represent the United States as trigger-happy. ready on the slightest provocation to unthe horror of thermonuclear war regardless of the consequences to nonbelligerents. Our task is to convince the rest of the world that the United States will have other means for defending the cause of freedom than resort to thermonuclear war. But we cannot carry this conviction by words alone. This objective can only be attained if we give meaning to our words through a reassertion of imaginative leadership and through a revision of military policy in conjunction with our principal allies. This revision would involve a massive effort to increase the modernized but conventional forces dedicated to NATO on the continent of Europe and to provide a strategic reserve, available for use if needed, to deal with any new trouble spot elsewhere in the world.

We do not minimize the magnitude of the task involved. Yet we refuse to accept the notion that the free world with its vast resources of manpower and its great industrial capacity is unable to accomplish it. We have come to talk rather casually about the threat to our very survival-to the survival of those values of Western civilization to which we are so profoundly attached. Yet neither we nor our principal allies are behaving as if we recognized the reality of this threat. Let us frankly face the unpalatable fact that higher taxes with the deprivations these involve may prove essential to the successful attainment of our objectives. Let us at last take the full measure of our peril, supporting with dedication whatever measures considerations of national security may require.

That we are not doing this today was clearly indicated in memorandums submitted by the Chiefs of Staff on March 8, 1959, to the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee, outlining their reservations in regard to the current military budget. Hesitating to take direct issue with the President, their Commander in Chief, they, nonetheless, contrived to make it clear that in their view appropriations presently requested were inadequate to place our armed services in a position to meet their responsibilities. The recent testimony of Secretary McElroy, referring to the growing missile gap, was similarly disturbing. And the avowed determination of the administration to proceed with the contemplated reduction in the personnel of the Army and the Marine Corps, while the problem of West Berlin remains unresolved. suggests a somewhat unrealistic estimate of our own position which fully justifies wide-spread concern. The recently released testimony of the Commanding Officer of SAC fully

substantiates the misgivings about the adequacy of our Armed Forces.

The current challenge with which the Soviet Union has confronted us may turn out under the most favorable circumstances to be just another probing operation on the periphery of the free world. It is possible that when the clouds clear away, we may find that nothing more serious has happened than that East Germans have taken the place of their Soviet colleagues at the checkpoints, through which traffic from West Germany destined for the occupation forces in West Berlin must pass, under instructions to continue to permit free access to West Berlin in the manner previously guaranteed us by the Soviet Union. Should this prove to be the case, it would merely suggest that the Soviet Union was not yet ready to assume the ultimate risk. It would mean that we might have more time allotted to us than we had anticipated in which to take measures calculated effectively to parry a challenge merely postponed.

For it should be clear by now that Communist imperialism has in no sense abandoned its ambition to extend its dominion to the farthest corners of the globe. It is equally clear that with the requisite determination and sacrifice, the NATO powers will continue to present a formidable obstacle to the achievement of this ambition. But the Berlin crisis has already demonstrated that our present military posture is hardly calculated to permit us to deal satisfactorily with many contingencies which may arise. Against the day when the masters of the Kremlin consider the moment opportune to face us once again with some new and unacceptable demands either in Berlin or elsewhere, we should strive to provide for ourselves some alternative more palatable than merely the choice between capitulation and nuclear warfare of our initiation.

It is the plea of this memorandum that the administration proceed with vigor and without delay to act on the assumption that we may be given time enough—an uncertain assumption, it is true, but one on which we must act if we are to have any chance of finding ourselves in a more favorable position when the next crisis is upon us. As our purpose should be to avoid being faced again with the same limited choice of unpalatable alternatives which seemed to confront us in West Berlin, we should exert ourselves to the utmost in building up our ground forces and materially strengthening these contingents in Western Europe.

Having thus furnished the lead to our allies, whose survival is as much at stake as our own, we should urge upon them similar efforts. At the same time, as a mere matter of prudent insurance against the unknown, while materially strengthening our conventional forces both in respect to personnel and equipment, we should increase the tempo of that wide range of projects which involve our strategic capabilities. And this immense effort should be supplemented by a program of information designed to place before the bar of public opinion the fullness of our desire and our intention to do all that lies within our power to spare humanity the evil choice between the parallel disasters of atomic warfare or Soviet enslavement.

But even this is not enough. For while, in the light of the Berlin crisis, this memorandum has focused attention primarily on the nature of our military posture, there are other phases of our conflict with Communist imperialism we must not neglect. The Soviet Union is conducting a skillfully orchestrated attack in which the military, the diplomatic, the economic, and the ideological instruments, either alternately or in unison, are played upon to produce the maximum effect. We must strive unceasingly to meet every element of this attack, and wherever possible to seize the initiative ourselves.

This committee welcomes the expressed willingness of our Government to participate in a meeting of the Foreign Ministers and eventually in a Summit Conference. However discouraging the outlook may appear, it is well to bear in mind that we and the Soviet Union do have one common interest—survival. Against this background, it should be the constant role of diplomacy to seek for grounds of compromise which do not sacrifice the legitimate aspirations of either the Soviet Union or of ourselves.

In the economic field, we should be attempting, either alone or preferably in con-junction with our principal allies, to develop a more comprehensive program of economic aid in order, both bilaterally and through the U.N., to meet the recently increased activity of the Soviet Union in this domain-a task made exceedingly difficult because of the present disposition of Congress to hack away at the appropriations requested for mutual security. To the extent that this disposition is based upon justified criticism of the administration of foreign aid in the past, it is to be hoped that it may be materially reduced for the future when the Draper committee, after exhaustive study, makes its final report. Insofar as it is based on considerations of partisan advantage, or possibly upon a mistaken interpretation of facts, a campaign of public enlightenment might prove useful.

Above all, we should seek to recapture that bright vision of the future which inspired the Marshall plan, prompted aid to Greece and Turkey and led to the formation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Whether we can recapture this in time may prove to be the supreme test of our democratic society. Should we fail to do so, when our civilization is threatened as never before, all that we have built of spiritual values, of political institutions and of material goods may be lost to the world as they disappear in the rubble heap of history.

Finns and Oregonians: "Finnogonians"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, the Finlandia Pictorial, Finland's only magazine in English, has devoted its May 1959 issue to the Oregon Centennial, emphasizing the ties between Oregon and Finland. Under previous consent, I include the editor's greetings to the Oregon Centennial and the lead article, the "Finnogonians." Also included are cables of welcome to the Finnish exhibit at the Portland International Trade Fair from Oregon's Governor Hatfield and from our distinguished junior Senator, RICHARD L. NEUBERGER:

FINLANDIA PICTORIAL EDITOR COMMEMORATES OREGON'S CENTENNIAL

This is a special issue of Finlandia Pictorial commemorating the 100th anniversary of the Beaver State of Oregon. We are pleased to have the opportunity of devoting our pages to the memories and the lihks that, since 1638, have built a bridge of kind thoughts and good will across the Atlantic between our country and the United States.

A hundred years ago Oregon was promoted to statehood. Now, in 1959, Oregonians are celebrating the event with scores of festivals, shows, and fairs. Finland is one of the more distant countries taking part in the International Trade Fair at Portland in connection with the centennial exposition. Finlandia Pictorial wishes to join the birthday party, and copies of this issue will be distributed to visitors to the fair.

Why is Finland participating? For those who really do not know and for those who do but like to see the answer in print, Finlandia Pictorial gives the reasons. The Finns, like so many other peoples, helped build America. The Americans and Finns are no strangers to each other, even those who have no mutual intimate connections.

We wish to greet especially the Finns of Oregon, the Finnogonians, if a neologism is allowed. In a truly pioneer spirit, with Mr. John O. Virtanen as their enthusiastic leader, they are realizing the project of the Finnish classroom in Portland State College. Every pupil of the Finnish room will learn something of the land of the Finnish forefathers and gather a fact or two about Finland.

This is our reward. It is not only the Finns and Americans of the present generation that learn to know each other. In the future both they and all nations may understand better how to help each other to build the world.

THE EDITOR.

We have pleasure in publishing these two cables received from the United States of America:

The Governor of Oregon: "Oregonians are proud of the many Finnish people who reside here and the role they have played in our century of statehood. We are most grateful, to learn that the publishers of Finlandia Pictorial are dedicating their May issue to Oregon and our centennial exposition and international trade fair which begins June 10th and continues for 100 days. We welcome the world, and especially readers of this publication to Oregon in 1959.

"MARK O. HATFIELD."

The junior Senator from Oregon: "Oregon always has had close ties of friendship and admiration for Finland. Both realms share seacoast grandeur, vast timberlands, and wealth in fisheries. The Finnish colony at Astoria has enriched and improved our State. We welcome the official Finnish Government exhibit at our international centennial trade fair. Warm regards to all.

"RICHARD L. NEUBERGER."

### THE FINNOGONIANS

(By Walter Mattila, Portland, Oreg.)

The first Finn whose name survives in early Oregon history was a colorful Wild West citizen—a gold prospector, Indian fighter, politician, real estate operator, flour mill owner and finally, of course, consul for Russia and the then Grand Duchy of Finland.

Like the other early Finnish settlers of the coastal areas, he was a seaman. After panning but little gold in California, he arrived in Portland—the home of the 1859 centennial of Oregon's statehood—in 1853 when the city was only 3 years old and the State of Oregon was still to be carved out of the vast region between the new State of California and the new Canadian border.

The first Finnogonian was Gustaf Hen-

The first Finnogonian was Gustaf Hennila, but at sea and in the goldfields he was plain Gust Wilson, the name he used in Oregon until he became Consul Gustaf Wilson. Through his first year in Oregon Territory he was Private Wilson of the volunteer militia which took the fight out of the Indians in the Puget Sound area, now Seattle and Tacoma.

Home from the war, he made good in politics in Josephine County. He was first elected coroner, a high office in the gunhappy gold camps, and later county clerk for 4 years. Then he returned to Portland and acquired

considerable property in real estate opera-

### PARMING A BATTLEFIELD

More than 20 years after Wilson was through fighting Indians, the new Finnish settlement in the wheatlands of eastern Oregon became a battlefield in the last Indian war of Far West history. Weapons were rushed to these frontier farmers by TIS soldiers who were amazed how well the simple immigrents could shoot. The Indians swept over the Finnish farms but burned no buildings. Nor is there any record that the Finns ever shot any Indians but their splendid U.S. Army rifles later kept them in deer meat. Among those who watched for Indians on hilltops while father plowed in the valley were Albert Haarala, a retired Portland insurance man, and his brother, Henry, a retired Spanish-American War veteran in California.

It was not until the railroads were built by Swedes, Norwegians, Chinese, Finns and others across America that nonsailor Finns came to the new State of Oregon which had fine land for homesteading, fine timber for slashing and fine fish for kala moijakka fish stew to you. Some of these immigrants arrived direct from Finland but most of them hopped across America from mining camp to mining camp and from mining camp to Dust Bowl.

### LITTLE FINLANDS

They were eager to get started on farms, but most of them also fished in the Columbia and worked in the winter at building in the nearest towns. Besides, they were the migratory workers of the day, picking hops for the breweries, berries for canneries, and prunes for dryers. They created Little Finlands in which they had their own churches, confirmation schools, instruction in the Finnish language, temperance societies and of course their own Saturday night sauna gatherings. The temperance society broadened into a cultural crusade which gave plays, recitals and songfests.

### THE HELSINKI OF THE NORTHWEST

Once Finnish emigrants found that they could make a living at Columbia River fishing alone without having to farm on the bank, they settled in Astoria and other growing communities. Eventually Astoria became the Helsinki of the Northwest with two Finnish newspapers, one church edited and the other published by Socialists. The district attracted outstanding Finnish emigrants, such as the three Kankkonen brothers, Matti, Kalle and Frithlof, who had had building experience in Finland. They established a boatshop which expanded during World War I into wooden shipbuilding. They were for 40 years the leaders of the large Finnish cooperative cannery, Union Fisherman's Cooperative Packing Co. Some of their boatshop employees, such as Kivijarvi and Tolonen, set up their own boatbuilding enterprises and turned out fishing vessels for Oregon, Washington, and Alaska waters. Many early Finnish fishermen built their own boats.

Besides clearing thousands of acres of rugged Oregon wilderness for their own farms, Finnish emigrants were active in logging and sawmilling. Later emigrants from Finnish plywood centers played an important part in developing that industry in the Northwest.

Many of the Finnogonians who are participating in the Oregon centennial, which has a large Finnish exhibition of export goods, are old Americans but new Oregonians. This is not strange for 60 percent of the population of Oregon was born outside the State.

### THE FINNISH-SPEAKING HOUTARIS

The sons of hard-working Finnish pioneers got a good start in machine logging when mechanization came to the northwest forests,

after 1890. Still an operating engineer in Portland, 68-year-old John Henry Simonson (Juhan Hentrik Maattala) at 15 years of age was forcing logs onto railroad flatcars by turning jackscrews, the same principle as raising a house.

Among the many comparatively recent arrivals in Oregon is the clan of Mr. and Mrs. Edwin Houtari. He was born near Hancock, Mich., and after graduating from the eighth grade attended Suomi College in its first year of existence before it had a permanent home. At 16 years of age he went to his uncle's homestead in Hayti, S. Dak., where he was joined later by his parents and the other children. He farmed there for years and married Ida, a Finnish girl who arrived alone at 17 from Oulu.

The Houtaris were active in the Finnish community, supporting its church and various other activities. Assessor of the township, Houtari ran for sheriff on the Noripartisan ticket but lost to a Republican. He moved to Oregon in 1936 and worked as a carpenter and in shipyards until he retired to make toys for his 15 grandchildren and 5 great-grandchildren. Most of them are in Oregon, too, the new home of many Finnishborn.

# Mail by Guided Missile

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### OF

### HON, EDWARD H. REES

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent granted me, I am including a statement made by Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield concerning an experimental exploration of a new technique in communication. The statement of General Summerfield is most interesting:

### MAIL BY GUIDED MISSILE

The United States today began experimental exploration of a major new technique of communication that is of historic significance to the peoples of the entire world.

A guided missile, on a routine training flight at approximately the speed of sound from an American guided missile submarine at sea, landed successfully on our east coast with a shipment of U.S. missile mail.

This peacetime employment of a guided missile for the important and practical purpose of carrying mail is the first known official use of missiles by any post office department of any nation. An unofficial test flight of a singular Regulus I on the Pacific Coast was made several months ago.

These developments are a reaffirmation by the United States of its humanitarian aims, as eloquently emphasized by President Dwight D. Eisenhower, that the scientific achievements of our people shall be used as a rich legacy of progress for mankind.

Today's shipment of mail by missile has given us extremely valuable information of far-reaching importance to the future of the U.S. mail service, namely:

U.S. mail service, namely:

1. The use of compartments built into missiles to carry considerable shipments of mail appears highly practical.

 Significant quantities of mail can be loaded quickly and efficiently into missiles.
 Missiles can be developed to carry mail

safely and swiftly.

4. The relative lightness of letters and the small space they occupy makes them ideal users of missile technology.

5. Guided missiles may ultimately provide a solution to problems of swifter mail de-

livery for international mails, for isolated areas where other transportation is infrequent, as well as a supplementary high-priority service to big population centers.

The first U.S. Post Office Department official missile mail experiment, delivering approximately 3,000 letters, was loaded aboard the guided missile submarine U.S.S. Barbero (SSG-317) at Norfolk, Va., shortly before departure on a regular training mission. A branch post office was established on the Barbero by my official orders at that time.

This morning the crew of the Barbero, while in the international waters of the Atlantic Ocean, dispatched this historic shipment of U.S. mail on a Regulus I Training Guided Missile, flying the missile successfully to its destination at the Naval Auxiliary Air Station at Mayport, Fla., near Jacksonville, where it landed safely a few minutes ago.

The first missile mail was carried in two metal compartments, painted in the Post Office Department's official mail-box colors of red, white, and blue.

As our studies proceed on the effective utilization of guided missile techniques for mail delivery, we can expect further experiments to develop the feasibility of our plans and add to our store of knowledge of what we informally call our "Pony Express II Missile Mail Project."

The successful missile mail experiment to-day was possible only because of the close cooperation of Secretary of Defense Neil H. McElroy, the fine personnel of the Department of Defense, and the Navy, and our own dedicated Post Office Department people, all working closely together. The Post Office Department is also deeply indebted to Lt. Commander Carlos Dew, USN, commanding officer of the Barbero, and the other officers and members of its capable crew.

The letters which arrived via the Regulus I flight at Mayport, are being processed now in the Jacksonville, Fla., Post Office for regular dispatch to officials and leading citizens who have contributed to, or shown special interest in the postal progress of recent years, including: The President, the Vice President, Members of the Cabinet, other top Federal officials, Members of Congress, Justices of the Supreme Court, Governors of the States, including Alaska and Hawaii, the Smithsonian Institution, the postmasters general of the 99 other member nations of the Universal Postal Union, members of groups associated with the Postal Service, such as the Post Office Department Advisory Board, and the officers and crew of the Barbero.

The envelope used was my official one with a pictorial cachet of the Regulus I bearing the wording "First Official Missile Mail—U.S. Post Office Department" placed to the left. A cancellation reading "USS Barbero" with the date and approximate time of launching of the Regulus I from the submarine was used on the cover. The letters were appropriately franked with the red, white, and blue 4-cent American Flag Commemorative Stamp issue of 1957. On the reverse side of the envelope a backstamp was applied showing the approximate time of the receipt of the mail at the Jacksonville, Fla., Post Office prior to its dispatch throughout the world.

Each missile mail envelope carries a letter from me, as Postmaster General. I would like to emphasize now what I said in the letter: that the great progress being made in guided missilry will be utilized in every practical way by the Post Office Department.

I believe we will see missile mail developed to a significant degree before man has reached the moon.

Today's experiment with missile mail is in line with the finest traditions of the Post Office Department in pioneering with new means of transportation to speed the delivery of the mails.

In colonial days Benjamin Franklin took the mails from horseback and put it on coaches; in 1831 the Post Office Department was the first to use the new fangled trains; in 1858 the Post Office linked the Nation with the famous Overland Mail stage service to be followed in 1860 with the even faster Pony Express. In 1918, when most people still thought the airplane was an unwork-able contraption, the Post Office Department demonstrated its practical peacetime uses with the first regular air mails.

Today's missile mail will go down in history as another saga of progress and achieve-

ment in our national heritage.

# Mote U.S. Army Reserve Training Center, Parma, Ohio

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 20, 1959

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted, I insert in the RECORD an address I delivered May 24 at the dedication of the Mote U.S. Army Reserve Training Center, at Parma, Ohio:

It is a privilege to participate in the dedication of the Army Reserve Center, in memory of Lt. Kingston H. Mote. His sacrifice and the sacrifice of others who gave their lives in defense of our beloved country serve as a timeless reminder that the chains of human slavery rest infinitely heavier upon the shoulders of freemen than the wearing of a soldier's gear in defense of our priceless liberties and freedoms.

Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. To maintain that vigilance, we must have officers and men trained and ready to take up arms in defense of our liberty.

The birth of our Nation marked the most significant step in man's long struggle upward toward a system of government which recognizes the dignity of man as the highest value which can be secured for any people under any form of government. History is replete with many dark chapters of man's inhumanity to man and the degradation visited upon whole civilizations by despotic rulers who saw in other men nothing more than the opportunity for exploitation. ambitions of these despots led to military campaigns and great human sacrifice as the empires of their dreams were fulfilled. Since recorded history the common man has struggled against the schemes of the tyrant, sometimes successfully and many times unsuccessfully. But always the struggle of the common man has pressed forward toward the forming of a society in which all men would be equal and in which the Godgiven right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness would be a reality. It was this great ideal, forged upon the anvil of long trial and great sacrifice, which inspired our Founding Fathers to proclaim the Declaration of Independence. Their inspiring charter of high purpose and intent lifted up the hopes of all mankind for a better life, for a better world. That historic document stands today as the only acceptable founda-tion for the forming of both our domestic and foreign policies. It expresses in clear and unmistakable language the basic human rights that must be enjoyed by all our people and our fervent hopes that these same rights be enjoyed by the people of all nations of the world.

National devotion to these timeless principles has made us a peace-loving nation, a nation which has never coveted either the territory or possessions of any other nation or people, a nation which has sought only justice and security for our own people. is to our everlasting credit that if can be said with honesty we have never committed any unprovoked acts against any othe nation and have been drawn into war only as a matter of absolute necessity and in our own self-defense.

It is fitting that in these circumstances. we recall to mind those great ideals and human values for which our men and women of the armed services sacrificed and died in the recent wars. They, of our generation, no less than the heroes and martyrs of generations past, fought for those immutable values of individual liberty and freedom without which life becomes a hopeless drudgery. These same ideals caused our Founding Fathers to set forth the inspiring Declaration of Independence. It is dedi-cation to these same ideals and moral values which have made our beloved land the hope and aspiration of people the world over.

It is the destiny of our country ever to remain the citadel of freedom. Each generation of Americans must keep this rendezvous with destiny. Daniel Webster, in his generation, when faced with tasks no less difficult than ours, inspired his contemporaries with these words: "God grants liberty only to those who love it, and are always ready to guard and defend it." We Americans love liberty and it is our heritage to guard and to

defend it.

# Deterrence and Missiles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. JAMES G. O'HARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 11, 1959

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan, Mr. Speaker, Gen. Curtis E. LeMay, Commander of the Strategic Air Command and Vice Chief of Staff of the U.S. Air Force, made a speech on April 21 before the Aero Club, of Michigan. The contents of this speech would, I think, be of great interest to the Members of the Congress and I am requesting that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. General LeMay discussed two topicsdeterrence and missiles. He pointed out that the national defense policy as enunciated by President Eisenhower involved two objectives-to deter war and to effectively counter any possible attack. The General pointed out that these objectives are complementary and inseparable. To me the most interesting part of General LeMay's speech was that in which he discussed the role of missiles in this age of weapons' transition. He answered some critics of the Air Force who would reduce substantially our strength in manned aircraft and place greater reliance on missiles. The General de-veloped the idea that it is essential for us to retain proven weapons until such time as science has developed other weapon systems in which we can place more complete confidence.

In his speech General LeMay candidly pointed out that he was reflecting the policy views of the Air Force. He reflected also, I think, the views of the administration. Our national defense

policy is principally intended to protect us from direct armed aggression. While I do not wish to minimize the necessity for such protection, I wish that I could feel that we had more adequate conventional Armed Forces capable of operating effectively in possible theaters of limited engagement. However, as an exponent of the views which he holds, General LeMay has no peer. It is appropriate that his remarks be brought to the attention of as many people as possible. We all can learn a great deal from this most capable officer:

REMARKS BY GEN. CURTIS E. LEMAY, VICE CHIEF OF STAFF, U.S. AIR FORCE, BEFORE THE AERO CLUB OF MICHIGAN, DETROIT, MEH., APRIL 21, 1959

I am glad to be here tonight and to have this opportunity to talk to you. It is always a pleasure to see old friends and a privilege to participate in this 50th annual meeting of one of the oldest, largest, and most active State aviation organizations.

This evening I propose to discuss two subjects-deterrence and missiles. These topics have at least two things in common which make them extremely pertinent at this time—first, they have both been very much in the headlines during these past few months, and second, they fall into the con-troversial category. The case for the loyal opposition has been very adequately presented in public statements, newspapers. and magazines. Tonight, I want to give you the Air Force side of the story.

A great deal has been said or written about absolute deterrence, minimum deterrence, mutual deterrence, deterrence for small wars and deterrence for big ones. At the same time, the size and type of mili-tary forces which are required to provide each of these so-called brands of deterrence has also been given a thorough public air-

However, any discussion of deterrence, if it is to be meaningful, should begin with an examination of our national defense policy. President Eisenhower has stated that our goal is to "deter war and to repel and decisively counter any possible attack." This concise and straightforward statement of policy contains two distinct thoughts—one being "to deter" and the other "to repel and decisively counter any possible attack." These two objectives are inseparable. Each is dependent upon the other, and both make up the whole. It is obvious, then, after examining this statement of defense policy, that deterrence alone is not, and was neve intended to be, our sole means of national defense.

For one thing, there can be no such thing as an absolute and infallible deter-What might serve to deter one nation, will not deter another. An adequate deterrent today may not serve tomorrow. Many factors influence the decision of a nation to take the final step which will inevitably lead to war, and it would be fool-hardy for any one nation to assume an absolute ability to deter another from taking this step.

Moreover, a defense posture comprised of forces which are useful only as a deterrent, but which do not contain the inherent capability to prevail, should that deterrence be unsuccessful, cannot be considered adequate. Our Nation's defense structure must contain weapons and forces which have the undeniable ability to destroy the warmaking capacity and military forces of our potential enemies.

Exclusive dependence on deterrence does not allow for mistakes and miscalculations or for limited situations getting out of hand. It does not take into account that our opponent can apply or turn off pressure at will—pressure which we as a nation may not be willing to accept. If any of these situations should occur and deterrence should fail, then we would have to fight—we would have to win the war that wasn't supposed to happen in the first place. Furthermore, a minimum deterrent of this nature in the hands of our Nation would pose no real problem to a strong enemy, and would completely strip this country of any political, diplomatic, or military initiative, To base our first line of defense, upon this type of philosophy would leave our country at the mercy of an enemy whose ruthless quest for world domination is known to all of us.

If our deterrent posture is to be effective, it must contain three essential elements. First, we must have substantial forces in being and ready and available for immediate use—forces which have the capability to repel and decisively counter any aggression. Second, we must possess the national will to develop and maintain these forces, and the determination to use them if necessary. Third, both the forces and the determination to use them, if required, must be credible in the eyes of any potential enemy. This combination will give us the greatest hope for successful deterrence.

Our military forces must be of such a size at type that they have the unquestionable ability to keep the enemy off our own back here at home, and at the same time, to destroy his military forces and his capability to wage war if this should ever become necessary. Possession of such forces does not mean that we must necessarily match him gun for gun—aircraft for aircraft—or missile for missile. It does mean that we must have balanced forces whose versatility provides us with the means of applying the proper amount and type of firepower accurately and decisively against any target.

But these forces standing alone are not the whole answer. Military strength which is not backed by strong national will, cannot be fully effective. It can, in extreme cases, be completely ineffective. The eyes of the entire world are focused upon our Nation to-day, and our capacity to lead the free world has never been under closer scrutiny. We therefore cannot afford any letdown of our national determination. This Nation must present a strong and united front at all times to friend and foe alike—and convince them that we know where we are going, what we are doing—and that we are confident in the success of our cause.

Finally, the effectiveness of our military forces are of little value as a deterrent if any enemy does not fear the consequences to him of an aggressive move on his part. He must know that he will be beaten, and that his aggression will gain nothing except complete and devastating defeat. There must be no doubt in his mind that what we have is good, that we can and will use it if necessary, and that if we do use it—we will win.

Air Force weapons are designed to carry out this national policy. It is our sincere hope that the knowledge that the United States has the power—and the will—to retallate swifty and decisively will serve to deter any potential enemy from aggression—but we cannot and do not rely on this. We are, in other words, preparing for the worst—and hoping for the best.

Accordingly, the capabilities of Air Force weapons are aimed at the precise and selective destruction of targets which contribute to the warmaking capacity of the enemy. The combat units of the Air Force have been specifically tailored for this job.

Over 90 percent of this country's retaliatory effort—its primary general war force—is contained in the Air Force's Strategic Air Command and our tactical air forces at home and abroad. In addition to this—and another vital segment of our general war

capability—are the Air Defense forces which protect and back up our offensive effort. Approximately 75 percent of all air defense facilities and equipment—the radars, communications, fighter interceptors, missiles, and the control network which comprise the area air defense of this country—are contained in the Air Force's Air Defense Command.

The Air Force's limited war capability is contained within its general war forces. With the exception of our continental Air Defense system, all combat forces of the Air Force are designed to fight any type of war which might occur. Our tactical air forces worldwide have a particular adaptability for limited conflict in addition to their general war capability. These units can, either from in-place overseas bases, or after rapid deployment from bases in the United States, engage rapidly and effectively in limited war situations.

The contributions of the Strategic Air Command to any limited war situation are also substantial. First, it acts as a strong right arm, backing up the employment of free world forces in limited conflict. A good example of its effectiveness in this role occurred during the Lebanon crisis almost a year ago when the Strategic Air Command had well over 1,000 modern jet bombers-with crews and nuclear weapons available and ready for takeoff-quietly poised in the background while the more spectacular developments took place on the immediate scene of action. Under this steel umbrella, ground, naval, marine, and tactical air units can move promptly and openly into trouble areas, firm in the knowledge that their deployments are covered by the invisible but ever present might of strategic power. Furthermore, in addition to this assive backup, strategic units have a substantial inherent limited war capability and can be used effectively in this capacity if such measures ever become necessary.

So far I have discussed only the Air Force contribution to our deterrent force—a contribution which, I might add, has been bought and maintained over the past 10 years for approximately one-third of the Nation's overall defense dollar. However, before I leave this subject, I want to point out that the forces of the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps each make their own singular contribution to this overall defense team, and further that this team is augmented by the substantial power of our allies on land, sea, and in the air. In 1958, allied forces alone consisted of 5 million men, 14,000 jet aircraft, and 1,700 combat vessels.

That is all I am going to say about deterrence this evening. The main point—and one which I would like to repeat—is that deterrence, while a very important goal of our national defense policy, and one which we certainly hope will continue to be achieved, is not inseparable from our capacity to wage war. If deterrence should fail, the capabilities of our forces and weapons will be the decisive factor in whether or not we prevail in the ensuing conflict. If we have placed our money and effort on so-called minimum deterrents, we will find ourselves without adequate means to defend ourselves.

Now a word or two about missiles. It is natural when new and revolutionary pieces of military hardware are developed, that differences of opinion should arise on their use, the numbers needed to do the too, and the rate at which these new weapons should enter the inventories of the defense forces. Missiles have been no exception. For example, the Air Force oftentimes has been accused of lack of imagination and initiative in its approach to missiles, and of clinging to bombers and fighters solely on the basis of emotion and tradition. This is not true. As a matter of fact, past expenditures and those programed for this next fiscal year for the major procurement

and production of missiles, show that the Air Force portion thereof is over 1½ times as much as for the other two services combined.

Missiles are being, and will continue to be, phased into combat units as fast as it is operationally feasible. However, common-sense will not allow us to replace the known and proven capability which we now possess in manned aircraft, with weapons whose reliability, accuracy, and overall effectiveness are still in the process of determination. We are well aware of the distinct and welcome advantages which ICBM's, for example, will afford-but we also recognize that there are certain limitations which apply to our early generation missiles and which detract in various degrees from their operational effectiveness. Moreover, there are still other restrictions which apply to missile operations by the very nature of the beast-such as the inability to recall them once they are launched. All of these things must be taken into account in the establishment of our force structure and in the integration of new weapons into this force.

Our Strategic Air Command, for example, has for the past 10 years been required to maintain a force-in-being which is capable of performing its mission on a year-in-yearout, round-the-clock basis. Primary responsibility over the years for the successful conduct of this Nation's strategic offense has made the Air Force acutely aware of the delicate balance which must be achieved between forces-in-being-those forces which would be used to face the emergencies of today, tomorrow and next month-and forces under development. This balance has to be maintained at all times to guarantee continued modernization of our forces without interruption of their day-to-day readiness. Reliance upon unproven systems, or too rapid acceptance of new systems as replacements for proven weapons—can easily create gaps in this readiness—and in our first line of defense. We cannot tolerate these gaps and still do our job. Therefore, we approach these new weapons with a certain amount of discretion which has absolutely nothing to do with emotion or tradition. It is a matter of commonsense.

The obvious advantages which will accrue to our Strategic Air Command from a well established ICBM capability boil down to these points. First, there is no known defense—at least for the next few years—against ballistic missiles. Once they are launched, they cannot be destroyed or rendered harmless before they reach the target. Within the limitations of the accuracy and reliability of the missile itself, those which are successfully launched will reach their targets.

Next, the high speeds at which these missiles travel allow us to put weapons on designated targets within very short periods of time after the decision to launch has been made.

Third, missiles lend themselves more readily to protective measures against surprise attack. They can be dispersed down to a single missile per site, thereby providing hundreds of extremely small and difficult targets for the enemy. Our newer missiles can be placed underground-and whatever facilities must remain above ground can be readily hardened by steel and concrete shelters. Furthermore, later models lends themselves to the use of mobility and concealment-additional measures which, in combination with dispersal and hardening. will not only afford greater protection, but will also greatly compound the enemy's attack problem. These, in general, are the operational advantages which missiles will give us-and there is no doubt that they are substantial.

Now let us examine the other side of the ledger. Today, and I emphasize the word today, our ballistic missiles have not yet dem-

onstrated the type of reliability or accuracy LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF which is required to insure the most effecthe relatively small yield wartive use of heads which they carry. I said relatively small-actually there is nothing small about the nuclear warhead of an ICBM—until you compare it with the yield of some of the weapons which our manned bombers now

In missile operations, reliability is a major factor of system effectiveness. If a missile is to reach the target, it must be so designed that each one of its thousands of individual components operates perfectly. Missiles do not have the built-in emergency system which is automatically provided by the presence of man in an aircraft, and as a result, once the weapon leaves the launch pad, there is no further opportunity for troubleshooting or correcting malfunctions or com-Donent failures

A final characteristic which is not provided by missiles-and may never be-is the flexibility which the human element adds to the system. For example, aircraft can be launched anytime an attack appears imminent, and recalled if it fails to develop. Aircraft, en route, can divert from one target to another, if necessary—or in some cases attack multiple targets. Aircraft are not expended on a single mission. And finally, aircraft can perform reconnaissance and bomb damage assessment functions along with their other jobs. Missiles do not provide these things-and these are capabilities which are extremely important.

Our intention in the Air Force is to take advantage of the strong points of each system. The balance in favor of any one system over another will change over the years, deover another will change over the years, de-pending upon new developments and in-creased experience with newer systems. These changes will be directly reflected in our force structure. There is no question that missiles will eventually take over a major role in our defense forces. As far as we can see today, however, there always will be a requirement for a mixture of

manned and unmanned systems.

To sum it up-so that I do not leave you With any doubts in your mind on how we feel about missiles—the Air Force is making every effort to obtain a dependable and effective missile force. We recognize fully the tremendous advantages which such a force will bring to our defense capability. We are, however, taking great pains to be sure that We are not stampeded into accepting equipment which, when put to the task, is found wanting. The rate of change over to missiles, and the degree to which we finally convert our units, depend upon future progress in the areas which I have just discussed. Finally, there is no doubt that missiles will eventually comprise a major portion of our retaliatory force. On the other hand, there is no doubt, either, that manned vehicles Will be used to complement this capability for as long as you or I will be around to see it.

Thank you.

### CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

### CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44. SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the Congres-SIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take . Il needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the Congressional. RECORD semimonthly during the sessions Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME: ILLUS-TRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the Congressional Record the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

- 1. Arrangement of the daily Record.—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily Record as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: Provided, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered
- Type and style.—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the Congressional Record, in 71/2-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.
- 3. Return of manuscript.-When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

  4. Tabular matter.—The manuscript of
- speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following
- 5. Proof furnished .- Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than

six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. Notation of withheld remarks .- If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words - addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

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which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: Provided. That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. Corrections .- The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: Provided, That upon the final adjournment of each session Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: Provided further, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to

apply to conference reports.

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11. Estimate of cost.—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the Congressional Record by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, tele-grams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

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Mr. Justice Douglas, of Washington, 4852 Hutchins Pl.

Mr. Justice Clark, of Texas, 2101 Connecticut

Mr. Justice Harlan, of New York, 1677 31st St. Mr. Justice Brennan, of New Jersey, 3037

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homa, Utah, Wyoming.

# Appendix

# Henry Hudson's Explorations on the Delaware

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON: HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, today the Governors of New Jersey and New York will join with others in the opening of the Hudson celebration. Ninety days of events and ceremonies are about to begin; the entire Nation will be reminded that Henry Hudson explored, 350 years ago, the river which now bears his name.

All residents of New Jersey are justly proud of their portion of the Hudson-River shores. We have picturesque waterfront industry and a particularly beautiful portion of the Palisades along that great river. We join heartly today in this celebration.

But we would also like to point out that New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, too, have another reason for being proud during this tribute to Hudson. I am speaking of his explorations of the Delaware River.

It is true that this visitor from the Old World spent only a short time in this section of the New World, but I think that many tourists have since made up for his haste.

An article in the New York Times of June 7 tells about the explorer of 1609 and the visitors since then. I think the article is a clearcut invitation to those who have not yet seen the tranquil towns and beautiful scenery of the particular part of the Garden State described.

I ask unanimous consent to have this article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

HENRY HUDSON'S DELAWARE—FAMOUS EX-PLORER SAILED ALONG THIS RIVER AND AD-MIRED IT BEFORE DISCOVERING THE ONE THAT BEARS HIS NAME

### (By Benjamin Eisenstat)

LAMBERTVILLE, N.J.—The Hudson is not the only river entitled to a 350th anniversary this year. The Delaware can claim the same distinction. Henry Hudson investigated its lower reaches on August 28, 1609, about a week before he entered New York Bay and began his explorations of the stream that wears his name.

Hudson sailed up Delaware Bay in the Half Moon to the mouth of the river and then sailed on in, until shallows and rapids ahead suggested to him that he was not on the proper route for the Northwest Passage. Since that was what he was looking for, he went about and sailed out again.

He spent only a few hours in the Delaware River. But that was time enough for him to see and record that it was "one of the finest, best, and pleasantest rivers in the world."

Today, the Delaware still lives up to that description, as any motorist can see for himself by driving along its peaceful banks, particularly along the 100-mile stretch from Trenton up to Port Jervis, where the boundaries of Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey converge.

#### RESTFUL SCENERY

Between Trenton and Port Jervis the stream is bordered by restful countryside, and good roads run along the river's edge in both Pennsylvania on the western bank and Jersey on the east. Fifteen bridges join the two States along this length of the valley, and the driver who wants to do some exploring can meander back and forth as the spirit moves him.

In Jersey, the Kittatinny Mountains, and in Pennsylvania, the Poconos provide an impressive rolling backdrop for the river. Man, for once, has made attractive contributions to the scene. Several old canals running paralled to the Delaware provide a sort of scenic counterpoint, while the river bridges of lacelike ironwork and little wooden canal bridges are architectural grace notes.

The land is gentle but the history is violent. It mainly concerns the Lenni-Lenape Indians, who were duped by both the white settlers and by rival tribesmen, and who retallated with force and eventually became refugees of their own land.

The most legendary figure arising from this general animosity was one Tom Quick. Tom's father had been scalped while crossing the Delaware in the vicinity of what is now Milford, Pa. Young Tom vowed he would revenge the slaying by killing exactly 100 Indians.

### NOTCHES ON HIS GUN

As he began to carve notches on his gunstock, two factions came into being. Governmental officials promised that no Indian who killed Tom would be held accountable; Delaware Valley admirers of Tom kept score of his progress.

The ironic windup of Tom Quick's career came when he contracted pneumonia just after killing his 99th Indian. Delirious, he climbed from his bunk and fell to his knees before the doctor, pleading "for humanity's sake" that one more redskin be brought in for the final kill. Luckily for the Indians, early medical protocol did not prescribe the coddling of patients.

Another area character, whose contribution to Delaware River legend was more constructive although equally rugged, was Dan Skinner. Before the Revolution he felled lumber in the western Catskill foothills and rafted it down the Delaware to Easton and eventually to Philadelphia.

When he became too old for this rigorous task he organized a timber monopoly and as skillfully maneuvered his employees as he had guided his rafts. Before running any perllous passage in the river, rum was ladled out in sufficient quantity to make the raftsmen more daring and perhaps less mindful of cold water. The final payoff included a planned debauchery at the point of delivery. After such a spree the men were badly enough in need of funds to make the long trek back to the Catskills, over Indian paths, for another load of timber.

Viewing the doclle river today it is difficult to think of it as the riotous route of those old ironmen, as the steersmen were called. Still, there are stretches which justify the title. There is Wells Falls, for instance, about a mile below Lambertville. This is a boiling rapids, which in logging days was considered the most dangerous passage of the entire river.

At this season, it is also difficult to associate the Delaware with its most famous historical moment, the Christmas night crossing of Washington and his troops, 8 miles above Trenton. However, Washingon Crossing Park is maintained as a memorial to that turning point in the Revolution.

The greatest problem of the motorist on the Delaware's banks will be deciding which roads to travel and which bridges to cross. Although exploratory zeal may be dulled by too specific recommendations, there are locales which contain the essence of the Delaware River area.

Titusville, alongside Jersey State Route 29, is a little one-street village set aside between canal and river, actually, an island in itself. Its tall red-brick Presbyterian church looms over neat, white frame houses.

The entire extent of route 29 from Trenton to Frenchtown has that rustic aspect. In fact, one 3-mile stretch is not hard surfaced, and the slower driving conditions are compensated by the rambling semiprimitive charm of the roadside. Raven Rock, a tiny village along this unpaved length, has never been mentioned in any guidebook, yet its crude beauty is comparable to that found in the Kentucky hills. There are a few rough stone houses and wild, overgrown gardens.

### NARROW STREETS

Lambertville is the largest town on Route 29, and anyone interested in early Americana should probe its narrow streets. Modest gentility prevails. The houses are of painted brick, their entrances flush to the pavement. They have 2-story porches and other early 19th century features.

Again the driver is presented with the problem of choice: the unspoiled loveliness of Route 29 or tourist-conscious New Hope with its art galleries, objects d'art, art celebrities, and arty (but good) restaurants.

New Hope and its art colony brings to mind the many internationally famous American painters who were fascinated by this part of the Delaware River. Asher Durand, sometimes called the "father of American landscape painting," was one of the first to depict the Delaware Water Gap on canvas. But the most important renditions of that focal point of tourism were done by George Inness in the 1860's. His study of the Gap in the Metropolitan Museum includes a delineation of the aforementloned rafting activity.

### RIVER AND CANAL

The Pennsylvania side—State Route 32 and U.S. 611—is especially attractive from Frenchtown to Easton. The combination of wide river and narrow canal is irresistible to photographers and picnickers. Just 1 mile below Raubsville is the ultimate site for canal fanciers. Locks 22 and 23 are here, the last lifts in the 60-mile waterway from Bristol to Easton, and a more delightfully complicated combination of locks, spillways, and little bridges would be hard for the visitor to find.

On a larger scale, similarly complex architectural criss-crossing exists at Easton and Phillipsburg, where the Lehigh flows into the Delaware. A number of large bridges and dams form a semiabstract pattern that artistically and practically ties these two towns and two rivers into a cohesive unit.

Above Easton it is the driver's choice again, except that Belvidere, on the Jersey side, has a Victorian air of distinction, especially appealing to admirers of the ginger-bread era. On the same side of the river, Routes 46 and 611 provide the most comfortable, and perhaps the most scenic approaches to the Delaware Water Gap.

At the gap, the motorist is at the core of one of the principal vacation areas in the country. Yet this commercial phase is not overwhelmingly obvious. At present there is only one really big billboard defacing the green facade that looms over the roadway. Most of the resort advertisements are com-

paratively discreet.

On the Pennsylvania bank the road that extends from U.S. 402 at Minisink Hills through Shawnee is a roller-coaster route that has an advantage over the wider, flattened roads. One moment the rider is level with the river and then suddenly he looks down on it at sharp perspective. Cautious driving is the order and varied scenery is the reward. This particular stretch of road, begun by the first Dutch settlers, is the oldest in Monroe County.

U.S. 209 in Pennsylvania provides easy access to Port Jervis, and also offers tempting diversions from the river itself. This is an area of lakes and waterfalls and a visit to one of the falls provides a cooling break

of the falls provides a cooling break.

Bushkill Falls is typical. Labeled the "Niagara of Pennsylvania" it has not the girth of that waterway, but has its own, less

imposing charms.

U.S. 209 is now one of the best roads along the river, but it was once a trail connecting the Deleware and Susquehanna Rivers, and was used by the Delaware Indians on their long trek to the Wyoming Valley.

TWO FASCINATING MEN

Dingman's Ferry is a handsome village and its fascinating name stems from two early fascinating Dingmans, Andrew, who built a flatboat ferry with his ax in 1750, and David W., who was a judge and frequently held court sessions in his home, in bare feet and nightshirt.

At Port Jervis, U.S. 209 connects with U.S. 6, once part of the Old Mine Road, built before 1664 and leading from Kingston, N.Y., to the Delaware Water Gap, where copper mines were supposedly dug by the New Amsterdam

Dutch.

# Attacks on Mate Baffle Mrs. Strauss

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. BARRY GOLDWATER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, yesterday in the New York Journal American there appeared an excellent article by the eminent reporter Ruth Montgomery. This article deals with the life of Admiral Strauss, as explained through the lips of Mrs. Strauss.

Anyone who has any doubts about the fine American, gentlemanly qualities of this individual should read this article, because it presents Mr. Strauss in an entirely different light than he has been presented on the floor of the Senate. Even those of us who are genuinely in support of him have failed to bring out this facet of his life.

I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ATTACKS ON MATE BAFFLE Mrs. STRAUSS

(By Ruth Montgomery)

Washington, June 10.—Mrs. Lewis L. Strauss would undoubtedly find it easier to explain Einstein's theory of relativity than to understand how Senate critics can call her husband arrogant, secretive, or untruthful.

Devoted, talented Alice Hanauer Strauss knows the controversial Secretary of Commerce as a gay, humorous, fun-loving spouse who adores children, loves fishing and riding, and modestly conceals a generosity of magnificent proportions.

Moppets—and particularly his three grandchildren who call him Bop—return the Admiral's adoration. So, also, do a number of doctors who owe their medical education to the man who is now facing virulent, almost unprecedented attack in the U.S. Senate.

Mrs. Strauss, one of the few persons in the world who knows of her husand's unsung penchant for alding worthy, ambitious youngsters, has shared 36 happy, adventure-

some years with him.

They met in New York City shortly after Strauss' return from Belgium, where he had served Food Relief Administrator Herbert Hoover so ably that Kuhn, Loeb & Co. invited the 22-year-old "comer" to work for the banking firm.

Her father, a partner in the firm, brought Strauss home to dinner one night, and it was apparently love at first sight. Strauss even offered to help the pretty school girl with her Latin, but an unromantic teacher the next day found his translations a bit too free.

Tragedy touched their wedded years for the first time, when death claimed their 3year-old son, Jerome. Instead of wallowing in their grief, however, Mr. and Mrs. Strauss used the bank account which had been set up for their infant to help other children develop their talents.

Some of it went to aid high school students who would otherwise have been financially unable to continue their studies.

More of it was used to pay university expenses for bright, ambitious young men who yearned to become doctors. The future Commerce Secretary, in picking up the tab, made only one request of his beneficiaries. He hoped that when able to do so, each would aid some other worthy lad to study medicine.

One of the proudest moments in Strauss' life came a few months ago, when one of the physicians he had aided notified him that he was now ready to "fulfill my part of the bargain." He had already found a candidate who deserved and needed assistance.

During the lengthy Senate hearings on Strauss confirmation, testimony revealed that he had come to the rescue of two high school lads, working in a dingy brownstone basement in New York, who hoped to develop colored film. Strauss visited them there, liked their spark of ambition, arranged to finance their experiments. The result is Kodachrome film.

An artistic, sensitive man, Strauss executes exquisite pencil drawings, produces handsome chests and other fine cabinet work, and loves good music. He studied piano as a boy, and still enjoys playing a medley which

he laughingly calls his "thousand dollar piece."

At their 1,600-acre farm in nearby Virginia, Admiral and Mrs. Strauss share many hobbles:

Horseback riding, swimming, and fishing for big-mouth bass in the lake they built last year.

An ardent Izaak Walton fan who thrives on fly casting for brook trout, Strauss takes his three grandchildren (aged 3 to 7 along to let them trail fishing lines off the boat.

One of the traits which most endears him to his devoted wife is his rare ability to play with young children, and to talk seriously with older ones—without talking down.

He can scarcely wait for the leisure time to take his grandchildren on the kind of camping excursions which he and his wife used to enjoy with their only living son, Lewis Hanauer Strauss. In those nostalgic days, the Secretary developed a sportsman's talent for cleaning and cooking, as well as catching and eating the trout.

A self-taught farmer, his chief relaxation today is directing soil rotation and antierosion projects, and caring for his prize herd

of Black Angus cattle.

At the completion of his term as Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission last year, the Strausses had hoped to retire to a life of ease on their country estate. Instead, after nearly a lifetime of public service, he again answered President Eisenhower's call to duty.

Mrs. Strauss felt that he had earned his retirement, but like the loving spouse that she is, she left the decision entirely to her husband. She knew that he had superb training for the high post which his hero. Herbert Hoover, had once held when Strauss was his young assistant.

At least, she felt, this appointment could not become controversial. Famous last

words.

# National Wilderness Preservation System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. WALLACE F. BENNETT

OF UTAH

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an editorial entitled "One Thousand Four Hundred and Fifty-Four Square Miles of Utah Wilderness?" which was published in the Salt Lake Tribune of June 5, 1959.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

ONE THOUSAND FOUR HUNDRED AND FIFTY-FOUR SQUARE MILES OF UTAH WILDER-NESS?

The proposed national wilderness preservation system will protect, not damage, Etah's commercial interest, says Dr. Ira N. Gabrielson, chairman of the Citizens Committee on Natural Resources, Washington, D.C.

The committee, one of several lobby groups working for congressional adoption of the controversial bill (S. 1123), is circularizing all States affected by the proposal with similar reassuring statements.

The bill, says Dr. Gabrielson, continues existing grazing privileges in the national forests, it does not affect areas now open to lumbering, permits mining on national

forest lands involved if needed in the national interest and safeguards State water laws.

"Only seven areas in Utah will be involved \* \* \* 1,454 square miles, or about 1.7 percent of the State's 84,916 square miles," says the announcement.

These areas are also vital watersheds.

Five of the areas are already in the national parks system which are already unavailable for commercial use or exploitation. Included in the wilderness system, accord-

ing to Gabrielson's interpretation of the bill, are:

are:	
High Uintas Primitive Area (Na-	Acres
tional Forest)	240, 717
Dinosaur National Monument (also	FO 400
in Colorado)	50, 430
Zion National Park	143, 295
Bryce Canyon National Park	.36, 010
Capitol Reef National Monument	36, 133
Arches National Monument	34, 250
Rainbow Bridge Indian Roadless	01, 200
Area	390,000
Total	930, 835

The Rainbow Bridge Area would be included only if the Indians who own it so decide

The wilderness bill would require further study of the High Uintas Primitive Area before its inclusion in the permanent wilderness system, Dr. Gabrielson says.

Such a study is already underway of planned by the Forest Service and presumably the High Uintas will be changed eventually from a primitive area to a wilderness under a 19-year-old regulation known as U-1. The upgraded regulation permits grazing, fishing and hunting and other uses already underway but prohibits commercial timbering and use of airplanes and motor-boats except in special instances.

It is hoped that the delightfully scenic High Uintas will be fully protected in their

natural grandeur.

Any national park or monument with a contiguous area of at least 5,000 acres without roads would be potential wilderness under S. 1123. Actually, the National Park Service manages roadless areas in parks and monuments as wildernesses and changes are made only after long study and consideration of the public needs.

Declarations that the proposed wilderness system fits into the land use program already established on the public lands are impressive at first flush. However, a study of the bill fails to convince us that the national wilderness system is needed to accomplish the mild changes its backers pretend to seek. The primeval character of the wild areas of national parks and national forests are already being protected in most cases—perhaps better in some respects than they would be under the new wilderness bill.

A special problem keeps most Utahns opposed to the wilderness bill. The wilderness backers are dedicated to preventing any water storage inside Dinosaur National Monument and this, if continued, will deprive Utah of its fair and guaranted share of Yampa River water in the upper Colorado reclamation program. Solemn guarantees from the U.S. Government and its agents were made prior to and at the time the Dinosaur Monument was expanded up the Green and Yampa rivers.

The wilderness bloc is doing everything possible to seal up this source of precious

water from Utah.

Until a satisfactory alternative plan to Echo Park Dam is worked out, or an exception made to the no-water development rule in Dinosaur Monument, Utahns will not be tranquilized by Dr. Gabricken's happiness pills,

#### Increased Funds for Medical Research

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, one of the great challenges of our time is to invest enough in medical research generally, and in cancer research in particular, to make a major breakthrough in the realm of critical diseases.

An interesting and informative column on this vital topic was published in the Klamath Falls Herald and News of Klamath Falls, Oreg., of June 7, 1959, by Frank Jenkins, editor and publisher of that daily newspapers in my home State.

Mr. Jenkins has suggested that some of the funds required for medical research be obtained by economies practiced on such projects as the New Senate Office Building and other undertakings. While I myself am not an inhabitant of the New Senate Office Building, I cannot comment conclusively on this recommendation because I am informed by veteran Senators that additional quarters have been required. However, I do know that we are spending huge sums of the taxpayers' money for purposes far less urgent, far less essential, and far less crucial than medical research. In that respect,' Mr. Frank Jenkins has touched on a theme which all of us know to be basically true. Therefore, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the column by Mr. Jenkins from the Klamath Falls Herald and News of June 7 be printed in the Appendix of the

There being no objection, the column was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### IN THE DAY'S NEWS (By Frank Jenkins)

An interesting proposal was offered the other day by Senator RICHARD NEUBERGER, of Oregon, who urged the Congress to enact a broader program of cancer research as a fiting memorial to John Foster Dulles, America's great Secretary of State who was struck down by cancer at the very moment when his exceptional talents were most needed by his country.

Senator Neuberger—who himself has just emerged from a bout with the dreaded killer—was testifying at a Senate appropriations subcommittee hearing on a money bill for the Federal Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. He told his colleagues that an expansion of cancer research funds from \$75 million to \$109 million could be aimed at vanquishing the disease that took Dulles' life.

He added:

"Can we dare to pinch pennies in the face of a challenge like that?"

He was joined in his proposal by Senator LISTER HILL, of Alabama, chairman of the subcommittee, who pointed out that cancer has robbed the U.S. Senate of some of its greater leaders, including Senator Taft of Ohio, Senator Vandenberg of Michigan and many other distinguished and patriotic leaders.

Here's a thought:

Maybe we can accomplish what Senator Neuberger suggests by pinching some pennies—pennies that are being wasted.

For example:

There is the palatial new Senate Office Building on Capitol Hill. It was originally supposed to cost about \$20 million. Its final cost will be closer to \$30 million. Why?

Well, from all we can read in the papers, the job seems to have been very fuzzliy planned. The floors, it is said, were of a special rubber tiling. After the building was occupied, it was discovered that they were very noisy. The click of the secretaries' heels and the rattle of the electric typewriters made such a clatter that the Senator's couldn't think.

So it was proposed to lay carpets over the tile. But, that would cost \$150,000 extra, And the carpets would have been so thick that it would have been necessary to cut off 2 inches from the bottom of the costly oak doors so they would open. That would cost more more more.

And the new Senate Office Building called for a new subway from the Capitol Building, with cars to carry the Senators, so they wouldn't have to walk. So that was tackled. When it was about finished, it was discovered that it came into the Capitol Building at the wrong place. So the whole end of it had to be done over at a cost of some \$4 million.

And so on.

Here's what I'm getting at.

Things like these mean wasted pennies. In comparison with all the fabulous waste that goes on in our Federal Government, they are no more than pennies—although to us taxpayers out here in the brush they look like real money. Senator Byrn has been telling us for years that our whole Federal Government is shot through with waste like this—waste that could be avoided by the simple practice by our Federal Government of the kind of economy we all have to practice in our own private affairs.

I'm all for Senator Neuberger's proposal. I think it would be wonderful.

But I think it ought to be paid for by pinching pennies—the pennies that are wasted. In the fantastic, sprawling structure that we call our Federal Government there are plenty of wasted pennies to be pinched.

## Amendment of Transportation Act of 1958

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, the Senate Surface Transportation Subcommittee, on which I serve, has been conducting hearings recently on bills to amend the Transportation Act of 1958. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record three editorials dealing with the growing crisis in commuter transportation, which I believe are worthy of the attention of my colleagues in the Senate. The editorials are from the Newark Evening News of June 5, 1959, the Newark Star-Ledger of June 6, 1959, and the Philadelphia Inquirer of June 7, 1959

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Newark Evening News, June 5, 1959]

#### BUYING TIME

In 2 days of public hearings in Washington Senators Case and Williams and other spokesmen for New Jersey commuters urged adoption of amendments designed to brake the service abandonment processes of the Transportation Act of 1958.

They had no hope of persuading Congress to withdraw from the Interstate Commerce Commission its new power to approve abandomment of unprofitable intrastate passenger service that becomes a burden on interstate commerce. At most, they were seeking delay, to give State and local governments time to resolve commuter problems.

Meanwhile, back in New Jersey where these problems are at their most critical, Perry M. Shoemaker, president of the Lackawanna, said at a public utilities commission hearing that his railroad would wait a reasonable length of time before pressing its plans to discontinue all commuter service.

The Lackawanna, he said, would wait for the results of the study being made by the newly created State division of transportation and for the special message on rapid transit that Governor Meyner had indicated he would send to the legislature at a special session July 27.

In Mr. Shoemaker's observations, as at the Washington hearings, the emphasis was on allowing time—reasonable time—for public authority to act.

Listen to the railroad presidents and you sometimes get the idea that they think the passenger deficit is an insoluble problem, no matter what State and local officials do about it.

Mr. Shoemaker's let's wait and see suggests that he, at least, still has hope. So between railroad reasonableness and government action, if it comes, maybe the commuters can hope, too.

#### [From the Newark Star-Ledger, June 6, 1959] CHANGES IN ORDER

The railroads have made no secret of their intention to use the Transportation Act of 1958 to try to curtail their commuter operations. The Interstate Commerce Commission is expected to be flooded with abandonment requests. And the flood is expected to be of such proportions that the Transportation Act is now being subjected to a close second look.

Under the act, service could be suspended within 30 days unless the ICC intervened. The act also requires the ICC to complete its investigations within 4 months, and it fails to require any public hearing.

New Jersey's two Senators, Harrison A. Williams, a Democrat, and Clippord Case, a Republican, are argeed that changes in this act should be made—before it is too late to save rail commuter service in the State.

The principal points of attack are on the 4-month limit on ICC investigations and on the failure to provide for a public hearing.

The time limit was set in order to prevent dragging out a case unnecessarily. The railroads are entitled to as prompt as possible a decision on their applications. Where this can be accomplished in less than 4 months, it certainly should be. But the number of applications and the complexity of the problems make it doubtful that many investigations can be satisfactorily completed within the prescribed limit.

If the ICC is to exercise any sound judgment, if it is to act in an informed and intelligent manner in protecting the public interest, it needs enough time to look into the railroads' claims and to investigate each application thoroughly. Otherwise, the ICC

may step in to continue operations in which there is ample justification for abandonment—or may permit abandonment in cases where there is insufficient justification for it.

As far as a public hearing goes, it seems only elemental justice to allow the public's side to be heard. The commuting public has a vital stake in what happens to the railroads, and that stake should entitle the public to present its case.

Suggesting these two changes to the Transportation Act in no way minimizes the seriousness of the rail commuter crisis nor disputes the railroads' need for help. And the suggestions certainly should not be taken as indicating any preference for dawdling or delay in coming to grips with the problem. They are intended, rather, to keep the trains running until adequate assistance to the railroads can be worked out.

If too much time is needed to put through a permanent plan, a temporary program of relief should be instituted so that essential service can be retained without further damaging the financial health of the railroads.

#### [From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Inquirer, June 7, 1959]

## June 7, 1959] Helping Hand for Rail Commuters

A five-story parking space covering all land in New York from the Battery to 52d Street would be required to accommodate New Jersey rail commuters to Manhattan if they should travel by automobile instead of by train.

Senator CLIFFORD P. Case of New Jersey, placed that picture to a Senate subcommittee the other day to dramatize the necessity for Federal action to preyent further disintegration of commuter rail service.

Mr. Case could also have mentioned the disastrous consequences to highways, bridges and tunnels in the New York area if this increased tide of vehicular traffic would be suddenly thrust upon it.

What was said about New York's commutation problems could be said also to a large extent about our own in the Philadelphia metropolitan area. If rail passenger service were to be cut off and users forced to drive to and from the central city every day, our highways and parking spaces would come nowhere near to accommodating them.

Senator Case and a host of other Congressmen, State officials, and suburbanites who appeared before the Senate Surface Transportation Subcommittee, want something done before matters arrive at a serious point. They want commuter rail service preserved, and they want the Federal Government to help preserve it. The railroads are not averse to help, but they differ somewhat on how the aid should be applied.

The New Jersey Senator is pressing for adoption of a bill in Congress that would make it a little more difficult for railroads to curtail passenger service. He was supported before the committee, among others, by Pennsylvania's attorney general, Alpern, representing Governor Lawrence.

resenting Governor Lawrence.

Under the 1958 Transportation Act, rail hervice can be dropped within 30 days after notice is filed with the Interstate Commerce Commission, unless that agency intervenes. An ICC investigation, however, must be completed within 4 months, and a decision is valid only 1 year. Public hearings are not required. The Case bill would eliminate the time limits and place the burden of proof in curtailment cases on the railroads. It would also require that all revenues of a railroad in a given State be considered by the ICC in commuter curtailment cases.

Where hardship is proved in the continuance of unprofitable and little-used service, there seems as little sense as justice in forcing a railroad to maintain passenger lines. But before any commuter line is abandoned, or service on it radically curtailed, efforts

should be made to keep it operable with governmental help.

Local assistance may be afforded in the limited degree now in effect in Philadelphia on the city-subsidized Chestnut Hill branches. Or it may take on more elaborate forms. A city served by a rail line may take over the railroad on a lease arrangement, retaining the management as the operator and fixing its own fare rates.

Federal aid may also be in a variety of forms, and many of these have been suggested in Congress. The Interstate Commerce Commission has suggested relief for the passenger lines from Federal taxes; greater use of trains by the Defense and Post Office Departments; and congressional review of labor relations in the rall industry. Featherbedding practices have been a costly abuse.

Philadelphia and New York are among the big cities urgently in need of improved mass transportation plans.

Railway passenger service is a key part of such systems and can no more be elided from them than adequate approach roads can. But unless commuter rail lines are maintained, indispensable tools to build a mass transport system will be missing.

## An Unholy Alliance at Work

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. BARRY GOLDWATER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, appearing in the May 20 issue of the Phoenix (Ariz.) Gazette is an interesting editorial on the rather sordid affair we are going through in the Senate, in which we find Americans doubting the American qualities of one of the best Americans of this generation. The editorial is entitled "An Unholy Alliance at Work." I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### AN UNHOLY ALLIANCE AT WORK

One of the dirtiest episodes in Washington history has reached the halfway mark with the Senate Commerce Committee's 9 to 8 vote to recommend confirmation of Lewis L. Strauss's appointment as Secretary of Commerce. A further attempt to "get" Strauss will be made when the nomination goes before the full Senate. What happens will tell a lot about the sources of power in the Senate.

Strauss is thoroughly qualified to be Secretary of Commerce. Neither his sincerity nor his ability has ever been successfully questioned. The opposition to him is the product of a coalition of malice converging from three directions.

The least reprehensible source is partisan politics. Some Democrats have unlimbered against Strauss for no other reason than that they see a chance to embarrass a Republican President. They hope to give the public the idea that Mr. Eisenhower is attempting to pack his Cabinet with undesirable characters. This is politics with the gloves off, but it is still only politics.

The other two fountainheads of opposition are more vicious, more dangerous to the welfare of the country. It is only incidental that they involve mostly persons who call

themselves Democrats, without any real right to the label. They are actually Socialists, or worse. One group has been laying for Strauss ever since Strauss supported withdrawal of security clearance in 1954 from the ideologically unstable Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, associate of Communists and darling of the "liberajs." The other group was maddened by Strauss' policy as head of the Atomic Energy Commission to encourage development of private enterprise instead of Federal ownership.

The question now is whether the regular Democrats in the Senate will put politics ahead of principle by supporting the more malodorous factions in a combined assault on a good man's character. If they do, good government will suffer, for when good men form a coalition with bad, some of the good disappears.

#### How Has Inflation Hurt You?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. WALLACE F. BENNETT

OF UTAH

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an editorial entitled "How Has Inflation Hurt You?" which was published in the Deseret News of June 6, 1959.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

How Has Inflation Hurt You?

Readers of the Deseret News have been invited to write the editor describing how they have been hurt by inflation, and urging Congress to keep the economy sound. The writer of the best letter will be flown to Washington, expense free, to meet with Members of his State's congressional delegation and with congressional committees responsible for spending policies—as well as, of course, to do some sightseeing.

A few words may be appropriate at this time as to the reason for this project.

As Senator Harry F. Byrd and others who are worried about heavy spending have pointed out, there is no lack of pressure on Congress to spend. The housing, farm, veterans and other such lobbies are/well-organized, skilled, and persistent. They represent—or at least seem to represent—votes in great quantities. Rare is the Member of Congress who can stand firm for long against that kind of pressure.

By contrast, the great masses of Americans who have such a tremendous stake in fiscal integrity are unorganized and voiceless. Few of them take time to sit down and write the letter that might stiffen a Congressman's spine. There is little pressure to hold spending down—and no assurance of votes for the Members of Congress who vote against spending

ing.

It is to bring that kind of pressure into focus that the Desert News urges the writing of anti-inflation letters. All letters will be

passed on to our congressional delegation.
We seek no scholarly economic treaties.
The economics of inflation need no emphasis.

Well-known is the fact that with only two bona fide exceptions, Government has engaged in deficit financing each of the past 29 years.

Well-known are these facts, too: That nearly 40 million people will receive direct payments from the Federal Treasury this year—constituting, together with their families, probably half the entire population; that business, industry, private finance, agriculture, transportation, power, health, education, States, localities, and individuals are all subsidized from Federal funds; that such subsidy programs now total 62, compared to only one—highways—25 years ago.

Most people, and certainly virtually all lawmakers, know already that nondefense spending has jumped an alarming \$12½ billion in the past 5 years, that hidden and direct taxes now take about a third of the average family income, and that, despite heavy taxes, this year's Federal deficit will be about \$12 billion—more than the Federal Government's total expenditures just 20 years ago.

And most people are painfully aware that the result of this gargantuan spending is the loss of more than half of any money they had managed to save 20 years ago.

they had managed to save 20 years ago.

These are economic facts that cannot be explained or excused away. But they don't seem, somehow to impress most lawmakers. The spending lobbyists are too loud, too insistent. So spending goes on, ever higher.

What we want is to hear about the results of these unhappy statistics on individual lives.

We want to hear from the widow whose husband thought he was leaving her well provided for, but who now has to work in her elderly years to eke out a living. We want to hear from the father who

We want to hear from the father who struggled conscientiously to meet insurance payments years ago to protect his family, and who now realizes the amount of protection he bought is no longer nearly enough.

We want to hear from the student whose parents stashed away money for a college education when he was young—and who now can't begin to make ends meet.

We want to hear from the white collar worker and the teacher, whose salary doesn't begin to keep up with inflation.

We want to hear from the professional man who set himself up a handsome retirement program years ago—and who finds that retirement is now but a dream.

We want to hear from all those who have been hurt by that "most cruel of all taxes," creeping inflation. If we hear from enough, and if other newspapers and Members of Congress elsewhere hear from enough, perhaps the beginning of a turn in the trend toward bigger and bigger Government spending can be achieved.

## They Talk a Good Game

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following excellent editorial which appeared in the June 1 issue of Barron's:

ERRANT DONKEY-THE 86TH CONGRESS HAS LOST ITS WAY

Early in January, after some especially eloquent speechmaking, by Senator Lyndon Johnson, Democrat, of Texas, Barron's was moved to observe that the 86th Congress, whatever else it might do, undoubtedly would set a new record for oratory. In a much-publicized victory address to his colleagues—hailed at the time as his state of the Union message—Senator Johnson scathingly attacked the Elsenhower administration for looking to the past, and failing to "serve the

future." By contrast, he assured the Nation, the Democratic majority, acting upon its overwhelming mandate, would exercise "confident and creative and constructive leadership—beginning now, not 2 years hence," in such realms as distressed areas, unemployment and the rate of U.S. economic growth. Through command of the legislative process, the lawmaker wound up in a burst of rhetoric, "we shall add strength to our Nation, our world, and our times."

Seldom have a politician's words, in so short a span, proved so painfully empty. After 5 months in session, the new Legislature has pitifully little to point to in the way of a record. Indeed, neglect of the commonweal, most notably in agriculture, housing and highways, has grown so marked that the President, in a sharply worded special message last month, felt dutybound to prod the laggard majority. That the 86th Congress should turn out to be a "do-nothing" body is, in the circumstances, fine irony, the significance of which should not be lost on the voters. For its failure to act, as all the foregoing suggests, reflects no lack of will to act. Rather it reflects the utter collapse of the party platform so confidently hammered out a few months ago by the Senator from Texas. In its quest for great national issues, to change the metaphor, the donkey has lost its way. Instead of leading the Na tion forward, it has been trotting off in all the wrong directions.

A glance at the brave speeches made by the Democratic high command last winter underscores the striking contrast between its words and its deeds. Besides the glit-tering generalities cited above, Senator JOHNSON in January outlined a detailed 12point program to his colleagues on the Hill, urging, among other things, a measure to succor distressed areas; a large-scale program of housing and urban renewal; "a bill to protect honest, constructive labor from the selfish schemes of the racketeers"; and a fresh approach to farm policy. quent weeks, at the behest of ranking party spokesmen and their powerful constituents other planks were added. Thus, in recent months the Democrats have taken a strong stand on such burning issues of the day as the persistence of high unemployment and the slow rate of U.S. economic growth. Similarly, their military experts have deplored the failure of the White House meet the challenge of the so-called missile Both at home and abroad, the Nation has been led to believe it needs measures which are "courageous," "bold," and "new,"

Rarely was a call to arms more stirring. Yet somehow, as the months have passed, the summons has gone unheeded, the clarion has died away. To put the matter bluntly, Congress thus far has little to show for its labors. True, measures dealing with depressed areas, airports, and housing have passed both Chambers. In all three cases, however, the House and Senate versions differ widely and both tend to clash with the views of the administration. Hence their fate is, at best, uncertain. To date, moreover, such genuinely pressing matters as revamping the farm program and financing Federal highway construction virtually have gone by default. Indeed, the majority party has shown its vaunted vigor in only one sphere of Government, namely, in harassing appointees of the President. "We shall win respect by our vision, not by our vendettas; by courage, not by carping," said Senator Johnson in a memorable passage last winter. That will be news to Clare Booth Luce and Secretary of Commerce Lewis Strauss.

The great crusade, then, somehow has been long on promises but short on performance. One reason, surely, is the astonishing ineptness shown by the party in choosing its issues. Thus the Democrats have accused the White House of failing to provide an adequate national defense; how-

ever, the widely feared Berlin deadline has come and gone but with no breach of the peace. Leftwing economists have prated long and loud about the lagging rate of U.S. industrial growth; in 1959, however, barring a steel strike, national output of goods and services could rise at a record peacetime rate to an alltime high. At the behest of the AFI-CIO, the majority has raised the specter of an army of permanent jobless, only to find their ranks, under the impact of mounting prosperity, thinning fast. Time and again, it would seem, the knight has donned his shining armor, only to discover a woeful shortage of dragons.

Where courageous action truly has been called for, contrariwise, the Democrats have shirked their duty. Thus, as President Eisenhower pointed out in his message last month, Congress has been dragging its heels financing Federal roadbuilding. Instead of raising the gasoline tax to keep receipts and outlays in balance, as the law requires, the majority desperately is seeking some bold new expedient, such as dodging the issue for another year or raiding the Treasury. Still more flagfant has been its malingering on farm legislation, notably with respect to price supports for wheat. Owing to the refusal of Capitol Hill to face up to its responsibilties, the legal deadline for lowering support levels twice has come and gone. As a consequence, the United States for yet another year will be saddled with a costly, unworkable law which the White House rightly has described as "thoroughly discredited.'

Much the same, in conclusion, might be said of the whole Democratic program. In the fitting words of the Book of Common Prayer, the party has left undone those things which it ought to have done; and it has done those things which it ought not to have done. To judge by the election returns, the donkey knows well enough how to win at the polls. To judge by the record to date of the 86th Congress, the majority has yet to prove that it is fit to govern.

Statement of William McChesney Martin, Jr., Chairman, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, Before the Ways and Means Committee, House of Representatives, June 11, 1959

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, as a further informational aid to Members of Congress and our citizens, I am submitting for the Record the statement of William McChesney Martin, Jr., Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System before the Committee on Ways and Means on the subject of debt management proposals. His sound views will be of great interest and help, I am sure, to everyone who is a student of this proposal.

STATEMENT OF WILLIAM MCCHESNEY MARTIN, JR., CHAIRMAN, BOARD OF GOVERNORS OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM, BEFORE THE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE, HOUSE OF REPRE-SENTATIVES, JUNE 11, 1959

Mr. Chairman, at the outset, I should like to state that the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System agrees that the debt management proposals transmitted to you by the President are necessary and desirable and we urge their favorable consideration.

There are only a few points that I would like to make, but before turning to them, I think it is important that you should understand that I come before you in connection with these proposals not as spokesman for the administration, but as Chairman of the Board of Governors.

We are living today in a country of unprecedented wealth. It is wealthy, in part, because of abundant natural resources; and, in part, because of the energy and initiative of our people. An even more important distinction between the United States and most other countries is the size and quality of the accumulated stock of capital goods in the hands of producers and consumers. Due to past saving, we enjoy the benefits which flow from a reservoir of housing and durable goods in the hands of consumers, of public facilities, such as highways, school buildings, and waterways, and of industrial plant and equipment. The society in which we live has been popularly characterized as affluent, and despite our proper concern for certain depressed areas, both economic and geographic. I am sure that we can all agree with this characterization.

One consequence of affluence is exposure to instability in the pace of general activity and also in interest rates which rise in periods of boom and decline in periods of recession. In a very poor economy, where everyone must work as hard as he can to eke out a bare living, additions to stock of capital are largely made by diverting effort directly to production of capital goods. Such borrowing and lending as does take place, is effected at interest rates which we would regard as fantastically high. In this type of economy, there is little threat of instability except from natural causes. A drought or an unusually good season may produce relative poverty or plenty. But everyone is always fully employed and the range of economic fluctuation will tend to be fairly small.

The greater the accumulation of wealth the greater are the possibilities for economic fluctuation. These may stem from shifts in the peoples' preferences among the wide range of expenditure opportunities open to them, from changing attitudes toward saving and investment, from overspeculation which undermines the solvency of financial institutions, or, perhaps on some occasions, simply from the arrival at a point where even a high rate of technical innovation fails to induce investment decisions adequate to sustain capital expansion.

It is not surprising that, in a free and wealthy economy, we are unable to counterbalance perfectly, through changes in public policy, the wide shifts that can take place. We always have had, and, I think, always will have, changes in the pace of our economic progress. We can and should work to reduce these fluctuations and strive for the goal of stable growth. At the same time, however, we must recognize that it is highly unlikely that we shall ever achieve perfection.

Fluctuations in our economy express themselves in various ways, and we attempt to gage them by various statistical measures. If we look at the movements in any of the broad measures of economic activity and compare then with fluctuations in interest rates, the conclusion is inescapable that interest rates tend generally to move upward in periods of prosperity and downward in times of recession or arrested growth. Hence, concerned as we may be about the impact of rising interest rates on the burden of the public debt or on necessitous borrowers, we must recognize that rising interest rates are, in fact, a symptom of broad prosperity and rapid economic growth.

Since the stabilization of monetary systems in key countries after World War II, interest rates have shown a rising trend throughout the industrial nations of the free world. This has been a period of great economic growth, very active demands for credit, further monetary expansion, and continuing, though perhaps abating, inflationary pressures: Throughout the period, interest rate levels in other industrial countries have been higher than in the United States. This past year's rise in interest rate levels here, accompanying economic recovery, has been in contrast to some decline in interest rate levels in Western European countries, where a modest recession came somewhat later than in the United States and Canada.

In the United States, the rise in interest rates has affected all types and maturities of debt instruments. Yields on long-term securities have generally risen by about 2 percentage points since the low point reached shortly after the end of the war. Yields now range from 4 to 4½ percent on U.S. Government securities of long- and medium-term, over 4½ percent on many outstanding Asa corporate bonds, and average over 5 percent on outstanding Baa corporate bonds. New issues necessarily have to be offered to investors at higher rates.

Despite their recent upward movement, interest rates in the United States are still at levels comparable with those prevailing during much of our history. Long-term rate movements since last summer have been within the range of the period from the early part of this century through 1930. The level is still substantially lower than during- most of the nineteenth century. From a historical viewpoint, the present level of rates can hardly be regarded as "out of line" for a period of wide prosperity and growth.

In comparing present rate levels with those of past periods, one of the important things sometimes overlooked is the effect of our necessarily high tax structure on the effective rate of interest. For example, if both the borrower and lender are subject to the 52 percent tax on corporate profits the borrowers' net cost and the lenders' net return is a little less than half of the expressed rate. Thus, a market rate of say, 4 percent, implies for both parties a net rate of a little less than 2 percent. On its own taxable bonds, the Federal Government, through the income tax, recaptures a substantial share of the interest it pays. When we look at interest rates in long-term perspective, we must bear in mind that net yields after taxes are lower today than a comparison of market rates would suggest, because of the fact that taxes are higher.

Aggressive demands for financing, which, as I have said, are characteristic of prosperous times, represent efforts to attract resources away from current consumption in return for the payment of interest. In a free economy, no matter how affluent, it follows that, when borrowers attempt to attract a larger share of the total product for their purposes, they will have to pay for doing it.

The presence of strong demands on the credit markets from borrowers of all kinds does create a difficult financial problem. Recently credit demands have been pressing on the banking system, and the banks have been accommodating a growing volume of loans. As borrowers have sought accommodation banks have raised their prime rate from 4 to 4½ percent. This is the interest rate that banks charge top-quality customers on short-term mans.

More recently, the discount rate of the Federal Reserve Banks has been raised from 3 to 3½ percent. The discount rate is the interest rate that is charged by a Federal Reserve Bank when a member bank borrows money from it. This money is often called high-powered money. It is high-powered because it is credited directly to the reserve

account of a member bank, and, unless used to finance a payment of currency into public circulation or an outflow of gold or some other development which drains the member bank reserve base, it forms the basis for a multiple expansion of bank credit and money.

For some months, we have been having rapid expansion of bank credit and money, based largely on borrowed reserve funds. The seasonally adjusted money supply-demand deposits at banks plus currency in circulation—has increased by more than \$2 billion in the last 4 months, an annual rate of growth of about 5 percent. In the face of developing high-level prosperity and the potential threat of inflationary boom, the Federal Reserve should not be in the position of encouraging an undue expansion of bank credit and money. Hence, the appropriate discount rate under present cir-cumstances is one that does not encourage member bank borrowing and is generally above current rates on short-term market obligations, such as bills.

It is sometimes asserted that the Federal Reserve System should step in and halt the upward trend of interest rates resulting from active demands for loans by supplying sufficient Federal Reserve credit in one form or another to keep interest rates from rising. This cannot be done without promoting inflation-indeed without converting the Federal Reserve System into an engine of in-

When such a program was adopted during and following the war, it did succeed for a time in actually pegging interest rates on Government obligations. But, at the same time it promoted and facilitated the dangerous bank credit and monetary expansion that developed under the harness of direct price, wage, and material controls. The suppressed inflation that resulted, we are now well aware, burst forth eventually in a very rapid depreciation of the dollar and even threatened to destroy our free econ-

This experience is very recent and the effects are widely and well remembered. It is now very doubtful whether the Federal Reserve System could, in fact, peg interest rates on Government obligations under today's conditions even if we accepted the inflationary costs, which would be high and would eventually lead to severe collapse. It is certain that the Federal Reserve could not extend interest rate stability to all markets.

The trouble is that the world has learned from wartime inflationary experience. It now knows that inflation follows any effort to keep interest rates low through money creation as the night follows the day. Any attempt on the part of the Federal Reserve to peg rates today would be shortly followed by an acceleration of the outflow of gold in response to demands from abroad, by further diversion of savings from investment in bonds and other fixed interest obligations into stocks and other equities, and by a mounting of demnds for borrowed funds in order to speculate in equities and to beat the higher prices and costs anticipated in the future.

Those familiar with the investment markets will confirm to you that such developments would inevitably follow a Federal Reserve attempt to peg interest rates. A simtremendous volume of bank reserves Would have to be thrown into the market through Federal Reserve open market purchases in the attempt to stem the upward pressure on interest rates. As these reserves enhanced inflationary pressures even further,\_ the rush from money and fixed obligations into gold and physical property as well as the mounting demands for credit to reap speculative profits and to hedge against future inflation would overwhelm even the most heroic efforts to hold interest rates

down. Ultimately, if the gold reserve requirements to which the Federal Reserve is now subject were eliminated, the System might acquire a large proportion of publiclyheld Government debt of over \$200 billion in this way. True, the interest rate on Government obligations might be said in some distorted sense to have been stabilized by such an operation. Interest rates generally, however, would spiral upward as they always have in every major inflation.

People who save will be unwilling to lend their money at low interest rates even when they expect the depreciation in the value of their dollars to be limited. This is understandable. Take, for example, a corporate financial institution subject to a 52-percent tax. The after tax income from a bond yielding 41/4-percent interest would amount to just a little over 2 percent with the dollar stable in value. If this potential investor had reason to fear that the value of the dollar would depreciate even 1 percent a year, his real return would be very low. If the investor had reason to expect a price rise of just over 2 percent a year, his real return would become negative. Investors are alert Investors are alert today to this way of figuring interest returns.

It might be added that to suggest that holding interest rates down by supplying the banking system with reserves through Federal Reserve open market purchases of Government securities, on the one hand, and taking them away with higher reserve requirement increases, on the other, represents a fundamental misunderstanding of how the credit system functions. Obviously, if the net effects on the credit base are, in fact, offsetting, they make no net addition to the total supply of bank credit, nor do they reduce the demands of borrowers. If they are not fully offsetting, the net result would be inflationary. We are all acutely aware of the gigantic size of the publicly held debt that is outstanding and available to provide a basis for such monetary inflation. There is no magic formula by which we can eat our cake and have it too.

If the Federal Government should substitute artificially created money for savings in an effort to prevent interest rates from rising, it would have a reverse effect. It would worsen the very situation that the action was intended to relieve. If you really want to encourage rising interest rates, you have only to follow the prescription of those who argue that interest rates on Government or any other obligations can be pegged by inflating

the money supply.

In connection with this discussion, it should be reemphasized that the Federal Reserve System does not like high rates of interest. We are anxious, always, that interest levels be as low as is consistent with sustained high levels of economic activity, with a steady rise in our national well-being. and with reasonable stability for value for the dollar. We cannot, moreover, put interest rates where we would whatever our likes. Federal Reserve policies can, of course, influence interest rates to some extent through their influence on the rate at which the banking system can add to the credit and money supply. The effectiveness of Federal Reserve policies is always subject to the reaction of borrowers and savers as expressed through the market,

In an economy in which people are alert and sensitive to price changes, the only way to bring about a lower level of interest rates is to increase the flow of real savings or to decrease the amount of borrowing. One important way to do this is to reduce substantially the deficit at which the Government is operating. This will not only relieve immediately some of the demand pressures that are pushing interest rates up in credit markets, it will also reassure savers as to the future value of the money they put in bonds and savings institutions and thus increase the flow of savings into interest-bearing obligations.

The proposals before you do not relate to the levels of rates which will prevail in the market, but rather to whether or not the Government shall be able to use savings bonds and marketable bonds effectively as parts of its program of debt management. The forthright management of the public debt is an essential part of any program to, encourage savings and lower interest rates. We should not force the Treasury to resort to undesirable expedients in order to comply with arbitrary ceilings on either the size of the debt or the rate of interest it pars.

International levels of interest rates among industrial countries are now more closely alined than in earlier postwar years. This realinement, together with removal of most restrictions on the movement of capital, reflects progress toward a closer relationship among international money markets. which is the financial counterpart of progress toward sustained growth in output and trade in the free world generally. It also signifies a state of affairs in which capital demands are becoming international in scope and in which they will converge rapidly on the mar-ket that is cheapest and most readily prepared to accommodate them. Under these circumstances, interest rates in this country must increasingly reflect worldwide as well as domestic conditions. We need to remember that today the dollar

the anchor of international financial sta-That anchor must be solid. Realistic financial policies of Government are essential to that end as well as to the end of a wealthy and strong domestic economy. this juncture of world development, the least evidence of an irresponsible attitude on the part of the United States toward its financial obligations or of its unwillingness to face squarely the issues which confront it in meeting greater demand pressures on re-sources and prices, would have very serious repercussions throughout the free world.

## The Cuban Land Reform

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, the new Cuban agrarian reform law has been the subject of a great deal of comment in the press. No one can be certain at this juncture whether the land will be expropriated with payment of fair compensation or confiscated with only token payments made to present landowners.

I ask unanimous consent that the excellent editorial on this subject appearing in yesterday's New York Times be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

[From the New York Times, June 10, 1959] THE CUBAN LAND REFORM

The Cuban agrarian reform law has now been promulgated and consequently must be accepted as substantially definitive. It is a drastic law which expropriates much land, some of it American owned, but Cuban landowners will be the greatest sufferers.

As a measure of social justice land reform is the most obvious of all policies, and it is taking place all over the world. Far from being a communistic measure, it can be the best possible answer to communism by stealing the Red thunder. In Cuba an agrarian reform was long overdue. Cuba's right to expropriate land within her own borders cannot be questioned.

The real question is whether this is a good and just agrarian reform law and whether, in accordance with internationally accepted practice, the Cuban Government is giving prompt and adequate compensation for the property expropriated. That many Cubans are critical, discontented, and frightened by the law is obvious. The chief fear is the great power placed in the hands of the Agrarian Reform Institute, whose leaders will form an autocracy within the Cuban state.

So far as compensation is concerned, it is hard to understand how Premier Castro can believe that payment in 20-year, 4 percent peso bonds whose proceeds must be reinvested in Cuba can be considered prompt or adequate compensation. To use the tax-assessed value of the property, which in every country is less than the true operational and market value, is most unjust. Moreover, nothing is said in the law bout compensation for the installations, railways, roads, firigation works, and the like of the sugar mills and plantations.

Fortunately, the implementation of the law and adjustment of details leave many openings for improvement, both in the realm of legal justice and of practical operation. For Premier Castro and his government a great deal depends on the success of the land reform. As it stands, one must seriously doubt whether it can ever be a success.

#### Rochester, 125 Years a City

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, one of the Nation's finest cities, Rochester, N.Y., is celebrating its 125th anniversary this week. This outstanding city, located on Lake Ontario at the mouth of the Genesee River, is widely renowned for its institutions of education and music, its highly skilled manufacturing, its exceptional public parks, and its wonderful community spirit.

I am proud and honored to represent in Congress a portion of the wonderful city of Rochester and I wish to call attention to this historic event.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial on this subject from the Rochester Times-Union, dated June 8, 1959:

[From the Rochester Times-Union, June 8, 1959]

As We See IT—Rochester, 125 Years Young, Sees a Bright Future

The first permanent settlement of Rochester at the Genessee Falls was actually established in 1812, but it did not become a full-fledged city until 1834. This is the event whose 125th anniversary is celebrated this week in a series of historical programs.

An age of 125 years is not particularly old for a city, even in America. Yet it is time enough to discover an urban character accounting for past success and promising an even orighter future.

#### DACT TEPOPE

Rochesterians who face challenges today can find much to inspire them in the record of leaders who brought the tiny settlement to city status in 1834.

These men conquered disease and fire, the competition of other communities, crime and vice, political battles, financial difficulties, unemployment, and a full quota of doubters

They built well on Rochester's physical assets of river and canal and its moral assets of, in the word of the first mayor, Jonathan Child, "economy, industry, and perseverance."

Mayor Child reflected at the first meeting of the new city council, "Well may we indulge an honest pride as we look back upon our history, and let the review elevate our hopes and animate our exertions."

And well may we do the same today, 125 years later.

Since then, the city has grown greatly. Geographical Rochester extends far beyond governmental Rochester in a bustling, industrious, imaginative community of nearly 600,000 souls.

What assets there are to build on to-

A broad industrial base of properous firms where highly-skilled workers push ahead yearly to new peaks of productivity and earning power.

A civic spirit that can produce \$4½ million for a community chest drive almost routinely, which faces and solves social problems with imagination and determination.

. A superb cultural tradition of excellent schools, fine music, and all the arts that brighten civilization.

Leaders who are unafraid to risk career and capital in the rebuilding of a community to overcome urban troubles of the 20th century.

There is much yet to do, and there are hesitations and rivalries and competing interests, of course. But there is also an underlying unity of faith in a dynamic community's brilliant prospects.

#### BEST TO COME

This unity is Rochester's greatest asset, which Mayor Child described 125 years ago in this fashion:

"Surely, in the prosperity of our young city, we have a common interest. Here the fortunes of us all are embarked on a common bottom, and it cannot be too much to expect a union of counsels and exertions to secure their safety."

## Memorial Day Address by Hon. John Fite Robertson at Sarasota, Fla.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JAMES A. HALEY

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, on Memorial Day, 1959, the American people gathered together at appropriate places in our Nation to reflect upon the blessings of our democratic way of life and to pay tribute to those brave men and women who have defended and protected that way of life. In our communities memorial addresses were heard. No doubt the thoughts set forth in those speeches were similar.

In my hometown of Sarasota, Fla., the memorial address was presented by my good friend the Honorable John Fite Robertson, distinguished citizen and public servant. The gentleman comes from the pioneer stock of Tennessee, and, as those pioneers, he loves his country and serves it well. In addressing the people of Sarasota, Mr. Robertson expressed so well one of our greatest needs today, moral courage, that I wish to place in the Congressional Record and commend to the attention of my colleagues his words. Mr. Robertson's speech follows:

#### MEMORIAL DAY, 1959

Mr. Master of Ceremonies, members of patriotic organizations, ladies, and gentlemen, I appreciate the honor of having been asked to speak here this morning on this occasion. I have met with some of you and others at the foot of this old flagpole on many other, similar occasions.

For the benefit of you who have come here in recent years, I might tell you that this pole was originally erected on a plot of ground at Five Points deeded to the American Legion by the city of Sarasota about 1920. In 1926 it was blown over by the hurricane of that year, but it was soon replaced by a new base and pole.

Some years later, the base was enclosed in marble with the present inscription. Again, several years later the traffic department of the city decided that the flagpole and base were traffic hazards and moved the same to Bayfront Park.

Then, again, with the recent filling and paving here, it became advisable to move the flagpole to its present site, where I hope it can rest for the future.

Many of the 67 Sarasotans who gave all have stood at the base of this old flagpole so it is very fitting that we pay homage here today to the brave men and women who have given their lives that this flag might continue to fly and that this Nation could continue, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

We now have about 400 years of recorded history behind us in this country. On a recent visit to Pensacolà to attend the opening of the quadricentennial celebration. I was reminded that the first attempt to colonize in the United States was made by the Spanish near Port Royal, S.C., in 1526. It failed on account of the Indian raids and other adversities. Then came the effort to colonize at Pensacola in 1559. These Spaniards, also, were subjected to Indian raids and a devastating hurricane which killed many of them and destroyed most of their property, and that effort also filled. Then came the colony to St. Augustine and it became the first permanent settlement.

Subsequent years brought colonies to Jamestown, Plymouth, and many other places, until the Thirteen Original Colonies were formed. Years later, after many fierce struggles our forefathers gave us the Declaration of Independence.

Since that time the United States has been engaged in five great struggles for survival. Hundreds of thousands of men have given their lives and more than 2 million casualties have been incurred in preserving this Nation. It is our unqualified duty to preserve this costly and priceless heritage given to us by these fallen heroes.

The men and women of this Nation have always come forth with the necessary physical courage to resist on the battlefield, on the high seas, and in the air. I caution you, however, that there are just as great threats within our border. One of the decisive questions we must face now is "Do we have and are we exhibiting the required moral courage to meet these threats?"

To me, the first place to have and exhibit moral courage is in the home. I am not trying to preach to you, but ask yourself the question: "Am I being entirely on the square with the members of my family, or am I deceiving them?" If a father is not entirely truthful with his son, his son will know it and the chances are that the son will feel at perfect liberty to deceive the father. The father may feel that he is getting by with something until he is called to the juvenile court some day to hear his son charged with some law violation that will shock the whole family. J. Edgar Hoover, who has served this Nation as fearlessly and devotedly as any man, is constantly calling our attention to the juvenile delinquency situation and he urges parents to set the proper example at

Again, we must exhibit moral courage in business life. Every man should so conduct his business affairs with his fellow man that When they meet on the street after a business transaction each can say, "There goes an honest man." It is not necessary to dwell on this because there is no other answer.

Again, there must be moral courage exhibited in public life, and I mean from the smallest public office in a community to the highest in the land. We are all aware of the scandals that have come to light from time to time in both major political parties. We don't expect anything better from the Communists, who would destroy our Nation by boring from within, but we have a right to expect moral courage from all public offi-

There must be more moral courage exhibited by legislators, courts, law enforcement officers, and all individual citizens in curbing the racketeers who are preying upon both employers and employees.

I would like to pause here to say that I consider the late Secretary of State had great moral courage.

I am going to say something with which many of you may not agree. You know and I know that we must have personal friends and that these United States must have friends in other nations. We cannot survive without them.

The world is full of hungry, ignorant people who know little of and care less about political ideologies, but they do know what it means to have empty stomachs and hungry children. It is no use, as long as they are hungry, to try to convince them of the fine things to be derived from living in a democracy. I believe that we should stop subsidizing surplus foods and give food, not so much money, to the hungry people throughout the world. I realize that some in this country would have their incomes cut down and that the markets of the world may be affected, but I believe the good which will be accomplished will far outweigh the harm. It is going to take real moral courage to stop these subsidies and make these gifts, but I firmly believe it will be a forward step in world relations.

If we will use moral courage in all the places I have mentioned, then we will have, at least in part, kept faith with those who have given their lives in order that Old Glory can fly here and elsewhere today.

#### The Good Old U.S.A.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. GEORGE M. GRANT

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, June 11, 1959

Morris Hanan, of Montgomery, Ala., has graduated from Miami University in

written a very beautiful poem dedicated to the people of the United States of America. Mr. Hanan is very proud of his American citizenship and by his exemplary work in his community strives to carry out the expressions noted in the

DEDICATED TO THE PEOPLE OF THE U.S.A. (By Rubin Morris Hanan, Montgomery Ala.) America, America,

Which gives me my freedom and liberty, Now I help to make you good and strong, And from every land they came,

To help all sing the freedom song; Under the flag of liberty we live, On dear old America's land, With prayer always and full of hope, And by her we shall always stand.

America, the home of the homeless, With citizens loving and true, Where love and peace fill the air, Free to work at anything we can do; 'Tis a land of joyful freedom, And you are answered when you call, And fair laws that let us live, There is freedom and room for all.

It's a land of plenty for all, From God's bountiful hand, And we shall rejoice and sing His praise, And by Him we shall always stand; We love your land and your laws,
And all through the years we shall say, We fight and die for you, We love the land of the U.S.A.

We shall stand by you in strength, With all the love we know, And shall sing and tell you praise, Everywhere we may go;
We shall always say good things,
And for you always pray,
And we shall tell the world about, The good old U.S.A.

We love you in every way, Naught have we to dread, Just with your productions, All of us can be fed; Yes, the word "America" is sweet. And we can feel it every day. There is no better place to live, Than the good old U.S.A.

You give us freedom to work, Wherever we are employed, No matter what kind of work, It has always been enjoyed; And you have conditions, To always keep us gay. So we will put our physical trust, In the good old U.S.A.

#### The Vital Decisions We Face

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. PAUL F, SCHENCK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mr. SCHENCK. Mr. Speaker, Miami University and Oxford, Ohio, in my congressional district have been signally honored this year on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the establishment of the university. You will recall that this House of Representatives and the Senate extended felicitations to Miami University in House Concurrent Resolution 185.

The Post Office Department has just issued a new regular 12-cent stamp hon-Mr. GRANT. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Rubin oring President Benjamin Harrison, who

1852. The Honorable Arthur E. Summerfield, Postmaster General of the United States, spoke at Oxford on June 6, 1959, on the first day of issuance of this new stamp at Oxford.

Later that same day he addressed a convocation at Miami University and was awarded an honorary degree. It was a great pleasure and honor to have the Postmaster General in our Third District of Ohio, and I am happy to present the address he made on this occasion:

THE VITAL DECISIONS WE FACE

(Address by the Honorable Arthur E. Summerfield, Postmaster General of the United States, before the convocation of alumni marking the sesquicentennial year of Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, June 6, 1959)

The honor you have given me today is one I shall cherish all my life.

Like all who know Miami University, I deeply admire this institution which has blended liberal interests, intellectual breadth and conservative practices so well in its teachings.

I am happy to be here on the campus of this university where my able special assist-ant, L. Rohe Walter, got his undergraduate

training.

In its century and a half, Miami has played a profoundly important part in our incredible progress. Its original goals of good eduvirtue, religion, and morality, so thoroughly tested by time, enjoy the blessing and respect of all Americans. Backed by a proud record of accomplishment, this uni-versity is dedicated to even greater growth

and service in the years ahead.

The New Miami, since 1885, has given far more than its quota to the enlightened lead-ership of our Nation.

And certainly Old Miami made remarkable contributions to the public weal over the

early years.

Of the 900 men who became Miami alumni during those years, 10 were to be Civil War generals, 7 U.S. Senators, 16 Congressmen, 8 State governors, 7 ministers to foreign governments, 4 college presidents, 4 newspaper editors—and 1 became President of the United States.

As you know, your Post Office has joined today in honoring that Miami alumnus who became our country's 23d President.

It has been my privilege to authorize a 12-cent regular postage stamp, featuring the likeness of Benjamin Harrison, which has been placed on first-day sale here in Oxford this morning. Next Monday this stamp will be available in all our 36,000 post offices throughout the Nation.

In paying tribute to Benjamin Harrison, we have been conscious of his place in history not only as a great President, but also as a devoted citizen. He was a man who clearly believed in pursuing a deep and active interest in his country's welfare.

As a lawyer and officeholder, he spoke out firmly on matters of concern to the people. As a soldier, he served with distinction in

the Civil War.

As U.S. Senator and as President, he took his stand on the issues of his time, and participated fully in bringing about the solutions he believed to be right.

That kind of participation—that belief in the importance of individual opinion which characterized Benjamin Harrison—is more essential today than ever before. It is essential for every one of us here—as for every. American citizen.

We are faced with challenges of great and critical scope. We are faced with crucial decisions.

And, above all, we must remember that not Government alone, or any segment of our society, is responsible for making these decisions. It is rather all the people who must

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weigh our problems and determine our future.

I should like to discuss these basic problems with you briefly-and then, if I may, I should like to suggest the vital part you can and should play in meeting them.

want to speak, not only as your Postmaster General, but as a member of President Eisenhower's Cabinet and a member of the President's Committee on Price Stability for Economic Growth.

There are three specific challenges that command our attention. They are:

1. The Communist threat to our national safety.

2. Our battle against inflation.

3. The urgent necessity for tax reform. All of these, of course, are interrelated.

Our national defense depends upon a strong economy-and our economy is-acutely responsive to what we do about inflation, about production costs and prices, and about taxation.

The Communist challenge we face is military, political, spiritual, and economic.

We and our allies have steadfastly maintained our military and political strength. We have rebuffed the Communist threats and at every turn, we have given positive demonstrations of our determination to stand firm. I have just returned from Europe, and I can tell you that the strength of purpose of our allies is equal to our own.

At the same time, we continue to explore every avenue for justly solving the issues

that divide the world.

In the battle of spiritual values, we cannot lose so long as we preserve the freedom and moral strength on which our way of life is built.

We are facing up to the all-out economic war the Soviets have declared-but it is here that they are most confident.

They believe they can defeat us in this war without risking their own total destruc-

tion. They acknowledge that we are well in front. But they intend to overtake and sur-

pass us. They believe we have not the system or the will to maintain our economic strength and growth. They expect our economy to explode, while theirs continues to grow.

My friends, I think we must agree that we dare not look lightly on their great expectations.

For here, indeed, is involved one of the great decisions we must take.

We are in the process of building a more powerful economy. But, ironically, the very soundness of this economy is threatened by deadly forces that have wrecked other strong nations in the past.

These are the forces of inflation and onerous taxation-and the truth is, we have not fully united, as a people, to overcome them.

I suggest to you that there is urgent reason for us to do so.

There is pressing reason for us to realize what inflation really is-and to act upon this knowledge.

I am sure we all agree on what inflation does for we have had ample opportunity to see it at work.

To most Americans, inflation means higher costs of living. It means more and more struggle to make ends meet as costs go up and the value of the dollar goes down.

Since 1939, our cost of living has more than doubled. The value of the 100-cent dollar of 1939 dropped by 47 cents over the next 15 years, and it has dropped by 5 cents more since 1952.

Inflation feeds on the income and the savings of every individual, every enterprise in America. It robs us of the real value of the dollars we earn. It destroys the will to work and the desire to save.

It makes education increasingly costly, at a time when America's colleges are facing the greatest demands ever placed upon them. and it causes the serious fiscal problems of our educational institutions to multiply.

Now, what are we doing to meet this deadly force? We are waging a battle, led by the President of the United States, which in the past year has succeeded in bringing the rise in the cost of living under control.

We are fighting for the stable dollar we must have to go forward soundly.

We have quickly surmounted the recession of last year and have resumed our economic growth at a record rate, with its expanding opportunity for every citizen.

But maintaining this sound and sensible progress is extremely difficult. We are faced with tremendous pressures for a resumption of the inflationary process.

These are vast pressures for extravagant Government spending, and for sharp new uptrends in the spiral of wages and prices.

The spending pressures are coming from many sources. Some of the most insistent come from some of the leaders of our Congress, and some State administrations. State and local taxes, for example, have trebled since World War II and the rise isn't over yet for the States, counties and cities now spend \$1.10 for every \$1 they get in income.

These public spenders are practicing government-by-pressure group rather than government for the people. And they will only be dissuaded by public opinion strong enough to impress its will upon them.

Those in our Congress, and out of it, who are committed to excessive spending, and deficit financing, contend that going into heavier debt is no problem, because we can eventually tighten our belt and make it up. But the hard question is simply this:

If we cannot pay our way as we go and reduce our national debt when our economy is running at an alltime high, when and how could we ever expect to accomplish this goal?

The question also arises: Who is to pay these stupendous debts eventually? We must assume that the intention, in large part, is for the students of today, such as you now on this campus, to bear this burden in due time. It is you who would have to pay most dearly for the victories of the pressure groups now.

We must recognize, too, that great pressure for inflation is generated by what has come to be known as the wage-price spiral.

There is no question but what the legitimate function of every labor leader is to ask for-to negotiate for-higher wages.

This is a rightful purpose of union leader-

I myself worked at a factory job as a young man—and I know very well that one of my goals was higher wages. I have always been, and will always be, in favor of a responsible union movement.

But union members, with all other Americans, have every reason to insist that their leaders, as well as the leaders in management, exercise a high order of responsible statesmanship.

It is up to union leadrs to recognize that if they use their vast economic power to force wage increases and employees benefits too high, they bring about fewer jobs and greater unemployment.

By forcing wage increases which far outrun increases in productivity, they can set the sprial of wage-price inflation going again.

The President has repeatedly emphasized that this matter is of deep concern to all 175 million Americans. And he has said that the American people cannot stand idly by and let the destructive forces of inflation be unleashed again.

We know, too, that more inflation will deprive our industries of adequate earnings to plow back into new products, equipment, and plants.

We must look to the expansion of our production capacity to increase job opoprtunities in the future. We must take every step to encourage, not sap, the growth power of industry and business.

In doing so, we need to recognize the burden our taxation is placing on the accumulation of capital for investment.

It is the same burden imposed on the personal incentive and earning power of every citizen.

The tax foundation tells us the average earner of \$4,500 a year works 22 days each

Seven days of this total-nearly one-third of his working time-is taken from his income in taxes

And as he may succeed in building his income, he can look forward to the tax chunk becoming larger.

We need to relieve this stifling tax load carried by the individual citizen and by our business system.

There are over 100,000 taxing authorities in our country. Their weight can literally crush the ability of business to meet its job-creating capital needs

Our present tax structure is seriously out-It is a set of laws reflecting largely the condition of the past, especially World War II, when the goal was the confiscation of war profits; not the building of a sound peacetime economy.

A sensible, equitable, dynamic tax program is needed in its place. Such a program will keep total revenues up, not by taxing away incentive and means of growth, but by steadily increasing the tax base.

I have stated these problems of communism, inflation and taxation to you briefly. What progress are we making toward their

We are, in fact, making uphill but encouraging progress, both within the Government and in the mobilization of public opinion.

Our Federal administration has realistic national budget, and is making a determined effort to keep the costs of Government within this budget.

We are meeting the full needs of our defense program. We are meeting all the legitimate needs of our people.

We are striving to operate the Government on a pay-as-you-go basis, thereby avoiding the fatalistic deficit philosophy so easy to get into but so desperately hard to

And finally, we are taking positive steps to prepare for a program of progressive tax reform.

Because all of these efforts face powerful opposition, they depend of course on public opinion for their ultimate success. Here, too, we have reason for optimism.

In the past 6 months, we have seen a remarkable demonstration of the power of public opinion in this country.

When the 86th Congress convened, the spending philosophy was riding high in its ranks; there was almost no outlook for legislation giving union members and the public the protection they wanted; and there were only a few voices calling for a new look at the problems of taxation.

Today, the growing effects of aroused public opinion are clearly evident. Powerful forces still are bent on excessive Government spending, but strong opposition to them, both in and out of the Congress, is causing some searching reassessments to be made. The likelihood of preserving a balanced budget and holding inflation in check has grown brighter.

Union members throughout the country have made it clear that they are not in ac-cord with the autocratic decisions of the small group of leaders who exercise national

Highly responsible newspaper studies and opinion polls make it clear that most union members do not want wage increases which inevitably will bring greater inflation upon them.

Seventy percent or more of the members of some of our leading unions have children in college—a good and significant fact—and they do not want more inflation to push the cost of higher education for their sons and daughters beyond their reach.

They have made it clear they do not want strikes. They have made it clear they want legislation to protect their rights. And the public in general has made increasingly evident its support of these millions of union members.

From throughout the country, we are hearing reports of taxpayer dissatisfaction with pressure-group budgets which result in constantly rising tax rates. There is a mounting ground swell of support for those public officials who make determined effort to set realistic budgets and to keep Government expenses within those budgets.

All these are trends. But they are still trends. They must be carried forward with firmness and tenacity by the American people if they are to end in real success.

My appeal to you today is to join the battle to meet this challenge.

I am proud of my Midwest heritage, and I know that all of you from this great part of the country feel that same pride.

The Midwest is a cradle of patriotic and progressive action, and of leadership, for the public good. Let us be sure that that heritage is fully upheld in these critical days.

Whether you are student, a faculty member, or an alumnus of Miami, your voice is important. Your help is needed. Your leadership is important.

I urge you to take your place among those who will speak, work, and fight for sound policies and a stronger America in the

Years before us.

There is, unfortunately, a widespread tendency on the part of the public to "let George do it" insofar as our Government is concerned. We ask and expect the President, the Vice President, the Cabinet, the heads of a few agencies, and the responsible Members of the Congress to carry on the overall management of our Government and protect the public welfare. Too many fall to do their share and far too few citizens take an active interest in, and forcibly support, good government.

Only by universal participation can we be sure that the Government will serve all the people—not some special interest—and assure the greatest opportunities for all our citizens.

My friends, this is the banner of true liberalism.

Advancing under it, we shall meet the Communist economic challenge as surely as we shall meet the military and political challenge.

We shall build the better tomorrow for which the leaders and the faculty of this university are preparing our young people—and into which the students of today and tomorrow can proceed with bright hope.

We shall move forward, in full confidence, into the golden era of unlimited opportunity that lies ahead for every American,

## Connecticut's Stake in Area Redevelopment Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. CHESTER BOWLES

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mr. BOWLES. Mr. Speaker, Connecticut has an interest in area redevelop-

opment legislation second to no other State. The statistical trends in our chronically depressed communities continue to emphasize the urgency of such action here in the Congress.

All of us are indebted to the area employment expansion committee which is continuing to make available to us upto-date information on this issue. A fact sheet just released by the committee indicates that Connecticut's depressed area problems are increasing, even as the number of our State unemployed drops.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the information supplied in this fact sheet. Some of the statistics are from the Connecticut Department of Labor.

CONNECTICUT DISTRESSED AREAS INCREASE IN NUMBER AS STATE'S UNEMPLOYMENT DROPS

The number of distressed labor markets increased from three in January 1959 to eight in May 1959 with the addition of Ansonia, Bridgeport, Meriden, and Torrington in March 1959 and Thompsonville in May

1959. The unemployment rate in these distressed areas in May 1959 was 7.6 percent as compared with the State average of 5.5 percent. The highest unemployment rate was in Thompsonville with 9.3 percent and reporting a substantial labor surplus since November 1957.

Marked improvements in employment conditions occurred in the areas which had substantial labor surpluses. Three labor markets, Danbury, New Haven, and Waterbury saw their rates fall below the 6-percent level.

The structural dislocations in the distressed areas suggests that it is not probable that they will shortly enjoy the benefits of the national economic pickup and must strenuously strive to redevelop their local economies in order to lower their unemployment rates below 6 percent.

Continued high unemployment in New Britain, Middletown, and Willimantic will graduate each of them into the distressed category in June 1959.

The area redevolpment bill before Congress will help these communities undertake redevelopment projects to alleviate their distress.

Table I.—Connecticut—Labor force and unemployment in labor markets, May 1959

Labor market area	Labor force (civilian), total	Unem- ployment, total	Percent of the labor force	Number in excess of 6 percent
A. State, total	1, 054, 900	57, 600	5. 5	
B. Distressed areas 1	307, 800	23, 500	7.6	5, 332
Major: Bridgeport. Smaller.	139, 600 168, 200	10, 600 12, 900	7.6 7.7	2, 224 3, 108
Ansonia Bristol Danielson Meriden Norwich Torrington. Thompsonville.	19, 900 19, 800 15, 900 39, 100 21, 600 25, 000 26, 900	1, 700 1, 600 1, 200 2, 600 1, 500 1, 800 2, 500	8.5 8.1 7.5 6.6 6.9 7.2 9.3	506 412 246 254 201 300 1, 186
C. Substantial labor surplus areas	91, 500	6, 640	7.3	1, 150
Major: New Britain	46, 800 44, 700	3, 500 3, 140	7. 5 7. 0	692 458
Middletown	29, 300 15, 400	- 2, 200 940	7. 5 6. 1	442 16
D. Nonsubstantial labor surplus areas	642, 400	27, 500	4.3	
Major	571, 900	24, 800	4.3	
Hartford	245, 200 144, 500 35, 600 69, 000 77, 600	10, 900 6, 900 1, 100 1, 700 4, 200	4.4 4.8 3.1 2.5 5.4	
Smaller	70, 500	2, 700	3.8	
Danbury	29, 400 41, 100	1, 500 1, 200	5.1 2.9	

<sup>1</sup> Eligible for assistance under the House Banking Committee recommendation, i.e., unemployment of 6 percent in at least 18 of the previous 24 months, 9 percent during at least 15 of the previous 18 months, 12 percent during the previous 12 months, or 15 percent during the previous 6-month period.

Source: Connecticut Department of Labor.

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## Look Quickly, Agriculture Is Changing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, today, the technological revolution in agriculture is having far-reaching effects upon the economic and social life of the American farm family.

The impact of these developments is felt, not only by the farm family, but by the rural communities, food processing and distribution industry, and the economy of the Nation.

There are, of course, many constructive results from this revolution.

Among other things, the farm family is now provided a great many of the modern conveniences, appliances, tools, equipment, formerly available only to urban dwellers; more and more hand labor is now performed by machinery; rural families are provided more opportunities to share in recreational, cultural, educational, and other opportunities.

ties of the community—and other advantages.

At the same time, we recognize that the changes require difficult adjustments by the American farmer.

Among other things, they include adjustment to the trend toward bigger farm operations which, unfortunately, is "squeezing out" the small family farm; resolving the economic problems; attaining a production-consumption balance; and other problems.

Because of the changes in agricultural patterns, there have been tremendous shifts in farm population. According to estimates, in 1910 there were 32 million people on the farms—representing 35 percent of the total population. In 1940, there were 30 million people on the farms—but representing only 23 percent of our population. Currently, the number of farm folk is estimated to be about 21 million—or only 11 percent of the total population.

We recognize, of course, that we are in real need of improved policies—particularly as these would improve the economic status of the farmer, as well as contribute toward reduction of our national stockpiles of farm commodities.

Economically, the significance of a healthier farm economy reflects far beyond the farmer's fenceline. For example, for every 100 workers on the farm, there are approximately 90 more workers engaged in supplying goods and services used in production; and about 100 additional workers engaged in processing and marketing the food and fiber produced in agriculture. Over all this group comprises approximately 37 percent of the labor force.

My colleagues will recall that I have introduced proposed legislation for establishing a commission to evaluate the significance of these trends in agriculture, as well as to better enable our farm families to adjust to the technological revolution.

Fortunately, hearings have been held in the House. I again respectfully urge action by the Senate committee.

Recently, the Journal of American Insurance published an article by Dr. Earl L. Butz, former Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, entitled "Look Quickly, Agriculture is Changing."

To give Senators an opportunity to review the far-reaching developments in agriculture outlined in the article, I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LOOK QUICKLY, AGRICULTURE IS CHANGING (By Dr. Earl L. Butz)

During the next decade, we shall have ringside seats to scientific and technological developments our fathers would have labored over for a whole generation.

That's change at the modern-day pace—the law of progress.

Today the agricultural revolution is advancing with such rapidity that farm families and rural communities often find it hard to make the required economic and sociological adjustments. This is equally true for agricultural business and for the businesses serving agriculture, such as insurance.

Growth is always painful. The present adjustment is no exception. It is not easy for farm families to change their methods of production, their scale of operation, or even to shift vocation. The anguished farm mother says, "We slaved and saved all our lives to own this farm clear for ourselves and our children; it would break our hearts if they had to leave." That's parents-living-their-children's-lives at its worst.

#### 1. CAPITAL REQUIREMENTS GROWING

True, it is more difficult for a farm family to shift vocations than for an individual worker. But farm sons and daughters, as well as farmers themselves, have been shifting to nonfarm vocations for generations. That's how industrial America grew. Only the rapidity of the present shift is new.

The impact of these agricultural developments on farming itself, on community life, on food processing and distribution, and on other business related to agriculture is tremendous.

Take insurance as an example. Today insurance is being called upon to underwrite a new type of agriculture with as much as \$50,000 to \$100,000 invested per worker. Frankly, most of our farmers don't carry sufficient insurance. Their inventory values have gone up so steeply the past 10 or 15 years that they simply haven't kept up with the insurance coverage. This also goes for life insurance.

Therein is the first big impact of these technological changes in American agriculture. Capital requirements for agriculture will grow in total, per farm and per man. This trend has been particularly pronounced during the past two decades. Its continuance is inevitable.

Our agricultural plant now has record high total assets of about \$190 billion. About 89 percent of this represents owners' equities. Total debt is now around \$20 billion, or about 11 percent of total assets. This is a conservative figure, and is probably a healthy minimum, considering the necessity to refinance most farms each generation when ownership changes to younger hands.

Total investment per farm in the United States now averages \$36,000. This includes a lot of small part-time or subsistence farms. Investment per commercial farm is much higher. It is not uncommon for family commercial farms in the Corn Belt, for example, to have a total capital investment in excess of \$100,000—in some cases \$200,000.

Investment per worker is growing rapidly. Only 15 years ago, the average U.S. farm had about \$3,500 invested in land and equipment for each farm worker. Today that figure is more than \$15,000 per worker. On many commercial family farms the investment per worker runs up to \$50,000 or higher. This compares with an average investment per industrial worker of around \$14,000.

This means it takes three or four times as much capital investment to create one agricultural job on many of our family commercial farms as it does to create a typical industrial job in our cities.

As agricultural science continues to advance, it is inevitable that the business units in agriculture will get bigger and bigger with still larger amounts of capital required. This trend cannot be stopped. Nor should it be. We must adjust our farm institutions and our farm programs to it so as to capture such benefits as will flow from it.

Machines will continue to displace men on our farms. We will produce more with fewer farms and with fewer workers than at present.

#### 2. NUMBER OF FARMS IS DECREASING

The second big impact is: The number of farms will decrease.

We now have about 4.6 million farm units in the United States. Slightly less than 2 million of these are what we commonly call commercial family farms. The remainder are, in effect, part time or quasi-subsistence farms. They add relatively little to the commercial flow of food and fiber. Indeed, the top 2 million of our farms produce approximately 90 percent of all food and fiber entering into commercial trade.

The other 2-million-plus farm units, although listed in agriculture, are operated by farm people who really need more opportunity to improve their situation either through enlargement of the individual farm business or through additional employment off the farm. Preservation of these farm units is the political demagogs' monomania. But many of the people on these 2 million or more units are so situated that the solution to their problem must ultimately be found outside of agriculture.

There are some people who simply weren't

There are some people who simply weren't cut out to be farmers, just as other people don't make successful insurance salesmen, machinists, carpenters or whatever.

Low income farmers better off to move out

It is just plain coldblooded procedure to attempt through legislative programs to keep such men tied to farms which every one knows are inadequate to provide a decent living for the men and their families. People in other jobs and in other professions take this kind of healthy competition in stride. And they usually improve their lot in life. Many low income farmers can and will do the same if they are given the opportunity, and if the politicians will stay out of their hair.

Unfortunately, there is no prospect that ambitious politicians in Congress will stop demagoging the emotionally explosive family farm issue, any time in the foreseeable future. Fewer farmers, and particularly fewer farmers in the entrepreneurial sense of the word, inevitably mean decreased political power for agriculture. Indeed, that trend has been apparent in recent years, as farm politicians have faced increasing difficulty in holding the farm bloc together in Congress.

In many areas of the country, there is a job waiting in industry, a job with good pay. for the farmer who finds that farming is not his long suit. And if his children want to go into engineering, into medicine, into teaching, or into the skilled crafts in the city, they can be sure that a position awaits them when they finish school. There is nothing dishonorable about this kind of a vocational shift. It's been taking place ever since the founding of the Nation. Without it, our high level of living would have been impossible. We would have been a Nation of peasants with each family tied to its small acreage of land. We would have advanced little beyond the current status of major agrarian populations in the Near East and the Far East.

In 1910 we had 32 million people on our farms, representing 35 percent of our total population. In 1940 we had 30 million people on farms, but only 23 percent of our population. At the present time the number of people on farms is down to about 21 million. or 11 percent of our total population. It has been predicted that by 1975, farm population may be around 17 million, or about 7.5 percent of the total population of around 228 million.

This will mean that production per worker on our farms two decades hence must be more than twice as high as it is now. And it's now twice as high as it was less than two decades ago. This kind of development must inevitably mean higher living standards for those who man our farms and produce our food and fiber.

Insurance safeguards will be more urgent

These commercial family farms will increasingly take on the characteristics of a business organization. The percentage of

gross receipts consumed by production expenses will rise even higher than it is today. For one thing, more insurance will be required to protect the investment and the business. At the present time about 65 cents of each dollar the farmer receives is spent for goods and services required to run his business. This does not include his wages to himself. In earlier periods, expenses consumed less than 50 cents out of the dollar. A decade or two hence expenses will consume more than 65 cents of the dollar. The farm will operate on a narrower margin per unit of output. This means that volume must increase in order to increase profits.

This trend suggests that farms are becoming more like other businesses in that they acquire more and more of their goods and services, rather than having them produced on the farm or consumed there. In a sense, therefore, the farmer becomes the manager of a manufacturing operation as he puts together packages of technology which have been processed on a custom basis by others. One illustration is the integrated poultry broiler industry.

#### 3. INTEGRATION TREND WILL SPREAD

Thus, the third impact of change in agriculture is: The trend toward integration will spread. Don't be frightened by this; the demagogues in agriculture are using it as one of their most effective hobgoblins.

Political leaders will resist vertical integration in agriculture, through their oratory, in their congressional hearings, and in their legislation. The philosophy of the small, owner-operated family farm is deeply ingrained in our sociological and political mores. The controversy over this issue is often more emotional than economic. Political pressure will continue to be on the side of maintaining the small family farms, even though modern technology dictates strongly that family farms become larger.

Vertical integration is the result of fundamental economic and technological changés occurring in the agricultural industry—it is not the cause of them. It is a manifest effort by individual sectors of the agri-business assembly line to survive in the swift competitive current of our modern dynamic food and fiber industry.

Certainly, it is reshaping the traditional pattern of owner-manager-operator all contained in a single person. This reshaping is the very basis of much of today's social and political unrest in agriculture. But the wave of the future in integration is rolling and swelling. We will need to study the organization of our production units carefully and steer our farm policy course wisely in order both to minimize the adverse impacts and to maximize the favorable aspects of this development. I leave the insurance implications—and there are many—to the farm underwriters.

#### 4. CITY, FARM WILL "RURBANIZE"

Fourth of the impacts: Our countryside will be "rurbanized." A transformation is taking place which is changing the thinking and actions of a vast segment of our population. The "country hick" and the "city slicker" have virtually disappeared as prototypes on the American scene. The line of demarcation between people living in rural areas and those in urban areas is fast becoming obliterated. Modern science and technology have made it possible for the city to move to the country and for the country to move to the city. There is no longer a farm population and an industrial population, especially within 40 or 50 miles driving distance of our big industrial centers, and that includes practically the whole eastern and central sections of the country.

Only in recent years has this "rurbanization" come to the fore as a powerful in-

fluence reflecting a great change taking place in our way of life. A new agriculture in America is emerging with breathtaking rapidity. It is time, indeed, to look quickly. The transformation is taking place so quickly that we are experiencing great difficulty in adjusting to it economically, sociologically, and politically.

For many years in our city communities the doctor has lived beside the lawyer, beside the machine operator, beside the bricklayer, beside the schoolteacher, and each has lost his vocational identity as a member of his community.

So it will be with the commercial farmers in the newly "rurbanized" communities. The farmer-businessman will live beside the urban businessman, the urban industrial worker, and the urban professional man. Ultimately, they will lose their vocational identity as members of the community. At this point, farming will no longer be a way of life, but will be a way of making a living, just the same as other business enterprises.

#### 5. AGRICULTURE EXPANDING SWIFTLY

Here's a fifth and last impact: Agriculture is an expanding industry. It is an expanding industry in every respect except one: the number of people required to run our farms. Only in this single respect can it be said that agriculture is a declining industry.

Our agricultural plant uses each year more capital, more science and more technology, more managerial capacity, more purchased production units, and more science and research than the year before. What's declining about that?

The declining trend in farm population, although demagoged to death by some politicians and rural fundamentalists, is in itself a sign of a strong agriculture. This is the age of science and technology. Brainpower has replaced horsepower and muscle-power as the central ingredient of success on our farms.

Total capital and capital per worker in agriculture, as has been pointed out, greatly exceeds that in American industry. Total capital assets on our farms now exceed \$190 billion. Add to this the investment in agricultural businesses and the total assets in what has commonly come to be called agribusiness exceed the total industrial assets in America.

For every 100 workers on American farms, there are approximately 90 more workers engaged in supplying farmers with goods and services used in production and approximately 100 other workers engaged in processing and marketing the food and fiber produced on our farms. This entire group comprises approximately 37 percent of our labor force.

The farm plant in America purchases approximately \$17 billion worth of goods and services used in farm production. To this it adds a value of about \$18 billion, which means that total farm produce leaves the farm gates at about \$35 billion. Processing and distribution add another \$45 billion to this, which makes a total value of output in agri-business of approximately \$80 billion a year.

In contrast to 40 or 50 years ago, when farmers were producing most of their own fuel, power, materials, fertilizer, and protection, industry is now furnishing farmers each year 291 million premium-dollars' worth of insurance on motor vehicles, machinery and implements; 6½ million tons of finished steel—more than is used for a year's production of passenger automobiles; 45 million tons of chemical materials—nearly five times the amount used in 1935; 17½ billion gallons of crude petroleum—more than is used by any other industry; 285 million pounds of raw rubber—enough to make tires for 6 million automobiles; 22 billion kilowatt-hours of electrical pow-

er—more than enough to serve the cities of Chicago, Detroit, Baltimore, and Houston for a year.

Thus, whatever happens to agriculture has a direct and major impact upon industry.

Plenty will be happening—and swiftly. Be assured of that. Agriculture is right in the middle of the scientific explosion of our times. If we can keep our economy free and preserve an environment in which individual producers and scientists are free to dream a little about new techniques and new ideas, and to enjoy the fruits of their dreams, we shall experience phenomenal progress in the next generation. The watchwords for insurance and for every other copartner of agriculture are, indeed: Look quickly; watch closely.

## Where Is Federal School Aid?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include a very interesting editorial which appeared in the Christian Science Monitor recently:

WHERE IS FEDERAL SCHOOL 'AID?

The President's Science Advisory Committee, as its name would suggest, is urging in its significant report what should be done to bring American schools up to the standards required by an age of science. How its recommendations bear upon some of the other tasks Americans have long assigned their schools—such as general education of those without the aptitude or interest for "intellectual" subjects—warrants separate discussion. But its admonition that the Nation must double its annual investment in education bears on any index of the Nation's present effort.

The index most readily related to national concern is the interest in Federal aid to education. Last session Congress enacted the National Defense Education Act comprising some excellent features, but did not complete the job of appropriating the funds authorized. Two months ago the House restored all of the \$50 million its Appropriations Committee cut from the authorization.

There are two school bills now receiving serious congressional consideration. One is the administration's bill to take care of the omission from the present act of Federal aid to classroom construction. It would do this by way of helping school districts float and retire construction bonds on a need-and-effort basis. The Federal commitment would be \$2½ billion over 25 years.

The other is the Mansfield-Metcalf bill, patterned after proposals of the National Education Association. This measure frankly rejects financial limitations and approaches the issue on the assumption that the Nation surely can spend as much for education as for cigarettes and beverage alcohol: It would leave to each State whether to spend its allotment on buildings or teachers' salaries. It would begin distribution on a school-age population basis, then move to allotments related to a national effort index, reaching a rate of some §4 billion a year—indefinitely.

Congress, apparently is looking with favor on a somewhat cut-down version of this bill. And if it would encourage local effort—as it seems designed to do—instead of discourage it, the bill sounds a note of determination that might strike the needed spark. The "George Washington," the Nation's First Ballistic Missile Submarine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. OVERTON BROOKS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 10, 1959

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, at 12:40 o'clock on June 9, 1959, history again changed its course with the launching by our Navy of this Nation's first ballistic missile submarine, the George Washington.

By the sheer drama of the mighty power and force it will contain in its bowels, this nuclear-powered submarine heralded to the corners of the earth that here was an awesome instrument dedicated from the moment of its conception to the preservation of the free world and its ideologies.

It sounded the death knell for any aggressor, for it will have the almost unbelievable potential to unleash in one quick and terrible blow more devastation than was created by all the bombs dropped in World War II.

The George Washington will carry in its firing tubes 16 solid-fueled ballistic missiles each tipped with a thermonuclear warhead. It is the forerunner of nine such mobile missile launching platforms that this Nation has already dedicated to the deterrence of major war in our time.

Here is a great scientific achievement. A marriage, if you please, of the ocean depths to outer space for these great submarines will lurk concealed deep below the ocean surface ready instantly to fire their terrible weapons through space to the target. They will bring within range of direct attack from the sea, virtually all important military targets in the world and their weapons can reach these targets in some 15 minutes from the instant of firing. They can patrol the world's oceans for months at a stretch, move submerged for thousands of miles. They will be almost impossible to locate and trace even by the most advanced methods of surveillance.

The George Washington will go to sea with its ominous load of IRBM weapons just next year—in 1960. The very knowledge that this submarine will be at sea ready to launch its missiles of destruction within minutes and that others of its kind will be following shortly in its wake, will exert a strong and constant deterrent influence on any aggressor nation. This is a deterrent that will be effective because of its mobility.

One needs only to glance at a map of the world to see that the majority of the earth's surface is covered by water. This fact, coupled with the mobility of this weapon, means that nearly every spot on the earth is accessible to its destructive power. Equally important is the fact that by this same mobility it acquires a shield of invulnerability. Here is a ship that can launch its weapon of destruction as effectively as any fixed launcher but with the great advantage tive effort safety or Through Carlot are constructional to the construction and the construction as effectively as any fixed launcher but with the great advantage

that it cannot be destroyed in a surprise attack, simply because the enemy will never know where it will be. With its mobility and with the developments of recent years it can operate almost as easily beneath the polar icecap as it can in the warm waters of the Tropics, This ship, now joining our great fleet, spread over the seven seas will be an integral part of the Navy. As a part of our seapower it will play its part, and a very effective one, in making anyone with possible dreams of world conquest think twice before attacking this Nation.

Our Navy, and its industrial team, has accomplished a tremendous task in telescoping time and efficiently managing the many facets involved in presenting to this Nation this tremendous weapons system. Their accomplishments with wartime speed in the light of peacetime activity is astonishing. Their firm and principled methods of management have been recognized as outstanding by educators and industrialists both in and out of the defense field. It is refreshing to find in this day and age, seriousminded, responsible, and devoted citizens who dedicate their every effort to the needs of our great Nation and the free world.

I know that it is their hope as well as my own that these horrible weapons that they have developed will serve as a firm steppingstone to lasting peace and in the face of their vast strength and power they will never have to be fired, because all mankind will recognize the utter futility of war.

Promotion of Greater Traffic Safety

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
\* Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, today one of the great tragedies in America is the ever-increasing toll of deaths and destruction of property on the highways of the Nation.

According to figures obtained from the Automotive Safety Foundation, in 1958 the death toll amounted to nearly 37,000; nonfatal injuries occurred to 1.4 million people. The value of property destroyed amounted to over \$1.8 billion. All costs—including medical, wages lost, insurance, and property damage—are estimated to be about \$5.4 billion. This is, indeed, a tragic record.

We recognize, of course, that constructive efforts are being made to promote safety on the American highways. Through our road-building program, we are constructing better and safer roadways. Across the country, too, local and national organizations are conducting campaigns to promote greater safety. Nevertheless, the Nation still suffers from the almost incredibly high record of property damage, personal injury, and—above all—deaths, on the American highways.

Today, I received from Mr. Lawrence R. Larsen, chief clerk of the Senate of Wisconsin State Legislature, a resolution, adopted by the legislature, urging the issuance of a commemorative stamp on the theme of traffic safety. This important proposal had been put forward by the State Medical Society of Wisconsin; and the resolution of the Wisconsin Legislature endorses it.

The issuance of a commemorative stamp would be a constant reminder to the American people of the need for ever greater safety on the American highways, and I believe it would be a constructive accomplishment. I am, therefore, transmitting a copy of the resolution to the Post Office Department, for the consideration of the Citizens Stamp Advisory Committee with the recommendation—made earlier also to the Post Office Department—that a commemorative stamp on traffic safety be issued.

In addition, I request unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record, Joint Resolution 42 of the Wisconsin Legislature, and also the resolution adopted by the State Medical Society of Wisconsin, and forwarded to my office by C. H. Crownhart, secretary.

Mr. President, in this connection I may say that a few years ago I was in Helsinki. In Finland, the authorities do not mince words about the matter of driving automobiles while under the influence of intoxicating liquor. Anyone who is found driving an automobile while under the influence of liquor is sentenced to work on the public highways. Just the other day I had a statistic which indicated that the driving of automobiles while under the influence of intoxicating liquors is conducive to a large percentage of the accidents which occur on the highways. I think that matter should be thoroughly gone into; and those who insist on drinking should not be allowed to drive automobiles.

In some States an analysis is made of the blood of those who are involved in automobile accidents; and if a certain percentage of alcohol is found, real fines are imposed, and in some instances jail sentences are imposed.

Mr. President, I, for one, believe we should see to it that the various States have laws which follow the pattern which has been inaugurated in Finland. When I was in Finland, a very prominent citizen was found to have been driving an automobile while he was intoxicated. His prominence did not save him; he was immediately put to work on the highway. The Government took charge of him.

So far as I, personally, am concerned, I believe this matter should receive most serious consideration by the State legislatures.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 42

Joint resolution relating to the issuance of a series of commemorative stamps on the theme of traffic safety

Whereas the commemorative postage stamp has been used effectively as a device to focus the attention of the American people on great problems in our Nation; and Whereas the tragic loss of life and property resulting from traffic accidents is one of the great problems facing the American people; and

Whereas the State Medical Society of Wisconsin has proposed that the Post Office Department issue a series of annual commemorative postage stamps during the next 5 years in an effort to stimulate in the motorists an awareness of the need for improved driving habits by the American people: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the senate (the assembly concurring), That the Legislature of the State of Wisconsin endorse this proposal of the State Medical Society of, Wisconsin; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be submitted to the Honorable A. E. Summerfield, Postmaster General of the United States, and to the Members of the Wisconsin delegation in Congress.

President of the Senate.

LAWRENCE R. LARSEN,
Chief Clerk of the Senate.
GEORGE MCLINARO,
Speaker of the Assembly.
NORMAN C. CLENDENAN,
Chief Clerk of the Assembly.

RESOLUTION OF THE STATE MEDICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN

Whereas traffic accidents each year kill more than 37,000 persons and injure another 1,400,000, causing not only tragic suffering and loss of life but costs exceeding \$5 billion in wage loss, property damage and medical services; and

Whereas the attention of the Nation has been effectively directed to some of the great problems and philosophies of human living through the issuance of special commemorative stamp as illustrated by the issues shown here: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Postmaster General of the United States be petitioned to issue annually, for 5 consecutive years, a special commemorative stamp on the theme of traffic safety, each year's stamp to receive its first day of issue from the capital cities of every State of the United States; and be it further

Resolved, That duplicate originals of this resolution, bearing the seal of the State Medical Society of Wisconsin, be sent to the Governor of Wisconsin, the U.S. Senators and Representatives from Wisconsin, the Postmaster General and the President of the United States, and the president, president-elect, and executive vice president of the American Medical Association; and that facsimiles be sent to the American Medical Association delegates and alternate delegates of each State medical society; the insurance industry, the American Automobile Association, the National Safety Council and others interested in the prevention of traffic accidents—all With the express hope that they will join this hationwide effort to use stamps as a means of delivering a daily reminder to the American people on the necessity of safe driving for longer, healthier living.

Adopted by the Council of the State Medlcal Society of Wisconsin in meeting duly assembled on February 28, 1959.

R. A. ARVENN,

Chairman of the Council.

W. B. HILDEBRANT, M.D.,

President.

Attest:

E. D. CROWNHURT, Secretary.

## An Upper Michigan Movie Production

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON, JOHN B. BENNETT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mr. BENNETT of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I desire to call attention to a recent editorial in the Mining Journal of Marquette, Mich., concerning the filming of "Anatomy of a Murder".

This great novel, authored by Justice John Voelker of Ishpeming, Mich., was filmed during the past winter in Marquette County, the setting of the story. The letter in the Mining Journal, which is included herewith, aptly describes the feeling of appreciation on the part of all citizens in Marquette County for having the motion picture industry move into our midst to do this important work.

My congratulations to the author, the producer, and the great actors who made this event possible.

The editorial follows:

AN OPEN LETTER

Mr. Otto Preminger, Carlyle Productions, Inc., Care of Mather Inn, Ishpeming, Mich.

DEAR SIR: It is our understanding that your company, which has been engaged during the past couple of months in filming "Anatomy of a Murder" on location here, will be leaving Marquette County soon to return to Hollywood to complete details involved in the production and distribution of that film. We'd like to take this opportunity to tell you and your company how much we've enjoyed having you around.

We've gained immeasurably from the experience. As Justice John Voelker once put it in his apt and inimitable style, "There's been a gay, carnival atmosphere around here ever since you arrived." Although we citizens of Marquette County have always found this an exciting and sort of special place to live in, we found it even more exciting while your wonderful group of coworkers were in the neighborhood.

Nor can we overlook the great amount of public attention that was turned our way because of your operations here. Seldom, if ever, has this area been spotlighted as it was during your encampment in Ishpeming, Marquette, Big Bay, and Michigamme. We are not so blase as to try to pretend that we didn't relish all this publicity. We did, and so, in fact, did the entire State of Michigan, which stands to benefit considerably from the interest that was focussed on the Upper Peninsula in the past several weeks.

We hesitate to touch on mercenary mat-

We hesitate to touch on mercenary matters at a time like this, but the fact remains that Marquette County certainly appreciated the economic benefits that accrued locally as a consequence of your decision to film "Anatomy" entirely on location here.

Finally, we learned a great deal about a fascinating art by having your company with us. The citizens of Marquette County now have a far greater appreciation of the problems of the motion picture industry than they ever could have acquired under

any other circumstances. They respect your patience, resourcefulness, and tremendous talents to a degree that could be obtained only through firsthand observation of the monumental task of motion picture production.

And we learned a great deal about the generosity of people in the theatrical profession. We cannot conclude this note of appreciation without some mention of the many public appearances made by members of your company in behalf of worthwhile community projects and, charities. These paople gave generously of their limited time to help these worthy causes, and they deserve the gratitude of all our citizens. Your numerous demonstrations of interest in the public welfare were climaxed last Monday night by your announcement that a special world preview of "Anatomy" has been arranged in Ishpeming and Marquette, with all proceeds going to the Bay Cliff Health Camp for Children.

We hope that you also have benefited from your association with us. Mostly, we hope that you found the flavorsome authenticity you sought in your adeptation of Justice Voelker's lively novel. We're a bit blased in this observation, but we're convinced, nevertheless, that "Anatomy" will be an enormously finer film because it was photographed entirely in our incomparable north country.

We wish you every success with "Anatomy of a Murder," and hope the day will come again when we can share the pleasure of your company. Please be sure that the people of Marquette County will forget a lot of things before we forget you and your company and Justice Voelker and the book that brought you here.

Sincerely.

THE MINING, JOURNAL.

#### The Greater Crime

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. WILLIAM M. COLMER

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, for many long months the committee popularly known as the McClellan committee in the Senate has revealed the most shocking corruption in certain fields of organized labor. These disclosures have been appalling. The victims of these atrocities are the rank and file members of organized labor and the citizens of the country generally.

These disclosures in the Senate of abuses of power by corrupt labor leaders have resulted in the enactment of the so-called Kennedy bill. Even though this is a very much watered-down version of Senator McClellan's recommendation, the drive is now on by the top leaders of labor unions to bring out an even weaker bill in the House.

As one who believes that labor unions are necessary for the protection of the laboring man from abuses by industrialists, I find it difficult to believe that the great majority of the Members of the

House will not courageously respond to their duty to the rank and file of the laboring man by supporting legislation that will protect the rights of honest union men from the unscrupulous and corrupt activities of the Becks, Hoffas, and other would-be dictators.

Mr. Speaker, in this connection, I submit herewith an editorial which appeared in the Saturday, May 16, 1959, issue of the Washington Evening Star, "The Greater Crime":

#### THE GREATER CRIME

Senator McClellan has instructed the staff of his committee to prepare special antitrust legislation aimed at criminal racketeering in unions which control vital segments of this Nation's transportation system.

There is not the slightest doubt respecting the need for legislation such as this. Testimony received by the McClellan committee clearly shows that assorted racketeers, many with criminal records, are firmly entrenched in transportation unions, especially the Teamsters, and that they are busily plying their criminal trade behind a false front of unionism. Nor is any new evidence needed to establish the truth of Senator McClellan's statement that it would be calamitous to permit any further strengthening of the crooks and the leftwingers who control these unions.

There is a greater crime, however, than the collective shakedowns and extortions practiced by the union criminal element. And this greater crime consists of the fact that there is almost no chance that Congress will adopt any such legislation as that being urged by the Arkansas Senator.

This is not because Congress does not know the facts or because the legislators are under any illusions concerning the ability of honest union leaders to clean out the thief-infested unions. This cannot be done and will not be done. On the contrary, the crooked unions are likely to become relatively stronger. But the leaders of legitimate unions do not want to see the antitrust laws invoked against even the racketeers in the union family, and a timid Congress can be expected to bow to their wishes.

This, in our opinion, is the greater crime—a crime against the country on the part of people from whom something better should be expected.

#### Demagog at Work

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished commentator, Mr. Walter Lippmann, makes some succinct and timely comments in this mornings Washington Post and Times Herald.

I sincerely hope that my colleagues in the House will give this the most careful thought as we approach the subject of labor reform legislation:

> DEMAGOG AT WORK (By Walter Lippmann)

There is a strong probability that after all the investigations and the big talk this Congress will fail to do anything about the regulation of labor unions. If this happens, the reason will not be the opposition of Hoffa and of John L. Lewis. The reason will be

that the Senate, which was set to enact a very usesful bill, was stampeded by political demagogs who want an issue and not a bill. The result is that unless the mischief can be undone in the House, a brilliant opportunity will have been lost.

The gist of the matter is this. In April, after prolonged hearings and study, the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare reported out a bill which the majority of the committee believed would "drive criminals from the labor movement" and "deal with breaches of trust and other shady transactions" which are incompatible with a strong and honestly run labor movement. The bill was remarkable in that it provided powerful remedies and yet had the support of the AFL-CIO.

One basic principle of the 59-page committee bill, usually referred to as the Kennedy bill, is that a reform of the abuses disclosed by the McClellan committee on racketeering must be founded on comprehensive reporting and disclosure of the financial transactions of the unions. this is of great practical importance is attested by the fact that in the section dealing with reporting and disclosure the Kennedy bill is substantially the same as the bill introduced by Senator GOLDWATER on behalf of the administration. The difference between the two bills lies in the penalties imposed for a violation, although both bills call for criminal penalties if union officials do not make full and accurate reports.

The Kennedy bill provides criminal penalties for at least six other abuses; the embezzlement of union funds, tampering with or destroying union records, bribing employee representatives, corruption in union elections and in the so-called trusteeships.

Quite evidently, the bill reported to the Senate is in no sense a soft and timid affair. Yet it had the support of Mr. George Meany, the president of the AFL-CIO. It is not often that a powerful special interest will be found supporting laws to regulate itself. It is not often that a powerful special interest invites public disclosure of its intimate and internal affairs. When such an extraordinary thing occurs, one might fairly expect Congress to seize the opportunity to get the agreement signed, sealed, and ratified.

But this is not what happened. On the floor of the Senate, without hearings or study in committee, amendments were added containing bits and pieces of a so-called bill of rights. These rights, as Mr. Meany has pointed out, are all of them legitimate rights and are, in fact, included in most union constitutions and bylaws. But what the amendments would do is to make these rights enforceable in the courts. In Mr. Meany's view, this opens up the prospect of endless lawsuits and, therefore, he is now opposing the amended bill.

Whether the amendments are good, bad, or indifferent is not the main point. The bill, before it was amended, was the strongest bill that could count upon real support within the trade union world. No doubt it is not the best conceivable bill. No doubt it is not a panacea. But it compels real reforms and it is the best bill that it is possible to enact.

It would be a great pity if Congress passed up the chance to enact a good bill in order to give itself the pleasure of trying to write an even better one. It would be a great pity if the President and those who support him are so insistent that the Kennedy bill be strengthened that they prevent the very significant labor reform that is now possible.

It is still conceivable that the labor reforms can be saved if the leadership in Congress and if the President in the White House want to save them. But they must reckon with the demagogs who do not want a bill because it would deprive them of an issue to beat their breasts about.

How Sputniks Made America Rethink Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. A. S. HERLONG, JR.

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call your attention to a report which should have deep interest to every American concerned with educational issues. I refer to the content analysis of 82 consecutive issues of the Wall Street Journal prepared by the Center for Practical Politics, located at Rollins College in Winter Park, Fla. The title of this study is "How Sputniks Made America Rethink Education." The report has permanent interest, and I am sure that the center would be glad to provide copies of the whole text to any and all interested persons.

My reason for mentioning this report is that it illuminates a number of fine ideas, and, as Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., once said, one can sometimes substitute an idea for an expenditure. The surprise ascent of the sputniks, as we all know. created sustained anxiety throughout the American educational system. From studying the Center for Practical Politics report, however, I find the ironical conclusion that it is not so much money that is needed as that our leaders sit still and take time to think,

There has been no shortage of Monday morning quarterbacks in dealing with education, Mr. Speaker, but the analysis of this report to which I refer puts in order of rank the items discussed in the Wall Street Journal: solutions first, Federal aid second, and reasons for our educational failure third. Now, Mr. Speaker, I suggest that this itself is representative of much of our thinking these days which puts the cart before the horse. Perhaps the right order is first, reasons, second, solutions, and third, Federal aid. Nevertheless, when it comes to solutions, the proposals, in order, were to first. revise the curriculum, second, increase administrative ingenuity, and third, experiment with new methods, using present talent and facilities more prudently. First, as might be expected in a financial publication such as the Wall Street Journal, the reasons for our educational distress were laid to excessive taxation.

The report points out that whatever one's position on Federal aid may be. two major approaches to the educational problem are: first, fresh educational thinking, and second, a serious study of taxation in relation to education. The report to which I refer points out that a tax deduction on all tuition fees paid to colleges would be like a new bill of rights for the parents, a point which is of particular interest to me, Mr. Speaker, because I have sponsored legislation with a similar purpose. Likewise, a revision of tax policy would encourage the student working his way through college. It may not be necessary to bring money to Washington and then peddle it back

to the States. This, at least, is an item raised by the center's report.

Mr. Speaker, I mention this subject because of its general interest and because I am proud of the contribution which the Rollins College Center for Practical Politics is making to the thinking of all good citizens and of sound public opinion.

Testimonial for McNamara

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I wish to include an article which appeared in the Postmasters Gazette for June 1959, concerning the tribute to Ray McNamara, postmaster of Haverhill, Mass., at a testimonial banquet which I attended on April 18, at the Bradford Hotel in Boston:

TESTIMONIAL FOR MCNAMARA

(By William E. Brennan, secretary-treasurer, Massachusetts chapter, National Association of Postmasters of the United States)

The Bradford Hotel ballroom at Boston, Mass, was the scene of a great gathering of friends, fellow postmasters and regional officials on the evening of Saturday, April 18, to pay fitting tribute to the beloved Raymond V. McNamara, postmaster of Haverhill, and past president of the National Association of Postmasters of the United States.

A banquet committee, headed by Chapter President Francis J. O'Neil with Regional Director John B. DeMott and Inspector in Charge Clarence S. Wibel serving as honorary cochairman, performed a remarkable job of Staging the affair with such a short time available to make arrangements and the outstanding tribute to an outstanding individual such as Ray McNamara was result of Strenuous efforts on the part of postmasters serving on the committee from Massachusetts and other New England States.

The esteem in which the guest of honor is held throughout the country in postal circles was evidenced by the presence at the head table of such distinguished guests as Hyde C. Gillette, assistant postmaster general, Jeremiah F. Minihan, auxiliary bishop of Boston who grew up with "Ray" in the Acre section of Haverhill; Edward L. Baker, Detroit, president of National Association of Postmasters of the United States; Charles E. Puskar, Imperial, Pa., executive secretary-treasurer of National Association of Post-masters of the United States; John B. De-Mott, regional director of the Boston region, POD; Clarence S. Wibel, inspector in charge, Boston region; Jack Edelson, executive committeeman of New York region, National Association of Postmasters of the United States; Edward J. Quigley, public relations chairman of National Association of Postmasters of the United States and postmaster at Brooklyn, N.Y., and many others.

TURNOUT FROM NEW ENGLAND

Delegations were present from all New England States under guidance of their committee members, President Violet G. Blake and Secretary Bertha L. Borgerson of the Maine chapter; President Julia S. Thompson and Secretary Wright E. Rives of the Vermont chapter; President Mary E. Hallinan and Secretary Howard K. Ballou of the New Hampshire chapter; and Daniel Coggeshall, president, and LeRoy E. Davis secretary, Rhode Island chapter. Others present from outside New England were John Dawson, Trenton, N.J., executive committee. National Association of Postmasters of the United States; Louis Reilly, Newark, N.J.; and John Hogan, Flushing, N.Y. Boston Postmaster Ephraim Martin was

Boston Postmaster Ephraim Martin was called upon by Toastmaster Frank O'Neil and brought greetings of the city to honored

guests and the entire gathering.

Secretary Puskar gave a review of "Ray's" outstanding service as national president and Mr. Baker also spoke feelingly of his baptism into the higher echelon of the Postmasters' Association under the able tutelage of Mr McNamara

Assistant Postmaster General Gillette brought greetings from Postmaster General Summerfield, spoke of the devotion and high esteem that had developed between Mr. Summerfield and Mr. McNamara and traced relationships of Mr. McNamara with Post Office Department officials over the past several years, interspersing his talk with several humorous incidents that the banqueteers enjoyed immensely.

Another highlight of the evening was an

address by Bishop Minehan.

The guest of honor has had many encomiums heaped upon him during a very full life of many notable accomplishments, it is doubtful if he ever heard any greater number of complimentary remarks directed his way than at the much deserved testimonial. However, he was not rendered speechless and after Chapter Vice President Thomas Wilkinson, Lynn, Mass., presented him with a substantial check from his legion of friends and fellow postal workers, he responded with a ringing expression of gratitude, sparkling with witticisms and humor and denying vehemently that he is going into his shell upon retirement from his postmaster duties but instead is making himself available for many assignments.

In addition to the check of four figures, Master of Ceremonies O'Neil presented the retiring postmaster with numerous gifts. Among them were books, a bound volume of hundreds of well-wishing letters, a bound volume of his "messages" to postmasters printed in the Postmasters Gazette during his tenure as president, a sheaf of telegrams (too many for the Master of Ceremonies to read) and a huge take topped with a carefree postmaster in a chair, baked and decorated by Postmaster Margaret Schreiner of Marshfield Hills, Mass.

## A TRIBUTE TO OUR HONORABLE GUEST: RAY MCNAMARA

On a day early in April 1959, Postmaster Raymond V. McNamara, of Haverhill, Mass., glanced at his calendar and made a mental note that he was now beginning his 71st year of life. Thus, to Ray came the day which, by official decree, begins retirement from active duty \* \* \* the beginning of a period of informal activity, unmarked by clock or calendar, with periods of rest which he so well merits.

Retirement can never be synonymous with inactivity when used in reference to our honored guest. Ray has spent nearly all of his threescore and ten years serving others and in that pursuit he has found the true happiness which is reserved for the few.

We pause in our talks this evening to mark with Ray yet another milestone in a career of unselfish service to his family, his community, his coworkers, his church, and his country.

Most of those who gather here this evening have in a practical and spiritual sense been enriched by knowing Ray as a man. Many of us are the direct beneficiaries of his zeal, for whatever the field which attracted him, Ray

McNamara sought always to improve the lot of those who labored in that vineyard.

May he, with God's help, enjoy his retirement years. (From the printed program at testimonial dinner, Apr. 18, 1959, at Boston, Mass.)

## Physician, Heal Thyself

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. WILLIAM M. COLMER

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, for those who cry out for new and more victous legislation in the name of civil rights, or more appropriately, civil wrongs, it might be well to regard the Biblical phrase, "Physician, heal Thyself."

For example, the editorial below from the Jackson Daily News, dated June 3, 1959, affords insight into the problem from the viewpoint of comparison of the largest city in the State of New York with the largest city in the State of

Mississippi:

New York Paper Shocked by Backyard Discoveries

Jackson, like most other southern cities and towns, is a wonderful place in which to live.

Citizens of this community feel free to travel in any section of the city without fear.

The wonderful churches and schools dotting this entire community attest to the atmosphere of a peaceful society, which is as it should be.

When an individual or group departs from accepted social or political activities in the South it is of such rarity it makes big headlines. Local newspapers freely publish the details without fear or favor.

Too many people elsewhere in the Nation grab these isolated incidents and puff them into overly dramatized acts as if they were everyday occurrences. This is usually accompanied by a wave of pious finger-pointing.

Usually those who do the most eyebrow knitting have much too much to hide. On several occasions this newspaper has invited the South's critics to first take a peek into their own backyard before casting stones toward Dixie. Until these professional faultfinders pay attention to their own troubles, their sensational criticism of this region is as vain as a celluloid dog chasing an asbestos cat through Hades.

Gradually the paper curtain is being parted to give a glimpse into the situation in the national headquarters of Southern

critics and racial agitators.

One New York newspaper has accepted the challenge to send its reporters daringly outside of its house of publication to check into a crime.

What the editor learned prompted him to say:

"We had no idea that felonious assaults had reached a frequency of being numbered 'in the hundreds'," moans the New York Journal American,

It is a strange society when the journalistic resources of the Nation's largest city can be devoted to a single act of violence in the South when mass murder goes unnoticed solely because crimes happen there with clockwork precision.

New York newspapers and its busybody magazines such as Time and Life have a perfect right to come into the South and write until their hearts are overflowing with ecstasy, but it would appear they have more reason to open a bureau right smack in the center of Central Park in New York.

As a result of its bold journalism in its backyard the following editorial appeared in the New York Journal American of May 28, 1959:

"IT MUST BE UNUSUAL

"The Alexander Avenue stationhouse in the Bronx didn't bother notifying police headquarters about an unprovoked attack upon an innocent motorist by a teenagestreet gang because there was nothing unusual about it.

"It was almost a week before news of the

assault became public.

"'This was a felonious assault and we have hundreds of them,' was the explanation of the detective in charge of the station-house's clerical work. 'We don't send anything down to headquarters unless it is an unusual.'

"What constitutes an unusual-must it

be a murder?

"Are we to assume that street assaults have become so commonplace and routine that the outlying precincts are no longer required to report them to headquarters by teletype?

"And, in passing, how many attacks similar to the one in the Bronx have there been which have not been made public through

the press?

"It is no secret that some areas of the city are now classified as high hazard districts because of the incidence of muggings, assaults, robberies, and teenage violence. The parks, especially Central Park, have been the gathering place of terrorists. The section in the Bronx at 143d Street, between Third and Morrow Avenues, where motorist Kenneth Ryan was savagely beaten, has been the scene of much violence committed against innocent people.

"But we had no idea that felonious as-

"But we had no idea that felonious assaults had reached a frequency of being

numbered in the hundreds.

"The situation, we believe, is grave enough to justify the creation of a voluntary citizens' patrol to safeguard the people in areas where the police have found themselves unable to cope with conditions because of insufficient manpower. This force, composed of men and women with service in the Armed Forces, should be deputized and armed with unconcealed weapons. We are certain there will be no shortage of volunteers willing to give of their time to make the streets of New York safe after nightfall.

"We believe also that the full force of the law, through the police and the courts, must be brought to bear on the terrorists preying

the city's streets.

"When felonious assaults are occurring by the hundreds, it is time to get tough."

#### AFL-CIO Opposed to H.R. 3

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

Thursday Type 11 1050

Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I wish to include the letter which I received from Andrew J. Biemiller, director, department of legislation for the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS,

Washington, D.C., June 10, 1959. The Honorable Thomas J. Lane,

House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. LANE: During the current session of Congress the House of Representatives will again be called on to vote on H.R. 3, introduced by Representative SMITH of Virginia. This is the same bill dealing generally, indeed very generally, with the subjects of Federal preemption and of conflict between Federal and State laws that has been before the Congress for several years, always with the same bill number on the House side.

The AFL-CIO is strongly opposed to this measure. We do not see how it could possibly lead to any constructive results and are fearful that it might be productive of substantial detriment. In the view we take, the enactment of H.R. 3 would be undesirable

for the following reasons:

1. The principles embodied in H.R. 3 would apply without distinction to such divergent fields as criminal law, the regulation of interstate transportation by rail or trucks, and labor relations legislation. Further, the language of H.R. 3 is vague and even self-contradictory. It is impossible to predict what effects the bill would have in the numerous fields where it would apply. The only thing certain is that it would invite relitigation of innumerable long-settled issues and would produce large-scale confusion.

2. As respects the regulation of labor relations, a subject in which we are particularly interested, the only sure results of H.R. 3 would be confusion and lawsuits. We are not happy about certain recent decisions of the Supreme Court which permit the States to exercise concurrent authority in the labor relations field over matters which we think should be the exclusive concern of the Federal Government. However, a vague and general bill like H.R. 3 is not a sensible way to deal with the complicated problem of the proper division of responsibilities between the Federal Government and the States in the labor relations field. If Congress is disposed to enact legislation to readjust the respective responsibilities of the Federal Government and the States in the labor relations field (and various of the pending bills dealing with labor-management reform do contain provisions on this subject) it should do so by appropriate amendments to the Taft-Hartley Act, or other labor relations legislation. Moreover, the language of H.R. is so cloudy that it is impossible to say whether it would result in greater or less authority for the States in the field of labor

3. It is hardly a secret that the principal motivation behind H.R. 3 is resentment at certain decisions of the Supreme Court against segregation and for civil liberties and that is so even though it is not apparent how H.R. 3 would or could affect most of these decisions. We are not in sympathy with this motivation. We regard the Supreme Court's desegregation decisions as a historic step forward. We likewise believe that the Court has in general properly performed its role as the final vindicator of the civil libertles guarantees of the Constitution. We believe that the independence of the Supreme Court is one of the great bulwarks of democracy and that attacks should not be lightly made upon the Court, or its decisions cavalierly overturned.

Five years ago the AFL-CIO stood virtually alone in its opposition to H.R. 3. With the passage of time, however, there has been growing realization among many and diverse groups as to the undesirable character of this bill. It is now opposed not

only by virtually every organization concerned with the maintenance and strengthening of civil rights and liberties, but by many conservative business groups which have come to realize that its vague provisions might perniciously affect their operations and would at least produce litigation and confusion.

Even so conservative a body as the American Bar Association has come out in opposion to the approach embodied in H.R. 3. A resolution adopted on February 24, 1959, by its house of delegates states:

"Whereas recent decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court, in cases involving National and State security and with particular reference to Communist activities, have been severely criticized and deemed unsound by many responsible authorities; and

"Whereas problems of safeguarding National and State security have been exposed or created thereby which this association feels would be best solved by the careful study of each decision, and the prompt enactment of sound amendments to existing laws within the constitutional powers of the

Congress: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, That this association recommend to the Congress the prompt and careful consideration and study of recent decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court and the preparation and passage of separate amendments to the laws involved so as to remove any doubt as to the intent of the Congress, and to remedy any defect in the existing law revealed by the decisions."

We also call your attention to the fact that the Department of Justice has continually opposed enactment of this measure.

We respectfully urge that you oppose HR. 3.

H.R. 3.

Sincerely yours,
ANDREW J. BIEMILLER,
Director, Department of Legislation.

## Annual Memorial Exercises Conducted by Quincy Police

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include in the Record a very interesting article that appeared in the Quincy Patriot Ledger, Monday, June 8, 1959. Congressman James A. Burke, representing the 13th Congressional District of Massachusetts made the keynote address at the memorial services. His remarks on peace are most noteworthy. Congressman Burke also in speaking about the role the policeman will have in the case of war is an interesting observation worthy of our attention.

I am proud of my association with Congressman Burke as a colleague here in Congress and also as a former colleague of mine in the General Court of Massachusetts where he served with me for a period of 10 years. During the 4 years that I served as Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Massachusetts Legislature he was a member of the powerful rules committee and also was the assistant majority leader.

Police Chief William Ferrazzi of the Quincy Police Department also spoke on the fine record of the Quincy Police Department.

I feel that this story is of particular interest to other Members of Congress since it is typically representative of the Views of the American people as it relates to our police departments and other related subjects of concern to our people.

Annual Memorial Exercises Conducted by Quincy Police

Police memorial exercises were held yesterday afternoon at the site of the Quincy police memorial monument in the Mount Wollaston Cemetery. Participants were William H. O'Donnell, president of the Quincy Police Relief Association, the presiding officer; Mayor Amelio A. Della Chiesa, Congressman James A. Burke, the principal speaker; Edward T. McDonald, association vice president, who placed the wreath at the monument, and Police Chief William Perrazzi.

"Today the eyes of the entire world are on Geneva and we in America are hoping and praying that the efforts of our Secretary of State, Christian A. Herter, will be fruitful in establishing the groundwork for a lasting peace," Congressman James A. Burke, of Milton, said in his keynote address at the annual memorial exercises of the Quincy Police Relief Association yesterday afternoon at the police memorial monument in the Mount Wollaston Cemetery.

#### GOD'S LOVE NEEDED

"Only men of good will really want peace," Congressman BURKE added. "Peace is a state of friendly cooperation with others in the achievement of goals worthy of the individuals and the society to which they belong. For this there must be leadership. World leadership cannot make an appeal in the name of military or even political obedience, scientific advance, or cultural uniformity.

"The independence of nations and the deep-rooted traditions of diverse cultural patterns make it necessary for world peace to be based on something that can be and should be common to all men of every nation and culture. This can only be in their relation to God. Special appeals are being made that each individual soul love all others. They are asked to treat each individual as they should act toward Him. That would be be heaven on earth. That would be the triumph of charity. Yes, that would establish justice and peace throughout the world."

At the outset of his address, Congressman Burks said "it is fitting that you and I assemble here to pay our tribute to men who dedicated their lives in order that law and order might prevail."

The speaker pointed out that in the years to come the policemen will be called upon to render far more service than that which he is called upon to perform today. With the clouds of war threatening to envelop the entire world, we in the United States must Prepare for any eventuality. The police departments of the Nation will be the guardians of the local populace in case of attack. It will be the police departments that will be assigned to the responsible job of directing the evacuation of our communities. It will be the policemen's job to prevent panic and bring about an orderly handling of the evacues. Yes, the policeman will more than likely be like the captain of a great ship. In case of attack, they will be the last to leave the area.

Mayor Amelio A. Della Chiesa brought the official greetings of the citizens of Quincy and touched briefly on proposed legislation providing for annuities for the widows of Policemen.

PROUD HISTORY CITED

Chief William Ferrazzi said the annual Police Memorial Sunday reflects the paternalistic nature of law enforcement, which has left an indelible mark within our own ranks and has helped develop a willing compliance of law and order throughout the community. We are caretakers of the living as well as of the dead.

"The Quincy police department's proud history can be attributed to the endeavors and achievements of our departed members. They helped build a strong bridge of support from Quincy citizens and this cooperative climate has enabled the police department to carry out sound, progressive programs. Their zeal for law and order is a significant factor in this city today where crime does not flourish, as in other cities of its size throughout the Nation.

"All of this credit cannot be claimed by us without citing other municipal departments that are closely intermeshed with ours in effective police work and with whom we maintain favorable relations.

"Our courageous city government, under the responsible leadership of Mayor Della Chiesa, has supported and encouraged our departmental policies and has never subjected the Quincy police to political pressure and interference.

"A police department has a definite job to do and cannot be diverted from its goal. Its policy must be consistent, forthright, and impartial. Partisan politics does not mix with police administrations. Politics in the force would gradually undermine the character of the rank-and-file policeman, would sap its vitality, and destroy its morale. The paternalism of our mayor and city councilors is gratefully acknowledged by the Quincy police department," Chief Ferrazzi said in conclusion.

William H. O'Donnell, who is serving his third consecutive term as president of the Quincy Police Relief Association, was the presiding officer.

The Rt. Rev. Arthur J. Riley, pastor, Our Lady of Good Counsel Church, offered the opening prayer and the Rev. Chester A. Porteus, rector, Christ Episcopal Church, the closing prayer.

The placing of the "in memoriam" wreath at the flag-bedecked memorial monument was carried out by Edward T. McDonald, association vice president.

The roll of honor was read by Sgt. William D. Daley, association secretary, and taps was sounded by Wilbur Laucaw, Boston Fire Department band bugler.

Selections were played by the band, under the direction of Frank Marr.

After the formal exercises, all the participants went to the guardroom of the Quincy Police Station across the street for a buffet lunch.

Retired policemen at the exercises included Sgt. Carl Seppala, Stephen F. Cullen, William E. Crooker, Thomas F. Kerwin, Kenneth C. Poulin, Patrick J. Quinn, and George L. Wyman.

Other participants included James R, Mc-Intyre, president of the Quincy City Council and State representative; City Councilor John J, Quinn, School Committeeman James F. McCormick, Jr., Fire Chief Thomas F. Gorman and Attorney Francis X. Bellotti. Also the Rev. Thomas J. Tierney, Catholic chapplain of the Quincy Fire Department.

The solemn ceremonies were preceded by a street parade from the Adams Academy Building to the cemetery via Dimmock Street, Hancock Street, Coddington Street, and Sea Street, with the crack Boston Fire Department band as the musical unit. The police motorcycle escorts were Randolph H. Haslett and Daniel McAuliffe.

The police color detail consisted of Anthony R. Pollara, American flag bearer; Louis P. Tupper, police standard bearer, and Leo Antonelli and James J. Mulloy, guards.

Sermon Preached by Doyle William Dodson, Jr., Pastor, Eastern Hills Baptist Church, Montgomery, Ala., Sunday, May 24, 1959

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. GEORGE M. GRANT

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mr. GRANT. Mr. Speaker, recently the Reverend Doyle William Dodson, Jr., pastor, Eastern Hills Baptist Church of Montgomery, Ala., delivered a most interesting sermon which I am pleased to have recorded in the Congressional Record in order that all of the people of our Nation may have an opportunity to learn the feelings of the majority of the Christian people in the South:

SERMON PREACHED BY DOYLE WILLIAM DOD-SON, JR., PASTOR EASTERN HILLS BAPTIST CHURCH, MONTGOMERY, ALA., SUNDAY, MAY 24, 1959

My scripture this morning is found in Matthew 3:1-12. In this present hour of crisis in the world I shall speak frankly because of personal conviction and conscience concerning an issue confronting our Nation. This message is being recorded for my protection. Press representatives and others will govern themselves accordingly.

I attended the Southern Baptist Convention in Louisville, Ky., this past week, and before I state several convictions that are upon my heart, I feel that you have every right to know what happened during the convention sessions.

For a basis for what I shall say, I refer to the third chapter of Matthew when one who came with a fervent hot heart for the Lord, preaching the gospel of repentance, approached the people of his day standing upon his heart-felt convictions, possessing the power of the Lord, and said, "I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance: but He that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear: He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire." I believe that the living and the ministry of every Christian today ought to be on the same example of this man John who preached in his day. This man stood on his God-given convictions and the gospel of the coming King with all the fervency of his heart. John believed that the one who was coming about whom he was preaching was God's answer to the world's need.

Our world faces many problems. We have much strife and unrest, but the Christian who will stand not only upon the Word of God but also upon his God-given heart-felt convictions can stand in the right place without malice in his heart and with purity of his mind and soul.

John's message was from a heart of Godsent conviction, not of prejudice. This caused him to preach a message that attracted sinners. You and I will not attract those about us unless we are willing to stand upon fundamental principles for the Lord.

John's message was not only attractive but was also convictive. The people who heard his message were convicted of their sins and of the knowledge that they needed to know the Lord. John's simple message was—"repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." He gave a solemn warning to the people of their need of repentance. In the midst of the dark hours of the world today, there is only one answer that God has that men must do and that is to repent

and believe in Christ as the Son of God and trust Him with all their hearts.

Finally, John's message was true. It was true because Jesus did come into the world as the Man of God and the Lamb of God to take away the sin of the world. Many today deny that Jesus was the Son of God.

In some pulpits of America today there is denial of the virgin birth of Christ and His incarnation as the son of God. When we lay down the incarnation of Jesus and strike this truth from our faith, we throw out every fundamental basis of our belief in Christ as the son of God. If Christ was not the son of God, and born of a virgin, He was a liar and an impostor, and not the son of God. I believe the New Testa-ment truth that He came into the world conceived of God, born of the Holy Spirit, born into the world with an earthly mother but without an earthly father. John's message was true. We need to come back to the basic fundamental principles that God is true, that Jesus is God's atonement for the sins of the world, and that men who believe in Him as God's son and yield their lives to Him can be saved.

With these thoughts in our minds I shall present some facts concerning the convention and my heart-felt convictions as to the present crisis concerning racial integration.

It is not the pastor's intent to embarrass any member of this congregation. I am a Southern Baptist from the top of my head to the bottom of my feet. Let me say that there is nothing whatsoever fundamentally wrong with the Southern Baptist Convention, but there are some among us who are seeking to bring greater strife and turmoil to our convention. In an hour of crisis we must be on guard in decisions that are made.

First, I should like to clear up something which newspaper accounts did not clearly state. The Southern Baptist Convention did not vote to integrate. Let me read a por-tion of the president's address by convention President Brooks Hayes, released on Wednesday, May 20, 1959, by Albert McClellan, press representative. I quote-"Discontent of the minority is the symptom of an illness which affects the Nation and the world. It constitutes the mission field at our doorstep. Studies and conferences leading to a better understanding between white and Negro Baptists should continue. It is a phase of the great commission. On February 24 our Joint Committee on Baptist Work Among Negroes held an important meeting in Nashville, and after a painstaking review of the problem, recommended that a high-level conference of leaders of the two largest Negro Baptist conventions meet with duly designated leaders of our own convention to promote Christian fellowship and conduct a comprehensive examination of the problem. I am happy to add my personal endorsement to this action and to transmit it to the resolutions committee for their consideration." Two days later when the resolutions committee brought their report to the floor of the convention, there was discussion for over 1 hour in which some of the finest leaders of our Alabama Baptist Convention stood, not as agitators, but as strong Christian statesmen and ministers of the gospel, with the best interests of the convention in mind. The resolution for a high-level meeting between the leaders of the two largest Negro conventions and the Southern Baptist Convention was referred to the executive committee of the convention for additional study. It is my personal conviction that this resolution will die in this committee. I do not believe that our convention can gain by further agitation of the problem among us. Also, I do not believe that our convention should be a sounding board for political leaders.

Whenever we have confusion regarding a social question, it is necessary for a Christian interpretation to be made because our faith applies to the whole of life. The integrationists' claim is that theirs is the Christian position. A great number of ministers from all denominations have taken a firm stand in favor of the mixing of the races in public schools. By conviction and conscience I am unequivocally opposed to their position, and I refer to the Bible, in the Book of Galatians, chapter 3 verse 28, "There is neither Jew nor Greek, neither bond nor free, there is neither male, or female; for ye are all one in Christ." Paul's statement is—In Christ there is no difference. But, what does Paul mean?

There are some obvious differences between the Jew and the Greek, between one who is in bondage and those who are freemen. Also, there are differences between sexes: therefore, we draw the conclusion that Paul is speaking concerning the spirit within and not the flesh without. The fruit of the spirit is manifested in love, joy, peace, long suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, humility, and temperance. Whether we are male or female, white or black, it is the same Lord, the same God, one and the self-same Spirit who produces the fruit. In Romans 8: 9 the Bible says-"Now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of His." Without the Spirit we are not in Christ. We are in Christ when we belong to Him and have given ourselves to His obedience.

No matter what his race or sex, every Christian has a spiritual affinity or attraction to other Christians. We love those who love Him best. The world does not understand this kind of love and even misinterprets it. The love of Christ in us has nothing whatsoever to do with physical attraction or repulsion. The phrase spiritual affinity or likeness means the drawing together of persons on the ground of their common spiritual devotion and mutual allegiance to Jesus Christ on a spiritual connotation only.

Yet our spiritual affinity or likeness or attraction does not call for enforced physical proximity, and it is in no way dependent upon it. I say that enforced physical proximity or closeness of the race does promote interbreeding (amalgamation). It is one of my deepest convictions that it is not God's will to mix the races. (Acts' 17: 26—"And He hath made every nation of men to live on the face of the earth, having determined allotted periods and the boundaries of their habitation.")

There are different standards of social behavior generally in the white and Negro races. In North Carolina the rate of illegitimate births is 20 times higher for the Negro than for the white. In Michigan 1.5 percent of the white births are illegitimate while 13 percent of the Negro births are in this category. In 1957 in the State of Alabama 9,207 illegitimate births were recorded, with 8,460 of these being colored and 747 white. In that year 1.4 percent of the total white births were illegitimate, while 26.6 percent of the total colored births were illegitimate.

The 1950 census shows that one-tenth of our population in the United States is Negro. It is on record that this 10 percent Negro population committed more than one-half the total number of murders and manslaughter in the year 1950. In the so-called integrated States, the Negro crime rate is twice that of the Southern States. In one northern city four out of five Negro boys get into some scrape with the law by the age of 18.

The white and Negro races differ in their talents and abilities which are strictly hereditary. In Wilmington, N.C., since the Civil, War Negro citizens have had educational advantages superior to more than 90

percent of the white children of the State. In tests made in 1955 by New Hanover County it was found that 20 percent of the whites in the area tested had IQ's 110 and up; only 1.6 percent of the Negroes were in this high group. Twenty-three percent of the white children tested were in the classification below average; 72 percent of the Negroes were in the below average classifications. In 50 large northern high schools with 30 percent Negro enrollment only a fraction of 1 percent of the Negro enrollment became eligible for college. I do not believe that God intended for us to lower one race to behefit another.

But one of the most important reasons for my stand against social mixing in the schools is the breakdown of racial integrity. This will be done in any degree of the mixing of the faces. About the time that Christopher Columbus was born, Portugal began importing Negro slaves in large numbers from Africa. It is not a known fact how racial integrity was breached, but it is known that the Portuguese interbred generally with the Negroes. During the centuries since Columbus the Negroes have been completely absorbed into the general population of Portugal. Negroid characteristics are widespread among the Portuguese people. Brazil was colonized by the Portuguese. There they interbred with the native Indians and also with the Negroes which they continued to import as slaves from Africa. In spite of its age, since colonization, in spite of its enormous size, and its tremendous natural resources, Brazil is still a backward country, calling upon the United States for aid in many directions. Greater social intimacy resulting from the integration of the young people of our Nation in the schools will promote interbreeding. Furthermore, it has and will continue to create jealousy, envy, coveteousness, and malice, to say nothing of sheer hyprocrisy. While attending the Southern Baptist Convention in Chicago some years ago, I, along with several other Baptist ministers, saw some 75 young people, white and Negro, walk out of a restaurant, arm in arm, white girls with Negro boys and white boys with Negro girls. This is the fruit of integration.

There is a distinct and undeniable difference between racial prejudice and racial awareness. God himself has made us aware of our differences as races and these differences cannot be erased by wishful thinking. There is a sense, namely, that we are all meant to be treated equally before the bar of justice. In many other ways we are unequal. We are unequal to each other economically, intellectually, and by heredity, and yet there are some who will not be satisfled until they have leveled down all society (theoretically and actually) to one common denominator, destroying all incentive to thrift and diligence, taking away all initia-tive and bankrupting our country economically and spiritually. The decision of the Supreme Court of the United States to mix our white and negro pupils was prompted by sociological, psychological, and economical Unadulterated socialism is behind this social leveling. If we do not have the courage or the energy to stop it, we shall lose our freedoms that still prevail.

It is of the utmost urgency that we use our heads as well as our hearts in dealing with a matter so vital as that of integration, especially in our public schools. May God give us light and wisdom to see that we can be one in the spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ, that we can be one without promoting that social intimacy and the breakdown of racial integrity, which will have as its result the interbreeding (amalgamation) and the destruction of the pure strain of each race.

My convictions are based upon racial awareness. I have discussed with our deacons the pastor's position in this matter of integration. They concur with this position.

I do not believe that my stand takes away anything from my missionary heart. We have spiritual affinity with others, but this does not follow by saying that we must have physical proximity. It is my conviction that the races whom God segregated, giving likenesses and unlikenesses, are not intended to be amaignmated.

In an hour when everything has been said (on the other side of the fence, when segregationists are classified as Un-Christian (which is not true, for God gave the races distinct unlikenesses) I cannot but speak out for that which I feel is right morally and spiritually. My stand is out of a heart of love, not of malice. The Christian must love the souls of the world. We do not agree with the men around the world in the realms of socialism and communism, but we can love their souls and pray that God will redeem them by the blood of His precious Son who died on Calvary for the sins of the world.

A lesson which my father taught me when I was a little boy has never left me. The lesson was that my rights ended when they infringed upon another's. The same lesson can be reversed. Another's rights end when they infringe upon mine. Therefore, I believe that the world must reconsider the declaion to plunge into wholesale amalgamation of the races before it is too late. I shall stand upon these truths as long as I have the strength to do so.

## Mrs. Agnes Lenahan Brown of Wilkes-Barre

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times Leader of June 9, 1959, which comments upon the passing of a member of a distinguished and respected Wilkes-Barre family, Mrs. Agnes Lenahan Brown, whose son, a prominent member of the legal profession in Luzerne County, is my law partner:

AGNES LENAHAN BROWN

Although she herself essayed the role of wife and mother by choice, Mrs. Agnes Lenahan Brown, widow of Attorney Frank Brown, city alderman, occupied a position that was unique in the community by virtue of family ties.

Not only was her late husband numbered among the town's best known citizens, but her own household was unusual. She was one of 13 children of the late Patrick and Elizabeth Duffy Lenahan, identified with the law with one exception—the late Dr. Frank Lenahan, a founder of Mercy Hospital.

Attorney John T. Lenahan, a Member of Congress, Attorney James L. Lenahan, a former district attorney and Democratic county chairman, and Attorney Charles Lenahan, a presidential elector, were brothers. But the amazing thing was that all of her sisters married lawyers.

Carrying on the family tradition is a son, Attorney James Lenahan Brown, prominent member of the bar and a Democratic leader.

Few families have had a greater impact on greater Wilkes-Barre than the Lenahans and the Browns. In fact, their influence has been felt far beyond the borders of Pennsylvania. Mrs. Brown, in her own modest way, enhanced their reputation as a good neighbor, respected citizen and teacher.

## The New Benefits of the Railroad Retirement Act, Public Law 86-28

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. HERBERT ZELENKO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mr. ZELENKO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks and with the unanimous consent of the House, I take this opportunity of expressing satisfaction upon the enactment of Public Law 86–28, known as the Railroad Retirement Act.

This vital legislation was necessary to overcome the economic inequities here-tofore existing for thousands of our American citizens who have given many years of their working lives to the rail-road industry.

The various railroad unions are at present in the process of informing their members of the benefits accruing to the act.

In response to a great number of inquiries which have been directed to many of my colleagues and myself from railroaders, I take this opportunity of presenting in simple form an explanation of the principle new amendments dealing with the benefit features of the law.

#### I. NEW RETIREMENT PROVISIONS

A. All retirement and survivor annuities and pensions are increased by 10 percent effective June 1, 1959. The July 1 payment will reflect this increase. There is no need to apply for the increase; it will be granted automatically by the Railroad Retirement Board. The maximum old-age annuity now is \$204 a month for a retired employee and \$65 for his eligible wife.

B. Beginning June 1, 1959, railroad earnings up to a maximum of \$400 a month will be counted in figuring the amount of any retirement or survivor benefits based on the employee's service. Also, the employee and the employer will pay retirement taxes on the employee's earnings up to a maximum of \$400 a month. Under the old law the monthly limit on creditable and taxable earnings was \$350.

C. Beginning June 1, 1959, the employee and employer retirement tax rate was increased from 6½ percent to 6¾ percent each on earnings up to \$400 a month. In 1962 this rate will rise again to 7½ percent.

D. Women employees with less than 30 years of service, and wives of retired employees, may elect to receive a reduced annuity at age 62. The annuity will be reduced by ½80 for each month they are under age 65. Under the old law they had to wait until age 65 to qualify.

E. An employee under age 65 who is retired on disability may earn up to \$1,200 a year without losing his retirement benefit. If he exceeds \$1,200 a year he loses 1 month's annuity for each \$100 earned over \$1,200. Under the old law the disability annuitant lost 1 month's annuity for any month in which his earnings exceeded \$100.

F. For veterans drawing non-service-connected disability pensions from the Veterans' Administration, the railroad retirement benefits will no longer be counted as earnings under the income limitations of the Veterans' Administration which are \$1,400 a year if the veteran has no dependents and \$2,700 a year if he has one or more dependents.

Under the old law a veteran was permitted to waive all or a portion of his railroad retirement benefits in order to come within the income limitations.

II. NEW UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE PROVISIONS

A. Benefits payable to unemployed or sick railroad workers will be, on the average 20 percent higher than under the old law. The new daily benefit rates range from \$4.50 to \$10.20 a day, depending upon the employee's annual compensation in the preceding calendar year. These new benefit rates are retroactive to July 1, 1958.

B. Extended unemployment benefit periods beyond the maximum of 130 compensable days provided under the old law will be provided as follows:

First. Those with less than 10 years of railroad service who have exhausted their unemployment benefit rights after June 30, 1957, and before April 1, 1959, can receive benefits for an additional 65 days in the period June 19, 1958 through June 30, 1959. This extension is the same as the Congress provided for all other unemployment insurance systems covered under State laws.

Second. Those who have 10 but less than 15 years of railroad service and have exhausted their rights to normal unemployment benefits can draw benefits for as many as 65 additional days in the 3 months following the exhaustion of their benefit rights.

Third. Those who have 15 or more years of railroad service and have exhausted their rights to normal unemployment benefits can draw benefits for as much as 130 additional days in the 6 months following the exhaustion of their benefit rights.

Fourth. Those who have 10 or more years of railroad service and are not currently qualified for unemployment benefits, but will be qualified employees in the next benefit year, can start the next benefit year early, at the beginning of the month in which they were unemployed 14 or more consecutive days.

C. Sundays and holidays could be compensable days of unemployment, just as any other day, whether or not such Sundays and holidays are preceded and succeeded by a day of unemployment. Under the old law Sundays and holidays could not be counted unless they were preceded and succeeded by a day of unemployment.

D. Unemployment benefits are now payable for all days in excess of 4 in the

first registration period—consisting of 14 days—in a new benefit year. The old law provided for payments for all days in excess of 7 in the first registration period in a new benefit year.

E. Beginning July 1, 1959, those who become unemployed or sick will need wages of \$500 or more—instead of \$400 under the old law—in the preceding calendar year in order to qualify for bene-

F. Beginning June 1, 1959, earnings up to \$400 a month will count toward the base year earnings of an employee and the payroll tax—paid by the employer only—will be paid on earnings up to that amount.

G. Beginning June 1, 1959, the payroll tax on railroad employers was increased from 3 percent to 3¾ percent, the new maximum rate provided by the new law.

The increase in the retirement tax rates and the taxable base are now considered to be adequate to pay for the 10-percent increase in benefits and also to eliminate the deficit in the railroad retirement account which amounted to over \$200 million annually. There is assurance that the railroad retirement system is now actuarially sound.

It is my sincere hope and prayer that the benefits of Public Law 86-28 will afford adequate security for the railroaders and their families for some time to come.

## Westinghouse To Build Defensive System for Air Force B-70 in Baltimore

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to report that the air arm division of the Westinghouse Electric Corp. will develop and build a defensive system for the Air Force B-70 Valkyrie that will act as an electronic shield to protect the intercontinental bomber from enemy attack.

This matter is not only of great importance to our national security, but is of special significance to the people of greater Baltimore, because this multimillion-dollar contract will be performed by the Westinghouse plant located near Baltimore's Friendship International Airport. Employment will be increased and the whole economic climate improved.

Westinghouse was selected to develop the defensive system after an exhaustive evaluation covering almost 200 technical criteria. This great corporation is an example of genuine accomplishment in industry's role of so complex a struggle for better and better means of national protection and the maintenance of the integrity of the free world.

As one of the Representatives in the Congress of the United States from the State of Maryland, I take justifiable pride that the environs of our city will be the

scene for such an outstanding contribution in the interest of national defense and security.

The release announcing the award of the contract follows:

Los Angeles.—The air arm division of the Westinghouse Electric Corp., Baltimore, Md., will develop and build a defensive system for the Air Force B-70 Valkyrie that will act as an electronic shield to protect the intercontinental bomber from enemy attack.

Award of the multimillion dollar contract was announced by Raymond H. Rice, vice president and general manager of the Los Angeles division of North American Aviation, Inc., B-70 weapon system contractor.

"The defensive system will make use of electromagnetic and other techniques to make it difficult if not impossible for enemy aircraft or missiles to successfully attack the B-70." Rice said. "This system with its advanced technical developments will greatly increase the manned air vehicle's capability of self defense."

He pointed out that the new intercontinental bomber with its 2,000 mile-per-hour cruising speed can fly faster than a high-velocity rifle bullet. "The defensive system provides the Strategic Air Command bomber crew with a bag of tricks to further confuse the enemy," the aircraft executive stated.

The electronic equipment is packaged in drawer-like containers which plug into racks inside the B-70. This permits in-flight maintenance by crewmen while en route to a target.

Westinghouse was selected to develop the defensive system after an exhaustive evaluation covering almost 200 technical criteria.

Dr. Patrick Conley, manager of the air arm division, said, "The mission requirements of the B-70 call for electronic equipment of highly advanced design—unlike any in use today—to provide counter-measures against enemy missiles needed to assure the safe return of this manned bomber. We consider this to be one of the most important programs in the military history of the United States."

North American estimated that more than 20,000 companies throughout the United States, including thousands of small firms, will be working on the B-70. Last year the west coast aviation firm dealt directly with more than 8,500 small businesses.

"The number and scope of technical problems involved in the defensive system dictated its development by a company such as Westinghouse," Rice said. "However, Westinghouse has indicated it will in turn establish a substantial small business subcontracting program."

Westinghouse experience in radar systems and associated equipment dates back to before World War II. The company pioneered in this work in the United States as early as 1938 and has been conducting a continuing development program on radar and other detection systems ever since.

## John Foster Dulles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. GERALD R. FORD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, the illness, resignation, and death of John Foster Dulles have resulted in a grave loss to our country and to the free world.

Secretary Dulles carved for himself a secure niche in U.S. history as an outstanding protagonist in the cold war against the atheistic Communist conspirators of the Kremlin. He proved over and over again his competence, integrity, patriotism, and his superb sense of duty. His service will be missed, but the policies which he formulated and spirit which he exemplified will go on.

Editors in my congressional district in Michigan shared this sense of loss and commented upon it more than once in recent weeks. Under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include three editorials from the Grand Rapids Press: "The Prospect Before Us," February 16, 1959; "With Deepest Regrets," April 16, 1959; "Mission Accomplished," May 26, 1959:

[From the Grand Rapids Press, Feb. 16, 1959]

#### THE PROSPECT BEFORE US

There can be no mistaking the meaning of President Eisenhower's grave word and look after visiting Secretary of State Dulles in Walter Reed Hospital. The President obviously fears that Dulles may not again return to his work. The Secretary soon will be 71. The cancer for which he was operated in 1956 has returned. Physicians say that it cannot be easily cured.

It was only last week, at his news conference, that Mr. Eisenhower said of Dulles: "America needs him." Dulles has been more than the coarchitect of American foreign policy for the last 6 years; he has been the symbol of unyleiding opposition to communism and Soviet aggression.

Other men are available to assume the duties of Secretary of State. The administration is fortunate in having placed in strategically important State Department posts such highly qualified men as C. Douglas Dillon, Christian Herter, Henry Cabot Lodge, and others. All of these are thoroughly versed in diplomacy. All are minutely familiar with present American policy, how it evolved and what its intended objectives are. They know Dulles' thoughts and the reasoning behind them. It is conceivable that any one of them could take over his responsibilities without causing even a slight hitch in the functioning of the State Department.

Yet the loss of John Foster Dulles would be a heavy one. The man as well as his policy has been depended upon to keep the Western defense line intact. Because it is known that Mr. Eisenhower trusts him completely, Dulles' words have carried all the authority of the President himself. No other man, no matter how skilled or trusted, could expect to command the same prestige and confidence until he had had time in which to erect his own foundations.

If Chancellor Adenauer of West Germany fears that the removal of Dulles from public life may jeopardize his own policies, it is not because he fears betrayal or violent changes in American policy; it is because he knows that it will take time in which to get to know a new Secretary of State as he has known Dulles. It will take time for a new Secretary to get to know all of the world's leaders—Macmillan, De Gaulle, Khrushchev, among others—as Dulles has known them.

It still is too early to say whether Dulles will be able to resume his duties, although at best he is not expected back for many weeks. Hope and pray as fervently as we may that his recovery will be swift and complete, we must face the possibility that he will have to be replaced. It is vital to the welfare of the United States and the continuing strength of the Western Alliance

that any successor be a man who will carry forward Dulles' policies without faltering.

[From the Grand Rapids Press, Apr. 16, 1959] WITH DEEPEST REGRETS

President Eisenhower's sorrow over having to accept the resignation of John Foster Dulles as Secretary of State is shared by the Nation. Only a particularly disheartening diagnosis of the malignancy that has attacked him would have persuaded Dulles to leave his post at this crucial point in world affairs. There no longer is any doubt that he is gravely ill and that he is fully aware of the seriousness of his condition.

As Secretary of State, Dulles has had a hand in fashioning more policies and programs of sweeping importance than any other Secretary in this Nation's history. With the exception of Cordell Hull (1933-44) and Hamilton Fish (1869-77), he has served longer as Secretary of State than any other person in more than a hundred years. In all our history only five others, including Hull and Fish, have served as long or longer. Since he was active in State affairs under President Truman, Dulles has wielded an important influence on American foreign policy for much longer than the 6 years he has served as Secretary under Mr. Eisenhower.

The years in which he has served have been the most critical in the Nation's history so far as foreign affairs are concerned. Crisis has piled on crisis as the result of the Communists' efforts to extend control. Many a jesting comment has been made about Dulles' fiying trips to all corners of the world, but no one has minimized the importance or necessity of his travels. One of the most astonishing things about Dulles has been the strength he has been able to summon to carry on his far-flung duties despite bad health and the inevitable toil of

It is not belittling Cordell Hull in any way to say that the burden Dulles has carried for 6 years has been greater than Hull's. Dulles has borne almost the entire responsibility for formulating American foreign policy these last 6 years, whereas much of the policy in Hull's years was of Franklin D. Roosevelt's making. Mr. Eisenhower deferred to Dulles' judgment most of the time for the obvious reason that Dulles had the special knowledge and experience necessary for developing and carrying out a sound foreign policy.

There is no use denying that his loss will be felt, especially since he has been able to speak with a voice of authority at all international gatherings. But Dulles has been a good organizer as well as negotiator. He has surrounded himself with excellent men in the State Department. All of them are capable of carrying on their duties without faitering.

Who Dulles' successor will be is something that Mr. Elsenhower apparently has not yet decided. But the President has Mnted that he is considering several possible candidates and has made it clear that there is no lack of talent available. Whoever the choice may prove to be, it is clear that he will have to be as forceful and as alert to the shifting winds of diplomacy as John Foster Dulles has been, and men with those characteristics never are plentiful.

[From the Grand Rapids Press, May 26, 1959]
Mission Accomplished

John Foster Dulles filled his first diplomatic assignment, for Theodore Roosevelt, when he was 19. Thereafter, until Dwight D. Eisenhower was elected President, he frequently was intrusted with important diplomatic missions. The best known of these, and the most brilliantly successful, was his negotiating of the World War II Japanese peace treaty, a responsibility he undertook at the behest of President Truman.

It was not, however, until President Eisenhower made Mr. Dulles Secretary of State in 1953 that he had full opportunity to demonstrate his remarkable talents in dealing with other nations. More than any other Secretary of State in the last quarter century. Mr. Dulles set policy and pattern. So greatly did Mr. Eisenhower respect Mr. Dulles' ability that he gave him virtually free rein.

Never in the history of the country did a Secretary of State give himself over more completely to his duties than did Mr. Dulles. His many airplane jaunts to every corner of the world often were the subject of jest, but no one really minimized the importance of his diplomatic travels. In the 6 years he was active as Secretary, he traveled almost 600,000 miles. He was known and respected in almost every capital of the world. His presence on the scene usually indicated that trouble was brewing. But invariably he could enter in his journal on his return home, "Mission accomplished."

History's great call on Mr. Dulles was to expose the true character of communism and to rally the free forces of the world to defend against it. He knew that the stakes in this struggle were nothing less than control of the entire world. He realized fully that, as in the hottest kipd of war, risks had to be taken in the cold war. He took them—and history records that he was right in taking them, for Communist aggression was halted.

He was a man who believed in taking a calculated risk. But the emphasis was on the "calculated" rather than on the "risk." Mr. Dulles never was one to improvise a policy on the spur of the moment. He calculated shrewdly on the basis of known Communist behavior and objectives. He weighed everything carefully and then set his course. Words might seem carelessly to spill from him, but always behind the words were days and perhaps years of study and contemplation.

As diplomats go, Mr. Dulles was a relatively uncomplicated man. He lived by the old-fashioned virtues—honesty and frankness. He said what he meant, and he always meant what he said.

Above all else, he was a man of courage. That quality was evident in his public role as in the last weeks of his life, when he lay dying of cancer. His devotion to his country did not wane despite his fateful illness.

The final measure of John Foster Dulles will not be written for many years, possibly not for decades. For the struggle to prevent the spread of communism goes on and no man will predict that the end is in sight. But whatever may be history's ultimate verdict, Mr. Dulles will stand as the man who, from 1953 to 1959, gave all of his great energy, talent and wisdom to protecting the free peoples of the world. Those people, here and abroad, must forever be in his debt.

## Physicians Warn Arlington Students of Cancer Menace in Smoking

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. DAVID S. KING

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mr. KING of Utah. Mr. Speaker, the students of Wakefield High School, in Arlington, Va., have been clearly warned by two physicians that they run the risk of contracting lung cancer when they acquire the habit of cigarette smoking.

These physicians, Dr. John Nolan, thoracic surgeon, and Dr. William Dolan, pathologist, set an example which I hope other physicians through the Nation will follow. I comment Dr. Nolan and Dr. Dolan for their effort.

The terrible lung-cancer menace which the smoking habit has cast over the American people could be appreciably reduced, I believe, if doctors in every community would do as the two Arlington doctors have done, and offer some of their valuable time to the public schools to lecture the pupils about this menace.

I commend to the attention of the Congress and the American medical profession the article from the Arlington School News which reports the physicians' visits to Wakefield High School, and I stress the words of Dr. Dolan, who, in discussing the evidence which cancer research has produced, said:

In the light of this recent knowledge, it is foolhardy for young people to acquire the habit of smoking.

The article follows:

ARLINGTON DOCTORS TELL STUDENTS THAT CIGARETTES ARE DANGEROUS

Two physicians warned Ariington high school students of the health hazards of cigarette smoking in a series of lectures given in recent weeks at Wakefield High School.

Dr. John Nolan, thoracic surgeon, spoke to a group of students on "Lung Diseases

Which Might Lead to Surgery."

"Before you take on the habit of cigarette smoking, I believe you ought to stop and consider the probable effect," Dr. Nolan told his young audience. "The tissues of the lung are delicate and I believe they can be harmed by the hydrocarbons in cigarette smoke. I have operated on many people with cancer of the lungs. In my opinion, cigarette smoking is a probable causative factor in this serious disease."

Dr. William Dolan, pathologist at Arlington Hospital, told the Wakefield boys and girls in a lecture on "Basic Concepts of

Cancer":

"Medical evidence points to a definite relationship between cigarette smoking and cancer of the lungs. In the light of this recent knowledge, it is foolhardy for young people to acquire the habit of smoking."

Dr. Nolan and Dr. Dolan were among five Arlington doctors who spoke to the Wakefield students in the lecture series. The talks were arranged by Miss Anne E. Nolte, head of the girls' physical education and health department at the school, and Dr. Marjorie F. Hughes, director of the Arlington School Health Department. The lectures were given during a study hall, and were open to any students free to attend at that time.

"I believe our students should know about the many changing concepts in health education today," Miss Nolte said in discussing the lectures. "We may arrange a similar series of talks next year."

## The State of the Nation's Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JESSICA McC. WEIS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mrs. WEIS. Mr. Speaker, the morning papers are full of the good news that

this country is now on the very threshold of a period of unparalleled economic

prosperity.

Reporting on yesterday's new releases by the Departments of Commerce and Labor, the New York Times this morning indicates that employment is at an alltime record high for May, that unemployment has dropped by over a quarter of a million during the past month, and that the average factory worker's earnings are now the highest in the Nation's history. Certainly it is wonderful to learn that our country is prospering to such a degree, and that our dynamic economy is once again operating at full speed. It is even more encouraging to me to note that the average working man and woman is sharing so fully in this prosperity. I trust, Mr. Speaker, that those who campaigned so vigorously last fall on a platform of gloom-who attempted to frighten the American people with their ominous predictions of economic chaos unless their grandiose schemes for massive Federal spending were adopted—are now reappraising their economic thinking. For this spectacular upturn in the Nation's economy is, in my opinion, a direct result of President Eisenhower's courageous stand against these irresponsible spending programs. Our free enterprise system is once again vindicating itself, and in the process it is reducing to a whisper the voices of those advocates of large-scale Federal intervention in the economy who only a few months ago were so loudly shouting the praises of the "big spending" philosophy.

I should like to insert in the RECORD at this point a portion of the article from the June 11 issue of the New York Times to which I referred earlier in my re-

marks.

SIXTY-SIX MILLION AND SIXTEEN THOUSAND ON JOB, RECORD FOR MAY—IDLE ROLLS DROP—UNITED STATES NOTES RISE OF 1 MIL-LION IN EMPLOYMENT—FACTORY WAGES AVERAGE 890.32

Washington, June 10.—A rise of 1 million jobs increased employment to a record of 66,016,000 for May, the Government reported today.

today.
The record for any month was 67,221,000 in July 1957. The previous May record was 65,-178,000 in 1957.

The increase from mid-April to mid-May, in terms of total figures, was little more than expected for seasonal reasons, but significantly the main thrust came in the nonfarm sector, particularly in the manufacturing of hard goods.

Unemployment, which normally does not change much at this time of year, dropped by

238,000 to 3,389,000.

The rise in jobs and the drop in unemployment are seldom of the same magnitude. In this case is it apparent that many persons who found jobs had previously been outside the labor force; that is, they had not been counted before either as unemployed or employed.

A REAL, SHARP DROP

There were other significant findings in the reports of the Departments of Commerce and Labor:

The unemployment rate, at 4.9 percent, dropped below 5 percent for the first time since November 1957. The rate at that time also was 4.9 percent. These are seasonally adjusted rates.

The number of long-term unemployed (15 weeks or more) fell by 280,000—a "real sharp drop," as it was characterized by Seymour L. Wolfbein, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Labor.

Unemployment was lower than it was in May of the two previous postwar recessions (3,700,000 in 1954 and 3,600,000 in 1949). Factory employment usually drops in May,

Factory employment usually drops in May, but this year there was an increase of 100,000 jobs, to 16,100,000.

The average factory worker's earnings passed \$90 a week for the first time. The figure was \$90.32. In durable goods the average was \$98.23.

The factory workweek continued upward, rising 0.2 hour to 40.5 hours per week.

Factory employment, after discounting seasonal influences, increased by 146,000.

The drop in unemployed to 3,389,000 recalled the statement by James P. Mitchell, Secretary of Labor, on April 8. Mr. Mitchell told a conference of the unemployed that he would eat his hat if unemployment was not down to 3 million or less next October.

## Resolution of Hat Workers Union, Local No. 60

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. HERMAN TOLL

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, Local No. 60, of the United Hatters, Cap, and Millinery Workers International Union, has many members living in my congressional district in Philadelphia. This organization recently adopted a resolution urging Congress to act favorably on S. 1046 and H.R. 4488, the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1959. I commend the resolution, which is set forth below, to the attention of my colleagues: RESOLUTION CALLING UPON THE 86TH CON-

desolution Calling Upon the 86th Con gress To Enact S, 1046 and H.R. 4488

Whereas all Americans must be assured of a basic minimum standard of living if we are to maintain a healthy economy at home and a position of moral leadership in the world; and

Whereas the present Federal minimum wage of \$1 an hour is inadequate to provide a bare subsistence in the United States to-day; and

Whereas more than 20 million Americans lack the guarantee of even this inadequate figure and are without any legal minitation on their hours of work; and

Whereas these shocking facts constitute a grave threat to our national economy, a challenge to our moral standards as a people and a peril to our reputation as democracy's showcase throughout the world; and

Whereas the existence of underpaid and overworked wage earners is a particular danger to the well-being of the citizens of Philadelphia; and

Whereas there is now before Congress a bill introduced by Senator John F. Kennedy and Representative James Roosevelt and cosponsored by many of their colleagues in both Houses, S. 1046 and H.R. 4488. This bill would greatly ameliorate this problem by raising the Federal minimum wage to \$1.25 and including nearly 8 million additional workers under the protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act: Therefore be it

Resolved by United Hatters Cap and Millinery Workers International Union Local No. 60, That we call upon the Congress of the United States to give prompt and favorable consideration to this bill without delay, so this serious threat to the economic and moral strength of our Nation will be swiftly met and that the conditions above described can be corrected.

Yours truly,

HARRY PLATT, President, Local No. 60.

#### Change and Obsolescence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. OREN HARRIS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Speaker, I had the privilege of attending the graduating exercises at the University of Arkansas on the occasion of the 85th spring commencement on May 30, this year. It was another most impressive and inspiring occasion. With the more than 700 graduates was our own daughter, Carolyn Marie Harris, who graduated with honors.

On this occasion the president of the University of Arkansas, Dr. John T. Caldwell, gave a most appropriate and challenging address on the subject "Change and Obsolescence." In that it is so appropriate to the problems of today and a challenge to the future, I include it in the Record:

#### CHANGE AND OBSOLESCENCE

My subject today is "Change and Obsolescence." I shall deal with it at such length as will satisfy the program designation of an "address" and yet at least enable you to observe approvingly at the end of these exercises that "the president didn't talk very long, did he."

I must bore you with a truism to say that change produces obsolescence and that the more rapid and widespread change is, the more extensive is obsolescence. And then I must make the very stale observation that observable change in the present world seems to take place at an accelerating rate and that right now appears to be the period of very rapid change. One would have to conclude that there is a great deal of obsolescence in this world. Indeed, there is.

Change and obsolescence occur in the realm of things, in the realm of social arrangements, and in the realm of ideas. They are most observable in things and in social arrangements.

Obsolescence in things results from technical advances, from changes in style, and from aging. People buy the better mouse-trap if one exists, and they know about it and can afford it and need one. Technical obsolescence results, therefore, from invention, competition, and human desire. Sometimes it is even planned.

Obsolescence of style results, I suppose, from human desire for variety, for something new, and from human individuality. I have a very elderly cousin in Richmond, Va. I shall never forget her saying to me: "I'd rather be dead than out of style."

Technical and style obsolescence are simple enough to illustrate. When tractors and other machinery replaced mules for logging. roadbuilding, and farming, it put my father and many others out of the mule business. The Paris stylists play seasonal havoc with milady's wardrobe

milady's wardrobe.

One unplanned but predictable kind of obsolescence in things occurs purely and simply on account of aging. A house or a hoe or a calculating machine can wear out, and thus become useless.

Forgive me for these banalities. They merely lead me on to a consideration of another kind of obsolescence, a kind which is vastly more disadvantageous to mankind and vastly more difficult to overcome: that is, obsolescence in social arrangements and processes. The sociologists call it cultural lag.

In the realm of government men had sooner or later to throw off the tyrannies of absolute rulers, replacing them with various forms of limited authorities. Inefficient forms of city government yielded, as recently in Little Rock, to the more efficient form of city management. Wherever the New England town meeting became no longer practicable, forms that were workable replaced it.

In the economic area one system has yielded to another down through the ages. And where the economic arrangements plus the political arrangements yielded too slowly to needed change, the obsolescence produced violent change, as in the French Revolution, or the Russian revolution, or the Chinese revolution. Where the ancient arrangements known as feudalism still persist, as they do in much of the Middle Eastern area, violent change or continuing instability threaten the welfare of the people. One great virtue of our own American political and economic system is its inherent capacity for continuous adaptation to new facts, new circumstances, and new requirements.

The processes of imperialism and colonialism should be mentioned. Colonial arrangements must not overstay their constructive usefulness, and if they do, destructive thinking and destructive solutions take over. Examples today are numerous of where the planning and timing were excellent, as U.S. relinquishment of the Philippines, and where it was not good—as in Indonesia. An obsolete colonial arrangement is anywhere a sad circumstance today.

Now the really important thing about all

Now the really important thing about all this business of change and obsolescence is that ideas are at the root of it, whether the ideas are technical as for producing a better mousetrap or a more powerful weapon, or social as for distributing food more efficiently or for solving racial conflicts, or what. Ideas are basic. So we need to ask: what about obsolescence of ideas?

This brings me to the main point and thesis of these remarks: the most dangerous kind of obsolescence in the world today is that of ideas. Men may require food, clothing, shelter and bodily care in order to stay alive. Men also live by ideas. Some of the ideas men live by are merely illusions. In many cases, these illusions are derived from obsolescence of what was once true or somehow thought to be true.

To the extent that a person makes up his mind on the basis of rational processes, he does so in terms of what he thinks is true, not necessarily on the basis of what actually is true. It is what I think is true that determines my conclusions. Leaving out the element of what is called purely emotional thinking, if such exists, when people act in terms of what they think is true, it becomes important indeed for them to know correct facts and therefore to have the opportunity to find them out.

Despite all the facts which might be marshalled to the contrary, many of our fellow countrymen still cling to what D. W. Brogan has called the illusion of American omnipotence. Closely allied to this is the illusion

of American self-sufficiency. Derived from these illusions are many errors in dealing with allies, with competing systems, even with ourselves.

We do ourselves a grave disservice when we think our allies are unimportant, when we think that making friends of the people of India and Egypt is unimportant, when we think that helping the people of Africa is unimportant, or think that the darker skinned people of Asia and Africa are inherently inferior in capacities and aspirations, or think that mediocre schools which keep their doors open for 9 months are good enough.

Some of these ideas never had any validity to begin with and in the world today they are not only hopelessly obsolete, but extremely dangerous.

Why do men cling to obsolete ideas? For many reasons. We are lazy. We all like the easy way out. We all look at the past with some rosy tints in the glass. We all like to feel comfortable and secure about ourselves and our country. Some of us exploit obsolete ideas for selfish ends. We all are quite capable of kidding ourselves in order to put our minds at ease; it often is less expensive that way. And when our comfortable illusions are disputed, we are often like the man of whom Thurman Arnold wrote: "There is no rage to compare with the rage of a righteous man who meets an idea in the market place he thinks belongs in the pulpit." We do not want the market place disturbed.

But there are other understandable reasons for the obsolescence of ideas which dogs the human society. It is a simple matter to demonstrate the superiority of a steel-pointed plow over a wooden plow. It should not be difficult to demonstrate the visible, discernible, evident advantages of a modern hard top automobile over a Stanley steamer. (I am told, however, that on a lovely spring night a horse and buggy had certain advantages over any make or vintage of automobile.) Furthermore, someone is always trying to sell us a better thing, and we present no conscious suspicion of their right to sell it or of their patriotism for trying to sell it. We do not feel offended nor do our passions get into the picture. In other words, we are usually quite objective about the obsolescence factor in the case of things.

Not so in the realm of social and political

Not so in the realm of social and political affairs. For the evidence of obsolescence is obscure; the possibility of failure of a new idea is unavoidably present; our own cherished assumptions are too difficult to relinquish; the present arrangements may have been quite good to us; and advocacy of the unfamiliar is a poor substitute for evidence of the familiar. Even in the field of education we indulge in endless discussions and polemics largely because proof of obsolescence is so hard to come by and change is more difficult than not changing. How do we know what is the best thing to do in countless problems?

You who are being graduated this evening may have been taught some already obsolete facts and ideas here. The chances are better, I hope, that you have been exposed to the leading edge of thinking in your many fields of study. What you must not do now is to allow the facts you have learned to make of your mind a warehouse of obsolescence. Will you now let the ideas you have absorbed here go unchallenged from this day forward? What seems true today by the best of evidence adduced to prove it may become false knowledge and obsolete as knowledge is expanded. Not all—but some. Ideas you possess from your living and learning up to this point will every one be subjected to critical examination sooner or later by someone somewhere.

Time at least will judge what you think you know. Wrote Lowell: "Time makes ancient creeds uncouth."

As a partially educated man or woman, aided by your learning in this wonderful University of Arkansas, you must now fulfill a duty to yourself and others by keeping your own thinking critical and unfettred, and by making certain that at all times and all places where your influence can count that the right to know and learn and criticize is held as the most precious of human rights.

A true university is dedicated to conserving this right, the right to know and to all that knowing requires. Thus the university will be in fact conservative on behalf of the greatest principle. It is also conservative in passing on to each generation the heritage of the past, thus again conserving

Yet even while performing this great conservative role, the universities will as a normal function of their existence continue to serve the most radical of all ends: the discovery, formulation, and sepaking of whatever lays claim to being true. They will do this understanding that tomorrow its specifics may be marked and shelved as obsolete.

At this special moment in your lives your alma mater, on behalf of itself and its own self-esteem, can perhaps indulge in the deep hope that you are not only contemporary in the special knowledge you have acquired here, but that you will also carry away something of the spirit of thinking and searching which is a special duty of the educated.

You can defend yourself and your country against obsolescence of ideas. This defense must be made in your own consciousness. It requires the energetic and honest effort of your mind to advance its frontiers continually.

So instead of the usual wish of "good luck to you all" let me say this time, "Good thinking to you all, from this day forward." The world needs it.

Thank you for listening.

#### Closing of Fort Polk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. OVERTON BROOKS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 10, 1959

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, our people of Louisiana continue to be disturbed over the closing of Fort Polk, located in Sabine and Vernon Parishes. I wish to call attention to the State of Louisiana Senate Concurrent Resolution 1 which sets forth the injustice and economic catastrophe which will result if the Department of the Army fails to act to reinstate Fort Polk:

#### SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 1

Whereas the Federal Government made a binding agreement with the people of this State and particularly with the people of the manuever area of Louisiana that Fort Polk would be used as a permanent army installation for at least 15 years if the State would obtain approximately 7,000,000 acres of land for manuever purposes by the Army; and

Whereas the people of the manuever area cooperated wholeheartedly in obtaining this acreage and the parishes and municipalities constructed additional schools, recreational facilities, housing and the like and floated large bond issues to carry out these

purposes in order to better serve the increased population resulting therefrom, and local merchants, landlords, and industries made expensive expansions to meet the new needs which involved many millions of dollars, all based on the binding agreement made with the Federal Government; and

Whereas the closing of Fort Polk will result in an economic catastrophe for the area and will break faith with the people thereof and will leave them burdened with excessive taxes and expensive expansions

and development: therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate of the Legislature of Louisiana, the House of Representatives concurring therein, That the Louisiana Legislature hereby protests the closing of Fort Polk and urges the President of the United States and the Secretary of Defense to maintain the vital defense post in compliance with the binding agreement made by the Federal Government; be it further

Resolved, That in the event the Federal Government does not continue Fort Polk in accord with its agreement then the people of the area and the parishes and municipalities should be reimbursed for the heavy expenses entailed by all; be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, the U.S. Secretary of Defense, and to each member of the Louisiana delegation in the U.S. Congress.

LETHER E. FRAZAR,

LETHER E. FRAZAR, Lieutenant Governor-and President of the Senate.

ROBERT ANGELLE, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

## Another Insult From International Olympic Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. FRANCIS E. DORN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 10, 1959

Mr. DORN of New York, Mr. Speaker, I want to congratulate the Washington Daily News for its excellent editorial on the current controversy engendered by the action of the International Olympic Committee in unseating the delegates from the Republic of China and recognizing the delegates from Red China. So that all of my colleagues may be informed, I quote the editorial from the issue of June 10, 1959:

Another Insult From International Olympic Committee

Once more the International Olympic Committee has thumbed its nose at Nationalist China and the majority of free world nations which recognizes it as the legitimate Government of China.

The International Olympic Committee has autocratically decided—with even less reason or logic than before—that Nationalist China can't enter the games under the name of "Republic of China Olympic Committee." Readmission had been sought under that name after the International Olympic Committee on May 28 ousted the Nationalists on the grounds that they did not represent all of China. As the International Olympic Committee sees it, Red China does.

Obviously this expulsion was a discriminatory political decision by the International Olympic Committee, bowing to Russian pressures. And, instead of being "almost unanimous," as Chairman Avery Brundage

was quoted as saying, the vote is open to question. Douglas Roby, one of the U.S. delegates, says it was only by a show of hands and as he saw it, 28 were for Nationalist expulsion and 24 against. This certainly contradicts the Brundage version.

The International Olympic Committee professes to have no objection to athletes from Formosa entering the games but it arbitrarily bans use of the word "China" in its official name. This is not only an insult, but is intrusion in a political question already decided—since 45 free world nations recognize the Nationalists as against only 22 dealing with the Pelping regime.

Our State Department properly takes the stand that the new name proposed by the Nationalists "is entirely appropriate" and it brands the International Olympic Committee's latest decision as "repugnant and ab-

To emphasize our feeling about it—if the International Olympic Committee continues its hard-nosed line—there is one conclusive thing we could do: withdraw from the 1960 games. Improbable and regrettable as that may be, growing American indignation may well warrant such a warning to the International Olympic Committee, and we would not be alone in taking that step.

#### We Need More Modern Aircraft Carriers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. PORTER HARDY, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Speaker, the recent action of the House in failing to provide the funds in the fiscal 1960 defense appropriation for an additional modern aircraft carrier causes me both regret and concern. I cannot believe that this matter has received the consideration which it justly deserves.

The weapons with which our Navy would conduct warfare have increased in both complexity and performance in a degree equal to or greater than the weapons of the Navy's sister services. But for some strange reason the funds to continue the modern aircraft carrier program, which is absolutely vital to the full utilization of Naval airpower, have been denied.

As the Army has developed new missiles for battlefield deployment, we have acquired the additional land required to increase the ranges which are required to fire them. As the Air Force has developed bombers of increasing complexity and performance, we have provided the funds to lengthen the runways from 7,000 or 8,000 feet to lengths varying from 10,000 to 14,000 feet.

In each case I have supported those actions because I knew that such support was vital to the full utilization of these improved weapons.

But this same logical support of Naval airpower has been denied, at least temporarily, and it is this situation which causes me so much concern.

In spite of my concern, I believe there is still reason to hope that logic will ultimately prevail. During the recent debate on the defense appropriation, I

recall that a number of able and respected Members on both sides of the aisle rose in support of an additional modern carrier and expressed the hope that the other body would include the necessary-funds during its consideration of the bill. So I believe that the climate for ultimate approval of these additional funds, if added in the other body, is good. Needless to say, I hope the House will have the opportunity to reconsider and reverse its recent decision.

Mr. James Elliott, military writer for the Norfolk Ledger-Star, has recently written a thoughtful and persuasive article in support of additional modern carriers for the Navy. I wish to insert into the Record this article, and I commend it to the thoughtful consideration of my colleagues:

NAVY BACKS PLAN FOR BIG CARRIER (By James Elliott)

Norfolk.—The Navy does not plan to alter its course in its quest of a Forrestal-class carrier.

A top-ranking naval officer in the Pentagon emphasized this point to the Ledger-Star today. His statement followed a setback for the Navy through action of the House Defense Appropriations Subcommittee slashing the requested \$260 million for the carrier and reports that the Navy might fall back toward seeking smaller-carriers because of the cheaper cost. One report indicated that the rebuilt carrier Oriskany was a bold experiment and that the pendulum is swinging back toward a smaller, more maneuverable flattop.

"You can't do it," admonished the Pentagon spokesman. "It is no easier to reduce the size of a carrier now than it is to reduce the length of runways being built for these modern, high performance aircraft."

The size and equipment of an aircraft carrier are dictated by the aircraft it must operate. And the size and angle of landing area and the ship's powerplant dictate the size of the carrier hull. Landing areas for the high performance aircraft must be 700 feet, and the carrier must have catapults. The Navy feels that present operations demand four catapults, such as are on the Forrestal-class carriers. The Midway class has only three catapults.

If nothing but flying safety itself were considered, the Navy could not step back to a smaller carrier. The increased landing area and angled deck have reduced carrier accidents 50 percent. The larger carrier can carry twice as much ammunition, missiles, and special weapons as, say, the Essex class.

Forrestal carriers can operate aircraft in sea conditions which would curtail them on smaller carriers. The Forrestal carriers can operate naval aircraft programed through the 1965 era, while the Essex class cannot safely and effectively operate the aircraft scheduled for fleet introduction in 1962.

For a carrier to be effective, its planes must have performance characteristics equivalent to the planes they might have to combat. The Soviet have given Mig 15 and Mig 17 aircraft to the satellite nations which means that the carriers must have planes capable of flying at high mach numbers.

Top speeds of carrier-based aircraft have jumped from 400 knots in 1950 to approximately 1,500 now. By 1965 or sooner, they will be around 1,800 knots. While landing approach speeds have been increasing from approximately 100 knots in 1950 to 145 knots now, the curve is leveling off through new design concepts so that maximum performance can be improved without seriously increasing the approach speeds.

The Navy—and the Nation—need the carrier. Anyone with any knowledge of the carrier task force must realize that the Navy cannot fulfill its function without it. And if the Navy is to fight the full spectrum of war-from limited to all-out nuclear exchange, over, on, and under the sea-it must have the instruments with which to do it.

It is popular to say "let's build something But the Forrestal-class carrier is cheaper." not a supercarrier. It is rather a modern carrier, necessary for modern aircraft and modern warfare.

## High School Commencement at West, Tex.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. W. R. POAGE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, this is the season of the year when high school students are completing their work. It is generally known as commencement season. All over this land high school graduates are receiving their diplomas and are commencing their active contribution to the life of their communi-

On May 28, 1959, the graduates of West High School, at West, Tex., presented a typically American commencement program. This program was, in my opinion, worthy of consideration as being typical of our American way of life. It was, however, more than that. It included a splendid discussion of the subject "What Are America's 10 Greatest Contributions to Civilization?" Pive of the students. Olivia Dvoracek, Linda Moseley, Bernard Lednicky, Ollie Helm, and Nell Ruth Kostohryz, presented papers. I wish it were possible to pre-sent all of these papers to the Congress but obviously there is no opportunity to include all of these documents. I do, however, want to pay tribute to their authors and to the 55 graduates, and to the high school staff headed by Mr. M. F. Kruse, superintendent; Dr. Albert L. Ford, principal of West High School; and Miss Olga Pazdral, assistant principal. The graduates were:

Jeanette Charlene Adamcik, Lillian Annie Bajer, Wesley Eugene Bankston, Doris Ann Bettge, Doris Jean Bohannan, Elmer Alfred Brem, Thomas Charles Brennan, Rose Marie Cepak, Lillie Marie Chudej, Barbara Doris Davidson, Albina Eleanor Dulak, Olivia June Dvoracek, Barbara Ann Gerik, Lawrence Ludvik Gerik, James Alton Grellhesl, Clara Nell Grier, John Larry Hardwick, Ollie Lee Helm, Clarita Catherine Hennig, Barbara Jean Hessel, Betty Anne Hodde, James Raymond Holacka, Jeannette Josephine Hruska, Julius Joseph Hubik, Jerry Wendell Janek, George Charles Jezek, Roman Anton Kapczynski, James Clement Kolacek, Nell Ruth Kostohryz, Dorothy Kotrla Kucera, Bernard Louis Lednicky, Gordon Otto Leuschner, Katheryn Faye Macha, Betty Carol Mashek, Anita Myrl Melasky, Linda Ann Moseley, Marvin Gene Owens, Rex Bennett Padgett, Milton Nelson Peterson, Betty Jean Pinter, Albina M. Picacek, Dwain Roy Pomykal, Gary Eugene Popp, Jimmie Ray Powell, Millie Ann Pustejovsky. Virgil George Schuetz, Connie Mae Sealey, Barbara Jean Silaff, Edward Joe Soukup, Mildred Regina Soukup, Shirley Elaine Sutton, Henry F. Svrcek, Shirley Ann Webb, Charles Raymond Wedeking, Donald Wayne Wedeking.

I congratulate and greet each one of them and each one of the thousands of high school graduates throughout America. On them depends the future of this country.

## The Beginning of the End

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I include the following translated copy of an eloquent letter of resignation submitted on June 8 to the President of Nicaragua by Agustin Torres Lazo, First Secretary of the Nicaraguan Embassy here in Washington, D.C. I expect this is the first of a number of such resignations we can expect to hear about and that this is one more indication of the imminent downfall of the dictatorial Somoza regime in Nicaragua:

WASHINGTON, D.C., June 8, 1959. President Luis Somoza DeBayle,

Managua, Nicaragua.

Mr. President: Conscious of my citizen responsibilities and before the transcendental political, civic, and military attitude assumed by the people of Nicaragua in their struggle to restore democratic institutions to their fatherland, I have decided to submit to you my irrevocable resignation from the post of First Secretary of the Nicaraguan Embassy in Washington and to withdraw from the armed forces of the nation, of which I have been a member since my admission to the Nicaraguan Military Academy in 1947.

I owe it to the 2 years of my stay in Washington that my democratic spirit has been fortified. In analyzing the development of everyday life in the great American Nation, observing the always courteous attitude of the distinguished officers of the Department of State, I have not been able to abandon the eternal concepts of freedom proclaimed by Thomas Jefferson which today, more than ever, have a profound universal meaning. Precisely because I believe in them, and in the understanding of the Government and people of the United States. I today begin my life as a political refugee which I am certain will bring me peace and tranquillity.

The destiny of nations is determined and decided by the will of their peoples and when those peoples, tired of oppression and torture, of imprisonment and hunger, head toward the mountain to fulfill the duty the fatherland demands, no Nicaraguan may be aloof removed from its tragedy and fight for freedom. It is for this reason that, inspired in the eloquent call to the national conscience, translated in the noble manifest subscribed by the National Opposition Union (UNO) under the leadership of Dr. Enrique Lacayo Farfan, I have taken this solemn determination.

The unanimous pronouncement of the live forces and representatives of all social tendencies, political and religious segments of the nation, against the Government, is a reality that indisputably characterizes the revolutionary movement as a resistance of authentic national determination toward recovery of their most sacred civic rights. And it is regrettable, Mr. President, that in that struggle in which all Nicaraguans equally participate, you and your brother, Gen. Anastasio Somoza, insist in forcing the armed forces, which you pretend to continue eploiting, to a fraticidal fighting which will only serve to create increased hatred, with no justification whatsoever, and a greater number of deaths, prisoners, and exiles. I hope that my honest rectification will be for many members of the armed forces, of whose good faith I am a witness, an edifying example and that their spirits will be filled with the happiness of arousing a free Nicaragua, a fatherland dignified and enlightened by her sons, where the blood and the spirit of our heroes will be as a hymnal of peace which will recall to us continually that we are all brothers living together under the same sky and led by only one fate.

My decision, dictated solely by my con-

science, I deliver with reverence to history. She, with her supreme sentence, will judge us all, those who carry the banner of freedom and justice, those who sojourn in exile under the protection of the nobility of sister nations, and those who sow through the paths of the fatherland grief and death without reason and without conviction.

And may God protect us all, Mr. President. Respectfully,

AUGUSTIN TORRES LAZO.

## Judge Irwin Davidson's Book "The Jury Is Still Out"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, many of us in the House will recall Judge Irwin D. Davidson, of New York, who served with us here in the 84th Congress. He is now a judge of the Court of General Sessions, New York County, where he is serving with great distinction.

Judge Davidson is the author of a book "The Jury Is Still Out," which has recently been published and has aroused a considerable amount of interest. As an eminent jurist, Judge Davidson is well qualified to write this book and I commend it to all my colleagues. Those who are especially interested in problems of juvenile delinquency will find it very profitable reading.

I have known Judge Davidson for many years and am happy to count him among my dearest friends. He is a native of New York and received his bachelor of laws degree at New York University Law School. He began the practice of law in 1929 and during the 1930's served as counsel to the legislative bill drafting commission and the New York State Mortgage Commission. In 1936 he was elected to the New York State Legislature, where he served for a period of 12 years and at one time was acting Democratic leader of the assembly.

In 1948 he resigned from the State legislature to become a justice of the Court of Special Sessions in New York. During the 6 years he was on the bench he made a distinguished name for himself as a great and fairminded jurist. He then resigned voluntarily to run for Congress in the 20th Congressional District of Manhattan and was elected in November 1954. It was during the ensuing 2 years, 1955 and 1956, that many of us here came to know him personally and to work with him. He is a great storyteller and many of us will surely recall his clean, wholesome humor.

Judge Davidson came to Congress shortly after his own family was struck by tragedy. His oldest son, Jonnie, had died after contracting a bone disease as the result of a football injury. Both Judge Davidson and his wife have since then taken an active interest in various charitable and philanthropic causes, particularly those seeking to aid crippled and destitute children. He has always been a wonderful family man, a devoted husband and a good father to his children. In fact, he is truly a man possessed of a warm heart and a keen sense of understanding of human problems. Now he is back on the bench, and these qualities undoubtedly are of great benefit not only to him personally but to all who come in direct contact with him.

As for his book "The Jury Is Still Out," it deals with a trial in a murder case which originally involved a gang of 18 boys, from the ages of 14 to 18 years. It was a famous case which happened some years ago when this gang, known as "Egyptian Dragons," was accused of murdering a polio victim, Michael Farmer, who had been ambushed and killed at Highbridge Park in New York. The cases of 11 boys were disposed of in children's court because of the tender age of the accused. The other seven boys were tried for murder.

In the story as depicted by Judge Davidson we have a situation which shows juvenile delinquency at its worst. Yet, it should be noted that this situation could have happened anywhere else in the United States where children become the unfortunate victims of broken homes, where they are exposed to the influences of a bad environment, extreme poverty, lack of interest on the part of parents or the community, and other factors contributing to delinquency. Perhaps society is more to blame for all this. When youngsters who live in bad neighborhoods and under a poor environment find the need for organizing themselves into gangs for their protection, then we know that society has failed these children to an extent where it shapes their whole life in a manner which causes them to act contrary to the accepted ways of society.

Judge Davidson's book deals with these influences in the home, the neighborhoods, the gangs, and also how certain nationality groups are exploited and drawn into these situations. Evidently this case must have weighed heavily on Judge Davidson's mind as he wrote his book and sought to convey the message to the American people—the message of

saving our youth from the pitfalls of crime and delinquency.

In the 85th Congress I had introduced a bill to establish a Bureau of Crime Prevention in the Department of Justice and to provide for assistance and cooperation with States in strengthening and improving State and local programs for the diminution, control, and treatment of juvenile delinquency. I am now planning to make some revisions and to re-introduce this bill at the earliest opportunity.

In the meantime, I strongly urge all my colleagues to read Judge Davidson's well-written book which is an excellent study of the subject.

## "Clean Mail" Campaign by Congress Moves Forward

EXTENSION OF REMARKS -

## HON. EDWARD H. REES

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, the growing problem of obscenity sent through the mails is most timely. At no time in our history has there been more urgent need for strong and informed leadership by the Congress of the United States in our efforts to curtail dissemination of filth and smut that should not even be printed, much less transported through the U.S. mails largely at public expense.

I have devoted a large part of my time and attention to the problem of illegal use of the mails during my entire tenure as either chairman or ranking minority member of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee since it was created in 1947., Based on my personal studies in the 80th Congress, I introduced legislation in the 81st Congress to close gaps in the laws which require the Postmaster General to exclude obscenity and pornography from the mails. As the ranking minority member of the Select Committee on Curernt Pornographic Materials in the 82d Congress, I took a very active part in the development of evidence showing that the selling of vile literature, pictures, and other unat materials is big business. I cosponsored legislation which became law in the 84th Congress, authorizing the Postmaster General to impound incoming mail of persons found to be sending this material through the mails.

The Congress supplemented this impounding authority by enactment of a stronger venue law, Public Law 85-796, authorizing prosecution at point of delivery of obscene matter, as well as at point of mailing. These two statutes represent major legislative steps to strengthen the hands of the Postmaster General and the Department of Justice in their efforts to prevent illegal use of the mails. Yet even these laws have not served fully to protect the public.

Our committee this year obtained approval of House Resolution 78, including authority to conduct further investigations of use of the U.S. mails for the distribution of salacious matter and other illegal articles. We have found that this revolting traffic has grown to unbelievable proportions.

This committee investigation has one purpose and one purpose only. That purpose is to protect the American public. The Postmaster, General testified that the American people are being bilked of nearly a half billion dollars yearly through illegal mail order traffic

in obscenity.

I do not mean to imply that the mails represent the only means for distribution of this vicious material. There are, of course, many other avenues but the postal service is the Government instrumentality involved. For this reason, the Postmaster General, almost since the inception of the postal service, have been charged with the duty of preventing use of the mails for illegal or immoral purposes. There is no provision of law which has been enforced to better purpose for all of our people than this legal duty.

When the Postmaster General finds that the mails are being used illegally, he may order mail addressed to the offender to be returned. This cuts off the fruits of the illegal venture. This system has developed into an exact but equitable science. During the past 50 years, out of the many thousands of unlawful orders issued, only five or six have been found in error.

No matter how carefully the laws are drafted, however, and however firm the legislative purpose, we often find that their administration may be quite another thing. Thus it is that, in our continuing committee studies, we find there is need of still further vigorous attack on the age-old problem of protecting the public against dealers in filth. I believe that two vital points for successful attack have been disclosed by our committee studies this year. The first relates to strengthening of the criminal laws. The second relates to public participation.

It is crystal clear to me that the incidence of criminal offenses in use of the mails for immoral purposes is directly related to the moral climate of the particular segment of the public concerned. For example, we find that the bulk of salacious matter moving through the mails originates in a certain few localized sections of the country. Certainly, it is no coincidence that prosecutions in these same localities have resulted in extraordinary light sentences where a conviction is obtained. condition bids fair to be corrected, to some extent at least, by the venue law I mentioned. Already, in one case, a court sitting in the jurisdiction where certain obscene matter was delivered through the mails has sentenced the offenders to 10 years' imprisonment. This is the kind of penalty that will make purveyors of filth think twice before starting their business. This sentence points up the absurdity of a recent slapon-the-wrist penalty handed down by another court-sitting in a jurisdiction from which a great deal of obscene mail flows-which sentenced the offender to only 6 months' imprisonment for mailing matter described by the Postmaster General as "some of the vilest material ever coming to the attention of postal inspectors."

It seems to me, therefore, that we should strive for reasonable uniformity in severity of sentences for criminal uses of the U.S. mails which are equally serious. Legislation to require heavier minimum penalties will have my sup-

The second and perhaps most necessary point of attack on the dissemination of filth requires the concentrated and coordinated assistance and cooperation of State and local governments and of the public itself. We have received thousands of letters protesting advertised and solicitation for obscene mailings. These protests come from fathers, mothers, ministers, and priests, teachers, civic association, and other public-interest organizations. These individuals and organizations are keenly aware of the seriousness of the problem and, I am sure, stand ready and willing to do all in their power. It may be that what they need most is a central point of guidance and leadership to make their efforts more effective. I believe that this guidance and leadership well could be provided by the Congress of the United States. I can assure you that our committee will explore thoroughly into this possibility. It may be that a voluntary, national campaign for decency is the answer.

Remarks of E. K. Morris, President-elect, Washington Board of Trade, Before the Junior Chamber of Commerce, June 4, 1959

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JAMES C. DAVIS

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, Mr. E. K. Morris, president-elect of the Washington Board of Trade, made a rather interesting talk to the Washington Junior Chamber of Commerce on

I think his remarks are worth reading, and under unanimous consent granted by the House, I insert the remarks herewith. Following the remarks I insert also an editorial which appeared in the Washington Evening Star for June 9, entitled "Debunking Home Rule":

REMARKS OF E. K. MORRIS, PRESIDENT ELECT, WASHINGTON BOARD OF TRADE, BEFORE THE JUNIOR CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, JUNE 4, 1959

Mr. President, my associates in the board trade, and members of the junior chamber of commerce, it is always a pleasure for we superannuated citizens and board of trade members to sit down and

break bread with the youthful, energetic Jaycees. I assure you we appreciate this opportunity offered annually to come here and talk a little about the board of trade and the fine relationship which has existed between it and the junior chamber since

I have heard from a number of our directors who, because of previous engagements, find it impossible to be here. Quite a few of them were required to be out of the city on the very urgent, pressing, and de-manding business associated with the District of Columbia bankers convention at the Homestead in Hot Springs, Va. But for all of them and those of us who are here today, let me express our sincere appreciation to you for inviting us and giving us this opportunity to sound off.

Let me also begin by complimenting the junior chamber for the fine things it has done for this community and for the excellent opportunity it affords young men to train themselves for community leadership. Witness the growing number of your graduates who serve as committee chairmen, directors, and officers of the board of

I thought it might be appropriate today to spend a few moments talking about one of the most hotly debated and discussed basic subjects affecting our city-which is the best form of government for this very unusual

To get a true picture of Washington and its problems, it is necessary to turn back the pages of history to the early 1780's and trace the city's development through the Section 8, article I of the Constitution of the United States provides that Congress shall exercise exclusive legislation over such district (not exceeding 10 miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the Government of the United States.

An act of Congress of July 16, 1790, accepted the 10-square miles of land lying on both sides of the Potomac River which the States of Maryland and Virginia had ceded for this purpose in 1788 and 1789 respectively. The act further directed the President to appoint three commissioners to survey, define, limit, and locate the city and, prior to the first Monday in December 1800, provide suitable buildings for the accommodation of Congress and the President, and for public offices of the Government of the United States.

An act of Congress approved April 24, 1800, authorized the President of the United States to direct the removal of various executive departments to the city of Washington from Philadelphia. The first meeting of the Congress in the new capital was held on November 21, 1800, by which time President John Adams had moved to the White House. By June 16, 1801, all personnel and records had been moved to the new seat of government.

The first government of the city of Washington was established after its incorporation by an act of Congress in 1802. The government consisted of a mayor appointed by the President and a 12-member city council elected by the people of the city. The council, by vote of its mem-bers, was divided into an upper house of seven members and a lower house of five. The original board of commissioners was abolished and although we had home rule. the right to vote for national officers ceased in December 1800.

In 1812, Congress amended the charter of Washington by providing for an elected board of aldermen of 8 members and an elected board of common council of 12 members. The mayor was elected by joint vote of the two boards.

Eight years later in 1820, the charter was changed again. This time it provided for the same board of aldermen and board of common council but with a mayor elected by the people for a term of 2 years. This form of city government continued for 50 years. One of its biggest mistakes was to allow that part of the District lying across the river in Virginia to be ceded back to that State on June 9, 1846.

By an act of Congress of February 21, 1871, a territorial form of government was provided for the District, consisting of a governor, a board of public works, a board of health, and a legisaltive assembly consisting of an 11-member council and a 22-member house of delegates. The board of public works consisted of the governor and four persons, one of whom was a civil engineer. The governor, the council members, and the board of public works were appointed by the President. The members of the house of delegates were elected by the people. There was also an elected Delegate to the House of Representatives of the United States with a right to speak but not to vote.

This form of government which we frequently hear advocated again today, lasted only 3 years. On June 20, 1874, it was abolished by an act of Congress which established a temporary form of commissioner government, and appointed a committee of two Senators and two Representatives to draft "a sultable frame of government for the District of Columbia" Following a report by trict of Columbia." Following a report by this committee, the temporary government was abolished by an act of June 11, 1878, which created the present three-commissioner form of government with the Engineer Commissioner to be appointed from the Corps of Engineers of the U.S. Army. Our present government, which has survived for 85 years, can be said to have been arrived at by trial and error method since it evolved after rejection by the Congress of the 1802, 1812, 1820, 1871, and 1874 types of government.

So much for history and so much for experience. There are those who will say that things are different now, that this fabulous electronic and space age has created a whole new set of circumstances which make it impossible to measure the present and the future by the past. So, let's take just a minute and enumerate a few of the unique situations in this Federal city which, I believe, discredit the contention that it should have the same form of government as other cities.

1. It is the first city ever to be conceived, born, and raised as the capital city of a major

2. At the time of its birth, it was divorced from local political pressures by being located on land ceded from the adjoining States.

3. At the time of its birth, it was divorced from national politics by the withdrawal of voting privileges from its residents.

4. The Constitution of the United States

reserves to the Congress the right to legislate for the "City of the Nation." Regardless of the type of government enjoyed by the local people, its governing officials, whether they be commissioners or a governor or a mayor, can only regulate under the overriding legislative control of the Congress.

5. The Federal Government owns 42.8 percent of the taxable land in the District of Columbia.

6. Foreign embassies and tax free organizations (declared tax free by the Congress) occupy another 6.3 percent.

7. Since the District governmental activities occupy 3.8 percent of the taxable land, the total of these exemptions is 52.9 percent.

8. Our major business-the Federal Government-pays no income tax, sales tax, personal property tax, or real estate tax. other cities, big business does pay these taxes.

9. Our parks are administered under the National Park Service.

10. Our Board of Education, appointed by the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, is an independent agency reporting to the Commissioners only on budgetary mottere

11. Our judges are appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate.

12. Our Zoning Commission has two ex officio Federal officers on it-the Director of the National Park Service and the Architect of the Capitol.

13. The National Capital Planning Commission with the Engineer Commissioner as an ex officio member is appointed by the President and reports not to our city fathers

but to the White House

14 Our Public Utilities Commission, ap pointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, except the Engineer Commissioner who serves ex officio, is an independent agency reporting to the Commissioners only on budgeting matters.

15. The Board of Commissioners is charged with preparing an annual balanced budget. The only taxes which can be raised or lowered by the Commissioners are the real estate and

tangible personal property taxes.

16. The D.C. Budget, after review by the Federal Bureau of the Budget, is presented to the Congress by the President in his annual

budget message.

17 The District of Columbia Government performs all the functions of the city, county, and State. Insofar as the Federal Aid Highway and other Federal aid programs are concerned, it is classified as a State and receives its share of interstate money.

18. Its income is deposited in the U.S. Treasury and can be withdrawn only for payment of budget items approved by the Congress.

19. The Corps of Engineers of the Army is responsible for water supply and purification but the distribution is the responsibility of the District Government:

20. The District of Columbia National Guard reports directly to the President who is the Commander-in-Chief. The Federal Government appoints the commanding general and exercises control over the guard in a manner similar to a State government.

21. The Federal Civil Service Commission rules, regulations, and eligible lists apply

equally to District employees.

22. The District furnishes the Federal Government certain basic municipal services such as fire and police protection, and water, sewer and sanitation services.

These 22 items all add up to a complicated Federal city relationship. It calls for honest, efficient administration, free from unwarranted pressures from special groups seeking special favors.

This thought was best expressed to me not long ago by a distinguished American, who will be nameless, when he buttonholed me and very earnestly poured words sub-stantially like these into my ears: "I have seen government intimately at every level from the town-county-State to the Federal Government. I have served as a mayor, Governor, Member of Congress, and in high positions in the executive branch. I know what I am talking about. No city in the world has a finer government than the District of Columbia. It is the only city where a citizen can get what he is entitled to without first "seeing a man," It is the only city where contractors and suppliers expect to deliver in accordance with the terms of their contract. It is the only city where decisions can be made in the interest of the community rather than in response to the pressures of a few. The people of Washington don't know how fortunate they are. If you don't do anything else while carrying out your civic assignment, work for the retention of the commissioner form of government."

I can assure you that there is nothing wrong with Washington's form of govern-

ment that a more realistic fiscal approach by Congress would not fix. When the vote for local officials was taken away in 1874, Congress recognized that the Federal interest here was so great that the Federal Government should pay 50 percent of the cost, which it did until 1921. Since that time, it has been going down. It reached a low of 8 percent at one time and now is at a level of 10 to 12 percent.

No firmer support for our conclusion that the transfer of revenue and budget funds to the proposed locally elected council will be accompanied by the shrinkage of the present inadequate Federal payment has been made than in the debate on the floor of the House of Representatives when the District of Columbia 1960 budget was being considered Members of the House Appropriations Committee, in response to questions from the floor, made no bones of their belief that if the District got home rule like other cities it would be on the same basis fiscally as other cities

In conclusion, I want to emphasize that there are two fundamental rights denied citizens of the District of Columbia, creating an untenable situation, which should be remedied by whatever action is required under the Constitution of the United States.

1. All citizens in this great country of ours, including those who make their home in the District of Columbia, should have a voice in the selection of the President and Vice President of the United States.

2. The citizens of the District of Columbia by free election should have proper representation in the Congress of the United States which has, and quite properly should have, final legislative authority in the government of the Federal City.

#### DEBUNKING HOME RILE

E. K. Morris, president-elect of the Washington Board of Trade, chose an appropriate audience—the junior chamber of com-merce—for his discussion last week of some of the problems involved in home rule. Much of the tall talk about home rule (if you are for it, you believe in democracy; if you are agin' it, you do not believe in deyou are agin it, you do not believe in de-mocracy) needs periodic debunking, and Mr. Morris did a very good job in explaining to the younger men of the junior chamber some of the realities.

He listed 22 unique situations in the Federal City which discredit the comparisons of home rule in Washington with the selfgovernment practiced in other American cities. The chief flaw in that comparison is that the people who practice self-government in their local affairs also participate fully in their State and national affairs. Here in Washington, founded, laid out, and developed as the seat of government under the exclusive legislative control of Congress, any elected local government would be merely another agency of the dominant Na-tional Government in which Washingto-nians have no representation. Mr. Morris' citation of the number and authority of Federal and semi-Federal agencies in Washington all with their fingers in the pie of local government but responsible only to Congress or the executive branch, emphasizes the futility of seeking self-government through the pretense of home rule.

We agree with Mr. Morris that home rule would conflict with the concept of Washington as the Federal City, and undoubtedly would place a financial burden on the local community which it could not possibly discharge, with injurious results both to the local community and the U.S. Capital. Mr. Morris and the board of trade want a real vote in the Government which, as it should, controls this Federal City not in some phony local government envi-sioned under so-called home rule. For Both Korea and the United States. Resolute Anticommunism Is Not a Policy of Choice, but the Price of Sur-

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESCRA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ORD. I include the following address given by Dr. You Chan Yang, Korean Ambassador to the United States, before the Lions Club of Washington, June 10: TEXT OF ADDRESS GIVEN BY DR. YOU CHAN

YANG, KOREAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES, BEFORE THE LIONS CLUB AT THE MAYFLOWER HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D.C., June 10, 1959

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, this is a time, of course, when your attention to international affairs is being focused by all news media upon the meeting of the foreeign ministers in Geneva. Daily, almost hourly, the news dispatches speculate cause some hopes to rise, plunge prospects, and generate confusion about our chances for peace at Geneva. This is because you all hope for the best; you all speculate that perhaps—this time--just this once-the Communists will yield a little, making an agreement on a reunited Germany possible. This is because basically you are men of great good will, governed by humanitarian motivations and directed by logical minds.

But, frankly speaking, this is only wishful thinking. The Soviet Union will not yield at Geneva. Indeed, while you are in the very process of honest negotiations and hopeful glances toward the future, the Reds will unveil their latest piece of treachery. Perhaps it will be the absorption of all East European satellites, including East Germany. Perhaps it will turn out to be the attempted coup of an oil-rich Middle Eastern nation. Perhaps it will be the renewal aggression in the Far East. Mark this well, gentlemen: The Communists negotiate only to provide a convenient mask for their next international act of aggression and duplicity.

Do I sound dogmatic, pessimistic, and even a little bitter to you? I think that my complete disenchantment with the Geneva talks is understandable. First of all, the very term "Geneva talks," has all the wrong connections for me-and for all of free Asia. Do you recall the last diplomatic negotiations in Geneva, in 1954? The West You went there with high hopes then, too. thought there was a possibility that the Communists would negotiate the Indochina crisis and provide—as the Korean armistice actually had stipulated-a political settlement of the Korean war and unification for my country.

What happened instead? . While the Communist negotiators were tantalizing you at the conference table, they were rebuilding their potential for aggression again in the northern part of Korea and they were sell-ing out the Vietnamese people. You came ing out the Vietnamese people. away from Geneva with my country not only not reunited but with another Asian country divided, ruined, and with its northern portion also traduced by the Communists. Will history be repeated? I pray not, but I personally fear so.

The very least of possible negative results evolving out of the Geneva Conference would be the achievement of the long-range aims of the Communists. Why are they eager to hold international conferences if they have predetermined to end them in failure? Aside from military considerations, one of their goals is to impress their slaves behind the Iron Curtain that the world leaders rec-Ognize the Soviet Union and are willing to negotiate with them. That helps the Com-munists build their own prestige internally. Another basic reason lies in their desire to have constantly a propaganda platform by Which they can impress neutral and waver ing nations outside the Iron Curtain with their growing importance. So the Communists are eager for more and more conferences in order to achieve their ulterior motives and to prepare for renewed aggression.

In sharpest contrast, on the other side of the globe, in my own capital city of Seoul, another international conference has just concluded. Practically unnoticed and unheralded here, the Asian People's Anti-Communist League has been conducting its fifth annual conference. These sessions Were attended by 47 delegates and observers from 14 member countries and regions and 11 nonmember nations. The purpose of this summit conference, in the words of its chairman, Dr. George Paik (who is also president of one of our largest Christian-sponsored universities) was "\* \* \* to find ways and means of exerting our utmost to exterminate the menace and tyranny of communism and to usher in a new era of liberty and peace in which each of us can live his life with security and dignity."

Again in sharp contrast to the fuzzy goals many commentators on the Geneva debacle, my great president Syngman Rhee was clear and forthright in his analysis of true world conditions, when he told the delegates in Seoul: "We must realize that there can be no coexistence between us and the Communists. Ony one side can survive-our side or the Communist side. We must have confidence and trust in ourselves. Only then can we be united and march forward. In direct contrast to communism, the greatest characteristic of the organization (the Asian People's Anti-Communist League) is that it is of the people, by the people, and for the people."

I feel safe in predicting that that recently concluded conference in Seoul will turn out to be far more productive in terms of world Deace and the freedom and democracy of Asians particularly than the vitiating Geneva talks.

We are realistic. We are openly anti-Communst. We do not equivocate. We do not wish to negotiate with barbarians. I should like you to understand the foreign policy of the Republic of Korea. It is essential to realize that the cornerstone of our basic policy is anticommunism.

This is not because we prefer what some call a negative concept, but because there is no choice. It is a question of survival, and in that sense our anticommunism is entirely positive. Without stanch anticommunism, we would have perished long ago.

The tendency here in the United States and much of the rest of the world is to conclude that the Korean war ended the Communist threat to my country and that in due time Korea will be unified. In other words, the supposition is that the Korean war dealt with the problem of communism as far as the southern half of Korea is concerned.

Unfortunately, our problem is not that simple. From the moment of the liberation from Japan, the Communists began a vast program of infiltration, of boring from within, of fifth column activities, and even guerrilla warfare.

These tactics failed because of the firm anti-Communist leadership of President Syngman Rhee, and the establishment of

the Republic of Korea in 1948. From that time forward, the Communists decided upon a policy of aggressive attack, and this was launched on June 25, 1950.

Because of the help of the United States and 15 other members of the United Nations, armed aggression also failed. However, the war was not won, but stalemated, and we have today the longest lived armistice in world history. We do not have peace, and the only security is that provided by the massive army standing guard along the 150 miles of the battleline.

After 3 years of hot war, the Communists were close to collapse. Their first task was to rebuild their shattered armed forces, and they have done so all too successfully. fact, our defense forces became so dangerously obsolescent that the United Nations command was compelled to denounce the weapons clause of the armistice agreement and to initiate a policy of modernization on a high priority basis. Even so, the Communists have dangerously strong striking power. especially in the air. Meanwhile, the enemy has renewed his campaign of infiltration and attempted subversion. Apprehension Communist agents has more than doubled in the last year, and more and more are coming all the time.

Late this month, the Communist naval officer in charge of espionage transport vessels on the east coast of Korea surrendered to our authorities. He said that he had 30 high-speed craft in his command, and that at least 700 trips are made in the course of a year. Each of the vessels, which are disguised as innocent fishing boats, carries 1 or 2 Red agents. This means that more than 1,000 agents are coming by the eastern sea routes alone, and the same officer said that infiltration was even heavier along the west coast. Additionally, many operatives cross the demilitarized zone in rugged mountain areas along the front.

These Communists seek to infiltrate our political, economic, social, and cultural organizations, and to discredit the Government. Recently, some of them also have had assassination assignments, and captured agents tell us that such attempts will be increased. The subsequent objective is guerrilla warfare and coup d'etat—with the organized military forces of the north constantly poised for direct assault at an opportune moment.

You can understand, then, why we must pin our hopes on anti-communism, not only in our domestic vigilance, but in our foreign policy. We know that Korea is only one country, and that it can never safeguard freedom and democracy in a Communist world. Korea has also learned, from bitter experience, that communism's ambition is total; that it strives for complete global power. This means that the enemy is dedicated to the destruction of the free world system and the enslavement of its peoples.

It seems to us that in failing to take strong measures now, the statesmen of the democracies are inviting the very disaster that they want to avert. The Communists are becoming stronger, not weaker. We are losing ground. Yet we know that when communism is strong enough, it will strike. To wait may be suicide. At the very best, it will still bring the horrors of nuclear war, because the Communists will not hesitate to destroy half the world in their bid for mastery. They themselves have said so, over and over again, but too many of us have not listened.

Some say that Korea's foreign policy is based upon what has been called preventive war. That is not so. We want to avoid war. But we believe implicitly that it cannot be avoided through fear of it, through appeasements, compromises, and surrenders designed to hold it off a little longer. Com-

munism understands just one countermeasure, and that is strength—firmly and resolutely applied. That was proved in the Korean war and on other occasions when aggression was resisted strongly.

An exercise of free world strength would mean no more retreats in the face of Communist threats. But it would also have the positive aspect of implementing a policy of liberation whenever opportunity presented, as in Hungary and Tibet. Our only task, then, is to drive out the hard core of communism from the northern part of Korea, and this can be done at any time when the proper opportunity arises and when our friends and allies come to see the realities of the situation.

In time to come, our democratic unification will give us opportunity for prosperity and self-sufficiency. Meanwhile, we must do all that we can for ourselves and depend upon your generosity and understanding to fill out the essential requirements of survival. This is not of choice but of necessity, and we are deeply appreciative that America has recognized the distinction.

As a proud and free people, we can at least say that you need have no doubts about either our free world loyalty or our willingness to give our lives in the democratic cause.

Together, I am confident that we and the other determined members of the free world can go forward together in amity and cooperation. With rededication to the beliefs and practices which have made America the strongest and most principled nation on earth, we also can create an order of security in which aggression is outlawed for all time to come.

## Record of House and Senate Appropriations Committees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, there appears on page A4921 of the Record of June 9, 1959, the remarks of a distinguished Member of the other body which are critical of the House Appropriations Committee.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud of this House and of its Appropriations Committee, of which I am a member.

The critic of the House claims to be, and perhaps he is, a great advocate of economy in Government. I am sure that if the distinguished Member of the other body checks the record, he will find plenty of room for correction on his own side of the Capitol, before he goes so far afield as to attempt to police both Chambers.

Let us look at the record of economy between the two Houses:

First. For the entire 2d session of the 85th Congress, the appropriations bills as passed by the House totaled \$70,127,-464,022; the same bills passed by the Senate totaled \$74,079,765,550; and the conference settlement was \$72,653,476,-248

Second. So far in the 86th Congress, only five bills have passed the Senate, with figures as follows:

	House	Senate
District of Columbia Treasury-Post Office Agriculture Interior	\$27, 218, 000 4, 628, 097, 000 3, 939, 165, 498 472, 198, 000 2, 657, 402, 994	\$29, 351, 000 4, 664, 027, 600 3, 975, 774, 848 487, 211, 025 2, 843, 902, 805

Third. At the same time, the Senate has initiated and passed bills tapping the Treasury through the back door so far this year as follows:

Airport Grants \$465,000,000
Housing Act 2,675,000,000
Bretton Woods Agreement 4,550,000,000
Depressed Areas 300,000,000

It will take some doing to hide these billions under the new carpets, however thick they may be.

## No Lasting Peace Until Enslaved Nations Are Freed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following syndicated article by Most Rt. Rev. Fulton J. Sheen, auxiliary bishop of the Catholic Archdiocese of New York, and noted writer and philosopher:

BISHOP FULTON J. SHEEN ADVOCATES LIBERA-TION OF ENSLAVED NATIONS

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The following appeared in several U.S. newspapers throughout the country as a syndicated column of Most Rt. Rev. Fulton J. Sheen, auxiliary bishop of the Archdiocese of New York, and noted American Catholic writer and philosopher.)

If a neighbor-across the street where you live had knowingly and certainly robbed every other house on your side of the street save your own; if he had murdered some of the homeowners or else sent a few of them into exile; if he had stripped many rooms of furniture and brought them into his own house, and then began accusing you of being a robber and a thief and a murderer, even writing articles to the papers to that effect, what would you do?

Would you merely say that you were not a robber, or would you write to the newspapers and merely state that you are not a thief? Or if he made charges in court, would you be silent about the plundering of the houses and the enslavement of some of the children?

Then why is it that when the United States and the Western World are accused of being oppressors of people, wanting to start a nuclear war and enslave people, of being imperialistic and an enemy of peace, do we merely make denials at the United Nations instead of giving a list of the countries that they have robbed, pillaged, raped and confiscated. Why do we not name names and remind the Soviet Union of some of the countries they have confiscated, such as Ukraine, Rumania, Hungary, East Germany, Estonia, Latvia, the Karelian Isthmus of Finland, Poland, Lithuania, Bulgaria, Armenia, Albania, Outer Mongolla, Azerbaijah, Kirghisistan, Uzbekistan and others?

Why do we not bring up before the United Nations, day after day, the problem of the liberation of each of these countries? When they were taken over Molotov said, "The carrying into effect of the present pact must

in no way affect the sovereign rights of the contracting parties." Within a short time, the contracting parties were deprived of all rights.

Instead of being on the defensive, would not our strength lie less in constantly dealing with the Soviets than in pleading for the liberty and independence of the submerged populations of eastern Europe?

#### Justice Is Done

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON, FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, I have previously discussed in this House some of the aspects of the judicial system of Japan. Further material on this subject is contained in an article by Mr. John Robb in the English edition of the Japanese newspaper Yomiuri which I include with my remarks:

JUSTICE IS DONE (By John Robb)

There are, no doubt, many very good arguments which can be produced to show that systems and concepts of justice other than those common to the Anglo-Saxon world have just as much claim to fairness, incorruptibility and respect for human rights.

I remember trying to put forward some of them during the Girard case (which seemed so earth-shaking at the time and has

now sunk into oblivion).

Legalities apart (the finer points of law are what keep lawyers in their lucrative business), however, it has seemed to me over the past few weeks that there is something sadly lacking in the sheer, commonsense fairness of Japanese law.

By fairness, I mean the principle perhaps best summed up in that old saw to the effect that "justice must not only be done, but must

be seen to be done."

I mean the kind of fairness which shows that the law has a heart; that it is not a dead set of rules and regulations presided over by some musty gentleman in a black cape and designed to be observed to the letter with no recourse to logic or understanding.

The thing which originally set off these musings was the now notorious case of Mr. Crowley who is alleged to have accidentally killed his brother-in-law during a drunken brawl in the Imperial Hotel.

#### SERIAL STORY

This case has now assumed some of the aspects of a long-run serial story. It goes on and on, its origins receding farther and farther into the past; its witnesses progressively becoming more and more vague about what actually happened on that fateful night and its protagonists living under a perpetual cloud.

I certainly do not presume to discuss the legal aspects of the matter, but I do say that the announcement last week that a verdict would be handed down on June 22 is none

too soon.

There seems to be no conceivable excuse for the period of more than a year which has been required to try a relatively simple case involving an accidental killing.

Mr. Crowley, one presumes, is fairly wealthy. But what would have been the case if he had been a poor man, unable to pay for a team of lawyers or his interminable hotel bills? Presumably he would have had to stay in jail, waiting the pleasure of the court.

If this is fair, I will willingly eat my typewriter. Now we have the case of the Belgian priest questioned in connection with the murder of a BOAC stewardess. He has been hounded publicly by the police for weeks on end, driven to hospital, subjected to all sorts of innuendoes.

Again, it is not a question of whether he is guilty or not that worries me. It is the fact that after all this publicity, all these police efforts, he is apparently being left alone.

He has had no recourse to law, because he has never been charged with anything. But to the newspaper-reading public, his name must already be smeared. The police have issued no statements one way or another.

What does this mean? That the police have decided he is innocent? That they have been unable to gather sufficient evidence? That they are biding their time? The matter is bithely left in the air; a man's career and reputation may well be shattered, but there is no recourse to any form of legal redress.

In both these cases, justice is being administered, as far as one can make out, for the convenience of the police or legal authorities. To my mind, this is no form of justice at all.

Even worse is the fact that not only have the local newspapers made no effort to complain about the leisurely way in which justice is allegedly being administered, but frequently seem to have gone out of their way to make things more difficult for the unfortunate victim.

We have the case of a local newspaper the other day referring to the "murder trial" of Mr. Crowley. What vicious poppycock. Mr. Crowley is not on trial for murder and never has been.

The articles that have been written about the Belgian priest have cast all kinds of innuendos at him, none of them substantlated by any solid facts.

If the Japanese-language press employs the same careless tactics as its English-language counterpart, those accused in trials are convicted before they even face their judges.

The recent case of the Negro who was lynched from his cell is sufficient proof of this. Although the man was only awaiting trial on a charge of raping a white woman, he was consistently described by every local English-language paper as a "Negro rapist."

This, in my view, is more than carelessness. It displays an attitude of mind which is most disturbing—and which almost precludes the possibility of justice either being done or seeming to be done.

Many things in a modern society can be done according to previously laid down rules and done quite efficiently and effectively. Elections are a good example of this—since I don't presume many people would care to describe last week's upper house election as a truly democratic proceeding.

But one thing that really suffers from being done according to rules is the carrying on of a trial. Good judges throughout the world have always tempered the law with their own wisdom—indeed, in most countries, it is the legal precedent which really make up the body of the law.

To make a man charged with a serious crime remain in a foreign country for well over a year while judges and police and procurators dilly and dally for no obvious reason is far from being just.

I know that the legal calendar in Japan is jampacked and that even the Government has had to wait several months before its case on the validity of the Constitution is

But the idea that everyone must wait his turn reglardless of circumstances is surely a complete negation of fair play. And if a nation's juridical system is not concerned with fair play, then justice has already flown out the window.

There are instances when the injustices inflicted on the person awaiting trial may be

almost as serious as the crime with which he is charged.

The Crowley case seems to me to be one of these.

## Flight From Tibet

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

TATEED II II

## HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ord, I include the following text of a report by Lowell Thomas in the New York Times of June 3, 1953, by the American Emergency Committee for Tibetan Refugees which I had the privilege of helping to organize in April, and which has already raised nearly a million dollars in money and contributions of drugs and other needed supplies for Tibetans who have escaped to India from the cruel Communist blow at their peaceful homeland. Americans have plenty of shortcomings, and no one is more critical of us than we ourselves, but it is a never-ending source of wonder and admiration to see the way Americans of all walks of life and all colors of the political spectrum will respond with spontaneous generosity to help human beings in need, wherever they are or whatever the cause of their

In ultimate terms the character and quality of a civilization are demonstrated by what it does for people. Nothing so dramatically discloses the difference between free societies and communism. Free societies try to build, communism destroys, human values. Free societies help, communism oppresses, human beings.

The report follows:

FLIGHT FROM TIBET
(By Lowell Thomas)

What does Tibet mean to the American people? I had occasion to ask this question during the past month when I unexpectedly found myself at the head of the American Emergency Committee for Tibetan Refugees. The answer tells something of our Nation—it tells a great deal more about our people. It is of enough interest, I believe, to war-

rant recording here.

When the Chinese Communists began their bombardment of the Dalai Lama's palace at Lhasa, my son and I followed the daily news with a quickening interest. We had spent some time in that golden-domed Shangri-La, and so long as we live we will remember Tibet and the Tibetans with gratitude, even affection. A peaceful Buddhist people with the view of ages from their lofty Himalaya heights, they had treated us with almost overwhelming hospitality. As the Dalai Lama fled from Lhasa we understood, perhaps better than most, the agony of this youthful leader who was forced to flee across the towering Himalayas to India and exile.

My passive interest became active when Dr. Magnus I. Gregersen of the Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons called to urge that I join him and others in a nationwide appeal for aid of Tibetan refugees. Newspaper reports then had hundreds (later thousands) fleeing through the lower passes into Sikkim, Bhutan, and Assam. Dr. Gregersen pointed out that I

was one of the few westerners who had traveled in inner Tibet and knew its people.

After consulting with a few friends, I agreed, and we set to work. Within a week a representative group of Americans were organized as the American Emergency Committee for Tibetan Refugees. Notable among them were C. Suydam Cutting, distinguished naturalist and explorer, my predecessor in Tibet and author of "The Fire Ox and Other Years," and Associate Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, like myself a lover of the Himalayas and its people.

The first question our group had to answer concerned the magnitude of the refugee problem. How many were coming out? What were their needs? How many ill and wounded among them? We sought the answer through American press representatives in India, as well as by direct inquiry of the Indian Government through Ambassador Chagla in Washington. Cables were sent off in these first tragic days but few replies were received; there was such chaos along that Himalayan border. In all this, Walter H. Judd, one of the earliest of our early group, was particularly active.

#### REPORT FROM THE BORDER

We felt we should send our own mission. Overnight a few friends supplied us with enough funds so we could cable Travis Fletcher, an experienced relief executive then working in Hong Kong to fly to West Bengal and Assam in order to give us an on the spot report. On April 10th he left Hong Kong, and on May 4th, we received the following cable from Travis Fletcher:

"Have just returned trip India where 10,000 newly arrived Tibetan refugees including many wounded from recent fighting joined additional 8,000 who have escaped since November. Sickness widespread due sudden change altitude and climate and local resources inadequate to provide relief Stop Medical aid desperately needed particularly sulfa drugs, vitamins, antibiotics all kinds relief supplies also food, clothing Stop Beg you do everything your power to mobilize American aid behalf Tibetan friends Stop This is human crisis and money urgently needed purchase supplies immediately."

"TRAVIS FLETCHER."

Now we knew that there were at least 18,000 Tibetan refugees and more coming over those lofty passes and down into the plains of India.

In all these preliminary inquiries the Indian Government gave us immediate cooperation. Earlier we had cabled Prime Minister Nehru, asking in what ways we could help. In response, we received the following cable from the Prime Minister through Mr. M. Gopala Menon, Consul General of India in New York:

"I would like to thank you very much for your telegram. Reception camps are being prepared for the Tibetan refugees by the Government of India. Mr. J. B. Kriplani, Member of Parliament, is the chairman of the Central Relief Committee, which has been set up for this purpose. It has its been set up for this purpose. office at 25, Ferozshah Road, New Delhi. One of the top men of this committee is now in Assam for the purpose of assessing the needs of the refugees and for the purpose of using and coordinating the efforts of the nonofficials in India and outside to supplement the efforts made by the Government of India. The Central Committee is being requested to get in touch with you as early as possible, and advise you the best way in which your committee can render help. The requirements for medicines are essential and immediate.

"JAWAHARLAL NEHRU."

On the basis of these advices we prepared an emergency appeal addressed particularly to members of the American business community, with no idea as to what the response would be. Tibet is just about the most remote and isolated country on this

planet, for centuries shut off by its mountains and deserts. News of the refugees streaming over the frontiers had virtually disappeared from the press with the knowledge that the Dalai Lama had taken refuge in India. Yet we felt it was worth while making the attempt.

#### AMERICA RESPONDS

On Monday evening, May 4, we called on our friends for support, and by the following morning came a warm response. The great pharmaceutical firm of Chas, Pfizer & Co., Inc., pledged a major contribution of antibiotics and other vital drugs. A few hours later Bristol Laboratories, Inc., offered a similarly generous gift.

Pan American World Airways responded with an immediate offer to transport all drugs on a priority basis. By Thursday, May 7, the first shipment of the Pfizer medicines went off from Idlewild, an enthusiastic indication of the way the American pharmaceutical industry was eager to meet this dramatic and tragic emergency. All in all this has been one of the most heartening experiences of my life.

#### THE NEED FOR FURTHER ASSISTANCE

Aside from medical needs, further reports indicated a need for clothing, blankets, and the many other things required to take care of the growing stream of refugees. The Tibetan plateau is at an altitude loftier than the tops of our tallest mountains, and it was clear that the transition from the high to the lower climates would mean sickness, possibly an epidemic. To meet these needs within the very first days more than \$100,000 was subscribed, coming from all sections of the country and coming, literally, by return mail.

Following Prime Minister Nehru's suggestion, we are now in touch with the Central Relief Committee for Tibetan Refugees, a parallel citizen's movement in India. Mr. Asoka Mehta, a member of that committee and a distinguished Indian political leader, now in this country, confirms the word that we had, that through our Indian friends we can reach and help every Tibetan refugee so long as the funds are made available.

Why did our people respond? Apparently it is not merely that the peace-loving Tibetan people are the latest victims of Chinese Communist imperialism. It goes deeper into our tradition and our national soul. Alien as the Tibetans are to us— a people speaking an obscure language, isolated for centuries from our world—yet they are human beings who, like us, believe "in the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God." We hold a common concept of freedom and independence, and it was obvious our people wanted to help.

Our Tibetan friends have fallen on evil times. They are refugees in a land not their own. They are in desperate need. It is as simple as that.

The members of our Committee feel sure that the American people will continue to help these courageous men and women now gathered together in hastily constructed refugee camps at the foot of the world's tallest mountains. We will help them through the appropriate Indian agencies and in cooperation with the Indian Government until these pitiful refugees are once again able to resettle in their own land in freedom and in human dignity. They are Buddhists, and although we follow different paths we are one in our belief in the worth of the human personality.

Those of you who read these words may wish to join other Americans in this work of brotherhood. If so, please send your contribution at once. It is urgently needed, and it will be used to help some one or more Tibetan refugees among the many thousands now in India. Together we will enable the Tibetan refugees to rest a little easier, hope a little more, and gain the strength and courage that they will need for the future.

# Daily Digest

## HIGHLIGHTS

Senate debated nomination of Secretary of Commerce Strauss. House worked on bill fixing wheat program for 1960 and 1961.

## Senate

## Chamber Action

Routine Proceedings, pages 9441-9482

Bills Introduced: 5 bills were introduced, as follows: S. 2156-2160.

Bill Reported: Report was made as follows: S. 2094, AEC authorizations for fiscal year 1960, with amendments (S. Rept. 386).

Page 9442

President's Message—Atomic Energy: Message was received from President relating to the introduction of modern weapons into NATO defenses, accompanied by Agreement for Cooperation on Uses of Atomic Energy for Mutual Defense Purposes between U.S. and Greece, signed in Athens on May 6, 1959—referred to Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

Pages 9466—9467

Calendar Call: Order was entered that on Friday, June 12, at conclusion of routine morning business, calendar will be called for unobjected-to bills, beginning with Order No. 265 (S. 292, authorizing the sale of certain lands to State of Missouri).

Page 9480

Secretary of Commerce Strauss: Senate continued debate of nomination of Lewis L. Strauss, of New York, to be Secretary of Commerce. Pages 9482-9490

Legislative Program: Majority leader announced that on Monday or Tuesday, June 15 or 16, unanimous-consent agreement will be proposed to set a time to vote on confirmation of Lewis L. Strauss, to be Secretary of Commerce.

He also announced that Senate will take up, some time next week, AEC authorizations for fiscal year 1960 (S. 2094 or H.R. 7537).

Pages 9482, 9483

Confirmations: 16 nominations in the Coast and Geodetic Survey were confirmed.

Page 9495

Nominations: 86 postmaster nominations, and 4 nominations in the Public Health Service, were received.

Pages 9494-9495

Program for Friday: Senate met at noon today and adjourned at 6:02 p.m. until noon Friday, June 12, when, after morning hour, calendar will be called, beginning with Order No. 265 (public lands in Missouri), to be

followed by further consideration of nomination of Lewis L. Strauss, to be Secretary of Commerce.

Pages 9480, 9490, 9494

## Committee Meetings

(Committees not listed did not meet)

## APPROPRIATIONS—COMMERCE

Committee on Appropriations: Subcommittee concluded its hearings on H.R. 7349, fiscal 1960 appropriations for the Department of Commerce and related agencies, after receiving testimony from numerous public witnesses on various items in the bill.

## APPROPRIATIONS—DEFENSE

Committee on Appropriations: Subcommittee continued its hearings on H.R. 7454, fiscal 1960 appropriations for the Department of Defense, receiving the testimony of Rear Adm. W. F. Raborn, Director of Special Projects, Bureau of Ordnance; Rear Adm. J. T. Hayward, Assistant Chief of Naval Operations (Research and Development); Rear Adm. Rawson Bennett, Office of Naval Research; Gen. Robert S. Moore, Office of the Secretary of Defense (Comptroller); and John A. Wylie, Office of the Secretary of Defense.

Hearings continue tomorrow.

## APPROPRIATIONS-JUSTICE, AND USIA

Committee on Appropriations: Subcommittee continued its hearings on H.R. 7343, fiscal 1960 appropriations for the Departments of State and Justice, and the Judiciary, with testimony in a morning session from Attorney General William P. Rogers, who was accompanied by his associates.

In an afternoon session further testimony was received from George V. Allen, Director, U.S. Information Agency, who was also accompanied by his associates.

Hearings continue tomorrow.

## APPROPRIATIONS—MILITARY CONSTRUCTION

Committee on Appropriations: Subcommittee held hearings on fiscal 1960 budget estimates for military construction.

# Appendix

#### Tribute to Roy Bedichek

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON, LYNDON B. JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday June 12, 1959

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, a few days ago one of the best-known citizens of Texas passed away. He was Roy Bedichek, of Falls County.

Roy Bedichek was a man who knew every nook and cranny of Texas. He had a deep love for the countryside and for the animals, the birds, the flowers, and the plants of which it is made.

He was a kindly man and a gentle man—a man who was held by his fellow

Texans in deep affection.

The New York Herald Tribune today has published a beautiful tribute to Roy Bedichek, written by the distinguished author and my fellow Texan, Stanley Walker. I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Walker's article be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record,

as follows:

[From the New York Herald Tribune, June 12, 1959]

MOST CIVILIZED MAN IN TEXAS
(By Stanley Walker)

Marlin, Tex.—The other day while a light rain was falling, a small motorcade from Austin followed a hearse more than 80 miles up one of Texas' busiest highways. It finally stopped at an old cemetery at Eddy, a small town near here, and the journey was over for Roy Bedichek (Bedi, the Bird Man), who had been called "the most civillized man in Texas."

Bedichek, who was 81 when he died, was brought from Illinois at the age of 5 to Falla County, where he began his long and fruitful association with the flora and fauna of this area. He was familiar with the county seat, Marlin, once famed for its springs which gushed forth waters of varying temperatures and of supposedly marvelous therapeutic properties. In the great days John McGraw's Giants did their spring training at Marlin, The truculent McGraw liked this part of the country very much, and so did the scholarly, thoughtful Bedichek. By and large, things are pretty dull around here these days. The glory is gone, but Falls County claims Bedichek as its own.

Bedichek was by all odds the best known Texas naturalists, though he insisted on keeping his amateur standing. His few Works, written when he was past 70, and in particular his "Adventures With a Texas Naturalist" were quite as much respected in England as in the United States. He early recognized that Texas was a bird paradise, an enormous flyway for many migrants, and he never tired of his bird studies. Indeed, he was preparing to take a walk near his home in Austin, armed with his usual stick

and binoculars, when he suffered his fatal heart attack

As a young man, Bedichek tramped over the English French and German countrysides; he explored the rivers of West Virgina; he worked for a time in a packing plant at Chicago (the most revolting experience of his life); he ran a little newspaper in New Mexico, and worked for a time as a city editor in San Antonio: he taught school, and he was a good teacher. How-ever he became best known through his association with the University of Texas, beginning in 1914, for from that date until his semiretirement a few years ago, he was director of the interscholastic league. which ran statewide competitions in athletics, spelling, debating, speech and so on. When traveling over the State for the league, Bedichek preferred to avoid towns at night, camping instead out in the country and cooking his own meals (he spoke highly of an unexciting concoction known as Bedichek's shepherd's pie).

J. Frank Dobie, the old folklorist who was one of Bedichek's closest friends, said that Bedichek had the most richly stored mind of any man he had ever known. He could discourse on the strange vegetation he had found in out-of-the-way graveyards, on the observations of Herodiotus, on the true nature of the music of the mockingbird, on the virtues of competition among human beings, upon various dietary theories, on the work of just about any good poet one cared to mention—all in a soft, clear, diffident tone. He was a born charmer. Tall, erect, handsome, he looked to be less than 60—not 81.

The rich storehouse of his mind was by no means the only thing that set him apart from the general run of Texans—or other people, for that matter. He never sought to build up an estate. He kept fairly busy, in his fashion, but he avoided hard work with a studied, consummate cleverness. His friends virtually had to lock him up for a whole year on a little ranch in Hays County, near Austin, so he could write his first book. In the afternoons he usually could be found swimming at Barton Springs, a beautiful spot on the edge of Austin. He seemed to like the company of idlers, dreamers, misfits who in the eyes of the world were never going to amount to anything, but who for some reason he found stimulating.

Although he disclaimed any direct responsibility for it, some observers think that Bedichek's greatest accomplishment (forgetting for a moment his contribution to the appreciation of birds) was in the revolution of the speechmaking technique of Texans. He helped show the youngsters that the old-time fustian, the roaring demagoguery, the bogus eloquence, was not nearly so effective as the clear, concise, calm statement of facts.

He was proud of his powers of observation. Once, while on a walking trip with him in a rough area in Hays County, I spotted a rattlesnake coiled on a big rock. He reluctantly agreed we should kill it. Then he brooded for hours, and stopped speaking to me. Finally, that night, I found out why. He burst out: "You. You saw that snake before I did. Incredible. I just can't understand it."

He liked to be thought of as a sort of natural man, attuned to the vast and intricate symphony of nature, but there was one embarrassing defect which I discovered last year when we were visiting the 17,000-acre ranch (a wondferful wildlife preserve) of Charles Pettit in Bosque County. When bedtime came Bedichek insisted that he be put off to himself in a small room, as far away from other sleepers as could be arranged. "I am," he explained, "the loudest and most horribly raucous snorer ever heard of. Yes, I know, it's unnatural. I'm not attuned after all. Something, somewhere, is wrong."

#### Necessity for Adequate Medical Research

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON, RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the statistics showing deaths caused by various kinds of diseases are sometimes cold and impersonal. However, there is nothing impersonal about disease. It strikes anyone, anywhere, at any time.

Therefore, I feel all of us have a lifeor-death stake in the fight against disease. The weapons used in this allout war against disease are scientists with their microscopes and test tubes.

The money to support these scientists as they discover the secret weaknesses of the tiny but deadly germs is, I feel, one of the best investments mankind can make. It was for this reason that I joined in sponsoring the bill for international cooperation in health research.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a constructive editorial from the Washington Post and Times Herald for Friday, May 29, 1959, telling of the need for the research and, particularly, mentioning the fine work of the able, distinguished and respected senior Senator from Alabama [Mr. Hill], long known for his outstanding work in the field of public health. The editorial is entitled "What Money Can Do."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### WHAT MONEY CAN DO

Money is no cure-all for mankind's many unsolved medical problems, but the case which scientists made before a Senate sub-committee for more funds for the National Institutes of Health surely is compelling. The most dramatic testimony probably was the statement by Dr. Sidney Farber of Harvard that the death rate among cancer patients has declined from 1 in 3 to 1 in 4 in large part because of research conducted with Government funds. A niggardly approach by either the administration or Congress toward the legitimate needs of medical research thus amounts almost to a planned slowdown of medical progress.

During 3 days of hearings before the Appropriations Subcommittee for Health. Education, and Welfare, headed by Senator LISTER HILL, Democrat of Alabama, 16 of the Nation's leading medical scientists docu-mented the need for a total of \$134 million more in NIH research funds than the \$344 million voted by the House. The administration had asked for only \$294 million. When the additional money that was requested by the scientists is measured in terms of lives it does not seem to be an impossible burden for the American people to bear. In fact, most voters undoubtedly are prepared to pay the cost of an adequate medical research program.

Oregon Educators Win Acclaim for Role in Strengthening Education in Nepal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, on several occasions I have brought to the attention of the Senate the work of a team of University of Oregon educators in carrying out an International Cooperation Administration project designed to strengthen the teaching profession in Nepal and assist in the development of an expanded program of higher education in that country.

Recently I received a letter from Paul B. Jacobson, dean of the School of Education at the University of Oregon, informing me that this group will end its

activities in Nepal in the fall.

I am proud of the record of achievement which this Oregon group compiled in carrying out the assignment given them by ICA. I believe that their efforts represent a significant part of our worldwide effort to aid less developed countries to realize a higher standard of living. My opinion in this regard is shared by ICA. Mr. Guilford Jameson, ICA Deputy Director for Congressional Relations, wrote me earlier this week that "Oregon has left an excellent, worthwhile and permanent impact" on Nepal.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the letters written by Dr. Jacobson and Mr. Jameson be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON. SCHOOL OF EDUCATION, Eugene, Oreg., May 29, 1959. Hon. RICHARD NEUBERGER,

U.S. Senate Office Building,

Washington, D.C.

DEAR DICK: We have just signed the third amendment to our contract for work in Nepal and will close out our activities on September 30, 1959. Our primary purpose in setting up the teacher training institution has been carried out. Our second hope of building the university cannot be real-ized at this time, because of the inadequate financing in Nepal. The preparation of adult literacy materials is well underway.

We have enjoyed our experience with ICA, and we believe we have left a permanent impact on Nepal. Should our services be needed in another area, we will, of course, be glad to serve. As you know, Dean Victor Morris and a group of five economists will leave for a 2-year tour of duty in South Korea probably in July.

With kindest personal regards, I am, Cordially yours,

Paul, P. B. JACOBSON. Dean.

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION ADMINISTRATION. Washington, D.C., June 9, 1959.

Hon. RICHARD NEUBERGER, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR NEUBERGER: A copy of the letter of May 29 sent to you by Dean Paul Jacobson of the University of Oregon School of Education has just been received by ICA.

From conversations with those in charge of the Nepal program, I have learned that there is high praise for the contribution made by the representatives of the University of Oregon. In Dean Jacobson's words, the Oregon party has left "a permament impact on Nepal." We would also add two words to make the sentence read "Oregon has left an excellent, worthwhile, and permanent impact."

It can be said with candor that the education program has been one of the most successful of our American-supported technical cooperation projects in Nepal. Its success is due in great measure to the excellent contributions made by the highly qualified personnel supplied by the University of Oregon.

That Oregon was not able to fulfill the second of its objectives, namely, the estab-lishment of a national university in Nepal, was in nowise the faulty of the Oregon party. The Nepalese were not ready at this time to take the necessary steps to develop a university. We will have to wait a number of years before the Nepalese have created the will and marshaled the resources for such an endeavor.

On the record of its successful service in Nepal, the university will be considered again when the need develops for contract services in the educational field in our worldwide program.

Not only have we appreciated the services in Nepal of the University of Oregon but we have also appreciated your interest in what its personnel has been doing there. We hope your interest may continue beyond the time of expiration of our contract with the university.
Sincerely yours,
Gu

GUILFORD JAMESON, Deputy Director for Congressional Relations.

Address by Samuel F. Pryor Before Graduating Class of St. Bonaventure University, New York

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, one of the fine educational institutions in my State, St. Benaventure University, recently conferred an honorary degree upon Samuel F. Pryor. Not only did this great Franciscan college salute Mr. Pryor; it also had the added satisfaction of hearing an interesting address from him.

An inveterate world traveler and eloquent spokesman of aviation philosophy. Mr. Pryor speaks from experience, when he reviews the future vistas of travel and time.

It is particularly appropriate that his remarks should be delivered at a college and before a faculty which has gained justly merited fame for its dedication to spiritual strength, academic endeavor, and thoughtful progress. By combining respect for the moral and intellectual life with belief in America and the cause of the free world, St. Bonaventure University has made an indelible mark.

In the context of the proud record of this great seat of academic learning, I ask unanimous consent to have Mr. Pryor's address printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TIME PAST, TIME FUTURE

(Address by Samuel F. Pryor, vice president of Pan American World Airways, before the graduating class of St. Bonaventure University, St. Bonaventure, N.Y., June 7, 1959)

My first contact with St. Bonaventure was when I had the pleasure of bringing back from Germany Father Thomas Plassmann because he wanted to spend the rest of his days on this campus which he loved so well.

Young men and women of St. Bonaven-ture's class of 1959—you have been privi-leged in studying in an institution which has just recently finished its first 100 years. You have been even more privileged in studying under the Franciscan Friars and their associated dedicated lay professors. Now that I am one of your classmates, may I say to you my business is air transportation-or air travel. In this age in which we live, we in this business must always be looking into the future and always with time in mind.

Tomorrow you start a new life. May one who had the same experience just 38 years ago say that the first thing you must realize is: from now on you must face facts. If you go on to run a business, you will quickly discover that difficult problems can be put aside but can never be dismissed. Facts must be faced and so often the unpleasant facts of life lie close to home.

Travel abroad brings facts into sharper focus. Travel abroad opens our eyes to new horizons, to new understandings, to pleasure. to trade, to exchange of ideas. But travel abroad also often opens our eyes to dangers which lie at our very feet.

In May 1950, I had the honor of talking to a group of young women on the side of a beautiful valley in Idaho. I had just re-turned from traveling in Europe and the Pacific. I wanted to bring them good news. But I had to report the truth and said, "We are very close to a shooting war-much closer than you realize." One month later, in June, 1950, came Korea.

On returning from Germany in 1954 I had the honor of talking in Washington, D.C., before the Women's Forum on National Security. I said that we had learned when we captured scientific material after World War II that German scientists had brilliantly carried out the technical details for a manmade satellite. The Germans conceived this satellite originally for peaceful purposes as a way station for the interplanetary travel of the distant future. This satellite would revolve around the earth in an orbit 600 miles away; its most outstanding feature was to be a giant mirror with an arrangement for changing its focal length so that

the sun's rays could be either concentrated on a small area of the earth, resulting in immense heat, or spread over a large area controlling weather. But such a mirror focused on any major city in the world—our own Buffalo, New York, Chicago, or Washington-might be able to burn to a crisp in a matter of minutes every man, animal, plant, tree, or shrub.

That, unfortunatey, we had definite reason to believe that the Russians not only shared with us paper knowledge of such an earth satellite but that they had also in their control some of the German scientists

who worked on this project.

In 1957 came the Russian satellite sputnik. In the few minutes I have to talk to you here today, I bring no prophecies of war. If I did, I am morally certain that what I would have to prophesy would be the end of civilization. In nuclear war no one will get rich. Once this kind of war has started we won't have to give statistics on casual-, ties as we have done in past wars because unfortunately human life, muscles and brains, will be useless against nuclear power. The next war, which cannot and must not take place, will have no parades, no bands, no flags, and no romance. Today-your graduation day-humanity itself must face facts.

What I would like to talk to you about can be embodied in one word, "time." Time past, time future. All that I have to say in these very few minutes relates in one way or another to the concept of time in the relation to the world today and the respon-sibility for the use of that time.

Time does not stand still. As Shakespeare had one of his characters say, "I waste time, and now doth time waste me." Time recognizes neither the clock nor the calendar and the fateful words of the Bible concerning the arrival of the time of death-"You no not the day or the hour"-have come suddenly to have as much meaning to us as a nation as they always have had for us as individuals.

Time is a currency which, if used well, can purchase success in a material way. But, by the same token, it is also very important to keep in mind that time, if wisely used, can also purchase success in that which is the most important way—the spiritual way.

I have had the privilege of visiting many of the ancient cities which are now either in ruins or buried underneath desert sandsamong them the ancient pre-Christian Kingdoms of Qataban, Hadhramaut and Saba, the home of the Queen of Sheba. I have Visited Sheba's capital, Marib; Timna, the capital of Qataban; the great lost city of Shabwa; the ancient frankincense city of Sumhuram; on our own continent, Chichen-Itza. Some of these civilizations have been buried now over 2,000 years. Each of these cities, in its proper time, stood at the peak of achievement and accomplishments. Each asserted its influence throughout the then-known world. Each was the leader of its time.

Pondering over these ruins caused me to Wonder about ourselves. How much time do we have and how wisely will we use itthese are questions to which you young men and young women will have to provide the answer.

As a matter of fact, we have so little time. We must maintain our material strength which, unfortunately, is the only kind of strength our adversary in the cold war respects, so that we may ultimately achieve our long-term aim which is a genuine peace for mankind. We are blessed with a strength not possessed by our adversary, atheistic communism-that is spiritual strength.

The late great Secretary of State, John Poster Dulles, stalwart advocate for a genuine peace and spiritual values, said we must as a Nation wage peace and make the same sacrifices nations do in waging war. In that

way we must bend all our efforts to achieving a just peace—not a propaganda peace.
In this era when cold war tensions can be

instantaneously resolved into a world split into minute particles, predictions about the future are almost meaningless. The present tensions over Berlin, the Middle East, Quemoy, Matsu, and the dozens of other potential trouble spots all over the globe, should neither be exaggerated nor ignored.

In my lifetime, I have lived to see every great development in inventive productivity, whether it be in transportation, farming, atomic uses-changing almost hour to hourthe first automobile; the first movie; the first radio and television: the first submarine; the first assembly line; the first miracle drug; the first airplane; the first guided missile; and, I am sorry to say, the futile sequences of two world wars.

We have faced time past. Now let us look at time future. Here may I narrow my predictions to a field related to my businessair transportation. You will see wonders surpassed by wonders in the next years before you return here for your 15th or 20th annual reunion, or about the time your sons and daughters are attending their own col-

legiate commencements.

You know that now we can take 111 passengers from coast to coast in less than 5 hours or across the Atlantic in less than 7. But this time will be obsolete within 10 years. By then American air carriers will be flying jets or ramjets that move at speeds of mach 3-about 2.000 miles an hour. It will take only about 90 minutes to fly from New York to Los Angeles and about 2 hours from New York to Paris or Rome. Spending the weekend in the Eternal City will become as commonplace as commercials on television. And, even more dramatic, after thatand not too long after that-flights to the Moon and to Mars and Venus will be possible. Flights to the Moon at speeds of 25,000 miles an hour will take less than 9 hours because the Moon is only 221,000 or so miles away. Those of you who might consider going to Mars or Venus would be wise to get enough reading material for a long trip. Venus is 26 million miles away, or 43 days at 20,000mile-an-hour speeds. Mars is even more distant—34½ million miles, or 58 days away. Remember—this is the time it took to go from London to Boston by sail at the time of the Pilgrims.

These pilgrimages into space will come. The rocket engines to make voyages of this sort possible are already under construction. The same is true of the space capsules which will be forerunners of large passenger-carrying space ships.

While on this subject of travel to outer space may I have your kind indulgence for a monetary speculative digression. I am sure that the good friars who have taught you will find no problem of explanation if and when man will reach the moon and the outer spaces. They know that not only the. earth on which we live but the entire universe, as St. Paul put it centuries ago, was made by God in the image of his eternal son, Jesus Christ. These friars, I am sure, could also tell you, and probably have told you, that the theological teachings of their own Franciscan school have been that Christ would have come into the world even though man had never sinned. However, His coming would have been in the role of a king rather than as a redeemer. Now you might pose the question to them, "When we reach the planets of Mars and Venus (scientists tell us that they believe that human life will be found there) what kind of people will they be?" The good friars will tell you that these people will be either like unto ourselves-that is, weighted down with the weaknesses of human nature consequent upon original sin and therefore redeemed by Christ, or they will possibly be a superior people not weighted down with the weak-

nesses of human nature, never having been touched by original sin. If so, they will know Christ as a king rather than as a redeemer. We on earth might be very em-barrassed indeed if we found somewhere in space faultless people.

Once again may I remind you that you are especially privileged because the good friars who have taught you have been very cognizant of these changes that have taken place in the world in which they are living. find these time-saving means of transportation very important in accomplishing their own work. Their fellow friars, too, have been able to carry the Gospel teachings to all parts of the world through these means, and will continue to do so through greatly accelerated aviation advancement.

I could go into many more scientific advances that you will see and experience. But all this is dependent upon your helping to bring about a lasting, just peace in the world-again, not a peace for propaganda purposes. And now, young men and women of the graduating class of 1959, to a large extent it is up to you to play this important role in shaping America's future. From now on time is yours to use and you will be

judged on how you use it.

Mrs. Pryor and I have had the privilege of seeing almost every nook and corner of this world. On one of our trips we decided to close our eyes to everything political, sociological, and war threatening, and to see only the beauty of the world. After this trip we concluded we truly do live in a very beautiful world. In fact, many times we have have said to each other we have heaven on earth here except for one thingpeople. People are responsible for confusion. for trouble, for unhappiness.

When you leave here today you be the kind of person always looking to help—not to be helped-and in so doing you will find

unlimited rewards.

You, as undergraduates, have found on your campus someone who has offered you a wonderful friendship. Multiply your campus many times over and you have our free world as it is today. But, the world is being reshaped by this new concept of time, for this kind of time brings nations into contact with each other. That being so, we would like to live in the hope that all nations, not just the free nations, will come to want a real peace with justice in the world.

And, finally, there is one big unanswered question which each of us must ponderthat is, whether our minds and our hearts have it within them to match the speed of sound, and understanding in love for our fellow man-not just in our back yard, not just in our county, or our State or countrybut across the earth. This is the kind of program the Sovietized nations fear most, It is long and hard and fraught with danger and difficulty, but being able to meet danger and difficulty is what has made our country great.

It is our solemn obligation to walk this path in friendship and peace in fulfillment of our mission on earth because then, and then only, can all of us join together and truthfully say, "Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven."

## Let Congress Face It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to extend my remarks and to include a very June 10 edition of the Christian Science Monitor:

LET CONGRESS FACE IT

The failure of Congress to do something effective about American farm surpluses amounts to a shocking breakdown of representative government. The vast majority of citizens want action. Farmers themselves decry the waste in surpluses for which the Government paid \$9 billion. Both parties have promised solutions. Neither has pro-

Indeed, current measures being pushed in Congress-directed at the most ridiculous surplus-are mere excuses. Supposed to hold down wheat production, they could end by increasing it. For they embody two Alice-in-Wonderland theories Congress uses

in farm legislation.

One is the belief that crop surpluses can be reduced by offering farmers incentives to The second is that increase production. The second is that acreage restrictions will hold down production at a time when yields per acre are being doubled by improved seed, fertilizers, and cultivation. These two theories are illogical on their faces and have been exploded in practice. But Congress still clings to them.

Let's be fair to Congress. Crop surpluses are only half the problem. The harder half is the surplus of farmers. Hardships of the displaced evoke our compassion. But the husks-off fact is that the industrial revolution on the farm makes it possible for several million fewer farmers to meet American

needs for foods and fibers.

This change is not unlike that experienced in the original industrial revolution when introduction of machinery made the labor of millions of hand workers unnecessary. Would it have made sense to keep those people employed by having the Government buy and store the surplus goods produced? As much sense as what Congress is doing.

For in seeking to help farmers without machines to stay on the land it has only partially succeeded-about 5 million have quit farming since the war. And in trying to keep up prices for them it has offered terrific incentives for overproduction to farmers with machines. For instance, price supports for wheat at \$1.90 a bushel are three times the production costs of some big wheat farmers. About 10 percent of the growers get most of the price supports.

A wiser basic policy would be to work with rather than against the forces of economic change. Men no longer needed on the land could be more truly aided by helping them find other jobs which need them than by trying to keep them working in unequal competition with new machines and methods on

the farm.

Many Congressmen attempt to shift the blame to Secretary of Agriculture Benson. He has made mistakes, and he has offered no complete answer. But he has courageously sought lower price supports. And he only administers laws Congress has adopted. It must assume responsibility for basic policy failures. Congress should be required to face that fact and to take more effective action.

#### Full Employment and the Good Life

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. JAMES E. MURRAY

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, farmers and workers in the United States

timely editorial that appeared in the have a common interest in a high level economy. Although there are constant efforts to keep working people on the land and in factories divided, and thereby neutralize their effectiveness, their basic interests are parallel.

A splendid exposition of their common interest in a full employment economy is contained in an address delivered at the recent National Farmers Union convention in Springfield, Ill., by Clay L. Cochran, of the industrial union department of the AFL-CIO.

I ask unanimous consent to have Mr. Cochran's address printed in the Ap-

pendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FULL EMPLOYMENT AND THE GOOD LIFE (By Clay L. Cochran, legislation consultant, industrial union department, AFL-CIO)

At any meeting of your people, the first thought that strikes me is that your organization first enunciated the idea which became the Full Employment Act of 1946, one of the most promising strides we have ever made in the task of creating a functional economy and the good life. I want to pay tribute to you for that great creative contribution to human society, to your president, Jim Patton, who first proposed such an act, and to many others in the farmers union, organized labor, religious groups, and others who came together and stayed together until, under the leadership of Senator James E. Murray, of Montana, the bill was enacted into law.

The lesson we learned then is the lesson we must remember—that it takes a liberal coalition to win against the perennial

coalition of reaction.

Under the terms of the act, the President is specifically required to prepare an annual economic report setting forth the levels of maximum employment, production and purchasing power needed to provide jobs for those able, willing, and seeking to work; and recommend the economic policies necessary to achieve these goals. This approach to our economy is the exact reverse of the Little Bo-Peepism of Hoover and Eisenhower.

President Eisenhower has simply refused to abide by the provisions of the act. His latest report virtually ignores the mandate in the act to maintain full employment. He is obviously a convert to that school of thought that stability can be bought only at the price of bankrupt farmers and unemployed workers.

#### THE FRUITS OF REACTION

The fruits of this policy of reaction and inaction are all about us. America has lost more than \$200 million in the last 6 years and with it the Nation's unchallenged world leadership.

Farmers are being ground between the millstones of falling prices and rising costs. Six percent of our labor force is unem-

ployed and 20 percent of our industrial capacity is standing idle.

Yet almost a fourth of U.S. families live on \$3,000 a year or less and 6.5 million familles live on \$2,000 a year or less. These families include 8 million children.

For full employment and prosperity our economy should grow at a rate of 5 percent a year, but from 1953 through 1958 the annual rate of growth was closer to 1.5 percent.

The total production of goods and services in the United States may still seem far ahead of that of the Soviet Union; we are probably still producing a little more than twice as much as they are. But economic growth in the Soviet Union is advancing 4 or 5 times as fast as our lagging economy has grown in recent years. If both economies continue simply to grow at the same pace as since 1950, it will be a mere 17 or 18 years until Soviet production can match and surpass ours in volume, and from that point forward it is they who would threaten to take a commanding lead.

#### ACCELERATION OF PRODUCTIVITY

In a world full of poverty the level of unemployment of men and facilities in this country is criminal, but under present administration policies there is little ground for hope of improvement.

In the factories and on the farms, technology forges ahead-apparently at an everaccelerating rate. A recent study indicates that in 1910 the annual growth in productivity was 0.9 percent a year-by 1956 it was rising at a rate of 3.9 percent a year.

The steady decrease in the number of farmers marks the pace of change in agri-

In industry production has recovered 85 percent from the recession low, but jobs have

recovered by only 30 percent.

We are going to have to live with economic progress, with accelerating economic progress and like it. Most of us would like it, provided we do not end up at a sheriff's foreclosure sale, an eviction, or at the end of a soup line while the parade of leisure, security and plenty passes us by.

#### THE TWIN SCARECROWS OF SOCIALISM AND INFLATION

The administration, big business and finance contend that any attempt to adjust to abundance will lead to socialism, inflation, or both. We believe that adjustment to abundance is the surest insurance that free enterprise, independent business and family farm operators can find.

The kind of economic program essential to full employment and national security is not

a program of inflation.

The proper approach to a stable dollar, so the vested interests say, is a balanced budget. deflated farm prices, large scale unemployment of men and resources, lower taxes on the rich and their big corporations and a tight-money, high-interest-rate policy.

We are offered a choice between stagnation and inflation. This is no program for America-no program for the free world. It is economic nonsense.

The vested interests who rent out money and fix prices have a weakness for so-called stability, for high interest rates, for as little for the farmer as appears politically tolerable, and for enough unemployment to keep workers humble and obedient.

#### WHAT CAUSES INFLATION

The causes of inflation are not always the same. Inflation in time of war or revolution is one thing, but no such causes are available to alibi the inflation which President Eisenhower and his aids are using to defeat needed domestic, defense and international economic aid programs. The real origins of the current inflation are in monopoly administered prices and a crazy-quilt of Federal, State, and local taxes which press on consumption coupled with the stagnation of our economy which results inevitably from economic superstition and inaction.

Recently, an outstanding economist, Gardiner Means, pointed out that in the years 1953-58 if it had not been for the price increases by the great corporations dominant in steel, machinery, automobiles, rubber, mining and paper, there would have been no increase in the wholesale price index.

We have another recent example of the way in which prices can be administered by corporations who want the farmers to enjoy free competition. After taking competitive bids, the Tennessee Valley Authority awarded a contract to an English company for some generating equipment. General Electric and Westinghouse set up a howl about unfair foreign competition and high wages—the usual line of propaganda.

Investigation reveals that the lowest American bid, by Westinghouse, was 49 percent above the bid of the English company, in spite of the fact that the English company has to pay about \$1.7 million for import duty, freight and insurance costs.

Despite all the talk about jobs for American workers and high wages, the truth is that if American workers had been willing to work for nothing on this deal, Westinghouse would still have lost the contract by almost \$4 million. This is a good example of the way in which big corporations in this country play with prices that no longer make sense. They jeopardize consumption and economic development at home and abroad, but when faced with the final fruits of their price juggling and collaboration, the cor-porations try to hide behind the alleged high cost of labor.

PLANNING AND DEVELOPING PUBLIC RESOURCES AND SERVICES IS VITAL TO THE PUBLIC WEL-

In the back of the heads of the gentlemen of the administration there is the idea which in a nutshell holds that schools, roads, medical care, hospitals, parks for kids to play in, urban redevelopment, rural development, soil conservation, antiwater pollution, natural resources development and such public pro-

grams are luxury goods.

Some people are innocent victims of this kind of view. Recently a Senator said that he used to prove to foreign visitors that their prejudices against American capitalism were unfounded by challenging them to find a parking space for a car in New York's worst slums. I think the Senator is dead wrong. It is not enough that we should produce bigger, fancier, higher-finned gasoline eaters in spurts and jumps. We are going to have to learn to do enough social planning to provide parking space for them and we must produce the roads, bridges, homes, schools, parks and recreational facilities to go with them. The production of these things requires planning, a sense of public responsibility, and the levying and paying of taxes. But in the process of doing these things together we shall have larger and more reliable markets for all our output, industrial and agricultural.

A FEDERAL FARM PROGRAM FOR FARMERS

"The toad beneath the harrow knows exactly where each sharp tooth goes."

Labor believes that farmers know more

about their problems than the puffers, fiakers, and fakers, who have found their way into the high councils of the Department of Agriculture in recent years, like so many foxes guarding the henhouse.

The old agricultural program is in pretty sad shape after over 6 years of Mr. Benson's polishing it up with sludge and tuning the motor up with a sledge hammer. There is

much to be done.

Between the technological revolution that is hitting agriculture with ever-increasing force and the philosophy and program of the present administration, the doing is not going to be easy. Nor is the solution sim-ply a farm price program. It must be a broad program based on increased consumption of food by our own people who need more and better food and increased use of our surpluses to build a peaceful one world.

We need a carefully worked out system of

production payments.

We need a system of direct food distribution and/or a food-stamp program to in-crease purchasing power of the lower income

In the face of the waves of propaganda pouring out against a farm program, we must see that city people, particularly the poor who live crowded in the decayed centers of our cities, are not turned against a decent farm program. The key to such a program is along the lines suggested recently by Senators Douglas and Kerauver and some time ago by a fellow named Brannan.

Whatever program we adopt must be a program for abundance, to get away from the concept of the economic Neanderthals, those modern cave men who live in penthouses, who try to tell us that by some magical Madison Avenue abracadabra slogan all of us in town and country can learn to live better on less.

To achieve such a program we need and must have more cooperation between pro-gressive farmers and workers. We need clearing houses where representatives of farmers and workers and consumers can sit down together and discuss their problems to achieve mutual understanding and an end to divide and rule. We need such clearing houses up and down the line from Washington, D.C., to Springfield and Des Moines.

THE FAMILY FARM AND LABOR EXPLOITATION

I urge you most strongly to continue to lend your support to the idea of improving the wages and working conditions of hired farm workers. I know of nothing which would do more for the security of the family farmer than legal protection against the exploited labor of his big competitor.

Since 1942, the number of foreign workers on our farms has risen from zero to almost a half million—to the point where they make up more than half of all migratory farm-

workers. In 1910 hired farmworkers earned two-thirds as much as industrial workers per hour; today they earn only one-third as

I believe that the decline in the relative economic status of hired farm labor has a direct relationship to the status of the family farmer. Assuming a reasonable return for his investment and skill as an operator, sooner or later the family farmer will end up working for an hourly wage somewhere around that paid to hired farmworkers.

Family farmers cannot support their families on a 50- or 60-cent-per-hour return for their labor. In the present intense competition for survival in agriculture under Benson, only the big farms which employ foreign and migrant workers at such low wage levels can operate. Ending the ex-ploitation of hired farmworkers will give the family farmer a better chance to survive in competition with factory farms.

ABUNDANCE, FREEDOM, AND NATIONAL SECURITY

We cannot separate the task of operating a decent economy here at home from foreign problems. We cannot be stagnant at home and virile abroad. We have got to stop kidding ourselves that the great upheaval of the common people the world over can be stopped by monopolies or missiles.

It is 20 years since I first heard Jim Patton say: "The common people all over the world are marching, marching, marching and no

force on earth can stop them."

They are still marching, or stumbling or groping, but however you put it, they are on the move and we can either help them or stay comfortable and get run over. The propaganda of communism is spread most effectively with propaganda taught through a kind of universal braille system, the reading technique for the blind. There are many hundreds of millions of people who cannot read a word of Russian or Chinese or any other language, but they can read the message of communism by fingering the wrinkles on their own empty bellies or feeling the tightly stretched skin over the bellies of their starving children.

What do human dignity and freedom mean to the man whose belly aches with hunger or whose heart aches at the sound of his children crying for food?

Human freedom and human dignity and democracy are not the children of starvation or degradation. A man does not lift his eyes up to the stars when his feet drag with hunger or disease.

WORDS AND SLOGANS WON'T DO THE JOB

We play games with words, but in timeif we survive-we will learn that words alone will not do the job. Man does not seek abstractions like socialism, or capitalism, or communism, or corporate statism in any form. He gropes in the direction of a functional society of freemen where' he and the greatest possible number of people live in reasonable comfort and dignity and feel like whistling or singing when they arise in the morning, instead of looking forward to the day with dread and fear.

The creation of that kind of world is the

task before us.

# Higher Interest Rates and New Debt Limit To Pay Them

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. WILLIAM PROXMIRE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a "Dutch Uncle" editorial from the Capital Times. of Madison, Wis., protesting indignantly the President's high interest rate request, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered printed in the RECORD, as follows:

From the Madison (Wis.) Capital Times, June 10, 1959]

HIGHER INTEREST RATES AND NEW DEBT LIMIT TO PAY THEM

Wisconsin Republicans, who went to their Green Bay convention last weekend to howl against "taxing and spending" and to praise President Eisenhower, have something to howl about.

The man they praised has asked Congress to adopt some measures that will mean more taxing and spending than is being done even now under the biggest peacetime budget in history. Here is what he requested Monday:

1. Removal of the 3¼ percent interest

celling on savings bonds.

2. Removal of the 4¼ percent interest limit on marketable bonds of more than 5 years maturity.

3. Lift the permanent ceiling on the national debt from \$283 billion to \$288 billion and increase the temporary limit from \$288 to \$295 billion.

The President's request will open the way for the Treasury to offer bonds at higher interest rates, meaning that interest rates will be increased throughout the entire economy. This is the "hard money" policy, the benefits of which go principally to the big moneylenders.

It not only means higher interest rates, it also means higher taxes. The higher in-terest rates mean a higher national debt, as the President indicates when he asks for a

boost in the debt limitation.
It means that additional billions will be needed to pay the increased interest on the

As matters stand today, the cost of financing the national debt takes more than 10 cents out of every tax dollar. Bond interest since 1952 has increased 46 percent. On short-term borrowing it has increased by 60 percent. If the President gets his way there will be further increases.

The result has been that the money lenders have had a windfall, the ordinary citizen is paying higher interest rates and higher debt costs. The tightening of credit has dis-couraged new business enterprises and contributed to unemployment.

If these manipulations had improved the market for Government bonds there would at least be one valid argument to excuse them. But in February of this year the Treasury increased interest rates as high as 4 percent to encourage acceptance of new bonds as replacements. Better than \$2 billion were unwanted.

In addition to playing havor with the economy, the tight money policy is ruining the market for Government bonds.

There is need here for a searching investigation by Congress.

# Cause of Inflation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, lately there has been much talk about inflation. Various groups warn of price risis on commodities and there has been much speculation as to the causes of inflation.

Mr. H. M. Baggarly, editor and publisher of the Tulia (Tex.) Herald, discusses this subject in an editorial. I believe his discussion brings out some points which should be taken into consideration in viewing this Nation's economic picture.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have prnted in the Appendix of the RECORD the editorial, entitled "Who's Responsible for Inflation," Which appeared in the Tulia Herald for June 4, 1959.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHO'S RESPONSIBLE FOR INFLATION

Come the next few weeks and we will be reading much about negotiations between reading much about negotiations between the steel industry and labor. There will be talk of strikes—there may be strikes. Daily and weekly newspapers will accuse labor of being responsible for inflation and higher prices. Meanwhile, leaders in the automotive industry and the Farm Bureau will warn of higher prices for 1960 model automobiles if labor is grant a pay boost.

And smalltown folk will bemoan the fact that "labor is ruining the country."

And the vicious hate campaign will rage, aided and abetted by the steel oligopoly, the daily press, and those who want to be ruled over by big business.

We would not defend even the slightest labor abuse, corruption within some labor unions, greedy and arrogant labor officials who want much more than mere economic justice Labor in too many instances is just as arrogant, just as dishonest, just as hypocritical as those who produce Lifeline antilabor editorials, those who hide behind the cloaks of Christianity in order to coneeal their unholy greed and selfishness.

But we would look behind the half truths and falsehoods which are fed to us by the brainwashers and propagandists.

What is the underlying difficulty between stelworkers and the steel industry? Why are the steelworkers periodically wanting more

No doubt some have an insatiable desire for money-just like the big boys. They will never be satisfied with any wage. Some would kill the goose that laid the golden egg. But the vast majority of these men are honest, ordinary men who merely want to get along, who want to be able to feed, clothe, and provide the simple needs of their fami-Like all of us, they have been caught in inflation's squeeze. Their income's buying power has been shrinking-so they want more pay.

Rather than being the villains they are painted, they are men who know that while wages have gone up in the industry, profits have so far outdistanced them that you can hardly mention the two items in the same breath.

They know that fewer men are making more steel with the result that total labor costs have remained almost the same from 1952 to 1958. Of each sales dollar, labor cost the companies 42.1 cents in 1952 and 42.8 cents in 1958-virtually no material increase.

On the other hand, net profits have gone up 100 percent. The steel companies' own reports reveal a profit of \$143,678,740 in 1952, and a profit of \$301,558,231 in 1958-and the latter was a recession year.

By consistently raising prices all out of proportion to the wage increases granted to the steelworkers, the steel companies have benefited much more than the steelworkers when pay boosts were granted and the price of steel hiked.

Since 1946, for every dollar of wage increase, the steel industry has boosted prices

\$3.

More responsible for the inflationary spiral than the steelworkers have been the steel companies and their desire for exorbitant profits.

Swisher County farmers should have discovered these tricks long ago. They know how the farmer has been blamed for high food costs when, in reality, if the farmer donated his wheat and cotton to the manufacturers, the retail price would be only slightly lower than it is now.

"Inflation is immoral," shouts the daily

"If it is, why don't you condemn those primarily responsible for inflation?" we ask.

How many editorials have you read in daily papers which pointed out that exhorbitant profits of industry have even contributed to inflation?

You know the answer.

Little if any publicity is even given the announcement that Corporation A "last year rang up its largest net profit in the history of the company.

Such an announcement is usually justified with the retort, "There is nothing wrong with making a profit in our system of free enter-

On the other hand, how many editorials have been written blaming labor and the farmer for our high cost of living, for inflation?

## Tourist Attractions of Wisconsin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, from time to time I welcome the opportunity to point out the wide variety of attractions which Wisconsin's vacationland offers to tourists.

Annually, millions of people visit the scenic, historical cities, towns, and countrysides of our colorful Badger State.

Periodically, new attractions loom on the Wisconsin horizon for the tourist.

Recently, the Christian Monitor carried a detailed article entitled "Wisconsin Spotlights Historic Sites."

The article enumerates a number of the attractions in our Badgerland of particular interest to history-minded va-

In addition, a recent issue of the Chicago Daily Tribune carried an item entitled "Nature Ready for Wisconsin Tourist Rush." by Hal Foust, containing a brief résumé of a tour through a portion of our Wisconsin wonderland.

The expansion of tourism is not only in keeping with the need of our citizens to get better acquainted with America; but, also, it is becoming of greater economic importance to our States and the Nation.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the articles I have mentioned.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Christian Science Monitor] WISCONSIN SPOTLIGHTS HISTORIC SITES

Madison, Wis .- New attractions loom on the Wisconsin horizon this season for the history-minded tourist, the State Historical Society of Wisconsin announces. The society operates Wisconsin's big three historic sites and July 1 will open a fourth attraction, the new Circus World Museum at Baraboo.

At Prairie du Chien, the picturesque Mississippi River town, the great oak doors of Villa Louis have swung open again to welcome historic sightseers. The villa is an elegant Victorian mansion built in 1843 by a famed fur trader Hercules Dousman.

New this season is the Brisbois House, & fine old residence which opened in conjunction with Villa Louis. Brisbois House, one of the oldest stone homes in Wisconsin was the family residence of Michael Brisbois, fur trader and general merchant, and one of Prairie du Chien's first permanent settlers.

One of Brisbois House's unusual features is a subcellar, dug out beneath the regular basement, which Brisbois used as a storage area for the beaver pelts and furs of his business.

Combined tours of the famed Villa Louis and its grounds and Brisbois House will be offered at reduced rates. Tours are conducted by guards in colorful period costume.

Less than 35 miles from Prairie du Chien the traveler will find another historic site in beautiful Nelson Dewey State Park. The Stonefield Farm and Craft Museum are a center of pioneer and agricultural history. with hundreds of fascinating exhibits telling the story of middle western settlement and progress.

The museum is housed in a great stone barn and in addition to its displays of implements, coaches, and tools, offers full-scale model shops of early craftsmen.

Tours of the Stonefield site include a visit to the red brick home of Nelson Dewey. Wisconsin's first Governor. Picnic facilities are available on the bluffs which overlook this popular State park and museum in southwestern Wisconsin.

Old Wade House, a charming 19th century stagecoach inn, will attract tourists heading for Wisconsin's Door County Pen-insula and the Lake Michigan shore parks and resorts. Located halfway between Fond du Lac and Sheboygan, at Greenbush, Old Wade House is an increasingly popular stop for the history-minded traveler.

[From the Chicago Daily Tribune]
Nature Ready for Wisconsin Tourist Rush—
And the Resort Owners Aren't Napping

(By Hal Foust)

A moist spring has dressed Wisconsin resort areas in lush greenery. Nature has done its share in readying the wooded lakelands for the swarm of summer vacationists when Chicago schools close June 26.

Food and lodging establishments are being cleaned and painted. Roadside attractions are being refurbished. Tourist entertainment is a major Wisconsin industry, variously estimated at \$250 to \$500 million

year.

We drove to Wisconsin Dells this week. Winnebago Indians in blue jeans, were repairing the stage of their amphitheater in the sandstone bluffs of the Wisconsin River where they will stage ceremonials nightly, beginning June 20.

THREE-HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND-DOLLAR PROJECT RISING

Nearby, two log blockhouses were rising on an 11-acre site as part of a \$350,000 tourist attraction with the Wisconsin Alumni Research Foundation owning 51 percent of the stock.

The Wisconsin Dells, population 1,957, has been a resort since before the Civil War. The chamber of commerce estimates that the motels, hotels, and lodges can sleep 10,000 visitors.

The sheer bluffs along the Wisconsin River are majestic. They were carved by glacier waters in the sandstone of a preglacier sea.

USE TWO TYPES OF ROADS

In driving to the Dells, we took Illinois tollways to a point near Beloit. The return trip was on conventional roads, an alternative route recommended by the Chicago Motor Club—U.S. Highways 16 to Portage, 51 to Madison, and 12 to Chicago.

The toll route costing \$1.35, was 12 miles farther and about 1 hour and 15 minutes faster. Not counting side trips and stops, we drove the 211 miles, including 76 miles of tollway, in 4 hours and 10 minutes. The return, 199 miles, took 5 hours and 25 minutes, not including several stops.

utes, not including several stops.

North of Beloit, on Wisconsin Highway 13, the change of pace was a pleasant change. We returned to the countryside, on a road winding through gentle hills of a dairy coun-

try. This road bypasses Madison.

#### SEE OLD BATTLEGROUND

Approaching Sauk City, we turned off the roadway to read a historical marker. A forested hill a mile to the southwest was identified as the heights where Black Hawk, with 50 warriors, held off 1,000 troops under Gen. J. D. Henry in a rainstorm on July 2, 1832, while the retreating Sauk and Fox, including their old men, women, and children, forded the Wisconsin River.

Jefferson Davis, then a lieutenant, later wrote of Black Hawk's feat: "Had it been performed by white men, it would have been immortalized as one of the most splendid achievements in military history." Twelve days later, the troops slaughtered the Indians as they tried to cross the Mississippi River.

All this is told on a signboard. These Wisconsin historical signs, improved in the last couple of years with parking space for their reading, contribute much to the pleasure touring.

### CIRCUS HISTORY UNFOLDS

At Baraboo we read of the Ringling brothers starting a circus menagerie there in 1876 with a hyena billed as "The hideous hyena, striata gigantia, the mammoth midnight marauding man-eating monstrosity." The circus museum in Baraboo reopens July 1.

On the return drive, we found that a marble monument near Portage lacks a turn-

out for those who would read that Marquette and Jollet entered the Wisconsin River there on June 14, 1673, en route to discovering the Mississippi.

Southbound on U.S. Highway 51 we drove through more rolling meadows and wooded hills with big barns and silos. Bypassing Madison again, we headed home on narrow, meandering U.S. Highway 12 which serves many tree-shaded old communities—Fort Atkinson, Whitewater, and Elkhorn—and then traverses the resort areas of Lake Geneva and Fox Lake.

### Poison in Your Water-No. 113

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I am inserting into the Appendix of the Congressional Record an article appearing in the Baton Rouge (La.) Advocate of April 23, 1959, entitled "Sewer Program Holds Solution to City-Parish Health Problem":

THROUGH BEITER SANITATION—SEWER PRO-GRAM HOLDS SOLUTION TO CITY-PARISH HEALTH PROBLEM

#### (By Jim Hughes)

The most urgent problem that city-parish officials say can be solved with the proposed \$21 million sanitary sewerage program is one of public health.

Briefly, the problem arises from the fact that almost half, 47 percent in exact terms, of the present city is without sanitary sewerage and the vast bulk of the heavily populated suburban area is as bad off or worse.

The local government's proposed solution to this problem will be submitted to a vote of the taxpayers on May 19 in the form of a system of trunklines which will make sanitary sewerage available to 85 percent of the total parish population inhabiting about 27 percent of the total parish area.

The public health problem is one or urgency, officials say, because it is not confined to any one area. Almost every part of the city and the suburban area is exposed to only partially treated sewer effluent. That is the case in the city, for example, because the sewage from unsewered areas is emptied into open ditches and canals which in turn run through almost every part of the city. Sewage from septic tanks (which are considered only 75 percent effective) and in some instances untreated sewage is emptied in Monte Sano Bayou, the Knox Canal and the Corporation Canal, to name a few of the larger ones. Countless small roadside ditches and larger drainage ditches carry effluent from individual septic tanks and from entire subdivisions.

#### CITY, PARISH ALIKE

In the suburban area the problem is no less urgent. Although many of the new subdivisions have sewer collection lines, these dump into roadside ditches and creeks and bayous which carry the bacteria-laden material the length of the parish.

Even if this sewage were confined to the ditches and canals at all times, the problem would still be bad. But, the fact is that during heavy rains when water rises—as it often does in Baton Rouge—the ditches and canals overflow and the sewage is spread over wide areas, many of them residential.

A health unit study of certain areas in which most of the sewage is in open ditches revealed that 41 percent of the school children have parasites or worms \* \* \* possibly as a result of conditions arising from the open ditches. More specifically, flies, mosquitoes and other insect carriers thrive in areas in which the sewage is in open ditches.

#### OTHER PROBLEMS

Other than the health problem and the pure unpleasantness which acompany sewage in open ditches, officials say, are problems which are directly related to this lack of sanitary sewers.

Among them is the fact that the sewage promotes growth of weeds and thus prevents drainage facilities from operating at peak performance. Aside from this, the constant growth in the ditches increases greatly the cost of maintaining the storm drainage facilities.

Officials contend that before either local or major drainage problems can be properly solved, the sewage must be separated from storm drainage.

And, in addition to all of this, it is simply not good that out-houses or privies are visible along parts of Acadian Thruway, one of the few good streets in the city.

According to the master plan for sanitary sewage, on which the proposed \$21 million program is based, there is a point in the population density of a community at which sanitary sewage facilities are warranted or

even mandatory.

"As a general rule," the report states, "when the average density of population in an area reaches 2½ persons per acre, a public sewer system is warranted; when the density reaches five persons per acre, a sewer system is necessary: and when the density reaches 10 persons per acre, a sewer system is mandatory. It is not advisable to wait until these densities are reached before putting in the system of public sewers, because the development of roads, structures and public utilities will make is increasingly difficult and costly to provide the sewers at a later date. Consequently, it is common good practice to install the public sewer system in advance of, or concurrent with development.

"In some parts of the area under study

"In some parts of the area under study (the consolidated district) the installation of sanitary sewers has already been delayed much too long, and a certain amount of extra expense must be anticipated. However, a great deal of the area ripe for development has not progressed so far as to hinder the installation of this sewer system. The installation of sewage facilities should encourage the development of the closer in undeveloped area."

# Waste of Water

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, it is a well-known fact that wasting abundance can quickly create a shortage. That can well be the case with this Nation's water supply.

The supply of water is already becoming short in many areas, notably in parts of my native Southwest.

Congressional committees are considering requests from a number of citizens' groups throughout the country for assistance in projects which would help in

flood control and also provide more water conservation.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an editorial from the Saturday Evening Post for June 6, 1959, entitled "Waste of Water Can Lead to Real Trouble for United States of America."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WASTE OF WATER CAN LEAD TO REAL TROUBLE FOR UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Every day the volume of water required by the American standard of living is climbing.

Yet water continues to be our most wasted product—through preventable floods, stream pollution, and failure to level out the periods of surplus and shortage by intelligent storage. The latest warning comes from Maj. Gen. E. C. Itschner, Chief of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. He told the Mississippi Valley Association that "We must overhaul our entire concept of water-resources programs and the way we go about carrying them out. If we do not we shall find unnecessarily low ceilings on our growth caused by a lack of water."

A sound and up-to-date water-resources development program for each river basin was described by the general as a prerequisite. These would be based on comprehensive surveys by the Federal agencies concerned, in cooperation with the States and local governments.

One angle of General Itschner's warning particularly stands out. "Reservoirs," he said, "are the key to the future adequacy of water supply for all purposes. As an example, our preliminary studies indicate that by 1980 we shall need almost double the storage now available or under construction for the Mississippi and its tributaries, for flood control, low flow regulation and water supply.

"But we face a critical problem of reservoir sites. Good locations for major impoundments are already being lost at an alarming rate as improvements of one kind or another—industrial plants, housing projects, highways, public utilities and other facilities—are built in the very places reservoirs should be located."

Some foresighted action to save necessary reservoir sites would seem to be in order, not to mention reforestation programs designed to protect the natural reservoir for water—the earth itself.

Cars, Cows, and Highways

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. FRANCIS CASE

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. President, I wish to make an insertion in the Appendix of the Record; and I desire to submit it in connection with the following remarks.

It is a great tonic to rub shoulders with the self-reliant men and women who comprise the South Dakota Stock Growers Association. I had that privilege last week.

Their annual convention was marked by many useful sessions devoted to round-table discussions, as well as some great addresses. One of those was given by our distinguished colleague from Arizona, [Mr. Goldwater]. It was given from notes, and it was partly extemporaneous, A copy is not available.

Another was given by Ellis L. Armstrong, Commissioner of the Bureau of Public Roads. I am pleased to offer it for the Record; and I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

### CARS, COWS, AND HIGHWAYS

(Address by Ellis L. Armstrong, Commissioner, Eureau of Public Roads, U.S. Department of Commerce, at the 68th annual convention of the South Dakota Stock Growers Association, Rapid City, S. Dak., June 4, 1959)

Nowhere in this wonderful country of ours will you find firmer faith in personal liberty than in the Great Plains. And among these hearty, freedomloving people no group upholds that tradition more strongly than our ranchers and stock raisers.

Down through history transportation and civilization have moved together. From our early colonial days when roads were mere tracks through the wilderness, the Nation's most famous pioneers were trail blazers—men and women with the vision and courage to strike out into the unknown and conquer a continent.

This western region wrote its share of rugged transportation history, including the great boom period that followed the discovery of gold in 1874. Railroads had reached the Missouri River by 1880, but commerce to the West was still carried on by stagecoach and ox train.

To the east, road mileage had increased tremendously but these were chiefly dirt roads. In the entire country less than 100,000 miles of highway had all-weather surfaces by 1890.

It was the coming of the horseless carriage in 1893 that gave roads and streets a new meaning. First regarded as a freak or rich man's plaything, motor vehicles have become the most dynamic ingredient in what we like to call our "Miracle of America."

Because this region has contributed so much to our way of life, I welcome the opportunity to talk with South Dakota's stockgrowers about cars, cows, and high-

#### TWO APPROACHES SEEN

Two approaches suggest themselves, State and national. Let's take the national scene first. Broad strokes are needed but the general picture is clear, quite clear. In recent months I have seen it at firsthand, driving across this fabulous land of ours. Highway transportation has become one of the dominant elements of American life.

Whether we are talking the dollars and cents of economic opportunity or the transportation needs of national defense, whether we are discussing improved facilities for education and recreation or the cares and joys of day-to-day living, motor vehicles and highway transport are all important.

That is why the vast new road program, with its long-range plan for the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways is both the largest and the most significant peacetime public works program ever undertaken. Ours has always been a land of opportunity, but this new measure bids fair to open more doors for business, industrial and agricultural development than any event in our recent history—it is pioneering on the grand scale.

#### LOOKING AHEAD

This 13- to 16-year program for a 41,000-mile Interstate System launched by the

Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956, and further strengthened by the 1958 act, authorized some \$25.6 billion of Federal aid on a 90-10 matching basis with the States.

Moreover, this nationwide network is designed to provide a highway system that is fully in line with present day demands and also reckons with future traffic needs. We are looking ahead to 1975 when over 100 million cars, trucks, and buses are anticipated, compared with 68 million in use today.

Measured in distance the Interstate System includes only 1.2 percent of our total road and street mileage but we expect it to carry 20 percent of all traffic and pass through 37 percent of the counties in the Nation. Over half of the U.S. population lives in these same counties and they market nearly half of all farm products sold.

Design standards and other features of the great trunk lines are in keeping with the long-range functions of the system:

 To interconnect commercial and industrial centers from coast to coast.

 To serve the multiple needs of highway users in thousands of communities adjacent to these highways—many of them entirely dependent upon motor vehicles for their basic transport.

3. To facilitate cheaper, swifter, more efficient movement of agricultural products. 4. Through interconnections and inter-

 Through interconnections and interchanges to bring town and country closer together.

Still keeping the national picture in mind, well over half of our total tonnage of agricultural products now moves by highway- for animals and animal products the figure is about 75 percent. Today our farmers—and ranchers, drive more than 4½ million cars and nearly 3 million trucks. This free-dom of movement, this constantly improving access to markets, has helped to increase the overall efficiency of farm and ranch production and that process will accelerate under the new highway program.

#### SOUTH DAKOTA ON MAIN LINE

The Interstate System routes in the Great Plains put both South Dakota and this West River country on the main line, so to say, of an ever-growing transcontinental traffic stream. You cannot be sidetracked as you were to some extent by the railroads. Surely people with the vision and the ploneering spirit which discovered and developed this region will be quick to grasp the tremendous significance of the interstate network.

I do not hesitate to compare it with the possibilities that were opened up in another era when the great cattle drives swung north from Texas along the Chisholm Trail. Those were thrilling and romantic days, they still beckon to us, but aside from the gunplay and tall tales, the cow towns and the necktie parties, millions of cattle and horses were moved northward over this same trail. By 1888 some 950,000 Texas longhorns were grazing in this territory. Stockmen were in search of better markets for their cattle and distance did not stop them. Driven by pointers, flankers, and trailers, the herds varied from a few hundred to several thousand head and made perhaps 8 to 12 miles in a day's drive between watering places.

The great days of the trail herds were over before South Dakota became a State in 1889, but this means of transportation persisted for a long time.

In fact, as a youngster on a ranch in southern Utah, the high points of each year were the drive in the spring of our cattle to the high mountain summer range, and the roundup in the fall and moving the cattle back to the valley. Those were great days.

I have no figure on the losses that those oldtime cattle drives involved, but I do know what better highway transportation

can mean to present day stockmen and ranchers. Generally speaking, before Fed-eral aid, which began in 1916, roads in the cattle country were mostly trails, difficult to haul over in many localities. Truck movement was slow and often uncertain, heavy loads were difficult or impossible to handle. Driving cattle to distaint rail heads involved considerable loss of time and

#### PRIMARY, SECONDARY PROGRAMS

Apart from the interstate, the regular Federal-aid programs for primary and secondary roads are changing that picture by providing improved access to markets and to sources of ranch supplies and services.

I intend to discuss the situation in the West River country, but first let me remind you again that the interstate network will tie this whole Nation's economy closer together. South Dakota's wheat, its "corn on the hoof," will find new and wider markets as better highways and expressways are

A basic feature of the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956 deals with planned, controlled access on this vital interstate network. Many competent observers call the controlled access throughway the greatest advance in highway building since the all-Weather suface replaced the dirt road. The Bureau of Public Roads strongly supports controlled access on main traveled routes, but I also want to remind you that this feature and other design standards for the Interstate System were developed, approved, and adopted by the American Association of State Highway Officials after careful and prolonged study.

#### IMPROVED SAFETY

Again for the record, let me say that controlled access, which is so essential to preserve the long-time capacity of our great trunk-line routes, means that vehicles may enter or leave the expressway only at care fully planned interchanges. There will be no random, haphazard movements, no cars cutting in and out of the traffic-stream from side roads, businesses, homes, and driveways. Traffic flow will be safer, faster, more efficient, and more economical. Experience has shown that these planned access highways cut death and accident rates at least in half. On rural roads alone the death toll is reduced by two-thirds—and on some of the new routes reductions of five-sixths have been established.

Since the cost of highway accidents, including property damage, wage loss, and medical expense, may average up to 1 cent per mile traveled, equivalent to 12½ cents for each gallon of gasoline consumed on the highways, it is obvious that access control is a paying proposition.

The safety factor alone should be decisive, but there are other economic factors as well. Studies have shown that well designed, freeflowing expressways will save the average motorist up to 4 cents a mile traveled as compared to regular city streets. For trucks, of course, the mileage cost differential would be even more favorable, depending upon the vehicle size and weight.

#### EXPANDED MARKETS

Because better highways do contribute so much to the overall growth of our economy, we are assured that the new program will bring large and lasting returns, north and south, from coast to coast. By making the entire country a bigger market, your own market is increased as well.

Against this broad and very favorable background, let's look directly at the highway situation in South Dakota and here

in the West River country.

As of January 1, 1958, Federal-aid highways in South Dakota totaled 17,953 miles.

The Interstate System numbered 679 miles, the primary (including the interstate) 6,069 and the secondary system 11,884 miles. For the fiscal year 1957 through 1960 Federal-aid authorizations for all streets and highways exceeded \$116.5 million. The approximate breakdown by systems is:

Primary	\$26, 400, 000
Secondary	18, 900, 000
Urban	1,870,000
Interstate	69, 400, 000

The spectacular nature of the Interstate program has caught public attention, but it is obvious from these figures that the new program is well balanced indeed.

#### BALANCE IS ESSENTIAL

This is essential, of course, for the traffic which uses our main highways is largely generated on local and State roads. Apart from long-distance through traffic, the cars and trucks which travel on South Dakota's Interstate System will be moving to and from farms and ranches, small communities and towns near and far. The planning and improvements that go into these interconnecting and feeder roads are vitally important. In a very real sense these roads and the interchanges that connect or link them with the Interstate System will have a longtime influence on your commerce, your industy, and your agriculture. Vision and cooperation will be needed on the part of highway engineers, and other officials, as well as businessmen, farmers, and ranchers.

I understand that the West River country now supports more than 1,200,000 head of cattle, 116,000 hogs, and 768,000 sheep. Obviously you need improved roads and highways to move your livestock to market, shift them from range to range, and finally to seek more distant markets.

Though it is probable that better roads will lead ranchers to do more finishing off on the ranch, a heavy volume of your livestock from this area is going to end up in feeding lots in eastern South Dakota and Iowa. Since most of this transportation will be by truck, it is obvious that at least a part of the several dollars saved per trip will show up in better prices paid for your cattle.

### CATTLE-PASS PROBLEM

Like all great undertakings the new program has presented its own special problems—here in the West, cattle-pass construc-tion is one of them. This is not a new problem but the interstate program with its emphasis on access control has put this matter in a new light.

In reconciling the legitimate need for cattle-pass structures with the congressional mandate to provide planned access on all Interstate System routes, two fundamental considerations face both the Bureau of Public Roads and our State highway depart-

1. What circumstances of land severance, ownership and use, warrant building a stock pass or combination machinery stock pass? 2. What size structure is required?

Generally speaking, a pass is warranted where the highway so divides a property that the cost of an adequate structure does not exceed the severance damages which would be assessed if the structure were not built. Structures also may be varranted in places

where custom has created a legal obligation to keep a stock-drive corridor open for public use. And in open range country in the public domain structures may be warranted as a matter of public policy where neither severance damages nor other direct justification can be established.

Structure size will present problems but is certainly an obligation of our State highway departments to keep cattle or machinery passes down to the minimum which

will serve the purpose. For most small herds a 5- by 7-foot opening will do the trick. The 14-foot AASHO vehicle clearances, vertical lateral, can serve as useful limits in many cases involving machinery or combination

#### SEVERENCE DAMAGES

Now a word about the Bureau's position on severance damages. Practically all of the issues here turn upon some question of value. Actually, as the courts have pointed out re-peatedly, we are involved with the concept of fair market value. And the courts have left no doubt that they mean what a willing buyer will pay a willing seller, neither party acting under duress or pressure and having a reasonable time to make a trade.

In this situation, the Bureau's role is to make a before-and-after appraisal to determine the fair market value of:

- 1. The land before right-of-way or other taking.
- 2. The property left after the taking.
  3. The strip of land taken for right-ofway or other purpose.

In each instance it is the fair market value as determined by the above court concept—willing buyer, willing seller—which governs the estimate of damages.

And I might say that this value concept will and must take into account the effect of cutting through a farm or ranch, just as the appraisal must reckon with such items as interference with cattle drifting to a more favorable range.

The Bureau of Public Roads is in accord with this fair market value approach, but let me emphasize that it is the courts which laid down this policy.

#### PROGRAM ON SCHEDULE

And now suppose we turn to the national scene again, for a progress report. Nearly 3 years after passage of the 1956 act, the whole broad program of Federal aid is on schedule.

For the entire period from July 1, 1956, to the present, construction has been completed on over 73,000 miles of Federal-aid highways—interstate, primary, farm-to-market roads and urban extensions. Con-struction work included some 14,500 new bridges and the total cost exceeded \$5

Today across America our highway contractors, nearly 6,000 strong, are at work on some 20,000 Federal-aid contracts. They are building or improving over 32,000 miles of roadway and 10,000 bridges having a total cost of nearly \$7.2 billion.

For the Interstate System since July 1, 1956, projects costing more than \$1.1 billion were completed. This work involved improvements on 3,700 miles of superhighways. Constructi on was underway or advertised on an additional 5,100 miles.

#### SOUTH DAKOTA PROGRESS

Construction has been completed on over 100 miles of the Interstate System in South Dakota, and construction is underway on another 60 miles. For the regular ABC program-primary, secondary, and urban extensions-some 625 miles had been completed under the new program, and construction is going forward on over 550 miles.

A few moments ago I pointed out that South Dakota is on the main line of a transcontinental traffic stream that is destined to increase tremendously in the years ahead. Actually South Dakota has two such Interstate routes-Route 90 east and west from Rapid City to Sioux Falls and points beyond, and Route 29 north and south from the Canadian border through Fargo, Sloux Falls, and Sioux City to Kansas City.

Thus as the Interstate program moves ahead, South Dakota and the West River country will be linked closer and closer to the rest of the Nation-its markets and business and industrial centers. Your famous Black Hills and other renowned tourist and recreational areas will be brought nearer to sil America. Your people will share in-creasingly in the better, fuller life that is the manifest destiny of this great country. Cars and cows and highways will continue to be most important to all of us across America.

The Parker Lynching Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. FRANK J. LAUSCHE

OF OHIO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, I have received a copy of a letter from Perry B. Jackson, judge, Cleveland municipal court, addressed to the Attorney General of the United States, in which is raised the subject of jurisdictional authority relative to the Parker lynching case.

As a result of this interchange of correspondence. I have written to the Honorable William P. Rogers, the Attorney General, and quoted from the letter of Judge Jackson.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have my letter printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

JUNE 11, 1959.

The Honorable William P. Rogeas, Attorney General of the United States Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.
DEAR Mr. ROGERS: On June 6 there came

to my office a copy of a letter dated June 4 addressed to you by Perry B. Jackson, a judge of the Cleveland Municipal Court. The subject of the letter is the Parker lynching case in Mississippi.

Judge Jackson discusses an article which appeared in the February 1943 issue of the washington University Law Quarterly, under the title: "The Federal Civil Right 'Not To Be Lynched." He states that the author of the article was Victor W. Rothnam, who, in February 1943, was the Chief of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Section.

Judge Jackson obviously is of the opinion, based upon the Rothnam article, that the Federal Government does have criminal jurisdiction in the Parker lynching case under section 19 of the United States Criminal Code, which reads as follows:

"If two or more persons conspire to infure, oppress, threaten, or intimidate any citizen in the free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege secured to him by the Constitution or laws of the United States, or because of his having exercised the same, or if two or more persons go in disguise upon the highway, or on the premises of another, with intent to prevent or hinder his free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege so secured, they shall be fined not more than \$5,000 and imprisoned not more than 10 years, and shall moreover be thereafter ineligible to any office or place of honor, profit, or trust created by the Constitution or laws of the United States."

Applying my knowledge, without the aid of interpretations which might have been made by the Federal courts on the meaning of section 19, my opinion is that there is merit to the suggestion made by Judge Jackson.

It does seem to me that for the good of the Nation, and primarily in furtherance of justice, regardless of what is done by the criminal law-enforcement agencies and by the courts of Mississippi with the perpetrators of Parker's death, there rests with the Department of Justice the solemn responsibility to set into operation the machinery for the enforcement of criminal justice, providing, of course, that the evidence discovered by the Federal Bureau of Investigation establishes the probable identity and guilt of the persons who, in a lynching, took the life of Mr. Parker,

Sincerely yours, FRANK J. LAUSCHE.

Honor the Flag

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a very appropriate, most timely, and highly interesting editorial which appeared in the National Tribune-Stars and Stripes:

#### HONOR THE FLAG

June 14, next Sunday, is Flag Day. that day veterans and civic organizations join with other patriotic groups throughout the land to pay homage to Old Glory which, since its adoption as the standard of our Nation in 1777 has been a symbol of independence not only to our own citizens but to all the freedom-loving people of the world.

The story of the development of our national emblem is an interesting one. By the mid-1700's the colonists were beginning to chafe under the oppressive and tyrannous

rule of their masters in Britain.

This spirit of rebellion was evidenced by banners displayed in many of the colonies expressing repugnance to anything which denied the freedom which they had come to the new land to seek.

By the time of the Declaration of Independence standards had sprung up in various parts of the country including the famous "Don't Tread on Me" banner, the "Appeal to Reason" and the Moultrie "Lib-" flag which rallied the defenders of Charleston, S.C.

The Bunker Hill flag was a blue banner with a white canton filled with a red cross and a small green pine. Rhode Island's banner bore a blue anchor under the word "Hope" and the Green Mountain Boys of Vermont carried a flag similar to the Stars and Stripes at the Battle of Bennington in

When Washington took command of the Continental Army at Cambridge, Mass., in 1776 he stood under "The Grand Union Flag" which still bore the crosses of St. George for England and St. Andrew for Scot-

The Continental Congress created the first Stars and Stripes on June 14, 1777 with its 13 stripes and 13 stars indicating the colonies which had joined together in their battle for freedom. This was a wise choice as it signified the unity of the colonies and its development from that time on with the addition of a new star for every new State of the Union continues to signify that same unity to all the land and all the world.

Since the creation of the Star Spangled Banner it has found its way to all portions of the globe. The North and South Poles know Old Glory and the nations of the world know it, too, in war and in peace.

It has always stood for freedom and a warning to any aggressors that the people of our country are ready to detend it at all times. It also stands as a beacon to guide the oppressed in other parts of the world toward peace and independence-a token of goodwill to all who have looked upon it.

At this very moment the United States is beset with many difficult problems, involving even the threat of a terrible war, but through all these difficulties and threats our standard waves on bravely, the outward sign of the inward devotion which exists deep in the

hearts of every true citizen of our Nation. This flag of our is very dear to us and it is quite fitting that a certain day should be set apart for its display and honor. This feeling for the flag is evidenced not only on Flag Day but on all other patroltic occasions when the householders of our land, by the hundreds of thousands raise it in front of their homes to show their devotion to the principles for which it stands.

While it is true that as individuals we have a certain diffidence in displaying emotions which might smack of patriotism for fear of being criticized, the fact remains that all honest citizens of our Republic do feel a thrill at sight of Old Glory as it passes by in a parade and in a quiet way salute it both outwardly and inwardly.

It has a deep meaning to most of us and we trust that this devotion will ever remain with us. We are certain that it will and that the realization of the lives of brave men and women which have been sacrificed to defend the flag will increase our patriotic affection for all the flag means.

The cartoon which appears at the head of this editorial shows all branches of the armed services standing at attention before our flag. These men know the true meaning of the national emblem and should serve as an example of the deep respect and honor which should be inherent in all of us and that we should be ever willing to show the respect and honor which is due such a symbol of our country's desire to maintain our own freedom and our willingness to share with all the world the wish for peace which is upper-most in the hearts of all mankind.

As George M. Cohan, a truly American composer and playwright, himself born on the Fourth of July, once wrote:

It's a grand old flag, it's a high-flying flag, And forever in peace may it wave,"

but whether it waves in peace or war may it always be respected and honored by every citizen as the outward sign of the spirit of independence and peace which marked its birth so many years ago.

As a symbol of the United States, standing for our heritage of liberty and justice, the flag is naturally held in honor and esteem.

If we here today can only be imbued with the same feelings which filled the hearts of our Founding Fathers then we shall always be certain that Old Glory will never lose its meaning and will continue to be an inspiration to all of us and a guide to all that we, as a nation, hold dear.

Public Works Appropriations Act of 1950

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. FRANK C. OSMERS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I wish to have a letter to me from the Office of the Legislative Counsel, dated June 8, 1959,

printed in full in the Appendix of the RECORD.

House of Representatives, U.S., Office of the Legislative Counsel, Washington, D.C., June 8, 1959.

Hon. Frank C. Osmens, Jr., House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. OSMERS: I wish to apologize to you for having drafted in such form as to be subject to a point of order an amend-ment which, on June 4, 1959, you requested be prepared as soon as possible (and if possible by the afternoon of June 4) to H.R. 7509, the Public Works Appropriation Act, The amendment was designed to provide \$50,000 for the authorized survey of the New Jersey meadowlands. The amendment was delivered to your staff on June 4; however, as a result of its being drafted as an amendment to the wrong paragraph of the bill, a point of order made against it was sustained, and no vote was had on the amendment. I regret that my error contributed to your amendment not being con-Sidered.

Respectfully submitted.

JAMES M. MENGER, Jr., Assistant Counsel.

# Functioning of Our Courts-Address by Ross L. Malone

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON, FRANK CARLSON

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, Mr. Ross L. Malone, president of the American Bar Association, spoke at the annual meeting of the Bar Association of the State of Kansas, on the second celebration of Law Day, which was held at Hutchinson, Kans., on May 8, and delivered an excellent address on the functioning of our courts.

I ask unanimous consent that the address be made a part of these remarks and be printed in the Appendix of the Record

There being no objection, the address. Was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

# FUNCTIONING OF OUR COURTS (By Ross L. Malone)

The second celebration of Law Day, U.S.A., which occurred one week ago today was a tremendous success and exceeded all of our expectations. The 1,400 State and local bar associations throughout the United States Joined in what undoubtedly was the greatest single coordinated effort of the legal profession in the history of the country in making possible the success of the observance.

The participation of the press, radio, television and other media of public information was a major factor in the success of the celebration, as was the cooperation of our schools and educational institutions, I am happy to acknowledge the debt of gratitude owed by the American Bar Association to all of them.

The observances ranged from a message from the President of the United States, a national broadcast by Judge Learned Hand and speeches by Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, to the dedica-

tion of a plaque to commemorate the location of Mark Twain's father's law office in Hannibal, Mo. It included literally thousands of addresses by lawyers to school assemblies and civic clubs, special courtroom ceremonies, and every other type of observance which the ingenuity of our profession could provide. In Dallas, Tex., I learned of a unique plan whereby lawyers taught the classes in civics and government in the high schools on Law Day.

All of these ceremonies were directed to an increased appreciation and understanding on the part of the public of the place of law in our lives and the importance of our system of justice as an institution of government. Indications are that no less than 30,000 individual events occurred throughout the United States in celebration of Law Day. I doubt that there is any other such day, commemorated nationally, which has had a greater impact upon the American people.

During the last 8 months I have talked to many, many people, ranging from the President of the United States, the presidents of mational television networks, and national publishers, down to men on the street, about Law Day and the appropriate celebration of it. I have been impressed by the enthusiasm of all of these people for the basic philosophy of Law Day and their very real interest in contributing to effective observance of the occasion.

None of the people to whom I refer was a lawyer. It would not have been surprising if some of them had been under the misconception that on May I were were celebrating "Lawyers' Day" rather than Law Day. I encountered no such misapprehension. It is a great tribute to the legal profession that the perversion which might result in such misapprehension has not occurred. Should the profession ever undertake to appropriate Law Day to its own use and benefit, it will have become "Lawyers' Day" and will have lost its significance so far as the country at large is concerned. I am confident that will not occur.

As Law Day, it is significant, not only to lawyers but to all of the people of our great Nation. Why is that so? What is it about the place of law in our lives that commands the respect and interest of the public generally? The answer seems clear to me. There is a personal relationship between every citizen of the United States and the law. Whether or not he has ever had to have recourse to it, he consciously or subconsciously recognizes the law, and the courts which administer it, as his final hope for the vindication of his individual rights as a citizen.

He may have the utmost confidence in the President and the executive branch of the Government. He may feel that the legislative branch should be paramount because it reflects the views and wishes of the majority of our citizens and is responsive to them through the elective process. Nonetheless, he realizes that it is to the judicial branch of the Government he will turn, in the final analysis, for the protection of his rights, whoever may threaten them.

He realizes also that his standing in the courts is not going to be dependent upon whether he is in the majority or in the minority in the assertion of his rights. Whether the opposing party be the Government of the United States, a large corporation, or everyone else in his neighborhood, he knows that his opponent or opponents must meet him on equal terms at the courthouse.

As a result, I believe that the average citizen of this country today regards the courts as in a special category so far as his respect and confidence is concerned. It is of vital importance that he continue to do so.

One of the most important aspects of

Law Day is the opportunity which it provides to increase confidence in the courts through increasing understanding of the people of this country as to their functioning and their vital place in our governmental framework.

mental framework.

One aspect of the functioning of the courts, concerning which understanding needs to be increased today, is the necessity that in a government composed of three equal and coordinate branches, the judicial branch of the Government must be independent. Most lawyers understand that fact. They realize that so long as courts are presided over by human beings, there is great danger that judges will become subservient to any agency or instrumentality on which they are dependent to any extent whatever.

Only through the existence of independent courts will the rights of our citizens be protected. To accomplish that protection, the courts must be independent of both Government and private influence. In a democracy, public appreciation of this requirement is essential to the maintenance of their independence.

If the celebration of Law Day has contributed to public appreciation of the necessity for independent courts in this country, as I hope that it has, it will have made a vital contribution to the strength of this Nation even though its objectives are far broader than that.

May I offer an example of what happens when courts are not independent? Last summer I had occasion to be in the U.S.S.R where a small group of officials of the American Bar Association spent 2 weeks talking to judges and lawyers of that country. We were particularly interested in their system of justice, the functioning of their courts, and in learning the status of lawyers in the Russian society.

We found to our surprise that there are in Russia today some 16,000 lawyers who make their living in the private practice of the law. Two thousand of them are located in Moscow, a city of 5 million people. These private practitioners are not working for the government, as is everyone else in Russia, but are employed by their clients and are dependent upon the fees paid by them for their livelihood. The system of Peoples Court, with appellate courts leading finally to the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., was a more complete judicial system than we had anticipated finding. The trials which we observed were conducted reasonably well and the judges to whom we talked appeared to be conscientious in their desire to administer justice fairly.

While in Russia I purchased a copy of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. Interestingly enough, it is for sale in all of the cities in Russia, not only in the Russian language, but in English and just about every other language that can be found in that country. A person reading that constitution, who had no knowledge of life in the U.S.S.R. today, might well conclude that the rights of Russian citizens are recognized and protected fully—even to a greater extent than anywhere else in the world. The Russian Constitution so provides. It spells out in detail the rights of their citizens and the protection to be afforded to them. It reads beautifully. Yet the world knows today that no one has fewer rights or less protection against the power of the government of his country than a citizen of the U.S.S.R.

Why is this true? What makes the difference between a country where citizens' rights guaranteed by their constitution are protected, and a country where citizens' rights guaranteed by their constitution are nonexistent? Not the existence of courts. Courts exist in Russia. Lawyers represent clients in Russia. Cases are decided by courts in Russia.

But in the U.S.S.R. the courts and judges are under the complete domination of the Communist Party, which controls the Government of Russia, as is every other facet of Russian life. The army is controlled by the political commissar assigned to its units. Industry is controlled by the plant repre-sentatives of the Communist Party who sit at the elbows of the plant managers and second-guess them in the operation of the The manager of a plan is responsible for its operation and for its meeting the quotas assigned to it, yet he is constantly under the surveillance and domination of the party representative who has the final word on any question.

The situation in the courts is comparable. True, we did not discover a political commissar assigned to the staff of a court, though I should not be surprised if some exist. We did find adequate evidence that if a person is charged with a crime in which the party is interested, the party chairman may call up the judge before whom the case is pending and instruct him to dismiss the charge, particularly if it is against a party member, or to convict him and throw the book at the accused. Whatever the instruction may be, there is no question that it will be followed by the court, just as the orders of the Communist Party bosses are followed in everything that occurs in Russian life today.

A citizen seeking to protect himself, his family, or his property against the abuse of his constitutional rights in the U.S.S.R. receives only the protection which the Government, by sufferance, elects to grant him.

I can think of no more graphic illustration of the necessity for complete independence of our courts if liberty under law, as established in our Constitution and Bill of Rights, is to continue to exist in this country.

As a corollary of the necessity for public appreciation and support of our independent courts, it is vitally important that we have good judges. It is important that we have judges who appreciate the reason for the independence of our courts. It is important that we have judges who realize that there is a difference between independent courts and independent judges. It is important that we have judges who do not abuse the independence of the courts on which they sit.

The legal profession of the United States has a great responsibility both for the quality of judges and for public support of the courts. Lawyers are the handmaidens of justice-the high priests of its temple. The effectiveness of the functioning of our courts depends upon lawyers. The public looks to us for leadership in all matters relating to the courts and gives great weight to our judgment as to the performance of courts and judges. That fact must be taken into account in all that we say or do which may affect public confidence in the courts. Day afforded the profession an opportunity to examine its performance in this and other respects while the general public was considering its relationship to the law.

May we consider now what might be called Law Day's fourth dimension. In his proclamation establishing Law Day this year, President Eisenhower said "in paying tribute to the rule of law between men, we contribute to the elevation of the rule of law and its application to the solution of controversies between nations." The hope that law provides for the peaceful solution of controversies between nations has captured the imagination of an increasing number of people in public and private life throughout the United States. It has met an equally responsive reception in many places throughout the world.

The threat of nuclear warfare in the space age has given to this hope an urgency far greater than it has ever known. As unthinkable as a nuclear war today would be, we find ourselves on the brink of armed conflict with increasing frequency as diplomacy encounters problems which it cannot settle. More and more often, the people of the United States are asking the question: Why cannot these problems be submitted to, and settled by, independent courts just as they would be litigated and disposed of between States of the United States today? More and more people are asking why the Berlin controversy, the Matsu and Quemoy problems and others which threaten the peace of the world cannot be submitted to

courts for adjudication.

Everyone knows that the removal of a subject of disagreement from the street corners and newspaper headlines to the relative calm and ordered processes of the courtroom inevitably results in a cooling off period which in itself contributes to a peaceful solution of any problem. More and more people are coming to realize that the adjudication of controversies by an independent court provides a face-saving means of withdrawal from an untenable position which frequently is an important aspect of the peaceful solution of an international problem. Finally, and most important, they know that the adjudication of controversies by an independent court in the light of established principles of law and morality is a fair means of resolving them, whatever the ultimate decision may be.

The legal profession has a special responsibility of leadership in the elevation of the rule of law and its application to world problems. Increasing recognition of this responsibility on the part of the profession is apparent. The inspired crusade led by my distinguished predecessor, Charles S. Rhyne of Washington, D.C., was a major factor in awakening the public and the profession to the potentialities of the application of law, by courts, to the solution of world problems

Upon assuming office as president last August, I recommended to the board of governors the creation of a special committee on world peace through law, and obtained the agreement of Mr. Rhyne to act as its chairman. I announced as one of our objectives for the current year, the holding of a series of regional conferences throughout the United States through which we could bring to bear the ability of the legal profession upon the difficult problems of what our objectives shall be and how we shall proceed in seeking to further the use of law, instead of force, in solving world problems.

During the month of April, five such regional conferences were held—in Boston, Charlotte, Chicago, San Francisco, and Dallas. More than 250 of the leading lawyers of the United States participated in these conferences.

The conferences, which were held under the direction of the Committee, were most successful. The diversity of opinion, which is inevitable in such a group dealing with a problem of such scope, contributed to full discussion after which, in the words of Mr. Rhyne's report, "Lawyers who have come in a little doubtful have gone out as evangelists for the cause of world peace through law."

One of the conclusions reached by all the groups was that these regional conferences should also be held in various parts of the world, preparatory to a world conference of the legal profession to be devoted to means of furthering the rule of law between na-

No one has any illusions concerning the magnitude of the task which we have undertaken, or that our objective will be reached overnight. But equally, no one has any doubt as to the urgent necessity that law be

substituted for force on the world scene in this nuclear space age, if civilization is to survive it. Neither have we any doubt as to the tremendous body of opinion of the people of the world which will support any effort which holds promise of progress toward the elimination of force in world politics.

Not only does the legal profession have responsibilities of leadership in this effort, but the United States of America as well. It is in our country that the rule of law has achieved its highest development. In our country the legal profession has greater influence upon public opinion than in any other. Ours is the responsibility of world leadership.

When officials of this country take positions designed to provide the world leadership which is needed, they deserve the support of the public-and most certainly of the lawyers of the country. Such support has no partisan implications. Foreign affairs in this country should always be nonpartisan.

Recently, public statements of the type which I have in mind have been made by several of our national officials.

President Eisenhower has said on several occasions that there can be no peace without law. A portion of his state of the Union message to the current session of the Congress was devoted to the consideration of the means for promotion of the rule of law between nations.

In his last public apearance, our "fallen giant" and great Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, said, "We in the United States have, from the very beginning of our history, insisted that there is a rule of law which is above the rule of man. That concept we derived from our English forebears, but, we, as well as they, played a part in its acceptance. \* \* \* We now carry these concepts into the international field."

In a significant address delivered to the Academy of Political Science in New York on April 13, Vice President Nixon said:

"I am now convinced and in this I reflect the steadfast purpose of the President and the wholehearted support of the Secretary of State and the Attorney General, that the time has now come to take the initiative in the right direction of establishment of the rule of law in the world to replace the rule of force."

He then proposed, as one tangible means by which this Nation might provide leadership in elevating the rule of law in the world, that this country modify the so-called Connally reservation to our adherence to the charter of the International Court of Justice. By that reservation, we reserved the right to make a unilateral decision as to the domestic character of any question submitted to that Court and, in effect, reserved a veto power over the adjudication of any dispute affecting the United States. Elimination of the Connally amendment would constitute tangible evidence of the good faith of this country in its determination to elevate the rule of law and apply it to the solution of problems between nations.

The Vice President further proposed that in future international agreements, entered into by the United States, a provision be included that any disputes that may arise as to the interpretation of the agreement should be submitted to the International Court of Justice and that the nations signing the agreement would agree to be bound by the decision of the Court in such cases.

These two steps would constitute real progress on the road to world peace through Their espousal by the United States would constitute the type of leadership

which we owe to the world.

Public officials in a democracy cannot be expected to take a position too far ahead of public opinion. In the area which we are considering, lawyers can have a major impact upon public opinion. Lacking necessary public support for these and other proposals which may be made for the application of law to world problems, the progress which We are making toward our objective could be

The members of the legal profession of the United States have a real opportunity to contribute to the ultimate achievement of world peace through law by giving strong support to these proposals and to every other effort made in this direction. Only with such support can effective progress be made toward our objective. Only with public leadership by our profession, in this area in which we have a special competence, can our Nation Provide the world leadership required to achieve our goal of peace through law.

Of the many facts of Law Day and its observance throughout the country, none seem to me to be of more importance or greater urgency than these I have mentioned. importance and urgency obviously continues during the days and months ahead. I hope that you will join in the discharge of the public responsibility of our profession in both of these important areas.

### Hill Hunger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. ROBERT C. BYRD

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, amid our continual preoccu-Dation with technical governmental issues, I feel that we should not forget the wonderful human values and feelings to be found in poetry, and that occasionally we should take time to reflect upon the warmth and wisdom of a piece

Therefore, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very poignant and perceptive little poem which I believe reveals a truth about each of us who comes from mountainous country. The poem is titled "Hill Hunger." It was written by Lillian Mayfield Roberts, and was published in the West Virginia Review in

There being no objection, the poem Was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

### HILL HUNGER

(By Lillian Mayfield Roberts)

I think that something in the hill child dies When he is taken to the level lands. The man bred by an ocean understands, And he will tell you that his sick heart sighs For hiss of surf-and all his being cries For roar of waves, and spray upon his hands; Ever beneath his weary feet the sands-Ever before his searching eyes a sail-

And so I think the hill child always sees That broken line inked against the skies, Where saffron sunset drops to meet the trees Upon the hilltops-and the nighthawk flies-And when his mind cannot recapture these I think that something in the hill child dies. Uncle Sam and His Workers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. JOHN R. FOLEY

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Speaker, the Government of the United States as the employer of the largest number of persons has a great responsibility to provide the highest and best employment standards for its employees. That the Federal Government should be our country's model employer is a goal accepted by all persons who have thought about this important matter. That the Government is not a model employer is likewise accepted by this same group of persons. The reasons for the Government's failure to achieve this necessary and worthwhile goal are many and com-Some of the facts which prove that the Government has not attained this goal were set forth clearly and vigorously recently by our colleague, the Honorable George M. Rhodes, U.S. Representative from the 14th District of Pennsylvania. The article appeared in the April 1959 issue of the American Federationist. Because the article is revealing, forceful, and fairminded, I insert it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

UNCLE SAM AND HIS WORKERS

(By George M. RHODES, U.S. Representative from Pennsylvania)

Shocking conditions reminiscent of a bygone era in American labor history are the day-to-day experience of thousands of employees of the Federal Government. Labormanagement policies and practices which workers in industry now take for granted are still unattained goals of Government employees.

Here are some typical comments on present employee-management relations by Federal employees:

An Army employee: "Coercion and threats

are the order of the day."

A postal clerk: "Employees feel they have no rights whatsoever and are merely puppets subject to anyone's whim and fancy."

A public health employee: "Anyone foolish enough to take a grievance to the employee relations office is placed on the blacklist as a troublemaker."

A letter carrier: "Employee morale is floundering."

A poetic Navy empolyee: "Management plots the course and mans the helm. Employees are the galley slaves."

A departmental employee: "Union members who become effective in presenting grievances and complaints for their fellow workers are either transferred or their jobs are abolished."

A general complaint is that "my agency does not follow established rules and regulations in employee-management matters, but no one dares to speak out because of the fear of reprisal."

I could go on to list hundreds of such statements from Government employees at hearings before congressional committees, in letters to Members of Congress and in personal interviews.

It is easy for those in positions of respon-

sibility to dismiss these statements as those of misfits, cranks, troublemakers or malcontents. My 10 years of study and growing concern over this problem have convinced me, however, that in the main these men and women are the unfortunate victims of harsh and outmoded personnel policies which have seriously undermined their morale and their ability to operate at peak

efficiency But they are not the only victims. Grave damage is also being done to our career civil service by repeated instances of job injustices. Actually, the complaints from individual Government employees are danger signals, warning us that something basic is wrong with our entire Federal personnel system.

This analysis is confirmed by reports and findings of many Government and non-Government groups which have studied various aspects of the problem.

The civil service system was established by Congress in 1883. The assassination of President Garfield by a disappointed job-seeker dramatically highlighted the evils of the spoils system which had dominated Gov-

ernment hiring practices for generations.

Public demands on Congress for reform of the old system produced the Civil Service Act, which brought into being the competitive merit system in Government employ-

In January of this year there were 2,337,-823 civilian Federal employees on the payroll. They work in every State of the Union, every city and county, every Army post, naval and airbase, post office, every veterans' hospital, Federal prison, overseas installation, every regional office, weather bureau, executive department and agency in Washington. Their activities touch directly or indirectly upon the life of each of their fellow citizens.

General speaking, Federal Government employees may be placed in three major categories—the white collar or classified em-ployees, the blue collar or wage board employees, and the employees of the postal service All are chosen from civil service registers, which contain the names of those applicants who have passed examinations in each of the many thousands of classified positions.

The pay scales of classified and postal employees are established by acts of Congress. The pay of blue-collar or wage board employees is based on a determination of the prevailing area wage being paid in private industry for each of the various types of job classifications.

An individual who embarks upon a career in the Federal civil service automatically surrenders certain basic rights and freedoms enjoyed by other American citizens,

The Federal employee is prohibited by law from engaging in a strike against the Gov-ernment. In this regard an American Bar Association committee stated in a 1955 re-

"Government which denies to its employees the right to strike against the people, no matter how just might be the grievances, owes to the public servants an obligation to provide working conditions and standards of management-employee relationships which would make unnecessary and unwarranted any need for such employees to resort to stoppage of public business."

The Federal employee surrenders certain rights to engage in political activity under restrictions imposed by the Hatch Act. Federal employees can take no part in a local, State, or national political campaign, hold no office in a political club, nor otherwise engage in any partisan political activity.

Upon entry into the Federal service a citizen becomes, in effect, a political eunuch who must depend largely on relatives, friends, and neighbors outside civil service for effective political action to see to it that responsible officials are chosen to represent him at every level of government.

What do civil servants have a right to expect in exchange for their surrender of

these basic American rights? Stating the case in its broadest terms, I feel that employees of the Federal Government are at the least entitled to conditions of employment equal in all respects to those accorded

to employees in private industry.

The special obligation of Government to guarantee equality in the treatment of its own employees has been recognized by many eminent authorities in the field of personnel management and labor-management rela-

Here is what the American Bar Associa-

tion committee said:

"A government which imposes upon other employers certain obligations in dealing with their employees may not in good faith refuse to deal with its own public servants on a reasonably similar favorable basis, modified, of course, to meet the exigencies of the public service. It should set the example for industry by being perhaps more considerate than the law requires of private enterprise."

The National Civil Service League, an organization supported by top industrialists and businessmen interested in strengthening the merit system stated in its publica-

tion:

"All groups interested in public administration, including the unions themselves, recognize that public employment is different from private employment and that all aspects of collective bargaining cannot be utilized in government. However, a full examination of employee representation and communication policies and techniques is long overdue.

"A constructive program would not only provide democratic assistance to the employee but would also develop a means for management responsibility which industry has long since learned to utilize but which

government still lacks."

Similar views have been officially expressed by the Hoover Commission and the House and Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committees, which in past years have favorably reported legislation to establish a uniform system of handling Government employee grievances in the promotion of enlightened employee-management relations in the Federal service. However, these bills have never reached the floor for debate and vote.

The need for formal action to require all Government agencies to recognize employee unions and to establish uniform grievance machinery has also been the subject of discussion by the President's Cabinet. A proposed Executive order to accomplish these modest objectives was actually drafted several years ago, but it was never issued.

In view of this widespread concern over employee-management relationships in the Federal Government, why is it that such shocking conditions continue to exist? This is a question often asked by persons genuinely interested in this important problem.

During the administrations of Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft, Executive orders were issued prohibiting direct communication between Federal employees and Members of Congress, thus denying these citizens the fundamental constitutional right to petition for redress of grievances. As a result of these abuses, Congress in 1912 enacted the Lloyd-La Follette Act.

Considering the violently antilabor sentiment which then existed among private employers, the widespread use of professional strikebreakers, the virtually unrestricted use of injunctions in labor disputes, the "yellow dog" contracts and other antilabor devices, the Lloyd-La Follette Act of 1912 was a reasonable, forward-looking effort to inject justice and sanity into employee-management relations in the Federal service.

It gave recognition to the rights of Federal

employees in three main respects.

It provided that no person in the classified civil service could be removed except for cause.

It authorized employees of the Federal Government to organize to improve conditions of employment, wages and hours of work. The right to strike was specifically prohibited.

The right of Federal employees to petition Congress or any Members of Congress was guaranteed. The right to furnish information to either House of Congress or a congressional committee or member thereof was also guaranteed.

Now, 47 years later, this is still the basic law affecting the rights of Federal employees. But in this interim period significant advancements have been made in Federal laws affecting employee-management relations in private industry. These laws are well known—the Railway Labor Act, the Norris-LaGuardia Act, the Davis-Bacon Act, the Wagner Act (amended by Taft-Hartley), the Walsh-Healey Act and the Fair Labor Standards Act.

It is obvious that the Federal Government has lagged far behind in the establishment of enlightened employee-management policies for its own employees. I am convinced that only Congress can furnish the necessary leadership to bring about a long-needed overhaul of the Government's antiquated personnel practices.

There are many aspects to this complex problem, including the lack of uniform grievance procedures throughout the Government, employee morale factors, salary inequities and the threat of transfers or reductions in force because of automation, particularly in the Postal Establishment.

There are also matters of promotion policies, lack of adequate communication between employees and supervisory personnel, poor and unsafe working conditions, autocratic behavior by management officials and the lack of understanding of the techniques of modern employee-management relations.

Experts point out that many of the current problems have resulted from the fallure of the Civil Service Commission to carry out its legal responsibilities in administering civil service laws, rules, and regulations. The increasingly large number of Federal employees bringing cases in the courts to test their rights is an indication of its lack of overall effectiveness.

If we are to have an efficient, enlightened personnel structure in the Federal service, Congress must insist that the Commission exert strong leadership to protect the merit system against the continuing pressure of political spoils. At the same time the Commission must adopt enlightened personnel management techniques which have proved successful in private industry in the promotion of efficient, economic and harmonious employee-management relationships.

Political appointments to the Commission have undoubtedly weekened its determination to force executive departments and agencies to comply with existing regulations or to initiate modern personnel practices. There are recent signs which indicate possible improvement in the present chaotic situation. The appointment of Roger W. Jones, a career civil servant in the Bureau of the Budget, to the chairmanship of the Commission is generally viewed as a step in the right direction.

The naming of Rocco Siciliano to the newly created position of special assistant to the President for personnel management has produced efforts to fill the void caused

by the lack of Civil Service Commission leadership in this area.

Last June, Siciliano sent a memorandum to the heads of all executive departments and agencies. It called attention to previously established personnel management standards on such matters as grievances, consultations between management and employees, and the protection of employee's right to join a union. Department and agency heads were asked to evaluate their own employee-management policies to make them more in keeping with established standards.

There are indications that the Siciliano memorandum did some good. The Department of the Interior issued a new consolidated labor policy restating the collective bargaining rights of wage board (blue collar) employees and stressing the value of close cooperation with employee organizations. The Civil Service Commission has been officially assigned the task of checking on how well agencies comply with employee-management standards.

The Commerce Department issued an order which "encouraged" its employees to join unions and gave union members the opportunity to collect dues on Government time. However, protests from other agencies forced amendments to the order which toned it

down considerably.

In January of this year the American Federation of Government Employees, an AFL-CIO affiliate, sent questionnaires to each of its lodges throughout the country. The object was to get a frank appraisal of employee-management conditions at each installation. Final returns of the survey are still being tabulated, but initial reports released by the union reveal that there is much to be done before personnel relationships in the Federal Government can be brought up to a decent level.

Queried specifically about any improvements noted since the Siciliano memorandum was issued, 38 percent of the AFGE lodges in defense establishment which reported employee-management relations as "poor" or "fair" said that there were signs of improvement. Only 16 percent of non-defense establishments reporting poor or fair relations noted any change.

A great number of respondents used such terms as "lipservice" and "window dressing" when commenting on the effect of the White House memorandum in their own agency. Others pointed to the gap between front office "toleration of employee unions and "antagonistic" relationships with supervisory personnel at the day-to-day working levels.

While a wide range of comments on present labor relations was received, the overwhelming number of the AFGE lodge spokesmen felt that congressional enactment of employee-management legislation was the key to overall improvement in this area.

The Johnston-Rhodes bill now before Congress offers the best hope for the establishment of modern, sound employee-management relations policies in the Federal service.

The measure would not give Government employees the right to strike or to encourage in activities detrimental to their agency or the public interest. It is in harmony with policies previously established by Congress for employees in private industry.

gress for employees in private industry.

This bill would legally establish several important principles. It would guarantee representatives of employee organizations the right to present grievances in behalf of their members without restraint, coercion, interference, intimidation, or reprisal.

While this right already exists in some U.S. agencies, it is only granted by sufferance, not as a matter of legal right. Moreover, the frequent turnover of personnel in an agency or installation often makes it only of fleeting duration.

The bill would give representatives of employee organizations the opportunity to present views on matters of policy affecting working conditions, safety, inservice training, labor-management cooperation, methods of adjusting grievances, transfers, appeals, granting of leave, promotions, demotions, rates of pay and reductions in force.

In addition, the Johnston-Rhodes bill would establish by law a uniform and workable system of handling unresolved grievances in these specified areas by the use of impartial boards of arbitration.

Various executive departments and agencies and the U.S. Civil Service Commission have repeatedly expressed their vigorous opposition to this legislation. They have generally taken the position that establishment of these rights of Federal employees by statute was unnecessary because adequate machinery already existed in Government agencies to handle grievances, appeals, and other problems in the employee-management field.

Despite these assurances, however, the public record is filled with abundant evidence showing that present employee-management relations in the Federal service are in too many instances the product of 19th century antilabor philosophy and similarly outmoded personnel-management concepts. The antilabor bias of Cabinet members of the Eisenhower administration was shown most recently when Postmaster General Summerfield attacked unions at the convention of the National Association of Manufacturers in New York.

Enactment of the Johnston-Rhodes bill is urgently needed. This measure would prod narrow, bureaucratic minds into recognition and adoption of 20th century employee-management policies. It is only by this type of shock treatment that we can ever hope to achieve the necessary degree of enlightenment in the Federal civil service to bring about these needed reforms.

The resulting benefits of increased efficiency, more economical administration of Government, improved morale, better working standards and conditions, recruitment of better qualified civil servants and the extension of truly fair and democratic treatment to our loyal and devoted Government employees are well worth the tremendous efforts needed to enact the Johnston-Rhodes employee-management bill.

### Military Communications

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. FRANK C. OSMERS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include in the Appendix of the RECORD a speech delivered by Gen. Curtis E. LeMay before the 1959 convention of the Armed Forces Communications and Electronics Association. General LeMay points up the significant communications problems and programs facing our Air Force today. He particularly stressses the importance of communications that will give us the 15 or 20 minutes warning which could spell the very difference between the life or death of this Nation. Members will find much of interest in these remarks by a man whose wisdom

and foresight were a major factor in developing the Strategic Air Command into the great deterrent force that it is:

REMARKS BY GEN, CURTIS E. LEMAY, VICE CHIEF OF STAFF, U.S. AIR FORCE, BEFORE THE 1959 CONVENTION OF THE ARMED FORCES COMMUNICATIONS AND ELECTRONICS ASSO-CIATION, WASHINGTON, D.C., JUNE 3, 1959

Ladies and gentlemen, I am glad to be here today. It is a pleasure to address you at the start of your 1959 convention. I welcome this occasion to discuss a subject of extreme mutual interest and critical national precedence—the subject of military communications.

As many of you know, I am a firm beliver in the key role of communications in the defense of our Nation—and so, I imagine, are all of you, or you wouldn't be here today. Therefore, I will not take up time this afternoon trying to convince anyone in this room of the importance of communications to the security of this country. I assume that we are a hundred percent in agreement on this. Instead, I would like to spend the next few minutes talking about some of our defense problems—and their dependence upon the most efficient and effective communication systems possible. Since the Air Force is my business, I will confine my discussion today to its problems and its programs.

The world as man once knew it is shrinking at an alarming rate. Of course, I am speaking figuratively—but nonetheless, accurately. It took the Pilgrims 54 days from the time they left England to sight Cape Cod. Modern ships make the same journey in 5 or 6 days; jet aircraft do it in a matter of a few hours; missiles could do it within minutes. Relatively speaking then, if one were to consider the earth in Pilgrim days as the size of a basketball—now, it is the size of a pea.

Many factors have contributed to this phenomenon, but the two areas which have had the greatest impact—are communications and transportation. Improved speed, range and load capabilities in each of these very vital fields have contributed, and are contributing today, to the continuous compression of the globe. This remarkable progress has brought many new benefits to civilization—and at the same time, has presented us with many new problems.

The problems to which I refer have their origin in the application of these new developments to military capabilities. For example, I think we all agree that a means to transport cargo and personnel from one part of the world to another in a few short hours would certainly be considered beneficial progress. On the other hand, when the same development is used to transport lethal weapons of tremendous destructive power at supersonic—or even hypersonic—speeds, our accrued benefits quickly revert to ominous military threats.

The United States was at one time considered relatively immune to surprise attack by any major power in the world. However, as the Soviets have developed, in rapid succession, first long range bombers, then atomic weapons and finally intercontinental ballistic missiles, we have found that we no longer possess this immunity. Furthermore, as individual weapons grow in destructive power, the great advantages which we originally possessed in our atomic superiority have come to mean less. I do not mean that we have been overtaken in our capabilities to design, produce and operate better machines or weapons. However, I am firmly convinced that as each new development appears on the scene-as weapons become more powerful and their means of delivery more rapid and with greater range—the lead which we do possess guarantees us less and less advantage.

In the face of this growing threat, the defense policy of this country has been—and is today—to deter war, if possible, and if that deterrence should fail, to repel and decisively counter any attack against us. If we are to be successful in our deterrent efforts, we must be able to meet any military situation which might confront us—including surprise attack by the most powerful weapons—and still maintain the necessary residual strength for a decisive retaliatory blow. We earnestly hope that we will be successful in deterring an attack upon our country—or upon the free world forces—but we certainly cannot be positive that we will.

Let us look closely, then, at the requirement to repei and effectively counter any attack. As I said before, the biggest problem which faces us today—and which will increase as Soviet ballistic missiles become operational—is that of protecting our forces from a devastating surprise attack. In order to be prepared for the werst, we must always think in terms of having to absorb the initial blow. If we can do this, we will then continue to possess the dominant military ca-

pability.

To do this, we must provide the necessary protection for our weapons which will insure that, regardless of the power, size or speed of any attack against us, our forces will be available and usable. We are taking advantage of every measure available to us-warning, alert, dispersal, hardening, and mobility—to name a few. Maximum warning in combination with maximum alert measures guarantees the greatest number of forces launched in the shortest length of time. Furthermore, wide dispersal through a large number of bases not only complicates the enemy's attack problem, but allows us to attain a faster launch rate for our own forces. The advantages of hardening and mobility are, I am certain, evident to all of you. The key to the whole reaction capability is, however, warning-and warning and communications are synonymous.

The two types of warning with which we are primarily concerned are strategic and tactical. As you know, strategic warning consists primarily of intelligence information of enemy activities which might indicate the imminence of an attack. Its sources are worldwide. To be useful, this information must be up to the minute and accurate. Therefore, the success of our intelligence efforts depends to a great degree upon rapid and reliable communications.

We have already established an elaborate network to provide tactical warning-which would ordinarily be notification of an in-coming attack. Our warning network against manned jet aircraft and air-breathing missiles is practically complete at this time. It consists of our distant early warning (DEW) line, which runs across the northern fringe of the North American Continent-with extensions continuing on to join the NATO system in the east and as far as Midway Island on the Pacific sideplus the mid-Canada line and the pine tree line. Other North American radars, early warning picket ships, airborne early warning and control aircraft and Texas warning and towers complete this system-a vast and intricate network whose optimum effectiveness depends upon rapid and reliable communications.

The coming of intercontinental ballistic missiles makes our warning and defense problems even more complex. The most obvious impact is the drastically reduced warning which will be available to us in case of a missile attack. Theree ballistic missile early warning sites (BMEWS) are presently programed, and one is already under construction. The purpose of these sites is to give this country as much warning as possible of a missile attack. This warning will

be 15 or 20 minutes at best. When minutes spell the difference between the life or death of a nation, every second—in fact, every microsecond—counts. Again, communications is the key, and again, it must be accurate, rapid and reliable—there is absolutely no margin for error.

Within minutes of warning of an attack both our defensive and offensive forces will react. Our manned interceptors and surface-to-air missiles will be launched to intercept and attact incoming enemy forces as far away from their destination as possible. At the same time substantial numbers of our strategic striking force will be on their way to the target. Control is the key to the success of this operation and control is only as good as the communications system through which it operates. Control of the air battle—that is the protection of our own outgoing forces and the direction of our defensive weapons against incoming targets—is mandatory for successful results.

This warning must also be transmitted immediately to all of our commands and bases worldwide so our oversea and "Reflex" forces can-be launched toward their targets with no delay. It must be flashed to the various headquarters, and then sent to operational commands who in turn must relay it down to the many dispersed units under their control. Speed is essential—and there must be no errors. If communications break down—or are inadequate to begin with—irreparable damage could result.

Our day-to-day peacetime communication requirements for operating a supersonic, long-range, widely dispersed Air Force who have reached a new and unbelievable high. For example, all of Air Materiel Command's air materiel areas, depots, and logistic control groups are linked together in a high-speed communication network for the purpose of providing the most rapid service available in supplying our operational units. Up-to-theminute operational reporting is also accomplished through a worldwide communication net. Control and surveillance of our daily flying operations require the most modern type of communication equipment between aircraft and ground facilities.

Many other examples of the vital day-to-day applications of communications could be cited, but I am certain that most of you here are as familiar with, them as I am. The implications are obvious. The drastic compression of time and distance has emphasized above all the critical need for centralized control of our operations. This control must be based upon the most accurate information available, rapidly transmitted, and properly collated and displayed. Only an elaborate and complex system of the most modern communications facilities will meet these requirements.

We are making progress in all of these areas, but we have not by any means reached the point where we can say that our communications are adequate. It would be more accurate to state that our communications are continually lagging behind the needs of our rapidly expanding operational requirements. There is a very vital need for increased effort, for new and radical thinking in this area, and for rapid development of new equipment which can meet our growing demands. I would like to mention just a few examples of the type of improvements which are required to match our communications to the needs and tempo of our defense systems:

Range extension of our tropospheric scatter systems, and more extensive channelization of these systems;

Improved reliability and security in our cryptographic devices for voice, data and pictures;

Increased speed for record-type communications—our teletypes must operate at rates

of pages per minute rather than words per minute:

Last, but certainly one of the more critical requirements, a reliable worldwide voice capability.

The communications satellite is an encouraging possibility, and other new transmission media show promise of helping us overcome some of our present deficiencies. There are still other areas where breakthroughs are taking place—or will take place in the near future. It is up to us to capitalize on these breakthroughs and to convert them rapidly into useful communications systems.

From what I have said this afternoon, it is obvious that communications in today's defense activities can no longer be considered merely a service. Communication is an integral part of the weapon systems which we develop and employ, and an essential element in the proper functioning of the command structure that controls and launches these systems. The communications equipment which we develop must be tailored to meet the exact requirements of our specific tasks. Common items-those which satisfy some of the needs of all of the services, but do not meet the full requirements of any service-are not the answer. Requirements for Air Force communication equipmentand I am sure that this is equally true with the Army and the Navy-must be met with no compromises. Our equipment must meet the full demands of our military systems and must be completely responsive to the needs of the men who control and operate these systems.

I am certain that most of you remember that timeworn saying, "There is always somebody who doesn't get the word." Fallure to get the word, until very recently, has seldom been completely disastrous. Today, our whole defense—our national security—depends upon our ability to get the word—and to get it in time to act. The only sure way of getting the word is an up-to-theminute system of rapid, reliable and secure communications. In this day and age, communications could prove to be the Achilies heel of our Nation's defenses. It is up to all of us to make sure this does not happen.

# An Annual Summer Festival Proposed for Delaware

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. HARRIS B. McDOWELL, JR.

OF DELAWARE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday. June 12, 1959

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Speaker, among the most important contributions to the cultural growth and development of our country are the many historical pageant dramas which are being produced today.

Plays such as "The Lost Colony" in North Carolina and "The Common Glory" in Virginia have done much for the culture and prestige of the individual State and for the communication of the State's history and ideals to its citizens, especially to its young people, and to the visitors from other States. There is the additional factor, that the visitors to these plays spend large sums of money with local merchants which certainly accounts in part for the widespread support given to these productions by businessmen and their organizations such as

chambers of commerce and boards of trade.

I recall with special pleasure a play produced in 1953 by Robert L. Hilliard over Delaware's major broadcasting station WDEL. This play was titled "The Delaware Story," and later it was to form the basis for a pageant drama written by Mr. Hilliard and published under the title of "Blue Rock Land."

This play would make a major contribution to the cultural growth and the economic development of Delaware if it were produced and developed as an annual summer festival.

I would hope that the newspapers, broadcasting stations, and business organizations in Delaware would explore the possibilities of a combined effort on the part of business, industry, and the State government, to develop an outdoor theater and produce "Blue Rock Land" as an annual summer festival.

The author, Mr. Hilliard, is well known in Delaware, having graduated from the University of Delaware and lived and worked in Wilmington for several years.

Mr. Hilliard says in his preface to "Blue Rock Land":

Delaware is a small State, in both area and population, but its history is large. It was the first State to ratify the Constitution, and its contributions to the early colonizing of the New World and to the establishment of a government of united states hold important places in the annals of our Nation's development. Delaware's founding was marked with the same tribulations, the same successes and failures that marked the struggles to establish settlements in all parts of the continent. Yet, like all the rest, Delaware's trials have been peculiarly her own. Rock Land" is a historical pageant drama depicting some of the early vicissitudes of settling the land along the South River, or Delaware River, land that was to become the State of Delaware.

I am pleased to include here for the information of my colleagues a letter which I have received from Professor Hilliard, together with the preface from the play "Blue Rock Land":

ADELPHI COLLEGE,
Garden City, N.Y., June 5, 1959.
The Honorable Harris B. McDowell, Jr.,
Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN McDowell: I was not flattered and pleased recently that you found use for my article, "Television and Education," but I have been very gratified to note, even in the New York newspapers, your actions on behalf of the cultural growth of our country in several areas. Perhaps it is considered trite in some places to say so, but I believe that the most important unifying force in peacetime of a growing nation must be a strong and progressing cultural affinity. (Apropos of this, I was sorry to learn that the House Commerce Committee has temporarily shelved educational television proposals.)

For some time I have thought that some of the most important contributions to the Nation's cultural growth have been the dozens of historical pageant-dramas produced in many of our States. Plays such as "The Lost Colony" in North Carolina and "The Common Glory" in Virginia have done much for the culture and prestige of the individual State and for the communication of the State's history and ideals to the visitors from other States, not to mention the excellent

business brought into the State communities by the tens of thousands of tourists who come over the summer to see a given play.

Some years ago I felt that Delaware should have such a play, and while living and working in Wilmington I developed, out of an historical series I wrote and directed for WDEL, such a play, "Blue Rock Land." (It was subsequently published by a division of Washington's Public Affairs Press.)

I am taking the liberty of enclosing for you a copy of "Blue Rock Land," in the hope that you may find interest and enjoyment in it. I have thought of trying to make contact with civic-minded people in Delaware to explore the possibilities of a combined effort on the part of business and industry, and the State government, to develop an outdoor theater and produce "Blue Rock Land" as an annual summer festival, similar to what is being done in the other States—perhaps beginning with the summer of 1960.

I would greatly appreciate any comments or suggestions you may have in relation to the possible values of establishing an annual summer historical pageant-drama festival in Delaware.

Sincerely,

ROBERT L. HILLIARD.

"BLUE ROCK LAND"—A HISTORICAL PAGEANT-DRAMA ABOUT THE FOUNDING OF DELA-WARE

(By Robert L. Hilliard)

For a number of years now the idea of the regional theater has been growing in Through the efforts of pioneers, like Paul Green and Frederick H. Koch, and other playwrights, directors, producers, and educators, theater has to some degree expanded from the restrictive narrow commercialism of large city concentration and moved to the many and varied regions of the United States. This form of theater is exactly what its name implies: regional. The play deals with the area in which it is being performed, reflecting for the audiences some aspect of the history of their region, dramatically bringing alive the past or present that has most meaning for them. Since history is like a pageant, concerning itself with long periods of time, geographical areas, and multitudes of people, so must this kind of historical play be, in effect, a pageant. The name given to this form of regional drama is, then, the historical pageant-drama.

This kind of drama has provided an increasing number of people of our States with a new kind of entertainment and stimulation that can only be had through the living theater. In addition, it has served to develop and unify the culture of our country by giving more and more of the American people a glimpse of the personalities and events that helped forge what was once a wilderness into great States and a great country.

Delaware is a small State, in both area and population, but its history is large. It was the first State to ratify the Constitution, and its contributions to the early colonizing of the New World and to the establish ment of a Government of United States hold important places in the annals of our Nation's development. Delaware's founding was marked with the same tribulations, the same successes and failures that marked the struggles to establish settlements in all parts of the continent. Yet, like all the rest, Delaware's trials have been peculiarly her own. "Blue Rock Land" is a historical pageantdrama depicting some of the early vicissitudes of settling the land along the South River, or Delaware River-land that was to become the State of Delaware.

The historical pageant-drama is ideally suited for the large outdoor theater, esthetically uniting the content of the play with its natural background, The outdoor thea-

ter, in addition, permits a larger audience to view the play and provides the stage and backstage area needed for the large casts. However, the outdoor theater is not a necessity, for the scenery and stage areas may be proportionately reduced and the actor in the pageant-drama usually portrays several roles, thus permitting fewer cast members than

parts in the play.

The author has, in writing this play, kept faith with the facts of history, but has expanded on some, synthesized and condensed others, and used his imagination in creating personalities and situations that would best present dramatically the events, actions, and characters involved in the founding of Delaware. I wish to express my appreciation to Dr. John A. Munroe of the University of Delaware for his suggestions concerning historical sources and research materials. I am grateful to my wife, Mary Ellen, whose constructive critical assistance with the many revisions of the manuscript made the completion of "Blue Rock Land" possible.

Vital Role of World Health Organization in International Battle Against Disease—Address by Assistant Secretary of State Francis O. Wilcox

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, in the June 8, 1959, issue of the Department of State Bulletin there was published the text of a thoughtful and stimulating address entitled "The World Health Organization and World Peace," delivered by Francis O. Wilcox, Assistant Secretary for International Organization Affairs, before the National Citizens Committee for the World Health Organization.

As one who has urged an increase in U.S. effort to further the international fight against disease. I found Secretary Wilcox's comments of special interest. I am in complete accord with his endorsement of full support of the activities of WHO by our Government.

Secretary Wilcox's views are of particular importance at this time in connection with Senate Resolution 129, submitted on June 5, 1959, by the distinguished Senator from Minnesota IMr. Humphreyl. I am happy to be a cosponsor of this resolution, which would stimulate planning by governmental and private groups aimed at the carrying out of an International Health Year through the machinery of the World Health Organization.

Mr. President, on June 26 Francis Wilcox will address a dinner in Portland, Oreg., marking United Nations Charter Day. I know that this address by a distinguished career diplomat and internationally known scholar in the field of foreign affairs will be one of the high points in Oregon's centennial celebration. Residents of Oregon look forward to the opportunity to hear and talk with Secretary Wilcox, whose awareness of the humanitarian goals

which should dominate American foreign policy is well indicated in his comments before the National Citizens Committee for WHO.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that excerpts from Secretary Wilcox's address be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION AND WORLD PEACE

(By Francis O. Wilcox, assistant secretary for International Organization Affairs )

Strong support for the United Nations and its various specialized agencies, such as the World Health Organization, represents a fundamental part of American foreign policy. The American people firmly believe in the United Nations and the purposes and principles of the charter. They believe in the solid work the specialized agencies are doing to help lay the foundations of a just and lasting peace.

For peace, if it is to have real meaning for the common man, must be far more than the mere absence of armed conflict. It must reflect, in a constructive way, man's universal desire to build a more abundant life.

In the WHO Constitution the nations have declared that: "The health of all peoples is fundamental to the attainment of peace and security and is dependent upon the fullest cooperation of individuals and States."

These are not empty words. There is ample evidence already that the World Health Organization, along with the other agencies of the United Nations system, is making real progress in developing firmer foundations for world peace.

WHO AND THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM

The achievements of the World Health Organization as a force for peace can best be reviewed against a background of the dual and complementary nature of the entire United Nations system.

Most of us who attended the San Francisco conference in 1945 had two main objectives in mind.

The first of these objectives was to give real substance to the concept of collective security so that world peace could be maintained. To this end the Security Council was given the authority to move quickly and decisively in order to put down aggression. And the General Assembly was created to serve as the organized conscience of mankind.

Our other major objective at San Francisco was to devise means for closer international cooperation in advancing the social and economic well-being of mankind-better education, better food, better health. Most of the delegates there were of course vividly aware of the devastations of World War II, then not ended. But beyond that, and even more profoundly, they were aware of the stark contrast which has existed since the days of the industrial revolution, a contrast between conditions of life for a minority of mankind and those of the majority. I refer to the ever-widening gap between the living standards of the more fortunate peoples of the United States and Europe, and the subsistence or even starvation level of two-thirds of mankind in what we now term the underdeveloped countries. They knew that there would be no chance for stable peace unless all peoples had the opportunity to advance in human, social, and economic terms.

Address made before the National Citizens Committee for the World Health Organization at Washington, D.C., on May 7 (press release 312).

In reporting on the work done by the San Francisco conference, the U.S. delegation said:

"The battle of peace has to be fought on two fronts. The first is the security front where victory spells freedom from fear. The second is the economic and social front where victory means freedom from want. Only victory on both fronts can assure the world of an enduring peace."

Thus the United Nations pledged themselves to cooperate to solve economic, social, educational, health, and related problems. They also agreed that the various specialized agencies, established by intergovernmental agreement and having wide international responsibilities regarding these problems, should be tied in with the United Nations through the Economic and Social Council. The United Nations system represents an effort to prevent the application, through conflict, of our grim technology of destruction; it also represents an effort to further the application, through cooperation, of our potentially boundless technology of human welfare.

# ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE WORLD HEALTH

Some critics complain that the United Nations is a one-way street through which American support is given and little or nothing is received in return. I know of no more convincing evidence of the falsity of this assertion than the record of the World Health Organization. Let us consider this record for a moment.

The fact is that the WHO prorgams benefit the health of all Americans in many The direct benefits are important, because they mean that WHO is effectively expressing a central principle of international organization, namely, that the members should work together to achieve their common goals. In practical terms this means that each nation makes financial and technical contributions to the extent that it is able to do so, and also that each nation in return receives real benefits. This principle of mutual effort and mutual returns is at the heart of international cooperation. Its successful observance is assurance to Americans, as to others, that the cooperation is valuable and the organization worth while. The direct benefits which a people derive from membership in an organization give them a vested interest in it and its patterns of cooperation, the fruits of which they can see in an immediate and tangible way.

First, the World Health Organization makes possible the rapid reporting of disease outbreaks almost anywhere in the world. Radio stations in many countries cooperate in broadcasting WHO epidemiological bulletins—a most concrete example of interna-tional cooperation. The Public Health Service makes constant use of the information so obtained and in doing so helps to protect the American people against disease which might spread to our shores. As disease outbreaks are reported, almost universal application of quarantine measures protects Americans at home and abroad against infection. In this jet age germs can travel faster than sound. These measures combine maximum protection against spread of disease with minimum interference with travel and trade.

Second, the World Health Organization promotes the exchange of ideas and makes available to the United States up-to-date information on health and medical advances in other parts of the world. Free international exchange of experience and ideas is of course close to the heart of progress in health, as in other fields. WHO does this through publications, expert seminars and conferences, and a series of 36 expert advisory panels, with a total membership of

over 1,400 health experts, including 300 in the United States.

As part of this effort WHO helps to organize cooperation between laboratories in different countries including the United States, for exchange of information and samples and for coordinated research projects. International laboratory networks now cooperate under the aegis of WHO in influenza, pollomyelitis, other virus diseases, intestinal parasites, brucellosis and other fields.

Third, through recommended common names for drugs, recommended specifications, and preparation of biological standards WHO helps assure ready identification of commonly used drugs throughout the world and comparable standards of purity and potency for drugs and biologicals. The value to the growing numbers of Americans traveling or living in other countries, as well as to our pharmaceutical profession and industry, is obvious.

Fourth, the fundamental way to protect Americans against contracting infectious disease is to control or eradicate it at its source, anywhere in the world. Through its technical assistance programs WHO is greatly helping countries to accomplish this

Each of these services which I have listed benefits the health of Americans in a variety of ways. Most of these programs by their very nature are international in scope. They cannot possibly be carried on by only one or two countries. They are among the basic reasons for international cooperation in health and for the existence of a World Health Organization through which nations pool resources and work together.

Even if there were no other reasons for U.S. membership these services would repay many times our contributions to WHO. After serving on the U.S. delegation to the 10th World Health Assembly in 1957, Congressman CHARLES A. WOLVERTON of New Jersey stated:

"I know of no money that is being spent with greater effect than the small resources of the WHO. Truly, it is changing the world for the better, building a strong and more resourceful human race."

#### WHO AND THE COMPLEX OF MISERY

This statement highlights for us the fact that WHO programs also benefit the health of all other peoples. The majority of man-kind is still victim of the age-old complex of misery-a complex composed of illiteracy, starvation, disease, apathy, poverty. Therefore disease should be high on the list of our targets of attack. The attainment of health as a normal condition of life for all men, and as a basis for human advance, does not in itself guarantee conditions of peace. How ever, without attacknig disease and other factors of the complex of misery, there can be no hope of stable peace. It is clear, therefore, that the United States has a vital and a direct interest in the benefits which other countires receive from membership in the World Health Organization.

When the World Health Organization was founded 11 years ago it assigned first priority to an effective control of major communicable diseases, the age-old scourges of mankind. The economically advanced countries of the Western World had already demonstrated that we have the technical means to curb these diseases. Now the underdeveloped nations also, with essential aid and guidance from WHO, have made a magnificent attack on them. Malaria has been reduced by 50 percent, from 300 million to 150 million cases WHO and UNICEF have tested over 200 million persons and vaccinated 80 million against tuberculosis. Today this dread disease is on the decline. Real progress has been made toward the elimination of yaws. Approximately 55 million people have been examined and 16 million successfully treated.

Substantial progress also has been made in combating other scourges—yellow fever, leprosy, trachoma, smallpox.

This steady advance in the war against disease does not make headlines. But when the historian of the future assesses the events of our era, he will surely credit these concerted campaigns for the total elimination of diseases as among the most remarkable and important achievements of mankind. Their significance for the future is, in my opinion, greater than many of the highly publicized political debates in the Security Council and the General Assembly.

This progress means that men are able at last to use their energies for their own betterment, not for feeding the parasites of disease. This new releasing of men's energies for their rightful uses is an event of the utmost human and economic importance.

But many other things are necessary for good public health besides the campaigns against mass infectious diseases. Attacking these is like attacking the worst symptoms. of ill health. It is necessary, but it is also necessary to go further and build the enduring bases of good health. Consequently, as a result of agreement on the part of the member countries the World Health Organization now gives priority to helping countries organize adequate national and local health services. This it does through assistance in public health administration, maternal and child health, public health nursing, environmental sanitation, and, perhaps most basic of all, in training.

In its first 10 years WHO awarded almost 8,000 training fellowships to medical and health personnel. The need for well-trained personnel remains great, but this is a tangible start. It represents an average of almost 100 health workers, per member country, who have received better training. Many countries have previously had almost none at all. The worldwide services of WHO—disease reporting, quarantine, mobilization, and exchange of knowledge and the rest—are constantly increasing in value to the underdeveloped areas.

This is an unparalleled record of world-wide achievement for health. It provides clear proof of what cooperative action can achieve. The health problems which remain are still tremendous. But they are not disheartening. We have confidence that they can be surmounted. The World Health Organization and other programs which complement it, such as the International Cooperation Administration, have already demonstrated that these problems are not insoluble.

It is proving its worth to the United States through direct benefits to our health. It is providing similar benefits to other member countries. It is a vital element in the growing pattern of international cooperation for the advancement of peoples everywhere. It is fostering the habit among nations of working together. In this way the WHO is working as a real force for world peace.

#### THE CHALLENGE TO WHO

This, however, is not enough. The World Health Organization must continue its advance into this challenging frontier. Like all live and growing human agencies it faces many difficult problems. Most urgent of these is a more effective use by member nations of the World Health Organization for the improvement of health conditions. Only by this increased use will the organization grow stronger and more effective. But there are other pressing needs as well.

First, we believe that the World Health Organization must consolidate its major programs in disease eradication, environmental sanitation, and building health services while simultaneously moving to meet new health needs. Malaria eradication still needs special priority. The worldwide campaign

has made sufficient progress so that difficulties are becoming apparent in techniques, administration, and the allocation of resources. But I am confident that the nations involved, with the help of WHO, will over-come these obstacles. Malaria will disappear from the face of the earth.

At the same time WHO, with United States support, is preparing to meet newer health needs. As more knowledge is gained about the chronic diseases—cancer, heart disease, diabetes—it becomes evident that more international cooperation is required to probe their causes, cure, and prevention. This applies also to mental illness, for in developing our material comforts we have also vastly increased the mental stresses and strains to which our organism is exposed. The plan which WHO has drawn up with our aid, providing for expansion of WHO's unique means of stimulating and coordinating re-

Search activities, will be considered by the 12th World Health Assembly.

Mankind's "population explosion," as it is often called, is also part of the dynamic challeng to WHO. In 1798 Malthus wrote with some conviction that population pressures would always tend to keep man at Subsistence level. He observed pessimistically that for this reason Jenner's proposals for vaccination against smallpox, published the same year, were a waste of time. Now it is again clear that health measures add to Population pressures. President Eisenhower in his message to Congress on the mutual security program and the realities of 1959 referred to the new and striking "revolution in medicine, nutrition, and sanitation \* increasing the energies and lengthening the lives of people in the most remote areas. As a result of lowered infant mortality, longer lives, and the accelerating conquest of famine, there is underway a population explosion so incredibly great that in little more than another generation the population of the world is expected to double."

This means that in our lifetime the earth's Population may reach the astounding total of 5 or 6 billion people. In the same message the President again pledged that the United States would continue "to support and promote the accelerating international fight against disease" and estimated that the total international health expenditures of the U.S. Government in the next fiscal year will approach \$100 million. There are compelling reasons for our contribution.

Some people, like Malthus, may argue that WHO, by improving health standards, is making the world's population problem worse rather than better. Why should we make an all-out effort to increase man's life span, the argument runs, when there are already more people on this earth than we can maintain at a satisfactory standard of living?

To me this argument is just about as convincing as the sound of a lead dollar. It is unthinkable that we who have the means of health would attempt to withhold it from others. We have always believed in the dignity and worth of the human being and the full development of his potentialities. This includes good health.

But, in addition to the moral arguments, health would seem to be an absolutely essential prerequisite for any sound economic development program. Where people are disease-ridden and debiliated they obviously cannot make any substantial contributions to their country's economic progress. WHO is thus giving people in many nations strength to build and grow the things they need for a more abundant life.

There is, then, a satisfactory solution to the dilemma we face. The answer, the only answer, lies in moving forward on all fronts . of social and economic development. Our

technology is progressing at a prodigious rate, and men are now committed to that rate of advance throughout the world. In-deed, there are encouraging indications that the production of food, while still not suffi-cient, is beginning to keep pace with—and perhaps even exceed-population growth for the first time in modern history.

This is indeed a heartening development. It presages the time when the Malthusian doctrine will be completely discredited by man's technical ingenuity and his determination to win out over the forces of nature.

For us to admit that mankind cannot sufficiently apply the technology of human welfare is to admit fearful defeat. We can apply it, in peace and progress, for the ultimate fulfillment of human potentialities. Agencies such as the World Health Organization are at the forefront of this great struggle to better man's lot in life.

# The Present Argentine Situation: London Versus Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I have read with interest the following editorial which recently appeared in the Diario Las Americas, and I hereby commend it to my colleagues' attention. It presents in a penetrating way Argentinian views on a problem of concern to them:

THE PRESENT ARGENTINE SITUATION: LONDON VERSUS WASHINGTON

Although at first it might seem illogical, the reality being lived in Argentina pro-foundly affects the inter-American relations, if one takes into account the fact that this great Latin American country is facing a crisis, which in substance will have great repercussions in other regions of the Western Hemisphere that are in a position to grasp details that cannot be perceived at sight.

On January 1 of this year the Argentinian Government got rid of what could well be called the traditional yoke of British colonialism, when it proclaimed the freedom of exchange. That step severed for good the preferential treatment obtained by England in Argentina which, among other things, gave the British access to a dollar costing 18 Argentinian pesos, while the other competitor countries in the commercial exchange, including, of course, the United States, had to obtain their dollars in the black market. The answer was obvious. England brought meat to Argentina and sold her products under the protection of that bilateral agreement. Then came the free currency exchange, commencing then the very importhat chapter of competition that placed the United States in an equal exchange level with England. Argentina thus entered the free world of supply and demand.

The development and austerity plan proclaimed by President Frondizi had the backing of a powerful movement obeying to what could be classified as the central left. This advocates for the thesis of absolute understanding between Argentina and the United States.

Now, then, a recent measure adopted by the Government of the United States gravely imperils the thesis of the friends of this country. In the possibility that aphthous contamination may be present in the cured meat exported by Argentina, the United States cancel its importation, and the result is that Argentina's trade balance is affected by approximately \$30 million. Naturally, the cattlemen affected by this economic setback turn their eyes to London and condemn the measures canceling the bilateral agreement between Argentina and the United States.

If the relative possibility of aphthous contamination exists, the necessary scientific measures can be adopted through the appropriate institutes, either to confirm the disease or to purify the meat as much as possible. That would be less costly than to abandon a market like Argentina's, that is eager to trade with the United States. Couldn't the Development Loan Fund of this country invest some dollars to improve the system of scientific research on Argentinian meat, so as to avoid its elimination just because of existing doubts regarding the possibility of contamination?

Besides the economic reasons, the United States cannot afford the luxury of turning their back to the friends of this country who are in Latin American trying to fight anti-American currents that are now the trend in the hemisphere. To ban, without just cause, the importation of Argentinian meat would mean to give encouragement to the enemies of the economic and political solidarity with the United States, that up to now have failed in Argentina.

### Massachusetts, a State With a Hard Core of Distressed Labor Markets

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an area redevelopment fact sheet on Massachuetts which has been issued by the Area Employment Expansion Committee in New York:

[Area Redevelopment Fact Sheet No. 54A] MASSACHUSETTS, A STATE WITH A HARD CORE OF DISTRESSED LABOR MARKETS

This fact sheet supplements Fact Sheet

No. 54, issued January 1959. Unemployment has dropped for the State but the number of chronically distressed labor markets have increased from 12 in January 1959, to 14 in April 1959. The total labor force in these areas was approximately 410,000 or 19.6 percent of the State total in April 1959, while the unemployment rate was 8.6 percent.

The four major distressed labor markets, Fall River, Lawrence, Lowell, and New Bed-ford, had an average rate of unemployment of 8.8 percent. As compared with January 1959, four new labor markets, Haverhill, Newburyport, Gloucester, and Plymouth, are now classified as distressed, whereas Marlboro and Taunton have dropped out.

The total unemployment in distressed and substantial labor surplus areas in excess of

6 percent is 15,866.

There were 21 labor markets with more than 6 percent unemployment. They had a civilian labor force of 829,000 or 39.5 percent of the State's workforce. Five labor markets have reduced their unemployment since January 1959, so that the percentage of unem-ployed in April 1959 was below 6 percent in Athol, Fitchburg, Gardner, Marlboro, and

<sup>\*</sup>Bulletin of March 30, 1959, p. 427.

Table I.—Massachusetts—Labor force and unemployment in labor markets, April 1959

Labor market area	Labor force (civilian) total	Unem- ployment total	Unemployment as percent of the labor force	Number in excess of 6 percent
A. State, total	2, 097, 740	123, 767	5. 9	
B. Distressed areas 1	410, 260	35, 399	8.6	10, 784
Major	235, 350	20, 703	8.8	6, 582
Fall River, Mass.—R.I. Lawrence: Lowell. New Bedford.	5, 720 56, 340 52, 850 68, 910	4, 637 4, 113 5, 338 6, 615	8. 1 7. 3 10. 1 9. 6	1, 202 733 2, 167 2, 480
Smaller	152, 220	12, 128	8.0	2, 995
Haverhill. Milford. Newburyport. North Adams. Pittsfield. Southbridge-Webster, Ware.	21, 580 23, 900 14, 370 17, 520 37, 150 22, 350 15, 350	1,640 1,530 1,135 2,523 2,452 1,743 1,105	7.6 6.4 7.9 14.4 6.6 7.8 7.2	345 96 273 1, 472 223 402 184
Very small	22, 690	2, 568	11.3	1, 207
Gloucester	11, 440 3, 650 7, 600	1, 464 450 654	12. 8 12. 3 8. 6	778 231 198
C. Substantial labor surplus areas.	418, 960	30, 220	7.2	5, 082
Major	376, 120	27, 190	7.2	4, 622
Brockton Springfield-Holyoke Worcester	56, 730 195, 160 124, 230	4, 141 13, 856 9, 193	7.3 7.1 7.4	737 2, 146 1, 739
Smaller: Greenfield	16, 500 26, 340	1, 271 1, 759	7.7 6.7	281 179
Clinton Hyannis Nantucket-Martha's Vineyard 3	8, 000 15, 150 3, 190	500 909 350	6, 3 6, 0 11, 0	20 159
D. Other nonsubstantial labor surplus areas	1, 082, 320	49, 948	4.6	
Major: Boston	969, 120 88, 940	43, 610 5, 063	4.5 5.7	
Fitchburg Marlboro Taunton	42, 580 19, 840 26, 420	2, 433 1, 071 1, 559	5. 7 5. 4 5. 9	
Very small	24, 260	1, 275	5.3	
Athol. Gardner	12, 270 11, 990	675 600	5, 5 5, 0	
E. Remainder of State 4.	186, 200	8, 200	4.4	

 Eligible for assistance under the House Banking Committee Recommendation, i.e., unemployment of 6 percent in at least 18 of the previous 24 months, 9 percent in 15 of the provious 18 months, 12 percent in the previous 12 months or 15 percent in the previous 6-month period.

2 January 1959.

3 March 1959.

4 The following communities have not been included in any labor market area:

Western Massachusetts:

Beckett
Cheshire
Hanoock
Otis
Edgartown

Chilmark
Edgartown Edgartown Gayhead Gosnold Otis Peru Richmond Sandisfield Nantucket Oak Bluffs Tyringham Washington Tisbury West Tisbury Windsor

Source: Division of Employment Security, Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

#### [Area Redevelopment Fact Sheet No. 54] MASSACHUSETTS

Massachusetts is one of the States most seriously beset by distressed areas problems. Four major labor markets, seven smaller, and one very small labor market are chronically distressed communities. In addition, two labor markets are affected by high seasonal unemployment and therefore require technical aid in developing supplementary offseason employments. Under the administration bill, S. 1064, the four distressed major labor markets, only one smaller, and one very small labor market, would be eligible for benefits. Under the Senate committee bill, S. 722, the same four major labor markets, one smaller, and two very small labor markets would be entitled to benefits.

Of the 12 labor markets which now have a substantial labor surplus but are not eligible for benefits under S. 722, 1 would be eligible in April, 2 in May, 3 in June, and 7 in July. Under the administration bill in addition to the curernt six eligible labor markets there would be one more in 1960, three in 1961, and four in 1962. Under committee S. 722, in addition to the seven currently eligible there would be three in 1960, and four in 1961 benefiting under the act (table I)

In January 1959, the total unemployment in the State was 160,320, of whom 42,350 were in the distressed labor markets (under S. 722), and 51,050 were in substantial labor surplus areas (table II). The only considerable labor market without a substantial labor surplus is Boston. \*Outside of Boston, only 2 percent of the State's labor force is in areas without a substantial labor surplus. Forty-four percent of the State's labor force is in areas suffering from unemployment of 6 percent or more.

The total number of jobs which would have to be created in the currently distressed labor markets (under S. 722) to reduce unemployment in these areas below the 6-percent level would be 18.365.

In table III, we report for each distressed area qualifying under S. 722, the unemployment rates by months for 1957, 1958, and

January 1959.
In table IV, we report for each substantial labor surplus area, the unemployment rates by months for 1957, 1958, and January 1959.

In table V, we report for each distressed area, the unemployment rates for the years 1955, 1956, 1957, and 1958.

In table VI, we report for each labor surplus area, the unemployment rates for the years 1955, 1956, 1957, and 1958.

In table VII, we report unemployment rates for two seasonally afflicted areas of high un-employment for the months of 1957, 1958. and January 1959.

The State of Massachusetts has faced serious unemployment problems. The major difficulties stem from the contraction of the textile industry. Many efforts have been made to bring in new industries and some success has been achieved but the volume of new employment has not been sufficient to offset the losses. The communities face the need of developing new factory space if new industries are to come. In some cases, older mill buildings have to be leveled. New industrial patterns have to be promoted.

There is considerable evidence that the large centers of advanced technology in several communities have and can become the nucleus of new economic expansion. However, the rate of growth has not been sufficient and the size of present projects has been inadequate. Many of the obstacles to growth have not been removed. Local efforts are not sufficient for this purpose. Because these undertakings exceed the resources of the local areas, a Federal program of technical assistance grants for public facilities and loans for public facilities and industrial and commercial structures

Many areas are rapidly becoming dis-tressed because of the accelerated contraction of the local textile industry, the movement of even newer industries such as electrical manufacturing, contractors of military products and Federal establishments. These would be shortly eligible under S. 722 but not under the other two bills.

Two labor markets, Hyannis and Nantucket, need technical assistance in helping them develop complementary industries to provide employment during the off-season months.

Table I.—Massachusetts—Major areas of "substantial labor surplus", March 1959, by status of current eligibility and earliest date of future cligibility under S. 1064, S. 722, and committee S. 723

	Status	of current e	ligibility	Ear	Earliest date of future eligibility				
Labor market areas	S. 1064	8. 722	Committee S. 722	S. 1064 (be- fore 1963) <sup>1</sup>	8, 722	Committe S. 722 (he- fore 1962) <sup>2</sup>			
Fujor; Brockton Fall River, MassR.I. Lawresice Loweil New Bodford Springfield-Holyoke. Worcester maller: Fitchburg Greenfield Haverhill Marlboro Milford Newburyport North Atlams	X X X	XXXXXXXXX	X X		June 1959.  June 1959.  July 1959.  July 1959.  June 1959.  May 1959.	1961 1961 1961 1960			
Southbridge-Webster Taunton Ware Grysmall:		XX	X	1961		1960 1960			
Athol Clinton Gardner Gloucester Gloucester Hyannis   Nantucket-Marthas Vineyard   Plymouth	X	x	x		July 1959 July 1959 April 1959 July 1959 May 1959				

All cities without dates will not be eligible before 1963.
 All cities without dates will not be eligible before 1962.

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Labor market area	Labor force (civilian) total	Unemploy- ment total	Number in excess of 6 percent	Labor market area	Labor force (civilian) total	Unemploy- ment total	Number in excess of 6 percent
L. State, total	2, 098, 530	160, 320		C. Substantial labor surplus areas	537, 310	51, 050	18, 81
3. Distressed areas 1	395, 840	42, 350	18, 365	Major	374, 070	33, 500	11,050
Major Fall River, MassR.L	234, 250 58, 410	26, 620 6, 620	12, 565 3, 115	Brockton Springfiedi-Hoiyoke Worcester	55, 370 196, 630 122, 070	4,700 17,000 11,800	1, 372 5, 203 4, 476
Lowell New Bedford	56, 440 53, 200 66, 200	5, 350 6, 100 8, 550	1, 964 2, 908 4, 578	Smaller	94, 910	8, 580	2, 884
Smaller	157, 940 20, 060	15, 280	5, 569	Fitchburg Greenfield Haverhill Newburyport	42, 370 16, 740 21, 320 14, 480	3, 500 1, 480 1, 890 1, 710	958 470 611 841
Milford North Adams Pittsfield 1	23, 620 17, 630 32, 300	2, 370 2, 630 2, 520	953 1,572 574	Very small	68, 330	8,970	4, 87
Southbridge-Webster Taunton, Ware	22, 600 26, 580 15, 150	2,550 2,320 1,400	968 725 491	Athol Clinton 3 Gardner	12, 420 7, 400 11, 920	1, 150 930 1, 050	408 486 331
Very small	3, 660	450	231	Gloucester	11, 570 14, 070 3, 190	2, 340 2, 050 370	1, 646 1, 206
Great Barrington 3	3, 650	450	231	Plymouth	7, 760	1,080	179 614
		3		D. Other nonsubstantial labor surplus areas 4	1, 143, 300	65, 000	
		300	J. Stanie	. Major	1, 143, 300	65,000	
		10 13 13	THE STATE OF	Boston	1, 143, 300	65, 000	

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Eligible for assistance under the Donglas Bill, i.e., unemployment of 6 percent in at least 18 of the previous 24 months, 9 percent in 15 of the previous 18 months, 12 percent in the previous 12 months, or 15 percent in the previous 6 months.

<sup>1</sup> December 1938.

<sup>2</sup> February 1938.

<sup>3</sup> The following communities have not been included in any labor market area:

Western Massachusetts: Beckett, Cheshire, Hancock, Otis, Peru, Richmond, Sandisfield, Tyringham, Washington, and Windsor. Southeastern Massachusetts: Mansfield, Poxboro, Chilmark, Edgartown, Gayhead, Gosnold, Nantucket, Oak Bluffs, Tisbury, and West Tisbury.

Source; Division of Employment Security, Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Table III.—Massachusetts—Unemployment as percent of labor force in distressed areas,1 1957-59

Labor market area	Year	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Annual average
Major:				1399				NO N		1000	N S			
Fall River, Mass.—R.I.	1957 1958	10, 2 13, 3	10.0 11.6	10.3 11.7	9. 9 13. 4	12. 2 15. 0	12.8 15.2	14.4 16.0	9.5 9.2	8.7 8.8 (*)	8.2 7.8 (2)	8. 0 9. 0 (2)	9. 6 9. 7 (2)	10.3 11.7
Lawrence	1959. 1957 1958	11.3 10.6 10.6	(2) 4, 8 10, 1	9.3	13. 4 (7) 8. 8 11. 1 (7) 6. 8 13. 0	9, 0 10, 0	(2) 8.7 9.7	9. 0 11. 7	7. 2 9. 2	6, 9	6. 9 8. 9	8.3 9.4 (°)	8.7 8.8	8, 2 10, 1
Lowell	1959 1957 1958	9. 5 9. 0 11. 7	(2) 8. 4 12. 6	( <sup>1</sup> ) 8.2 13.0	6, 8 13. 0	(2) 6.6 11.5	6. 5 11. 8	6.9 11.8	(2) 4.7 9.1	(°) 4.3 8.6	(2) 4.6 8.1	6. 6 9. 1	7. 7 9. 5	6.7 9.8
New Bedford	1959 1957 1958 1959	11. 5 8. 3 10. 7 12. 9	(2) 8. 7 11, 9	(2) 8. 0 12. 8 (3)	6, 4 13, 1 (2)	5. 4 12. 3	5. 7 12. 7	11.8 (7) 5.1 12.9 (7)	(2) 4.9 9.1 (2)	(2) 4.1 9.1	3. 9 8. 4	5. 4 9. 2	7. 3 10. 8	(2) 6.1 11.1 (2)

Footnotes at end of table.

<sup>3</sup> High seasonal unemployment.

Table III.—Massachusetts—Unemployment as percent of labor force in distressed areas,1 1957-59—Continued

Labor market area	Year	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Annua
Smaller; Marlboro	1957 1958 1959	(*) (*) 7. 4	(P) (2)	(P) (P) (P)	(2)	(*) (*) (*)	4.9	(6)	(F)	(g) (l)	(2)	8, 3	8, 9 6, 6	7.1
Milford	1957 1958 1959	(2) (3) 10. 0	(*) (*) (*) (*) (*) (*) (*) (*) (*) (*)	(2)	(2)	(2)	6.7 13.8 (2)	600000	(2)	(2)	(2) (3) (2)	(2)	(2) 8.3 9.7	(2) 7. 1 11. 5
North Adams	1957 1958 1959	6. 3 15. 7 14. 9	6, 8 17, 7	10. 8 17. 5	(2) 8.9 16.1 (2)	8.3 15.4	9. 3 19. 7 (2)	(2) 14. 4 18. 4	(2) 8. 9 16. 2	8. 5 16. 2	9.3	11. 2 16. 0 (²)	12. 5 15.77	(2) 9. 16. (2)
Pittsfield	1957 1958 1959	(2) (2) (2)	(2) (2) (2)	(3)	(2) (2) (2)	(2) 8. 6 (2)	4.6 8.8 (2)	(2) (2) (2)	(2) (2) (2) (2)	(2) (2) (2) (2)	(2) (2) (2)	6.8	(2) 7. 1 7. 8	8.
Southbridge-Webster	1957 1958 1959	(2) (2) 11, 3	(2) (2) (3) (3) (8, 4)	(2) (2) (2) 7, 7	(2) (2) (2) (2)	(2) 11. 4 (2)	4.9 11.2	(2) (2)	(2) (2) (2)	(2) (3) (2)	(2) (2) (2)	7. 6 (2) (3)	(2) 10, 2 10, 8 (2)	(3) 7. 11. (2) 7.
Taunton	1957 1958 1959	9. 0 10. 4 8. 7	8. 4 (2) (2)	(2)	(2) (2) (2)	(2) (2) (2)	(2) 11. 7 (3)	9. 0 12. 5 (2) 5. 4	(2) (2) (2)	(2) (2) (2)	(2) (2) (2)	(2) (2) (2) (2)	6, 0 (2) (2) (2)	(1)
Ware	1957. 1958 1959	5. 4 9. 0 9. 2	(2) (2) (2) (2) (2)	(2) (2) (2)	(2) (2) (2)	(2) (2) (2)	(2) (2) (2)	10.1	(2) (2) (3)	(2) (2) (2)	(2) (2) (2)	(2) (2) (2)	(2)	5, 9, (2) —
Very small, Great Barrington	1957 1958 1959	(2) (2) (2)	(2) 12, 3 (2)	(2) (2) (2)	(2) (2) (2)	(2) (2) (2)	(1) (2) (3)	(2) (2) (2)	(2) (2) (2)	(2) (2) (2)	(2) (2) (2)	(2) (2) (2)	(2)	(2)

<sup>1</sup> Eligible for assistance under S. 722, i.e., unemployment of 6 percent in at least 18 of the previous 24 months, 9 percent in 15 of the previous 18 months, 12 percent in the previous 12 months or 15 percent in the previous 6 months.

<sup>2</sup> Information not available,

Source: Division of Employment Security, Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Bureau of Employment Security, U.S. Department of Labor. Annual averages calculated from these data.

Table IV.—Massachusetts—Unemployment as percent of labor force in areas of substantial labor surplus, 1957-59

Labor market area	Year	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Annual
Major:	9		1	-							- 4	API		
Brockton	1957 1958	6. 5 8. 3	6.4 8.6	5.9 9.4	5. 0 9. 6	4.9 8.8	5. 2 9. 5	5. 8 10. 1	4.2 7.7	4.4 6.7	4. 6 6. 2	5.5 7.1	6.5 7.8	8.3
Springfield-Holyoke	1959 1957 1958 1959	8.5 4.3 7.8 8.6	(1) 4.9 8.4 (1)	(1) 4.8 8.5 (1)	(1) - 4.6 8.6	(1) 4. 5 8. 5 (1)	(1) 5.1 8.5 (1)	(1) 5, 4 8, 7	(1) 4.7 8.0	(1) 4.4 7.6	(1) 4.7 7.4	(1) 5, 5 8, 2 (1)	(1) 6.0 7.9	N. 2
Worcester	1957 1958 1959	4,9 8,2 - 9,6	4.9 9.2	4.5 9.4 (1)	(1) 3, 6 9, 2 (1)	3.3 8.0	3. 9 8. 0	(1) 4.1 9.0 (1)	(1) 3.7 8.1 (1)	(1) 3. 8 7. 9 (1)	(1) 3.7 7.7 (1)	4.7 9.0	(1) 5, 9 8, 5 (1)	(1) 4.2 8.5 (1)
Smaller: Fitchburg	1957 1958	5. 4 8. 0	4.8	4.0 7.7	3.6 7.0	4.0 7.1	4.9 7.5	5. 4 7. 9	4.3 6.5	3.9 6.3	3.7 5.5	4.8	6.1	4.6
Greenfield	1959 1957 1958 1959	8.3 5.0 8.6 8.9	EE33	3333	3333	9999	9.9	(1) 8. 6 8. 5	- 6999	9000	000	0.00	(1) 5, 8 (1) (1)	7.5
Haverhill	1957 1958 1959	5.4 7.1 8.9	5. 6 7. 0	4.9 11.7	5. 8 11. 7 (1)	(1) 6. 1 10. 4 (1)	(1) 5.7 11.7	(t) 5, 2 20, 9 (t)	5. 0 10. 4	(i) (i) 5, 5 10, 7 (i)	(1) 5. 2 9. 5 (1)	7. 9 9. 3	5. 6 8. 2	5. 10.
Newburyport	1957 1958 1959	8.5 10.4 11.8	8. 0 12. 0	6.7 12.8 (1)	5. 1 12. 6 (1)	5.1 11.4 (1)	(1) 5, 1 10, 6 (1)	5. 4 12. 3	5.1 7.2	5. 2 8. 1	5. 2 9. 1	6, 9 9, 3	6.3 10.6 (1)	6. 10.
Very small: Athol	1957 1958 1959	(1) (1) 9.3	88	(0)	(¹) 11. 4	(¹) 10. 7	(1) 9.8 (1)	(¹) 10. 9	(1) 8.8	(1) 7.9	(1) 7.9	(¹) 7. 9	(1)	(1)
Clinton	. 1957 1958 1959	(1)	(1) 12, 6 (1)	(1)	(1)	300	(1)	8333	0000	3636	(0)	0000	3366	333
Gardner	1957 1958 1959	(i) 11.1 8.8	(0)	(1)	(0)	(1) 11.1 (1)	(1) (1) (1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1) (1) (1)	133
Gloucester.	1957 1958 1959	20. 7 20. 1 20. 2	(1) 15. 9 19. 1	14.1 17.0	10.5	7.8	7. 4 7. 0	4.9 4.9 (1)	(1) 3, 5 4, 4	3. 9 4. 5	6.7	11.5	15. 5 15. 7	10.
Plymouth	1957 1958 1959	11, 9 12, 7 13, 9	(1) 12.3 13.7 (1)	(1) 10, 8 12, 6 (1)	7. 4 10. 7	(1) 5. 3 8. 0 (1)	4.4 7.4 (1)	4. 8 7. 0	3.6 6.7	4.0 6.0	(1) 8. 1 7. 0	6, 6 9, 0	7.9 10,0	7.1 9.3

<sup>1</sup> Information not available.

Source: Division of Employment Security, Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Bureau of Employment Security, U.S. Department of Labor. Annual averages calculated from this data.

Table V.—Massachusetts—Annual averages of unemployment as percent of labor force in distressed areas 1

Labor market area	1955	1956	1957	1958
Major: Fall River, MassR.I Lawrence Lowell New Bedford Smaller: Marlboro Milford North Adams Pittsfield Southbridge-Webster Taunton Ware Very small; Great Barrington.	6. 1 16. 4 8. 8 8. 6 (1) 5. 7 (2) 8. 3 (2) (2)	6. 3 10. 2 6. 7 6. 1 (2) (2) (3) (5) (5) (6) (7) (7) (7) (8)	10. 3 8. 2 6. 7 6. 1 7. 4 7. 5 9. 6 2 7. 5 7. 6 2 7. 5	11. 9 -10. 1 -10. 1 -10. 5 -11. 1 -7. 6 -11. 8 -11. 6 -11. 3 -11. 6 -12. 2

Eligible for assistance under the Donglas bill (S. 722), i.e., unemployment of 6 perent in at least 18 of the previous 24 months, 9 percent in 15 of the previous 18 months,
2 percent in the previous 12 months or 15 percent in the previous 6 months.

Information not available.

Table VI.—Massachusetts—Annual averages of unemployment as percent of labor force in areas of substantial labor surplus, 1955-58

Labor market area	1955	1956	1957	1958
Major: Brockton Springfield-Holyoke. Worcester. Smaller:	4.1	4.4	5, 4	8.3
	4.2	3.4	4, 9	8.2
	4.3	2.8	4, 3	8.5
Fitchburg Greenfield Haverhill Newburyport Very small:	5.3 5.3 6.7	3.6 4.1 4.8 5.1	4. 6 7. 2 5. 7 6. 1	7, 1 9, 0 10, 7 10, 5
Athol Clinton Gardner Gloucester Hyannis Nantucket-Martha's Vineyard Plymouth	5, 5	2.4	(1)	9, 4
	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)
	5, 6	3.2	(1)	(1)
	9, 6	9.5	10, 2	11, 2
	2, 6	3.2	4, 5	6, 6
	(1)	1.8	3, 9	5, 4
	7, 4	7.6	7, 0	9, 2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Information not available.

Table VII.—Massachusetts—Unemployment as percent of labor force in very small areas suffering from seasonally high unemployment,

Labor market area	Year	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oot.	Nov.	Dec.	Annual
Hyannis	1957 1958 1959 1957 1958 1959	8.5 12.4 14.6 7.2 9.2 11.6	8, 9 13, 8 (1) 8, 1 10, 2 (3)	8.2 12.3 (1) 7.2 9.7 (1)	6. 5 8. 2 (1) 5. 0 7. 2	3.1 4.0 (1) 4.3 5.5 (1)	1. 2 1. 9 (1) 1. 2 1. 7	0.5 1.2 (1) .4 .9	0.7 1.3 (1) .4 .9	1.1 1.8 (1) .7 1.2	2.1 4.4 (!) 2.3 4.3	4.4 7.0 (1) 3.7 6.0	8. 2 11. 2 (¹) 6. 0 7. 9	4. 5 6. 6 (1) . 3. 9 5. 4

U Information not available.

Source: Division of Employment Security, Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Annual averages calculated from this data.

# One Solution to the Educational Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, our educational system underwent during the last Congress probably what was the most extensive overall appraisal in our history. The reasons for and results of the studies made were unsettling and of Vital importance to all Americans. They were essential to the question of our national survival. The President's conclusions on the subject were that improvement of our system was a problem above all other immediate tasks—we needed scientists by the thousands more than We at the time expected to have.

Since the war, America experienced a period of educational advance. We had produced well under the stress of war and were continuing to do so. We had all reached a certain amount of complacency, however, which was suddenly shattered by the advent of the Russian sputnik. We realized that we were in great danger-and that in this age our fate depended on the man of science. There was no doubt that Russian scientists were ahead of ours in many fields and that further emphasis on and encouragement of education was needed. We could not mass-produce sputniks Without properly trained scientific minds

able to use the imagination and foresight necessary to carry out our space

Congress plunged into the problem. The hearings that were held brought out very clearly that the Nation must take steps to more effectively discover and encourage its potential intellectual talent, create wider opportunities for advanced training for young people and provide better teachers and teaching equipment to develop the scholastic resources of American youth. A way had to be found to dispel the public notion of a scientist as being an individual of separate ways and one set aside from

The National Defense Education Act was enacted as a vehicle by which our goals might be sought. Many earlier attempts at enacting legislation to supply Federal assistance to education had been defeated.

All means of providing emphasis on educational achievement must continue to be explored fully. In this connection, I want to call to my colleagues' attention a unique program of rewarding brilliance which has been initiated by a local newspaper in my district—the Miami Herald, a Knight newspaper. In an inspiring ceremony, the 10 top high school seniors in the fields of art, literature, and journalism, music, social science, mathematics, science, speech and drama, sportsmanship, citizenship, and scholarship recently were presented coveted silver trophies-Silver Knight Awardsand a \$200 grant to be used for further education. The 2,000 applauding adults and teenagers in the audience emphasized the popular appeal and importance

of these intellectual awards. The Silver Knight Awards are on a par with muchproclaimed citywide athletic achievements; and educational accomplishments have been placed in a proper perspective with all fields of endeavor. A total of \$3,500 in grants went to 40 seniors in the program-\$200 to winners and \$50 each to honorable mentions. The plans for further achievement and learning on the part of the winners and the interest and excitement generated among other students are fine and tangible results of this newspaper's initiative, and are indeed an outstanding example of leadership and community spirit which could well be implemented throughout the country. I feel sure the results would be amazing and increasingly evident in the years to come. And it would cost the taxpayers nothing.

I take pride in submitting the following article on the program from the Miami Herald and the sincere and thoughtful editorial which followed the selection of the winners:

Greater Miamians will get a chance to honor their most brilliant teenagers in a precedent-shattering ceremony tonight.

The public has been invited to come to the Dade County Auditorium at 8 p.m. to cheer for the county's 10 top high school seniors.

Designed to prove that life in Miami isn't all frills and frolic, the ceremony will bestow on the students accolades of a sort which have been reserved for athletes.

Each of the 10 top seniors will receive a Silver Knight Award: a shining trophy accompanied by a \$200 educational grant. addition, 30 runners-up will be named. Each will get a plaque and \$50. The awards are sponsored by the Miami Herald with the cooperation of Dade County schools.

Source: Calculated from Division of Employment Security, Commonwealth of Massachusetts and Bureau of Employment Security, U.S. Department of Labor data.

Source: Calculated from Division of Employment Security, Commonwealth of Massachusetts and Bureau of Employment Security, U.S. Department of Labor data.

People who attend the ceremony—admission is free—will also get to hear one of the Nation's top speakers, Dr. William H. Alexander, of Oklahoma City.

Dr. Alexander, the punchlining pastor of the First Christian Church of Oklahoma, said the title of his address will be "You Are

the Answer."

Names of the top teenagers will remain a secret until they are called from the audience to receive their trophies. The presentation will be by James L. Knight, general manager of the Miami Herald.

The 10 have been selected by a panel of 30 top judges, all Miami leaders in business, government, education, and the arts. They were chosen from 104 candidates represent-

ing 13 local high schools.

Each of the 104 nominees has already been given a medal and a certificate of achieve-

Each winner represents a particular category: scholarship, science, mathematics, social science, music, literature, speech, art, sportsmanship, or citizenship. From 8 to 13 nominees competed in each.

Winners were chosen on the basis of grades, talent, leadership, and the extent to which they have used their special abilities to serve their schools and the community.

#### THE SILVER KNIGHTS: OUR PRIDE

Anyone who thinks the younger generation is going to the dogs should have been in the Dade County Auditorium last night. There sat 104 high school seniors from 13 local high schools.

They had been chosen as their schools' most outstanding exemplars of excellence in 10 categories: art, literature and journalism, music, social science, mathematics, science, speech and drama, sportsmanship, citizenship, and general scholarship.

They assembled to learn which of their number had won the Silver Knight Awards as Dade County's best in each category.

Today, the 10 winners have their gleaming trophies and education grants of \$200 each. Thirty runners-up have plaques and \$50 each. The prizes were awarded for the first time here by the Miami Herald in cooperation with the public school system.

We congratulate the winners. Their awards testify to their achievements.

We also congratulate all the contestants.

We also congratulate all the contestants. They represent the many high school students here who excel in their studies and in the good characteristics drawn out by education. These qualities fairly shone from the demeanor and bearing of the 104 candidates gathered in the auditorium last night.

No one who saw them could fail to reach the obvious conclusion: these are the kind of young people we can be proud of.

We hope the honors accorded the winners of the Silver Knight Awards will encourage other high school students to emulate their example. They exalt scholarship. This is the purpose of education.

### 4-H Youth Visit Capitol

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call attention to the fact that the 29th National 4-H Conference gets underway here in Washington tomorrow, and by giving some background information on a delegate from the con-

gressional district I represent, provide an example of the outstanding young Americans who represent their States at this conference.

One of the four delegates from Oklahoma is Miss Suzanne Crawford, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Tom Crawford, of Grove, Okla., and the granddaughter of Mr. W. D. Gibson, who is in charge of the Prayer Room here in the Capitol, and Mrs. Gibson, also of Grove. Other delegates from Oklahoma include Miss Sue Dyson, of Hendrix, George Tarr, of Bennington, and Michael George Lucas, of Roff—all of whom have wonderful records in 4-H work.

This National 4-H Conference, which is supervised by the Cooperative Extension Service of the Department of Agriculture and the State land-grant colleges, will last through next Friday and has as its theme "Your Tomorrow." Its purpose is to help club members learn more about how the Federal Government operates, hear outstanding speakers, take part in educational tours and share ideas in group discussions on plans for careers and adjustments to living in the space age.

Delegates to this conference are 4 high-ranking club members from each of 49 States and Puerto Rico who were chosen because of their exceptional records in leadership, citizenship, and community service, and for special achievement in farming, homemaking, and other projects.

Oklahoma's own Miss Suzanne Crawford is a beautiful and excellent example of the type of American youth who will be attending this conference. Last month she graduated from Grove High School as valedictorian of her class, just as her sister, Linda, did 2 years earlier. She has been awarded a scholarship to Oklahoma State University. She is a member of the eight-girl song and dance group, organized as a 4-H activity and called "The Okies," which participated in the inauguration ceremonies of the Governor of Oklahoma this year.

Her outstanding record in 4-H activities is well described in an article appearing in the Tulsa Daily World for Friday, December 5, 1958, at the time she was named national 4-H winner in recreation. I should like to insert this article at this point:

[From the Tulsa Daily World, Dec. 5, 1958] GROVE GIRL IS NAMED NATIONAL 4-H WINNER IN REGREATION

CHICAGO, December 4.—Suzanne Crawford, 17-year-old Grove, Okla., high school senior, Thursday was named national award winner in recreation on the final day of the 4-H Congress here.

She was the 10th Oklahoman to receive national 4-H honors during this year's congress, which attracted more than 1,300 farm youth from the United States and several foreign countries.

Only California with 13 national winners, and New York with 12, had more top awards than Oklahoma.

#### ARDMORE YOUTH WINS

Oklahoma youngsters named earlier this week were James McKown, Ardmore, boys' agriculture; Ruth Ann Wilson, Jones, canning; Karen Bassett, Guthrie, dairy; Ruth Niemann, Kingfisher, dairy foods; George Tarr, Bennington, gardening; Margaret Ann Starks, Meridian, home economics; Carolyn

Robinett, Douglas, home improvement; Andrea Suiter, Tipton, safety; and Bob York, Hitchcock, soil and water conservation.

Oklahoma State University placed third among 21 teams in poultry judging. Kansas State University was first, Texas A. & M. College, second; Arkansas University, fourth, and Missouri University, fifth. OSU's Bob Squires, Seminole, was third high man, and Raymond Sharp, Pawnee, fifth.

Comely Miss Crawford, who won a trip to the 4-H congress for her recreation accomplishments, has had her own school of dance for the past 3 years. She is presently State secretary of the Oklahoma 4-H clubs, and is chairman of State 4-H congress recreation-

#### PRODUCES SHOW

Using her talent to good advantage, Suzanne produced and directed the entire variety show given for the benefit of a county polio fund drive; is a member of choreographer of the Okies, a singing and dancing group from her Grove 4-H Club, which entertained at the National 4-H Congress here in 1956 and since has made 120 appearances before 75,000 people in 6 States.

She is a member of the State honor society and national Beta club, was State champion in girls' electrical demonstrations, among the top 10 in dress revue, and managed to complete 45 projects in 8 years of 4-H club work.

Her parents are Mr. and Mrs. Tom Crawford, Grove. Suzanne wants to be a 4-H club leader after she finishes college. Her 4-H leaders are Mrs. Dean Barrett and H. E. Wilson, and her 4-H agent is Mae K. Bell.

Mr. Speaker, I should like to pay tribute at this point to all the fine delegates and leaders who will be attending this national 4-H conference, for I know that Miss Suzanne Crawford is typical of the high quality of leadership and citizenship represented at this conference.

### Michigan Trip Pays Off

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. J. CARLTON LOSER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. LOSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include an editorial appearing in the Nashville (Tenn.) Banner of a few days ago. In poignant fashion, it calls attention to the rapid progress being made in Tennessee in its efforts to obtain industry. More and more the advantages of this great State are being brought to the attention of the Nation. The region as noted in the editorial, has an able and industrious supply of workers; the salubrious business climate is inviting when compared with the older industrial areas.

Our distinguished Governor, the Honorable Buford Ellington, is in the vanguard in this forward march of progress in our State. 'The editorial follows:

#### MICHIGAN TRIP PAYS OFF

Nearly 100 years ago—back in the days of rebel yells, pounding hooves, and gray ghosts—southern raiders used to give the Yankees fits.

The North didn't take too kindly to these swashbuckling riders whose escapades have now become legend. But that was war and

the raiders of yore had a mission—harass the advancing army.

There's a new brand of "raider" riding out of the South today. If he wears gray, it's a gray fiannel suit, his aims are peaceful but he also has a definite mission—acquisition of new industry for his State and region.

He is the bearer of invitations, pointing to regional opportunities; the ambassador of sectional progress, and intersectional goodwill

And the Tennesee Brigade—Gov. Buford Ellington's "raiders" has been mighty successful in its recent sally into Michigan.

Actually, the term "raider" was hung on the Tennesseans by Detroit Mayor Louis Miriani who has alternately lambasted and belittled the efforts of our industry seekers.

When it was reported that 23 immediate prospects had been turned up by the Ellington "raiders," Miriani says "baloney." But it wasn't baloney at all; the Tennesseans brought home the bacon in the form of a \$1.5 million branch of a major furniture manufacturing firm to be located in John-Bon City

son City.

The circumstances that have made the Wolverine State the happy hunting grounds for industry seekers were homegrown. And you can bet your last bar of soap that Governor Ellington will never have to come a-beggin' to newly acquired firms to get Tennessee out of a fiscal fiasco similar to that created by Gov. G. Mennen (Soapy) Williams and his Lieutenant Governor without portfolio, UAW chief, Walter Reuther.

Despite the Detroit mayor's protestations, the facts are that industry is seeking growing room not only for the location of branch plants but for primary installations as well. The South—particularly Tennessee—fills the bill

This region has an able, intelligent, and industrious supply of workers; the salubrious business climate is inviting when compared with the older industrial areas. And in this era of industrial growth, there is plenty of room for expansion.

As the mayor of Detroit has probably gathered "raiders" have always been held in considerable esteem in these parts, especially when they hit hard and fast and accomplish their mission.

### Global Objective Springs Leak

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Record, I include the following editorial from the Lancaster News, Lancaster, S.C., of June 6, 1959:

GLOBAL OBJECTIVE SPRINGS LEAK

The U.S. State Department has spent years and X millions of dollars to rehabilitate Japanese economy. A reluctant Congress has been chivvied into supporting this program through constant warnings that if Japan were left to her own resources she would begin trading with the enemy and thus be drawn into the Communist orbit. In the process, the American textile industry has been progressively sacrificed to keep Japan happy and cooperative.

American markets have been held open for cheap Jap textiles. American cotton is sold to Jap manufacturers at 10 cents per pound less than the same cotton can be purchased by American mills. Every effort to establish legal quotas and compensating tariffs has been resisted by the State Department. Faced with spontaneous boycott of her textiles in the United States, Japan instituted voluntary limitations on her exports 2 years ago but is constantly seeking to increase and evade them.

Has the United States accomplished its objective in this or have we been a patsy for Jap Industrialists? A dispatch out of Tokyo last week would seem to indicate the latter. Japan has contracted to buy 6,000 bales of raw cotton from Russia under an agreement between five leading Japanese trading firms and the Soviet Textile Goods Export Corporation

Although this is relatively a small amount of cotton, it is a beginning, and it is not inconceivable that products woven from Russian cotton will find their way into Jap exports to the United States. Thus, our efforts to keep Japan out of the Communist orbit may have opened a market in the United States for the Communists themselves.

### The Wheat Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. ROY W. WIER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 11, 1959

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I wish to insert the attached reprint of a radio broadcast recently released by my good friends, the Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association, St. Paul, Minn.:

What's going on at the White House these days is a mighty puzzle—but maybe farmers ought to talk to the bankers who seem to have the situation well in hand. At least, the President went to Congress Monday to demand higher interest rates for bankers and moneylenders who already get \$8 billion a year from the Treasury. But farmers remember that only 9 days ago the President was up on the Hill demanding less pay for wheat farmers. Why the President should want more pay for bankers and less for farmers is an enigma that would defy the deduction powers of the great Houdini.

But—that's the story. The Secretary of Agriculture has very bluntly told Congressmen that the President will veto any measure that would raise farm prices. On June 1, when the farm Secretary announced the July 23 date for the wheat referendum, the President followed up with a personal blast at the wheat program. "Disastrous and discredited legislation," he called it. And that apparently was step No. 1 in the administration's master plan to defeat marketing quotas on July 23. Now, according to wire service reports from Washington, step No. 2 has been announced.

The United Press reports that the administration is throwing all its considerable weight behind a trick wheat deal introduced by Congressman Belchers of Okiahoma. "High administration officials," reports United Press International, "believe the Belcher bill would persuade farmers to vote the wheat program down for the 1960 crop."

That is right in line, of course, with the administration's announced aim of doing away with the wheat program just as it has

done with the corn program.

/ What's in the Belcher bill? It's innocent on the surface until you get to the gimmick. It would not change present wheat allot-

ments or price supports. The gimmick is that it would do away with the 15-acre qualification for voting. Hundreds of thousands of eastern farmers who grow a few acres of wheat for chicken feed would be able to vote for the first time. That would let the farm Secretary bait his referendum hook with the unspoken promise of cheap grain to make cheap feed—and the poultry farmers are in plenty of trouble because their prices are at disaster levels.

But while all this maneuvering goes on in Congress and the administration is working allout to bust the wheat program, it looks more and more like there won't be any new legislation to put on the wheat ballot this year. That means the choice that wheat farmers will have will be between the present program or no program at all. A "Yes" vote will mean present acreage allotments with 75 percent of parity price supports in 1960. A "No" vote will mean no program at all—a production free-for-all—with many market analysts saying the wheat price could go as low as 50 cents a bushel on the free market.

So for wheat farmers it's a choice between staying in business with a "Yes" vote or going bankrupt with a "No" vote. GTA, the Farmers Union, and other leading farm organizations will be campaigning strongly for a big "Yes" vote because they believe that intelligent planning is as necessary in agriculture as it is in any other business.

# The Meaning of Able and Baker

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. J. EDWARD ROUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mr. ROUSH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I am placing in the Record an excellent article that appeared in the Kokomo Tribune, Kokomo, Ind., June 1, 1959. This article concerning the Able and Baker flight experiment into space gives a graphic description of this spectacular and significant event and its impact on our scientific development. I am sure my colleagues will find it interesting reading:

### THE MEANING OF ABLE AND BAKER

Not the least of those who were interested in the way Able and Baker, the now famous little monkeys withstood their flight 300 miles into space, were those several Americans known as the Astronauts. These are the men who have been selected to make the first human ascents into space, and they must have been heartened by the successful manner in which the two monkeys endured the experiment of a few days ago.

For doctors have found that Able and Baker experienced "extraordinarily small" physical charges in their long thrust into space. The monkeys survived a gravity pull 38 times normal, and for a fraction of a second—while she was subject to this intense pull—Able's heart beat went up to 222. The beat was 140 at takeoff, jumped to 170 during the first stage of the flight when Able was subjected to a force of 15 g.'s—15 times the force of gravity, but as the Jupiter rocket went into free flight—zero g.'s—the heart beat fell to 135. On impact, when for less than a second the monkeys were subjected to 38 g.'s, the beat hit the 222 mark.

Able's respiration was 20 a minute before takeoff, rose to 30 as the rocket lifted off. returned to 20 during free flight and rose to 66 briefly during the impact period. Baker, a smaller animal than Able, had a similar experience, and the medical men who studied the findings said this is a good indication of the small stress on the systems of living creatures during such a flight.

The monkeys rocketed through space at speeds up to 10,000 miles an hour and landed safely. In their air-conditioned nose cone, they survived the intense heat of the reentry into the atmosphere as they had withstood the terrific shock of blastoff and the eerie phenomenon of weightlessness which is a concomitant of space flight.

Valuable lessons thus were learned from this remarkable experiment. Moreover, American scientific genius scored heavily again, for the rocket apparently worked faultlessly, as did the guidance system which brought Able and Baker down close to the waiting rescue vessels. The nose cone survived tremendous heat and pressure and evidently almost all of the telemetering devices attached to the monkeys' bodies also functioned properly.

The whole thing was a feat that has again raised the quality of American science to the finest in the world.

# John W. Mahan, Commander in Chief, Veterans of Foreign Wars

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. J. T. RUTHERFORD

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mr. RUTHERFORD. Mr. Speaker, for many years, throughout the history of our country, veterans, through their veterans' organizations, have made great contributions to the formulation of our national policies. In so doing our veterans have materially enhanced the greatness of our Nation.

It is indeed a tremendous honor for any veteran to be chosen by his comrades to head one of our great veterans' organizations. The responsibility of serving as the acknowledged leader and spokesman for a large national veterans organization is a heavy responsibility in every sense of the word.

At this time I rise to invite the attention of the Members of the House to the truly outstanding services to veterans and to our Nation which have been performed by Mr. John W. Mahan, the present commander in chief of the VFW. During his tenure as national commander in chief of the VFW, the membership of that organization, composed entirely of oversea veterans, has been steadfly, month by month, breaking previous records. Commander in Chief Mahan, through his tireless and vigorous program of visiting VFW and governmental leaders throughout the country, has created in every part of our Nation a new awareness of the indispensable role that the VFW is performing in furthering the interests of our national security and helping shape other vital governmental policies.

Here in Washington the VFW, under Jack Mahan's leadership, has achieved even greater stature and influence. I know, from conversations with other Members of this House, that they share my views with respect to the assistance, advice and understanding which has been accorded to us by this unusually able and sincere VFW commander in chief. Very appropriately, there is never any question but what he has forcefully, astutely and intelligently fought for the interests of the veterans. One of the reasons he has been so influential is that he possesses an amazing knowledge of veterans problems and their legislative aspects. He meets with us as a fellow citizen, a keen student of veterans affairs, and a man of great objectivity and wisdom.

Undoubtedly one of the reasons why the influence and stature of the VFW is so great at this time is that Commander in Chief Mahan has, during his tenure as commander in chief of the VFW, moved to Washington and temporarily set up residence here at the seat of Government. Consequently, he is available for consultation and advice to members of the House and Senate on short notice whenever a matter concerning veterans legislation or subjects in which they are interested arises. He is probably, as a result of his residency in Washington, better known personally to Members of Congress than any person previously occupying a similar position. Members of Congress and veterans, both individually and as members of their organizations, are indebted to Jack Mahamfor the thoroughly conscientious and extremely able manner in which he has represented the VFW in Washington during this session of Congress.

The VFW influence has been marked, not only in matters of vital interest to veterans, but in problems connected with national defense policy, housing, education and practically every major aspect of legislation. There is no doubt in my mind but what the work of Jack Mahan. which was so effective by reason of his actual residency, was largely responsible for the action of the House of Representatives when it recently increased veterans' appropriations above that recommended by the administration.

Seldom has the influence of one person made such a great contribution to such vital legislation. The VFW has long been noted as an organization interested in the Nation's defense and security; it has a heritage of freedom and Commander Mahan will, I know, continue the VFW tradition in this respect.

As a member of the VFW-in which I have held the profound privilege of being the commander of the department of Texas-I share the feeling of my colleagues in Congress who are proud that a great veterans' organization has produced such a patriotic, sincere, and able leader as John W. Mahan.

### The Bored Generation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. J. EDWARD ROUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mr. ROUSH. Mr. Speaker, in this day when everyone is discussing and concentrating on economic growth very little is said about moral and intellectual growth. The following editorial, which appeared in the Frankfort Morning Times, Frankfort, Ind., June 6, 1959, makes some penetrating and philosophical comments concerning the youth of, our country and is worthy of the attention of my colleagues:

#### THE BORED GENERATION

Ages pass, and cannot be recalled. Two that we should all be reluctant to see go. which may be on the wane, are the age of enthusiasm.

Enthusiasm is a driving force of immense power. The person who has it can ride rough over many obstacles, satisfying ambition, satisfying curiosity, ranging wide through life.

With enthusiasm, you find your days an endless round of rewards, whether your interests be broad or narrow. What counts is that the things you like in life you pursue hard, to the finish, to the point of mastery and understanding and full apprecia-

We seem, unfortunately, to have less and less of that as the years roll by. Too many are content to play the game of "getting through the day." They scratch the surface of their interests, but never plumb the depths. They have no heart for finishing things.

They do not seem to appreciate that the unquenchable zest we call enthusiasm can make the difference between living and merely existing.

As for our innocence, a lot of that, too, appears to be going by the board.

Of course, we cannot recapture all the simplicities of a former time. Our civiliza-tion is gadget heavy. We are hedged about by devices which signal us, guide us, shout at us, entertain us, and now and then instruct us.

As these things close in around us, a good many appear no longer to have the innocence to enjoy the simpler pleasures. Millions, of course, still do, but millions also do not. The warmth of the family, the beauty of the sky, of trees, these evidently have lost much of their deep appeal for some people.

A National Education Association report on juvenile delinquency has many interesting and some shocking things to say. One shocker is the suggestion that most of the delinquents are not "sick" by any definition you care to use, but simply are indulging in "nasty sport."

In other words, their savagery, their brutality, is not a lashing out from deep inner cause but in countless instances is just "fun and games," 1959 style. Should this view have any merit, it suggests a terrible perversion of the youthful urge to find exciting play.

Arguments rage that though these signs of fading enthusiasm and innocence exist, they are not yet gravely serious for our future. Still, they multiply. When will they be

serious, if not now?

### Poison in Your Water-No. 114

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON, JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I am inserting into the Appendix of the Congressional Record an article appearing in the Cambridge (Md.) Banner of April 24, 1959, entitled "Property Owners Cut Ditches To Relieve Flood of Sewage": A Health Hazard Grows—Property Owners

CUT DITCHES TO RELIEVE FLOOD OF SEWAGE

(By Maurice Rimpo)

With talk about suburban sewers dying out, how are local suburbanites faring with their sewage disposal problems?

"We would never have moved to this town if we had known about it," comments the wife of a business executive who recently built a house in one of Cambridge's more expensive developments.

Not far away a neighbor with one septic system installed in his backyard has found it necessary to sink a second seepage pit in the middle of his front lawn.

Another suburban homemaker denies having much trouble with waste water but admits "Once in a while it gurgles and we go easy on the water. But it isn't good. I don't suppose there is anything worse."

Fears for the health of the area's children

Fears for the health of the area's children are expressed by a third young woman who lives in the critical Bay Heights-Bay View area.

Eighty-seven homes here tax the soil's drainage capacity so severely that septic tank water collects in backyards and stagnates in roadside ditches.

Many homeowners have gotten rid of this water by cutting small ditches across their yards and into the county ditches.

yards and into the county ditches.

Health Officer J. William Robbins says frankly that while a serious health problem is building up, there seems to be no solution short of a sanitary sewer system.

Absolving developers and contractors of blame, the sanitarian recalls that soil tests made in the suburban areas before building started were, "satisfactory then but we couldn't anticipate the water use."

Some residents have solved their individual sewage disposal problem at least for the present, by installing oversized seepage pits' or a series of pits. In other cases no satisfactory solution has been found.

Acknowledging that the public has lost confidence in the health department's ability to develop a workable system, Sanitarian Robbins says his department can require a man to sink \$400 into a new seepage system but can offer no guarantee that it will work.

Beside the unauthorized drains which property owners have dug, Robbins suspects that other residents may be piping their sewage overflow into nearby waterways.

Surveying the Bay View area recently, the sanitarian called it "a dangerous situation now. It has definitely turned into a public health hazard."

And he indicates that the health department plans to screen building permits closely to keep the situation from growing worse. "We will not issue any permits unless it can be proved beyond reasonable doubt by all necessary tests that there is no chance of a septic system's failing," he adds.

Along with many residents of the suburban areas, Robbins says he is convinced that a restudy is needed to determine whether sewers can be put in at a price the average taxpayer can afford.

A recent Whitman Requardt study concluded that it might cost each homeowner from \$100 to \$170 a year for 30 years to provide and maintain a sewer system.

# Congress Alone Responsible for Agricultural Dilemma

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON, PAUL B. DAGUE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, as a 12year member of the House Committee on Agriculture I find much in my experience to justify the observations made in an editorial appearing in the Christian Science Monitor entitled "Let Congress Face It."

This week has seen the House wrangle and fuss over two separate measures designed, respectively, to ease the situation in tobacco and wheat, and in my opinion both bills will only serve to compound the confusion which presently exists in those two commodities. Neither bill effectively tackles the glaring facts that there is entirely too much acreage presently being planted to these crops and that high level of supports can only result in increased production. Both bills also ignore the fact that with today's modern technology we just do not need as many farms as formerly to meet our needs at home, while the high price of our products makes them noncompetitive in the world market.

In my years on the Committee on Agriculture I have seen enough to convince me that neither party is wholly free of blame for the mess in which we now find ourselves. I have seen the Democrats fight to protect their cotton, peanut, rice, and tobacco acreage while on our side the Republicans have defied any attempt to approach reality in regard to corn and wheat. Indeed, the so-called farm bloc, as we look back on its operations from this distance, now appears to be little more than a band of brothers who may have wrecked agriculture in their attempts to be kind to it. And, parenthetically, I am entitled to point out that I have consistently opposed the continuance of high supports even when my own party has been in control and in one or two instances I was the only member of our committee who voted "No" to the perpetuation of unrealistic legislation that seemed to ignore the law of supply and demand.

The tendency today among my Democrat friends—and even among a number of midwestern Republicans—is to blame Secretary Benson for our agricultural ills. The charges they level at Mr. Benson are sheer demagogery since all that he is doing is administering the law that the Congress has handed him. Under the law he is under compulsion to lower supports whenever he finds the supply of a particular commodity is sufficient for our needs and he has done just that. And when he condemns the present sup-

port program as unrealistic and unworkable he is stating a fact of which, in my opinion, a majority of our citizenry are convinced.

As I have repeatedly stated it is my firm conviction that there is no legislative device we can develop that will maintain farm income at a high level at a time when we are producing more than the market will consume. Our problem is to set as our goal the abandonment of all semblance of supports and controls, except as they may be invoked to increase production in time of emergency, and then to reach that goal through a period of gradual transition that will do as little damage as possible to the hard-working farmers who are the backbone of America.

The Christian Science Monitor editorial included herewith is commended to your attention:

LET CONGRESS FACE IT

The failure of Congress to do something effective about American farm surpluses amounts to a shocking breakdown of representative government. The vast majority of citizens want action. Farmers themselves decry the waste in surpluses for which the Government paid \$9 billion. Both parties have promised solutions. Neither has produced.

Indeed, current measures being pushed in Congress—directed at the most ridiculous surplus—are mere excuses. Supposed to hold down wheat production, they could end by increasing it. For they embody two Alice-in-Wonderland theories Congress uses in farm legislation.

One is the belief that crop surpluses can be reduced by offering farmers incentives to increase production. The second is that acreage restrictions will hold down production at a time when yields per acre are being doubled by improved seed, fertilizer, and cultivation. These two theories are illogical on their faces and have been exploded in practice. But Congress still clings to them.

Let's be fair to Congress. Crop surpluses are only half the problem. The harder half is the surplus of farmers. Hardships of the displaced evoke our compassion. But the husks-off fact is that the industrial revolution on the farm makes it possible for several million fewer farmers to meet American needs for foods and fibers.

This change is not unlike that experienced in the original industrial revolution when introduction of machinery made the labor of millions of hand workers unnecessary. Would it have made sense to keep those people employed by having the Government buy and store the surplus goods produced? As much sense as what Congress is doing.

For in seeking to help farmers without machines to stay on the land it has only partially succeeded—about 5 million have quit farming since the war. And in trying to keep up prices for them it has offered terrific incentives for overproduction to farmers with machines. For instance, price supports for wheat at \$1.90 a bushel are three times the production costs of some big wheat farmers. About 10 percent of the growers get most of the price supports.

A,wiser basic policy would be to work with rather than against the forces of economic change. Men no longer needed on the land could be more truly aided by helping them find other jobs which need them than by trying to keep them working in unequal competition with new machines and methods on the farm.

Many Congressmen attempt to shift the blame to Secretary of Agriculture Benson. He has mad mistakes, and he has offered no complete answer. But he has courageously sought lower price supports. And he only administers laws Congress has adopted. It must assume responsibility for basic policy failures. Congress should be required to face that fact and to take more effective action.

Stockpiles and Surpluses: A National Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article that appeared in the May 13, 1959, Bulletin of the National Association of Purchasing Agents by George Stuart Brady raising a number of thoughtful and serious questions about our stockpiling and surplus storage programs:

THE NATIONAL BOONDOGGLE—GOOSE FEATHERS AND CASTOR OIL

### (By George Stuart Brady)

"How specifically are the possible alternates to stockpiling fully discussed and priced in comparison to the cost of stockpiling?" That was the question asked of the Office of Defense Mobilization by the Bureau of the Budget during the fiscal year 1954-55, when stocks of many materials were already assuming alarming proportions. There have been closely controlled inside "surveys"; but, up to now, there is no record of any answer that would convince the taxpayer that a Government-owned inventory of raw materials, rapidly nearing \$10 billion, is necessary for defense.

In a previous article, it was shown that stockpile purchases of lead, zinc, and some other items during the past 5 years have had no defense significance, and were merely for the purpose of boosting prices, thus burdening the consumer two ways, through taxes and through higher prices. The large accumulations of some other materials, like vanadium, if not made for price regulation, can be explained only by a bureaucratic urge to make the job more important by expansion. Vanadium is a special-purpose metal used in limited quantities; and, readily-accessible supplies have always been ample for industry needs. After the basic stockpile objective was filled, a higher objective was set; and, this big supply was reported exceeded in 1958.

In February 1957, the president of one of the important tungsten-using companies, and also the owner of a mine that sold \$10 million worth of tungsten to the stockpile, told the Congress that "more consideration should be given to the taxpayer rather than to the mine producers." He pointed out that the stockpile of tungsten is a 20-years' supply, and he recommended that the Government sell 5 percent of the stock every year until it gets down to no more than a 5-year supply.

#### STOCKPILE OBJECTIVES OBSOLETE

But technical progress has made the old objectives of the stockpile so obsolete that even a 5 years' supply of tungsten would be far beyond reasonable defense needs. The high specific gravity of the metal gives it only a limited use in heat resistant alloys for militant equipment. Tungsten magnet alloys have been replaced by other more efficient magnets. In electronic tube fliaments, it can be replaced by the stronger

and stiffer rhenium. In carbides, titanium has greatly replaced it, both for cutting tools and for cermets. It is still a valuable metal for rotors and other heavy metal uses and as a special purpose alloy; but the use is relatively small, and the domestic production of tungsten can be doubled at any time.

Tungsten, however, is only a small item compared with the total extravagant accumulation of stocks of other materials whose defense requirements are based on obsolete usage factors and without regard for true military and political defense, which must include the courage to defend the supply lines. It is an old army saving that desk planners always plan for the last war. During World War I, when the desk strategists, planning in terms of the cavalry require-ments of the Civil War, had shipped enough currycombs to furnish 45 each for every horse and mule in France, the soldiers invented the term "horse feathers" to apply to any fatuous planning. Perhaps there are now no currycombs in the stockpile; but there are big quanities of goose feathers, and the present huge stocks of mica, selenium, abaca, castor oil, and other materials for which superior substitutes have been developed since World War II appear like "goose feather" thinking.

The annual cost of interest on bonds to carry the present stockpile exceeds \$400 million; and another \$100 million for maintenance costs would be a conservative figure to add to the permanent annual carrying charges of the bureaucracy. In other words, it can be figured that the entire income tax of more than a million workers' families goes every year merely to maintain the Government-owned stocks, not including the immense stocks of agricultural materials.

Of the 75 materials listed in the 1958 report to the Congress on the group I list of the strategic stockpile, 51 had already equaled or exceeded the maximum objectives, based on the policy of having an hand up to a 5 years' supply. Because of technical progress, more than 40 of these materials can no longer be considered as militarily strategic. Some, like quartz crystals and battery manganese, are being replaced by superior synthetics. Arguments for the stockpiling of others, like coconut oil, are so specious that, if taken seriously and applied generally, would require the stockpiling of scores of additional items, taking up much of the national income to meet the whims of the bureaucracy.

#### SUBSTITUTION OF SYNTHETICS

During World War II, there was no satisfactory substitute for natural quartz crystals for telephone and electronic applications. The Germans produced synthetic crystals by heating a metasilicate solution in a pressure bomb at 450° F. But we have gone a long way since then. Technicians now know what goes on inside the bomb, and the processes of nucleation and crystal growth are well understood. Natural quartz crystal is a very irregular and undependable product. Now solution differentials, temperatures, pressures, and seed types can be so controlled that crystals of the desired purity and plane orientation can be grown. Uniformly superior crystals are being produced up to 3 inches across and 6 inches long, from which nearly three times as many highgrade cut crystals can be made as from the same weight of the best imported crystals.

Equipment of modern mechanized warfare demands an unfailing high-grade uniformity in the materials used and, thus, it is doubtful if the stockpile of natural quartz can ever be used for military purposes. The same is true for battery manganese. Manganese dioxide for batteries is the gamma oxide with a peculiar pseudo-amorphous structure. It occurs only irregularly in the ore beds, and the natural product usually contains other forms of oxide that decreases

the efficiency of the battery. Lead, copperand other metal impurities are also found in the natural ore, and even small traces of these elements that are electronegative to the zinc of the battery decrease the poten-tial of the battery. Ultrapure synthetic oxide now being made gives batteries of uniformly higher potential and longer shelf life. Because the military services had been active in the development of synthetic manganese oxide, the technical impotence of the stockpilists was broken down, and they had to recognize the superiority; but it did not break down their fetish for big stocks, and they have been stocking the synthetic material, although there is no more reason for accumulating a stockpile of synthetic manganese dioxide than there would be for stockpiling a thousand other factory-made chemicals.

The big stockpile of natural mica is rapidly becoming a white elephant. Natural mica is a very irregular material, costly to work into insulating parts. Splitting is so tedious that blocks from other areas were sent to India for processing during the war. Iron spots and crystal imperfections make most of the sheets unsultable for high-grade insulation. Furthermore, the splittings are in small odd-shaped pieces and the separation, grading, and working makes tedious hand labor.

American companies have improved the German method of making synthetic mica, and about 30 different types have been selected from the innumerable varieties now available, make it possible to select a type for maximum resistivity, heat resistance, or chemical resistance, and assure a high-grade uniformity. The Germans aimed at produc-ing large blocks, but this retained the arduous hand labor of splitting and the difficulty of hand working the irregular small The American aim has been to produce flake mica on a production basis and then bind it-into uniform large sheets from which parts can be made economically. Where the heat requirements are not high, synthetic resin binders are used; but, inorganic binders are employed for high heat, and it is now possible to produce sheets without binders by recrystallization of the sheeted flakes under heat and pressure.

All of these reconstructed synthetic sheets are more economical to use and more dependably uniform than natural mica. Synthetic micas also have greater purity, and elimination of hydroxyl ions permits use at higher temperatures. Other substitutes have also decreased the need for the stockpile. Terephthalic plastic sheet, for example, has higher dielectric strength, is strong and flexible, and is being used where the temperatures are moderate. Quartz has higher heat resistance and higher dielectric strength than mica, and extremely fine fibers are being matted into thin sheets for insulation. When it is considered that less than 1 percent of Bihar trimmed block mica, such as is being stockpiled, will pass military specifications for such uses as condenser film after laborious splitting and grading, it can be seen that the stockpile has slight value as a defense measure.

Fifteen-year-old arguments are being used today for piling up stockpiles of graphite, yet, synthetic graphite, suitable for crucibles, can now be made even from low grades of domestic ores. By graphitization at high temperatures and further refining with hot gases, ultra-pure graphite is produced for nuclear reactor use. Large stocks of imported diamonds are stored at secret hiding places well known to industry and, probably to the Communists. But, synthetic diamond powder equivalent to the best grades of natural diamond powder is being made, and production can readily be expanded to meet any industrial needs. The production of larger diamond crystals is a reasonable ex-

pectation. In addition, boron nitride, as hard as the diamond, is now being made commercially and can replace much of the diamond abrasive. An official of a large company recently told the purchasing executives that "shortage of industrial diamond abrasive is a thing of the past"; but, the stockpile bureaucracy does not seem to be affected by such advice.

#### STOCKPILE ADVISERS

Congress provided in the law that the stockpile administration should hire advisers from industry; but, the record indicates that no advice is taken if it conflicts with predetermined big-stock ideas. It was early pointed out that selenium was an unsatisfactory material for military electronic uses, but stockpile buying continued. Sflicon and other semiconductors are now in ample supply and are nonstrategic, and they give greater efficiency with savings in space and weight. Purchases of selenium have finally ceased, but the stocks remain. Stockpile buying of pepper has also ceased, after the stockpilists were apparently disconcerted by the many jokes and guffaws. The American public, if given a chance to express an opinion, would have said that coffee is more important to an army than pepper and, if we stockpile pepper, why not stockpile everything and make a really big bureaucracy.

It is difficult to see any military reasoning in the purchase of big stocks of aluminum and magnesium. Capacity has kept well ahead of consumption, and, in case of war, many civilian uses can be cut without hardship. For example, more than 100,000 tons of aluminum annually goes into packaging film. The great stocks of bauxite are no more justified for defense than would be the stockpiling of coal, sulfur, and a host of other materials.

Bauxite sources are at relatively near points, not readily subject to submarine attack; and, the direct ore handling is so mechanized as to make the double handling from stockpiles uneconomical.

Much has been made of the fact that copper was controlled during the war; but, controls were more a matter of distribution than of supply, and are normal in wartime. There was no shortage of copper for military use, and almost a year's supply was on hand at the end of the war. Since then, efficient cartridge and shell cases have been developed from steel, aluminum, and plastics, and large-caliber, shells have been largely replaced by rockets. Aluminum wire and strip can replace a large part of the copper electrical wiring, and aluminum and plastics are replacing much brass formerly used. A reasonable extra supply of copper to enable industry to get into high production quickly would be justified, but several years' supply is not. The same can be said for the great hoards of manganese, chromium, and other materials, which can be transported more efficiently from the mines than from isolated stockpiles.

Officials of the rubber industry have already recommended liquidation of the huge rubber stockpile. The frequent rotation of the rubber is a costly burden. Vast improvements have been made in synthetic rubbers since the war, and for most military uses they are superior to natural rubber. Even high elasticity has been achieved in a new type of deuterium rubber with heavy hydrogen attached to the carbon chains. Polyisoprene or "synthetic natural rubber," is also now in production, and is equivalent to tree-grown rubber at a comparable price, The real natural rubber military needs are now small.

In the light of today's chemical progress the heavy stockpiling of fatty oils, old-style tanning materials, and natural fibers is beyond comprehension. Coconut oil was formerly needed to produce glycerin, and some

castor oil was used to produce an acid to make a mechanical grade of nylon. But, today, glycerin is easily produced from petrochemicals, and acids and esters for plastics and other uses are produced synthetically from more available domestic oils and from hydrocarbons. Superior synthetics have been replacing sperm oil as a lubricant. Big stocks of Mexican sisal cannot be justified by military arguments. Naval tow ropes of nylon are more efficient than Manila hemp ropes, and hawsers of polypropylene are lighter in weight and do not pick up water and freeze like Manila rope.

#### POLICY REVIEW

It is not possible in a short article to review in detail the many materials-the agar, the iodine, the talc, the castor oil, and the goose feathers; but, there is a growing belief in business circles that a public investigation of the stockpile is long overdue. Such an investigation is not likely to come about until there is a public demand that will react on Congress, and this is difficult, because the stockpile group operates in secrecy and gives out only such information as it wants the public to believe. Even the relatively few businessmen brought into the stockpile administration, after being awed by the security investigation and the cautions of secrecy, too often acquire the sheepherder tendency and are led to believe the bureaucratic argument that a program so vast and so costly could not possibly be erroneous.

The stocks have been built up at a time

The stocks have been built up at a time when the easy sales to Government boosted world price levels, and it will be difficult to liquidate them without worldwide economic disturbances to the countries that we have aided in increasing their production. Recently, when the OCDM considered the disposal of 5,000 tons a month from the supplementary stockpile of copper acquired under the Defense Production Act, there was a drop in smelter price, complaints from foreign producers, and a violent reaction from Senators of the mining States.

To complicate the situation still further, we are now facing a new phase of the cold war, where the Soviet Union stands ready to throw on world markets many of the same types of materials. One has only to look at the mess in the fluorspar market to see that attempts to regulate price and supply by Government purchase of surpluses has been a failure. Including agricultural products, we now have nearly \$20 billion worth of public-owned surpluses and, if the condition is permitted to drift further, it could lead to eventual socialization of all production. The international quota system, such as is used for sugar, is not ideal; but, it has worked better than the device of stockpiling, and it is now time for an open, nonsecret investigation of the whole stockpiling program before the situation becomes even more complicated.

# Federal Public Housing Problems Increasing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, here are the results of a survey on public housing throughout the Nation which appeared recently in the Wall Street Journal which indicates the extreme conditions that tend toward demoralization and loss of initiative on the

part of many who occupy this kind of heavily Federal subsidized housing.

Evidently public housing in many instances is becoming the permanent residence of many people who do not make an effort to improve their economic condition rather than a temporary residence where they may live during a period of low income in order to give them an opportunity to seek better employment and independence and a home of their own.

I recommend reading the following survey to the Members of Congress:

TAXPAYERS' TENANTS—"PROBLEM" FAMILIES
HIKE PUBLIC HOUSING UPKEEP, THREATEN
NEW SLUMS—RENT DELINQUENCIES HARASS
HAMTRAMCK: UNION RULES, VANDALS LIFT
CHICAGO COSTS—ALCOHOLICS AND UNWED
MOTHERS

### (By Ray Vicker)

CHICAGO.—At the 15-story Governor Henry Horner tax-supported public housing project here, the windows open outward and upward like awnings. A favorite competitive sport of high spirited lads on warm days is "atom bombing." You drop a pop bottle from the top floor, then count the number of windows it goes through on the way down.

In Toledo, Ohio, soaring maintenance costs threaten the solvency of public housing. High rental delinquencies form the central theme of one critical report on the program in Hamtramck, Mich. In Cincinnati public housing folk are seeking to discourage baby production by unmarried females living in tax-supported apartments and collecting bigger welfare benefit checks for each new child.

Public housing's difficulties with "problem families"—welfare and police cases, alcoholics, the chronically unemployed and such—are widespread. These troubles boost maintenance costs, threaten to make slums of new projects and are hiking the project managers' load in a job which may not be easy under the best of circumstances.

#### CLOSER CHECKS

The Public Housing Administration, the Federal agency which funnels public housing subsidies through about 900 local housing authorities scattered around the Nation, now is making closer checks of management practices of these local authorities. PHA wants to be sure taxpayers get their money's worth for the \$473 million the Federal Government already has invested in public housing through the subsidy payments.

Chicago, Toledo, Hamtramek, Rockford, Ili., and Zanesville, Ohio, are only a few of the communities where such studies have been made. Currently, other management reviews are underway at Minneapolis, St. Paul, Cincinnati, and various other places,

In Chicago 22 public housing projects are federally-supported to the tune of \$3.9 million annually. At least \$1 million a year is spent to cover waste, union featherbedding, mismanagement, and tenant vandalism, says PHA's Chicago regional office in one such review.

In Washington, Abner D. Silverman, assistant PHA commissioner for management, says nearly 200 management reviews have been made during fiscal 1958. He explains that in 1957, PHA launched a comprehensive audit and analysis program, with every local housing authority due to get such areview once every 3 years. He adds: "The recent study of the Chicago Housing Authority is an example of this new type of review and analysis. It is not an 'investigation' but an overall administrative management analysis and study designed to permit PHA to discharge its responsibilities under the law in a fashion that will prove most helpful to the local housing authority."

#### DEPRESSION MEASURE

Public housing was first spawned in 1937 as a depression make-work measure. A subsidiary aim was to provide rental assistance to families in the lowest income group. City planners subsequently saw it as a slum clearance weapon.

Social planners saw it as a sociological conveyor belt. Low income, poorly educated tenants-usually former slum dwellerswould come into a project paying minimum rentals. They would have roomier, lighter, cleaner, better ventilated apartments and would raise their own moral and cleanliness standards to match, the theory went. Incomes would rise until families exceeded the maximum allowed in a project. Rehabilitated families would move to new homes of their own. This would permit more lowincome families to be attracted at the base to start the process over again. Good housing was supposed to reduce juvenile delinquency and crime, promote stable family life and encourage an overall higher standard of living.

The social planners who subscribed to these theories went awry in figuring that good housing automatically stimulates problem families into rising above their previous environment, public housing officials now admit.

"Problem families merely recreate their old environment at the new site," says one Midwestern housing man. Growing cynical, he adds: "It isn't buildings that make slums. It's people. Move those people from a slum to a new housing project and they'll create a new slum."

#### MUSTERING EVIDENCE

Considerable evidence can be mustered to show that, far from stimulating people to socket. rise above sordid environments, public housing may discourage many from trying to better themselves incomewise. They prefer subsidized housing to being forced to move elsewhere if their income rises.

Under the Federal program, PHA underwrites loans of local authorities which build and operate projects. PHA then assists communities in paying off the debt through annual subsidies. Communities handle maintenance and operating costs from the rents they collect.

Today this depression baby has grown into a sprawling giant. Over 1.7 million people now live in more than 425,000 Federallyaided low-rental units operated by various localities. Some localities add units of their own with State and city money exclusively, raising the total number of people now living in public housing to around 2.4

This year 35,000 more Federally aided units are planned. And once again a recession is being cited as a reason for building public housing on a broad scale.

"There is every justification for low-rent public housing to represent 10 percent of annual housing-unit production on a 'con-tinuing program' basis," says the National Association, of Housing and Redevelopment Officials, an organization of State and local officials headquartered in Chicago., Such a figure would mean construction of 90,000 to 100,000 units annually.

#### FLURRY OF INTEREST

There are now over 900 public housing authorities serving 1,225 communities, up from only 265 communities served in 1949.

Recently there has been a further flurry of interest in public housing on the part of communities, say housing officials.

"There are five localities in the Chicago region for which applications for new housing have been made since September 30, 1957," says Brice Martin, assistant to the regional director for the Chicago region of PHA. "In addition, there are 27 localities PHA. "In addition, there are 27 localities that have evinced an interest in getting housing."

The 10-State Chicago region now has 96

authorities engaged in public housing.

There is no doubt, though, that many a city is having trouble managing the public housing it already has.

Authorities blame a lot of their troubles on the fact that public housing attracts a high percentage of broken families, families with big broods of children by nameless fathers, other welfare cases and shiftless characters who prefer unemployment to work as long as Government agencies provide handouts.

"We are becoming caretakers for problem families," moans one public housing official in Chicago, "Changes must be made in the setup of public housing if it is to survive."

There are, of course, many hard-working, earnest low-income families in public housing projects besides the problem cases. But housing authorities note many of the former sour on their less respectable neighbors and move elsewhere. The problem families then tend to take over, threatening to make slums of the housing developments.

#### MALADJUSTED FAMILIES

Visit some of Chicago's housing projects and you see what a problem these maladjusted families can be.

At Grace Abbott Homes, southwest of Chicago's Loop rags are stuffed into one broken window of a 15-story building. Steel doors bar some entrances, for anything less strong might be kicked in by rambunctious tenants. Children are playing with automatic elevators, so you walk up several flights of stairs noting how some hall windows are sealed up to prevent glass breakage. Light bulbs are frequently missing while the jagged pieces of one broken bulb still remain in one hall

Cockroaches scurry along the floor. On upper floors there is an odor of urine. tenant complains bitterly that her children can't reach bathrooms in time when playing downstairs because elevators usually are undergoing repairs or occupied.

Fire hydrant caps and hydrant control caps are missing. Brass caps, worth \$8 each, are stolen for sale to junkmen as scrap, explains one PHA official later.

Such conditions are underscored in a sixvolume report of Chicago Housing Authority operations released recently by PHA.

Vermin infestation is practically univer-" says the report. "With some notable exceptions, tenant cooperation in maintenance is most lacking."

In one apartment building of recent vintake, cockroaches are so thick that they are clogging motors of tenant refrigerators, says the PHA report. One investigator tells of seein bedbugs crawling on walls of the model apartment used as a demonstrator at Stateway Gardens development.

#### CONTROL BUTTONS

Consideration is being given to bolting steel plates over the button controls of automatic elevators. Holes would be drilled so that each control button can be pushed with a finger through a hole but the buttons cannot be damaged since they will be protected by the steel plates, says a PHA recommendation. Rowdy tenants now use hammers to knock off the buttons. Vandalism and tenant damages are costing CHA at least \$150,000 a year, says PHA.

Release of the report is resulting in a rash of activity in public houisng projects in Chicago. "Many of the suggested improve-ments already have been made," says Alvin E. Rose, executive director of the CHA.

Sheer size of some of the public housing authorities in large cities poses a manage-ment problem. The New York City Housing Authority, swelled by city and State as well as Federal projects, now is a \$1.1 billion empire consisting of 82 public housing developments. Many of them are cities in themselves. Chicago values the land, plant, and equipment of its public houisng at \$190 million.

In projects of such size, management's right arm may not know what the left arm is doing. This situation is idea for strong labor unions to run up operating and maintenance costs through featherbedding and restrictive practices.

#### LABOR PRACTICES

When PHA dug into this situation at Chicago, it uncovered a long list of practices, including:

Painters wash all painted wall surfaces while janitors wash only the tile, even though both surfaces are side by side, carpenter must be used to replace a

screw in a bracket.

An electrician must be called to plug in a new refrigerator in an apartment.

Removal of a hot water heater requires a plumber to disconnect the cold water pipe and a pipefitter to disconnect the hot water

Glaziers install 6.5 window panes per day. though in Detroit glaziers handle 18 panes per day.

Thirteen janitors are employed 8 hours a day each in one project though time studies show five janitors could handle all the work on a 4-hour day.

In some instances, electricians are used to replace light bulbs.

### A "MINOR" REPAIR

The sequence of operations in making minor plaster repairs to a wall behind the kitchen range is this:

Inspection by the head janitor and preparation of work orders.

The janitor sweeps out and removes debris. Inspection by plasterer to determine plastering work.

Inspection by painter foreman to determine extent of painting.

A visit by a pipfitter to disconnect the

The janitor moves the range out of the

The plasterer and a helper repair the wall.

A painter washes and paints the wall. The janitor moves the range into place.

The pipefitter reconnects the range. Janitor cleans up.

Chicago's public housing problems may be worse than average. Yet the city's difficulties illustrate the situations now facing many authorities in other cities.

Pointing in the direction of the LeClaire Courts housing project which ironically is almost in the backyard of his real estate agency, Ralph Finitzo, bespectacled and graying Chicago home builder, says: "That's the biggest slum in this whole area and it is only a few years old."

#### NEWSPAPERS AND TIN CANS

Slipping behind the wheel of his 1957 Buick sedan, he drives through the project. Newspapers blow across a lawn. Rusty tin cans lie beside one front door. But a new coat of paint lends a bright touch to the two-story apartments built with monotonous regularity on the site.

'We took so many photographs of this place to show people how a new slum was created that the Chicago Housing Authority got tired of it," says Finitzo, past chairman of the National Association of Home Builders' Public Housing Committee. "Recently CHA sent a crew of painters down here and slapped fresh paint on the buildings."

In another Chicago public housing project, an unmarried woman with four children by four different men lives in a taxsupported apartment while drawing aid-todependent-children checks from the welfare department.

A Chicago social worker expresses surprise when queried about that case: "Such cases are so common I don't know why you are asking about this one," she said. Then she tells of another woman with an even larger oan, I include the following editorial from family of children by different fathers.

There are six or seven children, I'm not sure which without checking records," says this social worker. "Now the eldest girl in the family is pregnant, too, father unknown."

The CHA claims it seeks to discourage illegitimacy in public housing projects. Stys a spokesman: "When a woman with children applies for housing she is given a form to fill out. On this she must list her children and their fathers. If there is more than one father she may not be admitted. However, if it appears that the pattern has been stopped, she may be admitted. She will be evicted automatically should that pat-tern be resumed again."

In Cincinnati the Metropolitan Housing Authority allows a mother with illegitimate children to enter housing. But it takes a count of the children and has mothers sign a statement that if another child pops up without a marriage license the family will be subject to eviction.

INTERFERING WITH THEIR RIGHTS

"When we first launched this program there were some complaints from women that we were interfering with their rights," says Harry L. Reece, executive director of the CMHA.

Problem families not only hike maintenance costs, they may cut revenue. The theory of public housing is predicated on having a spread of tenants in various income brackets, with those in the higher brackets carrying more of a load than those in lower brackets. If you earn more, you pay more. If you earn more than the top limit, you move.

Thus, in Chicago, the minimum rent is \$31 a month for the family with an income of \$1,705 a year or less while the maximum rent is \$96 a month for the seven-person family earning \$5.750 a year. To enter a project, the one or two-person family must earn no more than \$3,600 while larger families must earn no more than \$3,800.

But the housing authority finds that problem families are more heavily concentrated at the low end of the income scale. Once in a project they may not try to increase incomes yet they cling to subsidized apartments harder than the diligent families.

UPSETTING THE THEORY

Today, 50 percent of tenants in Chicago's projects are paying minimum rents. This upsets the cross sectional rent paying theory. There aren't enough renters at the upper end of the scale for total rents to carry the operations load.

"The current financial picture of the CHA Operations holds the threat of insolvency, warns PHA in its management review of Chicago projects. It urges that "selection of tenants be made from an income grade which will provide tenant families of such incomes which will help to achieve and maintain a representative cross section of low income families and produce more revenue."

A deficit of nearly \$500,000 is estimated for CHA in the current fiscal year, a figure Which will rise to \$1.2 million in fiscal 1960 if steps are not taken to correct difficulties, Bays PHA.

# You Can't Be Insured Against Inflation\_

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

### HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC- the Peoria (Ill.) Journal Star of June 10, 1959:

YOU CAN'T BE INSURED AGAINST INFLATION

Many people in the upper age brackets are painfully aware that the life insurance they paid for in 100-cent dollars is going to be returned to them or their beneficiaries in 48-cent dollars. That is one of the great injustices of inflation. Now there are efforts to protect people against this in the future with a kind of insurance against inflation. But actually there is no way of insuring against inflation, no way but to elect public officials who will hold to sound monetary policies.

New policies permitted in some States are called variable annuities. They are not contracts for the payment of a guaranteed number of dollars at a certain time. Their benefits are paid according to the value of property in which the insuring company has invested the premiums.

According to the theory, the company invests in a wide range of stocks representing many kinds of business and industry. If inflation continues, the value of these investments will go up accordingly and benefi-ciaries will be paid accordingly.

However, there is a distinct element of risk in this business. If inflation is halted and deflation sets in, or if there is a major depression and the bottom falls out of prices, you might get less than you bargained foror nothing at all. The person who wants to risk his money hedging against inflation can find various ways of doing it. But the buyer of life insurance is not a speculator. He is a saver. If speculation on the future value of the dollar enters into the life insurance business to any great degree, it will be important to make this point clear.

More important than trying to insure against inflation is to stop inflation. We can have stable money if we have a government that has the know-how and courage to keep it stable.

There is really no other way to make sure that your savings, life insurance, and pensions of the future will be worth what you expect them to be.

#### John Foster Dulles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. GERALD R. FORD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include three editorials from the Grand Haven (Mich.) Daily Tribune on the loss of John Foster Dulles. These are entitled "Dulles Refuses To Admit Defeat," February 19, 1959; "Dulles, a Great American," April 7, 1959; "Death a Reminder of Men's Usefulness," May 26, 1959:

[From the Grand Haven (Mich.) Daily Tribune, Feb. 19, 1959]

DULLES REFUSES TO ADMIT DEFEAT

John Foster Dulles is not to be sidetracked easily-even by cancer.

President Eisenhower is eager to have the ailing Secretary of State stay on the job if Mr. Dulles undoubtedly believes it is possible.

The much-traveled Secretary has had his ups and downs but at this critical period in history he is decidedly at the pinnacle of his long diplomatic career. The Russians have

helped, inadvertently, to boost him to this position by their attitude toward Berlin. His tireless efforts to get the Allies to pull together seems to be succeeding, thanks to the Berlin issue.

Those close to Secretary Dulles are his most loyal supporters. They believe that he has done an outright heroic job of patching up the hurts and bruises of diplomacy. He is sincere. He convinces everyone that America does not want war. But he does not com-promise or appease when it comes to the fundamental issues.

Columnist Drew Pearson, who often has been critical of Dulles, recently pointed to the Secretary's personal courage in carrying on under the handicaps of severe pain and possibly fatal cancerous symptoms. Besides,

Mr. Dulles is 71 years old.

It is worth noting that while there have been many global crises during the Eisenhower administration, each has been re-solved. Even the knotty Cyprus issue seems to be working out satisfactorily. The Berlin emergency could develop into a shooting war. But you don't find Secretary Dulles backing away from this kind of danger. A man who has physical courage and diplomatic knowhow usually can impart his sincerity and convictions to others.

We are sure that Secretary Dulles has more than earned a rest from duties that would have floored many a hardy man. But the immediate hurdles are so big that only a man

of his stature can meet them.

### [From the Grand Haven (Mich.) Daily Tribune, Apr. 7, 1959]

DULLES, A GREAT AMERICAN

Sincerity is one of the highest human virtures. Devotion to a good cause is another. John Foster Dulles possessed both of these qualities to a generous degree.

The disease that forced Secretary of State Dulles to resign may also prove fatal to him in a matter of weeks or months. Thus in a sense his retirement as Secretary of State has produced his orbituary while he is still living.

History marches into the future with eming indifference to the suffering of the individuals who make it. Secretary Dulles may find little comfort in the fact that while he is being praised by free people every-where, he is fighting a painful battle against cancer. Words of sympathy help. But they do not compensate for the grim toll exacted by a leading killer.

Perhaps no man in history has covered the mileage which John Dulles has to his

credit in troubleshooting by all kinds of transportation all over the globe.

A few months ago there was some dis-satisfaction with the Dulles brand of diplomacy. He seemed to be fighting a losing battle against a ruthless enemy that kicked up little rows and stole additional acres of territory.

All that has changed now. Dulles may have been inconsistent but he more than made up for this failing by a willingness to meet any friend, and even the Communists, halfway.

More than anything, he sold the idea that Americans want peace. At the same time he convinced a doubting world that Americans would also fight if sufficiently provoked—and if endangered would use all the weapons at their command to turn back the enemy. This was his version of the soft voice and the big stick.

There probably has never been a diplomat like Dulles. Some are more suave, others are more gifted in diplomatic double talk. Others may be more consistent and sure of themselves. But none ever worked so hard. And few could have done a better job in keeping the world from blowing up in its present state of tensions.

John Foster Dulles is not indispensable. But he is being forced to the sidelines when the ticklish Berlin crisis could still erupt into something serious. While it is wise that he retires at this time, it places a heavy responsibility on President Elsenhower in picking his successor.

Millions of us may owe our very lives to the man who felt that he owed more to his country than his personal health. God spare him undue suffering in his ordeal.

[From the Grand Haven (Mich.) Daily Tribune, May 26, 1959]

Tribune, May 26, 1959]
DEATH A REMINDER OF MEN'S USEFULNESS

In the great American drama men come and go, stamping their country's destiny with their own works. Nowhere in the world can the individual find greater opportunity for self expression.

On the national front John Foster Dulles finally succumbed to the scourage of cancer. His obituary had already been written at the time of his retirement as Secretary of State. Few words can be added now to the pyramid of praise for his success in steering America away from the pitfalls of war.

Mr. Dulles was a humble man. Circumstance and training cast him in his historical role. A few other men might have done better, but most would not have done as well.

Few of us know what life will demand of us. Greatness is not limited to global responsibilities. The essential in the American scheme of things is to be found anywhere people are.

For example, in recent days, our own community lost two businessmen and a piano engineer. "Michigan John" Steinbach, widely known owner of the Michigan Auto Parts, and Ulric G. Stearns, local paint store owner, had played important roles in the local business economy for a number of years. Both were taken from us during their sixties.

Joseph Klepac, who is given credit for leading the industry into manufacturing the small piano, was claimed at the age of 80. During his lifetime he had found outlet for many ideas that resulted from his fertile mind and sound early training.

This reflects the true greatness of America. We continue to develop men and women who can fill the various niches of living and provide that extra energy that has successfully carried us over the obstacles fashioned by ignorance and tyranny.

Useful citizenship is one of America's primary aims. The degree of that usefulness often is not recognized until death inter-

# Nebraska High School Students Write of the Value of Rural Electrification

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the Nebraska Rural Electric Association, in cooperation with power systems in my State, recently sponsored a contest for high school students. Students wrote on the value of rural electrification to the home and community.

Under leave to extend my remarks by including material in the Appendix of the Record, I submit four of the winning essays. I believe they give an interesting insight into the value of the rural elec-

tric program through the eyes of our Nation's young people:

ESSAY BY CARLYN HODDE, 16, GRANT, NEBR.

Electricity means progress in today's living. It has made our world a better place in which to live. With the use of electricity, the housewife saves many steps and hard work. For the farmer, much of the back-breaking hand labor is saved with the use of electricity.

It has made the home healthier through pasteurization of milk. With electricity, we are able to have pressurized water systems allowing us to have modern and sanitary bathroom facilities. It also gives us a faster and more effective way of fighting fires. Air conditioners keep the room free of dust and keeps the humidity at a comfortable and healthy standard. Heating with electricity is modern, healthy, and convenient. It is controlled automatically thus lessening the household chores. Electricity enables us to have a proper lighting system which is very important to prevent eyestrain.

The home and farm has also been made safer through electricity. The electric lights are much safer than the old gas and kerosene lamps. Gas and kerosene lamps were

a fire hazard.

Convenience is another contribution of electricity. In the modern age with a push of a button a whole house can be lighted, while back in the days of no electricity, fueling and cleaning of lamps were necessary and only a small amount of light was produced. Outside lights now enable the farmer to finish his chores after dark.

Electricity saves the farmer time and hard labor. With all the electric tools, he can repair his machinery in the time it would take him to disassemble it and take it to town to be repaired. This also saves money, for with the use of electric tools and equipment the farmer can construct many labor-saving devices. Without this, the cost of purchasing the factory-made items would prohibit these conveniences. An electric welder is another essential item on the farm. A farmer can make and repair machinery with little effort and time and at a minimum of expense.

With irrigation, a farmer can increase the yield of his crops, making farming a more profitable occupation. This especially is of great value to the smaller farmers who have a limited amount of acres. Grain dryers enable the farmer to get his crop ready for storage thus conquering the problem of storing wet grain. Electric fences are more effective and convenient than an ordinary fence. Electric chicken and pig brooders are economical and safe since they eliminate the fire hazard. Electricity enables the farmer to produce grade A milk for marketing with the use of electric milking machines and milk coolers.

The housewife enjoys many electrical conveniences which without electricity would be impossible. The family laundry is no more a drudgery. With the turn of a dial the work is completed. Weather conditions mean little on washday with the modern clothes dryer. Home freezers allow the housewife to serve nutritious food all year around. All the other appliances add much enjoyment to a housewife's chores.

All these conveniences give the farm family more time for pleasure. Television brings to the family both pleasure and education. What more could a family treasure than pictures of their times together? This showing is made possible by a movie projector.

ing is made possible by a movie projector. Electricity has modernized the rural areas. It can well be said that rural electrification has been one of the greatest aids to the farmer. No longer is there so great a difference between the farmer and his city cousin. Both can enjoy and profit from many of the same things. All this showing that we can live better electrically.

ESSAY BY JAMES L. JORGENSEN, 16, PAXTON, IND.

In this age of jets and the atom, people often speak of the wonders it has created. Little do they realize that a power of as much, if not more, importance is at work right under their noses. This power I am speaking of is electricity.

People nowadays seem to take this electrical energy as a matter of fact thing. I am sure that all elders and middle-aged people of our communities can remember when all of the homes were lighted by gas lamps and fireplaces. I can even remember the gas lamp myself. If electricity were now being used only to light our homes at night, it would be "worth its weight in gold." People don't seem to realize how much time they spend after the sun goes down just sitting in their own homes and enjoying a period of leisure. If we had to go to bed when the sun went down, our whole social atmosphere would change completely. Television, radio, theater, movies, and many other forms of daily entertainment would be completely imposible, if it were not for electricity.

Work on the farm has been made, faster, easier, and more efficient by electricity. First of all, without the electric spark created by our sparkplugs, none of our modern trucks, tractors and pickups would even run. If a piece of machinery is broken, it can be quickly and efficiently repaired by an electric arc welder. 'Such things as electric milkers and electric brooders for chickens have made the care of livestock almost a chore that can be done by children. As I sit writing this essay, an electric egg washer is cleaning our eggs. A job that previously took an hour a day is done by this electric washer in about 15 minutes.

In our communities, electricity is making progress go forward at a rapid pace. Small local factories near my home make small electrical condensers. Not only does electricity help run the factory, but it also plays an important part in the use of the product made by this factory. Employment in this industry has given livelihood to many families, who might have otherwise been unemployed.

Housewives should stop for 5 minutes sometime, and try to name all the conveniences made possible in their homes by electricity. Washing machines, dishwashers, irons, vacuum cleaners, and countless cooking utensils are run by electricity. Electricity has given them leisure time that they would not have had otherwise. Homemaking is now easier and well done because of electricity.

Benjamin Franklin, the discoverer of electricity, gave to America one of the greatest gifts possible. The progress of this Nation has been put many years ahead of what it would have been had we been without electricity. The farmer especially should be thankful for his discovery. We in the United States have the greatest farm system of the world. Without electricity it would be entirely impossible. Electricity has had a major hand in creating us to what we are, and without it we would be completely lost.

ESSAY BY RICHARD GUDGEL, AINSWORTH, NEBR.

Since July of 1951, life has changed greatly for the better in our community due to electrical appliances which were impossible before then. In that month we got a source of electrical energy as modern as you would find in the largest city of the world.

I think one of the most important of the benefits we get from our local rural electrification association is the electricity in our local grade school. Before REA came, movie projectors, modern lighting, phonographs, and other such devices were impossible. Now our school district has all of these.

Without electricity we would be able to have no modern means of refrigeration; there would be no good means of pumping water for household purposes as well as for live-stock. Another thing that is very useful on the farm is the electric fencing unit. This serves either as an exceellent temporary fence or as a good permanent fence at a small percentage of the cost of a barbed wire fence.

In the spring the electricity is used extensively in infra-red heat lamps. Many times we have to get up at night and bring a calf in that is almost frozen to death. Sometimes they seem almost dead; yet after a while with the heat lamp, they get up and try to run around the floor. This lamp is also used for brooding of little chickens. This is much safer and more economical than any other means.

As mentioned earlier, modern plumbing is found in about all the homes of this community that have electricity. Without electrical energy the modern bathroom would be hardly known to our area. This is a lot more sanitary than the old style outdoor toilet.

Anothing thing that came along with electricity that is found very useful on our farm as well as many others in our locality is the milking machine. This appliance is much easier in most cases and more economical in the long run than hand milking. It is also easier on the cows. Some of our neighbors find the REA very useful in the pasteurization of milk. The electric cream separator is another machine connected with dairy products that is used extensively in our community. It is a labor-saving device for the operator as well as for the lady of the house, since most of them are self-washing.

In the summer time, or in any other time of year, a welder on the farm is found to be a very excellent piece of equipment. When you are out in the fields mowing, raking, plowing, or any other one of the many things connected with farming and ranching; it is a lot easier to come to the house and weld something together than to go to town after repairs.

To make a long story short—REA is the most wonderful thing that could ever come to a farm.

ESSAY BY RUSSELL FRERICHS, HILDRETH, NEBR.

Rural electrification in the home and community is the most useful and the most valuable accomplishment in the years past. We, as citizens of a growing and prospering America, are endowed with luxuries and a standard of living found nowhere else in the world. A major factor in this cultural development has been rural electrification.

It has long been known that electricity provides the lowest cost power for more purposes than all other sources of energy combined. It is for this reason that the benefits of rural electrification have been extended to millions of people. Many of us fall to realize just how valuable it is and how much it does for us. Through the ever increasing world of science we are able to discover hundreds of new things about electricity to lighten our work and brighten our leisure. The vast capabilities of electricity reach as far into the future as man's imagination.

Rural electrification has revolutionized the home and community in countless ways. Just a few decades ago a common source of light was a lamp or lantern. Now with new economical light bulbs, we can see better with less strain on our eyes. With all types of major appliances, the housewife can prepare meals with greater ease and convenience, more cheaply, and in a shorter time, than ever before was thought possible. With today's new modern sewing machines, a family can save on clothes bills which is so important in view of today's higher prices.

No more does a housewife have to slave on washday. With a flick of a button and a turn of a knob, the clothes are washed easier, faster and better for the housewife.

Millions of people owe their daily entertainment to TV. New forms of entertainment are gradually entering the scene, such as stereophonic high fidelity sound record-

Rapid strides are also being taken on the farm scene in the field of electricity. All of these advances lead to a safer and easier life for the farmer. A farmer now does less work, gets more done, and get its done in a shorter time. The scientific world is finding new ways to put electric motors to work for the farmer, thus accomplishing what formerly required hand labor. He can now protect his livestock and farm animals with better lighting and better heating systems and electric fences and home welding now enable the farmer to work more for himself and more economically than ever before.

Newer and better ways of harnessing electricity are created every day and are doing more work so we have more time to spend

with our friends and family.

Listed are only a few of the countless ways rural electrification in the past 24 years has revolutionized the home and community and will continue to do so in this day and age of the atom.

### Won't-Do Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following editorial from the Peoria (Ill.) Journal Star of June 10, 1959:

#### Won'T-Do Congress

Congress is repeating this year its well-known performance of ducking issues by doing virtually nothing.

Some issues are in effect sidestepped through resort to compromises which do not come to grips with problems. Often these are worse than doing nothing. They give the illusion of action while only postponing decisions.

We try to be realistic in appraising the work of Congress. We realize that no body of 534 individuals can be indifferent to the pressures of Washington, D.C., and constituents back home. But we are always hoping that they will rise above these pressures when the national need requires. The times when this happens are growing fewer and father between. Congressional action increasingly takes on the look of erratic patchwork, reflecting a crude balance of response to pressures.

See how foreign aid is handled. Congress is caught between the heavy pressures and, year after year, comes out with a compromise that simply postpones the making of a deci-

sion on a sane policy.

Labor reform, one of the Nation's most urgent needs, got the "do nothing" treatment last year and seems about to get it

again this year.

Congress is suffering from the malady of cumulative inertia. Less and less is it an effective instrument for positive action in any age of great stress. It has made a routine of the roundabout approach to national problems. Its results are watered-down bills, halfhearted measures, timid strides forward.

Genuine compromise often is the key to good lawrahking. But compromises which

cut the heart from issues simply constitute unrealistic failure to face issues.

Congress is inviting another strong man, like Franklin D. Roosevelt, to step in and make a rubber stamp of it.

# That "Wall" Again

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, it is unfortunate that so much of the Members' time has to be devoted to warmed-over measures which have been soundly defeated by the House on previous occasions. It would seem that we are to be confronted again with the Freedom Wall Monument, which not only has all of the objections that were raised when the measure was turned down by the House in the 2d session of the 85th Congress but, in addition, defeats the purpose of the resolution adopted by the American Legion at their national convention in Chicago in September 1958.

I trust the Members will read the following editorial from the Saturday, June 6, issue of the Evening Star as well as the American Legion resolution:

[From the Evening Star, June 6, 1959]

THAT "WALL" AGAIN

With a never-say-die spirit in accord with the principles it supposedly would symbolize, the so-called Freedom Wall, thought to have been buried at the past session of Congress, has been brought back to life by its sponsors. The project remains highly controversial, however, and Congress should see to it that any legislation passed contains adequate safeguards against unwise location, size, and design of the structure.

Although the purposes of the undertaking were praiseworthy, the House shelved the memorial bill more than a year ago after strong objections had been raised in Congress and elsewhere to the building of a huge walled enclosure adjacent to Arlington National Cemetery and the Marine Memorial. The final design of the shrine never was submitted to Congress or to Federal agencies concerned with protecting the Arlington end of the Mall axis against improper development.

If Congress now is to approve erection of a freedom memorial of any kind on the site originally chosen for the "wall," the legislation should make certain that (1) the project as finally planned has the unqualified approval of the Fine Arts Commission and the National Capital Planning Commission and (2) construction is delayed until all of the \$15 million or so to be sought by public subscription is in hand. Otherwise the Arlington hillside may be marred by a partly completed structure or by one not suitable for the site selected.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT AMERICAN LEGION NATIONAL CONVENTION, CHICAGO, SEPTEMBER 1-4 1958

Resolution No. 164 (Virginia)—Subject: "Enlargement of Arlington National Ceme-

Whereas it has been learned that unoccupted space for the burial of veterans and members of the armed services of the United States in Arlington National Cemetery is rapidly becoming exhausted, and is expected to be exhausted within a very few

years; and

Whereas the American Legion has a deep and profound interest in the continuation of honoring deceased veterans and members of the armed services with appropriate burials in Arlington National Cemetery, for as long a period of time as this can be made possible; and

Whereas approximately 20 acres of unoccupied Government-owned land that is suitable and appropriate for use as an extension of Arlington National Cemetery exists and adjoins this cemetery directly to the

north of the cemetery; and Whereas proposed legislation which would have authorized the erection of a large public monument or structure on this Government-owned land, adjoining the cemetery at its north boundary, was rejected the 85th Congress during its 2d session, in 1958, for reasons including the expressed interest of numerous Members of Congress in adding these lands to Arlington National Cemetery, and thereby pro-viding a much-needed extension to the cemetery: Now therefore, be it

Resolved, by the American Legion as-sembled in national convention, in Chicago, Ill., September 1-4, 1958, That the President and Congress of the United States be petitioned to authorize the enlargement of Arlington National Cemetery, and to make available for this purpose the Governmentowned land that is located to the north of the present north boundary of Arlington National Cemetery, and which is not now occupied, or such other Government-owned land adjoining this cemetery as may be un-

Wheat Program for 1960-61

occupied and is suitable for this purpose.

SPEECH

## HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 11, 1959

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 7246) to amend the Agricultural Act of 1939, as amended, the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, and Public Law 74, 77th Congress, as amended.

(Mr. GROSS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his re-

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

There must be good reason for the enactment of this amendment. The chairman of the Committee on Agriculture at first said this was inconsequential, this amendment offered by the gentleman from South Dakota, but it seems to me it has developed into a pretty good argument. I notice the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Agriculture is now making quite a fight against it despite the fact that it was not supposed to affect anybody or do anything. That seems to me to be a argument for the adoption of the amendment.

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Chairman, will

the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. COOLEY. It would have affected 237 people last year out of a total of 476,000. Why should we discriminate against 287 loans?

Mr. GROSS. I am in favor of putting this limitation on every bill just as fast as they come in here.

Mr. COOLEY. I say if you put it on every bill, even if you put a \$35,000 limitation on it, but you are not accomplishing anything. That is my point.

Mr. GROSS. Oh, yes, you are accom-

plishing something.

You are knocking Mr. COOLEY. these 287 people out of a loan.

Mr. GROSS. Would not the gentleman say that is some accomplishment? Mr. COOLEY. No.

Mr. GROSS. The gentleman from Iowa thinks it is and feels that we ought to put a similar limitation on every bill that comes in.

Why I Want To Go to College

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

### HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD. I include the following testimonial to the fine character of American youth in a prizewinning paper in the national Thom McAn leadership awards program of Vaira Haase, of 382 Arundel, St. Paul, Minn. Vaira ranks second in the senior class of Mechanic Arts High School and was given superior ratings by the faculty in every area. For her efforts in this contest Vaira Haase will receive a college scholarship and an all-expense trip to Washington, D.C.; and New York City.

> WHY I WANT TO GO TO COLLEGE (By Vaira Haase)

My family and I are displaced persons from Latvia. In Latvian there is a special word for school—"gaismas pils," meaning "castle of light." Ever since I was little I have thought of education in this way. It is a castle where prejudices and misconceptions are banished by the light of tolerance and truth. A place where people gain an understanding of life's problems and an appreciation of life's joys.

My family has taught me this viewpoint. In our country my mother was a teacher, my father a storekeeper, and my uncle a school principal. Now they all earn a living as janitors; their years of schooling no longer have any practical value. Yet it is from them I have learned the real meaning of education.

When I see my mother's tired face relax as she opens a book, or hear my father and his friends heatedly discussing ideas of right and wrong, I can see the continuing enriching effect education has had on their lives. I then agree wholeheartedly when I hear my uncle say, "We may have left everything behind, but we still have our two greatest possessions-the knowledge we have acquired and the desire to learn more."

I realize that not everything about education is as beautifully idealistic as this statement. The pursuit of knowledge can often seem a useless rat race filled with hard work, a shortage of funds, unfair professors, and dull classes. During my college years there will probably be times when I share

this outlook. But I am sure that the rewards will be well worth the sacrifices.

One of these rewards is the opportunity to work in my chosen field, teaching. As a high school English teacher I would work with the two things I love best-books and people. I can imagine no career more satisfying than that of helping others to gain knowledge. But before I can do this, I must acquire a college education myself.

There is another important reason for my ambition toward college. In a sense, I feel that I owe America a debt. The ideals of her leaders and the kindness of her people have given my family and me the right of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." The best way I can repay this debt is by being a good and useful citizen. A career in the American educational system would enable me to do this.

Of course education offers great practical rewards. An educated person has greater financial security and a higher standing in the community. The college years give the student an opportunity to meet new people and make new friends.

But these things seem like frosting on the cake when compared to the satisfaction of working at a job one loves and the joy of enriching one's life through knowledge.

Lewis L. Strauss: Outstanding Record of Public Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, it is a matter of real personal satisfaction to see so many fine tributes appearing in the Nation's press to Lewis L. Strauss for the more than 30 years outstanding service he has given to his fellow Americans. The Independent-Press-Telegram newspaper of Long Beach, Calif., on June 8 contained one such fine editorial as follows:

STRAUSS REJECTION WOULD BE VICTORY FOR ART OF SMEAR

Controversy such as that now raging around the head of Lewis L. Strauss is nothing new in the life of the former Atomic Energy Commission chairman. Because he is an outspoken and courageous man and has an irritating way of being right, he has made some fierce enemies, some of whom are doing everything in their power at this time to torpedo his appointment as Secretary of Commerce.

Unfortunately, much of what is being said against Strauss is in a personal vein. Some of those against whom he has successfully prevailed in his effort to keep the United States ahead in the nuclear race would give anything for his scalp. Several Members of the Senate appear determined to give it to

For the sake of fairness the public should be reminded of some of the facts of Strauss' outstanding record of public service. Unlike some of his hottest critics, he is no newcomer on the scene of public affairs.

Strauss was Herbert Hoover's secretary when Hoover served as head of the U.S. Food Administration. In 1919 Strauss was on the staff of the U.S. delegation which helped arrange armistice terms with Germany. He was appointed to the Atomio Energy Commission under Harry Truman in 1946 and was President Eisenhower's liaison

adviser on atomic energy in 1953 and served 5 years as chairman of the AEC.

In large measure the development of the hydrogen bomb, the free world's greatest deterrent to war with Russia, can be credited to the tenacity and the wisdom of Admiral Strauss, who advised President Truman to go ahead with the project when others held back. Truman valued his advice and in retrospect wrote: "Your counsels have been invaluable."

During that controversy, Strauss' opponents expressed doubts as to the feasibility of the hydrogen bomb. Some warned hysterically that the bomb might explode the atmosphere, erase human life around the globe, and blow hunks out of the world. Strauss commented: "Extreme statements are not warranted by the facts as I know them." The project proceeded. Not long afterwards the Russians tested a thermonuclear device of their own.

It was Strauss who conceived the idea of developing a detection system that told the United States when Russia had broken into

the realm of nuclear weapons.

Strauss is now serving a recess appointment as Secretary of Commerce. He happens to be, among other things, a competent business man. A majority of the Senate Commerce Committee have given him their backing. A minority have repaid his good service with the baseless charge that he is a liar and lacks integrity.

If Strauss' appointment is rejected, it will

be a triumph for the art of smear.

# The Honorable Roland V. Libonati, Member of Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI

OF ILLINOIS -

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. KLUCZYNSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a resolution adopted at the Cook County Council meeting of the First Division, Department of Illinois, the American Legion, paying tribute to the Honorable ROLAND V. LIBONATI, for his untiring efforts in behalf of the veterans, and also to reiterate their love and affection for him, which was also displayed in the recent issue of the National La Societe des 40 Hommes et 8 Chevaux magazine:

THE HONORABLE ROLAND V. LIBONATI, MEM-BER OF CONGRESS

Whereas the Forty and Eight national organization in its recent issue of their national publication has seen fit to pay honor and respect to a great Legionnaire, the Hon-orable ROLAND V. LIEONATI, for his untiring efforts and interest in the youth program;

Whereas La Societe des 40 Hommes et 8 Chevaux has made it a practice in their monthly publications to honor outstanding veterans who have served not only the American Legion, but other organizations in the

Welfare of veterans; and

Whereas a group of members of the American Legion have taken notice of this recent issue of the national publication of the Forty and Eight paying respect to a member of Federal Post, No. 437, of the second district, first division, Department of Illinois, feel that this publication which is nationwide should not go unnoticed, and for this reason feel that we should join with them in behalf of the American Legion to reaffirm our love for this outstanding veteran, and his continuous interest in the American Legion at all levels, and more particularly in the child welfare and youth programs, for which he has donated a most precious tract of land, consisting of 188 acres, situated in Coloma, Wis., for the children of all communities; and

Whereas each year, through this generous idea, born in the mind of this outstanding veteran, many blind children, including both boys and girls, spend several weeks enjoying the comforts and associations of nature, and the training provided through this great camp, and because of his intense interest in children and the child-welfare program, we request that the entire membership of Federal Post and first division join in the sentiments of paying respect and honor to a great veteran, public servant, and official for his love for the children of all communities in the American Legion; and

Whereas the Honorable ROLAND VICTOR LIBONATI, for 36 years a member of Federal Post No. 437 of the American Legion, has recently been elected to represent the people of the Seventh Illinois Congressional District, in the Congress of the United States;

Whereas Comrade LIBONATI, when he was but 17 years of age, enlisted in, and served his country as a member of the Armed Forces of the United States during World War I, and was honorably discharged therefrom shortly following the Armistice of November 11, 1918, as a lieutenant; and

Whereas Comrade LIBONATI also served the citizens of the State of Illinois, as a member of its house of representatives in the 57th, 58th, and 62d sessions, and as a member of its senate for a period of 16 years, from 1942 to 1958, 4 sessions of which service he was the minority whip, and during his entire period of service in such assembly, demonstrated his intense interest by sponsoring and passing legislation for the benefit of veterans and the solution of their problems; and

Whereas Comrade LIBONATI further demonstrated his interest in the children of servicemen and other youths, by founding and building the American Boys Camp at Coloma, Wis., starting in 1937 and completing the same in 1948. Many improvements have been added since by sponsors and friends. He made it available to the Past Commanders Club of the American Legion. Each year 800 children attend this

The superintendents of the State institutions throughout Illinois, the principals of the schools, the heads of the relief and charity organizations and councils, the judges of the correctional courts and boys' homes, and the Legion posts select the indigent handicapped orphans and so-called underprivileged and exceptional children to

attend this camp.

The funds for this purpose are raised by Legionnaires, political leaders and businessmen, together with ample contributions by the Chicago American, a metropolitan newspaper outstanding in its support of the Legion's Americanism programs, the Woman's Auxiliary of the American Legion, the Past Commanders Club, the Past Presidents Club and the State of Illinois.

This Legion program of child welfare, born of his mind and supplemented with action, is one of the outstanding successful efforts to combat child delinquency in America, giving even so-called incorrigibles a new hope in life.

Comrade LIBONATI through the many years of his respected service has always been in the forefront, championing the rights and privileges of "the little fellow," and made many powerful enemies doing so, without fear of the consequences to himself.

We are desirous of recording our high ap-preciation of the sterling character and accomplishments of our distinguished comrade through this testimonial and, thus, the esteem in which his fellow veterans hold him. We wish him the same successful service in Congress that he enjoyed in the State assembly: Now, therefore, be it Resolved, That the members of Federal

Post No. 437, in regular assembly on the 19th day of May 1959 do hereby commend this outstanding Legionnaire, citizen, and public servant for his interest in humane kindness, the American Legion, its programs, and for his constant interest for God and country, we adopt the above resolution for his untiring and unselifish efforts in behalf of the youth of our country; and he it further

Resolved, That this resolution be for-warded to the second district council, and forwarded on to the first diivsion council for adoption and to be sent to the Congress of United States to be inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD to display to all concerned.

HERMAN HELFER, Adjutant, Federal Post. /

SAMUEL E. NEWEY, Commander, Federal Post. This resolution was adopted at a regular meeting of the second district council held on the 20th day of May 1959.

M. EUGENE FARRIS, Adjutant, Second District. JOSEPH P. SWEENEY, Commander, Second District.

This resolution was adopted at a regular meeting of the first division council held on Wednesday, June 3, 1959.

DONALD S. MACIEJEWSKI, Adjutant, First Division. JOHN L. PAUKSTIS. Commander, First Division.

# The Postmaster General Is Commended for Preventing Obscene Matter From Going Through the Mail

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. EDWARD H. REES

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I join millions of American fathers and mothers in congratulating Postmaster General Summerfield on his forthright and public spirited action in banning this book, called "Lady Chatterley's Lover," from the U.S. mails. This is in the highest tradition of the performances by our Postmasters General of their legal duty to protect the public by closing our great postal communications system to peddlers of smut

I have devoted much of my time and attention, during my entire service in Congress, to the maintenance of a clean mail postal system. To me, the most significant factor in the Postmaster General's action is his recognition of the underlying principle that the test of obscenity in matters of this kind is whether, in applying "contemporary community standards," the dominant theme as a whole appeals to prurient interests. Few if any Americans would

want to acknowledge that the moral standards of their community are such as to condone use of the mails to distribute this type of book. The subject of the Postmaster General's ban is so vile and filthy—so altogether repulsive—as to offend the sense of decency of every right-thinking American. A calculated appeal to immorality of this kind cannot be glossed over and made less lewd by any artistry of rhetoric or prose. It is a misuse of languages toward an end contrary to all the finer ideals and standards of civilized mankind.

The Postmaster General is to be strongly commended for his alert and effective action to protect the public by forestalling this latest effort to open the mails for traffic in obscenity, pornography, and other illegal matter. This book not only should be excluded from the mails; it should be banned from newsstands, stores, and all other places

of sale or distribution.

Facts About Amendments Which Would Make Wheat Bill Workable

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. ALBERT H. QUIE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, when H.R. 7246 was before the House, several Members, including myself, were not allowed to present our views on our amendments to this important legislation.

At this time, I would like to explain my amendments their effect, and the

reason behind them.

As a member of the Committee on Agriculture, I have devoted a great deal of thought and effort on the subject of wheat legislation. As the distinguished gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. Short] and I pointed out in our additional minority views, this bill does not provide the necessary legislative machinery to either implement an effective control of wheat production or to provide an acceptable choice to wheat farmers in the national referendum. We pointed out what we considered were, and are defects in this legislation.

These defects were and are:

First, That a 25-percent cut in acreage allotments for wheat, when coupled with payments in kind, simply will not cut into the excess availability of wheat in the market place.

Second. That the provision in the bill dealing with the control of acreage diverted from wheat was not effective.

Third. That the 15-acre marketing quota exemption, although reduced by the bill, leaves in effect a loophole which has caused an unwarranted shift of wheat production from the traditional wheat-producing areas to other less efficient areas and has resulted in the accumulation of some 600 million bushels of wheat by the CCC.

Fourth. That our agricultural history has been a sad testimonial to the fact

that acreage controls alone are not effective tools in controlling production.

Fifth. That the alternative of 50 percent of parity price supports offered wheat farmers in the referendum was offering a choice of price supports too low for our wheat farmers.

And sixth. That one referendum for / the 2-year period would be sufficient.

In order to correct what I sincerely felt were deficiencies in the bill, I prepared a number of amendments, some of which were read by the Clerk and summarily voted down by the House yesterday without the opportunity to be presented on their merits. My amendments were designed to accomplish the follow-

ing purposes:

First. To change the required amount of reduction in wheat acreage for 1960 and 1961 from 25 percent below the farm acreage 'allotments computed under present provisions of law to 30 percent. The most optimistic estimate of a 25-percent cut in wheat acreage was a 20-percent cut in wheat output. Some experts predicted only a 7-percent cut in wheat output. The Department of Agriculture predicted that wheat output would be reduced by less than 15 percent. In order to do a really effective job of cutting production, a 30-percent cut seemed absolutely necessary.

Another amendment dealing with the payment-in-kind section was designed to allow a wheat farmer to voluntarily retire all his wheat acreage allotment in return for payments in kind based on one-third of his actual annual produc-

tion.

However, in my bill, the 25 percent cut required by the bill would not be paid in kind because such payments in kind would only find their way back into the marketplace or into Government stocks. This is true due to the fact that the market can only absorb an estimated 1.08 billion bushels. In spite of reduction of wheat output under H.R. 7246, there would be more wheat available on the market than could be consumed.

Second. To prevent the use of the acreage diverted for wheat for raising other agricultural commodities which would create further problems, the next amendment would impose marketing penalties on the entire wheat production of the farm if any crop is raised on the acreage diverted from wheat production, or if such diverted wheat acreage is used for grazing.

This amendment would deny price supports on any crop produced on the farm in 1960 and 1961, if a wheat farmer grows a price-supported crop on the acreage diverted from wheat production. This would impose strict cross-compliance and prevent the use of former wheat acres for growing other crops.

Third. The next amendment was to repeal the 15 acres marketing quota exemption but allow all farmers the right to vote in the national referendum.

Fourth. Another amendment would direct the Secretary of Agriculture to make a thorough study of bushelage allotment for wheat; to report such findings and recommendations to the Congress by January 1, 1960. At this late date, bushelage controls could not be im-

plemented in this legislation, but a thorough study by the Department of Agriculture seemed to be in order.

Fifth. Lastly, to offer wheat farmers a choice more in line with that offered corn farmers last fall, this amendment would have given the Secretary discretion to set the choice for free production at not less than 55 percent of parity, a level more justly related to feed grains.

In conclusion, I regret that my amendments were not given an opportunity for debate, and I sincerely hope that the other body and the conferees on the bill will give each of them serious consideration.

Essays by Nebraska High School Students on the Value of Rural Electrification

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON, GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks and include material in the Appendix, I submit four winning essays by Nebraska high school students on the topic of the value of rural electric service to homes and communities.

This contest was sponsored by the Nebraska Rural Electric Association in cooperation with power systems in the State. These essays show the real impact of electricity in rural areas over the past quarter century. I commend them to my colleagues:

ESSAY BY SUZANNE HESS, 15, GORDON, NEBR. Rural electric service is the key to rural

Rural electric service is the key to rural happiness and prosperity. It's the key that unlocks an invisible force to travel from the powerplant to our homes and our community and to completely change our lives from that of our forefathers.

Rural electric service has helped us advance to a higher standard of living. It has unlocked the door from a life that was a struggle for existence to a life where we can do our jobs better, faster, more efficiently, and is making us happier and better rural citizens of America by helping us to make our homes better for a higher standard of living.

I am only 15, but the imprint of the days when there was no rural electricity in our community is still in the back of my mind. The old pitcher pump in the kitchen, the outdoor plumbing, and the old teakettle we used for heating water have been replaced with water pumps, hot water heaters, modern plumbing, and electric appliances of all kinds. Every year we find new uses for electricity and its many servants.

Rural electric service has made a real difference in the life of our family and community and we are grateful for it. On the farm and ranch, electricity has become a very important part in the planting, irrigating, and harvesting of the crops; the raising and feeding of livestock; and the raising and cooking of foods for our own existence.

Rural electric service has saved the lives of many a small new born calf by sending electricity for heatiamps. The small, new born depends upon electric service all through his life. He depends upon rural electric service for electricity to run the electric pumps for water. The milking ma-chines, the electric lights, the cream separator, the electric grain cleaner, and the electric pumps aid the farmer in his success of maintaining a profitable farm.

The housewife puts her trust in the rural electric service for electricity to help her maintain a pleasant, comfortable, and happy With the many electrical devices and the rural electric service, she can do her cooking, sewing, house cleaning, and entertaining in a more efficient manner than her grandmother ever could.

The whole family benefits from the rural electric service—not only for the things mentioned above, but for their own enter-tainment, comfort, and pleasure. For with-out their service there would be no tele-vision, radio, electric fans, electric blankers, or other electrical annielectric shavers, or other electrical appliances we use and enjoy.

Rural electric service helps us become better citizens in our community and as a result improve our community, for it gives us the time and the electrical power to do the things that will make our community better. Rural electric service is an important factor in rural education because it furnishes power to rural schools and churches that would not otherwise be equipped with elec-

tricity or the conveniences it brings.
Our rural happiness and prosperity does depend upon the rural electric service. The value of electrical service is so great that it serves as an essential element in our Nation's progress, the success of our rural community and our own happiness.

ESSAY BY GERALD SCHAPMANN, TILDEN, NEBR.

Without electricity we would be at a loss as to what we should do to perform the daily tasks we take so often for granted due to electricity. I often wonder just what people would do if without warning the electricity would be shut off. There would be no lights to illuminate our homes in the midst of darkness, there would be no electric ranges to cook the victuals we eat, and the conveniences of the normal rural home would be an obscure dream of many housewives.

Electricity has other uses besides those of making life easier and more convenient for the rural people of our community. brings entertainment and valuable information to the farmers. Television provides fine entertainment of any type for people. It brings important world happenings right into your living room on film. The weather forecasts are sometimes very important to farmers in the wintertime because of their Warnings of severe storms in the immediate vicinity. Also in the summertime tornado warnings are very important, not only to farmers but to anyone who happens to be in the tornado's destructive path.

There are many aspects of the value of rural electrification in our home. For instance, electricity has made it possible for farmers to cool and store their meat and vegetables in the home. The invention of the refrigerator and food freezer has done a great deal to provide the farmer with fresh frozen vegetables and meat any time that he wishes. The housewife of the modern day has a much more leisurely day than the housewife of a century ago. Today, thanks to electricity, a housewife has many modern conveniences. There is the automatic washer and dryer to do the washing and drying automatically with a little assistance from the woman of the house. Then there is the electric stove, a great invention, to save many long, weary hours of standing and cooking a single meal. With this invention, all a housewife has to do is put the planned meal into the overn, turn one or two dials, and procede with any other duties she might have to perform. When the proper time comes for the meal to be taken out a buzzer

rings as a reminder to her that the food is done. There are many more inventions made possible by electricity that are too numerous to mention which save the modern housewife

many long hours of hard work.

Besides being a great helper to the housewife, electricity is a valuable assistant to the farmer. It makes possible the pumping of fresh, clear water to the family and also to the livestock of the farm economically. Electric pumps have also made possible irrigation wells, and as a result farmers are able to produce more abundant crops. All in all the value of rural electrification in our home and community is immeasurable in terms of money or any other tangible

ESSAY BY JUDY STUTE, HAIGLER, NEBR.

Electricity. Electricity. What does the word mean to you? To everyone the meaning is a little different but all meanings contain a common idea; electricity is a modern aid to man.

To the scientist, electricity is a current of tiny particles or electrons. It is a form of energy used to aid man for today and the future.

To the medics, electricity means a new aid in the struggle for better health. Electrocardiographs, arc-lights, X-ray, and many other devices are some form of electricity. With these modern electric machines and devices, man's health will im-

To the housewife, it is her environment, her servant, her friend. It is her environment because within the boundaries of her home, electric appliances are there at her disposal. Her home may be lighted and heated with electricity. The entertainment, television, electric organ, radio, or phonograph, is available through electricity. Electricity is her living and useful environment.

It is her servant and friend. Because of electric appliances, a housewife's chores are now on the push-button order. Food preparation and housecleaning have been made a great deal easier. For instance, potatoes and carrots can be peeled on a special peeler; the electric mixers blend batters and mix or whip potatoes with little effort; and a timer on the stove will turn heat off or on at the correct time. The dishwasher does her dishes, and automatic washer and dryer may do her laundry. In her housecleaning, an electric vacuum for rugs, floors and dusting and a waxer for the shining of her floors help Yes, truly electricity is her friend and servant in a hundred more ways.

On the farm, the meaning is similar-an aid, a different kind of friend to each farmer.

To the dairy man, electricity helps in a different way than for the rancher or farmer. Electricity helps the dairyman milk the cows, feed them, and keeps milk and equipment sanitary.

The rancher may have an electric pump for stock, tanks, electric brander, electric dehorner, and electric fences.

And the farmer uses still different means of electricity. He may have electric drill, electric welder, electric air-pump, and many other devices that aid him in his work.

To each one of these people, as well as everyone, electricity has a different meaning and a different value. The value of elec-tricity extends into the future—a better fu-ture. To the medics, one more life and more in the future. To the housewife, better living conditions and more time to spend with the family. To the rancher, dairyman and farmer, the value is better products for the

Electricity is part of the past, but still plays an important role in the present, and will play a larger one in the future. Electricity is man's modern servant.

ESSAY BY BILL RIGGS, STRATTON, NEBR.

In America today, millions of farm boys have never experienced bumping their heads on a stable beam in pitch darkness. Nor do millions of farm girls experience bending over a washboard. America has become an electrified country. In 1952, 80 percent of the Nation's farms were served by electricity. Today that figure is higher. Only yesterday most farms in America were lighted by oil lamps and lanterns, with mechanical power supplied by gasoline engines.

you have ever seen electricity come to the farm for the first time, you know what immediate convenience even a few electric blubs bring. I remember in May 1950, the REA lines were strung to our farmstead. My brother and I watched with fascination as linemen put in poles. The day they set poles in our yard was a farm holiday. Soon our house was wired and we had electricity. We got our "juice" about 6 p.m. one evening as we sat down to supper. It was indeed a great thrill to have this thing called elec-

This was only the beginning. Electricity brought new ways of working and living, just as it has to so many others. It brought good lighting to the home and farmstead. A home well lighted is much easier to keep clean and there is less danger of accidents. Therefore electricity has benefited our fam-

ily's health and safety.

If one should consider good light on the basis of farm income, one would be surprised at results. With it one can do more work faster and easier. A farmer can spread his work over more hours and do some necessary jobs without waiting for daylight. Many farmers use light to increase quantity and quality of farm production-by lighting henhouses in winter or lighting the mlikhouse so that he can maintain the cleanliness necessary for high grade milk. The farmer and housewife of modern America would be lost without their electricity. A good example of this was illustrated this spring by a freak ice and snow storm before Easter. Everywhere in our area farmers and townsfolk alike were without electricity for the first time in years. I know from my own experience it was no fun. There's just no comparison between candles and electric lights. We found it no little chore milking 17 cows by hand and turning the separator by hand. After 2 days without electricity, matters became quite serious. The deepfreeze was in the danger zone and some head of cattle were bawling for water. Only in an emergency such as this did I realize what a great part electricity plays in my

To show how dependent the housewife is on electricity, let us take a tour of the house. First the kitchen, here are electric range, refrigerator, deepfreeze, plus many other small appliances. In the workroom are electric washer, dryer, iron, sewing machine, and hot-water heater. In the dining room are lamps, radios, TV sets, clocks, and fans, not to mention light fixtures and out-Bedrooms need outlets for electric blankets, heating pads, and also for vacuum cleaners and waxers. Bathrooms are better lighted; you can actually see yourself in the mirrors to shave (electrically, of course), or apply cosmetics. Hallways, stairways, and porches are safer with ample light.

Electricity offers a farmer unmatched op-They are increasing producportunities. tion, improving health, saving steps, and providing fire protection. The average farmproviding fire protection. The average farmer uses electricity in all his farm buildings, especially the farm shop and pumphouse. Electricity has increased production on farms through pump irrigation in our community and increased farm incomes. Thus a new way of life has been brought to farm families by electricity.

# New Navy Era Begins With Sub Launching

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON, FRANK KOWALSKI

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. KOWALSKI. Mr. Speaker, when the Navy this week launched its first missile firing atomic submarine the *George Washington* at Groton, Conn., a new and most significant step was taken for the defense of our Nation.

If we are correct in our basic thinking that nuclear retaliatory forces deter war and sustain this world in peace, then the *George Washington* and its sister submarines yet to come off the ways possess tremendous potential for destruction or for peace. It is my fervent hope that the creative genius which gave us this devastating power to destroy will help us to use its terrible potential for peace.

Believing that it will be of interest to my colleagues in Congress, I include at this point in the Record the story of the launching of the George Washington by Steve Tillman, associate editor of the Army-Navy-Air Force Register:

New Navy Era Begins With Sub Launching (By Steve Tillman)

One tends to visualize the Navy in terms of fast aircraft carriers ranging the seas of the world, jet planes, and silhouettes of gray-hulled ships at sea with guided missiles pointing to the sky ready to spring into action.

But there is something new coming into the Navy. It is the missile firing atomic submarine. The first, the George Washington, was launched this week at the closely guarded yard of Electric Boat Division of General Dynamics at Groton, Conn.

The George Washington is the symbol of the new partnership the Navy is building between two of the most revolutionary technical developments of today, the nuclear powered submarine and the ballistic missile. This weapons system, unique in concept, will have a startling impact on naval strategy of the future.

This week will be a proud one for Texasborn Rear Adm. William Francis Raborn, Jr., for he is generally credited with having fathered what is taking place this week. At the beginning many of the Pentagon planners argued that the proposed weapons system was impossible, but Naval Operations Chief Adm. Arleigh Burke gave the go-ahead signal and Annapolis 1928 graduate Raborn went ahead.

Deceptively mild blue eyed, gruff but imaginative, Raborn broke into the news way back in May 1954 when he and Rear Adm. John M. Hoskins emerged as the heroes of the carrier Bennington tragedy. The press at the time said that while Raborn insisted that he had taken no active part in the rescue work beyond directing operations, it appeared "from his modest recital that he was very much in command of the situation throughout." His decorations include the SSM, the BSM, two commendation ribbons.

So when he got his go-ahead signal from Burke, he recruited some of the country's most ingenious brains for his Polaris Steering Task Group and set out to "outimagine Jules Verne." Simply stated, the new weapons system will combine into a single entity the vast potential of concealment offered by an atom-driven underseas vessel and the devastating striking power of the most awesome weapons yet conceived by man.

This new addition to the fleet is a 380-foot, nuclear powered submarine of about 5,400 tons light and 6,700 submerged. Funds for construction of this and two sister ships were provided by Congress in a supplement to the 1958 fiscal year shipbuilding program. Nine FBM submarines have been authorized by Congress, the George Washington to be the sixth nuclear submarine launched by General Dynamics.

TWO CREWS

When the Polaris firing fleet ballistic missile submarines join the fleet they will initially be assigned two complete crews. This concept is to insure the submarines being maintained at sea for maximum periods when they become operational. The crews will be designated "Blue" and "Gold."

Previous experience with the U.S.S. Skate, the U.S.S. Nautilus and the U.S.S. Seawolf indicated one crew would be overtaxed to keep a Polaris submarine at sea as long as Navy plans will demand.

Skipper of the George Washington is Comdr. James B. Osborne. When the sister ships to the George Washington are launched, Comdr. Harold E. Shear will command the Patrick Henry and Comdr. William E. Sims will command the Theodore Roosevelt.

### Tribute to Late John Foster Dulles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, it is with deep respect that I submit to my colleagues the following resolution in tribute to the late John Foster Dulles. His untiring efforts and dedication to the cause of peace are the subject of the greatest gratitude and admiration of the people of the State of Florida, as is expressed for us all in this resolution:

House Concurrent Resolution 1946

Concurrent resolution expressing gratitude for the contribution of John Foster Dulles to the world and sympathy for his death

Whereas the late John Foster Dulles devoted his life to the service of his country and to the cause of peace and freedom; and

Whereas the late John Foster Dulles was truly a great American patriot and statesman; and

Whereas the people of the State of Florida are eternally indebted to this courageous and self-sacrificing citizen; and

Whereas, the people of the State of Florida wish to join with all the people of the United States of America in an expression of gratitude and in an expression of heartfelt sympathy to his family and loved ones for their great personal loss: Now, therefore, be it Resolved by the Legislature of the State of

Resolved by the Legislature of the State of Florida, That on behalf of the people of the State of Florida this legislature does commend and accord its heartfelt gratitude to John Foster Dulles for his superb and untiring efforts in the preservation of peace and the expansion and preservation of democratic and Christian ideals throughout the world, be it further

Resolved. That on behalf of the people of the State of Florida this legislature does express and convey to Janet Avery Dulles, widow of John Foster Dulles, its warm and deep-felt sympathy for her, and the world's great loss; be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be executed and dispatched to Janet Avery Dulies, widow of John Foster Dulles, to the President of the United States, and to each member of the Florida delegation to the Congress of the United States.

### A Salute to the City of Rochester

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. JESSICA McC. WEIS

OF NEW YORK

'IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 12, 1959

Mrs. WEIS. Mr. Speaker, this week the city of Rochester is celebrating its 125th anniversary, and I should like to take this opportunity to call to the attention of the Members of the House this memorable occasion.

Rochester has been my home for a great many years, and since last January, I have had the rare privilege of representing the people of a portion of the city in this Congress. I am extremely proud of both these facts, for I can think of no better place to live, and there are no finer people anywhere in this world of ours.

The first permanent settlement of Rochester, on the banks of the Genesee Falls, was established in 1812, but the city was not incorporated until 1834, and it is this event which is being celebrated this year.

In the past century and a quarter, the tiny community of 1834 has grown to a bustling metropolitan area, with the population of Greater Rochester now pushing 600,000. During this period the people of our city have prospered beyond the fondest hopes of those courageous early settlers.

The city is today world renowned as a great cultural center, and its colleges and universities are recognized as being among the finest in America. Who, for example, has not heard of the Eastman School of Music, or the University of Rochester School of Medicine?

But not only is Rochester known as a center of education and the arts. It is one of our great industrial areas, with scores of prosperous firms where the highly skilled workers turn out some of the very finest precision equipment. Eastman Kodak and Bausch & Lomb Optical Co. are but two of the many firms whose products are respected throughout the world for their quality craftsmanship.

More important than all of this, however, is the civic spirit which permeates the entire community—a dynamic, unifying spirit which sweeps aside factionalism, petty rivalry, and personal ambition and channels the myriad resources of Rochester and its citizens into the struggle for community progress and prosperity.

It is this spirit which has built the schools, the hospitals, and the beautiful public parks. It is this spirit which last month raised \$4½ million for the Community Chest. It is this spirit, I submit, which indelibly marks Rochester as one of the truly great cities of America.

Mr. Speaker, during this, its 125th anniversary, I ask all of the Members of the House to join with me in saluting the

city of Rochester.

### Annual Questionnaire

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, each year since first coming to the Congress I have sent out a questionnaire in which I ask the people of the Sixth Congressional District of Florida to let me have their views on some of the matters which will come before the

Congress.

This year over 33,000 people took the time to send me their replies to these questions, and increase of 5,000 over last

year's total.

The newspapers of the district print the questionnaire, and ask their readers to fill in their answers, clip and mall it to me in Washington. Participation is also encouraged by our radio and TV stations. In addition to the newspaper copies, some spot mailing is done.

The total of 33,000 responses this year is most encouraging in that it indicates a great interest in national affairs by our people. By letting their officials know how they feel on these vital issues the people may be more properly represented

in government.

The results show a good cross section of public opinion, because of the makeup of the Sixth District of Florida. We have a large resort area along the east coast with people from all over the country now living there. There are several large industrial plants in the area, as well as the Indian River citrus area, truck farming, ranching, commercial fishing, and many other segments of the economic makeup of our great country. Rather than just an urban population, or just a rural population, or one of industry or a resort area, we have a portion of each, which makes up the Sixth District of Florida.

The questions and responses are as

follows:

1. Do you favor a cut in foreign aid spending? Yes, 81.9 percent; no, 18.1 percent.
2. Should Hawaii be granted statehood?
Yes, 89.1 percent; no, 10.9 percent.

3. Do you favor Federal aid for school con-

- struction? Yes, 45.2 percent; no, 54.8 per-, cent.

  4. Would you support legislation to regu-
- 4. Would you support legislation to regulate labor organizations? Yes, 94.8 percent; no. 5.2 percent.

(a) By requiring secret ballot for union elections: Yes, 92 percent; no, 8 percent.

(b) By publication of financial records:

Yes, 96.7 percent; no, 3.3 percent.

(c) By restricting secondary boycotts: Yes, 89.8 percent; no, 10.2 percent.

(d) By restricting jurisdictional strikes: Yes, 88.8 percent; no, 11.2 percent.

- 5. The President has requested an increase in the postal rates and the gasoline tax. Do you favor these tax increases? Yes, 24 percent; no, 76 percent.
- 6. Do you believe that the earning limitation of \$1,200 for social security should be removed? Yes, 74.2 percent; no, 25.4 percent.
- 7. The Government conducts medical research programs for cancer, heart disease, and affied health problems. Would you favor an increase in these programs? Yes, 78.5 percent; no, 21.5 percent.
- 8. Would you favor a cut in the Federal farm price support program? Yes, 85.3 percent; no, 14.7 percent.

### Hail and Farewell

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the U.S. Air Force will deactivate Palm Beach Air Force Base this month, after many years of operation in the Palm Beaches. The Palm Beach Post has expressed the feelings of many of the local citizens, in an editorial, which I would like to reprint in the Record today as a tribute to good community relations on the part of the U.S. Air Force, and the people of Palm Beach County:

#### HAIL AND FAREWELL

Citizens of the Palm Beaches today will hall their "power for peace" at an open house celebration at Palm Beach Air Force Base. And at the same time they will be saying farewell to the Military Air Transport Service wing which has been an integral and valued part of the community for the past 8 years.

It will be the final such event at Palm Beach Air Force Base, for inactivation of the base is to be completed on June 30 of this year. And another era will have passed into history.

We regret its passing, for more reasons than one. It goes without saying that having the MATS installation here was good business for the Palm Beaches. It was good business for America, too, which must be kept militarily strong if the dark forces of communism are to be kept at bay, MATS is an important adjunct of our Armed Forces, and the men who trained here learned their "trades" well under ideal conditions.

But most of all, we regret the loss of the fine young men and their families who have learned to call our community home. The superb leadership qualities of Col. George W. Peterson and his predecessors as base commander, as well as his staff officers, have been reflected in an organization that we as Americans can be proud of.

So today we salute Palm Beach Air Force Base—and everyone connected with it—with a note of sadness. But we suspect that we will have the pleasure of greeting a good many of them some time in the future, when they return to make their permanent homes in the Palm Beaches.

And in the meantime, we take comfort in the knowledge that they will continue to be our "power for peace" in other stations.

### Who's a Square?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES -Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, June 10, 1959, the New York World-Telegram and the Sun published the following column by a writer named Robert C. Ruark:

[From the New York World-Telegram, June 10, 1959]

ROONEY'S TROUBLE IS HE DOESN'T DIG JAZZ (By Robert C. Ruark)

I observed the feature space that old Sidney Bechet reaped when he died in Paris of cancer a bit back and I am betting that it is more space than Representative John J. Rooner, Democrat, of New York, will collect some distant day. And you had to be a real Jelly Roll Morton boy to dig old Sidney's tenor saxophone, because Sidney had been an expatriate for about 30 years on and off.

Representative ROONEY, obviously unhep, is now questioning a few thousand bucks allocated to sending Jack Teagarden, a trombone man from as far back as I can think, around Asia as a good will gesture to some of our bamboo-fluting brethren. It was supposed to cost \$66,350. It cost, as the demand extended for Jackson and combo to remain at popular request, \$102,000. The tour stretched out to 3 months and covered 17 countries.

I will not be square enough to hit this square ROONEY with any way-out allegations about \$12,500-a-year administration assistants or any details at all about the new Senate Office Building and all that wall-to-wall-rug jive or even about out-of-this budget front-porch administration or sneaky franking privileges or any of that other legislature jazz. Not me. Any Member of Congress with a conscience these days in light of farm subsidies is too far out for me to dig.

But I will guarantee that American jazz music has made us more friends and less enemies than anybody or anything we ever appointed to go out and spend money. I have seen Nat "King" Cole fill a 15,000-seat-capacity stadium at a \$10 top 3 times a day and turn 'em away in Australia. Sinatra has done the same thing. And these "cats" were charging money for music.

If I were to nominate somebody to the cultural side of Congress, apart from Congressman ROONEY, to whom I seem to have taken a violent dislike, I think I would nominate Jack Crystal of the Commodore Music Shop, which alas is no more. America fed off the solid jazz that Crystal and Commodore issued over the years and the careful selection thereof is almost our proud banner of the true American art form abroad.

Even back in the deep depression, when the horn-blowers didn't have it to eat, Crystal and Commodore were in there shoving out that "nonsquare" Americana which is sold abroad today as the only original American art form and which makes us appear abroad as something other than monsters.

You would be surprised what you hear over the local radio stations in little places as far out as Indian dukahs in the outback of Kenya, on the little tired radio stations of small towns in Spain, on the bigger things in England and France, on the tinny gramophones in Arab bazaars, from here to there to yonder.

You hear American jazz and a great deal of it is "stuff" that I've got in the house,

You might have to hide in an embassay in South America or get pelted in the streets, but you will still be able to hear Teagarden's slip horn or Satchmo's trumpet or Wild Bill's trumpet or the easy piano grace of Joe Bushkin.

I think we just better scratch Mr. ROONEY as a bad platter on this jazz bit and turn on somebody else who really "digs" how much solid good our solid American "jive" has done us abroad. And you got to admit I do travel.

Mr. Speaker permit me to first say that I do not have the slightest dislike for this fellow Ruark. I feel sorry for him. He is a gentleman as expertly misinformed and as expertly uninformed as a gentleman can be. He would not know that Nat "King" Cole, Satchmo Armstrong, Benny Goodman, and many others have played American music to foreign audiences all over this world without a nickel of the taxpayers' money for subsidy. And since I have never met Ruark in my life. I could not expect him to know that in my college days 35 years ago I played Dixieland jazz professionally and still enjoy hearing it if it is not too loud. But, Mr. Speaker, I do not intend to take up the valuable time of the House to debate with this gentleman or his expatriated friends for the reason that the very same newspaper the New York World-Telegram and the Sun, which carried his column on Wednesday, June 10, 1959, on the following day, June 11, 1959, published an editorial which very adequately answers him. It reads as follows:

#### RUARR'S DIXIELAND FIVE?

Our friend Bob Ruark, who occupies the southwest corner of this page more often than not, is a man of many facets and he has a host of friends, but sometimes he can stop us plumb in our tracks.

Taking his text from the recent death of Sidney Bechet, a jazz musician who dug "The Muskrat Ramble" the most, man, Herr Ruark held:

That Representative John Rooner was square (or is it more properly "a square"?) because he objected to the Government coughing up a few thousand bucks to send a gifted tail-gate man abroad to spread American culture, man.

That Sidney Bechet and other jazz musicians, including the trombone artist alluded to above, had done more to make Americans beloved abroad than anything.

We had always regarded Professor Ruark as a safe and sane "Dardanella" and "Japanese Sandman" man, man, and how he got tangled up with "When the Saints Go Marching In" may better be left for another But granting his taste in music is unassallable, we still entertain some nagging doubt regarding his geopolitical acumen.

True enough, American jazz is popular in quality deadfalls from Port Said to Snag, Yukon Territory, but this is not to say that Americans or American policies are likewise. It is too easy for people who have been in such places to imagine some happy raghead nationalist whistling "High Society" while slicing a Yank tourist into small, you'll forgive the expression, squares.

For ourselves, we hope Representative ROONEY and other tone-deafs will continue to worry about those tax dollars, and if Bob insists on exporting American culture, let him pass the hat among his jazz-loving friends.

Address by Harry Plissner at Mahatma Ghandi Memorial College in Udipi, Mysore State, India

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OW

# HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF PLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, one man who made up his mind to do what he could as an individual to promote better relations between Americans and other people of the world, is Harry Plissner. His letter writing and magazine exchange program has been of tremendous impact in other lands and during a personal visit which he made in India he addressed 1,500 members of the faculty and students of Mahatma Ghandi Memorial College, in Udipi, Mysore State, India. I submit to my colleagues Mr. Plissner's remarks on this occasion:

Ladies and gentlemen, as you know I have come to your country at the invitation of the Academy of General Education to accept an honorary fellowship. My wife and I have been in your country for the past 30 days and we have had an unusual opportunity to learn things about your country which an American seldom is fortunate enough to acquire. We have had at our service outstanding bankers, business and professional men who have taken a good deal of trouble to show us about. We have seen sights which are splendid for which you should be proud. We were also shown those areas for which you have given your keen regrets.

My appearance before you tonight was unknown to me 36 hours ago until this morning I was at a loss to what I would say that would be of interest to you. I was hesitant to speak to you about the things which I have observed, for I could not be very enthuslastic about your present nor about your future, except in the field of education which is superb. My reluctance has been dissipated and I believe I will have something of interest to tell you. My apparent boldness is due to the confidence which I now feel because I read a story in your newspaper this

Less than 2 days ago in the Capital City of my country, which is Washington, D.C., two Senators spoke out on a matter of great importance to your country. These Senators are Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Cooper. Senator KENNEDY is a likely possibility for President of our country and in the elections that will be decided in 1960; Senator Cooper is a for-

mer U.S. Ambassador to India.

Among other things, Senator KENNEDY said that unless India gets the kind of help from the West that China gets from Russia, the biggest nation in the uncommitted world may go under. He complained that only emergency help had been given to India and he proposed that long-term loans should be made, so that long-term economic aid could be arranged on the basis of India's needs and in conjunction with such countries as Britain, Germany, Canada, and Japan, make proportional sacrifices to meet those needs. This should be exciting news to the democratic people of India and it is exciting news to me. I was nearing the end of my visit to your country and I was heavy with doubts and misgivings. What I have seen of your economy and the living conditions of your masses made me depressed, altough there was no doubt that progress was being made. It seemed to me that the pace was not fast enough to overcome your most serious problems in any forseeable future.

In the area of big business. I have had an opportunity to assess the condition of labor in one of your largest industrial establishments which happens to be a Government operation. This establishment employs more than 5,000 people. While it may be a reasonable wage. I was surprised to learn that the average worker is paid Rs. 1-8-0 which is about 30 cents a day in our money. went by automobile and my wife and I had many opportunities to see your cities, towns, and villages. We covered 800 miles in Mysore State. We saw the workers processing jaggery in the canefields. We were told that nine men working as a crew could earn Rs. 17/- a day. We visited a school for the training of extension officers who would go into the villages and teach people how to increase their meager income by handwork. One of the crafts which were being taught by the few teachers was how to make paper by hand. The end result was so poor that I could not help inquiring from the headmaster of the school, "How much can a vil-lager earn by making paper by hand?" He replied, "12 annas in an 8-hour day," When he saw the look of amazement in my face, he said, "It will be better if idle hands earn something than nothing at all." To which I could not help but reply, "An idle man expects nothing and can be philosophical about his poverty, but to work for 8 hours and get nothing can make him a revolu-tionary." From this point the conversation led to the inevitable discussion of India and her problems which left me convinced that unless some massive capital investments were immediately forthcoming, the situation would grow worse.

Speaking as an ordinary American, with the background of an industrial and merchandising experience this is probably what I will tell my friends and neighbors when I return to the United States, "India is a country with problems beyond belief." These problems are so numerous that to tell of them in detail will take many hours. My general impression is that the people, whether they are in the higher brackets or in the depths of poverty are friendly and gentle. They have the know-how and the intelligence to be taught to do the work of the machine age if only they had the machines. Industrialization of the country would go a long way to bring them a far better way of living than they now possess. Four-fifths of the population live upon agri-culture when less than half would suffice. The result is that there are many idle hands in the small villages of which there are more than half a million. In the cities, employment opportunities are better but there, too. there are many unemployed. Getting these people to work at worthwhile tasks is the problem. Among the Indians themselves, there is a lack of capital which can be employed in massive enterprise. Nor does the government have the borrowing power to purchase abroad the machinery which is needed to industrialize the nation. To some degree, the United States has been helping in supplying loans but the need is so great. This is a country of almost 400 million people and the degree of industrial development is so low that any aid will have to be on a massive scale. We, in the United States must face the sad truth that if we are to have any hope that India will remain among the democracies, we will have to make the major contribution of providing the capital which will enable India to provide better living conditions for her people.

Ladies and gentlemen, that is what I will tell my friends and neighbors when I return

to the United States.

In conclusion, I wish to take this opportunity to thank all those who have helped to make my visit a memorable one and also to thank you gentlemen for coming here tonight to listen to me give my views during my stay in your country.

South Should Tell Its Side of Racial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, May 14, 1959

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I was very much impressed by two editorials ap-Pearing in the June 9, 1959, issue of the Florida Times-Union and I would like to call them to the attention of my colleagues.

I believe the editorial entitled "South Should Tell Its Side of Racial Story" very clearly brings out the erroneous impression held by many people not fully familiar with the circumstances which actually exist in the South and I am glad to have it inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

[From the Florida Times-Union, June 9, 19591

SOUTH SHOULD TELL ITS SIDE OF RACIAL STORY

The answer to the questions of whether Southern States should band together to explain its racial position to the rest of the country is an unequivocal "yes." And Florida should be in the ranks of those carrying the word to misinformed outsiders.

A good argument for this course of action can be found in the fact that President Eisenhower is scheduled to address today a national group on the subject of civil rights. The various movements that operate under the banner of civil rights help to put the South on the defensive and in a bad light, implying, when they direct attention to southern racial issues, that civil rights are held in low esteem here. By appearing be-fore the conference, the President adds the Weight of his office to that impression.

We already know that the South has the Pederal judiciary sitting in judgment against it. The latest reminder of this comes from Atlanta, where a U.S. court Ordered Atlanta to desegregate its public schools.

In addition there is that never-say-die organization, the NAACP, that keeps the fires of racial antagonisms well banked.

These efforts from the White House on down should be countered. The South's side of the segregated story should be sounded. We're not ogres down here, abusing Negroes at every turn, despite the image created by isolated incidents that are sensa-

It should be stated at this point that one of the best things the South can do to improve its public relations is to work diligently to eliminate the berserk actions by the mad-dog element in our midst. Such a group gives a distorted picture of our region, playing into the hands of those that oppose

There is a growing substantial Negro middle class, that is sharing in the fruits of southern progress. Good schools, neat homes, fine public facilities for Negroes and an enlarging Negro professional class attest to this.

If Southern States were to combine in a hard hitting public information campaign, as

suggested in the Florida Legislature-approved measure, then there is ample reason to think a dent will be made in the Paper

The fight in the second reconstruction is no more futile than it was in the first. Then there were two civil rights acts, the 14th amendment and other unfavorable measures to overcome. Eventually the radicals were deposed from political power and the South's will prevailed. History does repeat

Mr. Speaker, I feel that my colleagues will be interested in the editorial "Where Is the Political Support for Economy?" and particularly in reference to the comments of our distinguished colleague and my fellow Floridian from Jacksonville, the Honorable Charles E. BENNETT. I am sure that in addition to the reading of this fine editorial, we will all want to. read Mr. BENNETT's article in the June issue of Nation's Business.

The above-mentioned editorial fol-

[From the Florida Times-Union, June 9, 1959]

WHERE IS THE POLITICAL SUPPORT FOR ECONOMY?

Within the next few days, the first of a series of economic reports is expected from the special Cabinet committee set up by President Eisenhower to study inflation. Although the committee is headed by an astute politician, there has been no indication that the political purposes assumed by this group will include the foundation question of all concerning economy in gov-ernment. Vice President Nixon's committee on inflation will not answer this question:

Where within the body politic of this Republic can be found a substantial number of voters with a sustained interest in eco-

nomical government?

This is the \$64 question concerning inflation and possibly involving national survival. Although the question has not been answered, the closest thing to an answer comes from the pen of Congressman CHARLES E. BENNETT, of Jacksonville, writing in the June issue of Nation's Business, the magazine published by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

BENNETT says that all Congressmen are "in

a constant struggle to keep from becoming spendthrifts" because their supporters, all the while preaching economic commonsense, urge them to raid the public purse whenever local interests are involved. He recognizes that a politician must stay in office and therefore is a particularly vulnerable target. "So the primary source of economy must

be the public," BENNETT states.

True as this is in theory, it is hard to adjust to the political facts of life. The Republican Party is the party of economy or conservativism and the chances are that Representative BENNETT is aware of the declining population on that side of the aisle. President Eisenhower preaches economy for the Nation but his personal habits see very little of it practiced.

In a very real sense, the use of the negative word "economy," which carries visions of a confused Herbert Hoover holding tightly to the purse while thousands starved, does not adequately describe what America needs today. This country needs a large political force, conservative by nature, with a sufficlent understanding of the potential of the American economy to judge what the Nation can afford after defense and what it cannot

The United States, the richest nation in the world, would want no more to live too far below its means than too far beyond them. What is needed is political support for a government devoted to living within the Nation's income, spending neither too much nor too little.

Baccalaureate Sermon to the Graduates of St. Francis College, Brooklyn, Sunday, May 31, 1959, by Rt. Rev. Msgr. William F. Kelly S.T.D.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under the permission heretofore granted me by unanimous consent of the House, I include the following baccalaureate sermon delivered to the graduates of St. Francis College, Brooklyn, N.Y., at mass on Sunday, May 31, 1959, by Rt. Rev. Msgr. William F. Kelly, S.T.D.:

"Enough for you, that the Holy Spirit will come upon you, and you will receive strength from Him; you are to be my witnesses in Jerusalem and throughout Judaea, in Samaria, yes, and to the ends of the earth." Acts, I: 8. (Words of our blessed Lord to His apostles before His ascension into

heaven.)

My dear graduates, an heroic statue of the great Genovese explorer stands in front of the City Hall in Columbus, Ohio. The splendor of the monument awakens awe in one who sees the beauty of this gift of the citizens of Genoa to the citizens of Columbus. More enduring than the bronze are the words of Vittorio Partusio, the mayor of Genoa, inscribed on its pedestal: "Testimonial of the values and virtues which the figure and enterprise of the great son of Genoa has entrusted to the human conscience."

This message, admirably apt, may be appropriated for and by each of you today. very truth, you, as a symbol and as a figure, are a testimony of the highest virtues and noblest values which Christ entrusts to the human conscience. To achieve widespread recognition and acceptance of these unchanging values and virtues, we have constructed in America an educational enter-prise of which you are the products. This vast system, of unparalleled dimension and cost, is maintained to preserve, to cherish and to nourish our highest traditions and noblest possessions.

We, your parents and your fellow Catho-

lics, have labored all the night of the past to bring you into this day of triumph. whole Catholic community, in addition to the excellent Brothers of St. Francis, have diligently spent themselves to develop you into intellectually full-grown figures and self-sustaining symbols as well as authentic witnesses and convinced sharers of the teaching, of the life, and of the activity of Jesus Christ and His Catholic church.

It is our continuing prayer that you abide constant in the enterprise and exercise of your influence for the enlargement of the human horizon, for the enrichment of the human spirit, especially for the defense of human rights particularly of the poor and the downtrodden.

This day is memorable for each of us because it marks your personal triumph over great difficulties, your victory over the past, your entry into the future. It stands a splendid tribute to your perseverance. It encourages us because it testifies to your sense of values. We therefore salute and congratulate you. We charge you to go with God.

What is it, then, that we have produced of which you are the significant symbols today? Surely not a faceless graduate, as is whimsically featured on the cover of a current magazine, for such is the antithesis of what you are, of what you were educated

The phenomenon of faceless man in our times is a revealing indictment of the degradation of man, more often reality than whimsy. Its tragic contemporary accompa-niment, the empty man, is the remorseless inanition of a life of modern confusion and without God. Is there a reality or, indeed, an imagined fantasy, more absurd, more contradictory of what any American college should produce, of what preeminently a Catholic college should provide, than this compellingly sad commentary on our times?

Human self-respect and dignity have one thing in common, notes Otto Karrer, namely, that human worth stands or falls on fidelity to conscience. Man without God relationship, to which conscience bears witness, is only a fraction of man, a fragmentary being. When a man lacks faith, he also lacks conscience, as Newman wrote. You live, no, no longer you but Christ lives in you. This is your identity that clearly establishes you as the personal property of Christ. You are His personal temple, His personal message, His personal workman.

You will recall a story of the closing days of the last war in Europe when some American soldiers came upon a bombed-out church. Strewn in the wreckage, they found a statue of Christ without hands. Christ has no hands but yours to do the work that must be done.

Why should you be concerned?

Justice may be defined generally as rendering to each his due. Thus the virtue of justice is a constant and permanent determination to give everyone his due. One of the integral parts of justice is the virtue of piety. In St. Thomas' definition, piety consists in a profession of charity for par-ents and country. Two acts proceed from this virtue, loyalty and reverence toward parents and country as the joint principles of our existence. Consequently, the basis and motive of piety is the close union existing between those united by blood or country. Thus the virtue of piety obliges you to respect your father and fatherland.

Piety or patriotism toward one's country can be violated by excess, as by excessive nationalism, or by defect, as in ignoring duties to country. In serving your country you are serving God, for to the extent you

do justice you do God's will.

If an ancient pagan could properly assert that he was human and nothing human was foreign to him-humanus sum et nihil human alienum a me, puto-obviously greater is your obligation as a member of the body of Christ to be deeply concerned in all the problems that afflict the human spirit. how else can a Christian society be built and improved unless through you the Lord build it.

Sacred Scripture instructs us that the "earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof." Hence, the earth must be so governed in its use as to make its God-given bountiful resources accessible to all men. Though the world produces as much as it needs, there is the problem of abundance in one area and acute famine in another area.

The gravest problem, because it is the most ominous and in its dimensions is the largest, is the contrast of wealth and poverty tween a few wealthy white Western nations and most of the rest of the world. The contrast is readily apparent when you note that in the United States per capita income is above \$2,000 a year as opposed to an income of \$100 or less for two-thirds of humanity. This disparity is getting worse, not better, because the rate of population growth is higher in the underdeveloped countries than in the industrialized nations with their high standards of living. As the poet Blake wrote long ago-

"Is this a holy thing to see In a rich and fruitful land, Babes reduc'd to misery. Fed with cold and usurous hand?"

What is needed, as Mr. Stevenson observed recently, is not charity. "Our task, as the wealthy members of the world society," he 'is to link our resources to a systematic long-term program of education and basic development which will give the world's masses the opportunity to help themselves."

The late Premier All Khan of Pakistan stated during a 1950 visit to the United States: "As I let myself ponder over this, I suddenly see the United States of America as an island, a fabulously prosperous island. And round this island I see the unhealthy sea of misery, poverty, and squalor in which millions of human beings are trying to keep their heads above water. At such moments I fear for this great nation as one fears for a dear friend.'

Confronted by this challenge of widespread poverty, a complacent Christian abdicates his conscience. It is our current shame that American Catholics are not the foremost leaders by their word and work in the struggle for the survival of human dignity in enabling underdeveloped peoples through skill and resource to emerge as freemen through the Christian use of the earth.

Regrettably, there is abroad in our community the notion that we are not our brother's keeper. False prophets have for-gotten that it was Cain who first raised the insidious question whether he was his brother's keeper. The logical ultimate in political terms of this un-Christian notion would isolate us within Fortress America, with an ostrichlike unconcern about supersonic hydrogen warhead missiles breaching the walls. National security, we readily see, obliges us as forcefully as Christian principle to international solidarity.

My dear graduate, as you well know, it is idle, indeed futile, to consider international problems as foreign to your welfare or alien

to your concern.

Some rather absurd things are being pressed upon our attention today about population problems. Yet it would be to our peril if ignorance or prejudice were to obscure the magnitude of demographic problems of the immediate future. The solution is not to decelerate population growth through widely proposed immoral means of birth control, abortion, and so-called mercy killing. The problem is not people but goods of the earth. None of these illicit means attacks the basic problem of increasing food and fiber production, of imparting technical skills, of building irrigation dams and roads as well as factories and homes; of cheap desalinating process for the conversion of sea water, and a host of other positive and constructive means.

If, by the providence of God, communism were to be destroyed tonight as nazism was destroyed last night, the struggle of the poor and the hungry for bread and work would continue unabated. Man seeks a place in the sun to live as comports a child of God.

What happens in Kerala is reported alongside news from Kentucky. For the first time in history we have instantaneous and simultaneous worldwide communication. In your own lifetime rapid transportation facilities have become commonplace. These facilities have so delimited time-space dimensions, in terms of yesterday, as to make today's world a large neighborhood. These are your personal, not some one else's, far-off international issues, because it is you who are summoned into selective service, it is you who are taxed to provide resource and skill to needy nations which we as Christians should properly do and which we as Americans must do if we are to survive; it is you who must be ready to serve in Uganda as well as in Utah.

Dr. Malik, of the Lebanon, declared recently, "That there is an inescapable confrontation between communism and the rest of the world calling for historic decision, and I am not sure the effective forces of freedom are sufficiently aware of what is at stake, nor whether they are adequately prepared, on every level of human existence, to meet the

challenge.

"There is too much softness, comfort, com-placency, indecision, drift \* \* \* a vision of something great and tremendous, a call to an heroic mission, the challenge of a truly universal message—that is what is required today, and this, alas, is what is lacking. The immediate situation, then, presents the aspect of a final and total judgment: everything is being weighed—ones life, one's values, and one's culture, the vitality of the whole civilization to which one belongs."

But what are some of the problems confronting you as you commence your intellectually adult life today, what are those mat-ters closer to home that invite your interest and must engage your support. Your community needs and requires the contribution of your leadership and participation at all levels and in every field of activity. In addition to your activity within your parish you must consider the community's needs.

Active participation in parent-teacher groups; active membership in political parties of your informed choice; active participation in slum clearance programs and generally in all campaigns of civic improvement; in building better schools and preparing better trained teachers; in improving the caliber of professional training; in assisting adult education programs; in helping consumer groups; in the widespread provision of medical facilities for all in need of them; in the encouragement of strong democratic trade unions and equally widespread enterprising managerial groups; in strengthening the arts and professions; in bringing Christian inspiration and guidance in all business and commerce; in supporting good legislation; in cleaning up smut and obscenity, vulgarity and blasphemy; in improving cultural facili-ties; in general, serving all good causes in the many areas needing your enlightened Catholic and civic participation. America deserves nothing less than your best and nothing else is worthy of Christ.

Ten thousand avenues await the tread of your feet. Ten thousand issues oblige your Christian resolution. Everywhere and every thing you are called upon to act for Christ, to act for God and country.

You will recall another story from the last war. Some of our soldiers, in the cleaning up operation in Naples, saw a small boy carrying a child almost his own size. One of the soldiers, filled with compassion, said to the young Christopher, "Is he heavy?" The strong-willed generous lad replied, "He's

not heavy, he's my brother."

Among so many other contemporary matters, permit me to relate one more item. In a recent address in New York, Christopher Dawson, declared that the layman has enormous resources which he must place at the disposal of the forthcoming ecumenical council. He cited historic instances in Eastern Europe and in the Middle East where the Bishops, as guardians of the deposit of faith, had come to agreement on all doctrinal points, but unity did not eventuate because the common people, through exaggerated nationalism, opposed it. So, today. a Catholic layman, especially a Catholic college graduate, has an especial opportunity to be an effective witness of Christ for unity among his brethren.

Throughout this entire sermon I have implicitly called for a most active life of the intellect for only in this fashion can you truly be a witness to Christ. To fail in this would equivalently demonstrate that your Catholic college education has been in vain.

In conclusion, then, we note that since your purpose is to testify to Our Lord in the fashion of a Catholic college graduate, it is to be expected therefore that you will distinguish yourself and thus your college by the excellence of the careful and constant discharge of the duties and requirements of your citizenship in the city of God and in the city of man. America deserves your best; nothing less is worthy of Christ.

Your patriotism will be marked by intelligent comprehension of the issues and principles as well as the circumstances of the times that so brutishly try men's souls. Your dedication to the purposes of good citizenship, as well as to the apostolate of your Catholic life, will require you to give your full measure of support and intelligent participation in the various and diverse community organizations possible to you and feasible within the conditions of your life.

Above all else, you will engage in your professional life, as a Catholic college graduate, in such fashion as never to be ashamed to testify to Our Lord, nor ever to cause shame in others by your testimony.

Yours must be an apostolate of intellectual as well as spiritual excellence. Nothing less is worthy of Christ, your companion. Excellence is all you are and in what you do, excellence of integrity as well as of accomplishment, will be your testimony of the values and the virtues Christ has entrusted to your guardianship. This excellence will induce others to follow you and thus come to know, to love and to serve Christ.

Without flinching, without compromise, be loyal to God and country, be worthy sons of your alma mater.

# Obscenity in the Mails Is Everybody's Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. EUGENE SILER

. OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. SILER. Mr. Speaker, in a recent edition of The Pineville (Ky.) Sun, there appeared a reprinted newspaper editorial on the obscenity racket that is now flourishing throughout the country by using our U.S. mail for its damaging purposes. This editorial well explains that the restraint of this racket is really everyone's business. All of us should be interested in helping to put a halter on this animal before it rampages any further among the teenagers of our country. The editorial follows;

IT CAN BE STOPPED: SAYS THE PLANT CITY (FLA.) COURIER

A \$500 million a year mail order business in obscenity is being directed at the Nation's teenagers, according to Postmaster General Arthur Summerfield.

The American public, if it wants to, can

destroy this business.

According to postal officials, mail order dealers in pornography are flooding the

mails with lewd books, films, pictures, slides, and other materials.

If a citizen's home is invaded by unordered material, all he has to do is complain to the Post Office Department. This can be done by malling or taking the objectionable material and the envelope it came in, with a signed note of protest, to the local postmaster.

An investigation is then made by the Post Office Department's inspection service. If their findings justify action to ban the material from the mails, the Department then issues such an order. If the sender of the obscene material protests the ruling, the matter may then be taken to the nearest U.S. District Court for a decision.

Where the material is clearly pornographic, criminal action is usually taken by the local prosecuting authorities with the cooperation of the Post Office Department. Convictions in such cases can provide both jail sentences and fines for dealers in obscenity.

# Distinguished Belgian Envoy Ends Long Career in United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I enclose an article from the New York Times on our good friend Baron Silvercruys:

[From the New York Times, June 3, 1959]
DISTINGUISHED BELGIAN ENVOY ENDS LONG
CAREER IN UNITED STATES

One of the last of the "old pros" among Washington's diplomats, Baron Robert Silvercruys, Ambassador of Belgium, retired today.

After 41 years of diplomatic service, including nearly 16 as Ambassador to the United States, he went to the White House at 11:30 a.m. to say goodby to President Elsenhower.

Later the baron called on Chief Justice Earl Warren. In the next few days he will bid farewell to many others, not merely officially, but as a friend.

There is more good cheer than tears about these farewells. One reason is that Ambassador Silvercruys is known to official Washington not merely for his experience and wisdom, for punctillous correctness and equisite entertaining, but also for his galety and wit.

Another reason is that he is not really leaving. After a summer in Nantucket, he and Mrs. Silvercruys, the Mrs. Rosemary Turner McMahon, widow of Senator Brien McMahon, of Connecticut, will divide their time between Washington and Brussels.

"As of 11:30 this morning, I am out of the diplomatic service and of official life," Baron Silvercruys said today. "I shall continue the pursuit of happiness in private life. Although lacking diplomatic immunity, I hope that I will enjoy immunity.

"For the first time in 10 years I am carefree," he continued, "and I plan to enjoy

### PLANS SOME GOLFING

He said he planned to do some golfing and fishing, for which he found little time during his years in Washington

during his years in Washington.
Only a few men in official Washington can
look back on careers as long as that of Ambassador Silvercruys. One of them is Repre-

sentative Sam Rayburn, who was in his fourth term as Congressman from Texas when Baron Silvercruys arrived in Washington as an embassy attaché in 1918 and is today one of the Ambassador's many friends on Capitol Hill.

In 1918, when he was 25 years old, Baron Silvercruys had his first diplomatic assignment, preparing the visit to the United States of King Albert and Queen Elizabeth of Belgium. In 1959, at 66, he had his last big job, arranging the visit to this country of King Baudouin and accompanying the King.

In between, he has served in his country's Embassy here under every U.S. Chief Executive since President Wilson. In addition, he served as chief of mission to Canada for 6 years and has had assignments in Britain and China.

A member of the Ambassadors' committee in Washington that prepared the North Atlantic Treaty, he signed it for his country in 1949.

### GAVE SMALL LUNCHEONS

One of the few big receptions he gave at his embassy was the one for King Baudouin last month. But he gave small luncheons and dinners several times a week. These offered a gracious setting for the kind of diplomacy he liked best. Diplomats sometimes debated whether the Belgian Ambassador or the French Ambassador had the better chef. Most chose the Belgian

ter chef. Most chose the Belgian. Once he was asked what he would do if a photographer turned up to photograph his guests.

"I would ask him," the Ambassador is said to have replied, "why he was preventing me from doing my job."

"When I look back over my years in Washington," Ambassador Silvercruys said today, "I don't feel gloomy at all. I think we have laid the foundation for what may be called a commonwealth of freedom."

He spoke of the evolution of European economic unity from the agreement between Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg to the European Common Market. He also mentioned the growth of Western military unity from the five-power treaty signed by Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Britain, and France in 1948 to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

"I am of good cheer," he said.

"I don't think I would deplore even the failure of a summit meeting. Failure may be more to the Soviet Union's disadvantage than to ours."

### The Wheat Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. DON L. SHORT

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Speaker, yesterday when the House had under consideration H.R. 7246, I was very disappointed that my colleague the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Quie] a distinguished and able member of the Committee on Agriculture, did not have an opportunity to speak in support of the amendments he offered to the bill. The gentleman from ' Minnesota [Mr. Quie] and I had given a great deal of thought to some of the shortcomings of the legislation under consideration and felt very strongly that while it moved in the right direction, it needed some further revision. I would have spoken in support of the amendments offered by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Quie] had there been an opportunity. In my opinion, it is indeed unfortunate that adequate time was not given to the consideration of legislation as important to the American farmers as this wheat bill.

Bishop Wright's Commencement Address at Georgetown University

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 5, 1959

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, for the delightful reading of my colleagues who did not have the good fortune to attend the commencement exercises of Georgetown University on June 8, 1959, I am extending my remarks to include the commencement address of the most Reverend John J. Wright,

bishop of Pittsburgh.

I have never known an audience to respond more completely and spontaneously to the words of a speaker as the vast crowd on the lawn at Georgetown, now rippling with laughter at the sallies of an exalted dignitary of the church whose sense of humor was as keen as the edge of a razor, now raising a thunder of applause by the loudest of hand-clapping when the tempo of the oration changed to the serious.

Bishop Wright's address follows:

Most Reverend Archbishop, Reverend Father President, ladies and gentlemen, let me speak for all those honored today by honorary degrees our word of tribute, and congratulations to those who had to earn their degrees.

At about the year when I got myself graduated from Boston College there was a popular song, the lyrics of which promised abiding happiness, unalloyed, to all those who would remember to include in their lives "a little kiss each morning, a little kiss each night."

The advice was mildly potty; it held forth

"We'll be so happy, we'll always sing, If we'll remember one little thing, A little kiss each morning, A little kiss each night."

It was not entirely without realism. It contemplated some of the sterner possibilities of life:

"Who knows if sorrow may cause us tears, An empty cupboard, a night of fears? A little kiss each morning, A little kiss each night."

Alas, the advice left out the problems of a few of us, who have subsequently managed to scrounge out of life a few scraps of happiness without. And undoubtedly for one and all it was a slight oversimplification of the difficulties of existence in the postgraduate world. However, the lyric has been ringing in my brain for these last few days, so I decided that I might well present some small counsel, such as is expected on these occasions, by echoing at least a bit of the phrasing of the lyrics which have returned to haunt me after these almost three decades.

For one and all, whatever the callings or pursuits to which we will henceforth devote ourselves, certain signs and circumstances of the times suggest that one offer some more universally applicable counsel than the lyrics that I have recalled to you. For instance, I beg you, as you set forth to make your first million, to write the great American novel, to save the world from communism, or to become the Chief Justice of the United States. I ask you to make early and determined plans to include in your busy and useful lives a little leisure. Before the scramble becomes too intense and too involved, I ask you to re flect on some of the sobering statistics which make very timely the recommendation that you make provision for a little leisure. are constantly impressed by the citations given out by the junior chambers of commerce, by all manner of organizations in our so intrepid and enthusiastic activist country as to the tremendous numbers of those who make their fortunes and arrive at their posts of trust in church and state before they are, oh, say 40.

I ask you to check some of the insurance company statistics with regard to those who have their first coronary before they are 40, and for the same reasons. I suggest that you dig out from the files of the public library an article which appeared in the Saturday Evening Post 3 years ago which paid tribute tremendous numbers of American college and university men and women who arrived very early in life and were buried very shortly later. An article under the title, Youngest Men in the Cemetery"-a very sobering article. And I suggest that you read it within a few days of graduation week, before you become involved in what may otherwise deprive you, unless you plan carefully, of a little leisure.

"What is this life if, full of care, we have no time to stand and stare? No time to stand beneath the boughs and

stare as long as sheep and cows.

No time to see in broad daylight, streams full of stars, like skies at night.

No time to turn at beauty's glance, and watch her feet how they can dance. No time to wait till her mouth can enrich

that smile her eyes began.
A poor life this if, full of care, we have not time to stand and stare."

Closely related to this question of leisure in the good and the truly useful life is the question of the important place of mere nonsense in the life of the educated person. One wonders whether a saving sense of humor would not provide as much as almost anything else, save only the faith, that perspective needed to correct some of these grim extremes of our sometimes overly earnest educational and professional work.

In one of America's large cities, one of the very largest, suicide turns up currently as the eighth most frequent cause of death. And the statistics reflecting the number of suicides among the well educated are exceedingly sobering indeed. They would drive a sensitive educator to suicide himself. Such a situation argues many lacks and many limitations among our American intellectuals, but it argues to me in all probability the tragic absence of a sense of humor in the rest of one's educative program and personal growth.

There is a deadly earnestness surrounding the discussion of the current problem of the intellectual life of America and the intellectual life of the Catholic Church, a deadly earnestness which suggests that knowledge and information may be on the increase and wisdom and understanding on the way out.

Education that leaves no time for nonsense is no education at all. In many books on American education which are flooding the markets presently one common note cuts across all differences of progressivism, conservatism, liberalism, aristocracy, classicism, and scientism. It's the appalling absence of any trace whatever of a sense of humor.

Typical is a high-minded report I have in my hands which is entitled "The Pursuit of Excellence-Education and the Future of America." It is the work of a sober group of . serious thinkers who are greatly concerned with the greatness of our Nation, its purpose, its courage, its responsibility, its eminence, to quote the prefatory note, and they amass impressive statistics of the work hours needed and the urge of application required if collegiate and university education is to contribute to these so praiseworthy ends. But one asks, as he turns each page, why is it all so deadly earnest? What has become of the humanistic touch that used to betray a humane preoccupation and that revealed itself in an occasional trace of a sense of humor?

Two weeks ago there was a TV panel which brought together a half dozen distinguished educators from all over the country, male and female, and they talked specifically about the education of American university women. Someone asked what place sheer amusement played in the lives of their campuses. Two of the distinguished educators missed the point of the question entirely, three had no comment to make, and one spoke of what she called, with a grim expression on her face, "group diversions," Small wonder that happiness drugs, in the absence of a sense of humor, are being sold in such quantities in the drugstores around so many campuses.

I sometimes think that the students of Harvard University who some years ago hoisted a cow into the belfrey learned more in the process of doing so than they had picked up in the lecture halls during their four undergraduate years. In any instance, they got something out of their systems—and that's part of education, too. And I secretly suspect that if they avoided the detection of the dean's office they are now on the board of overseers as the ones most likely to contribute by reason of their initiative and sheer intelligence to the stability and the future of the university.

I suggest that we find place in our professional lives for a little nonsense. I ask too that you reflect on the need for a little impatience—a little impatience with the things that we can change for the better, above all ourselves, but also certain aspects of the society to which as people privileged to pursue so many years of study we are so genuinely indebted.

There is a danger that with the status and the success that you will in all probability have, there may come complacency with the world around you and a certain smugness with yourself. Nothing could be more deadly. And so I offer you the pearl of a devout Jew for your meditation:

"Open my eyes to visions set with beauty and with wonder lit,

But let me always see the dirt and all the spawn that die in it.

"Open my ears to music; let me thrill with spring's first flutes and drums,

But never let me dare forget the bitter ballads of the slums.

"From compromise and things half done, keep me, oh God, with stern and stubborn pride.

"And when at last the fight is won God keep me still unsatisfied."

And not at all inconsistent with this divine discontent is the further gift I beg you to develop. It is the gift of a little patience—a little patience with the resistance of fallen nature and rebellious history to our benevolent purposes and our sometimes overpat practical solutions for the world's woes. Most of us belong to the revoluntionary people, like the Irish, or the warm-blooded races, like the Latin, and so we tend to sign up fairly rapidly in any crusades—crusades for economic, political and related changes designed to solve by a speech or two, or a

campaign or two, or an election or two, or a war or two, the entrenched problems and accumulated evils of several centuries. We tend to take personal offense at the inertia of the world in the face of our inspiring convictions. This is particularly true when we are confronted by exasperating rejection of or dalliance with the corollaries of a creed which we know to be divinely revealed and to echo God's will for mankind, but which sometimes has rough going against the indifference and the inertia of unregenerate mankind.

Here we do well to have a little bit of God's patience, to offset our generous share of God's wrath. A little patience in the face of what we cannot change, at least alone and overnight, will be helped by reflection on the persevering patience of the church across the centuries, and the silent patience of God in the face of evil, our own included. So too some lines of Coventry Patmore may help a bit:

"Here is this little bay, full of tumultuous life and great repose,

Where twice a day the purposeless glad

ocean comes and goes
In the high cliffs and far from the huge town I sit me down.

"For want of me the world's course will not fail. When all its work is done the lies shall rot.

The truth is great and shall prevail When none cares whether it prevail or not."

I merely ask you to develop a little imagination and, together with it, a little humility.

The golden jubilees of those who today receive their degrees will take place, if all goes well, in June 2009. It is too soon to know on which of the planets the class outing will be held. But the odds still favor this earth and even, though less certainly, this conti-nent. These odds have been challenged, however, in recent months. They were challenged by a trip into space successfully ac-complished within the fortnight by two monkeys, one named Able and the other named Baker. They were also challenged, and a little more definitely so, by a trip into space by a dog from Russia named Laika. Both the monkeys, I am happy to say, were Ameircans. These three historic creatures. have, as I have suggested, already greatly influenced the golden jubilee plans for the year 2009. These same creates and all the developments of which they are symbols make it pertinent for you to develop a little imagination and a little humility as we face the future.

The new age of science, using telescopes instead of microscopes and grazing out into God's clear space instead of down into mind's murky psychological depths as the recent scientists have tended to do, will let fresh air into scientific, political, economic, academic thinking of every kind in the half century in which you will do your work. In such era it will be easy for the spirit moving where it will to evoke more ready response. An age of astronomy, the prospect of interplanetary studies and even journeys, theses are far removed from the introspective broodings and the negative agnosticism which were the frequent but unnecessary byproducts of the 19th century scientists. The directions of the age in which you will live will be quite literally toward the heavens, and once again those with a little patience, a little humor, a little leisure for reflection and repose and maditation, a little impatience with the status quo, a little humility and a little imagination will understand better than have generations what the Hebrew Psalmist meant when he wrote:

"I look up at those heavens of Thine, the Work of Thy hands, at the moon and the. stars which Thou hast set in their places, and I ask, 'What is man that Thou shouldst remember him; what is Adam's breed that it

should claim Thy care? And yet Thou hast placed him only a little below the angels, crowning him with glory and honor and bidding him rule over the works of Thy hand."

Georgetown has prepared you to do some part of that ruling, with a little luck and a little prayer and a little reflection on your gratitude to the university and those who made possible your attendance at it, and the God who is able to make great things out of little virtues.

God bless you.

Recalling Red Crime in Three Baltic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 20, 1950

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, the meeting of the Foreign Ministers presents an appropriate opportunity for the representatives of the free world to call upon the Russians to abide by agreements whereby the nations would be enabled to determine their own destiny by free and unfettered elections.

It is most regrettable that no voice has been raised at the Foreign Ministers' meeting on behalf of the rights of the people of the captive non-Russia nations now illegally dominated and controlled by the Russians. Worldwide attention has been diverted from the plight of the enslaved nations. As a consequence, the enslavement of the captive nations is being accepted as status quo on a de facto basis. By our failure to insist that the status of the captive nations must be considered on the agenda, the Russians are winning a victory to maintain the status quo, by default. The Russians are trying to break the will to resist of the people in the subjugated nations. We must not, by default, or in any manner, assist the Russians in their determined efforts to break the will to resist of the subjugated people.

I have repeatedly urged President Eisenhower to instruct the Secretary of State to demand that the Communistenslaved non-Russian nations be permitted to determine their own destiny by the use of free elections, including multiple political parties, the secret ballot, together with international supervision to guard these basic requirements.

Under leave granted, I insert a timely editorial which appeared in the Cleveland News of June 11 titled "Recalling Red Crime in Three Baltic States":

RECALLING RED CRIME IN THREE BALTIC STATES

In early 1940, the Baltic states of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia were free and sovereign nations. Then on June 14 the Red Army moved in and there was no more freedom. In 1941, the Russians began a mass deportation movement and hundreds of thousands were banished to slave labor

camps and to Siberia.

Clevelanders of Lithuanian descent on Sunday will mark these twin anniversaries with prayer and memorial services. Soviet action in Lithuania and the other Baltic states was a crime and is still regarded as such by the United States.

Sunday is a day of mourning for a proud people. It is also a day of dedication to the principles of liberty and independence which the Russians violated.

Along the Oregon Trail: A Real-Life Picture To Go With the Words in the History Books

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, the Onto-Oregon Cavalcade wagon train has traveled nearly half of the 2,000 miles it must cross before reaching Oregon. Wagonmaster Gorden Serpa says that the seven wagons have not strayed more than 6 miles from the original Oregon Trail that settlers followed West more than 100 years ago. Reporter Jerry Uhrhammer of the Eugene (Oreg.) Register-Guard recently spent some time with the caravan members.

Mr. Uhrhammer reports that often the wagons follow the original trail ruts of last century. He says huge crowds have greeted these modern-day pioneers. In Lawrence, Kans., for example, 25,000 people came to see the wagon train. The city's population is 20,000.

Spectators have come from the area through which the train is traveling and from other parts of the country. A photographer from Belgium followed the train for a day to shoot pictures.

This event has focused many eyes on Oregon and its centennial celebration this year. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the Uhrhammer article:

[From the Eugene (Oreg.) Register-Guard, June 6, 1959]

WHAT THE WAGON TRAIN IS DOING WILL BENEFIT OREGON FOR YEARS

(By Jerry Uhrhammer)

THE OLD OREGON TRAIL, WYO .- Dave Gastman of Cottage Grove, his face almost as tanned as his buckskin shirt, fingered the Buffalo Bill-type goatee sprouting from his chin and predicted:

"Oregon will get repercussions from this for years."

This was Gastman's assessment last week of the On-to-Oregon Cavalcade, the seven mule-drawn covered wagons that are now almost halfway across the West on a trek to publicize the Oregon Centennial.

Gastman, the wrangler for the cavalcade. was sitting on the grassy bank of a small creek meandering through a cottonwood grove some 15 miles west of Guernsey, Wyo. A few yards distant, the seven wagons had parked for the night in a semicircle, just as emigrants parked their wagons more than 100 years ago. Horses and mules grazed in the flat meadow that rose into rocky, cac-

"It's grown to be more than just a publicity stunt," he said. "Everywhere we've been, teachers and college professors have told us that the wagon train has created great interest in the Oregon Trail.

"In fact, they say there's more interest in history among the youngsters than ever be-fore," Gastman continued. Whenever the

wagon train enters a town along the way, he said, schools are dismissed and children swarm to see the caravan. One school, 100 miles off the wagon train's route, loaded two school buses with children and drove them to a town where they could see the train.

#### REAL LIFE PICTURE

The experience of seeing the wagon train is likely to provide a long-lasting interest in Oregon for the youngsters, Gastman sald. "The interest is created because it's a real-life picture to go with the words in the history books."

The wagon train, which left Independence, Mo., April 19, last week had traveled more than 800 miles. Some 1,200 miles are left before it will reach Independence, Oreg., in August. So far, said wagonmaster Gordon (Tex) Serpa, the train hasn't strayed farther than 6 miles from the original Oregon Trail that carried thousands of settlers westward in the 1840's.

Many times, the covered wagons follow the deep ruts, still remaining after more than 100 years, that were left by the original emigrants' wagons.

Everywhere the wagons have gone, huge crowds have greeted them. The total is more than 1 million persons so far, according to various estimates. One community, Lawrence, Kan., outdid itself. The crowd there was estimated at 25,000. Lawrence's population is only 20,000.

#### HUMOR AND TRAGEDY

The cavalcade has had its humorous side—and one tragedy.

A note of comic opera was introduced near Bayard, Nebr., when town officials planned an "Indian attack" by some 30 Sioux Indians, descendants of the Indians who attacked wagon trains a century ago. Here is Serpa's account:

"First, the town officials had trouble getting enough horses for the Indians to ride. "Then they had trouble finding enough

Indians who could actually ride a horse."

When the wagon train neared Bayard, it was held up for a half hour so the Indians

could make a couple of practice runs.

Finally, when the Indians came whooping and riding from behind a hill toward the train, Serpa and Gastman fired three shots at them (blank cartridges)—and two Indians fell off their horses. (One of the Indians maintained that he fell only to make the mock attack look real, and not from lack of riding ability.)

One Indian became a casualty. He was too close when a blank cartridge was fired, and the heavy wadding penetrated his shoulder.

Several days earlier the wagon train had undergone another Indian attack by a flock of high school girls at Red Ridge, Kans. Their faces covered with lipstick the girls sneaked into the camp about 4:30 a.m., dumped Gastman and Serpa from their sleeping bags, then ran around, yelling and pounding on the wagon sides. When the attack subsided, the wagon train travelers gave the girls coffee and sent them home. "They were so darn tired," Gastman said. "They had stayed up all night planning the attack."

Up to the last week, the wagon train's only brush with snakes was at Marysville, Kans. With heavy rain outside, the wagon train members had cooked breakfast in the cafeteria of a public building. Everyone drank heartily of the coffee. Unknown to them, a teenager had flipped a garter snake (dead) into the coffee pot. The snake wasn't found until the pot was emptied out later in the day.

The tragedy happened at Ogaliala, Nebr., while the wagon train had pulled up for lunch along a highway. Traffic was being directed around the wagons, but one motorist, looking at the train, stopped suddenly.

A second car, following, smashed into the car that had stopped. A woman in the second auto was killed.

### PEOPLE ARE HAZARD

Indians and weather were the biggest hazards of the wagon trains of 1841 to 1848. And while the 1959 wagon train has had its share of bad weather (rain, hail, and several nearby tornadoes). Serpa lists traffic and people as the biggest hazards.

When the covered wagons are on the highway, horsemen at the front, side and rear flag cars and trucks. There have been no accidents so far. But, as for people, it's like living in the well-known fishbowl.

"Mainly, they keep us from getting to bed," smiled Serpa, "and they keep us from doing our work." That's why he prefers a campground some distance outside town. When they're camped inside the city limits, townspeople visit the camp at all hours of the night.

Nevertheless, they say it's their business to be hospitable to the visitors. And they keep account of some of the more unusual ones. For instance:

A Japanese college boy touring the United States on a bicycle followed the wagons for 2 days. "He said that when he got home to Japan he would be the pride of his hometown." Gastman laughed. "He was having the time of his life."

Three carloads of persons from Independence, Mo., drove all the way to Guernsey, Wyo., because they had missed the train when it started.

Six persons flew from Florida to Nebraska to see the wagons. They got there in time to see the "Indian attack."

One photographer came from Belgium, then followed the train for a day in a rented car, shooting roll after roll of film.

The wagon train doesn't hitch up on Sundays. Instead, ministers are invited to the camp to lead church services.

So far, the wagon train members have listened to sermons from nearly every Protestant denomination. (There are no Catholics in the train.) At Bridgeport, Nebr., three ministers appeared for the services. Who would do what was resolved when one clergyman led the singing, another gave the sermon, and the third pastor the benediction. Some 600 townspeople joined in.

# The Honor and Honesty of an Uncommon Family

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. EUGENE SILER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. SILER. Mr. Speaker, there was a news article in the Sun, a newspaper published in Pineville, Ky., in my congressional district, that appeared in this paper's edition of June 11, 1959. This article caught my attention and stimulated my admiration for an unknown American family interested in honor and honesty within the family circle. Only with families like this one can America succeed and grow and prosper in the years that lie ahead. I would like to commend the merchant and the newspaper that publicized the honor and honesty of this unknown, uncommon family that needs to become more com-

mon for the sake of a greater America.

FAMILY DRIVES 50 MILES TO PAY DEBT

EDITOR, THE SUN: Somewhere in America there is a family, probably just a good ordinary American family, and I do not even know their names, but the chances are, the children in this family will grow up to be honest upright citizens. The reason I bet lieve this to be true is explained by the following story.

Last week this family stopped in Pineville and while here, made some purchases in a local store and then started back to Ohio. When they were 50 miles on their way home they discovered one of their small children had picked up a 49 cent item that had not been paid for but instead of mailing the 49 cents to the store, the family returned to Pineville, brought the child into the store and made the child apologize for taking the item without paying for it. The parents explained to the store employees that they wanted to impress on the child the importance of being honest.

I hope some day to meet these parents and personally thank them for their honesty and also express my appreciation for their moral standards and their determination to bring up honest children.

> G. E. BRUNER, A Pineville Merchant.

# Resolutions Urging Enactment of the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1959

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON, KATHRYN E. GRANAHAN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 12, 1959

Mrs. GRANAHAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include a resolution adopted by each of the following local unions in Philadelphia urging the Congress to pass S. 1046 and H.R. 4488, the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1959: International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers local union, No. 1161, AFL-CIO; the Restaurant Guild Chain Store Employees Alliance local No. 138, AFL-CIO; and Millinery Workers Union, local 45, AFL-CIO:

"Whereas all Americans must be assured of a basic minimum standard of living if we are to maintain a healthy economy at home and a position of moral leadership in the world; and

"Whereas the present Federal minimum wage of \$1 an hour is inadequate to provide a bare subsistence in the United States today; and

"Whereas more than 20 million Americans lack the guarantee of even this inadequate figure and are without any legal limitation

on their hours of work; and

"Whereas these shocking facts constitute a grave threat to our national economy, a challenge to our moral standards as a people and a peril to our reputation as democracy's showcase throughout the world; and

"Whereas the existence of underpaid and overworked wage earners is a particular danger to the well-being of the citizens of Philadelphia; and

"Whereas there is now before Congress a bill introduced by Senator John F. Kennedy and Representative James Roosevelt and co-sponsored by many of their colleagues

in both Houses, S. 1046 and H.R. 4488. This bill would greatly ameliorate this problem by raising the Federal minimum wage to \$1.25 and including nearly 8 million additional workers under the protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act; Therefore be it

"Resolved, That we call upon the Congress of the United States to give prompt and favorable consideration to this bill without delay, so this serious threat to the economic and moral strength of our Nation will be swiftly met and that the conditions above described can be corrected."

Mr. Speaker, the resolutions which have been sent to me were signed by Charles F. Mumaw, president, local 1161 International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL-CIO; Wm. J. Brennan, president, and Chas. W. Shaffer, secretary, the Restaurant Guild Chain Store Employees Alliance local No. 138, AFL-CIO; and Ben Cohen, business manager, local No. 45, Millinery Workers, AFL-CIO.

Mr. Speaker, it is with good reason that so many unions in the Philadelphia area are urging immediate action to increase the minimum wage. I join in this recommendation.

### The Skyrocketing Price of Credit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON, CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, the present administration's high-priced money policies are giving consumer prices an unprecedented boost upward—contributing more to inflation than any other factor.

The current action of the big sales finance companies raising rates on commercial paper by one-fourth to three-eighths of a percentage point will result in a \$40 to \$70 increase in the credit cost of the average automobile with a corresponding increase in the price of appliances and household furnishings.

This added cost does not buy a single improvement or accessory. It simply adds to the profits on the use of money. This trend toward higher prices of consumer goods can only result in the development of consumer resistance with a resulting breakdown in sales and production.

The attached article which appeared on the financial page of the Washington Post of Thursday, June 11, entitled "Commercial Paper Rate Raised Again," describes briefly the current problem:

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald, June 11, 1959]

COMMERCIAL PAPER RATE RAISED AGAIN

New York, June 10.—The money market's short term interest rates went up another notch today when big sales finance companies hiked the rates on commercial paper by one-fourth to three-eighths of a percentage point:

Commercial Credit Co. and C.I. Financial Corp. made the first move.

Other big sales finance firms were expected to follow suit shortly.

This week's series of rises was triggered by a jump in the current issue of Treasury bills which competes with commercial paper for short term investment funds.

The current rates on finance paper range from 2% percent for 5 to 29 days out to 3% percent for 180 to 270 days.

### Life Sees, Knows All

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. MERWIN COAD

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. COAD. Mr. Speaker, I wish to take this opportunity to share with my colleagues a most astute editorial comment on a recent article which appeared in Life magazine. The editorial was written by a very good friend of mine, who is not fooled by the flights of fancy often demonstrated by his fellow editors in the big cities.

I submit the following sample of the keen sense of political perception which Mr. Russell B. Waller possesses.

His editorial appeared in the June 7 issue of the Algona (Iowa) Upper Des Moines:

LIFE SEES, KNOWS ALL

Life magazine is either one of the most irresponsible publications in the Nation, or one of the sharpest.

Not so long ago, it was Life which managed to get half of South America mad at us with an article about South America, which among other things suggested that one South American nation be dismembered and divided up among its neighbors, canni-

bal style.

Now Life is trying to convince us that it has microphones planted even in the rear of automobiles carrying prominent Democrats. A recent issue says that former President Harry S. Truman and House Speaker Sam Rayburn have decided that only two men should be considered as the Democratic Party's presidential nominee.

This decision was reached, Life says, while Truman and RAYBURN were riding back to Washington in RAYBURN's car after a dinner party. How Life would know what the two men talked about in this private drive isn't explained. Both men have denied anything of the kind. It might be expected that they would talk some politics, however.

What Life is really trying to do is to drive a wedge into the Democratic Party and its membership. By giving the impression that Truman and RAYBURN are acting in a "kingmaker" role, Life hopes that supporters of other candidates will be affronted.

Life says Kennedy was rejected because of his youthful appearance and that his Catholic faith would hurt him more than help him. Senator Humphrey was said not to have the bearing of a presidential candidate. Adial Stevenson was reported as discarded because he had been twice defeated and a new face is needed.

The magazine pulled all of these points out of thin air, hoping that by some mysterious magic it would eventually damage the Democratic candidate, whoever he might be. Truman and RAYBURN were said to agree that either Senator Johnson, of Texas, or Senator STUART SYMINGTON, of Missouri, would be the only logical candidates.

RAYBURN, asked about the Life magazine story, said it was "far fetched," and that he and Truman visited as two old friends, but

certainly did not try to settle on these candidates nor did he recall having discussed the presidential candidates.

When one stops to consider that 95 percent of all newspapers, and about 100 percent of all big magazines in this country are Republican dominated, it's a really remarkable thing to find a few Democrats getting elected to office, now and then.

Olympics Committee Wants To Commit Suicide?—It Can Have Communist Political Domination or It Can Have the Participation of All Free Peoples and Governments; but It Cannot Long Have Both—The United States Will Not Be Party to Such a Front

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement by Dr. You Chan Yang, oKrean Ambassador to the United States. Is it possible that the International Olympic Committee will be so incredibly foolish as to try to slip the communist puppet regime in North Korea into the committee on some pretext that the regime represents Korea or even any Koreans? In reality, it represents the communist world conspiracy making war on the Korean peoples, and also waging political war against the whole free world-through an organization supposedly devoted only to athletics and completely nonpolitical.

It is time to consider withdrawing the U.S. invitation to hold the Olympics in this country. That would not destroy the Olympics; it would merely recognize that the Olympics has been destroyed—by the Communists and those who capiterlate to them.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT BY DR. YOU CHAN YANG, KOREAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

Within the past several days, the International Olympic Committee has issued zerious errors of judgment. It has ruled out the participation of free China in the 1960 games and proffered an invitation to the Chinese Communists. The committee has also offered to meet in Hong Kong with the Red puppets from the northern part of Korea with the highly probable goal of permitting those Communists also to represent my country. Such moves are politically naive, dangerous, and a grave blow at all free Asian aspirations.

In the case of my own country, the Republic of Korea is the sole, sovereign, and only legitimate Government of all the Korean people. It is so recognized by the United Nations, by the free world, and—indeed—by Olympic athletes around the globe, except the Communist bloc. We sincerely hope that the International Olympic Committee will reevaluate their present position. Its contemplated move would mean de facto recognition of an international bully. It would mean the abandoning of

an attacked nation still in a state of war, It would mean a slap in the face of all 16 nations which fought with us during the Korean War to help protect the safety of

future game sites.

This is not a simple case of permitting athletes from the Communist satellites such as Czechoslovakia or from the Soviet Union itself to compete. This is the stark reality of permitting known and labeled murderers and world criminals to participate in the loftiest of athletic endeavors. When the winter games begin in February 1960, in Squaw Valley, Calif., will the American people countenance an invasion of those very murderers who killed tens of thousands of young Americans during the Korean war? Are the American people willing to welcome the MIG pilots, the Communist tank commanders, the leaders of the screaming Communist hordes who flung themselves down the Korean pe-ninsula? The hands which loaded the artillery may be the same ones throwing the shotput; those which hurled the bombs may be the ones to be throwing the javelin; and those hobnailed boots which crunched the poor faces of American GI prisoners-of-war, may be the ones to carry Red "track stars' to the Olympics. Are these the kind of men the American people want as competitors against the flower of their youth?

The Olympic games were recreated to bring back to the modern world the ancient Greek spirit of clean competition and fair play. Would this development help the Olympic torches burn more brightly? Certainly not. Surely the Olympic officials have not forgotten the tremendous spirit and wonderful records of free Koreans in medium- and longdistance track events. Surely they will recall how our athletes also used every device at their command to make sure that the world knew that they, as competitors and victors, represented the Korean people and not the Japanese occupation tyrants. Surely they will recall that our own Dr. Sammy Lee, of California, twice contributed mightily to the Olympics—this past time winning so handily and importantly that the American edge of

victory was guaranteed.

Deny to the Korean people their hardearned right to participate in the forthcoming Olympic games and you will be denying the very spirit and foundation of the Olympic games. The international committee certainly must reconsider their decision to grant on the playing fields that which was denied to the Communists on the battlefields at such tremendous cost of limbs and

Resolutions Memorializing the Congress of the United States To Enact Legislation Relative to the Fourth Preference Quota

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following resolutions adopted on June 2, 1959 by the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts:

RESOLUTIONS MEMORIALIZING THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES TO ENACT LEGISLATION RELATIVE TO THE FOURTH PREFERENCE QUOTA

Whereas, there is a backlog of petitions for admission to the United States filed by persons whose cases fall within the fourth pref-

erence quota and the entry of such persons into this country has been seriously delayed; therefore be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives of Massachusetts respectfully urges the Congress of the United States to amend Public Law 85-316 so as to include cases falling within the fourth preference quota thereby providing for the admission of the many thousands whose petitions have piled up in a backlog in prior years; and be it

Resolved. That in order not to create a problem of separated families the said House of Representatives respectfully urges said Congress to enact legislation permitting those petitioners who are married and have families to bring them into the country; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent forthwith by the Secretary of the Commonwealth to the Presiding Officer of each branch of Congress and to the Members thereof from this Commonwealth.

# The Silent Killer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. OVERTON BROOKS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, Senate, Concurrent Resolution 34, the State of Louisiana, endorses a program to provide additional funds for experimental work looking toward the cure of cancer. So insidious and so lethal is the disease of cancer at the present time that representatives of the people at the State level are keenly aware of the need for additional effort and additional research looking toward cancer cure.

I am chairman of the Committee on Science and Astronautics. This committee is keenly aware of the need of a strong research and development program for combating cancer. Our membership has given this grave problem great thought and concern, and I as an individual am strongly in favor of increasing our effort and providing additional funds needed for this great program and the research in our scientific efforts to obtain a cure for perhaps humanity's greatest killer-cancer.

I commend the Senate of Louisiana for the favorable passage of this resolution which is as follows:

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 34

Whereas cancer is ever on the increase in this State and nationally as well and has become man's No. 2 killer; and

Whereas science has indicated its willingness and ability to cope with this grave disease if the necessary funds are made available; and

Whereas funds are sorely needed to find a cure for this disease which has stricken so many; and

Whereas Congress is presently considering an appropriation for cancer research; and

Whereas U.S. Senator RICHARD L. NEU-BERGER, of Oregon, is asking the Senate to double the funds voted by the U.S. House of Representatives: and

Whereas the legislature and people of the State of Louisiana are in accord with the efforts of Senator NEUBERGER to increase the amount of Federal funds for cancer research: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate of the Legislature of the State of Louisiana (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Legislature of Louisiana urges the U.S. Congress to support the efforts of Senator Neuberger to increase Federal funds for cancer research; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution shall be sent to the Presiding Officers of the two Houses of the U.S. Congress and to each member of the Louisiana delegation in Con-

W. J. CLEVELAND, President pro tempore. ROBERT ANGELLE. Speaker, House of Representatives.

# Platform, 1959, Indiana University Young Republican Club

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. E. ROSS ADAIR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the 1959 platform of the Indiana University Young Republican Club. It is significant, I think, as reflecting the views of young men and young women upon some of the major issues of the day:

PLATFORM, 1959, INDIANA UNIVERSITY YOUNG REPUBLICAN CLUB

Foreign policy: The supreme power drive of the New Deal to change America from a representative Republic into a Socialist super-State began in 1934 when Congress was coaxed into delegating its power over foreign trade to State Department bureaucrats. We agree with Congressman Bray that we must return to the legislative branch the power to determine foreign economic policy as provided by article I, section 8 of our Constitu-Therefore, we recommend that Congress enact appropriate amendments to section 350 of the Tariff Act of 1930 to accomplish this purpose.

National security: We call upon Congress specifically to provide that legislation passed by States outlawing sedition against the United States be concurrently enforcible with Federal statutes and to revamp the Smith Act to include "recruitment of party members" as part of the definition of organizing by Communist and subversive groups.

Civil rights: We feel that the worst denial of civil liberty today exists in those States which permit employers to discriminate against their employees because of nonmembership in a labor organization. In fairness to unions, however, section 9(a) of the Taft-Hartley Act should be amended so that a labor organization is not forced to represent nonmember employees who are in the same bargaining unit.

Home rule: America's independence, individual freedom, and economic well-being are deeply rooted in home rule. Its destruction may be brought about best through strong centralization of power in the Federal Government. This is the method historically followed by socialists in eliminating free enterprise. In 1958 President Eisenhower sent to Congress six legislative recommendations, all of which would return to the States functions now performed by Washington bureaucrats. These recommendations were incorporated in a bill, H.R. 12524. We strongly urge Congress to take favorable action on this bill and on all other proposed legislation designed to bring Government back home to the grassroots level.

ment back home to the grassroots level.

Economic prosperity: Our present tax system must be overhauled so that funds for capital expansion can be provided out of savings rather than by inflationary increases in bank credit. We recommend passage of H.R. 3001 introduced in this session of Congress by Representative Howard H. Baker, Republican, of Tennessee, to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 so as to provide for scheduled income-tax rate reductions without loss of essential revenue.

Constitutional amendment: We recognize the continuing need to protect the public from agreements made with foreign governments which might be enforced as internal law thus depriving citizens of their prescriptive rights. Therefore, we recommend favorable Senate action on a constitutional amendment to prevent treaties from having any internal effect where they conflict with the Constitution, Federal, or State laws and to prevent executive agreements from being made in lieu of treaties.

Social security: We wholeheartedly endorse Congressman Bray's stand on the Forand bill as a backdoor attempt to destroy the many voluntary hospitalization and health insurance programs now in effect by substituting a compulsory Federal program through the social security system. We believe it is axiomatic that when we narrow the individual's freedom of choice as to how he will spend his money and transfer these decisions to Washington bureaucrats we are forging the shackles of a Europeantype welfare state devoid of vitality, dull with conformity, and dedicated to the complete alteration of the base of our economic life.

### Poison in Your Water-No. 115

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I am inserting into the Appendix of the Record an article appearing in the Homestead (Pa.) Messenger of April 21, 1959, entitled "Clean Streams Still Long Way Off—Laboon":

CLEAN STREAMS STILL LONG WAY OFF-LABOON

Although Allegheny County's \$100 million sanitation system will be placed in operation within 10 days, 30 or more upriver communities will continue to pour pollution into the rivers, according to John F. Laboon, executive director of the county sanitary authority.

Laboon, speaking yesterday before the Bicentennial Conference of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers in the Penn-Sheraton, said also that thousands of tons of mine acids will continue to pour into our rivers.

He said that the collection and treatment of sewage by Allegheny County is only the first step toward cleaning up our rivers.

Laboon listed some of the offending communities which he said will continue to dump their raw pollution.

He said that there are industrial plants which will continue to pour tons of corrosive acids into the rivers with the permis-

sion of State authorities.

Industry generally, he said, has dumped sewage and industrial wastes untreated into

the streams of the Commonwealth. He charged that the coal mining industry has been the worst offender.

Another speaker at the meeting was

Another speaker at the meeting was Adolph Schmidt, president of the Allegheny Conference on Community Development, who said that smoke control is a good investment. Also, John Grove, assistant director of the conference, said that since homes were also brought under the smoke ordinance. Pittsburgh is on its way "to becoming the cleanest industrial city in America."

Statement of Maurice H. Stans, Director of the Bureau of the Budget, Before the House Committee on Ways and Means Concerning the Statutory Debt Limit, June 11, 1959

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OI

# HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, as a further informational aid to Members of Congress, I am submitting the following on the subject of debt management proposals:

STATEMENT OF MAURICE H. STANS, DIRECTOR OF THE BUREAU OF THE BUDGET, BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS CONCERNING THE STATUTORY DEBT LIMIT, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 10, 1959

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, in support of the President's recommendations on the statutory debt limit, I should like to review the budgetary situation briefly.

As you know, we ended the fiscal year 1958 with a budget deficit of \$2.8 billion and with a public debt of \$276.3 billion. The revised budget figures for the fiscal

The revised budget figures for the fiscal year 1959, which ends this June 30—as estimated in January—showed expenditures of \$80.9 billion and a deficit of nearly \$13 billion. While there is the possibility that the budget deficit may be as much as one-half billion dollars less, the January estimates will not be very far from the mark.

In view of the size of the expected 1959 deficit, it will not be possible to come within the debt limit of \$283 billion that becomes effective on June 30 under existing law.

With respect to fiscal 1960, I pointed out to this committee on June 3 that as of now the only change in the January estimate of budget expenditures which seems definite is for interest on the public debt. Because of currently higher interest rates, this expenditure may be about one-half billion dollars more than originally estimated. As the President stated in his message on Monday, the strength of economic recovery and growth beyond our earlier expectations is now expected to increase revenues by enough to offset this one-half billion dollars of increased interest cost on the public debt.

There are, however, other factors—still not definite—which might affect the total of 1960 expenditures. The following seem important enough to deserve special mention.

Most of the regular appropriation bills for fiscal 1960 are still pending in Congress. The same is true of major substantive legislative bills that could have important effects on the total expenditures for the coming fiscal year. For example, major bills approved by one or both Houses of Congress include authorizations for housing, airports, and area assistance in excess of the

amounts recommended in the budget. While congressional action to date on appropriation bills alone indicates the possibility of some expenditure reductions, taken altogether action on all bills thus far would—if they were enacted in present form—result in larger increases than decreases in the budget.

Other factors which should be kept in mind in appraising the budget outlook for 1960 are the recommendations of the President to raise postal rates and to increase taxes on motor and aviation fuels. If these are not enacted, the expenditures for 1960 will increase by more than \$600 million, and the estimated surplus affected accordingly.

Finally, this committee is well aware of the difficulty of predicting expenditures very far into the future for certain largely uncontrollable items such as the amount of surplus farm crops which must be acquired under existing laws. In addition, there are always uncertainties about the international situation.

Considering all these factors, I hope we can manage to hold to the slim margin of balance estimated in the January budget. A \$70 million surplus in a budget of \$77 billion does not afford much leeway.

Assuming that revenues do cover expenditures for the fiscal year 1960, as estimated, the slim surplus could not effect any significant decrease in the public debt. It therefore seems reasonable to set the permanent debt limit at \$288 billion, which is \$13 billion higher than the permanent limit before the recession-induced deficits of 1958 and 1959 occurred. As the President and the Secretary of the Treasury explained, such a limit would provide about \$3 billion of leeway to protect the Government in case of unforeseen emergencies and to provide needed flexibility for debt management. I assure you, and I think the record shows, that the administration, while determined to meet our national responsibilities, will do everything in its power to achieve a balanced budget for fiscal 1960. Nevertheless, the debt limit should take into account the closeness of the estimated budget balance and the necessity for some margin of safety.

In addition to the budgetary situation, the debt limit should also take into account the Treasury's requirements for sound debt management—for flexibility in the timing of resort to the securities markets, and for adequate cash balances. According to the best estimates of the Treasury, this requires a temporary increase of \$7 billion above the proposed permanent debt limit of \$288 billion.

Tibet Facts Trickle Into India

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following news story from India on the facts about Communist repressions in Tibet. The story is from the Christian Science Monitor.

TIBET FACTS TRICKLE INTO INDIA (By Sharokh Sabavala)

BOMBAY.—While Peiping has sought to distract Indian attention by shouting about New Delhi's "expansionist" activities in Tibet, what really has been happening in that troubled land now is being told to In-

der by streams of refugees.

Peiping's version of Tibetan events is that the 650 million people of China have been winning splendid victories against the forces of rebellion "represented by an upper strata of reactionaries" out of a total population of 1.200.000.

India, hitherto, has not paid much atten-tion to this type of Communist jargon, putting it down to the usual, dreary propaganda which is reserved for home consumption.

Public opinion, indignation and revulsion, therefore, is all the greater when it becomes known that Peiping, in the words of an Indian newspaper, has used an "atom bomb" to annihilate a troublesome bee.

### FORCES POURED IN

Since March 31, the day on which the Dalai Lama crossed the Indian border, the Chinese, after smothering the national uprising in Lhasa by massive force (in the process it is reported part of the capital city systematically was demolished) poured in additional forces now estimated to be 80,000 strong into the Tibetan provinces.

These forces fanned out into the districts, burning villages, bombing rebel hideouts, destroying standing crops, and terrorizing a peaceful civillan countryside on the pretext that it had given refuge to the Khamba tribesmen.

All this took about a month, as apparent from the first appearance of refugees on the Indian border at the end of April. Since that time, more than 12,200 Tibetans have sought asylum in India, many of them bringing their arms with them, most of them carrying the scars of battle, a hungry, tired, disheveled, pitiable horde of bewildered men and women.

In the past few days, the columns have dwindled to a trickle to indicate that China's "victorious" people now are in full control of the passes leading into India.

### PRETENSE ABANDONED

It now is being made apparent to New Delhi that Premier Chou En-lai has abandoned the last pretense of Tibetan autonomy, has torn up the solemn agreement with the Dalai Lama, signed in New Delhi in 1951, and is proceeding to accomplish by force, intimidation and terror a complete revolution of Tibetan society.

This task, according to these refugees, requires the maintenance of one Chinese soldier for every 20 Tibetans, man, woman and child. It requires loudspeakers being installed in Tibetan homes in Lhasa and other towns which must never be switched off.

It necessitates the complete suspension of Tibetan trade and the removal of its gold and silver bullion to the mainland. It does not require the return of the Dalai Lama.

### OBLIQUE REACTIONS

In their relations on Tibet, India and Communist China thus have reached a point of no return. If Mr. Nehru needs this fact to be further underlined, there is a new 1,500word resolution of the still completely unabashed Communist Party of India, which reminds him that Tibet is an integral part of China and rebukes him for having "permitted himself on several occasions in recent weeks to take positions and make utterances which cannot be reconciled with his own foreign policy and its guiding principle: 'Panch

Mr. Nehru's immediate reactions, are obli-He has permitted his Congress Party in the South Indian state of Kerala to join a statewide agitation against Communist rule. And in Bombay he has said nothing about the fact that its Chief Minister now heads the Bombay branch of the Central Committee for Tibetan Relief.

dian rescue workers on the Assam state bor- LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES .- The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the Congres-SIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take . Il needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the Congressional RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUS-TRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the Congressional Record the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. Arrangement of the daily Record .- The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: Provided, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. Type and style.—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the Congressional Record, in 71/2-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 61/2-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. Return of manuscript .- When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. Tabular matter.-The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. Proof furnished .- Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than

six sets of proofs may be furnished to Mem-

bers without charge.
6. Notation of withheld remarks.—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. - addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. Thirty-day limit .- The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: Provided, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fxed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. Corrections .- The permanent Recorn is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: Provided, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: Provided further, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or addi-

tions of new subject matter.
9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report of print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10. Appendix to daily Record .- When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: Provided, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. Estimate of cost .- No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the Congressional Record by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or with-out individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. Official Reporters.—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place

in the proceedings.

# Appendix

Tribute to Senator Neuberger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President. I believe that all of us derive a feeling of inspiration from the manner in which the junior Senator from Oregon [Mr. Neuberger] has met adversity.

When he received the bad news about his health, he faced that news with dignity and with fortitude. He earned profound and widespread admiration; and all of us were greatly relieved when we heard that he was back on the road to enduring health.

A very perceptive writer for the Houston Post, Jack Valenti, has summed up very well some of the universal lessons that can be drawn. I ask unanimous consent that this very fine article be printed in the Appendix fo the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Houston Post, May 30, 1959] As Measured Against Life, What's Success?

(By Jack Valenti)

Sometimes men on that cruel run to the top (wherever that is) get all wound up in their ambitions. The frenzy, the haste, the searing, ceaseless push forward, all mingle together to make this kind of a man a curious creature. Ambition is his god. Success is his altar. Anything that gets in his way gets galloped over. There is never time for anything except another step forward.

You know the type? Alas, there are too many who fit that description and I want to hurry on before we start comparing notes.

This could get highly personal.

Within the week I have read an article that I recommend to all menfolk who have been legging it down the success trail with

nary a look to enjoy the scenery.

The article is by Richard Neuberger. You know him best as the junior U.S. Senator from Oregon. Until recently he has been described by the wire services as an ultraliberal Democrat in politics and a shootfrom-hip debater with venom in his phrasing. Tough, sardonic, convulsively ambitious, clever, a rough opponent in a dark room: This was Neunenger.

Today, 46-year-old RICHARD NEUBERGER is recovering from a touch-and-go bout with

In this article, tender, moving, ripe with a man's revelation of faith and fear, Neu-BERGER tells you and me and everybody else who ever raced to mountain tops what it's like to look cancer in the face, and then lean back from its terrifying stare.

Today, the new Neuberger is a more mature person who plainly states that he and his wife have not had a quarrel since his illness was cataloged and his surgery seemingly successful. Now he does not get riled because somebody squeezed the toothpaste wrong, he doesn't growl at his cat. Neu-BERGER says the little things that never before seemed really important are now satisfying and happy times for him. Little things like having lunch with his wife, reading a book, sitting quietly and watching children play in a park, raiding the refrigerator for a late snack, gathering with friends and talking for no other reason than he's just glad to be with friends.

Suddenly his Senate seat isn't the most important treasure in the world. The size his bank account, the prestige of his name, and the age of his car somehow have retreated from their former frantic status.

Politically, Neuberger says he has changed. He doubts if ever again he will be wholly partisan. When he lay just outside death's door, the people in Oregon and indeed the entire country rallied to him. Republicans (both conservative and modern), Democrats (southern and liberal), businessmen, labor leaders, boys, girls, priests, rabbis, and ministers, they all called, sent flowers, wished him well, prayed for him. The newspapers, both those who had fought him tooth and claw and those friendly to him, earnestly and publicly hoped for his recovery.

Having cancer, and then fighting it through the dark nights, living with lumps of fright, sick and choked with the chill fact that the next month will be your last, is according to Neuserger a humbling experi-

From this remarkable document of one man's trial, there comes one plain conclusion. It's great just to be alive, and fame, success, glamour, prestige, victory, vengeance, vindication, and all the money in Fort Knox really don't count.

American Fairplay: What's Happening

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from Iowa [Mr. MARTINI, who is unfortunately confined to the hospital, but who, I am happy to say, is expected to return to the Senate within a few days, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD statement entitled "American Fairplay: What's Happening to it?"

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR MARTIN

On many occasions I have expressed concern to the Senate that our proceedings are misunderstood by those who live behind the Iron Curtain. In fact, they are delib-erately distorted to embarrass us in securing the support of the millions of uncommitted peoples throughout the world. On July 6, 1955, I reviewed some of the attacks which have been made upon us by the Soviet

bloc during the 17th session of the United Nations Economic and Social Council.

"It is quite apparent that the Communists read the American newspapers and the Con-GRESSIONAL RECORD. They are aware of what President Truman said in the 1952 cam-

"Mr. President, too many of our own Members have used the term 'monopoly' indiscriminately. They have applied it loosely to any big business. Hence, it is not surprising that the Russians feel justified in quoting them and in taking the same course of action. Committees of the Congress are presently holding hearings to determine whether our antitrust laws should be revised. This is an important subject, which merits careful and deliberate study. My concern is to be sure that in making these studies we refrain from any actions which can damage our own internal unity and which will provide additional ammunition for those who wish to discredit the American free enterprise system which I am proud to call capitalism. I have no hesitancy in taking a forthright position in support of capitalism."

Last year our former President, Herbert Hoover, attempted to dispel some of the false characterizations of our economy in a magnificant address which he delivered on July 4

at the Brussels Fair. He said:

We are often depicted as living under the control of wicked men who exploit our economic life through gigantic trusts and huge corporations. They are supposed to grind the faces of the poor and to exploit other nations. All this ignores the fact that our laws for nearly 70 years have prohibited the existence of trusts and cartels. In few other nations have the fundamentals of fair and open competition been so zealously maintained.

"This competition has spurred our industries to adopt every laborsaving device. And to create them, there are more than 5,000 industrial research laboratories that pour out new ideas which become open to all the

world.

"Insofar as large corporations are concerned, they are the property of millions of our people. The largest of them has more than 1,500,000 individual stockholders, one of whom owns more than one-thirtieth of 1 percent of the corporation.'

I again commented on the need for some discretion in how we conduct our discussions on the floor of the U.S. Senate. I said:

'Although I raised this caution in 1955. I find that those abroad who seek to destroy American capitalism can still find comfort in some of the documents which emanate from high places. The distinguished Sen-ator from Illinois [Mr. Dirksen], in his individual views on the investigation of administered prices in the steel industry, Senate Report 1387, 85th Congress, which was filed on March 13, had occasion to say:

"'The minority has long observed that at international conferences the Soviet Union and its satellites have used documents produced by our own Government to embarrass U.S. representatives. A review of the debate in the United Nations Economic and Social Council amply documents this statement.

"'Many American firms have encountered unwarranted difficulties in their operations abroad, because the Communist bloc was successful in labeling large American firms as cartels and American monopolies, even though there is no justification for such a characterization.

"Every Member of the Congress has a responsibility in terms of our national welfare to avoid exaggeration, partisan statements, and criticism not supported by the evidence developed in committee hearings or otherwise in the preparation of congressional reports. Every congressional report may be come an official Government document.

"The minority regrets that the majority has accepted the unwarranted and prejudiced assumptions of the staff in the preparation of its views. It is satisfied that they have unwittingly provided propaganda which may be used to our national detriment."

Many of us differ over issues and Government policy. This is in the American tradition. However, if we are to preserve the dignity of Government institutions and the respect not only of our own citizens but of all those who read American publications abroad, it is essential that our proceedings always be conducted with a zealousness for fairness and the protection of the rights and reputation of every witness who comes before us.

Mr. Tom Campbell, the editor in chief of the magazine, Iron Age, has formed certain conclusions about our procedures. taking no position on whether they are justified or not. Needless to say, I have developed certain impressions from my recent experience in considering President hower's nomination of Lewis L. Strauss to be Secretary of Commerce in the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. Mr. Campbell's impressions provide further proof that each of us has an individual responsibility to make sure that no fair-minded individual could ever arrive at the conclusion that the American sense of fair play is being jeopardized in any way by our proceedings.

Because this editorial will be read behind the Iron Curtain, it serves as an admonition to each of us to exercise great restraintin our interrogation of witnesses and the statements we may make on the Senate floor. Each of us at times has perhaps been too eager to secure support for our views. Whenever we stray from the rules of fair play, we not only damage our own cause, but we cast a reflection upon the integrity of all of our proceedings.

Every Member of the Senate knows that each of us. As striving mightly to advance American principles, as we individually see them, but in this troubled world, we have the added obligation of doing so in such a manner that whether people agree with us or not, they will relaize that we make our judgments based on facts and with a minimum of emotion and partisanship.

The article from the Iron Age of May 7, 1959, reads as follows:

"AMERICAN FAIR PLAY: WHAT'S HAPPENING TO IT?

"(By Tom Campbell, editor in chief, Iron

Age)
"We seldom use this space to write about

"We seldom use this space to write about individuals. There are so many other must subjects that we usually don't have the space.

"But this time it's different. Two men have been so shabbily treated that we must call attention to the childishness—and the meanness—of certain Senators. How they can hold up their heads without a flush of shame is more than we can understand.

"Take Mr. Lewis L. Strauss, Commerce Secretary. For more than 100 days he has been waiting to be confirmed by the Senate. But he is being punished. He is on the rack because he offended Senators in the Dixon-Yates case.

"There are others in the back room who never forgave him for leading the fight to deprive physicist Dr. Robert Oppenheimer of his 'E' clearance, thus barring him from classified work.

"There isn't a more loyal and sincere American in Government service today than Lewis L. Strauss. He has sacrified time, money, energy and health to carry out jobs the President has assigned to him. He stands by principles. At times he may seem arbitrary, but the truth is that he searches the facts, probes reasons of the heart and brutally checks himself and his reactions before he comes to his conclusions.

"Another man who has been given the 'treatment' by some Senators is United States Steel's Roger M. Blough. We will skip the beating he took in August 1957 when his Senate committee appearance rivaled the Spanish Inquisition. Let's take week before last at Washington. It was one of the worst lashings ever handed an individual of such high standing in the industrial community.

"Ostensibly he was called to testify about an outlandish bill to control prices by threat and publicity. But what Senators O'MA-HONEY and Kefauver did to him was hardly what lawyers call material, competent, and relevant: It was a travesty on human justice. To be frank, he was all but called a dictator and if not a dictator, then a person whose actions were suspect.

"Yet in industry there isn't a man who takes his moral responsibilities to his company, to his country, and to himself more seriously than does Roger Blough. He is honest, stubborn on principies, and a most reasonable man. Yet because he is wise to political hypocrisy and recognizes a phoney when he sees it—and says so—he is safely slandered.

"Where is our vaunted American fair play?"

# The Shippingport Atomic Power Station

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. HENRY M. JACKSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, on Monday, May 28, 1959, Vice Adm. Hyman G. Rickover delivered an important address before the American Public Power Association convention in Seattle, Wash. He set forth in clear and practical terms the lessons from the operation of the Shippingport Atomic Power Station.

Admiral Rickover is most prominently known for his pioneer work on a nuclear Navy. Today 33 nuclear submarines are authorized, under construction, or built. By the middle of the 1960's we will have in being an entire nuclear task force—from submarines to frigates to cruisers to an aircraft carrier.

But the nuclear Navy is only one chapter of the admiral's work. Thanks to his success with naval reactors, we have our first large-scale civilian atomic powerplant at Shippingport, Pa.

The admiral's career is testament to the inseparability of military and peaceful invention. So often what starts out as a contribution to military security ends up a contribution to peaceful progress. Work done on the military atom yesterday gives us civilian atomic power today.

The admiral's review of the experience

gained at Shippingport should be widely read. The Shippingport reactor is still this Nation's only large-scale nuclear central station plant—and a great deal has been learned there to advance the reactor art.

This address is estimated by the Public Printer to make about three pages of the Congressional Record at a cost of \$243. Notwithstanding the cost, I ask unanimous consent that Admiral Rickover's address be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SHIPPINGPORT ATOMIC POWER STATION: LIBSONS FROM ITS OPERATION

(Remarks by Vice Adm. H. G. Rickover, USN, at the American Public Power Association convention, Seattle, Wash., May 28, 1959)

The purpose of the Shippingport project is stated in the contract between the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission and the Duquesne Light Co. as follows:

"It is anticipated by the parties that the information to be gained by the construction and operation of the pressurized water reactor will probably permit a major advance toward realization of civilian nuclear power and that such information is expected to lead to further technical advances in subsequent power reactors. It is recognized that this first full-scale nuclear powerplant will be of a developmental nature and will be operated with the primary objective of gaining information and advancing reactor technology rather than with an objective of furnishing dependable power and maintaining a high load factor."

This point of view was also embodied by the Atomic Energy Commission in its announcement in 1954 of the selection of Duquesne as the operating utility for the Shippingport plant:

"It is not expected that this first plant will produce electric power at costs competitive with power from conventional fuels. The project has been undertaken in order to gain more design and technological experience than could be obtained otherwise."

In wording those statements in 1954, we anticipated that the Shippingport reactor might operate for a considerable period of time as the Nation's only large scale nuclear central station plant and that this would impose on us a special responsibility to utilize Shippingport to advance the reactor art.

### TECHNICAL CONSIDERATIONS

I will review some of the problems we have encountered at Shippingport, some of the lessons we have learned, and some of the developments we have made which benefit others. We have now operated the plant for a year and a half on the first charge of uranium and produced about 325 million kilowatt-hours of electricity as of May 15, 1959. The plant has operated at full power for 4,000 hours; two full-power runs of 1,000 hours each and one of about 2,000 hours have been completed. In addition to accomplishing an extensive and varied test program, the plant has demonstrated ability to perform well both as a base load or a peak load station. In particular, it has demonstrated that it can be started up and shut down more rapidly and can accommodate more severe load transients than a coal-fired station. Operation of this first large nuclear powerplant as a part of a utility network is in itself valuable experience for the electric utility industry.

### URANIUM OXIDE FUEL

From a technical standpoint, the most important information we have gained at Shippingport is knowledge concerning the beha-

vior of the reactor fuel as more and more of it is being consumed. Building a nuclear reactor core is an expensive business because of the absolute necessity of insuring that it has been well built. In view of this high cost; it becomes important to make the core last a long time; that is, produce a lot of power before it must be replaced. But almost no actual experience exists on this sub-Whenever you hear people talk about how long their reactor will operate between refuelings you can take it for granted that they are either extrapolating meager data from small samples or that they are drawing premature conclusions from the Shippingport operation, into which have been factored various degrees of optimism.

Originally we planned to use a metallic uranium alloy as fuel in Shippingport. This was the only type of nuclear fuel material about which we had any significant amount of information. But we soon discovered that any metallic low enrichment fuel element was not likely to last very long at the tem-Perature needed for power generation. We learned this only after we had made an extensive survey of the metallurgy of uranium and its alloys and had carried out many difficult irradiation experiments in test reactors under simulated operating conditions. I then had to make a difficult decision: Whether to continue with the exploration of metallic fuel elements, hoping that we could develop something which would prove to be satisfactory within the time we had allowed ourselves for design and development; or, instead, to break off from that approach entirely and embark on the nearly unexplored path of nonmetallic fuels, such as uranium oxide. It must be realized that the type of fuel used would determine the details of the entire core design. An oxide fuel element would result in a design quite different from a metallic one.

After discussing this problem in detail with the technical people on my staff and at Bettis, I concluded from the evidence available at that time that metallic fuel elements were inherently limited in the length of time they can operate, whereas this was not the case with oxide elements. Therefore, I decided we would develop uranium oxide as the fuel in order to achieve a reasonable fuel element life. The data we have since accumulated have tended to confirm this decision.

Very little was then known about uranium oxide, and we had to take the lead in building up a technology. This included basic scientific knowledge of the properties of the material and fabrication techniques for making it in satisfactory form—all this while the core design was being firmed up. We had to learn how to change a naturally sticky powder into a free flowing material which could be compacted into high density sintered fuel pellets of precise dimensions; we had to develop techniques for compacting these pellets under a pressure of 125 tons per square inch, nearly twice the maximum pressure normally used in industrial practice. They then had to be sintered at a temperature of over 3.000°F. The final product was precision ground to a dimensional tolerance of five ten-thousandths of an inch with the uranium density held within plus or minus 1 percent. These techniques finally produce satisfactory fuel pellets, and this type of fuel is now being used or planned for many of the major reactor designs underway in the United States and

The use of oxide fuel forced us to develop a method for manufacturing large quantities of nearly perfect seamless tubing of zirconium alloy to contain the pellets. This was another major development. As a result of the work done for Shippingport, such tubing can now be bought commercially for use

in other reactors or for nonnuclear applications such as occur in the chemical in-

There are a few examples of the type of basic developments which were necessary to design and build the Shippingport plant. Another way to evaluate what can be learned from Shippingport is to consider the design requirements we originally established and reexamine them in the light of our operating experience.

#### SAFETY

I frequently hear that I have been too conservative with regard to safety. But to my mind the overriding consideration in designing and building any reactor must be safety. Therefore, the first requirement we set for Shippingport was that there be maximum assurance that radioactive fission products would not escape from the reactor, even under extreme casualty conditions. We provided three separate barriers around the fission products: the fuel element cladding, the primary system boundary, and the plant container. Each of these was pretested to in-sure its strength and integrity. The primary coolant is continuously monitored to detect any leakage or presence of radioactivity from the fuel elements. The plant container atmosphere is also monitored to detect any leakage from the all-welded primary system. In addition, extensive analyses and experiments were performed on every component and system to determine its effect on plant safety.

The design was reviewed in detail by my people as it developed, and I personally looked into and passed on every aspect involving safety. We realized that design assumptions, procedures, precautions, and agreements made for Shippingport were doubly significant because no experience existed and we were establishing precedents for the entire industry.

Next, a series of 15 reports on various safeguards aspects of the plant was prepared and submitted to the Hazards Evaluation Branch of the Atomic Energy Commission and to the statutory Advisory Committee on Reactor Safeguards. These reports were then made public and you can buy them today from the Office of Technical Services, U.S. Department of Commerce. We also required the Duquesne Light Co. and Bettis to prepare detailed operating procedures, not only for normal operations but for casualty and emergency situations as well. We reviewed these by one, and after several revisions, finally approved them. No operations are permitted which are not in accordance with detailed operating instructions which we approve in advance. These operating instructions constitute a stack of books several feet thick and these have become, in effect, a part of the safeguards report. We also require periodic drills on the casualty and emergency procedures.

To do these things you have to have more and better qualified supervisors, operators, and maintenance people. You cannot base operating costs and personnel requirements for a nuclear plant solely on conventional station practice. A nuclear station is not like a conventional station; radiation makes the all-important difference.

I cannot prove by our operating experience that each of these actions in the interest of safety has been necessary. But I will state categorically that I feel just as strongly today as I ever did the burden of insuring public safety against radiation; I have seen nothing so far to indicate that safety requirements can be relaxed. I would advise anyone who becomes involved with radiation or radioactivity to recognize that the public is not becoming used to radioactivity, nor losing its apprehensions in this regard. If I were beginning the design of the Shippingport reactor today with what I now know, I would

maintain the same high standards where safety is concerned.

We are taking this very same attitude in our naval program: the new designs are as safe or safer than the old ones; the new crews are as carefully selected and trained. Of course, we are always trying to replace safety devices with greater knowledge or with improved inherent safety characteristics. But we have not lowered our standards one bit. My experience with the naval program merely reaffirms my conviction that safety cannot and must never be taken for granted.

#### MAINTENANCE

Another design requirement we set was that the plant must have maximum flexibility for maintenance and repair, and also for modifications that would permit us to exploit the developmental nature of the project. The inherently low radioactivity and chemical inertness of water made this possible at Shippingport, and we were willing to pay a price to achieve it. First, we designed the plant with four separate loops, each with its own pump, steam generator, and instrumentation. Then we required that any one of the four loops could be shut down and worked on while the plant continued to product full power. To this end, we provided each loop with double isolation valves where it entered and left the reactor pressure vessel. In addition we provided separate radiation shielding around each loop, around the reactor vessel, and around the pressurizer and other reactor auxiliaries. did all this in spite of the fact that our brief experience with the Nautilus, at the time this decision was made for Shippingport, gave no evidence that reactor plant maintenance would become a problem.

Reevaluating that decision in the light of our experience to date, how does it look? I can answer unequivocally that we have found this maintainability to be an important asset.

Now as to personnel: It is obvious that maintenance workers for nuclear plants must not only be more competent and more highly trained than those at conventional stations but there must also be a greater number of them because radiation limits the time any one worker can work on radioactive equipment. With the reactor shut down, radiation levels near the shielded reactor plant equipment of our pressurized water plants are low enough that from time to time a person can spend one or more hours in the vicinity without receiving a harmful amount of radiation. However, if a maintenance man has to work in direct contact with such equipment-for example, on a steam generator or a reactor coolant pump-and the job requires many hours to complete, then several men may have to be used. For critical skills, such as stainless steel welders, or special instrument technicians, this can become a serious problem. The operator of any nuclear reactor plant must develop and have available a backlog of maintenance personnel trained in the key areas. He must furthermore devote considerable effort to planning maintenance operations in such a way as to minimize exposure of personnel to

At Shippingport, because of the maintenance features designed into the plant, this has not so far been a serious problem. The radioactivity of the system is at present still low. However, we must assume that it will increase with time. This will make maintenance more difficult. Also, we must be ready to maintain the plant even should there be a number of fuel element failures which would increase plant radioactivity. We must assume further that standards of permissible radiation levels may continue to become more stringent as they have in the past. I have insisted that all of our reactor plants—both naval and Shippingport—meet not only

all existing radiation standards, but also have sufficient conservatism to meet any further restrictions which might be imposed. I urge other reactor designers to do the same.

### EQUIPMENT DIFFICULTIES

A corollary lesson we have learned is that conventional equipment troubles have not been licked. With all the many years of development work that has been done on the so-called conventional items, that is the pumps, valves, steam generators, instruments and the like for the naval reactors program, you might expect that there would be few troubles with this equipment, and that extensive provision for maintenance would not be required. This has not proved to be the case.

There are two major reasons for our equipment difficulties: first, despite more than 50 years of design and operating experience, adequate understanding is still lacking in regard to the fundamentals of moisture separation in steam drums, hydraulic system characteristics, boiler water chemistry, boiler gauge-glass design, fabrication of large steel forgings and castings, and many other basic phenomena on which our conventional equipment designs depend. As a result, even minor design changes often lead to unexpected major difficulties. Second, the Shippingport units are significantly larger than any previous equipment, and thus they presented formidable develop-

ment problems. Today, the situation is as follows: the Shippingport program has resulted in the development of large canned-rotor pumps with water-lubricated bearings, steam generators, valves, instruments, reactor control-drive mechanisms, and other key items of equipment for pressurized water reactors, and experience in constructing such equipment has now been acquired by several com-mercial manufacturers. But the problems are not solved; we have learned to expect unanticipated difficulties in the nonnuclear aspects of this equipment, because the existing technology is largely empirical. We have had to study and modify steam generators, steam separators, pumps, and instruments and we have been dependent on the special maintenance provisions I have mentioned. I would urge anyone who hopes to maintain a reasonable load factor on a nuclear powerplant to insure that provisions exist to permit both corrective and preventive maintenance to be readily done to the maximum extent practicable without interrupting the plant's power output.

I do not mean to imply by these statements that nuclear power is unreliable. Quite the contrary. But one can become so hypnotized with inherent reliability of nuclear power, often cited, particularly by those who have operated only laboratory-type reactors that he falls to follow the good engineering practice of providing for reasonable maintenance. Where radioactivity is involved, this could be a serious error.

### ADVANCING THE REACTOR ART

The last major lesson I will discuss concerns the advancing of the reactor art. If you do not become spell-bound by unsubstantiated claims; if you recognize subsidies for what they are; if you realize that nu-clear reactors now under design or construction will not produce electricity at a competitive price; then it follows that at this early stage, advancing the art should be the primary objective of any power reactor now being considered. The lesson we have learned from Shippingport, as well as from our naval plants, is that merely operating a reactor does not guarantee that the art will be advanced or that useful knowledge will developed. There have been reactors built, and some are being built now, with almost no instrumentation beyond the minimum needed to operate them, and with no

organized test program. They run, but all they prove is that if you bring enough uranium together in one place it will go critical and generate heat. Little new knowledge is created, few technical reports are written, and eventually the reactor is torn down and another reactor is built in its place—also with few instruments.

We have found that it takes 20 technically trained Duquesne people full time to think through a test program for Shippingport, to write up test procedures, to analyze data, draw conclusions, and write up the results. This is in addition to the people at the Bettis Laboratory and on my staff who go over the work carefully. It is a big job, and an important one. It also requires special and costly instrumentation, and the necessary design features must be incorporated into the reactor design from the start. There are special instruments for measuring pressure surges at various places in the system. Special radiation detectors measure the buildup of radioactivity in the system. Provisions for periodically removing sections of small piping installed for this purpose as a bypass in the main reactor coolant system permit the deposited radioactivity on the system walls to be carefully analyzed in the laboratory, and the effects of flow rate, temperature, and purification are studied.

The system which samples and monitors water from each natural uranium fuel cluster in the core has proved its worth. It has shown us that in spite of the extreme care taken to insure that only flawless fuel elements are installed in the reactor, 1 or 2 of the 100,000 fuel rods have apparently developed slight flaws. The Shippingport plant design was based on an assumption of 1,000 flawed fuel rods, and provision for this contingency was made—as for example, an all-closed coolant sampling and analysis system. By being able to monitor the flawed elements we have observed that the situation has not gotten worse; further, we can remove the fuel element whenever we wish.

To date the radioactivity of the plant has remained low, lower than expected. The radioactivity released to the river has had no detectable effect on the radiation background in the vicinity and is only a few percent of that allowed under the Pennsylvania State waste disposal permit. This permit sets limits which meet all recognized permissible radiation levels.

So there are two lessons from this: First, apparently no amount of care in design and fabrication can guarantee a perfect reactor core with no flaws. Second, with proper instrumentation and provisions for handling radioactivity, a small number of flaws can be tolerated in a plant of the Shippingport type.

To improve reactors, we must know what goes on inside the reactor core, and what limits its performance. We have wanted to do this from the beginning and, in fact, we set, as a design objective for our first re-actor, the Nautilus prototype, that we wanted to be able to measure temperature, water flow rates, and neutron intensities at various places inside the reactor core. But we were not able to develop instruments to do it at first, and I was urged by many of the scientists and designers to forget about it; that it was too difficult. I didn't forget about it, and today all of our naval land prototypes and the Shippingport reactor have extensive in-core and plant instrumentation, at hundreds of points, getting data obtained no other way. Future reactor cores for Shippingport and all other reactor plants in the United States and elsewhere will benefit from the data obtained from our present heavily instrumented reactor cores.

### REPORTING THE INFORMATION

None of the developments which I have been describing would be of much use to others unless they were quickly and accu-

rately reported and the reports made readily available to a wide technical audience. I can assure you that this is being done. Many people do not realize how much information is actually available from our programs, and that nearly all of it can be obtained from Government sources. In addition, much of it is reprinted in technical journals. Early in 1957, we established the following policy: First, all information on the Shippingport reactor was to be unclassified; second, all technology developed in the naval reactor program would be unclassified; only naval program would be unclassified, only havan reactor design and military information would remain classified. I have always taken a personal interest in insuring that all of our technology is made available to the widest possible audience. In line with this policy decision of 1957, we reviewed all of the classified reactor reports issued by our program, and we released several thousand publications for dissemination to people working in other reactor programs.

In addition we arranged for the Bettis and Knolls Atomic Power Laboratories to publish periodic unclassified reports covering all of the latest developments in pressurized water reactor technology. The latest of these was recently issued by Bettis and is devoted entirely to "One Year of Operating Experience at Shippingport." It contains a great deal of detailed technical information, and I commend it to your attention if you are interested. You can obtain it by writing to the Office of Technical Services, Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C., which also publishes our other unclassified reports.

We also encourage our contractors to report their work in Government reports, or
in professional journals, or as presentations
before technical societies. All of these are
also available to the public.

As a result of these actions, the naval reactors laboratories have published—all unclassified and available to everyone—several hundred technical progress reports; several hundred topical reports in the form of Government publications; more than a thousand technical papers in professional journals or meetings; and several thousand technical memorandums, specifications, or drawings. I believe that in the reporting and dissemination of really useful technical reactor plant information, the Shippingport and naval reactors programs are second to none.

We are also getting out much information through a series, of technical handbooks. They are comprehensive and detailed, and they are all unclassified except for one which contains classified naval reactor design information. These books cover the complete range of our technical experience. They are intended for the scientists and engineers who actually design reactors. They are thoroughly practical, they are up to date, and they have been written by the very people who design our plants.

The first one, "The Liquid Metals Handbook," came out in 1950. A revised edition came out in 1952, and then in 1955 we put out an entirely new book devoted entirely to the metal sodium and its uses as a liquid heat transfer medium. Also in 1955, we put out the definitive handbooks on zirconium and on beryllium. A bibliography of reactor computer codes, that is, reactor problems prepared for computation on large computers was also issued that year. We then put out a design manual on reactor shielding, and a handbook on the special problems of corrosion and wear which are encountered in water-cooled reactors. Two volumes of our three volume reactor physics handbook have been published, totaling over a thousand pages; the third one we hope to have out within a year. Also scheduled for publi-cation within a year are handbooks on hainlum, uranium dioxide, reactor heat transfer and fluid flow, reactor design methods, reactor plant piping, irradiation testing and hot lab techniques, and neutron absorbing materials for reactor control.

These books represent a distillation of the technology from both the Shippingport and naval reactors programs, and include not only experimental data and description of design methods, but also an evaluation and intercomparison of these data and methods by the people who actually developed and use them. In these books you can find another indication of what the country gains from Shippingport, although you cannot assign a dollar value to it.

COSTS

The total cost of the Shippingport project at the completion of construction was about \$120 million; \$35.5 million on this was Government-financed. Of the Government funds expended \$46 million was for research and development, and \$49.5 million was for construction of the reactor plant. Duquesne Light Co. contributed \$5 million to the construction of the reactor plant and built the turbine generator plant at a cost of about \$19 million. The Westinghouse Electric Corp. contributed \$500,000 to the construction of the reactor plant.

Many people have tried to estimate the cost of atomic power directly from these

Shippingport costs.

However, I consider estimates of this sort to be meaningless. Trying to predict the eventual cost of commercial atomic power by comparing the money spent on the developmental Shippingport plant with the electricity produced there, is like the Wright brothers trying to predict commercial airfreight costs from the money spent and the distance flown by their first airplane at Kitty

Shippingport is not a routine commercial atomic powerplant, although it is the closest thing in the world to it. The British reactors at Calder Hall are sometimes referred to as commercial atomic powerplants and used as a basis for atomic power cost esti-mates. But they are not primarily commercial atomic-power producers. Sir Christopher Hinton, Chairman of the British Central Electricity Generating Board, the man who directed the design and construction of the first British atomic energy installations, including the reactors at Calder Hall, stated in an article in the March 1958 Scientific American:

"It must be realized that Calder Hall was built essentially for the production of plu-tonium, and that electrical power is generated only as a byproduct. It would, therefore, be unrealistic to attempt to estimate the cost of nuclear power by a direct calculation of the cost of the electricity which

is produced in the reactors there."

We must not become so fascinated with watching or manipulating cost figures that We lose sight of the basic fact that atomic power development is a technical matter, that the rate at which it advances depends upon solving many difficult technical problems, and that we can best judge the state of the art by looking at the technology which is being developed and at the problems which

### PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

I will conclude with a brief discussion of our plans for the future. The heart of our developmental program at Shippingport concerns the nuclear reactor core itself. have a very extensive program to develop new physics concepts which can lead to longer life, better utilization of natural uranium, more uniform power generation throughout the core volume, reduced number of control rods, and the like. We have metallurgists and mechanical engineers exploring simpler designs and cheaper fabri-cating methods. We deliberately made the biggest reactor vessel we could for Shippingport in order to provide maximum flexibility for future reactor developments. This reactor vessel turned out to be none too big for the first reactor core, but now we believe we can get considerably more power from this same vessel with our second core.

Specifically, we designed the first core for 60,000 kilowatts of electricity, but electrical generating capacity for 100,000 kilowatts was installed by Duquesne so that it would be possible to utilize all of the power which a future reactor core might produce.

Recently, as the result of our development program, we have learned that, with a new core, it may be possible to get as much as 150,000 kilowatts of electricity out of the same reactor vessel. This was learned after the fiscal year 1960 AEC budget was submitted to Congress. Because of the importance of this development I have asked the Atomic Energy Commission for additional funds to make the alterations necessary to increase the capacity of the plant. This will require some changes to the reactor plant which will be financed by the Atomic Energy Commission. It will also require the installation of additional electrical generating equipment at the station by the Duquesne Light Co. at their expense. The Commission is currently discussing this with Duquesne. These changes will enable us to increase the output of Shippingport to 150,000 kilowatts for a small part of the original cost of the station.

### THE METHOD OF OPERATION

I would like to close with a word on how we carry out the Shippingport program. A single phrase such as "government" or "private industry" is not adequate to describe our method of operation. We have built up something unique and new. and I believe this method of operation is in itself an important development. have worked out a system which combines the peculiar abilities and experience of industry, the utility industry, the Atomic Energy Commission, and the Congress. In addition, of course, we draw on our experience and capabilities in the Navy, and the Navy in turn benefits from the things we learn at Shippingport.

This arrangement combines centralized decision-making and responsibility—which enables us to move just as fast as would be possible in a totalitarian state-but with private industrial ingenuity and with democratic processes; our work is under constant scrutiny by Congress which controls the expenditure of funds, and has final authority over the entire program.

In this regard, I want to pay tribute to the cooperative spirit displayed by Mr. Philip Fleger, chairman of the board of the Duquesne Light Co., in working out with us these new problems. We have both tried hard to make viable arrangements and procedures because we realize that we are establishing precedents which can have far-reaching effects and last a long time. I am grateful for the support I have received from the Atomic Energy Commission, and in particular from our Chairman, John A. McCone. As for myself, I am grateful for having had the opportunity to work in this partnership and to have contributed to this important project.

And without the constant understanding and confidence of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy we could not have accomplished this job. This committee of which Senator Jackson has been a member from the very beginning, has consistently and fully supported us through the years. In a real sense, the Shippingport station is a tribute to their wisdom.

The Cry of "Wolf" in England Fades as the National Health Service Succeeds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON, CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the May 22, 1959, issue of the Oregon Labor Press, entitled "Surprise, Britain's Health Plan Is a Great Success":

SURPRISE, BRITAIN'S HEALTH PLAN IS A GREAT SUCCESS

We wish every American could read an article in the current (May) issue of Harper's magazine. It's called Socialized Medicine, 10 Years Old, and it describes the success of Britain's National Health Service.

Harper's is no radical magazine, and the author of the article is no leftwing propagandist. As a matter of fact he is Don Cook. a veteran newspaperman who is chief of the London bureau of the New York Herald Tribune-one of America's leading Republican newspapers.

Cook sticks to the facts. The facts show that Britain's great experiment in free medical, hospital, dental, and optical care for all

citizens is a tremendous success.

To us it seems a tragedy that this article appears in Harper's, with its small circulation, rather than in one of the big magazines with millions of readers. But the big magazines are afraid to offend the powerful American Medical Association. And the AMA doesn't want Americans to know that Britain's National Health Service is a success (heaven forbid).

Our eyes were opened by the following facts

and quotations from the Harper's article:
"Ten years after the establishment of the
British National Health Service it is difficult-in fact almost impossible-to find an opponent of socialized medicine on the island.

"Ninety-seven percent of the population are registered patients of the National Health Service, and never pay any medical bills. but a handful of Britain's 49,000 doctors

serve health service patients.
"On the 10th anniversary of the establishment of the service, the British Medical Association's Journal was full of praise for it from leaders of the medical profession.

From the point of view of the consumer it has been an enormous benefit and success. wrote Dr. H. Guy Dain. 'The absence of any financial barrier between doctor and patient must make the doctor-patient relationship easier and more satisfactory.'
"Iain Macleod, former Minister of Health

in the Conservative Cabinet, said: 'I believe in the National Health Service with all my heart. Indeed, I believe that some sort of national health service \* \* \* will come to every country in the world.'

"In Britain, more of the population get better medical care than in any other major country on earth.

"In Britain you don't pay, no matter who you are or how complicated your problem is or how long you have to stay in the hospital.

"You may sign up with any doctor, and you can change if you aren't satisfied. Likewise the doctor is free to turn you down if he feels he already has enough patients on his panel list.

"If you should need hospitalization, surgery, or special consultations, your doctor will make the arrangements for you to receive these services just as he he would in private practice.

"All National Health Service doctors are free to take private fee-paying patients along

with their state-paid patients.

"For free dental care, you simply make an appointment with a National Health Service dentist of your choice. He is paid a fixed fee by the state for routine work and passes you on to a specialist for complicated dentures or oral surgery.

"With over 50 million people in England, Scotland, and Wales, the cost this year will be less than \$50 per person for complete

medical and hospital care.

"All statistics show that the British people are much more healthy and longer lived than they were 10 years ago.

"A medical tragedy can no longer become a financial disaster. In Britain the shadow of medical bills has been removed from fam-

ily life forever.
"The National Health Service as it is working in Britain today affords a maximum of individual freedom to both doctors and patients. Most of the settled families of the country are signed up with the same doctor they had in the old days-only now he is paid by the state and they have no more doctor's bills.

"An American cannot live in Britain today and see the Health Service at work without coming to a simple realization: What has been done here by democratic processes in a free society is a great step forward and an object lesson for democracy throughout the

world."

### Worker in the Middle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. MICHEL, Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD. I include the following editorial from the Peoria Journal Star of Friday, June 12, 1959:

WORKER IN THE MIDDLE (By C. L. Dancey)

One of the many areas where labor politics and labor's real interest clash is in all this fakery about the so-called excess profits

This device has been sold to labor as, a gimmick which will encourage corporations to spend money more freely and bestow benefits and wage increases easier. The idea is that since every excess dollar costs 52 cents in taxes, they are only spending 48-cent dollars.

This is pretty nutty thinking.

Any business desperately needs some margin of safety from profit and some means of increasing capital investment if there is to be any progress (and specifically jobs for our growing population).

What the so-called excess profits tax really means is that in order to salvage each dollar for these purposes beyond a ridiculously low figure any corporation must, in fact, manage to salvage \$2.08.

They may be spending 48-cent dollars but they are trying to save \$2.08 each to get 81 out.

Making profit harder to get hardly makes spending easier. Obviously, the opposite is , true. It tightens things up.

So that in fact this need for profit and this handicap in getting it, combine to put great pressure on corporations to resist costs. This tax actually produces much resistance to raise wages and benefit increases at the same time that it limits opportunity, job, and business expansion, and security.

Since it hurts the workingman-out of whose hide the money must come in partwhy do labor bosses so often support it?

The only explanation we can see is that some of them apparently think their power rests on keeping a fighting spirit against any and all company activities-in short they must damn companies right or wrong.

They must have a political need to damn companies, to do them such injury even when it means they are sabotaging their own union aims for worker benefits.

And, as usual, the laboring man is caught in the middle.

John Foster Dulles: A Profile on Courage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, our able and talented colleague, the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Ken-NEDYl, is the authorsof a successful and extraordinary book entitled "Profiles in Courage." It heralds valor in the field of public service.

On Sunday, June 14, 1959, in the pages of the American Weekly, Senator KEN-NEDY added another name to his list of those whom he would include in "Profiles in Courage." This was the name of the last John Foster Dulles, from 1953 to 1959, our Secretary of State.

I ask unanimous consent that the tribute penned by Senator Kennedy to John Foster Dulles be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, Mr. President, so that it may be read by an additional audience of men and women with a special interest in government and public affairs.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the American Weekly, June 14, 1959] JOHN FOSTER DULLES: A PROFILE IN COURAGE

(By Senator John F. KENNEDY)

It is much too early for a final judgment on Mr. Dulles' enduring place among our Secretaries of State. Indeed, there is some risk that compassion over the tragedy which forced his departure from office at the height of his career may silence fair criticism. Sympathy can sometimes be as mistaken a

Judge as partisan bitterness.

Mr. Dulles has suffered his interludes of unfair attack, and he has also enjoyed occasions of excessive praise. In recent weeks he has seen many former critics turn into admirers of his record.

He had too patient an insight into world affairs to mistake the caprice of contemporary judgment for the more settled verdict of history. He can await that verdict with a tranquil faith that he will be judged more fairly than often seemed possible in the hurry and fret of political debate.

Of course, we need not wait for the verdict of history upon his personal courage. The intense pain he suffered from the unrelenting illness that pursued him the past 2 years could not force him to curtail his participation in important diplomatic missions in Europe, Mexico, and other parts of the globe. History will certainly record his fortitude in the face of physical suffering as an example of supreme dedication to public service.

We can also set down an additional title of Mr. Dulles was not a brief embarrassed phantom in the world arena; he held vast power and he used it for great ends. It is no small tribute to say that in the past 6 years his biography has been woven into the larger history of our age.

Only a great man, great alike in his gifts and his handicaps, could have cast so commanding an influence over the stream of events. He belongs to that small gallery of statesmen who spoke for their own age with a knowledge and dedication that may yet

rule a later day.

In part he owed this eminence to the trust reposed in him by President Eisenhower. rewarded this confidence with his own unhesitating loyalty. This certainly is not the occasion to assess the leadership of President Eisenhower, but it is beyond dispute that this deference to Mr. Dulles gave him a stature and authority possessed by no other recent Secretary of State

Foreign diplomats knew that Mr. Dulles was the accredited spokesman of the United States for a range of world problems. This unusual grant of authority, coupled with personal force and prestige resulted in the end in making him the acknowledged leader of the alliance for freedom.

Armed with the President's mandate, fortified by the cooperation of Congress, supported by the strength of the Grand Alliance, and animated by a trust in his own destiny, Mr. Dulles stepped forward with high confidence to carry out his design of diplomacy.

What use did he make of this great power? No agreed answer to that controversial question can now be reached but at least an interim judgment can be attempted.

During 6 tumultuous years, filled with almost constant alarm and anxiety, the free nations kept the Communist challenge at bay and prevented many new lands from being darkened and overrun by Communist power. This achievement would not have been possible without America's dedication to freedom, and without Mr. Dulles' ability to express that dedication.

But this estimate must at once be qualified if it is to be both candid and persuasive. Safeguarding the freedom of nations, though an indispensable task, does not exhaust the

obligations imposed on America.

Equally difficult and perhaps even more delicate is the task of commending America's purposes and policies to the uncoerced acceptance of the uncommitted world. These new nations, old in memory and young in hope, are eager to be heeded with respect in the march of world affairs. They are destined to grow steadily more important with the passage of the years, and it is therefore a matter for genuine regret that Mr. Dulles did not win a larger measure of their confidence

In Europe, where Mr. Dulles' policies have been more successful, he has been content to apply the program shaped by General Marshall and Mr. Acheson. The Middle East remains an enigma, and the giant, China. broods restlessly over a divided Asia.

The supreme stroke of ill-fortune came to Mr. Dulles just as he was reaching for a wiser, more creative, and more recourceful policy. He, above all others, had the authority to gain President Eisenhower's consent to wideranging negotiations with Russia.

The United States is fortunate in Mr. Dulles' successor—the new Secretary of State, Christian Herter, whose beginning has been auspicious-but it is a fact that the intimate relations enjoyed by Mr. Dulles with Mr. Adenauer and the West German Government would have made easier the road to the summent

In leaving office, Mr. Dulles added a testament of courage to the Treasury of the Nation's gallant memories. Not soon or easily will the American people forget this warrior for peace as his spirit sought fresh tasks which an overburdened body no longer could sustain. His cheerful fortitude in adversity has been an inspiration; and his wise concern for Hr. Herter's independence has formed an equally impressive model of statesmanship.

In his new duties he carefully and generously removed his shadow from falling between Mr. Herter and the White House. He became the special adviser on foreign policy alike to the President and the Secretary of

His experience and prestige were freely placed at the service of the Nation without in any way compromising the new Secretary's freedom of action and independence of judgment. Whatever else may be in doubt, there can be no doubt that a servant of peace worked with zeal and courage among us and for us during six tremendous and tragic years.

The name of John Foster Dulles will not quickly fade from honor. Gallant and controversial but already a part of history, Mr. Dulles always chose the policy which, in his conscience and judgment, would allow the American people to make their greatest contribution to peace and freedom.

In that faith he tolled heroically against

In that faith he toiled heroically against grevious odds—and by that faith is content to be judged as a valiant and memorable

Secretary of State.

### Address of Maj. Gen. C. K. Gailey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, at the Military Government Association annual conference, held here in Washington on Saturday, June 13, 1959, Maj. Gen. C. K. Gailey, Chief of Civil Affairs, gave a splendid analysis of the role of the Army's Civil Affairs in future conflicts, whether they be conventional or nuclear Warfare. I ask unanimous consent that General Gailey's excellent remarks be printed in the Appendix to the Record.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Remarks by Maj. Gen. C. K. Galley, Chief, Civil Affairs, at the National Military Government Association Conference, June 13, 1959, in Washington, D.C.

Ladies and gentlemen of the National Military Government Association, on several occasions in the past it has been my privilege to participate in meetings of your association. On each occasion I have been impressed with your intense interest in the defense of our Nation and particularly in the development of our Army's civil affairs capability and in the gearing of its organization and operations to the requirements of both conventional and nuclear warfare.

In considering these requirements, I would like to reiterate briefly my views on future civil affairs operations. First, I do not be-

lieve that there will be a great variation in operational techniques in a nuclear war from those employed in the conventional type warfare such as so many of you experienced in World War II and in Korea and for which our Nation must remain prepared. If there is a difference, I believe it will be in the intensity and extent of such operations.

The mission of commanders of large land forces in theaters of operations will not change regardless of the type, or destructive capabilities of the weapons employed. His mission will still be to defeat the enemy in land combat and gain control of the land

and its people.

As in the past, a commander must know the people with whom he must deal, know their historical background, customs and problems. He should know something of their social structure so as to be aware of areas of sensitivity and importance. He should know the general pattern of the economy so that he does not unnecessarily interfere with the livelihood of the people. He should have some appreciation of the general cultural, religious and political background of the people \* \* \* and, for purposes of day-to-day operations, he should acquire an understanding of the governmental structure to which the people are accustomed.

The commander must strive to indoctrinate his officers and men, from top to bottom, in the principles and techniques of civil affairs. The degree to which they understand and apply these principles will have a direct bearing on the success of his mission. It must be firmly understood, however, that responsibility for civil relationships lies solely with command. Subordinates may be charged with specific assignments, or entrusted with specific missions, but it is the commander who sets the tone of such operations.

Civil affairs activities must begin with the initial planning for an operation and continue concurrently through all subsequent operations in which the force—be it Army, Navy, or Air Force—is engaged. The moment a commander moves into an area, immediate decisions must be made with respect to the civilian population. He cannot afford to wait or defer these decisions which, either through commission or omission, will affect the attainment of the objectives and aims for which the war is fought. Civil affairs planning cannot be delayed until the war is won. The commander's proper utilization of civil affairs techniques and procedures contributes materially, and sometimes essentially, to the winning of the victory and later of the peace.

The commander's decision is influenced not only by the relative combat power of opposing forces but also by the characteristics of the area of operations. Accordingly, the commander makes decision with respect to his responsibilities to a population by carefully weighing the civil affairs estimate of the situation in conjunction with the estimates of the other members of his staff.

Civil affairs planning must be timely, concurrent, continuous and in full coordination with other staff sections to determine the manner in which civil affairs operations may best contribute to the overall operational mission. The coordination of civil affairs activities with tactical operations is also essential in order to insure the capability of the commander's civil affairs operations to cope with the civilian problems caused by war.

As the scope of warfare enlarges with the appearance of weapons of increased destructiveness, the scope of the commander's civil affairs operational responsibilities becomes correspondingly intensified. Modern military operations, even if carried out with discrimination, will create tremendous problems. Let's briefly examine some of the

problems arising from the presence of clvilians which inescapably confront a commander in the conduct of his operations.

Civilians, in larger numbers than ever encountered before, will suffer the effects of war in personal loss, injury, deprivation, and lack of the barest essentials of life. They will not have the guidance, assistance, or control normally provided by the former local levels of government. Continuing damage will contribute to mass hysteria and tend to convert the previously normal populace into an uncontrolled mob; a multitude of scared, hurt, and disrupted people who seek only to flee further injury with whatever possessions as are intact and obtain, by any means possible, that which is necessary to remain alive.

From the commander's point of view, what is the effect of the problems posed by these civilians on his combat operations? The answer is not difficult to imagine. They clutter the roads and interfere with or prevent the essential movement of troops and supplies. They require amazing tonnages of military supplies merely to remain alive and can compel a diversion of combat troops to protect lines of communications and supply installations. They can require a similar diversion of troops to neutralize guerrilla action fomented by undetected enemy agents among them. They can do all this and more; they can all but stop a military operation in its tracks unless proper action is taken to anticipate and plan in advance necessary CA controls.

Thus, the commander's CA operations are required fully as much by military necessity as by the customers of war and the principle

of humanity.

The objectives of his civil affairs operations will also remain unchanged. Those will still be to support military operations; to fulfill obligations arising from treaties, agreements, or customary international law; to support and implement national policies; and to provide for the transfer of military government responsibility from the military commander to a designated civil agency of government as soon as the military situation permits.

The destructive capability of the weapons employed will, however, have a tremendous effect on the population of any area in which such weapons are used. I believe that the employment of nuclear weapons will extend and intensify civil affairs operations to a degree far beyond any past military experience. Moreover, since the conduct of any war must realize the objectives for which it is fought, the commander must be allowed to use the force necessary to accomplish these objectives—though that force be great. Such conditions will demand the development, training, and employment of the most efficient and versatile type civil affairs organization which can be devised in order to cope with the characteristics implicit in such a nuclear war:

In considering the possible war of the future, let us consider for a moment, the present Army infantry division and its capabilities. As you no doubt know, it has approximately three-fourths the personnel of its World War II and Korean counterpart. It has five battle groups rather than the three larger infantry regiments. The battle groups have fewer personnel than the regiments but more than make up for this loss in increased mobility, versatility, and fire-power. The battle groups, in most cases, will not operate contiguous to each other and will be capable of conducting independent operations—they will operate more as staggered islands of resistance within the division area of responsibility.

How will this affect civil affairs operations in the division area? First, it is likely that the number of civil affairs units must be increased over those employed in like areas during World War II and Korea. The area support requirements will increase because of greater destruction and also for the simple reason that the increased size of the division area will encompass more civilians—and consequently more civilian problems to hamper the commander unless they are handled properly. The command support requirement will be magnified in order to support adequately the widely separated divisions and battle groups.

unfortunately, there is little accurate information regarding civilian reactions when subjected to the use or threat of the use of nuclear weapons. The present sociopsychological factors indicate, however, greater effort will be required to control, feed, and shelter civilians in modern warfare even though, through necessity, we may be forced to furnish from military stocks only those supplies necessary for them to remain alive.

Second, civil affairs operations will be affected by the fact that modern combat encompasses greater speed and greater mobility. This means a greater possible rate of acquisition of territory and consequently of civilians and their problems. It means the utmost use must be made of indigenous human and material resources within the limits of international law. This demand will require the commander, in many instances, to exercise rapid and effective control over not only the civilian population but also the local civilian resources. Every effort will have to be made to reduce the emergency demand for supplies and services of the indigenous population on our forces to an absolute minimum.

Third, these increased demands will occur in a combat area rather different from World War II and Korea. The traditional continuous front line which has served as a barrier to the enemy in the past will, in all probability, be missing. The majority of civil affairs activities may take place in areas between the areas physically occupied by our own troops—for the simple reason that the commander will be unable to disperse his tactical units over such large areas.

In view of the above, one point appears rather clear; in modern nuclear warfare, as major tactical units control greater areas with fewer combat troops, greater civil affairs support will be necessary. The units to provide this support, in addition to being well versed in the principles and techniques of civil affairs operations, must be completely conversant with the operational capabilities of the combat arms and their normal staff procedures, to include operational planning and implementation and logistical tech-The civil affairs units must be selfsustaining and well able to protect themselves against small organized enemy and guerrilla attacks. In the fluid type warfare for which your units are preparing, there is no place for the specialist as he is viewed by some people. Our civil affairs people must be soldiers, first, last, and all the time, for they must perform dual functions, perform their civil affairs functions at all times, and, at any time, if they are to survive, they must be prepared to take up arms and protect themselves against an armed enemy attack.

Thus far, I have been talking in terms

Thus far, I have been talking in terms of units, their missions, objectives and functions, all of which are of vital importance, however, there is one other all important element to be considered and I would be remiss in not mentioning it; that is, the all important factor of manpower in our Armed Forces. You, the commanders of Ca-USAR units, have a rare privilege in being able to shape your units in a period of relative peace, into the highly efficient organizations they must be in order to carry out the M-day mission that will be expected of them. Take full advantage of this

privilege, make sure the personnel you select for your units are the most capable that can be obtained. Settle for nothing but the best, and then make sure that their training is the most comprehensive and effective that can be designed.

Our civil affairs unit commanders have done and are continuing to do an outstanding job in maintaining a strong reserve structure of well trained units manned by capable and experienced personnel upon whom we must rely to accomplish these important functions.

'This is a critical period in the history of our Nation. The task ahead is a challenge, one which can and must be met if we propose to match our ability to wage war with an equal ability to convert a military victory into a politically sound and profitable peace.

It is a most satisfying feeling to know that your association stands ready to do its share, or even more, in the development and maintenance of those preparedness measures essential to our national security.

### European Wages Climb

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. WILLIAM PROXMIRE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the onrush of competition from abroad in many industrial fields, the serious threat to American export markets, to American jobs and prosperity, has been recognized by those with eyes to see. At the same time there are probably more mistakes made in economic policy because of the failure to recognize changing conditions than because of selfishness or stupidity. For this reason I call to the attention of my colleagues an editorial in the Milwaukee Journal that suggests that the rapid rise in European wage scales may equalize costs in international competition before this country is engulfed by low cost foreign competition. It is a development to watch very closely.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this editorial, entitled "European Wages Climb," be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered printed in the Record as follows:

[From the Milwaukee Journal, June 11, 1959]

### EUROPEAN WAGES CLIMB

The vice president in charge of international operations for the Worthington Corp., S. Riley Williams, says that upward wage pressures on Western Europe eventually will put that area and the United States or even cost terms—if inflation can be checked in this country.

Actually, the wage tide has been running more strongly in Western Europe since 1950 than in the United States. It is true, of course, that American wages are still far higher. A steelworker earns \$3.22 an hour here, almost four times the 89 cents an hour paid the West German steelworker.

But consider the trend: Since 1950, hourly earnings in manufacturing have gone up 102 percent in France, 69 percent in Norway, 66 percent in Germany, 65 percent in Great Britain—and only 41 percent in the United States.

Studies made by Clark Kerr, president of the University of California, and Yale economist Lloyd Reynolds also indicate that between 1948 and 1957 wholesale prices, which strongly influence production costs, rose more in many countries than in the United States.

So it is not true, or at least not wholly true, that we are pricing ourselves out of our foreign markets and even out of our own domestic market, as some businessmen claimclaim.

'The principal reason for Western Europe's increasing competition is that war devastated plants have been rebuilt or replaced, and modern processes adopted. Much of this has been done with American aid and encouragement. The result is efficient, high quality, low cost production.

Eventually Western Europe's wage scales may come up to ours, as Williams expects. In the meantime, though, foreign competition is going to get even tougher. To hold foreign and domestic sales, American businesses will need imaginative new products, more efficient men and machines, improved quality and productivity—and labor costs which at least do not kick off successive rounds of inflation.

### Proposed Foreign Service Academy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the members of the U.S. foreign service represent this Nation in the eyes of people overseas. For this reason, I feel it is necessary to encourage more high quality young people to enter this vital field.

In an effort to help along this line, I have joined in sponsoring a bill to establish a foreign service academy to train people who will be representing America overseas. The Beaumont, Tex., Enterprise, in a well written editorial, has endorsed this idea, and has given cogent arguments to support it.

Mr. President, I unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Beaumont, (Tex.) Enterprise for Sunday, May 24. 1959, entitled "A Foreign Service Academy."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Beaumont (Tex.) Enterprise, May 24, 1959]

### A FOREIGN SERVICE ACADEMY

We commend Senator RALPH YARBOROUGH for his cosponsorship of a bill in Congress to establish a Foreign Service Academy to train people for representing this country overseas.

As the Texas lawmaker points out, residents of other nations form their opinions, in great part, from what they see of these U.S. governmental employees. The Senator adds:

"Because of the highly specialized type of work which these people are called upon to perform, I believe they should be given the finest training possible. The actions of these Americans can go a long way in helping prevent world war III."

Of course, this country has seen far too much of the practice of naming ambassadors Who have no special qualifications for the tasks they undertake.

In many cases, the claim to Presidential favor is based solely upon the record of a fat check to a political campaign fund.

Besides, a large number of the Foreign Service underlings are not amply trained for the jobs they are given.

Especially unfortunate is the widespread lack of adequate knowledge of other languages among our Foreign Service personnel.

Just the opposite is true of the Russians, who now see that members of every mission to a foreign country are able to converse with

the natives in their own language.

The Academy which Senator YARBOROUGH seeks would be set up under the Secretary of State. Each diplomatic cadet would be required to pass entrance examinations. In addition, to insure that the training would be used as it is intended, each cadet would be required to sign an agreement to complete the course of study, unless the State Department separates him from the school before

The agreement would also provide that he or she would have to serve with the Foreign Service for at least 3 years after graduation.

Mr. YARBOROUGH summarizes the purpose

of his measure like this:

"I feel that this bill would help our Foreign Service in two ways in its continuing business of putting this Nation's 'best foot forward' overseas. First, it would provide the Service with better trained personnel in the highly individual business of being a State Department officer. Secondly, it will encourage a great number of the outstanding cadets to continue in a Foreign Service career. As in any business, experience pays dividends, and we need to encourage more young people to enter this important field."

Important, indeed.
And all because the Foreign Service employee is the window through which the people beyond our shores see this great land of

This branch of Government service deserves the very best.

The very best is the best trained.

After all, this is the criterion for excellence in every field of human activity.

# New Idea on Dairy Selling

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

### HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, during June Dairy Month, activities all over the country are emphasizing the need for increased consumption of our high quality dairy products.

Today, food selling in America is an \$80 billion business. Of this amount, an estimated \$10 million is accounted for

by dairy products.

Even more than its monetary value, of course, is the fact that these high quality dairy foods are making a tremendous contribution to improved health for our citizens.

Representing the No. 1 milk producing State in the country—with an estimated Production of about 18 billion pounds

annually, or about 141/2 percent of the Nation's milk supply, I am naturally deeply interested in further improving the economic outlook of our Wisconsin dairy industry-as well as its increasing contribution to the public health.

According to January 1, 1959, inventory, there were over 2.5 million milk cows on our Wisconsin farms. In 1958, the annual production per cow had increased by 5 percent over 1957, for a total of 8,070 per cow.

At today's rate of consumption, 1 cow will produce more than enough for 11 persons. A major challenge facing the industry, however, has been, and continues to be, the need for increasing consumption of milk and other dairy products.

A recent edition of the Janesville Gazette carried an editorial, "New Idea on Dairy Selling."

Specifically, the editorial recommends brand-name advertising of the type that has served other industries in increasing consumption of their commodities,

In view of the fact that stepped-up consumption is one of our major problems-not only in terms of further improving public health, but in brightening the economic outlook for the dairy industry-I ask unanimous consent to have the ideas suggested in the editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW IDEA ON DAIRY SELLING

As the June Dairy Month promotion efforts move toward the climax of the annual Alice in-dairyland festival here next weekend, the suggestions of a speaker at the annual Holstein-Friesian Association convention in Omaha are worthy of note.

The speaker was Charles G. Mortimer, who is not only a large-scale dairyman but also president of General Foods Corp., and an executive of experience in the sale of food prod-

ucts.

In brief, Mortimer's message was that dairymen, dairy processors, and distributors might take a leaf from other successful enterprises in selling and promotion. Insufficlent market, he said, is the villain of dairying and a major promotion is needed to increase the demand for milk.

The most telling point, however, relates to the approach to current sales efforts. Referring to the success of beverage promotions by coffee, orange juice, and others, Mortimer said:

"I wonder whether the continued emphasis on the healthfulness of milk over the years hasn't built up an image of the product which may in some respects overshadow the potentially great appeal of milk for sheer goodness' sake."

It seems here that the speaker has touched upon one of the weak spots in past and cur-rent dairy promotions. The public is not an rent dairy promotions. The public is not an infant, to be told that it must drink its milk for health's sake, whether or not it likes it.

Coupled with this is the emphasis on sanitation, a defensive sort of thing. The public nowadays is ready to assume that cleanliness and quality in foods are assured. Perhaps the industry has erred also in the past in stressing butterfat content in dairy products long after consumers were turning to slimming diets.

Most of all, the giant dairy industry has no brand name advertising on a scale approaching that of comparable industries. Too much advertising is milk, just any milk, or cheese; just any cheese. Everyone knows that all

brands of cigarettes are made from about the same tobaccos, for example, but it is note-worthy that the name and not the tobacco is what is being sold to the public.

In the important agricultural industry in Wisconsin, top place must go to dairying, and increasing markets is of importance to everyone. Consumers in the State owe a duty to utilize as much of the home State output as possible, but the way in which this appeal is made is vital. They won't buy because of duty, and it is doubtful if they will buy merely because milk or dairy products are good for them. Certainly it is not desirable that they buy because of pity for the poor dairyman.

What is left is approximately the suggestion that Mortimer, the food company ex-ecutive, made to Holstein herd owners.

# A Favorable "Business Climate" Can Be Felt if Not Actually Seen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. CLIFFORD G. McINTIRE

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. McINTIRE. Mr. Speaker, the Maine Chamber of Commerce has drawn up a resolution designed to encourage economic development in the State of Maine

Although the resolution places justifiable emphasis on the aspect of a favorable climate for business, it contains, in addition, other ingredients equally vital . to the growth of Maine enterprise-harbored herein are also the soil, the substance, and, in effect, the seed from which can spring a heavy harvest of the fruits of commerce.

The Maine Chamber of Commerce is to be complimented for its originality. and I feel that this unique effort merits introduction to the RECORD:

A FAVORABLE "BUSINESS CLIMATE" CAN BE FELT IF NOT ACTUALLY SEEN

We would hate to have to write a technical definition of the phrase "business climate." It is an intangible thing. It is made up of too many factors.

But even though it cannot be actually seen, or described, it can be felt. It doesn't take a prospective industrial settler long to get the feel of a region's attitude toward economic progress. A genuinely favorable business climate advertises itself in dozens of different ways.

We suppose that every community in Maine, like every State in the Union, would insist that its climate is conducive to the growth of business. No community or State looks down its nose at a payroll. If it is true, then, that every area starts from scratch in this respect, what makes one climate look more favorable than another are the "extras."

For instance, there have been times when Maine's business climate has lagged behind other States. For years we did not put enough effort into the "extras," as did North Carolina and some other southern States. In the past couple of years, however, the atmosphere has improved, and precisely because Maine started doing something extra.

One of these extras was a joint resolution passed by the 99th legislature emphasizing the importance of the "business climate." A resolution is, to be sure, only a scrap of paper, but in this case the spirit behind it

is important. What it says is that Maine has been doing more than at any time in history to improve the business climate, and is prepared to do even more in the future.

Following is the resolution prepared by the State chamber of commerce, adopted by both branches of the Maine Legislature, and which in an intangible way bolsters Maine's business climate:

'Whereas the State and the cities and towns thereof have embarked upon an intensive program of industrial, recreational, and agricultural development, and

Whereas a favorable "business climate" is acknowledged to be a major factor in the advancement of such a development program; and

"Whereas the success of such a program means more jobs, more payrolls, new sources of revenues and greater prosperity for all our

"Whereas the creation and continuance of a favorable 'business climate' can only be attained by strict adherence to a set of well defined principles and conditions, and

"Whereas these principles and conditions are generally recognized and defined as fol-

"1. An atmosphere in which the triumyirate of government, management, and labor live cooperatively and harmoniously in full recognition of their interdependence and mutual interests;

"2. A friendly and understanding attitude on the part of government at all levels and a willingness on the part of government, within its proper sphere of activity, to do all within its power to keep Maine industry and commerce in a competitive position;

3. An attitude on the part of our people which clearly indicates to industry (both existing and potential) that they are sincerely

wanted:

"4. Careful and prudent planning activities within an eye to present needs and future efficient growth of the State;

5. Vigorous community attitudes which reflect concern for continuing and expanding

payroll revenues by making more attractive the ease and cost of doing business in this State: "6. Sound, stable, and adequate financial

institutions and established machinery for

capital generation;

"7. An informed, intelligent, and productive labor force dedicated to pride in product, and which endorses the profit motive as the source of job security and benefits for

all: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the senate and house of representatives, That the 99th Maine Legislature shall examine all proposed legislation in terms of its effect upon the "favorable business climate" of the State and shall determine whether such legislation may have any deterrent effect upon the business climate of the State, as outlined and be it further

"Resolved, That copies of this resolution be transmitted by the secretary of the senate to the Governor and the heads of all departments of the State government with the request that they examine their own dis-cretionary acts in terms of the effect upon the 'favorable business climate' of Maine."

### Guilt by Association?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, I doubt that my busy colleagues will have any more opportunity than Mr. Sokolsky to read the 1,128 pages of testimony in regard to the confirmation of Lewis Strauss as Secretary of Commerce. therefore, place in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD George Sokolsky's article, which appeared in the Long Island Daily Press on June 11:

### MORE GUILT BY ASSOCIATION (By George E. Sokolsky)

When men and women work together, play together, know each other's private lives, gossip about each other, even though they may be of different political persuasions, they are a community and develop the characteristics of a community. Washington is such a place and partisanship plays less a part in the capital than back home where the votes are counted.

However, every once in a while, an issue does arise in which parochial conviviality is less characteristic than usual. The confirmation of Lewis Strauss is such an

instance.

It is unusual for the Senate to confirm an appointment to the President's Cabinet without much ado, on the assumption that the President is entitled to the men he \*wants to carry out the work of the executive branch of the Government. In the case of Lewis Strauss, Senator CLINTON ANDERSON has made an exception. He has devoted himself to the destruction of Strauss.

I have before me the hearing, 1,128 pages of it. Obviously, it is imposible carefully to read 1,128 pages very rapidly. Senator LYNDON JOHNSON, for instance, is reported to have said that he will make up his mind after he has read the record. How a busy man like Senator Lyndon Johnson can read a record of 1,128 pages rapidly and carefully enough to form an opinion conecrning Lewis Strauss, whom he has known for many years, is his psychological problem, not mine. I cannot read that fast.

But I did turn to page 448 of that record, to the testimony of Jarrel Garonzik, attorney, of Dallas, Tex. This Garonzik wrote a letter to Senator CLINTON ANDERSON, in which he describes himself as "a full blooded Jew," an adjectival designation usually reserved for cattle. Garonzik opposes Strauss because "I confess I cannot stand Strauss or his exbanking house of Kuhn, Loeb & Co."

Why? Well, in the testimony it appears that Garonzik is in the uranium business. Henry H. Patton of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., with which Strauss has not been connected for 13 years, also was interested in a uranium mine in the Lake Ambrosia area of McKinley County, N. Mex., the State which sent CLIN-TON ANDERSON to the Senate. Garonzik owned stock in this mine. This is his beef:

"Thereafter, when Kuhn, Loeb & Co. proposed a deal whereby one-fourth of this mine would be acquired by its exclusive designee, the American Metal Co., Ltd., at well below the intrinsic value and market value of the company's stock, I objected and I asked Mr. Patton why this company, that is, Pinon, had to sacrifice one-fourth of this huge ore body to American Metal Co., Ltd. I asked him why it was necessary to do it. and Mr. Patton replied that we had to do this in order to get an ore concentrate contract with the Atomic Energy Commission of the United States."

What this has to do with Strauss, the rec-

ord does not show.

From much that Garonzik said for the record, it is to be assumed that Garonzik met, talked with, and knew Strauss well. He could make a judgment as to his character from personal knowledge and experience, a judgment which appears in the record and gives the impression of intimacy. Not so. Here is the record.

The Mr. Dodds who asks the questions is

Strauss' counsel:
"Mr. Dopps. \* \* \* Did you ever receive any letter from Mr. Strauss in any capacity?

"Mr. GARONZIK. I don't recall receiving a letter from Strauss.

"Mr. Dopps. Have you ever had any dealings with him?

'Mr. GARONZIK. Well, now, I have written him.

"Mr. Dopps. Have you ever met him? "Mr. GARONZIK, Never met him; no.

This Garonzik goes into a business deal which does not turn out quite as he expected. Involved in the deal is Kuhn, Loeb & Co. with which Strauss was associated 13 years ago. Garonzik does not know Strauss, by his own admission, and has had no dealings with him. But he declares him guilty by association. When Joe McCarthy associated people together, he was accused of McCarthyism by the very liberals who regard Garonzik as a decent speculator in mining stocks although he applies the guilt by association yardstick to Strauss, who rid the AEC of Oppenheimer.

Whether Lewis L. Strauss is confirmed or not, be it noted that guilt by association. which liberals so roundly denounce, is used by them these days against conservatives.

### Protection From Atomic Fallout

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. YARBOROUGH, Mr. President, just over a week ago, we read in our newspapers that a number of serious cases of atomic fallout in the Middle West had come to light.

These reports were given special emphasis by the fact that the fallout just now reported is the result of testing which began in May 1957-over 2 years

Experts tell us the radiation which we absorb now will affect genetic mutation for 100 years and more in the future.

Mr. President, and editorial in the Washington Post and Times Herald for June 15, 1959, gives a good discussion of the need for a fuller monitoring system to protect the health of humanity now and in the future. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD this editorial entitled "Fallout In the Dark."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD.

as follows:

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald, June 15, 1959|

FALLOUT IN THE DARK

The scattered instances of unusually great fallout from American atomic tests in Nevada are perhaps no cause for general panic.

But it is exceedingly disturbing that these accounts have to be gathered from private of local government sources, here and there, and that long after various localities have experienced fallout resulting in radiation exposure well above permissible limits, the Public Health Service and Atomic Energy Commission seem indifferent to the need for a better monitoring system.

What seems to be required, in the light of the alarming reports from several Midwestern States, is a more extensive check on the external radiation resulting from fallout and on the amounts of strontium, cesium, and other radioactive elements finding their way into milk and other food. Without such information, anxiety will only be heightened and will feed upon possibly inaccurate facts deduced from partial or haphazard local testing.

Undoubtedly many individuals in the localities where rain has washed down a heavy dose of fallout have received damaging ex-Posures. Many areas may have been touched and not even be aware of it. If this kind of risk needs to be taken-a basic assumption which itself needs to be more thoroughly examined and debated—the very least that the Government owes to the people is a frank and full appraisal of just how great the risk may be. And in areas where exposure has been predictably or unexpectedly great, something much more than bland assurances that "all's well" ought to be provided. The extrs expense of fuller monitoring could not possibly be greater than the to understand more thoroughly this insidious threat to the health of this and future generations.

Address by Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell Before the 43d Session of the International Labor Conference in Geneva, Switzerland, on June 12, 1959

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. CARROLL D. KEARNS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. KEARNS. Mr. Speaker, I was greatly impressed by the address of the Honorable James P. Mitchell at the ILO Conference in Geneva last Friday. The Secretary was excellently received, and I believe his remarks will be of interest to all of my colleagues in the Congress: Address by Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell Before the 43D Session of the

INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE, GENEVA, SWITZERLAND, JUNE 12, 1959

Mr. President and delegates, I am gratified once again to be able to join with an International Labor Conference in its discussion of the Director-General's excellent report.

Before that, however, on behalf of the President of the United States, I have the honor to read the following letter to the Director-General of ILO:

THE WHITE HOUSE, Washington, June 9, 1959.

DEAR MR. MORSE: I have asked Secretary Mitchell to carry this letter of greetings to you and to the members of the International Labor Organization assembled in Geneva for their 43d anniversary session.

The ILO is a vital forum for the exchange

of information and opinions by representatives of governments, employers, and working men and women. It has adapted itself ably to changing conditions and developed new techniques to meet new problems. It has grown strong in service to the people of the world.

Over the years, from its rich store of experience, the organization has shared its wisdom with newly developing countries through technical assistance and educational programs-and advisory and informational services. I understand that these countries call upon the ILO increasingly to help them realize their aspirations for a better life.

The United States is proud of its memberhsip in the International Labor Organization. We are glad that so many of our citizens have been able to serve the cause of world peace through participation in its work. Your own distinguished service as Director-General for more than a decade is a source of special pride.

On this occasion, I am delighted to reaffirm our support of the ILO and to add my best wishes for a memorable session. Sincerely.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER.

Over the past 40 years, conferences such as this have carved out 222 conventions and recommendations, ranging from precise technical prescriptions—on social in-surance or on the permissible use of dangerous substances-to declarations of the most profound and sublime objectives of freemen. ILO has declared against forced labor, and discrimination, for example, and it has declared that men have a right to draw together and associate freely for their economic advancement. At the same time, ILO staff and experts have completed a variety of studies and developed a myriad of technical standards for the protection and advancement of working people.

We are happy to see the ILO strike out in new directions which give better balance to the total ILO program. If the task of legislating standards has been largely completed during the first 40 years of existence, ILO's responsibility for making it possible for the people of the world to tain those ideal conditions and to enjoy the kind of life the standards envisage has just been taken up. It is only within the last fifth of ILO's life that it has stepped forth on a wide stage to offer to the developing areas of the world its acquired knowledge of better production methods, peaceful labor relations, quicker and more efficient training, and all the rest of the catalog of technical assistance services, research, and investigation which is the ILO's operating program.

These are the channels of service which must continually be deepened and widened so that the reservoir of knowledge and skills which ILO has stored up can flow more quickly and more smoothly to all the places of the earth where men demand a fuller, happier life.

The ILO's work in manpower development, training and productivity improvements have pointed to ways of helping nations break through some of their economic development bottlenecks. The new program of management training can help provide leadership socially responsible business which is so necessary for the development of productive enterprises and for the attraction of needed capital.

It seems to me that technical training in management might well include not only training in dry administrative techniques, but also, among others, education in human problems of safety, of worker training, of equitable wage administration, of grievance procedure. Every study of experience in labor-management relations emphasizes the point that basic acceptance, understanding, and willingness to work with the other side are crucial to successful relations. If the ILO's programs result in nothing more than the imparting of a healthy attitude to large groups of responsible labor leaders and management officials, they will have been worth-

Flexibility rather than rigidity in all its activities will enable the Organization to have its widest influence, to preserve what is good, to promote constructive change when change is warranted, and to contribute its best to a world that is seeking realistic solutions to practical problems.

We believe, Mr. President, that the forthcoming ILO African Regional Conference of 1960 can give the Organization an improved idea of the needs of that continent, the problems that the African peoples face in improving their economic status, and the order in which those problems should be taken up. At the same time, that discussion will better acquaint the people of Africa with the help ILO can provide in carrying out the tasks before them.

Today I would like especially to discuss with the Conference two aspects of the ILO's current work to which the U.S. Government attaches particular importance as challenges to ILO's capacity to find new directions and new means to meet its obligations and opportunities in a changing world.

The first of these proposals is that for an Institute for Social and Labor Studies. This idea is close to the spirit of the resolution on labor-management relations which was proposed by my Government and adopted at the 42d session of the International Labor Conference last year. That resolution said in part that the ILO should "become a center for the exchange of information in the labormanagement field," and that the ILO should "encourage and foster the establishment of national, regional, and international institutes and centers for systematic training and study in labor-management relations."

The Institute could give life to these two aims. But especially we would hope that the Institute, as part of the expanded program of ILO services, and in cooperation with other agencies in the United Nations family, might develop into an instrument of value for training and for studying a whole range of questions in the labor-management relations field. Labor-management relations means to me collective bargaining, workeremployer relations, personnel administration. worker and supervisory training-in effect, everything that has to do with the atmosphere and climate and spirit of the work-To the extent the Institute concentrates on these problems it will, in our judgment, render the greatest service. New societies are building in all the regions of the earth; they will look to us here for help in answering questions in the field of labor-management relations which they face for the first time, but for which a storehouse of proven experience has already been built

The Director General's report includes a second new direction for the development of ILO program. We agree that resources of the ILO must be committed to the evolution of a broad policy and program to equip young people to meet the demands of modern economic life. In every land where technology is advancing, there is the awareness that youth must be given the opportunity and encouragement for education and training, and that society must find the means to avoid conditions which drain away some portion of every nation's vitality through underdeveloped potential. The benefits flow not only to the youth as a worker, but to society in general. The youth program we seek must deal with education for work, vocational guidance, placement, inservice training, and advancement on the job. would hope that action to be taken by this conference, in the form of resolutions to stimulate such a policy, would be flexible enough to be generally useful around the world, and simple enough to be attainable.

I have thus far addressed my remarks principally to the Director General's report, which I understand to be the purpose of our discussion. Before sitting down, however, I would like to bring up to date the account I gave you a year ago on the economic outlook in the United States. Last June from this rostrum, I said, "There is no doubt in the minds of all Americans of the strength and resiliency of the American system, or of its capacity for continued growth." I can report to you now that the confidence of a quick recovery we held then has been justified.

When I spoke to you in June 1958, our economy had already begun to recover from a sharp rise in unemployment. The recovery since then has been very encouraging, and economic activity in recent months has been rising to new peaks.

Last month, more than 66 million people were at work in the United States—an all-time high for the month of May. Employment has risen by over a million from April to May of this year and by more than 2 million since May 1958. Income, output, consumer buying, as well as employment are all at record levels. Our actual physical output of goods and services in the first quarter of 1959 bettered the previous all-time peak, reached in the second quarter of 1957, by \$9½ billion. Thus far in 1959, each report month after month, has shown accelerating gains, both in the general economic picture and in specific employment

situations as well. During the 1958 recession we added to our experience in coping with economic downturns the valuable fact that our unemployment compensation system can be a stimulating factor for economic as well as social protection and we will continue our efforts to improve that system. Nearly \$4 billion were paid out in public unemploy-ment benefits during the year 1958, at an average weekly rate of \$30.58 of purchasing power that helped maintain markets for goods and services. These benefits represent the contribution of our public systems of unemployment insurance to worker security. In addition, millions of American workers enjoy the benefits of privately negotiated plans of unemployment benefits which add substantially to the public pro-

Although our economy is again operating at record levels and although our unemployment problem is receding, we are still confronted with the problem of maintaining reasonably stable prices, while we attain the economic growth necessary for full employment and higher living standards. In my own country, we are determined to achieve these goals. I am a member of a special Cabinet committee, headed by the Vice President of the United States, which is at work on this problem, and several committees of the Congress have begun to attack it as well. In the United States we recognize that the simultaneous achievement of these goals depends on the attitudes and actions of workers, and the unions that represent them, and of the attitudes and actions of employers as well as of governments.

But we are aware from the discussion here and elsewhere that reconciling economic growth, full employment, and price stability is a problem that challenges every country and every economy, And we know that lasting solutions can be found only by the full collaboration of free workers, independent managements, and their govern-Therefore, ILO is in a unique position and has a responsibility to contribute to a better understanding of the problem. I would recommend that the governing body and the director-general initiate studies and inquiries and arrange for appropriate exchanges of experience so as to assist all member nations in their efforts to maintain price stability without sacrificing or delaying economic growth.

I would close my remarks by saying that I have particularly enjoyed seeing so many observer delegations here, many of, whom are attending an ILO conference for the first time. Their presence among us should help to insure that their peoples will benefit from the technical and personal exchanges which characterize our conferences. What better proof can be found of the vitality and the utility of the ILO, serving in the improvement of the condition of man and advancing his eternal quest for universal peace with justice.

# How National Parks Add to Local Prosperity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, one of the outstanding public servants in our Federal Government is Dr. Conrad L. Wirth, Director of the U.S. National Park Service. For the June 1959 issue of Think magazine, which is published by International Business Machines Corp., Dr. Wirth has written an illuminating article entitled "Birth Throes of a National Park."

In his article in Think, Dr. Wirth has particular reference to the proposed Cape Cod National Seashore, sponsored by the distinguished Senators from Massachusetts [Mr. Salstonstall and Mr. Kennedy]. But he might also have had reference to all other pending national parks—for example, the one I am urging in the Oregon Dunes and Sealion Caves, along the magnificent shoreline of my own State.

Let me emphasize one statement by Dr. Wirth, in which he writes in Think magazine:

In the long run, national parks have always resulted in a better economic status for the surrounding areas.

As if to corroborate this statement by the Director of the National Park Service, the New York Times for Sunday, June 14, 1959, has published a lengthy article in its travel section on the 30th anniversary of the Grand Teton National Park in Wyoming. The New York Times correspondent, Mr. Jack Goodman, has stressed the fact that local ranchers originally claimed the national park was a threat to prosperity in their area. At that time local bank deposits at Jackson totaled \$395,000.

Fortunately, Grand Teton National Park was established in the Hoover administration. Today, according to the New York Times article, some \$4,500,000 are on deposit in banks in Jackson, Wyo., and over 1,500,000 visitors are expected to visit Grand Teton National Park this year, to swell this substantial prosperity. At the time that John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and his family began buying up scenic land in the Jackson Hole region preparatory to giving it to the Government for a great new national park, there was much local hostility to their idea. Today, Mr. Rockefeller and those who were associated with him are regarded as benefactors of the area

I feel certain that the same wholesome revision of public opinion will occur in the Oregon Dunes, at Cape Cod, at Indiana Dunes, at Point Reyes, and at other places where shoreline parks are being proposed by Members of Congress.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article by Dr. Conrad L. Wirth, in the June issue of Think mag-

/ azine, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

BIRTH THROES OF A NATIONAL PARK (By Conrad I. Wirth)

A few weeks ago, I stood on the speaker's platform in the townhall at Eastham, Mass., and looked out over a sea of some 500 grimfaced Cape Codders, packed together like sardines in the little auditorium. There were rumblings of restlessness both in the hall and outside where more cars were still squeezing into the packed parking lot, lighted up by a full moon coming up over Nauset Bay. I must confess to a feeling of some uneasiness in the pit of my stomach, because I knew what was coming. I had been through it all before. -Not once, but many times.

These people were here because a National Park Service report had just been issued, recommending the establishment of a national seashore on Cape Cod that would set aside and preserve some 30,000 acres of still-unspoiled beach, dune, and marshland as a federally protected recreational sanctuary for all Americans—those now living and the generations to come. They were here because this proposal not only affected the lives of each of them, but also could mean a drastic change in the economics and way of life of the area in which they had their homes and businesses, in which many of them had grown up and reared their children.

At 8 p.m., Maurice Wiley, chairman of Eastham's Board of Selectmen, stepped to the microphone and opened the meeting. "It is a pleasure to welcome all of you here tonight," he said, a little nervously. "Let's hope that we can all be ladies and gentlemen."

As he spoke I took another look at the faces in the audience. These are the people. I thought, who will have to make personal sacrifices of greater or lesser magnitude, the few who will have to make unwanted adjustments in their lives for the sake of the many who will benefit if the present dream of 3 national seashore area for the use and enjoyment of all becomes a future reality. Some, obviously, would be less hurt than others. In the audience there were well-known writers-Edmund Wilson, literary critic and author of "Memoirs of Hecate County," O'Connor, author of the bestselling novel "The Last Hurrah," Paul Chavchavadze. noted author and playwright. They had come over to the meeting from the writers' colony at Wellfleet. Their lives would be disturbed, but certainly they would not suffer too greatly. But what of the grizzled oldsters, the carpenters, the fishermen, the just plain old folk living out their lives in the only homes they had ever known? What would the change mean to them?

There was little time to contemplate these things because, at that moment, the dammed-up flood of questions burst. For the next 4 hours I did my best to set fears at rest, to clear up unfounded rumor, and to dodge the formidable brickbats of criticism flung my way in the course of the heated and sometimes unruly discussion. I will say, though, that most of the men and women in the gathering did remember that they were ladies and gentlemen. I have been in other meetings where this was not the case.

The people there that night wanted to know what was going to happen to them and to their homes. They had heard all kinds of stories about how, if the national seashore proposal were approved, the Government would come in and seize their homes and simply throw them out. Some of them felt that they were being given the same kind of treatment the early white man gave the Indian, and that they, too, would be

driven helter-skelter off their land. And under the sun. Now the visitor may drive there were many other fears. What about from one end of the beach to the other the loss of tax revenue? How would the affected towns—Truro, Wellfleet, Eastham, Orleans, Chatham—continue to exist if large sections of their tax-producing land were swallowed up in the proposed new park? And how would residents of the area find a livelihoood if the current building boom and all its attendant bonanza of jobs and sales were suddenly cut off?

Much of the feeling was summed up in a single question from the floor. It was di-rected to me, politely but firmly, by a spare and sincere man of 75, Dr. Frank J. Maguire of South Wellfleet. "I began 20 years ago." he said, "to buy land and build cottages, 12 of them, 1 of which is my summer home. Will I have the use of that summer cottage by the sea and the dunes that I love? talk about preserving the beauty of the land, Which I appreciate. I have turned away many a person who wanted to put up a hot dog stand on my land. But I ask you for a little credit for me and the others. Who has kept the land unspoiled up to now? Haven't We done a pretty good job of it on our own?

It was up to me to do the explaining. It was by no means an easy thing, but I could put my heart into it because I felt so strongly that what was being proposed was a vitally necessary thing for America.

I began by saying something like this: "This is a country which has grown because, at one time or another, we have all made some sacrifices to make it great. I will not say that some of you won't be affected, be-cause in an undertaking of this size it is inevitable that some will. But we are sure that in the long run the community, the State, and the Nation will be better We honestly want to work with you and for you and to cause as little disruption as possible in your way of life. If the Congress approves this seashore, that is the basis on which we will proceed, and on no other."

Then I undertook to explain that Cape Cod was only one small part of a much larger picture, a larger problem. To begin with, I quoted the following paragraphs from our report recommending establish-

ment of the seashore park:

"The inexorable march of progress brings many and varied benefits for which all can be deeply thankful. But inevitably the march imperils other values, old and often deeply loved. This surging tide of modern progress has rolled over vast areas of our pristine coastal country, wiping out, one after another, the natural open spaces so long serene and undisturbed. Houses, busi-nesses, resorts of all kinds continue ever more rapidly to invade, disrupt, and destroy the very beauties we seek most to enjoy.

This is happening to Cape Cod. now the still unspoiled Great Beach is vanishing under buildings. It is time to set aside, preserve, and protect the last of the old Cape so that the inspiration of its surpassing beauty can be kept intact and handed down to future generations of

Americans.

"Until now, that beauty has been protected by the good taste and care of individuals, towns, and the Commonwealth. Their efforts, however, may soon be engulfed by the wave of development that threatens. National protection will be needed to achieve the conservation ideals of the people who love Cape Cod.

To accomplish this, to save this irreplaceable treasure for the future, a Cape Cod national seashore comprising Great Beach and related areas is proposed."

As I read these words, I was thinking of What had happened, in the space of a few short years, to what once was the magnificent open waterfront of Miami Beach, a place where rich and poor alike could find health-ful recreation in the golden open spaces from one end of the beach to the other without ever seeing the sand or the sea. All the shoreline is now hidden from view behind unbroken stretches of glistening luxury hotels, and the secluded beach areas are for the enjoyment of the comparative few who can pay the price. We can't blame these people for doing this, but we can blame ourselves for not planning ahead.

This was the thing that I was trying to tell these people, that time was running out, not only for Cape Cod but for most of the remaining significant open spaces in America, both coastal and inland, where all of the people, not just a few, could find pleasure and relaxation in natural surroundings, unspoiled by the handiwork of man. I wanted to explain that the mounting pressure of a growing national population looking for recreation, together with the pressure to commercialize the natural resources these people are seeking to enjoy, is too powerful for purely local measures to cope with successfully

The danger is a very real one. It was well expressed, I thought, in a recent editorial in the Cape Codder, the good little weekly newspaper published at Orleans, Mass., which has fought very hard for accomplishment of the national seashore proposal. "Let's face it," the editor wrote, "We—the people who own and live on Cape Cod-are losing a little more of it each year, each month, each week. Are there any who cannot see the creeping desecration, the impinging blight that chews like disease into area after area? This can go on for just so long. Then, one day, there will be no remoteness, no beauty left."

This, I knew so well, could be said not only of Cape Cod, but of all the rest of these United States. In our rush to expand and build and make more money we are too preoccupied to think of tomorrow, when the work is done and we many want to relax and enjoy nature in some remote and peaceful spot. But if we don't think of tomorrow now-while there is still time-where will we find that peaceful place, where will we find the beauty which our souls require?

I believe many of the Cape Codders at the meeting understood these things. It was all right, they agreed, to think of the future of America, to try to plan for it. But what of their own future? What about the Government's coming in and, overnight, taking away their homes, driving them out?

I explained that this simply wasn't the way that things were done. In the first place, I said, if Congress does approve the proposal for the national seashore, it will probably take at least 2 years to get the legislation finished and passed in final form and funds appropriated or donated. there would follow a period of establishing boundaries and acquiring available land Actually, it would probably be 10 to 15 years after passage of the legislation before all of the land for the Cape Cod seashore could be acquired and formally established. So it would not be something that would happen overnight.

And as for the 700 homes or so involved in the proposed park area, there just wouldn't be any such thing as Government seizure. Except in extreme cases, there would be no interference with property

'I've driven 140 miles to get to this meeting," a man from Connecticut interposed, and this is my question: What is going to happen in the next 40 or 50 years to those of us who own property on Cape Cod with-in the national seashore?"

"As a property owner," I told him, "You will continue to have the rights you now have. Assuming that Congress authorizes the seashore and we can get funds with which to buy property, we would like to sit down and negotiate with you for your prop-

erty. We would do this on the basis of appraisals made by locally recognized real estate people who are familiar with values. On the other hand, if you do not wish to sell, that is that. I hope you will, if your property is within the boundaries proposed. But we will not force you to sell. If you wish to stay on your land we will be glad to work out a life tenancy arrangement whereby you can keep your home as it is and live there for the balance of your life."

WHAT ABOUT EMINENT DOMAIN?

"But what about our children?" someone else put in. "We like them to live here, too, as we have, and to know the Cape as we have."

That, I explained, is precisely why the seashore proposal was made—so that their children, and their children's children, could know the Cape as they have known it.

But." someone else wanted to know "what about the right of eminent domain? You say that you wouldn't take our homes, but couldn't you, if you wanted to, condemn our property and take it over that way? Haven't you done that in the past?"
"Yes," I admitted, "a few times,

I admitted, "a few times, a very I recalled the case of a man who owned an acre and a half of unimproved land in Yorktown, Va., which we had been trying for 3 years to purchase for inclusion in the Colonial National Historical Park. "One morning," I said, "the park superintendent called me to say that the owner had bulldozers on the land and was about to rip it up to build another house. Now, the land in question was Redoubt No. 9, which Alexander Hamilton and American troops stormed and took, leading to the surrender of Cornwallis and the British Army on October 19, 1781. It was of such historic importance that I went to the Secretary of the Interior, got his approval and secured an injunction to stop its destruction. The courts then awarded the owner a fair price. "But," I added, smiling a little at the memory of that hectic day, "such things, fortunately, happen very rarely."

Still the questions came. Many of them expressed serious fears about the effect of the proposed Government action on the economic future of the area. I admitted, of course, that temporary dislocation was quite possible. But I pointed out that, in the long run, national parks have always resulted in a better economic status for the surrounding areas.

As an example, I cited what has happened to the area around it since the Great Smoky Mountains National Park was dedicated in 1940. This is a very interesting story and perhaps holds a lesson for all of us. The Great Smoky Mountains National Park is a 700-square-mile mountain mass located in southeastern Tennessee and southwestern North Carolina. Today the park attracts more visitors than Yellowstone, Yosemite, Glacier, Grand Canyon, or any other of the national parks.

In 1947, there were 1,204,107 visitors.the next 10 years this figure more than doubled to 2,885,819. North Carolina's highway department reports that in the same period traffic increased 88 percent, the greatest growth in that State's history. the Great Smokies increased 140 percent. The 21/2 million visitors in 1956 spent over \$28 million in the cities and towns around the park area.

This, then, I explained, was the sort of economic growth that might be expected in the vicinity of a park area such as the proposed Cape Cod National Seashore.

"But what," I was asked, "about the loss of tax revenues? You spoke about no drastic upheavals. Certainly this is about as drastic as anything could be. I'm not sure that some of the affected towns here on the Cape could survive the heavy loss of tax-producing land. Some of them might simply cease to exist. Where is your remedy for that?'

I shook my head. I must admit that by this point I had grown quite weary. Where is your remedy? There are so many, many things to which remedies must be found if we are to succeed in our efforts to assure the Americans of tomorrow a place of beauty and

a place of peace.

I cited for this particular question what had been done when Grand Teton National Park was established and the nearby town of Jackson, Wyo., had similar and quite justifiable fears about its ability to survive the loss of revenue. I explained that as we purchased private land in that area we compensated the community taxwise for the full value of the property over a 3-year period. We then decreased the payments 5 percent a year for 20 years. This situation, I said, worked out very well in Jackson. Of course, I don't advocate this or know what Congress would agree to. I do know that Jackson is much better off economically now than before the park was established.

There were more questions, but they largely covered the same ground. The next night there was more of the same, in another meeting in another auditorium—this time in

nearby Chatham.

The following day we left the cape. As our early morning flight took off I looked down the sunlit dunes and heaths and knew that I had not seen the last of them. Nothing was settled. There would be other meetings, other questions, other problems.

But we must solve them. We must proceed with all possible vigor in our efforts to save America's few remaining nationally signifi-cant recreational areas. We simply must be sure that there is always a spiritual side of life as well as a material one in this country of ours. There must be such places as Cape Cod for tomorrow, and tomorrow, if we are to continue strong. It is unfortunate but necessary-that some must make sacrifices in order that this goal can be achieved.

Tribute to Charles E. Dansby of Gatesville, Tex.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF .

# HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, with the death of Charles E. Dansby of Gatesville, this Nation lost a front-line soldier in the fight for good government. He was a leader in Coryell County, and in all central Texas.

Charlie Dansby spent the better part | PRIVATE LEADERSHIP VICTORY CALLED LESSON of his 86 years hard at work in the activities of a good citizen. In addition to his business interests, he was active in his church and in civic and fraternal groups which work toward a better America. Beyond this, he translated his dreams of good government into action by hardworking, unselfish support of the candidates and issues he believed to be right. I am glad I could have him as my friend. He fought shoulder to shoulder with us in Texas for good government in our time.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "C. E. Dansby of Gatesville Dies Sunday," from the Waco (Tex.) News-Tribune for Monday, April 6, 1959.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

(From the Waco (Tex.) News-Tribune, April 6, 1959]

C. E. DANSBY, OF GATESVILLE, DIES SUNDAY

GATESVILLE.—Charles E. Dansby, of Gatesville, died at 1:15 a.m. Sunday in a Gatesville hospital. He was 86.

Funeral services will be at 4 p.m. Monday in the First Baptist Church, of Valley Mills. Rev. Hugh Durham and Rev. J. D. Barnes will officiate with burial in Valley Mills

Wilkirson & Hatch Funeral Home, of Waco, is in charge of arrangements.

Mr. Dansby was born at the Norse community in Bosque County December 23, 1872. He was reared and educated in Bosque County, moved to Waco in 1926, to Valley Mills in 1930 and to Gatesville about 8 years

He was president of the First National Bank in Valley Mills from 1910 until resigning in 1918. On his return to Valley Mills in 1930, he again became president of the bank and served until 1932.

Mr. Dansby, in addition to being a banker, had wide farming, ranching, and oil interests.

He was a member of Gatesville Masonic Lodge No. 197, A. F. & A. M., was a charter member of the Karem Shrine in Waco and was a member of the First Baptist Church in Gatesville.

Mr. Dansby had been a Mason 55 years. Survivors are three sons, H. M. Dansby, of Texas City, C. T. Dansby, of Gatesville, and C. E. Dansby, Jr., of Valley Mills; four daughters, Mrs. L. E. Walker, of Valley Mills, Mrs. Pat Sherwood, of Clifton, Mrs. A. P. Ratjen, of Tula, and Mrs. Olon F. Fox, of Tyler: 14 grandchildren and 16 great-grandchildren.

### A Lesson in Economics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

### HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues, and especially to those who so strenously insisted that economic recovery was possible only through Gov-ernment intervention, the following article by Roscoe Drummond, which appeared in the June 15 issue of the New York Herald Tribune:

OF RECOVERY

WASHINGTON .- The continued rise in employment, the continued rise in average weekly factory earnings, the continued rise in sales, the continued rise in capital spending for new factories and machines, the continued decline in unemployment—these developments are the most impressive proof of the resilience of the Nation's free, competitive economy.

These are reassuring and welcome develop-

They are welcome because they are humane; they mean that millions more Americans are working and sharing well in the common prosperity.

They are reassuring because they constitute precious assets in the cold peace, for the whole free world.

There is every reason to examine these assets with satisfaction: (1) Unemployment at the lowest level in 17 months, down in \*May to 3,389,000, about 1,500,000 below a year ago; (2) employment at 66 million, a new May record, 1 million above a year ago; (3) average weekly factory earnings exceeding \$90 for the first time; (4) prices continuing stable.

It is all to the good to proclaim these facts, as many spokesmen for the administration are doing.

But what is more important is to ask ourselves what brought about this virile recovery, a recovery which an objective and expert analyst like J. A. Livingston, says "is assuming classical proportions." In other words, what is the real lesson, the economic and political lesson, to be learned from the experience of the past 2 years?

The economic facts of the recovery are becoming clear, but is the lesson to be drawn from the recovery becoming clear? It seems to me that this lesson ought to be faithfully examined and pondered by every worker and every union leader, by every businessman and banker, by every Congressman and politician, by every economist and every professor, by every voter—Democratic, Republican, and independent.

It seems to me that the lesson is this:

That the economists and the lobbyists and politicians—thoroughly honest advocates all—who believed that the recession could only be turned back by massive Government intervention in the economy, have now been twice proved wrong; proved wrong in the recovery from the 1954 recession, proved wrong in the recovery from the 1958 recession.

That twice a vigorous recovery has been led by the private sector of the economy, by consumers and by businessmen and that it can now be seen in retrospect and again, if necessary, should be seen with foresight that major tax reduction and planned deficit spending were unneeded and undesirable.

That the Eisenhower administration was both prudent and courageous in standing against massive intervention in the economy and that this course of action, far from being a casual and callous neglect of the Nation's welfare, served the greatest good of the greatest number.

The recovery of 1959 is proving to be closely parallel to the recovery of 1955. The pace and thoroughness of both recoveries, achieved without massive Government intervention-aided, it should be frankly admitted, by the rise in the postsputnik defense spending-exceeded the forecast of those who appeared to have little faith in the dynamic forces of our enterprise economy.

I don't mean the Government has no role in cushloning a recession or in promoting recovery. No recession is exactly the same as another and you wouldn't want to rule out deficit spending. But isn't it time we recognized that big public works and big tax cutting are not the first or best sources of economic growth?

# U.S.-Soviet Exchange Urged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, as we know, the challenge of reducing East-West tensions continue to be one of the major problems confronting the world.

The unproductiveness of the Geneva Conference again emphasizes the need for, and examination of, new ideas.

We recall that, over the years, a variety of approaches have been put forward, aimed at improving understanding between people of the Western World and those behind the Communist curtains. Particularly significant has been the people-to-people program, which, through private initiative, is stepping up the exchange of people, ideas, and information.

At this time, I want to call attention to a proposal for increasing the exchange of American and Soviet citizens that is receiving ever-widening attention in Wisconsin and elsewhere in the country.

The plan-a kind of open city idearecommends the exchange of delegations of citizens between whole communities, for example, of the Soviet Union and the United States.

A number of communities in Wisconsin have examined the proposal and have officially informed the State De-partment they are ready to exchange delegations with the Soviet Union.

Originator of the plan-and its prime enthusiast-is Dr. Edmund Zawacki, chairman of the Department of Slavic Languages and Literature at the University of Wisconsin.

The June 12 issue of the Christian Science Monitor carries an item describing this plan and its objectives. To give my colleagues the benefit of this approach to resolving East-West problems, I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COLD WAR REMEDY?-U.S.-SOVIET EXCHANGE URGED

### (By Godfrey Sperling, Jr.)

Madison, Wis.—From Wisconsin, tradi-tionally the State of new ideas and experiment, has come projection into global affairs—a plan for a massive exchange of leading American and Soviet citizens.

Originator of the plan, University of Wisconsin Professor Edmund Zawacki calls his proposal "power politics with moral force,

the opposite of war."

So persuasive is Dr. Zawacki's idea that wisconsin communities have joined the "open city" plan, officially informing the State Department that they are ready to exchange delegations of citizens with the Soviet Union.

Madison, Wisconsin's capital city (population: 100,000), has suggested Kazan on the middle Volga as its exchange partner. Kazan would be of comparable size and geographical location inside the Soviet Union to that of Madison.

With these same geographical and population factors in mind, Appleton, Wis. (30,-000), has suggested Arzamas; and Belleville, Wis. (900), has suggested a village near Kazan.

Latest community to foster the program is Jefferson City, Wis.

### PLAN EXPLAINED

In Jefferson City, the city council first heard two attorneys, Richard Smith and J. M. Slechta, explain the "open city" plan. Then the council voted to send a letter to the State Department, offering to exchange delegations. The council voted to send between 5 and 10 delegates to a Soviet city

near Kazan. Dr. Zawacki, chairman of the department of Slavic languages and literature at the university here, says he already has the backing of Senators William Peoxmire, Democrat of Wisconsin, and Jacob K. Javirs, Democrat of New York, for his plan.

If the Zawacki proposal were carried out fully, delegations from some 20,000 American communities would be exchanged with comparable Soviet delegations.

Dr. Zawacki says that such an "open city" program of reciprocal city-to-city visiting on this massive scale would be a self-enforcing peace as opposed to coexistence.

All expenses for these visits, as Dr. Za-wacki sees it, should be paid by the host countries. He feels it would require a congressional appropriation of \$250 million. He says this is a small price to pay for a workable peace program. He says that without such a program coexistence is merely a drift toward thermonuclear war.

### COEXISTENCE OR PEACE

He says the choice before U.S. policy never was, and is not now, thermonuclear war or coexistence, but coexistence or peace.

Would the Soviets be able to accept such

a plan?

'The political results expected from resolute American launching of the open city idea on a total scale like this," says Dr. Zawacki, "do not depend at all on the immediate and actual practice of city-to-city visits, but upon a cumulative and relatively swift precipitation inside the Soviet Union of an active public opinion on this issue, hostile to the negative stand that the Communist regime must take in every city, town, and village in the U.S.S.R."

Thus it seems that Dr. Zawacki feels that a great deal could be gained by the United States in merely adopting the "open city" plan in principle. He does not look upon the plan, however, as a "propaganda tactic." He doesn't like the insincerity overtones in the word "propaganda." He feels that the United States should adopt his plan with full sincerity, taking every step necessary to implement it. Of the initial impact on Moscow he has this to say:

The idea is as simple as it is tremendous, and no Communist regime can accept this friendly American proposal and hope to continue its totalitarian monoparty, political control thereafter over the vast population outside the Communist privilegentsia.

### CURIOSITY TAXED

"Nor can the Communist leadership in the U.S.S.R. repeatedly reject this American proposal, held in a continuous glare of worldwide publicity, and hope to escape the mounting wrath of the Russian people.

"It is conceivable that the Russian people's deep tradition of hospitality, their equally deep curiosity about everyday life in the United States, and their normal human desire to avoid biological extermination in a thermonuclear holocaust would outweigh their concern, if any, for the longevity of the Iron Curtain and the Communist monoparty system that cannot exist without it."

But Dr. Zawacki says that what would happen to the Communist regime in the Soviet Union would be the business of the Soviet people.

"Our business," he emphasizes, "is only to demonstrate to the Russian people that our 'open city' proposal is friendly, sincere, and

serious."
Dr. Zawacki points out that his suggestion is in line with the Lacy-Zarubin agreement of January 1968, for cultural exchange between the United States and the Soviet Union: "Both parties will promote the development and strengthening of friendly contacts between Soviet and American cities."

He feels that 2-week visits for these delegations would be sufficient to break down the doors of misunderstanding between the two nations.

Most of all, Dr. Zawacki stresses that this would be power politics with moral force. 'If power politics of this new kind," he says. "is acceptable as a realistic definition of peace in the hydrogen age, it is perhaps time to practice it and quit trying to make friends of Communist Parties and quit talking ponderous nonsense about mere sur-vival. People want to live, not survive."

# The Voice of Democracy: Address by Herman Mast

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. SCHOEPPEL. Mr. President, on May 23 of this year, in the city of Wichita, Kans., a State convention of the Kansas Radio Broadcasters was held. On that occasion the winner of the Voice of America contest was Herman Mast, of 208 West 15th Street, Lawrence, Kans. I ask unanimous consent that his excellent speech be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

### VOICE OF DEMOCRACY

It was a bright and beautiful morning, but then, only as you would expect, considering it was June 15 in that year of 1950. On his way up from the field, grandfather was thinking that everything was intact; grandmother was busy in the kitchen preparing a hearty breakfast for grandfather was a hearty man, as most farm men are. this was not just another day among the many I spent at my grandparents' farm that morning the air was filled with an excitement so special in the life of a small boy. Today was to see the purchase of my very own bicycle, so we got into the family pickup and traveled to a neighboring town to make the purchase.

Home again, with a shiny new bike and with likewise new ambition to travel to new places. As I started down the narrow lane. I noticed that nothing was in my way, and the only thing necessary for a trip across the beautiful Kansas plain which stretched out before me on this nice summer day was the strength to paddle my new bike.

It did not occur to me, as a small child, and would not occur, in many cases, to the oldest and wisest of adults, that this bicycle was a product of our capitalistic society, paid for with money drawn from a Government insured savings account, and that it may travel over highways constructed for the use of all.

Creditors and debtors, leaders and followers, must all obey the same set of rules and responsibilities that have been agreed upon by at least one over half of them who took the time to vote, on that day when they are all equal in power and wealth, that day when they mark their secret ballot.

We must not neglect our responsibilities. we must obey, with respect, our rules, and we must stop apologizing for our capitalistic

It has made us strong without corupting our humane sympathies for the world of starving or staggering collectivist or semicollectivist nations around us. When you hear the sneers of critics across the water, remember they come from people who are crying to us for help and are sneering at the social system that has made us strong enough to give that help. In many of these foreign countries, the bicycle is the principal means of transportation, but it probably never occurred to our sneering critics that their bicycle has physical laws similar to those of our own democracy. Democracy is like my new bike.

THE FASTER IT GOES, THE LESS LIKELY IT IS TO TIP OVER

If it leans to one side, we simply lean in the opposite direction to correct it. And to accomplish its purpose, it must maintain its balance. Just as a small boy must master the technique of riding a bicycle, so we, as parents, adults, citizens, and yes, even teenagers must master the technique of a democracy.

I am like you, I stand for rules, responsibilities, and the conscientious or complacent people exercise or lose these coveted privileges, which millions long and hope for, fight and die for, receive and fail to work for. In short, I speak for democracy.

That line that forms right from wrong, the dent in the high hat, the feeling of vitality, the score at the beginning of the ninth, the suspicions of the people who are free to express their fears. I speak for quick TV dinners and slow income tax returns, the chain that never breaks, the frame that never seems to come apart, the valve core through which air never seems to leak. I speak for an idea yet to be disproven. I speak for the guiding hands on the handlebar which make the right turn more than 50 percent of the time. I speak for U.S. That's spelled, capital U period, capital S period.

### Coal Research and Development Act

SPEECH

OF

### HON. WINFIELD K. DENTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 12, 1959

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 6596) to encourage and stimulate the production and conservation of coal in the United States through research and development by creating a Coal Research and Development Commission, and for other purposes.

Mr. DENTON. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 6596, the bill to encourage and stimulate the production and conservation of coal in this country through research and development and by creating a Coal Research and Development Commission, and for other purposes.

At the present time there is great unemployment in the Nation's coalfields. Perhaps no other industry has been so hard hit. Despite the fact that coal is our country's greatest remaining natural mineral resource, we have seen a great decline in its use in the past 10 years. A decade ago, more than 500,000 coal miners were employed by the industry; today, we have approximately 225,000. Last year we only mined 410 million tons of bituminous coal, in contrast to the

more than 500 million tons of coal produced 10 years ago.

Not only does the situation in the coal industry weaken our national economy, but it also endangers the security of our country. Should there ever be an outbreak of war, this Nation would be forced to rely on coal as its principal fuel. For that reason alone, it is essential that the Federal Government see that our Nation's coal industry is able to supply the great quantities of coal which would be needed for national defense.

The bill which is under consideration today would be beneficial to the entire Nation, and not just to the coal-producing areas alone. By setting up a research program into better and more economical ways of producing and using coal, this bill will provide for lower coal costs, newer uses, and other developments that will improve the economic position of the industry at large and also benefit consumers of coal, coal mine workers, distressed coal mining communities, and the general public.

Creation of this coal research and development program for coal will also aid our national security by insuring that our coal industry will be able to meet the demands on it in future years, and by finding ways to better utilize coal; thereby conserving this natural resource.

The Coal Research and Development Commission provided for in this bill will conduct, sponsor, cosponsor, and encourage coal research, and will cooperate fully with all other research agencies. both governmental and nongovernmental, in order ot prevent duplication of research. At the present time, there is very little coal research being conducted. The Bureau of Mines is doing some research, but it is mostly of a long-range nature, whereas what is needed is research directed toward assisting the coal industry with its immediate or shortrange research and development problems. The coal industry has done the best it can with limited means, but has been able to spend only around \$17 million annually on research. By way of comparison, research expenditures by the petroleum industry in 1953 were \$145.9 million; textile industries, \$280 million; rubber products, \$53.6 million; and chemical industry, \$361.1 million.

I urge enactment of H.R. 6596, as a measure that would help the coal industry, and industries dependent on it, the consuming public, and our national security.

# Recovery Lessons: Industry Given Credit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1959

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following article by the well-known columnist, Roscoe Drummond, appeared in

this morning's Washington Post and Times-Herald, June 15, 1959. It points up the strength and resiliency of the American free enterprise system. This system is something most of us politicians know little about and have done much to destroy.

Mr. Drummond does well to point out how the present administration, through a minimum of Government interference, made possible the recovery of 1954 and turned back the recession of 1958, which has now turned into an era of great prosperity, surpassing many of our wildest hopes, and confounding the prophets of doom and gloom who, for political reasons, hoped for a complete depression similar to that of 1929:

RECOVERY LESSONS—INDUSTRY GIVEN CREDIT (By Roscoe Drummond)

The continued rise in employment, the continued rise in average weekly factory earnings, the continued rise in sales, the continued rise in capital spending for new factories and machines, the continued decline in unemployment—these developments are the most impressive proof of the resilience of the Nation's free, competitive economy.

These are reassuring and welcome developments.

They are welcome because they are humane; they mean that millions more Americans are working and sharing well in the common prosperity.

They are reassuring because they constitute precious assets in the cold peace—for the whole free world.

There is every reason to examine these assets with satisfaction: (1) Unemployment at the lowest level in 17 months, down in May to 3.389,000, about 1,500,000 below a year ago; (2) employment at 66 million, a new May record, 1 million above a year ago; (3) average weekly factory earnings exceeding \$90 for the first time; (4) prices continuing stable.

tinuing stable.

But what is more important is to ask ourselves what brought about this virile recovery, a recovery which an objective and expert analyst like J. A. Livingston says "is assuming classical proportions." In other words, what is the real lesson—the economic and political lesson—to be learned from the experience of the past 2 years?

The economic facts of the recovery are

The economic facts of the recovery are becoming clear, but is the lesson to be drawn from the recovery becoming clear?

It seems to me that the lesson is this:
That the economists and the lobbyists and
politicians—thoroughly honest advocates
all—who believed that the recession could
be turned back only by massive Government
intervention in the economy, have now been
twice proved wrong; proved wrong in the recovery from the 1954 depression, proved
wrong in the recovery from the 1958 recession.

That twice a vigorous recovery has been led by the private sector of the economy, by consumers and by businessmen, and that it can now be seen in retrospect, and again, if necessary, should be seen with foresight that major tax reduction and planned deficit spending were unneeded and undesirable.

That the Eisenhower administration was both prudent and courageous in standing against massive intervention in the economy and that this course of action, far from being a casual and callous neglect of the Nation's welfare, served the greatest good of the greatest number.

The recovery of 1959 is proving to be closely parallel to the recovery of 1955. The pace and thoroughness of both recoveries, achieved without massive Government interven-

tion—aided, it should be frankly admitted, by the rise in the post-sputnik defense spending—exceeded the forecast of those who appeared to have little faith in the dynamic forces of our enterprise economy.

I don't mean the Government has no role in cushioning a recession or in promoting recovery. No recession is exactly the same as another and you wouldn't want to rule out deficit spending. But isn't it time we recognized that big public works and big tax cutting are not the first or best sources of economic growth?

The Budget: End Versus Means

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, in my extension of remarks, I include an editorial "The Budget: End Versus Means," appearing in the New York Times of June 12, 1959.

As the editorial well said:

But if a budget balance is reached in 1960 the President will have to credit important assists to first, the political opposition, and second, a business recovery more vigorous than he could possibly have foreseen in January.

By "the political opposition" is meant the Democratic Party in the Congress.

A pointed illustration of this fact is the bill increasing the International Monetary Fund by only \$1,370 million.

According to the evidence presented to congressional committees, none of this money will be spent until after July 1, 1959—in fiscal year 1960. The authority to take advantage of this very large increased amount should, in fact, be in fiscal year 1960. If this happened, the alleged statement of the President of a balanced budget would have been destroyed.

The President wanted this authority charged up to fiscal year 1959, because the deficit for this year will be over \$12 billion. In other words, to the President and the Republicans, a deficit of over \$12 billion this fiscal year is of no signficance in relation to inflation or a sound dollar.

The Democratic-controlled Congress complied with the President's request changing this tremendous sum to 1959 fiscal year expenditures rather than to 1960 fiscal year.

The President calls for "a sound dollar." Everyone, even the youngsters attending our high schools, want "a sound dollar."

But when the President calls for "a sound dollar" now, that justifies the inference that he thinks we now have an "unsound dollar."

This, then, raises the question, "Which political party has been in control of our Government for the past 6½ years?"

The answer: The Republican Party.
THE BUDGET: END VERSUS MEANS

The budget submitted to Congress by the President on January 19 foresaw expenditures of \$77 billion and receipts of \$77.1

billion. Since the revised budget estimate for the present year pointed at the time to a deficit of \$12.9 billion the President's estimate for 1960 indicated an over-all improvement of \$13 billion.

The increase in receipts from this year's \$68 billion to \$77.1 was based predominantly on an expected business recovery and a corresponding rise in tax yields. But the hope of a balanced budget for 1960 also rested on certain assumptions as to added revenues to be provided by Congress. One or two of these at least, such as revenue for the interstate highway program on a payas-you-go basis, are no less a question mark today than they were then.

As for the proposed reduction in spending by \$3.9 billion, that, unfortunately, was less impressive than it sounded. For example, what appeared to be a reduction of \$775 million in the farm price support program merely indicated the termination of the acreage retirement section of the Soil Bank plan. Another major item, a drop of \$2.564 million in the housing program, reflected a decline in the estimated need for support of the Government-guaranteed mortgage market. Moreover, another illusion involving \$1,375 million entered the plan for achieving a balanced budget next year. This was to prevail upon Congress to pass the legislation increasing our subscription to the International Monetary Fund early enough so that this large sum would fall within the 1959 budget, thus adding \$1,375 million to the 1959 deficit in order to bring about the hoped-for balance

Last week conferees of the Senate and House went along with the scheme, which could conceivably prove to be the determining factor in the balancing of the 1960 budget.

in next year's budget.

One may argue that a balance budget, even if achieved by somewhat meretricious means, is better than an unbalanced budget. But if a budget balance is reached in 1960 the President will have to credit important assists to (1) the political opposition, and (2) a business recovery more vigorous than he could possibly have foreseen in January.

Extemporaneous Remarks by the President at the National Conference on Civil Rights, Held at the Hotel Statler, June 9, 1959

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, I am privileged to include in the RECORD for the perusal of the Members, the remarks made by the President of the United States before the National Conference on Civil Rights on June 9, 1959:

EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT AT THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS, Held at the Hotel Statler, June 9, 1959

Mr. Chairman and my friends, I came over here this morning primarily to thank you for your undertaking of a work that in my opinion is one of a vital, prime importance to the United States and to its future.

Because the problem in which you are involved is an emotional one, it is certain

that you have to have qualities of courage to undertake it. But above the quality of courage it is quite necessary that we have within our breats, if we are to do this work, those feelings of compassion, consideration and justice that derive from our concepts of moral law.

'I say moral law rather than statutory law because I happen to be one of those people who has very little faith in the ability of statutory law to change the human heart, or to eliminate prejudice.

I think that the Congress was wise in establishing this Commission because thevery purpose of the commission is conciliatory, factfinding, and giving examples to us. Indeed at times I think it holds up before us all a mirror so that we may see ourselves, what we are doing and what we are not doing, and therefore making it easier for us to correct our omissions.

There can be no doubt that America has not reached perfection in attaining the lofty ideals laid down for us in our founding documents and in the amendments that have been made to our Constitution. The important thing is that we go ahead, that we make progress. This does not necessarily mean revolution. In my mind it means evolution. This is what we are talking about.

We are saying that the concept of equality among men is equality in their opportunities, that we do not deny them that opportunity. I think no one could find complete equality between any two individuals in the world, if we wanted to take absolute values in all of their spiritual, intellectual and physical connotations. But we can talk about equality of opportunity, guranteed to each person in this Nation.

Just as the members of that commission have undertaken a job that is difficult, so each of the State commissions has done the same. The progress that you are going to help achieve is that of education, promoting understanding to see that we come nearer to achieving our ideals without necessarily, or maybe not even wisely, trying to place on our statute books too many punitive laws.

If I may digress from the exact subject of which I have been speaking, and which, of course, is occupying your thoughts and efforts while you are here, I should like to talk about the word "understanding" for just a moment.

The Federal Government in both its legislative and executive branches is involved in many problems that are most difficult of solution. In fact, some of them, under the particular conditions of the present, seem almost to defy solution: all we can do is to hold the line and wait for some change in either material or, let us say, mental conditions in which people are living. But the big, the strong thing, that must be behind the whole effort of the United States is understanding at home on the basic issues. This is needed to bring about higher standards of living in our own country, to make certain that free areas in other parts of the world do not go under the domination of communism, to make certain that our alliances are stronger through the intellectual, spiritual, and material development of those countries with which we are allied.

We are too often swayed by slogans. For example, in the fields in which the United States is attempting to help other free countries so that together we may be safer and stronger and more confident, we use the slogan "give away." I submit, any intelligent man that will look at the world today and can find it in his heart to condemn America's purpose and her efforts to bring other free nations into a higher level of sturdier better allies, more effective allies, then he is following a line of reasoning which I cannot follow.

All of our domestic problems, including the one now before you—the equality of opportunity of all men regardless of inconsequential considerations—comes in the same category of demanding understanding. This is so whether it be the farm program, the debt program, the need for reducing Federal expenditures, how we want to expand in one direction and contract in another. All demand understanding.

mand understanding.

None of these problems, when you come down to it, can be dealt with in a vacuum. They are not mutually exclusive. In almost all cases, you will find them interdependent.

As we achieve a better level of equality, of opportunity in this country, our own national prestige and leadership is enhanced. Our economic problems are involved often with this same subject with which you are now dealing. Therefore, not only by developing a better understanding in these basic issues can we help solve the problem with which you are specifically concerned this morning, but by bringing your own minds and hearts into focus on this particular question you helped to develop better understanding through the whole of the United States. Remember, in a democracy, the only mo-

Remember, in a democracy, the only motivating, energizing force is public opinion. If that public opinion is well informed, then the United States will act wisely and strongly and fairly at home and abroad.

So you are not solving, or helping to solve, just one problem. You are working for America. I say to you, in my opinion, there can be no better thing to do.

Thank you very much.

### We Lose

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the daily CONGRESSIONAL RECORD I include an editorial from the June issue South Carolina Electric Co-Op News entitled "We Lose":

WE LOSE

When the House of Representatives, by the narrowest of margins, let the President's veto of the Humphrey-Price bill stand, we lost—and by we, we mean the rural people of America.

By this action, the Congress leaves lifeand-death control of the Rural Electrification Administration in the hands of a man whom Congress did not even confirm. In theory, Secretary Benson is charged now with approving or disapproving REA loans. He delegates this authority to Ken Scott, a political appointee responsible only to Mr. Benson.

REA Administrator Dave Hamil is bypassed with just a nod and no authority. Actually, Mr. Hamil is saddled with a vast amount of responsibility but he is without authority. That's kind of like hiring a man to run a farm for you, but telling him he cannot buy fertilizer in anything bigger than 10-pound bags.

It also means that when your co-op president goes to Washington to seek a loan to heavy up your lines, he talks with Mr. Hamil about borrowing the money. But Mr. Hamil is not the man who says yes or no.

Your co-op president doesn't even get to see the man with the answer, Ken Scott. Your president can't even explain face to face his needs, As NRECA general manager Clyde Ellis said, "Centralized government has enough evils at best. We must not make it worse by keeping the citizen from dealing face to face with the decision maker, and this is exactly what has happened to you; you can talk to the Administrator about your loan application, but you know the final decision is not his."

Anyway, in beating the attempt to override the President's veto, the Republican administration was forced to haul out its biggest gun—meaning the biggest of all, Mr. Elsenhower. It was he who whipped the Republicans into line and made the vote a party-line affair. And somewhere along the way, somebody talked some Democrats into voting Republican.

Anyway, Mr. Eisenhower continues to rule by veto and Mr. Benson goes his merry way toward turning all American farms into corporations.

# June Dairy Month

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. ROBERT A. EVERETT

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article, "June Dairy Month."

The author of this article is Ed Jones, who has a weekly column entitled "Down on the Farm" in the leading county newspapers in the Eighth Congressional District of Tennessee. Mr. Jones is a very capable and able agricultural agent with the Illinois Central Railroad. He is a former Commissioner of Agriculture for the State of Tennessee and certainly is an outstanding leader in agricultural affairs of the entire State:

### JUNE DAIRY MONTH

(By Ed Jones, agricultural agent, Illinois Central Railroad)

Much has already been written about June being Dairy Month. It is observed nationally and a big push is on to get more and more consumers interested in consuming more dairy products. More milk and milk products are needed in the average diet, yet as our population increases, the number of dairy cattle continues to decrease. The per capita consumption of dairy products in some fields has also decreased and all dietitians admit that it is nature's most perfect food. A good many people fail, however, to include as much milk and milk products in their diet as they should.

One of these groups who fail to consume milk and dairy products to the level that they should are our own farm people. For some reason, they just simply do not use as much as the actually need in many cases.

The dairy industry is a very important business in this country. The number of farms which produce milk has dropped from 2,340,000 15 years ago to to less than 1,250,000 today. Dairy farms and dairy farmers are getting larger in size, therefore the number in business is naturally on the decline. It is said that with the present application of technological knowledge that it is possible for 325,000 farms or less to produce all the dairy products required by our Nation today. If that were the case, the average dairy farm would have 40 producing cows with each cow producing 10,000 pounds of milk per year.

The dairy industry through its own organization, the American Dairy Association, is doing a wonderful work of selling its own business. Through a system of voluntary deductions based on the amount of milk sold, dairymen are advertising their business. This is Dairy Month throughout this land and it would behoove every citizen to join with dairy farmers and consumemore milk and dairy products, not only for this month but for all months to come. For your own health's sake, drink more milk and use more dairy products.

# No Easier, Less Painful Way To Reduce National Debt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to insert in the Appendix of this Record an editorial from the Fort Lauderdale News which appeared in that paper on June 10

In view of the current fiscal headaches of our National Government, I am certain that the Members of this Congress will find this editorial most interesting. I urge that each and every Member take time out to read it:

NO EASIER, LESS PAINFUL WAY TO REDUCE NATIONAL DEBT

(By Jack W. Gore)

With the Eisenhower administration again asking Congress to approve another hike in the statutory limit of the national debt, and many legislators and Government officials now frankly worried about when, if ever, there is ever going to be any attempt to stabilize and reduce this gigantic debt load, we think it is about time further consideration was given to the proposition of establishing a national lottery in this country.

We fully realize that even mentioning such a subject is apt to draw horrified comments from some segments of our society. We also fully realize that many of our legislators, while they might look with favor on the idea of setting up a national lottery, would never take the lead in proposing or supporting such a project.

But let's look at this national lottery business in a realistic light. The basic objection to the idea is that it would stimulate our people to gamble, and that many of them would be inclined to put money into lottery tickets at the expense of family comforts or necessities.

This might well be true in a very limited number of cases. But anyone who is familiar with the manner in which the American people already gamble must realize that a legalized lottery would certainly not create any conditions in this Nation that already don't exist to a tremendous degree.

Think, for instance, of the millions of dollars that are wagered every day in this Nation at our horse, dog, and harness tracks. Think of the billions that are bet on baseball and foetball pools and on boilta and other forms of illegal gambling, all the profits of which go into the pockets of the underworld. Think of the speculation, which is just a polite world for gambling, now going on in the stock market, and think of the millions of dollars that change hands every week on our golf courses, around our card tables, and in other types of friendly wagering. Think, too, of the millions of dollars that flow out

of our Nation every year on foreign lotteries such as the Irish Sweepstakes.

Whether we like to admit it or not, gambling in this Nation is a multi-billion-dollar industry which goes on all the time and which will continue to thrive in one form or another despite the most strenuous efforts we can make to stop it and despite all the pious protestations that it is an immoral thing.

Man is by his very nature a gambling creature as living itself is a gamble against the forces which are constantly working to deprive a man of his life. And it makes no sense, whatsoever, to take the position that while there is nothing wrong or evil about wagering a couple of dollars on a horse race, there is something evil or wrong about wagering the same couple of dollars on a

lottery ticket.

There is currently pending in the Congress a bill introduced by Representative Paul. Fino of New York, which would establish a national lottery for this Nation. Since this is a revenue measure it has been referred to the House Ways and Means Committee, where it has been languishing for many months because none of the Members of this powerful House committee have any desire to take the buil by the horns and even discuss the possibility of establishing a lottery as a means of either reducing the national debt or of financing some other extremely worthwhile venture which is going by the boards now because of no money being available.

Offhand, we don't know how much the Government might be able to raise each year out of the proceeds of a national lottery. But we believe the amount would be very substantial, particularly if the Government followed the practice of other nations having lotteries and made lottery winnings

tax-exempt.

Few people in this Nation would kid themselves about their chances of winning a tidy fortune on a lottery. Most of them would realize the odds against them, but that wouldn't prevent them from risking a few dollars on the outside chance they might be one of the lucky winners. And, in most cases, the money they might devote to the purchase of lottery tickets would not be money that was urgently needed for some necessity but instead would be money that would otherwise go for something frivolous, entertaining or just as speculative.

From a realistic and practical standpoint, there are no arguments that can be raised against a nationi lottery that cannot be raised against other types of gambling that have been legalized as a means of providing Government with some much-needed and

easy-to-get revenue.

Certainly, the way things are going today, something is going to have to be done soon to start getting our national debt reduced and we can think of no easier or less painful way to get started on this project than by establishing a national lottery and applying the proceeds to reducing a burden that now amounts to over \$1,700 for each man, woman and child in our Nation.

# Fair Play?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial in the June 11 edition of the Seattle Post-Intellingencer ex-

presses the indignation of millions of Americans at the treatment being accorded Lewis L. Strauss:

STRAUSS SCANDAL

The testimony in the matter of the confirmation of Lewis L. Strauss has been published in a document which consumes 1,128 pages of material.

As 'no one can read 1,128 pages of fine print with sufficient repidity from beginning to end in the time available to form a judgment before this Congress adjourns and attend to any other normal business, the heavy volume will be set aside for further consideration.

Even a casual glance at this mountain of testimony shows that it is the lowest form of what the liberals call McCarthyism. In a word, an attempt is made to lynch a man, to destroy his character, to paint him as a natural born villain, to question his probity, to deny his patriotism and his great services to the United States over a period of more than 40 years—&I for the purpose of humiliating the man and ending his career in public life.

Senator Anderson, of New Mexico, continues a vindictive vendetta against Lewis L. Strauss for private reasons. There can be no public ones. He has established it in the Senate that a Democrat who votes for Strauss is his (Anderson's) personal enemy. It is one of the most curious situations

It is one of the most curious situations ever to befall the U.S. Senate and even those who support Anderson, out of regard for him, do not understand his violent vindictiveness.

# The Family Poultry Farm

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. J. ERNEST WHARTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. WHARTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I wish to include a resolution recently adopted by the Columbia and Rensselaer County Egg and Poultry Producers Association setting forth the expressions of that organization in connection with the plight of the poultry farmer.

The cost-price squeeze of that industry, I understand, will be the subject of hearings before the House Agriculture Committee this week and will include current marketing conditions of eggs and poultry. The subject of corporation farms seems to be involved in the poultry industry, as it is in other lines of agriculture, and I trust that the committee will be able to expend its efforts in behalf of the family farm rather than the big fellow. This problem is definitely related to the Nation's economy and especially to full employment. We cannot drive the small farmer into the city and maintain a balanced economy with a flooded labor market.

I trust that the committee will be able to formulate constructive legislation before Congress adjourns, profiting however, from our unfortunate experiences in other lines of agriculture. The association's position is set forth in the following resolution:

We, the Columbia and Rensselaer County Egg and Poultry Producers Association recognize that supports by Government have

not helped us. We are therefore opposed to subsidies or price supports, and urge the withdrawing of all supports on grains and other commodities. Government assistance is needed. We feel this to be in the direction of production controls, such as, regulating unfair competition by limiting or excluding bankers, whether feed companies or other outside entrepreneurs, from financing the establishment of farm enterprises in competition with the family farmer. We also urge that Federal legislation be enacted which will compel all who engage in poultry farming to file a separate income-tax report for this enterprise.

New Glory for Cld Glory

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. JOHN R. FOLEY

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Speaker, yesterday was Flag Day. Throughout our land, our flag was properly displayed by homeowners, farmers, business places, and towns. An organization with a special mission to glorify our flag are 8,600 dry cleaners who are members of the National Institute of Dry Cleaning. The institute is located at Silver Spring, Md., in my district.

Because of the patriotic efforts of the members of the institute to encourage the flying of a clean flag, the Freedom Foundation honored this fine group with its George Washington medal for 1958.

Members of the institute, for the sixth consecutive year, cleaned flags free between June 1 and June 12. In support of this patriotic effort, 17,000 American Legion posts under the leadership of National Commander Preston J. Moore, encouraged citizens to fly clean flags June 14, by accepting the offer of the institute members. Recognition of the institute's patriotic effort was nationwide.

For the purpose of emphasizing this constructive work by the institute members to the end that deeper reverence for Old Glory will be stimulated, the following references are included in the Congressional Record.

[From the Jackson (Miss.) Clarion-Ledger, May 16, 1959]

CLEANING OLD GLORY

(By Drew Pearson)

The National Institute of Dry Cleaning has found that few Americans want to clean the Stars and Stripes.

With Flag Day approaching on June 14, most of the 35,000 dry cleaners in the Nation have come up with their annual offer to clean Old Glory for anyone between June 1 and June 12—if their customers promise to fly it on Flag Day.

But there aren't many takers. Maybe it's because it has gotten to be "corny" to fly the flag, or maybe folks are waiting for the approval of the 50-star design before unfurling the new Old Glory.

Nobody seems to have the answer. But with Memorial Day coming up on May 30, Flag Day on June 14 and Independence Day on July 4, now might be a good time to take

advantage of the dry cleaners' generous offer of supplying "New Glory for Old Glory."

[From the Pittsburgh (Pa.) Sun Telegraph, June 3, 1959]

### FLAG DAY OFFER

The National Institute of Dry Cleaning has thought up a very good idea for Flag Day, June 14. In this good idea the American Legion joins.

Institute members will accept American flags for drycleaning, free of cost, from now to June 12 if the flag's owner agrees to fly the country's banner on Flag Day

This is a generous and patriotic gesture on the part of this industry and is worthy of

the applause of all Americans.

But applause is not sufficient. Let us fly the flag on June 14. Let Pittsburgh be a forest of flags, waving in the breeze-an emblem of freedom and good will.

Frank Park Samford: Man of the South for 1958

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, in January of this year a very significant recognition came to an outstanding citizen of my district. Mr. Frank Park Samford, president of the Liberty National Life Insurance Co., was selected as Man of the South for 1953. This award is presented annually by the magazine Dixie Business, published in Decatur, Ga. Mr. Hubert F. Lee is the magazine's editor.

All of us in Birmington are proud of this honor which has been bestowed on

one of our truly great people.

Under leave heretofore granted, I am pleased to insert herewith in the Con-GRESSIONAL RECORD a copy of an article; dealing with the award, which appeared in the most recent issue of the Dixie Business magazine, along with an editorial from the Birmingham (Ala.) News:

MAN OF THE SOUTH FOR 1958

(By Hubert F. Lee)

I stood in the street in Birmingham blowing a bugle, that long ago hot summer July day of 1918.

I was 17, and the enthusiastic patrol leader of the Devil Fish Patrol of old Boy Scout Troop 31.

With Ira McDavid, Shark Patrol leader, Ray McDaniel, Flying Fish Patrol leader, Howard Groves and Walter Wanderwell, assistant scout masters, we were on the last lap of a 650-mile hike that had taken us to Rome, Chattanooga, down the Tennessee on a river boat, Guntersville, Gadsden, selling war bonds on the street corners.

That is how I came to know and to love Birmingham, that giant industrial stronghold in beautiful Jones Valley a 4-mile-wide ribbon stretching 75 miles bordered by mineral rich mountains.

Birmingham is a young city. Its petition for charter was filed December 19, 1871. I was born December 19, 1900, and Dixie Business in November 1929. So it is only a third older than me and two-thirds older than Dixie Business.

When the late Dough Davis operated his airline, I traded advertising for trips to Birmingham, where Dixie Business had an office in its first year.

What a thrill to recall Doug break through the clouds and sun-splashed beauty of the mountains and see the giant smokestacks of belching fire and smoke from the great

When the Flowers for the Living movement began, Thomas W. Martin in 1946 and Donald Comer in 1947, were the first two to be named Man of the South.

They were among the 7 from Birmingham in 1949 when we picked the South's 50 foremost business leaders, which included Frank P. Samford, Lt. Gen. John C. Persons, Ed L. Norton, Maj. Clarence B. Hanson, Jr., and Robert Gregg.

As the honor group was changed to South's Hall of Fame for the Living with membership limited to 200, other Birmingham leaders were added: Hugh Comer, Frank E. Spain, Tom D. Spies, M.D., Bishop C. C. J. Carpenter, Louis Pizitz, Robert Jemison, Jr., Alston Callahan, M.D., John Temple Graves, and Milton Fies.

Practically all of these approved the election of Frank P. Samford as Man of the South, by letter or by their presence at the dinner January 20, 1959 at Birmingham's Mountain Brook Country Club when his friends honored him as the Man of the South for 1958.

Dr. John H. Buchanan, chaplain, Baptist hospitals, delivered the invocation:

'Eternal God, our Father, we invoke Thy blessing upon him whom we honor this evening. We thank Thee for his breadth of sympathy, his length of purposes, his height of ideals and his depth of character. We beseech Thee that all of us may seek to emulate these fine Christian virtues, so that we may serve humanity and glorify Thee as he has done in his useful life.

"Accept our gratitude for all the blessings this day has brought, we ask through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

It was a wonderful and impressive testimonial, with every man present an outstanding leader in his own right.

Frank E. Spain, noted lawyer and past president of Rotary International was master of ceremonies.

Mr. Samford was presented the Gold Key to Birmingham by Roy Hickman, who heads he chamber of commerce—"for the honor you have brought Birmingham."

A file of letters and telegrams was given Mr. Samford from friends over the Nation extending congratulations.

A. J. Chapline Hodges so aptly put it in a

letter several years ago:

"Mr. Samford has accomplished what I esteem as an ideal program in that he has raised a wonderful family; is an upright churchman; has done more than his share of civic activities; has always found time to help the needy; and last but not least has made a wonderful business success.

Frank P. Samford stands high in the esteem of leaders of the highly competitive insurance profession.

His building Liberty National Life Insurance Co. into the 45th largest in the vast industry is a saga of personal achievement and leadership.

Frank Samford is a fine example of the dedicated men who have the financial destiny of millions of widows and orphans of our country.

Another fine Christian gentleman, Mr. A. M. Burton, a founder of Life & Casualty Insurance Co. of Tennessee, in ratifying the 1958 poll, wrote me:

"I am happy to cast my vote for Mr. Samford. I commend you for his selection for he is not only an outstanding leader in the insurance profession, but he is a high-class citizen and deserves the honor."

I remember the wire from another top insurance executive, who in 1952 when he was president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, wired:

"Certainly no man in the South has better earned the honor of being designated as Man of the South than has Frank P. Sam-I earnestly urge that he be so desig-

nated."

Among the distinguished men at the dinner were Col. William J. Rushton, president of Protective Life Insurance Co., and Andrew J. Lewis, president of Vulcan Life & Accident Insurance Co.

Few executives have faced a harder job than was assigned Frank Samford in 1921.

He was asked to help rehabilitate a small fraternal benefit society that wrote its first policy in 1900.

Mr. Samford had completed 4 years as Alabama's deputy insurance commissioner, a scholing equal to 4 college years majoring in insurance

The Heralds of Liberty had \$11 million insurance in force; \$100,000 in assets and no reserves.

In 1927, the entire society was moved bodily in one single boxcar, including files, desks, equipment, and everything.
"I will never forget," Mr. Samford recalls,

"We were moving into the Baptist Educa-tion Building and we could not work on Sunday.

"So Carl Wittinchen, Sr., and I broke the seals at 12:01 a.m., Monday morning and we started unloading the car.

We had the desks placed for the clerks by the time they got there at 9 o'clock in the morning.

"Certainly it was beyond my dream of vision that we could have an insurance company that today, assetwise is 45th in the Nation in size.

"It wasn't due to me, it was due to our grand organization."

### A GREAT LEADER

But what Frank Samford didn't mention is that he "hand-picked" that grand organization he is so proud of.

It is one of the great teams of modern business.

And every member of the team thinks there is no one greater and finer and more gracious than their leader.

I have read letters from friends of Frank Samford since 1948.

Lt. Gen. John C. Persons proposed Mr. Samford for the Man of the South for 1948. which would haven Birmingham three in a row as the first two, Thomas W. Martin in 1946 and Donald Comer in 1947, had blazed the trial of honoring living leaders.

I recall the letter from W. P. Rainer, chairman of V. J. Elmore Stores:

"Frank Samford has been known to me since boyhood.

"Efficiency, honesty, enthusiasm, friendliness-these are the qualities that first come to me in describing him.

"He is an energetic, enthusiastic worker in anything he undertakes; he stimulates those who work with him.

The Samford family has long been highly regarded in the State and has an enviable record of leadership.

"Frank Samford is a good man, and it is a privilege to endorse him."

### FRANK SAMFORD'S SECRET

Frank Samford saw the vast number who were still employed and did not lose their jobs as opportunity and in the depression thirties Liberty National made great strides

The only thing a Horatio Alger hero had that Frank Samford lacked, was he came from the right side of the tracks and had the family background and educational opportunities.

While insurance companies were feeling the depression and some taking a panic atti-

tude, Frank Samford and his team were seeing visions.

In building his own great organization, Liberty National kept a youthful enthusiasm and boyish outlook.

I know about Frank Samford because we are kindred souls.

In 1929, the year I started Dixie Business,

Frank Samford changed the society into an Insurance company,

Instead of panicing, as was the order of the day for so many as the depression spread like a fog over our great Nation, Frank Samford looked on the many thousands who were still at work and knew that they needed the assurance and protection that insurance gives.

His heart went out to these people who still had jobs and were taking in their kin to feed and house.

He and his team were serving heroes of the depression—the little people who were spreading their lower wages to help their own and their neighbors

Frank Samford and his team were serving as well as selling.

Two decades later, O. Z. Hall was to write of him:

"Mr. Samford has been my ideal in the business world.

"He is down-to-earth, democratic and one of the most unassuming men in a top position I know.

"He has contributed his time and great financial resources tirelessly and gen-erously. \* \* \*

"He has twin granddaughters who were born within 2 or 3 months of my own twin daughters, so for that additional reason I have kind and kindred thoughts toward him."

Two years after the one boxcar of all the company's possession was set up at its new home in Birmingham, the 1929 statement showed insurance in force had been tripled to \$30 million and the 1921 assets when Frank Samford entered the picture, had been multiplied 14 times to \$1 million.

One year later, in 1930, the company began writing industrial insurance and took over the Citizens Life Insurance Co., of Huntsville, Ala.

It was like a new company starting out with new vision and new hopes and each new member of the team became enamoured of the enthusiastic way.

This Frank Samford way was reflected in the 1935 statement when Liberty National Life had over \$50 million of insurance in force and admitted assets had jumped to \$3 million.

No wonder his peers, like A. M. Burton, were proud of him.

'It was my good fortune to live next to the Samford's at Troy, Ala., where Frank was born in 1893," wrote Leo E. Bashinsky, a director of Liberty National Life.

"We spent our boyhood together and both literally and facetiously, within a stone's throw of each other. It has been a privilege to have this friendship continue through the years. There is no one for whom I have a greater affection or greater admiration.

Frank is a man of tremendous energy. keen business judgment, intellectually hon est thinking, and great in character and spirit.

"He has the human touch, mindful of others in all he undertakes, charitable in deed and purpose, a man of real character.'

[From the Birmingham (Ala.) News, Jan. 22, 1959|

FRANK P. SAMFORD, MAN OF THE SOUTH Well-deserved is the recognotion and honor given Birmingham's Frank P. Samford by Dixie Business magazine in naming him Man of the South for 1958.

As president of Liberty National Life Insurance Co., he has made signal contributions to the business and economic life not only of this community but the entire region and the Nation as well. His devoted leadership in civic affairs has been of outstanding public value.

We join in saluting Mr. Samford and in congratulating him warmly upon this award.

# Monsigner Sherlock Eulogizes Beloved Monsignor McGlinchey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the eulogy of Right Rev. Cornelius T. H. Sherlock, LL.D., pastor of the Immaculate Conception Church in Cambridge, Mass., formerly curate at St. Mary's Catholic Church in Lynn, at the solemn pontifical requiem mass held in St. Mary's Church in Lynn, at the funeral services of the Right Reverend Monsignor Joseph McGlinchey, P.A., D.D., LL.D., beloved pastor of that church.

MONSIGNOR SHERLOCK EULOGIZES BELOVED MONSIGNOR MCGLINCHEY

Rev. Cornelius T. H. Sherlock, LL.D., pastor of Immaculate Conception Parish, Cambridge, former archdiocesan superintendent of schools, and a former curate at St. Mary's Parish where he served for 16 years, was the eulogist at the Solemn Pontificial Regulem Mass for Monsignor McClinchey in St. Mary's Church this morning.

In a touching and heartfelt sermon Monsignor Sherlock extolled the priestly qualities of the late St. Mary's pastor, his close friend for many years. He said:

"'I have no greater grace than this, to hear that my children walk in truth.' (John 1:4.)

"We are people of uncertain and mixed emotions. God, in His inscrutable but infinitely wise way, has taken from our midst one whom we have greatly loved. It is but natural—and good—that, as we greet each other, we express the sorrow that we feel and breathe the prayer that this bereavement may not weigh too heavy on our all-too-human hearts. For those who have been close to Monsignor McGlinchey, his relatives and intimates who watched through his many trials, who were faithful in their loving concern and ceaseless devotion, we promise prayers that God may lighten their burden of sorrow.

"To the priests who have worked and lived with him through the years we express our deep sympathy on the loss they have sustained. To the great army of priests, brothers, and sisters, whom he knew and served so well over 50 years, now scattered all over the world, we don't trust ourselves to put in words the sympathy we feel but pay only the suffrage of our prayers. To all those men and women who were fortunate enough to know him, in other times and in other places, to the children and youth whose lives are different because of the disciplined zeal of his priestly life, we extend our deep condolence on the loss of their priestly benefactor. We, the companions of his later life, we who had worked and talked and prayed together, tell

each other how hard it is to lose one we esteemed so much.

"But if thoughts of sympathy and sorrow seem to be uppermost in our minds they are far from the most important truths of which we should be conscious. The Church, still mindful of the sadness of deserted friends, reminds us that death is but the vestibule of Heaven, that after all, Catholics spend their lives preparing for that last day on earth when the cares and the heartaches. the trials and disappointments of life are finally put aside and the most recent triumph, the last success takes on its true proportion of littleness compared with God's eternal reward for those who love Him. She would drive home to our minds the unchanging truth that death is the gateway through which those who have served God well, move on to an eternity of supernal happiness.

"The truth is that Monsignor McGlinchey, deep, restrained, intense as was his love for us, would not return from the joys of Heav-He would tell us all that life at most is but a passing instant, and that, if we will but follow the command to love God and love our neighbor, with all that this command implies, we shall join him in his happiness in God's good time.

"Laughter and tears have a strange way of being mixed in this uneven life of ours but for Catholics, even in such deep sadness as this, the fact of our eternal destiny transcends our sorrow and makes this day rich in the reality of a priest's ineffable reward, prepared for him before the beginning of time by an almighty and all-loving Father. Today must be for us, as it is for Monsignor McGlinchey, a day of splendid joy, seen though it is through the evanescent mists of temporal loss and passing sorrow. After all, a priest has realized the destiny for which he was created, unbounded joy in the Lord.

"When priests gather together and talk about their fellow priests they often simplify their thoughts by brief and terse descriptions. The priest whose life is thoughtful and whose interests are profound, who still burns the midnight oil in his quest for knowledge to answer the whys and wherefores of this uncertain life, who with a deep Christian philosophy weighs the problems of the day and, with careful steps. appraises the course of the world, he is known simply as the scholar. Another, afire with a desire to change the world, articulate beyond his fellow priests, a master of language and afire with zeal, takes his place on pulpit or platform, a veritable mouthpiece of God, the orator. Still another, gifted with a superlor understanding of the structure of society and its activities. an organizer of men to carry on the work of God in more efficient ways; he is known as the administrator."

### MAN OF DIGNITY

"Scholarliness, rhetorical competence, and administrative skill were all found in Monsignor McGlinchey in their proper measure. But underneath the competence that described him to the world there lay an inner man, a man with a single conviction that man, a man with a single conviction that moved him through every activity of his daily life. His self-denial and intense self-discipline, his natural piety and personal generosity, his constant dignity and persevering industry, all were subordinated to the one directive—work to extend the kingdom of God on earth.

To him the kingdom of God was the church, the church in all its extension here, in the frozen North, the Far East, the steaming jungles; the teeming cities and drowsy villages, the church in the clear cold mind of the captain of industry or in the small warm heart of a child. Two thousand years ago his Savior had founded a church. He saw it today in all its extension and in its He was parish-minded without local detail. being parochial. He was universal without excluding a soul. He was, in the finest connotation of the word, first, last and always, the churchman.

"Although he had been born in Kansas, he grew up in the shadow of Saint Paul's Church in Cambridge. Here he had observed the wonderful priests of his childhood, each with his individuality and yet all working together for good. As a young man he moved about the university guiding strangers from far places about the ancient campus and his imagination found it easy to embrace a world of variety and distance and a church functioning throughout this world serving the spiritneeds of every creature, yellow or red, black or white, and as effectively as it served him and the neighbors of the parish in Cambridge.

"The idea grew and, when he returned from his studies in Rome in 1907, he went back to his own parish to serve with these admired priests as the junior curate at Saint Paul's. But his mind, systematic and orderly, constantly thought of Christ's problems in other lands and in 1911, by appointment of Cardinal O'Connell, then archbishop of Boston, he took up the work of the propagation of

the faith.

"In a lesser man this devotion to the missions would be called a consuming passion but in Monsignor McGlinchey there was no consuming passion. There was only a zeal that was divinely inspired but always directed and controlled by a fine mind and a disciplined will. His work was that of supplying the needs of priests, brothers, and sisters on the frontiers. Here, in what was probably the foremost propagation of the faith office, he collected the funds necessary for the support of missions, wrote letters, advised missioners, directed mission vocations, lectured from pulpit and platform and, in his free time, wrote books. His writings were translated into many languages and he himself, by the skill of his own translating, brought books and articles in other languages to readers in English-speaking countries.

"In those days a tall and earnest priest worked in the mission office. One is permitted the conjecture that his years of service under the influence of Monsignor Mc-Glinchey may well have been the experience that gave direction to his life, the direction that made him ultimately the spiritual father of over 3 million people, our renowned and much loved cardinal archbishop.

"In 1952, in a remote mission in Peru, Monsignor McGlinchey and I were introduced to two radiant missionary nuns. I remember the day well. One of the sisters could hardly wait and, as she greeted him said, "I always hoped I would some day meet you. It was reading your book on the missions of India that decided my vocation and here I am with these poor Indians of Peru." In the midst of poverty she was the picture of serene delight. Because she read his words

she radiated Christ.

"Shortly after coming to Lynn he moved into the problem of a secondary school for His primary concern was that of religious vocation but, with his knowledge of the psychology of young people, he knew vocations are the outcome of high years. There was no Catholic high school for boys in the area then and he felt that the few who went to Boston for Catholic education did not satisfy what he felt was a great need in this city. The girls had enjoyed the education of a great Catholic secondary school since 1881. In that year, a half century before, St. Mary's Girls' High School had been established by Sister Georgiana of the Sisters of Notre Dame and, when monsignor arrived, this school had made a wonderful contribution to this city by the high order of Catholic education

which it supplied. But secondary education for boys was the problem."

ZEALOUS AND PRACTICAL

"Monsignor was both a zealous and a practical man. As a practical man he surveyed Accompanied by one of his assistants, who is here this morning, he visited all the neighboring pastors, explored the possibility of a regional high school and then reported to his cardinal archbishop. At that time the uncertainty of divided financial responsibility proved the deciding factor and in 1929 he went ahead with St. Mary's High School for Boys. Sister Helen Francis and Sister Justine of the Sisters of Saint Joseph were the first teachers, and on June 19, 1934. the first class graduated. His words on that occasion were most revealing. They were heard at times in a voice a blt husky from an emotion which he could not entirely control. Let me read them to you. He said:

'Now we are sending forth the first fruits of our efforts, 41 boys of whom we are proud. proud beyond expression. You cannot expect to know the sentiments that grip me at this moment when I see the realization of my fondest hopes, a group of young men fortified with an intelligent grasp of the church's teaching. I want you to be practical members of Holy Mother Church, loyal and patriotic citizens of this glorious Republic. I want you to be faithful to the sound Christian principles St. Mary's has taught you. I want you to love the Cross of Christ and

the flag of our beloved country.'

"It was a dramatic moment for those of us that were there. It was the materialization of a dream, a dream that was yet to grow. This is the 25th anniversary of that first commencement. Already doctors and lawyers, teachers and businessmen, family men and religious, all graduates from this school of his dreams enrich the life of cities and towns, here and in foreign lands, with the important lessons they learned in his school. Today, one silver jubilee later, over 60 priests look to his school as their alma mater. This very day more than 70 young men of St. Mary's Boys' High School walk the corridors and listen to lectures, plough through their volumes of divine science in seminaries throughout the land. In truth, he had no greater grace than to hear that his children walk in truth.

"It is unjust but unavoidable that eternally great men are sometimes slighted in the pages of history while temporarily obtrusive men have their exploits recounted through generations and centuries. However, we are assured by Scripture that there is a book of eternal importance wherein the true and glorious record of mankind is found. There you will find Monsignor McGlinchey's name, etched in living glory in the Book of Life (Apoc. 3: 5).

"But if you wish to read his record now, if you yearn to see his deeds recorded in the warm colors of his love for men, look into the hearts of those who knew him, those who drew strength from the kindness of his heart, those who, having seen him, smiled once more in the grace of God. But you yourselves knew him. Some of you knew him well indeed. Look, then, into your own

hearts and find there a eulogy surpassing any that may ever ring out from golden tongues to the end of time.

"Monsignor McGlinchey, we are all realists here. We know we shall see you again, and that before too long. But while we go about our appointed tasks, waiting for that day to come, we shall remember you and recall your leaving us in a paraphrase of the gentle Father Faber. 'You served Jesus out of love, and even before your eyes were closed for the last time, before pallid death o'erspread your countenance, even before those about your deathbed were sure that the last sigh they heard was your dying breath, what a surprise was yours. You stood before the judgment seat of your Dearly Beloved Himself; the music of heaven sounded in your ears and the glory of God shone from your eyes, never again to be extinguished'."
(Frederick Wm. Faber, "All for Jesus.")

# H.R. 3

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 25, 1959

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to note that the Boston Herald, in its issue of Friday, June 12, 1959, editorially went on record against H.R. 3. I herewith insert, with a great deal of pleasure, its editorial entitled "States Rights Revolt":

### STATES RIGHTS REVOLT

We are glad that the House Republican policy committee is above rubberstamping administration proposals. But we wish it had found a better issue on which to demonstrate its independence.

The 33-member committee has endorsed the so-called States rights bill, aimed at curbing the power of the Supreme Court to overturn State legislation, despite the fact that administration has called the measure the most hazardous before Congress. The committee should have thought twice before taking the step.

The chief purpose of the States rights bill . is to reverse the Supreme Court's decision in the Steve Nelson case. This case, which was decided in 1956, declared that the Federal Government had preempted the field of sedition control and that State laws in this field were no longer enforceable. (A clarifying opinion this week said that the States could punish sedition against themselves, but not against the Federal Government.) Reversing this finding would be within Congress' rights, because it was presumably a congressional act (the Smith Act) that preempted the field in the first place.

But the bill goes beyond this and attempts to set up a general rule for the Court to follow in other cases.

"No act of Congress," the offending section says, "shall be construed as indicating an intent on the part of Congress to occupy the field in which the act operates to the exclusion of all State laws on the same subject matter, unless such act contains an express provision to that effect, or unless there is a direct and positive conflict between such act and a State law so that the two cannot be reconciled or consistently stand together."

This language, if it were to become law, would be extremely mischievous because it would invite the relitigation of every case that has raised the preemption issue in the And as a guide to future decisions it provides little for the court to go on that it does not already have.

If Congress doesn't like the result of the Steve Nelson case, it can reverse it, although we think even that step would be unwise. It can also resolve to make its own intentions clear in future legislation which overlaps State law. But it should not try to write general rules for the Court. The effect, as the administration says, will be most haz-

The House Republican policy committee has endorsed a bill which will produce chaos instead of clarification. It should clarify its own thinking.

### Poison In Your Water-No. 116

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I am inserting into the Appendix of the Congressional Record an article appearing in the Lancaster, Pa., New Era of June 10, 1958, entitled "Raw Sewage in Stream Charged":

RAW SEWAGE IN STREAM CHARGED—SCORES OF CHILDREN PLAY ON BANKS IN ABBETVILLE ROAD SECTION

A Lancaster Township real estate man said today that raw sewage is flowing in a stream through a field at the corner of Abbeyville Road and Meadowcreek Lane.

J. Herbert Fehl, 330 Abbeyville Road, said the sewage is a health menace to dozens of children who play along banks of the stream. The stream runs near more than 50 recently built houses in the neighborhood and near Fehl's home.

### COMPLAINED MANY TIMES

Fehl said he has complained many times in the past six years to township supervisors, county commissioners and State health authorities, but nothing has been done to remove the sewage.

Supervisor Frank H. Feagley said the township directed by the State health department, installed a metal trap in the stream about 12 or 14 years ago to remove the sewage. He said the trap doesn't work because children throw stones into it and clog it up.

### TRAP DOES LITTLE GOOD

Township employees clean the trap, called a "diversion chamber," once a week, Feagley said, but that does little good: He added that there are no immediate plans to clean up the stream, but said a metropolitan sew-erage system now being planned would take care of the situation.

Fehr said the stream apparently begins at underground springs near Race Avenue, and flows through pipes beneath streets of the Hamilton Park development until it emerges at Abbeyville Road. Storm sewers to carry off rain water empty into the underground stream, he said.

### HOMES CONNECTED TO SEWER

Both Fehl and Feagley said the raw sewage apparently comes from homes that have connected sewer lines to the storm pipes instead of a sanitary sewer main.

The diversion chamber is located at the end of a large concrete pipe where the stream comes above ground. Its purpose is to catch sewage and divert it to the sanitary sewer that hooks on to the city's Maple Grove sewage pumping station. If the chamber Works properly, it should leave only spring water and rain water in the stream bed that continues to the Little Conestoga Creek.

Fehl said Feagley told him 6 months ago that Henry F. Huth, township engineer was designing a new diversion chamber and manhole. But nothing came of it, Fehl said. He stated that Feagley told him 5 years ago thta State engineers were designing a new chamber, but nothing came of that, either.

The State said it was a job for the county government, Fehi added. The county, he said, did nothing.

ODOR IS TERRIFIC

"It's a crime that children play there," Fehl said. "The sewage could cause an epidemic. The odor in summer is terrific."

"There's nothing we can do about it," Feagley said. "Every time we clean out the chamber, it gets clogged again. There is some sewage in the stream, but it was there long before I was a supervisor. It was there as far back as I can remember.

"We put the chamber in, but that is only a relief. This area sewer plan would do something permanent about it."

# Labor Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include an editorial from the June 11, 1959, issue of the Flint (Mich.) Journal relative to the labor reform legislation now under consideration by the House Committee on Education and Labor. Judging from my own mail, and from a questionnaire poll of my constituents earlier this year, there is no question but that this editorial represents the consensus of the Michigan Sixth Congressional District, which contains the heaviest concentration of AFL—CIO auto workers in the Nation.

The editorial follows:

### LABOR LEGISLATION

The House Labor Committee began today the task of drafting a labor bill designed to make it impossible for racketeers to gain control of trade unions.

The committee has as a nucleus for its bill the labor reform measure passed by the Senate, 90 to 1. But changes are being suggested.

The kind of bill the committee will draft is a guess. Some predict a stiffer bill than the Senate measure. Others are not sure the House or the committee will be able to agree on any legislation.

The latter development would be unfortunate. America has been hearing of the gangster control of some unions. The rank-and-file union member deserves laws which will enable him to keep such racketeers out of his local.

The AFL-CIO, which originally approved the Senate bill but withdrew support because of a bill of rights added in final floor debate, now seeks a less restrictive measure or no legislation at all.

Actually, the huge labor organization would like to write labor reform legislation. Allowing that to happen would be like asking the National Association of Manufacturers to draft business monopoly laws.

If the House committee will ignore labor leaders and write reform legislation with the idea of serve to union members and the public, it will report out a bill providing at least as much control as the Senate measure.

Anything less will be a backward step.

Flag Day, 1959

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. JOHN H. DENT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, due to the fact that I find it impossible to attend certain Flag Day activities in my home district, I am taking this means to convey my remarks to my constituents.

This day, Flag Day, is dedicated to the glorious symbol of our United States. We meet to honor our flag, and to reaffirm our faith in the Nation and the principles for which it stands.

It is 182 years since Congress authorized the use of a new flag for a new nation. Prior to that time the Continental Army had carrier various banners, from the pine-tree flags of New England to the rattlesnake banners of the South. One of the most persistent designs was the Grand Union, which bore the British Union Jack in the upper left-hand corner, and had 13 alternate red and white stripes. It was hoisted by Gen. George Washington in January 1776, at Cambridge, Mass., as the standard of the Continental Army.

It was not until June 14, 1777, almost a year after the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, that the Continental Congress in Philadelphia passed a simple resolution which read:

Resolved. That the flag of the United States be 13 stripes, alternate red and white; that the union be 13 stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation.

The special committee that had been appointed to design the new flag offered this explanation of the proposed designs:

The stars of the flag represent a new constellation rising in the West. The idea is taken from the great constellation Lyra, which in the hands of Orpheus, signifies harmony. The blue in the field is take from the edge of Covenanters' banner of Scotland, significant of the covenant of the United States against oppression. The stars are disposed in a circle, symbolizing the perpetuity of the Union, the ring signifying eternity. The 13 stars show the number of the united Colonies and denote subordination of the States of the Union as well as equality among themselves. The red, the color which, in the Roman days was a symbol of defiance, denotes daring, and the white, purity.

The resolution was not promulgated by the Secretary of the Congress until September 3, 1777, and the flag as first carried in battle at Brandywine on September 11. It was first saluted by a foreign power when the Ranger, in command of Capt. John Paul Jones, arrived at a French port on February 14, 1778, with the flag flying.

According to legend, the committee, if left to its own devices, would have given us six-pointed stars; But Mrs. John Ross, upholsterer and seamstress, who was to make the flag, preferred a five-

pointed star. With a few snips of the scissors she showed the gentlemen how much neater the less bulky stars would appear, especially as their numbers increased. The gentlemen of the committee, Robert Morris, Colonel Ross, and perhaps even George Washington himself, agreed that she was right.

Although Congress formally approved the new flag in 1777, it was 2 or 3 years before the flag was generally adopted. But somehow the idea of a flag with stars and stripes took hold. The feeling of ardor for the flag possibly has never been better expressed than in the lines from the pen of Joseph Rodman Drake, a young poet who grew up with the young flag:

Flag of the free heart's hope and home, By angel hands to valor given; The stars have lit the welkin dome, And all thy hues were born in heaven. Forever float that standard sheet! Where breathes the foe but falls before us, With Freedom's soil beneath our feet, And Freedom's banner streaming o'er us?

The appearance of a piece of bunting can change the mood of men. The stir of emotion at the sight of the flag is the common sentiment that binds us together spiritually. When men have died fighting in good causes under a flag, that banner is no longer merely a piece of cloth. It takes on a new and solemn

Since its adoption in 1777 more than 20 changes have been made in our flag. At first the admission of each new State was marked by the addition of a star and a stripe to the flag. In 1818 Congress stipulated that the number of stripes remain 13, in honor of the original States, and that "on the admission of every State into the Union, 1 star be added to the union of the flag; and that such addition shall take effect on the 4th of July next succeeding admission."

Like the flag itself, Flag Day did not attain its final form at once. The popular observance of the anniversary was of slow growth. In 1889 Prof. George Bolch, principal of a free kindergarten for the poor in New York City, decided to hold patriotic exercises on that day. They attracted considerable attention and the State department of education arranged to have the day observed in all the public schools.

In 1897 the Governor of New York issued a proclamation ordering the display of the flag over all the public buildings in the State. This is sometimes called the first official recognition of the day outside the schools. However, 4 years earlier, the mayor of Philadelphia, in response to a resolution of the Society of Colonial Dames of Pennsylvania ordered the display of the flag on the public buildings in that city. The resolution was offered by Mrs. Elizabeth Duane Gillespie, a direct descendant of Benjamin Franklin.

Although the anniversary is not a legal holiday in any of the States except Pennsylvania, it has come to be observed unofficially throughout the whole country. The flag is displayed, special exercises are held in the public schools, and the day is observed by lodges and civic organizations. It is customary to hold a

celebration in the Betsy Ross House in Philadelphia, and the patriotic order of the Sons of America are in the habit of placing a wreath on the grave of Betsy Ross in Mount Moriah Cemetery in Philadelphia.

The increasing observance of Flag Day with the passing years has brought about a more lively appreciation of this banner of a free people. More than most peoples, we Americans have become accustomed to pay a very special homage and reverence to our flag. In a mystical way. such as is perhaps the case in on other land, the American flag symbolizes the hopes and ideals, the faith and pride of a Nation. It reminds us of our heritage, of the struggle, the sacrifice, and the triumphs of those who have gone before us. In these days of international tensions it gives assurance to us and hope to the free world. It represents those ideals of democracy, truth, and justice, toward which we must continue to strive, with confidence in the future of America.

### Poison in Your Water-No. 117

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I am inserting into the Appendix of the Congressional Record an article appearing in the Harrisburg (Pa.) Patriot-News of June 4, 1958, entitled "Enola Sewage Co. Ordered To Stop Dumping in River":

ENOLA SEWAGE CO. ORDERED TO STOP DUMPING IN RIVER

The Enola Sewage Co., which has operated a disposal facility since 1903, has been ordered to cease dumping raw sewage into the Susquehanna River. The State's sanitary water board issued the order.

Luverne Snavely, the company's president, said the Caiptol Engineeering Co., of Dillsburgs, has been hired last summer, and Gannett, Fleming, Corddry and Carpenter, Harrisburg engineers last week to estimate the cost of constructing a new disposal plant. The present facility is located on Route 11–15 midway between the north and south boundaries of Enola.

The Enola firm, owned by stockholders, has no connection with the East Pennsboro Township sanitary sewer system which has a treatment plant in operation and serving the Louis Park area.

James Close, chairman of the East Pennsboro Township Sewer Authority, said: "The immediate threat of existing sewage

"The immediate threat of existing sewage problems is one of public health. Disease-carrying insetcs feeding on seeping and raw sewage, windblown bacteria from dried sewage, and contaminated wells are definite public health hazards."

The State sanitary water board has also warned the boroughs of Wormleysburg, Duncannon, and Marysville about dumping raw sewage into the river. Wormleysburg already has set up a municipal authority to finance and build a sanitary sewer system.

ACTION HINTED TO CLEAN UP ALL STREAMS

More legal action may be necessary, a State
health department official predicted yester-

day, in order to convince some communities of the need to clean up Pennsylvania streams.

Walter Lyons director of the department's division of sanitary engineering, said many citles have been convinced that there is a need for cleaner streams and have built sewage treatment plants voluntarily. The department's main problem now, he said, is to convince cities and municipalities that have shown no interest in compliance.

Lyons said he anticipates more legal action, especially for those communities that for a long time have been in violation of specific orders from the State sanitary water board.

### Blind Alley on Wheat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Records, I ask to have printed in the Appendix an editorial with which I agree that appeared in the Washington Post and Times-Herald on Saturday last, June 13:

### BLIND ALLEY ON WHEAT

The passage of a price-boosting wheat bill by the House yesterday was a dismal performance. A majority of the legislators simply could not bring themselves to an acceptance of the basic facts concerning the American wheat industry. Instead, they closed their eyes to the experience of the past and voted a return to support prices of 90 percent of parity—a policy that has contributed mightily to the dumping of \$3.5 billion worth of surplus wheat into Government bins.

One recent visitor to the Middle West concluded that the cities of storage bins are so extensive that within a few years they may cover the wheat fields and thus force a curtailment of production. That is, of course, a gross exaggeration, but the use of tax funds to finance over-production has unquestionably gone to ridiculous extremes. Why should the Government continue to pay farmers excessive prices for a commodity produced far in excess of the country's needs?

The House made some gesture toward cutting down production while offering farmers higher rewards for unneeded wheat. It called for a 25 percent reduction in acreage in order for farmers to qualify for the higher support prices and it reduced the 15-acre allotment to any and all wheat farmers to 12 acres. But acreage control has proved to be a singularly ineffective means of curtailing output in the past, and there is no reason to believe that it will be effective now.

The action of the House probably means that no wheat legislation will be passed this year. President Eisenhower is almost certain to veto any measure following the pattern of the House bill and the bill passed by the Senate is not much better. Since Congress appears determined not to adopt legislation that would discourage the production of surpluses, it might well consider a totally different approach—the disposal of those surpluses on a large scale to hungry peoples of the world.

The mere cost of storing our mountains of unneeded wheat is now a heavy drain on the Treasury. If Congress will not let the price of wheat subside to a point where the surplus can be used economically as

feed, it ought to be thinking seriously of ways and means of distributing it for humanitarian purposes. Such a policy would need the cooperation of other wheat-producing countries, notably Canada and Argentina. Fortunately, the Department of Agriculture has already done a good deal of exploring in this field. The failure of the current wheat bills may afford an auspicious occasion for the advancement of a new program of distributing our excess bounty abroad.

# Lifting the Ceiling on Government Bonds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues an editorial which appeared in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch on June 9, 1959, "Up With the Ceiling":

UP WITH THE CEILING

No matter how many speeches are made in Congress about greedy bankers and the delights of an easy money market, in the end it will be hard for House and Senate to find any practical alternative to the administration plan for lifting the interest ceiling on Government bonds.

As with the ancient dream of eating one's cake and having it too, the hope of simultaneously enjoying the best of two possible worlds has a strong grip on some Senators and Representatives. They would like to enjoy both the full employment of boom times and the low-interest rates of depression times. Who wouldn't? But up to now nobody has been able to figure out a safe way of doing both at the same time.

Easy credit is a consequence or expression of underemployed resources, and relatively tight money is the price that usually must be paid for good times. Though it is proper for the Government to do everything possible to mitigate the effects of tight money, making credit fairly available to all sectors of the economy, no way has yet been devised of generally depressing the price of credit during a boom without adding inflationary pressures.

Nor has anybody figured out a practical, noninflationary way by which the Government can segregate itself from the influences that affect credit for everybody else. When the Treasury borrows money, it must compete with other borrowers. If the other borrowers can and do pay higher interest rates than does the Government, the public in peacetime is not going to rush its money into Government securities no matter how many patriotic appeals are addressed to it.

These circumstances have now caught up with the Treasury to such an extent that more savings bonds are being cashed each month than are being bought. The price of outstanding Government bonds has fallen to the point where an investor can get a higher interest yield by buying Government issues already on the market than by subscribing to new issues at the present 3½-percent interest ceiling. Facing the need to refinance 76 billions worth of securities within the next few months, the Treasury cannot persuade long-term investors to tie up their money in Government bonds unless it can pay somewhat higher interest rates.

What are the alternatives? The Federal Reserve System might be ordered to support the price of Government bonds, as it did dur-

ing and after the war. But this is a proved way of creating inflationary pressures, since every dollar thus put into support buying adds something like \$6 to the money supply. Or the interest ceiling could be left where it is, thereby forcing the Treasury to refinance maturing long-term debt with short-term securities on which the interest ceiling does not apply. That, too, would be an engine of inflation—in effect, a disguised way of inflating the money supply at a time when it should be restrained.

Nobody likes the fact that removing the interest ceiling will increase the cost of carrying the public debt. But this factor has been exaggerated. It is true that the taxpayers now pay close to \$8 billion a year in interest on the debt as against only 5.7 billion 10 years ago. But it is also true that the cost of carrying the debt is now less than 11 percent of the total Federal budget as against 14 percent 10 years ago.

as against 14 percent 10 years ago.

We hope the administration does not jeopardize the strong case it can make for lifting the interest ceiling by overplaying the sanctity of a free-money market. A modern Government cannot leave itself at the mercy of irresponsible traders who seek only private gain, and modern voters will not permit it to do so. Government must influence credit just as it must influence other sectors of the economy on behalf of full employment and a justly shared prosperity. But it cannot change the facts of life by fiat, and it is a fact today that under the present interest ceiling people with money would rather put it into something else than Government bonds.

# Again Hits Curbs on Oil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. CHESTER E. MERROW

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an editorial from the Littleton Courier, Littleton, N.H., of June 11, 1959, entitled "Again Hits Curbs on Oil":

AGAIN HITS CURBS ON OIL

The New England Council has fired off another salvo to Washington to express its continued opposition to President Elsenhower's restrictions on imports of Venezuelan residual oils.

Albert O. Merrill, manager of the council's industry department, pointed out in a letter to Charles Colson, staff aid to Senator Leverett Saltonstall, Republican, of Massachusetts, that New England oil prices usually decline at this time of year primarily because of seasonal demand factors.

It is the NEC's position that the residual oil import curbs will mean a boost in oil prices in the six-State area.

In speaking about the oil import restrictions, Colson told a recent New England Senators' conference that regional oil costs have gone down, not up.

have gone down, not up.

However, the council explained that the coming of fall and winter demands will see the price of oil climb to new highs in New England and the hike will be directly attributable to the administration's restrictions.

Merrill also noted that since New England uses a heavy percentage of Venezuelan oil the added difference between next winter's and last winter's price is expected to cost the regional economy millions of dollars.

"New Englanders sincerely hope that you and our (New England) delegation in Washington will bear this in mind when considering the cost of these restrictions to this region," Merrill said, "and that further that appropriate steps will be taken to remedy an unfair and unnecessary situation."

### Segregation or Discrimination

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. JAMES C. DAVIS

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, organizations such as the Georgia Council on Human Relations and the Commission on Civil Rights have been endeavoring to paint a beautiful picture of the integrated Washington schools by sending the school superintendent on expense-paid, speaking tours throughout the Nation. In spite of these efforts, the truth about the sorry mess here is getting out to the people anyway.

They know about it even as far away as California. The Los Angeles Times of May 27 carried an article by Rudolf Flesch, entitled "Segregation or Discrimination?" The article is as follows:

SEGREGATION OR DISCRIMINATION?

(By Rudolf Flesch)

Johnny Black can't read. He can't spell. He can't add, subtract, multiply, or divide. He knows no history, no geography, no literature, no science. In short, he's utterly ignorant.

Johnny Black is an 18-year-old Negro boy who lives in Washington, D.C. He's just graduated from a public high school. His ignorance is the result of 4 years of education in what is known as the fourth track.

What is the fourth track? It's the proud achievement of Dr. Carl Hansen, superintendent of Washington schools.

When the Washington schools were integrated in 1955, Dr. Hansen hit upon the bright idea of dividing all high school students into four tracks—an honors group, a college preparatory group, a general education group, and a basic education group.

The division was roughly by IQ. The first track got a specially enriched curriculum, the second got the regular academic course, the third got some watered-down mishmash, and the fourth apparently got nothing whatever.

At least it turned out after 3 years that their IQ's actually had dropped since they were freshmen. Their social concepts score had gone down from 16 to 10, their natural science score from 19 to 17 and their correctness of expression score from 20 to 14. In other words, their so-called education in the fourth track left them dumber than they were to begin with.

No special survey is needed to find out who these children are. Washington is now 53 percent Negro. The fourth tracks obviously are virtually all colored, the honors course is probably all white.

As any educator has known for many years, the IQ test is apt to favor children from cultured, well-to-do homes and to penalize children of poor minority groups. And as any educator also knows, the IQ invariably goes up whenever a child competes with brighter children in the same classroom.

Dr. Hansen has turned school integration in Washington into a mockery. He has taken the Negro children from their segregated, all-colored schools and put most of in fourth tracks-which means into educational slums.

I wonder whether Johnny Black's parents know what's been done to their boy. I won-der whether they realize that his 4 years at the fine integrated school have been a total waste-by actual tests.

And I wonder how Dr. Hansen feels about it all.

Occasionally he must cross the Mall and pass by the Lincoln Memorial.

I wonder whether he dares to look up.

# The Legacy of Our Youth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, commencement exercises in West Hartford, Conn. recently, Brig. Gen. Louis H. Renfrow delivered an outstanding address to the pupils of the Robinson Junior School for Boys. Under leave to extend my remarks I include the text of this talk.

I should also like to note that General Renfrow pays a tribute in this speech to Connecticut's illustrious junior Sen-

THE LEGACY OF OUR YOUTH

(Commencement address for Robinson Junior School for Boys, Hartford, Conn., June 1959, by Brig. Gen. Louis H. Renfrow (retired))

Just 10 years ago to the month, I was accorded the privilege of coming to this fine American school, and addressing the first graduating class, composed of two young

In these 10 years, this school has taken its rightful place in the educational world.

Comdr. John Robinson has been a long-time personal friend, and I am so happy to come here today, and have a part in these commencement exercises.

Ten years ago, I said, in part:

"There is no phenomenon of our American way of life more inspiring than the annual commencement exercises in which our young men and women complete their course of study, and go out from institutions which have carefully nurtured the precepts of democracy."

I further said:

On occasions like this, there is not much of an original nature to be said to a body of young men who have successfully come through the years of a course of education and training

"This-rather-is a time for stock-taking

and review.

"You are the heirs of America.

"This is a day to examine your legacy, and to recognize, evaluate, and accept the responsibilities which go with it."

What I said then-holds true today.

The treasures that lie before you are rich,

satisfying and plentiful.

High adventures beckon-in science, in commerce, in further learning, and research; in the mellow earth from which come agriculture's bountiful outpourings, in public life and service, in the selfless service of the teacher, and in the healing hand of the medical arts.

Above all these, there is a greater, richer treasure—a wonderful heritage that is given to all men and women of these United States—American freedom. No money can buy it. All the gold, silver, and diamonds, in the world are worthless baubles beside it.

The multiple blessings of this great gift of freedom are manifest in every movement, every function of American life.

But you young men, who have just completed your first step in your education at this school, have had an unusual opportunity to enjoy this freedom.

There are too many spots left on earth today where, as in the United States, knowledge has been passed along from the older generations to the younger, untainted with propaganda, where there have been no bounds to limit ideas, no chains shackling intellect; and no lies distorting truth.

Here, as in hundreds, yes, thousands of other American schools, graduating young Americans at this time, there is a freedom of thought, freedom of speech, and freedom to

worship God as you please.

You have been taught by good teachers, born earlier, who as Americans believe our own system of government to be the best in the world, and well they might, for it has passed the test in the crucible of time, yet, you have been invited to examine all other systems and to form your own conclusions.

You live in a land where freedom's heartbeat is so strong and steady, that even those who wish to change our governmental system go unmolested, as long as they refrain

from violence, in their attempts.

Such misguided souls may preach their chosen doctrines as loudly as they please, so long as they do not propose to overthrow and destroy this Government by force.

You have been privileged to examine ideologies which the United States condemns.

You have been taught truthfully that all heroes are not necessarily Americans.

You have read, and been taught, that all the world's inventions since the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock have not sprung from United States shores only.

Your American history books tell no stories about the development of a superior, or world-dominating race in America.

Your school reading sources compel no denunciation of wealth, but echo national leaders working constantly to lift the living level of the poor.

Your books call for no world conquest.

They advocate freedom for all the peoples

of this earth. The fundamentals of Christianity have

been given to you in this heritage with no admonition that in religion a Catholic, Jew, or Protestant, is better one than another.

The sound, free doctrine that all men are

equal in the sight of God, has been your teaching and your heritage.

You leave this school with the profound conviction that neither creed, nor the color of a man's skin, will condemn him, nor place him on a pedestal above others.

Your curriculum has been the learning of freedom and the love of equality among all

Today, as we are assembled in such happy surroundings, and with our families and friends here in West Hartford, Conn., we must not, and we shall not, forget the grave and sinister conditions that do exist in the Eastern and Western Worlds, beyond our

Today the hearts and minds of men, women, and children of these lands are gripped with fear and misgivings because of the things that are happening within the borders of their own countries.

Yet in our glorious demonstration of democracy in action there must be high hope, understanding, and prayerful belief that somehow, and not before it is too late, those persons to whom the mandate of leadership

has been entrusted will stay the hand of oppression by further solidifying the free-dom-loving peoples of the world in a common bond of friendship, mutual understanding, and trust.

The situation in the Berlin crisis and the present harassment by the Soviets at Geneva were both anticipated in a recent masterful, statesmanlike, and most timely address delineating the perilous situation that engulfs our Nation and the world.

This address was delivered on February 25, 1959, before the U.S. Senate by the illustrious junior Senator from Connecticut, the Hon-

orable THOMAS DODD.

A paragraph of this prophetic address illustrates its timeliness:

"Let us rather approach this date of May 27, 1959, as a united America, proud of our ideals and traditions, conscious of our great mission in the world, and confident that if we but act aright the hand of God will sustain us to the ultimate victory."

Would that I could bring a light and happy message that all is well in the world. But your daily press, radio, and television reports

belie such a message.

What use are noble, idealistic, and intelligent leaders if there are not those to follow them who are noble, idealistic, and intelligent?

In this modern and complex way of life we too often overlook the fact that our social and political heritage rests on our civiliza-

It is an acquired characteristic and has not had time to become fixed in our being and cannot be transmitted through heredity.

Each generation, each child of today, furnishes the same virgin and undeveloped soil for development as obtained thousands of years ago.

The fruits of literature, philosophy, and science must not only be preserved, but must be diligently digested by man thrice in each century to be maintained and to maintain civilized man.

Life is persistent—the hereditary characteristics of life are persistent.

It is our tragedy that man's social and political heritage is not permanent, for on this shifting, dependent, social, and political heritage rests civilization.

Destroy it, and you destroy social institutions, law, order, and liberty; education, culture, and refinement; faith, hope, and religion; sacrifice, charity, and patriotism.

You will have lost your guide and compass,

wind and sail, power and anchor.

A myriad of achievements, material and spiritual, a geologic age of advancement will have been blotted out, but man has never lost this social and political heritage.

Why be concerned about future loss? Because history presents too many examples of the rise, decline, and fall of nations who lost enough of their social and political

heritage to pass away.

Material prosperity, armies and navies, wealth and power, are weak instruments for maintaining civilization, and unless the people and their leaders remember and breathe life thrice each century into this thing called our social and political heritage, it will be lost.

We must not ignore or discard reason and truth; faith and trust; nor a score of such important parts of our lives that have been, and still are, beacon lights for man's guid-

ance upward.

History presents us with no horoscopes; no Gallup polls; nor does liberty, not logic, nor anything else that I know of, for man has always found a heavy veil before the future.

As long as we admit that we live by virtue of others having lived, as well as by our own merit, we know that we possess the present with its treasures, and its debts of the past.

Your destiny rests in the thoroughness of your training, and your own planning, and

the zeal and enthusiasm with which you carry out these plans.

Too often we, who have been in military service, hear from young people that they are unable to plan their future and that the present conditions make their future obscure and uncertain.

The American people are slowly learning to live with danger, as you will have to do. Living with danger requires a very different state of readiness, and a very different order of sacrifice, from merely rising up to meet a crists, disposing of it, and returning thereafter to our well-beloved way of

Living with danger is in itself a way of life; however little we may like it.

It can be endured only by those who have acquired mental and psychological attitudes quite alien to a life of calm serenity.

A free society is not possible, and has never been possible, without men willing to fight to gain it, and having gained it, been ready and willing to sacrifice to protect and keep it.

This is as true today as it was when we gained our independence as a nation.

When we sing our national anthem, or, as you and I stand at salute, as our flag is lowered at sundown, every American (in this atomic-hydrogen age) and, particularly, every one of the 21 million living veterans of our great Nation, know that the ramparts we now watch are those farflung places that have moved our horizons from the borders of our Nation to areas beyond the sea.

Yet, my young friends, your present situation is not new, nor different, for never have we been able, in my lifetime, and during three wars, to precisely predict what the future holds for any of us in exact terms, but has that not prevented all of us from planning, which plans may have had to be altered, but the mere planning has made such deviations and changes easier and more adjustable.

Is there an American who was not thrilled when he read of that marvelous scientific accomplishment of our atomic-powered submarines, the Nautilus and the Skate, when they submerged and traveled under the ice-cap of the North Pole?

That was the result of dreams, planning,

sacrifice, training and hard work.

Has it ever occurred to you, as you read of these great scientific and sociological advances, or studied the literary and scientific indings of the past, that these advances in our day were made possible by the sacrifices of those who biazed the trail of our democracy, or do you just take them for granted?

On the horizon of our daily lives there has been a constant threat to these wonderful and modern developments by those despots who are determined to turn the clock back to the absolute control of men's minds, activities and beliefs.

It is this ever-present threat to our way of life that has caused our Nation to invent and perfect instruments of defense—the atom and hydrogen devices.

If greedy, selfish and destructive men, loose in the world today, could be stopped in their aggressive activities, these new discoveries can, and will, be diverted and converted from destructive to constructive activities that will open great and wonderful areas of unlimited possibilities and happiness.

While it is still necessary to defend our way of life, and at the same time offer our assistance to any Nation, or people, who want to live peacefully in the family of Nations, it will require the loyalty and devotion of your generation and those to follow, who will be dedicated to the pioneer spirit of unselfish service to his fellow man.

Young men will be asked to be modern ploneers at a time when danger and uncer-

tainty seem to be lurking in every corner of the world.

My young friends—as you are about to enter into another phase of your life's work, and as this wonderful beginning you have enjoyed here at this fine school is to be expanded into areas of greater opportunities and wider horizons, may you never forget, for 1 minute, those men and women who have made possible every step in your advancement up the ladder of life. That you owe an unpaid debt to them, that can be discharged by your own worthwhile contributions to the development and advancement of a happier, healthier and more constructive way of life.

In a book, titled "What of the Night?" by

In a book, titled "What of the Night?" by Ernest L. Klein, you will find this illustrative statement which gives hope and encouragement to those who might otherwise become despondent and morose:

"It is most helpful to us to be able to shrink our tremendous problems, just a little, by remembering that events of monumental importance in the life of any generation, shrivel into microscopic insignificance in the eyes of history. \* \* \* For a thousand years in Thy sight, are but as yesterday, when it is past, as a watch in the night."

May I quote from an address by the Honorable Louis A. Johnson, former Secretary of Defense:

"The world often speaks today of our secret weapons. Here in the United States we have two secret weapons; weapons greater than all the atom or hydrogen devices; battleships; aircraft carriers; airplanes; rockets; missiles and guns. Best of all, our greatest weapons are safe from enemy destruction. No enemy can steal them away, and they need never wear out. Our secret weapons are enlightened American youth, and American freedom."

Keep that light of freedom burning

Keep that light of freedom burning brightly as you go on to other schools of learning, or into your life's work.

Be prepared to defend and protect this glorious land of yours and mine, as did those who courageously went out from so many schools in 1917, in 1941, and again

Turn a friendly, unafraid countenance to the rest of the world and to the future.

Be aware that the future, and our Nation's relations with the great family of nations on this earth, will soon rest in your hands, and the hands of those graduating, as you are, from other schools.

Be constantly on the alert and guard

Be constantly on the alert and guard against any threatening enemy, whether that enemy shall come from within, or without, this democracy.

Time is the ever-present factor with which you must reckon, and while there is still time, make every minute count in your dayto-day activities.

May God go with you in this glorious experience of your life yet to be lived.

#### Keenotes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS .

# HON. ELIZABETH KEE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 19, 1959

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Record and include copy of my newsletter Keenotes which was released today:

#### KEENOTES

(By Representative ELIZABETH KEE)

Earlier in the year, soon after President Eisenhower submitted his \$77 billion budget to Congress, I expressed the belief that Congress would make substantial reductions in this recordbreaking peacetime budget.

The House has just about completed action on all appropriation bills and to date a total of \$1.3 billion has been cut from the President's requests. In addition, the House is likely to reduce the President's foreign aid budget by as much as \$500 million.

The House record on the 1960 budget should be an effective answer to those people who insist on calling the Democratic majority in Congress wild spenders. The Appropriations Committee is meeting the challenge in a responsible manner and without using the meat-ax approach that would sacrifice many programs and activities that are essential to the continued growth of the Nation.

There is still some doubt that the budget will be balanced even though Government revenue from business and personal income taxes should be substantially higher as a result of continued improvement in the economic picture. Any deficit will be much smaller than seemed likely earlier in the year.

LIFTING OF INTEREST CEILING TO TOUCH OFF
LONG DEBATE

The President's request for an increase in the statutory limitation on the interest the Government can pay on its long-term bonds is already causing considerable debate. The President says the increase is essential to enable the Treasury to sell bonds carrying an interest rate more in line with the current going rate.

Opponents contend the increase will touch off a general increase in interest rates and infiationary pressures. These people believe the needs of the Treasury can be met in other ways that will not be as harmful as an increase in the interest rate.

Another increase in the debt ceiling is also in the legislative mills. There is no question but what Congress will vote this. The present debt ceiling has just about been reached.

AGRICULTURE DEBATES EMPHASIZE NEED FOR MORE RESEARCH

During last week the House debated two agricultural bills—one prohibiting the support price for tobacco from increasing, and another to try to deal with the present wheat surplus. In both instances, it was apparent that production has outstripped consumption. The need is to find new markets and new uses for these commodities and all other farm products.

For this reason, I have strongly urged the passage of legislation to put added emphasis on research. The Department of Agriculture conducts an extensive research program now, but in my estimation more work needs to be done on the utilization phase.

The Department now has an exhibit on display in the patho of its building showing some of the progress to date. It is encouraging. USDA scientists are trying to find ways to greatly increase industrial uses of wheat, corn, and other cereal grains.

For example, corn is 70 percent starch

For example, corn is 70 percent starch and provides the most economical source of this material. Utilization research is developing products from starch with improved properties for present applications and in addition is working toward novel starch products for entirely new industrial applications.

If successful in these efforts, the scientists can open up a vast new market for corn that could absorb that part of the corn crop not needed for feed. Just think what it

would be to farmers, in terms of price, to have a vast new market for their products.

Price-support operations cost billions each year. The utilization research budget is less than \$100 million. It seems to me that the major emphasis should be on utilization research and not on price-support operations which only add to present surpluses.

# Paul Hancock: Man of the Year for Center Point, Ala.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, this past week Mr. Paul Hancock, Sr., an outstanding citizen of my district, was selected as Man of the Year for the city of Center Point. This was a truly deserved recognition for Mr. Hancock's record of civic service and all of us in Jefferson County are quite proud that Mr. Hancock has been designated as recipient of the award.

Under leave heretofore granted, I am pleased to insert in the Congressional Record, an article which appeared in the newspaper the Progressive Ştar, published at Center Point, Ala., dealing with Mr. Hancock's selection:

PAUL HANCOCK: MAN OF THE YEAR

Now it can be told—Mr. Paul Hancock, Sr., resident for over 20 years in Center Point, has been chosen by the people as "The Man of the Year."

From such men as Jack Underwood, Doug Dedman, Jimmy Jones, Floyd Hubbard, Norman Faris, and Paul Hancock it's hard to select just one man as representing Mr. Center Point 1959. Few communities, if any, are fortunate enough to have so many civic minded men as these. We, the residents of Center Point, do indeed have a lot to be thankful for—among them, good civic leaders.

Paul Hancock, Sr., was born and raised in the Birmingham area. He started in business during the depression years when thousands upon thousands were unemployed. He moved his family to Center Point in 1938 and in 1941 his home was completely destroyed by fire. The home was uninsured. His present home now stands on the same location.

In 1947, Mr. Hancock moved his business to Center Point. He owns and operates the Paul Hancock Co., a firm engaged in the rental and sales of steel scaffolding and construction equipment. He has a branch office in Decatur, Ala. There are also agents in all principal cities of north Alabama and part of the Mississippi. He also owns and operates the Southern Building Supply and Hardware Co. and the Southern Engineering Co.

In the fhid-1940's Mr. Hancock gave, one year, more to the church than his business made. The following year his profits zoomed to tenfold what he had contributed to the church the year before.

Another wonderful gesture on behalf of Mr. Hancock, is that wherever and when possible, he hires handicapped people. One teenager in particular was hired out of Partlow State Mental Institute. The boy was on probation and in Paul Hancock's care for the first year. He improved to the point

that he was accepted into the Army and now enjoys a normal life.

He has a friend, a retired pastor, whom he helps financially every month.

He paid the first youth director of the Center Point Church a regular salary.

Paul Hancock equipment has moved every preacher, except one, that has been called to another charge from the Center Point Methodist Church. In some instances, upon arrival at the new destination the furniture was unloaded and the other preacher's loaded and moved to his new charge.

In January next year, Mr. Hancock will be elevated to Potentate of Zamora Temple. The largest Shrine temple in the Southeast, it has a membership of 9,500. The Shrine of North America maintains and supports 17 hospitals for crippled children. The Shrine has rehabilitated over 30,000 children. Their slogan "No man stands so erect as when he stoops to help a crippled child." The hospitals are free to all crippled children regardless of race, creed, or color.

He is a member of the Better Business bureau and a charter member of Masonic Order No. 872.

The Progressive Star, along with all the residents of Center Point, join together—
"We salute you, Paul Hancock, and thank you for what you have done for our community, for the contribution of your time and money that Center Point might be a better and cleaner place to raise our children, for the unselfishness you have shown, for the modesty that possesses you to be just—Paul Hancock."

# Let Us Live 1 Day at a Time

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. E. ROSS ADAIR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Archie Keene, president of Indiana Technical College, Fort Wayne, Ind., recently presided at the graduation exercises for the class of 1959 of that institution. As a part of those exercises, he delivered a charge to the graduating class.

Because it contains such excellent advice and philosophy, I am including it herewith:

#### LET US LIVE 1 DAY AT A TIME

There are 2 days in every week about which you should not worry—2 days which should be kept free from fear and apprehension.

One of these days is yesterday with its mistakes and cares, its faults and blunders, its aches and pains. Yesterday has passed forever. All the money in the world cannot bring back yesterday. Beyond asking forgiveness of your God and of your fellow man you cannot undo a single act you performed. You cannot erase a single word you said. Yesterday is gone.

The other day you should not worry about is tomorrow with its possible adversities, its burdens, its large promise and perhaps poor performance. Tomorrow is also beyond your immediate control.

Tomorrow's sun will rise, either in splendor or behind a mask of clouds—but it will rise. Until it does, you have no stake in tomorrow, for it is as yet unborn. This leaves only one day—today. Any man can fight the battles of just one day. It is only when you and I add the burden of those

two awful eternities, yesterday and tomorrow—that we break down.

It is not the experience of today that drives men mad—it is remorse or bitterness for something which happened yesterday and the dread of what tomorrow may bring.

Let us, therefore, live 1 day at a time. As you live each day remember that the best thing to give your enemy is forgiveness; to an employer, service; to an opponent, tolerance; give your heart to a friend; set a good example for your children; revere your father and mother and so conduct yourself that they will always be proud of you; give to yourself the priceless heritage of self-respect, and finally give charity and understanding to all men.

# Loyal Civilian Force at Fort Campbell Hikes Production Despite Budget Cut

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. J. CARLTON LOSER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. LOSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I direct the attention of the House to a magnificent job being done at Fort Campbell, Ky., by the commander of the 101st Airborne Division, Maj. Gen. W. C. Westmoreland. The executive editor of the Nashville (Tenn.) Banner, Charles-Moss, has written a splendid story illustrating how production on this military base has been increased notwithstanding a budget cut. Mr. Moss, in his own inimitable fashion, has called to the attention of the thousands of readers of this great newspaper, the work of this outstanding military man. The story follows:

No Complacency Here—Loyal Civilian Force at Fort Campbell Hikes Production Despite Budget Cut

#### (By Charles Moss)

FORT CAMPBELL, KY.—When a Fort Campbell housewife calls a plumber, he not only doesn't forget the right pipe wrench, or plug, but takes a hammer and a saw, tools of the sheetmetal trade and even electric fixtures.

Why the extra hardware? Well, there might be a loose plank in the front porth floor. A gutter may be leaking or the electric stove may be acting up. And the man who was called as a plumber takes care of all the trouble.

Lost motion is eliminated. There is no duplication of personnel for work or travel and consequent vehicle depreciation. Costly man-hours are spent where they ought to be—on the job.

The result is high efficiency and a saving of money for the U.S. taxpayer.

How did it all come about? Congress probably deserves some indirect credit. Fort Campbell's budget was reduced.

The effect, higher efficiency on less money, not in wages, but overall operating funds, was engineered by Maj. Gen. W.C. Westmoreland, commander of the 101st Airborne Division and "mayor" so to speak, of Fort Campbell, the division's home base.

He not only commands the Screaming Eagles and sees that they must be ready to go anywhere in the world and fight any kind of enemy under any kind of conditions. He also is responsible for the proper functioning of a city of 25,000 souls, who mostly live in Government-owned houses. There must be schools for the children. Streets must be repaired, garbage collected. All the municipal services must be performed.

By whom? The answer is going to surprise many a texpayer who has always been under the impression that soldiers do everything there is to be done on an Army base, housekeeping and military.

#### SOLDIER TRAINING COMES FIRST

That is not true. When a soldler is at the home post, he trains. In his role as commander of the 101st, General Westmoreland is adamant on that military premise. His first duty is command. That includes the fundamental business of teaching paratroopers to kill the enemy without being killed themselves.

The Screaming Eagles train and train and train—like a football team, but their training knows no season. They hit the silk and run ground scrimmages day in and day out, the year round in rain and heat and cold and snow. Their games are played in des-

erts, mountains, and jungles.

Napoleon said a long time ago that an army marches on its stomach. But times have changed. The mobility of the 101st is a lot more complicated, particularly since it strikes from the air, and takes along all necessary equipment—from rifles to rockets and jeeps to tanks.

But if the soldiers are constantly training, who keeps all this materiel repaired and ready to go on a moment's notice?

Civilians.

And who does the housekeeping for the town?

Civilians.

The paratrooper, if he keeps fit to fight in an atomic age, doesn't have time to put a new engine in a plane and serve as a ladderman in the hometown fite department.

As it turns out then, there are two divisions at Fort Campbell—a military and a civilian, both indispensable, so far as the defense of the Nation is concerned. And both take a lot of money.

What happens when funds are cut? As usual, it's a problem for the general.

Perhaps there have been military posts where a budget cut would be met with the philosophy of the old army game, whereby training and maintenance would be allowed to coast down to the level of the reduction.

#### MORE PRODUCTION ON FEWER DOLLARS

But the man who commands the 101st did not win the two stars of a major general at the age of 42 by proficiency at the aforementioned army game.

When the budget problem came up he did just what all who know him predicted he would do. He came up with a plan to get more production on fewer dollars.

The maintenance of the fort as a mobile community is not a profit and loss operation. In other words, the general has no balance sheet by which he can gage the efficiency of his overall operation. But he saw no reason why the experience of large and successful business corporations could not be applied to operational problems at the post.

At Westmoreland's invitation several highly qualified industrial engineers came to study the procedures then in force. They made their recommendations.

Then the commander of Fort Campbell wrote a memorandum.

Its message was directed to private citizens who live on farms and in the near and not so nearby towns of Tennessee and Kentucky. They are the men and women who keep the tanks, trucks, planes, rocket carriers, guns—from side arms to artillery—radio and radar sets—all at peak performance

ready for the 101st to take into action anywhere on the globe at any time.

These men and women from Clarksville and Cadiz, Ashland City and Hopkinsville also come to Fort Campbell every day to run the laundry, teach school, patch parachutes, operate and maintain the telephone, power and water systems, not to mention maintenance of more than 2,000 buildings and residences. The number is increasing all the time with a public housing program underway. Also the fort is in an advance stage of conversion from a temporary to permanent base.

#### CIVILIAN WORKERS GET THE WORD

Civilians are doing all of this work and it was to them, through their supervisors, that the general delivered his request on the subject "Increased production."

This is what he said:

"The operating budget has been reduced this year and it is anticipated that there may be a further reduction during the next fiscal year. At the same time additional requirements have been imposed on the post. Our only solution to the problem is to increase productivity within each work area. By this I mean the productivity of each civilian employee and military man involved in our industrial and administrative activities. In short, we must increase our efficiency and effect the fullest utilization of our available manpower, funds and facilities."

"You are urged," he continued, "to evaluate your performance, review and analyze your responsibilities, take stock of your practices, and work with us to increase our man-hour productivity. As a first step in increasing our efficiency, an immediate goal of 10 percent increase in production is established without increase in work force. I know I can depend upon you to play an effective role in attaining this objective." That letter was dated March 7, 1959.

Since that time the production efficiency of Fort Campbell has increased not by 10 but by 15 percent. And it is in the process

of going higher.

How was it accomplished? First by frankness and looking facts in the face. Then, a ready willingness to eliminate inherited, cumbersome and smothering patterns of procedure, thereby releasing creative energies born of pride in workmanship and a dedicated sense of teamwork and mission.

The operation has come a long way since the General asked one of the visiting industrial engineers for a verdict after the first inspection.

"How thick skinned are you?" the engineer replied.

"Plenty," said Westmoreland.

"Well, said the expert, "the place is too clean."

"And what does that mean?" asked the man who wears two stars.

"It means," said the consultant, "that in the furniture shop there should be sawdust on the floor."

#### SAWDUST ON THE FLOOR

Soon there was enough sawdust on the floor for a barn dance—and other changes were made, including the launching of a promotion program: Operation High Gear. All over the base posters and bumper stickers proclaim that: "We back STRAC (Strategic Army Command) More: Production, Efficiency, Economy, Incentive, Less: Waste, Cost, Time, Backlog."

STRAC today is backed with enthusiasm and new procedures that involve:

Cross training: The ambidextrous plumber introduced at the beginning of the article is an example. In the Signal Department, which operates the telephone system for the post, the technician who repairs and rebuilds radar sets and radios can do the same thing for a camera. That department, incidentally, does this type work for National

Guard, Reserve and ROTC units in the State of Tennessee.

Consolidation: There formerly were four battery shops on the base with duplicated equipment and personnel. Now there is only one. The furniture shop (with sawdust on the floor) now adjoins the paint shop.

Dispersal: The versatile plumber, who acts also in the capacity of carpenter, tinner, and electrician, is served by roving supply vans assigned to various areas on the base. Specially marked repair trucks are given the

right-of-way in traffic.

Work measurement: Varicolored charts bloom on all office walls. In the absence of profit and loss statements they tell at a glance the production story as it relates both to the individual and the unit. The foreman has immediate control of his labor force. He knows the what and when of his manpower.

#### VISITING FOR EXPERIENCE

Off post training: Mechanical supervisors visited large private industrial plants. Telephone and electronics technicians went on training missions to the Bell Telephone Co. Fort Campbell meat cutters improved their technique by experience at Frostry Morn's large Clarksville packinghouse. Maintenance supervisors visited the General Electric appliance plant at Louisville. Thus "Operation Experience For Efficiency" spread through the various types of industry.

Awards for incentive and new ideas both to individuals and groups: Entirely new processes and time-saving procedures have been developed. Show business agents tell their applicants: "Don't call us. We'll call you." When a cash prize is won the general says: "Don't come to me. I'll come to you." The award is made at the workbench. The work

break is shorter that way.

All this and the resulting achievements is Operation High Gear, and Operation Success.

But it is more than that. It's an attitude, a state of mind, an activation of an awareness of a threat to the Nation. It is the opposite and ultimate extreme of national complacency. The outstanding production and the still climbing momentum would not have been gained by pressure or mere synthetic enthusiasm.

The workers are under civil service, with all its benefits and protection. Their leave program is more liberal than the vacation plan of the average American citizen. Fort Campbell pays the prevailing wage scale and there are the usual compensations for overtime.

#### WORLD COMMITMENTS AFFECT ALL

Finally, to put it another way—in the briefing room at Fort Campbell, a world map covers one wall. From the dot that is the post, thin ribbons radiate to countries all over the globe where the United States has commitments. They are the parts of the free world, infiltrated and threatened perhaps, but as yet unoccupied by the restless, ruthless tide that is the Sino-Soviet combine.

The map is only a picture and the ribbons are just bright silken streamers. But the varied patches of color represent segments of the earth inhabited by harassed or insecure populations. Staff officers of the 101st read that wall as a doctor reads a fever chart.

The spreading strings represent invisible but pulsing lines of sensitivity, electric with potential flashes spelling possible chaos and then commitment for the Fort Campbell troops, spearhead of the Strategic Army Command.

These electric beams of intuition from over the world penetrate all ranks, civilian, too, within the installation. And here is welded the relationship between fighting man and artisan. Here the citizen employees, men and women, identify themselves with the mission, and the destiny of the 101st Airborne Division. The future of every-American is tied to that same destiny, but few, beyond the bounds of the Military Establishment on the Tennessee-Kentucky border spare necessary time from the comforts of complacency to be aware of it. Civilian workers at the great base are aware of it. They know that to the perfection and efficiency of their handiwork is geared the Screaming Eagles' efficiency of movement, weaponry, and communication—often the difference between life and death, victory and defeat.

That knowledge, deep in the hearts of these men and women, who wear no uniform, but report dally to their tasks at Fort Campbell, is accepted as a privilege, worn as a badge, with pride and gratitude. Like the paratroopers they support—they, too, stand bravely at the sharp edge of reality.

That is why Operation High Gear is in high

gear-and gaining speed.

# A Bill To Provide Longevity Corrections

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a bill to provide that employees of the U.S. postal service shall be eligible to receive four longevity steps after 10, 15, 20, and 25 years of service respectively. Under my bill, each step would provide a \$200 per annum increase and enactment of the bill is urgently needed in order that the loyalty of career postal employees may be recognized properly.

One of the objectives of my bill also is to insure that all types of Federal service shall be considered in determining eligibility for longevity. I can see no reason why an employee who serves 10 years in a position under the classification act and then transfers to the postal service should be denied longevity credit for the full period of his Federal career.

Mr. Speaker, let us direct our attention first to the amount of each longevity grade. When the longevity concept first was enacted into law in 1945, the vast majority of postal employees had a top automatic grade of \$2,700. Today, the top grade for that same overwhelmingly large percentage of postal employees is \$4,875. The postal clerks, letter carriers, and postal transportation clerks making up this segment of the postal family are underpaid today just as they were in 1945 when Public Law 134 was passed. Nevertheless, the salaries have almost doubled in the intervening period. Is it reasonable then to assume that the 1945 longevity payments should be static in the context of a doubled wage structure?

Because of this feature, my bill stipulates that each longevity grade shall be \$200 instead of \$100. In regard to clerks and carriers at first- and second-class post offices, the 1945 law stipulated that employees should advance through 11 salary steps beginning at \$1,700 annually and reaching \$2,700 annually.

law-section 12a-stipulated "that for such employees at post offices of the first class there shall be three additional grades; that is, grade 12, \$2,-800; grade 13, \$2,900; grade 14, \$3,000, and that employees who perform faithful and meritorious service shall be promoted to grade 12 after 3 years of such service in grade 11, shall be promoted to grade 13 after 5 years of such service in grade 12, and shall be promoted to grade 14 after 7 years of such service in grade 13." The same meritorious grade feature was applied by the law to employees of the Postal Transportation Service and other branches of the postal service.

In the fashion outlined, the law established the three, five, and seven rule which brought with it certain injustices that have never been completely removed, but which are now so remotely distant or so puzzlingly complicated as to demand a bold new type of correction. Accordingly, my bill proposes four longevity grades.

On May 3, 1950, Public Law 500 was approved. That law established three longevity promotional grades to be effective following 13, 18, and 25 years of postal service. The act also provided that persons who were earning credit under, the three, five, and seven rule would, provided that they had been in the highest automatic grade of their positions, retain promotion credits under the three, five, and seven concept. Thus, just 9 years ago a new standard formula was introduced. That formula sought unsuccessfully to correct the inequities of previous law.

Because my bill is related to a postal salary structure which even today is not wholly realistic, and because there can be no other relationship upon which such corrective action could possibly be based, the bill I am introducing cannot possibly overcome each and every instance of inequity. Nevertheless, my bill is designed to provide suitable recognition to long-term career employees. It is a moderate bill, and I hope very earnestly that it may be given swift approval by the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service and thereafter quickly approved on the floor of the House.

#### John Foster Dulles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. GERALD R. FORD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include two editorials from publications in my district on the death of John Foster Dulles. One entitled, "A Patriot To Remember" is from the Western Michigan Catholic of May 28, 1959 and the other, "John Foster Dulles" is from the columns of the Holland Evening Sentinel of May 25:

#### A PATRIOT TO REMEMBER (By Magr. Joseph C. Walen)

The many tributes paid to the last John Foster Dulles since his death Sunday combine to preserve for this country's history a detailed portrait of a great patriot.

His devotion to the United States drove him to work in his nation's behalf until he could no longer muster strength against cancer. He worked to the very, brave end. American citizens generally are not appre-

American citizens generally are not appreciative of the work of their public servants. In the extremely complicated negotiations involving Soviet Russia, Dulles showed fortitude in the face of both the blustery Soviets and the snide criticisms of some parlor pinks in this country. He carried on doggedly, assuredly, whether his work was appreciated or not.

Some of his enemies belittled what they called his "moralistic judgments" in the shaping of our foreign policy. He had the vision and the courage to say bluntly that morality must be a norm in international diplomacy as well as in personal lives, or communism will surely win out.

As much as any soldier who demonstrated his patriotism by dying on the battlefield, so John Foster Dulles has died for his country.

His life has been an example of loving his country, of living for it, and of dying for it. It will be tragic indeed if that life of service does not prod more Americans into taking an active interest in their Government at all levels.

John Foster Dulles is a patriot to remember.

#### JOHN FOSTER DULLES

The former Secretary of State of our great country died Sunday after a long and painful illness from the killer cancer.

Right up to the time of his death he was active in the cause of his country as consultant to the President after his resignation as Secretary of State.

John Foster Dulles is a name that is known all over the world. He will be remembered as the great Secretary of State of this country for a long time. For more than 6 years he served during the cold war and with the many problems all over the world this was no small job. John Foster Dulles traveled thousands of miles each week pouring oil on the troubled waters of the world.

Millions of lines of news have been and will be printed on his short term of a little more than three score and ten years on earth.

Just recently Macmillan, Churchill, Dulles, and President Eisenhower met in Washington and at the President's farm where there were talks about world conditions.

This proved to be a timely meeting as Dulles was failing from the disease at the time of the meeting and many people over the world were wondering just how long it would be before the end would come.

There have been many people and will be many who will mourn the passing of Dulles who will be buried at Arlington Wednesday.

But there were times in Dulles' career as Secretary of State when he was derided and reviled by the press and officialdom of friendly countries almost as savagely as he was pilloried in stock Communist vituperation. Often he was regarded as a man more likely to bring on a war than to maintain peace.

Yet in the months preceding his death, there was a tremendous change in public opinion. Nothing but words of tribute came his way. They were not the sympathetic expressions intended to console a dying man, but represented almost universal appreciation of methods he used in steering the shaky ship of freedom through a turbulent time.

We are only on this great earth a short time and there are so many good things that need doing. We think that perhaps this might have been in the mind of John Foster Dulles because he did not save himself in any way but kept on right up to the end.

# Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I include the following newsletter of June 13, 1959:

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Congressman Bruce Alger, Fifth District, Texas, June 13, 1959)

The urge to spend money as the universal answer to any problem before us keeps reappearing: (1) The \$1 billion, 10-year Water Pollution Act to build sewage plants passed 254 to 142 (ALGER against) and added \$30 million to the budget for fiscal 1960. Providing Federal money for local projects in this way seems unwise to me. (2) The publie works appropriation bill (\$1,185 million) exactly equalled the budgeted amount, although projects were rearranged. Responsibly the Appropriations Committee eliminated and reduced requested expenditures for many projects. Members of Congress asked for 230 unbudgeted projects, costing \$2.4 billion. Obviously, many had to be cut. Still 24 unbudgeted projects were scheduled. The President's no new starts policy was disregarded. My suggestion is that we cut Way down on public works spending and get our financial house in order. For example, this is hardly the time for water lily eradication costing \$500,000.

The Tax Rate Extension Act of 1959, the excise tax and corporate rate (from 47 percent to 52 percent) increases, imposed to help finance the Korean war, represents a yearly Procedure showing how Congress continues laws originally called temporary and emergency in nature. It passed handily because these proceeds are necessary to pay Govern-ment bills. Those of us who have responsibly built a record of economy could consistently Vote for this tax reduction. Yet, we must not, through inflation resulting from Government spending beyond receipts, weaken the buying power of the dollar. So it was that even the economy-minded voted for the tax extension, forced to do so by the big spending programs of Congress supported by less fiscally concerned Members. Forgotten in the sock the corporation tax argument is the fact that corporation taxes are passed on to consumers. So it's the individual, the John Does, who pay, as usual. Corporation tax cuts would help individuals.

The tobacco price support bill brought another allegedly sick farm crop to Congress for more legislative doctoring. (The only crops in trouble are the ones Government tinkers with.) The tobacco trouble is threefold: (1) Government support formulas have falled to keep tobacco prices from rising, which brings us to, (2) increased competition of foreign tobacco producers and loss of market, and (3) further acreage allotment cuts now pending. The remedies offered us were: (1) The Agricultural Committee's Democrat plan (whose chairman is a tobacco farmer) of keeping 90 percent rigid support in effect under one of two parity formulas, or (2) the Republican 3-year freeze at the present level. Both seemed wrong to me, the Republican less

objectionable. On e Member's suggestions were indicative of the disfavor of some Members over the farm subsidies totaling over \$5 billion yearly, which have resulted in mountainous surpluses, staggering storage costs, double taxation of our people, and lost foreign markets. His suggestions (p. 9334 June 9 Congressional Record): (1) Get rid of farm support programs, (2) fire sale of \$9 billion surpluses, (3) use \$1 billion to relocate small and inefficient farmers who can't stay in business without price supports, (4) apply proceeds left to national debt reduction and more toward later tax cut. The Federal farm program is scandalous and immoral, it seems to me. The Democrat plan passed 250 to 149 (after defeating Republican).

The wheat program of 1960 and 1961, a second agriculture measure for the week, was even more incomprehensible. sented as the best solution for a bad situation (\$3.5 billion invested in deteriorating stored wheat and even more surplus coming), we were told no one liked the bill. The surpluses can't be marketed and cannot be given away. They keep piling up with construction of increased storage facilities barely keeping up. The solution offered was to cut acreage 25 percent but give back to the farmer one-third of his loss in stored wheat. Take with one hand, give back with the other. The bill passed, believe it or not. A Republican substitute bill to treat all wheat farmers equally permitting all to vote by referendum for a choice of programs which would cost the Government less, was defeated. My disappointment over Congress' failure to correct the ridiculous farm program overshadowed my appreciation for adoption of my request to permit a farmer to grow unrestricted what he wants when he uses it on his farm. There's another program about which the people should rise up in arms.

The President's requests concerning debt management, a debt limit increase and revised interest rates on Government indebtedness is the subject of the Ways and Means Committee's present hearings. The Secretary of the Treasury, Texan Bob Anderson, made it plain that refusing to raise the debt limit is as unrealistic as refusing to pay your debts after running up bills. Congress contracts to spend; the Treasury must pay. Also, that interest rates must be changed since, realistically, interest rates represent the price to be paid for money, a commodity in the market place subject to laws of supply and demand like any other commodity. I predict the simple natural economic laws will be hardly recognizable as they are misinterpreted or distorted before these hearings are completed. Behind all our fiscal problems is a simple solution, reduce Federal spending. Believe it or not, we now even have the big spending Congressmen suggesting yearly debt reduction to those of us who have been trying to trim expenses, while they, the big spenders, keep piling up this debt, which last year alone was \$13 billion.

Mass Deportation from Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, in 1940 a crime so gigantic that its full dimensions have never been grasped by the people of the world was committed in the Baltic nations of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. I do not refer to the forced granting of military bases on the soil of these nations to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, although that was an act that history cannot condone. I refer principally to the mass deportation of many thousands of men, women, and children to Siberia following this occupation of the three Baltic nations.

The story of what happened in these nations has been detailed in past reports by a special committee of this House. The extent of the tragedy has been blurred by the secrecy that covers the punitive facility of the Soviet Union. But the indifference to family love, to nationality, to basic rights of human beings, is clear to be seen in the record.

It was in those days that Marshal Ivan Serov was hard at work signing deportation orders and seeing to it that people who might become embarrassing to the occupiers were sent away. Later he became the boss of security throughout the Soviet Union. He is something of an expert in the field of inhumanity. He organized the deportation of Caucasians and Crimeans in 1944, presumably using his experience with the Balts: he personally instituted the security policy systems in Poland and East Germany in 1945 and it was probably he who planned the invitation to Polish resistance leaders to be killed in 1944. He was in Hungary in 1956.

The United States has never recognized the forced incorporation of these three States into the Soviet Union. It is a matter of moral principle that we should remind the world of what was done there, and that we should insist that right must prevail. We should insist that this issue be placed on the agenda of the United Nations so that Soviet aggression and intervention in the domestic affairs of the Baltic nations, as in the east European nations and in the latest example of Chinese Communist intervention in Tibet be exposed and corrected.

Poison in Your Water-No. 118

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I am inserting into the Appendix of the Congressional Record an article appearing in the Quincy (III.) Herald Whig of October 12, 1958, entitled "Where Raw Sewage Pours Into Creek":

WHERE RAW SEWAGE POURS INTO CREEK

Raw sewage dumped into creeks, one of several conditions intended to be corrected by an extensive sewer rehabilitation and expansion program which voters will be asked to approve at a special election October 21, was inspected recently by Mayor Leo W. Lenane and county health officials, it was announced Friday.

Mayor Lenane, who probably knows more about the city's sewers than any living man, appointed a nonpartisan citizens committee a year and a half ago, and charged it with studying the sewer situation and recom-

mending a program.

Part of the need for such a program was indicated by Dr. Sederlin, director of the Adams County Health Department, who declared after his inspection of sewers with the mayor and Harold Jacobson: "Sewers are badly in need of repair, they are inadequate, cause sewage to back up into basements in all parts of the city, and are probably Quincy's most pressing problem."

Curtis and Cedar Creeks are being polluted by sewage which pours into them unimpeded. The situation, Dr. Sederlin said, is not only

undesirable but it is also illegal.

Sewage backing up into basements is a serious health hazard, Dr. Sederlin noted, and is caused by sewers of insufficient size and number.

By providing new sewers and rehabilitating old sewers, the problem of basement flooding

will be virtually solved, he said.

The citizens committee and the city council endorsed a program outlined by an engineering firm which made a careful survey of the existing system, and the committee is conducting a campaign to get voters to approve a \$6,810,000 general obligation bond issue. The estimated cost to the average property owner, over a 20-year period, is \$12 a year.

#### Foreign Aid Criterion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include not only a most timely editorial on the Foreign Aid Appropriation and the reasons for such a worthwhile program but an article filled with practical reasoning which I feel will be most helpful to the Members of the Congress in voting an extension of the mutual aid program. This news item written by a guest writer, Joseph Lapid, Israeli newspaper columnist now serving temporarily on the staff of the Lynn Item, Lynn, Mass., appeared in that highly respected newspaper on Friday, June 12, 1959, entitled "Foreign Aid Criterion":

FOREIGN AID CRITERION

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee this week approved a \$5 billion, 5-year program for aid abroad.

This means that a part of each American's hard-earned money will be sent to a foreign country, a country he perhaps never heard about, a country he will probably never visit, a country that he, frankly, doesn't care about a bit.

All he can do is hope that Congress knows better. And then, he reasons that it is a humanitarian duty to help the poor, the less fortunate, wherever they are and whatever their race, religion, and nationality is.

But then again, the American reads in his newspapers that the U.N. delegate of this same country that U.S. money is helping voted in the Security Council against a U.S. proposal; that some members of benefiting country's government 'are anti-American left-wingers; that in the capital the walls are covered with slogans such as: "Joe, go

"Why should I give money to these people?" the American asks himself, Perhaps he will even write a letter to his Congressman, urging him to vote against the foreign aid program.

Still, things are not as simple as that. American foreign policy is directed toward one important aim: to fight off communism. Every political military and economic place is, and should be, measured against that aim.

One cannot say: "The devil with other countries, we will keep communism out of the United States." The United States, mighty as it is, couldn't stand alone against a world dominated by Moscow and Peiping. In order to keep communism away from the United States our Government must strive to keep the menace within its present boundaries, at least.

The only criterion that the foreign aid program should be judged by is: Does it help

to fight off communism?

And the answer, firmly and positively is: Yes, it does. What military aid means is very easy to comprehend: you strengthen the army of an anti-Communist country, you strengthen American military position in the world.

The question of economic foreign aid is more complex, but not less important.

First. It proves, by pure show of wealth, that the system that brings to it and is even able to share it with others, is economically

Second. Helping, for no visible rewards, other countries proves to the world that the United States is prepared to stand up to its ideals of humanity.

Third and most important: The dollar is the penicillin of communism. No propaganda, friendly persuasion is a weapon com-

parable in its effectiveness to the dollar.

The historical axiom of our times is:
Where the living standard of the people is decent, no communism exists.

Marx predicted that the first revolution of the proletariat would take place in England. He was wrong. Britain, with its relatively high standards, was never even endangered by a Red revolution.

Communism broke loose in Russia, where the Czar's regime kept millions of people in misery, and it took control of China, where hundreds of millions hungered for centuries.

Western Europe, shaken and half destroyed in World War II seemed to be after the war, an easy prey to the Communists. In France and Italy they were actually prepared to take

failed for one reason only: The Marshal plan, financed by the U.S. Government, wiped out poverty and with it com-

True, it cost a few billion dollars wasn't it worth the money? Imagine Khrushchev ruling Rome, Paris, and perhaps Wouldn't that cost the United London. States much more?

Dollars sent by the foreign aid program save human beings from hunger. They save American lives, too.

You Can Help Stop Inflation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. FRANCIS E. DORN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 10, 1959

Mr. DORN of New York. Mr. Speaker, the New York World-Telegram and Sun, in recognition of President Eisenhower's recent words on the absolute necessity of halting any inflation published the following editorial in its issue of June 11, 1959:

YOU CAN HELP STOP INFLATION

Suppose Congress passed a law providing that, hereafter, 50-cent pieces shall be called

You are getting \$100 a week. So now you would get 100 half-dollars. Your real wage would be cut in half.

To regain your former actual wage, you would have to have \$200 a week.

Congress has not passed any such law in so many words, but its legislative program over the last generation has had that same effect.

By spending more than the Government takes in, by deficit financing, by creating artificial credit, by running the printing presses, Congress has doubled the number of dollars. No matter what you call them, these dollars now are 50-cent pieces. Actually that's giving them two cents the best of it. In terms of 1939 "hard" money, the dollar now is worth but 48 cents.

This is monetary inflation.

If the process continues and there are 10 times as many dollars, the dollar then will be-no matter what you call it-a dime.

You will then need \$1000 a week to stay even with the \$100-a-week living standard you maintained when a dollar was a dollar.

There's nothing impossible, or even fanciful about this. It's a process familiar to history. The French franc, to choose one out of a hundred depreciated currencies, has been worth 20 cents within the memory of people now middle-aged. It is quoted today at a fifth of a cent. Given the same degree of depreciation, our dollar would be worth a penny.

French savings, pensions, and insurance funds went down the drain with the franc. It could happen to us. It already has happened in part.

Just how much it has happened was pungently demonstrated in the World-Tele-gram's recent "Inflation Is People" series by William Longgood. In realistic case histories, Mr. Longgood showed what the decline in the dollar's buying power means in terms of human hardship, privation and frustration.

Monetary inflation in the United States has cruelly reduced living standards among the elderly and others dependent on social security or private pensions. It threatens present unemployment, clouds the future for anyone trying to save for education or old age.

High-pressure lobbies, promoting the selfish interests of sections or groups, are responsible for big congressional spending which has required sky-high taxes which at that are insufficient to pay the bills.

The demagogic alibi of the spenders is that these billion-dollar appropriations are We do not bedemanded by the people. lieve it. We believe the people want progress within their means. We do not believe they want their wages taxed away or that they want what the Government leaves them destroyed by inflation.

This is a close issue in Congress, where the most that is proposed is a balanced budget with no idea of setting anything aside to pay oh the debt and restore value to the dollar.

We do not often suggest: Write your Congressman. But this is a case when the power of the lobbies-and the vote greed of demagog—must be counteracted by a firm showing of the real demands of the

So we urge that you write to your Congressmen-Representatives and Senators. Tell them what you think about inflation, how it is affecting your family's life—and what should be done to stop it. Tell them

you want them to stop the spending and stand up for an honest dollar.

The names, addresses-all the information you will need to write your representatives in Congress-are contained in a special message printed today by the World-Telegram as a public service.

#### No Maine Potatoes in Idaho?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin, Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my reremarks, I would like to include in the RECORD a news story by Alfred D. Stedman, agricultural writer for the St. Paul Dispatch and Pioneer Press. St. Paul, Minn.

"East States Erect Egg Barriers" is but another example of the growing tend-ency of various parts of the country to set up trade barriers against the shipment of the wholesome and economical products of the Midwest. I would hate ot see this trend continue. If carried to its ultimate conclusion, we might well find ourselves in a situation where Maine potatoes would be kept out of Idaho: Florida oranges would be forbidden in California; Virginia apples would not be allowed in Washington.

I do not think it is fair for the 49 States to erect such trade barriers against the products of their sister States. That is why I have introduced legislation which would allow the free flow of high-quality milk in interstate commerce.

Mr. Stedman's article follows: EAST STATES ERECT EGG BARRIERS

(By Alfred D. Stedman)

Egg barriers are being put up by Atlantic Coast States to discourage sales in big city markets of high quality eggs being shipped there by the Midwest's family-type poultry farmers.

This newest chapter in the story of outside barriers against the Midwest's more economical farm products was brought to light by a Dispatch check Monday. The egg barriers take the same general line as that being taken by Atlantic seaboard milk walls, representing, falsely the Midwest contends, that their eggs like their milk are somehow superior in quality to ours.

The news of the new egg barriers was re-Ported by Roy Carlson, head of the poultry division of the Minnesota department of

agriculture.

As it came to light, farm prices of grade A large white eggs in Minnesota were officially reported as averaging 18 cents a dozen, their

lowest level since 1941.

But instead of Minnesota, where egg production has remained fairly stable, blame for smashing the egg market was placed on soar-ing production of huge "egg factories." These are operated by feed companies as outlets in their integrated feed marketing operations.

There seems no doubt," Mr. Carlson said, "that our family-type poultry farms, 82 percent of which have flocks of fewer than 800 layers, have greater stamina to withstand an egg price collapse like this than the huge industrialized 'egg factories' of the eastern seaboard." Several other Minnesota poultry authorities agreed.

The superior staying power of Minnesota's family-sized farms was attributed to these factors: lower costs of family labor than eastern hired labor; cheaper poultry feed, averaging perhaps \$10 a ton lower here than on the Atlantic coast; terrific costs of much of the eastern seaboard real estate occu-pied by poultry producers; the high egg production of Minnesota hens, which compares favorably with any; high quality of Minnesota eggs and efficient, modern, sanitary transportation of them to distant

Three different examples of State barriers against complete freedom of commerce in eggs were cited by Mr. Carlson.

New York State, he said, is starting this month to buy all eggs for New York State institutions from producers within the State regardless of more economical purchases that could be made of Midwest eggs.

A Florida State law now requires that cartons of eggs from outside that State must be labeled "imported." Minnesota egg shippers are required to buy and pay for and apply labels that Florida egg producers do not have to purchase or apply to their eggs.

New Jersey is allowing only home-laid eggs to qualify under a New Jersey consumer

labeling system.

None of these egg barriers goes to the lengths of actually excluding importation, however, as do the District of Columbia and other eastern seaboard markets with the help of the U.S. Government in excluding milk and cream from outside areas.

#### Platform of American Veterans Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF /

# HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, by request of Irvin Lechliter, executive director of American Veterans Committee, of which the brilliant, dedicated, and popular Chicagoan, William R. Ming, is chairman, I am extending my remarks to include the Veterans and Armed Forces Affair platform adopted by that organization at its 1959 convention on May 15-17, 1959, at Sackett Lake, Monticello, N.Y. This conforms with my practice of presenting objectively, and as a service to the Congress, on proper request, resolutions on national issues of organizations of recognized standing in which many of my constituents hold membership.

Here is the platform as furnished me by Mr. Lechliter which expresses the views of the delegates to the AVC convention:

VETERAN AND ARMED FORCES AFFAIRS I. VETERANS' BENEFITS

The American Veterans Committee has constantly reiterated, since its founding its fundamental belief that rehabilitation and integration of veterans into the community is the proper scope and purpose of a veterans program. The achievement of economic security for veterans through sound economic planning, for all citizens rather than through special grants or favors to veterans is basic AVC policy.

For many years, AVC has pointed out the need for a thorough review and reappraisal of this Nation's policies on veterans. AVC's current position on veterans policies is as follows:

1. We oppose bonuses and general pensions as being class legislation and unrelated to the real needs of individual veterans and tending to set veterans apart from their fellow citizens.

2. Two basic standards should be applied in evaluating veterans' benefits. They are:

a. For death or disability incurred in military service: Are the benefits sufficient to provide a decent standard of living for the veteran, his family or survivors, taking account of the veteran's ability and opportunity for gainful employment?

b. For all veterans who did not incur disability: Are the benefits so designed as to enable the veteran to readjust from military service to civilian life with minimum eco-

nomic loss?

3. Veterans' benefits should be administered without regard to race, creed, color, sex, or national origin. Since benefits are a Federal responsibility, uniform standards of administration and compensation should be applied throughout the Nation.

4. The present scale of compensation for disability, and for compensation to survivors, provides amounts which we believe are not commensurate with an adequate

standard of living.

5. Provision should be made to maintain automatically the purchasing power of the benefit dollar. Monetary benefits should be adjusted annually on the basis of the yearto-year change in the Bureau of Labor Statistics, Consumer Price Index.

6. We endorse the proposal of the Bradley Commission that special consideration should be given to disabilities rated at 10 and 20 percent to determine whether significant economic impairment exists. Consideration should be given to discharge of the Government's obligation in static cases rated at 10 and 20 percent by an appropriate lumpsum or short-term settlement.

7. We believe in some veterans' preference for positions in the Federal civil service. However, this consideration should be lim-

ited in three major respects:

a. No veteran should receive a position unless he is fully qualified to perform duties entailed.

b. Preference for nonhandicapped veterans should be limited to initial appointment only.

c. Absolute preference for nonhandicapped veterans should not be granted in any event. nor should any job be reserved for such vet-

erans exclusively.

8. We endorse the provision for mustering out pay as necessary to bridge the gap be-tween military service and civilian life.

9. We urge equalization of benefits, aimed at eliminating differences in the present treatment of veterans, widows, and orphans of World War I, World War II, and Korea.

II. VETERANS' HOUSING

AVC believes that steps must be taken to discourage the practice of discounting, and adding special charges on GI mortgages, during a tight money market. AVC urges that the Secretary of the Treasury invest up to 25 percent of national service life insurance premium reserves in VA guaranteed GI mortgages to provide if needed supplementary financing in this field.

At the same time, proper steps must be taken to insure that the administration of such financing by the purchases of GI mortgages with VA and Treasury funds will not serve to perpetuate discrimination against Negro home buyers under the FHA program.

AVC proposes the eventual integration of the veterans' housing program into the Federal Housing Administration to eliminate the duplication of administrative costs for both programs.

#### III. PEACETIME GI BILL OF RIGHTS

Experience with the World War GI bill of rights has given ample evidence of the value in increased productivity to the Nation and to the increased taxes to the Government of that law's education and training provisions.

AVC endorses a modified GI bill of rights for peacetime draftees and volunteers who have been on extended active duty. It is our belief that such men who enable our country to maintain peace and meet its commitments and responsibilities to our allies are entitled to basic readjustment benefits to enable them to return without distress to civilian life at the end of their service and become useful and productive members of their communities.

AVC is mindful of the concern of the Bradley Commission that the enactment of (too liberal postservice) benefits could serve as an inducement to men to leave the armed services and discourage enlistments for longer periods of time. We call for enact-ment of legislation entitled "Peacetime Exservicemen's Readjustment Benefits" modeled on the provisions of chapter 14 of title 38 of the United States Code (the Korean GI bill) with the major change that the ration of educational credits earned for months in service at the rate of 11/2 months' education to 1 of service. Thus, a peacetime ex-serviceman enrolled in a typical institution having a school year of 9 months could obtain 4 years of training and education by serving a minimum of 24 months. The benefits should not accrue to 6-month trainees or to anyone serving less than 12 months, unless separated at an earlier period for a service-connected disability. The provisions of such a law would apply retroactively to all servicemen on extended active service subsequent to January 31, 1955, and discharged under honorable conditions.

#### IV. GENERAL PENSIONS FOR NON-SERVICE-CON-NECTED DISABILITIES

We believe that general pension benefits should be eliminated entirely for World War II and Korean veterans due to the greatly expanded social security, public assistance, and veterans' benefits programs, to which World War I veterans and their dependents were not entitled. We endorse the recommendations of the Bradley Commission, to continue the general pension program for World War I veterans as the reserve line of economic defense.

AVC believes that the Government should rely on the social security program to the greatest possible extent in providing incomemaintenance benefits for veterans and non-veterans against some of the economic and medical hazards of life.

The VA non-service-connected pension program should be essentially a reserve line of economic defense for veterans and their dependents until such time as their minimum income requirements are met under OASI or through their own sources of income. Benefit and eligibility provisions of this program and OASI should be coordinated to eliminate overlapping and duplication of payments with pensions being reduced by OASI benefits rather than the present reversed situation.

#### V. SEGREGATION IN THE ARMED FORCES

AVC believes that any Reserve program, present and future, which does not completely revoke segregation in the Armed

Forces is incompatible with democratic ideals and frustrates the moral fiber of our society. It is essential for the future security of this Nation that our manpower resources be used for the defense of our way of life without regard to regional prejudices. We urge therefore, that an antisegregation amendment be added to the Reserve law, and that Congress prohibit racial segregation in any federally recognized and/or federally aided National Guard units.

We maintain that no assignments of any personnel should be made to overseas posts on the basis of segregation by "host nations."

#### VI. ARMED FORCES TRAINING

We owes the men of our Armed Services the best possible training to equip them for the rigors of combat under the most adverse conditions of weather, terrain, supply, and enemy action. While we support a training program which is rugged, disciplined, and challenging, we decry brutality, sadism, or lack of judgment in training.

# VII. MILITARY MANPOWER, RESERVE FORCES AND NATIONAL SECURITY

The world we live in, despite recent changes in the climate of international hostilities, with its emphasis on speed of operation and technical superiority, demands standing armed forces of sufficient size, training and equipment and organization to be immediately effective for defense and counterattack. No matter how effective the Reserve program of the future may be it is apparent that the Regular Armed Forces must remain our first line of defense. They must be of sufficient size and mobility for deployment anywhere on the globe within a minimum of time so that we may continue to provide when necessary, those forces needed for collective security under our international obligations in peripheral conflicts occurring in the strategic localities of the world. Reliance on strategic airpower and massive retaliation alone is not only insufficient in the long run but may weaken our military security and increase international tensions.

We believe that reservists and National Guardsmen should not suffer loss of job rights and privileges, and employment opportunities, because of their participation in Reserve or National Guard training.

#### VIII. UNIFORM CODE OF MILITARY JUSTICE

The Supreme Court has invalidated the provision of the Uniform Code of Military Justice with regard to the trial after discharge of exservicemen for offenses committed in service. We believe that exservicemen should not escape punishment for serious offenses committed while in service, but should be tried before civilian courts; and we urge Congress to enact legislation covering these situations. The legislation should be limited to crimes of the same degree of seriousness as felonies at common law. It should also grant such exservicemen the same rights to a preliminary hearing before removal from the Federal district of apprehension as persons apprehended under other law.

# LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer

as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

#### GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer. plus 50 percent: Provided, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

# RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the Congressional Record is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Raymond F. Noyes is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the Record at \$1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

#### CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

#### CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the Record.

# PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

# Appendix

# Report of Board of Visitors to U.S. Naval Academy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. RICHARD B. RUSSELL

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, the report of the Board of Visitors to the U.S. Naval Academy is a matter of general interest to all our people. I ask unanimous consent that the report of the Board of Visitors to the Naval Academy for this year may be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Report of the Board of Visitors to the U.S. Naval Academy, 1959

THE BOARD OF VISITORS TO THE U.S. NAVAL ACADEMY

Appointed by the President: Dr. Milton S. Eisenhower, president, the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.; Capt. David S. H. Howard, U.S. Naval Reserve (retired), vice President and director, Charles Millar & Sons Co., Utica, N.Y.; Rev. Edmund P. Joyce, C.S.C., executive vice president, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Ind.; Mr. William G. Saltonstall, principal, the Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N.H.; Dr. Eric A. Walker, President, Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pa.; Mr. Sidney J. Weinberg, Investment banker, New York City, N.Y.

Appointed by the Vice President: Senator J. Glenn Beall, of Maryland; Senator Spessard L. Holland, of Florida; Senator Leverett Saltonstall, of Massachusetts.

Appointed by the Speaker of the House: Representative H. Carl Andersen, Seventh District of Minnesota; Representative Daniel. B. Brewster, Second District of Maryland; Representative Harold C. Ostertag, 39th District of New York; Representative John J. Riley, Second District of South Carolina.

Ex officio members of the Board: Senator CLAIR ENGLE, of California; Representative GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR., Ninth District of Alabama

ANNAPOLIS, Mb., April 17, 1959. THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES:

Sir: The Board of Visitors to the U.S. Naval Academy convened at Annapolis on Monday, April 13, 1959, and continued its deliberations until Friday, April 17. Mr. William G. Saltonstall, principal, the Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N.H., served as chairman, and designated Cmdr. George Grkovic, U.S. Navy, as Secretary and Cmdr. Frank A. Andrews, U.S. Navy, and Dr. William S. Shields, as assistant secretaries.

Members of the Board who signed this report participated in one or more meetings of the Board.

The Board decided that it would meet for 1 or 2 days in the fall of 1959 and that its subsequent annual meetings would be held in the fall of the year in order to obtain better member attendance at all sessions. The 1960 meeting of the Board was tentatively set for 5 days commencing on December 5. It is recommended that, commencing in 1960, appointments to the Board be made on a fiscal rather than calendar year basis.

The Board acted as a committee of the whole during all discussions and inspections.

The Board of Visitors has enjoyed the privilege of coming to the Naval Academy and inquiring into its method of operation and obtaining an insight into the problems of this national institution at a time when the entire Nation is concerned with the education of its youth. In this time of important advances in science and technology it is gratifying that the Naval Academy is alert to the need of reassessing its program to the end that midshipmen obtain the best possible education and training. The Board notes with approval the attention being given to a comprehensive study of the curriculum and to the strengthening of admissions procedures. The Board commends Rear Adm. Charles L. Melson, U.S. Navy, and his entire staff of naval officers and civilians, for the excellent work being done to produce well-trained officers of the Navy.

The Board found morale to be high and discipline to be adequately maintained.

Progress is being made in improvement of the Naval Academy's physical facilities. The Severn River landfill projects are more than half completed, the foundations for two new wings to Bancroft Hall—the midshipmen's dormitory—have been completed, and the contract for the construction of these additional wings has been let, with the anticipation they will be ready for occupancy in the fall of 1961. Improved maintenance of existing facilities is still a matter of great urgency. The Board is deeply concerned with the inadequacy of the housing and recreational facilities for the enlisted men at the Naval Academy.

As a result of its inquiries and inspections, the Board submits the following comments and recommendations:

#### ADMISSIONS

The Board is gratified by the increase in the number of candidates for admission to the Naval Academy and by the high college entrance examination board scores attained by those admitted and the careful attention given to the character and physical qualifications of candidates. The procedure which the Academy has developed for the selection of competitive candidates and which it has made available to Members of Congress for the selection of congressional nominees is regarded by the Board as a worthwhile step in the direction of a more comprehensive evaluation of the candidates' qualifications,

The Board endorses the strengthening of entrance requirements which the Academy is proposing. According to the projected plan, all candidates will be required to take college-board tests in order to qualify for admission. This step would eliminate the

method of qualifying on the basis of college certificate without examination and would impose uniform minimum standards on all candidates. This proposal is a result of the Academy's recent experience, which indicates that those candidates who have been admitted without qualifying on entrance examination have proven to be poorer academic risks than their classmates.

As a further measure to increase the academic quality of entering midshipmen, the Academy is also planning to request a lowering of the upper age limit for admission by 1 year, with special provision for time spent in military service. The proposal is to maintain the minimum age at 17 years on July 1 of the year of admission and to reduce the maximum age to require that a candidate not have reached his 21st birthday on July 1 of the year of admission, except that for those who have had 2 years of active military service the maximum age be 22. Not only would the academic quality of the entering class be improved through the elimination of an age group of traditionally higher attrition than the younger midshipmen, but a better social situation would result from having a lesser age spread within the brigade. The Board concurs in the desirability of reducing the maximum age for admission.

#### CIVILIAN FACULTY

The Board studied the question of adequate salaries for members of the Naval Academy's civilian faculty. In common with other colleges and universities, the Academy must face the problem of raising the economic status of the professional college teacher, who has in recent years not shared equitably in the general increase in purchasing power. The demand for qualified teachers, resulting from rising enrollments in the Nation's colleges, requires that the Academy keep pace with other institutions which are putting into effect improved salary scales designed to attract and retain capable faculties. This requirement is especially marked at the Academy because of the lack of such professional incentives as opportunities for research and consultant work. Some important fringe benefits commonly available at other colleges are not enjoyed by the civilian faculty of the Naval Academy. In particular, there is no provision for reduc-ing or remitting the college tuition or children of members of the faculty, nor is there any assistance provided in health and re-lated benefits. The faculty does participate in the excellent civil service retirement plan and in Government term insurance at low rates. However, the Naval Academy is not authorized to make available to its civilian faculty the use of the Academy's medical, dental, commissary and Navy exchange fa-cilities. In view of the special problems involved in providing fringe benefits to the Naval Academy's civilian faculty, it is the judgment of the Board that improvement of the faculty's economic status should be accomplished through increasing faculty sal-

If the salaries paid to the civilian faculty of the Naval Academy were on a 9-month basis, they would compare favorably with salaries in other colleges and universities; however, since the Naval Academy faculty is employed on a 12-month basis, the Board considers them too low. An increase of 20

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>The chairman of the Committee on Armed Services of the Senate and the chairman of the Committee on Armed Services of the House of Representatives, or their designees, are, by law, ex officio members of the Board.

percent over the next 2 years would be appropriate and reasonable and is recommended by the Board.

The Board would encourage the faculty to look into ways of engaging in research in view of the significance of such activity to professional development and its relevance to the proposed new curriculum. It is further recommended that the Academy render every possible assistance in this regard.

#### MORALE AND DISCIPLINE

Morale at the Naval Academy continues to be of the highest order and discipline is not a problem under the outstanding leadership of Capt. William F. Bringle, U.S. Navy, commandant of midshipmen, and his staff in the executive department.

#### PHYSICAL EDUCATION

Both varsity and intramural sports programs continue to be vigorous and varied. The completion of the Severn River landfills will provide additional space needed for athletic, recreational, and drill programs. These new fields will be available for use in the fall of 1960. The Navy-Marine Corps Memorial Stadium will be completed in September 1959 and the Navy-William and Mary football game on September 26 will dedicate this new facility. The cost of building and maintaining this stadium has been derived entirely from private contributions and athletic income.

#### MIDSHIPMEN'S FINANCIAL STATUS

The Board recognizes the need for some relief in the financial status of midshipmen; however, it does not recommend an increase in salary at this time, for it lacks knowledge of the financial status of the cadets in the other service academies. It does support the recent decision to use appropriated funds for the purchase of midshipmen's textbooks and bedding commencing with fiscal year 1961.

The Board recommends that the Department of Defense undertake a detailed study of the various perquisites provided to students at the service academies in order that comparable benefits be available to all.

#### PHYSICAL PLANT

The Board was pleased to find that a contract has recently been awarded for the construction of two additional wings to Bancroft Hall. The completion of these wings in the fall of 1961 will alleviate the crowded living conditions for midshipmen, which have been noted in previous Board reports. This new construction will not, however, correct the serious deficiencies of maintenance in the living spaces of the older wings, nor the deficiencies in arrangement of messing and service facilities in the basement of Bancroft Hall. A program for complete rehabilitation of existing Bancroft Hall structure is a necessity. The Board found that an engineering study has been requested by the superintendent in order to develop the scope of work to be performed in this program and to establish a phasing sequence for the necessary military construction projects to be submitted to the Congress. The Board rec-ommends aggressive action at this time to develop such a program which can commence immediately on completion of the new wings now under construction.

The satisfaction of the need for improved living conditions for the midshipmen having been resolved, the Board is compelled to remphasize the need for improving the wretched living conditions of the enlisted men presently quartered on two barracks ships. To the credit of the Naval Academy, a second barracks ship has been obtained since the Board's last visit which will alleviate the congestion on a temporary basis until a permanent enlisted barracks can be constructed. These men on shore duty are crowded into spaces which compare unfavorably with conditions found at sea. There

are no outdoor recreational areas, indoor gym, or adequate lounge spaces, the overall situation having a most depressing effect on morale. The Board feels strongly that the provision of a permanent enlisted barracks with a mess hall and adequate recreational facilities, including nearby playing fields, is a matter of immediate importance.

The state of disrepair and general inadequacy of the underground utilities which serve the Naval Academy continues to be an item of serious concern to the Board. Happily, however, the Board found that a project is being sponsored in the fiscal year 1960 military construction program which will eliminate most of the serious deficiencies which now exist. Approval of this project by the Congress will permit correction of this difficult situation.

The playing fields on the landfill now in progress are expected to be ready for play in the fall of 1960. On completion of this project, the needs of the Naval Academy for outdoor areas for the physical training program and recreational athletics will be satisfied for the first time in 20 years. To look at the landfill from another point of view, additional maintenance personnel will be required commencing this summer to maintain the grass and generally tend this additional area of 54 acres. The attemtps of the Naval Academy to provide for these personnel, and many others vitally needed, through the budget process is apparently being thwarted by reductions in requested funds, The 1958 Board stressed in the strongest poss ible terms the need for correction of the general downward trend in maintenance of the Naval Academy over the years. This Board most heartily endorses the comments of previous Boards on this alarming condi-The Board is convinced that a substantial increase in the annual maintenance and operation budget of the Naval Academy is long overdue. Such an increase in funds be forthcoming to permit improved maintenance and accomplishment of the multitude of repair projects now extant, which total over \$2,100,000.

The overall needs of the Naval Academy for new facilities other than those mentioned heretofore were reviewed by the Board. It is apparent that curriculum changes now in progress will require a searching review of facilities planning. The development of the Naval Academy over the years has been characterized by several periods of expansion with but one completely new development plan at the turn of the century. The 1900 plan provided the basic framework of careful site planning and monumental construction within which each successive expansion since that time has taken place. The Board is of the opinion that the needs of the present-day Academy for additional facilities should be reviewed and integrated in a meaningful master plan by a commission of educators and architect-engineers appointed for this express purpose.

ACADEMIC DEPARTMENTAL REORGANIZATION AND CURRICULUM REVIEW

The Naval Academy with the approval of the Secretary of the Navy will place a new departmental reorganization into effect on June 4, 1959. The effect of this organizational change is twofold. First, related academic departments wil be grouped into three major divisions; Science and engineering, social science and humanities, and naval science. A director will be assigned over each division with the responsibility for coordinating the teaching methodology and curriculum content of the departments in the division. The Commandant of Midshipmen will continue to be responsible for the military life of the midshipmen in Bancroft Hall and will in addition have the physical education department under his jurisdic-

tion. Second, the Academic Board of the Naval Academy will be reduced from 12 members to 5 members. The old Academic Board consisted of 10 department heads, the Commandant of Midshipmen, and the Superintendent. The new Board will consist of the three division Directors, the Commandant of Midshipmen, and the Superintendent.

The Board of Visitors believes that closer integration of course content should result in the three basic areas—science and engineering, social sciences and humanities, and naval science. In addition, the reduction of membership on the Academic Board should allow this group to carry on its business in a more effective manner.

The Naval Academy is also undergoing a review of its curriculum, concurrent with placing into effect the new academic or-ganization. The Board of Visitors was briefed on certain tentative changes which might be made in the curriculum. In addition the Board of Visitors was told that the new proposed curriculum will be reviewed in detail beginning on May 11, 1959, by a formal Curriculum Review Board convened by the Chief of Naval Personnel upon the request of the Superintendent. The membership of this Review Board will be: Dr. Richard G. Folsom, Chairman, President, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute; Dr. Jesse W. Mason, dean of the Engineering College, Georgia Institute of Technology; Dr. George A. Gullette, head of the department of social studies North Carolina State College; Dr. Lawrence E. Kinsler, professor of physics, U.S. Naval Postgraduate School; Dr. James H. Potter, dean of graduate studies, Stevens Institute of Technology; Rear Adm. Horacio Rivero, Jr., Director, Long Range Objectives Group, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations; Capt. Frederick L. Ashworth, (rear admiral selectee), Director, Atomic Energy Division, Office of the Chief of Naval Opera-

The Board of Visitors has these comments to make concerning the review of the Naval Academy curriculum:

1. The tentative changes in curriculum suggested by the Naval Academy indicate a strong trend in course content toward basic principles and away from hardware details. The Board emphatically concurs with this thinking.

 The Board of Visitors endorses wholeheartedly the establishment of a Curriculum Review Board and notes that its members are men distinguished in their respective fields.

3. The Board of Visitors has not made during this visit a detailed study of curriculum, feeling that its comments can most appropriately be made after the Curriculum Review Board has completed its study. Hence, this Board will meet again in December 1959 for 1 or 2 days' study of the recommendations of the Curriculum Review Board.

The Board of Visitors wishes to express its appreciation to the Superintendent, Admiral Melson, and his associates for their hospitality and alert attention to the needs of the Board. The excellent cooperation received by the Board facilitated its work and rendered its visit most pleasant.

William G. Saltonstall; David S. H. Howard; Rev. Edmund P. Joyce, C.S.C.; John J. Riley; Harold C. Ostertag; Clair Engle; Spessard L. Holland; George Huddleston, Jr.; Eric A. Walker; Milton S. Eisenhower; Sidney J., Weinberg; J. Glenn Beall; Daniel Brewster; George Grkovic, Commander, U.S. Navy, Secretary to the Board of Visitors.

SUPPLEMENTAL STATEMENT: SENATORS SALTON\*
STALL, HOLLAND, BEALL, AND ENGLE

We have prepared the attached statement expressing some of the comments which

have been suggested to us by responsible persons interested in the Naval Academy.

These views we would like to include as a supplement to the Report of the Board of Visitors to the Naval Academy. We would hope the committee appointed to study the curriculum might consider these suggestions in connection with its report to the officials of the Naval Academy and for the benefit of the Board of Visitors.

SPESSARD L. HOLLAND

(For all four of the Senators named above). MAY 5, 1959.

SUPPLEMENTAL STATEMENT BY SENATORS SAL-TONSTALL, HOLLAND, BEALL, AND ENGLE, FOR ADDITION TO THE REPORT OF THE NAVAL ACADEMY BOARD OF VISITORS

1. (a) It has been suggested that the present age limitation for entrance to the Naval Academy be lowered even further. It has been demonstrated that the younger students have better scholastic records and are better motivated. We note with approval that the Naval Academy has already adopted the college entrance examination for scholastic entrance requirements, but even more stringent achievement tests might be considered.

(b) Some relaxation of rigid physical admission requirements might be considered. These may on occasion exclude otherwise

highly qualified candidates.

- 2. The curriculum has for many years devoted a substantial portion of time to practical courses and drills. It is suggested that a study be made to determine whether some of this time could be more profitably devoted to strengthening the intellectual capabilities of the midshipmen. Many items of equipment and machinery are used for practical training during the year, much of which can be covered during the summer training periods, thus leaving more opportunity for academic work. Evidence of the need for revision of the curriculum and higher academic standards is shown by the fact that a Naval Academy graduate must take 2 years of additional undergraduate studies in order to compete with his college graduate counterpart in science and engineering graduate fields.
- 3. It is suggested that increased emphasis should be placed on individual academic achievement by offering additional or optional courses to individuals whose academic attainment is outstanding.
- 4. It has been suggested that the Academy might find much benefit in making greater use of qualified civilian instructors of professional rank and less use of line naval officers. It has been suggested that exchange professors from leading engineering and scientific schools might be invited for limited periods at the Academy.
- 5. It has been suggested that too much of the midshipmen's time is used with routine military and administrative duties and his schedule is so rigid as to preclude added study hours, should an individual student wish to pursue his studies beyond the immediately prescribed course. Greater flexi-bility in the nonacademic schedule might well permit better individual academic development and encourage initiative and leadership.

"What Price Liberty?" Asks the Head of ACA

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. KARL E. MUNDT

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, an edi-torial entitled "What Price Liberty" pub-

lished in the Cincinnati (Ohio) Enquirer of June 10, 1959, contains a challenge which all Americans should read.

Based on a recent speech in Cincinnati which Adm. Ben Moreell, the famed American who organized the Seabees in World War II, delivered before the Cincinnati chapter of Americans for Constitutional Action, this editorial emphasizes the ancient truism once again that "freedom is everybody's business." Ben Moreell is the national chairman of Americans for Constitutional Action.

Those who desire to keep America American and who want to have a part in maintaining national solvency and individual freedom in this great country will find food for thought and a challenge to their capacity for action in this thought-provoking editorial published in one of America's great newspapers.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

#### WHAT PRICE LIBERTY?

As government expands, the liberty of every one of us contracts. So consider this: The cost to the average American family of the Federal Government has risen more than 4,200 percent since 1910.

That is merely the cost. The degree to which it has grown in authority and control over our everyday affairs probably would far exceed 4,200 percent, if it were possible for

anyone to compute it.

During the last generation, principally, government has grown from a friendly campfire to a prairie fire, then a mighty forest fire-consuming our resources, endangering our very existence as a Republic.

And most of us, at a presumably safe distance, merely are sitting back and basking in the warmth of the conflagration.

The credo that, when you get something from Washington you are merely spending the other fellow's money, has been a fallacy prevalent in American thinking for all too many years now. Only recently are some people coming to comprehend—as they pay the highest taxes in history, and stand responsible for the highest public debt in history—that the money tree in Washington has roots that extend into everyone's pocketbook, everyone's earnings, everyone's income, and everyone's savings.

Meanwhile, the Government has become the tool of the special interests, not the servant of the whole people. What special interests? Any bloc, group, organization, or whatnot that can hold out the lure of po-

litical popularity.

This is not government as our Founding

Fathers conceived it.

Far from it. And getting further all the time, as each political party tries to out-promise the other, and as rival candidates contend to see which can buy more voters with their own money.

What can you, as an individual, do about it?

Well, it isn't a time to wring hands or shrug shoulders. After all, it's your Government that is turning into a monster, and your masters.

Nobody will save you from the promisers and the gimmes and the into-everything, and the gimmes and the into-everything, regulate-everything politicians and bureaucrats unless you help restore freedom of choice to the American people.

An inspiring example of what one person

can do is provided by Adm. Ben Moreell, U.S. Navy, retired, who organized the Seabees in World War II, a man of vast business and engineering background, former president and chairman of the board of the Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp.

Admiral Moreell, who was a task force member for the second Hoover Commission, by instinct is a doer. He is, to the core, a believer in what has been called the American way of life. He became convinced that our liberties were running out like a millrace with the almost unopposed tide toward a centralized socialistic state.

So he quit what might have been a life of relative ease, and he and others who shared his concern for America formed Americans for Constitutional Action.

In his words, "More than 700 years ago Dante said, 'The hottest places in hell are reserved for those who, in a period of moral crisis, maintain their neutrality."

Admiral Moreell spoke in Cincinnati last week, sounding a railying call for constitutionalists of all parties. An effective, aggressive speaker, he pointed out that the terms "liberal" and "conservative" have become undefinable in American political life today, and that party labels have lost much of their distinction. It is his aim to make the influence of constitutionalists felt-everywhere from Washington down to the individual precinct.

Arthur Radtke, president of the Cincinnati Air Conditioning Co., heads a local ACA committee. It is a volunteer organization strictly, but they can use, and need, contributions. Everyone who doesn't relish a Socialist state in America—and in the last analysis that includes almost all of usshould be thankful that this positive force is at work to preserve government in keeping with the spirit and letter of the Constitution.

If the task appears difficult, or hopeless, remember the meager beginning and the seemingly impossible odds against the formation of this type of government when kings held sway in the 1770's.

#### Additional Funds for Cancer Research

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, the Oregon Daily Emerald of May 29, 1959, published an informative and searching editorial on the urgent need of further funds for cancer research. The title of this editorial is "Congress Enters Cancer Fight." The Oregon Daily Emerald is the official student publication of the University of Oregon at Eugene. The editorial was published at a propitious time, just when many of us have been seeking additional support in appropriations for the research programs sponsored by the National Cancer Institute

We have high hopes that the Appropriations Subcommittee headed by the distinguished senior Senator from Alabama [Mr. Hill], who is one of our Nation's genuine leaders in pioneering for medical legislation, will soon report a bill which reflects substantial gains in this vital field.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial from the Oregon Daily Emerald of May 29 be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONGRESS ENTERS CANCER FIGHT

As Newsweek phrased it, "The tragic list has been long." It can be headed by Secretary of State Dulles, followed by Gen. Nathan F. Twining, Senator Robert Taft, our own junior Senator Richard Neuberger and radio and TV star Arthur Godfrey.

All have been the victims of cancer; only

All have been the victims of cancer; only some have been fortunate in their battle for

recovery.

The tragic list, so consistently placing the name cancer before the Nation, has grown since 1939 at an increase of 30 percent a

Today's facts show that 2 out of 3 families will be afflicted by the disease, with 26 million persons now living in the United

States contracting cancer.

These increasing percentages emphasize that the time has been reached for a cancer breakthrough. The causes of and cure for cancer must be found, not just treatments for holding the disease. Such a crash program necessitates millions of dollars.

The American Cancer Society, through its fund drive program can no longer play the major role in financing this final all-out effort in breaking through the cancer barrier. The Government must take a greater role in footing the bill. Thus a bill was recently presented to Congress asking for a \$75 million cancer research investment.

Because of the list's growth it is logical to now expect such assistance from the Government; however, one can also explain the Government's concern by observing the Nation's response to the cancer society's appeal for donations.

Senator Neuserger reports that our total research investment, both Federal and private, falls to less than 2 percent of what we

spend on cigarettes.

At the same time, the American Cancer Society announces that 10 times as many cigarette smokers die from lung cancer as nonsmokers, and continues by stating that the lung cancer death rate among people who smoke two packs a day is roughly 60 times as high as the death rate of nonsmokers.

The public appears to have an ostrich attitude toward this dread killer. Maybe congressional interest and appropriations will help check cancer's growth.

# Agricultural Conference To Be Held at the University of Illinois Suggested by Illinois General Assemby

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. PETER F. MACK, JR.

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 10, 1959

Mr. MACK of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the House of Representatives of the State of Illinois recently passed a resolution suggesting that the President of the United States call a conference to be held at the university of Illinois to study the agriculture and surplus food problems. We all know that this is one of the major problems confronting our country and I strongly feel that such action should be taken.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include a copy of this resolution passed by the House of Representatives of the 71st General Assembly of the State of Illinois. The resolution is as follows: STATE OF ILLINOIS 71ST GENERAL ASSEMBLY HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

HOUSE RESOLUTION 78

(Offered by Messrs. Simon, McCully and Clyde Lee)

Whereas, the agricultural problem in the United States is one of the major crises confronting our country; and

Whereas, at the same time three-fourths of the people of the world go to bed hungry each night; and

Whereas, this presents our country with a great moral and economic dilemma as well as a political problem, since communism grows and breeds in areas of human misery; Therefore, be it

Resolved, by the House of Representatives of the 71st General Assembly of the State of That we request the President of the United States to call a conference of a week or 10 days duration of people concerned with this great problem at Allerton House near the University of Illinois to study the agriculture and surplus food problems and if possible propose solutions to these most vexing problems; that the House suggests that such a conference be held in the late fall of 1959 and that among these who should be invited are the Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson; former Secretary of Agriculture Charles Brannan; Congressional leaders interested in this problem such as Senator Everett Dirksen, Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, Senator George AIKEN, and Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY; several experts in the field of agricultural economics; several experts in the field of world trade, two or three representatives of each of the major national farm organizations; two or three representatives of the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish faiths; and such others as the President might designate. We believe that our country's abilities should be directed toward finding possible solutions to this moral and economic dilemma and feel that the President of the United States could perform a great service to the cause of peace and freedom by calling such a conference; and be it further

Resolved. That a copy of this resolution be forwarded by the Secretary of State to the President of the United States, Secretary of Agriculture Exra Taft Benson, and to all the members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives elected from Illiance.

Adopted by the House, May 19, 1959.
- PAUL POWELL.
Speaker, House of Representatives.

Clerk, House of Representatives.

Dixie Kennedy, of Bellaire, Tex., Wins \$5,000 College Scholarship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, a young Bellaire, Tex., high school graduate. Miss Geraldine (Dixie) Kennedy, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. William Kennedy, has been saving for more than a year to get money to go to college. Now she no longer has that worry. Miss Kennedy has been named national winner in the high school division of a \$5,000 scholarship in an essay contest

sponsored by the Underwood Typewriter

Mr. President, as a special recognition to this 18-year-old student who has brought credit to her school, Bellaire High School; her parents, Mr. and Mrs. William Kennedy; her teacher, Mrs. Margaret Bleil; and her State, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an article which appeared in the Bellaire Texan for Wednesday, March 11, 1959, entitled "Bellaire High Graduate Wins \$5,000 National Scholarship."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

BELLAIRE HIGH GRADUATE WINS \$5,000 NATIONAL SCHOLARSHIP

A Bellaire High School graduate is \$5,000 richer today because her schoolteacher insisted she enter a national scholarship contest.

Geraldine (Dixie) Kennedy, 18-year-old graduate of Bellaire High School won first prize in her division in the \$81,450 nationwide scholarship-cash contest sponsored by

the Underwood Typewriter Co.

The contest was open to three divisions—college, high school, and junior high school. The three top winners in each of the divisions were awarded \$5,000 scholarships to a college of their choice plus an all-expense paid trip to New York City for each winner and their favorite teacher.

#### SHORTHAND TEACHER

The teacher responsible for Dixie's entrance into the contest was Mrs. Margaret Blell, who teaches shorthand and typing at Bellaire Senior High.

Only last year Mrs. Bleil's shorthand class won first place in a national contest.

It was in Mrs. Bleil's shorthand class that the Underwood contest was brought up. Mrs. Bleil obtained entry blanks for the entire class of 24. The contestants had to write in 100 words or less on the subject. "How a new portable typewriter could help improve my schoolwork."

Dixie, one of three daughters of Mr. and Mrs. William Kennedy of 5821 Indigo, is currently employed in the mailroom of the Transcontinental Gas Pipe Line Co.

COULDN'T BELIEVE IT

She was beside herself when informed that she had won first place in the Underwood contest.

"I can't believe it, I can't believe it," the petite blonde exclaimed while surrounded by happy Transcontinental Gas employees. "And to think I've been saving over a year

to go to college."

The Kennedys have an older daughter, 19-year-old Linda Louise in college at Texas Tech in Lubbock and simply could not have two girls in school at the same time. As a result, Dixie worked after school and got employment immediately following graduation so that she could save enough money to attend a college in September. She attended summer school this past year so that she could graduate in February in order to obtain a full-time job to aid her in entering college.

#### MAKES OWN CLOTHES

Dixie hopes to study retailing and fashion designing in college. She sews and makes all her clothes now.

"I had hoped to attend either North Texas State Teachers in Denton or Texas Tech." Dixle beamed. "But now with the \$5,000 scholarship, I think I'll shop around."

As for her trip to New York, which is an additional prize, Dixle and her teacher Mrs. Bleil, plan to go there when school lets out for the summer.

"I feel like I'm on cloud No. 9." Dixie kept repeating. "It's just wonderful."

# Reunification of Germany Is Not Likely in Near Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record, an extremely informative article by Congressman Cornelius Gallacher, of New Jersey. As a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee he re-recently visited Berlin and I think his observations on this subject hold considerable interest.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REUNIFICATION OF GERMANY IS NOT LIKELY IN NEAR FUTURE

(By Congressman Cornelius E. Gallagher, member, Foreign Affairs Committee, House of Representatives)

The thing which Germans, East and West, want most they are least likely to achieve in the near future, or for many years to come. This thing that they want so desperately is reunification.

Germans talk constantly of the day when their country will be reunited, with Berlin once again its capital. This is a subject politicians warm to in every campaign speech. Officials talk of it and every German dreams of it. To speak against reunification in Germany would be like a politician anywhere else coming out against motherhood.

Yet every German knows in his heart and admits (but only to himself) that reunification in the foresecable future, if ever, is remote.

Reunification on terms agreeable to the Soviet could hardly be expected to be acceptable to the West.

East Germany is firmly planted in the Communist orbit. It has become in a few Years the greatest trading nation in the Soviet sphere and is the largest industrial chemical producer in the Communist world.

There is ample evidence that East Germany is slowly but surely being economically and militarily geared never again to fit back into the Western World. Russia is making tremendous investments in East German industry. This alone is evidence that the Soviet does not intend to relinquish its interest in East Germany.

There is every reason to believe that the Soviets are seeking to blot out of the minds of East Germans any hope of reunification. If they succeed in doing this, they will assure the development of East Germany as a permanent nation in the Communist bloc.

The investments of the Soviet Union in East Germany are now in excess of \$400 million. Many of the industrial plants which were dismantied by the Russians following World War II are now being shipped back to East Germany and reestablished. The Russians provide oil for the country's tremendous chemical industry through a pipeline running from Soviet oilfields.

Likewise, West Germany and other free nations have sizable investments in West Berlin and plans for further expansion of that city which is already one of the great industrial cities in Europe.

This continued industrial development of both East and West Germany actually works against the probability of reunification. At

the same time, it works against the probability of the Soviet going to war over the status in Berlin.

War is not a solution to the Berlin problem for Rusia, for it would mean disruption, if not abandonment of the industry in East Germany which is so important to the continued development of the entire Communist bloc.

Soviet leaders for years talked of reunification. In recent months, however, it has become clear that reunification is no longer in their plan.

Khrushchev said recently that there would be reunification only if the enlightened people, of course, are the hard-core Communist in East Germany. What the Russian Premier was saying, of course, was that there would be no free elections.

Since there is little likelihood of reunification, the West must seek the next best status for Berlin. This is a permanent agreement of status that will assure the existence of West Berlin as a free and prosperous city.

# Urban Renewal in Pittsburgh

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following address by J. Stanley Purnell, assistant to the president, T. Mellon & Sons, Pittsburgh, Pa., at a luncheon meeting of the real estate board of Greater Baltimore and the Fight-Blight Fund, Inc., Lord Baltimore Hotel, Baltimore, Md., February 27, 1959:

#### URBAN RENEWAL IN PITTSBURGH (By J. Stanley Purnell)

In these days, it is commonplace to say that we live in a time of change and to prophesy that greater changes are yet to come. One of the greatest changes, indeed, a veritable revolution in our economy, our politics and our ways of living, has come with the increasing urbanization of our society.

In 1850, 85 percent of the population lived in rural areas and only 15 percent in the cities. One hundred years later the exact reverse was true. The 1950 census found only 15 percent of the Nation's population on farms. The latest estimates indicate that this percentage has decreased to less than 12 percent. The trend continues. Last year a Rockefeller Fund study estimated that about 1 million people a year are leaving our farms and migrating to the cities; and the exodus shows no signs of abating.

With this mighty shift to an urban America, we must concentrate our national efforts on the opportunities and problems of our urban areas and their central cities.

When our record is finally written, the future historians may well consider most important our efforts to remake our cities so they mirror our aspirations, and give meaning to our way of life. Cities have always exemplified civilization. This is more than ever true in today's increasingly urban civilization.

Civic leadership everywhere is awakening to the realization that the city is not fulfilling its function. Men in every large city are asking these questions: What should be done? What can be done? But it is also good to note that these questions are beginning to be answered.

Today urban renewal is very much in the forefront of national and municipal affairs, and it shows every sign of remaining so. We now have a program that has achieved national acceptance. The questions now facing the Congress are not "Shall there be urban renewal?" but rather "How big shall this program be? How fast and how efficiently can the cities work at it?" I venture to say that any skepticism will soon change to a growing demand in every city that the program be permitted to proceed at full steam.

Actually, it seems to me we have no other choice. If America is to remain great, if our American cities are to become fit places in which families can live, grow, work, and play—if the American way of life is to be more than an empty slogan—then we must use urban renewal to remake our cities into communities of neighborhoods in which people will have all of the services and amenities that should go with our 20th century civilization. Neighborhoods which are not isolated islands set off by artificial barriers, but which are knit together and well related to cultural, commercial, and industrial centers.

As cities go, ours are comparatively young. Nevertheless, the aging process in inexorable and relentless. Some things improve with age—acquire a finer taste, a richer aroma, or assume a becoming grace. Not so with entire American cities.

I grant you some sections of Pittsburgh and Baltimore retain their original charm and serve as reminders of our past and our traditions. In our renewal plans we are increasing our efforts to preserve and point up these finer, older sections. Thus in Philadelphia, the area around Independence Hall is being restored as a unique part of the city and a hallowed national monument.

At the end of World War II, the outlook for Pittsburgh was very bleak indeed. The city was dirty, overworked steel mills were run down, and there had been a marked absence of new construction for many years. Blight had set in to an alarming degree. But, above all, civic pride was at a low ebb. Pittsburgh was not considered a good place in which to live and work. As one leader in the steel industry said, "Pittsburgh's outlook is dark. Certain mills are marked for abandonment; expansion is to take place in distant places, and it seems doubtful that Pittsburgh can ever hold her own in the steel world."

And then something remarkable occurred. A group of younger men with new vision and vigor, and far greater social consciousness than many of their predecessors, who had made their fortunes in the city and moved away, came into positions of leadership in our large corporations.

These younger officials and new executives, under the inspiring leadership of Mr. Richard K. Mellon and some of his closest friends, concluded that steps should be taken to restore Pittsburgh among the Nation's great cities. These men were stanch believers of the Jeffersonian philosophy of individual responsibility toward the community.

They were also the men, who in 1944 formed the Allegheny conference on community development, which became the guiding vehicle of the Pittsburgh renaissance. Under the leadership of the Allegheny conference, urban renewal and the Pittsburgh renaissance have been characterized by a high degree of cooperation between business and civic leaders and local government. Some of the accomplishments stemming from that cooperation may point up the main elements of the Pittsburgh story.

While not unique to Pittsburgh, two major problems have especially plagued us—air pollution and recurrent floods. Over the past 15 years, both have been considerably alleviated. Countywide legislation, plus the investment of more than \$250 million by private industry have established effective smoke control. The flood control program on the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers and their tributaries has been largely completed. The \$100 million invested in this program has paid off in savings all through the Ohio Valley in recent years when high water has been held back to reduce the threat of devastating floods.

Our rivers, streams, and an abundant water supply are among the region's valuable natural resources. The elimination of pollution caused by emptying raw, untreated wastes and sewerage into the rivers and streams has been of major concern. To meet this problem, the Allegheny County Sanitary Authority completed at a cost of \$100 million a vast collector and disposal system which will be in full operation soon.

A multi-million-dollar construction program has been undertaken in the development of a medical center at the University of Pittsburgh—now one of the foremost of its kind anywhere.

Another phase of our renaissance has dealt with highways and parks. One section of our parkway, running through the heart of downtown Pittsburgh, and linking the Greater Pittsburgh Airport with the Pennsylvania Turnpike, cost more than \$100 million.

Redevelopment projects undertaken with the cooperation of the Urban Redevelopment Authority of Pittsburgh utilizing its power of eminent domain have provided a major part of the Pittsburgh renaissance. We have undertaken 10 such projects. Six of them have been carried out without Federal financial assistance. I believe this is more private redevelopment than has been carried out by any other city.

The State of Pennsylvania acquired 36

The State of Pennsylvania acquired 36 acres of commercial slums at the apex of the triangle. The area is being transformed into State Point Park, where 200 years ago the British and their colonial allies wrested control of the Ohio Valley from the French with the capture of Fort Duquesne.

Immediately adjacent to State Point Park. the Equitable Life Assurance Society built Gateway Center on land acquired from the Urban Redevelopment Authority of Pittsburgh. Three stainless steel skyscraper office buildings have been erected in a landscaped setting by Equitable. Today, con-struction is progressing on Gateway No. 4 a 22-story, \$15 million skyscraper, next to which a 750-car underground parking garage is being constructed. Two other new office buildings complete Gateway Center: A State of Pennsylvania Building and the Bell Telephone Co. headquarters for western Pennsylvania. The 22-story Pittsburgh-Hilton Hotel is nearing completion. Scheduled to open this fall, its gold anodized aluminum facade makes it a noteworthy addition to the Golden Triangle.

About 12,000 people daily enter Gateway Center. The completion of these new buildings will raise the total to 16,000.

In the early 1950's, the Mellon-United States Steel Building and the Alcoa Building were built at the base of the Golden Triangle. With a \$4 million grant from three foundations, the city acquired an entire block between these buildings. The land was cleared, and a delightful surface park, known as Mellon Square, was developed, with a six-level underground parking garage.

Thus, in about 10 years, more than one-fourth of the Golden Triangle was rebuilt through the redevelopment process. More than 55 major new buildings have been built or are under construction.

In addition to Gateway Center, private enterprise has carried out five other redevelopment projects in the city. The Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp. undertook the redevelopment and renewal of 120 acres of blighted industrial and residential areas on Pittsburgh's South Side. The land was acquired and cleared by the Urban Redevelopment Authority and sold to the corporation, which built 11 new open-hearth furnaces at an approximate cost of \$70 million. In 1947, before work started, tax assessments in the wards where the project is located amounted to \$18,937,700. Today, tax assessments have increased by more than \$10 million.

These Pittsburgh projects undertaken without Federal financial aid demonstrate that private enterprise can go far in redeveloping commercial and industrial areas in the city in cooperation with public redevelopment agencies. They also prove that such redevelopment can mean a handsome return on the public and private investment.

We in Pittsburgh are well aware, however, that our urban renewal program cannot be continued without Federal assistance. Three major projects now underway, and many more in early planning stages are dependent upon Federal ald under title I of the National Housing Act of 1949 as amended.

In today's situation, where the Federal Government has preempted the most productive and lucrative tax sources, cities necessarily and quite appropriately must turn to the Federal Government for aid. Assistance through the urban renewal process strengthens both the economy of the cities and of the Nation, and improves the standard of living and the taxpaying abilities of millions of Americans.

Few Federal investments have such a stimulating effect. The Urban Renewal Administration estimates conservatively that for every dollar in Federal grants \$5 in private and local funds are being invested in urban renewal projects.

Just as a few years ago the point of the Golden Triangle had become an ugly, deteriorated low-grade commercial area, so had the area adjacent to the base of the Triangle become a majodorous slum. But with Federal cooperation under title I of the National Housing Act, the Urban Redevelopment Authority acquired and cleared the 95-acre site known as the Lower Hill.

The Authority has invited prospective developers to submit proposals for the redevelopment of Lower Hill land for commercial and residential purposes. Proposals are scheduled to be opened this coming May.

Eight acres are available for commercial development, and 17 for residential purposes. All told, nearly 1 million square feet are involved. Major expressways and streets, and a huge auditorium and civic center will occupy the remaining 70 acres.

The Lower Hill project is the city's largest

The Lower Hill project is the city's largest and most spectacular renewal project yet undertaken. A feature of the \$20 million civic auditorium now under construction is its vast retractable dome of stainless steel, the only one of its kind in the world. The dome permits the building to be used as an open-air amphitheater in summer for shows under the stars, and a self-enclosed auditorium in the winter or during inclement weather in the summer. The mammoth structure will also serve as a sports arena, convention hall and exhibition center. Its seating capacity will range from 7,500 to 14,000, according to the event. The building is scheduled for completion early in 1961.

Several weeks ago, a Pittsburgh foundation announced that it would put up \$1 million to reserve 10 acres of land in the project area for a cultural center, if no buyers come forward by 1981 to acquire the land for such cultural purposes as an art museum, symphony and opera house and playhouse.

Over the years, a number of groups had worked at this problem, but effective action

was impossible without a top-level, properly supported coordinating agency. The Allegheny conference on community development endorsed the need for the formation of Action-Housing Inc.

of Action-Housing, Inc.

Until we started the dramatic Lower Hill redevelopment project, the job of renewing Pittsburgh's blighted residential neighborhoods had scarcely been touched, nor had we fully realized the urgency of developing an adequate supply of housing for families displaced by governmental activities.

It soon became apparent that a comprehensive program designed to halt the further spread of slums and blight in our community, matched by an equally comprehensive program to increase the supply of privately financed sales and rental housing for middle-income families was an absolute necessity.

It was also evident that urban renewal and public works programs would displace thousands of families from their homes. It is estimated that some 5,000 families face displacement in urban renewal project areas to be cleared in the county. During the next 10 years, these same programs will result in the displacement of additional thousands of families.

It is certainly no secret that slum clearance, urban renewal and related programs, necessary as they are to the revitalization and growth of our cities, nevertheless tend to reduce, rather than increase the housing supply.

We know that a piecemeal attack on slums and blight is ineffective; that a random assault on slum pockets in one section of the city will only push the slums into other areas—unless we have a comprehensive plan for attacking the entire problem of urban decay.

At the time of its formation 16 months ago, Action-Housing, Inc., set for itself a truly impressive objective—to devise with other community agencies and organizations a program of housing and urban renewal which will eliminate the slums and blighted areas in Allegheny County in 20 years—and then to see that the program is carried out.

Action-Housing's primary objective is not to build houses, or develop urban renewal projects, but rather to cause housing and sound urban planning to be produced through private enterprise and appropriate public agencies.

The attainment of this objective will require concerted action by the entire community. Let me illustrate. About one-quarter of the people in Allegheny County live in conditions we propose to eliminate. The 1950 census showed some 120,000 substandard dwelling units in the county. While there has been some upgrading of the housing supply since 1950, we think that based on current city and county planning department estimates, about 50,000 dwellings must be demolished. According to that census, Pittsburgh had proportionately more substandard housing than any northern city in the Nation.

From the outset, Action-Housing, Inc., has worked to help mobilize all community resources toward solving the housing problem.

To do this, it set about to create wide public understanding of these problems, and to work toward practical solutions. It sponsored two pliot projects. One in Spring Hall Gardens, the first section 221 (National Housing Act) rental housing project in the State and the second in the Nation. Four members of the Action-Housing, Inc., board of directors and its counsel are incorporators of the \$134 million 209-unit development for displaced families. Apartments in Spring Hill Gardens will rent for \$75, \$85, and \$95 a month for one, two, and three bedrooms, respectively, all utilities included except electricity.

The second demonstration was the rehabilitation and sale of a single house, also under section 221. This was undertaken with the full cooperation of the Greater Pittsburgh Board of Realtors, the Home Builders Association of Metropolitan Pittsburgh, and other local business and civic organizations.

During the past year, Action-Housing, Inc. brought to Pittsburgh more than 80 specialists from all over the Nation to participate in eight breifing sessions and meetings on various aspects of housing and urban renewal. A veritable "Who's Who" of local and National Government officials, labor leaders, builders, bankers, financiers, building material suppliers, and representatives of civic and minority groups attended those sessions.

Those meetings served more than just a general educational purpose—vital as that may be. To cite but one example—the January 1958 Pittsburgh round table on "What Must Be Done To Make Moderate Rental Housing Work in a Typical City Like Pittsburgh"-underscored the nationwide need for new sources of equity capital for housing for middle income families. Our cosponsors for this round table were national Action and House and Home magazine.

Subsequent to the round table, Action-Housing, Inc. initiated extensive studies into the feasibility of a development fund which would provide such capital in Pittsburgh. After consultation with leaders in the housing industry, we prepared a draft prospectus for creating a Pittsburgh development fund to supply intermediate equity capital for the construction of nonsubsidized private sales and rental housing for middle income families, as well as funds for rehabilitating existing houses. The prospectus is now receiving top-level consideration.

We are also aware that any overall treatment of the community's present housing problem, as well as its future housing needs must be based on valid data. To that end, Action-Housing, Inc. has prepared a prospectus for setting up a real property inventory in Allegheny County. Among other things, the inventory would provide proper information for developing a housing market analysis.

If the housing problem and the problem of the deteriorating neighborhood is to be successfully met we believe that pioneering work must be done in three major areas: (1) housing design and techniques; (2) human motivation; and (3) economics and finance.

I have already referred to our use of section 221 financing and the importance we place on obtaining new sources of equity capital. Reliable estimates of the costs and benefits of the total renewal program for Allegheny County are urgently needed.
Action-Housing, Inc., proposes to join with
other civic community development organtzations and interested public agencies in preparing a detailed appraisal of the requirements of the total program, and of the resources which can be marshalled to meet them in the 20-year period set forth in our objective.

More important perhaps than the eco-nomics of the situation-more important than the technology-are the motives and aspirations of the people who live in the large older deteriorating neighborhoods which lie between the city center and the newer residential areas. Effective rehabilitation of these areas depends upon the voluntary action of thousands of homeowners and residents. Our ability to raise their sights and improve their morale may hold the key to success or failure of the entire renewal

We recognize the strategic role of neighborhood participation through citizen councils in urban renewal areas, and have taken the lead in forming these councils. The first such group, the East Liberty Citizens Re-The first newal Council of Action-Housing, Inc., was organized last month in East Liberty, where Pittsburgh's first renewal project involving residential rehabilitation will be carried out over the next few years in a 250-acre area. Next month, one of the leading specialists in the field of citizen participation in urban renewal is joining our staff. He will devote his time to working with the East Liberty group and other neighborhood councils.

This review does not fully describe the complete program of Action-Housing, Inc. We believe that in Pittsburgh, as in every other major American city, the problems of housing and neighborhood renewal can be met only through a comprehensive approach. If our program seems staggeringly ambi-tious, it only matches the scope of the problem. A piecemeal effort would invite inevi-table failure. Pittsburgh cannot afford failure.

Pittsburgh showed the Nation and the world that it was able to overcome the stagnation that it faced 15 years ago. Our ren-aissance is not finished—and we have very strong convictions that when it is, Pittsburgh may well be that first completely renewed and livable city in America.

# Urban Renewal and Redevelopment Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, I have been exceedingly pleased in recent days to see concrete examples of what the urban renewal and redevelopment program can accomplish in our cities and communties. The unequalled opportunities which this program presents in terms of rebuilding old sites, improving residential conditions and entirely replacing areas heretofore known as blight areas, have revitalized civic pride to an outstanding degree.

The enthusiasm this program has engendered can be noted in two editorials in New Jersey newspapers. One editorial is from the Trentonian of Friday, June 12. Here is a call to the local citizens to join in the wonderful plans being formulated for the emergence of a dream city. In another section of the State, there appears an editoral in the Newark Star-Ledger of June 15, which describes as breathtaking the great plans which will change the whole character of one of New Jersey's prominent cities.

These two editorials, I believe, give evidence of a reawakening and rebirth of cities. Urban renewal holds tremendous promise for future growth and develop-

I ask unanimous consent to have these two editorials printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, [From the Trentonian, June 12, 1959] LET'S GO

You, Mr. Average Citizen of Trenton, N.J., know what "Case City" looks like. Would you like to know what "Case City"

can look like in 10, 15, 25 years from now?

We can tell you, because now it's all down on paper. Three hundred of your civic, business, and governmental leaders learned what is in store for your city last night at the report meeting of the Greater Trenton Council.

And what they learned is the dream city which was discussed in the famous "Case City" magazine article headed "Nightmare or Dream?" and to which reference is made in other articles on this page today.

The dream city will come about through a series of major steps in Trenton's urban renewal program. The first is known as project 1, and covers the area bounded roughly by State Street, Warren Street, the Belvidere Division of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and the Trenton Freeway.

You know what that area is like now. Here's what it will become: Most of the area between Perry and State Streets will be an office building-retail shopping complex; a civic center for future city buildings will be centered about a plaza or park connected to the shopping complex by a pedestrian mall; Battle Monument Park will be extended one block south to tie in with the new commercial complex; the north side of Perry Street will be cleared to make way for new churches and general business use.

Project 2 will cover the west side of the central business district in the area bounded by Calhoun Street, Pennington Avenue, Willow and State Streets. The area be-tween Spring and Hanover Streets will be redeveloped for new high rise apartments; the area south of Hanover will be for office and semipublic uses; small parks and walkways will be placed along the Canal Feeder.

Project 3 will be located mainly north of Pennington Avenue and is bounded generally by Pennington Avenue, Calhoun Street, the proposed inner loop of the circulation system previously announced, and Princeton Avenue. Predominantly, this area will be devoted to row housing and garden apartments, served by a nearby shopping area. The land south of Pennington Avenue may be devoted to light industrial use.

Project 4 covers the area bounded by East Front Street, Stockton Street, Groenwood Avenue, and South Broad Street. The domi-Avenue, and South Broad Street. nant feature would be the conversion of Assunpink Creek into a beautiful stream enhanced by tree-lined walks along its

And these four areas would surround a central business area bounded by State, Warren, Perry, and Armory Streets, which would feature pedestrian malls and plazas where shopping could be done without ever crossing a street; where major parking garages and public transportation centers would be easily accessible; and where the city's merchants could command the attention of the huge Greater Trenton metro-politan area that is now growing before our eves.

This, then, is the dream. The dedicated members of the Greater Trenton Council and our city officials have started to turn it into reality. The answer to "Case City has taken form.

Let's go.

[From the Newark Star-Ledger, June 15, 1959]

#### TOP PRIORITY

The proposal to rebuild 160 acres in the heart of Newark, described as one of the largest redevelopment programs in the Nation, is a little breathtaking.

It would replace a deteriorated and deteriorating area with a complex modern apartment houses, recreation areas, and commercial buildings. Even the streets would be realined and widened where necessary to prevent traffic congestion.

It would change the whole character of the city and undoubtedly would become a model of other citles facing a deterioration

similar to that of Newark.

Jack Parker, the Long Island builder who has proposed this major facelifting, says Newark is "more prime" for redevelopment than any other city on the east coast.

Newark's prime asset is its location. The

advantages of geography are something that cannot be taken away from Newark and that cannot be supplied to other cities. But this asset—as well as many others possessed by the city—is worthless if it is not utilized.

The Parker plan, coupled with other re-development plans already in the works, would indeed make Newark a new city. It is now up to the city to examine the offer carefully—but expeditiously—and decide whether it meets the specifications.

Mayor Carlin already has called the proj-

ect "very exciting" and the plan "we were looking forward to."

The city council must make the next move. It must initiate the steps necessary to start acquiring and clearing the land. There are, of course, many problems to be considered. But redevelopment is the prime problem confronting Newark, and any serious offer should get the immediate atten-tion of the council. Parker would like an answer to his offer within 60 to 90 days. This means acting without delay-but there should be no delay, since redevelopment is the top-priority item.

#### Youth Conservation Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, the special Labor and Public Welfare subcommittee presided over by the able senior Senator from West Virginia [Mr. RANDOLPH] last week reported favorably to the full committee a bill which holds vast significance for the development of two very different but vital portions of our Nation's wealth: our natural resources of timber, soil and water, and our human resources found in the youth of our cities and towns.

The bill to which I refer is S. 812, introduced by the able senior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. Humphrey]. I am pleased to be a cosponsor of this measure, which would authorize establishment of a Youth Conservation Corps based on the highly successful Civilian Conservation Corps of the New Deal in the 1930's, and I was happy to join my distinguished colleagues from the Pacific Northwest, the two Senators from Washington [Mr. Magnuson and Mr. Jackson] and the junior Senator from Idaho [Mr. CHURCH], in a statement presented to the subcommittee in support of S. 812.

Mr. President, the great President Franklin Delano Roosevelt was a dedicated conservationist. His achievements

in other fields, foreign and domestic, sometimes tend to cause us to forget that. like the other illustrious Roosevelt who served in the White House, FDR was vitally concerned with our great bounty of outdoor wealth-and did something to protect it for wise use through future generations.

The introduction of S. 812 has stirred the enthusiasm of many people in my State who remember the Civilian Conservation Corps as one of FDR's most important conservation programs.

We today can still follow some of the 137,000 miles of trails and roads or camp at picnic grounds built by the youths of the CCC a quarter of a century ago. Our valuable timber resources are more valuable today because of the 21/2 million acres of trees which were seeded by the

But more than these tangible reminders of the natural resource conservation values of this program, we in Oregon and in many other States can count among our most respected citizens many who came to the West with the CCC. Some came from broken homes, from the streets and alleys of crowded eastern

"It was just the right thing for some tough guys from the big city," one former CCC man told an Oregon editor recently. "There are 12 or 14 of us in and near Pendleton now and all of the fellows have made good. They came out of New York and New Jersey, and if they hadn't had the opportunity to leave there, I'm afraid it would have been a different story.'

Recollection of the conservation and development of human resources achieved through the CCC is one of the reasons for enthusiasm for the establishment of a Youth Conservation Corps ex-

pressed in my State.

In order that the Senate may have the benefit of the cogent comments of some of the supporters of S. 812 in Oregon, I ask unanimous consent that I may have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD editorials from the Pendleton East Oregonian, the Astorian Budget, and the Medford Mail Tribune, together with pertinent letters and resolutions from various individuals and organizations.

There being no objection, the editorials, letters, and resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the East Oregonian, Pendleton, Oreg., Jan. 9, 1959

#### HE THINKS IT'S A WINNER

Social workers and law enforcement officers haven't admitted it, but the latest statistics on the spread of juvenile delin-quency are cold, hard proof that the problem is as yet too much for them. causes of juvenile delinquency can be pretty well defined but searches for a cure seem inevitably to get on to dead end streets.

This problem is costing the Nation bil-lions of dollars. Because it is no one can say that every possible remedy should not be tried, no matter how pointless some may seem. And not all are devoid of hope.

One of the best approaches to the problem, in our judgment, is proposed by Senator Hubert Humphrey. He explains it in the current issue of Harper's magazine.

Senator HUMPHREY would have a Youth Conservation Corps which would provide

employment for youth of 16 years and older. They would be assigned to conservation projects in the forests, on waterways, and on farmlands. It would be very much like the Civilian Conservation Corps which was activated in the depression years of the thirties with the wholehearted approval of Members of both parties in the Congress. Senator HUMPHREY's program would have a two-fold purpose, conserving the natural resources of the country and saving the Nation's youth.

After reading this article we talked with a young man who is employed here as a pressman. He came to Oregon with CCC in 1937. He was from a big city in the east as were most of the boys who came to Oregon with him. With obvious pride, he told us, "There are 12 or 14 of us in and near Pendleton now and all of the fellows have made good. They came out of New York and New Jersey and if they hadn't had the opportunity to leave there I'm afraid it would have been a different story.

We asked about the delinquency factor in those days. "Say," he said, "most of those guys were tough. We had gang fights in the CCC camp here in the beginning. Every guy wanted to show how tough he was. But it wasn't very long before it all got straightened out. Everybody liked his job. We realized that there wasn't any point to trying to prove how tough we were-that it didn't make any difference in this new setup. It was just the right thing for some tough guys from the big city."

The pressman thinks Senator HUMPBREY'S idea is a winner. He would make one pro-vision that the Senator hasn't. He would first of all enlist boys for the Youth Con-servation Corps out of the slum areas of the big cities. "They are the fellows who the big cities. "They are the fellows who need help. The situation that many of those boys face is almost hopeless. Get them into the YCC first. Broaden the program go get others later."

This conversation convinced us that Senator HUMPHREY'S plan merits the serious consideration of the Eisenhower administration and the Congress. It seems so much better than many remedies that, if they were successful, could not accomplish as

[From the Astorian Budget, Astoria, Oreg., Jan. 16, 1959]

# REVIVAL OF CCC?

A couple of Oregon newspapers, the Pendleton East Oregonian and the Medford Mail-Tribune, have been talking about an idea recently plugged by U.S. Senator Hu-BERT HUMPHREY-revival of the Civilian Conservation Corps of depression years or something like it.

The idea would be to take boys from the slum areas of big eastern cities-boys who might be headed for juvenile delinquency and careers as hoodlums-and make men of them by teaching hard work and self reliance in the outdoors.

The CCC was one of the best of the relief agencies of the depression.

It took young men who had hopeless life prospects in hard-hit areas, brought them into the western woods to work at various improvement projects, and made good men of a lot of them.

Many present-day valuable citizens of northwest communities came to these parts in the first place as CCC workers. The East Oregonian interviewed one near Pendleton. We have several fine Clatsop citizens whom we gained that way.

Revival of the CCC could be a fine character building project. It could also provide valuable public works: the planting of Clatsop Plains sand dunes is a fine example of what was achieved by the old CCC.

A new CCC would be expensive and would be hard to justify if jobs are available in private enterprise for young men. Also such a project should not be on the order of a reform school for juvenile offenders. That would place a stigma upon its members that would tend to defeat the purpose of character building.

[From the Medford (Oreg.) Mail Tribune, Jan. 14, 1959]

A NEW "CCC"?

A couple of years ago, after a jaunt into the woods with a group of foresters and outdoorsmen, we reported here on a discussion we'd heard about the possibility of forming something like the Civilian Conservation Corps of pre-World War II days.

Several of the men in the party had had experience with the boys who came west to take over the barracks camps, bulld roads and trails, construct forest recreation fa-cilities, do reforestation work, build firebreaks, and fight fires, and generally effect a double rehabilitation-that of the forests and that of themselves.

Frequently these lads were the products of the slums of the east, and often were tough cookies themselves—boys who today would be called juvenile delinquents.

A rather amazing percentage of them, if we are rightly informed, went on from the CCC into constructive, useful lives.

How much credit the corps can take for this record is, of course, subject to debate. But many men who watched the tough boys from the streets of New York or Chicago change gradually into men who knew something of the outdoors, something of life, something of their fellow men, and some-thing of responsibility, will swear that it was the turning point in more lives than a

The possibility of reviving the CCC or something like it has been broached every so often since the war.

The latest to do so is Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY of Minnesota, who advocates a Youth Conservation Corps, to provide employment for boys of 16 or over.

After reading HUMPHREY's proposal, Bud Forrester of the Pendleton East Oregonian talked to one of that newspapers' employees who came to Oregon with the CCC in 1937, who stayed, and who became a responsible citizen. He told Bud:

"There are 12 or 14 of us in and near Pendleton now and all of the fellows have made good. They came out of New York and New Jersey and if they hadn't had the opportunity to leave there I'm afraid it would have been a different story.

". . . Most of those guys were tough. We had gong fights in the CCC camp here In the beginning. Every guy wanted to show how tough he was. But it wasn't very long before it all got straightened out. Everybody like his job. We realized that there wasn't any point in trying to prove how tough we were—that it didn't make any difference in this new setup. It was just the right thing for some tough guys from the big city."

And he added that he thought Senator HUMPHEEY should add one provision to his proposal, that the boys enlisted in a YCC should first of all come from the slum areas of big cities. He said:

"They are the fellows who need help. The situation that many of those boys face is almost hopeless. Get them into the YCC first. Broaden the program later."

The proposal, on a national scale, is simifor young men's work camps in Oregon, except that the latter would enlist youngsters who had gotten into trouble, or were headed that way.

Such an organization wouldn't end juvenile delinquency overnight, or in any length of time, for the causes are too deep-seated in our society. But it would solve a lot of problems, particularly in the area of the tough guys who really shouldn't be sent to prison, nor yet should be set loose again with a wrist slap.

The costs of such a program would not be negligible, but when compared to the Federal military budget, say, they would amount to probably a tiny fraction of that total. And who could calculate the good that

would come out of it?

It would include the construction of Federal forest access roads, which are so badly needed to get out overripe timber; it would speed up the rehabilitation and construction of forest service and national park recreational facilities now so badly behind the demand, and it would provide the resources for much other work which would benefit the Nation on its Federal lands-work now going begging for lack of budget and personnel.

But most of all it would provide a place for young men to get into a relatively wholesome atmosphere, to gain self-respect, to learn the merits of a hard day's work.

YCC has much to be said for it.—E. A.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR OF THE MEDFORD MAIL TRIBUNE, MEDFORD, OREG., MAY 15, 1959

LIKE YCC IDEA

To the EDITOR: I read that Interior Secretary Fred Seaton had written a letter opposing the revival of the pre-World War II Civilian Conservation Corps. Personally I think Fred Seaton is way off in his attitude.

I put in 1 year in one of those camps 20 years ago. And I've never regretted doing so. I usually vote a Republican ticket but I do consider the CCC one of the best programs ever to have been started. I do, however, have one thing to say in regard to administration of the program, leave the Army and Navy out of it, and with it the practice of honorable and dishonorable discharges. I favor a simple hire and fire arrangement such as is used in industry. Allow each man an allotment for clothing and allow him to purchase such clothing as he prefers to use. I also oppose the requirement that he give his life history. I'd OK a requirement that he tell of the past 2 years but no more than that. Also for infraction of rules a system similiar to a jury and judge be used, nothing resembling a court martial would be permitted.

I have given considerable thought to the system in use at present and how it might be improved. In place of our Department of Agriculture we should have a Department of Conservation, this would include the CCC, Oregon and California lands, Games and Fisheries, Soil Conservation Service, and other programs connected with conservation of our natural resources.

I do believe, that of all the programs started and used during the Roosevelt administrations and since, the Civilian Conservation Corps one of the best, in the lasting results. FLOYD R. MCCABE

Butte Falls, Oreg.

OREGON JUVENILE COUNCIL, Portland, Oreg., Jan. 22, 1959.

Hon. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. NEUBERGER: Your Interest in social legislation is noted with favor by the members of the Oregon Juvenile Council.

The following resolution was adopted at

the last meeting of our organization:

Whereas the problems of dependency and juvenile delinquency are growing rapidly;

Whereas the schools are taking a more realistic approach on discipline and expulsion from school; and

Whereas idle boys will in many instances eventually become problems in their respective communities: Be it

Resolved, That the Oregon Juvenile Council petitions the Congress of the United States of America to bring onto the floor of Congress the bill dealing with the youth conservation corps; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to each and all Members in Congress dealing with youth conservation corps

Be assured of our continued support. We shall be pleased to hear from you as to any further action we may take to assist you.

Yours very truly, The OREGON JUVENILE COUNCIL, RONALD E. MCKENZIE, President. George Turner, Chairman, Legislative Committee.

COUNTY COURT OF POLK COUNTY, Dallas, Oreg., March 3, 1959.

Senator RICHARD NEUBIRGEI U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I am writing you in regard to the Youth Conservation Corps bill that has been introduced to the Senate by Senator HUMPHREY, and I am very happy to learn that you and Senator Mosse have cosponsored this bill. As I am juvenile judge in this county, working with young people from day to day, I realize the importance of this bill. It is necessary for me from time to time to send boys over to our school at Woodburn-for no other reason than we do not have a place for predelinquents to send

I have just read an article in the January issue of Harper's magazine, one which you no doubt have read. It brings back to mind the many projects that were undertaken under the old CCC program during the depression.

I am writing similar letters to all Members of the Oregon delegation to Congress trying to enlist their support to insure the passage of this bill. I offer you my fullest coopera-tion, on a local level, in any way possible to bring whatever pressure is necessary to assist you in putting this bill over. Just to throw in an extra thought, I have had many years of experience in forestry road building and at the present time I am on the roads committee of the Oregon land grant countles. I do not feel the YCC would be an expensive project considering the good that would be accomplished with our youth program. As far as materials and supplies are concerned, I believe the camp could be supported with material and food from surplus Government stocks on hand at the present time.

The need for such a camp is growing rapidly as we have a greater number of youngsters in the 16-year-age group who are quitting school. The greater percentage of them are from broken homes. They are not necessarily below average mentally but they are not interested in school-they like manual labor-something with their hands.

If this bill goes through I would like to see an emergency clause attached so some headway could be made this summer toward getting these camps in operation. I would like to have the number of this bill and also a copy if possible.

Very truly yours.

C. M. BARNHART, County Judge.

MARCH 18, 1959.

Senator RICHARD NEUBERGER, Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: I understand that you are jointly sponsoring with Senator HUMPHREY a bill to establish a Youth Conservation Corp. As a member of the Governor's Committee on Economic Opportunities for Youth for this State, I endorse wholeheartedly this proposed legislation and hope that you will be able to see this legislation through this session of Congress.

Our studies show a marked growing need for such an organization. There are hundreds and hundreds of youth who drop out of high school because of their academic inability and general attitudes who find it impossible to get employment but who should be employed to keep from becoming a costly delinquent and a public charge.

Sincerely.

OREGON AFL-CIO, Portland, Oreg., May 27, 1959.

Hon. RICHARD NEUBERGER, Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

My DEAR Mr. NEUBERGER: I merely wanted to advise you that the Oregon AFL-CIO is

in support of Senate bill 812.

The subject matter of this bill was debated at length at the 1953 convention of the Oregon AFL-CIO, and the majority of the delegates were very much in favor of establishing a Youth Conservation Corps. We think such legislation is in the best interest of the young people who are unable to find employment due to our economic conditions, while at the same time doing constructive work that will be of benefit to the Nation.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BROWN, Director, Political Education Department.

ASSOCIATION OF OREGON COUNTIES. Salem, Oreg., May 13, 1959.

Hon. RICHARD NEUBERGER, Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: At its last annual meeting, the Association of Oregon Counties adopted the attached resolution which endorses the proposal to create a Youth Conservation Corps. This proposal is before the present Congress as S. 812 and is in the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. It is my understanding that a hearing was held on this bill Monday, May 11.

Many of our county courts have jurisdiction over juvenile matters and almost all of our counties are dependent to some extent upon revenues derived from the management of public lands. Thus the counties of Oregon would be doubly benefited by pass-

age of S. 812.

As the attached resolution states, there is a growing number of boys who have been taken from school and who find it difficult to obtain employment through normal channels. It may be further observed that if more boys could be given such a construc-tive work experience the schools might be able to provide a higher level of educational experience for those who remain.

The association would be pleased to submit any additional information which you may require to indicate the effect which passage of this bill would have on county government in Oregon.

Sincerely yours,
KENNETH C. TOLLENAAR, Executive Secretary.

Whereas the problems of dependency and juvenile delinquency are growing rapidly;

Whereas the schools are taking a more realistic approach on discipline and expulsion from schools; and

Whereas idle boys will in many instances eventually become problems in their respective communities; be it

Resolved, That the Association of Oregon Counties petition the Congress of the United States of America to bring onto the floor of Congress the bill dealing with the Youth

Conservation Corps; and be it further Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the Oregon delegation in Washington, D.C. and to each and all Members in Congress dealing with this Youth Conservation Corps bill.

# DeWitt Clinton Alumni Fight Juvenile Delinquency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the alumni of DeWitt Clinton High School, the Bronx, New York City, are taking affirmative and effective action to help in the struggle against juvenile delinquency and to give to deserving young people an opportunity to achieve the wholesome goals for which they strive. I have in my hand an excerpt from the January 1959 issue of the DeWitt Clinton Alumni Bulletin describing this program, which I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT THE DE WITT CLINTON ALUMNI ASSO-CIATION IS DOING FOR THE PRESENT GEN-ERATION OF CLINTON STUDENTS

EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP WEEKENDS

In 1951, after years of deep thought, planning, and preparation the alumni association started its project with the above name. About four times in the course of the school year from 30 to 60 boys were taken to the Hudson Guild Farm in Andover, N.J., for an educational weekend. Over the years more than 1,000 boys have been invited to these weekends. It was felt that by sleeping, living, playing, and discussing together it would be possible, perhaps, to get at the roots of what makes the younger generation of Clinton students click. The newspapers and other media play up the problems of juvenile delinquency, the best generation, the underachiever, the detached child, and other characteristics that apparently have no firm foundation in something concrete that could be attacked successfully by the school, the home, the church, and the government.

It was felt that if the boys had an opportunity to discuss their problems with other boys and with some friendly faculty and alumni people, perhaps the could talk out their secret storms and stresses that were bothering them. If they found out that their problems were universal and shared by others there was a possibility of lessening the tensions that seem to grip all young people today. All kinds of students are taken on these weekends. Discipline problems, boys who could do better but didn't, boys who had everything but did not share anything with anyone else, boys interested in the fast buck, and groups interested in following various professions such as dentistry, medicine, law, engineering, and such.

A definite program is worked out with a minimum of five buzz sessions, where all discussions are led and participated in by

the boys. The faculty members and the alumni listen and at times participate. There is never adult domination or anything that would make a student clam up. One topic will illustrate the type of thinking the boys and student discussion leaders tackled. How much freedom should an adolescent have in relationship to his home, school, and community? One would be sur-prised indeed at some of the thoughts these boys have concerning parents, teachers, policemen, and others. In a brief summary such as this it can only be said that after several buzz sessions of give and take most of the boys felt the sense of belonging and went home with a feeling that they must give as well as take. This was a new ex-perience for many of them. The students flock to extracurricular activities after a weekend and, although graduated, they never forget the weekend and never will. A group of 100 boys, spread over three weekends, drew up a code of conduct and ethics, the preamble of which stated, "In order to be a member of a community, a person must be aware of the rights of his fellowmen and his responsibilities toward them." In March 1958, the topic of the buzz sessions was the sputnik versus the Explorer or as it was developed the trained man versus the trained man with an education. I can't write further about these weekends without expanding this brief to unwieldy lengths. I must emphasize, so that there will be no misunderstanding, that these weekends were boy run, student leaders were trained at one weekend to become discussion leaders at the next one. Each boy was himself—he unfolded and grew—he was completely unaware of differences of race, color, religion, scholastic ability, and so forth. The carry-over was terrific. In passing, I should like to say that many States, cities, and indi-vidual schools are trying this weekend (and sometimes much longer) method of educa-tion. Everywhere the reports are enthu-siastically favorable. In this city some schools and general organizations have tried this experiment as a result of the De Witt Clinton project and have found it works so well that it is repeated as often as money will allow.

Although the alumni association supports this program financially, it is planned for and run by the school under the supervision of Principal Degnan. The boys are selected from the current student body by faculty members—the supervisory personnel at the weekends is from the school. All faculty members are welcome. Of course this is as it should be. However, interested alumni-Colonel DiGiacomo, Ben Mitler, Howie Glickstein, Paul Marks-attend most of the weekends and are very impressed with the value of the project and the necessity for continuing it. Dr. Miriam Goldberg of the Psychology Department of Teachers College has not only attended some of the weekends but has arranged for a group of Clinton boys to go to the farm. This weekend was held in conjunction with the New York City Board of Education, Division of Vocational and Educational Guidance. This weekend was financed entirely by the sponsoring parties. Other similar weekends are in the offing. Dr. Goldberg has been very enthusiastic about the results so far attained and the future possibilities of the program. Partially as a result of the success of those affairs, Director Guernsey was selected to run an experiment on the campus of Cornell University during the summer of 1954. A group of outstanding high school juniors were exposed to the values of group living, etc., on a college campus. The undertaking was such a success that it has been continued and expanded by the Teluride Association. This is mentioned because of the hope that the De Witt Clinton

Alumni Association will continue and expand

its project.

Money, money, money. This is what makes the educational weekends possible. Each Weekend costs about \$1,000 under the present setup. The parents are asked to contribute to the association if they can afford it and they feel that their boys benefited. It costs about \$15 per boy for food, lodging, transportation, and incidentals. The parents usually cover about one-fifth of the cost. The rest is underwritten by the alumni associa-tion, which depends entirely upon voluntary contributions. Foundations have been approached without success, mainly because they feel the project is akin to camping and they cannot aid such endeavors. No weekends are held or planned during the summer months. This is a part of the regular school program and it is felt that it should be supported by all municipal and private groups sincerely interested in placing the current generation on the path toward true Americanism—opportunity for all and dis-crimination for none. Alumnf, citizens, friends—you are all invited to see this program in action. The board of education and superintendents have approved the idea and the specific project but have been unable to get any money appropriated for it.

SCHOLARSHIPS AND OTHER FORMS OF AID

The Alumni Association appropriates approximately \$1,500 per year in the form of scholarships to Clinton graduates. The amount, perforce, is limited by the resources available. These scholars are selected by the principal and the faculty as the most deserving on the basis of scholarship, service, character, service to the school and community, need, and promise of future con-tributions to society. In addition to these regular contributions, the Association from time to time answers special pleas brought to its attention. For example in 1958 it gave \$200 to a senior in Michigan (former Clinton graduate) who would have had to drop out of school otherwise. In the same vein, \$100 was awarded to a sophomore at Dartmouth, who found the rising cost of a college education Just a slight bit more than his parents could meet. Once again money—money.
In the school at the present time there is

a special experimental class in biology. It is studying the techniques of research and experimentation. Most of its equipment, animals, and instruments were supplied by the famous Sloan-Kettering Institute. necessary concommitants, such as food for the animals and certain pieces of equipment Were lacking. It is a very simple thing to say that the board of education should supply these things. In a huge system such as ours this is impossible. The Alumni Asso-clation granted \$125 to keep this project going until June. Money-money.

In addition the Alumni Association has spent freely of its meager funds to send boys to the Shawnee Leadership Camp, the National Conference of Christians and Jews, Boys State, etc. Money.

The purpose of this brief report on the efforts of the De Witt Clinton Alumni Assoclation to bring to the current generation the real cornerstones on which democracy rests, as well as to get it to carry the torch that the association has held so high, is to try to interest individuals and organizations with money to make a direct contribution to help carry on and expand the work. Those familiar with it know its value. Without money it must end. Can the most fabulous country. State and city let its kids down? A thousand times no-especially as long as there is money to be had.

IRWIN S. "DOC" GUERNSET.

Faculty Coordinator and Director of the Educational Leadership Project. Needed: One Military Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. CLAIR ENGLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. President, deep at the root of our present controversy concerning the air defense of the United States lies an issue of grave significance. I speak, of course, of the lack of a proper decision-making system in our Department of Defense. Over the years various incidents have been called to our attention to emphasize this point. The present conflict between the Army and the Air Force over the Nike-Hercules and the Bomarc is merely another such symptom. Solving this particular problem will not eradicate the cause thereof.

How long is the Congress going to continue to avoid its legislative responsibility of establishing a Defense Department which will give us a truly military decision in such vital matters as weapons systems and the air defense of this

Mr. President, the internal rivalry of the Army, Air Force, and Navy is beginning to spill over the Congress and the country as a whole. As an example, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Los Angeles Times dated June 10, 1959, which particularly emphasizes that beyond any settlement of present disagreements is the critical need for further reorganization.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

[From the Los Angeles Times, June 10, 1959]

THE PENTAGON BATTLE STILL RAGES

Despite its Gilbert and Sullivan overtones, the battle of the Pentagon is no comic opera conflict. The budgetary and jurisdictional battles among the Air Force, Army, and Navy have gone dangerously beyond mere service rivairies.

#### SERIOUS SKIRMISH

The most recent skirmish, involving the Army Nike-Hercules and Air Force Bomarc missiles, is in many ways the most serious for it demonstrates that the efforts at unification and reorganization of the military establishment since World War II have fallen short of the mark.

Moreover, while the Army and Air Force argued over the two antiaircraft missiles, Congressmen instead of generals were making technical decisions as to weapons and strategy. Senate and House committees also disagreed as to which missile should be deemphasized but it was Congress, not the Defense Department, that requested a master plan of air defense requirements for the next 3 or 4 years.

The overall plan is an important step, for it forces reconsideration of not only the Nike-Hercules and Bomarc but also the more basic questions of the kinds of weapons and strategic doctrine to guard against enemy missile instead of manned-bomber attack.

#### SUPREMACY AT STAKE

Already, however, the Joint Chiefs of Staff are reported still split on whether the budgetary nod should go to presently operational Nike-Hercules or to the Bomarc, which has a longer range but is still not operational. Basis of the dispute is not so much the two missiles, which are to a degree complementary, but rather which service will prevail.

The bitter bickering that erupted with the Air Force-Navy dispute in 1949 and continued through the recent Thor-Jupiter ruckus is still with us. It underlies the attempts of the Air Force to take over the Navy's Polaris missile submarines, the Army-Air Force argument over the development of the Nike-Zeus antimissile missile, and, above all, in the dis-

agreement over preparation for limited war. It is, as military theorist Henry Kissinger wrote, "the problem that has haunted American military thinking since World War II. Its dilemma can be defined as the conflict between the quest for absolute answers and the risks of the nuclear age, between the realization that we have become infinitely vulnerable and our rebellion against it."

"The long-range airplane, the ballistic missile, and the incomparable destructiveness of weapons have almost obliterated the traditional boundaries among the services. • • Each new weapon has led to a bitter wrangle as to who should control it. • • • And in each instance the doctrinal issue was evaded by permitting each service to develop its own weapons, even if it duplicated the efforts of a sister service.

#### DOCTRINAL PROBLEM

"Such a solution is costly. It also defers coming to grips with the doctrinal problem until some crisis brooks no further confusion or until some other pressures bring the interservice dispute into the open."

The crisis of Soviet power and the pressures of increasing weapon cost and complexity have brought the Pentagon dispute

into the open.

The decision must be made by the Secretary of Defense, and Neil McElroy can make no greater contribution to his Nation than by settling interservice strife.

Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, retiring as Army Chief of Staff with the scars of numerous budget cuts, acknowledged this week that Pentagon rivalry can only be ended by "com-petent authority," i.e., the Defense Secretary. But beyond any settlement of present dis-

agreements is the critical need for further reorganization. Under the present system, each of McElroy's successors will have to do battle with generals and admirals defending tradition in the nuclear age.

There is no such bickering among Kremlin military leaders.

#### Capital Budgeting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES. Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, in the June 12, 1959, issue of the Portland Oregonian, there appeared an excellent editorial entitled "Capital Budgeting."

The editorial points out the illogic of including in computation of the national debt sums representing self-liquidating projects which are really investments. Adoption of a capital budget, it points out, would give some meaning to talk about balancing the budget.

I am happy to be a cosponsor of S. 1244, introduced on March 2, 1959, by my colleague from Oregon, which would establish a capital budget. I am also pleased to join today in cosponsoring a bill which would recognize this principle in connection with current consideration of the national debt ceiling. This proposal is a sensible and desirable reform.

I ask unanimous consent that the Oregonian editorial to which I referred be printed in the Appendix of the

RECORD:

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CAPITAL BUDGETING

The U.S. Treasury wants more flexibility in the matter of interest rates for bonds to compete successfully with private issues. The President's message to Congress Monday asked elimination of the 3.26 percent interest rate limit on savings bonds and the 4½ percent interest rate ceiling on new issues of Treasury bonds, plus increases in the temporary limit of the public debt from \$288 billion to \$295 billion and the regular limit from \$283 billion to \$288 billion.

The Treasury is in trouble in its bond offerings and the President said the public debt must be managed so as to safeguard

the public credit.

At the same time, the President raised his January estimate of the interest cost of the national debt from \$8 billion for fiscal 1980 to \$8½ billion, due to increased interest rates on Federal borrowing.

The requested increases in the temporary and permanent debt ceilings again raise the question of why the administration and Congress persistently have declined to adopt capital budgeting. This would not reduce the total debt, nor the interest costs. But it would, at least, separate self-liquidating projects, which are really investments, from wholly tax-supported expenditures, like those for national defense. It would give some meaning to talk about balancing the budget.

Senator WAYNE L. MORSE, Democrat of Oregon, has had bills for capital budgeting since 1947 and the idea has been advanced by others. This newspaper has favored the idea for a long time, one reason being to get the Federal power program out from under the shadow of such misleading national advertising as that of the private utilities: e.g., "How Public Power Adds to Your Tax Burden" (Time magazine, June 1).

"Under my bill," says Senator Morse, "there would appear along with the present budget figures, a breakdown showing which outlays are reimbursable, that is, which are self-liquidating and tax-producing. These would include mortgages, direct loans that are to be repaid, the dams that repay themselves from power revenues, forest access roads that make possible increased sales of timber from Federal forests, and similar capital or wealth-producing investments.

\* \* If a capital investment increases the Nation's productive wealth by adding to our assets, then it makes no sense to carry that asset as a liability on the operating side of the Federal budget. Such assets are as good as money in the bank, and really are offsets against an equal amount of national debt."

It should be noted, in this respect, that the bill recently introduced by Senator Richard L. Neuberger, Democrat, of Oregon, to provide revenue bond financing for additions to the Columbia River power system specifically exempts these bonds from the national debt. This is a primary and sensible first step toward capital budgeting for the Federal Government.

Citation From St. Bonaventure University to Samuel F. Pryor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. THOMAS J. DODD

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tucsday, June 16, 1959

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, the distinguished junior Senator from New York had the privilege the other day of introducing to this body remarks made by Samuel F. Pryor at commencement exercises at St. Bonaventure University. It is altogether fitting that the Senator from New York do this inasmuch as the famous Franciscan school is located in upstate New York and the Senator's long and continuing interest in this institution is a matter of record.

However, I should like to bring to the attention of the Senate, Mr. President, a citation from St. Bonaventure to Mr. Pryor. This citation is unique in so many respects that it deserves the at-

tention of every Senator.

Sam Pryor is more than a constituent of mine; he is a good friend and an invaluable resident of Connecticut. While we walk opposite sides of the political street Sam Pryor is as equally devoted to his party as I am to mine. His accomplishments, not only in politics, but in community service have been outstanding. In his capacity as vice president of Pan American World Airways he has toured the world many times over, thus making his observations to the St. Bonaventure graduates even more important.

Not generally known is the fact that Sam Pryor holds the enviable distinction of being a knight commander in the Order of St. Sylvester, an honor conferred upon him by the late Pope Pius XII—the highest honor which can come to a Protestant.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the citation from St. Bonaventure University to Mr. Samuel F. Pryor be printed in the Appendix of the

There being no objection, the citation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CITATION TO SAMUEL F. PRYOR, JR.

Very Reverend Father President, it is my great pleasure to present in the name of the School of Business of St. Bonaventure University for the honorary degree, doctor of commercial science, a brilliant and distinguished air transportation executive, whose professional and personal achievements have won for him honors from the President of our beloved country and from His Holiness, the Supreme Pontiff.

A bachelor of philosophy from Yale University with intercollegiate fame as a light-weight boxer, our candidate began his business career in 1922 as a district sales manager for Remington Arms. After 17 years with the American Brake Shoe & Foundry Co. and vice president of its subsidiary, Seven Wheel Co., he joined air transportation in 1941.

He is, at present, vice president, assistant to the president, and a member of the executive committee and of the board of directors of Pan American World Airways. Included in his business activities are positions as director and member of the executive and finance committees of Hertz Corp.; director of Greenwich, Conn. Trust Co.; chairman of the executive committee and director of the Vanadium Corp. of America; and chairman of the board of directors for Philpryor Corp. and for the Middle East American Oil Co.

A Navy veteran of World War I, a second lieutenant in the U.S. Marine Corps Reserve from 1926 to 1940, during World War II he headed Pan American's airport development program and directed the construction of 50 strategic airbases in 16 countries in South America and Africa. The successful location of these bases proved a most vital factor in the successful military campaigns of our country and our allies. In recognition of this outstanding contribution to our Nation, President Truman awarded on April 15, 1946, the Medal of Merit to our candidate.

Successfully and happily integrated into the professional life of a business executive are the family, community, and civic duties of our candidate. He delights in the gatherings of his five and eight grandchildren at his home in Field Point Park, Greenwich, Conn. He is a director of the Boys Club of America and a captain in the historic Connecticut Governor's Foot Guard.

Upon acceptance of his position with Pan American World Airways in 1941 he resigned active positions in both the State and National organizations of the Republican Party; he retains however, a deep and lasting interest in national and international affairs.

Permeating our candidate's wide range of interests and activities and lending them a great inspirational value is a dedication to moral and religious excellence. In recognition of our candidate's outstanding contributions and especially of the high ethical standards which motivate him, though not of the Catholic faith, he received the singular honor of being named a knight commander of the Order St. Sylvester at the Vatican on April 22, 1950, from the late supreme pontiff, His Holiness Pope Plus XII.

Very reverend father president, I recommend that St. Bonaventure University, in humble imitation of the President of the United States and of his holiness, Pope Pius XII, confer, in recognition and warm admiration of his professional achievements, invaluable service to our country and inspirational leadership and personal life, the honorary degree, doctor of commercial science, on Mr. Samuel F. Pryor, Jr.

# Capitol Page School Salutatorian Steven L. Cymrot Speaks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, commencement exercises are always happy events which gladden hearts of many people. The commencement exercises held last evening of the class of 1959 of the Capitol Page School made many persons proud. I take this time to record the pride of New York State, New York City, and, particularly of my congressional district, at this happy event.

Steven Cymrot, who graduated last evening, was appointed as a page from my district. He did honor to all of usto the school, to the Congress, to his city, state, and country. His accomplishments were marked by his selection as the class salutatorian. As a prelude to the brilliant future which we wish for him, I give to you his own assessment thereof as contained in his remarks to the graduating class last evening. They are as follows:

Distinguished guests, parents, teachers, and friends, it is my honor, as salutatorian of the class of 1959 of the Capitol Page School, to welcome you officially to our commencement exercises.

The class of 1959 is a small one, only 17 in number. We represent 14 States and the District of Columbia. Our homes range from New York to California, Minnesota to Texas, and Illinois to New Mexico; from the big cities of New York and Chicago to the towns of Apache and Pineville.

Three of our members began as freshman at the Page School, and four of us were here for but one semester. The other 10 members of the class were with us for be-

tween I and 3 years.

During our stay in Congress, we have heard addresses by the leaders and heads of state of many nations. We have also been privileged to hear our own President and other notable Americans. We worked daily with the leaders of today as they made the laws which govern us. Now we go forth to prepare to become the leaders of tomorrow.

As we stop tonight and look back over the years we have spent in the Nation's Capital, it is difficult to appreciate fully the unique opportunities that we have had. It is the old story of the proverblal forest with its view blocking trees. We are too close to the experience to realize what we have gained.

We came to Washington with preconceived ideas about government and politics. Most of these ideas were based on hearsay, parental opinion, and textbook principles. After spending some time observing the actual processes of government and hearing the advocates of various political philosophies express their views, we have come closer to a true picture of the problems with which the Nation and the world are confronted.

Most of us will be leaving Washington shortly, heading back to our homes and then to college. But, what are our immediate feelings about our stay in the Capital? We remember getting up before dawn to go to school; studying in our corner of the Library of Congress; and going to our jobs on the Hill. We think of the time spent on the floor of the House or Senate, listening to the either heated or lifeless debate. We can remember leaving work late in the afternoon and spending our evenings doing homework before going to bed in preparation for a repetition of the process the next day.

But, the most important things are not what we remember now, but the memories which will stay with us; memories of the great statesmen and politicians with whom We worked; memories of our jobs on the Hill; and memories of the Capitol Page School. Most of all, we have the friendships which we have made here, and which will last us the rest of our lives. We will look back at this period as one of significant education and development.

This graduation night will also become a part of us. We will look at it as the culmination of our experience as pages and the beginning of the walk down life's road.

I want to thank you on behalf of my fellow graduates for attending our commencement exercises, and I hope that this night may mean as much to you, as it does to all of us.

I thank you.

# United States-Latin American Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, on May 11, 1959, the Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs, of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, issued an important and enlightening report on U.S. relations with Latin America. The report not only thoroughly and objectively analyzes Latin American grievances against the United States, but points up the very often overlooked background and conflicts of interest which have given rise to these inter-American tensions. I think, for example, that it would certainly give clearer understanding to U.S. citizens, in the midst of the controversies about U.S. alleged support of Latin American dictators to know this fact: That it is the policy of the United States, as it is of all American Republics. to maintain official relations with all Western Hemisphere governments, whether the peoples of Latin America consider the governments good or bad. This policy is the result of resolution of the Ninth International Conference of American States to which all countries were signatory.

The subcommittee makes, in its report, a number of heartening and realistic recommendations proposing to revise. modify, and expand policies and programs of inter-American relations. They include: A modified attitude toward Latin American dictators; increased reliance on the Organization of American States; a revised military aid program, covering both military armaments grants and military training, but proposing a gradual reduction of military armaments grants with the ultimate goal of termination of the program; encouragement of more nongovernmental, people-to-people activities: expansion of binational center program; and, very important, sustained news coverage of Latin American developments by the news media.

In this connection, I would like to call to the attention of the Members of this body an article which appeared in the New York Times, of May 16, entitled "United States-Latin Relations Take on a New Look." It is an encouraging account of steps that have been taken by the United States and Latin America to set its relationships on a realistic basis of mutual goodwill:

UNITED STATES-LATIN RELATIONS TAKE ON A "NEW LOOK"

(By Tad Szulc)

PANAMA, May 16 .- All this month, Latin America's governments and their economists have been busily reviewing blueprints and schemes designed to propel this vast region, seething with poignant poverty and bitter frustration, into bright future of new hopes and decent human welfare.

There is nothing novel in these aspirations. Latin America's tremendous population explosion of the midcentury is only rendering them more urgent than ever. But the work in this month of May, climaxing preparations of a full year, has the new accent of seriousness and realism that somehow has been heretofore lacking in the approach to the hemisphere's development problems

This new emphasis was as noticeable at the Inter-American Economic Conference in Buenos Aires last week as it is at the current meeting here of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA). A new set of U.S. attitudes, and also the growing influence of ECLA's professional pioneering thinking in such fields as a Latin-American common market, have helped to fashion the new approach.

And for the first time in a long while. Washington has ceased to be the scapegoat

of all ills.

#### PATIENCE ESVISAGED

What seems to have happened, in effect, is that the majority of Latin-American governments is becoming convinced that proper road to successful development and the solution of basic economic and social problems lies in patient, long-range planning, rather than in dramatic, sweeping programs that presume a touch of magic.

Since the end of World War II. Latin America has had its mind set on a magic wand. It saw such a wand in the form of massive financial aid from the United States. The reasoning was that the wand had been at work in Europe with the Marshall plan and then in Asia through other U.S. pro-

Why then, it was asked here, could it not be waved over the lands of Latin America. the United States oldest friend and most constant ally? It never was; and because of this, resentments against the United States

swept the hemisphere.

The Truman and Eisenhower administrations were successively accused of neglect of Latin America. Despite the financial aid that kept trickling into the region from Washington, this was largely true for a long time in many important ways, while the Latin American Governments, doing what they could themselves, engaged in hectic de-velopment schemes of their own, often harming and distorting their economies.

#### POPULATION PRESSURE

One result of this situation was that the growth of national product in Latin America is slower now than it was a decade ago and is lagging alarmingly behind the rate of population increase.

The United States, not prepared to take a hand in a comprehensive, integrated or even rational approach to Latin America's basic difficulties, frequently compounded these faults through loans, big and small, that as often as not were made in the name

of political expediency.

U.S. officials concerned with Latin America had a tendency to look away when assistance was sought on the basic problems of raw materials and their prices. They kept assuring the Latin Americans that good administration and better use of private investments would lead the hemisphere out of the deep woods of confused economy and out of the jungles of nature. Atop all this, Washington occasionally surprised Latin America with seemingly cavalier measures that had the effect of shaking the local economies and setting off troublesome psy-chological and political reactions.

The imposition of higher tariffs and import restrictions on metals produced in Latin

America were cases in point.

#### THE NIXON TRIP

Added to political resentments prevailing at the time, these steps played a part in triggering the incidents that marred the South American trip of Vice President Nixon just a year ago.

Actually, the U.S. approach to Latin America began changing slowly even before Mr. Nixon took off for his now famous voyage. The dramatic impact of the incidents surrounding him evidently had the effect of quickening the execution of this new U.S. policy.

Beginning early last year, the U.S. Government, largely on the initiative of Thomas C. Mann, the Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, started interesting itself in Latin America's real troubles. For the first time, the United States sat down with Latin Americans to look for a way of solving the almost hopeless problem of vast coffee surpluses and falling prices, a problem vitally affecting 15 Latin American Republics.

Although itself not a party to the agreement, the United States helped work out last year a pact of Latin American producers aimed at keeping percentages of coffee production off the market and it acted as honest broker in efforts to bring African producers into the group.

This year, Mr. Mann is again seeking to construct a world coffee pact. Negotiations are resuming in Washington with great optimism that a new system based on export quotas will be worked out.

In the long run, this approach by the United States-duplicated in the case of certain metals—may be worth more to Latin America than just another loan of \$100 million or \$200 million.

Washington policymakers are also learn-ing about public relations in Latin America. For example, before acting last month on the exemption of Canada from the U.S. oil import restrictions, President Eisenhower wrote an unpublicized private letter to Venezuela's President Romulo Betancourt, informing him of the move and explaining it. The result was that oil-producing Venezuela did not explode in a new wave of resentments, although her own exports are affected by the situation.

Last June, President Juscelino Kubitschek of Brazil wrote President Elsenhower a letter proposing an Operation Pan-America, designed to end what the Brazilian called the festering sore of underdevelopment. The implication of the proposal, at least as read Washington, was that Dr. Kubitschek wanted some form of Marshall plan for the hemisphere, although he denied this was his intention.

#### TWINTY AGAINST ONE

Yet at the Washington conference last fall of the Committee of Twenty-one that was set up to pursue Dr. Kubitschek's proposalthe United States for evident political reasons had to go along despite many private reservations-a Brazilian delegate vociferdemanded immense investments of U.S. funds for hemisphere development. He wound up his speech with the inelegant hint that Latin America might turn to the Soviet Union if the United States failed to deliver the goods.

Conference jokesters spoke of a committee of twenty against one, in illustration of Latin America's front against the United States.

But as the work of the committee went into the New Year-and after the United States agreed to the creation of the billiondollar Inter-American Bank and promised to subscribe 45 percent of the stock-the mood began to change.

A measure of the new mood-some Latin American cynics called it resignation-was the fact that the demand by Premier Fidel Castro of Cuba for the United States to provide \$30 billion in 10 years for hemisphere development found such a cool reception among the delegations that it had to be withdrawn.

Here in Panama, at the crossroads of the Western Hemisphere, delegates from the Latin-American nations have been discussing all week the revolutionary plan of pre-

paring a regional Common Market.
Yesterday, the United Nations Commission's Secretary General Raul Prebisch, an outspoken Argentine economist, told them some hard truths, such as that the hemisphere will develop properly only with wellplanned, long-range measures like the Common Market and not just with huge foreign loans and high prices for export commodi-

#### A NEW LOOK

The Buenos Aires and Panama attitudes seem the beginning of a new look at economic and social progress in the Americas.

Before concrete results are reached, immense obstacles of national pride and selfishness and of vested economic interests must be overcome.

Nationalistic pressures in many republics oppose cooperative plans as outlined in Buenos Aires and Panama. There are gov-ernments that seek to use the lever of new inter-American economic cooperation to extract considerable private loans for them-selves from the United States. Much suspicion of Washington's good intentions still persists.

But good progress is being made. Five Central American states are completing measures for the own Common Market, and subregional groups of states in South America are going ahead with studies of free-trading zones. Realism is slowly replacing the drama of vast wishful thinking.

Oregon's Outstanding Participation in International Study Programs of American Field Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, under the American Field Service program of international scholarships, exchange students from friendly foreign nations have attended high schools in the United States as members of the senior class. In return, so that the exchange may be consummated, junior class American students go to live abroad with foreign families during the summer months.

This program has made a great and growing contribution to international understanding and friendship. To know somebody personally makes it harder to feel unreasoning enmity toward him, and so it is with the peoples of different nations.

OREGON LEADS OTHER STATES IN AMERICAN FIELD SERVICE PROGRAM

I am proud, Mr. President, of the marvelous record which the State of Oregon has made in the operation of the American Field Service program of international scholarships. No State in all the Union has a higher degree of participation in relation to its population.

Washington, D.C., has recently been host to 45 outstanding high school juniors from Oregon, who visited here en route to the European and Latin American nations, where they will spend the summer under the auspices of the American Field Service.

They traveled across the continent by train, aboard the Northern Pacific's famous North Coast Limited, seeing the mountain passes and river valleys traveled by Lewis and Clark, the first of all westbound Americans to carry our flag to the Pacific Northwest. And they toured the historic Capitol Building under the auspices of Charles H. Mitchelmore, my student intern who is a recent graduate of the University of Oregon.

It was my privilege to usher these wellinformed and thoughtful young men and women into the Old Supreme Court Chamber, where I answered questions from them for some 35 minutes. Their inquiries showed careful teaching and preparation in their schools. ranged over a realm as wide as the United Nations, the Kennedy-Ervin labor-reform bill, agricultural policies, right-towork legislation, the vice presidential ambitions of Oregon's Governor Hatfield. a balanced Federal budget, and Federal aid to schools. I only wish there had been more time in which to extend so fruitful a discussion.

FRIENDLY TIES ESTABLISHED WITH OTHER LANDS

I firmly believe that we shall cement our ties with other nations to that degree in which we establish successfully people-to-people contacts. How can these American youngsters ever wish to make war against another country when they have lived with families in that country? And how can such families ever harbor ill-will toward America when they have taken to their roof and boardand to their hearts-45 high school juniors from one of America's 49 States, namely Oregon?

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the high schools, the names, and the identifications of the 45 Oregon students who are going abroad this week under the sponsorship of the American Field Service, as well as the foreign country which each of them will visit until school begins again in September.

There being no objection, the list was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICAN FIELD SERVICE STUDENTS FOR 1959, NORTHWEST

Parkrose Senior High School, Judy R. Rim-

erman, Germany. Pendleton Senior High School, John A. Mc-Donald, Germany,

Benson Polytechnic High School, Mickey L. Watson, Brazil.

Catlin Gabel School, Julianne Spears, Den-

Central Catholic High School, Charles J.

Lienert, Germany. Cleveland High School, Arthur W. Boylston,

Germany.
David Douglas High School, Kathleen L. Lee, France.

Franklin High School, Nancy J. Tompkins,

Germany Grant High School, Jane S. McCormaach,

Sweden. Jefferson High School, Linda C. Hammann,

Argentina. Lincoln High School, Heather Birnle, Ger-

Madison High School, Dianne L. Eilartson,

Switzerland. Roosevelt High School, William G. Ketre-

nos, Sweden. Washington High School, David A. Goldfoot, Germany.

Wilson High School, Harvey S. Berenson, Austria.

Kelso High School, Betty Nasset, the Netherlands.

Robert A. Long High School, Garth L. Gregory, Germany

Hudson Bay High School, Christina Higgins Fort Vancouver High School, Robert Frew-

ing, Switzerland.

Beaverton High School, Sharon Van Cleve,

Clatskanie High School, Loretta Noll, Germany.

Gresham Union High School, Barbara Peterson, Norway Hillsboro Union High School, Carol Mohr.

McMinnville High School, Penelope Honn, Austria.

Medford High School, Carolyn E. Mencke. Oregon City High School, William Serres, The Netherlands.

North Salem High School, Douglas Nohlgren, Great Britain.

South Salem High School, Ronald Potts,

The Dalles High School, Susan R. Wheeler, Germany.

West Linn High School, Martha A. Lane,

Sweden. Clackamas High School, Linda Hart, Argen-

tina. Hood River High School, Robert Hackett.

Lake Oswego High School, Douglas Ragan, Pakistan.

Camas High School, Ada Henriksen, Austria.

Reynolds High School, Joy Walker, Italy, Tigard High School, Penny Farance, Denmark.

Sherwood High School, Lee Ann Moore, the Netherlands.

Molalla High School, Sherry Webb, Germany.

Woodburn High School, Nancy Ticknor, Switzerland.

Lebanon High School, Carolyn LaVonne Scott, Sweden.

Stayton High School, Darlene Christensen, Germany.

Woodland High School, Nancy Chester, the Netherlands.

Yreka High School, Julie Townley.

Richland High School, Judith A. Cameron, Spain.

Forest Grove Union High School, Jana Lee Tjomsland, Denmark.

Lakeview High School, Michael S. Tooke, Germany.

#### Solano Reclamation Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF.

### HON. CLAIR ENGLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. President, another example of what can be accomplished by diligent local effort and unanimity of local support is afforded in a resolution with respect to the Solano reclamation project which was adopted by the California State Senate. Construction of the Solano project was started 6 years ago. The first water was delivered a few days ago.

I should like to join in commendation of the people of Solano County, as well as the officials of the county, its cities, and the Solano Irrigation District, as expressed in the resolution sponsored by

State Senator Luther E. Gibson of Vallejo. I ask unanimous consent that an article entitled "Senate Congratulates County on New Irrigation Project,' published in the Vallejo Times-Herald of May 14, be printed in the Appendix of

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATE CONGRATULATES COUNTY ON NEW IRRIGATION PROJECT

Senate Concurrent Resolution 78, a measure introduced by State Senator Luther E. Gibson which congratulates Solano County, its cities, the Solano Irrigation District, and the people of the county on the memorable occasion of the first delivery of water from Monticello Dam was passed unanimously yesterday by the California Senate.

The resolution, which was adopted without reference to committee at Senator Gibson's request, now goes to the assembly.

In urging approval of the resolution, Senator Gibson paid tribute to the numerous persons in Solano County who worked over a period of 22 years to bring the Solano (Monticello Dam) project to fruition. First delivery of water from the project is

scheduled today.

The text of the resolution is as follows: "Whereas the first delivery of water to the lands of Solano County from the Solano project of the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation (the principal features of which are more commonly known as the Monticello Dam) will occur on May 15, 1959; and

"Whereas this project provides a reservoir storage capacity of 1,600,000 acre-feet and will furnish supplementary irrigation water to 60,000 acres of Solano County farmlands, and municipal and industrial water for the cities and military installations of that county; and

"Whereas the people of Solano County first organized the Solano County Water Council in 1937 to seek a new source of water for their area and following surveys by the Bureau of Reclamation, agreed upon the Monticello project in 1945, and commenced a concerted effort to secure its authorization and construction; and

Whereas, the approval of the State of California was given to this project through the personal efforts of Chief Justice of the United States (then Governor of California), Earl Warren, and the initial approval of the Congress was largely obtained through the efforts of former U.S. Senator William F. Knowland and U.S. Senator (then Representative) CLAIR ENGLE; and

"Whereas the project was given formal authorization in 1949 by a finding of feasibility by the Secretary of the Interior, received its first appropriation in 1949 and first construction appropriation in 1952, and concurrence in authorization was recommended by committee of both Houses of the Congress in 1953; and

Whereas construction was commenced in September 1953, when ground was broken for the dam by Gov. Earl Warren and State Senator Luther E. Gibson, work on the main dam (which has a height of 304 feet, and a length at its crest of 1,000 feet) was completed in 1957 in time to prevent serious flooding in the area downstream, including the city of Winters, and the total project was completed in 1959 at a cost of \$37,200,-000: and

"Whereas the first loan of its kind was extended by the United States to the Solano Irrigation District for construction of the irrigation distribution system in an additional amount of \$12,300,000 and the first unit of that system has been completed: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Senate of the State of

California (the Assembly there of concurring), That the legislature does extend its congratulations to the County of Solano, the cities of that county, the Solano Irriga-tion District, and the people of Solano County on the memorable occasion of the first delivery of water from the Monticello Dam; and be it further

"Resolved, That the secretary of the senate is directed to transmit copies of this resolution to the board of supervisors of Solano County, the city councils of cities of Benicia, Dixon, Fairfield, Rio Vista. Suisun, Vacaville, and Vallejo, and the board of directors of the Solano Irrigation Dis-

A British View on the Dollar in the World Economy

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the outflow of U.S. gold reserves-still more than half the world's total-and the diminution in the value of the dollar are matters of concern not only here in the United States, but to our free world allies as well. The dollar, along with the pound sterling, is an international as well as a national medium of exchange.

I have here an article from the June 7. 1959, issue of the Observer, published in London. It will be noted that in addition to the concern expressed regarding the maintenance of the strength of the dollar, there is a realization that U.S. policies regarding foreign imports and the extension of credits and movement of moneys abroad are in fact most liberal and not restrictive in nature, as has sometimes been believed abroad-and even at home. There runs through the appended article, too, a realization that our responsibilities of world financial and economic leadership must be shared by our friends in the free world.

The Observer article points up the growing realization that the economic interdependence of the free world demands the cooperation of other nations with the United States in helping the United States carry the heavy burden of the peace leadership of the free world which by common consent its productive capability and resources have caused it to assume. The Observer article bespeaks a maturity of thought abroad-that any threat to the dollar is viewed as a common threat to the whole free world.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Observer, June 7, 1959] THE NATION'S BUSINESS-DOLLAR ON DEFENSIVE

(By Alan Day)

A great deal too much play has been made recently with the idea of the weakness of the dollar.

Obviously, there is a strong temptation for us in Britain to take pleasure when sterling's international rival is under pressure while sterling is standing very well in world esteem. But it would be wise to restrain any tendency to chortle at our friend's misfortunes; if they were really to become serious, the effects on us would be very unpleasant.

Fortunately, there is no reason to think

that the dollar is at present under any real pressure. Naturally, one is a little suspicious when the Secretary of the United States Treasury makes a solemn declaration that the dollar will not be devalued-the whole thing is too reminiscent of sterling in 1949. But sometimes such statements should be taken at their face value—and this is such

#### GOOD CREDITOR

As far as the flows of payments into and out of the United States are concerned, the current position is one which we should all regard as encouraging. America is playing the role of a good creditor which we have so long demanded of her, by lending abroad and making grants to poor countries. At the same time, she is importing on an immense scale—because she provides the most pros-perous and one of the most wide-open markets in the world.

A great deal is heard of American tariffs and import restrictions, but the fact is that her policies are remarkably liberal. Many of her tariffs, particularly on industrial goods, are low by the standards of the advanced industrial countries-as an example, cars pay 10 percent going into the United States compared with about 20 percent in Germany and 30 percent in France and Britain.

#### LOSING RESERVES

The average incidence of the American tariff on all foreign goods is almost certainly not appreciably higher, and may be sub-stantially lower, than that of the United Kingdom. And protection of American manufacturing industry by quotas is so rare as to make headline news-whereas we and other European countries still protect many sensitive industries in this way, even though there are no longer any real balanceof-payments reasons for doing it.

Even so, it can be argued, America is losing reserves and cannot go on doing so forever. At the latest count, her gold reserves were only slightly above the \$20 billion mark, and if recent rates of decline continue, they will fall below that level within a few weeks.

#### A LUXURY

Of this total something like \$12 billion of America's gold reserves are tied, in that they are required by law as backing for the internal currency circulation. This requirement is a luxury that Britain has long for-gone, and in 1945 the American authorities found no difficulty in reducing the required backing from 40 percent to 25 percent of the currency circulation. Compulsory gold-backing for a currency is, in fact, a primitive survival; the value of money derives not from its gold content but from its acceptability and depends on its being sufficiently scarce not to lose its value.

All the same, even if the American legal reserve is regarded as sacrosanct, the United States still has enough free reserves to pay out 60 percent of her overseas short-term liabilities. This compares very favorably with Britain, who would use up the whole of her gold reserve if she had to pay out only 33 percent of her sterling liabilities.

#### THREE CHOICES

The fact remains, however, that America cannot allow an indefinite decline in the ratio between her reserves and short-term liabilities-which would happen if her present balance-of-payments deficit were to continue indefinitely. If she chose to deal with the problem by reducing this deficit, various steps would be open to her.

She could cut her aid to other countriesand certainly it is arguable that the \$1 billion which went in 1958 to Western Europe (other than Greece and Turkey) is not particularly justifiable. She could cut imports; a really liberal policy would do the rest of the world much harm. And in the last analysis she could devalue.

That, however is such a remote contingency that it should not be taken seriouslyexcept insofar as one should bear in mind that a dollar devaluation in terms of gold would almost certainly entail an equivalent sterling devaluation. When our average pay-ments surplus is still well below the £350-£400 million annual rate which we need for safety, any upward valuation of sterling in relation to any major currency would be very dangerous. And as the National Institute of Economic and Social Research recently pointed out, the evidence of recent years is that both American and British prices of manufactured exports have risen relatively to other countries' prices. Sterling and the dollar must hang together; we cannot hope to let the dollar hang separately.

The worrying thing, however, is that the time may be coming when the world's dependence on the dollar and sterling as international currencies may put them both under real strain. Prof. Robert Triffin, in an article in the latest issue of the Quarterly Review of the Banca Nazionale del Lavoro, has argued convincingly that the world's normal need for increased supplies of international currency over the next decade are likely to exceed current gold production by \$5 to \$15 billion.

#### RISK OF STRAINS

To close this gap by further extension of the use of dollars or sterling as ways of holding reserves would dangerously lower the ratio of Britain's and America's reserves to their short-term liabilities. He sees the 50 percent expansion of the quotas of the International Monetary Fund as a movement in the right direction, but far more comprehensive measures are needed if a return to a widespread system of controls is to be avoided.

The most promising line of approach he sees lies in a true internationalization of the world's foreign currency reserves. This would remove the risk of strains on center countries such as America and Britain, arising from the international use of their national currencies, which develop when there is speculation against dollars or sterling. In a truly international system, there would be a single international currency, so that arbitrary shifts between gold, dollars, and sterling would not take place.

#### FROM EXPERIENCE

Triffin's own detailed solution will be developed in the next issue of the Review; but the line of thought that will deal with the problems he sees is clear enough. This is for the artificial creation of a truly international currency which would be perfectly substitutable for gold. Such a movement in this direction of artificially creating currency which is acceptable throughout the world economy is simply an application on the in-ternational scale of the monetary developments of the last century on the national scale, through the development of central banking and paper money. And in the fact that it builds on past experience lies much of the attractiveness of this next step in the movement toward a sophisticated international currency system.

#### Welfare Dilemma

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the operation of the public relief system in the United States touches on many of the major economic and social problems of our day. It is a matter that needs continual study and review by the Congress. A most interesting and serious article on the operation of this program in New York City was recently published in the Wall Street Journal.

I ask unanimous consent that the article by Edwin A. Roberts, Jr., entitled, "Welfare Dilemma," published in the June 9, 1959 edition of the Wall Street Journal, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the REC-ORD. as follows:

WELFARE DILEMMA: IN AIDING FATHERLESS CHILD, IT SPURS ILLEGITIMACY

(By Edwin A. Roberts, Jr.)

New York .- Critics of the public relief system in the United States believe that in one area particularly the quality of mercy shows signs of strain.

This is the division known as aid to dependent children, a program that costs U.S. taxpayers \$815 million annually and which will soon pass the billion-dollar mark. It is the second most expensive relief category (old age assistance is first at \$1.8 billion) and by far the fastest growing. There are now 2,092,000 children in the United States receiving aid to dependent children support; about 20 percent of these were born out of wedlock. But this national figure fails to show the extent of illegitimacy in those places where it is an acute problem-a problem that accounts for most of the attacks on aid to dependent children.

Established under the Social Security Act of 1935, aid to dependent children was originally intended to provide for youngsters who were fatherless due to death or desertion. In recent years, however, it has been depicted as a contributing factor to the sharp rise in the number of unwed mothers because, its critics charge it helps encourage illicit sex behavior through eliminating the financial burden that ordinarily would follow an illegitimate birth.

#### GOTHAM'S PROBLEM

The aid to dependent children problem is nowhere greater than in New York City. which spends \$84 million a year caring for 200,000 mothers and children. This cost is shared by all U.S. taxpayers who, through the Federal Government, pay \$42 million of the total. The State and city each contribute \$21 million.

The average monthly aid to dependent children payment is \$156.60 per case. It is given to any youngster under 16, or under 18 if he is still in school, whose parents (usually just the mother) are unable to provide for him.

Of the 150,000 aid to dependent children in New York, some 40 percent are illegitimate, and 34 percent of the 50,000 mothers are unwed. And 80 percent of the aid to dependent children illegitimate children are reported to be in so-called repeater families—that is, the mother has two or more illegitimate offsprings. The "repeaters" are the chief target of aid to dependent children critics.

There are, of course, thousands of aid to dependent children cases in New York involving only the most deserving unfortunates: Widows with young children, mothers whose husbands become mentally or physically disabled, and mothers who have been deserted and left without resources. The community responsibility in such cases is clear. It is less clear, however, in instances where the relief client purposely becomes an aid to dependent children parasite. A Brooklyn grand jury is currently investigating this aspect of public relief and several women have already been sent to juil.

aspect of public relief and several women have already been sent to jull.

There are two principal types of aid to dependent children chiselers. One is the mother who knows where her deserter husband is but doesn't want him back (the husband is usually satisfied with this, too). The other is the unmarried woman who regularly produces children but denies knowledge of the father or fathers. The man in this case sometimes chips in on expenses and claims his illegitimate offspring as income tax exemptions while the mother collects aid to

dependent children money.

Welfare investigators are sometimes aware of these situations and raid apartments at night to catch the father. The raiders almost always find some man. Social workers smile ruefully as they recall surprised men in pajames loudly asserting they were "just visiting"; others sometimes risk their necks with hasty escapes.

#### REPEAT PERFORMANCE

But even when the men are caught, the welfare people have a difficult time proving who is the father of which child. Often a man will freely admit he's the father and the family will be dropped from the relief rolls. A short time later, however, the mother will notify welfare that he has disappeared and the whole process starts all over again.

One solution that has been considered, but rarely adopted, in various sections of the country is to bar mothers with more than one illegitimate child from the relief rolls. Most sociologists agree that these "repeaters" are practically incorrigible. But the problem here is that society's sympathy is with the children and no one is anxious to penalize a youngster for the misbehaylor of parents.

Whenever possible aid to dependent children under such influences are placed either in institutions or in foster homes. When left with their "repeater" mothers they often do not get much benefit from the money disbursed in their behalf. Social workers, when out of earshot of their superiors, tell of "aid to dependent children parties" that are common in some poor neighborhoods: When the mother foceives the monthly check for her child or children, her first stop is the liquor store; and then there is a celebration, which may land the mother back in her original predicament.

The welfare employee, knowing his client is misbehaving, is impeded by real fear of getting too tough with some of the reliefers. One mother, for instance, who became angry at a social worker, purposely starved her children, had them committed to a hospital suffering from malnutrition, and the welfare agent on the case was fired.

There is, unfortunately, another side to this coin. Because the Welfare Department finds it difficult to keep fully staffed, it has been forced to hire some substandard personnel. A few such male employees have demanded favors of aid-to-dependent-children mothers and, if the women refuse, the agents cut off their relief checks. Meanwhile, the conscientious caseworker often

gets bogged down in redtape. There are dozens of forms to fill out and one employee declared it was possible for him to have to complete 186 in a single day.

The sid-to-dependent-children problem is compounded for New York because there is no minimum residence law to put a check on newcomers to the city who immediately apply for relief.

Take the case of Maria R., of Puerto Rico, for example. With two children in tow she stepped from the airliner at Idlewild Airport and walked over to a policeman. Half in tears, she said she expected to meet her husband but he hadn't shown up. Her husband's name was the Spanish equivalent of John Smith, she didn't know where he lived, and she had no money. Yes, she said, the children were hers.

Within a matter of hours the woman and the youngsters were put on the New York City relief rolls. Soon after, they were installed in a \$55-a-month flat in Manhattan's upper West Side and began receiving about \$60 a week in welfare checks.

#### SUPPORTED INDEFINITELY

Maria may have told the truth, but social workers say the odds are against it. More likely, they say, Maria decided one day in Puerto Rico that life would be better in New York. Knowing her aid to dependent children and being unmarried, she went to a neighbor in her village who had many children. Maria borrowed two of these, raised the plane fare from relatives, and came north. She will now be supported indefinitely and in comparative comfort by U.S. tax-pavers.

White acknowledging that such things happen, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico contends that only 15 percent of the Puerto Ricans who come to New York ever go on relief. Social workers say this figure is low.

But certainly the Puerto Ricans have no monopoly when it comes to welfare maneuvering on the New York City front. Scores of other women, usually single and pregnant, skirt the raised eyebrows at home by moving to New York to have their bables while receiving welfare aid. And southern Negroes, many with relatives in New York, come north in droves, especially when the employment situation is rumored to be good.

One cannot study aid to dependent children and illegitimacy very long before it becomes clear that the trend reflects some other great socioeconomic problems of our day. Henry L. McCarthy, New York City welfare commissioner, has estimated that 83 percent of the children receiving aid to dependent children assistance are Negroes and Puerto Elcans, and one good reason for this is that Negro and Puerto Rican children have almost no chance of being adopted. White youngsters, by comparison, have a 70 percent chance. This same high percentage of nonwhites on the aid to dependent children rolls is found in almost every section of the country, largely for the same reason.

In New York City, the total number of white children decreased 5 percent between 1920 and 1950. During the same span, the nonwhite juvenile population rose 350 percent. Sociologists say this has happened because New York administrations have adopted policles calculated to force middle-income families to the suburbs and, they add, most nonwhites are at the low end of the pay scale.

Whatever the reason, New York City faces ever greater social problems, and these problems are at least in part the problems of the whole Nation. As one welfare critic put it: "There are thousands of people who be lieve the world owes them a living, and in aid to dependent children they see a good way to collect."

#### Northwest Power Intertie

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. CLAIR ENGLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. President, I am pleased to note that the current studies of the potential mutual benefits of an electric power intertile between the power systems of the Pacific Northwest and California, which I initiated by my request of February 12 to the chairman of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, are proving to be a vehicle of healthy Federal-State cooperation as well as interstate cooperation on the Pacific coast.

The Senate Subcommittee on Irrigation and Reclamation held hearings on April 8 and 9 and the full Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs adopted a strong resolution on May 19 proposing cooperative studies of the benefits which might be derived from hooking together the Federal power systems of the Pacific Northwest and northern California. The State legislature and Gov. Pat Brown of California as well as Gov. Albert D. Rosellini of Washington and Gov. Mark O. Hatfield of Oregon now all have taken steps to advance this cooperative movement.

Most recently, during the convention of the American Public Power Association in Seattle, Gov. Rosellini made a very progressive statement on the subject. The APPA also adopted a resolution endorsing a Federal intertie. I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the Record an article from the Seattle Times of May 27 entitled "State Will Join Power Study" and resolution No. 11 adopted by the American Public Power Association at its convention in Seattle.

There being no objection, the article and resolution were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Seattle Times, May 27, 1959]

STATE WILL JOIN POWER STUDY

Washington will join Oregon and California in a study of a proposed tie line between Bonneville Power Administration and California systems, Governor Rosellini sald today.

Washington's Governor indicated that pending the study he is reserving judgment on the plan.

Rosellini addressed a luncheon session of the American Public Power Association at the Olympic Hotel.

#### WASTE FORESEEN

"If 1960 is a median water year," Rosellini said, "the Northwest will waste water capable of generating 12 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity. This is equivalent to one-fourth of our present production."

Announcing that he had joined the California and Oregon Governors in a joint study of the proposed sale of "wasted energy" to California, Rosellini added:

"I feel that if proper safeguards can be obtained for Northwest power users an intertie might provide substantial benefits to

both regions. Certainly a project that promises to keep rates low by marketing a wasted resource merits detailed study."

BUSINESSMEN INTERESTED

Rosellini said public-power development had made this State No. 1 in low-cost power, a position formerly held by Oregon.

a position formerly held by Oregon.

The Governor said that in his recent industrial-promotion trip to Eastern cities he found power rates here of particular interest to businessmen.

Complete use of this region's undeveloped hydroelectric resources, including the Canadian part of the Columbia River system, also is important, Rosellini said.

"When underdevelopment occurs, such as at Hells Canyon, we are definitely harmed,"

the Governor said.

#### RESOLUTION No. 11

Whereas the development of the hydroelectric resources of the Pacific Northwest has necessarily resulted in the present and future availability of a large quantity of surplus nonfirm power due to seasonal and annual variations in stream flows; and

Whereas the lack of an ample market for northwest surplus power has resulted and will continue to result in an undesirable waste of low cost energy and a serious eco-

nomic loss to the region; and

Whereas preliminary studies indicate the financial and engineering feasibility of high voltage transmission lines interconnecting the Federal power systems in the Northwest and California for the utilization of northwest surplus nonfirm power on a fuel re-

placement basis; and

Whereas the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs has requested a comprehensive study by Bonneville Power Administration in cooperation with the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation and in consultation with Pacific Coast States, the Federal Power Commission and representatives of public and private utilities, on the feasibility and desirability of a high voltage interconnection between the Federal power systems in the Northwest and California, and to suspend all negotiations for any interconnections or sale of surplus power until Congress has had the opportunity to consider and act on the resulting study: Now, therefore, be it Resolved, That the American Public Power

Resolved, That the American Public Power Association endorses the construction of an interconnection between the Federal power systems of the Northwest and California which will be a common carrier of sufficient capacity to ensure obtaining the optimum benefits and which will ensure that the use of the line will be limited to the interchange of exportable surplus power for which there is no market in the region of origin at the time of export; and be it further

Resolved, That the association commends the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs for requesting the study.

#### Future Business Leaders of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, today in the face of competition from abroad and serious problems at home, our economic system is facing real challenges.

As in the past, I am confident that private enterprise—founded upon the ingenuity, competitive spirit and maximum freedom allowable within our governmental system—will successfully meet the challenges.

To do so, however, as well as to promote maximum progress and to strengthen our enterprise system itself, it is extremely important that we imbue the youth of America with the spirit and the knowledge of the working principles and rewards of a strong, free economy.

Currently, the United Business Education Association, a department of the National Education Association, is sponsoring a constructive conference here in Washington. The conference, scheduled for June 14–16, is to be attended by approximately 800 high school and college students from Wisconsin and other States throughout the country. The purpose of the program is to train future business leaders of America.

Overall, the FBLA, which has chartered over 2,000 chapters in high schools and colleges all over the Nation, represents a most worthy and constructive effort to provide our free enterprise system with business leaders for the future.

To illustrate the fine principles and objectives of the FBLA program, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a statement of the creed and purposes of the FBLA.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### PURPOSES OF THE FBLA

The Future Business Leaders of America organization, composed of young adults in high schools and colleges, seeks to:

Develop competent, aggressive business leadership.

Strengthen the confidence of young men and women in themselves and their work.

Create more interest and understanding in the intelligent choice of business occupations.

Encourage members in the development of individual projects and in establishing themselves in business.

Encourage members to improve the home and community.

Participate in worthy undertakings for the

Participate in worthy undertakings for the improvement of business and the community.

Develop character, prepare for useful citizenship, and foster patriotism.

Participate in cooperative effort. Encourage and practice thrift.

Encourage improvement in scholarship and promote school loyalty.

Provide and encourage the development of organized recreational activities.

Improve and establish standards for en-

Improve and establish standards for entrance upon store and office occupations.

#### Poison in Your Water-No. 119

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I am inserting into the Appendix of the Congressional. Record an article appearing in the Wilmington (Del.) Journal-Every Evening of December 28, 1957, entitled

"Chestertown Ordered To Stop Puttir.3 Raw Sewage in River":

CHESTERTOWN ORDERED TO STOP PUTTING RAW SEWAGE IN RIVER

CHESTERTOWN, MD., December 28.—Citing a menace to public health the Maryland State Board of Health has ordered Chestertown to stop discharging untreated sewage in the Chester River. The order is the first official action taken by the State against the town's program of bypassing the chlorination process during the winter months.

Mayor Philip G. Wilmer, out of town for

Mayor Philip G. Wilmer, out of town for the holidays, was not available for comment but the superintendent of the water and sewage system estimated it would cost some \$10,000 to winterize the treatment plant.

The action against the town was taken on the recommendation of Robert M. Brown, chief of the bureau of environmental hygiene. He said unofficial warnings had previously been given but these had been ignored by town authorities.

The Chestertown sewage treatment plant went into operation in 1940 and the practice of bypassing the digesting tank during the winter months has been followed since, according to Medford E. Capel, water and sewage system engineer.

Mr. Capel said the plant was designed for use in southern parts of the country and was not practical for use in areas where prolonged spells of freezing weather are common. He said the normal procedure was to stop the chlorination operation in mid-November and resume it in mid-March. These dates, he said might be varied, according to weather conditions.

The engineer said the wintertime operation endangered a \$2,200 meter used in the chlorination process because it was susceptible to freezing as was a 6-inch pipeline inside the digesting tank. The latter has frozen in the past, he said, causing trouble and expense.

The order, addressed to the mayor and council and signed by Dr. Perry F. Prather, chairman of the health board, said: "I am this 20th day of December, 1957, ordered by the State board of health, by virtue of the power conferred upon it by the General Assembly of Maryland, that you immediately proceed to place in continuous operation the sewage treatment plant in Chestertown, including uninterrupted chlorination of the sewage. The absence of this operation and continuous chlorination of the sewage at the Chestertown sewage treatment plant is a menace to public health."

# Contracts Between the Steel Companies and the Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, I feel that the Members of the House should have an opportunity to read the reply of David J. McDonald, president of the United Steelworkers of America, to the steel corporations in an exchange of letters pertaining to the contract existing between the steel companies and the union.

I think it contains information which should be brought to the attention of every Member of this House. It sheds a true light on the conditions as they now exist:

JUNE 11, 1959.

UNITED STATES STEEL CORP., BETHLEHEM STEEL CO., REPUBLIC STEEL CORP., JONES & LAUGHLIN STEEL CORP., THE YOUNGSTOWN SHEET & TUBE CO., INLAND STEEL CO., ARMCO STEEL CORP., GREAT LAKES STEEL CORP. KAISER STEEL CORP., THE COLORADO FUEL & IRON CORP., WHEELING STEEL CORP., ALLEGHENY LUDLUM STEEL CORP.

GENTLEMEN: Yesterday you handed me a letter in which you set forth, in writing, for the first time, certain proposals to which you had alluded generally in our subcommittee meetings. You also expressed your opinion of the local union representatives who are charged with the duty of negotiating with

your companies.

Your letter confirms, without any possibility of equivocation, the conclusion which the members of the union's negotiating team had already reached—that you are deter-mined to destroy the individual rights which have been carefully and painstakingly developed under our contracts and that you have nothing but contempt for your employees. Your intentions, as are now plain, are to eliminate the substance from our collective agreements. You appear to be willing to permit the union to continue to exist, but only at the price of converting it into a company union and eliminating the protections for our members which we have so painfully obtained over the past 20 years.

I now turn to the specific items contained

in your letter of June 10.

You charge that it is the union which has falled to bargain in good faith. The record of negotiations speaks for itself. As to which of us has failed to bargain, I will stand on your own description of the situation. The union, you say, has raised upward of 250 Issues upon which it proposes discussions, while not insisting that any one of them constitutes a fixed demand. You, on the other hand, have had one position—which You label a proposal—that we negotiate nothing. You appear to believe that a desire to discuss problems in the hope of finding mutually acceptable solutions does not constitute good faith bargaining but that a fixed insistence that no negotiations take place does. Nonsense.

II

Your letter now goes beyond your previous insistence that the union extend the 1956 agreements without change except for the elimination of the annual wage increase provisions and the provisions for adjustments to reflect changes in the cost of living. As an alternate method of reaching agreement you now propose certain changes in our collective bargaining provisions dealing with individual rights. These changes, you assert, will generate new economic progress Which can be shared with the employees and the public. I fail to comprehend the reason why the very considerable economic progress which you have made in the past 3 years without sacrificing individual rights is to be held exclusively by the companies and not to be shared with the employees or anyone else. You are, nevertheless, entitled to an answer on each of your eight proposals:

1. You propose to modify our contractual language so as to enable you to make the improvements or changes you desire in the interests of greater efficiency and economy. Otherwise phrased, what this means is that You want to eliminate any employee rights which may exist under our present contracts which in any way restrict you in your endeavor to speed up operations and to wring

from each worker something more than the last possible ounce of productive effort. You propose to destroy seniority, eliminate established practices and wipe out the hard-won individual protections upon which individ-

ual workers have learned to rely.
Our answer to this proposal is that the
United Steelworkers of America is not a com-

pany union.

2. You propose to reinforce our present contract prohibitions against wildcat strikes, slowdowns and other interference with producting during the term of our collective bargaining agreements. As you know, our contracts already contain ironclad no-strike guarantees which are far more stringent than those in effect in most other industries and which have been rigorously enforced by the international union. Your request for further provisions along this line can only be intended to vest in you the right to inflict unwarranted punishments upon your employees with no effective recourse.

Our answer to this proposal is that the United Steelworkers of America is not a com-

pany union.

3. You ask that we recognize the functions of management to develop incentives. and establish sound standards. Again, our present contracts do recognize that it is a function of management to develop incentives and do not prevent management from developing standards in connection with those incentives so long as such incentives provide fair, just, ad equitable compensation and do not actually result in a reduction of earnings for the employees involved. Your request for a change must mean either that you are unwilling to continue the provision that incentives be fair, just and equitable, or that you propose to cut the earnings of employees under established incentive plans. Or perhaps you desire to impose incentive standards without incentive pay.

Our answer to any of such suggestions is that the United Steelworkers of America is

not a company union.

4. You propose to clarify the right of the companies to change work schedules. The companies now have broad rights to change work schedules, as you well know. Those rights are subject only to the limitation that proper notice be given to the affected employees so that they may adjust their own schedules to meet your needs. And even where you violate the provisions with regard to notice to the employees, our present contracts permit you to proceed with that violation subject to the payment of penalties to the affected employees in only a limited number of cases. What you propose is to ignore entirely the interests of the employees in knowing when they are to work and when they are not to work, and to vest in your-selves the unilateral right to make workers come and go without advance notice, as it may suit your requirements.

Our answer to this proposal is that the United Steelworkers of America is not a company union.

5. You propose (a) to add additional requirements for the receipt of vacations and (b) to enlarge the period for scheduling vacations. The first part of your proposal would impose a doublebarreled qualification on the receipt of vacations, requiring a specified amount of work both in the year before the vacation and in the year in which the vacation occurs. This is obviously im-proper, as the companies themselves recog-nized when they suggested in 1956 the elim-ination of the provision which you now propose to reinsert even though no complaint against the 1956 provision had been heard from any company prior to this letter.

The second portion of your proposal further evidences your basic view that the rights of employees should be totally sub-ordinated to the whims of the companies. You already have the right to schedule va-

cations without the consent of the employees during 6 of the 12 months of the year in the case of United States Steel, and of even longer periods in the case of other companies. You have the further right to schedule vacations at any time with the consent of the individual employee. Your suggestion that your rights in this area be further enlarged is obviously unacceptable.

Our answer to both of these proposals is that the United Steelworkers of America is

not a company union.

6. You propose to eliminate what you say is the overlapping or duplication of benefits under the provisions relating to severance allowance, SUB, insurance, and pensions. This is a mystifying proposal, since all of the programs you specifically mention already contain provisions against duplication. If what you mean is that retired workers on pension should lose the right which they now have to continue insurance protection at their own cost, or that an unemployed worker receiving SUB should be deprived of the already inadequate 30-day continuation of his life insurance coverage during his layoff, then our answer must be that the United Steelworkers of America is not a company union.

7. You ask that we simplify the procedure for establishment of seniority units. Un-der our present agreements existing units are preserved and new units are established by mutual agreement at the local plant level; in the event such agreement cannot be reached as to new jobs, you have the right to place the job in an appropriate unit, subject to the grievance procedure. In the light of the general tenure of your other proposals, your proposal for changing this procedure can only mean that you want to simplify it by vesting in the company the unilateral right to determine and revise seniority units. The determination of seniority units, as you know, is vital tothe job protection of workers who have spent long years in your service. To place those protections at your tender and unreviewable mercies is obviously unthinkable.

Our answer to this proposal is that the United Steelworkers of America is not a

company union.

8. Your final proposal is that we simplify and clarify contract language. With this objective we certainly agree. In the light of your specific proposals for simplification and clarification, however, we must assume that what you mean by simplification and clarification is virtual elimination. True, this would make it simpler. There is no simpler contract that one which gives employees no rights.

TIL

The third major subject of your letter concerns the method by which negotiations are to be conducted. You correctly state are to be conducted. that we propose to call in the local union representatives so that they may participate in negotiations with each of the companies, You characterize this move, however, as "a diversionary publicity-seeking tactic." Never before have the spokesmen for this industry so insulted the duly designated members of the negotiating committees which are charged with the primary responsibility for executing the various agreements. These are the men who work in your mills and have been duly selected through the union's established procedures. Your assertion that participation by these men in the negotia-tions is not directed at developing agreements is totally false, and symptomizes your disdain for the opinions, as well as rights, of the men who make steel.

Whether you like it or not, the union will be represented in the negotiations with each of the companies, beginning Tuesday, June 16, by these duly designated committees. We acknowledge your right to be represented by any persons you choose so long as you comply with your legal obligation to bargain with the union in good faith and to be represented in that bargaining by individuals who are both authorized and competent to deal with the problems within the areas of contract discussion at each of these companies.

If, in addition to the meetings of the full negotiating committee meetings, you desire to continue concurrently the meetings of a subcommittee consisting of 4 representatives of the union and 4 representatives of the 12 companies, we are also prepared to continue that form of negotiation. As we have repeatedly stated, we have a single purpose: To achieve a fair and peaceful settlement. To that end, we are pre-pared to bargain collectively in good faith through any device which has any prospect through any devices of achieving success.

Very truly yours,

DAVID J. McDONALD,

Prest

President. I. W. ABEL, Secretary-Treasurer. HOWARD R. HAGUE, Vice President.

ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG, General Counsel.

#### Educational Pendulum Swings Again

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Greenville News, of Greenville, S.C., under the direction of a courageous publisher, Mr. Roger C. Peace, and the able editor, Mr. Wayne W. Freeman, regularly and continually provides objective and responsible leadership for its readers. This objective analysis on public issues is well demonstrated in an editorial published on June 9 entitled, "Educational Pendulum Swings Again."

I ask unanimous consent that this splendid editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Greenville News, June 9, 1959] EDUCATIONAL PENDULUM SWINGS AGAIN

At long last, the pendulum of theory and techniques in American education is swinging in another direction.

After many years of progressive principles, fathered by the late John Dewey and considerably distorted by his successors at Columbia University, a reaction has developed and is now sweeping the country.

This was inevitable. Even if the progressives' program had been as well founded as they themselves thought in the beginning it was bound to be diluted and exaggerated in the hands of men of lesser talents.

What began as an attempt to bring demorracy into play in education ended in almost complete anarchy. It may have been unwise to set arbitrary standards and to punish those who could not meet them through no fault of their own, but it was even less wise to abandon all standards whatsoever.

We are pleased by the emergence of a counteraction to the degenerated progressive theory. But we are concerned about a concomitant trend.

Events have combined to make education the most publicized facet of our lives. The public eye is on the public schoolhouse today as never before, drawn there by such divergent causes as the race problem, the astounding scientific successes of Soviet Russia and by the collapse of the progressive system Itself.

The greatest danger now is that we shall go too far with the neoclassical theories just as the progressives went too far with their

And the danger is made even greater by the fact that the surge in the new direction may be accompanied by elements which will make adjustments and corrections far more difficult than they have been in the past.

By this we mean Federal aid and Federal control of education.

It is impossible to conceive of any meaningful program of Federal aid to education which does not carry with it some measure of Federal control. Certainly no other sizable program receives Federal participation without a degree of Federal supervision. And once established, it tends to grow.

That degree of control is bound to broaden and grow stronger in the case of education. For remember, education is now seen as the Nation's first line of defense, our greatest weapon in the battle to preserve democracy. How, then, can the Federal Government fail to bend its every effort to a constant supervision and direction of every phase of this, its prime weapon for self-preservation?

As the Navy sets specifications for its ships, the Air Force for its jet airplanes, and the Army for its field equipment, so the Federal Government will have to establish specifications, and rigid ones at that, for its own system of education.

It is easy enough to say that these specifications and standards will be subject to the review and scrutiny of the general pub-lic, but the cold fact of the matter is that this is most unlikely. The general public knows little about the conflicting theories of education and the prevailing standards are likely to be set by experts of whose activities they have little knowledge and, consequently, even less control.

A Federal Department of Education, if it were established, would quickly become the cat's-paw of the professional educators and not the servant of the people. And the record of the professionals of the past is not such as to make this an encouraging

One of the reasons the Progressives failed so dismally was that they insisted on conformity with their schemes in all circum-That they did no more harm than they did was chiefly due to the fact that they were not able to force universal acceptance of their plans.

Is the conformity of the new vogues in education any better than that of the old? How shall we learn until it is too late?

The Chinese Communists, in a momentary aberration, decreed a new program under the glowing title, "let a thousand flowers bloom." By this they meant to allow some bloom." By this they meant to allow some relaxation of the dull hand of totalitarianism and the flowering of new and even opposed ideas.

But as any experienced dictator could have told the Red bosses, individuality has a way of expressing itself in ways embarrassing to dictators. And so the lid was quickly clamped on again.

And so will the lid of conformity be clamped on the youth of America if the Federal aid to education program is adopted. The flowers of individual talent which bloomed under locally devised and locally supervised school systems will fade and die, victims of a cold-war panic and a centralized state.

Annual Flag Day Program Sponsored by Altoona, Pa., Lodge No. 102, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, June 13, 1959, City Hall, Altoona, Pa.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, the annual observance of Flag Day has grown in importance each year due to the untiring efforts since 1907 of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks to arouse public interest and proper recognition of a national holiday promoting appreciation and respect for the full meaning

On June 13, 1959, it was my privilege to join with my fellow members of Altoona, Pa., Lodge No. 102, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, in an interesting program in celebration of Flag Day and to deliver the principal address which follows:

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY JAMES E. VAN ZANDT. MEMBER OF CONGRESS, 20TH DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA, AT THE FLAG DAY EXERCISES AT CITY HALL, ALTOONA, PA., JUNE 13, 1959. P.M., SPONSORED BY ALTOONA LODGE NO. 102, BENEVOLENT AND PROTECTIVE ORDER OF

It is an honor to join with my brother Elks of Altoona Lodge No. 102 in celebrating the 182d anniversary of the birth of Old

For years the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks has displayed leadership in urging that appropriate exercises be held on Flag Day as a means of focusing special attention on the blessings we enjoy as citizens of this great Republic.

We owe a debt of gratitude to Elks lodges everywhere for awakening our patriotic impulses which—unfortunately with respect to the Stars and Stripes—give evidence of being

We need a revival of the spirit of good oldfashioned Americanism as a means of restoring the spine-tingling, blood-stirring thrill when our flag passes by in a parade—or when we glimpse it flying proudly against the clear blue sky on a sunny day—or majestically ascending heavenward at a public cere-

Frankly, we need to arouse ourselves from the lethargy that engulfs us and leaves us prone to ignore the beauty and splendor of our flag.

This year's celebration of Flag Day marks the last time on such an occasion we will gaze at the 48-star emblem of our Nation.

On the morning of July 4 of this year the new 49-star flag—indicative of the admission to the Union of Alaska—will become our official emblem following ceremonies at Inde-pendence Hall in Philadelphia.

The new 49-star flag is destined to have a short span of life for it is anticipated that by July 4, 1960, another glorious star will be added to our star-spangled banner because of the final approval of statehood for the Territory of Hawaii.

It has always been a pleasure to me to discuss the great traditions of our national

I suppose this is the reaction of every patriot in every land.

And yet there is something unique about such a discussion when conducted by Americans, in view of their highly individualistic background and national characteristics.

It is traditional for Americans to play down certain of our traditions, to a large extent.

As a people devoted to the cause of peace from the beginning of our entrance into the family of nations, we have tended to emphasize a desire for international cooperation, in contrast to boasting of our own great national achievements

Yet it is not possible nor, for that matter, advisable to altogether neglect our record of national success, and for that reason we periodically call attention to it through patriotic celebration.

Our record as a people is indeed remarkable

Not only have we arisen in less than two centuries from national infancy to international predominance, but have done so with only the slightest occasional setback, and with the most extraordinary exhibition of drive and fortitude.

As a result, the Stars and Stripes now holds an exalted place among the national banners of the world and our national might is either admired or grudgingly respected by

every other nation on earth.

To those who can comprehend only tangible factors, the accomplishments of the United States are explainable in mathematical terms. We have a vast and fertile land area, we have a large population, and favorable weather conditions; and added together they can be said to equal the full sum of our greatness.

But somehow this seems to me an incom-Plete account of America-a woefully incomplete account.

A nation is not a mathematical computation, but a living organism, and, like all living organisms, is motivated by many currents and impulses wholly unrelated to mathematical considerations.

Admittedly, the wealth of our soil and mineral deposits, and our great network of rivers and harbors, have been of invaluable assistance in advancing our development on this continent.

In those respects, the United States has

been extremely fortunate.

But, on the other hand, our national history clearly reveals the powerful, impatient, and wholly inextinguishable urge of the American people to fully exploit their opportunities whenever they arise and, despite all deterrents, to forge ahead with the program at an amazing rate of speed.

And this spirit has nothing whatsoever to

do with mathematics.

Throughout all history there is abundant evidence that national spirit results from something other than numerical advantages.

Take, for instance, the case of Rome, which expanded from the size of a mere city to eventually overrun the entire Mediterranean area.

At the height of her power, certainly, Rome's advantages were numerous.

But when the march to greatness began, she was outnumbered by many of her enemies; and when, for example, the Romans met in combat with mighty Carthage, the task was undertaken against the greatest seapower of the age, by a people generally regarded as landlubbers.

Yet ultimately Carthage fell, not once, but three times, the victim of Roman nationalistic spirit that transcended all other

considerations.

The same can be said of the ancient Hebrews under the leadership of the Maccabee, who time and again met the great legions of the Greek Empire in mortal combat, outnumbered and outarmored, and yet for years repelled invasion after invasion, to maintain their national independence in the face of apparently insurmountable odds.

And in more recent times we have the examples of Sweden, whose small army, under King Gustavus Adolphus, devastated the Russian horde in 1617; and Finland, which did the same in 1939, briefly, before finally succumbing.

Nor is the world soon to forget the extraordinary accomplishments of the raggle-taggle French Revolutionary Army, against all the great military powers of Europe, or the French soldiers of World War I who piled into taxicabs and raced out to stop the onrushing German Army of Kaiser Wilhelm at the gates of Paris, and then with the cooperation of the British and ourselves, drove the enemy from French soil.

In every one of these instances, intangible forces played a major part.

In every one a spirit was kindled that could not be overcome by mere numerical superiority.

In each, nationalistic zeal was the prime factor.

In dealing with intangible factors, it is not easy to explain how or why things occur.

Indeed, that is what makes them intan-

But we can consider certain of the elements involved.

And in every instance of the development of ardent nationalistic feeling, since the days of Roman conquest, national flags or their equivalent have been prominently in evidence

There is something bewilderingly and unexplainably powerful about a flag, either in battle or flying from a schoolhouse in the midst of a peaceful country village.

It radiates a pride and hope and a grandeur that even the cynical find hard to resist.

There is no ignoring its influence, for to do so would be like disregarding the de-structive tendencies of a hurricane or the life-giving effects of sunlight on a wheat-

Anyone who has gone out to battle under the American flag can tell you-or try to tell you-the confidence inspired by its gallant appearance.

Yet somehow words are not enough.

When one's life hangs in the balance in the midst of an enemy infantry attack or a barrage fired from an enemy battleship, it is a common experience to momentarily think of self and to forget all the patriotic oratory ever spoken.

But the mere sight of the American flag at such a moment can restore confidence and determination, whereas an hour's worth of

oratory would prove fruitless.

It is as though the American flag were some sort of history book, military marching band, orator, and colorful pageant, all rolled into one, so powerful is its effect in time of crisis.

Nor in good times is this effectiveness in any way diminished, for when peace and prosperity bless the land the flag takes on a new meaning.

Instead of crying out hope to the troubled, it seems to take on an air of warning to the complacent, alerting all Americans to present and future dangers.

So impressive are the wonders of our flag that unorganized elements in American society began-early in our history-to call for its recognition in the form of an official day of reverence.

Yet, it was not until after the Civil Warwhen sectionalism was largely submerged by national feelings—that actually steps were taken toward launching an organized campaign for the establishment of a national flag day.

A distinguished patriot, Dr. Bernard J. Cigrand, conceived the plan and formed an organization in 1894, on the assumption that respect for the flag was deserving of more than offhand, occasional notice.

His efforts were untiring, and under his direction the organized advocates of pa-

triotic demonstration worked diligently for the accomplishment of their goal.

But changes in the popular mind are slow at taking place, and for many decades flag remained unrecognized-in this official sense-though quietly revered by the masses of American citizens.

In the meantime, however, numerous new influences were brought to bear on public opinion, in such a way as to bolster and reinforce the patriotic American temperament.

As American youth went out under the Stars and Stripes again and again to fight for this great Republic and the supppression of despotism, the American people began to adopt a new attitude toward their flag.

Assuredly, it was still the symbol of our Nation's eternal hope for peace.

In addition, it had earned a phenomenal record in the military sense; and further failure to honor such a record was deemed intolerable.

With this in mind, Congress passed the National Flag Day bill in 1949, in honor of the flag's adoption by the Continental Congress, June 14, 1777, and from that date we have celebrated this occasion with typically American enthusiasm.

Few congressional actions have received such a universally positive response from the American people, and I am willing to hazard a guess as to why.

It all comes back to our Nation's trials and tribulations, and their solution through the magnificent zeal of the American people.

Our triumphs in both war and peace have been the marvel of the past 2 centuries, and have drawn the applause of free peoples everywhere.

With an Army composed almost exclusively of volunteers we confounded some of England's greatest military minds in our war of independence and repeated the same trick in the War of 1812, even defeating the pride of the British army-the Duke of Wellington's own troops—in the historic battle of New Orleans.

Against the Mexicans in 1846, we sent our youth into combat-to emerge triumphantly once again-thereby extending the national domain in an unbroken chain from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

And demonstrating the resilience so typical of the American character, we emerged from our own Civil War to overwhelm the last vestige of Spanish tyranny in the new world in the 1890's, and assumed the role of international leadership which we have never since relinquished,

Since then it has been necessary times for American boys to serve the interests of humanity on foreign shores, against the combined might of all the despotic powers that have arisen to plague 20th century civilization.

And in every case the American flag has earned added respect in lands where previously it was known only in the vaguest

But not through warfare alone has this banner gained its fame.

Millions the world over have come to respect it as an outstanding symbol of the industrial revolution; as the symbol of mass-production and the consequent elimination of mass poverty.

Today we stand as the bulwark, both in the military and economic sense, which the weaker nations of the world must rely for strength.

And as a symbol of this strength our flag is held in many foreign lands with almost the same admiration as it receives on these

It is symbolic of a free republic-of victory-of truth-of fair play and man's eternal efforts to tame the elements and develop a practical and logical world out of the chaos of the past.

At least that is part of the what our flag symbolizes.

The rest cannot be spoken of in words, but only felt by the heart.

In conclusion, it is my hope that Flag Day 1959 will serve to further strengthen our faith and admiration in the greatest Republic in the history of civilized governments.

Since the Declaration of Independence has been described as the heart of America, the Constitution its backbone, and the flag the soul of America—we should all join with the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks—which since 1907 has been promoting love of country and greater respect for the emblem of our Nation through these annual Flag Day programs in tribute to Oid Glory—for it represents under one glorious banner the enduring ideals of this great Republic.

Individually and collectively, we can succeed in reviving proper recognition of the Stars and Stripes which symbolizes the countless blessings we enjoy from our priceless heritage as free people.

On this Flag Day, 1959, as we give a loving and parting salute to our 48-star emblem soon to be replaced by a 49-star-studded flag, let us resolve that as a united nation we will meet all challenges to America with full faith and confidence.

We can give real meaning to this Fag Day resolution by recognizing and discharging our responsibilities as American citizens with courage, perseverence and true patriotic fervor, thus making Old Glory more meaningful to posterity and giving added assurance that:

"The star spangled banner in triumph shall wave.

O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave."

# Tribute to Rear Adm. George J. Dufek for His Service in Antarctica

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. CLAIR ENGLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. President, Rear Adm. George J. Dufek turned over his command of the U.S. Naval Support Force in Antarctica on April 16 to Rear Adm. David M. Tyree, in ceremonies aboard the Navy icebreaker Glacier. I worked with Admiral Dufek in that command, and I was also a close associate and friend of his predecessor, Admiral Byrd.

The New York Times, in an editorial in its April 19 issue, pays appropriate tribute to Admiral Dufek for his outstanding service to the Nation in the Antarctica, and I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Apr. 19, 1959]
ADMIRALS OF THE ICE

From the icy blue-white reaches of Antarctica a man and a ship came to play roles last week in ceremonies that meant their parting. Aboard the Navy Icebreaker Glacier, Rear Adm. George J. Dufek, for 4 years the commander of the U.S. Naval Sup-

port Force in Antarctica, turned over his command to Rear Adm. David M. Tyree, on April 16, 1959.

Both Admiral Dufek and the Glacier, his flagship, are Antarctic veterans. Admiral Dufek directed three successive expeditions to Antarctica in support of the U.S. program of research and exploration under the International Geophysical Year that ended last December 31.

A big, bluff, direct man, George Dufek has been going down to the ice since 1939 when, as a lieutenant, he volunteered to serve in an expedition to Antarctica under the late Rear Adm. Richard E. Byrd. He was the first American to set foot at the South Pole and at the same time—1956—the first person ever to land at the pole by airplane. He took risks, surviving two dangerous plunges into freezing Antarctic waters.

For many persons involved with that inhospitable, frozen southern continent, George Dufek is linked inseparably with the Antarctic. It is to be hoped that Admiral Dufek, one of the most distinguished polar explorers of his time, will continue to contribute his knowledge to the further exploration and development of Antarctica. To Admiral Dufek we say: well done. To his successor, Admiral Tyree, we wish the best

#### An American Salesman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON, EUGENE J. KEOGH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Hon. James A. Farley, chairman of the board of the Coca-Cola Export Corp. before a joint meeting of the Iola Area Civic Clubs held at Iola, Kans., on June 11, 1959:

#### AN AMERICAN SALESMAN

The 20th century has proudly embraced the title of the scientific age. However, in somewhat contradictory postures, it has proclaimed its humility-but with all the heraldry of pomp and circumstance. It has stated, and with truth, that science can only begin to measure how a small fragment of this great universe works. It admits it has discovered but a few of the miracles presented by the commonplace. Thus the laws of gravity were working before Newton discovered them only 400 years ago. His great contribution was the insight that they were both universal and invariable and, since they were then predictable, could be put to man's use. Useful they have been, to such an extent that based on their material accomplishment a new and false religion of science worshipers has arisen. But it does not take a scientist to know that as man increases the diameter of his knowledge he also increases the circumference of his ig-The discovery of wireless, norance. example, illuminated a whole world of electronics, of which we were completely ignorant. In homlier terms, the great discovery of Columbus, in fact, notified the world that there were vast new continents of which it was entirely ignorant. Accordingly, the modesty of the new age could well be based on the problems unsolved, the vast realms unexplored which stand before it It might well, in appraising man's role in his new estate, ponder that it took man 7,000 years of civilization to discover that the laws of gravity were scientifically measurable and that such discovery took place because an apple dropped on one thinking head. As an American philosopher has remarked, how it works, man has discovered, why it works, God, alone, knows. Yet, out of a few puny insights which he has converted to his own material comforts almost laughable voices are raised, proclaiming man's awe of his own remarkable talents. Indeed, the London Observer recently, and somewhat slyly, noted that the whole bent of modern scientific philosophy seemed to be a determined attempt to confer an honorary degree in mathematics upon God.

It seems to me entirely timely to note that science created neither the apple, the tree, nor the man by which this discovery came into effect and, as of last report, was still completely incapable of producing, let alone reproducing, any one of the three. Let us not, in our mad rush to measure the sun by spectroscope and the stars by light erase the beauty of the sunset, and the magnificence of the heavens, and the greatest miracle of all the gift of our senses by which we can witness the glory of the universe and its Creator. Indeed, I am here encouraged to make a prediction: As certainly as the history of man during the first 2,000 years of the Christian era could not be confined to a balance sheet, neither in the next 2,000 years will it be limited to the slide rule in the laboratory. Man has, in part, discovered the uses of his brain. He has yet to discover, and he must to survive, the vast inner recesses and reserves of his heart; his capacity to love his own kind.

I have been at great pains to delineate the limitations of science because, in precisely the contradiction of which I have accused it, I now intend to rely so heavily upon it. Scientific method represents one of the truly great advances of man's great tool, his own culture. To examine carefully, to note the phenomena, and then to speculate about it is a technique which has revolutionized man's approach to his own environment. He can now locate his geographical position in the globe within 2 feet; he can detect many marauders within his own bloodstream in 10 minutes, and annihilate them within 3 hours. And all of this he has done by searching for the miracle in the commonplace. Why should it not apply to our function as sales executives? After all, what is more commonplace than a sale? In that case, is it not a scientific miracle, and does not scientific method apply? My answer is in the most affirmative positive: A sale is indeed a miracle, a compounded miracle of civilization, and the laws of science do apply and most emphatically.

A sale is defined as an exchange of goods for money, just that simply. But, to begin at the beginning, as the scientific method insists, what other animal in the face of the globe buys and sells? The answer, of course, is none. Now, then, it is scientifically established that the completion of a sale is a distinguishing mark between humanity and the beasts. Now, still employing scientific method, does man's experience sustain this theory? The answer is almost astounding: the great archeologists are almost unanimous in saying that man developed his accounting, his writing and his navigation as essentials to his necessity to trade. hieroglyphics of Egypt, the cuneiform writing of Mesopotamia, the invention of coinage by the Lydians and the emerging Aramaic alphabet were developed because of the compulsion to trade.

Now, to pursue the thesis scientifically, what is this compulsion, this basic human drive to trade? Recently in a London newspaper this was answered by a most ingenious advertisement, by one of Great Britain's major insurance companies. It was headed

simply, "Facts: over 5 million clocks were sold in Great Britain during 1957, yet not one of the purchasers wanted a clock—what they wanted was the correct time." In short, a sale is a basic process of civilization, and of man's civilization alone, by which a human need is filled.

And now, I should like to offer my own hypothesis. I think it may be fairly argued from the foregoing that rate and amount of sales, quality, variety, availability of product are as much the measure of a civilization as the measurement of the pulse and rate and content of the blood is to the human body. For example, one need merely cite an Amazon jungle tribe or an Eskimo village in comparison with Fifth or Michigan Avenues, Bond Street, or the Rue Vendome.

Now, to follow further, why have sales at these high points of civilization so exceeded those in the more backward areas? Because, the world's great merchants, long before the scientists had discovered the tremendous benefits to mankind from unearthing the predictable phases of nature, these great merchants, these great civilizers, had introduced certainty into their own conduct. They standardized their product, another way of saying that the purchaser could purchase sight unseen and get exactly what he was bargaining for, and thereby base his own future conduct on the future conduct of another man. And, further, the product was not only stamped, on its own merit, it bore the endorsement of the good character of its seller—in fact, a warranty of goods, backed by the honor of the merchant.

Now it is an absolute fact that there were great merchants long, long before there were great scientists. Will Durant, for example, estimates that inter-island trade in the old Athenian Empire, by sail and by oar, exceeded a present day evaluation of over \$200 million. Now, is this not a miracle, and is it not based on a great discovery? Again, the answer is yes, because the great merchants, and not the great scientists made that greatest of all discoveries of which civilization itself stands monument: the foundation of which is a promise made and a promise kept, and the pinnacle of which is the common, everyday miracle, the sale. Behind the mere statistics of its monetary value is the whole drama of man's own show—civilization itself.

Now, having placed such emphasis on certainty it seems to me that I, in all fairness, must accept the challenge of naming future probabilities. This I shall attempt to do on the basis of previous fact and experience, but I am aware, as indeed is every executive here this evening, that selection of general policy is also a demonstration of private faith.

I believe this civilization and, more particularly, the American economy will continue to expand, to expand beyond our most optimistic conjectures. I cite here, in sup-port, the fact that our population increases in numbers by a State the size of Maryland each year, a city the size of Richmond, Va., each month. Yet, I count this population expansion as the least of the extending factors. Far greater is the impact of our educational system. You may be sure that the needs of 50 American high-school graduates Will far exceed those of a thousand children of nomad tribes. To educate a man is not only to increase his usefulness it means also to increase his needs. For example, there were 6 symphony orchestras in the United States in 1920; there are more than 120 today. As to variation of needs, each valid expression of the American cultural scene, the Sadler Wells Ballet and the New York Yankees, had about equal box-office receipts last year.

My whole point of the need and response of this growing economy is in, what to me, is a most, most remarkable fact: 55 percent of the American people earn their living in industries which did not exist in 1900. Now, I have said that a sale is that single most

important ceremony of civilization, by which man fills his need. I dare to go one step further—it is the index of his civic morality, as the bloodstream is to his bodily health. In its broadest sense, therefore, sales is a matter of deepest public concern. There can be no doubt of the strength of our producing mechanism, industrial America can and will double its product. The problem is not the great aortus, the torrential strength of the industrial heart of the Nation, Niagaras of civilization as they leave the factory doors. The problem is the delivery of that force to the capillaries, the millions and millions of store counters of America, and from there into the homes and use of the American people. Should anything stop that all-important capillary flow those tiny, single-sale transactions of final sale from counter to home, a thrombosis of the whole body politic would result. Back on itself would go the throttled bloodstream to eventually still the throb of the great industrial heart of the Nation.

From this, you will gather that I do not fear inflation nearly as much as I fear failure of consumer purchasing power. In this, you are correct. In my opinion, department store sales, carloadings and employment are far better barometers of the economic health of the country than either the stock market or the Federal Reserve discount rate. Woe be to us when they decline sharply, because compound circulatory collapse is not far off. As the London adver-tisement pointed out, it is not the desire to purchase a clock which motivates the sale; it is necessity of telling the time. It is not only the common humanity of keeping an American family intact which should guide our employment policies; it is the necessity of the purchasing power of that family in the market which keeps our system going. I repeat, I do not fear inflation; let us not take counsel of our fears. Had our ancestors done so we could still be 13 small, disunited colonies, hugging the Atlantic seaboard. As they were daring pioneers let us be daring merchandisers.

I am aware, of course, that our system is under attack. By that same token, I believe that we should fortify and reassert our ways, not abandon them. If democracy is choice and choice is democracy then the greatest demonstration of democracy today is the counter of the American store. Here the finest products in the world, by the finest names in the land, stand in true humility before the one person for which they all exist, the American consumer. No person in the history of man has wider choice of variety and quality of product. When communism can duplicate that array in the counters of Moscow it will begin to achieve the respect of man. But, as Sir Winston Churchill pointed out, they fear our friendship more than our enmity. And why? Because there is no possible answer to free enterprise offering a free people free choice in an open and competitive market.

Though the headlines are more spectacular, I assure you the race is not of the rocket to the moon but of good useful products to the common man's home. The essential challenge is not to which scientist's brain will come a new complicated formula, but which system will arrive first at the needs of the human heart.

In this struggle I am encouraged to believe that the forces with which we are alled, indeed, of which we are the spokesmen, have been the most potent forces in the rise of man. Need I remind you, for example, that Columbus' discovery of a new Western World was only incidental to his primary objective—to reestablish an old line of trade to the East. When in 1453 the Turks interrupted the old caravan trails the forces they had arrested searched out three new continents.

In a new age, I have heard much in defamation of us who in effect still maintain these old expressions of civilization. But, happily, there is the beginning of an appreciation of the crucial role of the merchant and salesman in the fabric of the 20th century, as witness now, the elevation of business as a profession in the appearance of advanced schools of business administration.

Now I have always pitied a man who despised the way he earned his living or the community from which he came. A man who is not proud of his job ought to have pride enough to quit it. I have mentioned that the good name of a company is the guarantee of the product which it sells, Now I go one step further. No sales organization can even begin to function unless the good name of the salesman and the good name of the company are united in supporting the good name of the product. As no wave ever rises very high, or for very long, above the sea of which it is a part no man, no company and no product can for long maintain a position above its own basic integrity. In the final analysis, its sales volume is merely the measuring method of the confidence of its customers in all three.

From this, it may be gathered that I believe that the salesman is at least as important in our civilization as any of the other professions. The fact is, I do and, therefore, I hope you will not deem me immodest when I tell you that the proudest title I ever bore is the one I am carrying right now, Jim Farley, American salesman.

# Should Labor Participate in Politics?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following scholarship winning essays of Richard Novak, Mechanics Arts High School, St. Paul, Minn., and Patricia Lamson, of Our

Lady of Peace High School.

Each year the St. Paul AFL—CIO
Trades and Labor Assembly grants two
college scholarship awards to outstanding and deserving high school seniors.
Through programs like this, the labor
movement in St. Paul calls attention to
the long and significant role it has
played in developing and contributing
to the growth of the Greater St. Paul
community.

In conjunction with the applications for scholarship awards each participant is required to write a short essay on a subject selected because of its current national interest. The topic for this year was "Should Labor Participate in Politics?"

#### (By Richard Novak)

Should labor participate in politics?
Personally, I think that labor should participate in politics. The reason is evident.
In America, industrialism has risen very

quickly.

In fact, before the Civil War, industrialism was only a weak force which had its head-quarters along the eastern coast of the United States. Yet it was already beginning to grow.

One of the main factors of the Civil War was this industrial question. The South possessed an agrarian economy which opposed the industrial economy of the North.

Following the Civil War, however, industrialism became the dominating factor in American life. But industrialism expanded so quickly that the Government could not keep pace with it.

Soon troubles began to cloud the horizon: Depressions became a regular factor—two in Grant's term alone—and strikes and riots broke out in all sections of the country.

It became evident that the country would not survive this struggle, unless certain restrictions were placed upon the industrial powers.

A limit had to be set on the amount and type of speculating to be done; regulations had to be established on how and when strikes could take place; and above all, limits had to be imposed on the power of the capitalists themselves—antitrust laws had to be established.

Thus it was not a matter of deciding whether or not labor should participate in politics; it was a matter of deciding how they should participate. The matter was settled beyond a doubt that labor must be a participant and an important one.

Today the same problem remains. The same interests are still in opposition: capital and labor.

The capitalists still maintain the upper hand. They have the means by which to employ lobbyists. These lobbyists work in behalf of the capitalist's interests. He does everything in his power to get bills passed, decisions made, and services rendered which will serve the interests of the capitalist.

The workingman, however, does not have the means by which to procure a lobbyist to serve his interests. He must rely on the ethical responsibility of the legislator.

Thus, we have the answer to the question "should labor participate in politics?"

Only through the power of organization will the workingman gain the rights that the capitalist possesses, the right to equal representation.

As it stands now, the capitalist has the greater share of representation because of the power of his lobbyist.

Organized labor would take the place of the lobbyist for the workingman. It would guarantee equal representation to the workingman.

No bill is passed today without the "pressure" of the lobbyist being applied to the legislative body. The labor unions would give the workingman the benefits of this "pressure." The unions would assure the workingman of his share of the "breaks" in the Nation's legislative proceedings.

the Nation's legislative proceedings.

Labor would supply the necessary force with which the workingman can effectively fight for his rights.

The capitalist has his lobbyist. Why shouldn't the workingman have his?

It is about time the workingman is given this benefit. He needs someone to fight for his interests in Congress also.

The labor unions can give him this power. The only way to fight force is with force.

### (By Patricia Lamson)

Is there a legitimate place for labor unions in the political life of the United States? In theory, yes.

Labor unions in politics are, of course pressure groups and pressure groups are the means through which the ordinary citizen brings his influence to bear on the government.

They, therefore, serve a legitimate purpose in a democracy and it would be wrong to abolish them.

Furthermore, if farmers and manufacturers through their organizations have the

right to form lobbles—as they do—it is only just that laborers through their unions have the same right.

But the question remains: In practice have labor unions benefited the people of the United States through political action?

An unbiased look at the history of our country will definitely show that unions have worked for the common good ever since their incention.

They have been quite successful in improving the lot of the workingman in particular and have been instrumental in securing legislation to improve social conditions in general.

Unions have consistently striven for better working conditions, higher wages and shorter working hours for all.

Among resulting reforms are the laws concerning industrial health and safety, workmen's compensation, abolition of child labor, the minimum wage, the maximum number of hours to be worked and unemployment compensation.

These laws have benefited not only union members but most of the workers in America.

Unions have not confined their interest to the improvement of work conditions. They have been interested in and have been successful in promoting the general welfare in the fields of free public education, slum clearance and social security.

In short, unions have helped raise the standard of living in the United States.

In addition to these benefits, the unions are endeavoring to inform the workers of the effect and meaning of various measures which are put to their vote.

As long as they limit themselves to education and do not try actually to control the individual worker's vote, they are doing the Nation a favor because informed voters are the best voters.

It is possible that the interest of any group may sometimes conflict with the national interest, and the labor group is strong enough to constitute a danger to the free democratic government.

But labor leaders have pledged themselves to support the national interest instead of their group purposes in this event.

The unions repeatedly insist that they are interested in the common good and that their proposals are not selfishly devised to promote their own ends.

Unions believe that what helps the workingman and his union helps the Nation as a whole.

As long as this remains their creed and they use proper means and refrain from influencing legislation in areas in which they are not concerned, they have the right to influence the lawmakers of the Nation in order to promote their own class good and the common good.

#### House Concurrent Resolution 200

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. FRANCIS E. DORN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. DORN of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include in connection with House Concurrent Resolution 200, which I introduced and which is presently pending in the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, a telegram from Merrill G. Hastings, publisher of National Skiing News magazine:

Representative Francis E. Dorn, Representative of New York, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.:

National Skling News magazine, America's largest winters sports publication, endorses your stand against free world discrimination by International Olympic Committee and President Avery Brundage of Chicago for their unprecedented disqualification of free Chinese athletes in favor of recognizing only Red China's exclusive entry into 1960 Olympic Games.

MERRILL G. HASTINGS, Jr. Publisher.

# New Starts for Flood Control Would Be Economical

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. NEWELL A. GEORGE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, because thriving communities contribute to the economic growth of this Nation, it is important that the Congress consider the need—actually, the necessity—of allowing new starts on the approved Kansas projects for Kaw Valley reservoirs. To drag our feet is to prolong the time, and create greater opportunity for more lives and property to be destroyed by devastating floods.

The flood protection works at Lawrence, Kans., are seriously needed to protect that university city.

Fort Scott, which would be a thriving city had the dam on the Marmaton River been started years ago, has now dwindled to something less than 10,000 in population. Because of the fear of floods, which frequently occur several times a year, and because of the lack of water for industrial use when floods are not rampaging through the city. commercial and business establishments have bypassed Fort Scott. Were a new start approved, the enterprising people of Fort Scott would gain new hope and would contribute to a sound and growing national economy by developing Fort Scott into a prosperious and expanding community.

The slap taken by the House Appropriations Committee at the administration's "no new start" policy was indeed justified.

Mr. Speaker, an editorial appeared in the Kansas City Times of Tuesday, June 9, in which was pointed out the importance of obtaining new starts on flood control projects in the Kaw Valley. I include this editorial as part of my remarks:

Time for Action on Dams in the Kaw

No tax money could be saved by delaying the Kaw Valley reservoirs. Congress is committed to the Kaw Valley program for flood control and water storage. A delay of a year would simply prolong the big gamble with fate.

Today the Kaw Valley is exposed to the same kind of losses that it suffered in 1951.

In the intervening 8 years construction has been started only on the Tuttle Creek Dam. It is regarded as the No. 1 dam in the Kaw Valley plan but it will control only one tributary of the Kaw. A flood control pro-gram must cover all the main sources of

danger.

Hope for more action depends on the enate. The House subcommittee showed interest in reservoirs for reclamation pur-Poses but it has ignored the proposed flood control dams in the Kaw Valley. It isn't a case of serious opposition. If the Scnate votes money to start one or two Kaw Valley dams the House may go along.

The advocates of a good program are making the main drive to start the Wilson Dam on the Saline River and the Milford Dam on the Republican. These two, com-bined with Tuttle Creek, could reduce the flood threat for the greater part of the Kaw Valley. Since such projects start slowly only a million dollars are requested for each dam. This would include the money needed to complete planning as well as make the construction start.

Metropolitan Kansas City is particularly interested in the Perry Dam on the Delaware River near Lawrence. It will be close enough to the metropolitan area to give a maximum dollar return in flood control and water storage. And it will be a great recrea-tional attraction. If Milford and Wilson can be started this year, Perry should not be far

behind.

The cost of starting two reservoirs wouldn't be a drop in the budget bucket. Assuming the same argument could be made for some other dams across the country the total cost for starts would still be small. The Kaw Valley is almost in a class by itself. It has an unusual record of costly floods and it has been the victim of most conspicuous

If Congress intends to go through with its river control obligations presumably it will set up a reasonable priority system and push ahead. It would be naive to wait for a reduction in other Government costs that may not come in 5 years or 20 years. There is no doubt about the cost of indefinite delays.

#### What About Oil Industry Profits?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. PAGE BELCHER

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted, I wish to insert in the RECORD the following article entitled, "What About Oil Industry Profits?" which appeared in the Tulsa World, June 6, 1959:

[From the Tulsa Daily World, June 6, 1959] WHAT ABOUT OIL INDUSTRY PROFITS?

For about 35 years a favorite political football in Congress has been the 271/2 percent tax-depletion allowance on crude oil

production.

One would think that most of our Representatives on Capitol Hill should have, by now, realized the wisdom, fairness, and necessity of this tax provision. It does not seem to be the case. Once again Congress is planning a full-scale review of the meas-

Opponents of tax-depletion, particularly the so-called ultra liberals and followers of the Americans for Democratic Action (a parlous political pack) keep parroting the unjustifiable claim that the oil industry is in a special privilege class and reaping unconscionable profits.

Different bases such as net worth, assets, book value, sales, etc., are used for measuring an industry's rate of return. The Federal Government's financial statistics use the rate of profit on stockholders' equity as a basis for comparing rates of profit of the respective industries. Reports of the Fed-Trade Commission, the Securities and Exchange Commission, and the Chase Manhattan Bank show, clearly, that the rate of return in the domestic petroleum industry is lower than most other major industries

The comparative rate of the major industries (1955-56-57) show:
major industries (1955-66-57) show:
trucks, 16.34; other transportation (aircraft, vessels, etc.), 15.10; stone, clay, glass, 14.25; chemicals, 14.04; iron and steel, 12.54; electrical machinery, 12.07; average all manufacturing, 11.92; other machinery, 11.21; paper, 10.70; fabricated metal products, 10; petroleum, 9.97; food, 8.94; textile mill products, 5.23.

Funds retained through percentage depletion are included in the earnings upon which the rate of return for the domestic petroleum industry is based. Also, the domestic petroleum industry's rate of return, in addition to being lower than most other major industries, is below the 11.92 percent average of all manufacturing industries. Measured by any yardstick, the industry's earnings are not excessive.

Actual experience over a long period of years has proved the wisdom of the percentage depletion. It has enabled the industry to supply this Nation with constantly increasing quantities of oil and gas at reasonable prices, while at the same time earning no more than a moderate return on invest-

To place the depletion provision in its true perspective, consider this: the domestic petroleum producing industry has consistently spent approximately three times as much as it receives in depletion in finding and devel-

oping new oil and gas reserves.

If the depletion allowance is eliminated the price of gasoline to consumers would be increased by about 5 cents a gallon, because without increased prices, industry earnings and the money it could borrow would not be sufficient to provide the funds required to carry on the exploration and constant search for new oil reserves. They are vital to our energy needs as well as to protect the national security.

# Rank and File Urged To Participate in Union Meetings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to insert the following letter I have received from a man who has been a member of the Teamsters Union for over 20 years. Understandably so, I am keeping his name and local affiliation anonymous. His solution to union corruption and labor racketeering is very well founded. He calls for a full-time participation by the rank and file members in all the affairs of their union. His idea of having management take an interest in urging union members to participate fully in their union is most commendable. I would certaily recommend to our colleagues the text of his letter:

JANUARY 9, 1959.

DEAR MR. BENTLEY: In reply to your question about organized labor. I have a very deep and sincere conviction that most of America's labor racketeering and corruption in labor problems can be eliminated if the rank and file members of our unions can be led to realize how important it is for them to attend all of their union meetings and vote on issues that come up from time to time. This is especially important each year at election of officers. You know sir, it has been my experience over the last 22 years that I have been a member of the Teamsters Union that in many ways the average union member is his own worst enemy. It seems that as long as he has a full stomach and a steady job and a pretty good contract with his boss and enough money to pay his bills and things are going along pretty smoothly, he will probably say, "Oh phooy. should I bother going down to the union meeting? All I ever hear is a lot of arguing." But, little does he seem to realize that if the discussion is within the tradition of American democracy, what he is witness-ing is American union members exercising their American right to open discussion. does not seem to realize that his staying away from the meetings and not voting on issues which could be very important to the future economic welfare of himself and his family only opens the door to unscrupulous men who can dictate the policies of the local union through a very small group of individuals whose votes many times do not express the wishes of the majority. I be-lieve that when a majority of the locals members attend their meetings regularly the chances of dishonest people being elected to office are almost eliminated. I have a very great deal of faith in the average rank and file union member's ability to decide for himself and to vote for honesty and Christian decency, but the problem of how to persuade him, or her to show up at our monthly meetings has greatly disturbed honest leaders in organized labor for many years, and is today, I believe, the very reason that we are experiencing misunderstanding, alleged dishonesty and corruption, and generally poor public-labor relationship (news-paper propaganda) not withstanding. But Mister Congressman, as serious as this problem is, and I believe it is serious to the point of hurting America's future economy, and as long as it has been with us. It can be licked. First we must realize that by al-lowing dishonest people to be elected to office on the local union level we are also allowing dishonesty to pyramid up through the State level, and from there to the conference level right up to the international level which can do a great deal of damage, not only to the individual union member himself, but also to the man, or the company who employees him. Then it is important for management and management organizations to realize that organized labor is here to stay, and that they can play a very important role in helping to put and keep honesty in organized labor. I believe that a concentrated program by Govern-ment management, and organized labor working together to encourage individual union members to attend their union meeting regularly and to exercise their duty to vote, especially at election of officers, would do more good towards bringing alleged dishonesty and corruption and racketeering to an end in America than all of the Federal and State laws that we could think of, out-

side of outright dictatorship. There are many ways in which this program could be conducted. Just one small way which comes to my mind is by bulletins with pictures such as we see in factories throughout the country for plant safety being placed in conspicuous places throughout the plant with slogans such as, "Keep your union free with democracy," and "Attend your meetings and vote." This is only one very small way to help encourage our members to attend their meetings, but coming from their employer it's importance should not be underestimated. I have been a member of \* \* \* and up to this time I have never met one union member who had been intimidated by a union officer or who was to my knowledge afraid to express his opinion publicly or privately once he could be persuaded to leave his comfortable chair at home after a nice big Sunday dinner, (Our regular monthly meetings are the \* \*) This is to allow all members in our local to attend. All of our elections are by secret ballot. (This I thought you would like to know especially after the President's message to Congress.) I am very grateful to you for your interest in my opinion, and I am happy to have had this opportunity to express myself to you.

Thank you very much.
P.S.—I hope you will please excuse the errors in spelling and the bad typing, as I borrowed my daughter's typewriter for this letter to you because I wanted to get all of the words on the one page. As I had no help from any source, not even from my family, in putting my thoughts in writing, there are many errors in spelling but the thoughts and opinions expresed are my own. If you wish, you will have no trouble checking my honestry and sincerity and my religious

background.

#### Poison in Your Water-No. 120

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I am inserting into the Appendix of the Congressional Record an article appearing in the Seattle (Wash.) Post-Intelligencer of

May 20, 1958, entitled "Pollution To Close Two City Beaches":

POLLUTION TO CLOSE TWO CITY BEACHES: GOLDEN GARDENS, MATTHEWS BAN

Two of Seattle's beaches will be closed to swimming—and Green Lake also may be barred to bathers—this summer because of pollution, the Seattle Park Department reported vesterday.

ported yesterday.
Paul V. Brown, superintendent, told the
Post-Intelligencer that both Matthews
Beach and Golden Gardens will definitely
be closed when the supervised swimming

season starts June 6.

No swimming signs already have been

posted at the two areas.

Although Green Lake's two beaches now also have no swimming signs posted, Brown said it will be "late this month," before it can be determined if the lake is clean enough for bathing.

enough for bathing.

Green Lake's pollution is caused by backup resulting from the Ravenna Boulevard

cave-in last November.

"We are taking a daily bacteria count at Green Lake and the count is more favorable than we anticipated," Brown said. "However, I cannot predict at this time if the

water will be safe for swimming on June 6—the day lifeguards start working at the city's beaches."

Brown said the park department, the Seattle-King County Health Department and the city engineering department will make a joint decision on whether or not Green Lake's beaches—two of the city's most popular areas—will be opened.

Brown pointed out that persons are now swimming in Green Lake in violation of park and health department regulations.

"We can't afford to police the area all of the time and no arrests have yet been made," Brown said, "But violators are subject to arrest and, of course, are endangering their own health."

The beaches that will be open include Madrona, Madison, Seward, Pritchard, Alki and Mount Baker, Colman Pool also will be open.

#### Paris

SPEECH

# HON, LEONARD G. WOLF

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1959

(Mr. WOLF asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, I had the good fortune to represent my committee-the Science and Astronautics Committee-and the Congress of the United States during the last 4 days at the 23d International Aeronautical Salon de Paris—an international convention where some 20 major countries were represented. The thing that impressed me the most, and I cannot help but report this back, was that in the shadow of the great cargo carrying plane of the American Air Force stood two Russian planes. This was the total Russian display for the free world-two aircraft. In contrast to the two Russian aircraft, America is presenting a complete range of air technology, its great air and space program for the peaceful use of outer space, its medical technology in the entire military and peaceful field, and its missiles for the free world. I know the people of the European nations who visited this great air show could not help but see the great contrast between the attempts of America to demonstrate their desire to give their knowledge for freedom and peace to the world as compared to Russia, who they know are doing great things in technology, but who sent only two military aircraft to the show to prove their desire for peace and freedom

It was significant that many of our great independent companies had complete displays at this show. It was obvious to anyone visiting the show that America is eager and willing to share with the world its great technology.

Many new ideas also were presented in the field of aerial and space travel by other countries. Later this week I intend to present a more complete report of the 23d Paris Aviation Show.

(Mr. WOLF asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Time for a Change

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 20, 1959

M. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, until he found it necessary to leave his homeland to avoid imprisonment a year ago, Juan Manuel Kindelan played an important role in the democratically formed opposition to the Spanish Government. He personifies the attitude of the new generations who have grown up in Spain since the civil war. Dr. Kindelan deplored the U.S. contribution to the perpetuation of the Franco regime. feels there may still be time to restore the good will the Spaniards felt once toward the country of Roosevelt and Lincoln. His recommendations are identical to those made by another opponent of Franco, the respected and very distinguished Salvador de Madariaga.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include Dr. Kindelan's article, "Talks With Americans," which appeared in the May 15, 1959, issue of Iberica:

TALKS WITH AMERICANS

(By Juan Manuel Kendelan)

In March I was invited by Iberica to make a stopover in the United States on my way back to Paris after having attended the International Students' Conference in Lima as the representative of the Spanish University students. In the belief that some of the impressions that I formed during my stay in New York and Washington at that time might be of interest, I have tried to formulate them in as brief and concise a way as possible.

Iberica fulfills a constant service of information about internal developments in Spain. Hoping to contribute to this informative service, we took advantage of my stay in the United States in order to convey to a series of persons the ideas and aspirations of the Spanish youth of today, who for 3 years now regard themselves as being completely divorced from the Franco regime. As a member of this new generation and one who has left Spain only recently, and who has been personally involved in all the university developments and many of the political developments of the past few years, I felt that I was in a good position to speak for the youth of Spain about Spanish problems in general and Spain's relations with the United States in particular.

I will begin by saying, frankly, that my first impression of the Americans with whom I came in contact was one of their lack of knowledge about Spanish affairs. This, perhaps, is not surprising when one considers the fluid and confusing nature of the present situation in Spain, which is difficult for informed Spaniards themselves to evaluate. However, I think that in general there are two overriding factors which provoke interest in and concern about Spain in America: One, an awareness of a situation of unrest and political instability, and, two, the conviction that U.S. military installations on Spanish territory are of vital importance.

As far as I was concerned, I made every effort to be as objective and dispassionate in my presentations as possible. I tried to convey to my listeners an idea of the real awakening in Spain, which is making progress in spite of the innumerable obstacles

in its path; an awakening which was initiated by the rebellion of the youth and which has been reflected in very diverse subsequent manifestations such as strikes, renewed repressions, intellectual ferment, literary rebirth, etc., which along with the gravity of the present economic situation and the growing number of anti-Francoists, even among the rightists, suggests an end of the regime in the not too distant future.

One of the most pertinent themes for discussion in America was the role of the U.S. economic aid to Franco; its contribution to the perpetuation of the Franco regime, and the attitude of the Spanish people toward it.

I felt obliged to warn of the strong and growing anti-Americanism in Spain, and to point out that this phenomenon was occuring in a country which had been very cordially disposed toward the United States in the post-World War II years because of the triumph over Hitler, Roosevelt's personality, and America's position as champion of democracy in general. It is interesting to re-call that on more than one occasion Falangists set upon and beat up Spaniards leaving some function or other at the Casa Americana in Madrid during that period. Later the lack of will of the democracies to Put an end to the Spanish dictatorship became apparent, and then, finally, the signing of the U.S.-Franco Pact of 1953 marked the beginning of signs of hostility on the part of the Spanish people toward the United States. This hostility has been on the increase ever since, as the impression that the dictator was in fact being supported by America gained ground. In addition, after the passage of a few years we noted the existence of another form of aid which contributes effectively to the development of this anti-American sentiment. We find this in the attitude of the present American Ambassador in Madrid, for instance, in the Voice of America broadcasts and in many other aspects of America's presence in Spain Which we need not enumerate here.

The dangers pregnant in this situation to the future relations between the United States and Spain, whenever public opinion will once again carry weight in the latter country, are obvious. It might even be that such good relations would turn out to be impossible, in spite of the mutual interest in them and the good will of the future

Spanish leaders.

My listeners, who tended to agree with this point of view, almost invariably brought up three specific lines of inquiry: One, the present and future status of the American bases; two, communism in Spain, and, three, the existing alternatives to a change of regime.

With respect to the first point, seemed to have concluded that without Franco there could be no bases in our country. I countered by reminding them that the United States has bases in many nations that do not have dictatorial regimes, especially in Europe, and that, on the other hand, every responsible political group and person in Spain, with the exception of the Communists, of course, recognize the importance of maintaining good relations with the United States and the future need for American aid, and that hence no one would object, in principle, to the presence of American bases. But on the other hand a new treaty would have to be drawn up to supplant the present one which was signed Franco. All of this, of course, as long as the state of public opinion over America's support of Franco should not have reached the point at which popular bitterness would preclude all negotiation.

With respect to inquiries concerning the spread of communism in Spain I could only say that the Franco dictatorship, and America's policy of collaboration with it,

are the best allies that the Communist Party has in Spain, where its traditional following is small.

As to the lack of an alternative to replace the present regime, this was the most serious reason which my interlocutors brought up in justification of U.S. support of Franco. The lack of unity of the opposition disconcerts them, but on the other hand they do not seem to realize that by artificially prolonging the political life of the dictator out of a fear of what may ensue, they are merely making the transition, when it finally comes, all the more dangerous.

In general I encountered great cordiality and understanding, but great uncertainty also. This friendliness was reflected in the fact that it was an American, for example, who suggested to me the comparison that the American Embassy in Madrid today is, in the eyes of the Spanish people, to a certain extent what the German Embassy was during World War II. A harsh comparison, no doubt, but there is something to it.

On several occasions the following question was posed: "What would you do, with respect to Spain, were you the Secretary of

State of the United States?"

Naturally I felt presumptuous to be replying to such a question, however I tried to do so sincerely and dispassionately, saying that, in my opinion, to be both realistic and foresighted American policy should be based on the recognition of two facts: one, that Franco is not eternal and, two, that America has alienated the sympathies of the Spanish people and of the men who could one day succeed to power. With these factors in mind, I would suggest that American diplomacy in Spain be oriented in two directions: the first should be towards the initiation of a policy of gradual "disengagement" from the Franco regime similar to that being implemented by the Spanish Church itself, for which it must surely be a far more difficult and complex operation. disengagement operation should consist, in the first place, in a cessation of all economic aid not specifically stipulated in the U.S.-Spanish Pacts; an exchange of the present United States Ambassador in Spain for one less identified with the regime who could be in closer touch with the life of the people; a cessation of all Voice of America broadcasts on the official Spanish radio, and a suppression of all other activities on the part of American diplomatic representatives in Spain which might convey an impression of undue identification of aims with those of the Franco dictatorship.

The second, more delicate and difficult orientation, would be toward the maintenance of behind-the-scenes contacts with the various sectors of the Spanish opposition, thereby keeping a more constant touch on the political pulse of the nation. Given the complicated and peculiar situation of Spanish politics today, the only way to be adequately informed is to be up to date on the attitudes and movements of the six or eight main groups or forces which, within Spain and without, represent something on the political scene, past and future. I very much doubt that the United States is well-informed as to the activities of these groups

was frequently asked if it wasn't beneficial to the country, in spite of Franco. To this I invariably replied that on the contrary, it had merely injected an artificial life into the Spanish economy, permitting the regime to continue its precarious existence and postponing the solution of the country's basic problems.

In considering the problem of Spain from Washington, I realized that, after all, Spain is only one of many areas in the complex and extensive panorama of American inter-

ests in the world. But it is an important point, if only because of its geographic location and the fact that it is approaching a grave internal crisis. The recent developments in another area of vital importance, Spanish America, have opened the eyes of many Americans and has reminded them of the somewhat similar situation in Spain, though at times these comparisons have been carried too far

In any case, in my humble opinion the United States needs a more positive foreign policy which would aim at solving problems before they build up to a crisis, and which would anticipate Russian policy insofar as is possible. Such a policy should be applied to specific areas, and Spain is one of them. There one can not statically await developments, later to try to patch things up as best one can; future events should be foreseen, and appropriate measures taken in time.

For Spaniards, American influence today and tomorrow is a fact, whether we like it or not. Therefore it is important for us to try to inform Americans in general about our problems and convince those Americans who are able to understand our point of view. Perhaps there still is time to restore goodwill among Spaniards toward the country of Lincoln and Roosevelt. Let us all hope so.

Governor Lawrence Speaks at the Dedication Services at the Albert Einstein Medical Center

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. HERMAN TOLL

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, I had the privilege to be present on Sunday, June 15, 1959, when two great new facilities to serve the hospital and medical needs of the people of the Delaware Valley were dedicated in my congressional district in Philadelphia. They are located in the northern division of the Albert Einstein Medical Center, York and Tabor Roads.

These new facilities are the 9-story, 460-bed, medical-surgical building, and the 5-story Paley Clinic Building for outpatients and laboratory examinations. Together they represent an investment of \$8.500,000, nearly all of which was raised in the Philadelphia area from individual contributions.

The participants represented the greatest philanthropic and civic agencies in the city. The guest speakers included: Gov. David L. Lawrence of Pennsylvania; Senator Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania; Robert K. Gray, secretary to the President's Cabinet; Samuel H. Daroff, chairman of the board of trustees of the Albert Einstein Medical Center; Paul J. Johnson, president of the Einstein Medical Center; Abraham L. Freedman, Esq., president of the Federation of Jewish Agencies; and Dr. Pascal L. Lucchesi, executive vice president and medical director of the Einstein Medical Center.

Mr. Gustave G. Amsterdam presided, and Albert M. Greenfield introduced the Governor of Pennsylvania. The remarks by the Governor, Hon. David L. Lawrence, were so appealing and so appropriate that I commend them to the attention of the Members of the House. They were as follows:

REMARKS BY HON. DAVID L. LAWRENCE, GOV-ERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA, AT DEDICATION OF EINSTEIN MEDICAL CENTER, PHILADEL-PHIA, PA., JUNE 14, 1959

They tell the story that one of the con-querors of India, when challenged in the British Parliament as to his enrichment from the treasures of the East, replied to his critics that he was astonished at his own moderation.

I must warn you that I, too, have been sorely tempted, in an academic season where institution after institution has been kind enough to bestow an honorary degree upon the Governor of Pennsylvania

You are escaping a doctor's dissertation by

a very narrow margin.

I have been made a doctor three times within a week, and with very little encouragement, I might very well bring these pro-ceedings to a climax by performing an appendectomy in the medical-surgical building which we will formally dedicate a few

minutes from now.

But, obviously, despite these doctorates, I cannot tell you anything about the Albert Einstein Medical Center and its Medical-Surgical and Paley Clinic Buildings that you do not already know, far better and in

greater depth than I do.

The officers and trustees of the center, their coworkers in the community, an expert staff, generous and public-spirited contributors, a humane philosophy rooted in the religious teachings of a faith that has al-ways stressed the brotherhood of man, the miraculous advances in the science of healing—all of these people, all of these things, are the proper focus of your attention today.

My role, it seems to me, is essentially a

ceremonial one.

I am here, I take it, because it is right for the Governor of the Commonwealth to say to you that in these new buildings and their services, the Albert Einstein Medical Center is making a contribution to our society for which your fellow citizens are grateful.

I am here to acknowledge a debt, a debt which our society owes to private philanthropy and to the sense of humanity which inspires it; to stress again the fact that our complex pattern of civilization requires the most intricate jointure of individual, of community, and of governmental action.

Our structure is strong when each element complements the other-when each of us in his private life, when each of us in his civic when each of us in his governmental life brings the best that is in him to our life together.

We have great prospects before us-greater than we dream of, enmeshed as we must be in the daily obligations of our livelihoods.

I think for a moment of the revolution in man's thought and man's capacity that will forever be associated with the name your institution bears, that of Albert Einstein.

It was not so long ago that the Einstein theory was the basis of much popular humor. It was incomprehensible and, therefore, funny. The universe of modern mathematics, of atomic science, of outer space was something that we knew only in the wildest fiction. Today, in less than a generation, our lives are being shaped by a power which 20 years ago seemed to be forever beyond man's grasp.

We know it principally as a power to

destroy.

Our children and their children will know It as a power to construct.

And there are the prospects that come to us in medical research—in the line that leads from Pasteur to Salk and to the great names, still unknown to us, of the years to come

The parents and grandparents of many of us here today knew the hospital not as a place of healing but as a place of death. Medicine in their time was all but helpless.

Long ago, an English physician and phi-losopher, Sir Thomas Browne, had discounted man's life on earth. He counted the world, he wrote, "Not an inn but a hospital; and a place not to live but to die in."

What an enormous change in these few recent pages from the long book of human history; what a fortunate people, what a

blessed age is ours.

To look back again in history, there was a time when it seemed beyond question that the human race would multiply itself faster than it could increase its resources of foodthat our ultimate fate was malnutrition and starvation. It is still true that in large areas of the world, population does press hard against the food supply, as in India and in

But to balance the disasters of such primitive societies, we have our own experience which shows that scientific progress and technological achievement can move so quickly that our food supply actually outruns our capacity to consume—that we have an economic problem in our surpluses.

One final look to the past.

Karl Marx was sure-on the basis of the society he knew-that we were certain to have class warfare in every industrialized country; that wealth was bound to concentrate in fewer and fewer hands, and that the great masses of the people were bound, under the rules of the game, to become poorer and poorer each year.

We have learned that what seemed likely in Victorian England is not at all true in our own times; we have learned to democratize wealth, to achieve constantly rising living standards, to spread the benefits of an industrial society and a competitive economy so that the general level of comfort and security follows a consistent upward trend.

I am citing these reminders not as shreds of erudition clinging to the cap and gown I have been wearing in academic processions, but as examples of how fast our rate of progress has become; how we have con-founded dire predictions; how we have increased our capabilities to ranges far beyond the reach of any previous generation.

The point it all makes is that we should not be timid, that we should not be fearful, that we should indeed move forward in every phase of our existence with all deliberate

We cannot become a standstill nation.

Very clearly, our people do not intend us to do so.

Our population is increasing at the rate of almost 3 million a year.

There are almost 20 million more Americans than there were when President Eisenhower was inaugurated in 1953. (May I quickly add, as a Democrat, that I think it has been a nonpartisan achievement.)

You may remember that when Samuel Gompers, the founder of the American Federation of Labor, was asked "What were labor's aims?" he replied with a single word,

It seems to me that as we view the future, and ask ourselves, what are America's aims, we must use the same word, "More."

We will need more of everything: productivity in the factory and the farm, more goods in the shops, more services of every hind, more transportation, more education, more schools, more teachers, more research, more conservation of water and land, more housing, more public health protection, more medical care, more physicians, more nurses, more of everything.

I would hope we can also have a complementary less—less tension in the world, less race discrimination, less city slums and fewer pockets of rural poverty, less disease.

But substantially, we must build this country as we have never built before.

And it seems to me, that we cannot have one rate of building, one rate of construc-tion and expansion, for the private part of the economy—a rapid rate as we all wish it to be-while we have a slowdown, a drag. a deceleration in the community and public parts of the economy.

In my judgment, we will soon find that we can't have one without the other.

We worry, rightly, about inflation, about expanding the money supply, about the price level, about confidence in the dollar.

But I think we must worry equally about the supply of trained people who will carry on the functions of our life together, about the level of our health and welfare services; about the confidence we can have in the human and physical resources of America as they are tested against the strains which the future will bring to bear on them.

You knew that you needed this Medical-Surgical Building and the Paley Clinic

Building.

You went straightway and built them; and the region which they serve, the people they will help, are the richer for them.

will become an invaluable part of this Einstein Medical Center, which in its turn, helps to make Philadelphia one of the medical wonders of the world.

As a public officer, I am doing my best to see to it that Pennsylvania takes its cue

from you.

We know what we need in this State what we need in mental health, in public health services, in economic development, in urban renewal, in highway construction, in public education, in community colleges, in the expansion of the State-aided universities and medical schools, in State parks, in the control and development of our rivers. in aid to the private hospitals, in a score of areas where the public service is essential to a prosperous private economy.

We know all right-but we have a strange reluctance to pay for what we need.

I was told recently of a legislative leader in a State-not Pennsylvania-who wa shown a report on the deplorable public schools in his district.

The legislator readily admitted the condi-

"Oh, we need them, certainly we need them," he said. "Only we don't want 'em."

His constituents, he felt, wanted a saving in their taxes more than they wanted a decent education for their children.

I would hope that we in Pennsylvania can do better than that. I would hope that we can estimate our needs and determine that we can't afford not to meet our responsibilities.

The future will be what we make it.

Our State has competitors, friendly rivals, 49 of them. Our Nation and our whole sys tem of life has a competitor, a hostile rival. who would like to bury us.

Neither in State nor Nation can we afford to slip behind, to fail.

You have proved here today how one group of men and women can make a significant a major-contribution to the welfare and the strength of our society.

May I assure you that I will go back to Harrisburg—back to the problems, back to the work, back to the hard realities that are politics and the high hopes that are the true reward for the daily grind of politics—that I will go back today inspired and reinvigor ated by your example.

# Admiral Rickover Tells How To Improve American Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF.

# HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I Wish to include a very interesting article which outlines the views of Admiral Rickover on points of controversy in American education. The article ap-Deared in the Machinist for June 18. 1959:

ADMIRAL RICKOVER TELLS HOW TO IMPROVE AMERICAN SCHOOLS

Vice Adm. Hyman G. Rickover, in a re-cent book, "Education and Freedom," criticized the so-called progressive methods used by American teachers today, based on the theories of John Dewey. Since then the "father of the Nautilus" has been quoted almost as much for his views on education as for his thinking on nuclear-powered submarines. Recently, 350 newspaper reporters interviewed Admiral Rickover, the Assistant Chief for Nuclear Propulsion in the Navy's Bureau of Ships, at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C. Among the questions Admiral Rickover answered were these, bearing on points of controversy in American education:

Question: Do you feel that educators are beginning to improve the school programs a result of considerable constructive

criticism?

Answer: Whether criticisms are construc-Answer: Whether criticisms to the receiving end. Educators in this country are not yet alive to the situation. You have quite a peculiar situation. In politics, you have two parties, Democrats and Republicans. In publishing, you have opposite newspapers; even in theology you have opposite claims as to how one it to achieve salvation. But in education, there is only one union, only one party. All criticism is stopped from within and resented from without. We do not have the best brains in this country running our educational system, particularly in secondary schools.

Today, Dewey is God, the National Education Association is his prophet and all the teachers colleges are his disciples. philosophy has been broadcast throughout our land for 40 years. The trouble is not Only with teachers, it also includes parents.

We live in an era when it is very easy to get food and clothing. These things come to us almost naturally, and so we believe that things of the mind can come that easily, too.

I think this is the most serious problem

that faces the United States.

I can imagine a newspaper announcement that the Russians had organized a unit to be able to send a man to hell first. next morning there would be two or three Federal agencies around, budget figures, public relations staffs, pounding on the halls of Congress saying, "We can't let them beat us to it."

Question: Are you afraid of Federal aid to education?

Answer: We have Federal aid to education right now. We have had it for a long time. The first time we had it was in 1862. in the throes of the Civil War, Congress Passed the Morell Act for grants to State colleges. We had the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 which gave aid for vocational training. ing, we had the Defense Act of the last year. So we have it.

I made a study of the Federalist papers to find out if anything was ever said during the Constitutional Convention about Federal aid to education. Nothing at all was said about education because there was no free education at the time.

I see no reason why we can enact Federal legislation which tells you what you can put in your mouth but not what you can put in your head. I am not afraid of it. I think that every boy or girl in this country whether he comes from Mississippi, Georgia or California or New York should have an equal opportunity to get the best education

he possibly can.
We have 57,000 school boards in the United States. How can you possibly make sure that everybody gets a good education that way? It's undemocratic because you don't give everyone the same opportunity. How can you find in the normal small community enough people to man a school board that have the requisite background to understand what a proper education should be?

Now we are not the first country that has been up against what we are facing now, where the Russians are beating us to an education. It has happened in the last 100 years to many other countries.

First, it happened to Prussia. battle of Austerlitz they decided to completely revise their educational system. They put Von Humboldt, statesman, in charge and he revamped the entire system.

The next one was England. You may remember they had this big scientific exposition in England in 1850 and the British won nearly all the prizes for industrial excel-lence. But in 1867, when they had the next exposition in Paris the English got very few. And that was a real shock to the British and they changed over their educational system.

They were faced with about the same problem we have here. Education was controlled by the church and they had to devise a system where the national government gave help but still autonomy was maintained locally, and they did that by two very simple expedients. One, the English will never give a shilling to any district unless it complies with certain rules that the national government lays down.

Second, they have a corps of competent inspectors attached to their Ministry of Ed-

The next country that was faced with that was the French after their defeat in 1871. They drastically revised their school system and adopted the Prussian system.

And the last country was the Russians. The Russians started off after the Revolution. They adopted many of the Dewey ideas. After about 10 or 15 years of that they threw the whole kit and caboodle in the wastepaper basket and adopted the Western European system.

We must look into our system, too. very significant that no other country in the world has adopted the Dewey system except the countries like the Philippines and some Near East countries that have had a lot of advice from so-called educators in the United States.

Communists in Greater Lawrence, Mass

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. THOMAS J. LANE-

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I

wish to include an editorial which appeared in the Lawrence Daily Eagle, Lawrence, Mass., on June 11, 1959:

COMMUNISTS IN GREATER LAWRENCE

Revelation this week that there were 15 Communist cells operating in the Lawrence area as recently as the beginning of last year, and that there are probably more today, comes as a mild shock. The hue and cry about communism is strong as ever, but somehow the mind identifies that insidious social cancer as foreign to these shores, something that exists in Russia and Red China. something that has only an indirect bearing on our own lives and futures. If the mind even considers the problem of communism, lulled as the mind is by the hazy thought that our Federal Government is taking care of things in that direction, it is hardly ever with the view that its evil could be boiling and bubbling below the surface of our local affairs:

And yet, we shouldn't be surprised at all. Surely today there can be very few people not acquainted with the real meaning and designs of communism. Surely there are very few people unaware that its ultimate aim is not, as those trying to sell it would have them believe, a movement for the betterment of mankind, but a secret, devious worldwide conspiracy to gather the world into the arms of the Russian dictatorship. Communism is imperialism, with its end really the same as that, say, of Nazi Ger-many. Its means to the end might differnot guns, necessarily, but secrecy, subtlety, subversion—so that Russia will rule the entire world.

For a multiplicity of misguided reasons. many of them incomprehensible to most of us, there are some Americans who will sell their birthright to work for this foreign power, Russia. These people, in simplest terms, are traitors, no less so than Benedict Arnold or Tokyo Rose. Whatever their avowed motivation in working for communism (Russia), they are actually agents of a foreign power. And by direction of the Red schemers to whom they have sold their lives and their honor, they are located everywhere throughout the country, working below the surface, for the most part, like so many termites, to undermine our American way of life.

So why should there not be some agents of the Kremlin right in Greater Lawrence?

In the classic sense, we might presume that our community is too unimportant in the grand scheme of world affairs to be bothered with. Yes, we have our defense plants working on classified material, but these are not necessarily a magnet for homegrown Communists (agents of Russia). But our community is not unimportant, because Greater Lawrence has roughly 130,000 people living within its boundaries. And it is their minds that the agents of the Kremlin

Communists in Greater Lawrence, even so few as 75 to 100, cannot be shrugged off lightly. Numbers never meant anything in the master plan of this evil conspiracy. tiny minority of Russians scooped their country into the Communist bag over 40 years ago. And it has been the few who conquered the many, for Russia, in every country that has fallen under Communist domination since that time. A few dedi-cated and secret Communists (agents of Russia) in our local schools, our media of communication, our clubs and organizations, our local governments, our unions, and even our churches, can wreak an awful havoc almost without anyone noticing a thing.

No, it should come as no surprise that there are some of these wretched individuals working among us, spreading their poison, their treachery, bent on the destruction of the freedom our forefathers won for us. Let none of us be fools enough to think that what is happening all over the world cannot happen here.

## Fairness to Metropolitan Areas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to commend the Bureau of the Budget for the progressive policy which it has initiated in designating metropolitan area districts throughout the United States. Unfortunately, in the past, large metropolitan areas located in adjoining States have completely lost their business and industrial identity and have been attached to adjoining larger metropolitan areas to which they have no similarity of industrial business, governmental, or civic geography.

In separating the Calumet region, industrial district from the Chicago metropolitan area, this governmental Bureau has taken a step in encouraging expansion and civic growth for the Calu-

met region in Indiana.

The following is an editorial from the Gary Post-Tribune which further commends the Bureau for this long-delayed change in policy:

[From the Gary Post-Tribune, June 4, 1959] THE GARY METROPOLITAN AREA

Designation of Lake and Porter counties as separate metropolitan district-to be known as the Gary-Hammond-East Chicago metropolitan area-is one of the most favorable developments for local business in many years.

In the past, statistics about northwest Indiana business and economic conditions were swallowed up within those for the Chicago

There were seven metropolitan areas in Indiana previously, according to the Census Bureau, but northwest Indiana didn't rate.

There were metropolitan statistics for Indianapolis, South Bend, Fort Wayne, Evansville, Terre Haute, Anderson, and Muncie, but there were none for this area, even though Gary is the second largest Hoosier city and Lake is the second most populous county.

Now the situation is changed. We'll get

credit for our steel production and our oil refining, for the tremendous tonnage of our lake ports. The Census Bureau will compile full details on important economic information about Lake and Porter counties.

The two-county area will rank among the first 50 metropolitan areas of the Nation in

population.

At present it apparently would rank 48th, among the 192 metropolitan areas in the Nation. There is the good prospect that the 1960 census will move it even higher.

Moreover, the next decade is likely to see it step up several more places since a considerable development in Porter County can be confidently predicted during the 60's.

Indeed, by 1970 the urban area should extend unbroken from the Illinois line around the lakefront to the Michigan

boundary. Ten years from now, a change annual meetings of the DAR, which are the in the official metropolitan area may be subject of widespread newspaper coverage made to include at least a part of La Porte County.

A number of organizations and individ-uals had a share in inducing the Federal Committee on Standard Metropolitan Areas to make the change in our status. It was not an easy matter, for bureaucracy is resistant to change, even when the existing situation is clearly shown to be wrong.

A great deal of the credit for bringing about the revision should go to the Gary Chamber of Commerce which spearheaded the movement. The Post-Tribune is happy to have been associated with the endeavor It will be of much economic benefit to the

community.
Chicago interests are aroused by Washington's action, quite naturally, and the Association of Commerce and industry there has fired off a protest. It contends that "statistical continuity" is being destroyed.

That is true, but it is not the whole truth. The statistics of the past have been phony. The Washington committee has decided that correct statistics are more important than

continuity of phony statistics.

What Chicago is really concerned about is that it may drop into third place nationally so far as population is concerned, and will drop a number of notches in industrial ratings. It no longer will get credit for Lake County's production, but it never should have. This is an area all its own, and it is now to come into its own.

Annual Flag Day Luncheon, of the Col. John Proctor Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, June 13, 1959, Penn-Alto Hotel, Altoona, Pa.

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, on June 13, 1959, it was my pleasure to attend the annual Flag Day luncheon the Col. John Proctor Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, held at the Penn-Alto Hotel, Altoona, Pa., at which time I delivered the following address:

ADDRESS BY REPRESENTATIVE JAMES E. VAN ZANDT, MEMBER OF CONGRESS, 20TH DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA, AT THE ANNUAL FLAG DAY LUNCHEON OF THE COL. JOHN PROCTOR CHAPTER, DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, AT THE PENN-ALTO HOTEL, ALTOONA, PA., JUNE 13, 1959

It is a pleasure to have been invited to attend your annual Flag Day luncheon and to participate in the program on such a patriotic occasion.

The Daughters of the American Revolution have an enviable record in the field of patriotic endeavors since the local chapters throughout the Nation stand as mighty sentinels at farflung listening posts.

Such a vigilant attitude has placed the DAR in the front line of our Nation's defense against sinister elements in our midst who are bent upon destroying our cherished ideals as embodied in the American way of life.

From a vantage point in Washington, D.C., it has been my pleasure to follow closely the in the Nation's Capital.

This annual congress of delegates focuses the attention of the Nation on the activities of the DAR in the field of patriotism-for the agenda each year reveals the interest taken in issues that have a direct bearing on the security of the Nation.

It is to the everlasting credit of the Daughters of the American Revolution that the organization has the reputation of meeting controversial issues head on instead of adopting the alternative of dodging a showdown with forces harboring ideas alien to our form of government.

The annual observance of Flag Day provides another means of taking inventory of the manifold blessing we enjoy as citizens of the greatest Republic in the history of civilized governments.

This annual Flag Day luncheon is a fitting complement to Altoona's public observance of one of the Nation's most important patriotic holidays.

By this program, you are joining with local lodge No. 102 of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks whose Flag Day program begins in front of city hall at 3 p.m., in emphasizing the importance of showing love and proper respect for the flag of our country and the ideals it represents.

Since the theme of the DAR for 1959-80 is "Faith of Our Fathers Living Still," Flag Day is an appropriate occasion for stressing that our spiritual and material progress as a na-tion are symbolized by our allegiance to the

Star-Spangled Banner.

A banner which exacts from us in our daily lives the type of conduct that will serve to teach and inspire the moral character and the spiritual truths and vigor-which have been the foundation stones of this great Republic.

This 1959 Flag Day observance is the last time that public tribute will be paid to the 48-star flag.

On the morning of July 4, 1959, at appropriate ceremonies in Independence Hall-Philadelphia, Old Glory—with Alaska as the 49th star—will be officially unfurled.

On July 4, 1960, it is expected that through the admission to the Union of the Territory of Hawaii, the Stars and Stripes will be flung to the breeze displaying 50 white stars in a blue field.

It is interesting to recall that when the Star-Spangled Banner was first flown at the head of the Continental Army, Gen. George Washington described its symbolism as fol-

We take the stars from heaven, the red from our mother country, separating it by white stripes, thus showing that we separated from her and the white stripes shall go down to posterity representing liberty."

In addition to the description by General Washington we all recall that portion of the song alluding to Betsy Ross, Philadelphia needlewoman who made the first Star-Spangled Banner:

"She took some red for the blood they shed, some white for purity, some stars so bright from the sky overhead, some blue for loyalty.

Therefore, as we proudly gaze at our flag the red proclaims the courage which Americans have always shown in shedding their blood in the defense of liberty and freedom.

The white stripes signify purity of ideals and the liberty purchased and preserved for us by American patriots since 1776.

Finally the blue in our flag stands for loyalty.

Yes, it is the blue of the heavens, the true blue—that symbolizes the intense loyalty and deathless courage of the millions of Americans who have been loyal to this Nation through sacrifice and even death When the security of the Nation demanded it of them.

During these troubled days with the world in constant turmoll loyalty to flag and country is the golden badge of real Americanism.

It has been truly said that "loyalty means liberty" and since loyalty is everybody's job, It behooves all red-blooded Americans maintain a vigilant attitude and to speak out in no uncertain terms against the danger of subversive forces within and the peril of international gangsterism without.

We should heed the admonition of Mr. David Sarnoff, chairman of the board of directors of the Radio Corp. of America, who said in speaking of loyalty in an address on Veterans' Day 1958, "Loyalty to our country is loyalty to ourselves."

To Mr. Sarnoff's timely advice I should like to add that what we need as a people in providing inspiration and strength is a double-barrelled dose of good old fashioned patriotism

To many people in the United States patriotism has become outdated and nationalistic.

The custom of displaying the Stars and Stripes proudly before the home on national holidays is almost a thing of the past.

Today the Communists of America as well as of the world are working harder than ever to bring America under the spell of the Kremlin dictators.

Only recently a top American official said that more espionage agents are at work in America today than any time in our history.

On Red May Day in the Red Square of Moscow Nikita Khrushchev praised the Communist world and spread the Communist propaganda of the day.

His statements were publicized throughout the universe and carried on the front

pages of the world press.

As usual the American people and our goal of world peace were held up to ridicule, by

the Kremlin's No. 1 propagandist.

Mind you, even in the face of the Kremlin's brutal attacks on our Government and way of life, we have some Americans who are content to sit idly by and call patriotism outdated and nationalistic.

Yes, this same group are the ones who say we should not worry about the Com-

munists and the cold war.

They urge that we ignore the constant efforts of the Communists to destroy us as a nation.

In trying to achieve the goal of universal Peace, it is a significant and deplorable fact that Russia as a government lacks national integrity as evidenced by her long record of broken premises.

These misguided Americans in our midst refuse to realize that the Russians by their clever and deceitful manner will keep us involved in this cold war as long as they

have the power to do so.

Regardless of the fact that the Kremlin considers America its number one enemy, still strive diligently and honestly to achieve a just and lasting peace.

Today there are more demands for American-Soviet talks and at the moment We are represented at another Geneva Conference in a sincere effort to obtain a just

and durable peace among all nations.
Unfortunately, the odds are 13 to 1 that every Soviet promise will be broken, and to justify this statement let me remind you that in 1943 four pacts with Russia were signed by an American President—and all Were broken.

In 1945 six pacts were signed with Russia and five were violated.

In 1955 President Eisenhower traveled to Geneva to meet the Russians and the trip was fruitless.

In addition, between American and Soviet foreign ministers there have been 426 days of talks since 1943 with these results:

(A) In 1943 three pacts signed and all of them violated by Russia.

(B) In 1945 and 1946 a total of 11 pacts were signed and only one was kept.

(C) In 1947, one pact was signed and Russia violated it.

In the field of disarmament, nearly 500 meetings have been held and nothing has been settled as yet.

In fact, the Soviets keep asking us back their terms for another round of socalled conferences.

Thus we see the Communist mentality and the utter lack of integrity on the part of the Kremlin.

The present threat to world peace over Berlin so carefully played up by the Russians should answer those smug Americans who think patriotism is outmoded, and who prefer to ignore the fact that we are the number one enemy of ruthless com-munism whose lack of integrity is evident by the long list of broken promises.

Involved as we are in a cold war that from the standpoint of cost could destroy us economically the time for unity has come in meeting the challenge of the Kremlin.

As David Sarnoff said in comparing a cold and a hot war, "We can freeze to death as well as burn to death."

This need for national unity must rise above partisan politics-for every American must stand shoulder to shoulder to let the Red rulers and the world know we are standing firmly against Communist aggression that has plagued the world for 40 years.

In seeking national unity we have a strong alley in Flag Day because it kindles the fires of patriotism by counteracting the false propaganda of the masters of the Kremlin.

We cannot afford to sit back and bask in past glories but rather make our voices heard around the world—shouting that we are free, loyal, and united Americans— ready to fight, if necessary, to defend the American heritage that has made this country a giant among free nations.

Let us pray that Flag Day will inspire, strengthen, and unite us as a Nation so that all of us will receive that double-barreled dose of good old-fashioned patriotism so urgently needed in reviving respect for flag and country.

Such a brand of patriotism will give us a keener and deeper appreciation of our American system of Government and those who founded and preserved it.

It will continue to inspire us to keep faith

with those illustrious Americans who since the founding of this Republic have given their lives on the altar of freedom,

After all when we as Americans realize the true value of our blessings-then we will give full time to promoting an unadulterated type of real love of country.

By working together to protect, preserve, and to promote American ideals we repay our debt as a Nation to the American way of life that has done more, for more people than any form of government yet devised.

One of the most inspiring features of Flag Day programs is the participation of proud Americans whose ancestry may be traced to foreign lands yet who appreciate the precious blessings they enjoy as American citizens.

In fact, Flag Day definitely provides a time for all of us to examine and restate in terms of today's needs the rights and responsibilities of American citizenship.

Also, it should awaken us to a state of continual alertness to the causes which would undermine our Nation.

Furthermore, this appreciation of our

American citizenship will be stimulated throughout the year by individual and collective effort to learn more of the history and ideals of our great American heritage of liberty and freedom.

As I conclude, let me leave this thought

with you.

Today we are hearing a lot about the socalled wave of hysteria and fear resulting from the efforts to ferret out Communists and subversive elements in every walk of

Let me assure you that we have nothing to fear as a Nation if every American worthy of the name will measure up to the high standards of citizenship as embodied in the type of Americanism exemplified by our forefathers and defended to this day on the field of battle by succeeding generations.

In short, these are perilous times, for the Soviet challenge to the American way of life was never more real-or of a more

definite threat.

Therefore, on this Flag Day of 1959 let heed the stern admonition of George Washington when he said that in times of dire emergency we should make certain that we put only Americans on guard.

If we heed the advice of the Father of our Country and meet our responsibilities as citizens of this great Republic—we will be making our flag even more meaningful to those who are to follow after us. Then, indeed, "the Star-Spangled Ban-

ner in triumph shall wave, o'er the land of the free and the home of the brave."

## Run of the News

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. DALE ALFORD

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. ALFORD. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD I include a column of one of the outstanding conservative writers in our country. He is Mr. Karr Shannon, author of the Run of the News column published daily in the leading newspaper of my State, the Arkansas Democrat at Little Rock. This article appeared Sunday, June 14, 1959, and is as follows:

CAN AMERICA BE SAVED?

There's a certain man in Little Rock who has called me at my home for years. He is a businessman and highly intelligent, despite the fact that he is a regular reader of my column. We have had many phone conversations, all beneficial—to me. This man is practical, and he talks sense. He is not an optimist; he has too much gumption for that. But he is one of the few persons who is gravely concerned about the governmental status quo.

He used to ask this question: "How can this country be saved?" And this one: "Can this country be saved?" With things growing from bad to worse, he called the other night and asked: "Is the country worth saving?"

I believe America is worth saving, and can be saved. But it cannot be saved if the current trend is not stopped-and soon. Here are some things that started us on the road to ruin, are increasing the speed, and, if not checked, can bring the United States of America to a definite, disastrous end within a few years.

IGNORE LESSONS OF HISTORY

We ignore the lessons of history, the principles of plain arithmetic and the fundamentals of natural laws.

We have forward-looking aspirations with backward-looking errors. We refuse to recoginze the errors because their cure and cause of collapse in other times are so ancient. In short, we're so simple as to think it can't happen to us.

We have forgotten the old-fashioned characteristics of individual liberty and thrift.

We have the silly notion that all change is progress just because it's change; that anything new is beneficial, that it is at least worth trying.

We are foolish enough to believe that we can spend ourselves into prosperity with nothing to show for it but bigger and bigger debts—nationally, stately, locally and individually.

#### DEFICIT SPENDING

We continue to maintain the philosophy of deficit spending, despite the fact that it undermines the Nation's credit, enhances inflation and eventually will reduce our dollars to doughnuts.

We perpetuate the blight of punitive taxation that deliberately penalizes success, thwarts ambition and stunts the impulse to economic adventure and expansion.

We have too much government in business and far too little business in government.

We stand still for labor racketeers and goons to run over the people roughshod. In some areas they are literally running things to suit their own evil designs, buying their way in and out of everything, and controlling the electorate by pressure or stealth.

Mr. Speaker, in our State we are fortunate to have the finest of loyal and patriotic Americans in the labor movement and they are on record as being unalterably opposed to racketeering in labor or management.

#### COURT USURPS POWERS

There is an unwholesome, downright dangerous disregard for the Federal Constitution, more especially in the high echelons of government.

We stand by—complacently—while the U.S. Supreme Court disregards the powers of the other two departments of government, snubs the Constitution and legal precedent, flouts the will of the people, and rules, by judicial flat, manifold functions of government down to, and including, the erstwhile sovereign school districts.

We are squandering billions of dollars abroad under the guise of buying friendship and rehabilitating downtrodden nations, many of which are financially more stable than the United States and think less and less of us as we give them more and more.

#### GAME FOR JUVENILES

We are playing a multi-billion-dollar game of "darts" into outer space, shooting at the moon and other celestial objects. And all for what?

We are rapidly ascending the status of a bankrupt utopia that must be rescued from communism.

We laughed at the California ham-andegg schemes back in the late 1930's; we considered them fantastic brews of wishful thinking. Now we've got 'em—and they're much worse and more costly and socialistic than anything the California messiahs ever proposed.

Call the critics McCarthyites, label their charges as "red herrings," but many departments of Government are crawling with Communists. They're gaining a foothold. And we look the other way.

These are the main things that placed the United States on the road to ruin, and are

perpetuating and increasing the speed toward the downfall of a great Republic. The only way to save the country is to stop these causes. If they can't be stopped, if the current trend continues unabated, then the time will come when America won't be worth saving.

# Direct Mail: A Direct Result of Improvement Through the Ages

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON, CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OFFICEN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following article, "Romance of the Mails," from the Postmaster's Gazette. It points out how the economy of an area or a nation can benefit by the post office:

#### ROMANCE OF THE MAILS

Man has communicated with man over large distances since the earliest dawns of time. At first there were no personal messages—wish-you-were-here type sentiments from a vacationing friend. Rather, they were important news items about villages and tribes; often told of life and death matters.

Perhaps it was a quiver of arrows—war. Or maybe a pipe was sent as an offer of peace. A pillar of smoke meant that strangers were nearby; ominous booms from a tom-tom warned of danger.

Pigeons conveyed messages since an early Chinese era when letters were rolled into tiny cylinders and placed by the bird's middle tail feather. Bells and whistles were also attached to ward off birds of prey.

Signal fires, familiar to anyone who has watched a TV western, are still a device of Australian aborigines. In Europe, fires announced invasions or victories long after there were improved means of communication. For example, lighted beacons spread the news throughout England that Spaniards were sighted at sea in 1888.

The first letter carriers were messengers rather than postmen; they went directly from sender to receiver. Olympic speedsters were known to cross great areas in short time. The champion of these are Philonides of Greece who once covered 60 miles in 9 hours.

Later, when relay systems were set up over greater distances, the idea of the "post" man, situated at a relay post, evolved. At each station there was a fresh horse and carrier; the mail went through faster and easier. Thus did the postman enter civilization and enrich our language as a descriptive word.

These systems were, at first, set up by kings to convey their own personal messages. Attempts at private letterwriting were looked upon suspiciously; postal routes were carefully watched by agents of the potentates. Great intrigues evolved, especially in the Persian, Egyptian, and Arab Caliphates.

#### POPULAR MAIL COMES

By 1653, the world was ready for its first attempt at popular mail. Count deVillayer obtained royal consent; set up 11 mail boxes and promised 3 collections and deliveries daily in Paris. But vandals spoiled his effort. They leaped into mail carriages to intercept messages, and often filled mail boxes with litter.

Less than 30 years later, England tried the

same plan; 400 receiving offices were spread over London, with 4 to 12 collections daily. Cost was only 1 penny; letters were insured up to 12 pounds at no extra charge.

Across the Atlantic, colonial Americans turned to their coffee houses when seeking mail from overseas. As ocean vessels docked, crowds thronged to these unofficial post offices; letters were dumped on a table and great scrambles often ensued.

The mails grew as did everything else here. There were early problems, roads were bad, weather conditions unbearable. As the frontier movement spread, the need for communication grew even greater. Men had settled in the West; yearned for news from old friends, family, and important items concerning business. There was tremendous competition as companies vied for a Government contract.

Finally, the Central Overland California & Pike's Peak Express Co. won out, and the celebrated Pony Express was in business.

Swift mounts stationed at 10- to 15-mile intervals across wild lands helped our country grow. Often, the hardy, diminutive riders (they were sized much as present-day jockeys) had to go past several posts as Indians slaughtered the standby riders.

But the venture was a success—greatly idolized throughout America in the early 1860's. But in 1866 railways from East and West met; the need for a pony express was no more.

#### A VIVID LESSON IN INTEGRITY

Our postal history since has been a vivid lesson in integrity and devotion. After the great railroads shortened our distance between coasts, airmail was to evolve in the earlier part of our century. Ex-military plots braved terrible weather conditions to establish an air postal service.

These hardy aviators flew in surplus craft of World War I; had no instruments to guide them, yet did a miraculous job. Today, streamlined jets serve in what has been a constantly improved effort to bring us closer to friends and associates at other locales.

Yet another mail idea has evolved in recent years; as streamlined in concept and value as the jets which streak across our skies. It's the great boon of business mail, a veritable wooing of the consumer dollar on an individual advertising effort. It's grown at an extremely fast rate to the point where it rivals television as an advertising medium, and, incidentally, provides \$272 million of revenue to the Post Office Department each year.

Direct mail is geared to get business traffic, to build reputation, to pronounce policies, to sell products and services, announce new credit facilities, report openings of new departments, spur any special event important to business.

The reason it's come such a long way so fast? It simply gets preferred attention for preferred groups; promotion to a direct market. This preselection of audience concentrates advertising where the selling is best, a very sound business principle.

What's more, there's a real opportunity to create eye-catching copy and illustration, which is a delight to the public. Many of the direct mail ads have already reflected great ingenuity in art, with clever wording. You'll see interestingly shaped missives, multicolored ads, strikingly illustrated brochures, all spurring sales as well or better than other methods of advertising.

We've come a long way since the early tom toms and messenger runners of Olympian fame. The history of mail has been a history of civilization. As man improved his breed he realized the need for cooperation; for system. Direct mail and jet service may be the latest, but it's certain that more improvements are yet to come.

## The Unsuccessful Revolution in Hungary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, June 17 marks the first anniversary of an announcement that shocked the world. It was the blatant announcement that Imre Nagy and other leaders of Hungary had been put to death, 18 months after the unsuccessful revolution in Hungary that sought to throw out the Soviet tyrant and his puppets.

One of the men executed was Maj. Gen. Pal Maleter, who had been elected Minister of National Defense of the Hungarian Government. When Soviet troops moved in, General Maleter was invited to discuss the arrangements for their withdrawal at Soviet headquarters. He was seized, despite a safe conduct, and not heard from again until the an-

nouncement of his death.

Imre Nagy had been the civilian head of his state. He was one who had compromised with communism early in his life, but the record shows that when he was faced with a decision, he sided with his people and with Hungary's traditions. He had served briefly as prime minister once before 1956 but had sought too liberal a regime and so was replaced. When it became evident that the Hungarian Communist Party could not cap the rebellion welling within the people, the rulers turned to Imre Nagy as a safety valve, to represent the feelings of Hungary. In many ways he has been compared to Gomulka, in Poland, who could speak for his people's national aspirations and whom the people trusted.

But Imre Nagy, once given power, chose not to be a puppet. He believed in Hungary. He announced that his government would readmit the opposi-

tion parties.

The Hungarian revolution had gone too far. The Soviet troops began to move to retrieve control for the puppets they wanted. The Hungarian defense minister was lured into a trap. Suddenly the gains of freedom began to slip away. Imre Nagy took refuge in the Yugoslay Embassy.

Sanctuary is a great privilege and responsibility among civilized nations. The Hungarian Government that had been handpicked to carry out Soviet orders did not dare raid the Yugoslav Quarters to get Nagy. But it tried to persuade him and his party to come out. Finally, under a guarantee of safe conduct, Nagy consented to leave.

Within a few yards of the Embassy, the Soviet moved in and swiftly arrested these men. The guarantee of safe conduct was worthless. The Hungarian puppets did not dare protest it to their superiors, and their superiors proved once again how little reliance can be placed on a Communist promise.

But then there was a long pause. It was no secret that Nagy and Maleter and their companions were in Hungarian prisons, although the regime sought to cover it up, and talked of freedom of movement, and of visits abroad. The ominous sign came when one of the party was announced to have died in prison during questioning.

Apparently Imre Nagy and Pal Maleter refused to confess to the appropriate crimes, and so the Soviets could not afford to stage a public show trial. Janos Kadar talked almost insistently of keeping his word about no retribution. Then, on the fifth anniversary of the Berlin uprisings, and in the context of a Russian attempt to discipline Tito in Yugoslavia, came the blunt, brutal announcement: They had been executed. No details.

The Nagy case, apparently in the light of the Soviet mentality, was intended to make a point in blood to the Yugoslav regime. Hungary itself was a point in blood to the entire civilized world. That blood should not be allowed to fade away as the world negotiates with the Russians at Geneva or elsewhere.

Amending Mutual Security Act of 1954

SPEECH

OF

## HON. JOHN TABER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. TABER, Mr. Speaker, I had hoped when this bill came in that it would be in such shape that anyone believing in preserving the liberties of the United States of America might support it. When you have delegations of power such as are contained in this bill-and I call to witness one on page 7, lines 16 to 20, and over on pages 12 and 13, where they give authority to transfer out of the military funds, which is really the only place that protects the United States in the bill, where they have authority to draw out of that fund 30 percent-why, any opponent of the bill could say that that was definite proof that the Committee on Foreign Affairs thought that the \$1,440,000,000 was too large. I do not like that approach because that \$1,440 million is the heart of the bill.

Then in lines 7 to 13 there is another wide-open appropriations, no limit to it whatever, no amount indicating a total absence of responsibility. Then we go over to page 13, lines 14 to 23 and we find another wide-open appropriation, without limit.

The only way this country is going to be able to preserve its liberties is by not making appropriations beyond a year at a time. Those are the things we really need to do and that we must do if we are going to preserve the liberties of the people of the United States.

I hope when this bill is ready for amendment, amendments will be adopted

that will make this a respectable bill instead of a menace to the liberties of the people of the United States.

## Let's Not Miss the Bus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I wish to include the following editorial from the June 12 issue of the Washington Evening Star:

LET'S NOT MISS THE BUS

The witnesses have had their say, and the fate of the union reform bill now rests in the unpredictable hands of the House Labor Committee. What manner of bill, if any, will finally emerge from the committee is anyone's guess. But one thing is certain—this is the last chance. If the bus is missed now it will not come by again at this session of Congress.

One of the witnesses on the last day was Senator McClellan, whose rackets committee has exposed a free-wheeling corruption within certain unions which literally cries out for reform. He told the House committee that if Congress fails to enact a reform bill at this session then "God save the country." He also condemned the AFL-CIO leadership for opposing the bill in the form in which it passed the Senate.

There is room for difference of opinion with respect to this testimony from the Arkansas Senator. If Congress flunks this test, the American people are not going to put up forever with corrupt, oppressive unions. And if this Congress will not do its job, the voters in time will choose a Congress which will do it.

There is also reason, in our opinion, for some understanding of the AFL-CIO position. George Meany indorsed the Kennedy bill in its original form. We believe that he and his associates recognize and support the need for reform. In terms of union politics, however, they are in a difficult position. Their opposition to the measure in the form in which it passed the Senate may be dictated by a genuine concern as to the direction in which this reform cat will finally jump. To say the least, no good purpose would be served if the position of men like George Meany were to be undermined in favor of the Hoffas.

If this is granted, however, the fact remains that Senator McClellan was right on at least one major point. The honest men in labor cannot deal effectively with corruption in unions which they do not control. Hoffa and his Teamsters were expelled by the AFL-CIO, but this has served only to raise the prospect that Hoffa's position, in combination with other transport unions, may be strengthened. There is nothing, really, that the AFL-CIO can do about it. If the threat raised by corrupt, gangsterinfested unions is to be knocked down, Congress must do the job. The courts may help, but only Congress can really do it. This is why we hope that an effective labor bill will be enacted at this session-even if it has to be done over the opposition of men like George Meany.

The Housing Act of 1959; An Investment in the Future of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, the Housing Act of 1959—S. 57— which has passed both Houses of this Congress is now in conference. The conferees on this measure are all able, well qualified men, who I am certain, are aware of the importance of this legislation.

There is a fear among many who are interested in this legislation that if it passes in its present form it will receive a Presidential veto. This fear is based on the label of "budget buster" which has been attached to the housing bill. However, a study of the measure soon removes this label.

This measure is a mark of faith and confidence in the future of our great Nation. It is truly an investment in the future of America.

The Monday, June 1, issue of the Evening Sun newspaper of Baltimore, Md., carries a letter from Mr. Hans Froelicher, Jr., of that city and an editorial entitled "Urban Renewal Money."

Mr. Froelicher was for many years head of Friends School in Baltimore and is now associated with the nationally famous Baltimore Urban Renewal Program. He has been active for a great many years in the civic life and affairs of our city and his ability is widely recognized and respected.

As. Mr. Froelicher points out, labels of the housing bill as a "budget buster" seem to ignore a number of pertinent facts. All this talk about the cost of the bill and its alleged inflationary impact are a smoke screen by those who object to the housing bill in principle.

I earnestly recommend that each Member of this 86th Congress read Mr. Froelicher's letter. What is applicable to Baltimore is applicable to every major city in the country in this case.

Mr. Froelicher's letter and the Evening Sun editorial follow:

## URBAN RENEWAL MONEY

SIR: As a person who has been a close student of Baltimore's housing history, I am alarmed at the possibility that this history may stop in the making if S. 57, just passed by the House, is killed by a Presidential veto. This is to kill the goose which can and must lay the golden egg. We are that goose and not Uncle Sam.

Labels of this bill as a "budget buster" seem to ignore a number of pertinent facts. The total additional new expenditures during fiscal 1960 resulting from enactment of S. 57 would be less than \$100 million. This is only thirteen hundredths of 1 percent of the Federal budget proposed by the administration. Moreover, only \$7.5 million of this \$97.5 million amount for fiscal 1960 is in the form of grants. The rest would all be for loans fully reimbursable to the Federal Government.

Our economy has long passed the era when today's expenditures must pay off by return mail. Our whole private enterprise system is founded on the vision of men who

are accustomed to thinking and planning in terms of the future. In the retooling of a great automobile plant big business ventures huge sums of money. The security for this investment is not income in hand or even in sight; it is the income which is envisioned. The greater imprudence is not to follow vision. The crux of the matter is not: "Will it pay?" It is rather the determination: "We figured this; we will see to it that it pays."

I make this point because it is impossible to evaluate expenditures for urban renewal in terms of the immediate present. They must be considered in terms of the ultimate goal—revitalization of our cities, now in precipitate decline, so that they will become enduring, producing assets—each structure for itself, each city cluster for its tax revenues.

Since cities have become our principal place of business and our principal places of living, a national policy is needed including a national invitation to plan ahead. Such invitation, if it is to be genuine, must be supported by a national source of grants and loans in aid.

Sometimes I think the President forgets (and the Sunpapers, too) that urban renewal means, inevitably, that private citizens and private industry must spend huge sums of their own money in order to accomplish lasting renewal. My own guess is that the minimum private spending will amount to five (or even ten) times all the loans and grants and tax moratoriums which might be needed. We, personally and privately, are the geese to lay the golden eggs. For the Federal Government not to recognize this and not help us just enough is fiscal error—is golden-egg-laying-goose assassination.

This is not a patchwork quilt sort of job, that can be achieved by a modest expenditure this year and another small expenditure when and if funds are allotted. This is a job that requires scheduling and sequence, with some security about the availability of funds in the future.

Urban renewal is well advanced in Baltimore as elsewhere in this country. To cut off, or provide only token, funds now would be inviting disaster for Baltimore's valiant efforts to renew and revitalize this city for the benefit of all its citizens.

HANS FROELICHER, Jr.

BALTIMORE, May 28.

## URBAN RENEWAL MONEY

Mr. Hans Froelicher, writing in the Forum today, expresses a fear widely held. The present conflict over Federal housing legislation may result in no action at all, imperiling urban renewal plans already under way in many communities. With some of Mr. Froelicher's points The Evening Sun is in complete agreement. And it would indeed be unfortunate if the Federal Government should, by default, renege on the joint Federal-local programs which it has encouraged the cities to undertake.

The fact remains, however, that Congress didn't pass a housing bill last year because so much politics got into it that neither the advocates of a conservative bill nor the supporters of more generous legislation won. The same danger threatens this year. The House and Senate have passed bills which authorize significantly higher levels of expenditure than the President seems likely to accept. It is true, as our correspondent points out, that the bill recently passed by the House would have relatively little impact on actual expenditures in the fiscal year 1960. To this extent, the critics' characterization of the measure as a "budget buster" may be somewhat misleading.

Nevertheless, the impact of the authorizations included in the House bill over the very near future would be significant. The

administration asked for authorization totaling some \$1,600,000,000 for a great variety of housing activities, including urban renewal, spread over a period of 6 years. The House measure provides for \$2,100,000,000 spread over only 3 years. In short, it asks the Federal Government to put out money at an average rate which is about 160 percent higher than the White House proposes. And few suppose that once this rate of spending starts it will be abruptly halted.

This is the "budget-busting" aspect of the bill. This is what may invite a Presidential veto. And the result could well be what both The Evening Sun and our correspondent fear—a further slowdown in the housing programs, including urban renewal, for

which the bill provides.

## Poison in Your Water-No. 121

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I am inserting into the Appendix of the Congressional Record an article appearing in the Norfolk (Va.) Ledger-Dispatch and Portsmouth Star of May 1, 1958, entitled "Danger of Land Pollution From Sewage Seen Growing."

The article follows:

POLICIES ELASTICIZED—DANGER OF LAND POL-LUTION FROM SEWAGE SEEN GROWING

Norrolk.—Policies of the Hampton Roads Sanitation District Commission are being elasticized as expanding suburbs become more and more anxious to tie in with the sewage disposal system.

The present policy requires the commission to provide sewage disposal only to prevent pollution of the waters of the Hamp-

ton Roads area.

Many of the new suburbs do not threaten local waters in this respect, it was pointed out at the commission's monthly meeting Wednesday afternoon. However, land pollution is a growing danger.

The commission voted to establish a revolving fund for engineering costs on new projects undertaken in cooperation with cities and counties in the commission's district on both sides of Hampton Roads. A study of the situation will be made by commission officials before any funds are spent on lines connecting new areas with sewage disposal plants operated by the commission.

The Oakdale Farms suburb is pushing for connections with the commission's lines, spokesmen for residents pointing out that the pollution problem there is becoming menacing from a health standpoint. Other suburban areas are also seeking trunk extensions.

The commission may cooperate with the city of Norfolk in establishing new trunk lines, with the city paying the cost of the work and the commission handling the engineering end of the projects and the disposal problem. A lease-purchase agreement on the trunk lines is being considered.

The new budget was presented by Col. Charles B. Borland, general manager, who was complimented on it by E. T. Gresham, commission chairman. The budget shows a decrease of \$63,371 under last year's recommended appropriations. The new operating budget of \$1,297,965 is lower, he explained.

because of the closing of the City Hall Avenue and Atlantic Street pumping station (now incorporated in the commission's new pumping station-office building) and the transfer from the operating budget to the improvement fund budget of certain items.

Borland said he expected revenue in the coming fiscal year will be \$1,577,000, an in-

crease over this year of \$32,000.

# Cross Country With the On to Oregon Cavalcade—IV

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following article from the Drain, Oreg., Enterprise. It is the fourth installment of the daily account of the on to Oregon cavalcade by Rudy Roudebaugh of Drain. It appeared in the May 21 issue:

WAGON DRIVER TOO BUSY AT LEXINGTON

(Day by day account as seen from the spring seat of 16-foot covered wagon traveling toward Oregon and driven by Rudy Roudebaugh.)

May 10: My brother, Wayne and his wife, all of the chamber of commerce, school and teammates Roger Young and John Ozan and lots of relatives were here visiting. On Sunday there were 6,000 to 7,000 people here.

May 11, 5:05 a.m.: Went out to harness my horses, Daze got a new shoe on her left rear foot. 7:02: We are on our way to Kearney. Linda, seventh grade: Phyllis, eighth grade: and Gary Haxton, fifth grade, are riding with me from Minden to Kearney today. Sandy soil, must be close to the Platte River. 8:58: Dropped over in Platte Valley. 9:30: At Newark—Kearney 10 miles away. 10:07: Arrived in Fort Kearney, now a State park. One of the girls who is riding with us is driving the wagon today. There are some good looking farms around here. 10:58: Stopped for a rest. Everybody got mail but me. Guess you could call it a mail stop. 11:04: We are going again. On gravel road all morning. 11:25: Back on paved road. North of Kearney.

The sun has been shining all day, with a little wind. Dan and Daze ate and drank good today. I just talked on the radio and let all my friends know that I am here. We are just about to cross the river. 12:59: On our way across the river, 1:04: Old Daze bit me again today, right on the left side of I was a bit mad for a minute. The old Platte River has a lot of water in it. The Saddle Club of Kearney came up to meet us on the north side of the Platte. Also the Kearney Rustlers. At 1:21: arrived at Kearney. 1:40: We are waiting for a train on the south side of the railroad in about the center of town, 2:26; We arrived at camp called Tent City, about 1 mile out of Kearney. About 21 miles we made today.

May 12: About 2 a.m. came rain and hail. 7 a.m.: All hooked up and ready to roll from Tent City. Had a 10-minute wait for one of the wagons. Lots of friends and relatives visited. 6:23: Starting to rain again. Wagons stop traffic at Odessa. 9:03: Elm Creek 6 miles away (population 800). Arrived at 10:32. 11:20: At Overton, Stopped to feed

and rest and have lunch. 12:16 and we are on our way after lunch. 2:19: We arrive at camp the west side of Overton. We made 23 miles today. Seems like all of Lexington has come out. We are all going in to Lexington tonight. I will mail newspapers about the banquet.

May 13: Now at Overton where I played football twice. 5: Wayne, my brother, left Lexington for camp from a big celebration. So sorry you (his wife) were not here. 7:22 left Darr for Cozad and arrived at 8:55 (pop-

ulation 2,090).

May 14: We had coffee and doughnuts from Chamber of Commerce of Cozad. We are on our way again. Seen so many friends. 9:48: On our way again. 12:45: Stopped for lunch. Dan and Daze drank good today and up on their toes all day. I have met so many friends. Mr. Young and his family have been with me for about 2 days. About 1 and we are heading west. Lots of fun the last 2 days. Janell is still at her grandmothers. We are at Willow Island. The best remark I've heard in the last 4 days was when a little boy raised his hand and said, "When I grow up I want to be just like Ray Roudebaugh." Gothenburg (population 2,910). Had a little celebration here. Ar-Roudebaugh." rived at camp at 3:43. Went out from Gothenburg to Midway station on the Oregon Trail, which was a pony express and trading post.

May 15, 7 a.m.: Ready to roll. We were camped between Dawson and Lincoln County. Have two boys riding with me this morning. Danny Wilbur and Harold Booth, both seventh graders. The sun is shining, no wind. Went down to 25 degrees last night. Frost covered ground this morning. 7:06: Here we go west. Wayne, my brother, is riding with me today. 8:40: Buttermilk Hill. 9:26: Arrived in Brady. 9:48: Left Brady. I picked up some newspapers to send home. 10:45: At Schroll. 11:04: Pulled up to feed and eat. 12:15: On our way, 1:24: At Maxwell (population 350). 1:39: Arrived at camp about 3 miles out of Maxwell. Camped at Lemmon Ranch. I have my wagon greased and my brother is ready to He will bring Janell back next weekend.

## Parallels of South Africa Race Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, a South African-born professor of law at the University of Capetown, Denis V. Cowen, is the author of an article called, "Cry, the Divided Country," which was published in the May 17, 1959, edition of the New York Times. I call this article to the attention of the Members of this body because of the parallels it points up in South African history and its present crisis in relations between white and nonwhite races to the history and present crisis in race relations in the United States. It is an important account. tersely told, by one who "sees his country plunging toward tragedy unless his fellow whites change their course and resolve to admit Negroes to equality in a nonracial democracy."

One of the first sharp parallels of situation which cannot be missed in reading Professor Cowen's account is the fact

that apartheid means, for some white South Africans and the majority of nonwhites, domination by white over black. For others, it means a more sophisticated doctrine of separate development and nonintegration. Of course, this is true of racial discrimination in the United States. It has its two definitions of objectives; the policy of separate but equal, like apartheid, proposing the promotion of the separate development of the races in their own geographical areas and differentiation between the races wherever their paths cross, and wherever they are brought together by economic necessity. Just as Mr. Cowen points out that there are those in South Africa who claim apartheid was not meant to create horizontal segregationwith all whites on top and all Negroes on the bottom-but a sort of vertical segregation with each race developing within its own sphere, so there are those who make such assertion with regard to the doctrine of separate but equal as known in the United States. The point is, however, that "separate but equal" has been tried and both United States history and South African history conclusively establish that there is no such thing in matters of individual rights and justice and the privileges and immunities of citizenship. The failure of the theory arises from the very nature of segregation which contradicts the meaning of citizen-one enjoying the freedom and privileges of a member of the state or as a national. Separation, which is synonymous in meaning with segregation, cuts off one body of citizens from the so-called main body of citizens and such segregation accomplishes absolutely no purpose for its initiators unless it is to make a difference in treatment or favor of the initiating group as compared with the other. The object of apartheid in South Africa, or discrimination and segregation in the United States, or the doctrine of racial purity in a Nazi stronghold is, of course, the coarse truth: domination of one group over another because of race, religion, or national origin. It results in brutal denials of rights and opportunities and even the accord of common human dignity.

I wish it were possible for the pictures which accompanied this article to be also inserted in the Record that the parallels to certain violences and almost exact duplication of other instances of violences that have occurred, particularly and recently in some of the Southern States of this land of ours, might be noted and stir within conscience-endowed people the overwhelming fear and horror it ought.

The fact that this article calls to attention that apartheid is leaving a toll on the civil liberties of whites as well as nonwhites has its clear-cut parallels in the examples we have of the loss of the right by thousands of white schoolchildren to the opportunity of education and the loss by individual teachers and school board members of the rights of freedom of speech and association and the potential and actual loss of the right to vote by many white persons caught in segregationists' efforts to purge the polls of Negro voters.

One of the greatest ironies of segregation of the races is, as Professor Cowen points out, that "at the heart of every formulation of apartheid lies a belief that if Western civilization is to survive, the separate identity of the white man must be preserved and he must remain the sole trustee and guardian of that civilization." He reminds us, the professor, that even as long ago as Lincoln's day in the United States that President observed that the number of mulattoes was proportionately greater in the slave than in the free States. And this remains a fact, for anyone who would visit the South of the United States to observe, that where the rights of citizenship are most violently crushed in regard to nonwhite peoples, there is the greatest mixture of white and nonwhite races. In South Africa, there are approximately 3 million whites or Europeans; there are approximately 1½ million "coloreds"—persons of mixed white and nonwhite blood.

Again, the parallel that in South Africa there are those who advocate a policy of gradualism as "a practical method of advancing toward the ideal of nonracial democracy." "But," Pro-fessor Cowen observes, "in the light of what has been done in Africa in the name of gradualism, the chances of its acceptance by blacks are slight." In the light of the American Negro's long history of peaceful seeking, under law, of the rights of citizenship; in the light of the intimidations, bombings, lynchings, hardened voting restrictions which seek to prevent and deter him from the accord and exercise of the full rights of citizenship, there is no realism in the hope that the Negro will longer accept a policy of gradualism.

"If the white man fails," Professor Cowen warns, "he will have only himself to blame. And let him not blindly imagine that the implications of his failure will be confined to some parts of Africa alone; his failure will leave a legacy of hatred and turmoil that will harden the hearts of men of color throughout the whole world." I wonder how many more warnings must be given in our own land before we hear and see that the very citadel of Western demoratic civilization is helping to pack such an explosive Pandora's box of ills as will utterly destroy itself.

CRY, THE DIVIDED COUNTRY (By Denis V. Cowen)

At the root of much of the existing tension throughout Africa lies the fact that basic human freedoms and rights have been denied to the overwhelming majority of its 220 million people, 98 percent of whom are nonwhite.

In those areas—Ghana, for example—where white men have not put down roots in any significant numbers, demands for self-government have been increasingly powerful, insistent and successful. Political control in these places is passing rapidly from European into African hands.

But in areas like South Africa and the Central African Federation, where white men have settled extensively, the loosening of imperial bonds has meant the passing of power into the hands of the white settlers, who now have to face serious demands from the nonwhite people to share it. And these

demands are becoming increasingly more radical and less amenable to compromise.

Where white men have settled, they have used African labor and western technology and skills to develop industry, commerce, and agriculture to a high degree. At the same time, they have kept in their grasp both economic power and political control. Indeed, the color of a man's skin has in large measure determined the extent to which he might enjoy basic human freedoms, political rights and economic advantages—for the most part to the striking disadvantage of the nonwhite peoples. But as their educational standards rise, and their understanding of western democracy increases, the nonwhites increasingly resent and challenge this position. And for the whites, directing policy, the great question has now become: To what extent, if any, is it right, to what extent is it possible, to discriminate between the in-habitants of Africa in the enjoyment of basic human rights, on the ground of skin color or ethnic origin?

Several kinds of answers have been put forward by white men in attempts to meet this challenge; and the one I shall deal with first is the policy of apartheid, which is now being followed in the Union of South Africa. I believe this policy, as we have seen it operate, is doomed to disastrous failure.

Apartheid is the policy which put the present South African Government in power in 1948 and has kept it there ever since. Whereas before 1948, racially discriminatory policies were empirical and sporadic and, above all, left the way open for eventual integration, we now have to face a far more calculated and systematic plan of separation of the races.

Using the official classification, the races of South Africa may be put into four broad groups. The Bantu (or Africans, or Natives, as they are officially called) are the largest group, numbering approximately 10 million. Rather less than half of them live a more or less tribal life in reserves which occupy about 14 percent of the total land area. The rest live and work outside the reserves on the farms or in the cities. Those who live outside the reserves are in close contact with Western civilization, and many of them have acquired Western values and have adopted a Western way of life.

The second largest group are the whites (or Europeans, as they are often called). They number approximately 3 million. The third group comprises, Asians, of whom there are about half a million. And finally there are the colored people, of whom there are roughly 1,500,000 living mostly in the Cape of Good Hope. (The term "colored" is confined, in South Africa, to persons of mixed white and nonwhite blood.)

Apartheid means different things to different people. For some white South Africans, and the majority of nonwhites, it means domination by white over black (baasskap). For others—perhaps a majority of the whites—it is a more sophisticated doctrine of separate development and non-integration.

In this latter category, the upholders of apartheld argue broadly as follows: The nonwhites outnumber the whites by roughly four to one; they are, on the whole, at a lower level of civilization, and were they allowed the same rights, they would eventually swamp the whites. This would lead either to black domination of whites, or to the gradual disapearance of the white race, as such, in a society of mixed blood. And, in either event—so the argument runs—civilization as the whites know it today would disappear. Therefore, if civilization is to be kept pure, the races should be kept apart, and encouraged to go forward along their own lines of development on the basis of separate cultures and traditions.

It is what I have called the more sophisticated policy of separate development, rather than baasskap, that is the official policy of the South African Government. Whether it is equally sophisticated in its practical effects is quite another matter. But whatever differences there may be between these two approaches—domination and separation—there lies at the heart of every formulation of apartheid a belief that if Western civilization is to survive in South Africa, the separate identity of the white man must be preserved, and he must remain the sole trustee and guardian of that civilization. In short, whiteness and Western civilization are equated. This idea, I am thoroughly convinced, is both fallacious and dangerous.

The implementation of the Union Government's apartheld policy has both a positive and a negative aspect; positively, it involves the promotion of the separate development of the races in their own geographical areas; and negatively, it involves differentiation between the races wherever their paths cross, and wherever they are brought together by economic necessity.

economic necessity.

Hitherto we have seen at work mainly the negative aspects of the policy, namely legislation designed to differentiate between the races and keep them apart—separate transport facilities; separate housing areas; separate schools, down to a separate, more tribal curriculum, designed to fit Africans into their proper place in society; and separate so-called universities.

The whites may own as much land as they like; the nonwhites, outside the reserves, none. The white workers may strike; the African workers are not allowed to do so.

The white workers are protected in their jobs and encouraged to become skilled; the nonwhite workers are not. And, let me add, in effecting this separation, the doctrine of "separate but equal," which was tried and abandoned in the United States as not good enough, was in South Africa tried and thrown overboard by act of Parliament because it proved too expensive.

The impact of apartheid on the general body of the common law has been disastrous. There is nothing in South Africa comparable to the Bill of Rights and constitutional guarantees which are familiar in American government. Fundamental human rights and freedoms are left in South Africa, as in England, to the ordinary or common law of the land, and to the courts. They may therefore, be extended or reduced by the decision of Parliament, in whose jurisdiction they lie; and they are not placed beyond the reach of ordinary Parliamentary majorities.

Chapter and verse are in the statute book to prove how each and every one of the freedoms and rights vouchsafed by the common law has been eroded by legislative action. Freedom from arbitrary arrest and detention without court sanction; the presumption of innocence; freedom of association, of assembly, of movement; freedom to use one's skill according to one's capacity, and to enjoy the benefits of collective bargaining and the strike; even freedom of speech and of religious worship—all these freedoms have been either obliterated or seriously impaired for the nonwhites. At the same time apartheid is leaving a toll on the civil liberties of the whites as well.

Can these inroads on freedom, these injuries to human dignity, possibly be justified by the positive aspects or aspiration of apartheid?

Under the Union Government's plan, it is envisaged that the territory which has been set aside for African reserves will in time form several small African communities, called Bantustans, each allocated to the main tribes, and enjoying a measure of autonomy. At the same time—and this in my view is a cardinal objection—a majority of the nonwhites will remain as workers in the

white areas without any political rights, on the pretext that they will have rights in the Bantustans to come, although they will never live there. Moreover, it is envisaged that even by the year 2000 there will still be 6 million nonwhites living and working in the white areas.

The majority of the population of South Africa, the nonwhites, do not desire apartheid. They do not like it as an ideal; many thousands whose tribal ties have been completely broken, and who have become thoroughly Westernized, do not wish to be relegated to the more primitive tribal structures which are being prepared for them, and of which they know little. Neither do the nonwhites like the practical effects Which the doctrine of separation and differentiation have produced.

Moreover, all the elaborate schemes and theories about separate racial and cultural development seem to ignore the existence of one-seventh of the population—the coloreds and the Asians. The 1,500,000 coloreds have no culture apart from the whites', norlet it be faced—have they any separate racial origin; indeed, not a few are as white as many whites and certainly no less civilized. Nor have we have told how fair treatment is to be meted out to the half-million Asians. Are we to have our own miniature Pakistan and India to accommodate the cultural differences of the Moslems and Hindus?

All this makes it difficult to resist the conclusion that a whole way of civilized life is being corrupted in South Africa in the determined pursuit of an impracticable ideal against the wishes of the majority of the

To the extent that apartheid might one day (under the spur of conscience) come to mean a policy of fair and total territorial partition, with full rights for each group, it is in abstract theory a solution which could morally justified. Indeed, sometimes when I see the travail of the United States in making integration a reality, and when I think of the different proportions of the South African population, I am almost tempted to believe that total partition or separation might be the only way of establishing peaceful race-relations in South Africa, despite my own strong preference for the way of integration.

But this solution postulates a fair partition, with full rights for both sides. And I think that in South Africa such a partition would present very great obstacles. First, who will do the partitioning? Will there be full and free consultation of all groups in its planning? Can South Africa's economy sustain a fair partition? If a nonwhite labor force is to be used in the so-called white area, what political rights will the nonwhites be allowed to enjoy? And how will the gold, diamond and other mines and natural wealth of the country be divided?

What will happen? To the extent that apartheid continues to mean a policy of domination by a white minority, under the guise of separate development, it cannot possibly succeed; for a minority cannot indefinitely suppress a majority. One can only pray that we in South Africa will be spared another Algeria or Indonesia. But as long as the whites-who in terms of the existing Political structure are the determining force—cleave to the dangerous illusion that they alone are the guardians of a civiliza-tion which cannot be shared on equal terms with all human beings irrespective of race, color or creed, then, in my view, there can in the long run (whether that be 5, 10 or 20 years) be only one possible fate for South Africa-complete tragedy.

Let me now turn to another proposed solution to which many whites have pinned their hopes. In the Central African Federation and in Kenya, the white man denies that color, as such, is an insuperable bar

to the advantages of life. He reminds us that he has brought with him, and tried to maintain, a high tradition of civilization. He stresses present differences in the cultural and economic attainments of whites and nonwhites; and, pointing to the vastness of African numbers, he claims that a premature recognition of full equality in all relevant fields would lead to the obliteration or severe dilution of the white man's positive contribution. He claims to be prepared to give equal rights to all civilized men; he contends that the existing discriminations are not inflexible, and may lead, in the fullness of time, to complete equality.

People who hold these views tend to speak of white leadership, and describe their policy as "partnership in a multiracial democracy." But a partnership is an agreement; it presupposes consent, and in this regard the Central African Federation started on the wrong foot; for the majority of the nonwhites did not-and still probably do not-want the sore of partnership they were given.

Again, it is an odd sort of partnership when one of the partners (the whites) wishes to retain power in such a way that it can determine the extent of the other partner's (the blacks') share in the benefits.

But my main objection to the partnership analogy is that a partnership presuppose the separate identity of the partners; and when the idea is transferred to race relations, it involves a broad color-group distinction which is wide open to abuse. This raises which is wide open to abuse. the whole question of the validity of group divisions and protections.

Let me say immediately that I am not opposed to the idea of discrimination as such. A discriminating man is universally admired, and rightly so, precisely because he bases his judgment of people and things on individual merit. Indeed, what is needed not absence of discrimination, but more discriminating discrimination. The fundamental objection which I have to color differentiation is that it is indiscriminate and blunt edged. It works injustice to people who are as intelligent, good and worthy as any others, and coarsens the fiber of those who enforce it.

My second objection is based on what seems to me to be a very practical ground. A division into groups will work (whatever the philosophical merits of the provided that not only those within the group, but also those excluded from it, accept the division as sound. It is on this basis that the protections accorded by some constitutions to religious minorities frequently work out well. But, by the same token, a blunt-edged division into white and nonwhite is not acceptable to the overwhelming majority of the nonwhites of Africa.

My third objection is that group divi-sions—whether one seeks to justify them as minority protections or in some other waytend to perpetuate themselves when institutionalized and given legal recognition; and I am deeply convinced that there is no health in any policy which seeks to per-petuate the existence of the white man as a privileged minority anywhere in Africa.

I now come to the most precarlous part of my task. I am not a crystal-gazer, and in any event African crystals are often dark, but I would suggest that if the white man wishes to remain in Africa, and to live there in peace, he must bring himself forthwith to accept a policy whose object is a nonracial democracy in which all men irrespective of race, color, or creed, are equally entitled to share in the basic human freedoms and political and economic rights in what Jefferson described succinctly as "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

This path will assuredly be a hard one.

Quite apart from the profound psychological adjustments which white men in Africa will be called on to make, they will also have to make sacrifices. For example, in education, if there is to be integration at the school level, the rate of progress may have to be tempered to allow for the inferior op-portunities enjoyed in the past by the nonwhites.

Again, white men will have to face the risk—if indeed it be a risk—that given power, the blacks will retaliate in kind and do as they have been done by. Such fears were often expressed in Jamaica before the nonwhites took over; and there they have proved groundless. But be this as it may, we are here concerned with a risk which eventually cannot be avoided-and the path of wisdom is to minimize it, now.

Then, too, the white man will have to come to terms with his fears that equality of opportunity and of political and economic rights will in time lead to a mixed society. On this I should like to say two things.

First, it does not follow that equal social, political and economic rights for both white and nonwhite people must inevitably lead to As Lincoln once observed in miscegnation. the course of his debates with Douglas, the number of mulattoes was proportionately greater in the slave than in the free States. Secondly, if with the passage of time a mixed society should come to be regarded as acceptable by our descendants, we have neltheir right nor reason to interfere with their free choice.

I realize very clearly that to put forward the ideal of a nonracial democracy is one thing; to bring it about quite another. And in this regard the crucial question, as I see it, is one of time and timing. How quickly may one wisely and practically advance to ward the ideal? How much time is left to achieve the ideal?

These are the most difficult questions of all. There is plainly much to be said in theory in favor of a policy of gradualism, and even more to be said in its favor as a matter of practical politics. Abraham Lincoln him-self, I believe, favored gradualism as a practical method of advance toward an ideal. But, in the light of what has been done in Africa in the name of gradualism, the chances of its acceptance by the blacks are slight. Indeed, I would say that growing distrust between black and white in Africafor which the whites must bear much responsibility-is one of the great tragedies of the continent

Having said this, however, I believe that there is just one small hope left for gradualism. If, by the grace of God, white men can bend their stubbornness and commit themselves genuinely and irrevocably to the ideal of nonracial democracy, then I believe that nonwhites in Africa might still accept some policy of gradualism, and perhaps be glad of it. But there are three conditions.

First, and this is the crux, there must be an immediate, irrevocable, and explicit committal to the ideal. Then, there must be an immediate and dedicated effort toward raising the standards and opportunities of the nonwhites to fit more of them as soon as possible for the responsibilities of nonracial democracy.

And, thirdly, if there are to be minority color-group protections as distinct from individual protections-which gradualism implies-then it is essential to realize with clarity that they can only be a temporary means to achieve an ultimate end. They must not be allowed to perpetuate differences, and so should be strictly limited in duration; and, while they operate, every effort should be made to make them redundant by raising the standard of nonwhite education, skills, and well-being.

I am aware that the ultimate difficulty

lies perhaps in changing the white man's

heart. But I would repeat what I have said before—self-interest, no less than a regard for moral decency, must persuade white men in Africa that they have a place there only in a nonracial democracy under a rule of law which has tamed power and outlawed irrational privilege, arbitrariness, and ca-

If the white man fails, he will have only himself to blame. And let him not blindly imagine that the implications of his failure will be confined to some parts of Africa alone; his failure will leave a legacy of hatred and turmoil that will harden the hearts of men of color throughout the whole

Veterans' Pension Act of 1959

SPEECH

# HON. GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I have grave reservations over a number of provisions contained in H.R. 7650, the Veterans' Pension Act of 1959, and also have doubts over the basic policy considerations involved in this legislation.

I am aware of the extensive study of the nonservice-connection pension system which has been undertaken over the past several years by the Veterans' Affairs Committee. I am also aware that the bill before us today contains important improvements over the original bill, H.R. 6432, as submitted by the administration.

As the distinguished chairman of the committee, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Teaguel has pointed out, 80 percent of all single veterans on the pension rolls would receive an increase; 62 percent of all married veterans on the pension rolls would receive an increase; 70 percent of all widows and orphans on the pension rolls would receive an increase, so that altogether some 854,-000 pensioners, or 70 percent of the to-tal, would receive increases under this bill.

It is obvious that these increases are necessary and long overdue, since the last increase in pension rates was almost 7 years ago. Since that time the cost-of-living index has risen by more than 10 points, while medical care has risen more than 30 points.

Other provisions of the bill have long been advocated and are worthy of support. They include the section giving widows and orphans of veterans of World War II and the Korean conflict the same eligibility for pension bene-fits as now applies to dependents of World War I veterans. According to the committee report this will provide pensions to some 206,000 World War II and Korean veterans' widows and orphans during the first year.

The present income limitations of \$1,400 for single veterans and \$2,700 for veterans with dependents would be raised to \$1,800 and \$3,000 under the sliding-scale formula established in this

Mr. Speaker, while the bill does contain needed liberalizing provisions, it also contains a number of extremely questionable sections which I feel require adequate debate and consideration on the House floor. Unfortunately, there has been little opportunity for House Members to study the report prior to the consideration of this measure today. Under the suspension-of-the-rules procedure, debate is limited and, of course, no amendments can be offered by any Member to eliminate objectionable features of the bill or to improve it in any

Since this is strictly a "take it or leave it" proposition, every Member seriously concerned over the future operation of the veterans' pension system faces a dilemma in trying to weigh the short-range benefits of this bill against the long-range policy changes which it makes in the existing program.

I have already mentioned the generally meritorious provisions of H.R. 7650. But we must also examine the other sections of the bill which must be weighed and evaluated.

The adoption of the sliding-scale for-mula or "need" test in the payment of non-service-connected disability pensions marks a historic departure from our traditional concept of veterans' pensions. It was a basic recommendation of the so-called Bradley Commission of several years ago. I am fearful that, once the basic pension policy is changed, efforts to curtail other essential veterans' programs may follow.

Another provision of H.R. 7650 would count not only the veterans' outside income but also half of the annual income of the veteran's wife, or \$1,200, whichever is greater, in the determination of pension eligibility.

Still another provision of the bill would repeal the exclusion of railroad retirement benefits from the definition of "income" for veterans' pension purposes. This amendment was added to the Railroad Retirement bill only last month. While it affects only a relatively few veterans, I do not feel that it is proper for the House to accept this provision one month and then to repeal it

Enactment of this bill would again ignore the basic needs for a separate pension program for veterans of World War I based on age and service. The bill would also prohibit the waiver of benefits from other sources considered as "income," except for very limited exceptions.

Of course, the "savings provision" of H.R. 7650 provides that no person now on the pension rolls or placed on the rolls before July 1, 1960, the effective date of this Act, shall have his pension reduced or shall be removed from the rolls because of the enactment of this legislation. This provision permits current pensioners to exercise an option on whether they want to be covered by the new formula contained in this bill or to continue to receive their pension under existing law.

However, the new formula would be mandatory for those found eligible for pensions after July 1, 1960, thus creating a double standard in the treatment of veterans, widows and orphans.

Despite several worthwhile provisions in this bill, after weighing the good and the bad, I cannot, in good conscience, support H.R. 7650 because of its many inequitable features and the basic policy change it would make in the existing veterans' pension program.

New Horizons in Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include a timely editorial from the Detroit News. It pertains to a unique approach for accomplishing what education must do if man is to keep apace with the fastmoving world in which we live. Wayne State University's plan for general education, beginning next fall, is designed to stimulate students to think for themselves, express themselves effectively with regard to their learning, relate their findings to the changing world about them, and develop their own creative geniuses.

All of us are vitally concerned about the depth and quality of our educational programs in the United States. The News editorial aptly reflects the pride Detroiters have in this bold new approach to an old problem. I am particularly proud because I am an alumnus of the university, which is located within the district I am privileged to represent in the Congress of the United States. It is a pleasure to share the article with my colleagues and others through this me-

The editorial follows:

MONTEITH COLLEGE-FORD GRANT TO WAYNE From an outsider the plan for Wayne State University's new college of general educa-tion draws two gasps: Enthusiasm for the breadth of the undertaking that could change all our ideas of what college is for. and even what education is for; and a corresponding doubt that teachers can be found to teach successfully what so few of us ever learned.

This is to say that the challenge of Monteith College opening to, its first freshman class of 320 next fall is vast for all concerned, even though the idea behind it is as old as education itself. The idea is this: An educated man is one possessed of fundamental knowledge and understanding of his own cultural heritage and able to think and express himself constructively about it-

Science in a few hundred years has so widened the universe of things to know that even the best filled mind confronts ever larger continents of ignorance. The fron-tiers swarm with specialists who know a lot about something, but almost nothing about almost everything.

Between these specialists there is frighteningly little contact. Fewer and fewer people are able to relate their findings. It is as though map makers devoted their lives to defining islands and isthmuses but never got together to draw the world.

General education is an attempt to develop minds that can make contacts. As a first step to break down barriers, Monteith will abolish the conventional fields of study and the conventional college course. Instead it will develop three main avenues of investigation into man and his world: Mañ and science, man and society, man and the arts. By a tutorial system students will be first guided down these avenues and then left free to stroll and explore.

Man and science, for instance, will progressively discuss historically the problems and methods of science as well as some of its key concepts. The main object will be to demonstrate as concretely and variously as possible the scientific approach to truth. At the same time the student will be considering how artists and politicians have sought

their kinds of truth.

In the fourth year the whole man is to be put together again in what the college calls a senior colloquium which is to consist of a comparative study of the United States and Russia as whole civilizations. Since the object here is to use the background and methods previously acquired to illuminate our own culture it seems a pity not to choose an Asian country—India for instance—as a foll which would present a true cultural alternative to our way of life rather than merely a political foe. There would also be some honor in becoming the first American college to recognize that the world has an East as well as a West.

To work out its experiment, Wayne has wisely decided to recruit an entirely new staff, three senior professors who will give a reduced schedule of lectures and 23 young tutors who will do the crucial conference work with students in the effort to get them not only to memorize facts but to think about them. Here, of course, is where the

program succeeds or fails.

For a young teacher the opportunity is immense, but could be dismaying. No man can know as much as ideally he ought to know. In art, for instance, he must discuss music, painting and poetry with equal understanding. In social science he must know the techniques of psychology as well as the content of world history.

The difficulty is not primarily that we have no teachers ready trained in breadth (a deficiency that Monteith will in part try to remedy): general education means nothing if it is a process merely of conveying more general and hence less accurate and useful information. The meaningful task is creative, to discover fresh comparisons between facts, to put together fresh generalizations, to develop fresh perspectives.

This obviously must be the task of the teacher quite as much as of the student, or there will be no worthwhile stimulus at work. In short the new staff ideally will be students themselves—students of philosophy really, encouraging (rather than training) men and women who understand what it means to

think and how to go about it.

The Monteith idea, so viewed, is exciting business to be stirring in our own backyard. We wish it well with the pride of Detroiters and the humility of human beings still dependent for any future at all on that old-fashioned and often neglected machine atop the spinal column.

Oceonography: Key to National Survival

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. JAMES C. OLIVER

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. OLIVER. Mr. Speaker, our expert scientists in the field of oceanog-

raphy have advised that our country's future welfare and very survival depends upon the acquisition of more knowledge about the oceans which occupy over two-thirds of the earth's surface. The National Academy of Science's committee on oceanography, recognizing the immediate necessity of coping with this problem, has formulated a minimum 10-year program designed to enable our country to meet the many challenges in the scientific struggle to unlock the secrets of the ocean depths. Adoption of this program is a must in view of the desperate cold war struggle in which we are now engaged.

Although oceanography has received less glamourous consideration than outer space exploration, nevertheless, the vital importance of this field in military strategy and scientific progress is well recognized. Military experts have indicated that they consider the undersea threat to our security more insidious than the airborne and space threat. In addition, searching our oceans for additional sources of food, for mineral resources, for methods of improving our oceanic travel routes, and simply to learn about the unknown of the ocean is vital to our national future.

The following article, taken from the New York Times magazine of June 14, reveals the broad scope of our unexplored oceanic frontier:

PORTRAIT OF THE PLANET "OCEANUS"
(By James Dugan)

The National Academy of Sciences recently took some soundings in the oceans—or rather in oceanography, the study of the oceans. "The problems to be solved concerning the oceans are clearly more urgent than those of space," said the report of the academy's committee under Prof. Harrison Brown, of the California Institute of Technology. "We know less about many regions of the ocean than we know about the lunar surface."

A retired submariner, Vice Adm. C. B. Momsen, put it even stronger. "We've all gone a little crazy about this outer-space business," he said. "The ocean is the place where we should be putting our efforts in order to provide for future generations,"

Seventy-one percent of the earth's surface is covered by water. An observer, looking at our predominantly blue-green orb from another planet would hardly call it earth, but more likely "Oceanus." This most abundant element is also the most magical. All land animals ascended from the sea, including homo saplens, who crawled out of it in the form of some persistent and adaptable fish; our ears are vestiges of its gill slits. The oceans create climate and weather, and while separating nations, unite mankind under their domination.

The most important movement in nature is the epic journey of water molecules. Among the incalculable trillions of water molecules, no two—even though they start out together—complete the same itinerary. One may be drawn from the sea by the sun, join a snowflake, he buried in a glacler, become part of an avalanche and melt into a river, return to the sea, be transported by deep currents, rise again to fall in monsoon rains sweeping a parched desert, there to evaporate in the morning sun and return at night as dew upon the sands.

Another, water molecule may sink deep into the earth, find a river, turn a hydroelectric turbine, detour into an irrigation canal and, teamed with the sun, build cells of plants and men before it slides again into

the sea, or conceivably into the water jacket of a nuclear submarine reactor.

The ocean is a reservoir of 324 million cubic miles of these molecules, ever in motion, always rearing untold hosts of animals. If all the continents and mountains were buildozed flat, the earth would be covered by water more than 12,000 feet deep. This grand volume of living space, this dark, evershifting immensity, has an aspect of impenetrability.

Sea and air are divided by a viscous curtain; on one side there is an air pressure of 14 pounds per square inch which holds our watery fiesh together; beneath the curtain is an element weighing 800 times as much as air, utterly dark a few fathoms down, and with pressures that increase an additional 14 pounds, or 1 atmosphere, every 33 feet on the way down. A naked man would be pulped about 3,000 feet down, and for all dives beyond 600 feet he must be encased in armor. Yet, we know that many animals live in the deeps at pressures of 15,000 pounds per square inch.

As a life environment, the sea is a sort of land turned upside down. The sunlit pastures are at the top, where the water is saturated with tiny drifting vegetables without roots—phytoplankton—and equally minute animals—zooplankton. The athletic animals come up to graze in this fertile prairie and become links in extensive food chains, formed roughly along the lines suggested in Shakespeare's "Pericles":

"Third Fisherman: Master, I marvel how

the fishes live in the sea.

"First Fisherman: Why, as we do a-land: the great ones eat up the little ones."

The chains extend to the abyss. The most amazing fact about this inverted life pyramid is that only 2 percent of the nutritive matter ends up in swimming fish. The rest falls to the invertebrates: pulsing jellyfish, darting shrimp, fixed colonies of coral polyps and crawlers and diggers of the floor. Animals without backbones make up 90 percent of the ocean population. The longest known invertebrate is the marine flatworm, lineus longissimus, which grows to a length of 80 feet.

There are about 30,000 known species of marine life and more than a hundred new ones are discovered each year. For nearly a century marine biologists have been at work helping the commercial fishermen. They have learned more about the food chains of fish like the cod and herring than is known of the nutritional history of any land animal.

In the other main branch of sea science, physical oceanography, there are enormous unanswered questions. The nature of the bottom, the circulation of the deep currents, and the chemistry of the water are poorly understood. We know that the sea floor has mountain chains, volcanoes, canyons, hills, and plains like those of the land, but the process of charting them is only now emerging from a state like that of the blind men and the elephant. A hundred years ago a brilliant U.S. Navy lieutenant, Matthew Maury, compiled the first bottom contour chart of the North Atlantic from random soundings, reported in ships' logs. The immediate practical result was to determine the best course for the first transatlantic telegraph cables.

With the advent of echo-sounding in the last 20 years, the Atlantic hydrographic chart is being revised continuously and nuclear submarines are now charting the Arctic basin under the ice. Yet, wast areas of the Pacific are unmapped and the Indian Ocean has hardly been touched. We know that several depressions in the floor are deeper than Mount Everest is high, but we cannot be sure that we have found the deepest one.

Consider the abyssal valley called the Marianas Trench, lying west of Guam. In 1951 the British Challenger expedition sounded 35,640 feet at one place in the trench. In 1957 the Soviet ship Vitiaz ship Vitiaz sounded 300 feet deeper at another place near by, and this year the Russian vessel found

a spot 225 feet deeper than that.

The French Navy is now building an abyssal bathyscaph to take three men to the floor of the Marianas Trench. What will be discovered by the hydronauts who finally reach the bottom of the world? This is a layman's way of putting the question, for no scientist will predict what he is going to discover. First, it seems certain that no human observers will ever get closer to the core of the earth than the men who attain the bottom of the Marianas Trench. The world's deepest land shaft accessible to men is the Champion Reef gold mine in India, which is only 9,811 feet deep.

The depthmen will have a unique opportunity to learn something of the creation and makeup of the earth. They will take down gravity meters to test the theory of isostacy-that the elevations of the earth's surface are compensated by the greater density and strength of the undercrust. Thus Mount Everest would be the thickest nodule on the crust, balanced by a weight equal to Everest's beneath it, and the Marianas Trench would be the thinnest point in

the rocky envelope of the globe.

The new bathyscaph crew will measure cosmic rav penetration of the sea, radioactivity, and the age of the water in the abyss. Water age is based on how long it has lain in one place and this can be determined by trapping a sample and subjecting it to carbon 14 dating. If the deepwater molecules have not been moving in the sea, air and earth cycle for, say 50,000 years, their or-ganic radiocarbon content will be correspondingly low.

The observers in the big bathyscaph may also make still and motion pictures of the trench, take water and sedimentatal temperatures, and perhaps sight no one knows what living creatures in that perpetual night.

Quite serious scientists like Sir Alister Hardy of Oxford do not rule out the possibility that there are sea monsters to be discovered and proved. A few years ago a dozen free divers working in a wreck a hundred feet under the Red Sea, several times sighted a wrasse 20 feet long. This is a common vegetarian species never before found more than 3 feet long.

It was also recently noted that the existence of a species of eel larva many times the size of the common European and American eel larva may furnish a basis for recurrent stories of sea serpents. The mature form of this larva has not been discovered but it could produce an adult eel of sea serpent dimensions.

One aspect of oceanography that has fallen into neglect is simply that of identifying fish—or taxonomy. It is considered dull work to catalog fish. One of the greatest taxonomists is J. L. B. Smith, of South Africa, the discoverer of the fabulous coela-This big fighting brute was brought up by fishermen in East Africa and aroused the curiosity of the curator of a provincial museum, who sent a sketch of it to Smith. He instantly identified it as a coelacanth, a species believed extinct for 60 million years. Somewhere in his files, Smith recalled seeing the animal as an empty fossil split from a rock.

The sovereign seas have many more revalations in store, if we are able to go after them. Many weathers of the world are born in the long swells of the Pacific by an intimate interaction of sea and air. On land there is a specialization call micrometeorology, which pries into the weather a few inches from the ground, but almost no work has been done on the film of spray in the great oceanic reaches.

Almost everything we know-or believe we know-about the sea is open at both ends. The questions themselves may be wrong and many of the answers are under challenge. Take the sacred theory of photosynthesis, which holds that the growth of all vegetation, and consequently of animals, depends on the action of the sun on carbon dioxide and water. What of the marine animals of the abyss, which never see the faintest ray of sunlight? Their existence has always been explained by supposing they eat dead organic matter falling from the level of light. Is this true?

A French zoologist, Professor Brouardel, has preliminary evidence that some marine animals thrive in the blackness without any discernible action of photosynthesis. It will take him years of the most painstaking instrument-building, campaigns at sea, and every concelvable cross-check to establish the doubt. Only if these negative results are valid will he be able to formulate the question: how do they live, if not by photosynthesis? Then the study can begin.

Unable to see the underwater world until recently, oceanographers have relied on blind, static groping into the depths. They lowered dredges, bathythermographs, cameras, water bottles, coring pipes, and cur-

rent meters.

Today depth-groping is becoming more mobile and it is acquiring more eyes, both human and photographic. Continuous recording instruments from a ship under way are able to bring up data from a long strip of the sea. No artificial eyes in the sea will ever be better than man's own, but, while vehicles are being built for him to roam the abyss, some spectacular new cameras are already scouting the watery terra incognita.

Electronic flash cameras, such as those built by Prof. Harold Edgerton, of M.I.T., have made thousands of stills in depths down to 6 miles. Underwater television chains, transmitting through a wire to the surface, cannot go nearly as deep as that, because of the weight of electrical cable required. But some form of motion picture seems the best medium, short of human observation.

Edgerton and Capt. Jacques-Yves Cous-teau, sponsored by the National Geographic Society, have successfully tested a traveling automatic movie camera, to be dragged across the floor at great depth. It takes 1,600 feet of 35-mm color movies by electronic flashes synchronized with the shutter openings. The roving camera reveals the nature of the terrain and surprises bottom-dwelling animals which may not hold still for snapshots.

Although the present state of knowledge about the sea calls for pure investigations, without an end in view, there are many challenges for applied science—the sort that sets out to invent something. One thing we have got to invent in short order is a way to increase the food harvest from the sea. There are nearly 3 billion of us alive now and there may be 4 billion in 20 years. Farming can't feed everyone now and it certainly will not be able to supply the increment.

We not only must find more fish-by pushing the trawling fleets into the open sea off the shallow continental shelves, where they now operate on only 10 percent of the ocean surface-but also have got to eat more species of fish. A possible asset lies in edible sea worms-highly efficient manufacturers of protein-which are eaten in large quantities in China. Perhaps they could be prepared in some fashion suitable to Western palates.

Some biologists are looking for a "pig of the sea" that could manufacture protein as efficiently as an Iowa hog. This sea porker might be domesticated in underwater piggerics consisting of concrete mazes or jet-tisoned street cars. The difficulty here is to find a species that could be so demesticated. Perhaps candidates could be found among some of the sedentary coastal fishes, such as rockfish or groupers.

The U.S. Navy is very much concerned with physical oceanography, especially the extraordinary sound-conducting layers of the ocean, which, if understood, could aid in the detection of submarines. A half-pound dynamite explosion at a classified depth, for example, has been detected 3,000 miles away by an underwater hydrophone. If the Navy could learn why and manipulate this conductivity in countering enemy submarines, there would be fewer wrinkled brows in the antisubmarine warfare branch.

Conversely, greater knowledge of the tracks of deep currents and the differing temperature and salinity layers of the subsurface could help submarines avoid detection. A submarine commander who understood how to use these deep currents could shut down all engines and drift away from attack. And since temperature and salinity affect the buoyancy of the steel bubble that is a submarine, he could float safely on thermoclines deep below.

Another unexplained phenomenon is a horizontal smokescreen below the surface that can completely hide a submarine from sonar probes. It is known as the deep scat-tering layer. The DSL has been found in all oceans at depths ranging from 150 to 3,000 feet, but not all the time and not necessarily in the same area on 2 consecutive days. Something in midwater interferes with the high-frequency pings and scatters them to form a heavy trace on the sonar graph, often obscuring the true bottom as well as objects beneath the layer.

The DSL sometimes rises toward the surface at night and goes down in the morning. Is it a dense animal population which deflects the sonar? Several dozen men have passed through heavily indicated DSL's in bathyscaphs and electronic flash cameras have been lowered into DSL's hundreds of times. Sometimes they saw clouds of shrimps and diatoms in the mysterious layer, sometimes nothing.

The water itself is vital to the future of the race. Present and looming fresh-water shortages around the world can be met only by going where the water is and taking the salt out of it for irrigation, industry, and human use. Not too far in the future science will crack the water atom for nuclear energy and, before then, power will be coming from harnessing the tides and thermal

exchanges under water.

Offshore mining is becoming a commonplace in the oil and sulfur industries. Carrying this further, plans are being made for a dramatic project—an effort to bore a hole through the earth's crust under the sea near Puerto Rico. This will involve drilling first through a layer of sediment beneath several miles of water, then through the "Moho" (an abbreviation for the Mohorovicic Discontinuity, so named for the Yugoslav scientist who identified it), which is believed to be the lower part of the earth's crust.

Several plants are now producing magnesium from sea water, and in Texas a magnesium plant utilizes precipitate made from seashells dredged in Galveston Bay. is probably no end to the minerals that will be mined from the ocean floor or extracted from sea water when the processes are worked out. The water contains them all-

The sea is the limitless realm of inner space. It is our last dependency, as the crowding globe rolls on,

#### OCEANUS

The sea was the chief mystery of the earliest civilization; in pre-Homeric times the Greeks ordained as their primordial god, Oceanus, the father of all. He sat at the uttermost west of the world, stroking his

long white beard with his red crab claws, watching the struggle of men against nature. Jason, leader of the Argonauts, was probably the first navigator who sailed purely to study the sea. The Golden Fleece may have been the silky yellow byssus of the Pinna nobilis clam, the filaments it extrudes to anchor itself to the sea floor.

Classic navigators have often been led on by curiosity about the sea itself, as well as the lands across it. Capt. James Cook took depth soundings during his circumnavigations; Charles Darwin went to sea on the Beagle as a geologist. His masterpieces of reason, on the formation of coral reefs and the origin of species by natural selection, derive from the university of the oceans.

The first general scientific exploration of the oceans began in 1872 with the crulse of H. M. S. Challenger, which carried a bold, inquisitive Canadian named Jack Murray as a student assistant. He became Sir John Murray, editor of the Challenger Reports, 50 thick quarto volumes that are the basic archives of ocean science.

A Bill To Provide Emergency Relief to Family Farm Poultry and Egg Producers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. CHARLES H. BROWN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. BROWN of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, one of our great American industries—the poultry industry—is in the grips of an economic hurricane that is whipping and lashing the big and the small, the efficient and the inefficient, destroying some \$600 million worth of purchasing power and some \$50 million to \$60 million worth of Federal income tax revenues, cutting a path of broken hearts and bankruptcy from coast to coast.

Fair-minded people who understand this disaster are agreed that immediate disaster relief must be provided to thousands of poultrymen, or else. Government has provided similar relief to beef and hog producers, vegetable and fruit growers, and others in similar catastrophes in recent years past.

Secretary of Agriculture Benson has spent some \$230 million during the past 6 years to help combat economic disaster in the livestock industry; some \$34 million for fruit, and \$31 million for vegetable producers' economic recessions.

Right now, the Secretary is engaging in a powdered egg purchase program, allegedly designed to relieve the suffering accompanying the present economic disaster in the poultry industry.

But, in my opinion, the way the Secretary is going about this is a deplorable waste of the taxpayer's money. Stemming this vast economic storm by purchasing powdered, or even shell eggs is like trying to lower an ocean tide by dipping salt water with a teaspoon.

The money should be spent on buying the hens that lay the eggs, not the eggs themselves. Every hen converted to roasting chicken would remove some 10 to 16 dozen eggs from the present oversupply of eggs. The Secretary could buy the hen for not more than \$1. At 30 cents a dozen, the eggs from the hen would cost \$3 to \$4. And the frozen or canned chicken is wanted and needed for the school lunch program and for export marketing, while powdered eggs are not in such demand.

I have hoped against hope that the Secretary of Agriculture would change his mind and replace this egg purchase program with a sounder, more effective remedy. But apparently, he has no such intentions. So, today, I have introduced a bill which would direct the Secretary to change from egg-purchasing to a more constructive and effective hen-removal program.

This is an emergency measure, not designed to attack the long-range problems of the poultry industry. It is a measure to provide emergency relief to family farm poultry and egg producers.

It provides first, a fowl-purchase program to help alleviate the problems of the egg producers; second, a new school lunch discount program to help schools encourage more use of poultry meat in school lunch programs; and, third, a new CCC policy to encourage more utilization of poultry meat in foreign trade.

I regret very much that any Member of Congress ever has to write a bill directing any executive department to do what they are authorized to do and have the funds to do, anyway. But, apparently, this is the only alternative with the present Secretary of Agriculture. Either we spell out what he should do and how he should do it, or he'll waste the taxpayer's money on ineffective and expensive brainstorms.

I invite the consideration of the Congress to the legislation introduced today, a draft of which follows:

A BILL TO PROVIDE EMERGENCY RELIEF TO FAMILY FARM POULTRY AND EGG PRODUCERS, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Emergency-Poultry Purchase Act".

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this Act-

- (a) The term "Secretary" means the Secretary of Agriculture.
- (b) The term "laying hens" means healthy hens in actual use for the commercial production of eggs.
- (c) The term "started pullets" means healthy pullets more than 27 days old and less than 365 days old intended as replacement fowl for laying flocks.
- (d) The term "hatching eggs" means fertilized eggs which are intended for and capable of being commercially hatched.
- (e) The term "official establishment" means any establishment as determined by the Secretary at which inspection of the slaughter of poultry, or the processing of poultry products, is maintained under the authority of the Poultry Products Inspection Act.

Sec. 3. (a) The Secretary, by the means and subject to the limitations and conditions set forth in subsections (b) through (f) of this section, shall purchase within 91 days after the date of enactment of this Act—

(1) not less than 15 million nor more than 20 million laying hens,

(2) not less than 10 million nor more than 20 million pullets, and

(3) not less than 30 million nor more than 36 million hatching eggs.

(b) In making the purchases authorized in subsection (a), and in holding and disposing of the commodities so purchased, the Secretary shall act through the Commodity Credit Corporation.

(c) The purchases authorized in paragraphs (1) and (2) of subsection (a) shall be made on behalf of the Commodity Credit Corporation by such official establishments as the Secretary may designate as agents of the Commodity Credit Corporation for such purpose.

(d) The purchases authorized in paragraph (3) of subsection (a) shall be made on behalf of the Commodity Credit Corporation by such egg dealers as the Secretary may designate as agents of the Commodity Credit Corporation for such purpose.

(e) No purchase shall be made pursuant

to paragraph (1) of subsection (a) unless—
(1) such purchase is made at a price of

(1) such purchase is made at a price of not less than 20 cents per pound, live weight, and

(2) the seller from whom such purchase is to be made certifies, at such time and in such manner and form as the Secretary may prescribe, that the laying hens to be thus purchased constitute not less than 20 percent of all the laying hens owned by such seller at the time of certification.

(f) No purchase shall be made pursuant to paragraph (3) of subsection (a) unless—

(1) such purchase is made at a price not less than the average price of hatching eggs in the calendar year 1958, as determined by the Secretary, and
(2) the seller from whom such purchase

(2) the seller from whom such purchase is to be made certifies, at such time and in such manner and form as the Secretary may prescribe, that the hatching eggs to be thus purchased constitute not less than 50 percent of the seller's production of hatching eggs for such period of time as the Secretary may prescribe.

SEC. 4. The Secretary shall, from funds of the Commodity Credit Corporation, through the facilities of the Commodity Credit Corporation pay to the appropriate financial agent of each public school and each nonprofit private school in any place subject to the jurisdiction of the United States one-half of all funds expended by or on behalf of such school for poultry meat (including turkey meat), not exceeding six pounds per student, for consumption by students at such school during the period beginning July 1, 1959, and ending June 30, 1960. Such payment shall be made only upon application to the Secretary in such form, and substantiated in such manner, as he may determine.

SEC. 5. The Secretary shall, within one year after the date of enactment of this Act, purchase through the facilities of the Commodity Credit Corporation dressed broilers and turkeys to the value of \$10 million. The Secretary shall dispose of the broilers and turkeys so purchased by sales made pursuant to agreements entered into under the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954.

SEC. 6. The second sentence of section 32 of the Act of August 24, 1935, entitled "An Act to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act, and for other purposes" (7 U.S.C. 612c) is amended (1) by striking out "and (3)" and inserting in lieu thereof "(3)", and (2) by adding immediately before the period at the end thereof the following"; and (4) carry out the purposes of the Emergency Poultry Purchase Act".

Src. 7. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Commodity Credit Corporation shall make no purchases of eggs otherwise than as specified in section 3 of this Act during the period ending 91 days after the date of enactment of this Act.

Veterans of America Are Stabbed in the Backs by H.R. 7650

SPEECH

## HON. JAMES C. OLIVER

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 15, 1959

The House had under consideration the bill (H.R. 7650) modifying the pension program for veterans of World War I, World War II, and the Korean conflict and their widows and children.

Mr. OLIVER. Mr. Speaker, during the 40-minute debate under the gag rule when the veterans' pensions program was being crucified by H.R. 7650, I voted against the bill.

I was 1 of 34 Members who stood up to be counted on the division vote. I am as proud of that vote as any that I have made in this session of the 86th Congress. However, any personal satisfaction that I experienced because of my individual contribution to opposition to H.R. 7650 is far outweighed by my feeling of depression that the House has now established a yardstick for future veterans pensions which is an insult to those who served and will serve our Nation in times of military need. The House by its action in accepting H.R. 7650 with only 40 minutes of debate and without opportunity for amendments has in effect pauperized all veterans who will desperately need pensions in the near

The House action in this implementation of the Bradley Commission report of several years ago has authorized and directed the Veterans' Administration to become a final arbiter in family squabbles which will develop because of the requirement that 50 percent of spouse's income shall be computed in the income eligibility requirement. It is not difficult to foresee in the near future that thousands of decisions will of necessity have to be made by the Administration in/determining whether a spouse's income is available as income to the veteran.

For these reasons and because I feel as I have always felt that veterans pensions should be granted as the Nation's recognition for military service in time of war rather than as a miserable pittance to be given begrudgingly to keep a veteran off the welfare relief rolls, I shall always consider the action of the House on H.R. 7650 as a stab in the back of veterans' rights and precedents established over the many years of the Nation's history.

It also seems bitterly ironic to me that on the same day that this stab in the back was executed, within minutes of the final vote on the same, the House should be considering an authorization bill of \$3.6 billion for the mutual security or foreign aid bill of 1960. On the one hand, the House repudiates the historical precedents under which veterans of America have been given pension recognition for their military service, while on the other hand the House, without any substantial opposition, for the most

part, prepares to stretch our budget to spend billions of dollars to improve living standards of millions of people in foreign areas thousands of miles removed from us.

To supplement these observations, Mr. Speaker, I am including, herewith, the statement which I made for the consideration of the Veterans' Affairs Committee when H.R. 6432 and subsequently H.R. 7650 were being acted upon:

TESTIMONY BY THE HONORABLE JAMES C. OLI-VER, MEMBER OF CONGRESS, FIRST DISTRICT, MAINE, IN SUPPORT OF A \$100-A-MONTH PENSION TO CERTAIN WORLD WAR I VETERANS OVER 60 YEARS OF AGE, BEFORE THE HOUSE VETERANS' AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, JUNE 9, 1959

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the opportunity which you and your committee have extended to me, to make a statement in support of H.R. 4523, which was introduced by me in the interest of veterans of World War I. I also appreciate this opportunity to place my viewpoint before the committee with reference to H.R. 6432, which contains the recommendations of the Veterans' Administration concerning veterans' benefits in general.

First, let me state my position with ref-erence to my bill in the interest of World War I veterans who are over 60 years of age and whose income is less than \$2,400 a year if single and \$3,800 a year if married. This bill, as you know, would authorize a monthly pension of \$100 to take effect at 60 years of age. It is identical to H.R. 1181, introduced by our distinguished colleague from Pennsylvania [Mr. VAN ZANDT].

I would like to say in passing, Mr. Chairman, that during the 75th Congress, I was a member of this great committee which has consistently acted constructively in the interest of veterans of all wars. I know that the problems that confront the members of this committee today are difficult and the decisions, which have to be made, carry with them great responsibility for each and every one of you. It is my feeling, having been a veteran of World Wars I and II, that I can speak with some understanding of the public treatment which has been extended to veterans of both world wars. I know that this committee, during the past several years, has had a complete appreciation of the difference in treatment which has been extended to World War I veterans in contrast to the most generous legislation for the deserving veterans of World War II.

Just to briefly mention the benefits received during the nearly 18 years after each World War in terms of comparison, I respectfully call to your attention that up to June 30, 1958, the per capita benefits paid to World War II veterans totaled \$3,900 while during the same period of time; namely, 18 years after World War I, all benefits paid to the veterans of that war totaled \$1,480 per capita. This comparison is not made in the spirit of criticism, but merely to call attention to the existing facts; namely, comparable treatment has not been accorded to World War I veterans. As a further comparison, there was no GI insurance, no educational bill of rights, no home or business loans provided for World War I veterans as was the case of the veterans of World War II. Severance pay for the veterans of World War I was limited to \$60 which certainly could never be considered as an adequate recognition of the military service during the period of war which was rendered by my comrades in World

It is not my intention to belabor the situation which we all know currently exists in connection with the desperate financial needs of World War I veterans. Their average age is now 65 and they, in too many instances, find themselves with no adequate means of

support. The economic problems of people generally over 65 years of age are well understood: and, this is true whether such individuals are in the veterans' classification or otherwise. But, we do owe our wartime veterans, it seems to me, Mr. Chairman, a responsibility to provide that the precedent which has been established in enacting age pension benefits for veterans of all previous wars may be extended in a similar manner to the veterans of World War I. The Bureau of the Budget, the Veterans' Administration, and those who are opposed to this legisla-tion, use figures to discredit the legislation on the basis that such pension payments would ruin America economically. The Veterans' Administration's cold statistics do not, in any way, reflect the economic benefits which would accrue as a result of pension payments being distributed in every small community of this Nation through the enactment of this legislation.

I hesitate to call attention to an observation which is too often made although warranted: If we can afford to finance activities all over the world in order to step up the living standards of less fortunate people, we should be more determined to extend to our own people, especially our veterans, the consideration which would improve their living standards as well. The basic philosophyin this legislation which I propose, in my opinion is: (1) that the precedents to which I referred above justify similar action for World War I veterans; (2) the cost of the pro-gram will automatically be liquidated by the increased activity in our economy resulting from these pension payments; (3) the people of America cannot afford to ignore the economic needs of our soldier citizens who have served in times of military conflict when our Nation's security has been periled. Americans have not been ungrateful in the past and have always generously authorized veterans' benefits. There should be no exception today to a similar approach when the needs are so obvious.

These observations of mine, Mr. Chairman, are not new. As a matter of fact, there is nothing new that can be said on this subject. The issue is clear. Veterans of all wars

should be treated equally.

If I may encroach further upon your time, I would like to take this opportunity to express briefly, my opposition to H.R. 6432 as it is presently written and now under consideration by this able committee. The concept of need upon which this legislation is based. in my opinion, is not the proper concept for veterans' legislation. It is the familiar approach developed by the Bradley Commission some years ago and now comes to us dressed up in rather attractive phraseology emanating more or less I would expect, from the Madison Avenue advertising technique. also recall that in the early thirties, the Economy Act so-called was directed primarily at veterans' benefits. Veterans' benefits have always been the first target of the arbitrary economizers. It is true, unfortunately, that there have been abuses in the matter of veterans' benefits. It is also true that there have been bank embezzlements and many other phases of daily activity which we do not like. Yet, we don't tear down the whole structure because of the action of a few which discredit policies based on merit and justice with which we are in accord. I think that iAmericans generally feel that veterans' benefits have been and should continue to be granted as a matter of recognition for military service in times of conflict. The basic philosophy of H.R. 6432 would transform veterans' benefits into a needs concept. This would extinguish in this one approach, a great American tradition based upon the gratitude of the people of America for those who have unselfishly served their Nation. Therefore, I oppose H.R. 6432 and I ask the members of this committee to do the same.

I wish to make one other point, Mr. Chairman, and then I shall conclude. H.R. 6432 would establish the income of wives as a qualifying factor in pension benefits to be paid to veterans. It seems to me that this is a cruel concept, since a veteran would be forced to subordinate his economic independence and his personal dignity. If he ran short of funds during any part of the month while waiting for his decreased pension payment, he would be forced to rather abjectly ask for tide-over pennies or dollars from his wife, who, because of her own independent income, would find herself in a controlling position. This may seem to be a rather superficial observation, but it isn't difficult to envision the many difficult family situations which would arise from such a stultifying combination of circumstances. Such a possibility is not in the interests of any veteran and it is not in the best interests of the country. Such a possible and even probable complication is reason enough, in my opinion, to oppose the basic needs concept of the Veterans' Administration proposal. I hope that this committee will decide to reject this attempt to de-crease veterans' benefits and to demean the veterans. I thank you again, Mr. Chairman, for the opportunity to present these observations.

## H.R. 3. Regarding the Preemption Doctrine, Will Produce Chaos Instead of Clarification

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. LAURENCE CURTIS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. CURTIS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, in extension of my remarks I include a thoughtful editorial from the Boston Herald of Friday, June 12, 1959, on the subject of H.R. 3, the preemption bill .

STATES RIGHTS REVOLT

We are glad that the House Republican policy committee is above rubber stamping administration proposals. But we wish it had found a better issue on which to demonstrate its independence.

The 33-member committee has endorsed the so-called States rights bill, simed at curbing the power of the Supreme Court to overturn State legislation, despite the fact that the administration has called the measure "the most hazardous" before Congress The committee should have thought twice

before taking the step.

The chief purpose of the States rights bill is to reverse the Supreme Court's decision in the Steve Nelson case. This case, which was decided in 1956, declared that the Federal Government had preempted the field of sedition control and that State laws in this field were no longer enforceable. (A clarify-ing opinion this week said that the States could punish sedition against themselves, but not against the Federal Government). Reversing this finding would be within Congress' rights, because it was presumably a congressional act (the Smith Act) that preempted the field in the first place

But the bill goes beyond this and attempts to set up a general rule for the court to follow in other cases.

"No act of Congress," the offending section says, "shall be construed as indicating an intent on the part of Congress to occupy the field in which the act operates to the ex-

clusion of all State laws on the same subject matter, unless such act contains an express provision to that effect, or unless there is a direct and positive conflict between such act and a State law so that the two cannot be reconciled or consistently stand together.

This language, if it were to become law, would be extremely mischlevous because it would invite the relitigation of every case that has raised the preemption issue in the past. And as a guide to future decision it provides little for the court to go on that it does not already have.

If Congress doesn't like the result of the Steve Nelson case, it can reverse it, although we think even that step would be unwise. It can also resolve to make its own intentions clear in future legislation which overlaps State law. But it should not try to write general rules for the court. The effect, as the administration says, will be most hazardous.

The House Republican Policy Committee has endorsed a bill which will produce chaos instead of clarification. It should clarify its own thinking.

## Inflation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 10, 1959

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, I, like many of my colleagues, have received thousands of letters from my constituents in the past few months which reflect the deep and growing concern of all the people of this Nation over the serious trend of inflation caused by excessive Government spending.

The City Club of Chicago, a nonpartisan civic center for Chicago and its suburbs, has prepared a statement of views, which lists the causes and effects of inflation and concludes with a recommendation for a comprehensive report which can lead to integrated action against this threat to our country.

This seems to be a very sound approach to this very serious problem of the devaluation of the American dollar and I, therefore, would like to call the attention of my colleagues to the following statement:

#### INFLATION

The possibility of creeping inflation with resulting higher living costs poses a grave threat to the economy and general welfare of our country. Inflation reduces the pur-chasing power of the dollar because of a rise in the price level. To the millions of people who have saved and sacrificed in order to establish a measure of security for their declining years, the effect of such inflation is serious and often disastrous. Inflation adds an entirely undesirable risk to business enterprise.

Because of the many world crises in recent years and because of the general level of prosperity enjoyed by the American people, we are only now becoming aware of the latent dangers of inflation to our economy. The American people should be alerted to these dangers. The City Club of Chicago endorses current steps to analyze the situation with a view of pointing the way toward a remedy.

The causes and effects of inflation are numerous and so intertwined that the whole

problem, with its many ramifications, must be considered as a unit. Some of the complexity of the problem of inflation is reflected in the variety of possible causes which have been mentioned in public discussions of this problem, and occasionally in These have included such matters

1. Widespread extension of credit, resulting in excessive installment buying, and consumer loans giving immediate purchasing power with its resulting demand for goods on a limited market.

2. The wage-price spiral of alternating increases in wages and prices, each supposedly

justifying the other.

3. Greatly increased public expenditures Federal, State, and local-which put special demands upon the supply of goods and services with consequent rise in the price level.

4. Federal appropriations beyond current income without provision for additional taxes to balance the budget.

5. Ever-increasing public debt-Federal, State, and local-which provides the immediate money to buy more goods and supplies than could otherwise be bought out of current income or savings with consequent pressure upon the sources of supply.

6. Vast increase in private and corporate debt, now far exceeding the total of all pub-lic debts, with possible inflationary effects.

7. Monopolistic practices and administered prices which fix prices at excessively high levels.

8. Failure to maintain production to meet the growing demand for goods, assuming full production can offset inflation.

9. Failure to make stability in general price levels an objective in the Employment Act of 1946 along with maximum employment, production and purchasing power.

10. Excessive foreign aid in the form of American products without a corresponding importation of foreign goods induced by lower or reciprocal tariffs.

11. Monetary policies of the Federal Reserve Board which may have intensified, instead of offsetting or preventing other inflationary developments.

The City Club concludes that a full understanding of inflation can be brought about only by the most painstaking and scientific study of the action and interaction of all major causes which produce inflation.

# Valedictory Address, Capitol Page School Commencement Exercises

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, May 25, 1959

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, my ap-pointee as page, Peter J. Wallison, has graduated from the Capitol Page School. He was valedictorian of his class and his address at the commencement exercises on June 15, 1959, was so felicitous and so fitting, that I deem it appropriate to place it in the RECORD. He has won a scholarship to Harvard University and I am sure he will bring to bear upon his work there the fine sense of responsibility, integrity, and resourcefulness that he has shown at the Capitol. I wish him much happiness in his forthcoming stay at a great university. His address follows:

Distinguished guests, my parents, faculty, and friends, this evening we are to be graduated from the Capitol Page School. Our commencement, however, represents more than merely the 4 years we have spent in high school; it is, in reality, the culmination of 12 important years of education and intellectual development.

What have we gained in our years of education that merits the solemnity and dignity of this commencement ceremony? Some knowledge, it is true, is the most evident of our achievements, but the individuality we have acquired far outweighs in importance all other intangible gains. This individualism implies not just the ability to know, but the ability to reason; it describes the power of the whole man to reach a conclusion through the workings of his own mind, and independent of unreasonable pressures.

Individuality is freedom lived. The concept of personal freedom has made the United States the greatest Nation in the world, and only the continued exercising of this prerogative by the citizen will preserve and sustain our international position. Today, however, individualism is too seldom fostered or encouraged in American schools. The accent in education has been upon the development of good citizenship and civic responsibility, and while these are worthwhile goals, high school students are rarely prodded to assert their differences of opinion. The ultimate duty of the American educational system should be to promote the liberty and freedom that can be exercised only in an active democracy.

Here at Capitol Page School, we have been encouraged constantly to think as individuals. On every issue, in every class, we were permitted and requested to state an opinion, and support that statement with the facts which influenced us in forming the idea. This, to me, is the ideal form of education, for no lecture or textbook can promote more student interest and participation than an active discussion, and we were anxious to exchange the ideas we had heard while serving in Congress. Thus, our classes were interesting, informative, and did more than teach us—they impressed us with the advantages of reasoned individual thought.

Inseparable from individuality is character. Character, combined with a free intellect, is the American ideal, and through the years America has grown great and has prospered on this formula. Strength of character is evidenced in resolution, in courage, in self-control, in taking the initiative, and in assuming responsibility. As such, character is a universal scale upon which we can measure the true wealth of nations. The individual development of a nation's people is essential to the preservation of liberty. We find proof of this in nations which possess constitutions practically identical with our own, yet who alternate between despotism and anarchy because their citizens elect to public office people who lack the essentials of good character.

Now, at commencement, we stand at a point beyond which our ideals will be tested by reality. Because of the nature of our preparation at Page School, we will enter college with minds developed to listen, to analyze, and to conclude. This is important to America, for the ability of the people to live freedom intelligently will determine the course of this democracy.

course of this democracy.

Therefore, if our educational training has succeeded in combining character and individuality, we can set now these ideals for the future.

We must reason with three indispensible factors: honesty, courage, and commonsense. We must recognize Government in its proper perspective not as the vehicle for personal satisfaction, but as the orderly base upon which the people can build their own great-

ness. We must take an active part in public life, realizing that the more people we have within our borders, the greater the obligation of each to his country and to himself. We must remember, if we enter politics, always to be principled, recalling that politics is more than the holding of office. Above all, we must look at issues objectively, and decide on the basis of fact and morality before casting our ballots. Today, we must elect and follow our leaders. Tomorrow, when we are leaders, we must act with resolution and faith.

Perhaps Sir Winston Churchill epitomized this juncture in our lives when he stated: "This is not the end, nor is it the beginning of the end, it is instead but the end of the beginning."

Foreign Service Institute Graduates First Scnior Officers' Class

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, last Friday a noteworthy event occurred in the life of our Foreign Service. Nineteen persons from various departments and agencies concerned with foreign affairs were graduated from the first class of the senior officer course at the Foreign Service Institute.

Inaugurated by Secretary Dulles in September 1958, the 9-month course is designed to provide the most advanced training possible in the field of international relations. Participants in the course are senior career officers, drawn from the Foreign Service, Armed Forces, U.S. Information Agency, International Cooperation Administration, and the Department of Commerce.

Truly, as President Eisenhower observed in his remarks to the graduates, we must see that officers charged with the conduct of foreign affairs are given the best information available in this increasingly complex and vital area. As a member of the Foreign Service Advisory Board, I am particularly gratified that the Institute has provided this additional opportunity for expanded service.

In the belief that the remarks of the President and Under Secretary of State Dillon will be of wide interest, I, under unanimous consent, include some in the RECORD:

PRESIDENT'S TALK AT FOREIGN SERVICE CLASS

To ask anyone whether or not he would like to say some words, if that person has had any experience in political life and omits such an opportunity or ignores it, is truly, if not miraculous, at least an error.

In the years that Secretary Dulles and I served together, he often spoke about the lack of opportunity among high officers of Government, and indeed of high officers in any profession, for contemplation. He felt so strongly about this that he believed that there should be some reorganization in the very highest echelons of the executive departments so that there could be more time to think about the job.

As a matter of fact, before I leave this office, I hope to lay before the Congress a

plan that I believe will do something of this

Mr. Dulles spoke about this school in the same terms. In keeping with that idea of contemplation, he once said such a school will give some of our foreign officers the opportunity to contemplate their own profession, to think about it not merely as cramming of more information into your heads or talking about new techniques or even possibly any plans or policies or ideas, but of providing the opportunity, under guidance, to contemplate your profession and all it means to the United States.

#### LOBBYING ADMITTED

I would like to voice my own tremendous interest in this school and my support for the idea that a few of our officers should be taken out from the normal activities of their offices, no matter where they are—as secretaries, counselors or whatever—and be given this opportunity.

Not only can our Government afford this; my belief is it cannot afford to ignore it. So, if I am guilty of lobbying for an appropriation for this particular activity, I plead guilty with the greatest of enthusiasm.

The program that you are undergoing is, of course, terrifically important. One of the things that I would like to bring out is this: Today we are exploring space, trying to expand our universe—but all the time we are contracting our own world.

We are so tied together now with communications that when a man has a bad temper in Moscow or in Bucharest or any other place in that region, we look at our reports to see whether it's going to have any effect before tomorrow morning.

When I was 3 years old—that was 1893—the first Ambassador of the United States was appointed. Today there are 77 ambasadors representing the United States abroad. We have representations in 86 different countries, and I think we have large groups or at least representation in something like 285 separate cities.

With each of these Ambassadors the State Department is in daily communication—often in communication to the extent of what should be described as transatiantic essays. But these have to be digested. And the next day there must be some kind of action taken on them very shortly. In other words, this world is not only small but it is extremely complicated, and these messages are necessary. Every kind of factor in human existence comes in—psychological reactions, political reactions. There are economic, military requirements to be met, and to think about.

If people are not going to get the kind of opportunity that this school is giving them, then the inevitable result will be to do them in keping with the past—either by preconceptions or routine or haibt.

We must have men who are capable of thinking—thinking objectively on the problem that is before them—who can give the best information with the best interpretation and the best advice they can provide to the State Department.

I would make one other observation: What we call foreign affairs is no longer foreign affairs. It's a local affair. Whatever happens in Indonesia is important in Indiana. Whatever happens in any corner of the world has some effect on the farmer in Dickinson County, Kans., or on a worker at a factory.

#### ONENESS OF THE WORLD

Now this means that even our news is no longer properly called foreign news. It's local news, because it is so important to us. All this means that everyone who is charged with foreign affairs or anyone that has any direct or indirect responsibility concerning them—indeed. I think, every citizen—should think of the oneness of the world.

We cannot escape each other, certainly not until the day we can emigrate to Mars. We pust can't escape each other. We must understand people. We must make it our business to know what they are thinking, and why—and what it means to us.

Because no nation, even one so directed and operated as is the Soviet's, can dominate all and be the controlling factor. Of course, a democracy would not even attempt it because it would be completely anti-thetical to their own conceptions and doctrines.

So while I was complimented that the Acting Secretary of State would think it worthwhile to quote from me, I think that expression "soldiers of peace" is a pretty good one. I go back to it to say this: You are soldiers of peace, but you must be soldiers of peace for all men. As long as any man, any significant sector of our world cannot enjoy the blessings of peace with justice, then indeed there is no peace anywhere.

That is the reason that again I express my feelings about the terrific importance of this kind of operation. I extend to each of the graduates my congratulations on your expanded capacity and opportunities for service, and my best wishes for good luck to each of you.

INFORMAL REMARKS OF ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE DOUGLAS DILLON TO THE SENIOR GRADUATING CLASS, FOREIGN SERVICE IN-STITUTE, JUNE 12, 1959

Mr. President, Mr. Hoskins, ladies, and gentlemen, I would like to begin my brief remarks with a quotation from Secretary of State Dulles. Two years ago he said:

"Never before in history has a nation had the degree of worldwide responsibilities for the maintenance of peace that is now carried by the United States. Our responsibilities are mounting almost daily. Whether or not they can be adequately discharged depends not just upon the broad principles acclaimed by America's leaders. It depends directly upon the performance of those who in the Department of State and in 81 countries carry on the day-by-day task of waging peace and defending freedom."

I can think of no better way to express the importance to the United States of our Foreign Service. In helping them to do the very best job possible, nothing can be more important than the training effort to prepare them—junior officers, midcareer officers, and now senior officers—in every way for their duties. In the short span of 2 years since Secretary Dulles made this statement our responsibilities, the responsibilities of the U.S. Foreign Service, have increased further. We have opened a number of new missions, particularly in Africa, and our responsibilities have broadened.

Our responsibilities are also broader in the number of subjects we have to deal with. Economic and psychological functions have grown greater, in a way that makes clear that they are an integral part of our foreign policy. We also have had to become in a way, specialists in science, in nuclear test suspensions, and the problems of outer space. All of these responsibilities indicate how very important are the training and the duties of the Foreign Service. That is why we feel it is so important that this Institute flourish and grow.

We are witnessing a real landmark in the graduation today of the first class of the senior officer course. There are a total of 19 members: 12 from the Department of State and 7 from other agencies of the Government interested in foreign affairs and foreign policy. This is as it should be. It emphasizes the coordination which is vitally necessary between the many departments

and agencies of the Government working in Pennsylvania Chapter, National Associa-

I find the curriculum to be particularly interesting. Some of the five segments are totally new and have not been included in any of the courses being given in the war colleges. One of them particularly struck me. It is devoted to contemporary American society. Certainly, a primary function of our representatives abroad is to represent America as it really is and to interpret it to other peoples. Through this course—which takes a good look at how our society is developing and examines our problems here at home—the members of the class should be better prepared to carry out their duties abroad.

Mr. President, we are happy and pleased that you have honored us today by coming to the graduation of this first class. You have always been a great supporter of the Foreign Service, and we appreciate it. I remember that once you described the members of the Foreign Service as "soldiers of peace," as "officers of the great army that has as its first business the developing and sustaining of a peace with justice and honor." We appreciate this expression of faith in our Service and I know that the Service will do everything it can to live up to your faith and justify it. In pursuit of this goal, the role of the Foreign Service Institute in training our officers to carry on their duties is vitally important.

Today, we are faced with a threat by the Soviet Union that is ideological, economic, and political. The particular area of contest is the economically underdeveloped sector of the world. Through psychological warfare, economic warfare, including trade and aid, the Soviets are carrying on a tremendous campaign. It is significant, in this connection, that we have sitting today on our platform, Ambassador Bunker, just back from India, who has just given us a very interesting report on the depth and breadth of the Soviet effort in India, which is probably the chief target of the Soviets at the moment

That leads me to another point which I feel very strongly about: today, particularly in the underdeveloped areas, there is no longer a sharp difference, indeed no longer any difference at all, between economics and politics. There is no political problem I know of that doesn't have some economic connotations. And, by the same token, we find that any problem that we seek to decide by economic means, immediately has national security or political overtones. Both aspects of foreign policy are intertwined.

Therefore, there is great satisfaction to me in the amount of emphasis the Foreign Service Institute is giving to economics, both in courses here and in sending officers to universities where at least half of them are taking classes in advanced economics. For every ambassador really has to know economics if he is going to do a whole, rounded job.

I certainly hope the Congress will provide, over the years, steady and continuing support to this Institute. I cannot think of anything that is more important to our Service in fitting our officers to do a better job abroad.

You members of the graduating senior class have had the privilege of studying here for a year. You have, during that time, had the chance to range broadly over the problems of our foreign policy. You have had your opportunity to stimulate your thinking and to develop a grasp of the overall problems with which the United States is concerned. It has been a high privilege. I hope that you will use this experience well. I wish each and every one of you the very best of luck in your future assignments.

Pennsylvania Chapter, National Association of Postmasters, Honors James J. Law, of Wilkes-Barre, at Its 25th Anniversary Convention Held at Wilkes-Barre

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following news article from the Wilkes-Barre Record of Friday, June 12, 1959, which reports the testimonial dinner held in honor of James J. Law, former postmaster of Wilkes-Barre, by the Pennsylvania chapter of the National Association of Postmasters at its 25th anniversary convention held last weekend in Wilkes-Barre:

JAMES J. LAW IS HONORED AT POSTMASTERS DINNER

Regional friends of James J. Law joined with members of the postal service in honoring the former postmaster of Wilkes-Barre at a testimonial dinner last night at Mayfair Supper Club.

Dinner was one of the highlights of the 25th anniversary convention of Pennsylvania chapter, National Association of Postmasters, in session in Hotel Sterling, and was in recognition of Law's efforts in organizing the State chapter and his service as its first president. Twelve other past presidents of the chapter in attendance also were honored at the affair.

About 600 persons attended, among them the honored guest's wife and children, James, Malcolm, and Joan Law Conway; his brothers, Dr. C. C. Law, Harrisburg, Thomas Law, Collingswood, N.J., and sisters, Mrs. Anna Myers, and Helen Law, East Orange, N.J. Also among the guests was Mrs. Edward J. Quinn, whose late husband preceded Postmaster William W. Davis in the Wilkes-Barre Post Office.

Postmaster Davis in introducing the toastmaster, held it was especially fitting to observe the 25th anniversary of the chapter in Wilkes-Barre, the home of one of its organizers and first president. He reported the chapter has grown to close to 2,300 members and is the largest in the Nation.

Chief Justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court and a member justice joined with national officers of the association, State officers, Post Office Department executives and local friends in testifying to the services of the honored guest.

Chief Justice Charles Alvin Jones described Law as a "high-minded man, courteous, gentle, and a friend whose loyalty I greatly respect and admire." In his remarks the chief justice also referred to Justice Benjamin R. Jones as a wonderful colleague, able man, and thorough gentleman.

Justice Benjamin R. Jones called Law a fine citizen of our community, respected and admired by all our people. He added the testimonial was a well-deserved tribute.

Judge J. Harold Flannery, who recalled his entrance into the political arena was at the instance of the honored guest, reported his pleasure at the opportunity to testify to the abiding respect, esteem and fond affection he holds for Law.

Robert W. Baggs, Beaver Falls, State president, declared that the testimonial could

not honor Law and the other past presidents who built the chapter into the largest and greatest in the country; "Your presence

honors us," he held.

Charles E. Puskar, executive secretary-treasurer of the national association, in his tribute to Law, presented him a copy of the original application for a charter for the State chapter, containing 10 signatures headed by Law's. He said the chapter and the association today represent the end product of the ideas and ideals of the founders and said of Law: "He was possessed of a staunch Americanism, devotion to duty and to the great service of which we are all field managers a sense of loyalty and devotion to the rights and dignity of the American postmaster as an individual and as a public servant."

Others who spoke in recognition of Law's loyalty, friendship and leadership were Charles Schloss, Erie, past president; Harry Shreiner, Columbia, State secretary and past president; and J. Griffith Boardman, Phila-

delphia.

In his acknowledgment of tribute, Former Postmaster Law disclaimed credit for the growth and success of the chapter, claiming it was due to the efforts of all who have served the association. "Thank you, and God bless you for making this night one that I will always cherish," he said.

Col. LeRoy V. Greene, regional operations director of the Philadelphia region, encompassing Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Dela-

ware, was principal speaker. He spoke of the togetherness of the occasion, in which local friends and family of the guest of honor joined members of the postal service in

paying tribute.

"We are today engaged in a great revolution, and all of us who are engaged in this service with the fabulous mission of delivering one or more letters every day to every citizen in these United States 6 days a week, are going to do an even better job, a more perfect job," Greene said.

"To do that, in Pennsylvania, in the next 18 months, we will build 250 brand new post offices, ranging in cost from \$30,000 to \$6

million," he reported.

"The decision on which communities will get new buildings will be wholly based on need," he continued. "For 20 years our physical establishment has been sadly neglected and it must be restored at once to cope with the continuing increase in mail yolume."

He explained postal business has increased 20 percent in the last 5 years and said "We are going to make post offices completely mechanical, modernized, electronic, ready to cope with the additional 20 percent we ex-

pected in the 5 years to come."

Past presidents introduced were: Charles H. Schloss, Erie; James H. Rattigan, Pottsville; Daniel E. Walter, Lebanon; Joseph L. Kelly, Narberth; Harry P. Shreiner, Columbia; Joseph Regis, Rimersburg; James C. Smith, Pittsburgh; Scott E. Rhinedollar, Everett; Wilbur G. Warner, Lehighton; Helen Mack, Lafayette Hills; Edgar S. Husband, Jr., Landsdowne; James L. O'Toole, Sharon.

Rulison Evans was toastmaster. Rev. Edgar F. Singer offered invocation and Rev. John J. Jackson pronounced benediction. Humorist was Attorney Joseph L. O'Donnell. Decorations were in red, white, and blue.

Highlight of today's convention program will be the dedication of Station A of Wilkes-Barre Post Office, West Market Street, scheduled for 1 p.m.

Speaker will be Edward J. Bonin, assistant to the regional operations director and former congressman from Luzerne County. Others on the dedication program are Albert M. Bossard, president of Wyoming National Bank, lessor of the building; Post-

master William W. Davis, and Russell E. Gardner, president of Greater Wilkes-Barre Chamber of Commerce.

This morning's business session in Hotel Sterling will feature talks by officers of the national association, Hobart Wehking, national vice president, and Charles Puskar, executive secretary-treasurer. Principal address will be given by Leo Knoll, Office of General Counsel, Post Office Department. Others scheduled to speak are N. S. Miller, regional personnel manager, and N. L. Hummel, postal installations manager.

Officers' reports will be submitted. Rev. Irvin S. Wise, pastor of Dr. Edwards Memorial Congregational Church, Edwards-

viile, will offer invocation.

Today's convention program will conclude with a jamboree and dance starting at 8

p.m. in Hotel Redington.

Officers will be elected and installed Saturday morning. Closing dinner will be held Saturday night at 7 in Hotel Sterling. Congressman Daniel J. Floop will be toastmaster.

At the initial business session yesterday morning Tom A. Evans, Wilkes-Barre treasurer and tax collector spoke for Mayor Luther M. Kniffen in extending a welcome to the delegates. Russell E. Gardner also addressed the postmasters.

Rev. Dr. Jule Ayers, pastor of First Presbyterian Church, described Wyoming Valley, its history, present conditions and outlook for the future, and stated its residents have problems but also have the will to de-

feat odds of any size.

Others who spoke were LeRoy V. Greene, regional operations director, who was the principal speaker at last night's dinner; Postmaster Davis, James W. Daubert, Allentown; Arthur Parsons, regional real estate manager; W. D. Sullivan, regional controller; Harry P. Shreiner, Columbia, secretary-treasurer; William Reider, Shickshinny, and Samuel Braybrock, White Haven. Margaret Heiney, Jeddo, responded to the welcomes.

Delegates and their wives enjoyed a free afternoon yesterday following a showing of Post Office Department films. Some toured Stegmaier Brewing Co. and others golfed at

Wyoming Valley Country Club.

## Protection for Union Members

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. LEO E. ALLEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial, entitled "Protection for Union Members," from the Rockford, Ill., Register-Republic of June 4.1959:

PROTECTION FOR UNION MEMBERS

President Eisenhower threw his support Wednesday behind legislation to help protect working people against racketeers, and he made the valid point that such action should not be regarded as a punitive labor law. He said at his press conference that Congress should not adjourn this year without passing a labor-reform bill.

Mr. Eisenhower has, in recent months, called for laws to correct the abuses pointed up by the McClelland racket investigating committee and to outlaw blackmall picketing and secondary boycotts. Wednesday, the President spoke highly of a bill of rights

provision, originally written into the Senate bill by Senator McClellan, but watered down before final passage.

The President's strong backing of guarantees for rank-and-file union members will bolster the efforts of Chairman Graham Barden, of the House Labor Committee, whose bill of rights was the basis for the McClellan amendment. Barden submitted his version last February; it provides freedom of speech without penalty for union members, freedom of assembly, protection of an individual member's right to sue, the right to inspect membership lists, equal protection under union rules, and safeguards against improper disciplinary action.

President Elsenhower correctly regards this provision as a forward step for labor and not a punitive measure. He was highly critical of the theory that a constant state of warfare inevitably exists between labor and management; this, he says, dates back to the communistic teachings of Karl Marx.

Labor bosses have been trying to brand the Barden and McClellan guarantees for the rank and file as antilabor. These provisions are nothing of the sort. They do not put labor under controls of a special nature but merely get down to the basic structure of union membership. As the President said, the workingman's rights within his union should be protected, and organized labor should be operated in a democratic manner.

## Conservation: Protecting Historic Areas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. HARRIS B. McDOWELL, JR.

OF DELAWARE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Speaker, interest in the preservation of historic buildings and sites is growing rapidly in the United States, according to Richard H. Howland, president of the congressionally chartered National Trust for Historic Preservation. In an article in the New York Times, June 14, 1959, Mr. Howland says:

Local laws prevent serious changes to the exteriorrs of buildings within the designated areas, just as certain streets, neighborhoods, and even entire villages are saved in France by being classed as protected zones. The benefits accrue not only to the owners and tenants, but to local real estate values and to the tax rate.

Tourists coming to see these historic or architecturally unique districts leave behind plenty of cash for local merchants, too. Visitors attracted by historic sites or neighborhoods can bring to an enterprising community more dollars per annum than many a more usual industry or business enterprise might offer.

Legislation sponsored by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, of Minnesota; Senator James E. Murray, of Montana; Senator Joseph S. Clark, Jr., of Pennsylvania; the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. Foley], the gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. Merrow], the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Reuss], the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. Smith], the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Thompson], the gentleman from New York [Mr. Wainwright], the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Wid-

NALL], the gentleman from Texas [Mr. WRIGHT], and myself would go a long way toward preserving some of the Nation's historic buildings and sites that, now or later, may be threatened with destruction.

Had such a system of safeguards existed in the past—

Said the Washington, D.C., Evening Star recently in a fine editorial regarding a number of these bills—June 8, 1959—

many American now gone might well have been saved for admiration and veneration today. This is a very meritorious cause.

At a session of the sixth annual Winterthur Seminar held at the great Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, Winterthur, Del., this legislation was brought to the attention of the participants. A resolution was adopted tendering the support of the participants of the seminar for these preservation bills. Although the participants were voting as individuals and not as representatives of their institutions, their interest in these historic preservation measures stemmed from their activities in such places as museums, historical societies, historic houses, and universities.

William J. Murtagh, assistant to the president of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, told the seminar this legislation was a cheering step in the right direction.

I include here an article from the New York Times, an editorial from the Washington, D.C., Evening Star, a copy of the attendance roster of the sixth annual Winterthur Seminar, and the text of my H.R. 7215:

[From the New York Times, June 14, 1959]
Conservation: Protection of Historic
Areas

(Bý Richard H. Howland, president, National Trust for Historic Preservation)

Washington.—The summer touring season has begun. Hundreds of thousands of families are planning itineraries, many of which include visits to historic structures or places of architectural significance. It is predicted that this year's attendance will greatly surpass that of last year for there has been a steadily mounting interest in historic preservation. Dozens of newlyopened and recently restored historic sites await this year's visitors.

Among the houses recently opened to the public are Tryon Palace, in New Bern, N.C., showing a courtly way of life in an 18th century Governor's mansion. A simpler mode of living, on the other hand, is seen in Galveston, Tex., where the Williams-Tucker House illustrates phases of the 1830's.

Farmington, close to Louisville, Ky., is a Jeffersonian structure that opened in April. The Hempsted House in New London, Conn., is a 17th century building with unique architectural features. The Wayside Inn in South Sudbury, Mass., scene of Longfellow's "Tales," has been restored by the National Trust after the fire of 1955. Like the phoenix rising from its ashes, the venerable inn is about to enter its second summer of renewed life.

#### LEGISLATION IS DESIRABLE

Increased visits to historic house museums, however, represent only one phase of a significant development of interest in the past. Notable is a healthy, vigorous growth of awareness, on the part of entire communities, that legislation to preserve whole neighborhoods is desirable. Beacon Hill in Boston, the Vieux Carré in New Orleans, the Battery area of Charleston, S.C., and a score of districts in other cities, western as well as Atlantic seaboard, are protected as civic assets.

Local laws prevent serious changes to the exteriors of buildings within the designated areas, just as certain streets, neighborhoods, and even entire villages are saved in France by being classed as protected zones. The benefits accrue not only to the owners and tenants, but to local real estate values and to the tax rate.

Tourists coming to see these historic or architecturally unique districts leave behind plenty of cash for local merchants, too. Visitors attracted by historic sites or neighborhoods can bring to an enterprising community more dollars per annum than many a more usual industry or business enterprise might offer.

In planning the future of our older American cities, today's young students of city planning in such universities as Yale and the University of California are now being taught that significant historic sites and monuments merit protection, and indeed can serve as focal points in new traffic plans and civic developments.

#### STUDY OF SITES

The Preservation Society of Newport County in Rhode Island has just been awarded a \$13,000 grant for a study of Newport's historic sites and the modern growth of the city.

Providence, R.I., and Portsmouth, N.H., are planning urban renewal programs, with Federal financial aid, that recognize the value of restoring once-derelict mansions for today's middle-income use, in happy juxtaposition with modern dwelling units. Such rehabilitation of urban slums is bringing back new life to our cities.

There are encouraging indications that substandard utopias for so many, or "suburbs, which too often have turned out to be substandard utopias for so many, or "subtopias:" Urban blight can be checked, from time to time, by intelligent use of modern preservation solutions.

A number of groups are finding such urban preservation projects profitable, both literally and figuratively. Georgetown citizens, here in Washington, formed a corporation to prevent a group of three fine brick buildings from being demolished. By the sale of common and preferred stock, enough money was raised to buy the property, a mortgage provided funds for sound rehabilitation, and the property was rented to approved shops and one of the city's leading restaurants. The stockholders saw a profit on the books last December, and, next December, Historic Georgetown, Inc., is expected to pay dividends on its stock.

In Baltimore the spread of urban decay has been arrested in the last remaining downtown residential section by another profit group. Bolton Hill, Inc., is a neighborhood organization that issues stock to finance a program of buying debilitated properties. These are repaired, restored and then rented or sold at a profit, with the proceeds used to add to the group's holdings in a neighborhood that has now been stabilized.

Financial aid sometimes is made available for organizations that can demonstrate an effective program of support and accomplishment for sound preservation projects. Foundations rarely give to groups that are starting a project, but funds are becoming increasingly available for missions that already have enlisted community support.

#### MATCHING FUNDS

Historic preservation in the opinion of some well-known foundations, is a worthwhile undertaking, meriting grants or match-

ing funds. One midwestern, philanthropic group has underwritten the expenses of several regional seminars on preservation topics which have been held under the joint auspices of the National Trust and local groups in St. Louis and Lexington, Ky.

Given for the benefit of curators, directors, administrators, and trustees of historic site museums and houses, these educational sessions bring in visiting experts to share their knowledge with local institutions. Other similar seminars have been held or are planned in various parts of the country.

The most recent was last weekend, when the New Jersey Historical Society, together with the Cape May County Historical and Genealogical Society, and the National Trust discussed historic preservation, especially as related to south Jersey.

A private benefactor has just given \$2 million to the city of San Francisco as matching funds, toward the restoration of the Palace of Fine Arts, to serve as a concert house and ballet theater. Many donors are looking favorably on restoration projects that can rehabilitate a building to serve a useful civic purpose. Every structure that merits preservation need not be a museum; there are scores of appropriate adaptive uses that may be made of many of our historic and architecturally significant structures.

Historic preservation flourishes on a countrywide basis. Tombstone, Ariz., the town too tough to die, has a flourishing preservation program that reflects the pioneer days of silver mining. The privately organized group concerned is now about to receive increased support from the State.

#### HISTORICAL HERITAGE

A new private association was formed last month to encourage the preservation of California's architectural and historical heritage, which includes not only the missions but very significant examples of later 19th and 20th century construction.

The true preservationist knows no chronological or geographical limitations. Mere antiquity is only one criterion; historical association, architectural importance, and cultural value are more valid criteria. All are among the reasons for so many examples of our rich and colorful past being intelligently preserved today, by both governmental and private groups, for the enrichment of the visitors of today and especially of the future.

[From the Washington, D.C., Evening Star, June 8, 1959]

## TO PRESERVE AMERICANA

Legislation sponsored by Senator Humphrey, of Minnesota, and Representative Thompson, of New Jersey, would go a long way toward preserving some of the Nation's historic buildings and sites that, now or later, may be threatened with destruction. Had such a system of safeguards existed in the past, many Americana now gone might well have been saved for admiration and veneration today.

Under bills proposed by Senator Hum-PHREY and Representative Thompson, the Secretary of the Interior would be authorized to protect "any site, area, building, or other object of historical significance" which is in the path of any Federal construction project-or one financed in part by Federal funds. The Secretary would be empowered to call public hearings to determine public sentiment in such cases and to consult with other governmental authorities, the National Trust for Historic Preservation and similar groups. Furthermore, the leg-islation would provide for a continuing "of ways to promote and encourage the restoration and preservation of historical sites and buildings and antiquities by governments, private organizations, and individuals."

This is a very meritorious cause. course, no action should be authorized that would prevent the construction of vitally essential public works if no feasible alternative can be found to sacrificing a place of historic interest. Usually, however, alternatives can be worked out if there is a sincere desire to do so. And the Humphrey-Thompson proposal would apply the pressure necessary to promote the study of

ATTENDANCE ROSTER OF SIXTH ANNUAL WIN-TERTHUR SEMINAR, MAY 28-30, 1959, AT THE HENRY FRANCIS DU PONT WINTERTHUR MUSEUM

James Biddle, acting curator, the American wing, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Mrs. James Biddle.

James D. Breckenridge, curator of decorative arts, the Baltimore Museum of Art. Joseph T. Butler, curator, Sleepy Hollow

Restorations

George Chester, Kenmore, Fredericksburg, Va

Mrs. Nuala Drescher, fellow, class of 1960, Hagley Museum.

Alexander Eliot, art editor, Time magazine.

Mrs. Alexander Eliot.

Roland P. Elveah, assistant to the direc-

tor. Delaware Art Center.

Anthony N. B. Garvan, associate professor of American civilization, University of Pennsylvania; Head Curator of Civil History, Smithsonian Institution.

Alan Gowans, chairman, art department, University of Delaware.

Harry Hilberry, associate professor of fine arts, Syracuse University; visiting professor of art, 1958-59, University of Delaware. Mrs. Harry Hilberry.

Horace L. Hotchkiss, Jr., keeper of the Clark Collection, Corcoran Gallery of Art. Ivor Noël Hume, chief archeologist, Colo-

nial Williamsburg. Dard Hunter, Jr.,1 curator, Adena State

Memorial. G. Carroll Lindsay,1 Acting Curator, Mu-

seum Service, Smithsonian Institution. Mrs. G. Carroll Lindsay.

James C. Massey, National Park Service. Thomas J. McCormick, chairman, department of fine arts, Wells College.

Ernest Moyne, associate professor of English, coordinator Winterthur program in early American culture, University of Delaware.

Mrs. Robert C. Munier, assistant curator, Old Sturbridge Village.

John Munroe, chairman, history department, University of Delaware.

William J. Murtagh, assistant to the president, National Trust for Historic Preserva-

Harold Nelson, National Park Service. Cornelius Osgood, professor and curator of

anthropology, Yale University. Charles E. Peterson, supervising architect,

historic structures, National Park Service. William H. Pierson, Jr., professor of art,

Williams College. Miss Jessie Poesch, candidate for Ph. D.,

department of history of art, University of Pennsylvania. Jack Potter, fellow, class of 1960, Hagley

Richard H. Randall, Jr., associate curator

the Cloisters, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Meyric R. Rogers, curator of the Garvan and related collections, Yale University Art Gallery

Mrs. Meyric R. Rogers.
Miss Rodris Roth, assistant curator, Division of Cultural History, Smithsonian Institution

Lewis C. Rubenstein, director, Historical Society of Old Newbury.

Mrs. Lewis C. Rubenstein.

Bruce St. John, director, Delaware Art

Marvin D. Schwartz,1 curator of decorative arts, Brooklyn Museum.

Mrs. Marvin D. Schwartz.

Robert C. Smith, professor, history of art, University of Pennsylvania,

Damie Stillman,1 candidate for Ph. D. department of fine arts and archaeology, Columbia University.

W. E. Swinton, president, British Museums Association.

George B. Tatum, associate professor, history of art, University of Pennsylvania.

Minor Wine Thomas, Jr., chief curator, Henry Ford Museum and Greenfield Village. Thomas E. Thorne, chairman, department

fine arts, College of William and Mary Mrs. Hertha Wegener, assistant curator of

painting, Brooklyn Museum.

Marcus Whiffen, architectural historian, Colonial Williamsburg.

Norman B. Wilkinson, research associate, Hagley Museum.

Rudolph Wittkower, chairman, department of fine arts and archaeology, Columbia University.

Mrs. Rudolf Wittkower,

Miss Nancy Wosstroff,1 curator of exhibits, Brooklyn Children's Museum.

#### WINTERTHUR STAFF

Wesley A. Adams, operations administrator. Miss Helen R. Belknap, librarian, museum library.

Miss M. Elinor Betts, librarian, Joseph Downs Manuscript Library; editorial assistant.

Mrs. John Biggs III, research assistant, Index of American Cultures.

Miss Ethel C. Brown, assistant to museum librarian.

George B. Colman, custodian of the collection

Mrs. Dean A. Fales, Jr., special research. Dean A. Fales, Jr., secretary of the museum.

E. McClung Fleming, dean of education program.

Miss Dorothy W. Greer, assistant to the

Carles Hummel, assistant curator; assistant director, Index of American Cultures.

Sterling Lanier, research assistant, Index of American Cultures.

Charles F. Montgomery, director.

Mrs. Charles F. Montgomery, instructor in history of art.

Milo M. Naeve, assistant curator.

Mrs. John Pearce, cataloger.

Albert S. Roe, keeper of paintings and prints.

Alfred Chapin Rogers, survey of museum records.

Gordon K. Saltar, technical research. Charles Coleman Sellers, librarian, Waldron Phoenix Belknap, Jr., Research Library of American Painting.

Mrs. Robert R. Snively, secretary and assistant to Mr. Montgomery.

Frank H. Sommer, keeper of folk art collection.

John A. H. Sweeney, associate curator. Miss Elizabeth Young, research assistant,

Index of American Cultures. WINTERTHUR FELLOWS IN STUDY

Miss Ruth Y. Cox, class of 1960, William and Mary College.

Miss Catha J. Grace, class of 1960, Smith College.

Frederick B. Hanson, class of 1959, Syra-

cuse University. Henry H. Hawley, class of 1900, Stanford;

Robert E. Hendrick, class of 1960, Yale

University.

Miss Ruth Matzkin, class of 1959, University of Pennsylvania.

John C. Milley, class of 1960, Boston University.

John N. Pearce, class of 1959, Yale University.

Robert Raley, class of 1959, Notre Dame; University of Pennsylvania.

Frank J. Schmidt, class of 1959, Aquinas

Stuart B. Smith, class of 1960, Carroll College.

#### H.R. 7215

A bill to amend the Historic Sites Act of August 21, 1935, to provide a method for preserving sites, areas, buildings, objects. and antiquities of national, regional, or local historical significance which are threatened with destruction by federally financed programs, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the first section of the Act entitled "An Act to provide for the preservation of historic American sites, buildings, objects, and antiquities of national significance, and for other purposes," approved August 21, 1935 (16 U.S.C. 461), is amended to read as follows:

"That it is hereby declared that it is a national policy to preserve for public use historic sites, areas (including sections of cities), buildings, objects, and antiquities of national, regional, or local significance for the inspiration and benefit of the people of the United States."

SEC. 2. Section 2 of such Act (16 U.S.C. 462) is amended by redesignating paragraph (k) as paragraph (m) and by adding after paragraph (j) the following new paragraphs:

"(k) Carry out (insofar as practicable and appropriate) the same duties and functions with respect to historic areas (including sections of cities) as those which are specified in the preceding paragraphs of this section with respect to historic sites, buildings, and objects.

"(1) Protect and preserve, in the manner provided in section 8 and through the performance of such other functions of the t described in this section as the Secretary may deem appropriate, historic sites, areas (including sections of cities), buildings, and objects of national, regional, or local significance."

"(m) As used in this section the term 'objects', and 'antiquities' includes objects and antiquities of art."

SEC. 3. Such Act is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"SEC. 8. (a) Whenever the Secretary ceives a petition from any State or political subdivision thereof, or from the American Institute of Architects, the National Trust for Historic Preservation, the Commission of Fine Arts, the National Wildlife Federation, the American Council of Learned Societies, the American Association for State and Local History, the Natural Resources Council, the Wildlife Management Institute, the National Parks Association, the American Institute of Planners, the American Automobile Association, the Society of Architectural Historians, the American Planning and Civic Associa-tion, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the Garden Club of America, the American Society of Landscape Architects, the Urban Land Institute, the American Federation of Arts, the National Academy of Design, the National Council on Arts and Government, the National Art Education Association, the National Council of the Arts in Education, the College Art Association of America, the Artists Equity Association, the American Association of Museums, the Joint Committee on the National Capital, the National Capital Arts Council, or any other organization recognized by the Secretary for purposes of this section as being concerned with historic preservation, alleging that a Federal project or program or a State or local project or program financed in whole or in part with Federal funds will seriously damage or destroy a historical site, area (in-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Graduate of the Winterthur Program in Early American Culture.

cluding a section of a city), building, or object of national, regional, or local significance, or upon his own motion, the Secretary shall conduct an investigation, which shall include (but not be limited to) holding public hearings or affording the opportunity for such hearings, for the purpose of determining whether or not such site, area, building, or object is of national, regional, or local historical significance.

(b) Whenever the Secretary determines under subsection (a) that a site, area, building, or object is of national, regional, or local historical significance, he shall forthwith determine whether or not the proposed project or program will seriously damage or

destroy it.

"(c) Whenever the Secretary determines under this section that a site, area, building, or object of national, regional, or local historical significance will be seriously damaged or destroyed by a Federal project or program (actual or proposed) or by a State or local project or program which is or will be financed in whole or in part with Federal funds, he shall submit such determination to the head of the Federal department, agency, or instrumentality under the jurisdiction of which the project or program is to be carried out; and after the receipt of such determination the head of such department, agency, or instrumentality shall not commence or further proceed with such project or program, or expend or approve the expenditure of any Federal funds (or further Federal funds) for such project or program, unless and until such project or program has been modified and the plans, specifications, and contracts thereunder amended so as to provide to the satisfaction of the Secretary for the preservation of the historic site, area building, or object involved. Such modifica-tion or amendment may be made notwithstanding any provision of law limiting the right of a department, agency, or instrumentality to modify a project or program or amend plans, specifications, or contracts, but shall otherwise be subject to all the provisions of the law under which the project or program is being or will be carried out.

SEC. 4. The Secretary of the Interior, in consultation with the organizations named in subsection (a) of section 8 (as added by this Act) of the Act of August 21, 1935, and other organizations recognized by the Secretary as being concerned with historic preservation, shall make a continuing study of the tax advantages, technical and financial assistance, and other incentives which could be provided (by legislation and otherwise) to promote and encourage the restoration and preservation of sites, areas, buildings, objects and antiquities (including objects and antiquities of art), in the United States of national, regional, or local historical significance by the Federal Government, and by States, palitical subdivisions, private organizations, and individuals, giving appropriate consideration to the methods which have been used to encourage such restoration and preservation in other countries and in areas of the United States where intensive programs for historic preservation have been successfully carried out.

On Economy's Side

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. LEO E. ALLEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial from the Rockford, Ill., Register-Republic, of June 11, 1959, which is entitled "On Economy's Side";

ON ECONOMY'S SIDE

President Eisenhower has correctly called his campaign for economy in Government a fight to prevent rising prices from impoverishing every man, woman, and child in the Nation—especially workers who are earning their pensions and retired people who must live on pensions.

The President made his latest appeal for a balanced budget and an economically sound Nation at a dinner honoring Republican Members of Congress, who although outnumbered are battling at every opportunity for a dollar worth 100 cents.

Mr. Elsenhower's remarks, however, were addressed to the public at large, which is becoming convinced that it will never see a reduction in taxes until the public demand upon Congress for cuts in Government spending is heeded.

The Nation has a choice between an economy which will expand through sound fiscal policies and an economy which will stagger under inflation and high taxes. When the dollar's purchasing power is sapped by inflation and a burdensome amount of taxes has to be paid, there is not enough left to provide for the expansion of the free-enterprise system.

The President pointed out that by having the courage to stand up and be counted on the side of responsible, sensible fiscal policy in Government, Republicans in Congress are pointing to a major difference between the policies of the GOP and Democrats. The American taxpayer will recognize the worthiness of Republican candidates for office who are carrying out the fight for a sound dollar.

Foreign Policy Objectives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. EDITH GREEN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, as the House turns to the consideration of the mutual security program, I note with deep pleasure that the distinguished members of the Foreign Affairs Committee have undertaken what amounts to a basic rethinking of our foreign policy objectives and techniques. Such a new direction is especially welcome in this period of executive abdication of leadership, and I believe the committee deserves the support and gratitude of this House and of every American.

At a time when such an important and far-reaching bill is on the floor, it seems appropriate to me that there should have crossed my desk a letter from one of my constituents, dealing with this very question. Like every Member of the Congress. I have received a number of letters in the foreign policy field. But no letter, has summed up as concisely, as accurately, and as compellingly, the need for continuing reexamination of our foreign policy as has this one letter from Mrs. Tolbert McCarroll, of Portland. Oreg. I might not necessarily agree with every detail of Mrs. McCarroll's recommendations. But her insight into fundamentals deserves the attention of every

interested person. Under unanimous consent I include this letter to be printed in full herewith:

PORTLAND, OREG.

Hon. EDITH GREEN, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MRS. GREEN: I am writing this letter to all members of the Oregon congressional delegation in particular response to two news articles concerning American-Chinese relations appearing in the Sunday Oregonian of May 31, 1959. The main article indicated you have been discussing the need for a change in our foreign policy in regard to the Chinese Peoples Republic and Chiang Kai-shek's government on Formosa. The other article reported from admittedly limited information on current economic conditions on the mainland of China. While still a student at the University of Oregon I heard a speech made by Senator Morse in which he welcomed reasoned discourse on any field of government, and therefore I feel encouraged to write an expression of my thoughts which have formulated over the past few years about China and our foreign policy in general.

I believe a thorough re-examination of our foreign policy should be made and I suggest the following for your consideration:

Out of the chaos of World War II we emerged as one of the most powerful countries in the world and the majority of our citizens agreed that we should not and in fact could not remain aloof from world affairs. We found ourselves in a position of leadership. We helped form the United Nations in order to secure peace, provide a discussion ground for the solving of world problems, and to provide a focus point for attack upon such ills as disease and economic underdevelopment, and to encourage cultural exchanges between divergent peoples. Gradually the differences between what is now known as the East and West widened and rigidified. I believe it was approximately at the time of the Truman doctrine that we ceased striving for a new foreign policy. Since that time our policy has fallen more and more into the traditional mold of European power politics with its balancing of military and economic advantages which has failed generation after generation since the time of Metternich. We have emphasized vigorously our containment policy and its additional negative correlative of fighting communism wherever it appears, and also support either willingly, reluctantly, or incidentally 19th century European colo-nial and economic imperialism wherever it appears. Our economic assistance programs which were begun on the premise that the welfare of the individual was of paramount importance in society and that in order for the people of the world to be free to choose democratic principles and to reach their fullest development, they must have the economic necessities of life, have also slipped into the mold of power politics. Instead of deciding to give or not give aid on the basis of the above objectives, we decide upon the basis of alinement within the power camps, strategic location, the possibility of buying support for our side, etc. The number of our military bases around the world is becoming legendary and certainly our military aid now far outwelghs our economic aid in

Conversely, the Russians seem to have somewhat reversed the process. They started with military aggression and now depend primarily upon idealistic appeals. Through propaganda both negative in supplying motives and theories to explain our actions and positive in offering the collective system as the best means for the organization of society and for efficient and rapid progress toward industrialization, they spread their fields of influence. They also have expand-

ing economic aid programs which are offered without so many apparent strings and to groups which we do not accept.

Our foreign policy should stand on our basic philosophy and proceed from it. We cannot afford to become so involved in the shifts in power alinement so as to obscure our long-range objectives of furthering a world in which there is less disease, the problem of the distribution of wealth has been better solved, in which individuals are free and able to contribute to an improving world civilization, and in which the mind is as free to roam as the body.

It is incumbent upon us to realize now that Africa will be free; that the Near East will reject economic imperialism either Western or Russian and speak for itself politically; that recently subjugated or still subject peoples will achieve or continue to strive for self-realization. We have in the past encouraged people to strive for freedom, self-expression, and progress. However, in our fear that presently underdeveloped nations being particularly susceptible to communistic propaganda will be lost permanently from the West, we join the paternalists and the exploiters and demonstrate by our actions the very opposite of our professed beliefs. Thus making it necessary for these people to be at the very least neutral to us if not forcing them into the opposite camp.

Our professed principles are inimical to Russian communism, but I believe if we stood firmly on them we would lessen East-West tensions rather than increase them. Instead of playing power politics with the Russians and aiming missiles from outside her borders, we would join and oppose her on basic philosophical lines—a policy which would more nearly meet her challenge to us, and one which could by experience, discussion, and time cause modifications in our systems and possibly make peaceful coexistence a reality.

With these ideas in mind I should like to discuss with you Red China. We are dealing with a large country with a large population which has since the end of World War II made considerable economic progress. Unquestionably it is a world power. Its position as a world power cannot be altered by our recognition or lack of recognition—our approval or disapproval.

Our support of a useless past dictator who finds little other support does much to establish that we believe in self-determination when it is used to model a system similar to our own. It does not alter the fact that the Chinese people have rejected Chiang Kal-shek and are working out their future along other lines. It does effectively block the participation of the Chinese people in the United Nations. What have we achieved by this? We have weakened the United Nations by having a major power outside of this organization, where, by lipservice at least, we indicate that all major world problems are to be solved. We have formed a

Security Council which does not represent all factions necessary to achieve security. We summon a General Assembly with nothing but token representation of millions of people. The United Nations should not be a club with eligibility dependent upon our approval. We can hardly defend our puppet government while attacking the Russian satellite system.

It does not follow of necessity that if the Chinese Peoples Republic were a member of the United Nations Security Council that she would always vote in opposition to us, but even were she to vote against us or exercise her veto as often as the Russians, surely we are no worse off with two vetoes than one. And with easy communication possible between us it is conceivable she would vote with us on occasion. Even the Russians voted with us on Suez. But even if this did not come about, there is still the justification of justice.

I should like to take up one more related subject before closing this letter. We are spending millions for the warehousing of surplus food. Just in the last week it was reported that \$370,000 a day was being spent in the warehousing of corn alone. The newspapers report that the Chinese people are faced with appalling rations on food. They report regularly of famine and starvation in other parts of the world. Many of these areas such as China we are unable to trade with for security or other reasons. It seems we would make a great stride forward in demonstrating our belief in the essential brotherhood of man if we offered this food to these people. Let them come and take away what they can transport either with or without charge. In most cases it would not affect the price supports on agricultural products, and would be a deed heard round the world.

I should enjoy hearing your views on the above subjects should you have the time to answer my letter.

Sincerely,

Mrs. TOLBERT H. McCARROLL

# LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House

Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

#### GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer, plus 50 percent: Provided, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity pur-chasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

#### RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the Congressional Record is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Raymond F. Noyes is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the Record at \$1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

#### CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

#### CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

# PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

# Appendix

## Proposed Commission on Metropolitan Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. JOSEPH S. CLARK

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, one of the best statements in support of a bill to create a Federal Commission on Metropolitan Problems-S.1431-which I introduced earlier this year, has been made by the able and experienced junior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. WILLIAMS], in a recent speech before the New York chapter of the American Society for Public Administration.

I think it is particularly significant that the Senator gives his endorsement to this measure, because he comes from one of the most urban States in the Union and has been struggling with metropolitan problems both as an alert, aggressive Representative and as a Senator. I ask unanimous consent that that portion of the speech pertaining to this bill be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

I also ask unanimous consent that following the speech of the Senator from New Jersey, a copy of an editorial from the Bergen Evening Record, published at Hackensack, N.J., commenting on his remarks, be printed. The editorial is entitled "Things To Come as We Shape Them."

There being no objection, the speech and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY SENATOR WILLIAMS OF NEW JERSEY You have given me an important topic here tonight.

S. 1431-which would establish a Federal Commission on Metropolitan Problems-is one of the most significant bills introduced this year, and I appreciate this opportunity to speak to a group which has such a keen interest in it.

#### DESCRIPTION OF S. 1431

Mr. Harvey was clear in his instructions. I am to discuss the bill introduced March 16, by Senator Joseph Clark, the distinguished Democrat of Pennsylvania. My first chore was to describe the provisions, and so here

The Commission on Metropolitan Problems would have 18 members.

The President of the Senate would appoint six Members, and the Speaker of the House would appoint six Representatives. The President of the United States would choose another six. These six appointees would include the heads of two Federal departments and two Governors from States having major urbanization problems (I hereby put in a nomination for New Jersey), and two mayors. and I leave that nomination up to my New York City friends in the audience.

The Commission would make a complete and full investigation into the Federal policies and programs affecting the Nation's metropolitan areas

In the works of the bill, the Commission

would try to determine-

"(1) the present and prospective needs of the Nation's metropolitan areas for public services, including but not limited to planning, highways, mass transit facilities, water resources, elimination of air and water pollution, health and welfare services, schools, recreation facilities, urban renewal and housing, ports, airports, and prevention of crime and delinquency;

"(2) capabalities of different levels of gov-

ernment to meet such needs;

"(3) the extent to which the Federal Government is assisting metropolitan areas in meeting such needs;

"(4) means for improved coordination of Federal, State, and local policies and programs that affect metropolitan areas;

"(5) such other matters as may be of assistance in solving the various problems of, and promoting the social and economic wellbeing of, the Nation's metropolitan areas."

The Commission would submit its report to the President and the Congress before

February 1, 1961.

I've been told by the Senate Committee on Government Operations that they hope to be ready within the next month or so to start hearings on Senator CLARK's bill. The committee is awaiting reports from heads of Federal administrative agencies before starting the hearings.

#### THE WALKING TOUR

Like many other legislators, I very much hope that the bill will be passed, and passed as soon as possible.

I think it will make possible what I would like to call a walking tour approach to our

metropolitan problems.

Let me explain what I mean by a "walking

A planner recently said that statistics don't help us at all when we try to understand urban blight. He suggested instead that citizens take a walk through the slums, through the so-called gray zones, through the new sections of cities which are already showing signs of decay. He was talking only about slums, but I think we need the same kind of approach when we talk about metropolitan problems.

The proposed Federal Commission would give the entire Nation the kind of tour I have

The Commission, and the experts it could hire, would have hearings in the key urban areas throughout the Nation. These hearings would focus attention on problems well understood by planners and political leaders, but understood only vaguely by the general

In other words, this Commission would help us take inventory.

For the first time, we would know, on a national basis, what our needs really are.

For the first time, we would know how Federal programs really are affecting our urban areas.

For the first time, we would know whether we're running neck and neck with the threat to the future of our cities or if we're far

On all sides we receive new evidence daily of the need for a true understanding of what is happening in our metropolitan areas.

our home communities, we complain about our tax bills, but we also say that we are not receiving the services we want.

We hear proposals for new giant agencies to govern areas which cross municipal, county, and State lines.

And above all, we hear the cry for more Federal aid, for our schools, for our airports, for our railroads, for our water supply, for almost every need which arises when millions of people move from established cities to new -

Now, I happen to believe that Federal aid can be a creative and well directed force in the life of our Nation.

But I also say this:

We must know more about how our Federal aid is being spent. All of you have heard stories about one Federal agency's duplicating the work of another-or undoing the work of another.

All here have heard reports that 13 million unsafe or unsanitary dwelling units are occupied by American families, and that most of these units are in metropolitan areas.

I think most persons in this room have wondered what will happen to our citles unless we can make our great new highways part of a city instead of a corridor through it.

When we turn to any major problem of our small towns and the cities they surround, we find that we have not yet taken an inventory of all our problems. We don't an inventory of all our problems. We don't know the total extent of the job which faces us.

American cities don't need a dole. They need a positive statement of urban program policy from Federal administrators. The proposed Commission, by unearthing and dramatizing the facts, will help us get the answers and political support we have needed for so long and have not had.

#### POPULATION BOOMS

Population experts are also giving us a

dismaying peek into their crystal ball.

A United Nations study said the world population may more than double by the year 2000.

One professor tells us that population jumps by about 4½ million persons a year. More than 50 percent of this increase is expected to take place in metropolitan areas, by the way.

One of President Eisenhower's advisers (Dr. Raymond J. Saulnier, Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers) played a few variations on this Maithusian theme at the action conference in Newark on May 4.

He quoted Census Bureau estimates to show that the population increase within the next 17 years will be between 40 and 68 million persons, and that about 4 million people will reach 18 years of age in 1975 alone. This would be nearly twice as many as reached their 18th birthday in 1958. And so it would seem that our metropolitan areas are going to be quite lively places in 1975-with demands for more schools, more homes, and more services for each of those

I quote all this to emphasize the fact that we can't sit back and hope the metropolitan problem will go away if we ignore it. It will become very much worse unless we take action as fast as possible, and it is my deep conviction that one of the best courses of initial action is to pass S. 1431.

#### STEVENSON QUOTE

We will have to do much more, of course, to save our cities and the suburbs which are now almost a working part of those cities.

I think that Adlai Stevenson—at that same action conference in Newark—described the task ahead in admirable and

inspiring terms.

His concluding statements shall be mine:
"There are people in the world today who say that tough public problems are best solved behind closed doors, by dictators or central committees. But in our land we dare not even reach for a goal of human improvement in disregard of human needs, human values, human judgments. The central tenet of statesmanship in a democracy is that unless the people understand it and participate in it, no long-term program can endure.

"So, as we put ourselves to the rebuilding of our cities, to the problems of their growth, we will look for leadership, a high quality of skill, in the managing of this task. But we will not buy the shibboleth that autocratic action is essential to achieve the desired result. We will not leave the

subject to an anointed few.

"The municipality of tomorrow must be renewed in the image of people's hopes and ambitions for a better life. The values to be re-created must have a sound political and economic pedestal, but they must flow from human needs.

"Thus will we build and rebuild our cities, and in so doing, renew and rekindle our faith in ourselves and in the limitless cre-

ativeness of freemen."

[From the Bergen Evening Record, June 3, 1959]

THINGS TO COME AS WE SHAPE THEM

What the Regional Plan Association is trying to tell us in the north Jersey suburbs in another of its provocative reports can be compressed into two words:

"Get ready."

The association's \$600,000 3-year study on population trends in the 22-county metropolitan area forecasts that within 15 years the population will increase 25 percent and that much of it will have to be absorbed by the older, handier, more heavily settled suburban areas. That, of course, means communities like Hackensack, Englewood, Garfield, Cliffside Park, Rutherford—in fact, any community having available what the Regional Plan Association accurately calls hand-me-down housing.

The trend is out of New York City. New York City will remain, the study said, the area's center of finance, commerce, and culture. But manufacturing and business are likely to move away from the city, and it will bring with it wherever it goes not only the structures of manufacturing and business but the people who work in them. Those people will seek homes near where they work. And as the younger native people move away from the crowded communities existing housing will be taken over by the new people from the city.

So what can we do about it?

Actually a great deal can be done. We have before us the Regional Plan Association projection. That's a help, because it tells us what to expect. Having digested it as dispassionately as possible, it might not be a bad idea to follow the suggestion of Senator Williams (Democrat, of New Jersey), who proposed a walking tour of any urban area under discussion for redevelopment. Find out what you have before you try to discuss what's to be done with it, Senator

WILLIAMS urged the New York chapter of the American Society for Public Administration. It is surprising and a little dismaying to discover how really little we know about the communities in which we live. That's the first step: get the facts. See them. Weigh

them. Get the feel of them.

After that comes the time for some reappraisal and then a plan for the future, a plan based on realities and implemented by sensible and practical zoning. Not one of the older communities is able at this precise moment to undertake an expensive job of urban renewal. Not all of them need it. But the day will come when they will, and this is the time to plan for it. Perhaps another examination should be made of the proposed Federal Commission on Metropolitan Problems which Senstor Williams mentioned. It could undertake an authoritative marshaling of fact.

The development portrayed by the Regional Plan Association will take place over a period of 15 years. As urban planning is reckoned, 15 years is little more than overnight. But there is yet time if we put it to good use. What the Regional Plan Association forecasts is not inexorable. It is not the voice of doom. It is the challenge of to-morrow.

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover Receives American Citizen Award and Honorary Degree; Delivers Stirring Address

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, it was my privilege to have participated in the American Citizen Award banquet, June 16, 1959, at Charleston, W. Va. On this occasion the National Council, Junior Order of United American Mechanics, made its fourth biennial award to Hon. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Every 2 years, at its national convention, the Junior Order of United American Mechanics presents the organization's outstanding citation to a living American, of modest beginning, who has made a distinguished contribution to the American way of life. It is not a popularity contest; rather, it is the purpose of this splendid group "to provoke Americans everywhere into defining the qualities of citizenship." Recipients of the first three awards were the brilliant statesman, Bernard M. Baruch, in 1953, at Philadelphia; former President Harry S. Truman, in 1955, at San Francisco; and George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, in 1957, at Knoxville, Tenn.

The selection of Director Hoover to be the recipient of the 1959 honor was indeed an appropriate one. Certainly he was a man who earned his education by diligent effort before receiving his master of laws degree at George Washington University. Indeed, as the courageous Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation since 1924, Mr. Hoover truly has qualified for this award by meeting the criteria of having done much "to

provoke Americans everywhere into defining the qualities of citizenship."

As a Member of Congress, I wrote for the True Detective magazine an article entitled "The FBI Deserves Support," and I quote from the March 1940 edition an expression of my conviction that "unquestionably the ideals of Mr. Hoover are symbolic of law and order." Now, more than 19 years later, these ideals truly epitomize law and order.

There were approximately 1,200 persons present at Morris Harvey College in Charleston for the ceremonies, among them the Governor of West Virginia, the Honorable Cecil H. Underwood, and the mayors of the cities of Charleston and Dunbar, W. Va., the Honorable John T. Copenhaver and the Honorable Lawrence Barker. Also present was the Governor's 84-year-old father, Mr. Silas Underwood, of Tyler County, W. Va., who has held membership in the United American Mechanics organization for a half century.

Not only was Director Hoover given the American Citizen Award, but, also, he received the Morris Harvey College honorary doctor of laws degree from its dedicated president, Dr. Leonard Riggleman. This was the 18th institution of higher learning to so honor Mr. Hoover, who likewise was the recipient of a sculptured bust mounted on native West Virginia walnut. The bust of Mr. Hoover was by Charleston Architect Robert E. Martens, and was unveiled by Mayor Barker.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record the speech delivered by the Honorable J. Edgar Hoover at Charleston, W. Va., June 16, 1959, in response to the awards made to him by the Junior Order of United American Mechanics, entitled "Citizenship: A Call to Duty."

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

CITIZENSHIP: A CALL TO DUTY

(Address by J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, at the Biennial Convention of Junior Order United American Mechanics, Morris Harvey College, Charleston, W. Va., June 16, 1959)

The American Citizenship Award I have received here today from the Junior Order of United American Mechanics and the honorary degree conferred upon me by Morris Harvey College fill me with humility, gratitude, and a deep sense of responsibility. Humility, because I am fully aware of the extent to which the achievements of my associates in the FBI have contributed to my presence here. Gratitude, because I have been chosen to receive the signal honors as well as this unique sculpture. A deep sense of responsibility, because of the need that exists to alert everyone to the dangers which threaten to destroy everything American citizenship represents.

Our Nation is faced today with a dual menace—the Communist conspiracy attacking from within and from abroad, and a criminal conspiracy made up of the lowest dregs of the lawless who are attacking our statutory and constitutional safeguards. Only by reevaluating and assuming the full obligations of citizenship can we hope to achieve the maximum protection for our Nation from these threats which crime and

communism represent.

Our forefathers fought to gain liberty; our struggle in this, the nuclear age, is to maintain and perpetuate it. The international conspiracy of atheistic communism threatens us with total extinction through the deadly destruction wrought by the devastating weapons of this era.

While blatantly repeating the big lie of peaceful coexistence, the Communist enemy, aided by followers working from within, has already subjugated 17 countries with a population of over 900 million people or about one-third of those on the face of the globe. One hundred years ago, communism was regarded as an impractical theory. Some 40 years ago, at the time of the Bolshevik revolution, communism commanded 80,000 followers. Today, it claims a total world membership of more than 33 million, with active party units located in 83 nations.

Soviet history is replete with instances of the treachery which made these gains possible. A U.S. Senate report of the study of nearly 1,000 treaties showed that in 38 years the Soviet Union had violated agreements with practically every nation to which it had given its solemn, written pledge. With such a record as this before us, we must not relax our vigilance for one instant.

As the No. 1 target of worldwide communism, the United States is the prime objective of Soviet espionage. Soviet defectors are unanimous in stating that between 70 and 80 percent of Russian officials in the United States are members of the Red intelligence services. The importance that the U.S.S.R. is currently attaching to the value of these intelligence agents is vividly borne out by the sharp increase in the number of Soviet diplomatic personnel assigned to the United States. In May 1954, there were 212 Soviet officials in the United States. Five years later, that number has increased to 313-or an increase of almost 50 percent.

Soviet esplonage activities in this country expose the fallacy of so-called peaceful coexistence. In recent years, pseudo appeals for peace by Communists have been more than matched by intensified Communist espionage efforts in the United States. Using blackmåil, bribery, and similar techniques, Communist agents, many with diplomatic immunity, are stepping up their efforts to obtain our military, scientific, and and industrial secrets for use against us.

The Communist Party, U.S.A., today is an integral part of the international Commuconspiracy and represents a very real danger to our freedom. It is composed of the true believers-the disciples, the hardcore militants for the Soviet Union-who stand by Communist Russia and sing its praise despite the terrible inhumanity to man which has ben inflicted in various parts of the world by the Soviets and their satellites.

These are the people so blinded by faith in the Soviet Union and hatred of the United States that they still give allegiance to the Communist Party despite Soviet brutalities in Hungary, the hearding of countless millions into communes in China, the rape of Tibet and the imprisonment and degradation of the consecrated men of the clergy whose only crime was teaching the word of

Foremost in the present battle plans of the Communist Party, U.S.A., are well-cal-culated efforts to embarrass the American economic system; to infiltrate and gain control in our labor organizations; and to secure footholds in basic American industries, such as transportation, manufacturing, communications and chemicals. Success of these Red objectives will be destruction for our way of life.

One tried and proven weapon the Communists have used in the past has been the rulthless smear. Congressional committees, patriotic organizations, the FBI and all

those who attack subversion and defend American concepts are primary targets. The FBI is proud to have earned from Communists and their fellow travelers the title of arch enemy. The best yardstick of the effectiveness of the first against communism is the fury of the smear attacks against the fighter-launched and conducted by the The smear of the FBI is not a new thing, having been a continuing part of Communist effort in America for years. It would be a sorry day if the FBI should cease to be the target of Communist attacks. We may well be judged by the enemies we make.

Many former Communist Party members, awakened to the fallacies of communism. have given the FBI and congressional committees invaluable aid in the fight against subversion. By doing so, they have fulfilled a major obligation of citizenship. Until those former Communists who still maintain silence are willing to cooperate, they must be considered as on the side of our enemies.

I have made numerous appeals, asking for-mer Communists to ald the FBI in exposing the true menace of communism. I realize that very real, human, and personal sacrifices are involved. However, there is also a moral duty involved which transcends these sacrifices. It is a duty to the country to which they have sworn allegiance and to future generations who would live in peace.

While godless communism stalks a peaceloving America, yet another force, the criminal underworld, is subverting our demo-cratic processes. It is not the purpose of the FBI to shock Americans with its compilation of crime statistics each year, but the figures for 1958, unfortunately, are exactly that—shocking. Crime in 1958 reached an all-time high, an appalling increase of more than 8 percent over 1957. The total cost of crime for the entire Nation has now reached the alarming figure of \$22 billion a year-or nearly one-third of the cost of running the entire Federal Government for a year.

We look back with horror upon the days of Capone, Dillinger, and a host of others whose names are synonymous with crimes; but what of today? Scum from the lowest levels of society have gained riches and respect in some quarters after they have drawn the very lifeblood from honest American insitutions.

A few leeches masquerading as legitimate labor leaders are casting a shadow of public distrust on thousands of labor men who have directed their unions with integrity and dignity over the years. Is it not time that the rank and file join hands with the many honest and conscientious labor leaders to rid themselves of these parasites?

The deeply entrenched forces of the underworld encompass, of course, many facets of organized crime beyond those connected with the labor movement. Many notorious hoodlums of the prohibition era, for example, now wear the mantle of respectability. With their ill-gotten gains some have bought into legitimate businesses. Others have simply strong-armed their way to the same objective. In this manner, these racketeers have succeeded in gaining social prominence and a measure of community acceptance. From this foundation of apparent legitimacy, they are spreading criminal control over many segments of the business world. Evidence of the spread of this despotism has been publicly revealed in the garment industry, jukebox, and vending machine businesses and others.

In addition, there are those tyrants of the underworld dealing in narcotics, prostitu-tion, and gambling who continue to inflict an immeasurable degree of suffering and sorrow on our citizenry through their increasing deflance for law and order.

In our zeal to effectively combat these sin-

ister forces, we must not lose sight of the fact that the responsibility is first and foremost that of the State and local law enforcement agencies. Local police power is one of the cornerstones of local government and should remain so.

This is not the time to reorganize law enforcement-it is the time for a vigorous activation and application of existing crimefighting techniques. A strong and united law enforcement profession remains America's most effective weapon against the professional hoodlums who dominate the underworld.

The strength of law enforcement can be maintained only through a scrupulous ob-servance of the rights of all our citizens. Law enforcement operates only for the protection of the people. It must operate within prescribed limitations as the servant of the people. Its duties must be performed within the strict meaning of the law, with full consciousness that the law represents a mandate from the people. These responsibilities must be met objectively, with a determination to maintain the maximum of individual rights which our citizens now enjoy. Supporting this basic premise, the FBI rigidly adheres to the principle of liberty for all but license for none. In this manner, law enforcement can curb our current wave of lawlessness while still protecting the rights of the community as well as rights of its members. It is not an attitude that makes headlines, but it is one that is profoundly American.

Righteousness, honesty and obedience to the law have no meaning whatsoever to many American youths. A tragically high percentage of crime in 1958 was committed by our young people. During that year, the arrests of persons under 21 years of age constituted 20 percent of the total arrests.

The significance of this situation is that we as adults have failed the younger genera-It means that the forces of the underworld have stained the lives of these thousands of boys and girls. It is time for us to wage an all-out war on our antagonists. If not now, it will be too late. Juvenile crime in the past few years has never declinedit is constantly increasing.

There are those who say that law enforcement officers are too strict in their interpretation of juvenile crime, that what we day call crimes were in prior years merely pranks. This is not true. In 1958 persons 17 years of age or less accounted for over 22 percent of the arrests for robbery, over 48 percent of the arrests for larceny, 50 percent of the arrests for burglary and 64 percent of all auto theft arrests. We are no longer dealing with delinquent children—we are dealing with vicious young criminals.
They should be treated as such.

We cannot evade the combined challenge of communism and lawlessness. As the criminal takes advantage of every weakness in our social structure, so the communist too often is able to exploit social, economic, racial and other problems which arise in our communi-We must join together to wage war on crime and subversion. It is not the problem of law enforcement alone. Neither is it the the problem of the people alone. cannot stand by themselves in the fight against the organized forces of tyranny. They must have the help and protection that honest law enforcement provides. Neither can law enforcement successfully protect the people against the ravages of crime and subversion without the full support of an alert and aroused citizenry.

While their motives are different, commu-

nists and criminals have many things in common-basically their actions spring from an utter contempt for the true principles of citizenship as expressed in a society based

on law and order.

This contempt is nourished in America by the moral and physical weakness of some of our citizens. There are all too many in the United States who believe in surrendering a principle of morality to the illusions of expediency. Where weakness prevails-fear takes over-and fear can cause a citizen to

This is true whether it be a Communist dictator or a criminal overlord. There is no basic moral difference in the tactics they use. The iron fist of the communist tyrant is often concealed by the velvet glove of so-called peaceful coexistence. The machine gun of the criminal overlord is also frequently hidden by the cloak of apparent respecta-

It is the seed of fear that Nikita Khrushchev hopes to plant in our minds when he threatens to unleash on us what he terms "the most devastating war ever known by mankind." In the criminal sense, this is blackmail—ballistic blackmail. It is the same seed of fear the hoodlum hopes to plant in the minds of prospective victims of a protection racket.

The ultimate results of this utter contempt for the rights of others—both by communists and criminals—are tragic consequences. Today, for example, in Communist China over 500 million persons have been herded into communes. In this completely regimented existence, families have been broken up; private property confiscated; work mili-tarized; and the individual robbed of practically all freedom of choice in his personal

Recently communists in Poland boasted that they had taken over the Boy Scouts there and turned them into a Red youth Could there be a better exemple of how the communists use even the most noble of organizations to further their insidious aims?

The same denial of personal rights occurs when murderers, robbers, and extortionists ply their evil trades against innocent citi-

These combined threats call for a new awareness of what citizenship actually means.

Good citizenship can best be described as a debt to the past and an obligation to the future. It is a solemn contract between the individual and his government.

The strength of our Nation lies in the hearts, minds, and souls of all of us. As the nuclear age progresses, we will be faced with problems even greater than those that confront us today. We must firmly resolve to inspire, especially in our youth, a strong faith in the moral and spiritual foundations of our Nation.

If we can instill into our young people the spirit of patriotism—respect for the rights of others, interest in our Government, love of dency-then and not until then will we see juvenile crime decline. And the best way to teach these principles to our sons and daughters is to lead the way ourselves and to remember that young people will emulate that which impresses them most.

We much teach our youth that although a man may be wealthy in the world's goods, he

may be a pauper in integrity.

As a youth I was taught basic beliefs. Cynics, perhaps, may regard them with derision. For instance, I was taught that no book was ever to be placed above the Bible. Children in my youth were taught the code of the American flag and to defend it against any manner of desecration, as a symbol of life, liberty, and justice. We would do well to reactivate this spirit of patriotism.

If we imbue our youth with reverence for their country and for freedom's symbols and if we teach them through our own actions that their Nation should be in their hearts second only to God, then, and only then, we will have developed citizens who will never be engulfed in the quicksands of crime and communism.

Communism is a materialistic, enslaving atheistic evil. It is impossible to compromise with that evil or with those who knowingly support it, directly or indirectly.

Communism and belief in God cannot peacefully coexist because God's truth is communism's mortal enemy. Communists and communism are hostile to God. It is a battle between the forces of God and the forces of evil in which there can be no truce.

In the battle for the life of our Nation, to paraphrase one of our great Presidents, we must lock to those who enter the arena of active struggle; whose faces are stained by dust and sweat and blood; who strive valiantly to overcome temporary obstacles; who, supported by faith, enthusiasm and devo-tion, assault the enemy stronghold with the sword of patriotism.

Here are seven basic points which should

- be part of our everyday lives: We must:

  1. Be alert and learn the true nature and tactics of the Communist and criminal enemy.
- 2. Make civic programs for social improvement our business.
- 3. Exercise our right to vote; elect representatives of integrity.
- 4. Respect human dignity-individual rights cannot coexist with crime and com-
- 5. Be informed-know the history, traditions, and heritage of our country.
- 6. Combat public apathy-indifference can be fatal when national survival is at stake. 7. Attack bigotry and prejudice where-ever they appear; justice for all is the bul-

wark of democracy.

These points-in all their simplicitymean America-the land we love and cherish. This is the America we must all work to protect against those enemies who seek to destroy her historic freedoms. This is the America which merits our entire devotion and support. This is the America which is the hope of freemen everywhere.

Some years ago I was in a small southern city and decided in the late afternoon to take a short walk. I passed a little church whose white steeple gleamed brightly in the rays of the setting sun. Drawn by its picturesque beauty, I saw on the announcement board near the door a phrase which I have remembered. It was the topic for the next Sunday's sermon, and it said simply: "Do what you can, with what you have, wherever you are, for God and America."

That is our call to duty. It is the tradition of free men-a tradition which we must carry on to ensure the future for those who take over our obligations.

## Investigation of Munitions Contracts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. WILLIAM PROXMIRE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the Capital Times of Madison, Wis., has recently given strong editorial support to a Senate investigation of munitions contracts. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROBE OF MUNITIONS LOBBY COULD PRODUCE MAJOR SCANDAL

There is talk that the Senate may investigate the munitions lobby in Washington with particular attention to the brass whose duties involved purchasing and contracts and who retired to take cushy jobs with the corporations with which they had been dealing.

Such an investigation is long overdue, For years the Capital Times has been pointing out the serious question of public policy involved. A few Members of Congress have called attention to it.

But the practice has become increasingly Many of the big corporations prevalent. doing defense work employ retired military men at enormous salaries. Last Monday the Capital Times published a list of them.

In recent weeks Lt. Gen. Clarence Irvine retired as Deputy Chief of Staff for Material in the Air Force and took up a vice presidency with the Avco Corp., a major supplierof aircraft and missiles.

It is being predicted around Washington that if the right kind of an investigation is made it will produce one of the most messy scandals Washington has seen in a long time.

This practice has been a problem for many years but very little has been done to tackle it. Obviously, in this era of unprecedented peacetime spending for defense purposes and the strict secrecy in which most of this work is conducted there is reason to believe that the abuses are worse than ever.

If the Senate will go ahead with a really searching inquiry it can perform a much-needed service for the Nation.

# Mission 63 To Expand and Improve National Park System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, many of us in the State of Oregon are particularly interested in the development of our national park system. Crater Lake National Park, located in the State of Oregon, is one of the most extraordinarily beautiful of all the national parks in the land. Furthermore, I now am sponsoring S. 1526, a bill to create an Oregon Dunes National Seashore as part of our national park

Mr. Don Jepsen, editor of the Oregon Daily Emerald, the official newspaper of the University of Oregon, has written an informative and thoughtful article about the expansion of our national parks under the Mission 66 program. All of us realize how much greater has become the pressure upon our park facilities as the population of the United States has expanded. Mr. Jepsen's article, which was published in the Eugene (Oreg.) Register-Guard of June 1, 1959. makes a powerful and effective case for the continuation of Mission 66. He also argues in behalf of the national wilderness bill, S. 1123, of which I am privileged to be a corponsor. The principal author of this bill is the distinguished senior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. HUMPHREY].

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that the article from the Eugene Register-Guard by Don Jepsen, entitled "National Farks Fromised Rescue by Mission 66," be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Eugene (Oreg.) Register-Guard, June 1, 1959]

NATIONAL PARKS PROMISED RESCUE BY Mission 66

(By Don Jepsen, editor, Oregon Daily Emerald)

On July 1, 1956, the National Park Service launched Mission 66, a 10-year improvement program designed to rescue the 29 national parks from the abuses of overcrowding. By 1966, the golden anniversary of the Service (hence the name), it is hoped that enough visitor facilities will have been developed to handle an estimated 80 million tourists expected by then. This includes new lodges, campsites, trailer courts, and administration buildings as well as improvements in the existing facilities such as roads and trails. New visitor centers will be developed to better educate the visiting tourist and make his stay more enjoyable and informative.

A program of this type was sorely needed. Since the end of World War II park visitation has leaped steadily upward until by 1957 over 59 million persons were crowding into areas equipped to handle less than half their number. A harassed, understaffed corps of park rangers not only became responsible for the education of these hordes of tourists but had added to their instructional and light maintenance duties the added burdens of law enforcement, direction of traffic, even the cleaning of latrines. Accommodations were badly overcrowded while improvements and expansion by private enterprise were almost nil. The more unscrupious concessionaires began taking advantage of the demand for food and lodging by raising their prices to a level which would laughed at outside park boundaries.

Herbert Maier, assistant regional Park Service director of region 5 in San Francisco summed up the problem of overcrowding and deterioration of park facilities:

"First we had to arrive at as realistic a visitation figure as possible in order to get a program such as Mission 66 formulated, approved, and into action. If two thing were static—cost and visitation—then there would be no problem. But they're not and that's a fact which we have ignored for so many years, while our park system kept getting worse and worse."

Maier continued, "The travel curve has always been our best justification for appropriations—whether we got them or not. Now we are going to project that curve through Mission 66 \* \* \* and our appropriations will always be commensurate with our increased visitation or planned increase of visitation—that we know now."

#### CERTAIN LIMITS NECESSARY

The Mission 66 expansion program gave rise to another vital question which needed to be worked out by the Service-wilderness preservation. The National Park Service credo is "preservation with use." How much preservation (in a wilderness State) to how much use has never been specifically designated. It goes all the way back to 1872 when our first national park, Yellowstone in Wyo-ming, was formed. Although the point was not specifically defined then, it was nevertheless understood that the park was to remain essentially a wilderness with a reasonable amount of accommodations and other improvements to be constructed for the comfort of visitors. Yellowstone had a stormy history; an area of lesser significance might not have survived the test. Today all the parks are governed by the rules first formulated for Yellowstone.

In 1916 when the National Park Service was formed the wilderness factor was defined a little more specifically in the act that created this body: "\* \* \* (exists) to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wildlife therein \* \* \* to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations." Therefore a program of expansion had to be kept within certain limits in order to maintain the park system in a predominantly wilderness state.

Mission 66 is nearing completion of its third year. Through the program Park Service officials have fought to relieve some of the congestion in parks like Yosemite in California, Great Smoky in North Carolina, and Yellowstone. Included in plans for Mission 66 is the eventual relocation of facilities connected with administration outside park boundaries. This would include things as incinerators, some administration buildings, warehouses, and other facilities necessary to maintain the parks. A large section of ground has been purchased just outside the Arch Rock entrance of Yosemite, and eventually all facilities not essential for tourist accommodation will be moved here. In some parks plans are being made to move even the visitor facilities either to less scenic areas or completely outside park boundaries. This is true in both Mount Rainier Park in Washington and Rocky Mountain Park in Colorado.

#### NATIONAL RECREATION AREAS

At a Mission 66 Advisory Committee meeting in San Francisco, in October 1958, a report was issued reaffirming the preservation of the parks as the prime concern of the Mission 66 program: "\* \* we must specifically emphasize \* \* that Mission 66 is aimed primarily at protection and at preservation."

The report went on to say that it was possible to handle increasing numbers of visitors "within the forecasts of our lifetime" without sacrificing the protection and preservation of the basic resource, wilder-

An integral part of Mission 66 is a plan for "encouraging public and private agencies to develop other recreation areas to take the pressure off existing National Park Service areas." This has led to the formation of a Division of Recreation Resources Planning within the Service to analyze and evaluate proposals to include new areas in the park system as well as to encourage State and local authorities to develop areas for recreation on a State or county level.

Such areas in the park system would not be included as national parks, but as national recreation areas. The basic distinction is that in the recreation areas the emphasis would be on commercial recreation development as opposed to wilderness preservation. An outstanding example right now is the proposed Oregon Coast National Seashore Recreation Area between Florence and Reedsport, plus a portion north of this encompassing the Sea Lion Caves. The proposal for the Oregon area is currently the center of controversy, but a statement by President Eisenhower that the Service should go slow on the acquisition of new land until it can shape up present service areas with the Mission 66 program may postpone development of the coast area for a year or more.

As the Park Service was solidifying policy and moving ahead with its program, Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY, of Minnesota, introduced a wilderness bill on the floor of the Senate. HUMPHREY'S bill—the National Wilderness Preservation Act—is a plan to place continuous areas of 5,000 acres and more of roadless lands in a "wilderness vault" so to speak. The areas would remain roadless and devoid

of any commercial development or exploitation of any kind, even down to an inconspicuous toolshed. It would take an act of Congress or in some cases the consent of the President to open the portions included within the system.

#### ONLY ONE CHANGE

Portions of 23 national parks, along with other wilderness areas outside of Service jurisdiction, would tentatively qualify for inclusion within the wilderness system. As could be expected, conservation groups are unanimously in favor of the bill, but there is some opposition from the Service as to the division of authority which would be created of the Agency (as yet unnamed) were to govern lands within park boundaries. Maier said, "Where would the Wilderness Agency be placed? How can they administer the land when they don't even have title to it? You would be establishing an agency which has no title whatsoever to the wilderness it would govern.

The Service would continue to administer the land; the only change would be that there could be no construction or roadbuilding within these areas except by an act of Congress. All that is needed now for such construction is permission from the Secretary of the Interior.

How this bill would affect the Mission 66 program remains to be seen. Late in May or possibly early June, the Senate Interior Committee is expected to decide whether the bill should be sent to the floor for a vote. Backers of the bill call it a now-or-never proposition. The Wilderness Preservation Act is loaded with compromises including one being discussed by the Senate Interior Committee to require congressional approval before any land could be put in the wilderness system. This would let the strongest enemies of the bill, the commercial interests, have their say on every bit of land to be included. The measure is given a 50-50 chance, even with the deluge of conservation support.

Whether the bill passes or not the Mission 66 program will still be completed, additional improvement programs will be launched, and the tourists will continue to come. The national parks have finally come out of their major slump and adequate funds are currently being provided to execute a sound planning and development program for the most valuable real estate in America.

# Anniversary of Execution of Hungarian Patriots

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. PHILIP A. HART

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. HART. Mr. President, today is the first anniversary of the execution of the former Premier of Hungary, Imre Nagy, and his associates. There is much that all of us have learned, and more that we can learn, from this bitter incident.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an editorial entitled "Blood of the Martyrs" and also a letter written by Maj. Gen. Bela Kiraly, commander in chief of the National Guard of Hungary during the 1956 revolution, to the editor of the Washington Post and Times Herald, both of which were published in the

today, June 17, 1959.

There being no objection, the editorial and letter to the editor were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IFrom the Washington Post and Times Herald, June 17, 1959

BLOOD OF THE MARTYRS

This is a date of importance to all who are interested in the history of human liberty. It is the 204th anniversary of the Battle of Bunker Hill; but it is also the 1st anniversary of the executions of former Premier Imre Nagy of Hungary, of Gen. Pal Maleter, who commanded the freedom fighters of the heroic, and for a time victorious, Hungarian Insurrection of November 1956, and of two of their revoluntionary associates. The naked perfidy and cynicism of the circumstances under which the in-surrection was suppressed and its leaders seized horrified even a world long inured to tyranny and barbarism.

In what seemed the hour of Hungarian victory-after the Soviet forces had been forced to evacuate Budapest-General Maleter, as Minister of Defense, and some others representing the cabinet and the army were persuaded to go to the Soviet headquarters at Tokol on Cspel Island to work out the technical details of the promised evacuation of all Hungary by the Russian troops. What happened at Tokol has been described in the report subsequently prepared for the United Nations. The discussions, it seems, proceeded with apparent amicability for about 2 hours, throughout which the Hungarian delegates throughout which the Hungarian delegates were in touch with Premier Nagy at Budapest. Then "toward midnight telephone contact \* \* was broken off. Reconnaissance parties sent toward Tokol by General Kiraly failed to return. \* \* [Meanwhile] discussions \* \* at Tokol were in fact interrupted by the entry of a personage "who bore no insignia of rank"—General Serov, Chief of the Soviet Security Police. Accompanied by Soviet officers he announced that he was arresting the Hungarian delegation. The head of the Soviet delegation, General Malinin, astonished by the interruption made a gesture of indignation. General Serov thereupon whispered to him; as a result, General Malinin shrugged his shoulders and ordered the Soviet delegation to leave the room."

Premier Nagy, you will remember, was arrested on November 22, 1956, with some of his colleagues, after leaving the Yugoslav Embassy under promises of safe conduct. The circumstances, as described in the United Nations report, were these:

"At 6:30 p.m. a bus arrived at the Yugo-slav Embassy. \* \* \* As the group was boarding the bus, Soviet military personnel arrived and insisted on entering it. The Yugoslav Ambassador asked two Embassy officials to accompany the group to make sure that Premier Nagy and the party reached their homes as agreed. The bus was driven to the city headquarters of the Soviet Military Command, where the two Yugoslav officials were ordered by a Soviet lieutenant-colonel to leave. Under an escort of Soviet armored cars the bus then drove away to an unknown destination."

We know now that the destination was death by judicial murder.

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald, June 17, 1959] NAGY: A YEAR AFTER

On June 17, 1953-exactly 1 year ago-Radio Moscow announced the execution of

ter of Defense Gen. Pal Maleter and two of their associates who played leading roles in the 1956 Hungarian revolution.

The memory of those Hungarian patriots who laid down their lives in an attempt to make their country sovereign and inde-pendent and free deserves to be honored.

General Maleter headed the Hungarian Government's delegation negotiating with the Russian command on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the country. An agreement was reached on the essential points. Then, on the evening of November 3, 1956, General Maleter was invited to the Russian headquarters in Tokol, outside of Budapest, allegedly to work out the remaining technical details of the agreement. He was never to return. Instead, a few hours later, in the early morning hours of November 4, the Russian surprise attack was launched throughout the country.

As the news of fighting started pouring into my headquarters, I suggested to Premier Nagy in a telephone conversation that he immediately issue a statement on the Soviet intervention, and simultaneously urge the freedom fighter groups and the armed forces to resist the Soviet advance. I insisted repeatedly that further fighting could in any case be carried on only on a guerrilla basis, but even guerrilla fighting must be directed from central headquarters, and be preceded by an appeal from the highest authority.

I was bewildered by the Premier's unwill-ingness to comply with my suggestion and by his instructions that the freedom fighters, whenever possible, should desist even from whenever possible, should desist even from answering enemy fire. "You must know that an order to open fire, or any such ap-peal, means war," he said. "The govern-ment will refrain from entering into open warfare with the Soviet Union.

A few minutes later the Premier broadcast an address to the nation: "Early this morning Soviet troops launched an attack against our capital, with the obvious intention of overthrowing the lawful Government of Hungary. Our troops are engaged in the fighting. The Government is at its post. am herewith informing the country and the world of the above facts."

Budapest was in flames and Soviet troops were entering the city in great strength.

Imre Nagy was a patriot. It pained him to see Hungarians dying in a gallant but futile effort. He did not want to weaken the spirit of resistance, but he was also reluctant to encourage the further shedding of blood, and he tried to avoid taking steps that might have given support to Soviet justifications for intervention.

His course of action was wise and patriotic. Time has proved that his decision, though incomprehensible to me at the height of the revolution, was that of a farsighted statesman who held his country's welfare uppermost in his mind.

His capture by the Russians after he had been assured safe conduct, and his execution, in 1958, despite repeated formal assurances that he and his associates would not be prosecuted, caused worldwide protests of unprecedented magnitude. Indeed, Imre Nagy and Pal Maleter are martyrs, and not to the Hungarian people alone. The Hungarian revolution was an important milestone in humanity's struggle for freedom; Imre Nagy and Pal Maleter have become symbols of that struggle.

Maj. Gen. BELA KIRALY, Commander in Chief of the National Guard of Hungary During the 1956 Revolution.

NEW YORK.

# Washington Post and Times Herald of Hungarian Prime Minister Imre Nagy, Minis- Death of Paul Tobenkin, Reporter for New York Herald Tribune

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES . Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I read with deep regret this morning of the passing of Paul Tobenkin, an outstanding New York reporter for nearly a quarter century. I knew him best in his role as a working newspaperman who was dedicated to the principles that have made his chosen profession of journalism a great one. He was a careful, thorough factfinder, whose distinguished reporting, particularly in the field of labor, civil rights and civil liberties was highly regarded by his associates on the New York Herald Tribune and the newspaper public he served. He will be sorely missed by all of us who knew him personally and by the millions of New Yorkers who had come to know and respect his byline on a news story. I ask unanimous consent that today's New York Herald Tribune editorial about Paul Tobenkin be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. I also ask unanimous consent that an article published in the New York Herald Tribune of today be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PAUL TOBENKIN, REPORTER FOR HERALD TRIBUNE, DIES

Paul Tobenkin, 46, a staff reporter for the New York Herald Tribune for 24 years, died early yesterday at Beth Israel Hospital after suffering a heart attack last week. He lived at 309 Avenue C, in Stuyvesant Town.

Among the many exclusive stories that Mr. Tobenkin reported as a specialist in labor news was the first account from Atlantic City, N.J., in 1935 of the formation of the CIO. In the next decade he wrote graphic accounts of major strikes, the career of John L. Lewis and other high points in the developing power of the labor movement. From 1945 to 1947, he worked in the Washington bureau of the Herald Tribune.

In recent years, in addition to generalassignment reporting, Mr. Tobenkin specialized in the activities of the various Jewish organizations, including those of Zionist and American-Jewish orientation. In a two-part series in October, he exposed the resurgent activity of racist hate groups in the United

Mr. Tobenkin, born in Chicago, came to New York as a child and began his newspaper career as a high school correspondent for the New York Times. He worked as a re-porter for the Milwaukee Sentinel in 1931, and as the New York University correspondent for the Herald Tribune from 1932 until he joined the staff in 1935.

## ACTIVE IN GUILD

In World War II he enlisted in the Army. He was an active member of the Herald Trib-une unit of the American Newspaper Guild and served a term as unit chairman.

Surviving is his father, Elias Tobenkin, author, journalist, and sociologist. His mother, Mrs. Rae Schwid Tobenkin, died in 1938. A funeral service for Mr. Tobenkin will be held at 10:15 a.m. today at the Riverside Memorial Chapel, Amsterdam Avenue at 76th Street. Dr. Henry Neumann, of the New York Ethical Culture Society, will speak. Burial will be at Old Mount Carmel Cemetery, Brooklyn.

#### PAUL TOBENKIN, REPORTER

For 24 years Paul Tobenkin was a staff reporter for this newspaper, and although he had recently been ill, his death yesterday came as a deep shock to his colleagues and friends here. Mr. Tobenkin was the kind of reporter who could cover any story and cover it well, but he was known particularly for his activities on two beats—labor news in the earlier years of his career, and news of Jewish organizations in recent years. In both fields he was respected and admired inside the office and out as an able craftsman who knew how to dig for news and how to write about it. His was the career of a good newspaperman, and it has been cut cruelly short at the age of 46.

# Constitutional Amendment To Insure Balanced Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, on May 26, 1959, I introduced on behalf of myself, the Senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. Byrd], and the senior Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Curtis], Senate Joint Resolution 99, which provides for a constitutional amendment in an effort to insure a balanced budget.

Since then I have received encouraging letters on my proposal from people throughout the country and, particularly, from residents of the State of New Hampshire.

The news media in my State have also given favorable coverage to this resolution. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial on this subject which appeared in the Manchester (N.H.) Union Leader on June 8, 1959.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Manchester Union Leader, June 8, 1959]

## UP TO THE PEOPLE

Senator STYLES BRIDGES' proposed constitutional amendment to require that the Federal budget be balanced each year, save in time of war or national emergency, is a step in the direction of fiscal sanity. The Senator's desire to see the Nation placed on a sound pay-as-you-go basis is indeed commendatory.

Yet, is it not true that we are now in a time of extreme national emergency? Certainly neither Senator Bamces nor this newspaper would want to see any diminishing of the defense effort in the name of budget balancing. We are sure that Senator Bamces would be the first to oppose cutting military expenditures to balance the budget. But if the amendment were ratified, is it not conceivable that it is the defense program that

would suffer? Or are we to assume that the American people would forget their selfishness and demand that Government handouts be cut? We think not. That's the inherent evil of welfare statism. It appeals to the selfish interests of mankind. It brings out the worst in all of us.

Senator BRIDGES' constitutional amendment makes good legislative sense. But are the American people big enough and intelligent enough to demand a halt to the inflationary spiral, which—let's face it—is motivated in large measure by nondefense spending?

# Inconsistencies of Our Foreign-Aid Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. THOMAS J. DODD

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, on May 30 a foreign policy article of unusual merit appeared in the Hartford Times. The article was written by Josef Kalvoda, and is concerned with the inconsistencies of our foreign-aid program.

I ask unanimous consent to have this penetrating analysis printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FOREIGN AID FOR OUR FRIENDS BUT NOT FOR OUR ENEMIES

(By Josef Kalvoda, assistant professor of political science at St. Joseph College)

Over the years U.S. economic and military assistance has been extended to a large number of countries. The chief purpose for giving that aid has been to heip our allies to promote economic and political stability at home, and to prevent Communists from gaining power in areas friendly to us.

If foreign aid is an effective weapon for combating Communist expansion and winning the cold war, then most people would undoubtedly agree that the policy is sound and should be continued.

The giveaway program has been criticized, however, on several grounds. Not the principle itself, but the question to which countries aid should or should not be given has been at the heart of the controversies that have appeared periodically toward the close of each congressional session.

It has been accepted for a fact that our Latin American neighbors have received very little assistance during past years. Attempts have been made to correct the situation and to give our southern neighbors a better

There are clear indications that the mistaken policy toward Latin America will be alternated by a more appropriate one. In some years the entire economic aid to Latin American countries was considerably smaller than that given to a single country not allied with us in any military or political alliance—to Yugoslavia.

While our southern neighbors are members of the Organization of American States—a defensive alliance of the Western Hemisphere—the Yugoslav state is controlled by a Communist—totalitarian regime.

Also Communist Poland—a member of the Soviet sponsored Warsaw Pact—has received economic assistance from this country,

While our closest allies were neglected, governments composed of men professing Marxism-Leninism and committed to the cause of our destruction have received a preferential treatment.

Our American allies were taken for granted and very little assistance was given to them, while a Communist controlled country—Yugoslavia—received aid amounting to \$2 billion.

Instead of correcting the situation, Senators AIKEN and KENNEDY introduced recently a bill proposing a change in the Battle Act to that effect that all Communist controlled countries, except the Soviet Union, Red China, and North Korea, might be eligible for American assistance.

The sponsors of the bill say that the value of giving foreign aid to Communist-controlled states lies in the possibility of exploiting cracks in the Iron Curtain by offering a way to handle cold war strategy. They hope that other Communist controlled nations may follow Poland and Yugoslavia in moving toward independence.

moving toward independence.

The Kennedy-Aiken bill would allow the United States to give assistance to satellite countries provided they are attempting to loosen the ties that bind them to the Soviet Union

They also believe that the policy of aiding Communist regimes in Eastern Europe are more likely to weaken Soviet borders. A year ago a similar bill was defeated in the U.S. Senate by the margin of one vote.

The advocates of the above stated policy of aiding Communist controlled states call their proposal a realistic approach to the cold war problems. The policy, however, rests on false assumptions that include the misunderstanding of the nature of relations among Communist countries, the misconception of the nature of Communist power, and the disregarding of the revolutionary and dynamic creed of Marxism-Leninism.

It had been wrongly assumed that all Communist controlled states are bound to Russia, and that not communism as such but the Russian imperialism is the main issue in the cold war.

If this were the case, containment of Russian imperialism would be the right policy to pursue. Containment has been the guiding principle of the U.S. foregin policy since 1947. Yet the Communist power has not been contained or diminished.

During past years new countries fell under Communist control. These include China and North Vietnam, with populations of several hundred million. Since last year Iraq is moving toward communism, and under our noses Communists are entrenching themselves in the revolutionary regime in Cuba.

The Soviet Union is very often considered "just another national state." It has been easily forgotten that the Communist regime sprung from the Bolshevik revolution, and that the revolutionary creed and the idea of world revolution is the program of the Kremlin leaders.

Regardless of whether the Marxist-Leninists are of Russian, Georgian, Armenian, Croat, Czech, or American national origin, their objective is the same. Not Russian imperialism alone, but the aggressive, dynamic, and revolutionary communism is the key issue in the cold war.

When Pravda announced the dissolution of the Cominform on April 18, 1956, the reasons for it were given in clear and unmistakable terms. It was said that the makeup and content of activities of the Cominform no longer met the new conditions in the world, when socialism was extending beyond the boundaries of a single country and was transformed into a world system.

The cooperation among Communist parties, it was stated, would continue and each Com-

munist party or group of parties would establish links and contacts among them-

The aim of all Communist Parties, including the Soviet, Yugoslav, Polish, American, or Chinese, is the same: The victory of socialism in the world.

Disregarding the real nature of relations among Communist Parties and governments as well as the public pronouncements made by both Polish and Soviet Communist leaders, and justifying it by a suggestion that there had been a loosening of ties between Moscow and Warsaw, the U.S. Department of State declared in 1957 that Poland was independent of Moscow and economic assistance was extended to Gomulka's regime.

The provisions of the Battle Act as well as the congressional opposition was overlooked. Despite our aid to Gomulka, his regime did not cease to be communistic and did not

alter its pro-Soviet policy.

Despite\* our journalists writing about loosening of ties between Moscow and Warsaw, Gomulka's revolt against the Kremlin in October 1956, his defiance of Khrushchev, and triumphant national communism in Poland, the Polish Communists consistently asserted that what happened in October 1956 was inseparably linked with proletarian internationalism, with the community of goals and aspirations of all the Socialist countries and with the principle of unity of the Socialist camp.

Gomulka himself made it clear on several occasions that he was pro-Moscow, an internationalist, Marxist-Leninist, and that his Polish Communist Party had nothing in common with the so-called national communism, which was an invention of imperialist propaganda for disrupting the unity of Socialist

camp

American aid to the Communist government of Poland was said to be based on the Yugoslav pattern. However, Tito is in no way on our side. About \$2 billion of American taxpayers' money has been spent on Tito.

Yet he continues in exchanging telegrams of congratulations with his comrade Nikita S. Khrushchev. The Yuogoslav delegation to the United Nations never voted against the Soviet Union on any issue of importance. Yugoslav, Polish, and Soviet atomic scientists are collaborating.

Commercial transaction between Yugoslavia and countries of the Soviet bloc are normal. Tito recognized the East German

Communist puppet regime.

He promotes anti-American neutralism by words and arms. His policies are com-pletely consistent with the objectives of the world Communist movement. Without his help Communists could hardly have gained a foothold in the Middle East.

The occasional dialogues running between Borba and Pravda enable him to receive American aid and confuse those who are less familiar with the Marxist-Leninist con-

spiracy.

Similarly, as from other Communist controlled countries, from Yugoslavia tens of thousands refugees make their way across frontiers to the free world.

Only in 1957 the number went to 14,200. Of the 282 visitors to the Brussels World Fair who asked permission to remain as refugees 207 were Yugoslavs.

American aid is generously given to the totalitarian regime from which these people are running away for political reasons. On the other hand escapees are not welcomed in the West and thousands of them, being denied political asylum, are turned back. The avowed enemies of ours-the Marxist-Leninist rulers of the new class-are helped by the American taxpayers' money to stay in power, while our friends-the opponents of the totalitarian regime—are turned back to their enslavers. Whom do we expect to have on our side when the chips are down?

Similarly as in Tito's case several hundred million dolars of American taxpayers' money were spent on Gomulka. Yet he signed all Moscow-sponsored anti-U.S. resolutions.

The glorification of Gomulka by our journalists and all the money he was given did not make him change his pro-Soviet foreign policy or his anti-American stand on any issue of importance.

Explaining the Berlin situation, a Polish Communist newspaper, Slowo Powszechne of November 12, 1958, stated: "Khrushchev's adoption of the political initiative in the German case is the greatest result of Gomulka's and other representatives of the Polish state journey to Moscow.

"This initiative was agreed upon with the Poles \* \* \*." One should add that the initiative in the Berlin crisis was agreed upon with the Communist Poles who had been

receiving our aid.

# "Man Sent From God": Biography of Dr. John R. Rice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. JOHN L. McCLELLAN

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an interesting, profound article entitled "Man Sent From God," written by Dr. and Mrs. George S. Reuter, Jr. Dr. Reuter is a member of the staff of Arkansas A. & M. College, at Monticello, Ark. He has written some very enlightening articles, and this is one which I am pleased to place in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD.

as follows:

MAN SENT FROM GOD

(By Dr. and Mrs. George S. Reuter, Jr.)

Evangelist Robert L. Sumner has written one of the best biographies of this century about one of the greatest men who has ever lived. It is entitled "Man Sent From God," and is the life of Dr. John R. Rice. Dr. Rice is editor of the "Sword of the Lord," is the "Voice of Revival," and is often referred to as the preacher's preacher.

There are 17 chapters in this interesting book, which are: "Born To Preach," "Saved for Certain," "Early Life on the Texas Prairie," "Shaping the Vessel," "Finding a Good Thing," "The Great Surrender," "Early Experiences in the Harvest," "The Evangelist in a Pastorate," "The High Cost of Discipleship," "God's Hundredfold," "The Sword of the Lord and John R. Rice," "What Must I Do To Be Saved?" "The 20th Century's Mightiest Pen," "Sword Conferences on Evangelism," "\* \* and My House," "Hy-maneaus, Alexander \* \* and Peter," and 'Personality Portrait."

This worthy book came at a very special time, because it was April 29, 1959, Clifton Conrad Smith passed away at College Heights, Ark. The people of Arkansas are convinced that this Christian gentleman was a man sent from God, too.

In announcing his death on May 3, 1959, Dr. Thomas J. Welch, the great dedicated Christian minister, who is pastor, First Baptist Church, of Monticello, Ark., wrote:

"Our church has suffered an immeasurable loss in the passing of Mr. C. C. Smith. All of us join with the family in mourning. His interest can be summed up in the word 'others.' He spread his resources over many activities for good among many noble causes. He was especially interested in young people, civic affairs, A. & M. College, and his church. \* \* \* Space will not permit our stating his offices in our church.

Brother Smith was born in Ashley County, near Hamburg, Ark., on April 8, 1889. He attended Beauvior College at Wilmar and was graduated from Hinemon University at Monticello in 1910. In 1917 he went to Little Rock as State auditor, and prepared the first State budget in 1919. He came to Arkansas A. & M. College and College Heights in 1921, and has served in an out-

standing way since that time.

He served for many years as business manager of the college, and for the last several years has been executive assistant to the president. He has been a member of the board of administration of Bottoms Baptist Orphanage since 1922 (and chairman several times). He served on Selective Service and OPA Boards during the war years. He was a veteran deacon of the First Baptist Church of Monticello (and chairman several times), and he was one of the planners of the new church building that is about completed. He was active in the Gideons.

He was active in the chamber of commerce, the Masonic Lodge, the Lion's Club (president-elect), and he was one of the planners of the 50th anniversary celebration for Arkansas A. & M. College. While Arkansas A. & M. College and Ouachita Baptist College made serious mistakes in not awarding him honorary doctorates many years ago, he was recognized, beyond a shadow of a doubt, as one of few who could honestly be termed "Mr. Arkansas A. & M. College" and "Mr. Arkansas Baptist." It is now hoped that the board of trustees will soon name a building Arkansas A. & M. College in his honor. Also, perhaps the new auditorium of the First Baptist Church of Monticello will be named "The C. C. Smith Auditorium." The department of higher education of the Arkansas Education Association did award him a certificate for outstanding service to education in the State in 1956.

Brother Smith married in October 1910. Miss Willie Sykes. They were parents of Mrs. Fred Greeson of Portland, Vance of College Heights, and Wayne of Rome, Ga. The wife passed away in October 1954. He has three brothers and one sisters who also sur-

About the time of Mr. Smith's death, Dr. Joy Elmer Morgan, president of Senior Citizens of America, wrote "A Tribute to the Teacher." Mr. Smith was serving as the second person to ever hold the office of State Director of Senior Citizens of America. What Dr. Morgan wrote, described Mr. Smith:

'The teacher is a prophet; he lays the foundations of tomorrow.

"The teacher is an artist; he works with the precious clay of unfolding personality.

"The teacher is a friend; his heart responds to the faith and devotion of his students.

"The teacher is a citizen; he is selected and licensed for the improvement of society.

"The teacher is an interpreter; out of his maturer and wilder life he seeks to guide the

"The teacher is a builder; he works with the higher and finer values of civilization.

"The teacher is a culture bearer; he leads the way toward worthier tastes, saner attitudes, more gracious manners, higher intelli-

"The teacher is a planner; he sees the young lives before him as a part of a great system which shall grow stronger in the light of truth.

"The teacher is a pioneer; he is always attempting the impossible and winning out.

"The teacher is a reformer; he seeks to remove the handicaps that weaken and destroy life.

"The teacher is a believer; he has abiding faith in the improvability of the race."

While Professor Smith had great humility, this could be expressed much like Mr. Justice Felix Frankfurther of the U.S. Supreme Court did on April 10, 1959, at the 50th anniversary celebration of Judge Learned Hand's appointment as a Federal judge. Judge Hand had said his life had been "uneventful, unadventurous, easy, safe, and pleasant," but Justice Frankfurther thought he should have said "daring, romantic, antediluvian, sophisticated, and lucky."

President Samuel B. Gould at an Antioch College assembly in January 1956, also described Mr. Smith when he said "To me, a teacher is a person with a touch of im-

mortality."

Dr. A. G. Capps of the University of Missouri retired in 1957 and died in 1958, Dr. John L. Stone of Arkansas A. and M. College retired in 1957, Prof. Rolla F. Wood of Central Missouri State College retired in 1958, Dean James H. Hutchinson of Arkansas A. and M. College and Dr. W. W. Car-penter of the University of Missouri are retiring, and Miss Edith M. Howard of Central Missouri State College recently died. All of these educational statesmen join the select group with Professor Smith in which the world can give thanks for such great and humble Americans. As the years pass, many former students will sit and dream as Linda Wilson. She wrote "You Were My

"The time I spent with you was a sweet interlude from the busy days of life. It seemed as if I'd caught a breath of sweet air rushing in, and for a moment I breathed Then it was gone. It seemed as though I held a rose, pure and perfect, in my hand. But soon the petals wilted and it died. For a small time I had in my heart a newness, a gladness, a wiseness that came from being with you. I was a bud that opened out in bloom, bursting out with beauty I had not before you came. Simple things took deeper meanings, for I know I never saw the sun shine brighter, nor the rain seem more refreshing than when I was with you. The days passed by with swift-ness and beauty. And I found myself wiser, happier, more peaceful than I'd ever been before. I wanted to build something good of my life, for you had made something great of yours. You made me feel compassionate toward others by being kind to them yourself. God was near to me, for I could tell that it was He who had so richly blessed me with you. You were a part of everything I did. And then the parting came. The test comes now. It was not hard to act so wise when you were to guide But now you're gone. Can I continue as before, unchanged? When my own heart is breaking can I help another's wounded soul? My heart cries out, 'No. No. I can-not do it.' But I must. You were not sent to me by God without a reason. You were my teacher, helper, guide."

The Lord blesses humanity by giving some long and wonderful lives, like Dr. C. A. Phillips of the University of Missouri and Dr. H. A. Phillips of Central Missouri State College, but, like Mr. Smith, many leave us sooner.

Professor Smith also loved his family and has kept the faith with his children. Rabbi Emmet A. Frank has written "Ten Com-mands For Parents," which Mr. Smith observed:

"1. Thou shalt earn your children's respect and not acquire it through fear.

"2. Thou shalt not recreate your life through your children.

"3. Thou shalt give your children every opportunity to expand and express their individual personality and not smother their growth.

"4. Remember your children are human and have feelings, emotions, and problems as serious to them as your own.

"5. Thou shalt return understanding and instruction, not recrimination, when your children conflide in you. Let them feel comfortable in knowing they can turn to you for encouragement; do not frighten them away.

"6. Thou shalt teach by precept and example, serving as a model and not a critic for your children.

'7. Thou shalt not seek perfection from your children.

"8. Thou shalt keep your word and thereby teach your children the inestimable worth of honor.

"9. Thou shalt not shield your children from the realities of life.

"10. Thou shalt teach your children there is a right and a wrong and that God, not man, is the yardstick."

Yes, Professor Smith the world is a better place because you were truly a "man sent from God."

## The Peaceful Use of Outer Space

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, both as a member of the House Committee on Science and Astronautics and as a delegate to the United Nations Ad Hoc Committee on the Peaceful Use of Outer Space. I have had the pleasure of working with Dr. Hugh L. Dryden, Deputy Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the following statement of Dr. Dryden for my colleagues in the Congress and the American people.

PEACEFUL USE OF OUTER SPACE

(By Dr. Hugh L. Dryden, Alternate Representative of the United States to the United Nations Ad Hoc Committee on the Peaceful Use of Outer Space)

Mr. Chairman, I count it a privilege to share in our joint task of preparing a report to the General Assembly on topic 1(b) of the General Assembly's Resolution on the Peaceful Use of Outer Space. Our assignment is to outline "the area of international cooperation and programs in the peaceful uses of outer space which could appropriately be undertaken under United Nations auspices to the benefit of States irrespective of the state of their economic or scientific development, taking into account the following proposals, among

"(i) Continuation on a permanent basis of the outer space research now being carried on within the framework of the International Geophysical Year; and

"(ii) Organization of mutual exchange and dissemination of information on outer

space research; and

"(iii) Coordination of national research programs for the study of outer space, and the rendering of all possible assistance and help towards their realization."

The advancing progress of science and technology has brought us to a new frontier. the frontier of space. Man, until the end of the last century, was confined to moving to and fro in a two-dimensional world on the surface of the Earth. He observed with envy the easy flight of the birds through the air. He studied the heavens above. With he gained knowledge and understanding of the universe in which he lived. A half century ago he mastered the secrets of human flight and left the ground to travel in the atmosphere. Now he has sent his instruments into space, establishing new satellites in orbit about the Earth and two new planets of the Sun. He presses forward to gain new knowledge and understanding, and hopes himself to search out the new frontier.

Men of many nations have contributed to this forward surge of science and technology. Creative ability is not confined to any race or nationality. The records of past achievement repeatedly demonstrate this potential of men everywhere, given the opportunity to contribute. I am sure that the exploration of space will prove no exception. It is a task vast enough to enlist the talents of scientists of all nations.

Research with satellites and space probes began in the framework of the International Geophysical Year, itself a striking example of the power of a united attack on global scientific problems. The international scientific community has been so stimulated by the results obtained from the IGY space program that it has itself established a mechanism for further consultation and collaboration, the Committee on Space Research (COSPAR).

Other uses of satellites are foreseen for accomplishing better certain tasks now accomplished by other means. The fields of application so far identified are those meteorology and weather forecasting, long distance communication, navigation, and geodetic measurements. Others may develop as knowledge and experience are gained.

Because man is himself the most adaptive and versatile measuring instrument and because of his inner desire to see for himself, the manned exploration of the solar system will surely come to pass. Preparation for the initial steps have already been taken, the immediate objective being to place man in a satellite orbit about the earth for a short time, to study his physiological and psychological reactions, to measure his abil-ity to perform simple tasks, and to recover him safely.

These then, Mr. Chairman, would seem to be the three substantive areas which could most fruitfully be examined in our deliberations; space science, satellite applications in other areas, and manned exploration of space. Let us consider each of these areas briefly at this time, reserving fuller examination until the subcommittee on topic 1(b) meets on May 26. At that time an objective survey of these areas might be useful in developing information on which to base future consideration of outer space matters in the United Nations.

#### SPACE SCIENCE

Our newly acquired ability to hurl instruments into outer space makes it possible to carry out important scientific investigations that cannot be conducted at the surface of the earth. Eventually, when man himself enters the realm of space, such investigations will also include direct human observations. For such scientific investigations the convenient phrase "space science" has come into widespread use.

Space research as such is not really a separate scientific discipline. Included are the various branches of physics, chemistry, and the biosciences, supported by all the ingenuity that the engineering and technological sciences can bring to bear. Space science may be regarded as a continuation of the investigation of the earth and its atmosphere, of astronomy and astrophysics in general and of our solar system in particular, and of the origins and fundamentals of life: all from a new vantage point with new tools that promise increased effectiveness.

Just as the fullest development of space science involves the whole spectrum of scientific disciplines, so also does it require the interest, support, and participation of a whole world. In the mechanics of conducting a space research program there is need for international cooperation. tracking of satellites and space probes and the collection of data from their radio signals provide examples of cases where such cooperation is important. In scientific research itself there are also many areas in which international cooperation is essential to the fullest realization of potential scientific gains. Joint efforts in the investigation of the ionosphere and the fundamentals of radio propagation through the upper atmosphere are required to obtain the worldwide coverage that alone can provide a complete picture.

But most of all, Mr. Chairman, space research needs to draw upon an entire world for its ideas. Those ingenious insights into the real meaning behind a set of observed facts that lead to real advances in the understanding of our universe are not the prerogative of a single nation or group but come from every quarter of the world where men are seriously occupied with scientific research. So vast is the challenge of space research and so great is the promise to mankind in the way of increased knowledge and ultimate benefits that the world cannot afford to neglect or slight the opportunities that the before it.

To emphasize the vastness of space research and to indicate the potential usefulness of scientific data in dealing with prolems of concern throughout the world, perhaps a few specific examples may be helpful.

Sounding rockets and satellites can be used to continue investigations of our earth and its atmosphere. The pressures, densities, temperatures, composition, and winds in the earth's atmosphere need to be determined as a function of altitude, time, and geographic position, before a complete understanding of our atmosphere can be achieved. Since the sun is the primary source of energy affecting the earth's atmosphere, the details of the relations of solar activity to phenomena in the earth's atmosphere are important. Of practical significance are the relations that may exist between the high atmosphere and weather at the surface of the earth.

Of particular interest is the ionosphere, that portion of the atmsophere which is electrified. At the present time we have a fairly complete knowledge of the erath's ionosphere up to 100 kilometers, a less complete understanding of the ionosphere between 100 and 300 kilometers, and only scattered information about the ionosphere at higher altitudes. Immediate problems of interest call for the exploration of the ionosphere out to its farthest reaches, which may be some tens of thousands of miles from the earth's surface. It is also important to pin down the fluctuations in the ionosphere with time of day, season, sunspot cycle, and geographic position. It is, of course, the presence of the ionosphere that permits the reflection of radio waves for communication beyond the horizon. The state of the ionosphere is as important to long-range radio communications as is the state of weather in the lower atmosphere to transportation and other human activities.

Looking further to the future, both the atmosphere and ionospheres of the moon and planets will be of great scientific interest. The possibility exists that a careful investigation of these may provide increased insight into our own atmosphere and ionosphere and their behavior.

The discovery of the great radiation belt by Van Allen early in 1958 has opened an exciting new series of investigations in the general field of high energy particles in space. The opportunity exists now to continue investigations of cosmic radiation, various plasmas in space, and their effects upon the atmospheres of the earth and planets. Those particles that cause the aurora are of interest not only scientifically but also because of the connection that exists between the occurrence of auroras and disturbances to radio communications at the surface of the earth.

Electric and magnetic fields in space form an important area of study. Particular interest focuses upon the earth's magnetic field because of its role in trapping the particles that form the radiation belt. The question arises as to whether or not the moon and planets also have magnetic fields and how these might compare with that of the earth. Simultaneously the question arises of whether these bodies may have radiation belts like the earth's.

The opportunity to perform experiments over astronomical distances provides the scientist with a means of investigating the fundamental nature of gravity. Already the simple observation of satellites has yielded improved values for the shape of the earth. In the near future it will be possible to check the general theory of relativity by comparing the rate of a satellite-borne atomic clock with the rate of a smilar clock on the ground.

Through the use of satellites and observatories orbiting above the atmosphere, the astronomers will have an opportunity to observe in the wavelengths that do not get through to the surface of the earth.

Fundamental researches in the behavior of living organisms under the conditions of space and of space flight will be of interest in the area of the biosciences. Perhaps even more exciting is the possibility of finding life forms on other planets.

The conduct of research in space is itself the first useful application of satellites, and it is to be expected that man's new knowledge will be translated into forms that are meaningful and useful to men the world over. Of course, Mr. Chairman, we cannot yet predict the full impact of this endeavor. The benefits to mankind that may develop as a result of experimentation in space will only be fully appreciated with the passage of time.

#### OTHER APPLICATIONS

It is somewhat easier to identify at this time the potential benefits of other applications of space vehicles which are more closely related to familiar activities now accomplished with the more limited means currently available.

In the field of meteorology, as Ambassador Lodge pointed out yesterday, the satellite will open the possibility of a worldwide system for observing the weather. At present our attempts to predict the weather are based on data limited to a small portion of the earth. The meteorological satellite will give us the opportunity to fill the gaps existing today and to obtain a complete picture of global weather. With such information available, weather forecasting will be greatly improved with resulting benefits to agriculture, transportation, and other weather-dependent activities of importance throughout the world.

The communications satellite may well lead to vastly improved worldwide communications in terms of speed, capacity, re-

liability, and possibly economy. The value of communications among nations is universally appreciated, but as our demands become more and more stringent, we face the prospect referred to by Ambassador Lodge that present systems will not be adequate to meet these demands. The satellite may provide the means of meeting these needs and, in addition, may exceed minimum requirements thereby offering the possibility of fuller communication among nations than ever before. In its simplest form the communications satellite may be a large sphere of perhaps a few hundred feet in diameter, which would be used as a reflector for radio signals beamed at it from earth. A more complex form would be the so-called repeater satellite in which a radio repeater in the satellite picks up the radio signal from earth amplifies it, and retransmits it to a station on another part of the globe.

Geodetic satellites offer the means of improving man's view of the size and shape of the earth and distribution of land masses and water. Optical observation of geodetic satellites has the potentiality of yielding the observer's location to less than 100 feet. Improved data on geographical details of the earth may be of economic, as well as scientific, significance.

The navigational satellite may provide the basis for an all-weather long-range navigational system for surface vehicles and aircraft. With the use of suitable equipment it would be possible to establish positions with great precision irrespective of the weather. At the present time there is no such worldwide all-weather system of navigation.

These applications of satellites may become feasible within a decade, but it should be recognized that the timing of the availability of these applications depends on many factors over which the scientist can exercise no control.

#### MANNED SPACE EXPLORATION

Within this same decade we can foresee the beginning of manned space flight. The initial plans for manned space flight are of such a nature that man himself is the principal subject of the experiments, although there is involved the development of solutions for many problems in space technology which are prerequisites to further steps. It will always be necessary to return safely from the high speeds in satellite orbit or in free space by reentering the dense atmosphere, reducing the speed without having the vehicle burn ilke a meteorite, and landing at a safe speed. Much later, when large payloads of the order of 50 tons can be placed in orbit, it may be possible to build new types of vehicles and propulsion systems of a completely different character to be assembled and launched from a satellite for operation wholly in outer space.

Even with present technology it seems feasible to advance down the road of manned exploration leading in a few decades to manned exploration of the moon. Still later will come expeditions to Mars and Venus and eventually to the bounds of the solar system. Such programs become enterprises to warrant worldwide support and cooperation, particularly in the conduct of research in the manifold fields of science required to insure the success of such an undertaking.

## OTHER AREAS WHICH NEED TO BE STUDIED

In addition to the three types of activity just outlined, which might comprise the basis of the subcommittee's initial inquiries, there are other activities in international cooperation which are essential to and compliment the substantive program of scientific and technical work. We should consider some of the technical characteristics of the operation of space vehicles and should examine possibilities for international coopera-

tion in related matters. Some of the areas involved are registration of orbital elements, use of radio frequencies, termination of radio transmission from satellites, the problems posed by "spent" satellites which have completed their useful life, re-entry and recovery of space vehicles, identification of space vehicles, and the possibility of extraterrestrial contamination through the use of space vehicles. Most of these matters are of interest to many countries and cannot be effectively dealt with without some degree of international cooperation.

Referred to earlier in connection with the conduct of scientific research in space and implicit in some of the foregoing technical matters is an activity, the importance of which it occurs to me should be noted explicitly: the tracking of space vehicles. This activity already is and can continue to be one of widespread international cooperative

Just as these technical matters affect all of the substantive fields which we have identified, the problem of effective dissemination of scientific and technical information relates to all of these fields and merits careful consideration.

Finally, attention might be given to the possibilities of mutual assistance in increasing the competence and skill of all nations in space science and technology. This matter may become increasingly significant as opportunities to participate in various aspects of space programs increase.

U.S. WORKING PAPER ON TOPIC 1 (b)

The working paper on topic 1(b) submitted by the United States outlines the matters I have suggested here and explores in a preliminary way some types of cooperative activities which might be of interest. This paper may be useful in providing a basis for the discussions of the subcommittee which is to be concerned with this topic, and we would like to suggest that the items mentioned in this paper and in my remarks today be included in the working plan of the subcommittee with the addition, of course, of topics which may be suggested by other members.

Although the United States working paper indicates some tentative conclusions on our part respecting the peaceful uses of outer space and possible United Nations interest in and activities concerned with these peaceful uses, our paper should be viewed chiefly as an attempt to catalog some matters which it might be useful to consider. Only after a full exchange of views with other members of the committee can we hope to reach satisfactory conclusions within, of course, the limits of our present understanding of this yast field.

Mr. Chairman, in closing, may I emphasize the belief of our delegation that through international cooperation ways will be found whereby the benefits of space activities will flow to all countries and all peoples.

Let's Accentuate the Positive

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I have had called to my attention a very interesting article entitled "Let's Accentuate the Positive," written by Arthur Larson. I wonder, incidentally, if that is not a good slogan for us who serve in the Sen-

ate—"Let's Accentuate the Positive."
The article has particular reference to the international picture.

Mr. President, as a member of the alliance of free nations, the United States today faces a real challenge to its existence: namely, communism.

As a free nation, we have the best story to tell in the world. The American system provides its citizens with the fundamental recognitions and opportunities for which all men yearn.

Unfortunately, we have been relatively unsuccessful in presenting this image—featuring the ideas and ideals of freedom—to people of the world. By and large, this is the result of two factors: first, the Communists have engaged in a tremendous, far-reaching campaign to distort our image in the global mind. Second, we have failed (a) to recognize what the dangers of this distorted action by the Communists are; (b) to take effective measures to counter their propaganda machine; and (c) to make sufficient effort to present a real picture of our Nation, its people, and its system.

Recently, the publication Think, published by International Business Machines Corp., published the article entitled "Let's Accentuate the Positive." The article was written by Mr. Arthur Larson, former Director of the USIA Overall, the article is a thought-provoking review of our problems of creating a clear image of our system and ideals.

Among other things, Mr. Larson points to a crucial shortcoming of our efforts in this field, in that we present a clearer picture of what we are against on the global scene—communism—rather than of what we are for. The people of the world are looking for a positive—as well as a nonslave—way of life.

Too often, also, we present our case in terms of abstract ideals, rather than in concrete terms of food, houses, clothes, educational opportunity, and other necessities of life.

In addition to providing some very useful recommendations for our information service abroad, the article also contains astute reflections on the interrelationships of industry, labor, and government in the United States—a field in which, today, there is much misunderstanding.

I quote from the article:

The three elements in modern industry—private business, organized labor, and government—are not fundamentally antagonistic, but support and advance each other's interests.

Their function is not to thwart or destroy or displace or frustrate each other. Their function is to support each other. Rightly conceived, with proper leadership, and with an intelligent sense of self-interest in each case, these three forces have ultimately a common interest. By recognizing their proper roles and the roles of the other forces, and by playing their parts in advancing the mutual interest, these three elements can raise and have raised the standards of production and prosperity far beyond the level that could be attained by any one of them, no matter how unlimited the power and freedom given to that one might be.

Because the article contains additional food for thought on both domestic and

international problems, I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LET'S ACCENTUATE THE POSITIVE (By Arthur Larson)

The most subtle, the most difficult, and the most crucial job facing Americans in the period ahead is to convey to people all over the world, simply and convincingly, what we are for.

Americans overseeas are often shocked, disillusioned, and puzzled by the wildly inaccurate mental picture many foreigners have of us and of our system. A poll taken in India some months ago, for example, showed that most Indians thought the United States was a greater threat to peace than the Soviet Union.

One primary reason for this unsatisfactory state of affairs, is that, in the precious years since World War II, when the current ideological contest was taking shape, we too often consumed our idea ammunition in being "against."

We knew what we were against. That was easy. It was communism.

And so our finest activities were frequently justified to Congress and to the people in this way:

We must have an oversea information program. Why? To counter Soviet propaganda.

We must have a foreign economic program. Why? To stem Soviet penetration. We must have a cultural program abroad.

Why? To offset the Soviet cultural offensive.

The net impression left by all this is that
the active force for change in the world is
communism, while we, by contrast, represent
an amorphous, ill-defined force for counter-

ing change.

The trouble is that most people, particularly in the crucial newer countries, want change. They are not satisfied with their life and world, and you cannot blame them.

And so, if we get maneuvered into the position of being antichange, while our opponents are pro-change, we enter any competition for the minds and hearts of people in the newly developing countries with a hopeless handleap.

hopeless handicap.

The truth is that what we are for is the active, positive force in the world. This country's pioneering success in practical political democracy and in rapid industrial progress has for years been an explosive force inspiring other countries and colonies around the world.

Let us be clear about what we are trying to accomplish in these countries.

We are not trying to get them to imitate or emulate us. This would be presumptuous, as well as impossible.

What we are seeking is identification. In dealing with the people of India, for example, we want to have a feeling on both sides of "we"—not "we" and "they."

We know that we have differences. But identification means understanding the common principles that bind us together, and realizing that the things that draw us together are far more important than those that differentiate us.

Identification is a two-way process. It requires, first, understanding one's self and, second, understanding the other fellow. For only then can we see the common elements and make the most of them.

The first great obstacle to our achieving mutual understanding overseas is of our own making. It is our own failure or refusal to recognize what we are and what our system really is.

By creating an image of ourselves which is in itself unreal, we make it almost impossible for others to identify themselves with us.

#### EXPLAINING WHAT WE'RE FOR

There have been quite a few books, pamphlets, and even courses of instruction, which set themselves the task of explaining "what we are for."

Many of these statements are eloquent on the great principles of liberty, individuality, religion, and private enterprise. As Chesterton said when comparing the works of George Bernard Shaw with the Venus de Milo, everything that is there is perfect.

But frequently the omissions leave an impression that is so out of date that it is dangerously misleading. You could read many of these statements and never learn that the U.S. Government does in fact regulate, stimulate, police, and even subsidize American business and agriculture in a thousand ways, large and small. You would never know that social insurance exists in the United States—far less that we have one of the world's most highly developed systems. You could be quite unaware of the vital roles played by organized labor, by Federal tax, credit, and purchasing policies, and by such agencies as the FTC, the FPC, the ICC, etc.

Now, suppose we go to a country like India with this picture of what we are for a sort of ineffable distillation of purest untrammeled free enterprise, with a laissezfaire government standing benevolently by.

What can India say? She will be driven to say, "We're sorry, but if that really is your system—while it may have worked for you—if cannot possibly fill the bill for us."

India has few capitalists, and very few of the other ingredients of an American-type, self-started, self-propelled private-enterprise economic development. She cannot possibly carry forward her plans for industrialization and development without a considerable degre of governmental involvement.

Therefore, if we create the impression, expressed or implied, the strong government involvement in the economy puts a system beyond the pale so far as we are concerned, our hopes of identification will be shattered.

Meanwhile, the Communists are saying, "You need a heavy degree of government participation in economic development. We stand for complete government control of the economy. You're really closer to us."

the economy. You're really closer to us."

If we ever let matters get in that posture, we would be guilty of one of history's most tragically inexcusable blunders.

For the actual fact is that we have a principle—the guiding principle of our own Government-business relation—that applies equally well to India and to the United States, and which can serve as the common ideological denominator between us and practically all the newer economies. I am going to suggest a name for it: enterprise democracy. The heart of the concept lies in a quotation from Lincoln which in recent years has become one of his best known sayings. He said that the function of Government is to do for people what needs to be done, but what they cannot do for themselves at all, or do so well.

When you transplant this principle to India, you find, first, that there is much more that needs to be done for the people, and, second, that there is a much larger part of it that they cannot do for themselves through private means. But the principle itself is just as valid, although the facts are changed.

This is not socialism. Indeed, it is the opposite of socialism, and the best practical antidote to socialism in today's world.

A Socialist is a person who says, "If something needs to be done for people, let the Government do it."

The Lincoln principle says, "If something needs to be done for people, other things being equal, let it be done privately. But if it

cannot be done privately—and if it must be done—then let the Government do it."

If we surmont the first obstacle to world understanding by discarding our delusions about ourselves, we still have the affirmative task of stating in simple, fresh, exciting terms what we are for.

In classical capitalism, only one force counted: private business.

Socialists enthroned a second force: government.

Now a third element has been added: strong organized labor.

The old view was one based on inherent antipathy between business and the other two elements.

The class struggle between capital and labor was accepted as a fact of life by both sides. At one extreme, fanatical Communists were willing to destroy the employer to gain their ends. At the other extreme, the 19th century capitalist was presumed to have no interest in labor except to wring as much exertion from it as possible for the lowest possible wage.

Similarly, as to the relation of Government and business, both sides agreed that the relation was, or should be, one of enmity. The employers dealt with Government on the assumption that any Government connection with business affairs was an evil, poisonous thing. The Socialists expressed the essential antagonism in another way, contending that the Government should destroy and take over private business.

#### ALL FOR ONE

The new and distinctive contribution of American thought is this:

The three elements in modern industry—private business, organized labor, and Government—are not fundamentally antagonistic, but support and advance each other's interests.

Their function is not to thwart or destroy or displace or frustrate each other. Their function is to support each other. Rightly conceived, with proper leadership, and with an intelligent sense of self-interest in each case, these three forces have ultimately a common interest. By recognizing their proper roles and the roles of the other forces, and by playing their parts in advancing the mutual interest, these three elements can raise and have raised the standards of production and prosperity far beyond the level that could be attained by any one of them, no matter how unlimited the power and freedom given to that one might be.

#### THE CAUSAL CHAIN

Let me give two or three examples.

Many businessmen used to assume, almost automatically, that they should be opposed to the social insurances, such as workmen's compensation, unemployment insurance and

social security.

Most of them are now beginning to accept
the fact that our private-enterprise economy
could not exist without social insurance.

Thus, our present level of economic activity is largely consumer based. The level of consumer buying, in turn, is heavily dependent on installment purchasing. Installment purchasing, in turn, is heavily dependent on social insurance. It could never be undertaken on its present scale unless hourly wage earners had confidence, thanks to social insurance including unemployment insurance, that they would not forfeit their goods and payments during periods of wage interruption. The causal chain is clear. Social insurance is not merely helpful, it is indispensable to our high-level, consumer-based economy.

Similarly, almost the entire complex known as Government regulation, which has so often been denounced as "interference," proves on examination to be essential to the functioning and prospering of modern business. How could there be a television industry, for example, if the Government did not assign channels? If channels were grabbed on an every-man-for-himself basis, the industry would soon smother itself under a blanket of screeching, howling, overlapping signals.

How could our modern packaged food, cosmetic, and drug industries exist without Government regulation? Who would buy a jar of pickles or a bottle of shampoo—if he could not rely on Government food and drug laws to assure him that the pickles would not poison him nor the shampoo burn off his scalp?

Who would ride in a commercial aircraft, if he could not rely on Government ordering of air traffic and enforcement of safety standards?

Examples could be multiplied, up and down the entire roster of current goods and services. What it comes to is this: in simpler times the customer bought his pickles from a barrel, and could handle and inspect and smell them to be sure they were sound. But, if you want to have an economy which sells its pickles in sealed jars, you must also accept an economy in which Government standards and regulations are normal. Under a laissez-faire concept of government, business could never rise above the pickle barrel stage. Only with the aid of government can it achieve the age of mass distribution and supermarkets.

It hardly need be added that if government activity goes one inch beyond what is clearly necessary to do this kind of job in the interest of the public, then its effect does, indeed, become harmful and stifling, as it often was in medieval times, and still is in some countries now.

One more example of this theory of mutual interest: the essential unity of interest between management and labor is becoming widely accepted in this country. The surface contest over wages and benefits is obvious. There is also a contest between a wholesaler and a retailer, and between a retailer and buyer, over the price of a washing machine. But that does not mean that there is a class struggle in each case—much less that each is so bitterly opposed to the other that the perfect culmination of his effort would be the other's complete destruction.

Marx, like most writers on economics prior to John Stuart Mill, was obsessed with the problem of distribution. The problem appeared to him as a matter of dealing with a fixed amount of wealth, which must be taken away from the capitalists and redistributed.

At about the same time, Lincoln adumbrated the modern theory, which is that the real secret of prosperity for all is to increase the total stock of goods through added production. Lincoln said:

"Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him labor dillgently and build a house for himself."

Then came Henry Ford and his voluntary \$5-a-day wage, and the American pattern began to emerge: high production, good wages, and widespread purchasing power as the mutual goal of both employer and employee.

#### A COMMON GOAL

There is one further task. We must reach out into the future. We must conceive and display an inspiring ideal—not just of what our system is—but of what we want it to become.

One sometimes has the uncomfortable feeling that too many of us have a mental picture of the world situation rather like this: We have "arrived"; we have the ultimate in political and economic arrangements; we have a high standard of living; now the problem is for everyone else to catch up with us.

The right picture, the only kind of picture that will inspire people and impel them to

associate themselves with us, is this: There is a goal, far out in the distance, that both they and we are striving toward-and it is a

long way off from all of us.

This American objective of a society of widely shared capital, with its concomitants of widely shared leisure, culture, security, recreation, material well-being and intellectual and spiritual fulfillment, may seem remote, even more remote from others than it is from us. But it is far more appealing, far more rich in what it offers, far more valid in conception, and far more attainable than the phony Communist utopia. And when we consider that this phony Communist utopia has been the principal exhibit used to support the worldwide Communist claim to being the "wave of the future," it will give us some idea of the vastly greater intellectual fire we could kindle around the world with both the reality and the vision of what we are for, a reality and a vision that are infinitely more rewarding, more promising, and more exciting than anything the world has yet seen.

## Required Reports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON, MERWIN COAD

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. COAD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to submit the following article written in protest against the reports Government agencies require from private business. This most interesting article appeared in the Jewell Record, Jewell, Iowa, under the heading of "Warren's Column." The article fol-

#### WARREN'S COLUMN

Our purpose in this particular column is a It is to register a protest, loud and probably long, against Government re-Our arrows are aimed at the dadratted reports Government agencies and bureaus require from private business.

Concede, if you will, that some of the information sought by these Federal bureaus and agencies may serve a useful purpose. Have any of the bureaucrats who think up the forms ever considered whether the value to the Government is commensurate with the time and effort a businessman must expend in completing and filing these reports? We doubt it.

Why should some brass hat in Washington worry over the additional workload these reports impose on a small businessman out in the sticks? If a bureau has too many idle employees, why not just put them to work gathering and compiling statistics from private business?

And that term "private business" certainly is a misnomer any more. What's private about a business activity from which so much information is required?

Our not-so-slow burn was fueled by the receipt of an oversize envelope stated to contain an "Official United States Government Document." Inside are a four-page form (MC 27z-3), a letter from the Bureau of Census Operations Office advising that the Bureau was directed to take the census and that we are required to report; also a statement of the Advisory Council on Federal Reports advising that the Council has reviewed the enclosed forms. All quite offi-

cial, as are the notices that the report is required by law and is to be filed within 30 days of receipt.

That time apparently having elapsed, along comes an official notice. We are told to check our files and if the report has not been mailed to kindly mail it at once. Apparently there is nothing for us to do but to dig the forms out of the desk drawer and start adding up figures. Sidetrack all the regular work concerned with earning a living, the Government must be kept in-

So here goes for Form MC 27z-3: The first page isn't so tough. Maybe we've mis-judged the difficulties of supplying the required information. Name of establishment, the Jewell Record Publishing Co., State, county, is the establishment within the legal boundary of a municipality? etc., etc., all fairly simple questions for which we have the answers.

Comes next blanks to be filled in with figures, all value figures to be entered in thousands of dollars: Total payroll, total number of paid employees by quarters; cost of materials, fuels, electricity, etc.; values of inventories, capital expenditures, etc. All of this information, mind you, in thousands of dollars, for a two-man printing estab-

The next page gets tougher still. Here again we must report in thousands of dollars, first on selected materials consumed. then on products and services, products made, printing activities and allied activ-Before that throws us entirely we read that the quantity of paper is to be reported in short tons, also that there are special columns to be filled in if \$5,000 worth or more or somewhat less than \$5,000 worth of listed materials was consumed.

So where do we get the figures, remembering that we must certify that the report is substantially accurate. The files yield a statement showing the purchase of 30 reams of 81/2 ×11 white carleton mimeo, a ream of 25×38 white wove Hamilton offset, perhaps 20-pound stock, a carton of this, a bundle of that. Should we add reams, bundles, and cartons, and come up with short tons?

So here is a stumbling block. The form hasn't yet been completed and it's getting late in the day. Perhaps, tomorrow, there'll be more time to work for the Government in supplying this vital information.

## Gold and Oregon's Settlement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, as part of their observance of Oregon's centennial celebration, the Ore-Bin, published by the State department of geology and mineral industries, has printed a number of articles concerning Oregon's early development. One such article, "Gold and Oregon's Settlement." provides an interesting account of the vigorous years during which eastern Oregon was first

Mrs. Irving Rand, the author of this fine article, and the Ore-Bin are both to be congratulated for their interest in this historic development. I am sure "Gold and Oregon's Settlement" will

provide enjoyable reading for my colleagues and I ask that it be printed in the RECORD!

> GOLD AND OREGON'S SETTLEMENT (By Helen B. Rand) INTRODUCTION

One of the odd quirks of history is the fact that situations so well known to one generation are soon forgotten, overlooked, or never known to later generations. A good example of this is the discovery of gold in the Inland Empire (eastern Oregon, eastern Washington, and Idaho) which proved to be a major incentive to its settlement and to the progress of Oregon as a whole during the decade from 1860 to 1870. The importance of this fact seems not to be generally known today.

For 30 years emigrants to Oregon passed through the vast interior on their way to the Willamette Valley. Many admired the high valleys but no one tarried. There were several reasons for this, among which were fear of Indians and severe winters, the wish to be near ocean transportation, the desire to become part of an already settled community, and, not least, to gain the protection of the Hudson's Bay Co. In 1845 one ill-fated company, headed by Stephen Meek, departed from the usual route and dared to cross through central Oregon. Their sufferings were so great that when one member of the party discovered gold on a small stream it went almost unregarded at the This strike, now known as the Blue Bucket legend, while ignored then, assumed importance in later years.

The settlements along the Willamette River struggled along, making no great gains in population until about 1855. Leslie Scott has said that early progress in Oregon proceeded at ox wagon speed and Oregon was a district proverbial for retarded growth.

THE SEARCH FOR GOLD TURNS FROM CALIFORNIA

Value of gold production reached its peak in California in 1851, and by 1855 had dropped more than \$20 million due to exhaustion of the easy pickings. As a result, the search for new gold-rich areas was rapid and widespread. One of the first major discoveries was made in British Columbia. Not only miners but carpenters, merchants, and laborers of all kinds rushed from California to Victoria. It took all the available ships to carry them north, and many could get passage only as far as Portland with the hope that other ways could be found to get them to the new camps. Fares from San Francisco to Portland were \$60 for the "nobs" and \$30 for the "roughs." Supplies were bought in Portland, and this gave local trade a big lift.

A few hardy souls tried their luck on the John Day and Burnt Rivers of Northeastern Oregon in 1855 and sent word to Portland that gold was found, but nothing came of

their discovery at that time.

Due to Indian troubles, General Wool, then commander of the department of the Pacific at Fort Vancouver, had discouraged settle-ment east of the Cascades, but he had excepted miners because the Indians considered them to be temporary and not likely to preempt their lands. In 1856 Fort Walla Walla was established near the confluence of the Snake and Columbia Rivers.

Two parties prospected in eastern Oregon in the summer and fall of 1861. Both were in search of the stream where the Blue Bucket find was made. One party was led by a man named Adams who claimed to know its location. Soon after the start of the expedition the men realized that their leader knew no more than they did about the location. The angered men turned on Adams and he barely escaped with his life. This party, consisting of four men, one of whom was named Griffin, went east toward

the Snake River through Blue Mountains. Gold was discovered in what is now Baker County, and the locality was given the name Griffin Gulch, later named Auburn Camp. Two men from this group went to Fort Walla Walla for supplies and from there the news reached Portland that gold had been found on a tributary of Powder River.

The other party prospecting along the John Day River was set upon by Indians who killed all but two of the group. These two made their way back to The Dalles and told of finding gold. Part of the journey had been made through the present Wheeler County and the men told of building a bridge of juniper logs across a small stream. This little bridge was a landmark for later travelers who gave the name Bridge Creek to the stream.

Joined with the talk about these two strikes came a much greater piece of news. It was the word of the big gold strikes in the Idaho country at Oro Fino and on the Salmon River. In the following spring (1862) the miners burst into the Inland Empire, almost, it seemed, by spontaneous combustion. Some came from the Willa-mette Valley by way of the Columbia River and others from California by the overland

#### MINERS "RUSH" CANYON CREEK

The Canyon Creek and John Day mines of Grant County were discovered by two parties converging, one from Portland and another from California. The California party was on its way to the Salmon River in the Idaho country. When gold was found on Canyon Creek it seemed to be so plentimany of the men stopped right there without going any farther. The experienced California miners took charge of the camp management and in a few days the firstcomers were joined by many others.

G. I. Hazeltine, writing from Canyon Creek (then spelled Canon) on July 5, 1862, estimated by the number of animals and tents that there must be a thousand men camped on a 2-mile stretch between Whiskey Flat, where gold was first found in June 1862, and the confluence of the creek with the John Day River. Mr. Hazeltine and his brotherin-law, Van Middlesworth, with a party of about 20 men, had left Shasta County, Calif., in May and were on their way to the Idaho mines. Following a route up the Pit River, entering Oregon near Goose Lake, and going north by the Malheur Lakes and Silvies River, they reached the Blue Mountains. They continued along the Silvies River through the present Izee country to the head of Sollinger's Gulch and dropped down onto Canyon Creek from the west.

This party had been preceded a few days earlier by another containing many old friends and acquaintances of Hazeltine, among them George Woodman. These old hands among the miners had organized the new camp along the lines used in the California camps, and Mr. Woodman had been made recorder of claims. Mining laws had been drawn up and copies posted on trees up and down the creek. In part they were as follows:

"This district shall be known as the John Day's district, the limit of which shall be as follows:

"Commencing at the mouth of Canon Creek and running south to the head of the canon including all of its branches and tributaries, thence north to the middle fork of the John Day's River, thence west to the place of beginning and shall be governed by the following laws, to wit:

"Article 1. Each person in the district shall be entitled to two claims by location, one in a ravine, hill, gulch, creek, or flat as the case may be and one in the river and one by purchase. Every claim located or purchased shall be represented.

"Article 2. Claims in Canon Creek shall be 75 feet up and down and from bank to bank, present occupants or owners to have choice of ground and to have until 10 o'clock Monday the 7th inst. to make such selection.

"Article 3. Bank claims shall be 75 feet face and running back to centre of hill.

"Article 4. A creek claim shall be considered workable from the first of June until the first of November except Canon Creek which shall not be deemed workable until the 20th of July.

"Article 5. A ravine claim shall be 150 feet in length by 100 in width running up and down the ravine gulch and creek. Claims to have the same limits and boundaries except Canon Creek.

"Article 6. A hill claim shall be 150 feet face and extend back to centre of hill

"Article 7. Quartz claims shall consist of 100 feet on the vein or lead with all its widths, depths and angles, the discoverer to hold 50 feet extra."

Article 14 was as follows: "Chines or Tartars are hereby prohibited from working these mines under any and all circum-

Since it was assumed that the mines could not be worked during the winters and that miners would leave the camp until spring, this provision for holding to a claim (a fore runner to the "assessment work" provision in our present mining laws) was included: "Article 8. No claim shall be deemed forfeited from the first day of November until the 20th of June A.D. 1863."

Article 19 acknowledged other conditions of pioneer life: "No person disabled by sickness or absent in any Indian wars shall be deemed to have forfeited his claim by reason of service or sickness." (In recent years "moratoria" have been granted for doing assessment work on claims during the war years and for other emergencies.)

All told there were 30 articles. These articles, or laws, spelled out the "do's" and "don'ts" for the miners quite completely.

## MERCHANTS FOLLOW MINERS

The rapidity with which news of a new mining camp spread in a remote wilderness never fails to astonish us. Already in July of 1862 people were on hand to provide service to the miner and enrich themselves. Mr. Dye had come in from Coos Bay, a seaport in southwestern Oregon, with a small herd of cattle to furnish meat for the miners. Mr. Sharp, who had a contract carrying freight over the portage below The Dalles on the Washington side of the Columbia, immediately went to The Dalles and bought a stock of goods to pack in to Canyon Creek. This train was attacked by Indians along the banks of the John Day River and most of the goods lost. What remained, Mr. Sharp took into camp and it became the first merchandise sold on the creck. Mr. Cosart, another merchant, was almost as early as

While the route from The Dalles via the John Day River was the main road into Canyon Creek, it was always a dangerous one. The brush-covered banks of the river and its tributaries afforded excellent cover for the Indians, and many trains were attacked. But because of the high profit involved, danger proved to be no deterrent and goods kept coming in. As always, the saloons and hurdy-gurdy houses appeared as if by clairvoyance and were soon running full blast.

#### RANCHERS FOLLOW MERCHANTS

Almost at once the possibilities of the fertile John Day Valley were recognized. B. C. Trowbridge, Charles Belshaw, Henry and William Hall, and others went to farming and cattle raising. The Olivers came in later. What is said to be the first claim for farmland was made by Stephen Burdge. He said "I claim possession of \* \* a certain tract of land \* \* which I take up for farming purposes being a man of family.'

At an early date John Herburger stated that he got a fine crop of potatoes and offered them for sale at 25 cents a pound. He was forced to limit the sale to any one person to 4 pounds so that all might have some.

#### SURROUNDING AREA EXPLORED AND SETTLED

William H. Packwood called Auburn "the mother of mining camps" in Baker County, and this was true also of Canyon Creek in Grant County. From these two bases men fanned out in all directions looking for "color." They explored streams, mountains, and sage-covered hills. They penetrated into locations which seem almost inaccessible today, dependent as we are on the gasoline engine. Some had horses but many more were on foot. Practically every inch of the Blue Mountains was explored in the first few weeks. Mr. Hazeltine said, "Men are coming and going in all directions."

One of the first gold discoveries made near Canyon Creek was on Little Pine Creek a few miles east of the present Canyon City. This led to the settlement of Marysville, quite a hamlet in its own right. The days but now just a school district. The Prairie Diggings camp was another. finders of this camp included F. C. Sels, a long-time resident of Canyon City and owner of the first brewery. One of the first ditches in the district was constructed here and a joint stock company formed. It has been said that the original stockholders cleared \$10,000 each in the first year.

These early miners usually worked in companies. There were not enough good claims to go around so they formed partnerships. Men who had no claims worked for the others as day laborers.

The first ditch, appropriately called the Raw Hide, constructed on Canyon Creek was flumed with raw hide because of the lack of lumber. Other ditches were the Lone Star, built by Texans, and the Humboldt, which was used for many years.

Another good strike was made on Dixie Creek, a tributary of the John Day River. Good strikes were made at Granite Creek, Olive Creek, Vincent's district, and the north fork of the John Day River by miners working out from both Auburn and Canyon Creek.

## PERMANENT RESIDENCE ESTABLISHED

Mr. Hazeltine spent the winter of 1862-63 on Canyon Creek writing homesick letters to his bride whom he had left at Oak Run. Shasta County, Calif. These letters went by way of Wells Fargo express or were taken by anyone who happened to be returning to California, Practically all reached their destination safely.

Mr. Hazeltine kept careful account of his

expenses. Not only food was listed, but supplies such as lumber for sluice boxes for which he paid \$3.36, a rocker iron for \$1.25, horseshoe nails for 50 cents. Gloves cost him \$2.50, boots \$8.50, and a comforter when the weather got cold, \$2. He bought 100 pounds of "spuds" for \$16, beef at 25 cents a pound (which he considered high), 500 pounds of flour for \$20, and a bake oven for \$2.75. He remarked that coffee and sugar were very scarce. A few luxuries included 50 cents for tobacco and \$5.75 for whisky and "segars." There were entries for medicine and several listed merely as "charity."

In the fall of 1862 he and Middlesworth decided to build a house. They hired a man named Hudson to work on it and leave them free to mine. Mr. Hudson was paid \$37 for hewing logs and 5 days' work on the house. When completed, it cost \$350 and was the best on the creek. Although the two owners continued to live in the house, it was rented to a merchant.

In the spring of 1863, Hazeltine and Middlesworth brought in their famlies and spent the rest of their lives in Canyon City and John Day.

THE LATER YEARS

Search for the "mother lode" on Canyon Mountain was to go on for many years, but the mountain seemed to consist of only. Around the turn of the century the whole site of the first strikes on Canvon Creek was dredged and this was the last gold that has been extracted from this famous district.

A few romantics still look for the legendary Blue Bucket mine but many old timers were sure it had been found on Canyon The late George H. Himes, curator of the Oregon Historical Society for many years, quoted a statement made to him by William F. Helm who, with his father, mother, brothers, and sisters, was a member of the Stephen Meek party that made the Blue Bucket discovery. Mr. Helm was on Canyon Creek in 1863 and always insisted that Canyon Creek or another tributary of the John Day was the site of the finding of the Blue Bucket gold. Support is given this by letters from pioneers writing to the Oregonian newspaper in the spring of 1919 who agreed that location of the fabled discovery was somewhere in the John Day country. J. N. Barry, Portland, well-known authority on Oregon history, also holds this view.

By the end of the decade the easy workings were over, although quartz and hydraulic mining went on for a long time. The "Chines" were permitted to come in to work over the tunnels and tailings piles. The late J. L. Kraft of the Kraft Cheese Co. has advanced the theory in his book, "Adventure in Jade," that the Chinese were looking for jade as well as gold. He knows that jade was found in a northern California mountain. Perhaps it was found in other places too. Who knows?

By 1870 the first boom was over. But it served its purpose. Eastern Oregon, Idaho, and Montana had permanent settlement. The founding of Boise and Lewiston, Idaho; Baker, Oreg.; Helena, Mont.; and many other cities was the direct result of the gold rush. An additional benefit was that the railroads came in sooner than they otherwise would have.

As for Portland, the impetus created by the search for gold carried this city forward toward the metropolis which it now is. By 1867 the total production of gold in Oregon, since the beginning of working, was \$20 million. But Portland was also the receiving station for gold from other fields. Durthe same period, Idaho produced \$45 million, Montana \$65 million, and Washington \$10 million. Even this does not tell the whole story as it applies only to gold on its way to the mint. Surely as much gold again must have gone for food, supplies, investment in land, livestock, and other materials and services needed by the miner, to say nothing of what was lost in gambling and saloons

Probably the greatest source of wealth to early day Portland came from the proceeds of the Oregon Steam Navigation Co. This company was organized to handle transportation and trade to the inland empire. It had a monopoly on Columbia River travel and some of the solid fortunes of Portland were founded on the proceeds of its operation. Money was also made by packers and stage coach companies.

Today, gold mining in Oregon is at an all-time low. Mining for other metals, such as uranium, nickel, chrome, and mercury, and building materials, such as limestone, sand and gravel, and pumice, have taken its There are some who say that present domestic gold production must be increased as our monetary stock is being depleted and that there is insufficient gold to back the increasing amount of currency that will be needed in coming years. There is still gold needed in coming years. There is still gold in Oregon and, if conditions ever permit, the old mines may be reopened and possibly new discoveries will be made. If this happens, rest assured gold mining once again will work to the benefit of the State.

### Asia's War of Words

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, yesterday I was pleased to introduce a bill to establish a Citizens' Council for Advocacy of Freedom.

The purpose was to better enable the United States-and the free world-to stage a counteroffensive against the propaganda war being waged by the Communists. Globally, the Red propaganda machine is operating on an around-the-clock, all-year-long sched-

This ideological battleground is not one which we can take lightly or ignore. Rather, we must realistically realize that the "war of ideas" may well determine the victor in the struggle of communism versus freedom-if outright war can be avoided-as we hope and pray will be possible.

We can be assured of one thing: The Communists are not sleeping-or taking a lackadaisical attitude toward this conflict. Rather, they are tailoring specific plans to promote their interests in every country around the globe. accomplish their purpose, they are utilizing every method and technique in the book. These include: newspapers and magazines, radio broadcasts, films, native friendship societies, international front organizations, local front clubs. cultural, economic, governmental and other exchange groups, exhibitions, diplomatic missions.

Recently, the Detroit News carried an article entitled "Asia's War of Words."

The article is a prime illustration of how the Communists are using each and every propaganda weapon to further their causes in Asia.

I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

[From the Detroit News, May 12, 1959] ASIA'S WAR OF WORDS-RID CHINESE USE

EVERY PROPAGANDA WEAPON AGAINST UNITED STATES

### (By Don Frifield)

Hong Kong, May 12 .- While America's best propaganda minds are thousands of miles away in New York, declaiming the merits of one cigaret versus another or the frenzied joys of the housewife in some new detergent discovery, the merchandising talents of the Chinese Communist world are

trained full force on the vulnerable and restless lands of east Asia.

Awakening from their long colonial slumber, beset with problems that hitherto concerned only their colonial masters, they look for excuses, justifications, rallying points, slogans, and even solutions.

The United States has been useful and generous with money and technical aid. The best minds in each of these lands knows

this is the truth.

#### UNITED STATES BLAMED

But by the uncounted millions, the illiterates and the possessionless, the frustrated intellectuals and the even more frustrated semi-intellectuals, the uncommitted youthall are likely and numerous targets for the Communist appeal.

Excepting only Japan, Nationalist China (Formosa), and Thailand—all these lands are former colonies. This sensitive point is everlastingly reiterated, with the accusation that colonialism still persists under whatever new basis that American ingenuity and avarice can derive.

These are the 10 major media that Peiping uses to gain adherents in the free lands of

the Orient.

1. Newspapers and magazines: The Communists publish seven major newspapers in the area. Total circulation is about 150,000. Most influential of all the magazines is China Pictorial, published in English and eight other languages. Magazine printing is generally excellent, photography is well done, and color plates are often more frequent than in most American "slick" maga-

2. Radio broadcasts: The Communist bloc has stepped up its radio assault on East Asia. In December of last year, for example, American monitors compiled 542.5 hours of broadcasting to the Far East alone, as contrasted with 481.25 hours in December 1957.

Broadcasts are in 7 major Chinese dialects and 10 other languages, including English and French. Peiping now broadcasts to Europe, North Africa, the Middle East and Australasia a grand total of 22 hours and

40 minutes every day in foreign languages.
3. Films: Last year Communist China sent feature films, short subjects, and documentary films to Japan, Indonesia, Burma, Malaya, Thailand, and Cambodia. Pelping is beginning to expand and promote her motion picture industry, aiming at international appeal.

At present, most of her films are so loaded with happy peasants, laughing laborers, and idyllic families living joyously apart on the communes that they are admittedly not fit for export.

4. Posters and pamphlets: These have an importance in the Orient far beyond their function in the West. Posters can be put up at night where the Communist Party is illegal, and pamphlets can be secretly published and distributed.

5. Native friendship societies: Founded on ostensibly cultural grounds, they are excellent fronts for the dissemination of Comnist Party literature, forums for speeches,

resolutions, and lobbying.

6. International front organizations: Their names are innocent-sounding: World Peace Council, World Federation of Democratic Youth, Women's International Democratic Federation, International Medical Association and numerous others.

7. Local front organizations: These are "patriotic" societies, but are nominally closely linked to the local Communist Party, where it is legal, or to the local branch of the international front organization, where the Communist Party is illegal.

8. Exchanges of groups: American ob-servers believe these have been all too effective, considering the reports that many visitors to Communist China have published in the local press. Most of the visitors had never been elsewhere, such as to Europe or the United States. Exchanges may be classified as cultural, economic, government, front, and scientific-technical. Last year Japan led in the number of such exchanges.

9. Exhibitions: These include the tours of the Cantonese Opera and the Amoy Opera to Cambodia, as well as the recent agricultural and industrial exhibit in that country. In this field, however, the Soviet Union is thus far more active than Communist China in the Orient.

10. Diplomatic missions: Last, but not least, are the Communist embassies in the free Orient, which operate propaganda machines under the traditional diplomatic freedom from customs inspection, police scrutiny, and other harassments.

#### REBUTTAL

Confronting this 10-pronged Communist propaganda offensive in the Orient, the United States and the rest of the free world depend preponderantly on their prestige and general reputation.

The only major apparatus of the Western World to combat Communist propaganda in this area is the U.S. Information Service (USIS), which disposes of less money in its worldwide operations, including the Voice of America, than each of no fewer than nine major U.S. advertising agencies.

major U.S. advertising agencies.

The USIS has about \$100 million this year to spend all over the world. In countries like Japan, budgeted at \$1.5 million, or Thailand, budgeted at about \$500,000, the sums involved verge on the iudicrous in comparison to the multi-million-dollar propaganda investments of the Communists.

### Honor Awarded to Senator Paul Douglas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, a recent editorial in the Illinois State Register, of Springfield, comments on an honor awarded to the senior Senator from Illinois by the Abraham Lincoln Center in Chicago. This editorial gives an excellent account of the reasons for the high esteem which members of the Senate and the American people have for the distinguished Senator from Illinois

I think my colleagues will agree that no one is more deserving of the Humanitarian Service Award of the Abraham Lincoln Center than Senator Douglas, whose long battle to provide equality and opportunity for the poor and the oppressed is an inspiration to all Americans.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial to which I have referred be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Illinois State Register, June 4, 1959]

DESERVED HONOR FOR PAUL DOUGLAS—STATE'S SENIOR SENATOR CHAMPION OF EQUAL RIGHTS

Senator Paul H. Douglas will receive the 1959 Humanitarian Service Award of the

Abraham Lincoln Center settlement house in Chicago at a testimonial dinner on June 15.

Proceeds of the dinner will go to support the settlement house which, for more than 50 years, has provided nonsegregated, non-sectarian educational, recreational, child care and other services in South Chicago. Besides the classes and other services provided by the center, it conducts an outdoor summer camp for children in the months when city living is hardest.

All of the fine humanitarian work of this center is in keeping with the sentiments, the devotion, and the work of Senator Douglas. Interestingly enough, the Center was established by Dr. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, a worldfamous lecturer and humanitarian who was devoutly attached to the spirit of Abraham Lincoin. The bronze tablet on the center states that "This building is dedicated to public service honoring the memory of Abraham Lincoin, democrat."

We can subscribe heartily to this dedication. For, if Illinois has produced a spirit more kindred with Abraham Lincoln than that of Senator Douglas, we do not know it. No man, in our opinion, has worked harder to advance the ideals which Lincoln so nobly established.

Dr. Randall Hilton, director of Abraham Lincoln Center, says that "in choosing Senator Douglas for the Humanitarian Service Award, our trustees considered his great ideals, his character, his depth of feeling for the individual person, and his desire to better the condition of all people as expressed in his public record."

What is that record?

Senator Douglas has fought longer and harder than almost any other public figure for a strong and workable civil rights program.

No man has done more to provide decent housing for low-income families through passage of public housing measures.

Senator Douglas has fought many rugged battles for the principle of equality in taxation and to make taxation according to ability to pay a reality.

He has fought for the conservation of our natural resources, and to save for all people the parks, rural preserves, and playgrounds which, in particular, serve the underprivileged.

He has given brilliant support to the ideal of education for all persons regardless of creed or color, on a nonsegregated and equal basis, and for the improvement of schools and teaching staffs.

The Senator led the fight to provide a \$1 minimum hourly wage which benefits all workers, to extend social security and provide for disability allowances under the social security system; to establish workmen's compensation and unemployment benefits. He has worked to provide decent rights for organized labor, and to protect those rights, and the pension and welfare systems from mismanagement or abuse by unscrupulous persons.

A firm friend of labor, Senator Douglas has always insisted that labor live up to its responsibilities along with all other segments of our society. Small business, which provides the jobs and services for a majority of our people, has a stanch friend in the Senator. He believes in the future of the small businessman and he works to assure that this future will be a bright one.

We are especially pleased that Senator Douglas has been chosen for this great honor. We are confident the chairman of the occasion, Angelo Geocaris, a Chicago attorney, will have a turnout that will swamp the dining hall.

Senator Douglas has many times earned the award, and the Abraham Lincoln Center is to be congratulated on its choice. Address Delivered by His Excellency M. Herve Alphand, French Ambassador to the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. ESTES KEFAUVER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I had the great honor and privilege last week of accompanying M. Herve Alphand, the Ambassador from France to the United States, and his charming wife, Mme. Alphand, to my State.

During our visit in Tennessee, M. Alphand delivered a speech at the Oak Ridge Rotary Club on the Common Market. M. Alphand's clear description of how the Common Market functions and his presentation of all the ramifications of this important economic device was of great value to the relationship between our two great nations. It was also a most valuable contribution to the understanding of the economic problems that face all the free nations in the continuing cold war with Russia. I ask, unanimous consent that M. Alphand's address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

SPEECH DELIVERED BY HIS EXCELLENCY M. HERVE ALPHAND, FRENCH AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES. AT THE DINNER OF THE ROTARY CLUB OF OAK RIDGE, TENN., JUNE 11, 1959

I am glad to address you and to have this opportunity to say a few words about the meaning, the character and the prospects of the European Economic Community, or of what is known more simply of the Common Market.

By virtue of the treaty signed at Rome on March 25, 1957, six countries of Western Europe: France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Beigium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg decided to gather together in an economic union which, step by step, over a period of 12 to 15 years, will create a free circulation of goods, of workers and of capital within their frontiers. At the end of this period, only one tariff system will apply to the importation of foreign goods into the Common Market.

The delay of 12 to 15 years has been set in order to allow those six countries to adapt themselves and without a grave crisis to the new competitive situation. They will find their task made easier by the harmonization of their conomic, social and fiscal policies, by the help of some funds created to guarantee full employment of the workers who might be hurt by the reconversion of certain industries and to facilitate investments.

The first step was taken by the Common Market on January 1 this year, when the six countries brought their import duties down by 10 percent and liberalized, in an appreciable way, certain quantitative restrictions still applied by some of them.

Having recalled these essential characteristics of the Common Market, I would like to examine with you the economic advantages and the political consequences we can expect from it.

Truly, those who conceived such an economic union of Western Europe, were inspired by the example set by the United States of America. American prosperity is. as you know, based upon two essential elements: a freedom of trade within a vast territory and a free competition guaranteed

by an appropriate legislation.

As General de Gaulle was saying recently: "We enter the era of great ensembles." It is such a "great ensemble" that has been formed by the six nations of the Common Market. They represent 165 million consumers and 200 million if one includes the Africans They are the first market which in the free world can compare with America. In a way, we can say that from now on, we shall have two Americas in the Western World.

This "six nations' Europe" has a gross national product greater than half of that of the United States (\$230 billion against \$450 billion in the United States). It is the second industrial producer of the world and one of the most important agricultural producers. It makes more steel, more cars, more manufactured goods than Soviet

Already this six nations' Europe is the greatest importer of the world as it buys about three times as much abroad as does the United States.

The Common Market will have a tremendous influence upon the prosperity of Western Europe. Industrialists and farmers will be able to specialize in the productions for which they are the best equipped, thanks to the freedom they are gaining. Pooling of enterprises wil take place. What was impossible within certain relatively small and tariff-protected nations will become easy inside a great and free market, such as, applying modern technics of production, of research and of distribution-technics which will pare down the costs of production and improve the quality of production-and on the whole will considerably increase the standard of living of all the populations.

Already the prospects of competition incite the enterprises to modernize themselves, to merge and to specialize their production. We have some examples in the field of automobile manufacture, of electrical and mining equipment, of aviation and of loco-

motive building.

But do not believe that this movement will lead to the creation of cartels or monopolies in order to curtail production or to fix prices. If such practices were to appear, it would be the role of the institutions of the Community to put an end to them. The Common Market treaty includes antitrust clauses comparable to those of American laws. The firms which would violate those clauses could be sued and fined by the Economic European Commission, placed under the jurisdiction of the European Supreme Court of Justice. Expansion is the chief objective of the Common Market. This is not a protectionist or malthusian organ-

Whilst I am on this subject, I would like appease certain concern which might have been created in this country by erroneous interpretations of European intentions. Some American producers fear that Common Market will exercise a restrictive influence upon world trade and as a consequence have a regrettable effect upon exchanges between Europe and the United States. To me, this seems to be wrong. The Common Market tariff is subject to the obligations suscribed in the GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) and according to which this common tariff cannot be superior to the average tariff of the six participating countries. As a unit, I believe that the Common Market will be less protectionist than the six countries which compose it, taken separately. Thanks to internal competition their industries will adapt themselves to international competition. The very reasons for their present protectionist attitude will gradually disappear.

A Western market, more wealthy and more prosperous will buy more from America in raw materials and in equipment machinery than the six European markets individually

protected as they are today.

Already, the Common Market attracts the attention of American industrialists anxious to invest in it, drawn as they are by the advantages of mass production. Seldom is a meeting of businessmen-like yours for example-not interested in this problem of American investments in Europe. I believe that this represents a sound and profitable evolution for all concerned.

In this way, the United States and the world will gain much in this economic field by the establishment of the Common Mar-

And now, I would like to emphasize the political advantages of the European Economic Community.

A Western Europe, economically sound is bound to contribute more efficiently to peace a divided and weakened Within the framework of those European economic institutions, one can see the secular antagonism between France and Germany dwindle away. If, tomorrow, for reasons I cannot perceive, this European framework was to disappear, if all alone Germany once again wanted-without any link with Europe-to face world competition I would fear the renewal of her nationalism to which her neighbor states would respond. This is a prospect that we must avoid at all costs. unless we want to resuscitate the old quarrels which so often led to war.

"The Common Market," said Mr. Michael Debré, our Prime Minister, on May 16, "must bring us European political solidarity." Economic union naturally leads to a political cooperation between the six. We note this fact, today in Geneva. We must see it in Africa, and as a rule wherever in the world our interests are at stake.

But, you may say, such a policy-far from uniting Western Europe, can create new divisions as Great Britain, Scandinavia and other European states are not members of the Common Market. First, I want to tell you that France ardently wishes that such divisions never occur. In the new Europe we are thinking about, Great Britain has place of course. France has not gotten and will never forget what Great Britain did in the defense of freedom. My country is looking for a solution of the difficulties that the Common Market may create for England. A European economic war will not take place.

I would like to add that the Common Market is not limited to six nations. Any European country willing to accept its rules would be welcome. But naturally we could not extend the advantages of the club's membership to those who will not pay their

From this point of view, the solution proposed by England does not seem acceptable to us. The free trade area does not entail a common tariff at the boundaries of the participatign countries. It does not include a gradual harmonization of economic, social and fiscal legislations. It includes industrial products but excludes agricultural ones. This suggestion is rejected by us, but this does not mean that we are not willing to find other solutions or a kind of modus vivendi.

I am personally convinced that we shall find a type of association agreeable to England, that is necessary for the good of Eu-

rope and of the whole world.

The Common Market is a dynamic formula which will greatly contribute to the general prosperity and in particular to an increase in sales and to the stability of prices for raw materials produced by underdeveloped countries. I am now thinking of these billions of people who, in India, in Southeast Asia, in certain parts of Africa,

of the Middle East and of Latin America, live a miserable existence. The economic development of a united Europe will enable these countries to sell their production more easily and to buy more as a result.

In my view this is the best answer the free world can give to the economic infiltrations of international communism.

As far as it is concerned, the French Government has resolutely taken measures for the economic improvement which, already in 1959, allows it to assume all the obligations undertaken in the Rome Treaty.

By stabilizing, under the leadership of General de Gaulle, the French political institutions, the Fifth Republic has made possible a vast financial and economic reform allowing France to open her frontiers to international competition and to break with her old traditions of protectionism and malthusianism.

Our Minister of Finances, M. Antoine Pinay, who is in this country has explained in New York how we have put a stop to inflation, given back to our currency its real value and weight, how we have got rid to a great extent, of the antieconomic system of subsidies which burdened heavily our budget and suppressed a good proportion of the quantitative restrictions imposed upon the import of certain products.

Our reserves in gold and currency are being reconstituted: since January 1, our balance of external payments shows a credit of about \$1 billion, our currency is stable and we are less hurt than our neighbors by the economic recession as we have practically no unem-

ployment.

In this situation, we can, without fear, enter the era of the European Economic Union. This rebirth of France was a necessity for the rebirth of Europe. Without a strong France, no Europe is possible.

France whose ideas were at the origin of this vast movement for a European union, France who is prolonged by the African community, thus contributes to the establishment of a better world, where freedom will be strongly protected and peace made more secure

#### June 17. Anniversary of Martyrdom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON, KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, today marks the first anniversary of the announcement from Moscow that two of the great leaders in the Hungarian freedom uprising had been executed by the Communists. The cruel demise of former Premier Imre Nagy and of Gen. Pal Maleter marks one of the blackest pages in the long record of perfidy and barbarity of the international Communist conspiracy.

Reverberations of these assassinations were felt all over the world and revulsion at these acts of tyranny was manifested everywhere. The General Assembly of the United Nations later denounced this action and strong words of condemnation were heard, even in nations nor-mally friendly to the Soviets.

Mr. President, this anniversary has a wider importance for all men who believe in human freedom and liberty. For although Imre Nagy and Pal Maleter are martyrs to their own people, they are equally heroes to freemen everywhere. These two brave men symbolize the courageous freedom fighters of Hungary who showed, by raw dedication to liberty, the finest stuff of which men can be made. They showed the world the unquenchable force of men who believe in freedom and who are willing to fight and die for it. That is a lesson all peoples of the world—and particularly the men in the Kremlin—would do well to ponder well.

The flame of liberty cannot forever be suppressed. The people of Hungary have proven that throughout their history and all the peoples now chained behind the Iron Curtain will one day prove that to the sadness of their Red overlords.

We in America have been singularly blessed throughout our history with an influx of fine new citizens from Hungary. They have brought with them the rich culture and traditions of their homeland, plus a sincere and burning dedication to democracy, which has made them exemplary citizens.

In the United States today there are a number of organizations dedicated to preserving the traditions and ideals of Hungary. One of these groups is the Hungarian Committee, with headquarters in New York City. This organization is composed of postwar Hungarian political leaders and many men who participated in the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. The stated purpose of the committee—which I heartily applaud—is to work for the independence of Hungary and for the restoration of the freedom of the Hungarian people.

Representatives of this fine organization this morning presented me with two documents issued yesterday in New York City. Since they are appropriate to the important anniversary we are observing today, I ask unanimous consent to have this material printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the documents were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF HUNGARIAN COMMITTEE, NEW YORK, N.Y.

On June 17, 1958, Moscow Radio officially announced the execution of Prime Minister Imre Nagy, Minister of Defense Maj. Gen. Pål Maleter and two other leaders of the 1956 Hungarian revolution. The fact that it was Moscow which broadcast the first news of the executions stirred a strong protest all over the world. The United Nations Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary issued a statement and report and the United Nations' General Assembly expressed its strong condemnation of this action. The executions took place despite many official and solemn assurances that Premier Nagy would not be prosecuted. As to General Maléter, he was arrested by Soviet security forces under General Serov's command while continuing negotiations with the Soviet army representatives for the withdrawal of Soviet armed forces from Hungary in accordance with the October 30, 1956, Moscow declaration and the November 30, 1956, official Soviet Government communication.

In commemorating the first anniversary of their execution a tribute would be paid to these Hungarian patriots.

IMRE NAGY

Imre Nagy was born in 1896, in Kaposvár, His parents were Hungarian peasants. Be-World War I he worked in a steel mill. During the First World War he served on the Russian front and was taken prisoner by the Tzarist Russian Army. In 1917 he participated in the revolution and returned to Hungary as a Communist in the twenties. All through his political career his attention was focused on agricultural problems and the peasantry. He lead the illegal Com-munist Party's activities in the Hungarian countryside and worked later, from 1930 on, in the International Agricultural stitute in Moscow. He returned to Hungary, in 1945, became Minister of Agriculture in the first postwar Hungarian provisional government. In this capacity he organized the land reform which gave land to the landless peasants. Due to the stepped up collectivization campaign of the Communist Party, in 1948, which followed the strict Soviet instructions, the differences be-tween Imre Nagy and his fellow members in the Politburo started.

After Stalin's death and the collapse of the Rakosi industrial policy Imre Nagy became Prime Minister on June 3, 1953, and introduced the popular reforms aimed at the abolition of the police terror and the easing of the burdens of the peasantry. The important political measures introduced by him in 1953 and 1954 brought him into conflict with the orthodox of Stalinist Communists. He was relieved of his post and, after a series of reprisals, excluded from the party membership. He was readmitted to the party on October 4, 1956, as a result of the pressure of the people on the regime demanding the liberalization of party control and the reaffirmation of Hungarian independence. Imre Nagy was constitutionally (according to the constitution promulgated by the Communist Party itself) elected Prime Minister during the night of October 23-24, 1956. As the head of the revolutionary government, Imre Nagy declared Hungary's neutrality and called upon the great powers and the United Nations to guarantee this neutrality. The Soviet Union, in her negotiations with Imre Nagy, recognized him as the constitutional head of the Hungarian Government and started discussions for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary. Breaching, however, the many solemn promises and guarantees the Soviet Government gave to Imre Nagy and to the United Nations, the Soviet launched a second attack against Hungary on November 4, 1956. Imre Nagy was forced to take refuge in the Yugoslav Embassy in Budapest. After the Soviet Imposed Hungarlan Government headed by János Kádár gave assurances to the Yugoslav Government of his safe conduct, he left the Embassy on November 22, 1956, and was taken by Soviet forces to Rumania. Despite many assurances to the opposite, he was brought to trial in February 1958 and after many months of secret proceedings, executed on June 17, 1958.

#### MAJ. GEN. PÁL MALÉTER

Born in 1917, Pál Maléter graduated from the Hungarian Military Academy and served on the Soviet front in 1942. He was taken prisoner by the Red army and attended political lectures and indoctrination courses. He was parachuted in 1944 behind the German lines as a captain of a partisan unit. Pál Maléter was heavily decorated for bravery and became a member of the Communist Party in postwar Hungary. Pál Maléter rose gradually to the rank of colonel in the Hungarian Army and served, from 1949 on, in the Ministry of National Defense.

After the outbreak of the October 23, 1956, revolution, Pál Maléter was ordered to lead a Hungarian army armored unit to the scene of the fighting and to liquidate the revolutionaries entrenched in the Killian Barracks. In going to the scene of the fighting he contacted the revolutionaries and became convinced of their just cause that they were fighting for the freedom of the people and for the independence of the country. He informed his superior of his decision to join the revolutionaries and took command of the Killian Barracks. During the ensuing days the Killian Barracks became the center of resistence and a famous stronghold of the revolutionaries and a primary target of incessant Soviet attacks. Soon the streets around the barracks were obstructed by burnt-out Soviet tanks destroyed by gasoline bottles and hand grenades. For his bravery he became a revered popular hero of the Hungarian revolutionary youth.

After the cease-fire and the victory of the

revolution, the Soviet Red army units withdrew from Budapest and Prime Minister Imre Nagy called upon Pál Maléter to join his government as Minister of National Defense. After being promoted to major gen-eral, he headed the Hungarian Government's delegation which negotiated the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary with the Soviet Army command in accordance with the Soviet Government's wishes. An agreement was reached on the major issues and during the evening of November 3, 1956, General Maleter went to the Soviet Army headquarters in Tököl, a large village south of Budapest, at the invitation of the Red army's commander to clear the technical details of the withdrawal. A few hours later, in the early hours of November 4, 1956, he was taken prisoner by the head of the Soviet Secret Police, General Serov, and the second

STATEMENT BY MSGR. BÉLA VARGA, CHAIRMAN OF THE HUNGARIAN COMMITTEE, IN CONNECTION WITH THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE EXECUTION OF IMRE NAGY, PÁL MALÉTER, AND OTHER HUNGARIAN PATRIOTS

Soviet attack was launched against Hungary.

June 17 marks the first anniversary of the execution of Imre Nagy, Pál Maléter and other Hungarian patriots; a political crime which shocked the world. This murderous action was later denounced in the General Assembly of the United Nations last fall. The Kádár régime proved again that its existence depends on the use of terror and brutality, and there is no doubt that the Hungarian people would rid themselves of the Communist agents in a matter of days if they were free to choose the government under which they wish to live.

The first anniversary of the executions of the leaders of the glorious 1956 revolution coincides with the meeting of the International Labor Organization in Geneva. seating of the Hungarian delegation is on the agenda of the International Labor Organization. During the 1957 session the credentials committee of the International Labor Organization rejected the credentials of the Hungarian employer and worker delegates in reaction to the 1956 revolution, However, due to the attitude of the British delegation the credentials of the two government delegates were not rejected. The situation changed at the 1958 session when the delegates received the tragic news from Budapest; the credentials of all the Hungarian delegates [government, employers and workers | were rejected by an overwhelming majority of votes.

This refusal by a respective world organization, affiliated with the United Nations, to seat the representatives of the Kådår regime indicated to the oppressed people of Hungary that they have not been forgotten and, indeed, that they have the moral support which they need and deserve so much.

As conditions have not changed in Hungary during the past year, it is our opinion, free Hungarians, on behalf of the oppressed Hungarian nation, that the credentials committee of the International Labor Organization should again recommend the rejection of the Hungarian delegation's credentials. In doing so the organization will pass judgment on the entire Kádár regime which distinguished itself by nothing as much as its tracherous conduct toward the revolutionary workers' councils.

Upon the collapse of Communist power in Hungary in October 1956, workers' councils were immediately formed and, by taking over the administration of the country, helped in effect to save the nation from disaster and chaos. During the revolution the workers' councils demanded, among others, the abolition of work competitions and norms. These workers' councils held out even after the massive Soviet attack of November 4, and were able to call a general strike to resist the demands of the puppet regime of János Kádár, which was imposed upon the country by the Red army.

So great was the popular support of the workers' councils, on November 14, 1956, that Kådår himself was forced to confer with a workers' delegation and to make far-reaching promises. He told the workers: "Let us consider the position of the party; we want a multiparty system and free, honest elections." As late as November 21, 1956, the published draft of a law on workers' councils indicated that the regime was considering recognition of this revolutionary system of workers' self-government.

As matters turned out, however, Kadar was acting from weakness and not conviction. He was prepared to betray the workers the instant he was entrenched firmly enough. When the Greater Budapest Workers' Council called a conference of plant representatives to discuss the regime's draft law, the meeting was immediately prohibited. By early December large-scale arrests of labor leaders were under way.

On December 9, 1956, a general strike was called by the workers' council of Budapest to protest this policy of arrests and terror.

The regime countered by ordering the dissolution of all workers councils. Two days later it arrested Sándor Rácz and Sándor Ball, the president and secretary of Greater Budapest Workers' Council. Both men were subsequently put to death for no other crime than to have represented the true will of the Hungarian workers. In the weeks and months which followed, hundreds and thousands of workers followed their leaders into prisons and concentration camps until the ranks of labor were so decimated that the regime could once again use the trade unions as a docile instrument of state policy. Strict norms were imposed immediately and the work competition was quickly reintroduced.

After such a record of deceit and treachery the Kådår regime's delegates cannot be admitted to a highly respected world labor organization. The admission of such a delegation would undermine the Interantional Labor Organization's own position.

### Next Steps Toward Health

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of

an address which I delivered at the ninth annual Group Health Institute luncheon in New York City on May 26, 1959 be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### NEXT STEPS TOWARD HEALTH

(Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey at the ninth annual Group Health Institute luncheon, New York City, May 26, 1959)

I never cease to wonder at the range of Mrs. Roosevelt's capacity for doing good. You know her wonderful work for the United Nations, for human rights, and for peace. Within the last few weeks she has been in Washington helping to improve the conditions of migrant workers, helping to get the minimum wage raised, helping in the campaign for better housing. Today she is here giving of her time and her immense influence in the cause of health. Wherever there is good to be done, we can be grateful that she is on hand to do it.

And I want to pay tribute also to that patron saint of medical care—Mary Lasker. Without her crusading interest and support and her wonderful work we would not be nearly so far along toward the goal of good health and good medical care for everybody in this country.

That is our goal. I am pleased and honored that you have invited me here to take counsel with you on some of the next steps we must take. I am particularly flattered to be here because in this room are some of the best brains and bravest spirits in the business. The solutions to these problems, when they come, will come from people like

In a few days we will mark the 25th anniversary of Franklin Roosevelt's message to Congress laying down the guidelines for what has since become the social security system of the United States.

"Among our objectives," he said in that message, "I place the security of the men, women and children of the Nation first."

In that sentence F.D.R. summarized one

In that sentence F.D.R. summarized one of the great revolutions in American political thinking—one which grew out of the great depression. In that sentence he put the final seal of rejection on the degrading, poor law philosophy which had dominated American public attitudes toward dependency and the problems of dependency.

Of course, there were diehard dissenters. My good friend, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., in his great book on "The Age of Roosevelt" records that a distinguished Republican, now ranking minority member of the House Appropriations Committee, greeted the social security system with these words: "Never in the history of the world has any measure been brought in here so insidiously designed as to prevent business recovery, to enslave workers, and to prevent any possibility of the employers providing work for the people."

The spokesman for the Illinois Manufacturers' Association said that social security would undermine our national life "by destroying initiative, discouraging thrift, and stifling individual responsibility."

The spokesman for the American Bar Association labeled it the beginning of a pattern which "sooner or later will bring about the inevitable abandonment of private capitalism."

Yes, my friends, as we try to move on to round out the coverage and the protections of our social security system we can expect the same opposition, the same gloomy alarm, that has greeted every reform and every great forward step in our history.

But the fact remains that we must get on with this unfinished business.

The question is not whether we are going

to finish it, because we will. The question is how and when.

We need to modernize our unemployment compensation laws. I have sponsored legislation to accomplish this. It is a cause for great disappointment that this has recently been rejected by the House Ways and Means Committee, But we will try again—and soon.

We need to increase the amount of old-age benefits, which in many cases are disgracefully low. I have been among the sponsors of legislation to do this, and I regret very much that the increases enacted last year were so meager. Within the next decade our social security benefit standard should be increased not by 10 percent, but by 50 percent or more.

When we enacted the social security system, we embarked on a program which would provide not only the material basis for subsistence to those who could not be self-supporting. We embarked on a program which would also preserve their self-respect. Even so long as there is poverty in the United States, let there never be paupers.

In no aspect of welfare is this more true than in health. Our system of economic security should enable people to buy the necessaries of food, housing, and clothing. It should enable them to obtain the necessaries of health. Food, clothing, shelter—to these basic needs I add health, the right of every American to adequate health services, regardless of his income.

We have made enormous strides forward in the science of health, both in the prevention and the treatment of illness.

We have made considerable progress in the financing of health services through voluntary health and hospital insurance, and particularly through the union health plans and prepaid group health organizations. Those in this room have been among the leaders in these promising developments.

And yet we cannot honestly say we have in sight a comprehensive solution for the gigantic task of bringing good medical care within the reach of every American.

Those who can afford to buy it individu-

ally can get it.

Those who are fortunate enough to belong to unions which have won comprehensive health plans through collective bargaining can get it.

Those who have had the foresight to organize and join prepaid group health associations can get it. But for large segments of our population, medical care is limited to emergencies, and even when the medical emergency is surmounted, it leaves a financial emergency in its wake.

I am not an expert in medical care. It is my job to worry about the practical problems of legislation.

I do not profess to know how we will solve all the difficult and complex problems of bringing good medical care within the reach and within the means of all our people. But we who struggle with legislative practicalities must look to people like you for the design of health programs of general legislative application. We must look to you to experiment with new forms of the organization and administration and financing of medical care. We must look to you to experiment in the reorganization of medical practice to provide total medical care.

Our objective should be to do this as far as possible through voluntary means, by doctors and patients acting freely together. In this, developments like group practice, group health associations and HIP are important milestones. Legislation should en-

portant milestones. Legislation should encourage such voluntary action.

In the meantime, however, there are things we can do, things we can and must

do quickly.

We must move on to overcome the shortage of health personnel—doctors, nurses, therapists, medical social workers. The shortage of these is becoming acute and will become worse as our population increases.

We need to expand our medical schools and other training facilities.

We need to expand our hospital facilities. Recent amendments to the Hill-Burton program have made possible the expansion of facilities for long-term medical care and for rehabilitation and outpatient services.

We need to encourage the establishment of group practice facilities for voluntary nonprofit, prepaid, health service associations. Since the 81st Congress, I have introduced community health facilities bills to provide long-term, low-interest loans for such facilities. I have reintroduced that bill within the last week. It is essential that we encourage and help these voluntary associations to bring health services to American people just as the principles of cooperative voluntary association brought electricity to rural America. And like the REA cooperatives, these facilities are particularly important in bringing medical services to rural communities.

We need to step up the pace of medical research. We should thank Senator Hill and Congressman FOGARTY for taking the lead in providing for expanded appropriations for the National Institutes of Health.

We need to encourage research not only in the diagnosis and treatment of illness. but also in the social and economic aspects of health and medical care.

And we must be sure that we train com-

petent research personnel.

I wish that I could make the case for medical research as eloquently as Mrs. Lasker did a few nights ago in her interview with Ed Murrow on TV.

Politically we are in the stage where we need to experiment with programs for meeting the needs of special groups within our population. We must try to legislate wisely, but this does not mean that we should procrastinate. As the AFL-CIO sald not long ago, paraphrasing the old legal maxim, "Health delayed is health denied."

There are two groups in our population for whom it is possible and necessary in the near future to develop special health pro-

One of these groups consists of those employed by the Federal Government. The 21/2 million Federal employees have been denied the benefits of health plans under collective bargaining, but the Federal Government, their employer, has the same responsibility as private employers for the health of employees. Legislation is now pending before Congress to provide health insurance for these 21/2 million employees and their families. Under the leadership of Senator Neu-BERGER a bill is now taking shape in the Senate. I intend to support it. I hope it will permit employees to choose from among various types of plans, including group practice plans

The other group whose health needs require and permit special attention are our bolder citizens. They deserve special attention for a number of reasons. The reasons boil down to this: Older people have low incomes, small liquid assets, and heavy medical This alone would demand of us that we take special and tender cognizance of them.

I believe we should consider the health needs of our older citizens in the context not only of the Nation's health needs and resources, but in the context of the total needs of our older citizens and our resources for meeting them. These basic needs include income adequate to their needs, employment opportunities and suitable housing, as well as health.

Forgive me if I cite briefly some facts which are part of your every day's work but which I think must be in the forefront of

our thinking here.
In these days of medical miracles and longer life, a man who reaches the age of 65 has a life expectancy to 79 years; a woman, a life expectancy to 81 years. There are now more than 15 million people in these age groups and their number is increasing by about 1 million every 3 years.

The aim of any program for our older citizens must be to keep them functioning happily and usefully in the community. What we need is a many-sided program which insures their productiveness, independence and self-reliance and which prevents physical and moral decay.

The No. 1 objective of a sound program is the maintenance of incomes. Three-fifths of all people 65 and over have money incomes from all sources of less than \$1,000 and only one-fifth have more than \$2,000. Only recently, for the first time, the number of people receiving social security benefits exceeded the number of older people receiving public assistance. It is here that we have made the greatest progress through the social security system, and it is here that the direction of future progress is clearest. The case for rapid increase in old-age benefits is imperative.

But there is no magic in the age 65 which makes it good public policy to force people to leave employment while they are still healthy and productive. Full employment means jobs for all who are able and willing to work. Older workers are among the chief beneficiaries of a full employment program, just because they are especially vulnerable to unemployment in times of job scarcity.

Certainly we must do everything possible to prevent discrimination against older

workers in the labor market.

We must provide suitable housing for older people. We must make it possible for them to live out their years fruitfully in a community rather than in an institutional environment. One of the most promising developments in this direction is the provision recently written into the Housing Act of 1959 by the House Banking and Currency Committee, under the leadership of Congressman Rains, to make available direct low interest Federal loans to non-profit corporations for housing for elderly people. The House of Representatives should be congratulated for refusing to delete this provision of the bill and I hope fervently that the Senate will accept it and that the President will forbear to veto it.

We must provide medical and hospital care for our older people.

We must see that it is furnished to them in a way which will preserve their independence and their self respect and their peace of mind. These have been also, of course, the objectives of the old age and survivors insurance program. Consequently, it was logical and practicable to turn to the framework and machinery of social security as a means of providing the necessary health care efficiently, economically, universally, and democratically

I do not think we can ever overstate our debt to Congressman FORAND for the courage and foresight of his efforts to bring this sound and workable idea to reality.

I realize that this is a much disputed subject and I wish to make my position perfectly clear.

I am in favor of providing hospital and nursing home care as part of the social security system immediately.

It will meet a pressing and urgent need. Costs associated with hospital and nursing home care account for a very large part of the total expenses of medical care for older people. By insuring these costs we lift a heavy burden of expense and of fear.

In my own State of Minnesota, the largest expense in the entire welfare program is for hospital care for the aged. Many of these people are victims of diseases which keep them in hospitals for months. Hospital and nursing home benefits under social security would help not only the beneficiaries, but

would relieve local and State governments of these very heavy burdens, thereby releas-ing public funds for a positive health program.

There is no question that a problem exists. The rising costs of medical care and hospital care, coupled with the greater medical needs and lower incomes of older people, have created the problem. But there some who argue that it is not a problem which calls for action by the Federal Govern-

The fact is that no satisfactory voluntary hospital plan has yet been brought forward which will give to people over 65 protection they need at costs they can afford to pay. Period. This is why I have advocated and will continue to advocate hospital insurance for social security beneficiaries as an integral part of our social security system.

I wish to make it plain that when we have reached this objective-which we will, and soon, I hope-we will not be finished, by any means. Important as hospital insurance is, there will still be the need for a total health program for older people. The primary emphasis should be on the prevention of illness and the maintenance of health. The first objective of a health program for older people should be to keep them out of the hospital and functioning in their homes and in the community.

The medical profession and those associated with it have a special obligation and a unique opportunity to develop programs and personnel to meet this total need.

Financing is not the only problem. Equally important is raising the quality of medical care and making it universally available. If social security financing is required to make health services of high quality available to social security beneficiaries, I will be the first to support it.

I am perfectly aware that even a bill for hospital and nursing home insurance will provoke outcries of "socialism," "socialized medicine," and such. This does not worry me. As I said before, this has been the cry that has greeted every significant advance of this country. I do not believe that this is the view even of the doctors of this country. though it is the cry of some who claim to speak for them. No one knows better than the doctors the devastating effects of ex-pensive hospital and medical care on older people of limited means. I cannot believe that the doctors, who have done so much for medical welfare, wish to pauperize these most economically defenseless of their patients

No one can forget that our doctors and hospitals have given of their services and facilities to people who could not afford to pay. For a long time this was the only way for poor people to get medical care at all. But by now we have progressed beyond the free ward concept of medical care.

Now medical care and hospital care for those on public assistance is a challenge to provide high quality, sensitive, individualized service equivalent to that we give to more fortunate patients.

These public assistance patients, young and old, are a first order of business in the search for comprehensive health services. Here, also, is a challenge to the medical profession to cooperate with Government in working out programs to meet the need.

The search for solutions to our medical needs must go on-on all fronts. Young and old, in high, middle, or low income, Americans are entitled to the best medical care that science can invent and our economy can provide, without sacrifice of professional freedom or individual dignity.

The search must go on, in private medicine, in group practice, in voluntary insurance, in labor health programs, and in Government. It must go on in the medical school, in the laboratory, in the hospital, and in the clinic. It must go on with open eyes and open minds. Let us not get bogged down in dogmas or in vested interests of the

past.

I promise you this: As fast as you who are in the business of health come up with solutions that are workable and equitable, we who are in the business of Government will do our best to take the legislative and administrative action needed to make them work. Together we will get it done.

### Address by Francis W. Sargent, Executive Director of Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission has embarked upon a crucial 3-year study under the able guidance of Mr. Francis W. Sargent as executive director. Mr. Sargent recently addressed a meeting of the Outdoor Writers Association of America, and told of plans being made by the Commission and its staff for evaluating the future outdoor recreational requirements of our Nation.

I believe Mr. Sargent's report contains much information of value and pertinence to the Members of Congress who wish to be kept abreast of the progress being made by the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission. I ask unanimous consent that the text of Mr. Sargent's address to the Outdoor Writers Association be printed in the Appendix of the Record, along with my remarks. I am pleased to serve on this Commission which is headed, as chairman, by Laurence S. Rockefeller.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Address by Francis W. Sargent, Executive Director, Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission, Before the Outdoor Writers Association of America, Hot Springs, Aek., June 10, 1959

This is my first public appearance as Director of the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission. I am, therefore, particularly honored to have this opportunity to discuss with you the long-range plans of our Commission.

Many of you have traveled great distances to gather here this evening, in the picturesque State of Arkansas for your annual convention, and I hope that I may take full advantage of the fact that you have done so.

An occasion such as this not only affords all of us the opportunity to visit this fine recreational area at Hot Springs National Park, but also enables us to keep abreast of the progress being made in the field of outdoor recreation, to exchange opinions and suggestions, to iron out differences, and pass along information.

First, I would like to talk to you about the aims and purposes of the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission—subjects in which your membership has long demonstrated deep interest.

The very establishment of the Commission represents an awareness on the part of the President and the Congress of the United States of the problems which lie ahead—in the not too distant future—in fact, wise development and protection of our Nation's outdoor resources should be a subject of vital concern to every American.

Legislation to establish the Commission was initially sponsored by the Izaak Walton League of America and presented in the early days of the 85th session of Congress, enacted in the 2d session, and became law on June 28, 1958. The objectives of the bill were commended by nearly every organized group connected with resource development. Also, the Federal and State agencies concerned were almost unanimous in supporting the measure.

Just this past month, the urgency of the national outdoor recreation situation was pointed up in a talk given by Gen. Omar Bradley. The general said: "Year after year, our scenic treasures are being plundered by what we call an advancing civilization. If we are not careful, we shall leave our children a legacy of billion-dollar roads leading nowhere except to other congested places like those they left behind. \* \* \* We are building ourselves an asphale treadmill and allowing the green areas of our Nation to disappear—especially along the eastern seaboard, where 11 percent of the population is living on one-half of 1 percent of the land area of the Nation."

I can but echo General Bradley's thoughts, and point out as have others that our present generation could be the very last generation still to have an effective opportunity to preserve our outdoor recreation resources for the welfare and enjoyment of future generations of Americans.

Because of the importance of our project, it is earnestly hoped that the Commission will have the active and continued support of all interested groups. You, the Nation's outdoor writers, are unusually well qualified both to understand and foresee the problems and to make others understand and foresee them through your columns. We hope that we may turn to you for advice and suggestions from time to time during the course of our study.

the course of our study.

I do not have a total figure for the number of organizations concerned with outdoor recreation, but it adds up to, as you know, many thousands when one takes into consideration all of the local and private groups concerned, as well as the municipal, State, and Federal agencies. Although these agencies try to cooperate rather than compete, much needs to be done to promote better coordination of both planning and operations, and to correlate results of studies and research.

Congress stated very clearly three specific goals in the act establishing the Commission:

- 1. To preserve, develop, and secure accessibility for all American people of present and future generations such outdoor recreation resources as will be necessary and desirable for individual enjoyment, to assure spiritual, cultural, and physical benefits that such outdoor recreation provides.
- 2. To inventory and evaluate the outdoor recreation resources and opportunities of the Nation and to determine the types and location of such resources and opportunities which will be required by present and future generations.
- 3. To make comprehensive information and recommendations leading to these goals available to the President, the Congress, and the individual States and Territories.

This may not appear to be a particularly difficult task, given proper tools and time to do the job. Consider, however, that we

have information on hand indicating that by the year 2000 demands for outdoor recreation opportunities may be as much as 10 times what they are today. Imagine the problems presented by demands of this magnitude.

If we do not start now to plan for the future, there is little hope that future Americans will have adequate recreation facilities of the right kind, in the proper amount, and in the most needed locations. And the future is closer than we think.

For example, since World War II, recreational visits to our national forests have multiplied seven times and they are expected to nearly double again in the next decade. Secretary of Agriculture Benson predicts that recreational visits to national forests will increase to 130 million by 1969 and possibly to 600 million by the year 2000. The same trend is visible with regard to our national parks, Federal reservoirs, and State and municipal parks, beaches, and forests.

One has but to visit a teeming public beach or park on a hot summer day to be made aware of the strong social and economic forces and population pressures that are at work, and to envision their increasing impact in the years to come. These increasing pressures are brought about largely as a result of: (1) Mushrooming population; (2) higher income per capita; (3) more leisure time; (4) earlier retirement age; (5) longer life expectancy; (6) increased mobility and a combination of other factors which we tend to take for granted.

As long as these forces continue to grow, we will have a problem which enlarges in magnitude with each passing year—unless we do some constructive planning and programing right now. These are the basic reasons for the establishment of the Commission.

The Commission for which I am privileged to serve as its Executive Director is made up of seven members from the public at large appointed by the President and eight congressional Members, four from the Senate and four from the House of Representatives, divided equally from both political parties and named from the Interior and Insular Affairs Committees of both Houses.

The four U.S. Senators are; CLINTON P. ANDERSON, of New Mexico; RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, of Oregon; HENRY C. DWORSHAK, of Iddaho; and THOMAS E. MARTIN, of IOWA. The four Members of the House of Representatives are: HAROLD R. COLLIER, of Illinois; GRACIE PPOST, of Idaho; John Saylor of Pennsylvania; and AL ULLMAN, of Oregon Each of these Members of Congress has been active in one or more of the various fields with which this Commission is concerned.

The citizen members of the Commission, with whom many of you are acquainted, have been long identified with the same broad areas. They include: Joseph W. Penfold, a member of your own executive board, as well as conservation director of the Izaak Walton League of America: Samuel T. Dana. former dean of the School of Natural Resources of the University of Michigan; Mrs. Katharine Jackson Lee, of Peterborough, N.H., who is a director of the American Forestry Association; Bernard Orell, vice president of the Weyerhaeuser Timber Co., Ta-coma, Wash.; M. Frederik Smith, vice president of the Prudential Insurance Co. of America and member of the Advisory Committee to the Secretary of the Interior on National Parks, Monuments, and Historic Sites; Attorney Chester S. Wilson, former director of the State Conservation Commission of Minnesota; and Laurance S. Rockefeller, who is the distinguished Chairman of Mr. Rockefeller, as you our Commission. know, is held in high regard in conservation circles, and has contributed generously of his time and effort in furthering the causes of conservation and outdoor recreation.

In addition to the 15 members of the Commission, there is an Advisory Council consisting of 25 members appointed by Commission, plus 14 liaison officers appointed by the Secretary of each Federal department or head of an independent agency having a direct interest and responsibility in any phase of outdoor recreation. This has been The Federal agencies have named individuals from the Under Secretary or Assistant Secretary level to work with the Commission.

May I emphasize that the Commission, in pursuit of its mandate from the Congress, will not be duplicating in any way the work now in process in any Government agencies but rather will be in a position to take full advantage of any existing studies of those

now being made.

There are over 500 individuals recommended by conservation organizations and more than 200 nominations from special groups for the Advisory Council—each one of them well qualified. You can imagine the task of the Commission in selecting only 25 of them.

Offsetting this dilemma was the realization that everyone who had been recommended for Advisory Council membership was in accord with the objectives set forth in the act creating the Commission. This being the case, the selection was then narrowed down to categories of interests, abilities, background, and geographical location—representative of the various major geographical areas and citizen interest groups including: State game and fish departments, park departments, forestry departments, private organizations working in the field of outdoor recreation resources, landowners, State water pollution control agencies, livestock interests, petroleum and mining interests, commercial fishing interests, commercial out-door recreation interests, industry, labor, public utilities, and municipal governments.

I should point out that uppermost in the minds of the Commission members in selecting the Advisory Council was their desire to get persons to participate actively on the basis of broad understanding of the underlying problems-rather than only representing their particular interest or geographical

region.

It was on this basis that the Commission chose the Council members and I believe an unusually able group has been appointed to assist the Commission.

In addition we have been in touch with each of the 49 States through their respective Governors, requesting appointment of an official State representative to act as a liaison officer with the Commission. The response from 46 States has been both prompt and enthusiastic. Thus far, in almost every case, the State conservation or natural resource department head or park administrator has been appointed.

An initial appropriation of \$50,000 was made by the Congress to set up the mechanics of operation for which the legislation was originally enacted, and just recently

\$100,000 more was made available.

We are now embarking on an overall staff study and correlation of all available material, following which we will concentrate on developing conclusions, policy, and program. Then we will direct our energies to fashioning a report and making recommendations.
In the words of our act: "The Commission

shall present not later than September 1. 1961, a report of its review, a compilation of its data, and its recommendations on a State by State, region by region, and national basis to the President and to the Congress, and shall cease to exist not later than 1 year thereafter. Such report, compilation, and recommendations shall be presented in such form as to make them of maximum value to the States, and shall include recommendation as to means whereby the

review may effectively be kept current in the future."

We are carefully selecting a versatile staff modest size but of outstanding competency. We will also rely heavily on outside assistance and experience. In addition to consulting with Federal, State, and local government agencies, we will be in touch with university staffs, study groups, private consulting firms, and also individual authorities in such fields as economics, sociology, cultural anthropology, statistical data,

Among the projects presently under consideration are:

1. Analysis of outdoor recreation in present day American life;

2. Projection of society as it may be in 1976 and 2000;

3. Summary of existing data on present

and potential outdoor recreation areas;
4. Study of the use of private lands for public recreation, including policy and management aspects;

5. Consideration of legal aspects of public use of private lands for recreation;

6. State-by-State estimates of expected use of each major type of outdoor recreation area for 1976 and 2000;

7. Special study of urban and suburban open space as affecting demand for more distant park facilities;

8. Detailed study of the cost and ways and

means of financing proposed programs.

Aside from the experts I have enumerated, the so-called user of outdoor recreational resources can be of particular assistance to the Commission. He is the one who encounters the problems in the field and is vitally aware of dwindling resources-probably we can best seek firsthand information and support from him through such organizations as your Outdoor Writers Association of America.

In a manner of speaking, you not only provide the recreational user with sound information, but you also act as his voice.
It has been stated that people are gen-

erally divided into three groups: The few who make things happen, the many who watch things happen, and the vast ma-jority who haven't the slightest idea of what has happened. Gratifying it is to know that you, who collectively wield so much influence, are members of the first group. To paraphrase a familiar slogan, wishing won't do it, action will.

That is the job in a nutshell. Undoubtedly some of our recommendations will be controversial, but we will not run away from our responsibilities. Our recommendations must be practical enough to be adopted and will be made without regard to outside pressure or influence.

In conclusion, I would like to point out that the work you people have been doing. and the obvious interest that you have in conservation and recreation resources, are so closely allied with the goals of this Commission that, in a very real sense, ours is but a formalized extension of your efforts.

Three years from now, I hope that our Commission can invite you to share credit for a truly constructive accomplishment.

### Refreshing Words in High School Graduation Speeches

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

### HON. WILLIAM PROXMIRE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the Capital Times, of Madison, is one of the

most useful newspapers in the country. It is expert at exploding stuffed shirts and at pricking the hot air balloons of self-adulation by politicians, the press, the leaders of business, labor, or any other group.

In a recent editorial the Capital Times points with justifiable pride to the valedictorian speeches by Madison's high school graduates. These young Madison people who have achieved intellectual distinction in their high school speak with a refreshing vigor for freedom of the mind and in frank pride for intellectual independence and the right to disagree and to be controversial.

Mr. President, in an era of togetherness-team players, the organization man-it is refreshing that our Madison, Wis., youth speak strongly for individu-

ality.

Of course, Mr. President, in my judgment it is no accident that this willingness to be different thrives in Madison, Wis. One big reason for it is that Madison is the hometown of the Capital Times. Almost every Madison family reads the Capital Times and is influenced by the rugged independence, the unique individuality of this stirring and militant newspaper. More newspapers like William Evjue's Capital Times would make it possible for far more Americans to recognize the vital importance of individuality, personal freedom, and pride in intellectual attainment.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial from the Capital Times be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

#### REFRESHING WORDS IN HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION SPEECHES

After hearing some of the babbittry that was poured out by adult commencement speakers at some of the college and university graduating ceremonies, it was refreshing to read some of the speeches of the spokesmen for the local high school classes-West, Central, and Monona Grove.

Incidentally, we regret that East does not follow the tradition of addresses by valedictorian, salutatorian, and class orator.

The challenging nature of these graduating addresses makes it hard to believe that only a few years ago this country was engulfed in a wave of anti-intellectualism, when the word "egghead" was used to describe people of intellectual attainment.

We have pulled ourselves out of that morass but intellectualism is still suspect in much of the adult world and it is good to hear these young people pressing for greater emphasis on intellectual attainment.

John Nelson, valedictorian at West, challenged his class to think independently and to live by personal beliefs "without concern for the attitudes of our surrounding society." He warned against the danger of travelling with the mob in order to avoid social ostracism.

In her class oration, Patricia Hamilton called on her class to be "rebels for a cause."

"Rebellion against blind acceptance of useless customs and shallow values will free us from the 'hidden persuaders' who would manipulate us for their own advantage," she said. 'It will also permit us to direct our best efforts into creative activities for a better world."

William Dahlk, salutatorian, drew on the life of the great genius and humanitarian Dr. Albert Schweitzer, whose individualistic way of life cannot be understood by those who follow the mob, to point an example for his classmates.

At Central, John Apinis, class orator, called on the United States to "use our great prestige, power, and mental capacity to promote the rise of all people to freemen."

There was none of the fear that haunts the adult isolationists in Mr. Apinis' chal-

"A strong united organization of nations outlawing war is vital to our very survival," he declared.

Helen Subey, Central's valedictorian, warned against a "life of mediocrity."

The adult population, which through fear has brought the world to its present unpleasant plight, would do well to read and ponder the challenge these youngsters presented so forcefully.

### The Scientific Foundation for European Integration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. ESTES KEFAUVER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, Robert MeKinney, editor and publisher of the New Mexican, Santa Fe, N. Mex., delivered a challenging address on the "Scientific Foundation for European Integration" before the American Club of Paris on April 23. This address has many suggestions for unifying our scientific efforts with our friendly allies. Knowing it will be of interest to Members of Congress, I ask unanimous consent that a digest of the address be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the digest of the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SCIENTIFIC FOUNDATION FOR EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

(Digest of remarks by Robert McKinney before the American Club, Paris, April 23, 1959)

During the observance of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's 10th anniversary it is a privilege to be here in Paris, the capital of the NATO Alliance. In spite of any imperfections of its first workings, we are fortunate that we can celebrate a constructive decade since NATO's birth and look forward to a long life of increasing usefulness.

Each of NATO's member nations has come far in perfecting its own domestic unity and order. But all Atlantic nations have found out that, to make liberty safe, they must do more than look out for their own individual defense and separate welfare.

Some of the most striking examples of international cooperation for peaceful purposes are now to be seen in Western Europe.

Although the widest cooperation is highly desirable, there are many interfering patterns and traditions which dissolve only gradually. In the case of Europe, OEEC and economic cooperation within NATO can sensibly be encouraged. But we may profitably direct our discussion today to the small six-nation group which has progressed further in devising structures for cooperation, as evidenced by the Common Market, the Coal and Steel Community, and the Atomic Energy Community. Because scientific co-

operation is easiest to extend across frontiers and because the Euratom Treaty already provides that any European state may apply for membership in that community, it should be of particular interest for us to examine whether Euratom can play an expanded role in European integration.

In essence, economic development is technological development. The growth potential of any economy is determined by its technological foundation which, in turn, is determined by its scientific foundation. Any country can add to industrial plant by importing machinery or borrowing blueprints and technicians. But sustained, longrange development of any economy must derive from that economy's scientific and technical resources. This is not to preach economic isolationism. It is simply to face the fact that—no matter where an advance first occurs—its broad and successful application depends upon the level of sophistication of the mechanical and personnel complex using it. In any area this level must be practically equal to that of the place in which the development occurred.

That is the reason why the political concept of the European Economic Community will not flourish unless coupled with expansion of the scientific and technologic resources of Western Europe. Now I do not want to be misunderstood as being against the Common Market. I am for it, so much so that I think we should all try to find ways to help make it work most effectively. And, as I said before, I believe broadening the role of Euratom can do just that.

As originally conceived in the Brussels report of May 1956, Euratom had two objectives: The first objective was research and exchange of information in the atomic field. Creation of a center to complement the research pursued by national, governmental, or private bodies was contemplated. The second objective was the development of investments, common installations, a supply of nuclear fuels and other overhead services for atomic electric powerplants. These are both valid objectives; they are, in fact, exactly what the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission cuts across State lines to do in America. But all this was before Suez.

After it, as was proper, a new study was made. The market analysis, entitled "Target for Euratom," called for the creation of 15 million kilowatts of atomic electric generation capacity by 1967.

As a first step, Euratom planned an interim, short-term goal of 1 million kilowatts of atomic power by 1963. Financial commitments of the six nations were set at about one-quarter billion dollars. To support this effort, the United States undertook commitments totaling around one-half billion dollars in money, materials and probably liability for guarantees. One million kilowatts of conventional electric generating capacity would cost about \$150 million. The motivation for this American support was said to be strengthening the six nations' economic base as a defensive shield and future dividends to American atomic technology.

Inasmuch as statements of intent to submit proposals for construction of the atomic powerplants contemplated in the joint E.S.-Euratom program are due May 28, it is perhaps appropriate to review these earlier beliefs and conclusions. The thesis which I shall attempt to develop today is this:

1. The factors which seemed controlling at the time of Suez are no longer controlling; hence the target of 15 million atomic kilowatts by 1967 should be reexamined.

2. The construction, meanwhile, of several atomic powerplants in Western Europe will serve the very valid purpose of providing the six nations and the United States with design, engineering, and operating experience; it will not be catastrophic, however, if the proposals do not add up to 1 million

kilowatts or if the plants proposed are not finished by the date now set.

3. Whatever importance one attaches to either of these programs, there is a paramount role for Euratom to play in the scientific and technologic integration of Europe.

The specific goal of kilowatts of atomic power—however great its merit appeared in 1956—seems much less urgent today, nor can one see greater urgency in at least the middle future. With a freer Western European economy, with currency convertibility, with expanding export trade, atomic fuels will have to stand on their own feet in competition with coal and oil.

The cold light of dawn often gives new perspective. In 1959 we in the United States have found that the real costs of building nuclear powerplants are much higher than we assumed in the "impressionistic" period of atomic energy in 1956.

Before long, natural gas will make in Western Europe the same revolution in cost and convenience that it has already made in the United States. The conclusion seems inescapable that any shortage of fossil fuels has receded farther into the future. It seems, also, that the pressure of overproduction will keep coal and oil prices down, even in an inflationary period.

Suez demonstrated a basic independence of Western Europe from oil deposits in the Middle East—or, for that matter, it demonstrated Europe's independence from all particular reserves anywhere. The incident showed that Egypt was more dependent on the Suez Canal than the very nations whose lifeline Suez had been thought to be. More than that, Suez set the limits to what newly emergent political regimes in oil-producing countries—Iraq, Venezuela, or elsewhere—can do. Realisticaly, they can neither cut off supplies nor raise prices. These regimes are limited to trying to keep at home a greater percentage of a diminishing profit.

By now, I hope we have given a little more perspective to the belief generally held about the time of Suez that Western Europe is by nature a dollar-short, fuel-short, high-cost energy area, unable to pay for coal and oil imports and vulnerable to their interruption. And I repeat that, whether you agree with this conclusion or not, I believe we can all agree that Euratom can play an important role in the integration of Europe.

The second part of my thesis calls for a few words on nuclear power, about which there are also deep questions—questions of whether present-day technology can provide atomic kilowatts at competitive costs, even in areas where fossil fuel prices are high. There is genuine doubt about the type of atomic unit which will best meet the competition of carbon fuels.

Already there has been a minor revolution in the type of fuel element for atomic reactors. There are fascinating developments in the direct conversion of heat energy to electricity. Should these be perfected—and in 5 years we are apt to see further advances beyond those recently made at the Los Alamos Scientific Labratory near my own home—the whole cycle of use of a hot working fluid to drive a turbine, which in turn drives an electrical generator, could be eliminated.

With all the factors I have mentioned now in mind, one is forced to the conclusion that Western Europe's present need for atomic power can scarcely be any greater than the need in the United States or the U.S.S.R.

We now come to the third point: the role Euratom can play in the scientific and technologic integration of Europe.

At the time of Euratom's conception the atom was the newest frontier of science, but newer frontiers have since emerged. True, atomic science calls for a breadth of knowledge and skills; it has a diversity of appli-

cations in physics, chemistry and biology, as well as a wide range of specific practical uses in medicine, agriculture, industry and even space travel. Nevertheless, activities across the whole scientific spectrum could help build a stronger, broader technologic foundation for the European community.

Such a broadening of the purpose of Euratom would be wholly consistent with the objective of the United States to bulwark the economy of Western Europe. There is even a sense of urgency for this expansion, when we reflect on the shortage of engineers and technicians to plan, build and run Western Europe's expanding industrial complex. Perhaps Euratom in all its phases might in time come to be known by the name of what in fact it would then be: The European Scientific and Technical Community.

Specifically, I envisage an organization having as its center a laboratory, equipped with nuclear and other facilities, open to qualified people from the 15 nations of the Atlantic Community, and having as its function the advancement of science and tech-nology on a broad front. Its program would go beyond that contemplated in the present Euratom concept and would include research and training in the various aspects of basic science. There would be a parallel structure devoted to practical problems of engineering and instrumentation. The provision in the Euratom Treaty that "an institution at university level shall be set up" may be the seed of an all-European seat of higher learning,

Euratom is a living structure which contains the seeds of truly vital purpose. The 1956 problems Euratom was to have solved—a fuel shortage and insufficient dollar resources to meet that shortage—have resolved themselves at least for the present. The more fundamental problems Euratom can now help solve will not resolve themselves.

Even from the world perspective with which we opened our discussion, the opportunities for a European Scientific and Technical Community in helping build the foundation for European integration and thus, in turn, bulwarking the Atlantic Union are real and important. If these opportunities can be realized with American help, there will be real impact upon the decade of the 1960's.

### Report of Board of Visitors to U.S. Military Academy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. RICHARD B. RUSSELL

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, yesterday I placed in the Appendix of the RECORD the report of the Board of Visitors of the Naval Academy for 1959. I have also received the annual report of the Board of Visitors for the Military Academy at West Point.

I believe these reports are of interest to Members of Congress and to the country generally. I therefore ask unanimous consent that the report of the Board of Visitors to the Military Academy may be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. MILITARY ACADEMY,
West Point, N.Y., April 11, 1959.
Subject: Report of Board of Visitors to the

U.S. Military Academy, 1959. To: The President of the United States.

#### 1. APPOINTMENT OF THE BOARD

The Board of Visitors to the U.S. Military Academy was appointed in accordance with the provisions of section 4355 of title 10, United States Code. Pertinent extracts from the code are appended to this report and are marked "Exhibit A."

#### 2. PERSONNEL OF THE BOARD

The membership of the Board as constituted for the year 1959 was as follows:

Senators: Prescott Bush, Connecticut, representing Richard B. Russell, Georgia, chairman of the Committee on Armed Services; Styles Bridges, New Hampshire; Kenneth W. Keating, New York; Gale W. McGee. Wyoming.

Representatives: Samuel S. Stratton, New York, representing Carl Vinson, Georgia, chairman of the Committee on Armed Services; Louis C. Rabaut, Michigan; Olin E. Teague, Texas; Stuyvesant Wainwright, New York; Melvin R. Laird, Wisconsin.

Presidential appointees: Dr. William V. Houston, president, the Rice Institute, Houston, Tex.; Gen. Anthony C. McAuliffe, American Cyanamid Co., New York, N.Y.; Dr. Frank H. Bowles, College Entrance Examination Board, New York, N.Y.; Dr. Ivan C. Crawford, consulting engineer. Boulder, Colo.; Dr. Harlan Hatcher, president, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.; Dr. Clark Kerr, president, University of California, Berkeley, Calif.

Col. Charles J. Barrett, professor of for-

Col. Charles J. Barrett, professor of foreign languages, U.S. Military Academy, was appointed Executive Secretary for the Board by the Superintendent, U.S. Military Academy.

#### 3. PRELIMINARY DATA

After considering the wishes of the members of the Board of Visitors for 1958 and the 1959 academic calendar of the Military Academy, the Superintendent notified all members whose terms extended into 1959 that April 9-12 had been selected as the dates of the visit. Announcement of those dates was transmitted to all new members as notification of their appointment was received.

The Superintendent likewise caused to be distributed to all members of the Board certain reports and informational material, and a suggested program for the visit. A list of the data furnished is appended and marked "Exhibit B."

#### 4. CONVENING OF THE BOARD

The members of the Board assembled during the afternoon and evening of April 9, 1959, but undertook no formal action until 8:30 a.m. on April 10. Present at that time were Mr. Stratton, Mr. Rabaut, Mr. Teague, Mr. Wainwright, Mr. Laird, Dr. Houston, General McAuliffe, Dr. Bowles, and Dr. Crawford.

The Board elected General McAuliffe as chairman for the 1959 annual visit.

Senators Bamcas and Keating were detained in Washington by pressure of congressional business until the morning of April 11, when they joined the other members at West Point.

It is regretted that the appointment of Dr. Hatcher and Dr. Kerr to the Board was so late as to make it impossible for them to participate in the visit.

Congressional business caused the departure of Mr. TEAGUE at 9 p.m. on April 10, and a prior engagement required Dr. Houston to depart at 7 a.m. on April 11. The remainder of the Board departed following the final meeting of the Board, which ended at 1:45 p.m. on April 11.

#### 5. PROCEDURE

The detailed program followed by the Board in its visit is appended and marked "Exhibit C." The mornings of April 10 and 11 and the afternoon of April 10 were devoted to inspections, observation, and conferences. On the evening of arrival the Board viewed a film made of the summer activities of the Third Class, U.S. Corps of Cadets, at Camp Buckner, a type of training which the Board has not heretofore seen because of the time of year at which that training is conducted. In several instances on April 10 and 11 the Board was divided into groups so that simultaneous observation in different fields was possible. Special conferences and interviews were arranged for members of the Board who wished information on matters not covered by the program of the Board as a whole.

#### 6. COMMENTS

# (a) Morale

Formulation of a definitive judgment in this matter during the brief stay of the Board at West Point is obviously impossible, but in the cadets, officers, and enlisted men with whom the members came into contact there was no indication of lack of morale.

### (b) Discipline

The Board saw no evidence of lack of discipline and believes that a satisfactory standard is being maintained. It would like, however, to inform itself better concerning the disciplinary procedures incident to the training of new cadets during the summer months, and indicated its desire to see at firsthand the conduct of that training.

(c) Curriculum

Under the direction of the Superintendent a lengthy and detailed study of the curriculum is being made, and is now approaching its final stages. Four members of this Board have been closely associated with the study since December 1958. Changes in the curriculum are doubtless imminent and the Board believes that the critical evaluation made by the Military Academy itself will result in a curriculum appropriate to the future needs of the graduates and of the military service.

It appears that elective courses may replace parts of the now fully prescribed curriculum. Because the teaching of the pure and applied sciences at the Military Academy is a responsibility divided among so many departments, it is hoped that those departments will work together in the formulation of a program which will be planned as a sequence in terms of breadth and depth of coverage, and will be supported by suitable electives. The Board notes that nearby universities, research institutes, and scientific schools form one of the world's greatest reservoirs of scientific talent, both for specialized instruction and for advice on program planning.

#### (d) Instruction

(1) Academic: The Board in small groups or as individuals visited classes in session to observe instruction. The participation of the cadets themselves in the conference type of classroom session must be heartwarming to an instructor, but it is recognized too that at least a part of that participation is sparked by the instructor's own interest, enthusiasm, and preparation. The quality and training of the instructors compare favorably with those of the instructors in our good civilian colleges. The fourth class may be said to have an advantage over freshman classes in many colleges because all of the former's instructors have been trained and prepared for the assignment, whereas the graduate assistants to be found in many schools are nonexistent at West Point.

(2) Military: No actual tactical instruction was observed. The Commandant of Cadets outlined the military training program to the Board. To judge from the film on summer training activities, the means for military instruction are on hand. No deficiencies were observed or reported.

#### (e) Physical equipment

(1) Cadet barracks: The Board visited a former academic building which is now being converted into cadet barracks. Problems in adapting fenestration of former classrooms to the smaller rooms occupied by cadets as living quarters are being satisfactorily overcome. The interior, as converted, will present in its generally horizontal plan an appearance quite different from the vertical development of the divisions of other cadet barracks. No significant problems of administration should, however, result from this difference. The barracks should be ready for occupancy prior to organization of the Corps of Cadets for the academic year 1959-60.

But even with this conversion, several hundred cadets will continue to live three in a room designed for two. A plan drawn for the erection of an additional barracks on a site between existing barracks and the hospital was presented by the Superintendent, who considers the need for additional space most pressing. The new construction appears feasible and would permit the Corps of Cadets as presently constituted to be housed two to a room, the optimum condition for community living, for study, and for the maintenance of the numerous articles of cadet uniform.

(2) Housing for Officers and Enlisted Men: A housing shortage exists in the area surrounding West Point, which makes it extremely difficult to find a place to live for the overflow of officers and enlisted men at West Point. At the present time approximately 100 officers and more than 250 enlisted men entitled to quarters must seek homes in surrounding communities. The quality of housing available is low and much of it is at such distance from West Point as to place undue hardship on those whose duties at West Point begin at 7:30 or even earlier in the morning. An additional factor is the nearness of Stewart Air Force Base, whose officers and men are faced with the same problem and whose area of search for housing overlaps that of West Point personnel.

The Military Academy has prepared plans for the construction of additional housing at West Point. Members of the Board viewed potential construction areas and were impressed with the engineering obstacles to be found everywhere. Since level terrain is scarce and is required generally for training purposes, places which are suitable for hous ing construction are limited. Because utilities must be extended to any new area, and because the underlying rock formation makes site clearing and all construction especially expensive, costs cannot be held within the limitations set for Capehart housing, without reducing to a ridiculous figure the size of the houses provided. The Board concludes that direct appropriations for housing at West Point will be required to provide minimal accommodations, and that the human needs of the officers and enlisted men concerned make the provision of additional housing essential.

(3) Library: Next in order of the superintendent's priority for West Point is improved and expanded library space. The present building was constructed primarily as an observatory. On two occasions since it became a library it has received additional space, once by expansion into one of the academic buildings and later by construction of a new wing. Whereas a rule of thumb for college libraries would provide seats for one-quarter of the student body, the seating capacity at West Point will accommodate

less than one-tenth. Many books of general interest are necessarily kept in reference rooms of departments of instruction, available but not readily accessible, and sometimes inaccessible during library hours.

Growing emphasis is being placed at West Point on the use of multiple texts, especially in the humanities. Individual research, a balancing of opinion, the drawing of individual conclusions—such are some of the requirements of modern education, and they cannot be accomplished without the use of a library.

The anticipated introduction of elective courses will again expand the use of the library. Some of the electives under consideration will be of the seminar type for which no one textbook or group of textbooks will be sufficient. And the very fact that a cadet is studying a subject of his own choosing will doubtless lead to more background reading by the student. It is not impossible that the lack of adequate library facilities could jeopardize the academic standing of the U.S. Military Academy.

The superintendent has considered the solicitation of contributions from individuals or foundations for the construction of a new library at West Point. While such persons or foundations could rightfully be proud of their part in the intellectual development of the cadet, it seems highly undesirable to leave room for questioning the Government's concern for an important aspect of education. The Board believes that prompt action should be taken to provide an adequate, modern library for West Point, a suitable companion-piece for the remainder of the academic plant.

(4) Recreational facilities: The Board notes with approval the continuing concern of the Military Academy for the provision of suitable recreational facilities for cadets during their off-duty hours. Individual members have noted the increase in such facilities at West Point in the past year or the past 2 years. All hope for continued fruitful effort in this field.

A plan for a cadet activities building was presented to the Board. The proposed building would support all the activities of the cadets and its construction is very desirable, but the estimated cost is so great as to indicate considerable delay in obtaining the necessary funds. The Board hopes that ways may be found to proceed with such a building.

#### (f) Fiscal affairs

No serious deficiencies were reported to the Board, and no major problems of operation are known to exist.

#### (g) Religious activities

The Board visited the cadet chapel and the Catholic chapel, and it was also informed of the provision of services for cadets of the Jewish faith. The Catholic chapel is currently being almost doubled in size, by the use of private funds. All cadets are given opportunity to attend religious services during the week, in addition to the compulsory attendance on Sunday. Cadet participation in the choirs, in Sunday school teaching, and in religious discussion groups, indicates that there is a healthy spirit of service and of interest among them.

Catholic and Jewish chaplains are provided by the agencies of those two faiths. The cadet chaplain is selected from the Protestant faith and is appointed by the President. He is assisted by another chaplain paid from private funds. But the statutory limitation on the pay of the cadet chaplain makes it ever more difficult to obtain the services of a clergyman with the qualities so necessary to inspire and guide moral and spiritual development among the cadets. Several ministers approached have indicated their willingness to accept some

reduction in income in order to undertake this important task, but not a reduction to the \$5,600 per annum now paid to the cadet chaplain.

The Board believes that few things are more important than a lively and strong faith, and that a few thousand dollars per year should not be permitted to stand in the way of procuring vigorous and able leadership in this field for the cadets. It is reported that proposals to increase the pay of the cadet chaplain and to provide him with an assistant chaplain are being submitted to Congress. It is hoped that they will meet with favorable action by the Government.

#### (h) Strength of corps of cadets

The Army expects to receive approximately 1,200 new officers each year and would like to have about half of them come from the service academies. To date it has not been possible, except in isolated years, to attain the figure 600 from the academies. Part of the problem here lies in the fact that the authorized strength of the corps of cadets is set for the date of admission of a new class. Because attrition immediately sets in, and because admission occurs only once a year, the corps of cadets is below authorized strength for almost the whole of every year.

The Board of Visitors was informed that proposals are to be made to Congress by the Department of Defense to overcome the effects of this understrength period.

It would appear that all requirements for housing, etc., should be based only on the authorized strength of the corps of cadets. But the facilities for feeding the cadets and the hospital to support them are already available. Personnel requirements for instructors need not change unless there is a great change in the size of the corps. Thus, with the acceptance during the first few months of each academic year of some additional crowding in barracks, with which all recent classes of cadets are familiar, a larger number of cadets could be trained at no additional expense to the Government other than the pay and subsistence of the additional cadets.

The Board of Visitors is sure that these factors will be weighed when the anticipated proposals are offered.

#### (i) Designation of additional alternates

Under present conditions a Member of Congress may find that, through no fault of his own, cadets appointed by him have become concentrated in certain classes. If two or more are members of the same class, no appointment can be made in at least one year out of four. Yet good prospects present themselves every year and, forced by lack of vacancies to enroll in other colleges, are frequently lost to the military service for which they had once had a strong preference.

The Board feels that Members of Congress who have no vacancy to fill in a given year should still have the opportunity to nominate alternates who would thus be able to compete on the national level for one of the additional appointments now authorized by law. This procedure would lend support to the Superintendent's search for quality in the entering class of cadets by broadening the base from which to select those who are to receive the additional appointments to be made.

#### (j) Internal procedures of Board of Visitors

The Board takes this means to suggest to subsequent Boards of Visitors certain items of procedure that seem desirable. They are placed herein because they will thus be recorded in a form which will come to the attention of Boards appointed in the future.

 For a majority of the Board an annual visit in April seems to be best. Recent experimentation with changing dates for the visit has not accomplished the desired

(2) More contact between the Board of Visitors and the United States Military Academy in the period between annual visits is desirable.

(3) Assignment of special spheres of in-terest to groups of Board members for study during the annual visit should permit greater depth and breadth of coverage of the activities of the Military Academy. program for the whole Board as a group is deficient in this respect.

In extension of the suggestions in subparagraph 6b and in subparagraph 6j(2) above, the present Board is considering a visit by part of the group to West Point during the summer, to observe the summer training of cadets at West Point and to engage in free and extended discussion with cadets to ascertain their feelings with respect to the Military Academy, its aims, and its accomplishments.

### 7. RECOMMENDATIONS

### (a) Curriculum

That the heads of departments which instruct in pure and applied sciences at the United States Military Academy consult with qualified scientists in the formulation of an integrated science program at West Point and in the establishment of suitable elective courses for its support.

#### (b) Cadet barracks

That construction of an additional barracks on a site adjoining the present cadet housing area be undertaken, so that each cadet may have a suitable amount of space for normal living.

(c) Housing for officers and enlisted men

That the 156 sets of family housing for which preliminary plans have been drawn be constructed and that funds therefor be sought as a direct appropriation rather than under the Capehart plan, because the limitations under that plan are too low for this high-cost area.

#### (d) Library

That steps be taken at once to construct a new library, with suitable provision of space therein for increased use of the library. Greater facilities are necessary for a modern, expanding curriculum.

#### (e) Chaplain, U.S. Military Academy

That the chaplain be provided with an assistant chaplain to minister to the U.S. Corps of Cadets, and that the pay and allowances of both be set at figures which will make it possible to secure vigorous and understanding young leaders for both important posts.

#### (f) Nomination of alternates when no vacancy exists

That the Department of the Army investigate the possibility of changing present admission procedures to permit Members of Congress to nominate alternates in a year when no vacancy in the Congressional district (state in case of a Senator) is available.

#### 8. CONCLUSION

It is our belief that the Military Academy, under the leadership of its Superintendent, Lieutenant General Davidson, is progressing in tune with the times and the expanding needs of its graduates. The staff and faculty appear to be dedicated to the important task in which they are participating. The cadets take pride in themselves; they give every evidence of loyalty, of enthusiasm, of devotion to high standards of honor and duty. The mission of the Military Academy has been entrusted to capable and willing hands and is being faithfully accomplished.

Anthony C. McAuliffe, General, U.S. Army, retired, American Cyanamid Co.; Samuel S. Stratton, U.S. House of Representatives; Louis C. Rabaut, U.S. House of Representatives; Olin E. Teague, U.S. House of Representatives; Stuyvesant Wainwright, House of Representatives; Melvin R. Laird, U.S. House of Representatives; Styles Bridges, U.S. Senate; Kenneth Keating, U.S. Senate; William V. Houston, President, the Rice Institute; Frank H. Bowles, President, College Entrance Examination Board; Ivan C. Crawford, Consulting Engineer.

### Results of a Poll: Fifth Congressional District of Ohio

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. DELBERT L. LATTA

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Speaker, recently I conducted a survey of my district on several issues before the Nation. In order to apprise the House of the thinking of the people of the Fifth Congressional District of Ohio on these important matters, I am inserting the results of this poll in the RECORD.

The questions and the percentage of "Yes" and "No" answers to each question given by the people of the district in the questionnaires are set forth below:

1. Should we maintain the best possible defense regardless of its impact on the budget? Yes, 80.5 percent; no. 19.5 percent

2. (a) Should our mutual security-foreign aid program be limited to military assistance? Yes. 74.8 percent; no, 25.2 percent.

(b) Should we also continue our economic assistance in the hope that these countries will remain allied with the non-Communist nations? Yes, 47 percent; no, 53 percent.

3. Do you favor President Eisenhower's position on Berlin? Yes, 91 percent; no, 9 percent.

4. Do you favor the proposed 11/2-cent increase in the gasoline tax to maintain our Federal interstate highway construction program on a pay-as-you-go basis? Yes, 54.6 percent; no, 45.4 percent.

5. Do you favor the proposal to expand the social security program to include the payment of surgical and hospital bills if it means an increase in your social security tax? Yes, 30.1 percent; no, 69.9 percent.

6. Do you favor legislation to effectively curb the irregularities revealed by the Mc-Clellan committee in some of the labor unions? Yes, 95.2 percent; no, 4.8 percent.

7. Do you favor an expansion of the Federal Trade Commission's investigation of the price differential betweeen what a farmer receives for his product and what the consumer pays for it? Yes, 76.1 percent; no, 23.9 percent.

8. Do you favor Federal aid for schoolbuildings if it means any Federal control? Yes, 24.8 percent: no, 75.2 percent.

9. (a) If you are engaged in farming do you believe that Public Law 480 which provides that the Government may sell farm surpluses abroad for foreign currency should be expanded? Yes, 80.6 percent; no, 19.4 percent.

(b) Since the Soft Red Winter Wheat grown in Ohio is in demand and is not contributing to the what surplus, do you believe that a Government control-price support program is helpful to you? Yes, 11 percent; no, 89 percent.

(c) Do you agree that the farmer generally wants fewer controls and more freedom from Government interference even though it may

mean a temporary period of price adjust-ment? Yes, 90.4 percent; no, 9.6 percent. (d) Has the soil bank program been help-ful to you? Yes, 10.7 percent; no, 89.3 percent.

### The United Nations: Soviet Strategy and the Strategy of Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article that appeared in the General Electric Defense Quarterly for April-June 1959, which is published in Schenectady, N.Y.:

THE UNITED NATIONS: SOVIET STRATEGY AND THE STRATEGY OF FREEDOM

(By Henry Cabot Lodge, U.S. Representative to the United Nations)

"It is possible to conquer the more powerful enemy only by exerting the utmost effort, and by necessarily, thoroughly, carefully, attentively, and skillfully taking advantage of every, even the smallest fissure among the enemies, of every antagonism of interest among the bourgeoisie of the various countries, among the various groups of types of bourgeoisie in the various countries; by taking advantage of every, even the smallest opportunity of gaining a mass ally, even though this ally be temporary, vacillating, unstable, unreliable, and con-ditional. Those who do not understand this fail to understand even a grain of Marxism and of scientific, modern socialism in general." (Lenin, "Left-Wing Communism, an eral." Infantile Disorder," (1920).)'
Turgid and heavy-fisted though it is, this

famous passage of Lenin's expresses (with a frankness long since abandoned by his heirs) one of the basic maxims which still guide Soviet Communist world strategy: Divide

and conquer.

Soviet diplomacy and propaganda put this old battlefield rule to daily use. The peaceful solution of a free world dispute may be a cause for rejoicing elsewhere, but in Moscow it is a signal to blow on the dying embers. Recently we saw the truth borne out in the Cyprus affair, which was no sooner brought to the point of solution after 5 years of delicate diplomacy than Moscow began to tell the people of Cyprus they were being "stabbed in the back."

Obviously the leaders of world communism, although their theory speaks of contraditions in the opposing camp inevitably leading to proletarian revolution, know perfectly well that if they held aloof there would be nothing inevitable about it. are busy all the time promoting contradictions, hoping thus to give a decisive push to the so-called inevitable.

But as often as Moscow and Pelping seek to divide and conquer, the threatened nations obey a maxim equally old: "United we stand." Experience at the United Nations bears this out.

#### THE MIDDLE EAST, 1956-58

In no part of the non-Communist world have revolutionary events, with all the hatred and fear they generate, given the Soviet Union, that "scavenger of revolutions," more opportunities than in the Middle East.

When the Suez crisis broke out in October 1956, simultaneously with the Hungarian revolt, the Soviets did their best to pose as the defender of Arab nationalism against Western imperialism. They even invited the United States to join with Soviet troops in intervening in Egypt-a grotesque proposal which we rebuffed immediately.

Meanwhile the attack on Egypt was immediately and vigorously opposed by American diplomacy and by the overwhelming majority in the United Nations. The United Nations quickly assembled and dispatched an emergency force, containing no soldiers of any great power, to maintain quiet in the area and thereby secured the withdrawal of the

There were few things the Arab leaders desired less in any case than to be helped by troops of the Soviet Union-who were at that very moment helping Hungary with a blood bath. Moscow's maneuvers may have aimed at widening the breach among the free nations, but history may record that they actually caused it to heal more quickly.

#### A PHONY CRISIS

A year later, there being no real crisis in the Middle East, Moscow concocted a phony crisis. On September 10, 1957, just before the opening of the United Nations General Assembly, Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko called a press conference in Moscow to announce the discovery of an American plot, in collusion with Turkey, to overthrow government of Syria (a country to which Moscow had been sending large supplies of arms). The propaganda buildup proceeded steadily. By October, Mr. Khrushchev was threatening: "When the guns begin firing,

The whole question was thoroughly de-bated in the United Nations General Assembly. The Soviet charges were so thoroughly discredited that the resolution embodying them was not even brought to a vote. Within a few months Syrian leaders, in evident fear of seeing their country taken over by the Soviet Union, brought about a with Egypt in the new United Arab Republic. Thus Moscow's attempt to "divide and conquer" produced more unity than had existed before.

Then came 1958 and the troubles in Lebanon and Jordan. In July the Government of Lebanon-for months the scene of civil strife, evidently aided from neighboring Syria—requested President Eisenhower to send American troops to help preserve its independence and integrity. The President responded to the Lebanese call, as did the British Government in the parallel case of Jordan, We then asked the Security Council to authorize United Nations action-including the sending of armed contingentswhich would make possible the withdrawal of our troops and the removal of danger to the integrity of the two threatened countries. The Soviet Union promptly vetoed this proposal.

During this whole period the Soviet line was to try to prevent the United States from going to the aid of a small and threatened country, Lebanon-even though the lawful Lebanese Government asked us to do soand to take the credit when we withdrew.

But again that strategy failed. The General Assembly met in emergency session. President Eisenhower appeared before it and proposed a series of steps to enable our troops to withdraw and to help the countries of the Middle East toward peace and eco-nomic betterment. Then the Arab countries themselves proposed a peace plan which was unanimously adopted by the Assembly. Soviets found so little support for their resolution, which was aimed against the United States, that they withdrew it without a vote. At the end of October, on schedule, our troops were out of Lebanon and Britain's out of Jordan.

The Middle East remains a dangerous place. But the area has thus far been spared the worst tragedles-major war and Soviet conquest. And the leaders of the region are increasingly aware of Soviet ambitions.

#### NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND THE OPEN SKY

"Ban the bomb," "end the tests"-in the 12-year debate on disarmament, with all its opportunities for striking virtuous attitudes, no Soviet slogan has been plugged more untiringly than these-and for obvious reasons. Each is short and simple. It plays on the fear of war. It could be used to make millions fear American power-and at the same time make them doubt American firmness.

The Soviets exploited the atomic bomb issue in all its variations. Year after year they demanded (with little or no mention of control) an end to its manufacture or its possession; a pledge not to use it; a pledge to destroy stocks; then, a pledge not to test it: and so on.

To counter this Soviet thrust we needed a position which was both simple (as theirs was) and honest (as theirs was not). In the thicket of military technology and political mistrust the search for this combination was hard going.

The United States has steadily improved its position. Much of this improvement has come from two striking U.S. proposals, both initiated by President Eisenhower and both reducible to a phrase.

First, Atoms for Peace (December 1953). Second, the Open Sky (July 1955).

When the President came to the United Nations in 1953 and proposed a world agency to spread the peaceful benefits of the atom, the worldwide response was electric. A new prospect appeared for cooperation across the dangerous gulf of the cold war. Ordinary people began to realize that the atom-until then a symbol of man's death—could equally be consecrated to his life. Faced with this tide of enthusiasm, Moscow (often mistakenly thought to be beyond the reach of world opinion) dropped its opposition and joined the International Atomic Energy Agency.

#### AMERICA'S IMAGE VISIBLY BRIGHTENED

By this one act the image of America. which Moscow had worked so hard to blacken, was made visibly brighter throughout the world.

Then, in Geneva in 1955, President Eisenhower put before the Soviet leaders his plan for an exchange of military blueprints and for mutual inspection against surprise attack by aerial sentinels in an open sky-a technique made possible by great progress in aerial photo-reconnaissance. In the United Nations resolution on disarmament that autumn, the Eisenhower plan was overwhelmingly endorsed.

Like atoms for peace, the open-sky plan was aimed only tangentially at disarmament

as such. But its influence on the disarmament debate has been great. Through it world opinion came to realize more vividly than ever before that any mutual arms reduction plan cannot work without some irreducible minimum of openness-no matter how repugnant openness may be to the Soviet Communist mind.

How valuable this progress was appeared in April 1958, when Moscow launched still another of its periodic propaganda blitzes against the United States. This time they complained that U.S. nuclear bombers were threatening peace by carrying out flights over the Arctic regions in the direction of the Soviet Union.

The aim, clearly, was familiar-to raise walls of fear between us and our friends abroad, and to undermine our will to maintain the defensive nuclear shield on which free world security rests.

The Soviets brought the question to the United Nations Security Council. This was a mistake. Not only did we explain clearly the so-called fail-safe system which makes an accidental nuclear bombing of Soviet territory by the Strategic Air Command impossible. We also renewed our 1957 proposal that the open-sky system be installed in the Arctic region. Thus the Soviets could further insure themselves against the surprise attack they professed to fear.

The Soviets killed our Arctic open-sky resolution with their veto—but not until it had received worldwide notice and influential support throughout the United Nations community, including 10 of the 11 votes in the Security Council and the open support of the Secretary General.

Thus the issue of inspection, with its larger connotations of openness and mutual tolerance, has been fairly joined. As President Eisenhower said last August in the United Nations:

'The nature of today's weapons, the nature of modern communications, and the widening circle of new nations make it plain that we must, in the end, be a world community of open societies.

"And the concept of the open society is the ultimate key to a system of arms con-trol we can all trust."

#### STRATEGY AND IDEALS

At the root of our strategic effort, involving as it does many diverse nations and cultures, lies the search for common purposes which can be translated into common ac-

We trust that those common purposes exist and that there is, at the most elemental level, the common desire to prevent World War III. Presumably the Union-regardless of its global ambitionswill share this desire as long as it respects our military strength.

There is also the common desire of non-Communist nations not to be conquered and not to be treated as Hungary was treated.

There are common bonds in the impulse to relieve suffering, in the love of beauty and in the search for scientific and religious

And finally there is the powerful hunger for a better life which deeply affects the majority of the peoples of the world. To meet that hunger the economic development programs which we are carrying on, both directly and through the United Nations, play a vital part.

It is pertinent to ask how people in Africa and Asia, animated by such purposes, compare the United States and the Soviet Union in their own minds. Six years of association with the representatives of Africa and Asia in the United Nations convince me that they see the difference in some such terms as

"The big difference between the United States and the Soviet Union is that the United States has shown that man's material lot can be improved without violence, without coercion, and without sacrificing his

civil rights."

People in Africa and Asia may have much or little or no practice in the techniques of multiparty, representative democracy, but all of them can understand the brutal lesson of the Chinese Communist communes and even the lesson of distant Hungary, as was shown in the overwhelming United Nations votes on that issue.

Likewise they can understand the lessons of progress in the United States toward justice for members of all races. When they read of the happenings in Little Rock our country's interests suffered; but when they see pictures of children of different races studying peacefully in the same high school in Virginia, they give our country credit.

HUMANE IDEALS OUR GREATEST ADVANTAGE

It is thus in the realm of humane ideals that our greatest advantage over communism lies. Through them we can unite what communism seeks to divide.

We do not need more doctrine. wonderful doctrines which are as true in the age of space exploration as they were in the age of the oxcart. We have the Declaration of Independence which tells us that "all men are created equal" and that among the rights with which their Creator has endowed them are "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." We have the words of the Old Testament prophet Micah who bids us to "do justice, love mercy, and walk humbly with they God." We have the Christian com-mandment "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

These doctrines are not exclusively American; they are universal. They do not need to be modernized or codified; they need to be lived up to-both at home and abroad. Only as we are faithful to them can be succeed in the struggles of this century.

### Mrs. Booth Tarkington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

### HON. JOSEPH W. BARR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. BARR. Mr. Speaker, it is only fitting and proper that on behalf of Marion County, Ind., and the Congress of the United States, I say "Happy birthday" to a great Hoosier lady, Mrs. Booth Tarkington. Mrs. Tarkington is the widow of our beloved Indiana author, the late Booth Tarkington.

In Indiana we cherish our authors and our poets. We have a genial preoccupation with politics and politicians, but long after the Governors and Senators have departed the scene and are forgotten, we still read and reread the wonderful prose of Booth Tarkington. As children most of us loved "Seventeen," and "Penrod." When we grew up, we read and appreciated the Pulitzer prize winners, "The Magnificent Ambersons" and "Alice Adams."

Booth Tarkington's genius and work were supported by the wonderful lady that I am honoring today. All of us owe her a profound thank you as well as a hearty happy birthday.

When the Public Judges the Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article by Prof. Alan F. Westin entitled "When the Public Judges the Court," which appeared in the New York Times magazine of May 31, 1959, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

In this article Professor Westin reviews the criticisms which have been made of the Court throughout the history of our country, and he also gives his analysis of what the reasons are behind the current day criticisms.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHEN THE PUBLIC JUDGES THE COURT (By Alan F. Westin)

In the past 3 years, the Supreme Court has been denounced for judicial misbehavior by a wide assortment of critics, ranging from the American Bar Association and southern officialdom to State court judges and the Daughters of the American Revolution. Bills and constitutional amendments have been sponsored in Congress to limit the Court's jurisdiction, and to make the Justices think twice before extending their offensive doctrines.

To listen to many of the wisest commentators on our constitutional politics, this imbroglio is not strikingly different from situations which the Supreme Court has encountered ever since the days of Chief Justice John Marshall and his self-declared archfoe, Thomas Jefferson. But is it? In my opinion, this battle between Court and critics is distinctly different from any other in our history.

In each previous struggle over the proper role for the Federal judiciary in our governmental system, a property issue has been at the heart of the controversy. While the doc-trines of the Jutsices have always been a matter of debate, there were five notable periods when the Supreme Court became a leading political issue, and prompted cam-paigns by powerful blocs in Congress to alter the Court's personnel or its powers.

The years 1821-24 and 1831-33 saw protests against the Court's interference with State regulation of banks, land titles, companies and other parts of the mercantile establishment. Arguments during 1857-60 dealt with the Court's treatment of slavery as a property matter and the impact of the alave system upon the economies of the West, North and South. The years 1896-1912 were marked by protests against the Federal judiciary's insulation of corporate enterprise from both State and National measures aimed at monopoly, taxation and labor relations. Finally, 1934-37 centered on the Supreme Court's barriers to social welfare legislation and to national management of the national corporate economy. In all of these episodes powerful economic interests were directly involved in defense of their privileges.

The current debate over the Court's rule has no comparable economic basis, reason for this lies in the character of the decisions that have precipitated protest. While the Supreme Court under Chief Justices Vinson and Warren has not been a probusiness Court, as in the days of Chief Justices Marshall or Taft, neither has it been antibusiness. In matters directly affecting business, as in labor relations, antitrust and tax issues, the Warren Court has been simply an enunciator of the social capitalist status quo in American politics.

Instead of propety issues, the present con-troversy deals with matters of liberty and equality. Where the outcome of disputed cases in the past decided what people could do with their property, free from Govern-ment restraint, the new cases decide what people can advocate and organize to promote, which people are consigned to be more equal than others, and what procedures Government may follow in apprehending and prosecuting the nonpropertied antisocial elements in our population.

Where the beneficiaries of the Court's rulings were once land speculators, planters, railroads and public utility holding companies, the new befriended are Negroes, syndicate leaders, Communists, balky college professors, rapists and Government em-

ployees accused of disloyalty.

Accompanying this shift in the issues has been an equally fundamental shift in the groups who attack and defend the judiciary. Previously, it was the spokesmen for liberalism and majority rule-from Jeffersonians to New Dealers-who denounced the Supreme Court. They did so on the rational liberal theory that the Court was an insufferable restraint upon majority will. In a democratic society, they argued, judges with life tenure had no right to substitute their notions of good policy for the wishes of the people acting through their elected representatives-Congress, the President, and States governments.

Yet, in the 1950's, liberal groups are defeading the judiciary as a wise agency tocheck mass passions and to protect natural rights from invasion by the political branches of government.

A similar reversal has taken place in the conservative camp. Previously, liberal critics were opposed by propertied groups who declared, in rational conservative doctrine, that the Supreme Court was a badly needed brake upon populist democracy. Yet, in the 1950's, the critics of the Court are led by groups we ordinarily associate with conservatism-American Legion, the DAR, the American Bar Association, State and local law enforcement officers, southerners, right-wing Republicans and Democrats in Congress, and the like. Their cry now is that the Supreme Court is tampering with the wise conclusions of the people's representatives, and they denounce the notion that any doctrine of higher right permits the judiciary to inter-

Finally, this is the first conflict not to present basically a party line division. Previously, Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Bryan, and Roosevelt led the bulk of their party faithful against the disputed judicial doctrines. The party dominated by property in-terests being protected by the Court defended the Justices. Today, with property issues absent, there are no party positions. Eisenhower remains aloof. Stevenson supports the Court. Congressional Republicans and Democrats are divided. In this controversy, conservatives among the two parties face liberals from the two parties.

What do these changes import for the present controversy over judicial review? On this score, I think it may be wiser to ask questions and supply speculations than to issue firm conclusions.

First of all, why have liberal and conservative elements changed positions? Have the ideological bases of these classic comps undergone a transformation in the 1950's? I

think the answer is less spectacular than that. An overwhelming majority of liberals now defend the Supreme Court and judicial review because the Justices are banding down rulings on liberty and equality issues which accord with liberal beliefs. Conservatives are opposing the Court because, it has become dangerously unsound on these matters.

It is clear that whether a group's ideological toe has been pinched is the first determinant of whether the pinching institution will be praised or damned. Since the five major crises over judicial review in our past found the Court steadfastly devoted to conservative positions, the simple explana-tion of the first liberal switch toward judicial review is that liberals have had to wait from 1790 until the 1950's to find a set of Justices to whom they could attach their allegiance.

A second question is why a majority of Justices came to make this shift of positions possible. On this subject, since Justices do not allow themselves to be polled or given Rorschach tests, the area of speculation is

remarkably wide.

Perhaps, like nature, Supreme Court Justices abhor a vacuum. Since 1937, a majority of Justices have been committed to the concept of "judicial self-restraint" in matters of economic regulation by the elected branches of Government. For two decades, not a single Federal tax measure, regulation of commerce, national welfare program, or labor law has been declared unconstitutional.

While there was some talk within the Court between 1937 and 1953 of applying a different, more interventionist, standard of review for liberty and equality cases, a majority of the Court generally applied self-re-straint across the board. Appointees who looked forward to enunciating high constitutional principles must have chafed under

these self-imposed bonds.

By itself, I doubt whether this yearning for glory would have precipitated the departures of 1953-59. The personal discomfort coincided, though, with urging by powerful elements, including the Eisenhower administration, to advance from the "gradualist" approach of the Vinson Court on equality matters and overturn the whole separate but-equal doctrine of racial segregation.
Growing sentiment in condemnation of the
Court's ducking of fundamental issues,
rlsing anti-McCarthyite spirit in the Nation 1954, and the arrival on the Court's docket of liberty cases which represented the most excessive and least necessary aspects of the internal security programs-all these factors pressed in upon the Court.

However, the Supreme Court, or even a majority, is not something with a life of its own. Justices are distinctly individuals. with viscera and predilections inside them rather than gears or IBM cards. Thus one has to consider personalities as well as "forces" to reach satisfactory explanations

of judicial behavior.

Chief Justice Vinson and Justices Jackson, Reed, Minton and Burton were judges Who either found the case for authority persuasive in most liberty cases or else felt that the Supreme Court ought to exercise self-restraint in these as well as property cases,

In place of these Justices, the Eisenhower administration has installed Chief Justice Warren and Justices Harlan, Brennan, Whit-taker and Stewart. While there are important differences in constitutional philosophy among these men, ranging from the liberal Interventionist credo of Warren and Brennan to the legal institutionalist focus of Harlan, the Eisenhower appointees as a group are different from the Justices they replaced.

Trained in law school when legal realism was at its height, and free from personal

involvement in the anti-court, judicial selfrestraint fight of the 1930's, these men approach the post-1954 cases with a freer and less self-conscious perspective than their predecessors.

However, I think the earlier Justices, had they still been on the Court when the outer limits of the internal security issue were reached, between 1954 and the present, would also have been impelled to take a more active position than they had previously. Justice Frankfurter, for example, has found a way to vote against Government action and for defendants far more after 1954 than he had before. Justice Jackson would very likely have done the same.

In support of this hypothesis, it is useful to remember that courts have a way of defending liberty after a crisis has passed A delay in constitutional showdowns occurs on the theory that only when the dangers of excess are demonstrable and hysteria has diminished will the public heed the Justices' call to constitutional ideals.

It is also pertinent to note that the liberty and equality issues, while similar in being nonpropertied, do not represent identical problems for the Supreme Court. This has led to two different configurations within the Court. On cases dealing with segregation and its implementation the Justices have presented a 9-0 face to the Nation. Here, liberal interventionism is the judicial credo.

In liberty matters the present Supreme Court has a four-man interventionist core made up of Chief Justice Warren and Justices Douglas, and Brennan. Justices Black, Douglas, and Brennan. Justices Frankfurter, Harlan, and Whittaker have joined the four-man liberal phalanx in many of the disputed liberty cases, but usually with opinions which adopted more limited grounds for the result in the cases. Justice Clark has been in dissent in virtually all liberty cases. This leaves Justice Stewart, who has not participated in enough cases as yet to indicate exactly what his position represents, but seems to lean to the Frankfurter-Harlan group. Thus, close divisions are destined to be the rule in the liberty cases, with a divided Court mirroring nonsectional public divisions on these questions.

A third question to consider is what effect these changes in the fight over judicial review will have upon the Supreme Court's power position, or, put another way, whether the Court can find as powerful a constituency to support it today as in the past.

Most Americans are not used to thinking that the Supreme Court has a constituency, like Congressmen with their electoral dis tricts or the President with the national electorate. Yet the Supreme Court, despite life tenure for its members and a tradition of judge-worship in the population, remains a highly vulnerable institution. Decrees from the High Tribunal are realistically enforced only if the President and Congress acquiesce in them and public opinion supports-or is not actively opposed to-the basic trend of decision.

Who will support the Court today? seems to me that business conservatives have been uncommitted so far in the present Court controversy and are likely to remain so as long as the Court does not add antibusiness decisions to its disputed doctrines. To be sure, a few men associated with business organs, such as David Lawrence, have joined in the attack upon the Justices, but I think it is more significant to note that corporate spokesmen and business associations, such as the NAM, have chosen to stay out of this campaign.

Can the Court depend upon liberals, plus residual Court-worship in the population, to defend it against the nonbusiness conservatives? As congressional events in 1958 showed, the Court's critics are far from few. With

the unending animus of the southerners (and southern political power in Congress) to lead the drive, the Court is faced with more than a temporary round of dissent.
On the other hand, it would be a mistake

to underestimate the strength of the Court's defenders in the new political atmosphere of post-World War II America. With the importance of Negro voters constantly growing in urban politics outside the South, and with white groups such as Jews continuing to identify themselves strongly with the antisegregation issue, the Court's equality decisions are likely to be supported, not just by liberal groups, but by the urban machine leaders of both our political parties.

I think the Court has a somewhat rockier road for its liberty decisions, and it would not be at all surprising to see Congress reverse several specific rulings, such as those dealing with the Smith Act, passport policy, or State sedition laws. Even on the liberty side, however, the Court is not altogether defenseless. Distaste for McCarthyism, a desire for more careful scrutiny of internal security measures, and concern for fair procedure seem to be steadily increasing since 1954.

Indeed, the existing sense of moderation is indicated in the fact that many local bar associations have dissented from the American Bar Association's criticism of the Supreme Court, that the ABA's resolution was really rather mild, and that the president of the ABA has felt it wise to stress publicly that the ABA had no intention to attack the Court, but only to suggest stronger anti-

subversive machinery.

I do not mean to give the impression that a determinist tide rules the future of the present conflict over judicial review. Much will depend on how wisely and well the Justices decide specific cases, when they choose to intervene, and when to leave Issues to the political branches of Government, and whether the Court displays that basic craftsmanship in opinions without which a judge appears naked to those who do not agree with the results in cases.

The debate will also be affected by many factors not under the control of the Justices at all, such as whether the Nation can find a President who understands what the Justices are saying and will place the prestige of the White House behind the Court's decisions.

At present the Court seems firmly fixed in its course. For the interventionist Justices there are the lures of making high national policy and promoting liberal goals to spur them onward. For the Justices who lean toward judicial self-restraint there are other compelling factors. Concerned with the prestige of the Court, they realize that the Court cannot draw back from its desegregation approach without compromising basic position.

On the liberty side they realize that the arrival of radical antisubversive measures, threatening the traditional values of fair procedure and ordered liberty, has impelled them to take the distinctly moderate stands inaccurately described by angry critics as sweeping doctrines. There is nothing which can stiffen a good judge's back more firmly than erroneous charges by groups which equate assumption of inescapable responsibility with a treasonous arrogation of power.

Whatever this examination of the history of American judicial review indicates about the present or the future, one thing seems clear. French proverbs to the contrary notwithstanding, the more things change, the less likely they are really to be the same. History may teach the Justices that they are not the first to face fundamental attacks. but this Court will have to find its own path to success in dealing with status issues which have replaced property politics of past generCommencement Address of Lawrence G. Derthick, U.S. Commissioner of Education at Boston University

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. LAURENCE CURTIS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. CURTIS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, in extension of my remarks, I include the significant address delivered at the graduation exercises of Boston University by Lawrence G. Derthick,

University by Lawrence G. Derthick, Commissioner, U.S. Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, on Sunday, June 7, 1959, at

OF TIME AND CIRCUMSTANCE

(Address by Lawrence G. Derthick)

Let me begin by thanking you for the opportunity to share with you some of the spirit of this momentous day, this day fraught with satisfaction and sadness, accomplishment and anticipation. Through commencement days occur with the regularity of the seasons and the tides, there is always a quality of uniqueness about them, a special thrill and sense of newness as the hour approaches for one more group of young men and women to leave their alma mater and take up the pattern of their lives in the outside world.

The first graduating classes left this campus in the cradle of education here in the new world, much as you do today. They were fired with enthusiasm for the job ahead. though not without some apprehension about their adequacy for it in a world which even then must have seemed to be moving exceedingly fast. They helped settle the last of the American physical frontiers and lay the foundations of our present-day economic system. They participated vigorously in the processes that so radically transformed life in rural communities and contributed new inventions to increase production and build whole industries. As Nevins and Commager tell us, "No other generation in American history witnessed changes as swift or as revolutionary as those which transformed the rural republic of Lincoln into the urban empire of McKinley and Roosevelt."

Those early classes lived through some of

Those early classes lived through some of the most important aspects of this transformation. They too, were trained for leadership role and wondered, as you are doing today, whether their qualifications would measure up to time and circumstance. We should remind ourselves that for them life ahead was just as perplexing and filled with just as much mystery and promise and demanded their very best just as these crucial times demand the best of you.

For some of your early predecessors, as with every graduating class, achievement fell short of aspiration, while others became the great men and women of their time. What made them great? What makes for greatness in anyone? One can think of great men and women down through history and each has outstanding and very different qualities.

Socrates was one of the wisest of men and the best of teachers. But he did not claim to have wisdom—only to seek it lovingly. In addition to all of his other great gifts, he had humility.

Voltaire put all the energy and eloquence at his comamnd into trying to make men realize that they should learn to tolerate one another's philosophic, political, and religious differences.

Mahatma Ghandi taught his followers that love and peace were far more powerful weapons than hate and war.

In our own country Lee is revered for his devotion to duty. And Lincoln, as Stephen Vincent Benet says, for:

'Honesty rare as a man without self-pity, Kindness as large and plain as a prairie wind.

And self-confidence like an iron bar."

One could go on. The point is that greatness is achieved when men and women have outstanding gifts and qualities which they fit to their particular time and circumstance, and when they use these gifts supremely with total dedication.

This is a time of great issues and great events for all of us. I need not remind you, but let me say it again, even as it must be repeated over and over in ringing terms:

"Our civilization is now menaced with the possibility of war so terrible that vast segments of the human race can be extinguished within the briefest space of time."

Tolerance and unity are vital if man is to continue to enjoy the good things of the earth. Yet he is beset by intolerance and disunity as never before. This springs in many ways from a struggle for power between three goups of nations, and from the great disparity which exists among them in their customs, their beliefs, and their ways of life, in a world which seems, because of modern transportation and communications, to be getting smaller all the time.

America finds herself leader of the free world allies, diametrically opposed to the ideology of the group headed by Soviet Russia. The third group consists of the so-called uncommitted nations—the emergent countries of Asia plus some of the African nations.

Potentially this latter group possesses enormous strength and immense natural resources. All of the members are characterized by varying degrees of tension. On the one hand there is a resistance to change, and on the other an irresistible reaching out toward social and economic betterment.

Soveit Russia in her commitment to world domination is determined to exert the compelling influence over these nations. When I was in Russia last year the Soviet Minister of Education remarked:

"We believe in a planned society, you in individual initiative. Let time tell which is best."

With clever propaganda the Soviet leaders are saying "Through education and our ideology we can take first place in the world." To the peoples of the uncommitted countries the Communist doctrine says: "Forty years ago we too were a backward and undeveloped people. What we have succeeded in doing under communism we can help you to do too."

Unquestionably, they can point to phenomenal growth, but we know that the fearsome ideology they seek to spread is not the
source of their advancement. Any system
underwritten by vast natural resources and
exerting intensive effort to develop the minds
of its people is bound to progress impressively, for herein lies the secret of Russia's
progress and the real challenge she presents.
Her leaders are convinced that education is a
primary essential in attaining supremacy.
Soviet schools, scientific academies, and universities are vigorously supported with prestige and money to train manpower—their
way.

This very day, this month, in the year 1959, as you receive your degrees an educational revolution is taking place in Eastern Europe and Asia, over millions of square miles where, only scant years ago, there was virtual illiteracy.

In Red China and the Soviet Union more than 243 million men, women, and children are hard at work studying. Almost 5 million of them are in institutions beyond the secondary level. The Red Chinese claim that enrollment in their institutions beyond the secondary level increased 70 percent in 1957-58, and is still going up at that rate.

In the United States one out of every three young persons aged 18 to 21 is in college or a university—some 3.2 million students. There is no way to compare accurately the ratio of students to population in the U.S.S.R. and Red China. But the overall figures—almost 5 million to our 3.2 million—carry a warning not to be ignored, for our inferiority in numbers of trained manpower brings into sharpest focus the critical need to reassess and redouble our efforts to develop educational programs of highest quality, to cultivate and make the most of our precious human resources.

America's strength, prosperity, and her position of world leadership are directly attributable to the education which her people have received. The uncommitted nations know this, even if we have come to take our educational blessings all too much for granted. But let us never forget that our leadership will be maintained only to the degree that education can be made more effective for all of the people. One-room schools, halftime sessions, teacher shortage, school districts too small and poor to offer children adequate programs—these have no place in the richest country on earth. Nor, in the midst of prosperity should scores of thousands of our most capable young people drop out of high school each year because they lack the money or the incentive to go on to

Happily a new climate is beginning to develop across our land in regard to the importance of education. There are signs of a growing respect for scholarship. People are more concerned with the curriculum of our schools and colleges, becoming more cognizant of the value of knowledge. The manner in which the new National Defense Education Act—still only 9 months old—is "taking hold" all over the country is heartening evidence of the new interest.

Americans are always at their best when confronted with a stirring challenge and I am confident that we shall, for we find the means to overcome our problems in education. We must find ways to streamline and improve our system, to find the teachers we need, and utilize the wonders of our modern means of communication to transmit knowledge more effectively and improve technical skills. We must find ways to take care of the tide of young people who have been flooding the high schools and are already lapping over our college campuses. It may be difficult to find ways, but found they must be. Never before have Americans been in such an all-out race for knowledge; and we must remember there is no second prize in the kind of contest that confronts us now. Time will tell, the Russian said. and threw the gauntlet to us to prove that individual initiative can tell. This simply means that, whereas the Communists rely on a system, democracy relies on you and me and expects of each of us strong hearts and a determined unselfish commitment.

There is no time to lose. We are compelled to concentrate all of our energies upon a rekindling of the spirit and conviction possessed by our forefathers. For them, even on the frontier, education had priority along with food, shelter, and security. In these days of space probing and international tension our frontiers are infinitely wider, but the basic challenge remains the

We need to honor those who teach and those who devote themselves to study. And I think also that we could do more—much more, to instill in each other and our young people greater appreciation of what it means to be an American, to enjoy the freedom to

know, to be able freely to express one's views, and work freely for the fulfillment of one's personal ambitions.

To work hard and well, to know how to husband and cherish our vast resources are more than ever vital factors in the educative process, as are some of those old-fashioned virtues that our forefathers used as a vardstick to live by-thrift and the Golden Rule.

There is a very real danger that in enjoyment of our fortunate way of life we could go soft as other highly civilized peoples have done. With our shiny cars and glittering gadgets, and all the glamour and ease of our lives in a modern wonder world, we could become overwhelmed by our own mastery of time and circumstance.

Democracy, we need to remember, was not built on good times and easy living. It was fashioned by God-fearing, brave, and dedicated men and women who made moving sacrifices and carried heavy burdens to gain and hold freedom. It will flourish only as long as our people are ready to work and

sacrifice to keep it.

The Soviets are confident that their planned society will triumph. There is much to be said for good planning, but planning which confines and restricts and puts a ceiling on individual efforts and aspirations does not belong in this category. There is no ceiling to the power of democracy save that which is self-imposed. All we have to do to unleash the power is to release the brakes of complacency and sharpen the values and ideals which have inspired democracy. these days when we are so often portrayed as "materialists" it is more important than ever to emphasize the part that moral and spiritual values have played and must continue to play in improving our culture. Let us show those nations looking toward new opportunity that democracy is more than material achievement; that democracy is not just a word out of the cold war, but a creeda creed to ennoble and enrich a man's spirit, not merely his way of life.

You who are leaving this institution today are destined for leadership in this dynamic and awesome period in human history. You go richly endowed. Right here in this class you have as rich and representative a store of wisdom assembled as one could ever

hope to find in one place.

If there is one thing that I can wish on this great day for each of you it is that wherever you go, whatever you are able to do with the knowledge you have gained here, you will always endeavor to enrich humanity with the best that is in your hearts as well as your

Some of you are destined to be among the noted men and women of your time. Some will achieve greater material success, and some greater material satisfaction than some greater material satisfaction than others. I hope, however, that all of you will come to know the wisdom and the peace of mind, if not the circumstance, which prompted an unknown Confederate soldier to write this prayer found in the archives of an old southern church: .

"I ask God for strength that I might achieve, I was made weak that I might humbly learn to obey.

I asked for health that I might do greater things.

I was given infirmity that I might do better

I asked for riches that I might be happy, I was given poverty that I might be wis I asked for power that I might have the praise of men,

I was given weakness that I might feel the

need of God.

I asked for all things that I might enjoy life, I was given life that I might enjoy all things. I got nothing that I asked for, but everything I hoped for, Almost despite myself my unspoken prayers were answered:

are among all men most richly blessed'.'

And may each of you in fulfillment of the ideals embodied in this prayer be most richly

### A Permanent Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS -OF

### HON. J. CARLTON LOSER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 19, 1959

LOSER. Mr. Speaker, under Mr. leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ORD, I include the testimony of the Honorable C. Beverly Briley, judge of the Davidson County (Tenn.) Court before the Senate Committee on Government Operations and the Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations. He appeared as the representative of the National Association of County Officials. His testimony is related to hearings on S. 2026, H.R. 6904 and H.R. 6905, These bills are to establish a permanent Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations

Judge Briley is chairman of the NACO Urban Area Committee, and is peculiarly fitted by training and experience to speak with authority on the many complex problems of modern life and the need for the fullest cooperation and coordination of activities between the levels of government. These problems have received this man's thoughts and intellect for several years and it is my judgment that no one in the Nation is better qualified to speak on this vexatious subject than Judge Briley of Nashville. Tenn.

His testimony follows:

TESTIMONY OF JUDGE C. BEVERLY BRILEY

Mr. Chairman and members of the committees of the joint hearing: My name is Judge C. Beverly Briley. I am chairman of the Davidson County Court, Tennessee, and president of the Tennessee County Services Association. I am a member of the National Association of County Officials Officials (NACO) and chairman of the NACO Urban Area Committee. Intergovernmental relations falls within the scope of function of the Urban Area Committee. I deeply appreciate having been afforded this opportu-nity to state the position of the National Association of County Officials on this important proposed legislation. My statement will be on behalf of the nearly 6,000 elected and appointed county officials from 47 States who compose the membership of NACO.

The American County Platform is the of-ficial policy statement of the National Association of County Officials. The American County Platform takes a strong stand in support of the recommendations of the President's Commission on Intergovernmental Relations: "The National Association of County Officials reaffirms its enthusiastic support for the recommendations of the President's Commission on Intergovernmental Relations and commends the President, the Congress and the members of the Commission for this outstanding contribution to the understanding of American representative government. We particularly indorse the basic government philosophy of the Commission which states:

"Leave to private initiative all the functions that citizens can perform privately; use the level of government closest to the community for all public functions it can handle; utilize cooperative intergovernmental arrangements where appropriate to attain economical performances and popular approval; reverse national action for residual participation where State and local governments are not fully adequate, and for the continuing responsibilities that only the National Government can undertake." 1-6.1

We believe that the subject legislation is essential, laudatory and in direct further-ance of the American County Platform policy statement. The bills under consideration today recognize that local governments are virile and extremely active in the correction of their problems. Speaking for counties, I can testify to the amazing job which revitalized county government is doing to provide sound, efficient government services to millions upon millions of our people. The proposed legislation would not replace these increasingly efficient close-to-the-people local governments; rather, it is definitely a step in the right direction because it would fill the serious need of providing permanent leadership in the study and development of relations between local governments, the States and the Federal Government. The creation of the Advisory Commission, in many ways, is an outgrowth of the comprehensive investigations by Chairman Fountain and the Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations of the House Committee on Government Operations.

The National Association of County Offcials heartly urges the passage of this legislation, with one important revision which I shall respectfully submit later in my statement. Let me proceed quickly through this legislation (for the purpose of commenting) on those phases which are particularly meri-torious in that they fill serious gaps in our intergovernmental relations.

The intended performance of the Advisory Commission would be to:

1. Bring Federal, State and local representatives together on common problems.

- 2. Provide a forum for discussion of Federal grant and other programs requiring intergovernmental cooperation.
- 3. Give critical attention to conditions and controls involved in Federal grant programs.
- 4. Make technical assistance available to the Federal Government in review of proposed legislation to determine its overall effect on the Federal system.
- 5. Encourage discussion of emerging problems requiring intergovernmental coopera-
- 6. Recommend allocation of governmental functions and responsibilities among the several levels of Government.

The congressional intent appears wellcalculated to assure that the Commission will have wide enough range to be really effective in promoting better intergovernmental relations. The performance area of the Advisory Commission is broad and provides freedom of movement for the Commission to get the job

The Advisory Commission would engage in such activities and make such studies as necessary to carry out its job within the intent of Congress. The Commission would have the authority to consider, on its own initiative, ways and means of fostering better relations between levels of Government. Here again, the grant is broad enough to

permit the Advisory Commission to effectively carry out the congressional objectives.

I am happy to note, too, that this legislation would give the Advisory Commission teeth in carrying out its duties by authorizing it: to hold hearing, take testimony, administer caths; to require furnishing of necessary information by executive branch subdivision; and to appoint, affix the compensation of, and remove a staff director.

It is the provision for membership of the Advisory Commission which deeply disturbs conscientious county officials. As proposed, the Advisory Commission would be com-posed of 24 members, including: 6 appointed by the President (3 officers of the executive branch; 3 private citizens); 3 Senators, appointed by the President of the Senate; Representatives, appointed by the Speaker of the House; 4 Governors, appointed by the President: 3 legislators, appointed by the President; 4 mayors, appointed by the President, and I county official, appointed by the President from a panel of at least 2 county officers submitted by the National Association of County Officials.

It is difficult for us to hide our disappointment at the proposed composition of the We respectfully submit that Commission. commission. We respectfully submit that our disappointment is justified. In an otherwise laudatory and immediately de-sirable piece of legislation, this proposal stands as a grim reminder to dedicated county officials of a situation that we have been trying to overcome for years: The stepchild treatment of county government. Enlightened, hardworking county people are hurt at this latest failure to be recognized because we have been conducting a hard, uphill fight to gain for county government recognition as a government form equal to and on a par with the Federal Government. State governments, city governments, and other local governments.

In the name of fairness and in terms of the task which the Advisory Commission will have before it, I raise this question: Why should an Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations be so heavily weighted in its composition in favor of the Federal Government (12 members including the 3 private citizens appointed by the President). State governments, (7 members), and city governments (4 members)?

If counties are to make a really helpful contribution to the work of the Advisory Commission, we must be allowed sufficient voice. We must be afforded representation commensurate with the increasingly important role of counties in intergovernmental relations. As constituted in the present proposals, the makeup of the Advisory Commission fails to afford due recognition to the prominent role of counties in expediting and carrying out many vast Federal programs. I need cite only the immense welfare programs which are administered through county officials in betterment of the living and working conditions of millions of our people.

The National Association of County Officlais respectfully recomends, then, that a minimum of four county officials be appointed by the President to the Commission from a panel submitted by NACO.

If there ever was a time when county government and its officials could use a morale boost of this nature it is now. We struggle with seemingly insurmountable problems in meeting the demands and needs of millions of new citizens for augmented services of all kinds. Where there is a national interest, the Federal Government often assists in meeting these burdens. An Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, giving appropriate voice to each level of government, could work a tremendous service by providing the Congress and the public with a clear and accurate picture of where these Federal programs are needed and

Commission would give local officials a forum

to make their needs known.

The proposed legislation is also sound in that it recognizes that while there is serious need for coordination between the Federal Government and local government, the coordination is needed among the governments and not just among the Federal agencies. For this, and other basic reasons going to the very foundation of the American system of government, we have opposed the creation of a department of urban affairs. The American county platform is, again, unequivocal in its stand against the weakening of the American system of government by the creation of any Federal department of urban affairs: "We oppose the establishment of a Federal department of urban affairs on the grounds it would further weaken the States and would tend to create an unwieldly bureaucracy of the type found in many foreign countries." (Secs. 1-4.) We believe that the immediate and compelling need is for the strengthening of local governments, with a strong program of coordination and that this can most effectively be accomplished by creation of a permanent commission on intergovernmental relations such as was originally recommended by the President's Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (Kestnbaum Commission). You undoubtedly recall that the Commission recommended that: "\* \* \* an Advisory Board on Intergovernmental Relations would be appointed by the President after such consultation as he deemed appropriate with associations that represent various levels."

In March of this year, here in Washington, D.C., the National Association of County Officials sponsored the first national Urban County Congress ever held in the United States. It was my privilege to serve as general conference chairman of this historic meeting, and to be its keynote speaker. To my mind, the Urban County Congress was, and stands today as, the most convincing proof that county government is alive and virile and anxious to take whatever steps are necessary to meet the problems of the present and the future. County officials from across the Nation, meeting on a note of urgency, demonstrated what county government is capable of doing. The Urban County Congress in a dramatic way never before equaled at any place or forum in America, brought home the crying, desperate need for closer working relationships and cooperation between the various governmental forms in this country. The Urban County Congress forcibly brought home the truth: Federal, State, and local governments must cooperate-must know and appreciate each other's needs and problems and work hand in hand toward their solution-or else a mounting tide of problems will force them into de-

I think that Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY, of Massachusetts, vividly summed up the nowor-never atmosphere which pervaded the Urban County Congress: "Let me conclude by emphasizing one point. These problems of streamlining our Government, making the most of our potential growth, strengthening the core of our Nation in building a better, wiser, stronger America—these are not really questions of party politics or even governmental philosophy. Today they affect the very question of survival itself."

Mr. Chairman, we believe that a truly representative permanent advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, such as would be created by the subject legislation, would help immeasurably toward strengthening the core of our Nation and building a better America. Again, I say, I am most grateful for this opportunity to come before you. I shall endeavor to answer to the best of my knowledge and ability any questions that you may have.

where they could be perfected. With a truly representative membership the Advisory Court of Justice. Part I

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

### HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the April issue of the American Journal of International Law contained an outstanding analysis of the United States and the International Court of Justice by Prof. Herbert W. Briggs of Columbia University.

Today, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to offer the first part of this excellent study. Tomorrow, under the same title, I will offer the second part of Mr. Briggs' article.

THE UNITED STATES AND THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE: A REEXAMINATION

(By Herbert W. Briggs)

In his state of the Union message on January 9, 1959, President Eisenhower declared his purpose of intensifying efforts "to the end that the rule of law may replace the rule of force in the affairs of nations" and of making proposals for a "reexamination of our own relation to the International Court of Justice."1 It is no secret that the tide of criticism has been rising against the Connally amendment reservation pursuant to which the United States excluded from its acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court-

(b) Disputes with regard to matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the United States of America as determined by the United States of America."

Although revision of the declaration of August 14, 1946, by which the United States accepted the Court's compulsory jurisdiction should lead to the elimination of the ambiguous multilateral treaty reservation as well as of the Connally amendment reservation, the latter commands immediate attention. It may serve a useful purpose to pass in summary review the facts with regard to domestic jurisdiction reservations and the Court's behavior when confronted with pleas of domestic jurisdiction.4

#### DOMESTIC JURISDICTION RESERVATIONS

Most states accepting the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court have found it unnecessary to exclude from their acceptances disputes with regard to matters of domestic jurisdiction. Of 39 States 5 currently accepting the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice by declarations made pursuant to article 36(2) of the Court's statute, only 13 have included in their declarations reservations of disputes with regard to matters of domestic jurisdiction. Twenty-six states currently accepting the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court have never limited their acceptances by reservations of matters of domestic turisdiction. Of the 45 states as sometime accepting the compulsory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice under the optional clause, only 117 ever included in their acceptances reservations of disputes with regard to matters of domestic jurisdiction.

Prior to 1929 no state accepting the compulsory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice included in its declaration a domestic jurisdiction reservation. In that year, after mutual consultation, the United Kingdom, Australia, Canada, India,

Footnotes at end of speech.

New Zealand and the Union of South Africa deposited declarations containing identically phrased reservations withholding from the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court "disputes with regard to questions which by international law fall exclusively within the jurisdiction" of the declarant state. In 1930 comparable reservations, were made by Albania, Iran, Rumania and Yugoslavia, and in 1937, by Brazil.

The reason for this paucity of domestic jurisdiction reservations is clear: Court's statute does not extend the jurisdiction of the Court to disputes with regard to matters which by international law fall exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of a state. By depositing a declara-tion accepting the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court in accordance with article 36 (2), a state does not confer on the Court jurisdiction which is excluded by the statute. Article 36(2) serves as a limitation on the jurisdiction of the Court, confining it, in relation to declarations made thereunder, to legal disputes comprised within the categories of international law disputes there listed. Nonlegal disputes or legal disputes with regard to matters which by international law fall exclusively within the do-mestic jurisdiction of a state are not comprised within the categories set forth in article 36(2).

THE COURT AND DOMESTIC JURISDICTION

The consistent jurisprudence of the Court provides an additional safeguard against its consideration of disputes with regard to matters of domestic jurisdiction. Although, in the Electricity Company of Sofia and Bulgaria case," the Norwegian Loans case " and the Right of Passage over Indian Territory (Preliminary Objections) case,10 the Court did not find it necessary to make pronouncements on arguments by respondents that legal disputes with regard to matters which by international law fail exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of a state are not comprised within the categories set forth in article 36(2), its views on the exclusion from its jurisdiction of such disputes are not in

Exclusive of the Norwegian Loans and Interhandel cases, in which the peremptory form of the domestic jurisdiction reservation was invoked, the Court has been confronted with pleas of domestic jurisdiction in four contentious cases—the Losinger (1936). Electricity Company of Sofia and Bulgaria (1939). Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (1951). and Right of Passage (1957) cases—and with regard to three advisory opinions—Tunis-Morocco Nationality Decrees (1923). Treatment of Polish Nationals in Danzig (1932). and Interpretation of Peace Treaties with Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania (First Phase).

Analysis of these opinions reveals that in all seven opinions the Court regarded the concept of domestic jurisdiction as comprising matters which according to international law are within the domestic jurisdiction of a state. If the dispute or question arose out of matters which were governed by treaty or other principles of international law and determination of the rights of the parties involved an examination of their obligations under international law, the matter ceased to be one exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of a state and the plea of domestic jurisdiction was ill founded.

In six of the seven opinions the concept of domestic jurisdiction was that by which a matter had to be by international law exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of a state in order to remove it from the jurisdiction of international tribunals or organs. In the advisory opinion on Interpretation of Peace Treaties, the Court declined to treat a matter alleged to be essentially within the

domestic jurisdiction of States as differing from matters exclusively within domestic jurisdiction when the matter involved the interpretation of treaties.

In two advisory opinions-Tunis-Morocco and Polish Nationals in Danzig-the jurisdiction of the Court itself was not challenged. In the Tunis-Morocco opinion the Court found that the jurisdiction of the League of Nations Council was unaffected by a plea of domestic jurisdiction based upon matters which were, on a provisional view, governed by international law. In the Polish Nationals in Danzig opinion the Court did not discuss the issue in the language of domestic jurisdiction, but rejected a Polish contention that Poland could submit to compulsory international jurisdiction claims based on matters falling within the domestic jurisdiction of Danzig and involving no violation of the international obligations of The fact that a dispute arose out of matters solely within the domestic jurisdiction of a state removed it from the scope of international obligations to submit to compulsory jurisdiction only questions of an international legal nature.

In five 38 of the seven opinions the jurisdiction of the Court was challenged on the plea of domestic jurisdiction, but in none of these cases did the Court regard the plea as barring its jurisdiction in limine litis. In the Peace Treaties opinion the plea was rejected as ill founded. In the Electricity Company of Sofia and Bulgaria case, the plea was rejected as not possessing the character of a preliminary objection, since it went to the merits, but it could be reargued as a defense on the merits. In the Losinger and Right of Passage cases the jurisdictional plea of domestic jurisdiction was joined to the merits for further hearings, since a provisional view of the cases suggested the possibility that the issues could be decided only on the basis of principles of international law. In the Angle-Iranian Oil Company case the plea of domestic jurisdiction was rejected as a bar to the juris-diction of the Court to indicate interim measures of protection, but the Court reserved the question of jurisdiction on the merits for further hearings.

The Losinger and Electricity cases were discontinued before a decision on the merits, the Right of Passage case is still pending on the merits, and in the Angio-Iranian Oil Company case the Court later found that it lacked jurisdiction on grounds other than the plea of domestic jurisdiction.

Certain conclusions are possible from this jurisprudence. First, reservations or pleas that the Court lacks jurisdiction with regard to matters which by international law fall either exclusively or essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of a state do not stop the Court in limine litis from determining its own competence when confronted with such a reservation or plea. Secondly, if the Court finds that a dispute relates to matters which according to international law fall exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of a state, the Court will lack jurisdiction to decide the merits of the dispute.

The United Kingdom Government defended the domestic jurisdiction reservation included in its declaration of September 19, 1929, on the supererogatory ground that this is merely an explicit recognition of a limitation on the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court which results from international law itself <sup>20</sup> Judge Manley O. Hudson has observed with regard to reservations excluding disputes relating to matters of domestic jurisdiction:

It is difficult to see what is accomplished by this exclusion; if a dispute relates to questions which wall within exclusively national jurisdiction, it does not fall within one of the classes enumerated in paragraph 2 of article 36.<sup>a</sup>

Prof. C. H. M. Waldock writes that a well-founded plea of domestic jurisdiction will serve as an effective defense on the merits even in the absence of a reservation of matters of domestic jurisdiction; and where the jurisdictional instrument contains an express or implied reservation of matters of domestic jurisdiction, "the defendant State may raise the issue of the reserved domain both as an objection to jurisdiction and as a substantive defense on the merits."

Since article 36(2) of the Court's statute excludes by clear implication disputes relating to matters which by international law fall within the domestic jurisdiction of a state, question arises as to the need for inserting domestic jurisdiction reservations in declarations accepting the Court's compulsory jurisdiction. As early as 1930, Professor Lauterpacht speculated whether the unstated purpose of such reservations might not be to permit declarant state to substitute itself for the Court in determining whether or no a matter fell by international law within the exclusive jurisdiction of declarant state.23 The jurisprudence of the Court appears to lay at rest such a fear but, in its 1946 declaration accepting the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court, the United States explicitly reserves the right to make such determination.

# THE PEREMPTORY DOMESTIC JURISDICTION RESERVATION

The history of the Connally amendment is too well known to require more than a brief summary here. In the resolution originally introduced by Senator WAYNE Morse on July 28, 1845, the proposed declaration accepting the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court was qualified by a reservation of "(b) disputes with regard to questions which by international law fall exclusively within the jurisdiction of the United States" 24-the identical formula then employed by the United Kingdom and other states reserving such questions. A year later, a new Morse resolution was introduced with bipartisan support. By this resolution the wording of the domestic jurisdiction reservation was changed to read: "(b) disputes with regard to matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the United States." The changed phraseology, based on article 2(7) of the United Nations Charter rather than on article 15(8) of the League of Nations covenant, omitted any reference to "questions which by international law fall exclusively" within such jurisdiction.

In this form, S.R. 196 survived public hearings and was endorsed, without dissent, by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations with the following statement:

The question of what is properly a matter of international law is, in case of dispute, appropriate for decision by the Court itself, since, if it were left to the decision of each individual state, it would be possible to withhold any case from adjudication on the plea that it is a matter of domestic jurisdiction. It is plainly the intention of the statute that such quesions should be settled by the court . . . [citing article 36(6)]

The committee report continued that, although other states had reserved matters of domestic jurisdiction, in no case did they reserve to themselves the right of decision. The committee therefore decided that a reservation of the right of decision as to what are matters essentially within domestic jurisdiction would tend to defeat the purposes which it is hoped to achieve by means of the proposed declaration as well as the purpose of article 36, paragraphs 2 and 6 of the Statute of the Court.

Despite this clearly reasoned statement, the Senate, on August 2, 1946, by a vote of 51 to 12 adopted the Connally amendment: "as determined by the United States." \*\*\*

The example set by the United States has since been followed by France (1947), Mexico (1947), Liberia (1952), Union of South

Africa (1955), India (1956), Pakistan (1957), and the Sudan (1957).

The peremptory domestic jurisdiction reservation "as determined by" declarant state has been invoked in two cases before the International Court of Justice. In the Norwegian Loans case, although the Norwegian declaration accepting the Court's compulsory jurisdiction contained no domestic jurisdiction reservation, the Court permitted Norway to invoke, on the basis of reciprocity, the French reservation of "differences relating to matters which are essentially within the national jurisdiction as understood by' declarant state. Since the validity of the reservation was not questioned by the parties, nor argued before it, the Court declined jurisdiction on the basis of the questionable reservation, while stating that it was not prejudging the question "whether the French reservation is consistent with the undertaking of a legal obligation and is compatible with article 36, paragraph 6, of the statute." It is important to note that the invocation by Norway of the peremptory domestic jurisdiction reservation did not stop proceedings in limine litis. The Court joined Norway's pre-liminary objections to the merits; 30 and it was only after the case had been fully argued on the merits, with no issue being raised between the parties as to the validity of the peremptory reservation, that the Court allowed it without passing on its validity.

140 Dept. of State Bulletin 118 (1959). See also statement by Secretary of State Dulles to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Jan. 14, 1959, where he said that "we envisage further steps to encourage the greater use of that Court." Ibid, 153.

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., Loftus Becker, "Some Political Problems of the Legal Advisor," address before the American Society of International Law, Apr. 26, 1958, 38 Dept. of State Bulletin 832 (1958); 1958 Proceedings, American Society of International Law 267; Attorney General William P. Rogers, "Inter-national Order Under Law," address to the 48th conference of the International Law Association, printed in 39 Dept. of State Bulletin 537 (1958).

On Apr. 29, 1954, the Institut de Droit International unanimously adopted a voeu expressing the hope "that States which include in their declarations accepting the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice a reservation in respect of matters of domestic jurisdiction will leave it to the Court to decide in each particular case whether the reservation is applicable." 45 Annuaire de l'Institut de Droit Interna-

tional 197, 300 (Tome II, 1954). In the Introduction to his Annual Report for 1956-57, the U.N. Secretary General deplored "new and far-reaching reservations" which "may render the whole system of compulsory jurisdiction virtually illusory." General Assembly, 12th sess., Of-ficial Records, supp. No. 1A, p. 5 (1957).

The American Bar Association has opposed the Connally reservation ever since its See 32 A.B.A.J. 873-74 (1946); adoption. 33 ibid. 249, 430, 512 (1947). In August 1958, the Report of the Special Committee on International Law Planning of the American Bar Association (Hon. Thomas E. Dewey, chairman) stated, in part:

"The committee believes that the withdrawal of the U.S. reservation to the jurisdiction of the International Court, to the extent that it allows the United States unilaterally to determine which disputes lie essentially within its own jurisdiction, would be a most salutary step. It would be a demonstration of faith in the rule of law, and a persuasive example to others. We believe it would materially strengthen the position of the United States in the world community as a leader in efforts to achieve the goal of the set-tlemen of all disputes by peaceful means." \*T.I.A.S., No. 1598; 1957-58 I.C.J. Yearbook

\* The materials are discussed in more detail in the writer's lectures delivered at the Hague Academy of International Law in August 1958 on "Reservations to the Acceptance of Compulsory Jurisdiction of the Interna-tional Court of Justice," which will shortly appear in 93 Recuell des Cours 223-367 (1958, in press).

Se also the admirable reports of C. Wilfred Jenks, "Compétence obligatoire des instances judiciaries et arbitrales internationales," in 47 Annuaire de l'Institut de Droit International 34-322 (Tome I, 1957).

\* Australia (1954), Belgium (1958), Bulgaria (1921), Cambodia (1957), Canada (1929), China (1940), Colombia (1937), Denmark (1956), Dominican Republic (1924-33), El Salvador (1921-30), Finland (1958), France (1947), Haiti (1921), Honduras (1954), Israel (1956), Japan, 1958), Liberia (1952), Liechtenstein (1950), Luxembourg (1930), Mexico (1947), The Netherlands 1956), New Zealand (1940), Nicaragua (1929) Norway (1956), Pakistan (1957), Panama (1921), Paraguay (1933), Philippines (1947), Portugal (1955), The Sudan (1957), Sweden (1957), Switzerland (1948), Thailand (1929), Turkey (1958), Union of South Africa (1955), United Arab Republic (1957), United Kingdom (1958), United States of America (1946), Uruguay (1921). 1957-58 I.C.J. Yearbook 192 ff., and current materials from United Nations Secretariat.

Australia, Cambodia, Canada, France Israel, Liberia, Mexico, New Zealand, Pakistan, The Sudan, Union of South Africa, United

Kingdom, United States.

Albania, Australia, Brazil, Canada, India, Iran, New Zealand, Rumania, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom, Yugoslavia. Four other states-Argentina, Egypt, Iraq, and Poland-drafted declarations containing domestic jurisdiction reservations but the declarations never entered into force. Cf. P.C.I.J., series E, No. 16, pp. 49, 345 ff. (1945); Manley O. Hudson, the Permanent Court of International Justice, 1920-42, pp. 682 ff. (1943).

\*P.C.I.J., series A/B, No. 77, pp. 82-83 (1939).

[1957] I.C.J. Rep. 9, 22.

10 Ibid., 133-134.

11 P.C.I.J., series A/B, No. 67, p. 15 (1936).

12 Loc. cit.

13 [1951] I.C.J. Rep. 89, 92-93.
14 Loc. cit.

15 P.C.I.J., series B, No. 4, pp. 7 ff. (1923).

18 P.C.I.J., series A/B, No. 44, p. 4 (1932).

<sup>15</sup> [1950] I.C.J. Rep. 65. <sup>18</sup> In only three of these cases—the Losin ger, Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., and Right of Passage cases—was the jurisdictional plea founded on a reservation to a declaration accepting compulsory jurisdiction.

15 [1952] I.C.J. Rept. 93.

\*\*Memorandum on the Signature \* \* \* of the Optional Clause \* \* \*, Great Britain. Parl. Papers, Misc. No. 12 (1929), Cmd. 3452,

m Hudson, op. cit. 471. Cf. J. H. Verzijl, "Affaire relative à Certains Emprunts Norvégiens," 4 Nederlands Tijdschrift voor Internationsal Recht 382 (1957).

22 C. H. M. Waldock, "The Plea of Domestic Jurisdiction before International Legal Tribunals," 31 Brit. Year Bk. of Int. Law 99,

115, 124, 140 (1954).

BH. Lauterpacht, "The British Reservations to the Optional Clause," 10 Economica

137, 148-155 (1930).

31 S. Res. 160, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD 8164 (79th Cong., 1st sess.).

25 Compulsory Jurisdiction, International Court of Justice, Hearings before a subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate, 79th Cong., 2d sess., on S.

Res. 196, July 11, 12, and 15, 1946 (160 pp.).

Maternational Court of Justice, Report of the Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate, No. 1835, 79th Cong., 2d sess., July 25, 1946, p. 5. 27 92 Congressional Record 10697 (79th

Cong., 2d sess., Aug. 2, 1946).

28 India later withdrew her entire declaration accepting compulsory jurisdiction of the

= [1957] I.C.J. Rep. 9, 26-27. 30 [1956] I.C.J. Rep. 73-74.

#### Can We Entrust Defense to a Committee?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, there is increasing concern among serious persons in Washington about the problem of fragmentation and the lack of long-range planning in national strategy. A number of proposals have been made for dealing with this situation. Recently proposals along this line have been made by Senators Jackson. JAVITS, and WILEY.

I have also made some proposals designed to deal with the problem of fragmentation, both in the executive and

legislative branches.

Recently, I was appointed a member of a subcommittee under the chairmanship of Senator Jackson to review the Nation's policymaking machinery to determine its fitness to meet the challenges of our time. In this connection, I should like to commend to the attention of my colleagues a discriminating article by Prof. Hans J. Morgenthau entitled "Can We Entrust Defense to a Committee?" This article which appeared in the June 7, 1959, New York Times magazine, is a careful critique of the National Security Council, pointing out that the NSC has never been able to perform the central function for which it was established, namely, longrange planning. One can gain a great deal of insight from this article without necessarily accepting the conclusion of the distinguished author that in the final analysis the problem of coordinating strategy must be entrusted to a man, who in effect would be an assistant President.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Professor Morgenthau's article be printed in the Appendix of the

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

CAN WE ENTRUST DEFENSE TO A COMMITTEE? (By Hans J. Morgenthau)

Senator HENRY M. JACKSON, Democrat from Washington, created something of a sensation when, last April 16 before the National War College, he summarized his criticism of our governmental process in the field of national security in these words: "As it now functions, the National Security Council is a dangerously misleading facade." Following this address, Senator Jackson was appointed chairman of a Subcommittee on National Policy Machinery to study the Nation's ability to plan and coordinate cold

war strategy.

There is nothing new, however, in concern over the operations of the National Security Council. During the campaign of 1952, General Elsenhower, referring to the planning function of the council, declared: "We have seen how that planning has failed time and again these last years. The failure of this agency to do the job for which it was set up—to make the right plans in time—produces waste on the grand scale. The National Security Council as presently constituted is more a shadow agency than a really effective policymaker." Is it still, and was it ever, as bad as all that?

The Jackson committee and, with it, the Nation will have to ask themselves four fundamental questions: How is the National Security Council supposed to function? How has it actually functioned? Have the original conception and the actual performance of its functions been sound? Insofar as they are not sound, what remedies are

available?

The National Security Council was established in 1947 by an act of Congress in order "\* \* \* to advise the President with respect to the integration of domestic, foreign, and military policies relating to the national security \* \* \*." The law ascribes to the National Security Council two fundamental duties: "(1) To assess and appraise the objectives, commitments, and risks of the United States in relation to our actual and potential military power, in the interest of national security, for the purpose of making recommendations to the President in connection therewith; and (2) to consider policies on matters of common interest to the departments and agencies of the Government concerned with the national security, and to make recommendations to the President in connection therewith."

According to the law, the National Security Council is composed of the President, who is its chairman; the Vice President, who presides in the President's absence: the Secretaries of State and Defense; the Director of the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization, and such department heads as the President

has appointed or invited.

Thus, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Attorney General, the Director of the Budget, the Chairmen of the Atomic Energy Commission and of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, and the head of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration regularly attend the meetings of the Council. So do the President's Special Assistant for National Security Affairs and the Council's executive secretary and his deputy. This nucleus is surrounded by department heads, Government experts, and outside consultants who are invited to particular sessions.

Two subsidiary agencies assist the Council in its work: the National Security Council Planning Board and the Operations Coordinating Board. The purpose of the Planning Board is to bring the total resources of the Government to bear upon the clarification of issues, upon the sharpening of alternative policies and their implications. The Council, thus presented with a concise and complete picture of the situation and of the policles to cope with it, either agrees upon a single policy to be recommended to the President or else submits to the President alternative recommendations from among which he may choose one or none. Once the President's decision is rendered, the Operation's Coordinating Board is responsible for marshaling the total resources of the Government for the faithful execution of that To what extent does reality correspond to this picture of highly competent and thoroughly coordinated policy planning, formulation, and execution? The answers which officials participating in the work of the council give to this question—and, in view of the secrecy of the council's operation, they are the only ones who can answer it with any degree of competence—range all the way from the assertion that if the National Security Council did not exist there ought to be something like it to the statement that it is a waste of time. The extreme diversity of these assessments points to extreme differences in the quality of the different phases of the council's performance.

In order to understand what the council can and cannot do it is essential never to lose sight of the fact that the council is, a committee. This is true of its two subsidiary boards as well. The virtues of the committee system are few, its vices are many—and the National Security Council shares in both.

Aside from bringing order into a formerly disjointed system, the National Security Council compels the representatives of several agencies concerned with different aspects of the same policy to cooperate continuously and systematically on the three levels of planning, formulation, and execution of policy. The representative of Agency A cannot help but take note of the assets, limitations, and concerns of Agency B and of the ways of thinking of its representative, and vice versa. This continuous confrontation of diverse points of view is an educational process that may well engender mutual understanding and lead to a built-in coordination of policies.

The system has enabled the National Security Council to handle the continuation and development of established policies with a considerable measure of success. But the committee system has failed—and was bound to fail—in the vital task of initiating new policies and resolving major conflicts of views and interests among agencies represented on the council.

The men who meet in the National Security Council and its subsidiary boards are not free agents but instructed ambassadors representing the particular interests and particular points of view of their respective agencies. Only rarely have they dared to deviate from the policies of their agencies; making clear that they were speaking for themselves.

Since the agency representatives meet in the National Security Council on equal terms, a minority point of view, if pressed, must be brought before the President. In that case, one side or the other stands to lose—both sides, if the President does not choose between the alternatives, but leaves the decision in abeyance. Thus, while there have been many split recommendations on minor issues, few alternative proposals on basic policies, generally supported by the Departments of Defense and State against the Bureau of the Budget and the Treasury, have been advanced. This imposition of budgetary limitations on all levels of policy planning distorts and inhibits the planning process from the outset.

An air of diplomatic politeness is said to permeate generally the deliberations of the National Security Council; members of a team hesitate to antagonize each other by speaking their minds freely in criticism of their colleagues' policies. More particularly, a minor agency will think twice before opposing the position of a major department.

As a result the National Security Council has tended to shy away from bold innovation in favor of a compromise—sometimes inconsistent within itself or with other compromises—or the evasion of decision altogether—often concealed in an exhortative

formula which satisfies everybody because it means all things to all agencies.

Thus when the issue reaches the President its outlines, in terms of both information and judgment, are likely to be blurred, while the alternative solutions have been dissolved in the formula of compromise. In the process the President is relieved of the burden of choosing; he approves what is presented to him as the Council's unanimous advice.

Since the formula which has thus become the policy of the United States has not really resolved the issue, but only glossed it over, the working groups under the Operations Coordinating Board interpret it in terms of their own agencies' preferences. The result is either further compromise or no coordingtion at all on the level of policy execution. Key agencies, such as the Defense and State Departments, are no more coordinated today than they ever were. But worse than that, agencies can find themselves without an approved policy, the National Security Council's formula not having provided it and the Operations Coordinating Board not having distilled it, and therefore yield to yet another incentive to continue safe but obsolete rou-

It is small wonder that there has been a tendency on the part of certain agencies to circumvent the National Security Council altogether. Some of the most important new policies upon which the United States has embarked in the past 10 years were never brought before the National Security Council at all. A strong agency whose chief has the ear of the President has a much better chance to get what it wants by bringing its policy recommendation directly to the President than by having it processed out of recognition by the machinery of the National Security Council. On the other hand, small and new agencies, which carry little weight within the governmental hierarchy, have at times been rather anxious to use the National Security Council as a forum and to avail themselves of the opportunity to enlist the support of powerful agencies.

There are those who praise the National Security Council as democracy in action, government of laws and not of men. representative government. They are doubly mistaken; for they misunderstand both the nature of democracy and the nature of policy

Democracy is responsible government; that is to say, the people or their representatives can hold the officials of the government to account for their policies. Yet it is the earmark of government by committee that it shifts responsibility from an individual to a faceless collectivity.

Who is responsible for the neglect of Latin America or the surprise of the Iraqi revolution? Who will be responsible if tomorrow a renewed crisis over the offshore islands confronts us with a new dilemma and an increased danger? Below the President, the people's finger can point to nobody in particular. In a sense, all the committees that had a hand in these policies are responsible, and since, as it were, everybody is responsible, nobody is.

As democracy demands individual responsibility, so does the policymaking process. The conception of that process as representation of different points of view misunderstands the difference between the executive and legislative decision as well as the relation between the making of a decision, on the one hand, and information and consultation, on the other.

The policy decisions of the executive branch of the Government, like the decisions of the business executive or any decision an individual must make in his private affairs, are fundamentally different from the legislative decision. The latter is supposed to represent divergent interests brought to a common denominator or one interest which has won out over the others. The executive decision is supposed to be, first of all, the correct decision, the decision which is more likely than any other to bring forth the desired result.

The committee system is appropriate for the legislative process, and it is not by accident that it originated and was institutionalized there. The Executive decision requires the mind and will of one man who. after hearing the evidence and taking counsel, takes it upon himself to decide what the right action is under the circumstances.

The relation between the making of the decision, on the one hand and information and consultation, on the other, is hierarchical, not equalitarian. The informant and consultant are the servants of the decision maker, not participants in the decisionmak-They provide the raw material ing process. for the decision, not the decision itself.

In theory, the President is the one man who decides, on the advice of and with the information supplied by the National Security Council. In practice, however, in the great majority of cases, the collectivity of the National Security Council decides, or goes through the motions of deciding, with the

President approving the result.

The theory of the completeness of the President's Executive power is defied by the multiplicity and complexity of the decisions expected of him. The theory of the President deciding with the advice of the National Security Council has become in good measure a fiction. But what of the decision of the National Security Council replacing the President's? It, too, has become in good measure a fiction. Thus the bureaucratic machinery moves slowly on, following the direction of its past movements rather than of a clear-cut decision from above, and at best shifting its heavy weight slightly this way or that according to the changing distribution of the weights within itself.

Not even the wisest and most vigorous of Presidents could perform the functions our system of government expects him to per-form; nor could even the best organized and staff National Security Council. The President cannot do what he is supposed to do because of the nature of his task; the National Security Council, by virtue of

its nature.
Where, then, is the remedy? Three types of remedies have been proposed: to change the composition of the National Security Council, to create another to advise the President and the National Security Council, and to interpose between the President and the National Security Council another man with the power of decision.

The President has at different times espoused the first and third remedies, while Senator Jackson, in suggesting the estab-lishment of an Academy of National Policy to advise the President, has identified him-

self with the second.

In the campaign speech quoted earlier, Mr. Eisenhower called for the appointment to the National Security Council of "civilians of the highest capacity, integrity, and dedication to public service. They should have no other official duties."

And in a private letter, printed in Life of March 16, 1959, he said: "\* \* In our conversation I pointed out to you that my 'ideal' organizational change would be to create a post which I would call 'the First Secretary of the Government.' This officerwho is this case would be Mr. Dulles— would be responsible to the President for coordinating and directing the efforts of

partments of Commerce, Agriculture, Labor, and Treasury. He would be relieved of the chore of meeting with committees and long chore of meeting with committees and hours of detailed discussion and argument he would be given time to think . This letter, it seems to me, goes indeed to the heart of the problem.

The problem lies in the congenital inability of the National Security Council to present the President with an overall view of the issue, and sharply defined alternative policies, since the National Security Council is not an independent agency with an independent cutlook, but only the sum total of the views and interests of the agencies represented on it. It cannot cure the disease of fragmentation and parochialism but institutionalizes it on the highest level. The President, deprived of independent sources of information and judgment, is thereby reduced to one of three roles, all inadequate: (1) arbiter of interagency conflict, (2) ratifier of compromise or the exhortative formula, (3) abstentionist who will return the issue to the agencies concerned in the hope that they will finally agree upon a formula which he can ratify.

Would the addition of independent members to the National Security Council solve this problem? It might add to the prestige of the National Security Council's advice, but it could not change its nature, for no outsider could dare to put his judgment against the judgment of the agencies which have all the information and all the respon-

sibility for the execution of policy.

Could another committee of independent members provide the remedy? It might provide the President with ideas; it might plan policy with independent boldness. But when it comes to the formulation and execution of policy, the President would still be faced with the impossible task that faces him

No President can perform the functions of Head of State, Chief Executive, Commander in Chief, and head of his party at the same time. He cannot even plan, formulate, coordinate, and supervise the execution of policy at the same time. A committee, such as the National Security Council, can make the President seem superfluous, but it cannot replace him. Only one man can do that, who combines the knowledge, judgment, character and, above all, authority necessary to impose his will, through a chain of command of officials individually responsible, upon an executive branch fragmented into semiautonomous fiefdoms. The President has the authority, but he has neither the time nor necessarily the other qualities. Yet he can appoint a man who has these qualities and invest him with his authority, and he can dismiss him when he shows himself lacking in these qualities.

It matters little whether this man be the Secretary of State or the Vice President, whom President Eisenhower wanted to appoint in 1956 Chairman of the Policy Cooridinating Board. But it must be a man, not

a committee.

It has been said that there is no substitute for victory. Let it be said that there is no substitute, either, for one man's mind grasping the Nation's interests, for one man's judgment deciding how these interests can best be served, for one man's will seeing the decision through, for one man's soul feeling the anguish and the exhilaration of great deeds. Great men, not efficient committees, have made nations great and guarded their greatness, and a great nation could well be ruined by a committee, however efficient.

# the State Department, the USIA, the ICA. and the international activities of the De-Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

### HON. ESTES KEFAUVER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, recently, the Honorable George Cochran Doub, Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Civil Division, addressed the Federal Bar Association on "Presidential Inability: The Constitutional Problem."

In his remarks, Mr. Doub reviews in a most incisive manner those situations in our history which so clearly point to the need for a constitutional solution to the problem of Presidential inability. In his concluding remarks, the Assistant Attorney General made the following statement:

There is now presented the best opportunity in our history for the solution of this problem. The time required for the ratification of a constitutional amendment will undoubtedly extend beyond the term of this administration and accordingly will be inapplicable to it. We do not know the person or the party that will occupy the White House in 1961, but we do know that under the Constitution, it will not be President Elsenhower. At this moment in history, the proposed measure can be considered entirely upon its merits without any consideration of personalities or parties.

Mr. Doub ended his address by urging Congress to take action on a proposed constitutional amendment—Senate Joint Resolution 40-which has the unqualified support of the administration and wide bipartisan support in the Senate.

This proposed amendment has been favorably recommended by the Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments. and it is my hope that it will be favorably reported to the Senate by the Judiciary Committee in the very near future. It is my further hope that the Senate will consider and act favorably upon this resolution during this session of the 86th Congress.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of the very excellent address by the Assistant Attorney General.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PRESIDENTIAL INABILITY: THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEM

(Address by George Cochran Doub, Assistant Attorney General, Civil Division, U.S. Department of Justice, at dinner of the Federal Bar Association in honor of the Federal judges of the seventh circuit, Chicago, Ill., June 11, 1959)

On March 4, 1881, James A. Garfield, who as a boy drove the mule team of a canal boat on the Ohio Canal, became President of the United States. Only 4 months later, Garfield drove in his carriage from the White House down Pennsylvania Avenue to the Paltimore and Potomac Railroad depot on Sixth Street intending to take a train to New England. As he walked through the station arm-in-arm with Secretary of State James G. Blaine, an assassin stepped forward with a cocked revolver and fired two shots at Garfield striking him in the arm and side. When the lunatic, Charles J. Guiteau, was seized and dragged through the crowd, he cried, "Arthur is President of the United States now."

Garfield lay in a coma for 80 days completely unable to perform the duties of Presi-During that period, he performed only one official act-the signing of an extradition paper. The total incapacity of the President, during this period, we are told, had a harmful effect on the country. Considerable Government business could not be conducted nor could important officials be appointed. It has been said that the Nation's foreign relations, lacking the direction of the Chief Executive, seriously deteriorated. Only routine business was handled by department heads.

Yet, nothing was done. There was criticism that Secretary of State Blaine was attempting to usurp the President's duties and there were insistent demands that Vice President Chester A. Arthur act. After 60 days, a Cabinet meeting was held in which it was unanimously voted that Vice President Arthur should assume the powers of the Presidential office. But would be become President and thus preclude Garfield from returning to office? Opinions were divided. The members of the Cabinet voted 4-3, with Attorney General Wayne MacVeagh among the majority, that Arthur would become President and would thus permanently oust Garfield from office. The majority relied upon the fact that upon the three prior occasions of the death of the Chief Executive. the Vice President had become President and the language of the Constitution concerning death and inability was exactly the same.

The Cabinet resolved that, before Arthur should take this momentous step, Garfield should be consulted about the serious consequence to him which might attend Arthur's assumption of the powers of President. However, this could not be done by reason of Garfield's desperate condition. Arthur himself emphatically declined to take any steps to assume the powers of the President on the ground that he would not be a party to ousting Garfield from office. If Vice President Arthur had believed that he would exercise the powers of the Presidency only for the duration of the President's disability, there would have been no reason for his failure to exercise those powers. Considerable sentiment developed at the time for clarification of the law, but after Garfield's death Arthur took office as President and the matter dropped.

If such uncertainty could occur during the peaceful days of 1831, how frightening Would be the prospect of similar uncertainty at a time when it is essential that the Nation have such continuity of official leader-ship as to enable critical decisions to be met and made.

In periods of peace and quiet of the past, this issue may not have been of vital importance but in the dangerous critical days of world leadership, of nuclear weapons, of the touch of the ICBM on the nerve of danger, of a powerful threatening enemy, the problem becomes one of paramount consequence. In times of almost continuous international crisis requiring immediate decisions by the Executive to safeguard the Nation's interests, our future safety could possibly depend upon our ability to have provided clear definitive answers to this constitutional question.

In the event of the inability of the President to discharge the powers and duties of his office, does the Vice President succeed permanently to the presidency? Or does he act as a temporary pinchhitter during the disability period? Who is authorized to say a President is unable to discharge his duties?

You will recall that paragraph 6 of section I of article II of the Constitution provides that "in case of the removal, death, resignation and inability to discharge the powers and duties of the Office of President, the same shall devolve on the Vice President." You will notice that the language is mandatory. "The same shall," not "may," devolve on the Vice President. "Devolve" means to pass down, descend, to transfer, and the mandatory transfer to the Vice President occurs in the same way in each of the four situations: removal, death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the Office of President. No distinction is made as to what happens in case of Presidential inability and the President's removal, death, or resignation.

The Constitution states, "the same shall devolve on the Vice President \* \* \*." To what do the words "the same" refer? What is it that shall "devolve" upon the Vice Pres-Is it the office of the President? that case, the President would thenceforth be permanently excluded from his office; or do only the power and duties devolve upon the Vice President and in that case, his tenure as the acting chief executive would end upon the recovery of the President.

It appears that there was a constitutional question, when the issue first arose, whether the Vice President, in the case of the death of the President, became President or acting President for the balance of the term, but this doubt has now been settled by established practice.

The question first was presented when President William Henry Harrison died of pneumonia in office in 1841, 1 month after his inauguration, "worn away and destroyed by the hordes of applicants for public office." Did Vice President John Tyler become President or acting President? Many objected at the time to Tyler becoming President because it was believed that the precedent would establish that the same result must occur when the President became disabled. It was argued that the records of the Constitutional Convention indicated that Convention had not intended that the Vice President become President under the succession clause but merely that he should exercise the powers and duties of the disabled President until his inability was removed. Daniel Webster, then Secretary of State, was the only Whig who was not greatly alarmed over what the Democrat, Tyler, would do in opposition to Whig poli-cies and interests. Webster took the posi-tion that Vice President Tyler actually became President. It was Tyler's initial belief that he would act as President during Harrison's unexpired term, but reflection changed his attitude and in his "inaugural address" he boldly proclaimed that he had been called to "the high office of this Con-

The first paper submitted to Tyler for his signature had below the space for his signa-ture the word "Acting President." Tyler was incensed and by a stroke of his pen eliminated the word "Acting" and signed as President, and President he became. After him. six other Vice Presidents, Fillmore, Johnson, Arthur, Theodore Roosevelt, Coolidge, and Truman, did likewise upon the death of the President in office. From these precedents, it is now assumed that, in the case of the death of a President, the Vice President becomes President for the unexpired term. Yet, the very way the original doubt was resolved by these precedents has contributed to the problem in the case of the inability of the President to discharge the powers and duties of his office.

When we examine the original articles agreed upon in substance by the Consti-

tutional Convention before their revision by the Committee of Style, we find that they made clear that upon the inability of the President to discharge the powers and dutles of his office the Vice President should exercise those powers and duties "until the inability of the President be removed.'

In other words, the framers of the Constitution intended that the Vice President would be acting as President, but would not become the President. Although acting as President, he would remain in the office of Vice President.

The obscurity developed by reason of the revision made by the Committee of Style, which boiled the provision down to the simplified statement that in case of removal, death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the office "the same shall devolve on the Vice President.'

This interpretation is borne out by the debates in the Convention indicating that the Vice Presidency was originally created to provide for an alternate Chief Executive who might function from time to time should the President be unable to exercise the powers and duties of his office. Indeed, only after the Convention decided upon this standby position did the Convention con-sider giving the Vice President something while he waited in the wings. idea of assigning him the duty of presiding over the Senate seems to have been an afterthought.

In 1919, President Woodrow Wilson suffered a stroke while leading his great fight for the adoption of the Covenant of the League of Nations. At that time the posi-tion of the United States had developed into one of world leadership. After our spectacular military and economic exertions in World War I, and at the moment that the leader of democracy was stricken, in the midst of the postwar effort to establish a lasting peace, a dramatic Senate battle over ratification of the Versailles Treaty and of the Covenant of the League of Nations was

being waged.

The illness of Wilson continued from his collapse on September 25, 1919, until the end of his Presidential term on March 4, 1921. During this period of 1 year and 5 months, the President was unable to attend any Cabinet meetings or to perform most of his duties. The exact extent of his inability is not clear because his condition was care-fully shielded from the public by Mrs. Wilson, his personal physician, and his en-tourage in the White House. Indeed, even the Vice President and the Cabinet were kept in the dark about Wilson's condition. It is said that for a considerable period of time-although the precise time is subject to speculation-he was completely unable to perform any of the duties of his high office. It has been believed that Mrs. Wilson and the President's physician played a major role in making and deciding matters of large public policy. In any event, the administration of the Government almost was at a standstill for 11/2 years.

Without the direction of the President or Vice President, Secretary of State Lansing called 21 Cabinet meetings in an attempt to prevent the affairs of the Government from becoming paralyzed. When Wilson heard of these meetings he accused Lansing of usurping Presidential power and forced this outstanding Secretary of State to resign. Upon Lansing's suggestion that the Cabinet re-Vice President Marshall to act as resident, Joseph P. Tumulty, Wilson's secretary, replied: "You may rest assured that while Wilson is lying in the White House on retary, replied: the broad of his back I will not be a party to ousting him." At that time widespread discussion again ensued for clarification of the law, but when Wilson's term expired the matter died down again.

Now, why did Wilson's personal advisers fear knowledge of his disability becoming known? I believe that there can be no doubt that a primary reason was because of their fear that public opinion would demand that Vice President Marshall take over the powers of the Presidency and, if Wilson should recover, he might face a constitutional fight to regain his office. In other words, the dangerous uncertainty of this constitutional provision was responsible for this deplorable situation. Attempts made to induce Vice President Marshall to act as President failed. The major reason Marshall was unwilling to act was because of the fear that once he did so, Wilson would be ousted permanently from the Presidency.

The permicious consequences of the belief that a Vice President actually succeeds to the Presidency for the balance of the Presidential term, when called upon to exercise the powers and duties of a disabled President, have been in both the Garfield and the Wilson cases to frustrate the intent of the drafters of the Constitution that the Nation should have an alternate Chief Executive ready to provide continuous Executive leadership. If it had been perfectly clear that constitutionally the President could resume his power at any time his disability ended and he was relinquishing the reins only temporarily, this dangerous problem should not have arisen in either the Gar-

field or Wilson administrations. Immediately upon President Eisenhower's recovery from his heart attack in Colorado in September 1955 he directed the Department of Justice to institute a full legal study of the constitutional problem with respect to presidential inability. His purpose was the preparation of a plan for the protection of the Nation in the event any President in the future were to become disabled. After an extensive study of the problem by Attorney General Herbert Brownell, the President reviewed alternative plans and authorized the Attorney General to consult persons outside the Government for their views and criticisms. The President also sought the opinions of the members of the Cabinet at a Cabinet meeting. Finally a definitive plan proposing a constitutional amendment was prepared by Attorney General Brownell, approved by the President, orally presented by the President at a meeting of congressional leaders of both parties and publicly an-nounced in the testimony of the Attorney General before a subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee in the House of Representatives.

President Eisenhower was the first President of the United States who had the courage, the interest and the appreciation of the problem to attempt to correct this serious deficiency of the Constitution. Every prior President shrank from attempting to deal with this delicate matter or manifested no realization of the difficulty.

On March 3, 1958, the President and the Vice President took an historic step in consultation with Attorney General William P. Rogers when they reduced to memorandum form, and published, their own understanding of the constitutional role of the Vice President as acting President during the disability of the President. The Elsenhower-Nixon understanding was stated in these terms:

"The President and the Vice President have agreed that the following procedures are in accord with the purposes and provisions of article 2, section 1, of the Constitution, dealing with presidential inability. They believe that these procedures, which are intended to apply to themselves only, are in no sense outside or contrary to the Constitution but are consistent with its present provisions and implement its clear intent.

"1. In the event of inability the President would—if possible—so inform the Vice President, and the Vice President would serve as acting President, exercising the powers and

duties of the office until the inability had ended.

"2. In the event of an inability which would prevent the President from communicating with the Vice President, the Vice President, after such consultation as seems to him appropriate under the circumstances, would decide upon the devolution of the powers and duties of the Office and would serve as Acting President until the inability had ended.

"3. The President, in either event, would determine when the inability had ended and at that time would resume the full exercise of the powers and duties of the Office."

I have no doubt that this unprecedented document, although not binding upon future Presidents and Vice Presidents, will become recognized as a notable state paper of our constitutional history.

On the day following the Eisenhower-Nixon announcement a bipartisan majority of the members of the Senate Judiciary Committee, including Senators Kefauver, Dirksen, Hruska, Hennings, Johnston, Langer, Watkins, Jenner, and Butler, joined in sponsoring a proposed constitutional amendment on Presidential inability which adopted the administration's proposal with certain changes in section 4 acceptable to the Executive. This proposed bipartisan amendment was promptly introduced in the Congress.

Section 1 restates existing law in case of the removal, death, or resignation of the President.

Section 2 provides that, if a President declares in writing that he is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, those powers and duties shall be discharged by the Vice President as acting President. This section assures a President in announcing his own inability that his powers and duties will be restored to him upon his recovery.

Scction 3 deals with a situation in which the President is unable or unwilling to declare his own disability. In that case, the Vice President with the approval of the majority of the heads of the executive departments in office—that is to say, the President's Cabinet—shall make this decision. Many scholars agree that the Vice President alone now has the authority under the Constitution to make this determination. Section 3 requires the written concurrence of a majority of the members of the Cabinet.

Section 4 provides that, whenever the President declares in writing that his disability is terminated, he shall resume the exercise of the powers and duties of his office. This provision affords a constitutional guarantee to a President that he will regain the powers of his office when his disability has been removed.

The realities of the situation suggest that it is unlikely a Vice President would attempt to assume the duties of the presidency unless it were clear beyond challenge that the President was, in fact, unable to exercise the responsibilities of the office. The proposed constitutional provision proclaiming plainly that the Vice President will merely discharge the powers and duties of the presidential office for the temporary period of disability should negative any motive of usurpation. At the same time, the Vice President should not in the future under the amendment refuse-as Vice President Arthur and Vice President Marshall-to perform his constitutional duty of serving as the alternate executive temporarily when the circumstances require that he do so.

Section 4 will allow the President to resume the functions of his office although there might be a difference of opinion between the President and the Vice President whether the disability has ended. However,

in the event of a dispute between them as to this, provision is made for immediate action by the Congress, whether then in session or not, to resolve the issue if raised in writing by the Vice President with the support of the majority of the Cabinet. A two-thirds vote of the Members present in both Houses would be required to establish the continued existence of the President's inability. Thereafter, the announcement by the acting President that the President's inability has ended or a resolution adopted by a majority of both Houses will restore the powers of the office to the President upon his recovery.

Historically this problem has never been one of a too aggressive Vice President but rather of a reluctant Vice President, who hesitated to exercise the powers of the President under the present succession clause of the Constitution because of the uncertainty that his action might result in the permanent elimination of the President from his office.

The essential solution is a clarifying amendment establishing that the Vice President's tenure of the presidential powers is only temporary. This provision is the foundation of the administration's proposal submitted in 1957, resubmitted in 1958, and the bipartisan amendment proposed in the same year. The proposal implements the original understanding of the members of the Constitutional Convention as indicated in the debates and in the original articles.

There is now presented the best opportunity in our history for the solution of this problem. The time required for the ratification of a constitutional amendment will undoubtedly extend beyond the term of this administration and accordingly will be inapplicable to it. We do not know the person or the party that will occupy the White House in 1961, but we do know that under the Constitution, it will not be President Eisenhower. At this moment in history, the proposed measure can be considered entirely upon its merits without any consideration of personalities or parties.

At the time of each illness of President Eisenhower, as in the case of President Garfield and President Wilson, there was a general recognition of the seriousness of this constitutional problem of succession and clamor by political leaders of both parties and the press that constructive measures be taken for its resolution. Although the problem arises from a permanent inherent defect in our constitutional system, proposals for its resolution now lie dormant in the Congress under the press of far less significant matters. The bipartisan constitutional amendment was proposed over a year ago yet the Senate Judiciary Committee and the House Judiciary Committee have taken no action of any kind.

An informed and responsible public opinion appears needed to secure the action which the interests of the Nation plainly requires.

### New York County Lawyers' Association Opposes H.R. 3

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

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### HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following statement of the special

committee on the U.S. Supreme Court

of the New York County Lawyers' Association opposing H.R. 3, a bill to establish rules of interpretation governing questions of the effect of acts of Congress on State laws:

STATEMENT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE U.S. SUPREME COURT OF THE NEW YORK COUNTY LAWYERS' ASSOCIATION OP-POSING H.R. 3

The special committee on the U.S. Supreme Court of the New York County Lawyers' Association opposes H.R. 3. As lawyers, we call attention to the fact that this shotgun approach to the intricate technical problems of Federal jurisdiction is most hazardous. If this unwise measure is enacted, the legal effect of long-established statutes governing business conduct, labor management relations and many other areas would be placed in doubt. . The public would be faced with sudden uncertainty concerning the meaning of many important laws and the courts would be burdened with the relitigation of long-settled issues.

HOWARD M. HOLTZMANN,

Chairman.

#### John Foster Dulles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON, EDWARD H. REES

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker. under the consent granted me by the House. I include a fine editorial that recently appeared in the Baltimore Evening Sun concerning the late John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State:

Nothing was more impressive about John Foster Dulles than his fortitude in the face of his final illness. Few men in public life have shown more courage than he in continuing his work in the presence of fatal disease and few have met the final challenge with more composure. He was a controversial figure throughout his public career, but his critics were as loud in his praise during the concluding months of his life as his friends and supporters.

Mr. Dulles served as Secretary of State from 1953 until early in this year, and many people think of him exclusively in terms of this office. Actually, aside from a few brief periods during his early manhood when he was a minor member of various delegations after the war of 1917-18, his public career began in 1944 when he became the campaign adviser on foreign affairs to Governor Dewey, of New York, then running for the presidency.

On Mr. Dewey's behalf he entered into consultations with Secretary Hull and negotlated the arrangement under which the plan for organizing the United Nations was kept out of the presidential campaign. This was the beginning of the bipartisan foreign pollcy, or as Mr. Hull preferred to call it, nonpartisan foreign policy. Later, he worked closely with Senator Vandenberg and was one of the useful contributors to the bipartisan support for the various moves initiated during the Truman administration. His chief achievement was in the negotiation of the Japanese peace treaty.

During this phase of his career, Mr. Dulles was not partisan in his approach and his utterances were largely noncontroversial. Briefly during the presidential campaign of 1952, Mr. Dulles became a vigorous partisan. and when he took office as Secretary of State another change occurred: He began to use speeches and public statements not to inform the public about what he was doing but to create certain effects in Moscow, Peiing, or some other foreign capital. word, be became a diplomatist of the old school, seeking in everything to further aims which were not always publicly disclosed.

It was this change which led to most of the controversy about Mr. Dulles. No other American Secretary of State had ever shown the mastery of the arts of diplomatic publicity which he demonstrated, but his very excellence in this field led to confusion as to what his immediate aims were. His ultimate aims were, of course, always clear. His policy in the main was to resist expansion of Communist influence along the lines laid down by General Marshall and Mr. Acheson. And in general he succeeded in carrying on the work they had begun.

Now with the Berlin crisis confronting the world, Mr. Dulles passes from the scene. There is reason to believe that had he lived and continued in office, he would have been a tower of strength in this emergency. His work in general remains to be assessed, but one thing is clear. He was a strong man who dominated the State Department as few Secretaries have ever done, and he has left a lasting and affirmative mark on our foreign policy.

### Transportation-Tax Repeal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

### HON. BYRON G. ROGERS

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Speaker, for many years I have felt the 10-percent wartime travel tax on passengers should be repealed. Along with many other Members of this body, I have this year introduced a bill, H.R. 6874, to achieve this end. No one I know of defends this tax on its merits. Everyone seems agreed it should go. I, for one, think it should go this year.

The reasons why the tax should be repealed are pretty well summed up in a recent letter I have received from the president of the Denver Chamber of Commerce, which I insert in the RECORD at this point:

The Denver Chamber of Commerce respectfully asks your support of legislation to repeal the 10-percent tax on passenger travel. We detail some of the reasons that we feel this tax should be repealed.

At the time of enactment, this tax was not intended to be a revenue-raising measure, but was imposed for the purpose of discouraging passenger travel during World War II. The public accepted the tax as a deterrent to private travel in order to free transportation facilities for service in relation to the war needs of the country. The need for discouraging private travel has long since passed, but the tax which was imposed to discourage such travel still remains in force. It still operates effectively to discourage travel and has the effect of weakening the financial structure of our public carriers who have proved themselves vital to our national defense.

We understand this tax adds \$2 million per year to the transportation costs of the Nation. It is our opinion that the repeal of the tax would stimulate passenger travel to the extent that the increase in passenger revenue would result in profitable operation for carriers. Increased profits in turn would result in additional income taxes, substantially offsetting the loss of Government revenue which would result from repeal of the

You are well aware of the importance of the tourist business in the United States. The 10-percent transportation tax encourages the tourist to go to a foreign country in preference to the United States, since the tax is not applicable to foreign carriers. Canada was very quick to realize this and other detrimental aspects of this type of tax, and they repealed a tax similar to ours only 31/2 years after the war, in March 1949.

I am sure many other Members have received similar letters or resolutions, not only from chambers of commerce but from a large number of individual travelers, who, after all, are the ones who pay this tax. It is truly a penalty on the

I have further noted that both regulatory agencies established by the Congress to regulate the transportation industry, and assure the Nation of a sound transportation system so essential to its commerce, defense, and general econamy, have recommended repeal of this tax.

Recently, in a decision of May 18, 1959, relating to the railroad passenger train deficit situation, the ICC made as its first recommendation the repeal of the 10 percent Federal excise tax on the passengers fares. In its decision the Commission said:

Without repeating all of the reasons advanced for the repeal of the transportation tax, we wish to emphasize that it is having a serious effect upon the passenger-train service of the railroads. Since the tax on passenger travel tends to discourage the public from using common carriers, it thereby aggravates the ever-mounting passenger defi-While we recognize that the would not provide a cure-all for the pas-senger deficit problem, such action would remove a serious deterrent to a greater use by the traveling public. In strongly urging that the Congress take action to repeal the tax outright, we are not unaware of the efforts which various Members of the Congress have made and are presently making in this regard. We are also not unmindful of the revenue needs of the Government. We are, however, convinced that any possible loss of revenue would be more than offset by the public interest in strengthening and preserving a transportation system capable of meeting adequately the country's need for service both in peacetime and during emergencies in conformity with the national transportation policy as declared by the Congress.

I understand the Civil Aeronautics Board has similarly said that repeal of this tax would have a beneficial effect on the air transport industry. The chairman of the CAB in recent testimony before the Senate Appropriations Committee indicated repeal would "produce a substantial increase in traffic" and, to some degree, "reduce subsidies to local service carriers."

Certainly, the millions of passengers who travel by common carrier buses between the 40,000 communities that industry serves are entitled to this relief. Many of them have no alternative but to travel by bus, or by private vehicle. Driving customers away from the buses, or any other common carriers, as this tax most surely does, can only result in those transportation companies facing serious economic problems—and, by no means unimportant, in their paying a lesser amount of corporate income taxes and other taxes than otherwise would be the case.

I am satisfied that the net loss in revenue to the Federal Treasury would not be great and would moreover be offset in large measure by additional revenue from other taxes.

I fully appreciate the heavy burden carried by the Ways and Means Committee of the House, and particularly by its distinguished chairman. WILBUR MILLS. They have done a splendid job of exercising fiscal responsibility, holding the line on tax reductions while Government expenditures remain, of necessity, at a high level. I am further gratified to note that the chairman of that committee plans to undertake a broad study of the Federal tax structure later this year. I am sure it will result in removing many present inequities, closing loopholes, and otherwise bringing the tax structure into a better balance.

### The Untold Story of Panama

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. CLARK W. THOMPSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. THOMPSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, on May 12, 1959, I placed in the Congressional Record an extension of remarks concerning a most timely and important publication entitled "The Untold Story of Panama," by the author, Earl Harding. The book has created a great deal of interest, particularly among those who recognize the serious and complex problems concerning the Panama Canal and our present and future relationship with our good neighbor, the Republic of Panama.

My attention has just been invited to a review of Mr. Harding's book by the Reverend Leopold Braun, a native of New Bedford, Mass. Father Braun's international background is such that his comments on Mr. Harding's "Untold Story of Panama" are particularly significant.

It is my pleasure to insert in the Con-GRESSIONAL RECORD Father Braun's review which appeared in the New Bedford Standard Times of Sunday, June 14, 1959:

REV. LEOPOLD BRAUN PRAISES NEW STUDY OF PANAMA CANAL INTRIGUES—"THE UNTOLD STORY OF PANAMA," EARL HARDING, ATHENE PRESS

(This book is here reviewed by the Reverend Leopold L. S. Braun, A.A., a native of New Bedford, and chaplain to the American Catholic community in Moscow 1934-45. Father Braun's life was then saved from "accidental" destruction secretly planned by Red enemies by his flight under diplomatic

protection of then Secretary of State James F. Byrnes. Since 1946, Father Braun's analyses of the international Communist conspiracy have been the subject of lectures throughout the United States and Canada.)

#### (By Rev. Leopold Braun)

For the American public as for the student of U.S. history, this experienced writer narrates, in highly readable English, some heretofore-concealed aspects of Panama's birth as a Republic. Mr. Harding enjoys the unique distinction of being the sole survivor of the glorious newspapermen who fought for and won an epic battle for the freedom of the press at that time.

The author pursues his purpose of handling the truth with striking frankness and disarming objectivity, leaving no doubt in the reader's mind as to the true paternity of this extrordinary politico-territorial parturition.

The content of this book's 19 chapters bears witness to the author's outstanding qualifications as an on-the-spot observer and investigator of undeniable facts leading to the quashing of the Federal indictment against the New York World and the Indianapolis News, both attacked personally by Theodore Roosevelt.

Though Mr. Harding played a capital role in battling for a free press, this Panama story is told, not in the form of a personal vindication, but as an impartial and powerful contribution to a clear understanding of an artificially confused period of American history.

The oft-quoted Presidential aphorism of the time, "I took the isthmus," is exploded with no lack of humor to the detriment of a conscience-stricken administration which, aided even by the famous talents of William Nelson Cromwell, was unable to cover up all the telltale tracks of questionable manipulators.

A jewel of rare historical luster is Mr. Harding's insertion, in his handily indexed text, of the "Dear Little Son" letter of October 18, 1903, written by Dr. Manuel Amador who coauthored the spontaneous revolt with Theodore Roosevelt. Honestly obtained in dramatic circumstances by the author from the addresses in person, it is expertly used to stud this fascinating story with long-awaited brightness and clarity.

Who really got the American taxpayers' \$40 million paid off to the bankrupt French company? Why were Cromwell's fantastic fees so drastically reduced by the French arbitrators? Why were copies of Cromwell's incriminating cables found destroyed? What gave rise to the regrettable revision of the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty of 1903? Why did Alger Hiss include the Panama Canal Zone as U.S. occupied territory in a list sent to the U.N.?

These and many more questions are examined by Mr. Harding with the expert qualifications of a trained eye in fact reporting.

But the Panama Canal is not only a link between two oceans. It has become the focal point of irrational and irresponsible discussion on the part of some American left-minded writers or Moscow-inspired academic agitators. All put together, they are quite willing to agree to a giveaway bigger yet than the combined annuities, compensations, maintenance costs, and other expenditures pulled out of Uncle Sam's Treasury.

Because of the fate of Suez, because of the internationalization mania and the malicious or asinine application of the good neighbor policy, Mr. Harding understands the overtones of international importance which the Panama Canal situation now spells out with glaring and ominous imminence.

To be sure, the Kremlin's long era is now reaching out into this hemisphere. Mr.

Harding meets this challenge with aplomb, serenity, and positive facts of hard-hitting type.

All readers of "The Untold Story of Panama" are in for much veil lifting, historical entertainment, accurate reporting, and a timely contribution to contemporary American and world history. Mrs. Louise Graham Harding, whose precious collaboration made this work possible, must also share in the credit due to this revealing story.

#### REPORTER PROBED CANAL MYSTERIES

Earl Harding, the author of "The Untold Story of Panama," is a newspaperman of many years' standing. Born in Colorado in 1880 on his parents' ranch, he attended public schools in Denver, Colorado School of Mines, and Columbia University in New York where he specialized in English and American constitutional history.

can constitutional history.

He opened his 50 years of newspapering as mining and telegraph editor of the Denver Republican in 1902. In 1904, he became assistant Sunday editor of the Chicago Record Herald. Following his Chicago stint, he joined Joseph Pulitzer's New York Morning World, first as copy editor, then as roving correspondent and day news editor. In 1908, he was assigned to investigate the hidden history of the 1903 revolt which separated Panama from Colombia.

His discoveries anent the distribution of some \$40 million paid to the French company which had tried and failed to build a canal across Panama led to libel prosecution initiated by President Theodore Roosevelt against the World and the Indianapolis News. Roosevelt attempted to have the case tried in Federal instead of State courts, a grave attempt to infringe upon the freedom of the press to cover the news. The suit was finally quashed.

Mr. Harding lives in New York and often

Mr. Harding lives in New York and often speaks to clubs and organizations there concerning Panama and the threats to its security made in recent months.

## A Solution to the New Bar Admittee's Most Pressing Problem—The Army's Judge Advocate General's Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 21, 1959

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I wish to include a very interesting article on the legal profession, which appeared in the May-June 1959 issue of the Case and Comment, the lawyers' magazine published in Rochester, N.Y.

The article follows:

A SOLUTION TO THE ADMITTEE'S MOST PRESSING PROBLEM—THE ARMY'S JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL'S CORPS

(By First Lt. Francis L. Crowley, Jr., Judge Advocate General's Corps, U.S. Army)

(Lieutenant Crowley, who received his B.S. (SS) and LL.B. degrees at Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., is assigned to the Industrial Relations Branch, Procurement Law Division, Office of the Judge Advocate General, Department of the Army. In addition, he serves as assistant to the Labor Adviser to the Secretary of the Army and the Deputy Chief of Staff for Logistics.)

The most vexing and immediate problem a new admittee to the bar must solve is: How and where to practice law and still make a living? Those who are not particularly interested in practicing law as such can usually earn an adequate living in other fields, utilizing their legal talents and whatever other native talents they may possess. But to practice the art, most young lawyers encounter difficulty, first, in finding the opportunity and, second, in making the practice pay. To those who can qualify, the Judge Advocate General's Corps of the U.S. Army offers an excellent solution to this problem.

Too many young attorneys completely overlook the possibility of service in the Army as a legal career because of prejudice or bias against or suspicion or ignorance of a military career. As a result of two general military mobilizations and continuation of the draft in times of relative peace during the past 18 to 20 years, many law school graduates enter the employment market with a dislike of military life as part of their heritage. Downgrading the military has been the vogue. This is unfortunate, especially as this attitude stems largely from ignorance of the career opportunities available in the military to these young men in their chosen profession. It is true that there are professional and social requirements and obligations which are peculiar to a military career-to insist otherwise would be unrealistic. The question is whether these peculiarities are so burdensome, when compared to similar requirements and obligations of practice and life in the civilian sphere, as to constitute a real disadvantage.

The foremost inquiry when choosing any legal career must be: Am I, after having spent long and energetic years preparing to become an attorney, choosing a career in which I can truly practice the legal art in the manner in which I want to practice it? Accordingly, the young lawyer must consider the type of practice involved in the choice and the extent to which he will participate in it. Practice opportunities in the Army's Judge Advocate General's Corps are excellent. The variety is great. There is opportunity to specialize to some extent; however, a general practice is the norm. Individual responsibility is very high, and the day-to-day opportunities for a challenging practice are exceptional. These opportunities can be best demonstrated by an analysis of the client which the Judge Advocate General's Corps serves— the U.S. Army.

The Army's size is one of its outstanding characteristics. It operates on an international scale. Organizationally, and to a lesser extent, functionally, it compares to our corporate giants, but it is much larger than the largest of these. It is also an arm of the executive branch of the Federal Government and as such has functions and practice requirements similar to those of other Government agencies. These characteristics of the client suggest a practice similar to that found in a corporate or governmental General Counsel's office, e.g., commercial law, fiscal and tax law, international law, the law of property, real and personal, torts, employees' compensation, labor law, and so on.

In another respect it is unlike Government and big business, or any other client for that matter, as its members or employees are, to a considerable extent, governed and disciplined by it. This distinction suggests the practice of criminal law, perhaps the largest single phase of military law practice and historically the reason for the existence of judge advocates. An elaborate system of courts and boards at the trial and appel-

late levels and a comprehensive code of law and practice to meet the needs of the military organization has been established by Congress. This current code is relatively new, having been revised in 1951. As a consequence, new law is being made daily. It is a dynamic practice. This code though, admittedly it makes provision for a few crimes unknown to the civil community, contains laws similar to those which can be found in any Federal, State, or local criminal code.

Despite its size, the Army has components which are expected to, and do, operate as independent units with minimum reliance for assistance on the next higher unit. In this sense the Army is composed of countless middle-sized communities, each with its own problems of self-government. The judge advocate performs the function of the city attorney when serving the client in this regard. Many of these units, the Army's posts, camps, and stations, are remote from civil communities and, even though some are relatively close to civil communities, the camaraderies and esprit de corps that exists among career military people tend to draw them toward activities within the installation. As a consequence, these individuals rely to a great extent upon the judge advocate on the post for legal assistance. This phase of the military practice suggests the entire field of domestic relations law, the law of wills and probate, personal finance law and individual income tax law, inter alia.

This brief analysis demonstrates that law is practiced by members of the Judge Advocate General's Corps to the same extent as by civilian practitioners. There is adequate opportunity for counseling, advocacy, prosecution, defense, trial, oral argument, legislative drafting, legal composition, commercial negotiation, legal assistance, and participation in polleymaking. The young Judge Advocate General's Corps officer can also look forward to a position on the bench of courts-martial. There is a wide variety in the substantive law involved, in addition to a great diversity of practice potentialities.

to a great diversity of practice potentialities.

There can be little if any complaint concerning the kind of practice found in the Army. Is the fact that the practice is performed as a member of the military organization a significant disadvantage? contrary, if there is any disadvantage, it is fully offset by the professional opportunities and the emoluments that go with the career. But first, what are the disadvantages, if any? The wearing of a uniform is certainly no disadvantage. Lawyers in civil life feel con-strained to wear a particular type of apparel. They are expected to be dignified. young lawyer pass a senior firm member, a client, or a judge without an appropriate greeting and what are the consequences? Is a salute any more of a burden? Is it any less disturbing to be overruled on a legal matter, on which you feel you are certain, by a senior attorney in a civilian law firm than by a senior attorney who is also a superior officer in the military? Or is it any less distressing to have a client refuse to take your good advice when the client is a businessman than when he is a military officer in charge of a military unit? Men are men whether they are in or out of uniform. The job is somewhat different as are the customs, but basically they are the same as in civilian practice.

The opportunity to travel worldwide may be an advantage or disadvantage, depending on the individual. This is a matter to which the prospective candidate should give careful consideration, especially if he has or hopes to have a family.

Do you feel you can be, and desire to be, a wealthy man? You'll make a comfortable

living and have an incomparable retirement benefit in a military career, but you'll not be a wealthy man unless you have an independent income. After 20 years' service, a colonel's salary and allowances will gross about \$12,500 per year; however, the retirement benefit that is built up during active service is worth from \$200 to \$300 per month. Medical care, post exchange, officers' club, and commissary privileges must also be considered, as must a 30 day per year vacation and an unlimited amount of sick leave.

Most posts have excellent recreational facilities and relatively inexpensive housing. Much of the expense of private practice is born by the Government, including such luxuries as legal reading services and a program of continuing legal education, which is encouraged. These fringe benefits are a substantial addition to basic pay and allowances.

Promotion opportunities to the young man contemplating a military career are particularly encouraging at the present time. In the early 1960's a great number of officers will reach retirement age as a result of the sizable augmentation of officer strength in the period immediately following World Waf II. They must be replaced. Accordingly, promotion at an increased rate can be anticipated, comparable to that experienced only in time of general mobilization.

I have stipulated that concentration on the disadvantages of military life is inordinate. There are disadvantages to almost any choice we make, whether the choice concerns our career, marriage, home, automobile, or what have you. But in making any choice, disadvantages are normally weighed against advantages. My purpose has been to focus attention on the benefits of a military legal career which are most often overshadowed by the popular attitude that the practice of law in the military is undesirable and unrespectable. As a result of 3½ years of service in JAG, I have not found justification for that attitude. On the contrary, I have found that my senior partners are for the most part capable and dedicated lawyers who are achieving real satisfaction from practicing law in a challenging arena.

My conclusion? That a legal career in the

My conclusion? That a legal career in the Army is an outstanding opportunity. A far-sighted young attorney should not let the opportunity pass without giving it careful consideration. There is a good practice, better than average income, and retirement benefits which very, very few successful attorneys can afford. Success in such a career is solely in the hands of the individual. Success is not contingent upon the obtaining or retaining of clients—a problem faced by even the well established private practitioner.

Perhaps the most outstanding reward of a career as an Army judge advocate is one which I have refrained from mentioning until this time. The rewards resulting from service to your country, especially in these days of limited emergency, cannot be weighed in any concrete terms. There is a true value involved, which cannot be realized to the same extent in any other practice. It is a contribution to society of which you can be truly proud and one which is deserving of, and will receive, the approbation of your countrymen and fellow officers.

#### INFORMATION ON APPOINTMENTS

Complete information on appointments in the Judge Advocate General's Corps of the Regular Army is readily available upon request directed to the Military Personnel Division, Office of the Judge Advocate General, Department of the Army, Washington 25, D.C. Senior law students desiring to apply, may file their applications in advance of graduation and admission to the bar. Veterans' Pension Act of 1959

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

### HON. FRANK M. COFFIN

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. COFFIN. Mr. Speaker, together with the overwhelming majority of the House, I voted for H.R. 7650, to revise veterans' benefits. I do not know when a committee has done a more painstaking job of trying: First, to deal with so many complicated systems of benefits; second, to devise a responsible program that can be recommended to the American people, that can pass both House and Senate, and that can be signed into law by the President: third, to present such a complex schedule of benefits in a clear and understandable manner; and, fourth, to secure the assent of the major veterans' organizations representing the great majority of our veterans from the several conflicts in which our Nation has been involved.

It is my hope that any inequities and inconsistencies which are inevitably found in any such comprehensive legislation can be eliminated through future amendments.

Mr. Speaker, it is significant that the New York Times carried an editorial in this morning's issue, proclaiming that "the bill is a distinct improvement over the present system." While I do not agree with the Times' suggestions that no exemptions be allowed for a spouse's income, I feel that the general tone of the commendation is proof that the work product of the committee and of the House was a major forward step.

I ask, therefore, to include the editorial with these remarks:

#### VETERANS' PENSIONS

Merely by reason of having served in the armed services in time of war, veterans deemed disabled for any reason-and under present regulations most veterans over 65 qualify-are entitled to a standard monthly pension if they meet certain income limita-tions. The Bradley Commission, in its careful study of this expensive program, con-cluded that "the non-service-connected needs which veterans have in common with all citizens should be met \* \* \* through the general welfare programs under which veterans are covered along with other people \* benefits non-service-connected should be minimized and gradually elimi-nated."

It has long been apparent, however, that the idea of "phasing out" and eventually ending pensions is simply not practical politics. It is in the light of this reality that the major pension bill passed by the House should be judged. And in that light the bill is a distinct improvement over the present system.

It establishes for the first time the principle of pensions varying with the veteran's income. Also for the first time it establishes the concept of disqualification on the basis of a large net worth, regardless of income. It makes a start at reform of the present costly and unjust system under which a veteran can transfer income to his wife to enable him to qualify for a pension.

These changes will have a major effect in reducing the future costs of this program, which under present law would rise steeply from the current \$1.1 billion a year to \$3.4 billion by 1985.

To sweeten this package the House Veterans Committee decided to increase the scale of benefits somewhat, meaning an immediate additional cost of \$300 million. Perhaps this price must be paid in return for savings in the billions later on. But the Senate could greatly improve the bill, without reducing the scale of benefits, by tightening the program further.

For example, it could require counting all of a spouse's income in determining a veteran's qualification for a pension, instead of excluding the first \$1,200 as in the House could abolish the present system bill. It under which social security income is sometimes excluded in determining a veteran's income.

In short, the Senate could carry the concept of true need to a conclusion not only logical but fair, while at the same time moderating further program's still-heavy future

#### The Townsend Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

### HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to present for consideration of my colleagues the following analytical memorandum on H.R. 4000, the Townsend plan bill, as prepared by the plan's Washington legislative bureau:

ANALYTICAL MEMORANDUM ON H.R. 4000, PAY-AS-YOU-GO SOCIAL SECURITY FOR ALL-TOWNSEND PLAN AMENDMENTS TO TITLE II OF THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

Why should we adopt H.R. 4000 instead of continuing to liberalize the present system of old-age and survivors insurance?

H.R. 4000 is based on the simple proposition that what is good for America's aged is good for America, because all our people will benefit if we provide economic security as their final reward in life. Existing social security and other retirement systems fall far short of producing this happy outcome.

In February 1954, the Social Security Bulletin carried an article by Jacob Fisher, of the Social Security Administration's Division "Postwar of Research and Statistics, Changes in the Income Position of the Aged. This report shows "The population aged 65 and over increased 17 percent from 1947 through 1952 (while the total population aged 14 and over increased only 5 percent); but the elderly population's share of total personal income increased from 7 percent in 1947 to only 8 percent in 1952."

Direct analysis of Census Bureau data shows those past 65 to have received 7.3 percent of personal income in 1953, 7.7 percent in 1954, 7.9 percent in 1955, 7.6 percent in 1956, and 7.4 percent in 1957. By 1957, the over-65 population increased 36.9 percent over its 1947 number-while the total population aged 14 and over increased only 11.5 percent. Thus, the average aged person's comparative income position went from bad in 1947 to worse in 1957. More aged are slicing the same sized income pie, which obviously means a smaller portion for each.

This is the case in spite of congressional

action in 1950 increasing old-age and survivors insurance benefits by 70° percentand additional increases in 1952 and 1954and in spite of the dramatic increase in private pension systems and the liberalization of just about every existing public and pri-

vate retirement system as well. Since World War II, OASI has not only failed to solve the social security problem; it has even failed to prevent it from getting

If OASI could be refashioned to do the job. there would be no logic in scrapping it. However, a 1955 report from the Social Security Administration itself points to the impossibility of attaining the desired end through the present machinery. This report warns that even so modest a minimum benefit as \$75 a month would require a payroll tax rate so high as to endanger public support of the contributory principle upon which the present system is based.

Unabated surpluses of production dictate that we must keep buying power abreast of our ever-expanding ability to produce. Unless we stop destruction of the average American's buying power upon his reaching old age, we can never do this. This is what OASI has proven unable to do. It is exactly what H.R. 4000 will do.

Added to what we know the American people can do privately for their own retirement, the benefits of H.R. 4000 will end poverty in old age, retiring all persons on living standards comparing reasonably to those of the adult population in generalthus amplifying buying power, the only way prosperously to absorb surpluses,

### Against Recognition of Red China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 16, 1959.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, the House Un-American Activities Committee report on Red China atrocities comes at a propitious time. It is another chapter in a long series of accounts of Communist attempts to stamp out Christianity in Asia.

While it is doubtful if this publication will per se prompt advocates of Red Chinese recognition to reverse their position, the additional evidence of brutality on the part of the Peiping government may bring conclusive public pressure to bear on elected officials of the U.S. Government who would otherwise carry the banner of the Mao regime. In view of the vehement denunciations that have been voiced by spokesmen for the many faiths, it is inconceivable that public officeholders will continue to stump for diplomatic acceptance of Red China.

Last November, the Committee of One Million, whose membership included some of the most respected Protestant clergymen in the United States, polled a cross section of ministers on the question of whether Red China should be admitted to the United Nations. The committee included Bishop Fred Pierce Corson, Dr. Norman Vincent Peale, Rev. Daniel A. Poling, and Bishop Herbert

Welsh. Eight-seven percent of the 9,000 clergymen of all denominations who were contacted voted against admission.

The attitude of Roman Catholics, whose missionaries have suffered continuous indignities since Communist forces seized China, is also well-known. Last December, the National Council of Catholic Men passed a resolution which stated, in part, that "war, religious and secular persecution, and the violation of human rights are not credentials acceptable for recognition by either the United Nations or the United States."

The memorandum which the late John Foster Dulles sent to the 84 U.S. missions around the world explained most effectively why this country cannot and will not recognize Red China. It stated that a contrary policy would cripple Nationalist China if not destroy her completely, thus blasting all hopes for Chinese on the mainland as well as on Taiwan: that nearby nations would be confused and demoralized, and would feel abandoned by the United States: that other nations probably make a quick deal with Peiping on the best terms possible; and that millions of Chinese living abroad would have no alternative than to switch their loyalty

Mr. Speaker, I was impressed with this paragraph by the Honorable Hollington K. Tong, Ambassador of the Republic of China to the United States, at Tufts University on March 20, 1957:

As long as the moral force of the world continues to reject it, communism is bound to fail, even though it has occupied so huge an area of God's earth. History has shown that moral force is always more powerful than physical might.

It is the responsibility of the Congress of the United States to lend the moral support necessary to oppose communism throughout the world. So long as subjected and threatened peoples are assured that this great Nation stands firmly against the atheistic philosophy of the Red despots, the spirit of freedom will stay alive regardless of the effectiveness of Red savagery.

Mr. Speaker, I am confident that a . tremendous majority of the Members of Congress would vote against recognition of Red China if the issue ever comes to the floor. Yet the attitude of a few of my colleagues on this vital issue is a matter of national concern. Less than 3 months ago the United States officially denounced the Communist Chinese for the attempt to destroy the historical autonomy of the Tibetan people. Since that time, 4,000 fugitives have left their native land to follow the Dalai Lama

into havens thus far free of Red domination.

How the innumerable instances of Communist tyranny and cruelty can summarily be discounted by an elected official of the U.S. Government is incredible. Perhaps a reminder from the voting public is necessary. The capture and imprisonment of American servicemen apparently has been forgotten; the ruthless and barbaric treatment of Tibet and other nations has conveniently been discounted; the appeals of our church leaders have been cast aside. If the public clamor against recognition of Red China reaches a crescendo in the communities back home, maybe then it will be heard-and heeded-by some individuals in Washington.

### Siuslaw South Jetty Project, Lane County, Oreg.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD. I include the following letter from Robert A. Finlayson, city manager of Eugene, Oreg., of June 11, 1959, and a resolution passed by the City Council of Eugene urging that work be completed on the Siuslaw Harbor at Florence Oreg.:

EUGENE, OREG., June 11, 1959.

Hon. CHARLES O. PORTER, House of Representatives,

Washington D.C. DEAR CONGRESSMAN PORTER: The Common Council of the city of Eugene at their meeting on June 8, 1959, unanimously adopted the enclosed resolution concerning the south jetty on the Siuslaw River and requested that we forward copy to our Lane County representative and to each of our Senators in the Congress.

Very truly yours, ROBERT A. FINLAYSON, City Manager.

The Honorable WAYNE L. MORSE, Senior Senator, Oregon, The Honorable RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, Junior Senator, Oregon, The Honorable Charles O. PORTER, Representative, Oregon, U.S. Congress, Washington, D.C.

Whereas the Siuslaw River is the only river offering a natural harbor in Lane County, State of Oregon; and

Whereas within the last few years the north jetty has been replaced and rebuilt and has provided a great improvement for the entrance of the Siuslaw River and the port of Florence, Oreg.; and

Whereas it is imperative that the investment already made by public funds on the north jetty be protected and implemented, and said harbor improvement work be completed by the early completion of the rebuilding of the south jetty; and

Whereas the city of Eugene is anxious and desirous that the port of Florence, Oreg., be fully developed and utilized, and that said port may be a port of entry for oceangoing cargoes to flow into the Willamette Valley and southern Oregon, through said port of Florence: and

Whereas the Common Council of the City of Eugene, Oreg., desires to assist its neighbor city, the city of Florence, and the port of Florence in obtaining the early completion of said port facilities: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Common Council of the City of Eugene, Oreg., in regular session held

on June 8, 1959, as follows:

1. That the Common Council of the City of Eugene, Oreg., representing said city are cognizant of the need for the appropriation of Federal funds and the early completion of the south jetty improvements to the Siuslaw River.

2. That the Senators to the U.S. Senate from Oregon and the Representative to the U.S. Congress from the Fourth Congressional District be immediately advised of this passage of this resolution and urged to propose and support the necessary legislation to provide funds for and completion of the program for the early building of the south jetty of the Siuslaw River in Lane County, Oreg.

This resolution adopted this 8th day of

T. W. KIESS. Assistant Recorder.

### My Contribution to America's Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. HOMER THORNBERRY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. THORNBERRY. Mr. Speaker, recently the Brenham, Tex., chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution sponsored their annual essay contest among the students of the Brenham High School

Miss Mary Brisbin, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Morris Brisbin of Brenham. won first place with her essay entitled 'My Contribution to America's Future."

This young lady, who hopes to become a member of our Women's Army Corps, rests her contribution to America's future on three cornerstones: a trained mind. a healthy body, and a nourished soul.

I think that this essay is excellent and that these cornerstones would make a perfect foundation for every citizen to build on; therefore, under unanimous consent, I include it in the Congres-SIONAL RECORD. The essay is as follows:

MY CONTRIBUTION TO AMERICA'S FUTURE

#### (By Mary Louise Brisbin)

What shall be my contribution to America's future? I think that it will be the improvement of my mind, body, and soul. This statement is true because if I improve myself, I will, in turn, contribute to the protection and uplifting of my Nation.

I think that everyone should have a desire to become better educated and better informed. This increase in learning will also be very necessary to the future of America. Thomas Jefferson must have thought so, too, because he wrote these words to James Madison, "Educate and inform the whole mass of the people. Enable them to see that it is to their interest to preserve peace and order, and they will preserve them." Today all I need is the desire to better myself because it is very easy to be better informed and better educated. With the development of television and radio have come the news programs that tell me what is going on in every part of the world today. There are also educational programs available, My contribution will be to become a better informed and better educated citizen.

I must feel well to do a good job in whatever way I serve my country, and to feel well my body must be in good condition. To feel well, I have to keep my body clean and free of social diseases; in short, I must live a good life. I must be ready to serve my Nation in time of hemispheric peril; I must not grow weak through soft living in peacetime. I quote these words of Richard E. Byrd to prove my belief that a strong body is just as necessary as a trained mind: "Health has much to do with this quality, the ability to face protracted danger. A man may cease to be sanguine after a bad illness. It is not necessarily a matter of courage at all—a man simply may be temperamentally

unfitted by ill health."

To nourish my soul, I will go to church and Sunday school; when I go, I will listen and try to understand and apply the words of God to my own life. In attempting to apply these words in everything I do, I shall become a much better human being and a more useful American citizen. Thus, I shall free my mind from fear and doubt through faith as well as preserve my good health through the teachings of the Old and New Testaments.

Let my contribution to America's future rest on these three cornerstones: a trained mind, a healthy body, and a nourished soul.

# Aid to Tito: Proof That We Have No Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 20, 1959

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave obtained, I insert in the RECORD my remarks on the subject of "Aid to Tito: Proof That We Have No Foreign Policy":

In our foreign aid program there are admittedly cases where it is not easy to determine whether or not it is in our best interest to give aid, and if aid is to be given, to what extent and under what conditions. But there are cases where it is absolutely beyond any doubt that the aid given is not benefiting the United States, but is being used against us. At the top of this list is the case of aid to the Yugoslav Communist dictator, Tito.

The plain and incontrovertible facts

of the Tito case are these:

First. That he never was, nor did he ever pretend to be anything else but a Communist, dedicated to the victory of Communist imperialism in the world.

Second. That, according to his own admission, his foreign policy has never changed, but remains the same before and after his break with Stalin—June 28, 1948.

Third. That before that so-called break, during the break and after the reconciliation with Moscow—June 1955—Communist Yugoslavia constantly and unchangeably voted in all questions of any substance with the Russian Communist bloc, against the United States.

Fourth. That the internal regime of Communist Yugoslavia has remained the same, and was not in the least affected in any democratic sense by the huge aid which Tito has received from the United States.

Fifth. That only recently Yugoslavia nationalized—i. e., confiscated—all real estate in Yugoslavia with the explanation that Communist Yugoslavia's road was clear and it clearly led to commu-

nism. Therefore, private property had to disappear.

Sixth. That Tito repeatedly declared that he was using all the aid from the capitalistic West to build socialism—communism—in Yugoslavia.

Seventh. That Tito time and again declared that there was not and could never be any democracy or freedom for the enemies of communism in Yugoslavia.

Beyond all this, Tito has played and is playing an exceptionally important part in the Communist conquest of Asia. In November 1957 Vice President Nixon called public attention to the decisive role which Asia will play in the final outcome of the contest between human freedom and communism in the world. He then said that if the Communists succeed in winning control over Asia and the Middle East, they will win. Unfortunately, we are not far from that critical point and the man who played the key role in the conquest of the minds of the Asian people for communism is Tito.

How is it possible, in view of this record, that there are still people to tell us that it is in the interests of the United States to help the ruthless tyrant of Yugoslavia and that such is still the foreign policy of the greatest democracy in the world? Let us briefly examine the arguments of the adherents of our aid-to-Tito policy. They can, briefly, be summarized as follows:

First. That Tito is a Communist, but different and independent from Mos-

cow.

Second. That Tito is, moreover, waging political warfare against the Russian Communists and Red Chinese.

Third. That he will, in case of war, be neutral or may fight on our side and, finally,

Fourth. That the people in Yugoslavia have accepted the regime and have reconciled themselves to living under communism.

In reality, all these assertions of Tito's propaganda, skillfully served to gullible Westerners by Communist agents in the free world, have no basis

whatsoever in facts.

The fairy tale of Tito's independence was concocted by Yugoslav Communist propaganda and further spread by those who wish to help Tito, not to help the United States. From the first oppor-tunity—Danube Conference in August 1948-after the Stalin-Tito rift until the present, Communist Yugoslavia has adopted the same attitude as the U.S.S.R. on all issues with which world communism is vitally concerned. What kind of independence is it that implies no important differences, but complete identity and conformity with the Russian plan for world conquest? At the VII Congress of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia-April 1958-the Yugoslav Vice Premier, Edward Kardelj, summed up his explanations about Yugoslav foreign policy by saying that "it can be understood only if one bears in mind that Yugoslavia is a Communist country and that its fate depends on the fate of communism in the world."

As for the dissention and feuds between Tito and Moscow and Peiping, they are not completely faked, which means that they are not just staged for the sake of fooling the West. They differ on nonessentials but they all agree on the plan for communism to dominate the world. But, on the other hand, the importance and consequences of those battles of words are no mystery, since Tito and others have often spoken about them and precisely defined their nature. The most outspoken was Edward Kardelj, the chief theoretician of the Yugoslav Communist regime, who said, May 5, 1959, that the differences between Yugoslav Communists and other Communists were "only the expression of the contradictions which are proper to the whole socialist development, that is which do not represent any national specific trait of Yugoslavia." He also laid full emphasis on the fact that the differences were not due to any nationalism on the part of any Communist, nor on any difference of dogma. Finally, he stressed that the Yugoslav Communists were "consistent not only in the building of socialism-Communist-but in the defense of the principle of Socialist-Communist-solidity.'

In the light of these facts and Tito's solemn statement in Stalingrad-June 1956—that Yugoslavia would march shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet Union in peace and in war, there is no need to refute the willful and vile contention of Yugoslavia's neutrality in case of a war. The full cooperation between the Yugoslav submarine base in Boka Kotorska and the Russian submarine base in Sasseno-Albania-as well as the Russian-Yugoslav identity of opinions on the creation of the Khrushchevsponsored zone of peace in the Balkans and the Mediterranean must be explained out of existence before any responsible Western statesman would dare to hope that Yugoslavia would stand in our camp in case of war. Incidentally, there are recent reports that the Russians are building in Kocevje, in northwestern Yugoslavia, a long-range missile launching site. It would certainly pay to investigate this news before giving a single dollar to the Communist oppressor of 18 million human beings in Yugoslavia.

Finally, the claim of the pro-Tito clique among our American opinion makers, that Tito's communism is different and more democratic and thus made acceptable to the people of Yugoslavia, is shattered by the findings of the Zellerbach Commission on Refugees, which issued recently a comprehensive and carefully documented report on the problem of refugees in Europe. In this report the Zellerbach Commission stated that Yugoslavia is the main refugee producing country in Europe. In the last 2 years nearly 40,000 people have escaped from the democracy of Communist Tito.

In view of all these fundamental and irrefutable facts, the policy of aid to Tito is absolutely indefensible. There is not one reason for continuing that policy and there is every reason for immediate

ately putting an end to it. Our present policy of aid to Communist Tito is a policy of national suicide. Khrushchev warned us a year ago in a public statement that the Communists would bury us. By helping Communist Yugoslavia we are hastening the process of our own destruction, helping the spread of communism in the world and thus digging the graves for ourselves, for our children, and for our children's children.

### Cleaning Up the Rivers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

### HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I am very happy to see an editorial in the Washington, D.C., Post and Times Herald of today's date, enthusiastically supporting H.R. 3610 introduced by our able and distinguished colleague, the Honorable John A. BLATNIK, which would double the amount of Federal grants to States and municipalities for pollution abatement works and facilities.

This editorial should be read by all Members of Congress, especially by those who in the past have opposed H.R. 3610 or other similar measures, and the all important appropriations to carry out such legislation.

Early passage of this bill, by the other body, after its passage unimpaired in the House of Representatives last week, would help assure pure and healthful water to our people, and usable water to our growing industry and agriculture. The editorial is as follows:

## CLEANING UP THE RIVERS

House passage of the Blatnik bill to double the amount of Federal help on pollution control is a hopeful sign of increased awareness in Congress of what has been happening to the Nation's rivers. Prediction after pre-diction has held that the country faces a water shortage over the next generationnot an absolute shortage, but a shortage because industrial and household wastes are contaminating water sources. The problem is remediable, but only with considerably greater effort than is now being exerted.

Since passage of the original Blatnik bill in 1956, there has been encouraging progress in the construction of municipal sewage treatment plants, especially in smaller communities. Four States, of which Maryland is one, have enacted assistance programs to accompany Federal grants in aid. The current bill would increase from \$50 million to \$100 million the annual Federal grant authorization over a 10-year period, With local communities supplying 70 percent of the funds and the Federal Government 30 percent.

The Republican minority, reflecting the view of the administration, contended that the States ought to match the Federal grants and advocated a formula of 50 percent local, 25 percent State, and 25 percent Federal funds. Certainly pollution control is partly a State responsibility. But the plain fact is that with a few conspicuous exceptions the States have not been in a position to give much help. The struggle for State revenues is, if anything, more intensive than the struggle for Federal revenues. Many States as well as communities recognize the problem, but the attack is very slow. It is significant that Republican Governor Rockefeller, of New York, endorsed the Federal stimulus.

Speed is part of the objective. It won't be much consolation if the States finally get around to acting 50 years hence, after streams are more heavily polluted and the cost of providing potable water goes up enormously. We hope that the Senate will act promptly on the Humphrey-McCarthy bill which is the counterpart of the Blatnik measure, and that the administration will acquiesce. This is a good example of the sort of sensible investment in the national welfare for which more public spending is thoroughly warranted.

#### The Reverend Edward Engram Tate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. FRANK W. BOYKIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. BOYKIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I include a citation read by the Right Reverend Frederick Deane Goodwin, D.D., LL.D., president of the board of trustees of the Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary in Virginia, on the occasion of the conferring of the degree of doctor of divinity upon my good friend, the Reverend Edward Engram Tate, now rector of the Church of the Incarnation in Dallas, Tex., and formerly rector of Emanuel Church in Alexandria, Va., and founder and headmaster of St. Stephens Episcopal School for Boys in Alexandria. This degree was conferred on May 28, 1959, at the seminary chapel in Alexandria.

I have known Ed, as he is affectionately known to hundreds of his friends, for about 15 years, even before his marriage to that wonderful Alabama princess. Elizabeth "Bettye" Byrd, in 1947, and I know of his early struggle in establishing St. Stephens School and his leadership under the many difficulties of its formative period.

Not least among his distinctions is that he is the son-in-law of Mr. Roy Edward (Pauline Vann) Byrd, well known to so many of our Members for her efficient service down through the years in the Veterans' Administration Congressional Liaison Office.

The citation follows:

THE REVEREND EDWARD ENGRAM TATE

The founder and for 10 years the headmaster of St. Stephen's School in Alexandria, you return to your seminary today to receive a recognition you richly deserve.

Since your ordination your ministry has been marked by vision, determination, and evangelical zeal. Your combination of attributes Our Lord has been able to use well in the extension of His kingdom on earth.

Following your graduation from this seminary in the distinguished class of 1936 and after a brief tour of duty in Pennsylvania, you returned to Virginia and served effectively as rector of the growing parish of

Emmanuel in Alexandria. Your interest and skill in Christian education, your concern for the youth of the land, led you to establish a church school for boys in this community.

Harassed and frustrated by all the prob-lems of a new school, by unbalanced budgets and overdue debts, by spoiled boys and parents who had done the spoiling, by high hopes dashed and unexpected pitfalls met, often despairing the whole venture-your dogged determination, your conviction of the validity of your vision and your ever-sus-taining love of your Lord and His children won the day and the months and the years. St. Stephen's School in Alexandria with its present enrollment of nearly 400 boys in its 15th year of existence is a spiritual monument to your ministry. A new and com-modious building, Tate Hall, has been appropriately named after the founder.

We welcome you today as rector of one of the great parishes of our church in the Southwest, the Church of the Incarnation in

Dallas, Tex.

This seminary, which you now serve as a trustee, is proud of your ministry as pastor, preacher and priest, as educator, administrator, and man of vision. It admits you to the degree of doctor in divinity in appreciation of the services you have rendered and will continue to render in the service of Our Lord and His children.

### Father's Day-Wembley Ties

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

### HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES -Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker for the fifth consecutive year a Wembley tie was delivered today to the office of each Member of the Congress, House and Senate, with the compliments of my friends and constituents, Samuel and Emanuel Pulitzer, as a gift for Father's Day which is Sunday.

In addition to the Members of the Congress there were a goodly number distributed on a selected basis among the press, radio, and television correspondents. For obvious reasons this distribution had to be on a limited basis and confined to those with whom I come in contact for the better part of the session. I only wish it could be a hundred percent distribution but it simply could

In addition Wembley ties were distributed to the many offices and staffs attached to the Congress such as the Clerk of the House, the Doorkeeper, including all the pages and doorkeepers, reporters, document room, folding room, and so forth.

In all, there were 1,500 ties distributed with the compliments of the Pulitzer brothers. Their generosity and thoughtfulness is indeed to be appreciated and I have already thanked them in the name of the recipients. The origination of the idea of distributing these Wembley ties on Father's Day was received with such acclaim when first started that the Pulitzers decided to make it an annual affair. Old Members have become accustomed to the practice and I hope the new Members will like it.

The Wembley plant in New Orleans is the world's largest manufacturer of neckties.

I hope each individual who received one will like it.

I assure everybody that they are privileged to swap about if they do not like the one which they received. The ties were distributed on a "blind" basis and I hope the "draw" matched more personalities and eyes than missed them.

And just to keep the record straight I am here reproducing a copy of the letter which was sent with each tie:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Washington, D.C.

DEAR FRIEND: Sunday is Father's Day—as if you didn't already know it.

And here again is your Father's Day tie with the compilments of my two dear friends, Sam and Manny Pulitzer, owners of Wembley, the world's largest manufacturers of neckwear.

Since last Father's Day we have run the gamut from vicuna to nepotism, and now we are in the throes of finding out whether or not retired military officers ever die or just fade away on the payroll of some defense contractor. Washington wouldn't be Washington without such goings on and Capitol Hill wouldn't be Capitol Hill if the Members of Congress, and those who help them make the news, wouldn't be remembered on Father's Day by the Pulitzer brothers with a Wembley tie. This gesture is the only competition death and taxes have for sureness.

Take my word for it that acceptance of this Father's Day tie is not intended to influence you one damned bit, and there are no mental reservations in this statement. Wembley is not a defense plant, nor a public works project. The Pulitzer brothers are not farmers. The plant is not located in a distressed area. As a matter of fact, New Orleans is one of the most progressive areas in the Nation—"The city care forgot and industry remembered." There is no taxpayer's money involved except when the thinking taxpayer buys a Wembley tie.

So, with a clear conscience, in the name of the Pulitzers, I again wish you a happy Father's Day with a Wembley tie,

Sincerely.

F. EDWARD HEBERT

The A. C. Gilbert Co. Marks 50th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. FRANK KOWALSKI

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. KOWALSKI. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow the city of New Haven, Conn., will observe A. C. Gilbert Day, honoring the 50th anniversary of the founding of the A. C. Gilbert Co., a firm which has contributed greatly to our country in times of peace and war.

It was on June 18, 1909, that A. C. Gilbert, a graduate of the Yale University School of Medicine and the holder of the Olympic pole-vaulting championship, opened the doors of a small manufacturing plant.

In the years since then, this business has developed into one of the largest toy

manufacturing firms in the world. The names of such Gilbert products as Erector sets and American Flyer trains have become household words. Mr. Gilbert believed that every child was a potential builder, inventor, engineer, or scientist. Their natural curiosity to learn the answers to how and why phenomena occur could be channeled into the useful, dedicated occupations of adults, provided that in the process a child derived hours of fun.

That his reasoning was and still is correct is indicated by the thousands of youngsters who have been directed to vocations as engineers, chemists, laboratory workers, and technicians, and other professions, by radio kits, chemistry sets, microscopes, atomic-energy sets, and other educational playtools which found their way into the toy industry.

All this has paid off for America. Scientific toys have helped win a war; have held a part in the fight for the development of new techniques in medicine; in the development of industrial products and in the promotion of business ventures, all because some boy, now a scientist, businessman, or engineer, remembered his boyhood playtools and went back to them for aid in perfecting prototypes for such things as the Bailey bridge of World War II fame, heartlung machines, machines for making artificial heart parts, the Gantry crane, the pigeonhole garage, to name a few.

It is a pleasure to salute this great Connecticut firm on its 50th anniversary and to pay tribute to it for its pioneer work in interesting young people in working and achieving for themselves.

Minimum Wage-\$1.25

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. JAMES A. BYRNE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolutions in support of the legislation for a minimum wage of \$1.25:

RESOLUTION CALLING UPON THE 86TH CON-GRESS TO ENACT H.R. 1046 AND H.R. 4488

Whereas all Americans must be assured of a basic minimum standard of living if we are to maintain a healthy economy at home and a position of moral leadership in the world; and

Whereas the present Federal minimum wage of \$1 an hour is inadequate to provide a bare subsistence in the United States today; and

Whereas more than 20 million Americans lack the guarantee of even this inadequate figure and are without any legal limitation on their hours of work; and

Whereas these shocking facts constitute a grave threat to our national economy, a challenge to our moral standards as a people and a peril to our reputation as democracy's showcase throughout the world; and

Whereas the existence of underpaid and overworked wage earners is a particular

danger to the well-being of the citizens of Philadelphia; and

Whereas there is now before Congress a bill introduced by Senator John F. Kennedy and Representative James Roosevell and cosponsored by many of their colleagues in both Houses, S. 1046 and H.R. 4488. This bill would greatly ameliorate this problem by raising the Federal minimum wage to \$1.25 and including nearly 8 million additional workers under the protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act: Therefore be it Resolved by Local Union No. 610, Interna-

Resolved by Local Union No. 610, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, That we call upon the Congress of the United States to give prompt and favorable consideration to this bill without delay, so this serious threat to the economic and moral strength of our Nation will be swiftly met and that the conditions above described can be corrected.

Whereas all Americans must be assured of a basic minimum standard of living if we are to maintain a healthy economy at home and a position of moral leadership in the world; and

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Whereas these shocking facts constitute a grave threat to our national economy, a challenge to our moral standards as a people and a peril to our reputation as democracy's showcase throughout the world; and

Whereas the existence of underpaid and overworked wage earners is a particular danger to the well-being of the citizens of Philadelphia; and

Whereas there is now before Congress a bill introduced by Senator John F. Kennedy and Representative James Roosevelt and cosponsored by many of their colleagues in both Houses, S. 1046 and H.R. 4488. This bill would greatly ameliorate this problem by raising the Federal minimum wage to \$1.25 and including nearly 8 million additional workers under the protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act: Therefore, be it

Resolved by Plasterers' Union Local No. 8 of Philadelphia, That we call upon the Congress of the United States to give prompt and favorable consideration to this bill without delay, so this serious threat to the economic and moral strength of our Nation will be swiftly met and that the conditions above described can be corrected.

Mr. Speaker, this type of legislation is long overdue and certainly \$1.25 is not an unreasonable figure. My bill, H.R. 5842, is among several on this subject and I truly hope we shall have an opportunity, during this session of Congress, to recognize the great number of underpaid wage earners.

New Pan-Am Labor Pact Is Hailed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. RICHARD E. LANKFORD

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. LANKFORD. Mr. Speaker, to a large extent U.S. commercial airlines are dependent upon various Government agencies for considerable of their revenue. This is only proper because the airlines render an invaluable service to the U.S. Government both at home and abroad.

There is no need for the Post Office Department to fly its own airplanes when air mail services are so readily and so cheaply available from commercial carriers. Likewise the State Department can shuttle its Foreign Service personnel all over the world through excellent services available to it from TWA, Northwest and Pan American.

We on the Armed Services Committee recognize the need of keeping a trained military transport fleet on a ready alert. We are happy that the Military Air Transport Service has developed as well as it has and is as capable as it is; however, we do worry sometimes that perhaps MATS is expanding and growing out of proportion, to the detriment of U.S. civil commercial airlines.

One of the principal objections on the part of MATS to dealing more extensively with commercial carriers has been the argument that labor trouble being experienced by a carrier could greatly jeopardize fulfillment of a military

contract.

Mr. Speaker, I am happy to report that Pan American World Airways has put that objection to permanent rest. Just the other day Mr. Juan T. Trippe. the farseeing progressive president of Pan American, announced to his annual meeting that Pan American has completed a history-making agreement with three of its most important unions, the airline pilots, flight engineers, and airline dispatchers. As the result of this agreement the unions involved have pledged that there will be no strikes against a project which has been certified by a Pan American officer as being exclusively for national defense.

Mr. Speaker, I desire to congratulate Pan American, its president, Mr. Trippe, and the three unions for a display of patriotism and good commonsense and under unanimous consent I include in the RECORD an article written by Mr. Fred W. Perkins, distinguished labor reporter for the Scripps-Howard newspapers, which appeared in the Washington Daily News of May 28, plus an editorial entitled "Sensible and Patriotic Unionism," which appeared in the same newspaper on June 8:

[From the Washington Daily News, May 28, 19591

NEW PAN-AM PACT IS HAILED (By Fred W. Perkins)

Government officials here see in labor contracts just signed by Pan American World Alrways a formula that might be followed in other industries.

The Pan-Am agreements, with three airline operating unions (airline pilots, flight engineers, and airline dispatchers), include these major provisions:

Even though any of the three groups should shut down commercial airline service because of a strike, they will continue at their respective jobs to insure the airlift of cargo and personnel essential to national defense.

A Pan-Am official will certify in writing that the flight concerned will be exclusively for these (defense) purposes.

Juan T. Trippe, Pan-Am president, called the agreements an important breakthrough

in labor relations and the first of their kind rial from the Washington Daily News of in the transportation industries.

HOPE

Leverett Edwards, Chairman of the National Mediation Board—the agency that endeavors to keep labor peace on the airlines under the Railway Labor Act—said he hoped that other labor organizations and airlines will work out similar agreements, of course voluntarily.

Officials saw possibilities in other indus-The Steelworkers Union, it was believed, would not object to a guarantee that no stoppage of steel production would be allowed to interfere with strictly national defense purposes.

WORK TOGETHER

The new contracts, according to Mr. Trippe, "illustrate the ability of free men in a democratic nation to work voluntarily together, while still retaining the privileges and freedom of the individual."

National Mediation Board Chairman Edwards said the Pan-Am agreements were particularly important because of that line's international operations, in relation to the same kind of operations by the U.S. Department of Defense.

A union official said, "there has never been any doubt that American labor will respond to needs of national defense, but there is no harm to placing it in writing."

[From the Washington Daily News, June 8, 1959]

SENSIBLE AND PATRIOTIC UNIONISM

Agreements just made by three aviation unions with an airline show how sane labor leadership can contribute to the safety and strength of the country.

The Air Line Pilots Association, the Flight Engineers International, and the Air Lines Dispatchers Association have contracted with Pan American World Airways that cargo and personnel vital to national defense will be moved, under Government control, despite any future labor dispute in which the three unions might become involved.

We have been told by Pan American that these agreements are the first of their kind in the history of transportation. We hope they are not the last.

It seems to us that here is an example that other unions whose members handle material or personnel essential to defense could well follow. Such commitments would go far to offset the bad propaganda that the activities of unioneers like Jimmy Hoffa and his like have evoked to blacken all organized labor.

But such commitments would do more than that: they would be a significant warning to Moscow not to rely on the false Communist notion that a free society is soft because its members are too selfish to discipline themselves. Instead, it would be a clear and unmistakable demonstration that while as free men we may differ, we have by no means forgotten that "united we stand, divided we fall."

Paying the Piper

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following edito-

June 9, 1959:

PAYING THE PIPER

If the Government spends more money than it raises in taxes, there are only two ways to make up the difference; borrow the money or print it.

If it is to be borrowed, the Government must compete for money in the free market.

Hence the President's message to Congress yesterday, along with the Treasury's request for permission to pay higher interest rates. The new laws would not raise interest rates arbitrarily, as is sometimes charged. would merely permit the Treasury to pay the market price for money, just as the house-wife has to pay the market price for potatoes—if she wants any potatoes.

The Treasury wants to remove the present

limitation of 41/4 percent interest on longterm Treasury bonds. There is no such limitation on short-term Treasury paper. changes would encourage purchase of securities extending over longer periods of years and lessen the expensive turnover of the

Of far greater popular interest is the proposal to raise the interest on series E and H savings bonds, from the present 3¼ percent to 3¼ percent. For the H bonds this would mean somewhat larger periodical in-terest payments. For the E bonds, popular under payroll deduction systems, the purchase price would remain the same-\$75 for bond worth \$100 at maturity. But the bonds would mature earlier. At present they must be held 8 years and 11 months to get the full price. Under the new system this would be reduced to 7 years and 9 months.

There can be small question, in these infiationary days, of the justice in paying higher interest to the small-scale buyers of Government bonds. There's the further, practical consideration that nearly \$43 billion of the Government debt now is in form of these E- and H-bonds, held by 40 million people. Currently, 8 million are buying them on payroll savings plans.

There has been an increasing tendency to cash them in. In the first 5 months of last year their sum increased by \$13 million. In the same period this year the sum has been decreased \$309 million. The increased interest rate should tend to encourage savings

and reverse this trend. The alternative, under present conditions, to increasing the interest rate, is a complicated process which amounts to printingpress money. Such a further process could only serve to dilute the money supply, firing up inflation and raising prices for everyone. Increased costs for the Government, currently spending \$80 billion a year, easily could be many times the cost of the higher interest rates on borrowed money.

Along with the interest rate requests went an application for authority to increase the permanent debt limit, from the present \$283 billion to \$288 billion and the temporary limit from \$288 billion to \$295 billion.

This is money already spent and Congress. having authorized the spending, hardly can quibble over the tab.

The only way to reduce the debt limitation is to reduce the debt. This process, by cutting down the total demand for credit, also likely would reduce interest rates.

Congress will grant all these changes, if at all, with great reluctance and after considerable oratory from the funny-money contingent which believe you can create reliable currency by waving a wand over a piece of paper.

These are bills which must be paid, one way or another. Request for this legislation emphasizes to Congress and the country the urgent necessity for a balanced budget, plus a firm plan for regular payments on our huge debt.

### Higher Postal Rates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON, F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, sometime ago I had some remarks to make about the proposed raise in postal rates.

My remarks drew a letter from the assistant postmaster general which, in turn, caused me to reply to him.

I think the exchange of correspondence speaks for itself:

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT, BUREAU OF FINANCE, Washington, D.C., June 1, 1959.

Hon. F. EDWARD HEBERT, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN HÉBERT: Your statement on postal rates and public service costs, reported in the Congressional Record of May 14, 1959, has been called to my attention.

You expressed in your statement the view that the postal rate adjustments recently proposed by the Postmaster General are in conflict with the public service reimbursement provisions of Public Law 85-426. I am taking the liberty of calling to your attention that this part of your statement is apparently based upon a misconception which I am sure you would wish to have invited to your attention.

The rate proposals of the Postmaster General will produce additional revenues in the amount of about \$350 million. This compares with a minimum anticipated deficit of more than \$522 million in fiscal 1960. Thus it is apparent that even if the maximum amount of public service reimbursement estimated in the President's budget-\$172 million-is made in the appropriations act now under consideration there still will be sufficient loss to warrant the rate increases proposed by the Postmaster General.

The Senate Committee on Appropriations, in its recent report on the Post Office Department's appropriation bill for fiscal 1960, estimated the total public service costs at \$37.4 million. Should this view be endorsed by both Houses, the need for postal rate increases over and above the amount of reimbursement for public service costs would be even greater.

For many years prior to World War II firstclass revenues were maintained at an average annual level of 40 percent above allocated costs. At present such mail is only 12 per-cent above cost. The proposed rate adjust-ments submitted by the Postmaster General would raise the cost coverage of first-class mail, the Department's prime service, to the level previously maintained by the Congress.

I trust the information provided above will place this problem in better perspective and any possible misunderstanding eliminate which may have arisen in regard to the need for postal rate increases apart from the question of reimbursement for public service costs.

Sincerely yours,
Hype Gillette, Assistant Postmaster General.

JUNE 11, 1959.

Hon. HYDE GILLETTE, Assistant Postmaster General, Post Office Department, Bureau of Finance, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. GILLETTE: This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of June 1, in reply to my recent statement (105 CONGRESSIONAL REC-

ORD A4073, May 14, 1959), respecting the request of the Postmaster General that the House consider a bill to increase postal rates on first-class mail.

The proposed bill has not been introduced in the House, but has been introduced in the Senate as S. 1923.

Your letter confirms my understanding, that the bill to increase first-class postal rates is designed to tax one class of mail-users, to "produce additional revenues in the amount of about \$350 million," in order to reduce "a minimum anticipated deficit of more than \$522 million in fiscal 1960."

You further state that the "proposed rate adjustments submitted by the Postmaster General (now incorporated in S. 1923) would raise the cost coverage of first-class mail, the Department's prime service" to "40 percent above allocated costs."

As I understand your letter, it is the position of the Post Office Department that the revenues obtained from first-class mail, in excess of the cost of handling that class, should be applied to the cost of handling other classes of mail at reduced rates, and to offset losses incurred in performing "public serv-

In other words, the users of first-class mail would be required to help pay for the cost of handling other classes of mail, which are presently being handled at a loss, despite the fact that it is the declared policy of the Congress that each nonprivileged class should

pay its own way. You maintain that the anticipated deficit of the Department, which the users of firstclass mail are bing called on to underwrite, is far in excess of the cost of financing the Department's "public services," estimated by the Senate Committee on Appropriations in its recent report on H.R. 5805, at \$37.4 mil-

H.R. 5805, a bill to appropriate almost \$4 billion for Post Office Department operations in the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1959, did not, originally, provide for the financing of the cost of the Department's "public services" out of the general fund of the Treasury, because, according to the House Appropriations Committee, "the concept of payment for public services under the Postal Policy Act of 1958 is a device which invites flagrant abuse in the form of hidden subsidies.

Although the Senate Appropriations Committee gave some effect to the Postal Policy Act, by amending the House version to appropriate funds to finance the subsidized services of the Department, I am impelled to point out that the Senate approved its Appropriations Committee's estimate of the total cost of the Department's public services, over the strong protest of its Post Office Committee.

Senator Johnston of South Carolina, the chairman of the Post Office Committee, favors a further study of the cost of the public services to give a realistic appraisal of such costs.

He has pointed out that a base congressional action on such an unrealistically small public service cost figure as \$37.4 million, would nullify the Postal Policy Act of 1958, which calls for all mail users to pay the cost of service they receive, after public service costs of the Department have been itemized and removed from postal costs for rate-mak-

Senator Carlson, of Kansas, ranking minority member of the Senate Post Office Committee, agrees that "the \$37.4 million figure is but a fraction of the cost of public service performed by the postal establishment."

It is quite obvious that some definitive, sound method for computing the cost of the Department's "public services," as well as the realistic cost of handling the various nonprivileged classes of mail, must be adopted, if we are to give full effect to the Postal Policy Act of 1958.

The present method of taxing one class of mail users, without relation to the cost of services rendered-of which the proposed bill to increase first-class mail rates, and the present tax on the advertising content of second-class publications are two prime examples-clearly conflicts with the Postal Policy Act of 1958.

The introduction of S. 1923 to increase first-class postal rates, couples with the unrealistic appraisal of the cost of public services performed by the Post Office Department, in the bill to appropriate funds for postal operations, will have no less effect than to scuttle the Postal Policy Act of 1958, despite the fact that this statute has not been repudiated expressly.

Sincerely yours,

F. EDWARD HÉBERT.

### Fifty Years of Public Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. KARL E. MUNDT

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, 50 years ago this week, the Northern States Power Co. was founded in Stillwater. Minn. Today this company is marking its anniversary most appropriately by developing final plans for an atomic powerplant to be located near Sioux Falls, in my home State of South Dakota.

The growth and progress of Northern States Power Co. is another illustration of the great American story in which men, through their own perseverance, initiative, and energy, are able to achieve the objectives and goals to which they aspire.

Northern States Power today serves a four-State area, including South Dakota. It continues to make significant contributions which yield returns of benefit to all citizens.

In recognition of this notable anniversary, the June issue of the "NSP News", a publication of the company, devotes considerable space to a history of the firm, and I am happy to call one of the articles to the attention of the Senate.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous con-sent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### FIFTY YEARS OF PUBLIC SERVICE

Fifty years ago June 16 an electric company was incorporated under Minnesota laws in the historic St. Croix River town of Stillwater. The community itself was experiencing a slowdown in business activity; the great logging boom had almost ended. Stillwater residents, if they paid any attention at all to the newly incorporated firm, probably thought it just another one of the numerous "light companies" that dotted the While it was here today, it might be area. gone tomorrow. The outlook for the new company would hardly appear to have been

This year we are celebrating the 50th anniversary of the founding June 16, 1909. of that corporate entity. Northern States Power Co. grew from that inauspicious beginning. It's a business success story, yes, but most importantly a story of 50 years of public service.

Emphasizing our company's code of providing the best in public service, from 1909 to 1959, will be several significant 50th anniversary year events during the coming months.

It's expected that ground will be broken this summer for Northern States Power Co.'s 66,000-kilowatt atomic powerplant near Sioux Falls, S. Dak. Completion of the plant is planned for 1962. The Pathfinder plant will be a significant addition to Northern States Power Co.'s long record of pioneering for the benefit of its customers.

In September an open house at our High Bridge plant in St. Paul will mark the completion of the 156,000-kilowatt unit No. 6. The new unit is the largest between Milwaukee, Wis., and the west coast and its addition is part of Northern States Power Co.'s longstanding policy of keeping its generating capability well ahead of the largest demand for power.

Also a part of the company's 50th anniversary activities is a message from President Allen S. King to employees now being prepared. The color film will be shown in all Northern States Power Co. divisions later this year.

And during the week in which we mark our actual 50th anniversary date of June 16, anniversary advertisements will appear in every area in the company's service area.

There is much for us to be proud of in our company's half century record of service. When Northern States Power Co. was founded in 1909, the art of generating and distributing electricity was, in many respects, still in its infancy. Generating plants were usually built and operated by one person or a group of businessmen, and often producing and selling electricity was a sideline for an enterprising man. A mechanic, for instance, might install a small generator in his place of business and extend a few lines to nearby homes or stores.

Dusk-to-midnight electric service, for lighting only was common in many small communities. Introduction of the electric iron brought daytime generation of power and also load problems. The usual arrangement was to have customers wash on Monday and iron on Tuesday.

In the larger cities two electric companies often sold power competitively, operating duplicate facilities at a larger cost both to them and their customers.

Then customers in smaller communities began to demand the same improved electric service that their big city brothers were beginning to get. It was learned that transmitting power from larger generating stations to smaller communities was much cheaper than producing electricity on a small scale within the community. The cry went up for high line power, as it was called, but the small town operators did not have the resources to provide it.

That was the situation when Henry M, Byllesby became interested in Minnesota electric companies. At the age of 23, he had worked as an assistant to Thomas Edison, making the layout drawings and electrical calculations for construction of the Pearl Street station. At 25 he became vice president and general manager of the Westinghouse Electric Co. A large, restless man with a booming voice and natural leadership qualities, he formed H. M. Byllesby & Co. in 1902. The company's aim was to purchase small, struggling utilities and build them into going concerns. In 1909 H. M. Byllesby & Co. became active in Minnesota.

The first step was incorporation of our company as the Washington County Light & Power Co. in Stillwater June 16, 1909. The name was changed to Consumers Power Co. later the same year and to Northern States Power Co. in 1916.

On July 28, 1909, the Washington County Light & Power Co. acquired the Stillwater Gas & Electric Co. and our company was in business.

After 1909 a great many independent electrical systems were acquired and became part of our system. Some 90 predecessor companies, plus approximately 70 other electrical systems (municipally and individually owned and operated systems) have become part of our company in its 50-year history.

The greatest acquisition activity was between 1909 and 1926, and since that time there have been relatively few additions to the Northern States Power Co. system Acquisitions were made so frequently in the early years, that in 1929 the corporate structure of our company involved some 24 different corporations. These have now been reduced to four by means of a corporate simplification program.

Northern States Power Co. some time ago severed its last ties with the H. M. Byllesby interests.

As soon as our company acquired new properties, steps were taken to improve and expand service. Plans were immediately made in almost every case to expand generating capacity, because the small independent plants had fallen so far behind the growing demands for power. We provided more power to meet these customer demands, increased capacities, and built interconnections between properties. At the same time we were able to lower electric rates because of more efficient generation and operations.

Northern States Power Co. built an integrated system and grew because it had the talent and resources to provide more power at less cost, plus the best in service. The company is what it is today because we could provide what customers needed and demanded.

The first property acquisition in Stillwater provides an example of the immediate steps toward improved service that the company took after almost every purchase. At the time of acquisition the Stillwater generating plant contained a 50-kilowatt alternating current generator belted to a steam machine, and two are lighting machines, one a 30-light and the other a 15-light machine. Our company immediately arranged for construction of a new steam plant containing a 750-kilowatt generator, and also moved the old machines to the new plant when it was completed.

In 1910, our company's major acquisitions included the Union Light, Heat & Power Co., which became the Fargo division; the Red River Power Co., which formed the Grand Fork division, and six small companies which become the Faribault and Mankato divisions. Another large purchase was made in 1911, when the Minot Light & Telephone Co. joined the Northern States Power Co. system as the Minot division.

The largest purchase to date came in 1912, when the company bought the Minneapolls General Electric Co. and subsidiary companies. This gave our company its first metropolitan property. Next to join the system was the Sioux Falls Light & Power Co. in 1914. It formed the nucleus of our Sioux Falls division.

In 1917 properties which became the company's Southwestern division were purchased.

A highly important addition to Northern States Power Co. was made in 1923 when the Wisconsin-Minnesota Light & Power Co. was brought into our system. It became Northern States Power Co. of Wisconsin, because under Wisconsin law, utilities operating in the State must be incorporated in Wisconsin.

Two other noteworthy acquisitions the same year were the St. Anthony Falls Water Power Co. and the Minneapolis Mill Co. at St. Anthony Falls in Minneapolis. They both traced their water power histories back to 1856.

Important also in the growth of our company was acquisition of eight companies affiliated with the St. Cloud Public Service Co. in 1924. These properties formed our St. Cloud division. The final major Northern States Power Co. purchase occurred in 1925 when the company acquired the St. Paul Gas Light Co. and two other companies. The St. Paul Gas Light Co. was a pioneer utility, dating back to 1857.

Largest of the Northern States Power Co. purchases since 1925 were 13 properties in the Waconia, Minn., area in 1956, and the Wisconsin Hydro Electric Co. in 1957. That company became the Amery division of Northern States Power Co. of Wisconsin.

There have been challenges during Northern States Power Co.'s 50 years and they have been met. In 1917 the Coon Rapids dam near Minneapolis developed a leak which became a blowout, necessitating a million-dollar repair job. A flywheel explosion nearly wrecked the Minot plant in 1918.

During a prolonged coal strike in 1922 Northern States Power Co. purchased coal from retail dealers to keep operating. Coal dust was scraped from the yards, but somehow we kept the kilowatt-hours coming.

A turbine exploded at the High Bridge plant in 1928 and almost wrecked the station. Nature has given Northern States Power Co. some bad moments, too. Two recent natural disasters were tornadoes in Fargo, N. Dak., in June, 1957, and in west central Wisconsin last June which drew heroic efforts

Wisconsin last June which drew heroic efforts from company personnel who patched up the damage. Northern States Power Co. also tightened

Northern States Power Co. also tightened its belt during the depression and stood the test of two wars.

There have been innumerable highlights, too, along with the challenges. Northern States Power Co. led the way for an industry-wide development when it introduced the common neutral system in 1916. Our company played a major role in pointing the way to rural electrification when it built the world's first experimental farm lines near Red Wing, Minn., and Renner, S. Dak., in 1023. Northern States Power Co. also provided national leadership in 1924 when it installed the first multiple street lighting facilities, using pilot wires, relays and substation controls.

Northern States Power Co.'s growth is well illustrated by some comparative figures. When the company first began operations in Stillwater in 1909, it had 29 miles of electric lines serving 771 customers and 11 miles of gas mains serving 484 customers. The company then had 19 employees. Total revenues in 1909 were \$71,316.

Today Northern States Power Co. is a \$539 million corporation owned by more than 73,000 shareholders. We serve nearly 845,000 customers and 578 communities in a 4-State service area roughly 400 miles from east to west and 200 miles from north to south. There were 6,720 full-time Northern States Power Co. employees at the end of last year. Gross revenues in 1958 totaled \$154,787,000.

Approximately 2,400,000 people live in Northern States Power Co.'s service area. The company provides utility service to about one-half of the people in Minnesota, about one-fifth of those in North Dakota, and to about one-tenth of the people in South Dakota and Wisconsin.

Our facilities include 18 steam electric generating plants, 38 hydroelectric plants, and 20 diesel plants. Northern States Power Co.'s generating capability totals nearly 1,519.000 kilowatts, more than 200,000 kilowatts over the highest demand to date on our system.

Northern States Power Co.'s 4-State facilities today also include nearly 23,000 miles of transmission and distribution lines serving some 677,000 electric customers and more than 1,750 miles of gas mains serving 155,000 gas customers. The company also owns the water system in Tracy, Minn., serving more than 900 customers; provides telephone service to more than 9,500 customers in Minot, N. Dak., and provides steam heating service to 1,045 customers in 6 communities. We serve a total of 38 communities with natural gas and manufactured gas.

There are six words which well describe Northern States Power Co.'s 50 years of operations: Acquisition, interconnection, integration, expansion, improvement, and service, with the emphasis today on the last two—improvement and service. Northern States Power Co. has been built on the cornerstone of improved service. That was our code in 1909 and still is today as we observe Northern States Power Co.'s 50th anniversary.

#### Right-To-Work Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1959

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, twice in the past 5 years Montanans have rejected the union-busting so-called rightto-work law.

Those who would weaken unions and reduce the effectiveness of collective bargaining are regrouping, apparently

for another try next year.

.I have a copy of a letter dated January 7. from an outfit called the National Right To Work Committee. It is an appeal for donations of \$50 or more to help supply students "with factual documented informational material" to offset the "propaganda, distorting the issue," being circulated by opponents of this proposal.

The letterhead of the committee includes: E. S. Dillard, president, Old Dominion Box Co., Charlotte, N.C., past

chairman of the board.

In this connection, I call to the attention of my colleagues the following article concerning Mr. Dillard in the April 19, 1959, issue of the Charlotte, N.C., Observer:

CHARLOTTEAN IS FIGHTING BIG TAX
ASSESSMENT

(By Don Oberdorfer)

Washington.—Charlotte businessman E. S. Dillard is fighting a Federal Taxe bite of \$92.506 in back taxes, according to records filed in U.S. Tax Court here.

Dillard, president of Old Dominion Box Co., announced the sale of two of his three Charlotte divisions to Weyerhaeuser Timber Co.

last week.

Records filed by Dillard, plus Internal Revenue Service judgments attached, show the big tax dispute arose after Dillard's 1954 purchase of Brown Dynalube Co., Inc., of Charlotte. The company makes lubricating equipment and planned to expand into sales to the Armed Forces.

Dillard bought the outstanding common stock and accounts payable of the firm for \$1. He advanced \$1,824 to the company and acepted from the company \$85,000 in face value of debenture bonds due in 20 years.

The Government said these bonds were worth their face value and should have been

reported as income. Dillard says they weren't worth anything.

Later E. H. Newcombe, president of the lubricating firm, asked to buy some of the bonds of the company from Dillard.

Dillard agreed to donate \$10,000 face value of the bonds to Trinity Presbyterian Church, deducting the gift from his taxes as a \$10,000 contribution.

Newcombe bought the bonds from the church for their face value, \$10,000 in cash.

The same day Dillard donated another \$20,000 in bonds to Dillard Foundation, Inc., a tax-exempt charitable foundation which he incorporated. This was deducted from his taxes as a \$20,000 contribution.

About 10 months later, in the fall of 1955, Dillard donated \$10,000 more in bonds to Trinity Presbyterian Church, making the usual deduction. A total of \$4,500 worth of these bonds were bought for \$4,500 from the church by Minor Foundation, Inc.

This foundation was incorporated by W. T. Minor, Jr., of Charlotte, who is Dillard's tax lawyer. Minor prepared the papers which

were filed here on the tax case.

Dillard says the bonds were worth their full value when he contributed them, and deducted them as contributions, though they were worth nothing when he acquired them.

The Governor takes the opposite view. It says they were worthless when contributed (and so the tax credit for contribution has been voided) but it claims the bonds were worth full face value when acquired and should have been reported as ordinary income.

The Tax Court judges will have to decide who was right about the value of the bonds at each point in the transaction.

### Poison in Your Water-No. 123

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I am inserting into the Appendix of the Record an article appearing in the Portland (Oreg.) Oregonian of September 11, 1958, entitled "Columbia Flow Said Polluted": COLUMBIA FLOW SAID POLLUTED—CITY OF

PORTLAND, PLANTS ON RIVER DECLARED CULPRITS

(By Lawrence Barber)

The city of Portland and six industries along the Washington side of the Columbia River were charged Wednesday by a Federal authority as being the sources of 90 percent of the pollution found in the stream between Bonneville Dam and Cathlamet, Wash., 104 miles downstream.

The charge was made during the opening day's sessions of a joint fact-finding conference by Federal and State agencies.

The city failed to appear with a statement or rebuttal Wednesday but the pulp and paper mills at Camas and Longview came back with statements denying that the effluent from their plants was damaging to fish life or to public health.

#### HEALTH SERVICE CALLS CONFAB

Portland is still pouring raw sewage and unchlorinated effluent into the Willamette and Columbia Rivers, but will vote on a proposed \$5 million project at the coming election to eliminate raw sewage, Gordon Burt, manager of the city department of public utilities, explained. Another \$5 million will be required to rehabilitate existing sewers, Burt said.

The city's program will be explained at

Thursday's hearing.

This 2-day conference was called by the U.S. Public Health Service to determine the extent and sources of contamination in the river, and possible solutions to various problems arising. Murray Stein, chief of interstate enforcement of the water pollution control program, who sat as chairman, said the conferees will endeavor to reach conclusions and summaries Thursday after hearing from various interests that did not appear Wednesday.

Portland was charged with contributing 89.6 percent of the bacterial contamination dumped into the river in the stretch being investigated, according to a statement read by F. W. Kittrell, in charge of stream sanitation studies for the Robert A. Taft Sanitary Engineering Center, Cincinnati, Ohio.

St. Helens and Rainier, Oreg., and Cathlamet, Wash, which do not have sewage treatment plants, were charged with most of the remaining bacterial contamination. A section of Vancouver, Wash., also dumps its untreated sewage into the river, Kittrell stated.

### Oregon Centennial and International Trade Fair

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, Oregon will be host to the world in 1959. The Centennial Exposition and International Trade Fair opening in Portland on June 10 is "a window through which the world may view the industrial, recreational and excellent living opportunities the State offers."

The following letter from the Pendleton Chamber of Commerce touches on some of the activities planned by Oregon Indians to help us celebrate our 100th birthday and make your visit to Oregon more enjoyable:

Pendleton Chamber of Commerce, Pendleton, Oreg.

Representative At. Ull.Man, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR AL: You may have heard some of our proposed Indian program here in Pendleton, July 18 through 26, but did want to give you a brief breakdown on it so you would know what we are doing and you might also come up with some ideas or help from the Washington level.

The Pendleton Chamber of Commerce, the Umatilla and Nez Perce Tribes are going to put on a National Indian Encampment in Pendleton. This is a joint effort. The program is broken down into several parts. One is the encampment itself which will be a competitive affair between tribes as to authentic tepees, design, and so forth. Another part will be the daily show in the Roundup Arena. This will feature competitive games, dances and skills such as Indians used 100 years ago. We are trying for the true legendary Indian acts as will be specified by the Indians. A third part will be the Indian Museum put on in the armory. This will also be on a true competitive basis with

awards in painting, sculpture, beading and all of the many Indian acts. This will not be a junk type of a deal but a true exhibit of authentic Indian art and culture. Another part will be a pageant nightly in Happy Canyon Arena. We are using the play writ-ten by Bill Gulick on the signing of the Stevens Treaty. We are using the ratification of same which was in 1859 or 100 years ago as the pitch in the pageant. Last, but not least, will be an Indian centennial beauty

The centennial and State are behind us a this program. Governor Hatfield is inviting all of the tribes of the Nation to attend. So you see it is quite extensive in its scope. You will probably see several places where you could help out, such as knowing historical societies or similiar groups who might be interested in displaying, recording or photographing the event.

I will keep you posted on the developments but did want you to have the facts up to

this time.

Very truly yours,

FORD ROBERTSON

## Congressional Study of Highway Deaths, Injuries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON, WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF HAINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, all of us on the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce have been delighted with the irrepressible way in which our colleague from Alabama [Mr. ROBERTS], has been pushing his committee on Traffic Safety to come up with legislation which will be of assistance in lowering the accident rate in this country. His work has been attracting nationwide attention. I attach herewith an editorial from the Decatur, Ill., Sunday Herald and Review of June 14, commending him and also making some observations with reference to the entire matter of highway safety:

CONGRESSIONAL STUDY OF HIGHWAY DEATHS, INJURIES

A House subcommittee, headed by a Congressman who led the successful fight to have escape handles installed inside refrigerators, will hold hearings next month on ways to cut down the toll of death and injuries on the Nation's highways.

Two auto tragedies in central Illinois, in Which a total of 14 lives were lost, have done much to focus the attention of area residents on a public health problem that has long since reached epidemic proportions.

With some 70 million vehicles on the U.S. highways and a good many more drivers, it is not to be expected that Federal action can solve the problem in a day or even for

However, Representative Kenneth A. Rob-ERTS, Democrat of Alabama, chairman of the subcommittee, will begin with hearings on a bill to forbid the Federal Government to buy cars not equipped with safety features recommended by the Secretary of Commerce.

A more drastic proposal, but not being

considered at the forthcoming hearings, is to ban from interstate shipment altogether all cars not meeting the minimum safety stand-

Among the safety devices Congressman ROBERTS and many safety experts have in mind are attachments for safety belts, padded dashboards, recessed steering wheels, roof-top bars to support the car if it rolls over, safety locks on doors, seats and cushions that will not become displaced upon impact, and better packaging of the driver and passengers.

Many of these are standard or optional equipment on cars now, but for some reason, including the failure of a concerted drive by all auto manufacturers, safety features

have not been popular.

Although no responsible spokesman for the automotive industry dismisses the need for increased safety, the Jones subcommittee and the legislation under consideration may run into opposition of manufacturers who maintain that research on highway accidents and safety is not complete enough to permit the writing of minimum standards.

Highway fatalities have declined slightly in recent years (37,000 deaths in 1958) but the number and rate of injuries has risen steadily (an estimated 4,888,000 in 1957 or 582 personal injuries per hundred million miles traveled.) Doctors are becoming more adept at patching up victims and preventing their death from trauma, but the highways are not becoming more healthy.

The American Medical Association, Public Health Service, and American College of Surgeons are among organizations undertaking studies of highway casualties, using the methods of epidemiology. Their researchers will concentrate on learning more about the cause and prevention of accidents rather than just curing victims or relying upon present surveys, weighted on the legal aspects of accidents.

Basic to these surveys is the premise that a driver may cause an accident, but that it is the automobile that causes injuries.

The Jones subcommittee, as well as the medical surveys now underway, may not resutl in legislative action being taken this session or even next. However, the hearings and studies may pinpoint some of the everpresent dangers to the motoring publicanother way of saying the American people.

## ARPA, the Defense Department's Space Agency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

, Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, in the interest of acquiring my colleagues in the Congress, as well as the American people with our Government organization for space research and exploration I submit for the RECORD an excellent article on the Defense Department's Advanced Research Projects Agency which appeared in the May 1959 Space Digest:

ARPA, THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT'S SPACE AGENCY

The primary effect of sputnik on the Defense Department's space age research and development has been organizational. Before sputnik, the military services—through such organizations as the Air Force's Air Research and Development Command, the Army's Ballistic Missile Agency, and the Navy's Office of Naval Research—did most of the "nuts-and-bolts" work "in-house" and contracted advanced research and development. They still do. But there has been interposed, for purposes of funding and coordination, a Defense Department space agency (which also is concerned with projects not strictly "space"), the Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA), as well as an overall Director of Research and Engineering. ARPA's mission is described in the following fourth article in Space Digest's series on our national space effort.)

The intent of Congress, in legislation on the national space effort, was to create a separation of management between civilian space exploration and projects having primarily military applications.

Because of the continuous interchange of

talent, hardware, and facilities in the still infant science of space technology, this is

easier said than done.

But the ground rules have been laid, and under them the Defense Department is designated as the planner and funder of space research and development expected to have military applications.

These include among others: observation, navigation, communication, and meterological satellites; superthrust engine clusters; advanced forms of propulsion; maneuverable space vehicles with a reentry capability; and solid and exotic fuels.

ARPA, born after sputnik, is headed by Roy W. Johnson, a former General Electric official. It has important dissimilarities from the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. These differences go beyond differences in mission.

NASA is an executive agency unto itself with a considerable "in-house" research establishment carried over from its predecessor, the old National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics (NACA). NASA, as explained in April Space Digest, uses both its own research and development facilities and the facilities of the military services for its

ARPA is, by its own account and present operation, a small-staff line agency of the Defense Department. Its principal job—with a fiscal year 1959 budget of approximately \$427 million—is to initiate and fund programs in space technology, assigning them for development by the military services. These are, principally, the Ballistic Missile Division of the Air Force's Air Research and Development Command and the Army's Ordnance Missile Command. Those in turn let contracts to industry and research groups in a manner similar to the pre-ARPA ap-proach. ARPA itself has no laboratories and does not contemplate setting any up.

ARPA does have contracting rights, but, for the most part, it has preferred to give the already established service research and development branches the contracting assignments, confining its own activities to initiating programs and keeping track of their progress, especially when they are divided among Air Force, Army, and Navy. An example of one such divided project is the reconnaissance satellite.

This project, originally known as Sentry, but which has had a series of other names, is concurrently under development as an ARPA project by ARDC, AOMC, the Army Signal Corps, and the Office of Naval Re-

ARDC is providing the early propulsion, AOMC the "tomorrow" propulsion—the 11/2 million-pound-thrust engine called Project Saturn. The Signal Corps is working on the communications payload, and ONR is planning the tracking system. Together, as ARPA sees it, all these approaches will meld eventually to create a weapon system. Which the services will operate the final system will be up to the Secretary of Defense.

ARPA's assignment is thus to act as the research and development management arm of the Secretary of Defense and to set up a unified, single space program on the military side, utilizing the capabilities of the military services and their established industry suppliers of talent and hardware. In addition, ARPA is authorized to "farm out" projects to other Government agencies.

To do its job, ARPA is organized with a

staff of about 80 people.

Of this staff, approximately 80 are managers and administrative people, and the remainder are providers of technical advice. The technical group are scientific people from the Institute of Defense Analyses (IDA) who give technical advice on contract with ARPA. IDA is a nonprofit group of university technical specialists which also serves as a "brain factory" for the Defense Department's Weapons Systems Evaluation Group (WSEG), and the Joint Chiefs of Staff. In a somewhat unusual arrangement, George P. Sutton, who is Chief Scientist at ARPA, is also Director of IDA's Advanced Research Projects Division. This arrangement also existed when Dr. Herbert F. York, the newly appointed Director of Research and Engineering, was chief scientist of ARPA.

Here is probably a good place to explain

the role of Dr. York in his new job.

When Dr. York was first appointed to the new post of Director of Research and Engineering, there was much speculation as to whether Dr. York would now be ARPA Director Johnson's boss.

On the face of things, that appeared to be the new status of Dr. York. But things are

not that simple in the Pentagon.

As Dr. York explained it to inquiring Senators, his is a staff job and ARPA is a "line" agency. This would seem to mean that Dr. York is to serve as a staff adviser to the Secretary of Defense on all research and engineering matters, which would include military space technology, but also in many other scientific areas. Thus Dr. York's role is somewhat similar to that of Dr. James R. Killian as special adviser for science and technology to the President.

But the analogy is only a rough one. Dr. York is charged with thinking about and planning for whole areas of technology, and he is a statutory officer, while Dr. Killian's job is even more generalized and primarily concerned with national organization of sci-

entific effort.

Dr. York and the staff he is gathering about him are concerned with broad questions, such as, "What can we try in communications?" not specific projects. His job will be to recommend to the Secretary of Defense technical areas that ought to be pursued or not pursued and to point up unnecessary duplication of effort, as well as to review work being done on operating levels.

review work being done on operating levels. The relationship between ARPA and Dr. York's office can be discussed only in terms of the Secretary of Defense and his authority.

ARPA Director Johnson reports directly to the Secretary of Defense, and his assignment of projects to the military services is subject to the order or approval of the Secretary. But at the same time he and ARPA are, like all the research and development agencies in the Defense Department, now under Dr. York's supervision.

Hence, ARPA can go to the Secretary of Defense with proposals for a specific project, and it is the Secretary who will make the decision. But, of course, the Secretary's principal scientific adviser is Dr. York, so certainly Dr. York's influence will be sizable and often decisive.

In a similar vein, although ARPA hands out most of the space assignments and funds for space technology to the military services, its word is not necessarily the last word. The Air Force, Army, or Navy can, through its civilian secretary, go directly to the Secretary of Defense for a decision.

As constituted, ARPA's Director sits at more or less the same level, in relation to the Secretary of Defense, as do the civilian service secretaries. ARPA acts essentially as a funnel for the regular military research and development establishment, serving as a combination of foreman and financier. Although there are many people who feel that ARPA is an additional layer in a structure already quite complicated, it is in business and seems likely to stay so.

Mrs. Ruth Lois Bryson, Arlington County Teacher

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON, JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. BROYHILL. Mr. Speaker, Arlington County is extremely fortunate to have one of the best school systems in the United States. This has been accomplished only through honest endeavor and combined talents of our very capable school administrators and teachers. The parents of Arlington County, through their participation in the parent-teacher associations of the various schools, have worked closely with the school administration and the teachers to promote the welfare of our young and to maintain the high standards of our schools.

Recently my attention was called to a tribute paid to one of our Arlington County teachers, Mrs. Ruth Lois Bryson, by the parents and teachers of the Robert E. Lee School where she has taught for the past 8 years. Their appreciation was expressed in a letter read and presented to her at their last PTA meeting on May 19, 1959.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert that letter in the Congressional Record, and in doing so I wish to join in this tribute to Mrs. Bryson and wish her good luck and happiness. The letter follows:

Mrs. RUTH LOIS BRYSON, Third Grade Teacher, Robert E. Lee School.

DEAR MRS. BRYSON: For the past 8 years we have been fortunate in having you as the third grade teacher at the Robert E. Lee School. Each of these years a group of third grade parents has been saddened because this ended pleasant student-teacher and parent-teacher relationships which you have been instrumental in establishing. This year all of the parents of the Robert E. Lee PTA are saddened by the thought that this is your last year at Robert E. Lee.

We have been cognizant of the wholesome growth and development, from an educational standpoint of our children while under your supervision. We have also been aware that you are richly endowed with the wisdom, the temperament and the determination necessary for success in the educational field. We are appreciative especially of the kind and understanding treatment which each child has received.

It has been a privilege to be associated with a teacher who has consistently demonstrated her competence in inspiring as well as teaching. Your skill in bringing forth the best in each of our children has made a

distinct and lasting impression on us as parents.

Although there is considerable reluctance and regret in saying goodby to you, you may be sure that you have the sincere wishes of the Robert E. Lee PTA for continued success and personal happiness.

Very truly yours,

MARY ELIZABETH WRIGHT, President, Robert E. Lee PTA.

Family of Eight Here on Trek to Africa
Plans for Life in a House Trailer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON, ALVIN M. BENTLEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I include the following clipping from the Washington Post of June 17, 1959, describing a fine family from Ionia, Mich., which is in my congressional district. I think it is certainly very commendable of Dr. Foust to give up a fine practice and take his family into Africa to work as a medical missionary without salary. Dedicated Americans like these can be a vital force in combating communism in Africa or anywhere else in the world. I predict he can do more for our country's reservoir of good will there than can a great many so-called bureaucrats operating under the foreign aid program:

Family of Eight Here on Trek to Africa Plans for Life in a House Tealler

(By Dorrie Davenport)

The children of Dr. and Mrs. Joseph C. Foust think they're the lucklest people in the world—they are going to make their permanent home in a house trailer in Central Africa.

Dr. Foust, 35, and his wife, Helen, got the idea while on their honeymoon in the Bahamas. They saw that medical help was desperately needed there, and since then they've been searching for another place where they might do some good.

"Besides," says Dr. Foust, "the only way to overcome the potential influence of communism in Africa is to get over there and show some personal kindness and charity. Our aim is really that of President Eisenhower's people-to-people program."

Dr. Foust will be the second physician sent to Africa under the auspices of the Foundation for All Africa, Inc., an organization of professional men! The first, Dr. Gregory T. O'Connor of Hartford, Conn., has been in Uganda for a year. The doctors serve without salary.

The Fousts and their six children—Stephen, 12; Pete, 10; Carl and Ann, both 9; Teresa, 5; and Monica, 9 months—came to Washington this week from their home in Ionia, Mich. They will sail for Africa Friday and there, will drive 1,500 miles to Mbeya on the plains of Tanganyika.

At the moment the family's favorite evening reading is a book called "Quick Swahill." The children have already learned a few phrases, but Dr. Foust believes that languages will be family's biggest problem for some time to come.

Mrs. Foust, a former teacher and art supervisor, plans to teach all the children, since their new home has no elementary school. Five-year-old Teresa is proudest of all because she's starting the first grade by herself.

Stephen, the oldest, is looking forward to becoming a great hunter. He was given a .22 rifle for his 12th birthday and is counting on shooting at least a jackal.

The Fousts think that during the next few years they can easily manage to fit four more children into the house trailer. "The

more the better," they say.

The family's future home has a gas-operated stove and refrigerator, a large double bed and four bunk beds, and a modern bathroom. The parlor will be a 10- by 12-foot tent.

#### You and the U.S. Fiscal Plans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the New York Herald Tribune of June 5, 1959:

> YOU AND THE U.S. FISCAL PLANS (By Donald I. Rogers)

What does the administration's new emergency fiscal program mean to you, average American, and you, average American investor? How will you fare when the Treasury raises its interest rates on Government securities and boosts the debt limit to \$290 or \$295 billion?

First, temporarily at least, your dollars will be more stable; inflation will be slowed.

Second, your paper profits in the stock market may be cut back as the program has a reaction on all stock prices.

Third, any new home mortgage or personal loans you take out will bear a higher interest rate. (Mortgages might go as high at 61/2 percent.)

Fourth, if you own a small business, your commercial loans will cost you more.

Fifth, if you run a large corporation, your bonds and debentures will carry a higher interest ticket.

Sixth, if you are a prudent saver, you will get higher interest payments on your savings and thrift accounts and on any Government

savings bonds you buy.

Your prudence may be rewarded, albeit slimly, because of the imprudence of your Representatives in Congress. They have done What you, as a taxpaying American, are not allowed to do-they have spent more than they own or will own.

As a result, they're going to have to borrow more money. Trouble is, people don't want to lend our Government money, at least not at the present rates of interest they pay. So Congress, within a few days, will vote to raise the legal interest rate above the present 41/2 percent.

#### WHYS OF BIG BUYERS

Big investors, individuals and banks alike, buy U.S. Government bonds for four fundamental reasons: (1) They're the most secure securities you can buy; (2) there's no cost for servicing them; (3) you don't have to make an appraisal of the property; and (4) you always know when and how much you're going to be paid.

Recently, however, well-heeled investors have turned to the stock market as a hedge against continuing inflation in the belief that stock prices would advance (as the value of all property traditionally advances) when dollars are eroded by inflation. Moreover, since most of these investors are in the higher income brackets, they have tempted by the tax-exempt bonds of States and municipalities. The interest payments on these bonds are not taxable, while the Government and the States both tax the proceeds of Government bonds. In addition, the bonds and debentures of solid private corporations have been carrying some handsome interest tags which have had allure for the more affluent investors. A corporation can deduct from taxes 48 percent of the amount of money it pays out in interest, so it's not always so particular about the rate of interest it affixes to its bonds.

#### SAVERS DUE FOR BREAK

That's why the Government, if it wants to borrow more money, must pay more to get it. This, of course, will add to the Government debt, too. It is the other side of the vicious cycle.

You savers were due for a break this summer, anyway. Most savings banks now paying 31/4 percent have been planning to boost their interest payments on deposits to 3½ percent some time before fall. It is conceivable that some months later, they may boost the payout to 3% percent.

The temporary surcease from inflationary pressures expected to accrue from this crash program of money-juggling will be effective only if the big private investors find the new interest rates on Government bonds attrac-

When a bank buys a Government bond, It sets up an account in the Treasury's name against which the Treasury can draw at any time. This creates more money, puts more in circulation, for the Treasury does not physically take the bank's money. This contributes to the inflation.

When an individual buys a Government bond (a nonbank loan, they call it) he takes his money out of a bank and physically gives it to the Government, via his check. While it to the Government, via his check. this does not reduce the money supply, it does not increase it; yet at the same time it gives the Government the money it needs.

Management of the debt is less complicated than it seems. It's sufficiently complex, however, to escape the policing and scrutiny of the general public. Yet what the Treasury does and is about to do reaches every pocketbook in every walk of life in our

#### Look for the Joker

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON, HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD. I include the following thoughtful editorial from the June 10, 1959, issue of the Owego (N.Y.) Gazette, one of my hometown newspapers, which bolsters my belief that the majority of my constituents are not sold on Federal aid to education:

STRINGLESS AID-No SUCH THING

There has never been a Federal ald program that did not mean some degree of Federal control over the program being aided whether it be highways, agriculture, airports or housing. The school aid bill being pushed in Congress this year which provides, according to the sponsors of the bill, assurance against Federal interference in the schools, is no exception.

The bill (H.R. 22) has been approved by

the House Education Committee and would authorize Federal grants totaling \$4.4 billion for 4 years to States on a basis of flat grants per school-age child-grants which the States could use either for buildings or teachers salaries, or both. No Federal control of our schools here, says the proponents of this bill.

But listen to what the citizens public expenditure survey found in the provisions of the bill:

The aid money for school construction must be used to build only facilities specified in the bill.

In any school construction projects financed with Federal funds, school districts would have to pay no less than prevailing wage rates, as determined by the U.S. Secretary of Labor.

The amount earmarked for teachers' salaries must be used for that purpose only and it is spelled out by the Federal Government how this salary aid is to be distributed.

States must bring their spending level up to a federally determined average for all the States by the end of 2 years or face a reduction in their aid apportionment. Now, if this isn't Federal control, we'll eat our high school diploma. What it boils

down to is Washington bureaucrats telling us that if we want Federal school building and teachers' salary aid, we must build the type of school facilities they want us to build and spend no less than the amount they say we should spend for labor in construction; we must distribute the money to teachers according to the way they say it is to be distributed; and if our relative school support from State and local taxes doesn't come up to Washington standards, they'll just reduce our cut of the school aid

money.

But, the real kicker in this deal is that New York State taxpayers would pay much more in Federal taxes than the State would receive in Federal handouts. This is because New York has an estimated 8.3 percent of the Nation's school-age population, but its taxpayers pay 13.3 percent of Federal taxes.

So for each dollar this State would get in school grants, its taxpayers would have to ante up \$1.60 in Federal taxes-hardly a good business deal from where we sit. On a 4-year basis that would cost us \$577.2 million in Federal taxes for grants totaling §361.2 million—a loss of \$216 million.

It might be well to note that many of the so-called poor States-particularly those in the South-do not want Federal aid for education. Just who is pushing the measure is something we have not been able to determine, but it seems to be making progress.

The citizens survey reports that the bill may be placed before the House for a vote any day now. This would be a good time to remind our Congressman that we do not appreciate picking up the tab for other States that are not willing to pay their own school costs and that we want the control of our school system left right where it is, here in the Oswego-Apalachin district and in Albany.

## Cross Country With the "On to Oregon" Cavalcade-V

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, the Oregon Centennial Wagon Train is rolling on toward Oregon. Under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the account of the fifth week written for the Drain (Oreg.) Enterprise by Rudy Roudebaugh. It covers the days May 10 through May 22:

[From the Drain (Oreg.) Enterprise, May 28, 1959]

HORSES TRADED FOR MULES AS WAGONS NEAR MOUNTAINS

(By Rudy Roudebaugh, as he drives the Drain covered wagon)

May 16, 7:07 a.m.: Here we go to North Platte. 8:59: Crossed White Horse Creek. 9:35: Crossed the Platte River. 10:11: Arrived in North Platte alongside the Court House. 11:45: Stopped for lunch and feed the stock. 12:40: we are on our way again. 1:08: We are stopped waiting for a train. 2:27: Arrived in camp. Dan wasn't feeling good and I had the veterinarian come and look at him. Hope I don't have to get new horses. Seen some more of my old friends today.

Sunday, May 17: It's raining and hailing. Wish you (Kiwanda) and Judy were along so you could meet my old friends. Janell is going to stay with her grandmother a few days longer. Wayne and Pat (Rudy's brothers) think Janell is the nicest little girl. Had dinner with the chamber of commerce at the country club today. We are

on the Larry Steel Ranch.

May 18: Dan has new shoe on left front foot and Daze got one on her right hind foot. Sunday we set our time back I hour. 7:00: Here we go. I never did get the shipment of letters to pass out. 8:07: Arrived at Sutherlin (population 860). The kids are sure looking us over. 11:06: Pulled out to feed and have lunch. 12:18: On our way again. Dan and Daze are eating and drinking good today. A friend of mine came 100 miles to see me today. 2:15: Arrived at camp at the Carl Zimmerman Ranch, 2 miles west of Paxton. Jean Marshall rode with me this afternoon.

May 19, 5:58: Just waiting for the word to take off. Susan, 11, and Peggy Zimmerman, 9, are riding with me this morning. These girls live at the ranch we stayed at last night. Mountain time, 6:14: Going west again. 6:48: Arrived in Paxton. 6:59: We have stopped at a sod house in Paxton. We are in the sand hills of Nebraska. It rained all night. We didn't have any company after 7 o'clock so we went and visited the sod house. I had the 8 to 11 watch last night. The weather looks a little better, just a few clouds and the sun is trying to come out. 9:51: Roscoe. 9:56: We are stopping for lunch just outside Roscoe. We fust saw our first highway accident. A Idaho car ran into a Nebraska car. The woman looks like she may be dead and the man is in bad shape. (The husband died the next day.) The girls that were riding with me have went back to school. Dan and Daze are eating good and seem to be doing real well again. 11:48: On our way again. Its hot this afternoon-means some more rain tonight. 1:06: On the edge of Ogallala. The saddle club is all decked out as Indians to lead us in to town. 1:50: We arrived at Ogaliala fairgrounds. We had dinner with the chamber of commerce this evening.

May 20: Cloudy. Looks like rain. Dan and Daze ate and drank good this morning. We were supposed to leave at 6 and here it is 6:24 and still waiting. The road is all uphill today. 9:45: We pulled out for lunch. My horses aren't acting too good. I'm afraid I won't be able to keep them.

Well, today started a new month for us on the trail. 11:16: Finally on our way after lunch. Ben is having trouble getting his mules into motion. 1:28: Arrived at camp at F. Grapes ranch. We are supposed to have snow tonight. This is the first day we haven't went through a town.

May 21—6:30: Ready to go. Daze is pretty lame this morning. She has a new shoe on her left front hoof. Dan hasn't eaten at all this morning. Guess I'll have to see about a new team. No sooner said than done. I have a new team for today, Button and Bows. 7:29: We are heading north and west. The new horses are right on the ball, but a little light for the wagon, but would make a good buggy team. 8:38: Ash Hollow. Stopped to water the horses. 9.03: On our way north. 9:51: Crossed the North Platte river. 10:19: Lewellen (pop. 510). 10:52: Stopped for lunch and fed the animals. We were each given a book of songs. 12:00: We are on our way to Oshkosh 11 miles away. 12:02: Mrs. Pelling is riding with me this afternoon. 1:38: The Oshkosh Riding Club is coming out to meet us. 2:22: Arrived at camp. Here comes Tex (wagonmaster). He has traded off Dan and Daze for a team of mules. I feel real bad about them.

May 22: I have my harness all adjusted to fit my mules. I will call them 58 and 58 until Janell gets here to name them. It rained all night and still raining. 7:00: We still haven't pulled out yet. I can hardly wait to see what Janell thinks of the mules. 7:70: We are leaving Oshkosh. The new team didn't care much about taking off but two boys lead them in their collars. 10:47: I suppose it will take a few days for the mules to get used to us and us to them. 11:42: It's still raining and we're headed west again. 12:05: Lisco. 1:43: Pulled into camp at the Rush Creek ranch along the North Platte. I just finished greasing the wagon so I'll be

ready for morning.

#### Poison in Your Water-No. 124

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I am inserting into the Appendix of the Record an article appearing in the Grand Rapids (Mich.) Herald of May 4, 1958, entitled "Pollution in State General Hazard":

POLLUTION IN STATE "GENERAL" HAZARD— BAD DRAINS BLAMED

Lansing.—"Pollution of county drains, with a resultant health hazard, is quite general in Michigan," Milton P. Adams, executive secretary of the State water resources commission, said Saturday.

The problem was spotlighted 10 days ago when the WRC conferred with officials of the village of Woodland and the Barry County

drain commissioner.

State health department officials described a very serious health hazard in Woodland because of a polluted open drain behind eating places. The drain commissioner had been asked in May of 1956 to take action, but admitted he had accomplished nothing.

"Septic tanks, many of which are improperly installed, usually cause the pollution problem in Michigan," Adams said. Cleanup action generally depends upon county drain commissioners who, like the one in Barry, are hesitant to act.

In many sections of Michigan soil conditions are not suitable for average installations, because heavy soil requires a much larger tile field, for which space often is lacking.

Mariette, with a population of 1,500 against Woodland's 425, solved a similar problem. Sewage was going into a country drain behind business and residential property, and \$87,600 in Federal funds was allocated toward a \$400,000 treatment project which is almost completed.

Benton Township of Berrien County is putting in a sewer system to clean up a Woodland-type problem. A complaint was received recently by the WRC after pollution of drains at Brown City. Breckenridge and Hemlock have polluted drains. Fowler, with Federal aid, is enlarging disposal facilities to clean up drains.

Adams pointed out "a lot of septic tanks lack tile fields and run directly into drains."

Bangor Township of Bay County, with its Lennox Park area, is an example of long standing—that problem was referred to the State Health Department by the WRC in 1952, and remains to be cleaned up.

Saginaw County's Bridgeport Township is another problem on the WRC's unsolved

The fringe area surrounding citles often has public health hazards. Mount Morris and Grand Blanc are examples in Genesee, where work has been started toward a multimillion-dollar countywide disposal system involving 14 units of government. A site has been secured and engineers are drawing plans.

The Heyboer drain in Paris Township, of Kent County, was polluted so much the WRC threatened legal action against the drain commissioner. A report at the last WRC meeting was to the effect that a study showed only a dozen sources of pollution in the Home Acres area, instead of maybe 200 that were suspected before the survey.

Federal funds are helping solve the pollution problem in Michigan. A continuation is expected to be voted by Congress.

Michigan got \$2.8 million for the last 2 years. Out of 77 applicants, that sum was allocated to 30 governmental units. Maximum grant is \$200,000, and Muskegon, which recently opened bids for enlarging its disposal plant, is expected to be the first to qualify for that amount.

Woodland, with a defective application, sought \$30,000 toward the \$97,740 eligible portion of its proposed disposal system. Treatment plants and interceptor sewers generally qualify for Federal aid. Priorities are determined on the basis of financial need and seriousness of the pollution problem.

Other Federal grants have gone to Coloma, Saugatuck, Evart, and Elberta for new sewage treatment systems, and to Grand Rapids and Traverse City for expansion programs.

## Chairman McCone Analyzes Nuclear Test Ban

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, a lucid report of Atomic Energy Commission Chairman John A. McCone's penetrating analysis of U.S. and free world stake in the nuclear test ban issue has been written by Los Angeles Times European correspondent, Waldo Drake. McCone's statement was made late last week at Geneva where he attended several of the

negotiating sessions. The Drake story is as follows:

A-TEST BAN MUST CURB RUSS ARMS, SAYS MCCONE

GENEVA, June 13 .- Chairman John A. Mc-Cone said here today that he and his colleagues on the Atomic Energy Commission are as anxious as other Americans to consummate an effective agreement with the Soviet Union to suspend nuclear weapons tests.

But he warned it would be folly for the United States to sign a treaty which would enable the Soviets to proceed undetected with development of so-called tacical nuclear weapons which might be disastrous for the free world.

McCone made this statement as he departed for Paris to discuss with Gen, Lauris Norstad, NATO's supreme allied commander, NATO's decision to move elsewhere in Europe 225 U.S. Air Force F-100 fighter bombers from 3 airfields in eastern France unless Fresident De Gaulle revokes his ban on nuclear weapons on French soil,

He indicated that while transfer of a few hundred aircraft was not in itself vital to Europe's security a continued ban on stationing of nuclear weapons in France might cripple the entire NATO shield against Soviet aggression.

McCone said that France's attitude is made more important by yesterday's disclosures by the Berkner Committee that muffling techniques might make it impossible to detect underground explosions in development of relatively small nuclear weapons.

He said that the United States does not know how far the Soviet Union has developed its ability to muffle underground explosions against outside detection.

"Our experts agree that very important weapons development could be made by underground tests, muffled against detection," he said, "so that if the United States stopped such tests and the Soviet Union did not, they might make very significant advances particularly in small tactical weapons. have no desire to pursue nuclear weapons development if we are sure that no one else is continuing their development.

#### BASIS OF SECURITY

"But," said McCone, "since security of the United States is built around nuclear weapons rather than around enormous masses of men, we must be sure that we are not going to be surpassed by covert develop-ments"

He said the United States must keen this danger in mind despite Premier Khrushchev's declarations that since small tactical Weapons are not worth developing the Soviet Union is concentrating on perfection of large nuclear weapons.

McCone has just completed 2 days of con-versations with Secretary of State Herter and with Ambassador James Wadsworth, Chief of the U.S. delegation, which, with the United Kingdom's delegation, has been trying for 7 months to complete agreement With the Soviet Union on suspension of nuclear weapons tests.

#### SOVIET STATEMENT

When he arrived in Geneva he was greeted by a statement from the Soviet delegation chief, Semyon Tsarapkin, that McCone is one of a group of American scientists and military leaders who do not want an agreement to stop nuclear tests.

McCone said today that while his talks with Wadsworth have convinced him that the Soviet Union is willing to sign a test ban treaty he is not sure how effective such a treaty would be in view of the Berkner Committee report that underground explosions could be muffled against detection by eixsting seismographs.

"I am in favor of suspending all nuclear test explosions by agreement," he said, "because I feel that if this were done an initial

Anniversary step would have been made to create an atmosphere of understanding which might lead to more effective steps to slow down the armaments race and to relieve fear throughout the world that a war of incredible proportions might break out.

#### DETECTION STATIONS

"Any agreement, though, must be safeguarded by reasonably dependable detection systems. The United States cannot agree to any suspension system that will not effectively safeguard our future."

"The United States is prepared to permit installation of detection stations and to permit on-site inspections by international teams when instruments indicate that explosions might have taken place.

"But the Soviets have not agreed to this," continued McCone, "and until they do agree to it we cannot say that a detection system will be dependable."

He said that because there are a number of natural events such as earthquakes and falling meteors whose disturbances in earth and atmosphere cause the same phenomena as nuclear explosions, an effective on-site inspection is essential.

On-site inspections could be made both by ground examination and by flights of aircraft carrying instruments.

#### THREE ENVIRONMENTS

There are three environments in which nuclear explosions can take place:

- 1. Explosions in atmosphere from ground level up to 40 miles.
- 2. High-altitude tests in which nuclear devices might be shot off as far as hundreds of thousands of miles in space with results telemetered back to earth.
- 3. Underground tests which give the United States the most concern since the Berkner report has indicated that their explosions can be so shielded that they are not detectable by seismic instruments.

#### SERIOUS PROBLEM

McCone explained that while lower altitude tests could be detected with a system of satellites, a dependable detection of "muffied" explosions presents a "serious if not insurmountable" problem.

At Geneva the Soviet Union has indicated agreement to study high-altitude tests detection but has steadfastly refused to discuss underground tests except on a basis of outmoded data agreed on by a three-power scientists' conference at Geneva in August,

Tests made since then in Nevada by the United States have indicated that the difficulty in detecting underground tests would be at least four times as great as agreed at Geneva last year and perhaps far greater.

#### RUSSIAN REFUSAL

The Russins have so far refused to accept new United States data as a basis for discussing numbers of detection stations throughout the world and makeup of their personnel. Nevada tests last fall-indicated that a detection net of 180 stations around the world would be inadequate.

A report of Geneva experts predicted that this network would have 90 percent probability of detecting and identifying nuclear explosions of five kilotons or greater. Later United States data has indicated these stations could only effectively identify explosions of 20 kilotons and greater and that the system's effectiveness might be reduced 100 times by muffling explosions.

McCone will leave Paris tomorrow night for Washington for discussions with defense authorities.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. WAYNE L. HAYS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement by the Committee on Juridical Institutions of the Catholic Association for Interna-tional Peace commenting on the 10th anniversary of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization:

NATO'S TENTH ANNIVERSARY

(Statement by the Committee on Juridical Institutions, June 9, 1959)

The 10th anniversary of the foundation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization has been the occasion for an almost unanimous vote of confidence for its achievements and prospects by responsible stu-dents of contemporary international relations. It is eminently appropriate that the Juridical Institutions Committee of the Catholic Association for International Peace

join in this vote of confidence.
As a military arrangement NATO has been, on the record, a marked success. It has held the boundaries of the non-Communist world in Europe, boundaries which were very unstable in 1949. Indeed, the shield of NATO has become a sine qua non of the defense arrangements of the free world while at the same time serving as a model for similar arrangements in other areas. The progress achieved in the NATO system with respect to interallied cooperation and the development of coherent strategy and tactics for defense against communism is by now well known. In fact, it is often remarked that the greatest proof of the efficacy of NATO is to be found in the persistent efforts of the Communists to break it up, efforts which, as we know, are

increasing daily.

In the political sphere, NATO as dramatically widened the basic combination of allies—the United States, Great Britain, and France-to encompass 15 states. It has brought together former enemies and it has survived serious contemporary disputes between its members, as in the case of the Cyprus controversy. More important than the peaceful solution of such differ-ences, NATO has clearly begun to develop the characteristics of an institution for the transaction of serious International business The combination of free criticism followed by acceptance of compromises which has marked its debates, notably over the use of tactical nuclear weapons, shows promise of achieving that mixture of representation and responsible decision making which differentiates an effective organization of any kind from a mere collection of uncoordinated entities. Out of this process has emerged something which may turn out to be the greatest contribution of the organizationthe NATO way. The NATO way is that intangible psychological habit of cooperation which cannot be accurately defined or evaluated, but which is, nevertheless, clearly identifiable as an indispensable basis for fruitful international action. As late as 1945 the wartime cooperation of the United States and Great Britain was halled as remarkable. In 10 years of the most difficult efforts to maintain an esprit de corps in face of the frustrations of containing Communist imperialism, NATO has achieved a comparable unity, in spite of difficulties of language, temperament, and national outlook.

We should not forget, moreover, the achievements of the NATO powers in the field of international law. The problems raised by the continued presence of foreign troops in the member states when they are technically at peace with the Communist world have been unprecedented. The solution in large measure of those problems through the development of the status-offorces agreements system has been a singular contribution to international law while, at the same time, resolving many difficulties of constitutional law within each member state.

As an international organization, therefore, NATO has achieved in the fields of international security, diplomacy, international administration, and international law most of the things which the Catholic Association for International Peace Committee on World Order and Subcommittee on Juridical Institutions in their joint policy state-ment of May 1949 ("The United States and the North Atlantic Pact") hoped it would achieve. In large measure, it has filled the breach left by the collapse of the original United Nations security system resulting from the reflection of East-West conflict in the Security Council. Moreover, NATO has vindicated the faith of the framers of the Catholic Association for International Peace statement of 1949 by remaining within both the spirit and the letter of the provisions of the United Nations Charter for collective self-defense.

This is not to say that NATO does not have room for improvement. There is a constant problem of maintaining the determination of all Members to keep the "Shield" strong. It is sometimes difficult to persuade a member state that it must forfeit ephemeral advantages promised by independent action in order to contribute to the staying power of the organization as an ever-present, ever-ready defense system. States which are grimly determined in the fact of a threat such as the Berlin crisis tend to lose their interest when the Kremlin shifts its tune to a more mellifiaous strain. As in the United States, the temptation to sacrifice defense for budgetary considerations is also ever present. Thus, the real strength of NATO's forces, while enough to give an aggressor pause, is far below realistic levels, and there is some question as to whether its chain of command has yet been sufficiently simplified to permit prompt and effective action.

As we consider the overall picture of NATO, however, it may well be that its greatest contribution has been and will be its realization of a higher unity within the area which comprised a good deal of ancient Christendom. It was from this Christian community that the institutions of modern international law and organization largely developed, In a world where respect for international law and organization is retarded by deep ideological rifts, there appears to be good reason to turn to this community for inspiration and progress in building a true international juridical order. Jacques Maritain has warned us that it is illusory to reach for a higher level of unity among governments until we have that psychological, indeed, spiritual, unity among human beings which must always precede a successful political community. We may hope that NATO, in community. We may hope that NATO, in addition to its services as an international security organization, will contribute increasingly to the attainment of such a higher spiritual unity in the free world.

## Pawn or Sovereign?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following editorial from the Washington Post and Times Herald of June 9, 1959:

PAWN OR SOVEREIGN?

President Eisenhower put the best face on the unavoidable need to raise interest rates on Treasury bonds and the ceiling on the Federal debt. But while it is true in a broad sense that returning prosperity and the attendant competition for savings is the cause of the difficulty in which the Treasury finds itself, there is still little room for self-congratulation in a situation which finds the Government obliged to pay so relatively dearly for long-term borrowings.

It is simply a case of the piper having done his work and having to be paid. All the congressional breast-beating in favor of cheaper money cannot alter that situation. Bond rates and the debt limit must be raised if the Treasury is to operate in a rational manner, and we trust that when the opportunities for exploiting the lamentable public ignorance on money matters have been exhausted Congress will do what must be done.

Necessary as it is to face up to the tight money market and the inadequacies of the present Federal revenue structure, this does not of course mean that all inquiry as to how things got this way needs to be suspended. To the contrary, Congress could improve them the occasion by examining

pended. To the contrary, Congress could improve upon the occasion by examining the economic causes—instead of aggravating it by trying to assess political blame. It ought not to be difficult to show that

It ought not to be difficult to show that the Government has been limping along on a revenue base ill-suited to the rapidly rising demands of defense, of mutual security, and of a more costly, highly urbanized society. The scant surpluses and frequent deficits of the Government since World War II, which have intensified the debt management problem, have resulted from attempts to get by on the cheap, and from a failure to recognize that a larger portion of the national product must be diverted to urgent public purposes.

At the same time, unrealistic thrusts at inflation such as the dublously balanced 1960 budget and the jawbone attack on administered prices—together with inattention to the inflation-oriented tax structure—all have tended to demoralize the bond market and boom common stocks. Until a more balanced and promising assault on the price spiral is launched, the rising competition for savings may continue to plague the Treasury. One increase in interest rates will not by itself solve the problem for good.

The disturbing thing about the President's message is not what he asks, for he asks only what is inescapable. It is that he tends to paint the Government as the more or less helpless victim of the swift currents of the private economy. We submit that the Government needs to do far more than merely struggle to stay affoat. The financial waters need to be controlled and moderated and provision made for more ample storage

against drought, if we may borrow the language of the engineers. The Government's task, it seems to us, is to assert more vigorously the public need for Federal expenditure, and for a higher rate of capital formation, through a tax and budget policy geared to the reality of these times.

#### Trinity Power Battle Rages

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I wish to insert a publication issued by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 1245, AFL-CIO, setting forth their favorable position on the partnership development of the power resources at the Trinity division of the Central Valley project:

#### TRINITY POWER BATTLE RAGES

The fight over whether there will be all Federal or joint development of construction and operation of the power facilities on the Trinity River project is now entering the critical stage. This session of the Congress probably will settle the issue one way or the other.

The joint development (partnership) bills died in committee last session although 17 of the 30 House Interior Committee members in the last session, wrote to the Congress asking that no moneys be appropriated for Federal construction of Trinity power facilities until Congress got a chance to act on the Secretary of the Interior's recommendation supporting Pacific Gas & Electric's offer to construct the power facilities and purchase the falling water for generation, thereby making a substantial saving to the Government.

This year, identical bills, H.R. 5549 and H.R. 5521, were introduced in the House which provide for joint development of the project and add a recapture section which provides that:

"The United States shall have the right upon not less than 2 years' notice in writing given by the Secretary to the company, to take over, at any time after July 1, 1967, or after the date on which the San Luis project begins operation, whichever date is earlier," by paying the company "its net investment therein not to exceed the fair value of the property taken."

These bills have not yet been acted upon but proponents of all Federal Trinity are seeking appropriations for Federal construction of the power facilities in spite of the fact that Congress hasn't even had a chance to consider private development of Trinity power with the initial attendant savings of some \$60 million to the taxpaying public.

At hearings held in Washington on May 6, 1959, Business Manager Ronald T. Weak-ley appeared before the Subcommittee on Public Works of the House Appropriations Committee and delivered a strong statement in favor of joint development and in opposition to appropriations for all Federal development of Trinity.

Subsequently, at hearings held in Sacramento on May 12, 1959, held before the assembly water committee, Business Manager Weakley appeared in opposition to Assembly Joint Resolutions 23 and 25 which would memorialize the Congress to reject the joint development (partnership) plan and proceed with appropriating moneys for all Federal development of Trinity.

Weakley's statement follows:

"I am appearing here in opposition to Assembly Joint Resolutions 23 and 25 which would memorialize Congress to reject the joint development proposal for construction and operation of the Trinity River project.

Our local union represents some 15,000 utility workers in both private and publicly owned utilities working and paying taxes

in 47 of California's counties.

Our members in the private utilities work under collective bargaining agreements covering wages, working conditions, and other benefits as a result of certification by the National Labor Relations Board.

The legal and responsible application of sound contractual industrial relations has provided continuous service to the millions of people in our service area, unmarred by strikes or interruptions due to labor-man-

agement conflict.

Private construction and operation of the power facilities on the Trinity River project will protect our right to collective bargaining and will, we believe, save money for our already overtaxed members and their families.

A large block of power made available to municipal utility districts and local agencies will provide a means of further expansion into the power business. When this happens in California under present law, our members lose the right to collective bargaining and legal contracts.

Public agencies engaged in the power business, particularly in the distribution and customer service phase, generally do not allow, and in fact usually prohibit, the right of free organization, collective bargaining,

and the right of contract.

In 1957 and currently in this session, we have sought and are seeking laws designed to provide for legal collective bargaining in municipal utility districts. Major opponents to these measures were and are the representatives of public agencies engaged in the power business.

Under existing conditions, our bitter experience shows, the right to contractual coverage in such matters as effective organization, grievance procedure, safety provisions, wages, working conditions, and other employee benefits are materially weakened for utility workers providing service under pub-

lic agency operation.

We represent some employees in the Sacramento Municipal Utility District. We have managed to elevate and to maintain decent wages and conditions there, but are denied the protection of a legal collective bargaining agreement, and this is a burning desire on the part of our members employed in the Sacramento Municipal Utility District.

Many public power agencies are unorganized and have comparatively poor wages and working conditions due to antilabor employment practices in many such California

agencies.

We fought, as did our fellow members in our public agencies, a bitter fight against proposition 18. Yet, we have worse laws presently on the books affecting public power agency employees.

Power agency employees.

We will continue to oppose any expansion of this unfair treatment and any projection.

ect which will further it.

We find that private development will provide additional needed employment for our members and protect the right to free collective bargaining under Federal law.

Federal development and power marketing will, our experience shows, lead to the expansion of unfair treatment of utility workers through loss of rights enjoyed by the rest of labor.

Now, as to the partnership principle. This type of joint development, we note, is nothing new in California. In fact the legislature is presently considering a number of such proposals in various forms in various areas. If these California projects are satisfactory, we see no reason why joint development of the Trinity River project is not satisfactory.

Here too, we shall oppose any further expansion of local public power projects where our rights are impaired, even though they may not be a major political controversy such as Trinity, and we shall seek any needed legislative provisions necessary to protect our

people

Again on principle. We note that some of our leading California exponents of public power are quietly but effectively attacking the fundamental principle of the reclamation laws—the 160-acre limitation. If we are viewed as a selfish interest when we try to protect the rights of a minority group of workers, how about the big land owners who are using some of these public power enthusiasts for a real selfish purpose?

We had a taste of this same thing on the minimum wage legislation. We know who wants to grab the water and who wants to keep agricultural workers in an economic

straitjacket.

The members of our union are also citizens and taxpayers. We are just as concerned as other citizens regarding proper and beneficial utilization of our natural resources. We want adequate flood control, wildlife protection, irrigation water, reasonable power rates and reasonable taxation.

However, underwriting tax free public power agency bonds as against private tax paying investment is, we believe, a bad bargain for all of us. After these agencies are set up, we find that instead of Federal power being used to pay for water development, these agencies get power at below cost to the extent that all of the taxpayers are paying for subsidies to a favored few customers.

We believe it is time to reappraise the whole concept of public power. It is understandable that when private capital is unable to undertake a given power project, that the

Government should do so.

We fall, however, to understand why an unfair tax policy should be adopted just because some would like to nationalize the power industry.

I make no brief here for the power companies. They are regulated on a State and Federal basis and can stand on the record so far as providing the capital and developing the power to meet the needs of California's tremendous postwar expansion.

Most basic American industries are not subject to Federal and State regulations covering the private electric light and power industry. Beyond mere regulation, our industry is subjected to local, regional, and, if some groups like the American Public Power Association could have their way, nationalization of the electric power industry.

Should this principle of public ownership be applied to oil, steel, coal, automobiles, and other basic American industries, many people, including our colleagues in the unions which represent them, would raise the roof.

Very few people seem to care about what happens to utility workers who serve the people under public ownership. This gradual denial of rights enjoyed by other workers is highly resented by our skilled workers who render important public service no matter how great the discomfort or personal danger.

Our members have a big stake in this matter. Millions of dollars involved in future pension rights are at stake in that the

whole picture of future employment can be changed overnight should public preference agencies further invade the business of our employers.

Last year, I testified before the House Subcommittee on Irrigation and Reclamation in favor of joint development of the Trinity River project. The bills were not reported out for consideration by the Congress although Congress by its own action required this action in order that it might legislate on the matter before appropriating money for the construction of the power facilities, according to my understanding.

We still believe that Congress should act on current bills which would provide private capital and get on with the job rather than tack on millions of dollars to the project cost out of our already tremendous tax

load.

To sum up, our members, by resolution, have directed me to support the principle of joint development of Trinity for their protection both as free workers and as taxpayers.

On the matter before this committee, our union respectfully asks that you consider the foregoing remarks in support of our opposition to Federal construction, operation and transmission of the power facilities of the Trinity River project and further, our opposition to the specific bills on the matter now before your committee."

The policy of local 1245 on the Trinity issue is being implemented as committee opportunities occur at whatever level and in

all pertinent legislative bodies.

## Up With the Ceiling

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JOHN W. BYRNES

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the Ways and Means Committee is presently debating the request of the administration for removal of the ceiling on the interest rate that can be paid on the long-term borrowings of the Federal Government.

There have been discussions of this

There have been discussions of this matter here and in the other body. Before Members get too far off base in these discussions, I would commend to their attention a very excellent editorial appearing in the June 9 edition of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch:

#### UP WITH THE CEILING

No matter how many speeches are made in Congress about greedy bankers and the delights of an easy money market, in the end it will be hard for House and Senate to find any practical alternative to the administration plan for lifting the interest celling on Government bonds.

As with the ancient dream of eating one's cake and having it too, the hope of simultaneously enjoying the best of two possible worlds has a strong grip on some Senators and Representatives. They would like to enjoy both the full employment of boom times and the low-interest rates of depression times. Who wouldn't? But up to now nobody has been able to figure out a safe way of doing both at the same time.

Easy credit is a consequence of expression of underemployed resources, and relatively tight money is the price that usually must be paid for good times. Though it is proper for the Government to do everything possible to mitigate the effects of tight money, making credit fairly available to all sectors of the economy, no way has yet been devised of generally depressing the price of credit during a boom without adding inflationary pressures.

Nor has anybody figured out a practical, noninflationary way by which the Govern-ment can segregate itself from the influences that affect credit for everybody else. When the Treasury borrows money, it must compete with other borrowers. If the other borrowers can and do pay higher interest rates than does the Government, the public in peace-time is not going to rush its money into Government securities no matter how many patriotic appeals are addressed to it.

These circumstances have now caught up with the Treasury to such an extent that more savings bonds are being cashed each month than are being bought. The price of outstanding Government bonds has fallen to the point where an investor can get a higher interest yield by buying Government issues already on the market than by subscribing to new issues at the present 31/4 percent interest celling. Facing the need to refinance \$76 billion worth of securities within the next few months, the Treasury cannot persuade long-term investors to tie up their money in Government bonds unless it can pay somewhat higher interest rates.

What are the alternatives? The Federal Reserve System might be ordered to support the price of Government bonds, as it did during and after the war. But this is a proved way of creating inflationary pressures, since every dollar thus put into support buying adds something like \$6 to the money supply. Or the interest ceiling could be left where it is, thereby forcing the Treasury to refinance maturing long-term debt with short-term securities on which the interest ceiling does not apply. That, too, would be an engine of inflation-in effect, a disguised way of inflating the money supply at a time when it should be restrained.

Nobody likes the fact that removing the interest ceiling will increase the cost of carrying the public debt. But this factor has been exaggerated. It is true that the taxpayers now pay close to \$8 billion a year in interest on the debt as against only \$5.7 billion 10 years ago. But it is also true that the cost of carrying the debt is now less than 11 percent of the total Federal budget

as against 14 percent 10 years ago.

We hope the administration does not feopardize the strong case it can make for lifting the interest ceiling by overplaying the sanctity of a free money market. modern Government cannot leave itself at the mercy of irresponsible traders who seek only private gain, and modern voters will only private gain, and modern voters will not permit it to do so. Government must influence credit just as it must influence other sectors of the economy on behalf of full employment and a justly shared prosperity. But it cannot change the facts of life by flat, and it is a fact today that under the present interest ceiling people with money would rater put it into something else than Government bonds.

Scholarships Urged To Create "Enlisted Man's Elite" and Save Military Technicians

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RecORD, I include the following excerpt from the testimony of William A. Douglass, a constituent of mine and the president of Careers, Inc., before the Subcommittee on Manpower Utilization of the Armed Services Committee. Mr. Douglass' remarks, in my judgment, deserve the careful consideration of all of the Members.

SCHOLARSHIPS URGED TO CREATE "ENLISTED MAN'S ELITE" AND SAVE MILITARY TECH-NICIANS

(Testimony of William A. Douglass, president of Careers, Inc., before the Subcom-mittee on Manpower Utilization of the House Armed Services Committee, May 19,

Mr. Chairman, gentlemen of the Man-power Utilization Subcommittee, my name is William A. Douglass. I am associated with Careers, Inc., a vocational publishing firm with headquarters in New York City. I want to begin my remarks today with thanks to you for letting me come before you. For several years I have followed the work of the Post Office and Civil Service Subcommittee for Manpower Utilization. It is a welcome sight for those of us who spend our lives in this field to see the ever growing concern of Congress.

I am sure that this committee must deal with the continuing loss by the armed services of skilled men, many of them trained at the expense of those same services. Here is costly turnover. In more generalized assignments, the armed services are more than competitive with pay scales for civilian life. It is the gifted person who has not been recognized. Nor can this person be bought. Even special pay has not stopped the exodus Virtually all engineers and scientists in Federal laboratories are already civilians; the technicians grade may soon follow suit. Is it impossible for the uniformed services

to appeal to good men?

I most assuredly must answer, "No." To me it is a pity that the fiction was ever allowed to become fact that engineers in the employ of the armed services should not be proud to wear the uniform of their employer. I flew down here yesterday next to three German officers, all experts in rocketry, off to Redstone for 4 months of exchange study with Army leaders such as Werhner von Braun. These men were in uniform, obviously the pride of their service. How can our services build similar rapport and pride of association amongst technical men when their leaders are civilian?

As I noted earlier, the uniformed technician grades are in grave danger. Here are the skilled products of service schools, the assistance of whom is so vital to full utilization of engineering talent. In few other enlisted fields is there such a cost of training, I believe, and such a cost of turnover. Special pay grades alone have not provided the answer. I think a fair give and take between employer and employee can turn the tide here and that it is not yet too late to do something. This in outline is what I propose for your consideration.

In Europe I am told the technician has long been recognized as one of a professional class. His education is an end in itself. In this country too often these days the technical institute is ignored in favor of the college. The 2-year specialized course is passed up by many who should have gone no farther but who have done so thanks perhaps to a GI bill and the myth that a college degree is the key to some different world of privilege. In Europe a typical engineer is surrounded by 6 to 12 technicians; the result a fabulous working team. In this country the more normal picture in too many companies is at best one technician for each engineer. The result is that our already scarce graduate engineers must greatly dissipate their expensive talents by performing technicians' work.

Let the armed services recognize the technician with a competitive program for qualified high school graduates through which the services would pay for 2 years education plus board allowance with guarantee of assignment at top enlisted grade for 4 years upon graduation. And let the reenlistment incentive be generous for those whom the services would like to keep. Here is a privilege for the best of technicians sponsored by the armed services. It is the knowledge on the part of the public that so-and-so got his job in the service as a privilege and not as an obligation which will make all our men in uniform be proud of their chosen careers.

Old Glory Speaks-Flag Day, June 14

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial which appeared in the East Side News in commemoration of Flag Day, 1959:

OLD GLORY SPEAKS-FLAG DAY, JUNE 14

(By Harry H. Schlacht)

I am "Old Glory." On June 14 I shall be 182 years old. I am the banner of hope and freedom. I am the symbol of national unity.

Let me tell you the story of my glory. "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." It is the first sentence of the first chapter of Genesis. It is the greatest story of all times. It is the story of the Lord's creation.

And God said: "Let there be light." And slowly out of the East came the first red and white rays of the morning sun. And then he made the stars. He set them in the blue sky where they shone softly as the first night fell over the earth.

They were the red, the white and the blue. They were the symbols of God's thoughts. They were enshrined in the minds of our forefathers out of which was born our Star

Spangled Banner.

I was hallowed by heroes from Bunker Hill to Iwo Jima. I symbolize justice, mercy, and charity. I stand for toleration of all men, of all creeds, of all races. I make no dis-tinction and recognize no distinction. I have been carried across the continent attuned to the songs of the plowshare and the laughter of children. I have been planted on the high pinnacle of American faith.

I have waved amid the solitude of the seven seas. I have flown across the plundered cities and blood-dried battlefields of Europe. I have made tyranny tremble and freedom rejoice. I am the soul of the Amer-

ican people.

Wherever I float, there are the glories of mankind. I speak in accents more stirring, in tones more touching, than the swelling notes of a grand organ, or in the ecstasies of the four magic strings. I am hailed with tears of joy. I am hailed with songs of de-Hverance.

I tell no story of crushed liberties or violated rights. I spring neither from the sorrows of the oppressed nor the sufferings of the conquered. I herald the noble purposes of a mighty people. I represent one people, one nation. I am the pledge of the present. I am the promise for the future.

So long as men follow the covenants of God. So long as they worship at the shrine of liberty, so long as they treasure the priceless privileges of freedom, so long as the principles of truth, justice, and charity remain deeply rooted in the human heart-I shall continue to be the enduring banner of the United States of America.

Tam Old Glory.

## Spotlight on Pornography

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

#### HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ORD, I include the following article by John C. O'Brien, printed in the New World June 12, 1959, entitled: "Spotlight on Pornography."

The other day I had the pleasure of joining the distinguished gentlelady from Pennsylvania, KATHRYN E. GRANA-HAN, by submitting a companion bill to her original proposal which would impose considerable restrictions against the use of public mails for the dissemination of obscene and pornographic

literature.

My companion measure has been given the number H.R. 7709. I am indeed proud to join Representative GRANAHAN in an effort to stem the mounting tide of literature being disseminated throughout our country by those who would undermine the morals of your young people. I think that Representative GRANA-HAN is to be commended for bringing this very serious problem to the attention of this Congress and I hope that the House of Representatives will give speedy consideration to the corrective measures proposed in this legislation.

There is no question in my mind that, from the mail I receive from my district, the American people are becoming more and more alarmed at the deplorable material that is being mailed, particularly to teenagers throughout the country. I feel that Congress must take effective measures to stop this traffic in obscene and pornographic literature before the situation becomes a national scandal.

I am introducing in the RECORD today column written by John C. O'Brien, titled, "Spotlight on Pornography," which appeared in the New World on June 12. I believe Mr. O'Brien's analysis of this problem, and particularly the statistics which he has compiled in his column, should contribute very much toward a better understanding by the Members of this House of the enormity of this problem.

I hope my colleagues will take the time to read this penetrating analysis by Mr. O'Brien and better understand how urgently corrective legislation is needed to stamp out this heinous and

predatory practice. I fully subscribe with the views of Mr. O'Brien as expressed in this column:

SPOTLIGHT ON PORNOGRAPHY (By John C. O'Brien)

A Subcommittee of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, directed by Representative Kathryn E. Gronahan, of Pennsylvania, has been throwing a spotlight on the widespread distribution through the mails of obscene and pornographic material.

But testimony by Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield and others about the enormity of this traffic, beamed mainly at boys and girls, has received only meager notice in the daily press. Some editors of the liberal schools, in fact, seem to be out of sympathy with the investigation, viewing it as another threat to freedom of expression.

In his testimony, Summerfield, who has sought diligently to keep the mails clear of indecent matter, noted that the Post Office Department had been subjected frequently to attack and ridicule by those who hope to profit personally from unrestricted mailings, or by those, who, confusing liberty with license, unwittingly give them assistance.

That those who profit from the traffic in obscene and pornographic materials should seek to discredit the Post Office Department by raising the cry of censorship should surprise no one, for this traffic is big busi-

Since the Second World War, commercialized pornography has grown by leaps and bounds. It is estimated that \$500 million is realized annually through mail-order sales of such material.

Complaints are flooding the Post Office Department at the rate of 50,000 a year from clergymen, parent-teachers associations, school principals, and alarmed parents. Last year alone the Postal Inspection Service investigated 14,000 complaints, of which about two-thirds came from parents who had intercepted lewd materials addressed to their children.

On the basis of the complaints received, the Postal Inspection Service estimates that from 700,000 to 1 million children will receive invitations to depravity through the mails this year.

Until last year, the Federal authorities were handicapped in their efforts to prosecute mail-order purveyors of pornography by court decisions that prosecutions could be brought only at the original point of mailing. But last year Congress enacted a law permitting prosecution at the point of actual destination. Under this law three men were recently indicted in Detroit for distributing obscene material through the mails in that city, although the material originated on the west coast.

The Post Office authorities, however, believe that new and stiffer legislation is needed. And it is expected that the subcommittee headed by Representative GRAN-AHAN will recommend such legislation after completing its investigation.

Declaration of the Spanish Democratic Opposition, June 1959

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, the voice of the democratic opposition to the Franco dictatorship in Spain grows

louder. The first weak protests have become resonant cannon blasts. The "fire in the ashes" has become a strong and healthy flame.

This month in Madrid 13 political groups and workers' unions voted to adopt and subscribe the following "Declaration of the Spanish Democratic Opposition." The declaration sharply points up the continuing cruelties of the existing regime yet announces the refusal by the subscribers to join this month in a general national strike called for Thursday, June 18, by the Communist Party.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the declaration and call to the attention of this House for special note point 6, section A. The

ashes are flaming.

DECLARATION OF THE SPANISH DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION

In view of a catastrophic economic situation, increasingly difficult living conditions, shameful corruption of the public administration and the total lack of the guarantees for the most elemental human rights recognized in all Western countries, unrest, meariness, and indignation are spreading throughout the whole country. The dictatorship has neither improved its policies nor softened its repressive methods. It continues its abuses, always trusting in the efficacy of the watchword "Franco or communism." The brutal repression has only been softened at times through pressure from abroad.

The Spanish people and the public opinion of the free world ask themselves whether or not the inadmissible dilemma "dictatorship of Franco or Communist dictatorship," to which Francoist propaganda alleges, will face up to reality. Francoists, as well as Communists, make every effort in their propaganda to maintain and extend doubt, confusion, and fear, all of which may have catastrophic consequences for Spain and

democracy.

The time has come to put an end to ambiguities and confusions. For this purpose it will be necessary for Spain and the free world to know that anti-Communist political groups, organized secretly, exist in the nation and that they constitute the true democratic opposition. It is necessary that they know those groups do not constitute an absurd proliferation of small parties without real force, but that they respond to the actual currents of European political thought. These groups are increasing their contacts, which are soon going to culminate in the creation of an organism to centralize and coordinate all political action against the present regime.

The accord among the groups of democratic opposition will be based upon the following points of general agreement:

- 1. Total opposition to the actual regime and the Spanish political situation.
- 2. Complete and unequivocal acceptance of democracy as basis for the future regime of the nation.
- 3. Solemn repudiation of violence as means of resolving political differences, and for this reason, overcoming of the effects of the civil war and of all distinction between victors and vanquished.
- 4. Total independence and clear distinction between the policies of the democratic opposition and the Communist Party.
- 5. Adherence to the United Europe which is coming into outline day by day, and to any steps in that direction which have been made and may be made.

6. Decision to collaborate united now to hasten the fall of the dictatorship, and in the near future to get rid of all that which should be removed; to repair the destruction caused to the nation by 20 years of irresponsibility and, above all, to build the foundations for a definitive and genuine understanding of all Spaniards within the frame of an authentic democracy.

It must also be made evident, and as it pertains to the present moment, that the profound national dissatisfaction is becoming more manifest and grave in the working classes, which are suffering the constant increase of prices accompanied by freezing of wages, and at times also a diminution of their increase as a result of the lack of work

incomes, as a result of the lack of work.

The Communist Party, taking advantage of the general discontent and the catastrophic economic situation, has called for a general national strike for June 18. The democratic groups, without in the least decreasing their firm opposition of the regime, have resolved not to support such a strike

for the following reasons:

(a) Regardless of the profound unrest, especially in the working classes, it is not considered that the present moment is the most appropriate to make known the protest of the Spanish people, particularly when an aggravation of the situation is foreseen in the immediate future. The possible success of the strike, moreover, would give an erroneous impression of the strength of the Communist Party, whereas this strike would in reality reflect the desire of the Spanish people to demonstrate as soon as possible their combined reaction against the Francoist dictatorship, We are very well aware that a failure of the planned Communist strike will benefit the Franco regime. However, it is impossible for the democratic opposition to collaborate with the Communists and to facilitate them a success which would be of profit only to themselves and not to the Spanish people.

(b) The democratic groups now abstaining refuse to ask the working class to collaborate in this strike and to face now the hardships of the repression and the resulting firings (so much desired by many employers in difficult economic situation), when success of the strike is doubtful and doubtful also the positive effects which would result from such an action. However, they will propose to the country a national movement of peaceful protest at a time in which this

action can be sure of success.

(c) The democratic groups, for obvious reasons, cannot support an initiative which is solely Communist. Any other attitude, in addition, would only result in harm and loss of prestige to the Spanish Democratic opposition

The political groups and workers' unions which adopt this attitude and subscribe to this declaration are the following:

Movimiento Socialista de Catalunya (Catalonian Socialist Movement).

Union Democrata Catalana (Catalonian

Democratic Union). Sindicalistas Cristianos (Christian Syndi-

calists).
Partido Socialista Obrero Espanol (Spanish

Partido Socialista Obrero Espanol (Spanish Socialist Workers' Party).

Union General de Trabajadores (General Workers' Union) (UGT). Confederacion Nacional de Trabajo (Na-

Confederacion Nacional de Trabajo (National Confederation of Labor) (CNT).

Izquierda Democrata Cristiana (Christian Democratic Left).

Union Espanola (Spanish Union-Monar-chist Right).

Partido Social de Accion Democratica (National Party of Democratic Action).

Solidaridad de Obreros y Empleados Vascos (Solidarity of Basque Workers and Employees). Accion Nacionalista Vasca (Basque Nationalist Action).

Liberales (Liberals).

Agrupacion Socialista Universitaria (Socialist University Association). Madrid, June 1959.

## Mutual Security: An Outdated Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. JOSEPH W. BARR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. BARR. Mr. Speaker, the voters of Marion County, Ind., did not send me to Congress with instructions to ignore the financial responsibility of the United States to the rest of the world. In that part of Indiana we have an acute awareness of international problems. We should have—we make about 10 percent of our money from world trade. But, on the other hand, my voters certainly did not send me to Washington to squander their tax dollars on a program that is outdated—that no longer is designed to mee world problems.

After World War II the United States launched the Marshall plan and then started our mutual security program. These proved enormously successful, and today we can look with considerable pride at West Germany, Great Britain, France, Italy, Holland, Belgium, and Japan. These nations with our help have staged an astounding recovery and today are probably stronger than at any other time in their histories. In fact they are so financially strong that it is high time that they start sharing part of the crushing load that the U.S. taxpayer has borne for many years. To date the United States has invested about \$82 billion in the Marshall plan and our mutual security programs. I believe that this enormous sum has been a good investment, but now it is time to call in our partners in the free world to say, "How about a hand?"

In 1946 the Congress wisely estab-shed through the Bretton Woods lished through the Bretton Agreement the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. The Monetary Fund is designed to help nations through short-term financial difficulties. The World Bank is designed to help free nations develop their resources through long-term loans. In these institutions the United States has joined with 67 other free nations in a great international pool of cash and know-how. These institutions have been operating now for 13 years with an outstanding record of success in helping the free nations of the world get on with their economic problems of development, trade, and growth.

My first legislative job in this Congress was to defend on the floor of this House the legislation designed to increase the capitalization of the Monetary Fund from \$9 billion to \$14 billion and to increase the capitalization of the World Bank from \$10 billion to \$20 billion. Our share of this increase amounted to \$4,700 million. In the next few weeks I hope to support in this Congress the creation of an Inter-American Bank in which we will have an investment of another \$400 million. So in this session of Congress I will have actively supported \$5 billion in funds designed to meet our financial responsibility to the world.

This is where I stop. I will vote to pick up our share of the chips in any joint movement with the rest of the free world. I will not vote to saddle this Nation with a perpetual obligation to develop and to protect the world single-handedly.

#### More or Less Personal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. GERALD R. FORD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, our colleague, the Honorable Phil Weaver, of the First District, Nebraska, was a very constructive and extremely conscientious and most able member of the Defense Department Subcommittee on Appropriations. Although this was Phil Weaver's first year as a member of this 17-member group he did an exceptionally fine job and in succeeding years he will contribute more and more in helping to make our national security program sound and fully adequate.

On Monday, June 8, the Lincoln Evening Journal, on the editorial page, carried a fine article on the excellent speech Phil Weaver made on the defense appropriation bill for fiscal year 1960 at the time the House of Representatives was considering this vitally im-

portant legislation.

The article is as follows:

More or Less Personal

Judging from his statement on the floor of the House, Representative Phil Weaver of Nebraska's First District has done his homework well as a rookie member of the House Subcommittee on Defense Appropriations. This vital group accounts for a little more than half the total expenditures of the Federal Government.

Like other members of the subcommittee.
Weaver addressed the House on proposed defense spending. While he presented the combined views of the subcommittee, his explanation was especially clear and logical-

#### WEAVER AND DEFENSE

The House committee is recommending just short of \$39 billion for defense in the next fiscal year. Even for this figure, Weaver said, "we are not buying total, impenetrable defense." This would not be possible with 10 times that amount, he said.

However, Weaver contended, "it provides a defense system which we can afford, and which will afford us the maximum amount of protection and striking force for every dollar spent." He gave this view of defense stratery:

"The only way we have found by which we can offset the Communist might and the Communist ability to create total destruction is by being able, ourselves, to create total destruction. This, in reality involves a dreadful race with each other and against time. It requires our being willing to ex-pend our energies, our time and our natural resources and national treasure.

On specific defense items, WEAVER made it clear that the long-range trend in missiles is away from expensive permanent installations such as the Atlas launching sites planned near Lincoln and Omaha. The accent is moving to smaller, but more mobile, missiles.

The most significant new development, WEAVER said, is the submarine-launched Polaris missile. The fact that it can be fired from a submerged position makes it, "if such a thing is possible, an invulnerable weapon." Increased emphasis is proposed for this mis-

More funds, too, are recommended for the Air Force to develop air-to-surface ballistic missiles. This would "remake our bombers into launching platforms for guided missiles and, if the systems work out satisfactorily, our bombers can strike from a safe range

Mobility is the key also in boosting spending for the Minuteman missile. This is a solid fuel missile capable of being launched from a flatcar or barge. Minuteman lacks some of the carrying capacity of Atlas or Titan but more than makes up for it in mobility and economy of production, Weaver noted.

While plans will go ahead for pad-launched missiles such as Atlas and Titan, they have the disadvantage of being "sitting ducks," he said.

In antiaircraft plans, work will be concentrated on the Nike-Hercules, such as is planned for the Lincoln area. This has proved its worth time and again. The competitive Bomarc, on the other hand, is being cut because it is no defense against ICBM's and its development has lagged considerably.

Navy emphasis is swinging even more to atomic submarines and antisubmarine weapons. To help provide for this, a Navy request for a new aircraft carrier was eliminated. Any future carriers should be of the atomic type so that it will not require refueling.

Said Weaver: "We must not build something that is out of date when we start." Certainly that is a sound yardstick for measuring the worth of new defense weapons.

Administration Hands Banks 15 Billion "Free" Dollars-S. 1120, Vault Cash Bill

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. GERALD T. FLYNN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. FLYNN. Mr. Speaker, last week I joined the ever-growing number of Congressmen who are expressing their deep concern about, and strong opposition to, bill S. 1120, commonly known as the vault cash bill. In my talk of June 5, I set out a chart showing how the banks of America, who sell Government bonds, last year and this year, and probably for some time to come, are completely avoiding the payment of income

taxes to the Federal Government-and are not only avoiding the taxes, but are making a tidy profit in addition thereto. over and above profits made by those banks which pay their taxes and hold the 21/2-percent bonds. I pointed out that the interest rate increase of about 2 percent on the national debt came about because the Federal Reserve System and the Federal Reserve bank went on strike against the United States and refused to support the bond market of the country. This forced the U.S. Treasury to increase the interest rate on bonds in order to secure buyers. The high interest rate increase on current bonds brought down the value of bonds so that Government bonds with 10 years before maturity are worth only \$82 on the hundred. This affects widows, orphans, trust funds, and institutions who invested their money in Government securities so that they would have a stable investment which could be cashed in at full value in time of need.

I further pointed out that the increased interest on the public debt because of this 2-percent increase in interest is close to \$6 billion a year, and these are inflationary dollars, because the public gets nothing more for them than they received previously. It also increases the taxes that the citizens of this

country must pay.

I rise now, Mr. Speaker, to point out that the \$6 billion which the holders of the bonds receive, in additional interest from the public Treasury will be further increased if this Congress adopts the President's proposal of removing the interest limit. For each one point of interest that the Treasury adds to its bonds, the people of the Nation will be forced to pay out annually during the life of those bonds 3 billion inflationary dollars, in addition to those already being paid. I point out, Mr. Speaker, that this is but a small part of the huge increase which the banks within the fold of the Federal Reserve System gained from their strike against the people of America. The increase in interest on the public debt forced up the interest rate on all private, business and municipal debts of this Nation by a corresponding 2 percent. This means that the banks are extracting from our citizens individually, from the municipalities for bond issues which are paid by the individual citizens in the form of taxes-and from business institutionsan additional interest that probably runs ten times what the increase in interest on the national debt runs. This increased interest at even 41/4 percent is a fantastic instrument in the revenue it produces for the banking fraternity and also the fact that it completely releases banks, through the devices above mentioned, from paying any Federal income taxes to the Government for a several-year period.

I want to point out, Mr. Speaker, that the banks last year secured from this Congress \$10½ billion and were permitted and did, for the most part, under Federal Reserve Bank rules issue approximately 7 dollars for each dollar received. These were inflationary dollars. They were printing press dollars backed by the credit of the United

States. This year, under the vault cash bill, with the Federal Reserve Bank having only about \$25 billion of U.S. bonds and other securities, the member banks are asking that the Congress make it possible for the Federal Reserve Bank to give the member banks without consideration and free of tax, either income or gift tax, \$15 billion worth of these securities. This, they are asking, from a Government that is more deeply in debt than at any time in history-from a Government which is unable to balance its budget and from a Government which is currently being asked to increase its debt limit by \$12 billion.

Mr. Speaker, the two-time honored methods of controlling inflation are either by the Federal Reserve bank increasing the interest rate or by increasing the reserve of member banks. The Federal Reserve bank recently increased the interest rate and now proposes instead of increasing the required reserves of the banks to give the banks 15 billion inflationary dollars. These will feed inflation.

Let me call your attention to what will happen. Each bank will have the right to issue \$700 for each \$100 it receives and in total, will thus issue \$105 billion worth of new money. This will be in addition to the new money issued last year. This will be \$105 billion worth of inflation. So that instead of the Federal Reserve Bank controlling inflation it will be feeding inflation to a greater extent than ever before in the history of this country. This country will not be through with the giveaway to the banks even after the Federal Reserve System pays out this \$15 billion, for the possibility exists, which may well become a fact. that this country will be forced to continue for the next 25 years to pay these same banks the added sum of \$5 billion per year.

Here is the way it will work. This Government will refinance about half of its public debt by 1962. The Treasury and the President are asking for the interest ceiling to be removed so that debt can be refinanced on a long-term basis. There is no interest ceiling on shortterm financing which includes Government obligations maturing within 5 The Treasury Department must. therefore, plan on engaging in long-term financing over about 25 years which will place the interest burden on our children as well as ourselves. The banks, upon receiving the \$15 billion, will print \$7 for every \$1 received and will end up with \$105 billion. They can use the money to buy \$105 billion worth of the new longterm bonds that the Treasury will issue in refinancing the public debt on a longterm basis. If we remove the interest ceiling, these will undoubtedly be 5 percent bonds and the interest on them will exceed \$5 billion per year until maturity which will probably be 25 years. This means, Mr. Speaker, that we start out by giving the banks \$15 billion without consideration or even any tax. The banks use this money, plus the credit of the United States to print paper money bearing the seal and name of the United States, to the extent of \$105 billion. This money issued on the credit of the United States is then turned back to the U.S. Treasury in return for 25-year 5percent Treasury bonds-bonds, Mr. Speaker, which require the people of America to pay annually to the banks as interest thereon a sum in excess of \$5 billion. This means that over a 25-year period, which will be the life of the bonds, this country will have paid to the banking fraternity of this Nation the total sum of \$140 billion. All of this money will have been paid to the banks without the banks having invested 1 cent of their own money. All of the money involved will be money that was originally owned by the United Statesmoney which was given to the banks and on which they collected interest.

Mr. Speaker, if the Federal Reserve Bank canceled this \$15 billion in bonds at the present time and if the Congress would pass a bill which I introduced in the House requiring the Government to retire the public debt at the rate of 2 percent a year, which at 2 percent a year would be approximately the same amount per year that this Government will pay in interest on the money above mentioned—in 25 years, the Government will have reduced its debt to approximately one-half of what it is today.

Mr. Speaker, I point out that the member banks of the Federal Reserve System who have failed to support the bond market of the United States are in no way entitled to a \$15 billion giveaway from the U.S. Treasury, and that to give the banks this money will be a crime against every citizen, every business institution and every municipality paying taxes to the U.S. Government.

#### Commencement 1959

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. HARRIS B. McDOWELL, JR.

OF DELAWARE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Speaker, one of the more moving commencement addresses which it has been my pleasure to read was delivered recently by Harry Golden, author of the current bestseller, "Only in America." It was delivered before the graduating class of Myers Park High School, Charlotte, N.C., on June 2, 1959.

I include it here as part of my remarks: COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS, CHARLOTTE, (N.C.) MYERS PARK HIGH SCHOOL, JUNE 2, 1959

(By Harry Golden, Charlotte, N.C.)

On a recent lecture tour of the west coast, I was given a party by some friends and among the guests were Ozzle and Harriet Nelson. During the course of the evening, I had an inspiration. I took Mrs. Nelson aside and asked her where her son Ricky was at the moment. She said "Both boys are at home," and I told her that she can do me a big favor, that I had an important commencement speech to make in my hometown before the big high school and that I needed a good "opening." I asked her to please ask Ricky to come over and let me

just shake his hand. Harriet Nelson is a kind and understanding woman and within 5 minutes in come David and Ricky. We had a long quiet talk about books and then I shook Ricky's hand and so here is the hand—I haven't even washed it yet.

It is a great honor to be here. I have made some 102 speeches since last October, speeches before church groups, and fraternal and social-action societies, and I am not trying to go overboard when I say to you, in all sincerity, that this is the most important speech of all and for two very good reasons. First, because it is before one of the four or five most important institutions of my own city and second, because it is a commencement address before an audience of some 350 high-school graduates and their parents and friends. And this great honor is heightened by the fact that you specifically voted for me to appear here tonight.

Whenever I go around the country I am confronted with the evidence that the American dream is not an idle myth, that you can still sell 300,000 copies of a hard-cover book which does not have obscene pictures or four-letter words in it, and that the high school of my own city would invite a man to speak their commencement address who they know is not given to the usual platitudes of the occasion; platitudes which include such things as, "Today I am a man," or "Go forth and conquer," or "Graduation is only a commencement," and so forth. And yet this does not mean that you will necessarily remember anything of world-shaking importance out of my commencement address

When I graduated from the East Side Evening High School of New York in 1919, I remember that the commencement speaker was an Annapolis man who had been in the first graduating class. He had salled with Admiral Dewey into Manila Bay in 1898. While I was writing this speach I tried to remember what this speaker had told my class but I could not. All that stands out in my mind is a fellow looking trim and smart in his blue commander's uniform, and one phrase. He told us that, before Dewey had beaten the Spanish Fleet, Manila was spelled with two I's. But Admiral Dewey had knocked the 'I' out of Manila.

I wonder if this is to be my fate. I am willing to bet that all you will remember about your commencement speaker 30 or 40 years from now will be the same joke I remembered about my commencement speaker. One of you undoubtedly will be a com-mencement speaker, and if you've forgotten the joke about Ricky Nelson you'll have to make a new one up, and originality is all to the good. I suspect you will forget what I have to say to you. You see, you are the toughest audience any speaker has to face. It is simply terrifying to stand up and speak to a body of graduating seniors. I say this advisedly. When you asked me to be your commencement speaker I expected to meet the toughest audience of my career. You are all smarter than I am. All of you see things more clearly because you are more willing to accept them. You are stronger than any adult in this room. Some of you already, and all of you, within the next month or next year or next 5 years, will make a decision that would leave me and all of my fellow adults weak and nervous. You are going to decide what to do with your lives while the rest of us are wondering what we did with ours.

I will not presume, therefore, to tell you what to do with your future. You will know better than I that the world which my contemporaries and I have left you is not the best world to make this decision in. The world that the Annapolis commander left me was a better one than I have left you, but we'll skip that. There's no sense in crying over it. You have the problem of making your own way in the world and you

also have the great problem of being the scapegoat of the moment. Yes, you are the scapegoat of the moment.

Primitive man was walking up the hill with a dead beast across his back. He was taking it back to camp. Beside him was his son or his brother or his father. They had been hunting together. Suddenly, primitive man took the dead animal and put it on the back of his companion and immediately felt a great sense of relief. He had shifted the burden, even though he had not vet developed sufficient thinking power to asso-ciate the shifting of the burden and his sudden sense of relief. There have been many scapegoats in history. When there are ideas which confound you, when formulas do not seem to be working out, when you lose confidence in yourself, you look around for someone to whose back you can shift the burden. And so the folks look for a scapegoat; Jews, Negroes, and particularly fellows with unpopular ideas; and it is not always the minority. It may surprise you who represent the most native born white Protestant society inthe Western World, to know that once white Christians were-scapegoats, too. Not only in Nero's time but right here in America. They burned Catholic monasteries in Massachusetts; they killed Baptists in Virginia, and you Methodists and Presbyterians had to build your early church with a fireplace so that when the Anglican sheriff came to investigate, you could hide your prayerbooks and say that you were merely visiting friends.

And now we have a new scapegoat, the teenager. To ease the pain of our own frustration, to justify our own shortcomings, and our own failures, we have shifted the burden to the teenager and we think we can now rest easy. But it is only an illusion. The other day in our own North Carolina Legislature a fellow introduced a bill to allow the teacher to spank the students. A Daniel come to judgment. New York and Michigan have been toying with the same bit of nonsense. And so we are doing everything to help create for ourselves two illusions; first, that we are doing something noble, and second, that we do not have any responsibility in the matter. This is a stupid procedure, which you will learn in college when you begin to study the history of human behavior. You will find this basic truth behavior. You will find this basic truth that we, all of us, are the results of the con-ditions to which we were exposed. Some day you graduates will be clergymen and doctors, and businessmen and teachers, and you will be these things because of the classmates you met, the friends you made, the people who came to your home and the language and ideas you heard expressed. of us is a reflection of the society which surrounds us, and the entire teenage culture, where it has given us concern, reflects the frustration, the tension, and the rootlessness of our highly mobile adult world. A spanking law will not solve it any more than you can cure cancer with an aspirin tablet. goes much deeper and it reaches down to the rootless world we have created in the wake of our tremendous industrialization.

You are 15 years old and you live in Harlem in New York and you hear your mother and father enter into a conspiracy, they are conniving-you hear your mother per to your father, "Let's tell the renting agent we are Spanish not Puerto Rican, and you thereby cut the teenager off from history and tradition and a sense of belonging, and you must belong. You must belong to something. So the teenager goes downstairs and gets himself a black-leather jacket with the word "Pirates" on it and now he belongs. He belongs to something, and he transfers to the "Pirates" all the loyalties and devotion which rightfully belong to the clan; the family, the church, and the community. Or you live in the South and you've never seen your father

except in overalls and you've never seen your mother except in an apron coming from some other home and a car pulls up in your dirt-littered alley and a voice says, "Tell Maggie not to come tomorrow, we are going away;" or "Tell Maggie she'll find the key under the mat," and Maggle is your mother, and now what do you want this teenager to do, jump for joy? He has been deprived of dignity and this is the most tragic of all afflictions. A human being can go without food longer than he can go without human dignity.

And this human dignity involves your own future. I tell you these things because you will one day be the leaders of this society—you will be the lawyers, and the civic leaders and you must remember this human dignity idea above evertyhing else. You will some day look into a mirror and ask yourself, "Do I have a mature mind?" and I quote to you from all the great minds that have left us the heritage of the English-speaking civilization, that there is only one way you can answer that affirmatively; you have a mature mind only when you rerespect new ideas, when you respect all your neighbors, and when you respect all your neighbors, are spect ideas and unless you respect your neighbors.

And keep your eye on the book burners and the book censors. They are your greatest enemies. Mankind has advanced only when it succeeded in fighting off its book burners and book censors. Ideas, Remember the primacy of ideas. In first-century Rome you couldn't walk a hundred yards without seeing two or three handsomely uniformed legionnaires. The big blonds from the northern forests had already acquired the right to serve as Romans; and like all immigrants, they out-Romaned the Romans. It was a gigantic empire with tremendous political and military power. Then along came a little baid-headed Jew from the East who didn't even have pockets in his pants. You call him St. Paul and this St. Paul had a book and an idea and because he had a book and an idea, he conquered the whole empire lock stock and barrel.

empire, lock, stock, and barrel.

When a society begins to fear ideas it means that the nation has lost confidence in itself and that it can no longer meet the challenge of the world. Some day in college you will read a book by an Englishman named Buckle. It is called the "History of Civilization" and he speaks of Spain, which in the 15th century was afraid of ideas and she burned all the books, and says Mr. Buckle, "There she sits, with the most fertile soil in the world-a torpid mass." When you can no longer stand ideas think of this torpid mass in relation to America, because America is not geography. I was never Impressed with the song "America, the Beau-There are finer fields of "amber grain" in the Soviet Ukraine and we have no mountains as beautiful as the Swiss or Bavarian Alps, and we do not have ports as majestic as Rio de Janeiro or Napies. So what is America? America is an idea, "O, say, can you see by the dawn's early light" and what do you see-a flag, yes, but also a symbol of human dignity, a symbol of a respect for ideas, a respect for people, and a respect for ourselves.

And one more word about this "teenage problem." We had it in my day and we called it "flaming youth," and some of the folks wanted to revive the whipping post then, but the kids who jumped into the theater alsie to dance to the clarinet playing of Benny Goodman were the same kids who walked through the jungles of Guadalcanal and made the daylight air raids over the Rumanian oil fields and helped save the world for some of us spanking-law enthusiasts.

And now thank you. To the graduating class let me be so bold as to pronounce an old Irish prayer:

"May the hills rise up to meet you, May the wind be ever behind you, And may God hold you in the palm of His hand."

## Why Medical Care Costs Concern the Senate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. PAT McNAMARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. McNamara. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an article written by Mr. George E. Connery, relating to an interview with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Morsel concerning an investigation of hospitals and Blue Cross in Washington, D.C., entitled "Why Medical Care Costs Concern the Senate."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Modern Hospital, May 1959] Why Medical Care Costs Concern the Senate

#### (By George E. Connery)

(As chairman of a subcommittee investigating hospitals and Blue Cross in Washington, Senator Wayne Mosse, in this Modern Hospital interview, says the inquiry might become nationwide, and airs his views on the costs of health care.)

Senator Wayne Mosse, Oregon Democrat, loves a fight and he can't understand why other people don't always feel the same way. "When it's over you have more facts on the table and you have a much better chance of getting something done," he explains.

Now he is wading into an issue that may develop into a long-range argument with doctors and hospitals over the financing of medical care costs.

Technically, the question at the moment is a relatively narrow one—whether the Commissioners of the District of Columbia (Washington's "city council") should appoint a majority of the board that controls the District of Columbia area's Group Hospitalization, Inc. (Blue Cross). The Senator is chairman of a subcommittee that is looking into the matter.

But actually the issue is not that limited geographically. National attention seems to focus on most situations in which Senator Mosss becomes involved, and this is no exception. Furthermore, if the Washington hearings produce information of broad significance to medical care costs, Senator Mosss, through his membership also on the Labor and Public Welfare Committee, could swing out into a national investigation.

"Certainly that's a possibility," he told the Modern Hospital, "but it's not the only possibility. Foundations and other organizations outside Government might take some action, too."

Senator Mosse is one of the Senate's foremost authorities on constitutional law and legislative procedures. He has promised that hearings will be conducted strictly by the book, that he will show no preference. And no one who knows him would doubt that.

Yet he is not a legal automaton; he has some strong views on the responsibility of the Federal Government for getting proper health care to all the people at prices they can afford. For this reason it is important to understand the beliefs that have projected him into a prominent position in hospital-medical legislation.

#### ADVOCATES FORAND BILL

He is the Senate's most articulate advocate of the Forand bill, and has introduced an identical measure in his Chamber. This is a proposal to raise social security taxes to finance hospitalization for the aged and other beneficiaries of the system. It is being vigorously opposed by the American Medical Association; American Hospital Association's opposition is something less than vigorous.

He doesn't see any way short of State or Federal subsidies to bring hospital and medical charges within the reach of all the population.

He is not in the least awed by the political strength of the medical profession and hospital people. "Organized medicine is against me almost all the time. But they haven't done much damage. All I have to do is make a few speeches on the subject of medical costs, and line up a few facts, and I don't have to worry."

Yet, to him it is not paradoxical that it was his vote on the Senate Labor Committee that for 3 years kept the Wagner-Murray-Dingell socialized medicine bill bottled up

"I was against socialized medicine then and I'm even more opposed to it now," he says. "Actually, the doctors ought to realize that it's liberals like me who talk up to them who are their only real friends and who are the only ones who can save them from Government control."

Senator Mosse, a former law teacher, can point specifically to the Constitution of the United States as his guide in almost any controversy that arises.

In this situation, he quotes the preamble: "We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, \* \* do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States."

"The principles of government must be implemented," he insists. "The general welfare, the promotion of the general welfare, is a duty and a responsibility of the Congress.

"This also means checking any power that is inimical to the welfare of the people. I am anxious to protect medicine's legitimate rights, but I'm not going to let the doctors or the hospital people write their own laws or stop us from writing the proper laws.

"Like all other laws, laws affecting medical care and medical costs and research and public health are laws for all the people, not just laws for the doctors and the hospitals. They are not going to be allowed to dictate laws that apply to the whole population, no more than labor is going to be allowed to write the labor laws that apply to the whole population.

"The doctors can't write their own ticket down here.

"In many of these situations the trouble comes because people—and members of the Senate included—are not able to apply abstract principles to concrete problems. The Constitution says plainly that the Congress is to promote the general welfare. This is our source of authority to pass laws that we think will improve the medical care the people are getting. But many people can't see that relationship and that obligation.

"In more specific terms, the health of the American people is a great source of wealth. The Government cannot sit idly by and see it destroyed."

The Senator, naturally, doesn't accept the argument of organized medicine that rapid progress is being made in bringing good medical care to all the people.

#### SHOULD BE NO VARIATION

"I am not satisfied that the equality of health treatment is being attained. There is no reason why in our times there should variation of medical care based on families' various economic positions."

The Senator's opinion that health legislation and medical care are important issues with the people was reinforced, he said, by the results of an informal survey taken by

his office early this year. The Senator's newsletter had reached a circulation of 60,000. It was an expensive operation, and besides he suspected that there were too many people on the list who shouldn't be there, and that there were wrong addresses, etc. So a "sudden death" notice was sent out. If the readers didn't return the enclosed form within a certain time their names automatically would go off the mailing list. Also, on the form there was a space just labeled "Comments."

Of those who wrote any comment, Senator Morse said, a preponderance were concerned over the high cost of hospital and medical care. Why did costs have to be so high? Why were health insurance rates always going up? How do you get the money to pay for a long illness? The usual questions, of course, but their volume was surprising. Only one other subject-worry about a warproduced anywhere near as many questions as did medical care costs.

This was a straight, unrigged response. No subjects were suggested, nor were any even listed on the form.

#### NO ROOM FOR DOUBT

If the Senator had any question about whether he was moving into an important field, one in which the people's concern was vital, that question was now removed.

"I was intrigued by the fact medical costs and war fears resulted in far more comments than all other subjects combined.

"Why these two? I think it's an expression of basic insecurity in the face of illness and war. In either case, the individual family has little or no control over its fate. There are two major and frightening spectersnational devastation through an enemy attack and personal devastation, financial and physical, through an attack of illness."

The record over the last year shows Sen-ator Morse is driving ahead in his investigation, and that, eventually, he probably will have all the facts spread out on the table where he wants them.

The first District of Columbia hearings last summer were prompted by announce-ment that Group Hospitalization, Inc., would raise its rates by about 42 percent. Senator Morse called on all interested parties to explain.

In opening the session, the Senator re-marked that he was fully aware that the problem had "far broader aspects" than the raise in rates. "This deals with the whole question of the direct and indirect rights of citizens in the field of medical care. And may I say for the benefit of the medical profession that this is something the American people are going to be confronted with more and more, year after year."

Later, in questioning one of the District Commissioners, the Senator again took a look far ahead when he said: "Whatever information we have to get we are going to get, because I think this is the proper place to point out that the American people in the years ahead, I think, are going to expect their Government to see to it that the health of the people of this city receives adequate care at reasonable cost."

The Commissioners then explained that they wanted Congress (which must pass all laws for the District) to pass a bill to give them authority to name a majority of the board members (hospital and medical appointees now have majority) to keep close and constant check on Group Hospitalization's operations, and to approve or disapprove rate changes.

Group Hospitalization's spokesmen put up a strong defense—there had been only three prior rate increases in 25 years, and two reductions; the group lost almost a million dollars the previous year; 65 percent of its expenses are wages and salaries.

The increases went into effect in the fall, and it might be the subscribers were more understanding of costs than the Commissioners and the Senators, because last year there were 5,000 fewer cancellations than in the previous year.

#### CALLED FOR NEW IDEAS

That hearing settled nothing. After a lull of several months, Senator Morse announced that hearings would be reopened early this session. Also, to keep the fire burning, he challenged the District doctors to get busy on the problem, to accept their responsibilitles, and to come up with some new ideas.

That elicited a sharp reaction from the District of Columbia Medical Society in the form of a statement written in obviously restrained rage. It said in part:

"It can probably honestly be said that we as a society have been seriously studying such problems (as medical care) a much longer time than most people who are at present loudly proclaiming that the doctors must supply the answers to the causes, and find the solutions of the high cost of medical

"All we want for ourselves is reasonable compensation for the years of education, the staggering expense of the same, the proficiency we have acquired through long hours of dealing with the sick, the constant night vigil of study, and attending at considerable expense medical meetings and postgraduate The main compensation we receive is the satisfaction of helping suffering humanity, but we, too, must live and rear and educate our children."

Then, with rage translated to satire, the editorial continued:

"We know that we and other physicians and scientists are partly responsible for the high cost of medical care in that we have developed expensive diagnostic procedures and therapeutic modalities to cure sick people quickly that were not known 50 or even 25 years ago. On the other hnad, we are not responsible for the alarming inflation that has caused our efforts to be so costly. We respectfully submit that the latter is the main problem for our politicians and statesmen to solve."

It is unlikely that Senator Morse, inured by years of long-range and short-range exchanges with doctors, was much impressed.

His reaction was a change of pace, for which he is noted.

#### HE THANKED THE COMMITTEE

Ignoring the charges, he thanked the society for its cooperation, and with his letter enclosed a copy of another letter he had sent to a publication. The latter said in

"I intend, and I am sure that my colleagues on the subcommittee intend, in this inquiry to be guided by a major principle which should be at the basis of any congressional inquiry. That principle is simply to determine what the facts of the situation are in order that a firm record may be made which can serve as a basis for legislation which is in the public interest. "It is not our intention to 'pillory' any individual or group of individuals. At the same time we have the duty and responsibility of making as thorough a study as we can in order that the relevant factual material can be placed upon the public record. We will follow where the facts lead, and the legislative product will reflect what

That appeared a reasonable and a moderate approach. But it should not be interpreted as a change of heart. WAYNE MORRIS still is convinced that the people are not getting the health care they should, and that it is the responsibility of the Federal Government to move in rapidly and forcefully and correct the situation.

He is still standing firmly on his creed, as expounded when he introduced his version of the Forand bill.

"It is simply economic nonsense to continue to assume that our older people, hard pressed in the best of health to make ends meet on the shrinking purchasing power of the pension dollar, can squeeze enough extra dollars from this meager income to meet the mounting cost of really adequate health protection. Clearly they cannot.
"Let us not wait upon an administration

that is decades behind the times in recognizing and coming to grips with social and economic problems. The Congress has the primary obligation to consider this legislation, to perfect it, and then to enact it."

Yet, when asked more about his views on

the Forand-Morse bill, the Senator said:
"This may not be the way to do it. Maybe there is another way. But at least we should get down to concrete facts."

Remember, he's the one who for 3 years kept the socialized medicine bill off the floor of the Senate. And he would do that

#### Federal Financing Reforms

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. - Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the New York Times:

#### FEDERAL FINANCING REFORMS

The administration hasn't officially presented to Congress its recently discussed proposals for reform in the area of debt management, but it is difficult to see how Congress could justify refusing its reported re-

The plan is said to include the modification or removal of three needless obstacles to the financing of the Treasury's needs. would call for an increase in the debt ceiling to perhaps \$290 to \$295 billion. The present temporary ceiling of \$288 billion is scheduled to revert on June 30 to \$283 billion. At that time the level of the debt as now indicated will be \$285 billion.

The administration, it is understood, will seek at the same time a raising or complete removal of the present unrealistic 41/4 percent maximum rate of interest at which Government securities may be offered. The third change it will seek is a rise in the present ceiling of 31/4 percent on savings bonds. Because investors and savers can obtain higher rates elsewhere, the volume of savings bond redemptions has been running ahead of purchases now for some time.

More important, if the Treasury is to enjoy the flexibility it requires in the sound financing of the public debt, is the termination of the prevailing absurd maximum interest rate of regular Government security issues. In the light of present yields this makes it impossible to issue new securities with maturities above 5 years. When the Eisenhower administration came to office it found that of a total marketable debt of \$266 billion the average maturity was 5 years and 4 months. At the present time the average maturity has fallen to 4 years 8 months.

So far this year the Treasury has been able to raise \$1.5 billion of its overall financing of \$28.1 billion on a long-term basis. Nevertheless, it cannot expect to continue indefinitely the inflationary policy of financing its needs predominantly through the banks. No unnecessary obstacle should be maintained that would prevent it from resorting to the long-term market when the situation presents itself.

Address Delivered by Hon. Sumner G. Whittier, Administrator of Veterans' Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an address delivered by Hon. Sumner G. Whittier, Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, and a splendid citizen of Massachusetts, before the annual meeting of the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped, on Friday, May 8, 1959.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Text of Remarks by How, Sumner G. Whittier, Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, Before the Annual Meeting of the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped, Friday, May 8, 1959

An Administrator of Veterans' Affairs wears many hats. In the course of any typical day, you can find me switching hats at least half a dozen times—as I turn from medical problems to insurance problems, to pension problems, to rehabilitation problems, to construction problems, to employee problems, to my own problems of trying to find time for a bite of lunch.

But two of my favorite hats are those I am wearing here this morning. One is as chairman of an ad hoc committee on building entrances. The other is as a member of an ad hoc committee on vending stands.

Now, those two titles actually tell you very little about these committees. They ought to be retitled "Opportunity Committees"—for their purpose is to expand the God-given rights of opportunity for the handicapped men and women of this land of America.

A man in a wheelchair sits at the foot of a stately marble building. Its broad stairway rises up, up, up—a majestic base for the pillared structure. But what good is the stairway, or the building itself, to the man

sitting pensively in his wheelchair? How can he enter, without the strong arms of some good-hearted passerby? How can he conduct his business there? How can he work there?

The Committee on Building Entrances—Robert Goodwin, Director of the Bureau of Employment Security; Mary Switzer, Director of the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, and myself—has addressed itself to this problem, to the restoration of this phase of opportunity. If a building is to be available to the public, it should be available to all the public, those in wheelchairs, with braces on their legs, with walking difficulties included. This is a basic proposition of equal opportunity.

A man without sight wants a little business of his own—nothing much, just enough to keep body and soul together. Fortunately, the framework of opportunity does exist—the Randolph-Sheppard Act which encourages the operation of vending stands by the blind in public buildings.

But it takes more than an act written on the statute books of the United States to broaden opportunity for the blind. The words of the law must constantly be translated into action—into more vending stands for increasing numbers of blind men and women seeking new lives of independence.

And so the Committee on Vending Stands—Assistant Secretary of Commerce George Moore as chairman, Mary Switzer and myself as members—was created to work with this problem, to expand the vistas of self-employment for the blind.

What have these two ad hoc committees achieved in the year or so of their existence? Thanks to the guidance and good counsel of General Maas and the staff members of the President's committee; thanks to the dedicated efforts and sound thinking of our associates back at their respective agencies; thanks to the enthusiastic support displayed by all with whom we conferred or came in contact—a great deal was accomplished.

And behind all the accomplishments lies a message of hope for all of us engaged in any way in creating fuller opportunity for the physically handicapped of this Nation—if we set our minds to a problem; if we attack it with all the enthusiasm and vigor at our command, we can solve it. Only let us never throw up our hands in despair and moan, "this is too big for me." Any problem can be cut down to size, if only there be confidence in our hearts and clarity of vision in our minds.

Now let me put on my hat as chairman of the ad hoc Committee on Building Entrances, and give you a brief report of prog-

At the committee's first meeting, we decided to concentrate not only on easy access, but easy use of necessary facilities once a handicapped person enters a public building. Shortly afterward, Dr. Dwight York and other VA staff members prepared what I think is a landmark document; "Tentative Guide: Facilities in Public Buildings for Persons With Ambulatory Impairments."

Here we had something tangible, something practical, to offer those we contacted—and many groups, organizations, agencies and individuals were contacted in the months that followed.

The results?

The Public Buildings Administration of General Services has issued a directive to its field offices throughout the country which states, and I quote: "All new Federal buildings shall provide easy access of wheelchairs to the first floor entrance lobby. Where entrance steps are unavoidable, ramp and handrall must be provided."

The Capitol Architect—he's the final authority on building design of all Federal buildings in the District of Columbia—has

given his full support. A new House Office Building is going up across the street from the Capitol, and its architects have agreed to change the plans so that handicapped persons can gain easy access.

The American Standards Association is considering this very afternoon a committee recommendation that it issue permanent standards for facilities for persons with ambulatory disabilities.

Agencies of the Federal Government have given wide circulation to the guide, with strong recommendations that it be followed. The Bureau of Employment Security, for example, sent out 3,500 to public employment offices throughout America.

At my own agency, guides were distributed to every VA office and hospital in the land. Our design standards for VA hospitals have been amended to include every suggestion in the guide, plus more of our own.

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has adopted features of the guide in all its plans for construction.

And even our good neighbor Canada heard about the guide, and asked for copies for all those engaged in designing its public buildings.

Meantime, requests for the guide continue to pour in—from agencies of the U.S. Government; from State and local governments; from private organizations; from individuals.

And I believe it is not the guide that has caught on—but the idea behind the guide. For here, in a few simply written pages, with a few simple drawings and diagrams, is a passport to opportunity.

passport to opportunity.

Here is a means of demonstrating that when America talks about equality of opportunity, she means it.

The guide, too, is a fitting tribute to one man who has devoted his entire life to fighting for easier access to public buildings for the handicapped—Hugo Deffner, of Oklahoma City, who, only 2 years ago, appeared at this annual meeting to receive an award from the President of the United States as Handicapped American of the Year.

At this point there will be a slight pause between the acts as I take off my hat as chairman of the Committee on Building Entrances and don another as member of the Committee on Vending Stands.

When this Vending Stand Committee delved into the matter of vending stands for the blind, two facts stood out unmistakably.

One was that Congress, by law and legislative history, has made it eminently clear that it wanted blind persons to have preference in operating vending stands on Federal property. And don't ever forget—this will of Congress is, in actuality, the will of the people of America.

The other fact was that the main responsibility for action rested in two Government agencies—the General Service Administration and the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

So the committee decided to meet with the Administrator of GSA, and present him with a number of recommendations.

One was the GSA revise its instructions to make absolutely clear, beyond the slightest tinge of doubt, that whenever a vending stand can be operated by a blind person, it should be operated by a blind person.

Another was that someone should be designated to each GSA region to have the specific responsibility for seeking out new opportunities for the blind to operate rending stands.

A third was that GSA architects make it a routine practice to consult with State licensing agencies when new buildings are being designed, to plan for the inclusion of vending stands.

And a final recommendation was that here in the District of Columbia, all interested agencies get together to develop a dynamic vending stand program that could well serve as model for the rest of the country, to show what can be done when the will burns brightly in our hearts.

Well, the meeting with the GSA Administrator took place, and he assured the committee of the full support of his fine agency. Actually, it was the first of many productive meetings with representatives of GSA and OVR, hammering out a plan of action.

The action was soon in coming. The Commissioner of the Public Buildings Service of GSA sent a directive to all regional commissioners, urging them, and I quote, to "search actively for additional locations where vending operations may be conducted by the blind."

Further, the regional commissioners were directed to submit tentative objectives in terms of additional stands to be approved within 6 months. And at the end of the 6-month period, they were asked to send in another report, showing how much progress they have made in meeting their objectives.

And so the vending stand program is moving ahead, and this is heartening news not only for the blind, but for all America. For this is yet another demonstration that we Americans do more than pay lip service to the idea of equal opportunity for all; we practice it.

Now let me remove my hat as member of the Committee on Vending Stands, and say just a word wearing no hat at all—as Sumner Whittier private citizen

ner Whittier, private citizen.

There is something about this annual meeting of the President's committee, something about serving on these two ad hoc committees, that sends through me a genuine surge of pride at being a citizen of the United States of America.

Here we are, joining hands to engage in a tremendous single effort—the best and keenest minds in labor and in management; in medicine and in rehabilitation; in Government and in private enterprise; in all areas of American life.

And what is the nature of this tremendous effort? Is it to serve some king, some potentate, some mighty ruler? It is not. It definitely is not.

It is to serve the blind and the lame and the halt. It is to serve the handicapped, our fellow-creatures on this earth. It is to serve them as we would be served.

This is the truth of America, where all men are created equal—the handicapped included; where all men are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, among them life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—the handicapped included.

This is the land of the free. And if some of our neighbors are not free; if they are shackled by their disabilities, we have joined hands, under this great cause that unites us, to set them free.

This is my pride. And I know that it is also your pride.

Green Discusses the Advice of the Pope on Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JOHN H. DENT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, every now and then some Member of Congress makes a worthwhile contribution in our eternal fight to keep reporting and editorializing within the bounds of reason and some semblance of truth. Such an article is the contribution I now make to the RECORD.

The report comes from the Rising Sun Times dated Thursday, May 28, 1959.

Congressman WILLIAM J. GREEN, JR., of Philadelphia, pointedly and vividly covers the subject involved in a forthright and unmistakable manner:

[From the Rising Sun Times, May 28, 1959] REPORT FROM YOUR CONGRESSMAN: GREEN DISCUSSES THE ADVICE OF THE POPE ON COMMUNISM

(By William J. Green, Jr.)

On occasion I read New Republic, which is a self-confessed liberal weekly. Now its liberalism does not include freedom from religious bigotry. Harvard professor of history, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., one of the writers came out with some anti-Catholic cracks several months ago. Now its editorial writer, known only to the reader by his initials is puzzled that the Pope would advise Catholics everywhere to vote against communism and commie candidates.

This displays a woeful lack of understanding of the war against communism. For a magazine which sees all and knows all, it is astounding that this liberal journal, by its own admission, should fail to recognize the many facets of the battle waged by the Marxists. The multifronted war included attacks on the military, diplomatic, economic, and religious organization of the free world.

Dictators cannot allow a God in the public consciousness. Both the Declaration of Independence and Lincoln's Address at Gettysburg show our dedication to the Almighty. How you look up to Him is strictly your business. But even American coins bear the simple statement, "In God we trust."

New Republic questions the propriety of the Pope influencing individuals to vote against communism. I say he should be joined by all the religious leaders on all the continents. For one definite facet in our struggle against communism is the realm of religion, And it involves all religions equally. For the battle is religion versus irreligion—not just the Pope against Khrushchev. It is God versus the antigod of all who follow Marx. Of course, Catholics everywhere have had a dramatic demonstration through the American Embassy in Hungary granting sanctuary to Josef Cardinal Mindszenty.

Buddhists have seen their Dali Llama flee for safety across the Thibetan border. Worship has been stopped in many of the satellite nations behind the Iron Curtain. Again this order of the Pope is consistent in the fight of free people to look up to God as they understand Him. The Founding Fathers made that an American prime right, communism denies this right.

#### The Peg and the Kindling

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following editorial from the Wall Street Journal of June 15, 1959:

THE PEG AND THE KINDLING

The past few days have brought into the open an attitude on the part of a number of influential lawmakers that is both disturbing and dangerous. This is an evident desire to return the Federal Reserve System

to the business of pegging the Government bond market.

The scene was the House Ways and Means Committee, before which Treasury Secretary Anderson and Federal Reserve Board Chairman Martin testified; they are scheduled to return today. Both men appeared in support of the President's request that Congress remove the present ceiling on the interest rates of Government bonds maturing in more than 5 years, as part of a legislative package to assist the Treasury in its debt-management difficulties,

The proposal ran into a drumfire of criticism from the Congressmen, and criticism also is abundant in the Senate. Democratic lawmakers in particular are talking about all sorts of alternatives, all involving Federal Reserve purchases of Government bonds for the purpose of boosting their prices and, hence, supposedly holding down their interest rates in the open market.

This trend is serious for two interrelated reasons. One is that the effect would be to destroy the independence of the Federal Reserve Board. The other is that the effect would also be inflationary.

Why should the Federal Reserve Board be independent of the executive branch? Though at present we have an administration and a Secretary of the Treasury that are opposed to inflation, the natural inclination of any Treasury is to borrow cheap. And when the Treasury has the Federal Reserve under its thumb, it is in a position to enforce a cheap-money inflationary policy.

we shouldn't need much extensive reminding of this. The Reserve was dependent and was peggling the Government bond market through World War II and right up to early 1951. By then even the Truman administration, for all its inflationary bias, had to concede that an independent Reserve was essential for the national financial health.

But is pegging the market in fact infiationary? It must be, because it tends to make more and more of the public debt equivalent to cash. It is thus almost a direct creation of new money, and it can be a psychological stimulus to still more deficit financing. The World War II-1951 experience shows this, for it was a period of serious infiation.

As for going back to pegging now, Mr. Martin put the case bluntly. "This cannot be done without promoting inflation." He questioned whether the Reserve could successfully peg the interest rates over a long period; even if it could, he said the inflationary costs would be high and would "eventually lead to a severe collapse."

And ironically for the cheap-money faddists, the upshot would almost certainly not be the low interest rates for which they profess to yearn. This is because, to paraphrase Mr. Anderson's remarks, as inflationary pressure mounted borrowers would be encouraged to borrow as heavily as possible so as to repay in eroded dollars, while lenders would cut back for the same reason, intensifying the pressure for higher rates.

"To stem this tide," he said, "Federal Reserve banks would have to buy more and more Government securities and thus create more bank reserves an provide a basis for further inflationary credit expansion."

What the administration is proposing, instead, is not to push up interest rates all along the line, as the critics charge, but to let longer-term Governments compete in a market in which rates have already risen—and in the process put debt management on a more orderly and less inflationary basis.

But there is more to it than that, as both Mr. Anderson and Mr. Martin emphasized. The biggest upward pressure on interest rates in recent months has been the Government itself and specifically the financing of its huge deficit this fiscal year.

So if the lawmakers really want lower interest rates they had better stop toying

with a peg that could kindle more inflation. The thing to do is to put out the fire of rising spending, deficits, and debt.

## Message From the Dominican Liberation Movement: Sic Semper Tyrannis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ORD, I include the following telegraphic message which I received from Mr. Alfonso Canto, delegate coordinator in the United States for the Dominican liberation movement. It is a copy of the message which was sent to Acting Secretary of State Douglas Dillon. I repeat my prediction that Trujillo will be deposed before the end of 1959. Sic semper tyrannis.

NEW YORK, June 15, 1959.

Representative CHARLES PORTER, House of Representatives,

Washington, D.C .: Have this date sent following message to Hon. Douglas Dillon, Acting Secretary of

State, quote: "Throughout the Dominican Republic the men and women of our nation are in arms. They are rising against the dictatorship which has profaned our land for a generation. Everywhere Domonican citizens are taking ultimate action against the Trujillo tyranny. In Santo Domingo the word has been given, and the forces of freedom are moving.

"The national revolution of the Domini-

can people has begun.

"The world is now witnessing the final stages of the Trujillo tyranny and the end of the agony of the Dominican people

which has last 30 years.

"The Dominican liberation committee, which speaks in the name of the Dominican liberation movement representing all of the national interests of the oppressed people, calls upon the United States of America to recognize in the action which is now in progress the true expression of the free spirit of an oppressed people and the determination of this people to live in dignity and freedom in the society of freemen.

"For too long have we endured Trujillo's tyranny with its crimes committed against the individuals and the social institutions of our people, the outrage against the Dominican Republic is coming to an end, and the hearts of freemen everywhere should be lifted in prayerful hope that the struggle will not be needlessly prolonged nor sense-

lessly bloody.

"In the name of the Dominican people we salute the Government and the people of the United States and urge that you hasten to recognize the spirit and the mo-tives of our legitimate aspirations. We hope that the loss of life and destruction of property will be minimal.

"We pray that the barbaric practices which Trujillo has employed can be quickly stopped so that in his expiring hours murder, arson, rape, and the unique tortures which are Trujillo's contribution to the degradation of mankind will cease to add to the irreparable scars on our country and on the conscience of mandkind.

"We appeal to you, and through you to the American press and the American people, to exert every legal and moral power at your command to be with us in our stand for liberty. For us this is a matter of the indivisible fight for freedom against all tyrannies, and in this we are striking a blow for the honor, the dignity, and the freedom of all people everywhere.

"We intend to keep the U.S. Department of State advised of the progress of the Dominican liberation movement and will seek an opportunity to meet with you at the earliest possible time.

"Alfonso Canto,

"Delegate Coordinator in the United States for the Dominican Liberation Movement."

#### Poison in Your Water-No. 122

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I am inserting into the Appendix of the RECORD an article appearing in the Roanoke, Va., Times of July 24, 1958, entitled "Raw Sewage Put in River, Engineer Says":

RAW SEWAGE PUT III RIVER, ENGINEER SAYS

Raw sewage from the Salem area has been dumped into Roanoke River near the metering station west of Roanoke, the city's consulting engineer on sewage reported yester-

Louis R. Howson of the Chicago firm of Alvord, Burdick & Howson also said he understands that the metering station (where the quantity of sewage is recorded). and the sample collection are not under the control of the city of Roanoke. He called this arrangement unsatisfactory.

City Manager Arthur S. Owens, asked about the bypassing of raw sewage, said the practice

is under investigation.

The city's sewage treatment contract with Salem and Roanoke County fixed a charge of \$30 per million gallons of sewage. The rate goes up under certain conditions.

Howson's comments were in a report on the city's outgrown sewage treatment plant and recommendations for its expansion.

The engineer was here some weeks ago and made a survey of the plant and interceptor lines. He said that, upon visiting the metering station where the Salem sewage flow is recorded, "we noted that a quantity of sewage was being bypassed into the river.

Howson said it was estimated that 500,000 to 1 million gallons were dumped daily.

Referring to control of the metering station and sample collections, Howson said, "It would seem that it would be to the best interests of the city to at least have joint control of the measuring and sampling of the sewage from Salem and also of the control of the bypassing to the river."

The engineer said, "Any bypassing of raw sewage to the river at this point carries entirely through the city of Roanoke and, of course, tends to defeat the purpose of the interceptor system which is to collect all sewage in and above Roanoke." •

He believes that an 8-day interval between samplings of BOD (biochemical oxygen demand) is too infrequent to derive an average

BOD load for the month. Records kept on the 8-day frequency of samplings show that the BOD strength of the Salem sewage has varied from 300 parts per million to 74 parts per million, Howson said.

#### Area Redevelopment Bill, S. 722

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

#### HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a letter from Mr. Solomon Barkin, secretary-treasurer of the area employment expansion committee of New York, which deals with S. 722, area redevelopment bill, House revision:

> AREA EMPLOYMENT EXPANSION COMMITTEE, New York, N.Y., June 16, 1959.

Re area redevelopment bill, S. 722 (House revision).

Hon, THOMAS J. LANE,

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN LANE: We are all elated at the marked recovery in our economy which has reduced our national unemployment to 3.4 million persons. Unfortunately, these improvements have not substantially reduced the number of chronically distressed communities in the United States or the unemployed in them. The reason for this deficiency is quite apparent. The distress in these communities has resulted from reliance on an industry or plant which has not shared in the recovery, or is now closed, or improved productivity which has substantially reduced employment requirements. Unless their economies are redeveloped, they are unlikely to benefit from the national economic upturn.

In your district there is such a chronically distressed labor market which would qualify for benefits under the area redevelopment bill, S. 722 (House revision). As of May 1959, there were 179 urban labor markets so classified in addition to 663 rural counties which would become eligible for benefits under the rural redevelopment provisions of this bill. Among the 179 urban areas are 32 major labor markets, 132 smaller, and 15 very small labor markets. There are other areas which would also qualify but the data now available are insufficient to make such a determination.

In at least two States practically all communities are in this distressed category and in a considerable number of States a substantial proportion of the State's total working population resides in these areas. The State with the largest number of urban distressed labor markets is Pennsylvania with Other States with 10 or more urban labor markets which are chronically distressed are Massachusetts, 14; Michigan, 14; New York, 12; West Virginia, 11; Kentucky, 11; Illinois, 10; and North Carolina, 10.

The total civilian labor force in these chronically distressed labor markets is now 10 million or one-seventh of the country's

total work force.

Full economic recovery is not feasible in this country until programs such as are pro-vided by S. 722 (House revision) are initiated to help redevelop the economies of these distressed labor markets of this country.

Sincerely yours,

SOLOMON BARKIN. Secretary-Treasurer.

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

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# Appendix

In Such an Age

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. J. GLENN BEALL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, June 18, 1959

Mr. BEALL, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record selected excerpts from an address titled "In Such an Age, by our greatly respected Senate Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D.D., before the Woman's Society of Christian Service, of Center Street Methodist Church, of Cumberland, Md., at a luncheon meeting at the Shrine Club, Cumberland, on June 11, 1959.

The address, Mr. President, is filled with interesting and thought-provoking material. We, here in the Senate, are accustomed to hearing Dr. Harris' inspirational prayers at the opening of each daily session, but seldom are we priviledged to hear or read a major speech by him, such as that which he delivered at Cumberland last week.

I commend it to our reading and study. There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### IN SUCH AN AGE

(By Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D.D.)

It is a joy to come from the Capital City to this city of capital, and from the big buzzing confusion-which is the U.S. Senate these days—to the quiet of the Cumberland

Just now I happen to be reading the Journal of John Wesley for 1759, 200 years ago. Only yesterday I came across this entry: "Yesterday many came considerable distance-found God to be both a God of the hills and the valleys, and nowhere more present than in the mountains of Cumber-land." And, so today as we drove through land." And, so today as we drove through the lovely countryside of this State on our way to this fair city, beautiful for situation, and on this June day gazed on verdant woods and templed hills that phrase, "The Moun-tains of Cumberland," was in my mind as those hills loomed ahead.

Somehow I felt a kinship with the intrepid evangelist, whose journal I am reading, and who for more than a half century not on cushioned tires, but on horses' hoofs traveled up and down England in what has been described by a secular historian as, "The most amazing story of human exertion ever penned or endured."

Somehow I think John Wesley out of all our Methodist phraseology of today would like best the name of the organization under whose auspices we have met—The Woman's Society of Christian Service. Did he not call the growing groups of people called Methodists societies? The aim of these groups formed all over England was to cultivate the spiritual life of the members and to set them at practical tasks of the kingdom. Cetrainly we can say of our wom-

en's societies what Woodrow Wilson once said with regard to the conferences which Wesley called in those first days, "They were councils of campaign. They did have long plans in view as their enemies suspected and they have had a long and honorable place in the statesmanship of salvation."

When he heard I was to journey to the mountains of Cumberland, one of the two outstanding Senators from your historic State whose home is not far from this city-Senator J. GLENN BEALL-of whom I am very fond and who is not only an excellent Senator, but always a thoughtful and gracious friend, came to me to express his deep interest that I was to have privilege of visiting a city for which he evidently has a big place in his heart. He spoke of the loveliness of this part of "Mary-land, My Maryland" and of the wonderful people who dwell in this section of the historic free State. He asked me to take with me his cordial greeting to the Woman's Society of Christian Service of Center Street Church and to the city, itself, which I am happy to bring.

Those who serve under the white dome of the Capitol, and you who serve here through the channels of the Woman's Society of Christian Service, are privileged to live in an age on ages telling. Angela Morgan has captured the thrill of such a day in her lines:

"To be alive in such an age, With every year a lightning page-Turned in the world's great Wonder Book. Oh age of strife, oh age of life, To be alive in such an age."

If we were to attempt in any way to analyze our age apart from the fact that it is the age of the split atom, with all the dread implications of that discovery, we would be compelled to say that it is a time of world revolution. That means that teeming millions everywhere, under all skies, are reaching out often violently, demanding a more abundant life.

We do not regret that. In America at its best we have nothing that we do not desire for the whole world. This so-called world revolution is, after all, largely the harvest of the seed of democracy and Christianity,

But side by side with that revolution there is a heinous system of chains and enslavement endeavoring to pervert and utilize that legitimate revolution for their own evil ends. I refer of course to atheistic communism.

We must always be on the alert to remember that peace is one of the words in the inverted and perverted dictionary of

What, in their book, is liberation we call regimentation. What they call an election, we call a coercion. What they call peace, we call appeasement. And as my dear friend, Schator Vandenberg, used to say, "Appeasement is surrender on the installment plan." The late great American, John Poster Dulles, with inflexible determination, made it clear to the world that America is not interested in peace but that she is tremendously interested in a just peace, and that is something else.

Of course we all yearn for the final fulfillment of the Old Testament prophecy, When the lion and the lamb shall lie down together, but we want to make mighty sure that when that time comes the lamb will not be inside the lion.

In such an age we desperately need new Paul Reveres to ride up and down the pleasant lanes and foads of American prosperity, to constantly remind us that eternal vigilance is still the price of liberty Our American heritage is not like an heirloom to be automatically handed down to new generations as they come. It is something that must be relived, reinterpreted, and rewon, with every generation.

In such an age it is for every one of us

the highest privilege and duty to give the best that is in us, against the wrong that needs resistance, and for the right that needs assistance, and to the future in the distance,

and the good that we may do.

As we repeat the phrase, "In Such An Age," with what lurid adjectives that word "such" is freighted. As we listen to descriptions of our times from platform and pulpit, radio and television, and in numerous publications.

It is interesting and significant to note the labels that the contemporaries of each century have pasted upon the gateposts of their times. The prophets of Israel were nearly all past masters at coining dismal labels for their particular day as they thundered their warnings. For instance, Isaiah declared in his age, "it is a time of darkness and sorrow." Strange to say, that is very similar to the label that leaders in every century have sug-gested is characteristic of their times.

Away back in my college days Henry Van Dyke wrote a little volume entitled "The Gospel for an Age of Doubt." That, you see, was his label for that day. Across the years I remember that he suggests in that book that an appropriate coat-of-arms would be three bishops dormant and an interrogation

rampant.

As we stand at the walling walls of our troubled times, they seem as full of dis-counting labels as the highway billboards are of screaming advertisements. Some of these labels are very pessimistic. Let us admit that there is plenty of black paint for our use in portraying our America in such a age. In spite of rather rosy figures, for instance, regarding church membership and church at-tendance in the present day, it still remains true that moral delinquency is so debauching, spiritual illiteracy is so appalling, secularism is so blighting, and money poured out for strong drink, and softening luxuries is such a mighty torrent contrasted with the tiny trickle for character building enterprises and agencies, that it is no wonder that thoughtful students of history are reminding us that the symptoms which characterized the life of Rome shortly before the fall are ominously like those of mighty America in this age.

I come of course as you know from the city of chanceries. But this is a time to remember that not in the chanceries of the nations, but in the hearts and minds of individual men and women, are the issues of life and death. If what we call our civilization is to be saved—that is, the parts of it that are worthy of being saved—it will be saved not by fanning fires of hatred for dictators abroad, or by any social panaceas for our ailing social order. It will be saved by individuals-thousands of them, tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands of individual men and women whose own lives are as the candles of the Lord and whose attitudes to other people, across all lines and gulfs, make them a part of the solution rather than a part of the problem.

At a recent banquet I attended—the sort of an affair at which the speeches usually contain little but the froth of trivialitiesthe speaker for that occasion had a pertinent message. He talked about the "u" dustry, the "u" in business, and the "u" in education. It was soon apparent that he was not talking about the letter "u," but the essential "you," in the things that matter most. While he spoke, I (as a preacher) began to think of the "U" in United States, the "u" in church, the "u" in club, and there flashed through my mind a verse that I heard many years ago:

> "Yet fear I deeply too, That death will seek and find me 'Ere I keep life's rendezvous."

There is enough in that to stab our spirits broad awake. We cannot miss the date with death-some day death will find us. Across the years men have tried to find the fountain of perpetual youth but they have never discovered it. How true that the paths of glory lead but to the grave. We cannot miss that but the solemn and sobering thing is that we can miss the date with life itself. We can go through what we call life, partaking of its joys and sorrows, its triumphs and defeats, and then at last go through that little black door we call death having missed life almost completely.

It was Galsworthy who said of one of his

characters, "He had experienced everything else but life itself." Ibsen, the dramatist, wrote to a youth who was facing his own rendezvous with life a letter which contained advice which any of us might well take to heart. Here is one sentence from that letter: "There is no way in which you can benefit society more than by coining the

metal you have in yourself."
How true. One of the most dangerous of psychological tricks is to get folks surveying problems that belt the earth while, at the same time, they forget the principal problem which is themselves. D. L. Moody, the great evangelist, speaks for us all when again and again he declared that he had more trouble with himself than with any other person he had ever met. All the water in the sea cannot sink a ship unless it gets inside the ship. All the evil in the world cannot defile a person unless it gets inside the mind. All the selfish crookedness and corruption now being revealed by congressional committees cannot contaminate you unless it gets inside your skin and corrodes your own soul.

It begins to appear that the insistence of such men as John Wesley, and Jonathan Edwards, on the paramount importance of first saving our own souls as the order of spiritual priority was not as selfish as some modern social engineers have made it out to be. Why? Because we cannot give what we have not got. We cannot work any utopian plan without the utopian man. There are three fatal fallacies that in such an age keep us as individuals from the promised land we might enter. Fallacies that spoil the music of life and in our resolutions keep us up in the "whereas, whereas" and away from the brass tacks of "Therefore, be it resolved."

The first is the fallacy of the negative, or being sure only of what one is against. In this bewildered and baffled day never were so many against so much. But affirmation is 10 times stronger than denunciation. This is surely a time to accentuate the positive. The thing that will prevail at last over regimented tyranny, with its ball and chain, is a vibrant, positive democracy in which we believe more strongly, and love more deeply, than we hate totalitarism.

The next fallacy to avoid is a plague in such an age is the tyranny of things. There are those in prominent places, in

all parts of America, who with blinded eyes and hobbled feet, grope down a narrow gorge and call it life, ignoring the insight of the Master Teacher, the Man of Galilee who declared, and declares, "A man's life consisteth not of the abundance of things which he possesseth."

The third fallacy we must avoid, if we are in any adequate way to serve the present age, is the fallacy of the elsewhere. Good Book says, "The eyes of the wise are before him; the eyes of the foolish man are at the ends of the earth." Being interpreted, that means just what it saysthe eyes of the wise are before him and he sees the possible glory, the hidden splen-dor, the potentialities of the place where he is. The eyes of the foolish man are always scanning the horizon for some signs of a glory he thinks he has missed at home.

Russell Conwell gave his lecture on "Acres of Diamonds" thousands of times. He made more than a million dollars out of that one message. It ought to be said, of course, that he did not keep \$1 for himself—he gave it to the cause of Christian education. But the message of that famous lecture which thrilled and opened new vistas for multitudes who listened was that the "acres of diamonds" for which we all yearn are not half a world away but in our own backyard if we will but dig for them. And so, in such an age escaping these fallacies that face everyone of us, let us highly resolve that we will put into the fugitive fragments of every day such quality of work, and such enriching human relationships, as shall make us unashamed when the day is over and all the days are done.

## Oregon Dunes National Seashore Proposal an Assist for Tourist Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

#### HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, June 18, 1959

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, my home State of Oregon enjoys a great deal of economic benefit and business prosperity from its tourist trade. This is only a natural result of the fact that the boundaries of Oregon encompass some of the continent's finest scenic and recreational areas.

It is my belief that these values can be enhanced by further development and protection of certain unusually attractive tourist meccas. I have no qualms about confessing this is one of the motivations for my sponsorship of legislation to establish the Oregon Dunes National Seashore Area. The 23-mile section of Oregon's coast which could be included in this proposed park development is one of only four in the entire United States which the National Parks Advisory Board has found worthy for such national recognition.

I note with pleasure that two outstanding Oregon newspapers-the Port Umpqua Courier and the Oregon Statesman-have affirmed my own belief about the desirability of establishing the Oregon Dunes National Seashore Area. These newspapers are edited by two of the most able newspapermen in my home State, and I consider their endorsements of the project of great value. I ask consent to have printed in the Appendix an editorial entitled "Will National Seashore Increase Tourist Trade?" from the Port Umpqua Courier, which is edited by Mr. William M. Tugman, and an editorial from the Oregon Statesman en-titled "Dunes Park," which is edited by former Oregon Gov. Charles A. Sprague.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WILL NATIONAL SEASHORE INCREASE TOURIST TRADE?

[From the Port Umpqua Courier]

The Port Umpqua Courier supports the proposed Oregon Dunes National Seashorebetween the Umpqua and the Siuslaw, Reedsport and Florence—in the belief that all vital community and industrial interest can be safeguarded and because such a development will provide a balance now lack-ing in the economy of this area. This conclusion is based on what we think is some pretty sound reasoning:

1. Even if we achieve the pulp and paper and wood processing payrolls for which we hunger, our economy in this coastal area

will still be one sided.

2. Our agriculture offers many neglected opportunities, but with full development is it still limited.

3. Recreation and the service industries which wait upon its needs offer our best chance for growth and full development.

Present tourist traffic in this area can be measured fairly accurately by attendance at State parks. In 1958 Honeyman State Park near Florence chalked up 344,456 visitors; Umpqua Lighthouse State Park dropped from a peak of 284,628 in 1957 to 274.885—a direct result of the poor season at Salmon Harbor and the lack of overnight camping facilities.

For national parks-and there are 29 of them in all parts of the United States, some of them quite remote and difficult to reachthe average attendance was 747,300, more than twice our present highest figure.

(For the national park system, not counting monuments, battlefield, etc., etc., the total was 20,903,139).

Here are some significant figures on attendance at major national parks:

	1958	1957
Crater Lake	333, 893 1, 428, 497 3, 168, 944 1, 181, 523 1, 181, 523 80, 227 348, 335	330, 499 1, 306, 340 2, 943, 732 864, 849 864, 849 71, 260 324, 206

Oregon Caves are only a national monument with limited attractions.
 Cape Hatteras is still in the initial stages of develop-

There is every reason to believe that the Oregon Sand Dunes, with its infinite variety of all-year-round attractions would soon become one of the most heavily attended parks in the entire national system. Here we have perhaps the greatest variety of things to do in the United States.

A young man from Florence visited us the other day to ask a number of questions (presumably because the writer happens to be the chairman of the Oregon State Parks Advisory Committee):

Question. Will the national parks take over Honeyman?

Answer. At the Reedsport hearing the question was asked and answered quite frankly there would be no need to change the ownership of management of Honeyman. Question. Why don't the State parks take over this whole dunes area, except, of course, the lakes?

Answer. We now have 168 State parks, 10 million users last year, a budget of only \$1.-800,000, every penny of which must come out of State highway revenues. What would we use for money?

Question. How can we be sure the national parks would do a good job when they do a sloppy job of what they have now?

Answer. Their 1959 budget gives \$79,756,000 for operations. The administra-tion bill proposes at least \$15 million to acquire only three seashores. The Forest Service has often been short of money for its recreation facilities, but the national parks are specialists in this field. It is our belief that the national parks should have all national recreational projects, except those in remote forests, and the Forest Serv ice should concentrate on management of all Federal timber. Departmental rivalries have sense, says it must come. For funds, our State parks are not in the same league with the national parks. It would be utterly impossible for us to develop the dunes.

Question. Will benefits outweigh losses in the area?

Answer. That question has been answered quite satisfactorily in the hearings. Congress has the power to pay tax offsets over a period of years. In the towns adjacent to the Great Smokies tourists spend some \$28 million a

year (1956 figures).

There were many other questions in this friendly discussion, but we feel that they have been answered and that in the final legislation, stipulations can be written in which will safeguard against any changes of policy in future administrations. For such industries as this area is capable of sustaining there is ample room in the adjacent towns. Homeowners during their lifetime can remain where they are without let or hindrance in use of their property.

There is absolutely no reason to fear that a park will prevent the development of the port of Siuslaw or the port of Umpqua, or that it will prevent the development of whatever industries our resources in this area can

sustain.

There is every reason to believe that the national seashore will bring millions of tourists to this area the year around, that it will provide a balance in our economy we can-not obtain in any other way. It will put an end to many real estate promotions and speculations. Over a period of time, which we shall not live to see, it will restore to this area much of its primitive beauty and glory.

Thirty years ago-before Highway 101 was built-we had the privilege to tour this whole area. We were not being sentimental when We said recently that Highway 101 has not improved the country, or even added to its

real prosperity.

(We attended a meeting in Florence one time over Kyle's store, when \$600 was raised in 5 minutes to help build a passable grade up the North Fork. We will venture to say You couldn't raise \$600 in Florence or Reeds Port today for any major public project with-

out a lengthy struggle.)

The national seashore will not make everybody rich. But if it provides a balance in our economy it will reduce some of the staggering poverty which exists in all of our communities today. In a good season Salmon Harbor is estimated to spread \$2 million in direct and indirect benefits through this area. If we can double or treble our tourist trade we will double or treble those benefits.

#### [From the Oregon Statesman] DUNES PARK

Bill Tugman is convinced the Oregon coast can have a national park and at the same time develop its industries. He sees no real conflict in the proposed park of the dune region and development of industries. As he writes in his Port Umpqua Courier:

There is every reason to believe that the national seashore will bring millions of tourists to this area the year round, that it will provide a balance in our economy we cannot obtain in any other way."

The Statesman agrees. A national park along the coast would draw more tourists to Highway 101 than a new bridge at Astoria. The people around Florence who are fighting the park are taking a shortsighted view of its possibilities for local gain. Detailed plans for the proposed park are being prepared by the National Park Service and will be available when the congressional hearing is held some time this fall.

#### The People's Share in America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, June 18, 1959

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, a recent survey by the New York Stock Exchange, the results of which were published in this morning's New York Times, brings before us in bold figures the fact that here in the United States our industry. our resources, our commerce, and finance increasingly are being owned not by the select few but by the great mass of Americans-that we are in the process of developing a people's capitalism. One out of every eight adults-and the greatest proportion are those in the middleincome group; the largest number of stockholders is in the \$5,000-\$7,000 income group. The Communists boast that the basis of their appeal is the Marxist theory of government ownership of the means of production. It is certainly hoped that the peoples of the Communist countries will note that in the United States through the evolutionary processes of our people's capitalism, not only are the means of production being owned by more and more rank-and-file Americans, but their individual prosperity and the prosperity of the country have grown remarkably as well-pinning the lie to the Marxist pronouncement of the inevitable collapse of capitalism.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous con-sent that the article may be printed in

the Appendix of the RECORD. There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, June 18, 1959] NEW SHAREHOLDER CENSUS SHOWS ONE ADULT OUT OF EIGHT OWNS STOCK

America's stockholder population continues to grow apace. Early this year it stood at 12,490,000 individuals, compared with an estimated 8,630,000 in 1956 and 6,490,000 in 1952. The latest figure is contained in a shareowner census conducted by the New York Stock Exchange. The 1953 and 1952 surveys were also made by big board in collaboration with Alfred Politz Research, Inc.

Keith Funston, president of the Exchange yesterday described the rapid growth in stock ownership as a quiet economic revolution that is reshaping America, Mr. Funston noted that more than 1 million people a year were becoming stockholders. "The reyear were becoming stockholders. "The re-sult," he said, "is a total shareowner population that was not anticipated before 1965." One adult out of eight is a shareowner.

#### PROFILE IS GIVEN

The new census gives a profile of investors by income, sex, age, occupation, education, and the like

The survey shows, for instance, that the average shareowner has a household income of \$7,000, compared with \$6,200 in 1956. This 12-percent rise is about the same as that in the average family income for the Nation as a whole. Almost half of all share-owners are in the \$5,000-to-\$10,000 bracket; 23 percent have household incomes above \$10,000 a year.

Women shareowners outnumber men 52.5 to 47.5 percent. Housewives-4 million strong—now constitute the largest single group of stockholders. In all, 6,347,000 women and 5,740,000 men own stock.

The median age of shareowners is 49, 1 year older than in 1956. Ownership occurs most often in the 55-to-64 age bracket. The 45-to-54 and 65-and-older groups rank next.

Some 32 percent of all shareowners fall into the managerial and the professional categories. Each of these groups showed a gain of nearly 1 million since 1956. Clerical and sales workers constitute the next largest occupational group. Farmers and farm laborers are the smallest. About half of all shareowners have had some college educa-

#### NEWCOMERS DESCRIBED

In addition to providing data on the overall stockholder population, the census provides a composite portrait of new shareowners since 1956.

The average new shareowner is 35 years old; 47 percent are in the 21-34 age bracket. The median income of the newcomers is \$6,900, and almost a third are in the \$5,000to-\$7,000 income range. Women outnumber men, 56 to 44 percent, among new investors. Summarizing the findings of the census,

Mr. Funston commented:
"This growth places an even greater re sponsibility on the securities industry. We must do everything possible to insure that new shareowners—many of them inexperi-enced at investing—understand the risks involved in stock ownership and approach the business of investing in a well-informed and prudent manner.'

## Statement of Gov. Herschel C. Loveless, of Iowa, Before Senate and House Government Operations Committees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. NEAL SMITH

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, the Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee, of which I am a member, commenced joint hearings with the Schate Committeee on Government Operations on H.R. 6904, H.R. 6905, and S. 2026. The purpose of these identical bills is to establish a permanent Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.

We were very fortunate to have with us as the first witness at the joint hearings Gov. Herschel C. Loveless, of Iowa. Governor Loveless has been greatly in-

terested in problems of intergovernmental relations, and his knowledge of this subject is demonstrated by his thoughtful and well-reasoned statement on the need for an advisory commission as an instrument for closer intergovernmental cooperation.

I should like to bring this outstanding statement to the attention of all

Members of the House:

STATEMENT OF GOV. HERSCHEL C. LOVELESS, OF IOWA, BEFORE MEMBERS OF SENATE AND HOUSE GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS COMMIT-TEES. JUNE 16, 1959

Mr. Chairman, members of the committees, I am privileged by this opportunity to tes-tify before you this morning concerning the proposed establishment of a permanent Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, as provided for in H.R. 6904, H.R.

6905, and S. 2026.

The statements concerning the need for this legislation that have already been made by Senator Muskie, Senator Case, Congressman Fountain, and the other distinguished sponsors of this measure have been admirably clear and convincing. I do not flatter myself by believing that I can add anything of startling originality to these statements and to the impressive report submitted by the Intergovernmental Relations Subcom-mittee. My purpose, rather, is simply to try to bring to you a viewpoint that I feel to be fairly representative of the State of Iowa. This viewpoint has been formed from my own personal experience in municipal and government and from consultation with those department heads of our State government who have had the most extensive experience with shared responsibility

Whenever a new governmental agency is proposed—particularly a board or commission—there are always those persons who throw up their hands in holy horror and say: "What, another one?" Quite frankly, I am one of those persons myself.

But where the need for a specific service exists, and there is no other agency meeting this need, then I feel we must relax our rule-of-thumb prejudice against new commissions. As you all know, a number of important studies have been made of intergovernmental-relations in recent years. As I read the record, these studies-especially the work of the Kestnbaum commission and the House Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee-strongly establish the existence of this need. I have no hesitancy in telling you that my experience on the State level in Iowa bears this out.

The people of the State of Iowa are jealous-and rightly so, I think-of the prerogatives of State and local government. They would say a fervent "Amen" to the statement in the subcommittee's report which accepts, "as a guiding principle the belief that strong local self-government is essential in a democratic society."

But even if one were a radical exponent of States rights-which most of our people are not-this would not be a valid reason for opposing the establishment of this permanent Advisory Commission you are considering today. An ounce of knowledge is worth a ton of prejudice in protecting the legitimate interests of sound local government. At the present time, there is no clearinghouse of information, no agency that can supply detailed and authoritative data on the complex intergovernmental relationships under our Federal system. In my opinion, the proposed bipartisan Commission would serve an extremely useful purpose to State and local officials, and would actually provide an effective means of protecting their prerogatives.

We are not, at this functure, debating the merits or lack of merits of shared responsibility programs. These programs we al-ready have, and they are big and complex. They are costly, of course.

I do not, for a moment, believe that the people of our State are foolish enough to believe that Federal money is free money. We realize that we pay our share of govern-

mental expenditures on all levels.

But in the existing framework of intergovernmental operations, who can estimate the saving to the taxpayer of a closer co-ordination between Federal, State, and local governments, the elimination of duplications, and the exploitation of the vast potential of united effort?

Coordination is an urgent need between the agencies of government at any level. It is an equally urgent need between the

levels of government.

The proposed Federal Advisory Commission could serve an invaluable function in encouraging and pointing the way for increased coordination. And I feel sure that such a service would result in substantial economies for the long-suffering taxpayer.

We live in a time of bewildering change and complexity. Almost every new public problem that arises—radiation hazard, for example-involves government at all levels. An impartial agency is needed to encourage cooperation rather than division between Federal, State, and local governments, if we are to meet these new problems with maximum effectiveness.

A further important educational service could be provided in the clarification of the functions of the various levels of government for public information. Every thoughtful person is concerned these days, I believe, with the widespread indifference among our people concerning public affairs. This indifference is due in part to their loss of confidence in the value of their individual effort. Our individuality tends to be swallowed up in bigness-big scientific achievements, big business, big labor, and, of course, big government. A clarification of the functions of government on the various levels would. I think, tend to offset this indifference. It would help restore the individual citizen's sense of identity in the relation to government, and this, in turn, would tend to re-store his faith in the worth of individual effort. In my opinion, a better knowledge of intergovernmental relationships on the part of the general public would be of distinct value to the functioning of our de-

In Iowa, during the past couple of years, a great part of my effort has been directed to the job of bringing about better coordination between the various agencies within the State government. Now we are shifting our emphasis on closer teamwork between State and local agencies. Many of our most serious problems in such areas, for example, as law enforcement, welfare, education, and conservation will. I am confident, be greatly helped by breaking down barriers and promoting mutual understanding. Such situations between officials working in different levels of government develop because of lack of communication and insufficient knowledge of each other's problems. The obvious answer is for the representatives of the various levels of government to get together and resolve their differences. I believe the proposed Advisory Commission could provide an excellent medium for bringing together representatives of State, Federal, and local government under the most favorable circumstances possible.

In Iowa, our 58th general assembly has rather recently adjourned. As I look back over this session, I am thoroughly convinced that more accurate and comprehensive information on intergovernmental problems-

grants-in-aid, for example-would have been of the greatest help to our legislators. We urgently need a clearinghouse for such information, and the proposed Advisory Commission could serve as such a clearinghouse.

During debate in this legislative session. one well-meaning legislator opposed a Federal shared-responsibility program that was under consideration on the basis that it might cost the State \$6 or \$8 million. The highest informed estimate the departmental experts could arrive at for this program was \$600,000. An official source of informa-tion was needed to confirm the figure. A well-drawn county reorganization bill was defeated on the grounds that it would infringe on the authority of local government. The proponents of the bill did a good lob of presenting the measure, but if they could have cited comparative facts and figures on county reorganization, identifying the source of the information as an authoritative, impartial commission on intergovernmental relations, I believe the outcome in the case of this particular legislation might have been

I believe that almost everyone would agree that one of the vital needs in all strata of government is for longer range planning. Conditions change so rapidly, we need to look ahead in both our legislative and administrative programs. Short-range, temporizing programs are apt to be costly and inefficient. Yet it is difficult to sell long-range programs to State legislatures and even to departmental heads. Many problems could be averted in such fields of shared responsibility as public welfare, employment security, and public health, if we would use a little more foresight.

H.R. 6904 and its companion bills propose that the Advisory Commission would encourage discussion and study at an early stage of crucial public problems that will be of mutual concern to all levels of government in years ahead. This service, I am convinced, would have a favorable influence on both efficiency and economy in government

operations.

Through the years I have noted that congressional committees strive very diligently to obtain State and local viewpoints for reference in arriving at legislative decisions. The fact that you have invited me here today attests to your desire to give fair consideration to regional opinion. It strikes me that the proposed Advisory Commission might be a logical medium for providing information to committees of Congress on State and local government views on intergovernmental problems. As I understand it, the Commission would also have facilities, as proposed, to make available technical assistance to congressional committees in assessing the overall effects of legislative proposals on State government. The Commission could encourage coordination of grant programs and the elimination of contradictory or conflicting grant formulas from program to pro-

A typical area in which there is a tremendous need for an exhaustive, unbiased survey is the field of residence requirements in public assistance programs. This matter is of vital concern to every State and county in the Nation, as well as to the Federal Government. As you may know, the Governors' conference has appointed a committee to study certain aspects of this problem and formulate recommendations for establishing more uniform and equitable residence requirements between the States. of many vitally important phases of intergovernmental responsibility in which the proposed Advisory Commission could usefully function to the benefit of all concerned.

Excellent and far reaching though the work of the intergovernmental relations subcommittee has been, it has, as its report

indicates, covered only a part of the vast field of intergovernmental relationships. Its work was largely concentrated on Federal grants-in-aid programs. But in the preface to the subcommittee's report, it is pointed out that there are also many nongrant areas, including regulatory activities, law enforcement, water and other natural resource policies, and the management of public lands and military installations.

The Kestnbaum Commission, for its part, made a more general evaluation of intergovernmental responsibilities and relationships under our Federal system. I believe it should be obvious to anyone familiar with the subject that these two great studies, monumental though they have been, have only scratched the surface of the vast and changing field of intergovernmental relations

The refinement of the science of intergovernmental relations, I am firmly convinced, is an important key to the future success of Government under our Federal system. To compete with totalitarian nations, who command certain efficiencies, however repugnant their philosophy may be to us, we too must develop new methods of obtaining economy and efficiency in our democratic system. Studious efforts to improve coordination and eliminate duplications between the levels of government—both in regulatory functions and in meeting human needs—will, I am convinced, do wonders toward obtaining these results.

Of course, today, as heretofore in our democracy, our problem is a dual one. We do not propose to sacrifice any of our basic liberties under the Federal system in our zeal to make Government work more efficiently. But, as I have stated earlier, I am convinced that the true prerogatives of State and local government can best be preserved by constant study and reevaluation of the appropriate roles of each level of government in the complicated pattern of intergovernmental relations.

Additional studies performed by temporary commissions and ad hoc committees cannot do the job. The face of Government changes too rapidly. A permanent, impartial agency, equipped with the necessary resources, is required for this important work. I submit to you that the proposed Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations is the logical answer.

The privilege of appearing before this distinguished body and the courteous reception you have accorded me serve to strengthen my faith in the ability of the various levels of our Government to work together for the common good. Thank you.

#### Manipulation of Interest Ceilings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 18, 1959

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, after serious consideration of the special message to Congress from President Eisenhower, calling for abolition of the legal ceiling on Government bond interest rates and the increase in the debt ceiling, I am convinced of the need for the separation of the two items for consideration and feel that every possible avenue of approach should be explored before crashing the interest ceiling barrier which has served our Nation so well

for 40 years, through wars, inflation, and depressions and recessions.

The present tightening of credit has been a deliberate, manmade effort to drive up interest rates, with the cooperation of Wall Street, the bankers, and the Federal Reserve Board.

The Federal Reserve System was organized to aid the fiscal activities of the Federal Government. The Federal Reserve Board has the weapons such as open market operations, the discount, the reserve requirement, to establish interest rates at any level, up or down. It can modify its present policy and moderately support the prices of Federal bonds at low interest rates, to enable the Government to borrow long term money without breaking the 4½-percent ceiling.

When Government, through the constitutional right of Congress to regulate the value of money, ceases to regulate it by surrendering to the economic royalists, we are then crossing the thin wavering line between liberty and tyranny.

This point is a good spot and a good time for a start toward returning to the Congress of the United States its constitutional independence and integrity as a policymaking body by reversing the process of concentration of economic power in the hands of a few—to defy those who are attempting to destroy the safeguards which stood us well for 40 years.

Our national debt is concentrated in the hands of big bankers who are demanding the necessary nourishment of increased interest rates. This debt is primarily a compilation of war debts. It is unfortunate that as a matter of social justice, that men, against their will, are required to serve as soldiers, and wealth, on the other hand, is not conscripted to serve on an equal basis.

Raising of the interest ceiling is a poor way to turn off the faucet of bank credit from adding its flood of monetary purchasing power to feed the existing inflationary spiral. It is taking money out of the pockets of all of the people in order that it may find its way back into the pockets of a few of the people. It will decrease the real incomes of all persons receiving fixed incomes through pensions, prices will be higher, each dollar will buy less. It will divert investment funds from private enterprise and subsidize and enrich wealthy bondholders. If interest rates rise, businessmen will borrow less, and produce less goods and employ less workers. It will create a large cyclone cellar of taxexempt Government bonds which will hit the citizens in the pocket and the pocketbooks as a method of legalized embezzlement by artificial manipulation of interest ceilings without any clear mandate or necessity. It will drive up the cost of homes, hospitals, schools, and roads, and feed the upward cost spiral of Government financing.

Are we in Congress going to be men, or rubber stamps? Are we going to be a meek and willing partner to this pyramiding of the public debt? Are we going to place this heavy burden of increased money costs upon the backs of our citizens?

There is a fundamental principle of fiscal policy involved in this matter of interest rates that should be met head on with candor and courage, and I for one urge the retention of the current interest ceiling as the soundest policy that we can follow.

Colorado-Big Thompson Project Completed as Final Powerplant Goes on the Line

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. BYRON L. JOHNSON

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 27, 1959

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I commend to the attention of my colleagues a recent announcement by the Bureau of Reclamation of completion of the Colorado-Big Thompson project.

The citizens of Colorado and especially those of the Second Congressional District that I represent are extremely grateful to benefit from this great project.

The Colorado-Big Thompson is truly an American reclamation showcase. Its multipurpose nature has not only transformed once barren and unproductive land into a leading producing area, but has also provided Colorado with low-cost power and expanded recreational facilities.

The American taxpayer can be justly proud of his investment in this project, an investment I want to make clear to all that is returning to the taxpayer every dollar invested. In addition, the people of the United States are benefiting through vastly increased production and for greater taxes thus returned to the U.S. Government:

COLORADO-BIG THOMPSON PROJECT COMPLETED AS FINAL POWERPLANT GOES ON THE LINE

The Colorado-Big Thompson reclamation project, one of the major irrigation developments undertaken by the Federal Government, reaches completion this month.

Its final facility, a 4,500-kilowatt hydroplant, is being readled for operation before July 1, Secretary of the Interior Fred A. Seaton announced today. The project has been providing irrigation water for upward of 720,000 acres of land since 1954.

The new powerplant, known as the Big Thompson plant, is located at the mouth of the Big Thompson Canyon about 9 miles west of Loveland. The plant operates only on a seasonal basis. Its output will be added to that of five other project powerplants which, in turn, are interconnected with other reclamation hydrofacilities in Wyoming and Colorado and serve users in those States and western Nebraska.

The Colorado-Big Thompson project accomplishes a diversion of surplus waters of the Colorado River drainage into the basin of the South Platte River, of which the Big Thompson River is one of the main tributaries, Commissioner of Reclamation Floyd E. Dominy explained.

Water is transferred via a 13-mile tunnel under the Continental Divide to supple-

ment previously existing but inadquate irrigation supplies for farmland in northeastern Colorado. The diversion is expected to aver-

age 257,700 acre-feet annually.

The water conservation and use plan includes a network of reservoirs on the western side of the mountains to capture and regulate the spring runoff, which was previously going to waste, and transfers the surplus runoff to eastern slope reservoirs by means of pumping plants, powerplants, tunnels, and siphons.

"This is an immensely complex system of engineering works that emphasizes the need of the water-hungry West to put its water resources to maximum use," Dominy said. "It also emphasizes the importance of longrange planning. This project has been talked about and under investigation for over half a century. It has been under con-struction for more than two decades. Some

of this long stretchout resulted from the war years."

Drought was a major factor leading to the approval of the project by Congress.

Since before 1900, the residents of the South Platte Valley had been looking westward, where a large quantity of water was flowing unused to the Gulf of California. They needed the water, but lacked the ability to surmount the mountain barrier.

In 1933, while drought ravaged the land and economic depression was causing broad unemployment, citizens' organizations obtained a preliminary engineering survey which became the basis for an authorization by Congress for a Bureau of Reclamation

study of the potentialities.

The Bureau began its study in 1935. The project was approved 2 years later, and construction of Green Mountain Dam and powerplant on the Blue River began in 1938. This initial feature, forming a storage and replacement reservoir, on the Colorado River side insures western slope water users a supply of water during diversion of Colorado water and provides electric power for

The first minor water diversions occurred in 1947, and the first major diversions in 1954, another year of drought. At that time, eastern slope water resources were virtually exhausted, and even though not all the distribution system was completed, emergency use of project water resulted in a savings of \$22 million in crops. The following year, crops worth an additional \$17 million were saved because of project water.

The last of the 130 miles of canals was completed in 1956, enabling service to the full area of serviceable lands. In 1958, the lands irrigated by both within-basin and project water produced crops valued at \$71 million. The crop value per acre was \$99.

The area is an important producer of sugar beets, beans and vegetables. Along with beet tops and pulp, much of its cereal grains-mostly barley, corn and oats-is converted through livestock feeding into meat products.

Project costs total \$159.5 million, all of which will be repaid to the Federal Treasury, from payments by the irrigators and from power revenues. Northern Colorado pioneered in the organization of a water conservancy district, formed to levy ad valorem taxes on real property within the benefited area and thus spread the repayment burden.

The district also represents the irrigation and municipal water users and has begun fulfilling its obligation of annual payments. Municipal and industrial water is supplied under contracts with 10 important cities and towns in northeastern Colorado. Power revenues have been accumulating since 1943. Through June 30, 1958, the power system net revenues totaled \$15 million, of which \$9 million was interest payment on the construction cost.

The Colorado-Big Thompson project system includes 15 major dams and dikes, almost 35 miles of tunnels, 784 miles of transmission lines, 41 substations and switchyards, and 3 pumping plants.

Green Mountain, Willow Creek, Granby, and Shadow Mountain Reservoirs on the west, and Horsetooth and Carter Reservoirs on the east, are the principal components of the total storage capacity of nearly 1 million acre-feet.

Powerplants, in addition to the Big Thompson plant, are the Green Mountain, Marys Lake, Estes, Pole Hill, and Flatiron. The installed capacity aggregates 183,950 kilowatts, which delivers about 690 million kilowatt-hours annually, mostly to rural cooperatives and municipalities, and supplies an annual project pumping load of about 70 million additional kilowatt-hours.

Recreation has proved to be an important benefit of the project, which is on both sides of Rocky Mountain National Park and is in one of the most scenic sections of the Colo-

rado Rockies.

The National Park Service, administering the Shadow Mountain National Recreation Area made up of Lake Granby and Shadow Mountain Lake, reported 1.5 million visitors there last season. Another million fisher-men and others used Horsetooth and Carter Reservoirs.

These and the other bodies of water on the project have led to large commercial investments in recreation facilities.

#### Tribute to the Boy Scouts of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

#### HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

Thursday, June 18, 1959

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, we recognize that, in building a stronger America, a major challenge is that of developing the most valuable resource of our Nation-that is, a free, creative, educated, and forward-looking people with high ethical and moral standards.

Today, I wish to pay tribute to one of the most significant organizations which have helped to strengthen the fiber of the American citizen: The Boy Scouts of America. Since its incorporation in 1910, and its chartering by Congress in 1916, the Boy Scouts have rendered superb service in building the youth of this Nation. The leadership of the Scout movement has comprised the very best type of Americans. Since 1910, almost 241/2 million boys have enjoyed the advantages of Scout membership; and many of our most outstanding leaders of today, in every field of endeavor, have been dedicated Boy Scouts. When the number of adults who have served in this splendid program is added to the total, it comes to almost 30 million Americans.

Approximately 35,000 boys have qualified for Eagle rank in the Scouts, and almost 25 million merit badges have been earned during the 49-year period they have been in existence. Currently, the number of Cub Scouts, troop members, and Explorers total more than 4.950,000.

We here in America have every reason to be proud of the Boy Scouts and their

achievements in helping to mold the characters and bodies of our youth into outstanding examples of patriotic manhood. We have learned to expect great things from Scouts and Scout leaders; and we have not been disappointed.

Recently, I was pleased to receive from Mr. Rebel L. Robertson, the director of public relations of the National Council of the Boy Scouts of America, an invitation to submit a statement to be used in the Scouts' forthcoming golden jubilee year. In celebrating 50 years of tremendous contributions to the welfare of the country, the Scouts theme for the golden anniversary year in 1960 is "For God and Country." It was indeed a real pleasure to prepare a commendatory statement indicating my impressions of what this youth movement has done for the good of our land. Mr. President, when I speak about our youth, I mean our youth who have to handle the responsibility of sustaining America in the days ahead. And, as someone has said, that is some job.

Today, I was happy to receive a copy of the fine publication Boy Power, which briefly reviews the splendid way in which the Boy Scout program is helping to build the kind of citizens and leaders our Nation will need tomorrow.

The program of the Boy Scouts includes a wide variety of training and opportunities, including vocational preparation, physical fitness, citizenship, and enjoyment of the finest kinds of recreation, as well as special activities in a wide variety of fields, including of wisconsin agriculture, aeronautics, chemistry, in the senate of the united states astronomy, athletics, and others.

In recognizing that this is the kind of voluntary effort, participated in by both youth and adults, we need, in order to build a stronger country, and because I recognize that this effort needs encouragement and expansion, I request unanimous consent to have excerpts from Boy Power printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts from the magazine were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows: BOYPOWER THAT COMES FROM A PROGRAM WITH A PURPOSE

The power and worth of Scouting comes from what it does to the boy. A Cub Scout shows his concern by rescuing a bird which has fallen from its nest. A Boy Scout influences his school chums to give another boy a fair break. An Explorer courageously tackles a tough job and carries it through.

Each is strengthened by Scouting's code of ideals, its program of skills, its emphasis on fitness and teamwork. Multiply these little incidents by millions and you get some small idea of the power that comes from the influences of the Scouting programs at work in the lives of boys.

All these experiences provide values for boys, values growing out of program and activities carried on by volunteers in an atmosphere of growing mutual respect and helpfulness.

The ideals of the Cub Scout promise, the Boy Scout oath, and the Explorer code influence the atmosphere in which these boys live and dream and work. They give purpose and direction to a boy's growth.

CUB SCOUTING FOR BOYS 8, 9, AND 10 YEARS OLD

Boys 8, 9, and 10 years of age get together in their home-centered Cub Scout den meetings week after week, under the supervision of their den mother and den chief. The Cub Scout den is a small neighborhood group of boys who like to be together and who are beginning to learn to get along with other people and to find out more about their world.

All during the week the Cub Scout enlists his own father and mother to work with him on his various Cub Scouting achievements. Thus, home life is built more solidly and family teamwork is enriched.

The solidarity of the family team and the pride of accomplishment of the boy are further strengthened at the Cub Scout pack meeting where the parents and Cub Scouts of the various dens gather each month. Through this participation of parents and sons the threads of pride and teamwork tie together the various neighborhoods of a community, to the end that the resources of the community may be brought into action to help the individual boy to grow.

BOY SCOUTING FOR BOYS 11 YEARS OF AGE AND OLDER

When a boy becomes 11 years old he may become a member of a Boy Scout troop. He may continue in the troop until his 18th birthday when he may become eligible to be an assistant scoutmaster.

When the boy joins a troop he becomes a member of one of the patrols of the troop. A patrol is often described as a vest-pocket democracy. Under the direction of the patrol leader, one of the boys chosen by the members of the patrol to be their leader, the group becomes one of the units of operation in the troop.

Patrol pride and morale are built as the group works together in the adventure of hiking, in pitching camp, and in cooking in the open. Many kinds of activities are carried on by the patrol, and as it grows stronger, the leader and individual members grow. The patrol is a group in which boys develop skill at choosing, planning, and working together-and in helping others.

At troop meetings and on hikes and in camp, members of patrols grow stronger through competing, learning new skills, and through developing pride in accomplishment and competition.

Many older Scouts continue their relationship with the troop, year after year, growing into positions of leadership as they gain experience and skill. Thus the troop is strengthened to provide valuable experience in leadership and management for boys and young men

If at least 14 years of age and in the ninth grade or higher, or 15 years of age regardless of grade, the boy may choose to become an Explorer.

THE NEW EXPLORING PROGRAM: BOYPOWER-SOON TO BE MANPOWER

The new Exploring program for older boys and young men-after 4 years in prepara--was carefully launched during the fall of 1958. A most careful period of research, survey, analysis, and preparation had preceded the release of the new program for boys of high school age. Such outstanding national research organizations as the Survey Research Center of the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan, aided in the development.

By the year's end thousands of keymen related to Exploring in councils all over American had received training to equip them to go forward with the new Exploring program. program, fully implemented with books, pamphlets, visual aids, and national pub-

The new program of Exploring-scientifically built on the expressed needs and interests of young men-filled with challenge and positive value, was thus launched for the young men of America.

Strengthened with this added resource to help young men rise above the limitations that sometimes prevent their fullest possible development, the Boy Scouts of America is now equipped to enter more significantly than ever before into the lives of those many thousands of young men.

These are the types of activities that explorers specialize in: aeronautics, agriculture, plorers specialize in: aeronautics, agriculture, antiques, aquatics, archaeology, archery, architecture, art, astronautics, astronomy, athletics, atomic energy, auto mechanics, band, bird study, boating, botany, camping, canoeing, chemistry, chorus, conservation, cycling, dramatics, electronics, emerging gency service, engineering, falconry, fishing, forestry, geology, handicraft, hi-fi, hiking, horsemanship, hunting, Indian lore, marks-manship, medical, model building, mountain climbing, nature study, orchestra, orienteering, pets, photography, public speaking, publishing, radio, religion, rockets, science, seamanship, sports, stamp collecting, television, zoology.

THE BOY POWERPLANT: YOUR SCOUT COUNCIL

The purpose of your Scout council and 531 others like it is to serve America. councils serve large cities and small towns and open country area-communities, people, homes, families, boys-nearly 5 million them. Councils render such service through power, energy, planning, programing, and scheduling.

#### VOLUNTEERS

Most of all, the council makes effective the work of volunteers. Manpower. Men with vision. Men with influence. The council is made up of men who build effective budgets, men who emphasize health and safety factors, men who feel deep concern for the values that come to boys through participating in camping and outdoor activities, men dedicated to organizing additional units so effectively that they will enrich boy life and provide satisfaction to adults. The council mobilizes and gives direction

to the work of men who organize units, men who serve as commissioners, men who serve as merit badge counselors; men who serve in these and in dozens of other ways in every council in America. The outreach of their influence cannot be estimated.

The Scout council-your Scout councilis the powerhouse that guides hundreds of volunteers as they work in harmony in serving—all to the end that boys grow to be more able men, more alert, and more determined to live and work for God and coun-

There were 1,332,341 volunteer adults registered on December 31, 1958. Of these 124,549 were unit leaders; 300,872 were den mothers, and 762,967 served as committee members and in other capacities.

In order to serve these Scouting volunteers and to make their work more resultful and more satisfying, 3,471 men serve as professional leaders in Scouting.

#### Proposed Establishment of Senate Committee on Veterans' Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, June 18, 1959

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD my affirmative statement to a special subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration urging the establishment of a standing U.S. Senate Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR RICHARD L. NEUBERG-ER IN SUPPORT OF RESOLUTIONS TO ESTAB-LISH A SENATE STANDING COMMITTEE ON VETERANS' AFFAIRS, SUBMITTED TO A SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ADMINISTRATION

Mr. Chairman, I wish to commend the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration for establishing a special subcommittee and holding hearings on the four Senate resolutions, sponsored by 35 Members of the Senate, which would establish a standing Committee on Veterans' Affairs in the Senate.

Such a committee is long overdue, and it seems only fair that veterans' legislation receive careful and sympathetic consideration in a committee which devotes itself exclusively to veterans' affairs.

Since I have been a Member of the Senate. in January 1955, I have joined in sponsoring with my colleague resolutions to establish such a committee. This year well over a third of the Members of the Senate have joined in sponsoring resolutions to establish a Senate Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

Jurisdiction over veterans' affairs is concentrated in a single standing committee of the House of Representatives. This arrangement has worked well. The House Veterans' Affairs Committee is able to consider the great number of legislative proposals dealing with veterans.

In the Senate, jurisdiction over veterans' legislation is spread among several committees, which must necessarily deal with many other important matters in other fields. Due to the press of committee business, veterans' legislation is often sidetracked in favor of the regular committee business.

Federal funds for veterans' services and benefits in the 1960 budget total \$5.1 billion, 6.6 percent of the entire Federal budget. The fourth largest expenditure of our Federal Government is for veterans, with only defense, interest on the debt, and agriculture receiving a greater share of funds. The vast score of the Federal veterans' program and funds expended demand a Senate committee which can devote full time to these matters.

The nearly 23 million war veterans and their dependents who are affected by the veterans' services and benefits program are entitled to have legislation considered by a Senate Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

For the committee's consideration I ask that a table be included with my statement showing the number of veterans of all wars, deaths in service, number of living veterans and dependents on compensation and pension rolls as of December 31, 1958. These figures were supplied by the Veterans'

Number of participants and deaths in service during all wars; number of living veterans and veterans and dependents on compensa-tion and pension rolls, Dec. 31, 1958

REVOLUTION (1775-83)

Participants	395, 000
Deaths in service	4,000
Last veteran died Apr. 5, 1869	Age 109
Last dependent died 1906	Age 92
WAR OF 1812 (1812-48)	
Participants	536, 000
Deaths in service	2,000
Last veteran died May 13, 1905	Age 105
Last dependent died 1946	Age 1

during all wars; number of lit and veterans and dependents of tion and pension rolls, Dec. 3.	on compensa-
MEXICAN WAR (1846-48)	, 1000
	130,000
Participants Deaths in service	13,000
Last veteran died Sept. 3, 1929	Age 98
Dependents on compensation and pension rolls:	
Widows	4
Children	1
CIVIL WAR (1861-65)	
Participants (Union Forces	
only) Deaths in service (Union Forces	2,213,000
Last veteran died Aug. 2, 1956	364,000
(Union Forces only) Veterans and dependents on	Age 109
compensation and pension rolls:	
Widows (Union and Con-	
Widows (Union and Con- federate Forces)	3,514
Children (Union and Con- federate Forces)	828
Veterans (Confederate Forces	
only) indian wars (approximately	2
1860-98)	
Participants	106,000
Deaths in service	1,000
Living veterans  Veterans and dependents on	73
compensation and pension	
Widows	788
Children	22
Veterans	73
SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR (1898- 1902)	
Participants	
Deaths in service	
Veterans and dependents on	
compensation and pension rolls:	
Parents	. 3
Widows	
Children	2,430
Veterans	41,531
WORLD WAR I (1917-18)	
Participants	4, 744, 000
Deaths in service	131,000
Veterans and dependents on	2, 828, 000
compensation and pension rolls:	
Parents	12,752
Widows	390, 362
Children	
WORLD WAR II (SEPT. 16, 1940-	910, 103
JULY 25, 1947)	
Participants	
Deaths in service	409,000
Veterans and dependents on	10, 200, 000
compensation and pension	
rolls: Parents	055 016
Widows	255, 313 84, 665
Children	175, 502
Veterans	1,648,988
KOREAN CONFLICT (JUNE 27, 1950- JAN. 31, 1955)	
Participants	16 807 000

Participants\_\_\_\_\_ 16, 807, 000

54,000

36, 207

36, 207

208,030

9,944

--- 15, 423, 000

Deaths in service

Veterans and dependents on compensation and pension

Parents\_\_\_\_\_

Children ....

Veterans\_\_\_\_\_

Wldows\_\_\_\_

Living veterans\_\_\_\_\_

Number of participants and deaths in service

Number of participants and deaths in service during all wars; number of living veterans and veterans and dependents on compensation and pension rolls, Dec. 31, 1958-Con.

#### TOTAL, ALL WARS

Participants	31, 858, 000
Deaths in service	
Living veterans	422, 717, 000
Veterans and dependents on compensation and pension rolls:	
Parents	* 320, 492
Widows	* 583, 483
Children	1 289, 327
Veterans	42,898,264

1 Includes 1,476,000 who served in both World War II and the Korean conflict.

Includes 935,000 with service in both World War II and the Korean conflict.

Persons who served in more than one war are counted as participants in each.

\*Includes approximately 90,000 former members of the (peacetime) Regular Establishment who are receiving VA disability compensation.

\* Includes 16,217 parents of deceased former members of the (peacetime) Regular Estab-

\*Includes 14,302 widows of deceased former members of the (peacetime) Regular Estab-

Includes 10,524 children of deceased former members of the (peacetime) Regular Establishment.

The proposal for the establishment of a standing Committee on Veterans' Affairs is not a new one. It was recommended in 1946 by the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress, the famous La Follette-Monroney committee. Neither is the proposal for such a committee a partisan rec-ommendation. The four Senate resolutions to establish such a committee are sponsored by members of both political parties. also has the strong support of all major veterans' organizations.

It seems only fair to me that veterans' legislation should be considered by a single committee which can devote full time to these matters affecting such a large number of our citizens. The committee members would be familiar with veterans' problems and needs and could give sympathetic and prompt consideration to proposed legisla-tion, protecting both the interest of the Nation and the veteran.

Now that the hearings are being held, I urge the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration to report to the Senate a resolution to create a standing Senate Committee on Veterans. I believe that all the Members of the Senate should have an opportunity to vote on this important question.

#### Surplus Property for Education, Health, and Civil Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 18, 1959

McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a report from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare which shows that \$5,846,383 in real property and \$73,369,750 in personal property were made available to the States for education, health, and civil

defense purposes during the months of January, February, and March 1959.

The report also indicates the allocation of the property by States for the period.

It is fortunate that the surplus property mostly originating in the military departments can be put to such meritorious use at the present time when our institutions are in great need of assistance. Making this property available is, in a sense, a dividend to the taxpayers who bought the property in the first place. The Special Subcommittee on Donable Property of the Committee on Government Operations is in constant touch with this program and I am pleased to note that there has been a steady growth in the allocation of property since the amendment of the basic act, by Public Law 61, in 1955. The Honorable John S. Monagan, of Connecticut, and the Honorable ROBERT R. BARRY, of New York, serve with me on this special subcommittee.

The above-mentioned report follows:

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE, Office of the Secretary, Washington, D.C.

Surplus property for which the Federal Government paid \$79,216,133 was made available to the States for educational, public health, and civil defense purposes during January, February and March 1959, by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Real property accounted for \$5,846,383

and personal property for \$73,369,750. Secretary Arthur S. Flemming announced the totals in making his quarterly report to Congress on the Department's surplus prop-

erty program.

Property no longer needed by the Federal Government is distributed, under the provisions of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, to educational and public health agencies and civil defense organizations of State and local govern-ments, and to eligible nonprofit health and educational institutions exempt from Federal taxes. Regional Offices of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and various State agencies channel the surplus property to the institutions.

Property transferred to the States includes such items as school and hospital building sites; buildings suitable for college dormitory or faculty housing; motor vehicles; hospital, school, and office furniture; hand and machine tools; motion picture projectors; laboratory equipment; and school and office

supplies.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Personal property made available for distribution to public health and educational institutions and civil defense organizations and real property disposed of to public health and educational institutions Jan. 1 through Mar. 31, 1959 (acquisition cost), in accordance with sec. 203(0), Public Law 152, 81st Congress, as amended

States	Personal property	Real property	Total
Total	\$73, 369, 750	\$5, 846, 383	\$79, 216, 133
Alahama	3, 529, 122 518, 969	44, 507 6, 000	3, 573, 629 524, 969
Arizona Arkansas	668, 403 1, 038, 926	30, 963	699, 366 1, 038, 926
California Colorado Connecticut	7, 652, 052 1, 158, 159	89, 213 18, 865	7, 741, 265 1, 177, 024
Delaware	509, 230 200, 928 2, 446, 064	123, 062	509, 230 200, 028 2, 500, 126
Georgia	1, 815, 594	2, 973, 800	4, 789, 395

Personal property made available for distribution to pulbic health and educational institutions and civil defense organizations and real property disposed of to public health and educational institutions Jan. 1 through Mar. 31, 1959 (acquisition cost), in accordance with sec. 203(o), Public Law 152, 81st Congress, as amended—Continued.

States	Personal property	Real property	Total
Idaho	\$415, 818	\$6,000	\$421, 818
Illinois	1, 810, 028	4,600	1, 814, 628
Indiana	1, 119, 698	4,600	1, 124, 298
Iowa	760, 670	Service .	760, 670
Kansas	1, 112, 071		1, 112, 071
Kentucky	1, 828, 389	61, 817	1, 820, 206
Louislann	1,018,782	6,404	1, 025, 186
Maine	565, 397		56A, 397
Maryland	1, 579, 640	17,901	1, 597, 541
Massachusetts	2, 600, 952	8, 503	2, 618, 515
Michigan	1, 983, 160	48, 390	2, 031, 460
Minnesota	1,504,782	1, 200	1, 505, 932
Mississippl	1,690,087		1,620,087
Missouri	1, 569, 197		1, 569, 197
Montana	311,655	200000000000000000000000000000000000000	311,655
Nebraska	648, 332	***************************************	648, 332
Nevada	216, 719		216, 719
New Hampshire	307, 924		307, 924
New Jersey	1,720,706	35,000	1, 755, 706
New Mexico	625, 193	00,000	625, 193
New York	6, 149, 776	100,000	6, 249, 776
North Carolina	1, 961, 296	119,340	2, 080, 636
North Dakots	404, 577	4,800	409, 377
Ohio	2, 092, 264	41,000	2, 133, 264
Oklahoma	1, 545, 014	111,301	1, 656, 315
Oregon	829,091	8,837	837, 928
Pennsylvania	1, 617, 710	0,001	1, 617, 710
Rhode Island	320, 546		320, 546
South Carolina	838, 733	41,320	880, 053
South Dakota	400, 151	1,050	407, 201
Tennessee	1, 723, 081	156, 830	1, 879, 911
Texas	4, 052, 202	1, 639, 164	5, 691, 366
Utah	1, 217, 216	(1)	1, 217, 216
Vermont	251, 179	0	251, 179
Virginia	2, 345, 178	754	2, 345, 932
Washington	1, 852, 143	48, 595	1, 400, 738
West Virginia	974, 994	77, 598	1,052,592
Wisconsin	1, 103, 446	11,000	1, 103, 446
Wyoming	374, 329		374, 329
District of Co-	011,020	********	314, 023
lumbia	200,758	war and the same of the same of	250, 758
Hawall	219, 905	The second second	219, 905
Puerto Rico	404, 563	14, 999	419, 562

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Public domain property transferred. Fair value \$269,500; no acquisition cost.

## The Complex Problem of Intergovernmental Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. J. CARLTON LOSER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 18, 1959

. Mr. LOSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ORD, I include the statement of the Honorable Ben West, mayor of a great southern city, Nashville, Tenn., and presented to the Senate Committee on Government operations and the Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations by the Honorable Robert Jennings, its city attorney and Mayor West spoke on behalf of the American Municipal Association. His statement dealt with the complex problem of intergovernmental relations. Although a young man, he is now serving his third term as mayor of Nashville, a thriving and growing city of nearly 200,000 souls, which is surrounded by an area of nearly 200,000 people and this great community is in the heart of Tennessee. The experience of Mayor West in intergovernmental matters is wide and varied and his considered statement on the subject, as presented to the joint committee by city attorney Jennings, is worthy of the most profound consideration. Mayor West is a former president of the American Municipal Association.

The statement follows:

Mr. Chairman, members of the committees. My name is Robert Jennings. I am the city attorney of Nashville, Tenn. I appear before you today as a representative of Mayor Ben West of Nashville, former president of the American Municipal Association, and with your permission I would like to read into the record Mayor West's statement:

"My name is Ben West. I am the mayor of Nashville, Tenn.

"I am testifying before you today in my capacity as mayor and also to lend support to the views expressed by Mayor Celebrezze of Cleveland, Ohio, who testified before you earlier this morning on behalf of the American Municipal Association.

"As you know from Mayor Celebrezze's testimony, the American Municipal Association is firmly on record in favor of the establishment of a permanent commission on intergovernmental relations. I should like to have you know that I am fully in accord with the position of the American Municipal Association as expressed by Mayor Celebrezze.

"The last time I appeared before the House Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations was in Chicago in October of 1957. The subject of the hearings was Federal-State-local relations. I recall that I specifically recommended to the subcommittee at that time that a permanent advisory commission on intergovernmental relations be created to 'make the establishment of better intergovernmental relations its exclusive concern and goal.' I would like to have the committee know that I haven't changed my mind since then, and I am very pleased to see this legislation being proposed. I was also impressed by the fact that the recommendation to create such a commission was unanimously approved by the full membership of the House Committee on Government Op-

"At the time of the Chicago hearings I beleve I expressed my views in some detail
as to why I thought the establishment of a
permanent commission on intergovernmental
relations was both advisable and necessary.
After having reread my statement, I find
that my views have not changed appreciably
and, in fact, I do not believe that were I
to testify again today on the same subject
that I would change a word.

"However, since my appearance before the House subcommittee in Chicago, I have accumulated some additional and valuable experience in working to improve relationships between levels of government.

In 1956 the American Municipal Associa-

In 1956 the American Municipal Association and the American Association of State Highway Officials with the cooperation of the Bureau of Public Roads and the assistance of the Automotive Safety Foundation established a Joint Committee on Highways. I have had the honor of serving as the cochairman of the committee since its inception. Working with this committee has been for me a real practical exercise as to how to go about achieving improvement of relationships between the local, State and Federal levels of government.

To be sure even after some 3 years of reasonably constant and dedicated effort, we still differ with our friends at the State and Federal levels about certain aspects of the highway program but we have made considerable progress, and we hope to make more in developing a more effective and efficient national highway system.

As one example of the kind of success we have had, I would like to call to your attention the fact that we have just recently pub-

lished some fairly definitive guidelines on the highway program to help both local and State officials develop balanced highway systems with due recognition for the unique transportation problems posed by cities and by increasing urbanization. The develop-ment of these guidelines was the result of 3 years hard labor brought to fruition just this last year at a conference held in Sagamore, N.Y. The summary of the proceedings of this conference constitute the guidelines I referred to and is being widely utilized by local and State officials alike. It has been officially recommended and endorsed by the Bureau of Public Roads. I have arranged to have each of you presented with a copy of the Sagamore conference proceedings, and I am sure you will find it a very fine example of how improved intergovernmental relations can really pay off.

The successes of our joint committee and the fine cooperation we get from the Bureau of Public Roads and other interested groups, however, does not in any sense mean that this kind of activity can substitute for the work we would expect to be accomplished by the permanent advisory commission we are discussing here today. As a matter of fact, I believe from my own experience it does just the opposite.

We have had a small taste of success and we are anxious for more. Also, despite all we have accomplished we are far from being satisfied that even in the matter of highways that we have achieved the level and kind of mutual understanding we need to eventually obtain.

We definitely do need an interested forum to observe what we have done and to give currency to our achievements and to promote similar activity in other areas. We are convinced from our own experience that good relationships between levels of government can be established and can be maintained. We are convinced that the existence of slch good relationships can add immeasurably to the efficiency and success of any program whose operation involves more than one level of government. In short, we are convinced that this sort of accomplishment means better programs and better government.

We think the creation of a permanent Commission on Intergovernmental Relations will prove helpful and effective in strengthening the ties between the three levels of government and in the development of better and more effective methods of solving the broad problems that continued urban growth pose for municipalities, the States and the Federal Government,

#### Competition in Commercial Banking

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 18, 1959

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, this Congress has been and will be called upon to deal with considerable legislation concerning money problems, banks, and banking. If we are to legislate intelligently on any subject, the maximum knowledge is essential.

With that in mind, I am pleased to direct our colleagues' attention to a very fine factual compilation. It is the address of the Honorable L. A. Jennings, U.S. Deputy Comptroller of the Currency, delivered by him at the annual

convention of the Pennsylvania Bankers Association on May 27, 1959.

It follows:

COMPETITION IN COMMERCIAL BANKING

I am both honored and pleased to have the privilege of participating in the program of your association and to speak to you on the subject "Competition in Commercial Banking."

The theme of today's session of your convention is the banker's relationship to government. I think my subject is in harmony with the theme from the standpoint that commercial banks are carefully regulated and closely supervised by 49 (it will soon be 50) State and 3 Federal bank supervisory agencies, yet they are highly competitive among themselves, with mutual savings banks and with all of the nonbank types of specialized financial institutions.

Because of the public policy factor, banking is not accorded the freedom that most other businesses and industries enjoy. Commercial banks, in meeting competition, must act within the framework of banking laws, usually restrictive in character, and give careful thought to public policy considerations.

The need for governmental regulation frequently applies to those industries which hold a monopoly on their particular type of business or product in a given area. We think of the telephone companies—free of local competition, other utility companies which individually serve large areas, and transportation companies which operate exclusively over certain routes. Obviously, regulation of the activities of such companies is essential in protecting the public interest.

Regulation with respect to their activities is, of course, concerned largely with rate structures so as to guard the public from overcharges and abuses that could grow out of an unrestrained monopoly or near monopoly. However, regulation of these industries goes even further than that. Utility rate structures are set at levels which will not only protect the public, but in addition, assure in a large measure that a fair margin of profit will accrue from their operations.

At the same time some such industries are assured of what might be called a captive clientele—those customers who reside or are established in the area served. Commercial banks, on the other hand, must operate and compete within closely regulated limitations on their activities and under ceilings on loan interest rates established by the laws of the several States. Theses statutes and regulations provide no assurance of profit.

During the past 4 years, I have had occasion to become familiar with the details of approximately 400 proposed bank consolidations, mergers, and cash absorptions. It was necessary to weigh the probable competitive effects of each proposed merger or similar transaction. When the basic facts suggested such action, the competitive aspects of the proposal were thoroughly examined and considered.

From time to time I have been impressed by the apparent lack of awareness on the part of individuals in all walks of life, and including a few Government officials, of the many facets that comprise the competitive life of a commercial bank. It is not my purpose today to discuss the reasons motivating, and the pros and cons of bank mergers.

My only purpose is to walk with you down the various avenues of competition which are traveled by commercial banks. As commercial bankers you rub elbows every day, often to the point of high friction, with many or all of these same forces of competition. I wish to make it very plain that it is not my purpose to be critical of any of the financial institutions which compete against commercial banks. I shall be factual in commenting on the competition afforded by other types of financial institutions, and hope that no one will prove to be sensitive or allergic to cold facts.

Mr. Webster defines competition as "The effort of two or more parties, acting independently, to secure the custom of a third party by offering more favorable terms." In order to compete successfully, a commercial bank must provide, above all, an experienced and competent personnel. It must provide competitive interest rates for loans and, if possible, deposits, a full range of banking services, and convenient facilities, that will attract and hold public support against able and effective competitors.

At the same time, it must be operated soundly and profitably. Its maximum interest rates on savings and time money are established by Federal or State laws at rates below those of its competitiors for savings funds, but higher than some of the commercial banks can afford to pay. The commercial bank must pay substantial Federal income taxes. The character and composition of its asset structure must be maintained within the boundaries of progressive yet adequately conservative deposit banking standards. It must observe many restrictive laws and regulations.

Member banks of the Federal Reserve System with 84 percent of commercial bank deposits are the basic instrument used in the application of monetary policy by the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System through maintaining legal reserve requirements in the form of nonearning cash assets. These commercial banks must sacrifice earnings and bear the burden of expanding and contracting credit so that all, including their competitors, may benefit from a flattening out of the hills and valleys of our economic life.

Commercial banks must maintain an appropriate measure of liquidity. This is essential to assure their ability to meet deposit withdrawals upon demand. Failure on this score constitutes an act of insolvency—withdrawal demands must be met. Adequate capital funds must be maintained to permit the undertaking of risks, inherent in the business of lending and investing, with the funds of depositors.

These policy, legal, monetary, restrictive, or protective measures serve as a sea anchor in times of economic stress. They serve as an anchor during normal or growth periods to the competitive efforts of commercial banks, particularly for the funds of savers, in relation to mutual savings banks and the several nonbanking types of specialized financial institutions.

When President Lincoln approved the National Currency Act on February 25, 1863, there were slightly more than 1,500 commercial, savings, and private banks in the United States. In 1882 there were 7,302 commercial banks with total deposits of \$2.8 billion.

By 1904 the number of commercial banks had grown to a total of 18.844 with total deposits of \$10.4 billion. This represented one bank for every 4.344 people. The banking laws at that time were relatively broad; however, as the economy of the Nation grew and the need increased for a better coordinated banking structure and greater flexibility in currency powers, further legislation became advisable.

In late 1913 Congress enacted the Federal Reserve Act. By 1921 the number of banks reached the highest point in our history, 30,800, and from then on began to decline as a result of failures, consolidations, and voluntary liquidations. Competition flourished. Many towns with economies scarcely

adequate to support one bank profitably were served by two or more banks.

Practices and policies which proved to be unsound were adopted to enhance earnings or to attract business from competitors. Fifty-five hundred bank failures occurred during the "roaring twenties" from 1921 to the end of 1929.

It is important to note that during this same period, 1921 to 1929, the new bank chartering policies of State and Federal bank supervisory authorities were seemingly as competitive and unsound as those of some of the banks they supervised. Thirty-three hundred and fifty new banks were chartered between 1921 and 1929.

Thus the economic forces tending to cure a severely overbanked condition in the Nation through failure of unneeded and weaker units were largely offset by the issuance of new charters. Between 1930 and the end of 1933, 6,500 additional banks closed their-doors.

At the end of 1933, the total number of banks had dropped from the high point of 30,800 in 1921 to less than half, 14,440. Other even more important causes were involved, but it is crystal clear from this sad history that banking can not soundly exist under conditions of unwise and unrestrained competition.

During the early years following the bank holiday, the demand for credit began to increase. New types of credit demands developed. Some bankers, in retrospect, were too conservative, but who can blame them after the difficult experiences of the depression and the bank holiday.

Bank supervisors, I am positive, were similarly too conservative during this period. The inclination to take even a reasonable risk had been temporarily—I repeat—temporarily—dulled. Federal agencies were created to make, participate in, guarantee, or insure various types of loans regarded as having risk characteristics not acceptable to banks without governmental support.

Banking steadily strengthened its position, and expanded explosively in deposits and U.S. bonds during World War II. At the end of the war the pent up demand of individuals for consumer goods and homes and just about everything else under the sun immediately became a force of major significance and importance in banking and the entire economic life of the Nation.

The postwar period up to the present time has been one of major change in the competitive forces confronted by commercial banks. The demand for loans has been almost insatiable. Since January 1, 1950, the loans of commercial banks alone have increased from \$43 billion to \$100 billion.

Yet during this same period other types of lending institutions have forged ahead with as great or even greater strides. The competion for deposits and loans, and for the privilege and profit of serving the financial needs of every segment of the economy has been intensive and keen.

I do not believe, however, that commercial banks have permitted their competitive efforts to be characterized by unrestrained, unwise, or unsound policies and practices. To a minor extent some of this has occurred and is occurring, but in the main it has been held, within reason, although liberally tempered by, shall I say, an undulled willingness to assume risks.

Commercial banks do not enjoy an exclusive preserve in any field of credit. Their closest aproach to this status is in the field of short term credit to commercial and industrial concerns. Constant and aggressive work is necessary to maintain or extend their participation in all of the recognized lending areas.

Commercial banking must expect continued and increased competition from all of the other types of financial institutions.

There will be not letup on this score. Let us now consider the various competitors of commercial banking and how they compete.

Federal and State-chartered savings and loan associations are zealous and highly effective competitors for the funds of savers and for real estate mortgage loans. During the past year the 13,124 insured commercial banks increased their savings deposits \$2.2 billion; 6,300 savings and loan associations increased their share accounts \$6.1 billion.

At the end of December 1958, they held nearly \$48 billion in share accounts or withdrawable balances. Their loans amounted to \$45.6 billion. Ten years ago the share account holders numbered 8,850,000. By 1958 the number had increased to 23 mil-

lion, a gain of 160 percent.

Their competitive efforts are not confined simply to a local trade area. Some associa-tions go far afield to attract funds by mail. One sees advertisements in the newspapers of eastern and mid-western cities of associations domiciled usually in western States offering share account dividends up to 5 percent. Unlike commercial banks limited to 21/2 percent or 3 percent maximum legal interest rates on savings deposits, there are no legal limitations on their dividend rates. As mutual associations, they may add earnings to reserves for bad debts without payment of Federal income taxes so long as surplus and reserves are less than 12 percent of the aggregate share accounts. They are not required to maintain reserves as an instrument of monetary policy.

On the average, they maintain fully invested positions in real estate mortgage loans which greatly enhances their earnings in relation to those of commercial banks. As a specialized type of financial institution with their major investment in real estate mortgage loans, normal administrative costs are less than those of all-purpose commercial

banks.

Because of a favored earnings position, they can and do spend substantially more on advertising.

Regardless of the branch laws governing State-chartered savings and loan associations, federally chartered institutions may be authorized by the Home Loan Bank Board to establish branches in all of the States. In a relatively recent decision of the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia commercial banks were held not to be local thrift and home financing institutions within the meaning of the Home Owners Loan Act and, therefore, had no standing to question the right of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board to charter a new savings and loan association.

The multiple advantages of savings and loan associations place them in a strong position as a competitor for the funds of savers. In this field, they hold a majority of the trump cards. After paying dividends, Federal Savings and Loan Associations increased their surplus and reserve funds 15 percent from retained earnings in 1957.

After the payment of taxes, national banks earned 9.15 percent on capital structure and reserves in 1957. After the payment of dividends that averaged about 4 percent, the retained earnings of national banks increased their capital structures and reserves 5.2 percent.

There are now 18,750 Federal- and Statechartered credit unions in the United States—double the number 10 years ago. They have nearly 11 million members— triple the number 10 years ago, and the total of their withdrawable balances or share accounts is estimated at \$4.3 billion, 61/2 times more than 10 times more than 10 years ago. About 15,000, or 80 percent, of the credit unions are located in manufacturing plants. Employees of such plants account for 90 percent of the total membership.

Credit unions hold 8 percent of the Nation's consumer installment credit, 17 percent of all personal loans, and 6 percent of all automobile loans. They make real estate mortgage and other secured loans, cash payroll checks in some cases. In many in-stances the participant credit union members receive life insurance equal to double the amount of their shareholdings. Some credit unions provide credit life insurance.

Credit unions pay no taxes since they are exempt from State, Federal, and local taxes on their property, franchise, capital, reserves, surplus, and income.

The dividend rates paid on funds of participants range from 4 percent to 5 percent. After paying dividends, Federal Unions increased their surplus and reserve funds 25 percent from retained earnings in 1957. Their share accounts are not insured and it would appear that the spokesmen for the credit union movement do not desire insurance. For the most part they operate in space provided by the companies whose employees make up their membership. They are now an effective, aggressive, and the fastest growing competitor for the funds of savers. Their loan activities are substantially broader than those of savings and loan associations. They are a competitive force of growing consequence.

Life insurance companies are competitive with commercial banks on a nationwide basis chiefly for intermediate and long term loans to commerce, industry, and agriculture. Policyholders have increased from 78 million to 112 million in the past 10 years. The policy reserves have more than doubled since 1946 and amounted to nearly \$88 billion in 1958; \$37 billion of this amount was in real estate mortgage loans, an additional \$4 billion in other types of

loans.

Many bankers have told me that their strongest competition today in the corporate field is the high yield on short-term obligations of the U.S. Government. The high yields are attractive to the officials of large corporations having excess funds, to central banks of foreign countries maintaining reserve accounts in the United States, to savings and loan associations for a portion of their liquidity reserve funds, and to some individuals who have drawn their demand balances down to minimum figures short of incurring service charges.

Very recently a bank having total deposits

of several hundred million dollars made a full-scale survey to determine the amount of funds it would otherwise have on deposit except for the competitive impact of Government bond yields. It discovered that an amount equal to 20 percent of its present total of demand and time deposits had been short-circuited from its deposit totals into U.S. obligations by the attractive rates. At the end of 1958, 32 percent of corporate cash assets of \$53 billion were held in U.S. obligations. This is indeed rugged competition.

The 518 mutual savings banks, largely

located in the Northeastern United States, had total resources of \$37.4 billion at the end of 1958, up from \$20 billion since 1948. An increase of \$2.3 billion occurred in 1958. Loans of \$23 billion were largely real estate mortgage credits. As mutual institutions they occupy, the same favorable Federal in-come tax position as savings and loan asso-During 1958 the insured mutual savings banks (resources \$30.2 billion) allocated \$125.6 million to reserves, undivided profits or surplus while paying \$511,000 Federal income taxes. Insured commercial banks paid income taxes of \$1.2 billion during 1958 while paying dividends and adding to reserves and undivided profits from net earnings after taxes of \$2.1 billion.

Mutual savings banks are easily able to pay higher rates for savings funds than commercial banks. The services provided by them cover a wide range in some States. quote from an advertisement of a mutual savings bank in Connecticut:

"For all your family banking needs-safe deposit boxes, night depository, savings accounts, Christmas and vacation clubs, save by mail, collateral loans, savings bank life insurance, travelers' checks, personal money order checks, personal loans, automatic loan privilege, mortgage loans, mortgage insurance, home improvement loans."

Once again, this is rugged competition for commercial banks seeking the deposits of savers at 2, 21/2, or 3 percent rates, and sometimes unable to afford even those rates.

There are in excess of 8,000 finance and personal loan companies in the United States operating approximately 19,000 offices. They held loans of more than \$17 billion at the end of February 1959; \$13 billion was in consumer credit loans, the remainder largely commercial credit including a substantial amount of automobile floor-plan paper.

It is estimated that between 30 and 40 percent of the funds used in connection with the \$17 billion of loans were borrowed by the finance and personal loan companies from commercial banks. The competitive effect of the operations of these companies on commercial banks is, to this partial extent, re-

duced or nullified.

Many of the offices of finance and personal loan companies are open for business on Saturdays, several evenings during the week, and almost all from 9 to 5 each weekday. Just last month the Nation's second largest sales finance company (Universal C.I.T. Corp.) announced plans to make repair and modernization loans to homeowners. At the present time this lending field is served in an important way by commercial banks which hold about 75 percent of the \$2.1 billion of such loans outstanding. Mutual savings banks and savings and loan associations hold most of the remainder. It would seem probable that other sales finance companies will enter this field.

Needless to say, the finance and personal loan companies have been important competitors for consumer commercial, and personal credit for many years. They will continue so, and very likely in an even broader and more effective way.

Corporate pension and profit sharing plans

are becoming increasingly competitive with commercial banks despite the fact that commercial banks frequently act as trustee for the plans. Bankers from various areas of the country have told us that a sizable number of corporations now borrow from their own pension or profit-sharing funds, thus depriving their banks of the loans.

At the end of 1958 there were 48,000 Treasury approved pension and profit-sharing plans, many of which were funded. The impact of the growth in retirement fund accounts on the economy was noted by the Securities and Exchange Commission in a

very recent report.

The Commission reported that at the end of 1958 the resources of corporate retirement trust funds totalled \$22.1 billion, the reserves in insured penison plans, \$15.5 billion. The combined total of \$37.6 billion reflects an increase of \$4.3 billion since the end of 1957.

The deposit banks of the Nation, commercial and mutual savings, and the nonbank types of specialized financial institutions, have for many years rendered outstanding service to the U.S. Treasury Department through fostering the sale of savings bonds, and handling their issuance and redemption, frequently at a loss to their respective or-

They have done this despite the fact they too were competing for savings funds, the commercial banks at rates less attractive than those offered by savings bonds. At the end of December 1958 the cash value of E and H savings bonds in the hands of investors was \$42.6 billion. Our deposit banks and the nonbank types of specialized financial institutions deserve the thanks of every citizen for their outstanding service to our Government and their willingness to disregard the conflicting competitive considerations that are involved.

There are about 40 Federal agencies and their instrumentalities which have authority to make, guarantee, and insure loans. Based on fairly recent estimates, they hold \$22.7 billion of direct loans, and guarantee or insure \$59.8 billion of additional loans.

Banks and other lenders hold the \$30.7 blllion of loans insured by the Veterans' Administration and the \$23.4 billion insured or guaranteed by the Federal Housing Administration. For the most part the direct loans of these agencies—\$9.5 billion, Agriculture; \$4.7 billion, Housing; \$3 billion, Export-Import Bank; \$2.5 billion, International Cooperation Administration—are not the type of credits desired by banks.

Other than in a very negligible and unimportant way, I do not consider Government lending agencies in general are competitive with commercial banks. If they are competitive in some areas, such as the Production Credit Corporation, banks are believed to be in a position to compete effectively if they are so inclined.

The various competitive elements I have mentioned combine into a potent force that is reckoned with daily by commercial banks. However, I have not mentioned the strongest competitive force of all—the fierce and unending struggle that goes on between commercial banks for every type of banking business.

This is not limited to the two or more banks in a single town or city. A recent survey made in a city with a population exceeding 500,000 revealed that of the 50 largest banks in the Nation with total deposits of \$61 billion, 41 of them were actively soliciting business in that city.

I shall not spend your time outlining the techniques employed by commercial bankers to strengthen the competitive impact of their banks. You are a sophisticated group. I am certain you are well ahead of me in this particular field and already know about techniques adopted yesterday that we in the Comptroller's office have not yet heard about.

Commercial banks compete with one another and with many other types of financial institutions, near and far. They accept risks of a nature unlike those faced by many other businesses, regulated or not. Their net profit depends on the ultimate successful collection of outstanding loans, as well as on the interest yield. If they are to be adequately competitive, they must pursue a policy of progressive and warranted credit liberality and the assumption of reasonable risks. This is not a simple thing to do. It is easy to veer too far into ultra-conservative fields, or permit the competitive urge to lead into fields of unsound credit liberality that are of benefit to neither the borrower nor the lender. Commercial banks must be alert to every need for banking service and provide it in a manner that will merit the support of public opinionor lose the business and profit to a competitor.

I think commercial bankers are doing a difficult job very well. They are able to compete effectively in the major banking fields with the very important exception of attracting savings funds. Here they are steadily and even rapidly losing ground to savings and loan associations, credit unions, and mutual savings banks. This is true largely because of a drastic Federal income tax differential in favor of the mutual asso-

ciations which enables them to outcompete the commercial banks in the all important rate of return paid to the saver. Unless and until this competitive imbalance has been adjusted and the tax differential substantially or wholly eliminated, commercial banks must continue to occupy an inferior position in seeking to attract the funds of This is an Important weakness in the commercial banking system, particularly for the many thousands of small banks that have always been nearly 50 percent savings in their deposit and loan composition. If relief is not forthcoming, their well-being is bound to suffer. Moreover, many medium- and large-sized commercial banks hold proportionately large amounts of savings deposit. Almost all commercial banks have need for savings funds in conducting their lending operations in the consumer. mortgage, and term loan fields. May the early future see an easing or correction of this major banking problem.

I have not commented on the numerical, locational, and serviceable adequacy of commercial banks and the relationship of these factors to competition among the 13.514 commercial banks and their 8,789 branches. That is another story. It is my opinion, however, that the public interest is being well served on these important points.

I sincerely believe competition will be adequate in banking provided its management and policies are in the hands of bankers operating within sound and equitable statutory guide lines. Inequitable regulation by Government is, in my judgment, the shortest and most direct route to a breakdown of the advantages which accrue to all of us through banking competition.

Thank you.

#### Amending Mutual Security Act of 1954

SPEECH

## HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 17, 1959

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 7500) to amend further the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, and for other purposes.

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Chairman, this is the first amendment to reduce the overall authorization by any specific amount. The administration request for direct military assistance in section 101 of the bill was for \$1.6 billion; that is, direct grant military assistance. The committee, in its wisdom, reduced that figure by \$160 million to the figure \$1.44 billion, which is the figure in the bill now before you. My amendment would seek to reduce it by an additional \$140 million, and I might add, parenthetically, this is a lesser cut than the amount which the committee reduced it, to a new figure of \$1.3 billion, which would be approximately \$300 million in direct grant military assistance below the budget request.

Now, if the members of the committee are interested in knowing what countries receive direct grant military assistance, there is a very handy little map on page 9 of the committee print which shows all of the countries listed for direct grant military assistance, including, the members will note, practically all of the countries of western Europe.

Now, for further convenience, I would like to suggest that the members might be interested in reviewing in yesterday's Congressional Record certain remarks I made and certain tables I included on page 9877, which show the percentage of total national income spent on defense by many of these western European countries as compared with the percentage of total national income which these countries spent on so-called welfare expenditures.

These tables and the accompanying article were taken from the most recent issue of the U.S. News & World Report. We find some very interesting things. We find that Britain, for example, which has been receiving direct grant military assistance spends 7½ percent of her national income on defense and 10 percent on welfare. We find that France spends 6.8 percent on defense and 15 percent on

so-called welfare programs.

The tables are there for Members to examine if they see fit. But what does it mean? It means that we are still continuing a program of grant military assistance to countries which, as was brought out in the debate yesterday, have greatly increased their gold and dollar reserves and are well able to purchase military assistance should they require it. It means that we are continuing to give military assistance to countries whose burden of defense is much less than our own, whose taxpayers' burden is much less than that of our taxpayers. But at the same time we are directly helping subsidize their own welfare programs for the benefit of their own people, on which welfare programs they spend a much larger percentage of their national income than does this country which only spends 5 percent on its welfare programs.

It further means, Mr. Chairman, that by continuing to assist these countries in their military programs we are thereby also assisting them to devote a larger part of their industrial potential to build up industries which, as we all have good reason to know, have been and still remain very strongly and fiercely competitive with us in the world markets, not only in the export field but even here at home

I am not against these countries competing with us. I am not against the building up of their gold and dollar reserves. I am saying this, that these countries of Western Europe in particular are well able and should be required to purchase much more of the military hardware which we are now giving them and which I hope, if my amendment prevails, they would have to purchase if they wish to assume the levels of defense that we and they deem appropriate for the defense of Western Europe.

Mr. Chairman, this is not a radical cut. It is a cut less than that which the committee made. It brings the figure down to \$1.3 billion. If anyone wants to examine the minority report, and reflect upon the tremendous amount of unspent

and even unobligated funds that remain in the pipeline in this program, it would be helpful. I suggest the program could well absorb the cut and that we should pass this amendment.

Mr. DORN of New York. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BENTLEY. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. DORN of New York. Can the gentleman explain why we are giving military assistance to Cuba as illustrated by that diagram the gentleman referred to on page 9?

Mr. BENTLEY. No; I cannot explain why we are giving military assistance to Cuba. Perhaps a Member of the majority may be happy to answer that particular question, but I remind the gentleman that, according to the map, Cuba is included along with a great many other countries.

#### Amending Mutual Security Act of 1954

SPEECH

## HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 16, 1959

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 7500) to amend further the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, and for other purposes.

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Chairman, I would like to comment on two subjects: first, on a point made by our friend from Indiana. I am sure we would all like to be able to set a termination date on this program. Also on our farm program, which costs us more each year than MSA. When would the gentleman like to stop our aid to farmers in Indiana or in Minnesota: 2 years from now? Three years from now? Five years from now? We cannot wind up farm programs until some of the problems are solved. We would like to set a termination date for our American Indian programs, too. We have been at them for 175 years or more. I do not know any way that we can set a termination date until we get the problems solved. We have tried this, that, and the other in attempting to solve our international problems without war, and we are constantly trying to improve the programs, but we cannot now put a termination date on these efforts in the kind of world in which we

Mr. HAYS. I favor terminating the farm program and Benson simultaneously.

Mr. JUDD. We had before us last week a modified wheat program which its proponents said they recognized did not have all the answers, but that we simply had to have a program to try to cut down the wheat surpluses even though it might cost the taxpayers more money for higher supports. The House, including the gentleman from Ohio, voted for the program. Does anyone believe it will be the last?

Mutual security, like the \$39 billion for our Armed Forces, is one of those things which we all wish we could end now or know we could end, say, 3 years from now. But can anyone set a termination date now on which our enemies will lie down, roll over, and give up? I do not know how to predict that. And to say now that we are going to end our program on a given date can only encourage them to redouble, not reduce their efforts. It would defeat our own interests.

Now, the other point, a while ago there was discussion about the International Development Advisory Board, and I think we ought to have in the Record the names of the members of that Board. There are 13, and by law they are to represent broadly, business, labor, agriculture, public health, and education. It is an independent board. It was set up by the Congress to study this matter from the standpoint of the whole country and of all the particular interests mentioned. The membership is as follows:

Harry A. Bullis, Chairman, Minnesota, chairman of General Mills, Inc. Chairman requires Senate confirmamation. I can assure the House that anything Mr. Bullis manages will be very well handled, indeed.

Agriculture: Allan B. Kline, Illinois, past president, American Farm Bureau.

Business: Mrs. Olive Ann Beech, Kansas, president, Beech Aircraft Industry.

Business: Harvey S. Firestone, Jr., Ohio, chairman, Firestone Tire & Rubber Co.

Economic development: Edward S. Mason, Massachusetts, professor of economics.

Education: Clark Kerr, California, University of California.

Labor: Lloyd A. Mashborn, California, general president, Wood, Wire & Metal Lathers International Union.

Press: Richard H. Amberg, Missouri, publisher, St. Louis Globe-Democrat. Press: Peyton Anderson, Georgia, pub-

Press: Peyton Anderson, Georgia, publisher, Macon Telegraph and Macon News.

Public administration: Leonard B. Jordan, Idaho, former Governor of Idaho.

Public health: Lowell T. Coggeshall, Illinois, dean, Division of Biological Sciences, University of Chicago.

Science: Edwin B. Fred, Wisconsin, president emeritus, University of Wisconsin.

Venture capital: Robert W. Purcell, New York, chairman, International Basic Economy Corp.

I think the Congress was wise to authorize such a board of citizens to ride herd on this program, to reappraise, reevaluate, criticize it, and suggest readjustments wherever it believes they are needed.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JUDD, I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. I wonder how this Government was able to get along without an International Development Advisory

Board for all the months that it did, from August 3, 1957, to August 28, 1958? Mr. JUDD. The gentleman is one of

Mr. JUDD. The gentleman is one of the sharpest critics of the program, and maybe if we had had this board functioning all the time, there would not have been quite so many things that the gentleman thinks are wrong with it.

Mr. GROSS. Does the gentleman admit there is something wrong with this foreign-aid program?

Mr. JUDD. Yes, indeed, I have referred to them several times.

Mr. GROSS. I did not think the gentleman would admit there was anything wrong with the program.

Mr. JUDD. We have been working for months to dig them out and try to correct them.

Mr. GROSS. I thought everything was lovely and the goose was hanging high.

Mr. JUDD. I do not think you have heard a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs say that this program could not be improved, or did not need improvement. We have said that what the program is designed to do is absolutely necessary and the thing for us to do is to get on with the job—only do it better.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JUDD. I yield to the gentleman from West Virginia.

Mr. BAILEY. I would like to call the gentleman's attention to line 11 on page 12, under "General and administrative provisions," subsection (c):

Notwithstanding any other provision of law, foreign currencies available to the United States for utilization under this or any other act may be utilized by the President, in his discretion, for science and research, including the translation of scientific books and treaties.

I want to remind the gentleman that he voted only last Friday against a coal research bill here, but he is perfectly willing to allow a provision of that kind to remain in the bill.

Mr. JUDD. This provision does not cost the taxpayer any new money. The purpose is to make it possible to use foreign currencies which we have accumulated abroad in the sale of our commodities, for such things as translating scientific books and documents written by foreign scientists. The day sputnik appeared in the sky, a lot of Americans asked, "How did this happen and we not know about it?" Well, we had not been translating Russian scientific journals. They had predicted this would happen. 6 months before. Where we have foreign currencies that cannot otherwise be used, is it not sensible to use them to make available for American scientists and engineers, the scientific studies that are being reported in foreign scientific journals? The purpose is to help American scientists and engineers, to help our own country.

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JUDD. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Chairman, may I say to the gentleman from West Virginia

that the gentleman from Pennsylvania was one of the strongest supporters of the bill to establish a Coal Research and Development Commission.

Mr. BAILEY. Nevertheless that section is still in the bill, and I am going to

move to take it out.

## Federal and State Aids to Small Business Firms

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON-

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 18, 1959

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, Prof. Edward W. Reed of the School of Business Administration at the University of Oregon, has compiled a most useful compendium of Federal and State measures recently enacted for aid to small business. Because this synthesis can be so helpful to small business borrowers in the Nation generally, and in my own State of Oregon in particular, I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that it be printed in the Appendix of the Record. For the information of my colleagues, Edward W. Reed is professor of finance at the University of Oregon.

The article by Professor Reed was published originally in the May 1959 issue of the Oregon Business Review, under the title "Federal and State Measures for Financial Aid to Small Business." The Oregon Business Review is published on a monthly basis by the University of Oregon Bureau of Business Research.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FEDERAL AND STATE MEASURES FOR FINANCIAL AID TO SMALL BUSINESS

(By Edward W. Reed, professor of finance, University of Oregon)

The financing of small business has long been a problem in America. Large and long-established businesses are generally able to obtain equity capital and long-term funds from the sale of stocks and bonds through organized capital markets. Small firms have, however, had difficulty in obtaining funds through the capital markets, and, if they are able to do so, the cost is almost prohibitive. A study made by the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System early in 1958 indicates that adequate credit is available to small business from banks and private sources; but recent testimony in Congress regarding the financing of small business points to the inadequacy of facilities for providing long-term loans and equity capital.

This problem has been partially met over the years by local industrial foundations and in more recent years by State development credit corporations. Congress has struggled with the problem for the past several years, and during the last ression enacted legislation designed to promote and encourage the long-term financing of small business. This legislation had three phases: (1) The Small Business Administration was made a permanent agency with increased lending power and a reduction in the maximum interest rate it may charge borrowers (the Small Business Administration was es-

tablished as a temporary agency in 1953 for the purpose of making short and intermediate loans to small business); (2) the tax obligations of small firms were lightened; and (3) the Small Business Investment Act was enacted to make funds available to specialized investment companies. In this article we are concerned primarily with the latter legislation.

The Small Business Investment Act is unique in that greater emphasis has been placed upon private enterprise and local initiative than on direct Government aid. The act is designed to augment ownership capital indirectly by providing for Federal along with private funds to investment companies, which in turn will invest in and make loans to small businesses. It is hoped that this legislation will result in the organization of small-business investment companies, which will attract large amounts of private capital and channel them into the small businesses throughout the country which have need for additional capital.

Small-business investment companies may be organized under the general incorporation laws of the various States. If, however, the Small Business Administration determines that such companies cannot be chartered under State law and operate in accordance with the purposes of the act, they may be chartered by the Small Business Administration under Federal law. However, they must be chartered under State law after June 30, 1961, when the chartering authority of the Small Business Administration will terminate. By that time States will have had an opportunity to provide for the formation of such smallbusiness investment companies and the chartering function by the Small Business Administration will therefore be unnecessary. Termination of chartering authority by this agency will have no effect upon the continuing activities of any of the smallbusiness investment companies previously

A minimum of 10 stockholders may organize a small-business investment company under Federal law. These stockholders may be individuals, partnerships, corporations, insurance companies, and financial institutions, including banks insured by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. Insured banks, however, may not hold shares in such companies and in amount aggregating more than 1 percent of their capital and surplus. There is no requirement regarding the minimum or maximum amount of stock that a stockholder must or can hold. Theoretically, one stockholder could supply virtually the entire amount required to start a small-business investment company. A bank, for example, with a capital and surplus of \$15 million could organize such a company as a subsidiary; in fact, this has already been done.

A small-business investment company must have a paid-in capital of at least \$300,-000 before commencing business. At least half of this must be provided by the stockholders; the remaining 50 percent may be invested by the Small Business Administration in the form of subordinated debentures. Subordinated debentures are evidences of long-term debt which rank ahead of common stock but behind other indebtedness in case of liquidation. The \$150,000 secured from the Small Business Administration cannot exceed a term of 20 years and will carry an inteerst rate of 5 In addition to the \$150,000 provided by the Small Business Administration as a part of the original capital, an investment company may borrow an amount equal to 50 percent of the paid-in capital and surplus from the same source. This loan will also carry an interest rate of 5 percent and will have a maturity of 20 years. Thus it is possible for the stockholders to derive \$300,-000 from the SBA in the formation of a

small-business investment company with assets of \$450,000. Small-business investment companies will also be able to borrow from private sources and will probably borrow up to \$4 for every \$1 of capital and surplus. The \$150,000 loan from the SBA is authorized to encourage the formation and growth of small-business investment companies until they have been able to build up sufficient capital of their own.

Small-business investment companies will be, it is hoped, of assistance to small business by making long-term loans and by purchasing convertible debentures. Loans can be made to both incorporated and unincorporated small business concerns which have need for funds for sound financing, growth, modernization, and expansion. Loans may be made directly or in cooperation with other lending institutions on an immediate or deferred basis. Loans are limited to a maturity of 20 years unless an extended maturiay, not exceeding 10 years, will aid in the orderly liquidation of such loans. The rate of interest charged by the company on loans will be established by the company, but cannot exceed the limit set by the usury law of the State in which it is incorporated. If there is no legal limit, a limit will be established by the SBA.

Small business investment companies may make capital available to small business by the purchase of convertible debentures. These debentures will bear a rate of interest established in the same manner as are loans. Debentures may be callable on any interest payment date upon 3 months' notice at par plus accrued interest. They may be convertible at the option of the company or a holder in due course into the stock of the small business concern. Before, providing capital in this manner, the small business investment company may require a small business concern to refinance any or all of its outstanding indebtedness so that the investment company will be only holder of debt. The small business concern must also agree not to incur further indebtedness without the approval of the small business investment company and to give the company an opportunity to finance such additional indebtedness. A business concern securing capital from a small business investment company in this manner is required to become a stockholder in the investment company in an amount equal to not less than 2 nor more than 5 percent of the capital provided. The amount that a small business investment company may lend to any one small business concern is limited to 20 percent of its combined capital and surplus. unless otherwise approved by the Small Business Investment Division of the Small Business Administration.

The Small Business Investment Act created a fund of \$250 million to be made available to small business investment companies. These funds will have to be repaid in time. This mount of money will act as a revolving fund to be made available to other investment companies as it is repaid. There has been widespread public interest in this new legislation, and a number of individuals, banks, and other financial institutions have applied for charters to establish small business investment companies. Nineteen of these applicants have been asked to proceed with their organization even though licenses have not been completely approved. licenses have been issued. The companies that have already received a license are the First Minneapolis Investment Co., and the Citizens & Southern Small Business Investment Co. of Atlanta, which is an affiliate of the Citizens & Southern National Bank. Though there has been some interest expressed in Oregon, no investment companies have been chartered. Most of the interest has been in Portland, where two groups are seriously considering the formation of a company.

In addition to the funds that are made available to small-business investment companies. Federal funds are also available for a specific purpose to State and local development companies that are already in operation. The Small Business Administration is authorized to make loans to State and local development companies for plant construction, conversion, or expansion, including the acquisition of land. These loans may be made directly or in cooperation with banks or other lending institutions through agreements to participate on an immediate or deferred basis. Such loans are designed to assist an identifiable small business concern and are limited to \$250,000 for each identifiable small business, such as one cannery or one foundry. These loans are made for a period of 10 years plus such additional period as is estimated may be required to complete construction, conversion, or expansion. However, this period may be extended for an additional period not to exceed 10 years if such renewal or extension will aid in an orderly liquidation. In agreements to participate in loans on a deferred basis the Small Business Administration's participation is limited to 90 percent of the balance of the loan outstanding at the time of disbursement. The authority to make such loans to local development companies expires June 30, 1961. There are at the present time 17 local development companies in Oregon which could take advantage of this provision of the Small Business Investment Company

The Small Business Administration is also authorized to make loans to State development companies exclusively. The funds that may be advanced to State development companies will be made in exchange for obligations of such companies, and the amount available is limited to an amount equal to the amount borrowed by it from all other sources. These loans will be made for a period of 20 years at 5 percent interest and the funds may be used for any acceptable purpose.

During the recent session of the Oregon Legislature a law was enacted which permits the formation of State development credit corporations, which when organized will be eligible to take advantage of some of the provisions of the Small Business Investment Company Act. The objective of the Oregon act is to promote the industrial, agricultural, and recreational development of the State. A corporation organized under this statute will have the authority to borrow money from various sources, including individuals, financial institutions, and the Federal Government and to lend funds and purchase shares in business and industrial corporations in need of financial assistance. It will also have the power to hold, lease, and transfer property. Such a corporation may be organized by nine persons for a capital of not less than \$25,000. In addition to the stockholders, provision is made for membership in the corporation. Members of the corporation may consist of such financial inttitutions as commercial banks, trust companies, savings and loan associations, mutual savings banks, insurance companies, and union health and welfare funds. These members will have no voting rights, but may lend funds to the State development credit corporation. Banks, trust companies, savings and loan associations, and insurance companies may lend an amount equal to 3 percent of their capital and surplus to the credit corporation; mutual savings banks may lend 3 percent of their guaranty fund; and union health and welfare funds may lend up to 3 percent of their funds. Those members who agree to lend to the corporation will be called upon to lend when the needs arise and the call will be prorated among the members on the same proportion that the maximum lending limit bears to the aggregate maximum lending limit of all members. The credit corporation is required to set aside 10 percent of its net earnings in a surplus account each year until this surplus amounts to one-half of its stated capital for losses and contingencies. State development credit corporations organized under this act are exempt from the corporation franchise tax and the State income tax.

The act permits the State bond commission to invest moneys from the various funds under its jurisdiction in the bonds of State development credit corporations. However, not more than 3 percent of each fund may be invested. State development credit corporations will be examined by the division if audits of the office of the secretary of state.

The act states that the department of planning and development "shall encourage and promote the formation of State development credit corporations where it determines that their formation is in the public interest." The department may also consult with, advise, and give technical assistance to persons interested in organizing such credit corporations.

Whether or not the program will be successful will depend on many factors. Basically, the success will depend upon the enthusiasm expressed on the local level for such a program, and the provision of a portion of the capital required. It seems that a certain amount of civic pride and responsibility will be necessary for the operation and success of a small-business investment company. In addition to this very important factor is the level of management of the small-business investment companies. It will be management at the local level that will evaluate the requests for financial aid and extend credit and equity capital rather than just another agency located in Washington.

In Oregon a small-business investment company could be formed under the general incorporation laws of the State. The recently enacted legislation permitting the formation of a State credit corporation was not absolutely necessary: however, there are certain advantages in this legislation. In the first place, the legislation places the State legislature and the Governor on record that they recognize the long-term financing problems of small business and are hopeful that someone will do something about it. Second, the legislation permits certain financial institutions which will serve as a source of funds and possibly very valuable advice to take part in a program that has as its objective the industrial, agricultural, and recreational development of the State. Third the legislation also permits the State bond commission to invest a portion of its funds in a program designed to help small business. Fourth, the legislation creates an organization that can take advantage of that portion of the Federal law which permits a State credit corporation to borrow from the Small Investment Division of the Small Business Administration an amount equal to all of its other borrowing. Finally, the State legislation permitting the creation of State credit corporations opens up more avenues for funds than is found in the creation of a small-business investment company.

Both the Federal legislation and the State act offer a tool to private investors to earn a return on their funds as well as to help small business; then programs should eventually result in increased incomes and profits, the basic ingredients of a higher standard of living. It is certainly a new frontier in small-business financing.

The Friendly Mountain State, West Virginia, To Celebrate Its 96th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 18, 1959

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, the friendly mountain State of West Virginia will celebrate an anniversary on Saturday, June 20—its 96th.

Ours is the State with the highest average altitude of any of all those in the eastern portion of the United States. As many of my colleagues know, West Virginia offers spectacular scenery and is famous for its historic sites and outstanding facilities for recreation. There are numerous evidences that a prehistoric race of mound builders inhabited our area—one which the Indians used extensively as a hunting ground, even as colonial America knew it as a buffer against the marauding red men. Then, too, West Virginia was a prized pawn of the War Between the States and was the only State born of that conflict.

The rhododendron maximum or "great laurel" is the State flower, being a shrub of the heath family and is distinctive for its large evergreen leaves and délicately impressive pale pink and white blossoms.

The cardinal, the male of the species having a rich scarlet coat with topknot and mask shaded with black, is our State bird.

Official animal of West Virginia is the black bear, whose habitat in the State has been reduced to approximately 12 counties in the eastern mountain sector.

The State tree is the sugar maple which produces delicious maple syrup and excellent wood for furniture.

Our State motto, "Montani Semper Liberi"—Mountaineers Are Always Free—depicts the sturdiness of our people, who are an appreciative citizenry especially conscious of the contributions made by former distinguished West Virginians.

We know that we will face challenges in the future, just as our forebears confronted them, and as we meet them to-

We are aware, too, that our progress in the future will depend upon the resoluteness of the manner in which we attack, and the degree to which we are successful in solving, the problems which will demand our attention.

But, Mr. President, we will accept the challenges of the future and overcome our problems because there is widening determination that West Virginians shall work together for a better West Virginia.

In this connection, on May 15, 1959, I had the privilege of addressing the Junior Chamber of Commerce of West Virginia at Clarksburg, near my native community of Salem. On that occasion,

I suggested the adoption of the slogan, "We Are Working for a Better West Virginia," by organizations throughout the State. It was adopted by the progressive young men of that body and was prominently displayed yesterday, June 17, on the lead float sponsored by the West Virginia Junior Chamber of Commerce in the parade at Buffalo, N.Y., where the national junior chambers are in annual convention.

It is significant that the organization of junior chambers from our State gained the distinction of having the leading position in the national parade as a consequence of having been the State group which made the greatest rate of membership and organizational

progress last year.

That it should have been these aggressive young men who were the first of the major statewide groups to officially adopt and prominently display the slogan, "We Are Building A Better West Virginia," certainly augurs well for the

spirit of future purpose.

We are proud of and place great hope in the young business and professional leaders in our State. But we are not in any degree unmindful or unappreciative of the distinguished West Virginians of the past, or our present senior citizens who have contributed and still are giving much of their time, talent and resources to the recording and preservation of our heritage.

Among those of our leading contemporary West Virginians who have made extremely salutary contributions to historical factuality and the recording thereof is the Honorable Phil Conley of Charleston-businessman, community leader, author, historian, publisher, and a former representative of this country's Government in important missions

abroad.

On the eve of the 96th anniversary of our native State, I deem it appropriate to request unanimous consent of the Senate to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD Phil Conley's article entitled, "Seven Great West Virginians," and the text of an address he delivered in West Virginia a few days ago on the subject, "The Birth of West Virginia."

There being no objection, the article and address were ordered printed in

the RECORD, as follows:

SEVEN GREAT WEST VIRGINIANS (By Phil Conley)

In selecting seven most distinguished men to discuss briefly, I have chosen one from each of seven different lines of endeavor and occupation. Among military leaders I am sure all will agree with me that Stonewall Jackson, the great soldier and strategist of the Southern Confederacy, is our most notable leader. I could have selected General Jessee Lee Reno of Wheeling, a conspicuous general in the Union Army who, like Jackson, lost his life in the cause which he espoused; or Andrew Summers Rowan, of the Spanish-American War, the man who carried the "Message to Garcia": or General John Leonard Hines. Chief of Staff of the Army in World War I, who took General Pershing's place when he retired as head of the U.S. Army; or General Mason Patrick, who was the first Chief of the Army Air Service; or Admiral Julian Latimer, who was Judge Advocate of the Navy during World War I. However, in my opinion, the most eminent military leader from this State is Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson.

Jackson was born in Clarksburg. spent a good portion of his early years at what is now known as Jackson's Mill, in Lewis County. He attended West Point Military Academy, where he distinguished himself as a student. He served in the Mexican War. It was in this struggle that he met Robert E. Lee, whom he later served in the Civil War. He was for a time an in-structor in the Virginia Military Institute at Lexington, Va. While he was a professor at that institution, Civil War was declared, Although Jackson deplored the conditions of slavery, he offered his services to the Southern Confederacy. He was made a major in the Engineering Corps, but was soon transferred to colonel of volunteers and later made brigadier general. In the famous Battle of Bull Run, General Bee, in rallying his men, exclaimed: "See, there stands Jackson like a stone wall." From that time he was known as Stonewall Jackson. He was killed by his own men when a party which he headed, returning to camp at Chancellorsville, was mistaken for Federal troops. He died before he was 40 years of age, after having distinguished himself as one of the greatest military strategists this country has ever produced.

Among inventors, I have selected James Rumsey, the man who invented the steamboat. Although Rumsey was born in Maryland, he spent most of his life in West Virginia at Berkeley Springs, where he had a store, and later at Shepherdstown, where he did most of his experimenting with his "a crazy man who boat. He was called wanted to run his canoe with a teakettle." I could have selected as an inventor Dr. Dolbear of Bethany College, who experi-mented with the telephone. For a long time he had suits in the courts contesting Alexander Graham Bell's claim to the invention of this instrument. Or I could have chosen Dr. I. N. Nicklin of Middlebourne, Tyler County, who 4 years prior to the invention of the telegraph by Dr. Morse, designed a machine which would give messages over wires for some distance. But I believe that the outstanding inventor who lived in West Virginia was James Rumsey.

There is undisputed evidence which proves conclusively that James Rumsey's boat was the first one to move by power generated in steam boilers. He discussed this matter with George Washington, and there is a note in Washington's diary which shows his interest in the boat constructed by Rumsey. While Rumsey was working at Shepherdstown, John Fitch came there under an assumed name and soon thereafter began work on his plans for a steamboat. On December 3, 1787 a great crowd of prominent people gathered on the banks of the Potomac and for 2 hours watched James Rumsey's boat travel back and forth on the river. It is reported that when it started, General Gates exclaimed: "My God! It moves." Among others to see the boat move at that time were General Dark, Capt. Abraham Shep-herd, Maj. Henry Bedinger. Newspapers in Virginia carried informative articles about

Rumsey went immediately to Philadelphia, where the Rumseyan Society was organized with Benjamin Franklin as its first On January 1, 1788, he published a pamphlet describing his experiments with the steamboat. This was the first printed publication of a West Virginian. The Society sent Rumsey to London with letters from Franklin, Patrick Henry, and other celebrated Americans. Here he built a new steamboat about 100 feet long, and made a successful trip on the Thames in December 1792. He met Robert Fulton, who launched the well-known Claremont in the Hudson River in 1807. Rumsey suffered an attack of apoplexy in London and died. The world has given credit to Fulton for inventing the steamboat, but that credit is due our distinguished West Virginian, James Rumsey.

Among outstanding educators from West Virginia, I could have given highest credit to Alexander Wade, the man who introduced the grading system for rural schools; or to Dr. Milton Wyllie Humphries, who, for many years, was a brilliant professor in the University of Virginia; or to Dr. Henry Ruffner of Charleston, who was for many years president of Washington and Lee University.

But I have chosen as my subject for this classification Booker T. Washington, the man who became internationally known as a leader of the Negro race. He was born a slave in Franklin County, Va. He claimed that his first recollection was his childhood days with his mother and several children in a one-room cabin which had a dirt floor. At the close of the Civil War he came with his mother and brothers and sisters to Malden, W. Va., where his stepfather had work in the salt factory. Although Booker was only a boy 9 years of age, he was com-pelled to work. For some years he labored in the mines and in the salt factory. was very ambitious to study. His mother secured an old spelling book for him. He tried to study, but with little success. About this time a private school was established in Malden. He was privileged to attend the school for a short time. When he enrolled he noticed that other children had two names. He had always been called "Booker," and when the teacher asked him what his name was, the only name he could think of was "Washington."

While working in the mines he heard some Negoes discussing a school in Hampton, Va. He made up his mind then that he wanted to attend this school. Soon after this the wife of Gen. Lewis Ruffner wanted a servant. Booker applied for the job and was given \$5 a month. Mrs. Ruffner became interested in the boy and helped him with his studies. He put together a few dollars and started Hampton Institute. His life there was filled with hardships, but he finally succeeded in graduating from that famous school. He came back to Malden and taught school for 2 years. He then was asked to teach at Hampton. From here he went to Tuskegee, Ala., where he established the most famous school for Negroes in the world. For many years he spent about half of his time traveling from place to place over the country lecturing for the benefit of his school. Critics have rated him as possibly the greatest orator this country has ever produced. He was a personal friend of Presidents and a leading businessman of the country. When he visited Europe he was entertained by kings, queens, and other royal Andrew Carnegle referred to him as "Moses" of the Negro race, and also said that two men by the name of Washington would always be remembered in the history of the United States, one as the father of the white race, the other as the father of the Negro race.

From the outstanding statesmen of West Virginia, I could have chosen Francis Pierpont, Governor of the Restored Government of Virginia; Joseph E. Kenna, U.S. Senator, whose statue is in Statuary Hall; Waitman Wiley, our first U.S. Senator; Newton Baker, Secretary of War under Wilson; John Barton Payne, Secretary of the Interior under Wilson; John W. Davis, candidate for President in 1925, or many others. However, I have chosen William L. Wilson, who was born and reared in Jefferson County and Who distinguished himself as a scholar, member of Congress, and member of Grover Cleveland's Cabinet. Mr. Wilson attended school in Washington, served in the Southern Confederate Army, taught in Columbian University, now George Washington University, and then practiced law for some years in Charles Town, W. Va. He was chosen president of the West Virginia University, served that institution 1 year, and resigned to take his posi-tion in Congress. He served his district for 6 terms as Congressman. While he was in Congress he was the author of the famous Wilson tariff law which became effective during the administration of Grover Cleveland. When Grover Cleveland was nominated in Chicago for his second term of office, Mr. Wilson was permanent chairman of the convention. He was then selected by Cleveland as Postmaster General of the United States. While in the office of postmaster, he originated and put into effect the rural free delivery The first route in the United States system. was out of Charles Town, W. Va. He later became president of Washington and Lee University. Here he distinguished himself as an educator.

From a list of theologians there are a number of names which could be chosen, such as Dr. C. R. Brown, who until recently was dean of the School of Divinity of Yale University, or one of the seven bishops of the Methodist Church-Morris, Edwin and Matt Hughes, Anderson, Claire, Hamilton, and Grose. But instead of these I have chosen the name of Alexander Campbell, the man who founded a great religious denomination, the Christian Church. Although he was not born in West Virginia, but in Ireland, he spent most of his life in Bethany, where he established one of the outstanding denominational colleges which exist now in the United States. He was the first president of a college who demanded that all students study the Bible as a textbook. He founded the religious denomination on the theory that the Bible should be taken as the code or book of laws for the guidance of the members. Numerous articles and several scholarly books were written by this great orator, minister, and educator. Possibly no other movement in West Virginia has had such wide effect as that one started by Alexander Campbell in the little town of Bethany. The church he organized has become internationally known and has influenced millions

Among journalists, West Virginia has produced some prominent thinkers and writers. One of the men who distinguished himself by his numerous magazine articles was Porte Crayon, whose real name was Gen. David H. Strother. There are other notable writers and journalists, but in my opinion the outstanding journalist West Virginia has produced is Archibald W. Campbell, editor of the Wheeling Intelligencer before and during the Civil War. He graduated from Bethany College in 1852 and came to Wheeling where, at 25 years of age, he took charge of a little newspaper. It was at that time the only Republican newspaper in the State of Virginia. Mr. Campbell was a fearless, outspoken man. He believed that slavery was a curse, and at the risk of personal injury he denounced the institution in the columns of his paper. He never received the credit due him as one of the leaders in the movement to create the new State-West Virginia. Many names appear in the pages of history as leaders in the movement, but Campbell may rightly be called the father of West Virginia. Through the columns of his newspaper he influenced public opinion for the movement, and he persisted in demanding that the new State be organized. President Lincoln's Cabinet did not approve, and the great President was inclined to veto the measure. At a critical period Campbell sent Lincoln a telegram which influenced him to sign the enactment.

This editor also distinguished himself in the Republican convention in Chicago in 1880, when Senator Conkling, of New York, tried to force Grant's renomination for third term as President of the United States. Conkling introduced a resolution demanding that every person present should abide by the decision of the convention. When the roll was called, the answers were "aye" until the clerk came to West Virginia and there were three "noes." Conkling became angry and denounced these men, whereupon Campbell arose and said, "I will never come any convention and agree beforehand that whatever may be done at that convention shall have my endorsement. Sir, as a free man whom God made free, I always intend to carry my sovereignty under my hat. I never intend that any body of men shall take it from me." As a result of this speech Garfield, of Ohio, requested that the resolution be withdrawn, and subsequently Garfield was nominated and elected President. Before he was killed, Garfield selected Mr. Campbell as Ambassador to China, but the papers were never signed. This man never held office and never received the credit that was due him as an outstanding leader in West Virginia.

In selecting a businessman I might have chosen Senator Camdon, who had much to do with the development of central West Virginia; Mr. Alvan McCauley, at one time president of the Packard Automobile Co.; C. W. Kittle, who recently died holding the position of president of Sears, Roebuck, & Co., the largest mail order house in the world; Isaac T. Mann, who exerted great influence in developing coal in southern West Virginia; M. L. Benedum, who has discovered more oil fields than any man who ever lived, now a noted philanthropist, and many other distinguished West Virginians.

I chose, however, a man who was born in Maryland and who came to West Virginia when quite young, Henry Gassaway Davis. Mr. Davis began work for the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Co. when a mere lad. He was promoted to different positions and, as conductor of passenger trains running into Washington, he had the opportunity to meet a great many leaders at that time in our national life. He was the first railroad superintendent to work out a plan for running trains at night. People laughed at him but he persisted, and the first train to run at night was from Cumberland, Maryland to Baltimore. It had a lantern on the front of the engine.

Mr. Davis became a member of the State legislature, later a State senator, and was the first Democratic U.S. Senator from West Virginia to serve two terms. He was also selected as candidate for vice president on the Democratic ticket with Judge Alton B. Parker. He built the Coal & Coke Rail-road which operated through an extensive territory in central West Virginia. He was responsible for the building of towns and for the operating of coal mines. He had vast interests in lumber and oil and gas developments. He was a philanthropist, gave freely to charitable, civic, and educational movements. The towns of Davis and Gassaway were named for him. Davis and Elkins College bears his name, also Davis Child's Shelter and Davis Park in Charleston. Before he died he was familiarly known as West Virginia's "grand old man."

Ann Jarvis of Grafton originated Mother's Day, and this grant lady will live in memory as another outstanding West Virginian.

#### THE BIRTH OF WEST VIRGINIA

#### (By Phil Conley)

West Virginia's birthday will be observed on June 20. Just 96 years ago on that day, 35 small girls in red, white and blue dresses, welcomed the first governor of the State, Arthur Ingraham Boreman. The place was Wheeling at high noon. The girls represented the States that had been admitted, West Virginia being the 35th. On that day the Confederate forces under Gen. Robert E. Lee, the gallant soldier of Virginia, were marching a short distance from where the first inaugural ceremonies were being held. They were on their way to the fateful battle of Gettysburg, the decisive struggle in the fratricidal conflict.

The only change in the map of the United States after the War Between the States was the division of Virginia. The formation of West Virginia was not caused by the war, but the war gave the people west of the Alleghenies an opportunity to do something they had desired for many years; namely, become an independent State.

In 1773, Benjamin Franklin was the leading spirit in a movement to form a 14th colony, Vandalia. The capital of this colony was to have been at Point Pleasant; George Mercer was to have been the governor. The Revolution stopped this attempt. In 1776, a petition was presented to the Continental Congress to create a new State, Westsylvania. In 1816, a proposal was made to the Virginia Assembly that the State be divided into northern and southern sections. Other attempts were made at various times but without success.

Let us review briefly the historic events leading up to the actual creation of West Virginia. When Governor John Letcher of Virginia assembled his legislature in extra session in 1861, and forced a secession convention, practically all of the delegates from west of the mountains opposed the movement. The representatives of the eastern section called a mock election to ratify the action of the secession convention.

When the delegates returned to western Virginia, several protest meetings were held. The first one of importance was at Clarksburg where 1,200 people assembled on April 22, 1861. John S. Carlile, who had just returned from Richmond, was the leader of the meeting.

The principal action of this meeting was to issue a call for a convention to be held in Wheeling on May 13, 1861. Delegates from the counties in this territory were invited to attend this convention to consider and determine upon such action as the people of northwestern Virginia should take in the present fearful emergency.

When the convention was called to order in Wheeling, Carlile, in an impassioned address, demanded that the delegates form a new State. He had prepared a resolution for this purpose. An attempt was made to storm the convention. A parade was started with adherents carrying banners inscribed in large letters "New Virginia Now or Never."

After 2 days of bitter and acrimonlous

After 2 days of bitter and acrimonious debate, Campbell Tarr, chairman of the committee on State and Federal relations, brought in a report which was designed to satisfy both factions. It denounced the ordinance of secession and urged all citizens to vote against it at the election to be held on May 23. Further, the report recommended that another convention be held in Wheeling on June 11, in the event Virginia voted to secede from the Union.

At the election on May 23, the ordinance of secession of Virginia was ratified by the people in the eastern section of the State. Then followed the second Wheeling Convention on June 11. Arthur I. Boreman was chosen president of the convention. Delegates from 31 counties were present. Subsequently, representatives from four more counties arrived, making a total of 77 members.

After bitterly denouncing the Legislature of Virginia for illegally calling for a vote on the subject of secession, the delegates adopted a "Declaration of the People of Virginia." It was a sort of assertion of independence. To this declaration the members solemnly affixed their signatures in much the same way that the patriots had signed the

Declaration of Independence in Philadelphia

on July 4, 1776. On June 15, the convention unanimously adopted "An Ordinance for the Reorganiza-tion of the State Government." Five days later, the convention proceeded to the elecof a Governor and other officers. Francis H. Pierpont was elected Governor of the restored State of Virginia. The members of this convention took the position that this new organization was the real Virginia; that the section east of the mountains under Fletcher had withdrawn from the Union and therefore was not to be recognized as a part of the United States. That they reflected the will of the people is proved by the fact that of 44,000 votes cast by people in what is now West Virginia, only 4,000 were for secession. However, sentiment was divided, as is proved by the fact that 32,000 men joined the Union forces and about 8,000

joined the Confederate forces.

The restored government of Virginia established a capital at Wheeling. Two U.S. Senators were elected by the legislature—Wattman T. Willey and John S. Carlile. It was a difficult task to start a new State without money and in a time when sentiment was so evenly divided between the North and the South. However, Governor Pierpont and Peter Van Winkle, a member of his counsel, signed personal notes for \$10,000 to take care of the expenses for the first few weeks. The Governor sat behind a plain table in a bare room in Linsley Institute. He sent troops to Weston where they selzed some \$40,000 that had been deposited in the bank by the State of Virginia for the erection of an insane asylum.

Soon after the reorganized government of Virginia had been established, a movement was started to form a new State. Farsighted men knew that if and when the war was won by the Federal forces, Virginia would be restored to the Union and the people living west of the Alleghenies would be in the same situation they were in prior to secession.

Consequently, upon the reassembling of the convention on August 6, 1861, discussion was precipitated immediately relative to the formation of a new State. After nearly a month of discussion, a resolution was adopted which provided that people living in the restored government of Virginia should vote on the question of the formation of a "State of Kanawha." The election was called for the fourth Thursday in October. At the next meeting of the convention the delegates voted to call the new State West Virginia because many of them wanted to retain the name of the former State.

The result of the vote for the formation of a new State was a surprise even to those who were most outspoken in favor of the plan. In Kanawha County the vote was 1,039 for the new State and 1 against. In some counties there was not a single vote against the new State. The official vote was 18,408 for the new State and 781 against it.

On May 29, 1862, Senator Willey presented the memorial to Congress from the restored government of Virginia praying the admission of West Virginia as a separate State.

The United States Constitution provides that no new State can be formed from the territory of another without the consent of the former.

The bill was passed by the Senate on July 14, 1862, and by the House of Representatives on December 9. On the evening of December 31, 1862, the last day on which the bill could be signed, a delegation of prominent West Virginians, headed by Congressman Jacob Beeson Blair, of Parkersburg, called on the President. After some discussion in which the President told them that half of his Cabinet were for the bill and half were opposed, he remarked that he held the ace up his sleeve. He said he was not making ap-

pointments for New Year's Day, but that he would see them if they cared to come to the White House the next morning. Mr. Blair arrived at the White House early. There were no servants about. He saw a door on the side porch open, and he walked in. He found President Lincoln in a small room trimming his whiskers. After greeting him, the President took him to an adjoining room, pulled open a drawer and remarked that there was the ace he referred to the night before. The bill creating West Virginia was there signed "A. Lincoln."

On April 20, 1863, Lincoln issued a proclamation that West Virginia would become a separate State 60 days thereafter. On May 9, 1863, a convention was held in Parkersburg. At that time candidates for State offices were selected. They were elected by a vote of the people shortly thereafter. They were: Arthur I. Boreman, of Wood County, the first Governor; Samuel Crane, of Randolph County, auditor; Campbell Tarr, of Brooke County, treasurer; J. Edgar Boyers, of Tyler County, secretary of state; A. Bolton Caldwell, of Ohio County, attorney general.

On June 20, 1863, just 96 years ago a week from next Saturday, those men took the oath of office as officials of West Virginia, in a temporary capital at Wheeling. And the State became the 35th State in the Union.

At the last session of the West Virginia Legislature, a bill was passed which provides for a West Virginia Centennial Commission to be comprised of 15 members. This commission is already at work making plans for our 100th birthday to be celebrated on June 20, 1963.

#### Problems of American Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 18, 1959

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, the arrival in Cleveland recently of the first vessel to transit the St. Lawrence Seaway inspired an editorial writer of the Cleveland Plain Dealer to voice some sound views with respect to the need for and the problems of the American merchant marine.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial in question be printed in the Appendix of the Record. With meetings scheduled for next week here at the State Department, at which representatives of the leading maritime nations of Europe will press their belief that the United States should withdraw from world shipping activities in their favor, such thinking as represented by this Plain Dealer editorial deserves the most thoughtful attention.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Cleveland Plain Dealer, May 7, 1959]

HAIL TO THE "EXTAVIA"

The universal fascination of shipping fastened itself upon Clevelanders over the weekend with a fervor almost as ardent as that being generated by our Indians.

From early Saturday on, the lakefront doings drew gawkers and sidewalk skippers in ever-increasing numbers. Thus the seaway already is proving to be something we correctly anticipated—a topnotch tourist show.

Seaway contagion will break out again today with as much or more excitement attending the arrival of the first ship last Tuesday. Scheduled for early evening arrival is the spruce Extavia, a 7,800-ton freighter of American Export Lines. She'll be the first of America's ocean flag fleet to hit port, and the biggest ship here yet.

The Plain Dealer's own salute to the Extavia will be a clock and plaque, a symbol of the importance we attach to the Nation's

merchant marine.

We hope too that the chamber of commerce and the city port officials will muster up matching enthusiasm. There's much to be gained from showing Cleveland's newcomers how glad we are to have them.

In a very real sense, we all have a vested interest in *Extavia* and the other Americanflag vessels which will visit Cleveland. As taxpayers, we help pay her crew's salary—through maritime subsidies.

Thus Extavia puts the focus on how our merchant marine is faring as a whole. And the picture, despite Extavia's gaudy new coat of paint, hardly is bright.

Why, you may ask, get so excited? Just use foreign bottoms; they can haul goods

cheaper.

That's a blunt, albeit not necessarily accurate, answer. During every major war we've learned—but not all of us—the fallacy of such reasoning.

of such reasoning.

First, you get pinched out of shipping if an emergency arises. Maritime nations in times of stringency always give priority to their own needs, quite naturally.

their own needs, quite naturally.

The second reason is obvious. An adequate merchant marine constitutes a key military auxiliary; it simply has to be kept alive and healthy for national security.

Yet our merchant fleet is now close on the verge of block obsolescence. So much of it was built during World War II. We are badly lacking in fast vessels which, by their speed, can counteract to some extent the cheaper labor under foreign flags.

The question of ship replacement is now a sore point in Congress. An orderly, minimum building program would provide for 20 new craft this fiscal year. Yet only 11 have been ordered so far in 1959, hardly enough to keep the vital shipyards alive and kicking. Nor does the administration think the budget will stand more.

Conceivably the seaway will prove so great a spur to business that a shipping shortage will develop and we'll be forced to speed up construction. But an emergency program means greater costs in the long run. Moreover, it will be several years before the Seaway's bounties become sufficiently fruitful.

Steady replacement construction is the sound answer, if American shipping is to maintain a sound bottom.

Massachusetts Labor Council, AFL-CIO, Urges Maritime Commission To Name Next Nuclear-Powered Merchant Vessel After the Late Former Secretary of Labor, Maurice J. Tobin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 21, 1959

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD. I wish to include the motion adopted by the Greater Boston, Mass., Labor Council, AFL-CIO, which has been communicated to me in the attached letter from President John J. Horan and Executive Secretary Stephen E. Mc-Closkey:

MASSACHUSETTS LABOR COUNCIL

AFI-CIO.

Boston, Mass., June 15, 1959. Congressman Thomas J. Lane,

House Office Building.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN LANE: At the regular meeting of our organization held on June 10, 1959, a motion was introduced and unanimously adopted urging the U.S. Maritime Commission to name the next nuclear powered merchant vessel to be constructed after the late former Secretary of Labor, Maurice

The Greater Boston, Mass. Labor Council, AFL-CIO, representing more than 250,000 organized union members, is calling upon the Parent AFL-CIO and all State and local labor organizations throughout the United States to join in a national movement to perpetuate the life and memory of the late Maurice J. Tobin for his efforts on behalf of the organized worker during a long and distinguished public career.

The late Maurice J. Tobin is affectionately remembered as a friend of labor who served the people of Massachusetts as mayor and Governor, and the people of the Nation as Secretary of Labor in President Truman's

Cabinet.

We are calling upon the Massachusetts congressional delegation to spearhead the drive in Washington to have the next nuclear-powered vessel named after the late Maurice J. Tobin, and to have construction of the vessel scheduled for the Fore River Shipyard in Quincy.

This would be in keeping with Maurice J. Tobin's deep interest in the shipbuilding industry in Massachusetts, and would serve as a fitting tribute from the Bay State worker to the memory of a great statesman of

Massachusetts.

Maurice J. Tobin, who rose from a newsboy to the Cabinet of the President of the United States, represents the highest and finest traditions of America, and his success story has served as a model for countless youths in the city of Boston who have been encouraged to set their sights at the highest level, regardless of their economic station

We urge, therefore, that this posthumous honor be conferred on the life and memory of Maurice J. Tobin for the very great con-tribution he has made and the dedication of his life to the community, State, and Nation.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN J. HORAN,

President.

STEPHEN E. McCloskey, Executive Secretary.

Mr. Charles Weissman, Wilkes-Barre Philanthropist and Civic Leader, Again Honored

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 18, 1959

Mr. FLOOD, Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times Leader of June 11, 1959:

[From the Wilkes-Barre Times Leader, June 11, 1959]

HONOR TO MR. WEISSMAN

The award of a citation to Charles Weissman, founder of the American Auto Stores, by the automotive division of the United Jewish Appeal at the annual dinner in New York last night put the national and international spotlight on the local businessman and philanthropist again.

Although Mr. Weissman has been honored many times, here and elsewhere, usually the role is reversed. He is one of those individuals who prefers to be found on the

giving or doing end.

But there are occasions when Mr. Weissman inevitably finds himself being singled out for distinction by way of acknowledgment of his generosity and service to worthy causes. He has been a part of so many projects that it is difficult to keep up with him.

The pace he continues to set is amazing.

The United Jewish Appeal long has been one of his pet charities. He has been linked with it so intimately that his name is almost as familiar to New York and Jerusalem as

to Wilkes-Barre.

Locally, Mr. Weissman belongs to the whole community. For almost a half century, he has labored for brotherhood and the betterment of the area. It would be difficult, if at all possible, to place an estimate on the value of his personal service and his monetary gifts to the community. Other areas echo local experience and gratitude.

There is only one Charles Weissman, and it is Wilkes-Barre's good fortune to have him.

## A Proposal To Encourage Student's Purchases of Musical Instruments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 10, 1959

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, this week I have introduced in the House of Representatives a bill, H.R. 7725, to remove the 10 percent excise tax on all musical instruments costing \$150 or less.

This legislation is aimed at encouraging the purchase of low-cost musical instruments by students for use in elementary, high school, and college music courses.

Mr. Speaker, today the study of music is accepted as a normal part of the educational curriculum of American boys and girls, and I feel we should do all we can to encourage young people with talents in the field of music to play musical instruments.

I should like to emphasize that although music instruction in one form or another is required in most elementary schools and is an elective course in most high schools, students who purchase their own instruments are under the existing law obliged to pay the 10 percent excise tax.

Instruments purchased by schools, however, are exempt from this tax.

I should like also to point out that 93 percent of the sales of band and orchestra instruments in the United States are made to parents; students, private teachers, schools, and religious and characterbuilding organizations. More than two-thirds of these sales are made by or for students. Furthermore, Mr. Speaker, more than 80 percent of all musical instruments manufactured are purchased for educational purposes. I am particularly aware of the problem facing young people interested in music because Elkhart, Ind., which is located in my district, is one of the great centers of the band instrument industry in America.

The figures I have cited were compiled in a recent survey by the National Association of Music Merchants, and I believe they indicate the need for a revision of the law to reduce the excise tax on musical instruments for the many young people who study music in our country.

Mr. Speaker, I hope very much that Congress will adopt my proposal.

#### Amending Mutual Security Act of 1954

SPEECH OF

#### HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 17, 1959

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 7500) to amend further the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, and for other purposes.

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

(Mr. ALGER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Chairman, I want to commend the gentleman for his balanced budget amendment and join with him in his effort. I find it hard to believe, as some have said, that an amendment to force spending within a balanced budget will be so unpopular that no one will vote for it. That is not what I have been hearing around here this year. I am appalled by the fact that the Congress is permitted by the Ameriacn people to go along unrestrained, without a constitutional limitation on the Federal power to tax, spend, and borrow-which is an amendment that I have been for since I have been here. But specifically as to this foreign aid bill, I will tell you what this amendment would do in a hurry in this Congress. We all know that some of this foreign aid is necessary. This amendment would force us all to take a look at foreign aid in relationship to all Federal spending. Before we left this Congress, we would appropriate whatever money was necessary for foreign aid, made possible by subtracting from some of the large welfare programs, that we all know we are afraid of politically. We could save enough money to put into foreign aid, if we but wanted to do so. We could indeed, if we wanted, provide foreign aid funds within a balanced budget. There should be no opposition to an amendment that demands

a balanced budget.

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Texas had some other remarks to make and I will be glad to yield to him, if he would like to give us some more information on the amendment that he has offered

#### Amending Mutual Security Act of 1954

SPEECH

## HON. JOHN DOWDY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 17, 1959

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 7500) to amend further the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, and for other purposes.

Mr. DOWDY. I want to thank the gentleman for yielding me a few minutes more time.

Mr. Chairman, I qualified my statement that I did not expect my amendment to carry by saying that the courage to vote it up was not present here. It should be adopted, and that qualification to my statement that it would not be carried was if the courage is not here. Have we in the Congress failed to learn the great lessons of history? No nation was ever saved by bribery or mercenairies. Has a generation of "spendniks" come to power in America? Has this generation of ours failed to learn what happens to people who are irresponsible with money? Congress has got to quit trying to avoid facing up to financial fundamentals and so has the administration. If this program is so all fired good and Congress wants to put it over, the money can be raised by increasing taxes and by cutting down on some of the other expenditures. I just do not think it is that good.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Chairman, will the

gentleman yield?

Mr. ALGER. I am glad to yield to

the gentleman.

Mr. HAYS. I just wonder if the gentleman, either one of the gentlemen. would admit that one way of increasing our tax receipts would be to do away with the 271/2 percent oil depletion allowance?

Mr. ALGER. The answer is that we cut down on some of the Federal Government's welfare programs and wasteful spending that we are now engaged in, cut out duplication of Government agencies which every man and woman present in this Chamber understands is certainly true.

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Chairman, will the

gentleman yield?

Mr. ALGER. I yield. Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Chairman, I can conclude my remarks pretty quickly, but first in reply to the gentleman from Ohio I want to say that I am unwilling to take money away from any group of Americans to give away to foreign governments.

A few days ago in requesting a greater national debt and advocating increasing the interest that is paid on the national debt, the President said

The achievement of a fiscal position that allows our revenues to cover our expenditures as well as to produce some surplus for debt retirement will improve substantially the environment in which debt management operates.

This Congress can assure that ideal fiscal situation and position here in this country by adopting my amendment

I thank the gentleman from Texas for vielding to me.

Mr. ALGER. I join with the gentleman from Texas and commend him on the statement that he has made.

American Legion Views on the Pension Bill, H.R. 7650

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 18, 1959

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the national legislative director of the American Legion, Miles D. Kennedy, has written a very lucid explanation of the pension bill, H.R. 7650, which the House passed on last Monday and which is now pending before the Senate Committee on Finance. I believe Members will find this interesting and informative:

[From National Legislative Bulletin, June 12, 1959]

A New Pension Bill, H.R. 7650

On Wednesday, June 10, H.R. 6432 went into the wastebasket. In its place a new proposal was introduced. It is H.R. 7650. Yesterday the new bill was reported by the House Veterans' Affairs Committee and may pass the House of Representatives on Monday, June 15. This speedy action is not to be misconstrued as a sneak method of getting the bill on its way to avoid opposition. Actually, the new bill is the culmination of months of conferences-proposals and counter proposals, in which the American Legion took a most active part. While we are disappointed that all our points could not be gained, we are pleased that the total first year's value of the bill is about three times greater than the administration's initial proposal in H.R. 6432, \$308 million against a little over \$100 million.

In addition, the bill would accomplish death pension parity for the widows and or-phans of veterans of World War II and the Korean conflict on the same basis as authorized for widows of World War I. The American Legion has sought this legislation for many years and we are delighted that finally such inequity appears headed for erasure. This in itself is most desirable legislation.

Now, before we discuss the new bill, let's take a look at what we have in the pension program generally, and what our objectives were as we took our proposals to Congress in January.

#### PRESENT PENSION PROVISIONS

Today veterans of World War I, World War II, and the Korean conflict who meet the service requirements may be eligible for non-service-connected disability pension at monthly rates of \$66.15, \$78.75, or \$135.45, depending on degree of disability, age, or continuous period of disability. Unemployability because of disability is also a requirement, and net income from other sources is a bar if the amount exceeds \$1,400 for veterans without dependents, or \$2,700 if they have one or more dependents.

Widows of World War I veterans who met the service requirements are eligible for death pension at the rate of \$50.40 monthly providing they are within income ceiling limitations which are the same as stated above for veterans, and if they have been married to and cohabited with the veteran for 5 years or more at the time of his death, or for any period of time if a child was born of the union. A qualified widow, with one child, receives \$63 per month with \$7.56 for each additional child.

Widows and orphans of World War II and the Korean conflict veterans are not generally eligible for non-service-connected death pension. They qualify only if the deceased husband and/or father had, at time of death, a service-connected disability for which compensation would have been payable if 10 percent or more in degree disabling, or if he was receiving (or entitled to receive) compensation or retirement pay based upon a service-connected disability. Income ceilings, marriage requirements, and monthly rates are the same as for World War I widows and orphans.

Orphaned children of a deceased World War I veteran, and without other parent, are eligible for death pension as follows: child, \$27.30 monthly; two children, \$40.95; three children, \$54.60, with \$7.56 for each additional child, all funds equally divided. The children are also limited to \$1,400 annual income from earned or unearned sources. Orphans of veterans of World War II or the Korean conflict are not entitled to death pension unless the parent meets the service-connected disability requirements set forth in the preceding paragraph.

#### OUR PENSION PROPOSALS

The Chicago National Convention approved Resolution 331 which asked modification of existing pension law to: Increase monthly rates to \$75, \$90, and \$150 in lieu of present rates cited earlier; elevate income ceilings to \$1,800 and \$3,000, and liberalize the disability and unemployability provision at age 65 so that age alone (plus income ceilings) would become the criteria for pension eligibility. Bills to carry out these objectives were introduced in Congress.

In Resolution 471 the convention requested congressional action to increase compensation and death pension rates for widows and orphans. Bills to accomplish this were also introduced.

Death pension parity for widows and or-phans of veterans of World War II and the Korean conflict was reaffirmed at the same convention by adoption of Resolution 39. Bills to accomplish same were also introduced.

No hearings on our proposals were sched-uled by the House Veterans' Affairs Committee because of the President's statement in his January 19 budget message to the effect that the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs had been directed to submit a pension bill to Congress. Nothing would have been gained by hearings in advance of the submission, which was accomplished on April 15 and which was introduced on the same date. It was H.R. 6432.

As reported in an earlier Bulletin, the National Executive Committee unanimously rejected H.R. 6432, and adopted a resolution (No. 65) which authorized National Commander Preston J. Moore to resume conferences with executive and legislative leaders with a view toward building an acceptable program out of the ruins of H.R. 6432.

In the resumption of discussions on this subject it soon became evident that some of the provisions of our pension legislation proposals met with stonewall resistance both in Congress and in the executive branch. They would not yield on a straight increase in rates and income ceilings, nor on liberalization of eligibility at age 65. Neither would they agree to "across the board" increases for widows and orphans.

All this left the pension situation in pretty much of a compromise or nothing basis because there was practically no hope that Congress would consider our bills, or that the President would sign same should

Congress pass them.

On the basis of these developments the national commander and our Washington staff entered into last-ditch negotiations with White House and congressional representatives which resulted in the introduction of the new bill, H.R. 7650. A basic principle of the measure is that pension aid is directed in greater proportion to those veterans and dependents needing it the most. At the same time the pauperistic rates and conditions of the first bill, H.R. 6432, are improved sufficiently to remove the taint of a charitable handout, thus retaining a measure of dignity in the time-honored pension system for the veterans of our wars and their dependents.

As we discuss the provisions of the new bill keep in mind that statistics indicate that over 1,100,000 veterans and dependents will be aided, either by increased rates or by coming on the rolls for the first time such as those previously denied because of incomes greater than \$1,400 or \$2,700 per year, and the potentially eligible widows and orphans of veterans of World War II and the Korean conflict. A breakdown follows: 854,406 beneficiaries now on rolls would get increases; 72,039 now barred by income cellings would be added, plus 205,684 widows and children of deceased World War II and Ko-

rean conflict veterans.

Important, too, are the facts that the proposed bill is not designed to be effective until July 1, 1960, and that it does contain a savings clause which provides that those now on the rolls, or those coming on the rolls by virtue of disability or death occurring prior to July 1, 1960, are not affected unless it is to their advantage to elect the benefits in the new bill.

GENERAL PROVISIONS OF H.R. 7650

Veterans without dependents or not reasonably contributing to same:
Other resources (annual income):

Per m	ionth
\$0 to \$600	\$85
8600 to \$1,200	70
\$1,200 to \$1,800	40

Veterans with dependents or reasonably contributing to support of same: Other resources (annual income):

	Per month		
\$0 to	\$1,000 \$1	00	
\$1,000	to \$2,000	75	
\$2,000	to \$3,000	15	
(NOTE	A If the veteran is in need	of	

regular aid and attendance the rates are increased \$70 per month.)

(Note B.—In determining annual income, where a veteran is living with his spouse, (and a veteran shall be considered as living with a spouse, even though they reside apart, unless they are entranged) all income of the spouse which is reasonably available to or for the veteran except \$1,200 or 50 percent of such income, whichever is the greater, shall be considered as the income of the veteran, unless in the judgment of the VA Administrator to do so would work a hard-ship upon the veteran.)

(Note C.—Net worth limitation. The Administrator shall deny or discontinue payment of pensions when the corpus of the

veteran's estate (net worth) is such that under all the circumstances, including consideration of the veteran's income, it is reasonable that some part of the corpus be consumed for the veteran's maintenance.)

Notes B and C reflect new provisions in the administration of pensions and they would apply in the case of veterans, widows, and children. While limits are not prescribed in the bill, it is assumed that the Administrator would be entirely reasonable in his consideration of these factors.

Income ceilings and rates for widows without children:

Other resources (annual income):

Per m	MONTH	
\$0 to \$1,000	\$75	
\$1,000 to \$2,000	60	
\$2,000 to \$3,000	40	

(Nore.—If there is more than one child the monthly rate will be increased \$15 for each additional child.)

Income ceilings and rates for children alone, or in cases where widow is ineligible for pensions because of remarriage or excessive net worth or income:

Other resources (annual income) - one child: \$0 to \$1.800, \$35 per month.

(Note.—If there is more than one child there will be an additional payment of \$15 for each additional child but the amount due two or more children would be added together and equally divided.)

The foregoing is a general summary of the provisions of H.R. 7650. Keep in mind that the bill has to be approved by both Houses of Congress and then by the President and that it will not be effective until July 1, 1960,

as presently written.

National Commander Preston J. Moore, following introduction of H.R. 7650, sent the following communication to Representative OLIN E. TEAGUE, Chairman of the House Vet-

erans' Affairs Committee:
 "Dear Mr. Teague: This has reference to H.R. 7650, a bill to modify the pension programs for veterans of World War I, World War II, and the Korean conflict, and their widows and children.

"The American Legion is disappointed in the fact that H.R. 7650, which was reported out by the House Veterans Affairs Committee on June 11, 1959, did not meet the recommendations our organization made when I testified before the committee on June 5. I feel that we had submitted a reasonable proposal calculated to meet the minimum requirements of veterans and their dependents,

"The American Legion notes, however, that H.R. 7650 contains a number of suggestions made by this organization. The bill effects a number of resolutions of the American Legion, some of which have been mandates for over a decade. In addition, the bill provides increased pension rates for the great majority of veterans, widows, and children now on the rolls, particularly the most needy; it increases the income limitations, making thousands of persons entitled to pension benefits for the first time; and it fulfills the Legion's long-sought objective of equalization of the death pension requirements for World War II and Korean conflict dependents. For these reasons the American Legion supports H.R. 7650.

"The House Veterans Affairs Committee and its staff merit commendation for the time and effort they have devoted to this difficult problem."

In our next issue we will discuss House action on H.R. 7650 as well as some of the

details regarding the new bill's definitions of income, what is to be counted as such, and what is not. We will also discuss the "savings clause" contained in the proposal. Sincerely,

MILES D. KENNEDY,
Director.

The New Europe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 18, 1959

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, during the course of debate on mutual security various Members have cited certain of the accomplishments under the program and its predecessor, the Marshall plan. Surely all would agree that nowhere have those accomplishments been more visible than in the spectacular resurgence of war-devastated Europe. Today, thanks largely to American private and governmental assistance, Europe stands restored and allied in partnership with the free world.

Writing in the current issue of U.S. News & World Report, Editor David Lawrence has perceptively described the unity of spirit and mutuality of interest existing between America and Europe. As he so properly indicates, Europe's economic reconstruction has given her peoples the confidence and strength essential to the maintenance of a united front against Soviet imperialism.

Believing that Mr. Lawrence's editorial will be of wide interest, I include it to-

gether with my remarks:

[From U.S. News & World Report, June 22, 1959]

THE NEW EUROPE (By David Lawrence)

Returning from a fourth visit to Europe since the end of World War II, this writer brings back impressions of a new and invigorated West.

The strength of a nation or of a group of nations is an intangible and is not always measured by material things. Sometimes the spirit of a people is even more significant than its stock of worldly goods.

The truth is that Europe has not fully recovered from the effects of the last war but is definitely farther ahead, after 14 years of striving for an economic equilibrium, than it, ever has been in a similar length of time following its other big wars.

This time America fortunately has not made the mistake of the 1920s, when we ignored Europe, and particularly Germany, and allowed the economic debacle there to bring on the dictatorship of Hitler. The Second World War, with its terrible losses, might not have occurred if we had projected then a Marshall plan for Europe or if we had put the weight of our moral and physical power on the side of the democracles early enough to head off the Axis alliance.

But, lest it be thought that mere grants of money by the American Government in what has often been referred to as "foreign aid" have alone been responsible for Europe's present comeback, attention should be drawn to the vast amount of American private capital that has been boldly ventured overseas and has contributed so much to world recovery.

Thus, as revealed in an article in the June 1 issue of this magazine, nearly \$300 billion have been sent abroad from the United States in the last 10 years. American purchases of foreign goods account for \$190 billion, while \$27 billion have been invested overseas by American citizens. Government loans and gifts total approximately \$75 bil-Private donations and organizations like CARE have provided \$7 billion to help feed and clothe the destitute.

What has most of this money been used for? To purchase the latest American machinery and equipment, to rebuild industries and cities, and to create the necessary reserves in gold for the further development

of business and trade.

Europe looks better, the people seem better dressed and happier than a decade ago. For Europe has hope and confidence now. has a feeling of security in that its more for-tunate partner, spared the devastation of bombings, has wisely come to the rescue.

America can be proud of its accomplishment. Our policy has been not merely one of good sense toward Europe but in our own self-interest. The world is more than ever interrelated on the economic side. A continuance of economic chaos in Western Europe following World War II would have

imperiled America's own progress.

Perhaps the outstanding fact about the European situation today is that, despite the interminable threat generated by Communist imperialism, unity of spirit and mutuality of interest is strongly imbedded in the minds of Western peoples. There are. to be sure, debates over methods and formulas. There are differences of interpretation about current developments and a wide variety of plans on how to deal with the Soviets. But when the Kremlin makes the mistake of overstepping the bounds in any important controversy, there is in the West an instantaneous restoration of a common front.

In some respects the situation is like the 1930's. The voices of appeasement are often heard. The same old arguments are made that "summit" meetings and four-power conferences are desirable nowadays, if only to get a clarification of the intentions of our potential adversary. Unfortunately, sometimes the West thereby puts itself in a cringing position, waiting for the aggressor to consummate his acts of aggression.

Infiltration of the Western countries by Communist propaganda continues as Moscow probes for the weak spot in the Western armor, political distintegration from within. But again the spirit of a free people seems somehow, through its free press and radio and its parliamentary debates, to maintain national resoluteness. On the whole, the public in all the Western countries is alert

to the Soviet game.

The mood, moreover, is one of caution and restraint. There is patience and calmness. There is confidence that democracy will win out against totalitarianism, though the struggle may be long and at times exasperating. The partnership with America was never more important to the free peoples of

If war comes, the West is ready. We can, if necessary, inflict an incredible amount of destruction. The Soviets know this. So the struggle now is on the psychological and economic fronts-and the reconstruction of Europe on the economic side has given the peoples of the free countries the very confidence and strength they have needed to present a united front against those who threaten the peace of the world. Invulnerable unity among the free nations is the key to the prevention of another world war.

#### Unrest in Latin America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ORD, I include the following article by Mr. Henry Raymont, a correspondent for United Press International specializing in Latin American affairs:

(By Henry Raymont)

WASHINGTON, June 15 .- A lull in the sudden violence that shook Latin America last week has given officials here an opportunity to assess political and economic trends in that vital area of the free world.

For different reasons, there was bloodshed in Ecuador, Nicaragua, and the Dominican Republic. Political turmoil broke out in Argentina, Colombia, Haiti, Paraguay, and Peru.

The shadow of economic crisis enveloped Brazil and almost all other Latin American Republics whose exports of agricultural and mineral products have steadily declined in value in overstocked world markets.

To veteran observers there was no doubt that the area as a whole is undergoing an acutely painful stage in the evolution from an agrarian and partially underdeveloped society into meeting the political, social, and economic demands of the modern industrial

A United Press International survey showed that United States and Latin American officials generally agreed on the origins and

meaning of the recent events.

But there were divergent views on the cure for the rash of revolutions and violence that periodically shake the tranquillity of the continent and which leads critics to regard the area as a region of banana republics.

U.S. officials concerned with Latin American policy fear that these periodic flareups obscure a gradual but undeniable progress toward political freedom in the 20 Latin

American republics.

They point out that in a continent once dominated by uniformed dictators now only a few of these relics of the past hold real

While they concede that the economic situation is bad, they were encouraged by the stabilization programs undertaken by Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru. After a period of austerity these programs will lead to a period of sound economic expansion, the officials predicted.

Only Brazil apparently continues to pre fer inflationary policies on the grounds that tough curbs at this time would be politically dangerous and would retard the exploitation of natural resources, they pointed out.

Most Latin American diplomats here agreed that the hemisphere as a whole has made big strides toward the principles of political democracy and representative government. But they were less confident about the economic outlook.

These diplomats believe the ultimate solution to Latin America's problems lies in a sweeping, U.S.-supported development program such as Brazilian President Juscelino Kubitschek first envisioned in his plan known as Operation Pan America.

The plan, launched a year ago following

Vice President RICHARD M. NIXON'S riot-torn tour of South America, subsequently was toned down and adjusted to the State Department's more gradual approach to Latin America's economic ills.

The overriding reasons for these difficulties are the fall in world commodity prices and inflation. Oversupply of agricultural and mineral commodities which make up the chief earning power of Latin America accounts for the price decline. Financing of government deficits by printing money and politically motivated wage increases in some countries feed the inflationary trend.

Many of the countries that have recently shaken off dictatorships found their problems compounded by the political disruption they inherited. As Cuba, Venezuela, Colombia, and Argentina have found, the disappearance of a despot does not mean the end of all problems.

Traditional and new political parties were suddenly confronted with the need to win an electorate which for years had been subjected to the demagoguery and vain promises of the dictator. Concessions had to be made to power-wielding groups, often in conflict with a sound economic policy.

In addition, outstanding professionals and students who refused to knuckle down to the totalitarian rule chose freedom abroad and did not return. As a result, many of the new democracies are facing a lack of trained manpower to fill key government positions.

The Communist Parties in Latin America are taking advantage of this situation. In almost every instance of violence registered in recent weeks there were reports of Communist agitation.

Several Latin American governments have taken steps to curb Communist activities in the face of growing evidence that a concerted move may be afoot to exploit the ferment in their countries. But there is no certainty whether this is just the beginning of a new Communist effort that may go underground in defiance of legal restrictions.

#### Gratitude

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. B. CARROLL REECE

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. REECE of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, on April 5, 1959, Hon. George E. Stringfellow, of East Orange, N.J., the imperial potentate, A.A.O.N.M.S., delivered a sermon for the Friendly Sunday School Class of the Marvin Methodist Church, Tyler, Tex.

I read this sermon with a great deal of interest and I think it is something that should be made available to the people generally, and I am presenting it for the RECORD.

Mr. Stringfellow is a businessman who has a deep interest in people and although he is a successful businessman, he feels that a businessman has a collateral responsibility in fraternal and civic affairs. His position as imperial potentate has given him great opportunity to be of service in these capacities.

We are fortunate in having a George Stringfellow and if we had a thousand George Stringfellows, America would be a still better place.

The above-mentioned follows:

GRATITUDE

(Sermon preached by Imperial Sir George E. Stringfellow, of East Orange, N.J., imperial potentate, A.A.O.N.M.S., before the Friendly Sunday School Class of Marvin Methodist Church, Tyler, Tex., April 5, 1959)

Good morning, ladies and gentlemen, I bring you the greetings of the Imperial Divan of the Shrine of North America. I bring you the greetings of the board of trustees of the Shriners Hospitals for Crippled Children and I bring you the greetings of the 830,000 Shriners of North America which I have the privilege in part to represent.

I am highly complimented to be asked to speak to the Friendly Sunday School Class of Marvin Methodist Church, one of the largest and one of the oldest Sunday school classes of men in America. This class has had the sterling leadership and has been presided over by the Honorable Galloway Calhoun, 33d degree, past grand master of Masons of Texas, past imperial potentate, A.A.O.N.M.S., and president and chairman of the board of trustees of the Shriners Hospitals for Crippled Children, for more than a quarter of a century. He has had a hand in feeding hungry souls as well as straightening crippled bodies for a long period of time, and he is looked upon by his associates as one of God's noblemen in every respect.

When Dr. Calhoun asked me to speak here this morning to this large gathering, I was reminded that a few years ago I was invited to conduct the last service in a church in Newark, N.J., before the summer vacation. When I reached the church to conduct the service I observed on the bulletin board in front of the church this notice: "Dr. George E. Stringfellow will conduct services today and then the church will be closed for 6 weeks". I hope so much that my appearing here this morning will not prompt the elders and the deacons to close the Friendly Class for any period of time.

The text of my talk this morning is taken from St. Luke, chapter XVII, verses 15 and 16: "And one of them, when he saw that he was healed, turned back, and with a loud voice glorified God and fell down on his

face at His feet giving thanks."

While traveling from Galilee to Jerusalem. Christ saw 10 men partitioned off, ill with leprosy. Lepers then, as now, were set apart to prevent the spreading of the disease. On recognizing Christ, the men ill with leprosy called to Him in unison, "Master, have mercy The Saviour's heart was doubtless touched by this plea and Christ said, "Go show yourselves to the priest." The Gospel narrator continues, "And it came to pass that as they went, they were made clean." In present day language, cured.

One of the 10, cured of leprosy, threw himself at Christ's feet and glorified God

in a loud voice. He gave thanks to Christ.

Indicating his disappointment with the other nine, whom he had cleansed (cured), Christ asked, "Were there not 10 made clean? Where are the nine?" Having been freed of their affliction and set free, wouldn't you think they too would have offered thanks to Christ before they engaged in revelry?
The patience that Christ evidenced in His

dealing with ingrates never ceases to astonish us. Yet even the patient Christ cried out at the ingratitude displayed by

the nine depicted in today's text.

The point I would stress is that only 1 in 10 evidenced gratitude to Christ for setting him free.

References in Scriptures to gratitude are replete. They are found in almost every book of the Bible. The Psalms, probably written about 250 years before Christ, are literally songs of thanksgiving, and because the Bible is the mirror of life, the ingratitude of man is also recorded painstakingly in its

many ugly manifestations.

The New Testament records that Christ frequently and publicly express His thanks to God. Christ set an example for gratitude and thankfulness when He expressed thanks to God for being the beneficiary of His wisdom. Christ set an example when He gave thanks at the Last Supper and Christ set an example when He thanked the Father for the raising of Lazarus. Christ set a great example for us to emulate. Let us all be generous in expressing our gratitude to our benefactors.

Marcus Cicero, the great Roman orator and statesman, born 100 years before Christ, said, "A thankful heart is not only the greatest virtue, but the parent of all virtues."

A thankful heart is something which can

be cultivated. Let us do it.

Lucius Seneca, the Roman philosopher whose doctrine was that "virtue is the highest aim in life" and who was a contemporary of Christ, said, "He that urges gratitude, pleads the cause both of God and man, for without it we can neither be sociable nor religious." Let us by a show of gratitude "plead the cause of God and man."

One rarely finds happiness emanating from an ungracious and ungrateful heart. is why ungrateful men are usually unhappy men. Most of the present-day unrest, feeling of uncertainty, and insecurity is caused by ingratitude. That is a challenging statement but I submit that historical facts support it. The present world outlook would be improved enormously by an occasional "thank you". What is true of our relationship with each other is equally true with the relationship between nations.

John Wilson, celebrated Scotch essayist and poet, known by the pen name of Christopher North, long maintained that nations have manners and that their manners were generally bad. With that thought in mind,

let us look at the current scene.

Is it not a fact that the bad manners of the men of the Kremlin are to a large degree responsible for world unrest? Is it not a fact that whenever they cannot have their selfish way, and their way is the Godless way, they call us uncomplimentary names and indict us for horrible crimes of which we are innocent. Do they not remind us of a thief who snatches a pocketbook and runs with the crowd and yells thief to avoid detection?

We gave the Soviet more than \$11 billion in World War II to help her defeat Hitler. We gave the Soviets much of our industrial know-how. Our cooperation has made the Soviet immeasurably stronger than she otherwise would have been without it. Yet they are today showing bad manners. temper, and resorting to detestable falsehoods in their efforts to discredit us and enslave the free peoples of the world. This is done under the guise of promoting democracy and giving people more liberty while at very moment snuffing out what little liberty there exists among the people under their heel. And I would remind you this morning that two out of five of the people of the world are today under the heel of the Communist dictator.

Gratitude and readiness to say thank you stem from good home training. is there that we are taught the basic principles of decent living. Remember when as little tots we accepted a gift, how our parents admonished us to say, "Thank you." I often wonder where all those little boys

and girls have disappeared. It would seem that some of them have grown into boorish, Ill-mannered, uncouth adults, and have thus degenerated into ingrates.

No one will ever fully know the amount of good will is accomplished in the world by the simple expression of "thank you." Gratitude is just as much a sign of a noble heart as ingratitude is the mark of a mean and sour soul. Graciousness cannot be im-posed from without; it springs from the innermost self. In our daily contact with others our acts of kindness and thoughtfulness are frequently ignored and buffed. We often find ourselves saying, sent a present to that person a long time ago and he never even acknowledged it." Such thoughtlessness is sometimes hard to forget. Even the patient Christ had difficulty in forgetting ingratitude. If we would merit a place close to the throne of God we must earn that place. We must glorify God and thank Christ for his compassion.

One must spread good will among all segments of the human family. One must put into daily practice the basic principles of home breeding and good manners by expressing at every opportunity to our neighbors and to the nations of the earth and to God our sentiment of appreciation and our sentiment of gratitude. We should from time to time as ourselves, "Am I repre-sented by the nine ingrates or do I stand with the grateful one who fell at Christ's feet and offered thanks?"

#### Economic Roundelay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, June 18, 1959

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Lancaster News, Lancaster, S.C., of June 4, 1959:

ECONOMIC ROUNDELAY

It just goes on and on. Last week the United States signed an agreement to lend Sudan \$10 million to finance a new cotton textile plant in Khartoum. If the United States has \$10 million it doesn't need, we suppose this loan can be justified. At least the Government thinks so because it coupled news of the loan with the statement that Sudan has neither exported raw cotton to the United States nor imported Americanmade textiles.

So, to the extent that a \$10 million textile plant can supply her needs, Sudan is being helped to become self-sufficient. Some 1,500 Sudanese will find employment, native cotton will go to the mill and Sudanese customers will no longer look to foreign trade for the textiles they need.

It adds up to a neat little package and the United States can be proud of alding the industrial development of a backward nation. Nevertheless, the world surplus of cotton textiles will be increased by the output of a \$10 million mill. Suppliers of Sudan will be compelled to look elsewhere for markets or cut production. The United States may not be directly affected but somehow, somewhere along the line we have an idea our domestic textile industry will be feeling the slack when Sudan begins proLouis M. Brown, President of Eberhard Faber Pencil Co., Man on the Run Toward Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 18, 1959

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article that was featured in the New York Times of Sunday, June 14, 1959, which highlights the president of the Eberhard Faber Pencil Co., Mr. Louis M. Brown, and sets forth the future planning of the company under the able direction of Mr. Brown. This internationally known firm has a large facility in my congressional district employing several hundred people and it has proved to be a most welcome addition to the depressed economic area of Luzerne County:

PERSONALITY: MAN ON THE RUN TOWARD FU-TURE—BROWN WRITING BIG PROGRAM FOR OLD PENCIL CONCERN—AUTOMATION AND NEW MARKETS FIGURE LARGELY IN PLAN

The Eberhard Faber Pencil Co. is marking its 110th year by making news on several fronts. Behind the news is a dynamo of a man who has spent most of his business life with the well-khown pencil manufacturer.

He is Louis M. Brown, president since 1952, a man who bubbles over with wide-ranging plans and enthusiasm for the future. Among

plans that have materialized:

Eberhard Faber has just established a toy and games company, with many of the products linked in one way or another to its varied line of some 3,200 pencils, crayons, and pens.

The company is busy on a corporate acquisition program, seeking, as Mr. Brown put it in an interview some days ago, "to acquire companies, in lines allied and not allied, and we are making progress in the right direction."

"We expect some day to go public," Mr. Brown confided. "However, that's news for the future. We have no time schedule on our program. We are merely pointing that

way."

Mr. Brown was interviewed on the run between planes. In the city for the day from Eberhard Faber's new plant just outside Wilkes-Barre, Pa., he was filling a packed 3 hours with a succession of talks with sales executives, shipping people, suppliers, and a host of others.

#### CONSTANT TRAVELER

On the schedule was a quick trip to Colombia and to Mexico to look over possible plant sites. After that he was due for busy stopovers at the Wilkes-Barre headquarters and the New York selling office, with a trip to Europe coming up just afterward.

"The big market for the future is in the underdeveloped countries," he remarked. "The thirst for knowledge requires writing instruments, and that's what we supply."

What was the situation on selling in foreign countries, then, and what was the outlook for expansion abroad?

"World markets are gradually being closed," Mr. Brown replied, "and we have been making royalty arrangements with local manufacturers. And meanwhile we are pushing ahead in our research laboratory to find new marking devices and new uses

for them—notice we don't just use the word 'pencils'—and all sorts of other products. Right now 40 to 45 percent of our products are not writing instruments."

Mr. Brown held up one of his products, the familiar Mongol in yellow dress, a pencil known throughout the world, and asked:

"Did you know that in the Philippines the word 'Mongol' means write? And demand is very good in Mexico, too. As a matter of fact, you could name one country after another where the customers are ready and waiting for inexpensive writing instruments.

"Trouble is, there are artificial trade barriers that prevent pencil manufacturers from distributing as many as the people want and could afford to buy."

#### MEETING RESTRICTIONS

A question was put as to whether there was any way of getting around the restrictions on imports from American manufacturers.

"What we've been working out," he replied, "is a variation on royalty agreements with local manufacturers in individual countries. For the present, that is about the best way that can be devised. We have franchise plants in the Philippines and in Argentina and our own plants in Germany and Canada. The German plant, incidentally, is part of the American organization, with no relationship at all to any German concern."

Was the ballpoint pen a factor in the company's growth?

Mr. Brown indicated what appeared to be a pencil of conventional appearance.

"See this? This is a ballpoint pen in a conventional wooden case. We expect big things from this. Eberhard Faber owns the basic Biro ballpoint patents jointly with the Parker Pen Co. We didn't do so well with it first time out, but this time we feel we have the problem of a quality product at an economy price really licked. We have introduced 26 models of wood-cased ballpoints for the office, industrial and business use, and for school and the home, and the reaction so far is everything we had been expecting."

Automation? Big factor, or not?

"You should see pencils being made. It's a fascinating series of operations, from raw wood and graphite and metal and enamel colors to the finished pencil.

"It used to be wholly a hand operation, and many in the industry still make pencils that way. We use every new development that speeds up output and holds prices down. We use a good deal of machinery, but we're not quite ready for a fully automated process from start to finish just yet.

from start to finish just yet.

"Most of our packaging, however, is done
by machine. The ballpoint manufacturing
process is closer to automation than the
pencils. That's because the pencils take
quite a few more steps in manufacturing."

Are pencils more or less seasonal items?

"Very much so. We sell on a seasonal basis, but we know pretty well what the seasons are, so we can manufacture on a regular basis. We have about 500 employees in Wilkes-Barre, and 150 more at the rubber plant in Newark, and about 50 busy on selling. As we introduce more and more automation we look for the total of employees to go up rather than down, because the total volume will go up."

Mr. Brown paused, then added:

"A portion of the rubber plant, by the way, is being moved over the next few months from Newark to Wilkes-Barre. Then all the assembling and packaging will be in one place.

"There's a trend toward decentralization in the industry, but we find it more advantageous to keep the various parts of the production setup together." BASIS FOR ENTHUSIASM

What was the basis of the enthusiasm over the outlook? Wasn't a pencil sort of a standard item that couldn't very well be improved?

"Not at all. That was the old thinking, and that's what held us back. This business is changing, just like any other, and it was exactly the belief that a pencil was a pencil, and only a pencil, that held us back."

The concern has been a family-held organization for four generations, with its origin going back three generations more in Germany. The American concern and the German parent have been separate organizations since a split in 1890.

Mr. Brown, who was born in Atlanta in 1896, has spent most of his business life with Faber, and he is the first non-Faber who was raised within the company to serve as the

president.

Great difficulties started for the company in 1945 with the accidental death of Eberhard Lothar Faber, then 52 years old, the third generation of American Fabers to direct the company.

When Mr. Brown became chief executive

When Mr. Brown became chief executive officer in 1952 he set out on a rebuilding program of major proportions. In the last 7 years he has been credited with making strides as significant as in the 103 years that went before.

When he makes notes—he is not much of a doodler—he likes to use a well-sharpened Eberhard Faber pencil.

Dean of Oregon Publishers, Amos E. Voorhies of Grants Pass, Celebrates 90th Birthday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, Publisher Amos E. Voorhies of the Grants Pass Courier has watched his newspaper grow from the weekly Rogue River Courier to the daily Grants Pass Courier. For nearly 62 years Mr. Voorhies has observed the Oregon newspaper scene and been an instrumental part in recording the history of the State.

In 1957 he received the title of dean of Oregon publishers at the 35th annual meeting of the Oregon Press Association in Eugene.

Amos E. Voorhies was born in Michigan. He came to Oregon in the fall of 1891 and worked in Portland. In 1895 he was named foreman of the weekly Oregon Observer in Grants Pass. That publication went out of existence, due to a general business depression, but a bit later Amos Voorhies was asked to come back to southern Oregon and take over the Rogue River Courier with Mr. C. S. Price.

His influence in the publishing world is considerable. His interest in that field continues. He spends many hours each day at work, preparing his weekly column and supervising preparation of the Grants Pass Courier's 75th anniversary edition which will be published in

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include two articles from the Grants Pass Courier of June 6, 1959: [From the Grants Pass (Oreg.) Courier, June 6, 1959]

Amos Voorhies, Dean of Publishers of Oregon, Marks 90th Anniversary

Receiving congratulations on his 90th birthday anniversary today was Amos E. Voorhies, dean of Oregon publishers, with a record of almost 62 years as publisher of the Daily Courier. In partnership with the late C. S. Price, Mr. Voorhies assumed operation of the newspaper on July 1, 1897, when it was a weekly publication known as the Rogue River Courier.

Since that time, "Boss" Voorhies, as he is known to scores of Daily Courier employees and former employees, has been at his desk almost every working day. He still spends several hours in his office each day, compiling material for his Saturday column, which includes news items from each decade since 1899; filling photographs which have been published in the paper; and supervising preparation of the Daily Courier's 75th anniversary edition, which is scheduled for publication in 1960.

With his wife, Lulu, Mr. Voorhies makes his home at 421 Northwest B Street, where he

has resided for 59 years.

Organizations in which he has held membership for a half-century or more include Bethany Presbyterian Church, 64 years, 50 as clerk of the congregation; Grants Pass Lodge No. 84, A.F. & A.M., 56 years; Royal Arch Masons, 50 years; Melita Commandery, Knights Templar, 50 years; Shrine, 50 years, first as a member of Alkadar Temple and later as charter member of Hillah Temple; Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, 50 years, first in Ashland and later as charter member of Grants Pass Lodge No. 1584; Oregon Press Association, 59 years, president in 1935; and National Editorial Association, 53 years.

He is a member of the Southern Oregon Chapter, Sons of the American Revolution, of which he was president in 1945-46, and Sons of Union Veterans. He is one of the two living charter members of the Grants Pass Rotary Club, which he served as president in 1935.

Mr. Voorhies has been secretary and director of the Oregon Caves Co. for 35 years, and has held membership in the California Press Association and the California Newspaper Publishers Association for 29 years.

"Boss" Voorhies received the title of dean of Oregon publishers at the 35th annual meeting of the Oregon Press Association in Eugene in 1957, and was awarded a life membership in the local chamber of commerce at the annual dinner in 1948.

At the 1950 annual conference of Oregon Publishers, Mr. Voorhies was one of 11 publishers of the State who were awarded gold keys for having received the Voorhies Award, of which the local publisher was recipient in 1938.

Amos Earle Voorhies was born June 6, 1869, on a farm near Greenville, Mich. After moving to Stanton, where they resided for 10 years, the family returned to Greenville, where Mr. Voorhies was graduated from high school with the class of 1888. He worked as clerk in a grocery store for a time before turning to the field which was to be his life work. His first newspaper affiliation was made in 1891 when he worked as an apprentice without pay in the office of the Greenville Independent, a weekly newspaper.

The future Dally Courier publisher came to Oregon in the fall of 1891, and worked as apprentice for several Portland job printing offices before joining the force of the Portland Sun. When that paper failed, Mr. Voorhies came to Grants Pass in 1895 as foreman on the weekly Oregon Observer.

A general business depression brought about the loss of the Oregon Observer position, and Mr. Voorhies was planning to return to Portland, when, through the advice and financial backing of southern Oregon friends, he entered partnership with C. S. Price and took over the struggling Rogue River Courier.

Mr. Voorhies has been associated with William B. Smullin of Eureka, Calif., in radio station KUIN and KGPO-FM, now radio KAGI and KGPO-FM, for the past 20 years, and in KBES-TV of Medford, KOTI-TV of Klamath Falls, and KPIC-TV of Roseburg, since those stations were started, 3 to 5 years ago.

Associated with Mr. Voorhies in operation of the Daily Courier newspaper plant and other business enterprises with which he has become associated through the years are his son, Earle E. Voorhies, and his grandson, John E. Voorhies. Fourth generation of the family is represented by 6-year-old Sandra, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. John E. Voorhies.

The 90th birthday anniversary observance this evening will be marked by a small party for relatives and a few close friends of "Boss" Voorhies at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Earle Voorhies, 1504 NE Ninth Street.

An informal party was held in his honor at the business office of the Courier Publishing Co., Friday afternoon, employees doing the honors and "Boss" Voorhies cutting and serving the cake.

[From the Grants Pass (Oreg.) Courier, June 6, 1959]

ANOTHER HAPPY BIRTHDAY, BOSS

Happy birthday, Amos E. Voorhies, whom we, the employees of the Courier Publishing Ço., respectfully and lovingly call Boss.

It is given to but few men to reach the 90th milestone of living and to continue more than hale and hearty for a person of that many years. May you so continue as long as your life span may be extended.

It would be impossible to enumerate the good things of your life; it would be equally as difficult to chronicle the good things you have been instrumental in bringing about for the welfare of your fellow man.

Suffice it to say, then, in this instance, that you—and that includes the things you have accomplished—are an inspiration to all of us to keep on keeping on and strive to do the best within our power, absolutely the best, because of inspiration of you and others like you who have accomplished things by so doing.

# Notice of Hearings on Proposed Legislation on Functional Discount Bills

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 18, 1959

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the Antitrust Subcommittee of the House Committee on the Judiciary, I wish to announce the commencement of hearings on proposed legislation now pending before that subcommittee. The proposed legislation consists of the following bills: H.R. 848, introduced by Mr. Montoya; H. R. 927, introduced by Mr. Rogers of Colorado; H.R. 2788, introduced by Mr. Osmers; H.R. 2868, introduced by Mr. Donohue; and H.R. 4530, introduced by Mr. Donohue; and H.R. 4530, introduced by Mr. Reuss.

These bills would amend the Robin-

son-Patman Act so as to provide for the mandatory nature of functional discounts under certain circumstances.

Hearings will be held on Thursday, June 25, and Friday, June 26, 1959, at 10 a.m., room 346, House Office Building.

All persons who wish to appear and testify at the hearings on these bills, are requested to notify Mr. Herbert M. Maletz, chief counsel, Antitrust Subcommittee, room 230, Old House Office Building, telephone Capitol 4–3121, extension 4853, as soon as possible, and in any event, before the close of business on June 22, 1959.

#### Kearns Offers Labor Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON, WILLIAM H. AYRES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 18, 1959

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, I am privileged to introduce into the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the Meadville Tribune of Tuesday, June 16, 1959, pertaining to the Kearns labor bill now under consideration by the House Labor Committee. I had the privilege of speaking in Meadville, Pa., in CARROLL KEARNS' district, a couple of years ago. and had the pleasure of meeting the distinguished publisher of the Meadville Tribune, Mr. Robert S. Bates. Personally. I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate Mr. Bates for his fine editorial on the potential of the Kearns bill, H.R. 7265:

#### KEARNS OFFERS LABOR BILL

Whatever kind of a labor reform bill is passed by Congress this year—if one is adopted at all—it probably will not fully satisfy either labor, management, or the general public. The Senate bill, which is preferable to none, is criticized in some quarters as being too weak and its bill of rights is opposed by labor as too restrictive. Appalled by the disclosure of corruption

Apparent by the disclosure of corruption in the labor-management field, the public demands reforms, and labor agrees that legislation is needed to help it clean house. The argument is, What kind of legislation? Because the bills considered this far have run into so much opposition that adoption of any kind of a reform measure is endangered, perhaps Congress should take a closer look at Representative Carroil D. Kearns' proposal as a possible compromise.

The Kearns bill undoubtedly is tougher than the measure labor wants and less strict than what labor's opponents want. But it is not a punitive bill and, because it places housecleaning responsibility directly on the shoulders of union members, labor may find that it could live with it.

Like other reform proposals, the Kearns bill makes extortion, picketing, and embezzlement of union funds criminal acts. It bars exconvicts and Communists from office and forbids employer loans or payoffs to union officers or employees of labor organizations. It also has a bill of rights with guarantees for union members but with recognition of the right of unions to bar from membership persons it believes undesirable.

The new approach in the Kearns bill gives union members the initiative for reform. Independently audited financial reports are

required to be made, not to the government, but to union members, who are sufficiently informed to question them. Because court proceedings often are costly and impractical, KEARNS would have charges against labor officials follow the unfair practice procedure of the National Labor Relations Board whose membership would be enlarged. The Board would take over investigation and prosecution of cases on charges filed by members whose identities would not be disclosed.

The bill, requiring a secret membership vote within 7 days of beginning of a strike, would ban secondary boycotts. Its restrictions on organizational picketing would be far less stringent than some other

proposals.

The Kearns reform bill appears to be one that would not restrict legitimate union activities while it would give individual members the ablity to protect their own rights. Tougher than some suggestions, more moderate than others, it should be considered by legislators because of its middle-of-theroad approach.

# The Legacy of Lewis and Clark

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. FRANK CHURCH

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, June 18, 1959

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, it was little more than a century and a half ago that the astute and farsighted President, Thomas Jefferson, dispatched Meriwether Lewis and William Clark to explore the great American wilderness beyond the Mississippi. The result of that tremendous and courageous undertaking gave the United States a solid claim to the Oregon section of the country.

On this same trek to the Pacific. Lewis and Clark were the first white men to cross and explore part of my own State of Idaho. Today, a new highway is being punched through the magnificently scenic Bitterroot Mountains along the same general route followed by the explorers as they entered Idaho; it has appropriately been named the Lewis and Clark Highway.

As is well known, this year the State of Oregon is observing its centennial. As part of the national salute to his great State, the distinguished and talented junior Senator from Oregon [Mr. Neuberger! has written a fascinating account of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, which appears in this month's issue of Think magazine. I commend it to my colleagues and all others interested in one of the classic adventures of all time.

I ask unanimous consent to have this dramatic and significant article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE LEGACY OF LEWIS AND CLARK (By Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER)

In this 100th year of membership in the Union for my native State of Oregon, we Americans are eyeing the limitless vistas of outer space. Hope and fascination attend these stirring observations. Already our satellites travel in far orbit around the earth. A few even have passed beyond the earth's ken. On some eventful night, the pioneer spacemen actually may soar out into the cosmic distances which surround our terrestrial home. They will be exploring the ultimate mysteries of the universe.

Yet, fragmentary though may be our knowledge of such incredible sweeps of sky and infinity, it is still greater than that known about their itinerary by the first Americans to trek overland to Oregon, which in 1959 is conducting extensive celebrations as it observes the centennial of its

The names of the leaders were Meriwether Lewis and William Clark. So prodigious was the feat they accomplished, without map or chart, that the very phrase "Lewis and Clark" has become practically synonymous with exploration. In the spring of 1804 their faces were turned toward a trackless wilderness, then more of a riddle than is outer space to us today. No civilized person of any nation knew any verified facts at all about the domain which lay between St. Louis, at the junction of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers, and the hazy shores of what many then called the western ocean-and which we know as the Pacific, mightlest of earth's seas.

Thomas Jefferson, third President of the United States, had just bought Louisiana Territory from France for an eventual total of \$27,267,622. All at once, part of the realm to be traversed by Lewis and Clark had become American territory, and yet it was territory that no American ever had looked upon. Lewis and Clark were headed into a blank expanse on the map of North America. Their President had bought a package yet to be opened. And it covered a fabulous area of about 1 million square miles; this was 5 times the size of France, the nation that had

At St. Louis, geography ended and legend began. Many solid citizens feared that Lewis and Clark would come to their deaths amidst jagged peaks of broken glass. this because Indians whispered of the Shining or Rocky Mountains, which seemed to dent the sky? A few people insisted that Lewis and Clark would drop off the edge of the world for the roundness of our globe was not then universally accepted. Prehistoric monsters snorting fire and brimstone were said to inhabit the solitudes which Mr. Jefferson had purchased. The President himself possessed no specific information to refute these disturbing rumors, but he felt confident that Lewis and Clark could explore the great wilderness beyond the Mississippi and form a line of communication from sea to sea.

Much of this confidence stemmed from his knowledge of the men who were to lead the expendition, particularly his 29-yearold private secretary at the executive mansion, Meriwether Lewis. U.S. Government personnel was spread thin in those days. The President had to draw on the most intimate member of his own staff to head the most important exploring, party in American history. Lewis was quiet, determined and taciturn. There was about him a brooding intensity which countenanced no failure or turning back. Jefferson felt if anybody could unlock the inner secrets of the North American continent, this was the man to do it. He had known Lewis since the latter's boyhood in Albemarle, Va:

Because the President proposed that Lewis choose an alternative commander, to take his place if he should fall, Lewis selected his best friend and military companion, William Clark. This 33-year-old artillery lieutenant was almost the direct opposite of Meriwether Lewis. Clark was talkative, exuberant and outgoing. He was the extrovert of the expedition, Lewis the somber intellectual. Clark passed up the officers' mess to eat with his men. He called generals and Indian scouts, alike, by their first names. Despite the fact that one was an Army captain and the other a lieutenant, Lewis assured Clark that his status in the expedition "shall be equal to my own." This pledge was never violated. During 21/2 years of lonely ordeals in the wilderness, there is record of neither quarrel or tension between this remarkable pair of leaders.

Economy was a genuine watchword when the struggling new Nation was trying to stabilize its finances. So, in spite of perils ahead, no surgeon accompanied the expedition. Lewis took a refresher course in first-aid and simple remedies from the illustrious Dr. Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia, and that was it. Congress had allowed only \$2,500 for supplies. This barely paid for arms and trade goods. They would have to live off the country, because a mere \$224 could be invested in rations. Members of the party were enrolled in the U.S. Army at \$5 a month for privates, \$8 for the three sergeants and \$50 apiece for Lewis and Clark. This was not as parsimonious as it seems, for all had been promised parcels of rich land upon their return. Homestead acreage was a prime source of wealth on the old frontier. Lewis and Clark had their pick of many recruits-blacksmiths from Kentucky, adventurers from Virginia, carpenters from Pennsylvania, farmers from Vermont, voyageurs from across the border in Canada. It was not hard to enlist 29 members.

Watch them as they row up the languid Missouri in May of 1804, the flag with 15 stars flapping symbolically overhead. Clark is accompanied by his stalwart Negro servant, York. Lewis' big Newfoundland dog, Scannon, occasionally scampers along the wooded shore. Pvt. Peter Cruzat strums a lively folk tune on his battered fiddle. With these argonauts, as they voyage into the unknown, go the hopes of the little country along the Atlantic seaboard for eventual dominion over vast portions of a continent. The British, too, have been probing westward in the direction of the legendary great River Oregon, which may also be the Columbia. Explorers carrying the Union Jack, like Simon Fraser and Alexander Mackenzie, would like to navigate its turbulent reaches ahead of Lewis and Clark. And in his kitbag Lewis carries a letter of credit in President Jefferson's own handwriting, drawn on all American counsels in foreign parts. The President had ordered Lewis, if the Indian tribes proved too menacing on the outbound journey, to "seek a passage 'round by sea in such vessels as you may find on the western coast.'"

From the beginning, the journals of the two leaders were packed with new lore about animals, shrubs, and trees. They described the antelope, black-tailed deer, prairie dog, wild upland goat and elk. Between dawn and dusk, they counted on a single day 52 separate herds of bison. These covered the prairie like a moving cloak. Clark and a mountain man named George Drouillard nearly lost their lives to a 600-pound bear which absorbed five or six musket balls before it died. This was not the harmless little black bruin of New England. Ursus horribilis, the frightful bear, Captain Lewis called the discovery. Today we know this massive creature, with reddish-brown fur

and pitchforklike claws, as the grizzly.

Near the present location of Sioux City,
Iowa, Sgt. Charles Floyd died agonizingly of what Lewis described as colic. From the symptoms listed in the journals, it may have been a ruptured appendix. All of them suddenly realized what it meant to be far from the United States without a doctor in the party and only \$55 worth of medicines.

By popular vote, grizzled Patrick Gass, of Irish descent, was chosen to succeed Floyd as a sergeant. For the first time Americans had voted in the immense realm they would

one day rule by the ballot.

Winter's snows found them 1,600 miles up the Missouri not far from where Bismarck, N. Dak., stands today. They spent the winter among the friendly Mandan Indians. Here Lewis and Clark acquired an interpreter, a shiftless halfbreed named Toussaint Charbonneau. This incident might never have reached the pages of history had it not been for Charbonneau's Indian wife, a lithe 19-year-old Shoshone with dark eyes and darker braids. Sacajawea had been stolen from her people and made a slave girl. Lewis hesitated to take along a woman on the expedition. Still, he needed the interpreter. He also made note of the fact that Sacajawea's people were said to live back of the high ranges. Perhaps she knew the way westward.

When the spring of 1805 released the plains from the clutch of snow and ice, they continued up the Missouri. On May Lewis sighted majestic mountains on the far horizon. Never before had an American seen such peaks in his native land. That night, in the glow of the dancing campfire, the captain's introspective view were confided to his journal: "I beheld the Rocky Mountains for the first time. I reflected upon the difficulties which this snowy barrier probably would throw in my way to the ocean. I thought of the sufferings and hardships of myself and party in them. This in some measure counterbal-

anced the joy I had felt."

His estimate of difficulties was not exaggerated. The Missouri dwindled into three swift but shallow tributaries, which they named the Jefferson, Gallatin and Madison Rivers in tribute to their patron saint and two members of his Cabinet. They sloshed through lcy waters to push the boats up rushing rapids. Their ankles were too numb to feel pain. Finally they could navigate no further. Gorges hemmed in the stream. They had come to the cradle of what Lewis described as "the heretofore boundless Missouri."

With nearly 300 pounds of trade articles and ammunition per man, they needed horses to cross the forbidding ramparts which towered above them. Lewis and three picked companions wandered alone in the mountains, looking for Indians with ponies to barter. At Lemhi Pass, in one of the decisive moments of American history, they met Chief Cameahwait and 60 mounted Sho shone warriors. Lewis had just become the first American ever to cross the Continental Divide. Now he and his three subordinates faced armed Indian braves who never before had seen people of white skin.

Lewis dropped his gun to the ground and advanced with the flag to meet Cameahwait, who came forward on his prancing

"Tabba bone, tabba bone (white man)," Lewis kept repeating. He rolled up his tattered buckskin jacket to show the pale

color of his arm.

Meriwether Lewis, in that instant, represented the vanguard of the advancing Nation which 1 day would dominate the continent and relegate such tribes as the Shoshones to crowded reservations. Cameahwait could have given the signal to Wipe out the four beleaguered strangers and the whole pattern of North American development might have been altered, or, at the very least, delayed. But the chief slid from his horse and embraced President Jefferson's secretary.

"Ah hi e [I am much pleased]," he said. Thirty-eight ponies were obtained from the Shoshones, a trade which became easier after Sacajawea proved to be Cameahwaits' long-lost sister. Yet their sternest hardships

still awaited them-in the endless labyrinth of the Bitterroot Range, sprawling across what is now northern Idaho. Their aged Shoshone guide, whom Clark dubbed "Old Toby," lost the route. The first snows of fall trapped them on the high ridge above the Lochsa Fork of the Clearwater River. Thirty-two adults and Sacajewea's baby often had no more than a brace of grouse to eat during a 24-hour period. Lewis got off his horse and gave the seat to a private with a racking cough. At a chilly meadow which they named "Indian Post Office," they left cairns of frock to guide them on their return journey-if ever they returned. And at last they clambered off the Lolo Trail and bivouacked beside the main stem of the Clearwater, where they hollowed out four huge logs of Ponderosa pine to take them to the sea.

ON TO THE PACIFIC

They shot the Clearwater to the Snake, and the Snake to a massive and surging torrent which could only be the Columbia. They paddled past Indians spearing tons of salmon. They looked up at lordly white volcanic cones that appeared lost in the heavens. One morning Lewis thought he heard the dull boom of artillery. The water had a salty tang. Gulls wheeled in the air. Around noon of November 7, 1805, a dense fog lifted from off the Columbia like the curtain on some mighty stage. They peered intently westward. And there it was, breaking in white-capped splendor beyond the bar-the spume and foam of the ocean which stretched across the globe to ancient Cathay.

For the first time, men carrying the American flag had spanned the continent. Clark scrawled enthusiastically in his diary, "Ocean in view. Ah, the joy. We are in view of the ocean, that great Pacific Ocean which we have been so long anxious to see."

On the fir-dotted grasslands near the ocean, they built the stockade known as Fort Clatsop. Never before had Americans lived on the Pacific's shores. As these words are written, the U.S. National Park Service is building the Fort Clatsop National Memorial on the site of the ancient fort in memory of the valiant party whose winter there helped to establish their country's claim to more than half a continent. when Lewis and Clark were at Fort Clatsop. they did not consider themselves within the jurisdiction of the United States. One morning Clark carved the cryptic record in the bark of a tall forest giant of Douglas-

"Wm. Clark, Dec. 3d, 1805, By land from the U. States In 1804 & 5."

BACK FROM THE WILDERNESS

The vessel which Jefferson had hoped for never anchored off the Oregon seacoast while Lewis and Clark wintered there. But their experiences with the Indians had been mainly amicable and they did not shrink from the homeward trek by land. Ironically, however, the brig Lydia from Boston put into the Columbia's mouth less than 3 weeks after the Lewis and Clark expedition had started up the majestic river at the end of March, 1806. By that narrow margin did they miss a boat ride around the Horn and back to the United States.

As it was, they reached St. Louis on September 23. They had been gone approximately 21/2 years and they had journeyed about 8,000 miles. Because virtually all hope had been given up for them, they could not have been greeted more surprisedly than we might herald a wayfarer back from outer space today. And surely outer space contains no more amazing tales than did the western portion of the North American Continent in the bygone era, before maps ever had been made of what is now

My friend, the late Bernard DeVoto, distinguished winner of Pulitzer Prizes for his writings on the American West, once told me that, if he could have been reincarnated at any period in history, he would have chosen to go along with Lewis and Clark. "Imagine," said he, "at the incomparable

thrill of being first to see the sources of the Yellowstone and the Missouri, to span the Rockies, to drink from the headwaters of the Columbia and to come, at last, to the Pacific from upstream. What other experience in our history could possibly compare with this?"

And, as if to demonstrate that he truly meant what he said, DeVoto's final request asked that his ashes be scattered at Indian Post Office on the Lolo Trail, where still remain the cairns of granite and lava rock which guided Lewis and Clark back across the terrible Bitterroots on their return journey.

My wife and I have stood on the high divide above the Lochsa, beside those fateful and crumbling cairns. A trail threads to them through the alpine meadow. It is the only trail there, so it must be the Lolo of such great destiny. Along that strip of forest duff came the first westbound Americans long ago, hungry and cold and in quest of their way. As I looked at the wavering path. I thought I saw them in my mind's eye, led by the gallant officer from Albemarle, Virginia, who had served his President both in executive offices and hostile wilderness.

And I hoped and prayed that we, in our own era, were worthy of that bygone journey which had accomplished so much for the

United States of America.

# The Hells Canyon Dam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, June 18, 1959

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter which I have received from the Verendry Electric Co-op, Inc., of Velva, N. Dak., along with a resolution passed by that co-op.

There being no objection, the letter and resolution were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

VERENDRYE ELECTRIC COOPERATIVE, INC., Velva, N. Dak., June 11, 1959. Hon. Senator WAYNE MORSE,

U.S. Senate Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: The attached is a copy of a resolution passed at the annual meeting of the members of the Verendrye Electric Cooperative of Velva, N. Dak., held on June 8.

Keep up the good work. Yours truly,

MELFORD HANSON, Manager.

#### RESOLUTION 11

Whereas, the Verendrye Electric Cooperative, Inc., duly assembled in annual meeting this 8th day of June 1959 have long been aware of the good work done by Senator WAYNE Morse of Oregon and are wholly in favor of his efforts in regard to a multi-purpose dam in Hells Canyon: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we urge our North Dakota congressional delegation to support Senator Morse in his efforts.

# Early Settlers of Edwardsville, Pa., Faced Death From Hostile Indian Bands

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 18, 1959

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following article from the Wilkes-Barre Record of Tuesday, June 16, 1959, which narrates, in brief, the dangers and hardships faced by the early settlers of what is now Edwards-ville, Pa., a borough in my congressional district that is currently observing its 75th anniversary:

PIONEERS FACED DEATH BY TOMAHAWK, BULLET

The territory embraced within the present limits of the Borough of Edwardsville is not without early historic interest and the settlers there endured their full share of the romance and tragedy of the Revolution. Their scattered cabins blazed to the torch of the Indian invader and the Pennamite intruder and their blood was shed by the tomahawk of one and the rifile of the other.

Through the center of this territory ran one of the main highways of settlements. Laid out in 1770, and continuing for a period of over 70 years, the old Plymouth Road was the great southern highway. Intersecting the Great Road of Kingston Township, now Wyoming Avenue, it received the traffic from western New York and upper Canada moving southward to lower Pennsylvania,

Maryland, and Virginia.

In early times along this busy thoroughfare by foot, or horseback, in stagecoach or Conestoga wagon, moved a motley throng of men and women. Yankees from New England, settlers from western New York, southerners from North Carolina and Virginia, tribes of various Indians and bands of returning raftsmen, who had at Baltimore discharged their cargoes of grain and lumber gathered along the Chenango and the Chemung.

This road substantially followed the ancient Warrior Path, part of that great southern trail of the Iroquois, which led from Tioga Point by way of Shamokin, as far south as the Tennessee River. Originally the old Plymouth Road began at the ferry on the western bank of the river opposite Northampton Street.

Under the Twin Sisters elms one of which is still standing south of Market Street in the park warwhoops rang out following almost instantly by a volley from hidden Indians. A Mr. Williams, Lieut. Asahel Buck, and Stephen Pettebone were instantly killed. Frederick Follett, the other man, was shot. He feigned death, was hurriedly scalped by one of the warriers, and left for dead.

The alarm was sounded at the Kingston blockhouse a few hundred yards away and a force of soldiers recovered the bodies of the dead. Mr. Follett, who was believed mortally wounded, recovered from his wounds and scalping.

Wyoming Avenue, as it does today, turned at what is now Hillside Avenue and ran over Ross Hill which is now known as Woodward Hill in an almost north-and-south line to Plymouth.

In 1788 the county laid a new road intersecting the Northampton Street Road at the house of Thomas Drake near the site of the Welsh Presbyterian Church, and continuing on the line of the present Main Street to Kingston Corners. Thenceforth the northern and southern traffic passed over this short intersecting road to and from Wyoming Avenue and the old Plymouth Road.

Just south of the Plymouth Road on the site of the paint shop of the Lackawanna Railroad in the present Edwardsville Borough Elihu Williams, the most notable settler in the upper part of Plymouth Township, built his cabin in 1773. He was born in Canterbury, Conn., and two of his sons, Rufus and Elihu Williams, Jr., were killed in the battle of Wyoming.

The rest of the family after the battle fled from Forty Fort and made their way with the other fugitives through the Shades of Death to Fort Penn, which is now Stroudsburg, from whence Mrs. Williams and the children wetn to Connecticut, while the father returned to Wyoming Valley.

# Adlai E. Stevenson Speaks on the Social Responsibility of the Business Community

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. SIDNEY R. YATES

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 18, 1959

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I should like to insert an address on "The Social Responsibility of the Business Community," delivered on June 6, 1959, before the National Business Conference at the Harvard Business School, Cambridge, Mass., by the Honorable Adlai E. Stevenson:

ADLAI E. STEVENSON SPEARS ON THE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY OF THE BUSINESS COM-MUNITY

Alfred North Whitehead said: "A great society is a society in which its men of business think greatly of their function." This is the subject assigned me tonight, and your committe's charge is that I assume the role of critic, saying bluntly what seem to me the obligations, especially the unmet obligations, of the business community to the community at large.

I appreciate fully my danger. A request for criticism is not always to be taken at face value. And I feel as though I were having the traditional steak and onions dinner provided by the warden before the

I have been a businessman's lawyer most of my life and have had some trouble "thinking greatly," in Whitehead's phrase, myself, let alone telling my friends and clients how to think greatly about the future of society. But surely there is serious unease in the Nation and the world and it is time for some thinking. None of us is satisfied with the way things are going. Each of us would like to put our own powers, whatever they may be, to more effective service. And surely the businessman, although he has lost much of his former influence, is still, as Dean Teele has said, "central" in the American and world system.

I think of the prayer of a little English boy in World War II: "God bless mother and daddy, my brother, and sister, and save the King. And, oh God, do take care of yourself, because if anything happens to you we're all sunk." Please don't think that I am equating business and God. I'm a Democrat and you haven't fooled me. But I

think it imperative that business, which is indispensable to our system, take a more objective and influential role in the larger concerns of the new equalitarian society that is emerging here and everywhere in this age of revolution.

My views on the subject of business and politics which you have been talking about all day are simply expressed. I think businessmen are citizens first, individuals always, and businessmen last. You have the same responsibility for the Republic's wellbeing and democracy's survival as anyone else. The means is government, and the machinery of choosing the government is politics. The health of both is the first business of every businessman, like every other citizen. What we need, and better have a lot more of, quickly, is concern for the national interest, and not the selfish interest of business, labor, farmers, or any single economic, racial or religious group.

You have already done yourselves enough damage by putting self-interest first; at least in the public's estimation. A great change has taken place in America in the 50 years, over the impotent protest of the business community most of the time. Business fought bitterly against increasing graduation of the income tax; against the social security program and the minimum wage law; against unemployment compensation and the strengthening of collective bargaining; against enlarged housing and educational programs; against TVA and other natural resource developments; against farm price protection; against foreign aid. But I won't go on. fact is-without arguing the rightness or wrongness of any of these positions—the judgment of the community is that American business has been wrong and more interested in profit than people, and dollars than ends. Two hundred years ago Jean Jacques Rousseau said: "As soon as public service ceases to be the chief business of the citizens and they would rather serve with their money than their persons, the State is not far from its fall."

But enough of the obvious. The important fact now is that in these times of violent change the world needs to have the American business community reoriented and assured of itself and its direction once again. We have altered the whole physical apparatus of our lives. In the span of about fifty years we have conquered space; split the atom, lengthened life, doubled the world's population and launched the interplanetary adventure.

Yet, although everything is changed, I believe we all sense that our thinking about the aims, scope, and performance of our economic system has not kept pace; that at least in some degree stereotypes, ideology, prejudice, even myths, have taken the place of that reasonable examaination and rational analysis from which no human society ought to be long divorced. So I welcome the opportunity of suggesting some of the larger problems and challenges our economic system has to face which cannot be solved without great thinking. Let me list some as I see them:

1. To my mind our most important problem is the disparity in living standards in the world, measured roughly by average income of \$2,000 per year in North America as against \$100 or less for more than half of the world's population. And the rich are getting richer and the poor poorer all the time.

2. The Soviet-Chinese worldwide economic offensive presents, I think, a greater concern for us than Communist military power. To maintain the balance of power, if for no other reason, the West will have to make a greater effort to provide an alternative to communism as a technique of change and growth in the vast underdeveloped areas.

Brains and sensitivity are as important as money.

3. How are we going to provide the huge social capital requirements at home for education, housing, health, urban renewal, resource development, etc.?

4. Can we control inflation without caus-

ing a depression?

I could go on; but I hope this brief list of our larger concerns suggests two things: That the priorities, the values, the philosophy, and emphases in our society must be adjusted to some tough realities. Can it be done in peacetime? I don't know. But I do know that to do it is the very top responsibility of business, yes, and labor, and all the rest of us, too.

The other point my view of our real priorities makes clear is, I think, that we cannot meet these relentless foreign and domestic challenges without sustained eco-

nomic growth.

I hope I don't sound melodramatic, but in my judgment the American system is on trial for its life. And a realistic reexamination of our economic system and its state of readiness is a responsibility business and industry cannot, must not, evade or postpone.

What do we see? The Marxist attack has changed its direction in the last generation. Today the Communists can no longer base their fundamental attack upon the poverty and misery once tolerated in our system. On the contrary, Mr. Khrushchev has proclaimed catching up with America to be his main domestic aim—a curiously bourgeois ambition, surely, for the leader of world revo-

The new Marxist line is that free enterprise economies cannot, by their very nature, grow steadily or hope to keep pace with communism's surging advance of 7 percent or 8 percent a year. "We will bury you," says Mr. Khrushchev, not under hydrogen missiles but under a flood of production which will finally prove to the Russian people and to the world at large that "we can do everything you can do better," and do a lot of things in addition which you cannot do at all

This is the new challenge, the challenge of the competition of sustained growth secured by government direction. The Communist performance since the war-both in Russia and China-is formidable enough for us to take the challenge seriously. We can no longer take our own productive, scientific, and technological superiority for granted.

The fact that the Russians are catching up in production, and increasing economic assistance, is also increasing the attraction of Communist principles in the decisive underdeveloped areas. And it may do something else; having assumed our superiority for so long, for the Russians to overtake us in the economic sphere will be a greater shock to the American people than sputnik, and leave us confused, uncertain, and even more vulnerable to half truths and false prophets, Just when what we need to hear above the cacophony of politics and business as usual is the clear, clean, astringent note of the trumpet.

But to return to economic growth: Of course we can't accept the challenge on Russia's terms. Straight production statistics are meaningful in parts of the world where margins are so small and living standards so low that growth is the first necessity. But our standards are almost twice as high as Russia's. The challenge to us is rather to look at our needs and see whether in fact we ought to aim at greater growth. If we have demonstrable human needs unsatisfied and are in some way inhibited in our determination to grow to meet them, then the Com-munists' challenge—that they and they only know how to grow rapidly and indefinitelybecomes relevant.

Is this the case? I believe it is.

Our need for a better rate of performance springs from three facts. The first is the fact of Communist pressure. The largest single load our economy bears is the defense budget. Nor is the Soviet challenge only military. Their program of trade and sid Their program of trade and aid to underdeveloped areas will increase as Soviet growth releases more resources for their campaign to win the uncommitted and strategic areas. Our basic research, too, must be accelerated, if we are not to see Russian teams winking at us from every planet.

Another spur to growth is our rapidly expanding birth rate. We are growing by about 2 percent every year, an increase as large as India's. This wave first hits our homes and cities, then our schools and at last our labor force where, when combined with a 3 percent increase in productivity, it will call for more jobs at a rate approaching 5 percent a year.

The third point is our long backlog of undone tasks left by the depression, then the World War, and then the Korean war—old schools, old hospitals, old houses, blighted city areas, rural slums, water supply. Each year increases the backlog. Estimates put our needs for public services of all kinds a figure as high as \$9 billion. Possibly it is

These, then, are the hard facts—the facts of change and of great new demands-which seem to me to warrant stern reassessment of our economic aims, stern reappraisal of our attitudes-and, I would hope, a solemn determination to attain a rate of growth of 3

percent or 4 percent annually.

In one sense America has less difficulty in answering this call than any other nation on earth or in history. In terms of the physical components of growth—materials, manpower, installed capacity, managerial capacity, and technical skills-we have all of them in vast amounts and any we do not have we can import.

The conflict arises when we consider how the growth is to be accomplished.

It may be that the task of plotting the economy's broad course needs some strengthening of the President's Economic Advisers or possibly the substitution of a National Economic Advisory Council with members drawn from the main interests in the economy. But we have already seen-in such crises as the Korean war-that production can be greatly expanded in our economy, once we decide to do it. The task of achieving a smaller but steadier expansion is certainly not beyond our powers.

It is here, however, that we meet the first of the real obstacles to any general agree-ment on a policy for growth. It is obvious that inflation is a real danger and policies for dealing with it successfully offer one of the greatest challenges to democratic statesmanship. Unhappily, the exaggeration, misstatement and fallacy which beset the discussion of this issue often make it an exer-

cise not of reason but of ideology.

In the first place, let us be clear, we are not spending ourselves into bankruptcy and we are not on the verge of a runaway infla-tion. To suggest that we are shakes people's confidence further and encourages the inflation against which it is supposed to warn Tell enough people that their currency losing value and they will do all the things-speculating in the stock market, getting into real estate, getting out of government bonds—which help to accelerate inflation. Although there has been little price inflation for more than a year now, Government financing is acutely embarrassed and our gold is draining away.

Another common theme is that the value of the dollar has fallen by more than half in the last 50 years. But over the same period the economy has grown fourfold and the vast majority of Americans have many

more dollars. It is growth, startling growth, that has raised our living standards to their present unequaled height. Those who fear inflation to the point of stopping growth might be able to maintain the present living standard. But they would insure it grew no

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Perhaps the most encrusted bunch of fallacies cling around the idea that only Government spending is inflationary. But in a state of accelerating demand there is no mystic difference between public and private expenditure. A Government order for a tank or a private order for a tractor have an identical effect upon the demand for steel. machine tools, skilled labor, and so forth. Either public or private bidding can cause an inflationary movement. The Government sparked growth—and inflation—in 1950 because of the Korean war. Private industry sparked growth—and inflation—in 1955 by expanding investment.

Yet the hardy old idea persists that all public spending is bad and all private spending good. But the crucial question clearly is: What is the money being spent on? Oliver Wendell Holmes summed it up when he said: "With my taxes I buy civilization." Education, personal security, a decent urban environment, and, today, survival in a threatened world-are these not more vital than the hairdos, the cosmetics, the drinks and tranquilizers, the chromium encrusted cars. and amusements which belong to the area of

private, spending?

In America more is spent per head on advertising than on education. A starlet can earn in a month 5 years' salary of a school-The movie theater is more magnificent than the courthouse, shining new cars stand beside gutters often choked with refuse of a careless, wasteful people, Multiply your own instances. I do not think you will find all the extravagence on the Government side. In fact, as Professor Galbraith has reminded us, the private sector is so well stocked that we have to go to unparalleled lengths of persuasion to keep goods moving and persuade the public to develop wants they never knew they had.

It seems a little ludicrous to first hand over such vital human needs as security, education, and a wide range of welfare services to the public purse because they are so vital, and then proceed to starve them simply because they are public.

In other words, inflation is not caused simply by Government spending or simply by private spending. Before the First World War, when there were no large taxes, no large Government spending, no deficits, no debts and no unions to speak of, the average increase in inflationary pressure was just over 2 percent a year. This average is higher than in the last decade if you exclude 1950 and 1955. But then, if you exclude those years, you also get very little growth. We have achieved fairly stable prices recently; but at the cost of stagnancy. Incidentally, we have had stable prices with a \$13 billion Government deficit. If private production falls off by over 20 percent, Government obviously can spend a lot before all the slack is taken up and pressure begins to mount again.

It is not certain that we can enjoy-all together-growth, price stability, and no Government controls. It is possible that sometime we shall have to choose. The conservatives offer us sound money, but don't add that we may have to be content with, say a 1 percent rate of growth. The liberals offer us a 5 percent rate of growth, but discount the risk of a 2 to 3 percent annual inflation.

It is not my purpose or responsibility here this evening to propound an answer. The answer should not be left to the politicians. It will come, if it comes at all, from the people, from the groups, politicians represent.

So far the only business answer to the stubborn problem of stable growth is to rely on slacks and recessions to shake out prices But in this last recession, some prices, particularly in industries of highly organized labor and imperfect competition, continued to go up. Nor do slack times do very much to make good the backlog of public needs. Above all, by recession we export the instability of capitalism for all to see. Rhodesia and the Congo have had to endure close on a 50 percent fall in their copper prices, and political troubles are not unrelated. In short, the remedy of recurrent recession is no remedy and causes other maladies as

We could, I believe, restrain the pressure on prices generated by the full use of our resources if we were ready to exercise some self-restraint on wage and price increases. Other democratic communities have done it. In Holland and Sweden, the trade-union movement agreed on at least two occasions to accept lower wages at a time of international pressure on the country's balance of payments. Germany's price stability during the period of rapid growth after 1948 was due in part to the restraint shown by German

But if restraint is not forthcoming from the parties involved, what then? Are we helpless, with so much at stake? If you don't come up with some better answer than recurrent recession you will grievously embarrass capitalism, and the public will, acting through government. And that answer

will be more government, not less.

And here we enter another ideological minefield which you businessmen largely planted and I want to say a word about. It is the old, familiar claim that any government supervision spells socialism and the

ruin of free enterprise. Socialism is the public ownership of the means of production, and no one is proposing that. But as we use the word it seems be any government authority we don't like. Of course, things we like-tariffs, subsidies, mail concessions, support prices, tax writeoffs, depletion allowances, and Government aids to particular groups—are rarely denounced as socialism, except per-

haps by the group's competitors.

It all reminds me of the engaging cynic who said that "the truth and the facts are sometimes different." And I take sharp issue with the prevalent idea that business and Government-which is only the agent of the community at large-are inherently antagonistic. They are not; their proper in-terests are necessarily one and the same. A far sighted Government policy, designed to strengthen our country, improve our education, rebuild our cities, extend our services, and insure a steady growth in our productive capacity, far from being the enemy of private enterprise, is the precondition of capitalism's successful competition with

Actually only once has private enterprise been in danger of extinction in America. That was in 1929 when without taxes, big Government, big deficits, or big unions, it all but killed itself. Its prestige was vastly increased by the bursting growth of the Second World War. And after the Government-sparked expansion of Korea, we got not socialism but four or five of the best years private enterprise has ever had, and even a Republican administration. Similarly, European enterprise was rescued from the stagnation of the twenties and thirties by a plan launched here at Harvard by a American, George C. Marshall. As a result, socialism has receded in Europe and public ownership is being abandoned even by Socialists.

Intelligent Government action is not, I say, the enemy but the essential complement of effective private enterprise and the more imperative when we are confronted by

the central planning of the Soviet Union.
And while we are "thinking greatly," am going to do a little hoping greatly, that in the future the attitudes of business will not be entirely determined by preexisting prejudice and incendiary rhetoric about the American way of life, while the Soviet way of life creeps across the earth. For if government's functions are growing, so are the complexities of our life, the crowding up of country and our involvement in the world. A Jeffersonian dream that "the best government is the least government" belongs to a century when America was iso-lated and empty. Today it could leave us defenseless before a challenge neither Jefferson nor any of the Founding Fathers could have possibly foreseen. On this commence-ment day is it too much to ask business to help us graduate from the 19th century, to throw off the semantic shackles of the dear. dead past and get into position to meet the full scale of the real and rising attack upon our way of life?

This risk seems to me all the more dangerous in that the most penetrating and subversive attacks in history always come up, as it were, on the blind side, in the area where rigidity and complacency and blind belief have taken the place of thought and questioning and adaptability. Under the Manchus, no Confucian gentleman would concern himself with the scientific nonsense of the alchemists. The formidable increase in Western power based upon science and technology was disregarded because science was held in such low repute. Significantly, today it is precisely by the bold use of government that the Communists challenge us most gravely, spending more proportionately upon arms and aid and education and research, because government can so allot the nation's resources. We shall not change this challenge simply by rejecting the instruments at its disposal. Many of us dislike the thought of government as passionately and irrationally as the Confucians rejected science. Perhaps this is the very reason why we should be ready to give it a long, new look.

I don't ask you to agree with all I've been saying. I realize that one man's cliche can be another man's conviction. And surely there will always be sharp disagreement about the relation of government and citizens, corporate or individual. But the rule in today's world is that man's larger interest is everywhere breaking in upon his immediate short-term interest and overriding it. This applies to business, just as to the other concerns of people. This is the logic of a unifying, contracting world, where time and distance become daily shorter; and if we deplore it, we still cannot turn the tide back.

In the business world, it is not the rise of big government that gives you problems you never had or never faced up to before. It is the forces that bring big givernment about which in reality you face. This is a big world. We have big enemies. The interests in our own country-of management and labor-are big, too, and could well become "overmighty subjects" and restore the confusion and enmity of the old feudal monopolies. In all this, government big enough to meet its responsibilities is a condition of survival. We live, day in, day out, with the great challenges of the world at large and the great perplexities at home of a vastly increasing population. We must not be afraid of and we can't get along without government built to their scale.

Because you are now more dependent on this environment, in which rugged individualism is an illusion, you will increasingly have to resolve your conflicts on the basis of what is best for that environment. Or, to put it bluntly, what is best for society. Like it or not, the business of the modern

corporation is society. And smaller busi-nesses, which are less obviously concerned with the whole life of their stockholders and suppliers, workers and customers, will increasingly find that their business, too, is

We hear it suggested that businessmen are inept at politics. But on the basis of recent evidence, so am I. So I will avoid that trap and merely suggest that the intellectuals and the politicians, not the businessmen. have taken the lead in shaping national thinking on public affairs. Why is this the case—If indeed it is the case? Have you, in a sense, abandoned the field? Have you put comparable labor of thought into the shape of American society? Or were you consulting your lawyers and your lobbylists and your public relations officers on how to argue your side of the case, and complaining because someone else was creating a bad public image of American business?

I don't need to say here how much the society needs the talents of the business-He has a gift for realism. His ideas are constantly tested by action, and he never gets far away from the practical. His motive is fundamentally optimistic. rare capacity to resist adversity, and to keep comig back to the job until it is somehow done. He has drive and courage, when they are aroused and the incentive is good.

It's the incentive that counts, of course Ours is an incentive system, which is the businessman's way of saying this is a system of individual men and women who are not compelled, but who choose to do what they wish to do. But there are many kinds of incentive. Your incentive, after all, is what you decide it will be. It can be profit. It can be power. It can also be the satisfaction of making a humane mark on your time, of building a better life for the people and the community around you. These are incentives, too, if you will make them so. They are also values that society desperately needs. And they are values which people in distant places, who have more to do with our destiny then we like to think, hold higher than we always have.

America, for the first time in history, has built a productive system operated for the benefit of all the people, speaking by and large, and not for the privileged few. sidering the tenacity of privilege down through the centuries, and the many areas where it still holds unequal sway, this is an achievement on the heroic scale. The builder of this new type of system was business. But business didn't think it all up. The American political system gave it its sense of direction, and there were sometimes terrible strains as the two pulled against each other.

It may well be that the very limitations which now restrain the old abuses of the business system are the milestones of a new order of accomplishment for business. Instead of struggling chiefly with problems of production and profit, a farsighted philosopher could see you struggling chiefly with problems of conscience and the purposes of mankind. And who will argue that this is a lower form of human activity?

Let me conclude with the thought that American citizen-businessmen, in spite of all their frustrations, have more power than you think in the new society. In a world where higher standards of living are the great liberating force, everyone wants what you in the American business community, taken at your constructive best, have to offer.

History, after all, does not consult us about the challenges she presents. Those which create the most havoc are invariably those which conflict most sharply with existing prejudices and preconceptions. Yet these, too, once overcome, can also become the greatest spur to invention and advance. We have not achieved in our country yet a Utopia so perfect that all further modifications of ideas and institutions are inconceivable. It is just possible that history, helped on by Mr. Khrushchev, is giving us just the nudge we need to see ourselves, our economy, our tasks, and our ideals in a new light.

Twenty-eight years ago, Alfred North Whitehead spood before an audience here at the Harvard Business School and talked of the role of what he called the business mind. "Mankind is now in one of its rare moods of shifting its outlook," he said. And in this new perspective, "the motive of success is not enough. It produces a shortsighted world which destroys the sources of its own prosperity."

Then he came to his point, and the point of this conference here today. "We must not a fall into the fallacy," he said, "of thinking of the business world in abstraction from the rest of the community." And he defined the aims of business in this epic phrase: "The general greatness of the community."

That says it.

A Federal Advisory Council To Assist in the Growth and Development of the Fine Arts in the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased indeed that my bill H.R. 7656, to establish a Federal Advisory Council on the Arts, was favorably reported by the Subcommittee on Special Education of the Committee on Education and Labor, and that this was done unanimously on June 10, 1959.

Everyone concerned with the cultural status of our country is deeply indebted to the members of this subcommittee and its able chairman, the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. Elliott].

The passage of this legislation by the Congress will be, as the New York Times said editorially the other day "a proclamation of our Government's faith that our people understand the value of the arts in a modern state."

I include the New York Times editorial endorsing the historic step of the Subcommittee on Special Education, and the text of H.R. 7656:

[From the New York Times, June 17, 1959]

A COMMISSION ON THE ARTS

The ancient notion that government must have nothing to do with the arts has been fading away slowly in the United States. We do not yet devote Federal moneys to support literature, painting, music, dance, and theater at home, but we have accepted the principle that the Government should provide funds to send our artists abroad. We have learned that through art we can state the democratic case eloquently.

The arts at home also deserve Government recognition. We may not be ready to grant them Federal subsidies, though every other government of consequence in the world does its share to sustain national activity in the arts. But it is time that we adopted a proposal, such as approved by a House Education and Labor Subcommittee, to cre-

ate a Federal Advisory Commission on the Arts. The Senate endorsed a similar bill several years ago.

A group of 21 persons representing in fair proportion all the arts would be established and have its home in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The Commission would be available to advise any Federal agency active in the arts, and this advice would be marshaled through committees drawn largely from organizations of creative and performing artists.

Thus the Government would have at its disposal the broadest area of knowledge and competence in the arts. In the creation of programs for such enterprises as the Brussels World's Fair or the coming American exhibition in Moscow, it could plan with the assurance that it was acting on first-rate professional counsel.

The proposed act would be a proclamation of our Government's faith that our people understand the value of the arts in a modern state.

#### H.R. 7656

A bill to provide for the establishment of a Federal Advisory Council on the Arts to assist in the growth and development of the fine arts in the United States

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Congress hereby finds and declares, and it is the policy of the Congress in enacting this Act—

 that the growth and flourishing of the arts depend upon freedom, imagination, and individual initiative;

(2) that the encouragement of creative activity in the performance and practice of the arts, and of a widespread participation in and appreciation of the arts, is essential to the general welfare and the national interest;

(3) that as workdays shorten and life expectancy lengthens, the arts will play an ever more important role in the lives of our citizens; and

(4) that the encouragement of the arts, while primarily a matter for private and local initiative, is an appropriate matter of concern to the United States Government.

SEC. 2. (a) There is hereby established in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare a Federal Advisory Council on the Arts (hereinafter in this Act referred to as the "Council"). The Council shall be composed of twenty-one members appointed by the President, from among private citizens of the United States who are widely recognized for their knowledge of or experience in, or for their profound interest in, one or more of the arts and who collectively will provide an appropriate balance of representation among the major art fields including music, drama, dance, literature, architecture and allied arts, painting, sculpture, photography, graphic and craft arts, motion pictures, radio, and television; and the President is requested in the making of such appointments to give consideration to such recommendations as may from time to time be submitted to him by leading national organizations in these fields. Each member of the Council shall hold office for a term of six years, except that (1) any member appointed to fill a vacancy occurring prior to the expiration of the term for which his predecessor was appointed shall be appointed for the remainder of such term, and (2) the terms of the members first taking office shall expire, as designated by the President at the time of appointment, seven at the end of the second year, seven at the end of the fourth year, and seven at the end of the sixth year the date of enactment of this Act. No member of the Council shall be eligible

for reappointment during the two-year period following the expiration of his term. The Council shall meet at the call of the Chairman or the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare (hereafter in this Act referred to as the "Secretary"), but not less often than twice during each calendar year. The Council shall annually elect one of its member to serve as Chairman until the next election.

(b) The Council shall have an executive secretary who shall be appointed by the Secretary after consultation with the Council. Within the limits of appropriations available therefor, the Secretary shall provide the Council, its executive secretary, and members of its special committees, necessary secretarial, clerical, and other staff assistance.

SEC. 3. (a) A major duty of the Council shall be to recommend ways to maintain and increase the cultural resources of the United States. A primary purpose of the Council is to propose methods to encourage private initiative in the arts and its cooperation with local, State, and Federal departments or agencies to foster artistic and cultural endeavors and the use of the arts in the best interests of our country, and to stimulate greater appreciation of the arts by our citizens.

(b) To these ends the Council shall undertake studies of and make recommendations relating to appropriate methods, consistent with the policy set forth in the first section of this Act, for encouraging creative activity in the performance and practice of the arts and participation in and appreciation of the arts. In selecting subjects to be studied, the Council shall consider requests submitted to it by the heads of departments. agencies, and independent establishments of the Federal Government. The Council shall make recommendations in writing to the Secretary with respect to such studies; and the Secretary shall transmit such recom-mendations, together with his comments thereon, to the President and the Congress. In the selection of subjects to be studied and in the formulation of recommendations, the Council may obtain the advice of any interested and qualified persons and organizations, and the Secretary may appoint interested and qualified persons to assist the Council in making its studies from among those recommended to him by the Council.

SEC. 4. Members of the Council, and persons appointed to assist the Council in making its studies, while attending meetings of the Council or while engaged in the conduct of studies authorized by this Act, shall receive compensation at a rate to be fixed by the Secretary, but not exceeding \$50 per diem, and shall be paid travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by law (5 U.S.C. 73b-2) for persons in the Government service employed intermittently.

SEC. 5. (a) Any member of the Council appointed under this Act, any person appointed to assist the Council in making its studies, and any other person appointed, employed, or utilized in an advisory or consultative capacity under this Act is hereby exempted, with respect to such appointment, employment, or utilization, from the operation of sections 281, 283, 284, and 1914 of title 18 of the United States Code, except as otherwise specified in subsection (b) of this section.

(b) (1) The exemption granted by subsection (a) of this section shall not extend to the following acts performed as an officer or employee of the United States by any person so appointed, employed, or utilized: (A) The negotiation or execution of, or (B) the making of any recommendation with respect to, or (C) the taking of any other action with respect to, any individual contract or other arrangement under this Act with the private

employer of such person or any corporation, joint stock company, association, firm, partnership, or other business entity in the pecuniary profits or contracts of which such person has any direct or indirect interest.

(2) The exemption granted by subsection (a) of this section shall not, during the period of such appointment, employment, or utilization and the further period of two years after the termination thereof, extend to the prosecution or participation in the prosecution, by any person so appointed, employed, or utilized, of any claim against the Government involving any individual contract or other arrangement entered into pursuant to this Act concerning which the appointee had any responsibility during the period of such appointment, employment, or utilization.

SEC. 6. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare such sums as may be necessary to carry out this Act, including expenses of professional, clerical, and stenographic assistance. Such appropriations shall be available for services as authorized by section 15 of the Act of August 2, 1946 (5 U.S.C. 55a).

SEC. 7. This Act shall not be deemed to invalidate any provision in any Act of Congress or Executive order vesting authority in

the Commission of Fine Arts.

# Nomination of Lewis Strauss To Be Secretary of Commerce

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON: WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, June 18, 1959

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the Detroit Jewish News of June 12, 1959, written by Mr. Philip Slomovitz.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

ANTI-SEMITIC CANARD IS DEMOLISHED IN DEBATE OVER STRAUSS APPOINTMENT AS SECRETARY OF COMMERCE

(By Philip Slomovitz)

WASHINGTON .- If anti-Semitism were not such a tragic phenomenon, the mere suggestion that it played a role in Adm, Lewis L. Strauss' nomination by President Eisenhower as his Secretary of Commerce would have been viewed as the hugest jest eyer uttered in the Nation's Capital.

But anti-Semitism, once the weapon of all bigots, now is a badge of shame, and anyone tinged with it cringes. There is the be-lief here, therefore, that the overzealous, who are so anxious for a speedy confirmation of the Strauss nomination uttered the cry of "anti-Semitism" in the hope of getting prompt action, and of warding off a certain

amount of opposition.

How did it all begin? It started with a statement by Representative STEVEN B. DE-ROUNIAN, Republican, of New York, that "It is being impressed upon me constantly that opposition to the confirmation of Lewis L. Strauss, as Secretary of Commerce, is based on religious prejudice. If this is true, it re-volts me as an American citizen."

If this were true, it would revolt all Americans. President Eisenhower said at his press conference that it would be tragic if the anti-Semitic issue were injected in the

discussion of Strauss' qualifications. Senators Jacob K. Javits and Kenneth B. Keat-ing, of New York, both Republicans, denounced the issue, and Javirs said he hoped 'no Senator will let this intrude into the debate.

But Senator Hugh Scott, Republican of Pennsylvania, suggested that it paralleled the Drevfus case of 1894 and said the American people would react as solidly in criticism of the attempt to deny the confirmation of the nomination of Mr. Strauss as the general public reacted to the Dreyfus case when Emile Zola wrote his "J'Accuse." This, in turn, brought forth another protest that the suggestion of such a parallelism was uncalled for.

Adding to the ridiculousness of the injection of the anti-Semitic angle in the debate is the fact that one of Jewry's most distinguished friends, Senator WAYNE MORSE, Democrat of Oregon, is leading the fight against Strauss.

There is unanimity in the effort to de-nounce the injection of such an issue, since at no time was the religion of the nominee ever mentioned. But in the effort to demolish the canard, even so staunch a liberal as Senator Morse seems to have gone off on a tangent.

In his personal statement in the Senate. when the issue first became a subject of public and senatorial discussion, Senator Morse told of an exchange of correspondence he had with Bernard Postal, director of Information of the Jewish Welfare Board and editor of the Jewish Digest. He quoted the following from a letter he wrote to Postal on May 19, 1959-2 weeks prior to the emergence of the anti-Semitic hoax:

"I want to respectfully suggest that it has been my observation there is a tendency among too many Jews to make a false assumption that, if anyone opposes a Jew who is a candidate for public office, it must be because of some prejudice against Jews. The point I want to stress is that the individual candidate, as far as I am concerned, must be judged on the position he takes on legislative and governmental issues. I don't care a hoot about his religion or his race, but, if he takes a stand on issues that, in my judgment, is not in the public interest, I shall oppose him, and my opposition will have nothing whatsoever to do with the matter of his religion or his national ori-

Senator Morse was replying to an inquiry by a Jewish editor, and he might therefore be excused for working on the assumption that there is a tendency among "many Jews" to imply the existence of anti-Jewish prejudice when a Jewish candidate is opposed. That, it is pointed out in many quarters, is walking off on a tangent. In that case, Senator Morse might be suspected of prejudice in his opposition to the reelection of his colleague, Senator Richard L. Neuberger, in his own State of Oregon. But it is doubtful whether such a charge will be made by anyone, not even Senator Neuberger.

The basic truth was uttered by Senator Morse when he stated that he never questioned Strauss' patriotism, but objects to him only on a question of competence.

It is doubtful whether the question of Strauss' Jewishness ever would have been injected in the debate over his confirmation, and the issue certainly is at an end now, after several of the Senators had spoken in condemnation of the very mention of anti-Semitism in relation to the debate.

Yet, the Jewishness of Admiral Strauss was mentioned 7 months before the anti-Semitic angle was injected in the discussions. On October 27, 1958, David Law-rence, in his syndicated column, referring to Strauss' career and to his having held the presidency of Temple Emanu-El of New York for 12 years, wrote that "Mr. Strauss is the first member of his religious faith who has been chosen in more than a decade to the Cabinet of a President of the United States." He continued:

"Though little is ever said about it in public, the politicians usually advise a President to try to have the Catholic, Protesant, and Jewish faiths continually represented in the Cabinet and on the Supreme Court. With the selection of Mr. Strauss, all faiths now are to be found in the Cabinet as well as on the Supreme Court.

"Coming as the incident does at a time when the 'hate' organizations are trying to create antagonisms between different religious groups in America, this appointment is evidenced to the rest of the world, especially the Soviet Union-where the Communist government encourages anti-Semitismthat prejudices of a religious nature are of no concern to either political party in the United States today in the selection of persons to high office.

"The recent attempt to fasten anti-Semitic or anti-Catholic labels on southern Democrats is due largely to mistaken beliefs on the part of those people in the North who are ignorant of the true feelings of the southern people."

Another question, however, has entered into the debate over the Strauss appointment. The fact that he pressed the case against Dr. Robert Oppenheimer, the eminent physicist, became part of the issue. In defense of Strauss, Senator Scorr inserted in the Congressional Record a number of editorials in Strauss' report, and one of them, from the Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph, acclaimed Strauss for having been "largely responsible in raising the warning flag against Physicist Robert Oppenheimer as a question-able security risk."

In the Strauss debate, on the anti-Semitic issue, it was indicated that Jews are to be found both among the defenders and antagonists of Admiral Strauss. On the Oppenheimer question, there has been a lot of bitterness. The able rabbi of Temple Emanuel of Grand Rapids, Mich., saw fit to reprint in the issue of May 20 of his synagogue bulletin the following statement written by Rabbi Jacob J. Weinstein, of Chicago, several years

"STRAUSS AND OPPENHEIMER: A CONTRAST

"Two Jews faced each other across the table at the hearings before the Atomic Energy Commission. They were Lewis Strauss, Chairman of the Commission, and Robert J. Oppenheimer. Strauss is a selfidentifying Jew. He served for a time as president of Congregation Emanuel of New York and was active in other organized Jewish activities. Oppenheimer never joined a synagogue or in any other way identified himself with the Jewish community. Still, I believe that in the perspective of another 100 years, Oppenheimer will be seen as much closer to the ethical core of the Jewish tradition than Strauss.

"Oppenheimer believes that humanity is above the nation-state. Strauss believes that the nations must be sovereign in the loyalty of the individual.

"Oppenheimer believes that the mind of man must be left completely to pursue the truth and to follow wherever that truth leads. Strauss believes that there must be restraints, if not on the search for truth, then on its accessibility.

"Oppenheimer believes that atomic energy should be publicly (that is governmentally) developed and freely applied to create energy for constructive peaceful purposes. Strauss believes that private industry should be given the initiative to develop atomic energy and make it available only as private enterprise thinks best. Consider his part in the Dixon-Yates affair. brother.

"Oppenhelmer believes that scientific research is international, that the basic findings of nuclear research are universal, that the specific adaptations of fissionable energy to military or civilian instruments are secondary, and that superlority in the details of adaption is not a very crucial superiority. Therefore he is firmly convinced that any world war will be a suicidal war and that it will take colossal faith to believe that the surviving remnant of such a war can sustain a civilized existence.

"Admiral Strauss seems inclined to believe that American know-how in mechanical adaptation is a crucial superiority and should be an important factor in the logistics of the cold war.

"Strauss will undoubtedly be more avidly claimed by the compilers of the lists of prominent Jews and will be grandly exhibited with all his gold braid in the showcases of Jewish "Who's Who. But the spirit of Amos, Isaiah, Jeremiah and Hosea will Oppenheimer as their true recognize

Here is proof of the existence of a difference of opinion among Jews on a specific issue involving Admiral Strauss—the Oppenheimer incident.

On the question of the injection of the Dreyfus case parallelism, the New York Times stated editorially:

"Neither Mr. Strauss nor our country has been served by the suggestion two of his congressional supporters made Tuesday that anti-Semitism has played a role in Senate opposition to his appointment. It is incomprehensible that Senator Scorr should have thought it either wise or accurate to try to draw a comparison between Mr. Strauss' present difficulties and those of Alfred Dreyfus in France more than half a century ago. There simply is no compari-

There is unanimity of opinion that the issue over the religious background of Admiral Strauss does not exist, and that if it does, it hasn't a ghost of a chance of exerting influence upon the actions of the U.S. Senate.

Thus, Michigan's Senator Par McNamara had this to say to the Jewish News:

"The injection of the religious issue into the Strauss nomination proceedings before the Senate has absolutely no basis in fact, to my knowledge, and does an extreme disservice to all concerned. A man's religion is his own business. The only true issue here is whether Strauss is qualified to be Secretary of Commerce, and the Senate, acting under its constitutional mandate, must make this decision. It is very doubtful that, until this matter was raised, many in the Senate knew or cared what his religion

Michigan's Junior U.S. Senator, PHILIP A. HART, told us that he believes "the President has an almost unlimited right to select his cabinet," and that his appointments should not be opposed for political reasons. But he added that in the case of Admiral Strauss "the issue raised is a moral one. What is questioned is the man's reliability, his honesty in presenting facts, his ability to communicate."

Senator HART questioned whether in Strauss the conutry will have a proper source of information. He said the issue calls for examination and that he will study all the facts and will be guided by them in casting his ballot.

It is clear that the Michigan Senators are not influenced by religious issues.

Thus, a silly canard has been completely destroyed in our Nation's Capitol. Many here believe that we have entered a new era-of making it very difficult for bigotry to flourish too long on American soll.

Massachusetts State Senate Resolution Supports Creation of Commission on Intergovernmental Cooperation

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 18, 1959

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include a resolution of the Massachusetts Senate supporting the creation of a Commission on Intergovernmental Cooperation.

This resolution was delivered to a subcommittee of this Congress yesterday in the old Supreme Court room of the Capitol by State Senator Leslie B. Cutler, of Needham, Mass., one of the great lady statesmen of my home State.

Mrs. Cutler is largely responsible for women jury service in Massachusetts. She has encouraged many outstanding women to enter and succeed in public service. She has become an authority on health, welfare, civil service, and aviation legislation.

I salute her on her important mission to Washington, and all of my former colleagues in the Massachusetts Senate, and thank them for their resolution, which calls for new cooperation between governmental agencies at all levels.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION MEMORIALIZING CONGRESS ON THE Adoption of Legislation Providing for the ESTABLISHMENT OF A PERMANENT ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELA-

Whereas there is pending before the Congress of the United States H.R. 6904, introduced by Representative L. H. FOUNTAIN, of North Carolina; H.R. 6905, introduced by Representative Florence P. Dwyer, of New Jersey; and S. 2026, introduced by Senator EDMUND S. MUSKIE, each of which seeks to establish an Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations to bring together representatives of Federal, State, and local governments for the consideration of common problems; to provide a forum for discussing the administration and coordination of Federal grants and other programs requiring intergovernmental cooperation; and to recommend the proper allocation of governmental functions and responsibilities among the several levels of government: Therefore be it

Revolved, That the Massachusetts Senate respectfully urges the Congress of the United States to enact legislation to establish said Advisory Committee on Intergovernmental Relations, as contained generally in the 30th report of the Committee on Government Operations, in order to assure the fullest cooperation and coordination between Federal, State, and local government, and to pro-mote greater understanding in intergovern-mental problems and in the financial problems involved therein; and be it further

Resolved. That an engrossed copy of these resolutions be transmitted to the Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations, and that copies thereof be sent by the secretary of the Commonwealth to the Presiding Officer of each branch of the Congress of the United

States and to each Member thereof from this Commonwealth.

Adopted June 10, 1959. True copy. Attest:

> JOSEPH D. WARD, Secretary of State.

Newtown Celebrates Its 275th Birthday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON, WILLARD S. CURTIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, June 18, 1959

Mr. CURTIN. Mr. Speaker, Newtown, a borough in Bucks County, Pa., has recently completed the celebration of its 275th birthday. This community, founded in 1684, is an outstanding example of an early pioneering spirit on the part of its people, which grew and blossomed into a fine borough characterized by a selfreliant type of citizen who met all obstacles with fortitude, resourcefulness, and God-fearing dignity.

In the course of that celebration, a

speech was delivered by the Honorable George T. Moore, Assistant Secretary of Commerce, which was a fine presentation of the ties that bind our citizens of today with those sturdy forefathers.

The speech, so delivered in Newtown on June 11, 1959, is as follows:

I am proud and happy to have been asked to join with the citizens of Newtown to celebrate the 275th birthday of this historic community. But I am humble, too, in paying tribute to those sturdy and God-fearing men and women of early Pennsylvania who pioneered the spirit of independence in the New

It seems to me that the chief value of anniversary celebrations such as this is that they force us to do some important homework. They provide an occasion and an incentive to insure that the wisdom of our forefathers shall not be buried in their tombs.

During the anniversary period I suspect many of you have had occasion to renew acquaintance with some forgotten facts about the early history of Pennsylvania and Bucks County in which Newtown played such an important part.

We Americans are a forward-looking people. and as such seem more interested in today and tomorrow than yesterday. By the same token we have tended to neglect our colonial history in favor of our more definitely national history since adoption of our Constitution in 1789-with Pennsylvania second only to Delaware in its ratification.

Yet it is an interesting and important fact that between the founding of Jamestown in 1607 and the adoption of our Constitution was a period of 182 years—a period 12 years longer than our national life under our present form of government. Let's bring the sta-tistics closer to home. The inhabitants of Newtown were subjects of the British Crown from 1684 to 1776, a period of 92 years. have been citizens of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania since 1776, or only twice as long. And they have been citizens of the United States of America under our present Constitution only 170 years.

Great changes were going on during those colonial days and the period under the Ar-

ticles of Confederation. These anniversary celebrations lead us to discover what they were, in terms of our own States and communities. And like the young man who was constantly amazed, as he grew older, as to how much his father knew, so we learn the basic lessons about what made America great.

Earlier I noted the founding of Jamestown in 1607. Only 2 years later, 350 years ago, Henry Hudson sailed up Delaware Bay on a voyage of discovery which was to include the New York river now bearing his name. And 75 years after that, William Penn gave you people this opportunity to celebrate in June 1950.

After scanning the fine 275th anniversary booklet, it would be folly for me to vie with its many contributors and local historians in painting a picture of early Newtown. Had I the art and warm imagination of Edward Hicks, painter of the excellent cover picture, I still should not attempt it.

Instead, as a guest in your midst, permit me the freedom to discourse briefly on the intangibles born here, and in other centuries-old American communities, which have left tangible evidence of their enduring quality. I sum them up as a sense of community, a desire for self-improvement and progress, and a faith in man's ultimate destiny as a free spirit in a free world.

First as to that sense of community. Nowhere in the world has the capacity of individual men and women to live and work creatively together been given such free rein. In our pioneer society men and women sought elbow room for the expression of their minds and souls and found it in the world-shaking concept summed up in our national motto, "E pluribus unum."

Our Declaration of Independence, our Constitution with its Bill of Rights, are but the expressions of this great revolution in political life. We value individual differences and feel that our Union is stronger for them. We jealously guard the right of the individual to be a minority of one. We make the test of legitimate restraint on an individual's freedom of action to be a contribution to essential group interests. The state exists for the man, not the man for the state.

With this array of rights we assume certain duties. One of these is to engage personally in the life of the community through many voluntary associations such as the sponsors of this banquet. Over a century ago De Tocqueville was amazed at how Americans were great joiners to promote public causes and community development. He described this quality to his French countrymen thus:

"These Americans are the most peculiar people in the world. You'll not believe it when I tell you how they behave. In a local community in their country a citizen may conceive of some need which is not being met. What does he do? He goes across the street and discusses it with his neighbor. Then what happens? A committee comes into existence and then the committee begins functioning on behalf of the need. And you won't believe this, but it is true: All of this is done without reference to any bureaucrat. All of this is done by the private citizens on their own initiative."

Such individual and voluntary groupings to promote common purposes can be troublesome to other groups and, on occasion to the Government itself. But the price of their suppression—or, more subtly, their neglect—is a weakening of the creative and dynamic development of both the individual and his community and country.

For no one else can fill exactly the place that each of you can fill in the group in which you live. Only you can make just the contribution which your best ability can offer to others. If you default, others take over and something is lost. The extreme of such default is socialism or godless communism, accompanied by dictatorship of a self-perpetuating clique.

Let us not throw away this priceless birthright bequeathed to us by our forefathers for false security offered by self-serving demagogs.

This brings me to the second intangible which developed on this free continent—a desire for self-improvement and progress. The pioneer had this when he arrived, or he wouldn't have come. But he kept it and shared it with others through the help of technology.

Without technology, a million Indians lived in poverty in the same area now occupied by 176 million Americans living in abundance such as the world has never heretofore seen.

Again, it was encouragement of individual initiative and the broadening of incentives which were combined with our democratic philosophy to produce mass markets and mass production to meet the demands. Goods were for the many, not just a favored few—something to remember when we hear some folks deplore our low level of taste and our yen for gadgets. At least we buy what we want, not what some self-appointed ellte thinks we should want.

And again, these desires of plain people can be troublesome to some groups. They spell change, for one thing. The shift from buggies to automobiles put the buggy-whip manufacturers out of business. Compettors can destroy an established business or its profits with better methods, equipment, materials and products. And the free market can create unemployment as well as employment.

But another lesson from our forefathers is that economic, political, or social privileges for the few at the expense of the many are bad. All must be free to develop—and in so doing we create more and more opportunities for better and more satisfying employment in meeting the demands of a dynamic society.

For the final and most significant fruits of our technological progress are a productivity which has made it possible for Americans to produce and consume a third of the world's goods and services with about 7 percent of the world's population and land area.

Let's not throw away this heritage from the men of the 17th and 18th centuries which made it possible for the men of the 19th and 20th centuries to glimpse the day when poverty and disease no longer plague the world's peoples.

Which brings me to the third and final intangible planted and nurtured on these shores before Washington and Jefferson were born: a faith in man's ultimate destiny as a free spirit in a free world.

The men who founded Jamestown and Plymouth and Newtown had a moral guidance and incentive. America to them was not merely a lush piece of unoccupied real estate. It was an idea, not selfishly local or even national, but universal in its promise for mankind.

Abraham Lincoln analyzed for his 19th century countrymen what our 18th century Declaration of Independence meant. "What is asserted," said Lincoln, "was liberty not only to the people of this country but hope for the world for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time the weights should be lifted from the shoulders of all men."

This is a far cry from the philosophy of the mere do-gooder with the charity basket for the deserving poor. It is an assertion that, given liberty, man will seek independence and the dignity of self-reliance and voluntary cooperation. It is an assertion that, but for man's inhumanity to man, his high destiny as a child of God, and therefore a brother to all men, can be fulfilled.

With a third of the world free, a third under Communist domination, and a third engaged in a revolution of rising expectations, our course is clear. As individuals, in all walks of life, we must so govern ourselves and our relations abroad that the development of the uncommitted peoples takes place in an atmosphere of freedom and not slavery.

For the apostles of Marx and Lenin throughout the world are out to bury us. They derogate the goals we seek and even the way we seek them. They would convince the third of the world who live in grinding poverty that the future they hope for comes not from themselves but as a gift of government.

But we have the ultimate weapon, if we but have the wit to use it. It was borne here by the earliest immigrants to these shores, established by the Revolution, institutionalized through our Constitution, preserved through our own Civil War and two World Wars, and reasserted in Korea. That ultimate weapon is the promise and practice of freedom and a moral sense of responsibility for sharing it.

I can think of no more fitting way to celebrate the 275th anniversary of Newtown, and to honor its founders and all who have since contributed to its growth and prosperity, than to rededicate ourselves to those principles by which they lived and for which they were willing to die.

They knew that they were not alone. They knew they were building for all men in all ages. For ours is "an eternal house, not built with mortal hands" (John Dryden, 1631-1700),

# What Mr. Farley Believes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 18, 1959

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following editorial from the Alabama Journal of Montgomery, Ala., June 3, 1959:

#### WHAT MR. FARLEY BELIEVES

Rarely has more commonsense and ardent patriotism been packed into four pages of a magazine than are contained in James A. Farley's words in the July Atlantic magazine. Mr. Farley's subject is "What I Believe."

Coming from a man who has been before the public and in politics all his life, and who is so widely known and respected as this man who played the political game fairly but vigorously, his article is a real inspiration.

He believes ardently in the two-party system, though he himself has been a lifelong Democrat. He thinks two well-balanced parties each alert and vigorous in combating the other bring out the best that is in men, and therefore insure the best government.

"Politics," he writes "is the supreme challenge of American life. \* \* \* I regard politics as among the highest and most useful callings open to American youth. It is my further opinion that there is no line of endeavor more mobile, and by this I mean none in which merit rises so quickly to its proper recognition."

He describes the intimate friendship between himself and Franklin Roosevelt which was not broken even when Mr.

Farley parted company with the President

Farley parted company with the President in 1940 on the third-term issue.

"What then is American democracy?" Mr. Farley asks at one point. His answer: "To me, it is the guarantee of an equal chance to every citizen. But an equal chance is a long, long way from forced equality; indeed, it is quite the opposite. I conceive of our democracy as a system by which a person rises or falls according to his own worth, talents, and industry. If this definition is accepted it follows that the American democracy is the only system. the American democracy is the only system which allows for the bloodless rise of an aristrocacy based upon effective function-

As for some of the things which were good and necessary in the panic days of the early Roosevelt administration, "I deplore the entrance into our language, particularly for the young, of the word 'security.' In the first place if this means a safe-conduct pass through life there is no such thing; and in the second, if there is, it is alien to the American spirit."

Throughout his expressions of "What I Believe," Mr. Farley shows the basis of the things which carried him far and gave him as a national party chairman an opportunity to mold events and to achieve historic stature in American life perhaps never be-fore attained by any man who lived and worked and did his duty labeled as a poli-

## Time for Leadership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. ROBERT W. HEMPHILL

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, June 18, 1959

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I include the following editorial from the Camden Chronicle, Camden, S.C., of June 5, 1959:

#### TIME FOR LEADERSHIP

It is unfortunate our President is not more adept at explaining and defending what we think is his position on inflation.

He has allowed his political opponents to make his insistence on a balanced budget appear to be mere stubbornness, when we are pretty sure he is convinced by now that continuing to spend more than we have is pretty immoral at a time when it takes \$8 billion of the budget to pay the interest on the debt we have already run up. And when his administration is readying a crash program to make U.S. Government bonds attractive enough (via increased interest rates) that people will buy them, we are sure President Eisenhower is as fearful as everyone should be over the continuance of loose fiscal

Questioned at his press conference on the recent assertion of John L. Lewis that the President was on the side of steel management and against the workers, General Eisenhower missed an opportunity to make himself clear, and to cut such self-serving demagogs as Messrs. Lewis and Meany down to boy size. The Presidential reply that his interest in the big capitalist class is very, very little as compared to what I think about the mass of people that do work with their hands and minds and at their typewriters and everywhere else to produce this wealth not only evades the issue of what is best for the whole American people but could mean that he does discriminate in his own mind between those who get salaries and those who get wages.

The President did say that both sides have to exercise self-discipline or this country is in a bad time. He had talked to business men, he said, urging that their products be priced just as low as they can make them. That American business, big and little, has been straining every fiber and making unprecedented capital investments to do this very thing in the fact of steadily and ominously rising labor costs, should by now, be pretty well known.

Americans generally are realizing that the wage spiral, plus foreign competition, and our foreign economic aid have priced American manufacturers out of export markets. This is serious enough to mean the difference between a prosperity and rough going. But a far more frightening fact of life has yet to be faced up to. As matters stand, we are rapidly pricing ourselves out of our own markets as well. Have you noticed those little cars on the roads, or where the bargains in the stores come from?

We cannot believe that the President is so naive as to believe the steel struggle is just another wage dispute or that the spiral can be halted and the brakes put on inflation without cutting Government spending far more than he has ever sought to do.

An economic war is on. It's time for the Commander in Chief to blow the whistle.

#### Poison in Your Water-No. 126

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, June 18, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I am inserting into the Appendix of the Record an article appearing in the Decatur, Ill., Herald of August 7, 1958, entitled "Pollution Found In Rural Wells":

#### POLLUTION FOUND IN RURAL WELLS

More than half the well water samples brought in to Decatur Township clerk Ralph E. Brown for testing after heavy summer rains in recent weeks have been returned showing reports of pollution.

Brown, who keeps sample bottles in his office for the purpose, submits the well water samples to the Illinois Department of Public Health for analysis.

Of the 64 tests conducted by the State since the 1st of July, 37 reports were re-turned showing bacteria indicative of pollu-tion present in the water.

The remainder of the 64 shows 23 tested safe and 4 showing some degree of pollution.

Brown blames heavy rains and the resulting surface water seeping into improperly closed wells as the major reason for the large amounts of polluted wells.

He said the polluted wells are scattered, with no one area being especially unsafe.

Brown said unsecure well tops, broken side tiles, loose joints in tiles and nearness to septic tanks or drains are the usual reasons for polluted water.

Brown's office in the county building can supply the proper instructions for disinfecting wells with chlorine or laundry bleach as well as sample bottles for submission to the State.

# The Persecution of the Institut d'Estudis Catalans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following commentary of the continuing persecution of the Institut d'Estudis Catalans in Spain:

#### THE PERSECUTION OF THE INSTITUT D'ESTUDIS CATALANS

Spain is a strange country, where scientists are tracked and rounded up, and where academic institutions are apt to be persecuted or frowned upon by the authorities. Such a reflection inevitably occurs to everyone who reads the news about the recent developments concerning the Institut d'Estudis Catalans, a universally respected institution of high learning located in Barcelona and existing since 1907.

The "Institut" is a purely scientific organization, whose activities cover all the branches of human knowledge, without local or geographic limitations—several biological, meteorological, and historical facts of universal scope, e.g., having been established for the first time in its publications—but with preferential application to Catalonia and the eastern Spanish regions where the Catalan language is spoken. It is an influ-ential member of the International Academic Union, with seat in Brussels, and its scholarly publications count now by the thousands. Its activities, needless to say, have nothing to do with politics, but because of the fact that its official language is Catalan, that a large part of its scientific work concerns the language and history of Catalonia, and that all of its members are Catalan and faithful to the spirit of Catalania, it has been viewed with disfavor by the present Spanish regime.

During the first 30 years of its life, the "Institut" was subsidized by the provincial and municipal institutions of Barcelona and Catalonia, although it always derived a considerable part of its resources from gifts of wealthy private donors; after the Spanish civil war it was deprived of its official subsidies, of its premises, of its library (famous Biblioteca de Catalunya, known as the best-stocked modern library in Spain), and of a large part of its scientific collections; but since the "Institut" or its members were not accused of any political offense, the present Spanish authorities have never dared to suppress it altogether or to prevent it from car-rying on its private activities. Its sittings have had to be held in private dwellings, but it has gone on publishing scholarly books at an amazing active rhythm for an institution reduced to the resources of private gifts, which are never abundant in Latin countries. The Franco regime has just tried to starve it out of life, and to deter wealthy donors by hints and threats, which have usually been rather indirect; its most effective weapon has been a severe, although secret, prohibition to mention any of the "Institut's" activities and its very name in Spanish newspapers, magazines, and

The only way the "Institut" has found to remain in contact with the public at large has been its yearly festival, held since 1940 in a private home, to which many personalities of Barcelona life and of the foreign Barcelona colony were regularly invited. In spite of all that, the celebration in 1957 of the 50th anniversary of the foundation of the "Institut" drew the enthusiastic appreciation of dozens of foreign academies of the whole world, which sent to the feast an official representative.

It is against the modest publicity afforded by this yearly celebration that the civil Governor of Barcelona, Gen. Felipe Acedo, has moved. On May 15, 1959, the "Institut's" yearly festival was scheduled to be celebrated in the home of a wealthy Barcelona architect. More than 200 personalities had been invited, including Catalan scholars, representatives of the most distinguished and rich Barcelona families, and a good number of foreign nationals residing in Barcelona. The celebration included the reading of the yearly account of the "Institut's" activities by its secretary, scholarly speeches by its presidents and members, Professors Jordi Rubio, Carlos Riba, and Pere Bohigas, and the reading of a historical study written by an eminent member, Prof. P. Bosch Gimpera, the internationally known anthropologist and prehistorian, now in exile.

At the last minute, the Spanish police arrested the secretary of the "Institut" and the architect owner of the building and surrounded the whole block with hundreds of armed police. The invited persons were prevented from going in, called on to identify themselves, and their names were taken. No reason for the prohibition was given, nor was the meeting officially prohibited; it was just prevented from happening by material means. Among the invited people figured several Montserrat monks, the director of the Italian Institute of Barcelona, the French consul general, and several other foreign personalities. The latter insisted in coming into the building, and he declared that he would never have believed such a thing could happen if he had not seen it personally. Of course, nothing of what happened was allowed to be reported in any Spanish newspaper, which did not prevent the fact from being widely commented on in Barcelona. Indignation is general, both in Spain and abroad.

Vouching for the authenticity of these facts is Jose Cuatrecasas, corresponding member of the Institut d'Estudis Catalans, former professor of the University of Madrid.

# "Why I Am Casting My First Vote Republican"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I have asked unanimous consent to insert in the Record an essay written by Miss Marie Bartholomew of Lemmon, S. Dak., for a contest sponsored by the Perkins County Young Republicans on the subject, "Why I am Casting my First Vote Republican." I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to this prizewinning essay, which reads as follows:

"WHY I AM CASTING MY FIRST VOTE REPUBLICAN"

"Today the world is mourning the death of a great statesman, former Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. Although some were critical of the way in which he handled certain affairs, all agreed that he was a man of great strength. His convictions and courage have won universal acclaim for Mr. Dulles, even from those who stanchly opposed him. It has been over 12 years since an American has received the tributes which European newspapers are now giving Mr. Dulles. The sorrow of countless citizens of this country is profound. These facts prove that leadership of the United States today is of utmost importance.

"No one will dispute the statement that the world is troubled at this time. situations in several places are affecting nations not directly involved as yet. But how long will the West be able to continue to fight this cold war? Too often one hears variations of the declaration, 'We must avoid another war at all costs.' Then in the same breath these individuals advocate a change of government administration. How contradictory. History clearly shows which political party was in possession of the White House at the outbreak of the previous wars and so-called police action. Do they want this part of history repeated? I, for one, do not. I prefer to see in office more leaders like John Foster Dulles, who was so instrumental in avoiding war. His associates are capable of this fait. To maintain their services is one of the many reasons I am casting my first vote Republican."

# World's Population Explosion Spells a Revolutionary Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 18, 1959

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record the commencement address which was delivered last week at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology by Mr. John Cowles, the president of the Minneapolis Star and Tribune. This address by Mr. Cowles is a challenging panorama of the developments abroad which will shape our foreign policy during the next decades.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WORLD'S POPULATION EXPLOSION SPELLS A
REVOLUTIONARY FUTURE

There is certainly no need of spelling out to a Massachusetts Institute of Technology audience that we are living in a revolutionary age, the most revolutionary in all history. We are living in the midst not only of a scientific revolution, but in the midst of worldwide political, social, and economic revolutions as well.

It is increasingly apparent that we as a Nation have not yet adequately adjusted our thinking to the realities that exist in the world today. We are confused and frustrated because we still instinctively cling to many outworn ideas and convictions which may have been valid at some time in the past, but which are not valid under today's new conditions.

One of our highly pressing needs is to clarify our thinking as to what our national goals are or should be, to try to reach a popular consensus of what it is that we as a nation most want in this revolutionary age of global change.

Stripped to its barest essentials, I would suggest that our basic national goal is or should be survival with freedom.

Many Americans, I fear, do not yet fully comprehend the nature and dimensions of the various threats and problems that we face. With gross oversimplification I should like to summarize what I see as the major threats and what I think we as a nation should try to do about them.

WORLD POPULATION IS ZOOMING

First, of all, relatively few people comprehend either the rapidity and magnitude of the current population growth throughout the world or its implications.

This growth in population is the natural result of what medical science and public health measures have done to eliminate plague and pestilence throughout the globe, to reduce infant mortality and lengthen the average span of human life. At the present rate of growth, the world's population, which is now estmated at almost 2.8 billion, will increase in the next 30 or 40 years to 5.5 or 6 billion.

The underdeveloped countries are growing in population at a much faster rate than Western Europe and the United States. Forecasts indicate that before the year 2000 arrives there will be half a billion Africans and nearly 4 billion Asians. China alone will probably reach the billion mark in about 10 years. In this connection you all probably know the wisecrack that an optimist is a person who is learning Russian. A pessimist is one who is learning Chinese.

Although India, for example, is making a valiant effort to step up its output of food, manufactured goods and services, and is increasing its gross national product at the rate of probably 3 percent a year, the population growth in India is about 2.5 percent a year, so the improvement in the per-capita standard of living is extremely small, about 0.5 percent a year. India is running as fast as it can run, but on a treadmill where it is actually making only tiny per capita economic progress.

Or take Egypt. Egypt's population has more than doubled in the 42 years since Nasser was born. Most of Egypt is sandy desert, and only about 5 percent of its area can support life. If the scientists could discover an inexpensive way to take the salt out of sea water, sufficiently cheap to be economically practicable, then perhaps the desert areas could be reclaimed. Only in that way could Egypt ever feed substantially more people than it now has.

#### U.S. POPULATION WILL DOUBLE

The United States now has about 175 million people. The experts estimate that by the end of this century, our American population will approximately double.

Until recently, most people have assumed that a rapidly rising population was desirable; that it was "good for business" and meant more prosperity. A rapidly rising population is good for certain types of business—for the manufacturers of baby carriages or baby foods, for example. But a rapidly rising population is certainly not beneficial in its overall effects.

With a rapid increase in the proportion of the population that consists of infants on the one hand and aged on the other, a steadily dwindling percentage of the population constitutes the labor force to produce the goods and services necessary to supply the increased number of children and aged.

Probably the reason so few Americans are concerned with the upsurge of population either here or in the rest of the world is because of the fact that our population growth since America was first settled has always been rapid, but due in large part to immigration. Because it has been good for us in the past, due to our having had a rich, empty continent to open up and develop, and due to

the fact that most of our immigrants were vigorous young men and women who were promptly added to our active labor force, we have erroneously assumed that population growth in general is an intrinsically good thing.

If we do not in the relatively near future slow down the rate of population growth, the world simply won't have the natural resources to maintain its population at anything like the standards of living to which the people aspire. And in the United States, as well as everything else, we will inevitably have to have far more governmental regimentation and control, and much less freedom of choice.

Anyone who has seen the tens of thousands of people sleeping in rags on the sidewalks of Calcutta or Bombay knows what excessive population means. Unless we want to see the conditions that exist in India and Egypt spread over the rest of the world, the scientists must find some method of simple, inexpensive and effective fertility control. The scientists, through reducing the death rates, have produced this problem. We all must try to see to it that the scientists now have both the resources and the motivation to solve if.

Unless population growth is halted, the underdeveloped countries will not be able under democratic political and economic methods to attain the economic growth that their rising expectations demand. In their desperation they then will, I fear, try the Communist way.

#### A COMMUNIST ADVANTAGE

Although the Western Powers hate to admit it, the Communist form of society, if one ignores the human misery and loss of freedom, does have real advantages for underdeveloped states which wish to make rapid industrialization their one primary goal.

Most of Karl Mark's prophecies have proved completely wrong. Mark thought communism would destroy the free system in advanced countries. It hasn't. Instead, however, communism has unexpectedly turned out to be a quick method of building industry in backward or primitive areas. Russia and China are the proof.

Economic development stems from capital formation, savings invested in capital goods, in machinery and equipment. Rich countries get their capital formation through voluntary savings. Poor countries can't achieve capital formation without compulsory labor and forced savings, squeezed from people who are already living almost at a bare subsistence level.

Communism obviously has nothing to offer the United States and Western Europe. In the underdeveloped third of the world, however, the per capita income of the people only averages somewhere between \$50 and \$60 a year. Here in the United States out of our abundance we save and put into capital formation about twice as many dollars per capita as the total per capita income of the peoples in the underdeveloped areas.

#### AID FROM THE WEST IS NEEDED

The masses in Asia and Africa and Latin America have awakened to the fact that their poverty is neither a natural necessity nor something ordained by providence. The underdeveloped countries are increasingly realizing that in 40 years under communism Russia has developed from a weak, primitive nation to the second strongest industrial power in the world, and they hear glowing reports about the current development of China.

It is sad and perhaps surprising but nevertheless true that even the intellectuals in most of the uncommitted, underdeveloped countries appear relatively indifferent to the moral cost of economic progress under communism, to the agonies that the Chincse

people are experiencing under Communist dictatorship. It is foolish, however, for us to underrate communism's powerful attraction for the underdeveloped countries which put rapid industrialization highest on the list of their national goals.

To reduce the likelihood that most of Asia, Africa, and much of Latin America will slip into the Communist orbit will require. I believe, massive economic aid from the United States and other Western Powers. I don't know what this annual cost in terms of dollars may be. Estimates as to the American share range from \$2 billion to \$3 or \$4 billion a year, over a long, continuing period.

This is, of course, an enormous sum of money, but nevertheless it would be only a fraction of 1 percent of our gross national product, and less than the annual cost of the Marshall plan, which a decade ago saved Western Europe. And if such an expenditure significantly increases the likelihood of our being able to survive in freedom, will anyone contend it would not be well worth its cost?

If we adopt such a program of massive, continuing economic aid it will have to be conducted with boldness and imagination or it will be wasted. We will need some spectacular breakthroughs against poverty. Perhaps in India, for example, where it is now estimated that 75 percent of all energy is derived from burning cow dung, atomic energy plants might be part of the answer.

#### BUT AID ALONE ISN'T ENOUGH

We must realize, however, that economic aid alone won't be sufficient to keep many of the newly independent underdeveloped nations outside the Communist orbit. Many of these new states simply aren't competent to function as democracies because they don't have enough educated, qualified personnel to fill the necessary government positions. Many of the newly emergent countries, French Guinea is a recent example, are tottering on the edge of chaos. Four other African countries have been promised their independence in 1960. These are Nigeria, Togoland, the Cameroons, and Somalia.

Consider for a moment Somalia, on the Indian Ocean in east central Africa. It was an Italian colony until the end of World War II. The people of Somalia have never had a written language of their own. I have not been there, but I am told that probably not more than 40 or 50 Somalians out of a population of a million and a half can read and write any language.

How can one even hope that such a country as Somalia can function as a self-governing democracy after the United Nations mandate terminates next year? How can we expect Somalia to vote intelligently and responsibly in the United Nations, to which it will presumably be elected, and where its assembly vote will equal ours?

Perhaps through the United Nations we might create a large corps of international civil servants to assist emergent nations such as Somalia with their internal administrations. If these men were Scandinavians or Latin Americans or citizens of other small countries, perhaps they could be brought into important government positions without the charge being convincingly made by the Communists that we were attempting to restore colonialism.

In many of these new Asian and African countries, probably the best we can hope for are benevolent dictatorships that will spread popular education and raise standards of living under either American or preferably multination guidance and support

As to the United Nations, we should put the problem of what can be done to improve and strengthen it high on our national priority list. We should realize, moreover, that henceforth it will probably

become increasingly difficult for us to marshal the majority in the United Nations General Assembly that we have been able to in the past. We must also realize that the Assembly's "one nation, one vote" formula bears no relationship to responsibility or power.

We may have to continue to live for many years in a climate of potential mutual nuclear terror before we of the West on the one hand and the Russians and Chinese on the other can eventually agree on some system of universal disarmament under atright inspection and control. This, except for the solving of the population problem, is the most important thing to which we can devote our minds and energies. When we do ultimately reach such an agreement we will have laid the foundation for the beginning of real world law.

#### ARMED POWER VITAL, COSTLY

I take it for granted that in the meantlime, while we will always be ready to negotiate, we will, nevertheless, try to build and maintain a retallatory military power, whatever its cost, sufficiently strong so as to make it certain that no matter how crippled we might be from a surprise nuclear missile assault upon us, we would be able without question to strike back and give Russia a mortal blow. If we build and maintain such an instant retaliatory striking power I don't believe the Russians will, except on the erroneous assumption that we were about to strike them, ever launch a nuclear attack on us.

The new weapons are so fantastically expensive and become obsolete so rapidly that I would guess we are going to have to spend more on our military, probably substantially more, in the years immediately ahead rather than less.

This growing expenditure, wholly apart from the huge additional amounts that Dr. Killian's excellent recent report emphasizes we should spend on improving American education, makes it even more imperative that we accelerate, if we can, our economic growth. More and better education and more and better research, both basic and applied, are, of course, the roads to greater productivity.

The American idea has always been a dynamic idea. Just the maintenance of the status quo, either here or abroad, is not an acceptable answer for the United States. We must move ahead on all fronts. Time is not necessarily on our side. The future is now.

#### INDUSTRIALISM VERSUS ATOM BOMB

You who fortunately have had the benefits of a Massachusetts Institute of Technology education have far more responsibility and a much deeper obligation to help see to it that our country does the things it should do than have those of your generation who haven't had the educational advantages that you have had.

We are at an epochal turning point in world history. For the first time it has now become economically possible, provided we find some means of checking excessive population growth, to distribute within a few generations all the benefits of civilization to all the people on the globe.

all the people on the globe.

The impact of western industrialism on Asia and Africa may well outrank even the atomic bomb in importance when future historians—if there be any—appraise the de-

velopments of the 20th century.

Most of these peoples of Asia and Africa have colored skins. They are unlikely for long to accept our political philosophy or follow our leadership unless we begin treating our own Negroes here as fellow Americans fully entitled to the same heritage of freedom that we whites cherish for ourselves.

And as we approach the age of space travel, perhaps psychologically as important

as anything that has ever happened in man's existence, we must realize that we must first solve the imperative problems that exist right now on this planet, or our children and their descendants will neither survive in freedom nor get to know the universe.

The problems facing your generation are immense, more challenging than any your ancestors ever faced. But you are better educated and so better prepared to solve

Good luck to you.

#### Is This America?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON, CARROLL D. KEARNS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, June 18, 1959

Mr. KEARNS. Mr. Speaker, the following letter written by Gordon L. Hostetter, president of the Employers' Association of Greater Chicago, quoting a letter from Teamster Local 710 to Chicago trucking companies has been called to my attention by scores of employers in my district who are outraged at this mandate.

Mr. Speaker, in view of the shocking threat here posed again by Hoffa's teamster unions, there can be no doubt that this Congress must act promptly to meet the issue.

I am very happy that my distinguished colleague on the House Labor Committee, the Honorable EDGAR W. HIESTAND, of California, joins me in this view.

The above-mentioned letter follows:

THE EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATION OF GREATER CHICAGO. Chicago, Ill., May 1959.

To Our Members and Friends:

Presented herewith is a letter, the like of which has not hitherto been seen in the long and varied attempts of unions to coerce employees into their membership.

For utter and complete disregard of either employer or employee wishes, this letter combines the work of the skilled writer and the ingenuity of the legal practitioner. Lest the full meaning of this letter be lost in the subtlety of its language, this is what the union is saying to the trucking lines:

'We know the law, and the law says we can picket you as an exercise of free speech

"We know, also, that our picket at your door will put you out of business because you will not be able to move goods so long as our picket is there.

"We are under no necessity to sell the union to your employees because you will compel them to join our membership as quickly as the picketing shoe starts to pinch.

There is no occasion for us to use force and violence and risk possible injunction proceedings against us because you. Mr. Employer, will do our job for us. You'll have

"We don't care about what your employees think or want. They will join our union or thye won't work for you.

"We don't care, either, for the supposed constitutional or moral rights of your employees. They lost their rights when the lawmakers and the courts ceased to protect them and delivered their economic destiny into our hands."

Picketing is a simple device. One 2-bucka-day stranger picket, carrying a sign for some union, can literally stop business—any business—in its tracks. If continued, it can destroy the business against which it

Picketing, as a means of advertising a legitimate labor dispute between employer and employees, is an acceptable device to most Americans. When used to effect the ends of a private organization which seeks only its own purposes without regard for the consequences to both employer and employee, it is a monster. As a monster, this picketing thing is stalking up and down in the land, sometimes choking business to death and trampling down human rights when they get in its way.

This monster was spawned in the notion

of lawgivers that unions, unlike other organizations of human endeavor, need no restraint, and that they, above all others, will clean the dung from their own stables. Some will and do, but these need no resort to racket picketing for the fulfillment of

For sheer effrontry and disregard of public opinion, of basic human rights and of the fact that restrictive legislation is even now pending both in the U.S. Congress and in the Illinois Legislature, this letter of local 710 to truckline operators pinpoints

their purposes and programs.

a cynical contempt that should be promptly bashed in the face by legislative action that would forever stop picketing as a gangster gun in the ribs of business and its employees.

Sincerely,
GORDON L. HOSTETTER,
Presid President.

LETTER FROM TEAMSTERS LOCAL 710 TO CHICAGO TRUCKING COMPANIES

Local 710, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, has decided to embark upon a campaign to organize your office and clerical employees. To induce your employees to join this union, we shall begin to picket your establishment on or about the 11th of May, 1959. We assure you that the picketing will be entirely peaceful. We have instructed our pickets not to threaten, intimidate, or coerce anyone. If there is any violation of those instructions, please advise us and we shall see to it that corrective action is taken immediately.

We wish to make it clear to you that local

710 does not at this time represent, and of course we do not claim to represent, a majority of your office and clerical em-ployees. Local 710 does not ask you to recognize it as exclusive bargaining repre-sentative for your employees or, indeed, ask you to recognize it for any purpose at this time. The purpose of our picketing is solely to call to the attention of union members and supporters of organized labor that your office and clerical employees are not members of local 710.

We hope that the demonstration of support of local 710 in its efforts to organize. which this picketing will produce, will persuade your employees to become members of our local union. When they do, they will join the thousands of other employees who are amliated with the great International Brotherhood of Teamsters. In engaging in this picketing campaign, we are speaking for the members of our organization who are employed in businesses like yours and who feel the brunt of the unfair competition of your unorganized employees.

This point we must emphasize. We are not making any demand upon your com-pany at this time to agree to or execute any contract with our union covering any of your employees. Under the law your company is permitted to recognize and bargain

with our local union only after a majority of your employees have authorized the un-ion to represent them. Therefore, even if your company should now or hereafter offer to recognize our union or enter into collective bargaining with us our union would refuse such an offer and we would continue to refuse until your employees lawfully authorize us to represent them. Should your employees desire to join our union, they may apply for membership at the office of local 710, 4217 S. Halsted Street, Chicago, Ill., or ask one of the pickets for a membership ap-plication card which they can fill out and return to him. When we have received ap-plications from a majority of your employees, we will contact your company further.

You should also understand that it is your right under the Constitution of the United States and under the National Labor Relations Act to advise your employees of the economic detriment which you and they will sustain as a result of the withholding of patronage from your concern by union members and sympathizers as long as they remain nonmembers of our union.

You may, in the exercise of your lawful rights, explain those detriments to your employees and urge them to apply for membership in the union and thereby acquire for themselves and for your company the good will of our union and its friends. You may not, and we are sure that you will not, threaten to take economic reprisal against your employees, or grant them benefits, to coerce their choice in this matter. However, we feel sure that if your employees, who have been carefully taught to look to you for leadership on matters affecting their em-ployment, are convinced that it is your sincere desire that they join the union, they will quickly realize that acquisition of union membership at the earliest opportunity is in their best interest.

Yours very truly,

Local Union No. 710,

John T. O'Brien,

Secretary-Treasurer.

#### Opposition to Fair Trade Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON, JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, June 18, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I wish to insert in the RECORD, a copy of a letter from the Vice President of the United States, the Honorable RICHARD NIXON, in opposition to fair trade legislation.

The distinguished Vice President joins a solid front of Government agencies. including the Department of Justice, the Department of Commerce and the Federal Trade Commission, in opposing

Uniform editorial opinion throughout the country is also in vigorous opposition to this measure.

Consumers everywhere recognize this as just another special interest effort to put a hand into their pockets. Economists have said that this measure will cost between \$1.4 and \$12.4 billion dollars a year to the consuming public.

The letter follows:

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT, Washington, D.C., May 27, 1959.

Mr. CHARLES F. FORT,

President, Food Town Ethical Pharmacies, Inc., Post Office 2911, Baton Rouge, La. DEAR MR. FORT: Some time has elapsed since you wrote me concerning so-called fair trade legislation, and I want you to know that your letter did not go unnoticed.

I share your view regarding the dangers to our economy involved in this legislation. You may have noted since you wrote that both the Justice and Commerce Departments

have testified against such bills.

In my opinion, fair trade or price fixing is inconsistent in a free enterprise economy. Certainly at a time when we are already greatly concerned with high prices the passage of fair trade legislation would contribute nothing to reasonable price stability or future economic growth.

You may be sure that I appreciate having the benefit of your comments on this mat-ter. I am glad to have this opportunity to

extend my best wishes to you.

Sincerely,

RECHARD NIXON.

# A Young Republican Speaks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. AUGUST E. JOHANSEN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 18, 1959

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Speaker, on two propositions the overwhelming majority of American citizens will, I am sure, heartily agree, without regard to partisan differences.

The first is that preservation of the American way of life and system of government requires the continued vigor of the two-party system in the United States and the continued political activity of citizens within the framework and through the medium of these two major parties.

The second is that intelligent, enthusiastic and vigorous participation by the young people of the Nation in the affairs of their government and in the interests and activities of the political party of their choice is imperative to the welfare of the country and of the twoparty system.

On the basis of these two premises, as a believer in the two-party system, as a believer in the vital role of youth in government, and as a Republican, I am proud to report that a young man from the Third Congressional Districtwhich I am honored to represent in Congress-was the winner of a nationwide essay contect sponsored by the Young Republican National Federation, on the subject, "Why My First Vote Will Be for the GOP."

This essay contest winner is David Gibson of Eaton Rapids, Mich., son of Mr. and Mrs. Wayne Gibson, a 1958 graduate of Eaton Rapids High School, and now completing his freshman year at Michigan State University. This week David is attending the Young Re-

publican national convention in Denver, Colio., in recognition of his prizewinning essav.

Under leave to extend and revise my remarks, I include the essay by David Gibson which won first prize in a Michigan contest and thereafter was ranked first among 98 essays in the nationwide competition:

WHY I WILL CAST MY FIRST VOTE FOR THE GOP

The future of America lies with its government. It is the government's responsi-bility to see that the traditions and ideals upon which our country has been based will continue to be carried on, and that the well-being and happiness of all mankind will be promoted and more fully realized. In order to accomplish this, particularly in light of the highly dangerous weapons available for man's use today, our country and the world need leaders with foresight, understanding, and a supreme desire for cooperation and peace.

I am firmly convinced, both by past rec-ords and present actions, that the Republican Party is the one best able and willing to supply such leadership in the future.

The GOP has consistently looked ahead, making decisions which were right for the future of our country, even though at times this cost them their popularity. They have always been willing to sacrifice personal gain for the good of those they governed.

In addition, the Republicans have always followed the belief that Americans have the right to, and would rather, live under than off government. They feel man has the basic right to keep his freedom and dignity, rather than sacrificing it for a guaranteed existence. Thus they constantly promote decentralization of power, and urge every-one to be interested and active in politics.

Also, the GOP shows an interest in all individuals and groups—showing partiality

to none, but an open ear to all.

Finally, the Republicans have always done everything in their power to insure peace and prosperity, not only for Americans, but for all the people of the world. It is because of these reasons that I have

placed my confidence with the GOP. For its desire and ability to attain the goals that I feel are most worthwhile and bene-ficial to mankind, the Republican Party will most decidedly have my first vote.

# Jim Riddleberger Is a Good Man; Greece Is a Good Country

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ORD. I include the following article from the Washington Daily News of June 15, 1959:

THE NEW ICA Boss (By Peter Edson)

New Foreign Aid Director James W. Riddleberger has made his first bow to the House Appropriations Committee after being on the job only a week.

He isn't going to try to carry the full load of getting congressional approval for the President's \$3.9 billion program for next year. He's still doing his homework to learn

what his International Cooperation Administration (ICA) is all about.

But Director Riddleberger's taking over this job is an important development. He is the first professional diplomat to be made

ICA boss. He succeeds a line of business and political types who have been running this show for a year or so at a time, then going back to whatever it was they came from, sadder if not wiser men.

Somebody higher up there must have decided this didn't make sense. If the United States is doomed to be in this foreign aid business permanently, it might just as well be run by a pro who will stick at it.

For it is admitted that foreign aid is not the most popular program either in Congress or back home. Statesmen and military leaders can argue till they are red, white, and blue in the face that foreign aid is an essential expenditure for free world security and the cheapest defense America can buy. A lot of taxpayers still aren't convinced.

Part of Director Riddleberger's job now is

to administer ICA so wisely that more people

will be for it.

At 55, he comes to this job after 30 years' experience as a Foreign Service officer, principally in Europe. His last job was Ambassador to Greece.

It was in Athens that Ambassador Riddleberger got firsthand experience with what foreign aid can do for a country. He offers that as evidence of what it should do in all underdeveloped countries. For Greece today is almost back to normal-for a Balkan country—after 20 years' hell.

It was invaded by the Italians in 1940,

then by the Germans. After the liberation in 1944, Greece had a Communist revolution. Then came the Truman doctrine, U.S. aid. General Van Fleet, and a clear knockout

of Commies.

Today, says Ambassador Riddleberger, Greece is close to being a success. It is now almost self-sufficient in food. It may even export a little wheat this year.

Greece is also a maritime nation-11th in the world. If all ships operated by Greeks were under the Greek flag it would be fourth. Greek sailors' remittances home do much to help balance the national economy.

It's still a delicate balance. But inflation has been licked. The currency is stable. Taxes are being collected. Per capita income has been raised from \$150 to \$325 a year. And politics are more stable than ever before.

All this has been achieved with the help of \$1.8 billion in U.S. foreign aid. You have to face that.

Economic aid, delivered and authorized, from 1948 through June 30, amounts to \$925 million. Military aid from 1950 through June 30 is \$920 million.

#### St. Louis on the Riverfront

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 3, 1959

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speak-er, in the St. Louis Review of May 29, 1959, an excellent editorial appeared on the St. Louis Riverfront which I believe merits attention. This editorial won the Catholic Press Association award for the best editorial on local subject for 1958. I have asked permission to insert it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and it follows.

ST. LOUIS ON THE RIVERFRONT

(Nore.—Reprint of editorial in St. Louis Review last August 22 which won Catholic Press Association award last week in Omaha as "best editorial on local subject" in 1958.)

We would like to propose to those in charge of the riverfront memorial that, arch or no arch, there be a fitting representation of the patron of our city, St. Louis, in that area.

There are those who, whether with architectural and esthetic intelligence or not, do not subscribe to the stainless steel arch that will describe St. Louis as the gateway to the West. We take no stand on this. While it is not out of our province we feel it is a bit out of our competence.

bit out of our competence.

But we do think there will be very few who will not be surprised, after a brief historical reflection, that there is no honor paid to our city's namesake.

It is not without thought or meaning that Louis IX of France has a city named in his

He was a just, wise and prudent statesman. The principles of morality, charity and equity, as well as justice, found full measure in his reign. It was quite normal for the French settlers of this territory, founding a city, to dedicate it to the ideals that his life reflected and to name it after him so that those ideals would not be forgotten.

Among many, the name of St. Louis is our city's greatest asset. This political unit conducts its affairs under the aegis of one of the noblest politicians who ever lived and who, at the same time, was a gentleman and a soint

We have no objection to any architectural design that signifies a warm welcome to visitors from the east, or which would symbolize our significant position on the frontier of the west. But we do strongly feel that the planners and designers of the new riverfront should pay due respect to Louis IX, King of France, saint, and patron of this area.

Our recommendation obviously goes beyond the realm of architectural design. We would like to see him there as a reminder to both citizens and visitors of what, politically and morally, our civic goal is.

Poison in Your Water-No. 127

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 18, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I am inserting into the Appendix of the Congressional Record an article appearing in the Portland (Oreg.) Oregonian of September 10, 1953, entitled "Poor Fish":

Poor Fish

With his dams, nets, and pollution, man has put formidable obstacles in the path of salmon and steelhead striving to ascend the Columbia River to their spawning beds. But now comes word of an even more formidable natural enemy, Chondrococcus columnaris, a bacterium responsible for a disease which has been decimating the anadromous fish in the river and its tributaries this season.

Unusually warm water in the river is said to be to blame for the upsurge in bacterial activity. This in turn is blamed on the dry

summer and the raising of the temperature of water impounded by storage dams under the hot sun. Nothing can be done about the former, and it is a little late to remedy the latter. But there is a third factor that may have some influence on the situation.

It is known that the Columbia River below Pasco is warmed a significant amount because part of its flow is diverted through the Hanford Plutonium works to cool the nuclear reactors. Just how much the temperature is increased, the public does not know. The Atomic Energy Commission won't tell, presumably because this might give a clue to the plant's output of plutonium for atomic waspons.

In the absence of the facts, it cannot be said with certainty that Hanford shares the responsibility for the high mortality rate among salmon and steelhead spawners. But it certainly is suspect, in view of the known fact that a variation of a few degrees in water temperature makes a big difference in the activity of Chondrococcus columnaris.

It is ironic that Hanford's wasted heat, which may indirectly be damaging the Columbia River fishing resource, could be performing a constructive service in electric power generation instead. Congress this year authorized construction of a dual-purpose reactor at Hanford to make this possible, but the project has powerful opposition in the private power industry, and it is possible this influence may cause the Bureau of the Budget to withhold the authorized funds.

It will be doubly ironic if this occurs, since one of the arguments against building the dual-purpose reactor is the doubtful need of the United States for more plutonium for its A-bomb stockpile. But if this is true, why the need for continued AEC secrecy about the influence of Hanford on the Columbia River's temperature? One or the other of the Hanford premises may be valid, but both of them can't be. The threat to the Columbia River fish provides one more reason why the veil of unnecessary secrecy should be stripped from the AEC so the public can make an intelligent appraisal of its policies.

#### A Place for Realism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 20, 1959

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, "A Place for Realism," an editorial from the Wall Street Journal of March 17, 1959, merits thoughtful attention it seems to me by those interested in the problems surrounding foreign aid.

The editorial follows:

#### A PLACE FOR REALISM

Some powerful men in Congress are sharpening their blue pencils to go to work on President Eisenhower's request for almost \$4 billion in foreign aid. Not only do they think we are spending too much not too wisely; some disagree quite loudly with Mr. Eisenhower's conclusion that foreign aid is "essential to our survival and important to our prosperity."

To be sure, foreign aid is and has long been an instrument of foreign policy among nations and as such has a place in the scheme of things. But its case can be overstated; and Senators and Representatives are already pointing out that Mr. Eisenhower seems to be using the same arguments for foreign aid that he himself rejected when

proposals were made that the U.S. Armed Forces be increased to meet the Berlin question.

What, Mr. Eisenhower asked them, would we do with more troops in Berlin if the Russians decided to use force? We could not stop them, he said, short of using other weapons. That answer made a great deal of sense.

Just as the reply now of those who would reduce our foreign aid commitments seems to make sense. What good, they ask, will more dollars do if the Russians decide to move? We cannot stop them with foreign aid dollars.

Indeed, some of the examples the President gave to Congress in his message as proof of the value of foreign aid seem to bear out the critics of more aid. He mentioned the "difficulty in Lebanon" and said that without mutual security aid Jordan would have faced collapse. But mutual aid did not prevent the outbreak in Iraq, and the Iraqi now are closer to communism than to the West as a result. Also "aid" may have helped Jordan; but it was the presence of British troops that saved it that time.

Mr. Eisenhower mentioned also Quemoy, and said that without our ald the Chinese Nationalists could not have saved the island. Mutual aid may, indeed, have helped in providing the guns and ammunition; but it was the shadow of U.S. might that at the time dissuaded the Chinese Communists from their adventure.

The point is that all these matters probably would have turned out the way they did with or without much of the kind of foreign aid the administration bill requests. Foreign aid did not prevent these clashes, and foreign aid did not determine the manner of their settlement.

There is something to be said, from the

There is something to be said, from the view of realism, about foreign aid for those countries mentioned by the President as supplying bases for military forces, for weapons and for early warning facilities. But what is to be said for all the vast foreign aid that has gone to neutralist countries in the hope that they will come over to our side?

We think the Prime Minister of Cambodia had an answer for that question. He gave it last October in this country in a speech explaining why Cambodia's policy was to take aid from any source. He said: "Our people are basically nationalistic, and, being objective, they judge issues according to their merit. Because of this thinking, the national government must avoid tying the country to any international or federal, political or military organization whatsoever, which might sacrifice certain national prerogatives \* \* Cambodian neutrality is, finally and above all dictated by reality."

Inally and above all, dictated by reality."

It is time the same sort of reality about our own interests should guide foreign aid disbursements. And if and when it does, we may be sure foreign aid will not cost us anything like \$4 billion a year,

#### The Egg Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, it is clearly evident that the Nation's poultry industry is going through a critical period of readjustment. Like

many other farming enterprises, the poultry and egg business has economic peaks and valleys. When things are good, there is a great influx of capital in the poultry business. Eventually, markets become flooded with eggs and broilers—far more than the consuming public is willing to absorb except at low prices.

Right now we are confronted with that situation again. More eggs are being produced than can be used at reasonable prices, and great pressure is being brought to bear on the Department of Agriculture to bail out the industry with ill-advised palliatives which could do more harm than good.

I am convinced it would be a mistake for the Department to do much more in the way of assistance than it is already doing. Secretary Ezra Taft Benson has said he will explore what further can be done, but I believe he merits much credit for the actions already taken. He cannot guarantee every poultryman a profit, but he can make this period of readjustment less harassing to producers. That he is doing.

Since last October, the Department has bought a total of 13.5 million pounds of dried eggs for relief distribution and the school lunch program.

The Department called a meeting of leaders in the industry and agreed to work with the industry on a vigorous sales promotion program for poultry products.

And just yesterday it was announced that the emergency program is to be further stepped up to provide additional relief to hard-pressed poultrymen by buying up frozen eggs.

Meanwhile, we need to bring this whole picture into perspective. Production of eggs and poultry is now largely in the hands of producers and concerns which handle thousands of layers and fryers and broilers. Many of them are highly efficient. A few perhaps do not belong in the poultry business at all.

The newspapers have been keeping a close watch on developments. Those coming to my attention editorially praise the steps taken by Secretary Benson and advise strongly against deeper and more costly Government involvement in this farm enterprise.

At this juncture, I would like to insert editorials appearing in the New York Times, the New York Herald Tribune, and the Washington Daily News.

The editorials follow:

[From the New York Times] THE EGG Carsis

Secretary of Agriculture Benson may be forgiven if he looks with a jaundiced eye at his breakfast eggs, be they boiled, scrambled, poached, baked or made into a cheese omelet. The bottom has almost vanished from the egg market in recent months and the resulting political splatter has landed on Mr. Benson, who had troubles enough before with wheat and other farm commodities. Only last week an angry delegation of New Jersey egg producers called on the Secretary and demanded he take such measures as trying to save Latin America from communism by shipping surplus eggs there and discouraging newcomers from entering egg production. And two bills are before Congress calling for price controls over eggs.

Since nobody likes to go broke, the political storm aroused among egg producers by the unprofitable prices of recent months is understandable. Moreover, our friends in New Jersey who are in the egg industry do have the perfectly justifiable point that Government price support activities in grain raise the prices producers must pay for hen feed. And if price supports for wheat growers are sound, why are not similar supports justified for those who produce eggs, or for barbers, plumbers and everybody else who thinks he is not getting enough?

The last question, of course, gets to the heart of the problem. There is no more insidious enemy of our private enterprise system than the growing habit of rushing to the Government for aid every time an industry gets into trouble. And it is not only farmers, of course, for only in the last few months domestic oil producers have secured quotas on oil imports, while some groups of retail merchants have made ominous progress toward winning a system of Federal resale price maintenance. If we really believe in private enterprise and free competition then we must be prepared to bear the risks and burdens of adversity along with the profits and capital gains of prosperity. All the appeals for Government aid are of course for help in raising prices. They ignore the fact that each artificial price increase secured by Government aid is another blow for inflation and its ultimately calamitous consequences for all of us.

# [From the New York Herald Tribune] Mr. Benson and the Egg Men

Now Secretary of Agriculture Benson has drawn upon himself the wrath of the poultrymen, and particularly of the egg producers of New Jersey. Prices in the poultry industry are at their lowest in 18 years, but just the other day Mr. Benson told the House Agriculture Committee he wouldn't do anything more to support them, although yesterday he was said to be reconsidering. What he does now is to buy a limited quantity of dried eggs for welfare purposes and help promote egg consumption.

A delegation of New Jersey poultrymen in

A delegation of New Jersey poultrymen in Washington want much more than that. They want the Government to provide them with low-cost feed from surplus stocks; to buy shell eggs and some of the laying hens for distribution to the hungry here and abroad; and to get Congress to extend the authorization of loans to farmers for short-term emergencies.

The proposal to sell some of the grain surplus sounds sensible, although it might invite similar demands on the part of other kinds of farmers. But how wise would it be to start stockpiling so perishable a things as eggs, apart from the extra tax money it would entail? We sympathize with the plight of the New Jersey poultrymen, who are particularly hard-pressed because they have little chance to diversify. But the lesson for them, perhaps, is that there are not too many eggs but too many chicken farms. It is a lesson that American farmers in general should consider carefully.

# [From the Washington Daily News] Am For Eggs

It is regrettable that any segment of American enterprise should find itself troubled by lack of profits, whether it deals in eggs or autos. But we challenge the bland assumption that the Government should make up the difference. That isn't free enterprise. That's heads-I-win-tails-you-lose with the taxpayer on the short end.

Urged by a New Jersey delegation, a House subcommittee will hold hearings June 17 and 18 on means to cope with overproduction in the egg and poultry industry which has driven prices down to the level of 1939

when a dollar was worth a dollar, instead of the present 48 cents.

Agriculture Secretary Benson is buying up dried eggs and is increasing a promotional campaign designed to increase the sale of eggs, which certainly are an outstanding food bargain at present prices.

But the New Jersey delegation, headed by the State's secretary of agriculture, complains that this isn't enough and that Secretary Benson is just giving it the runaround.

Representative Lester R. Johnson, who heads the subcommittee, sides with them, saying Mr. Benson has "refused to purchase laying hens, shell eggs, and broilers for use in school lunches, for relief food within the United States and for export."

The time has long passed when farm wives supervised the production of eggs and fryers, to be exchanged for merchandise at the drygoods store. Chickens and eggs are business, like any other business, and pretty big business at that

Falling prices are useful warning against overproduction. The remedy is to reduce production or get out of the business. Federal subsidy tends to prevent this wholesome readjustment, piling up surpluses without any real or permanent help to the operators thus relieved. This is the process through which we got the wheat surplus problem—for which the combined wisdom of the U.S. Congress and the U.S. Department of Agriculture is unable to find an answer.

#### Father of the Modern Post Office

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. AUGUST E. JOHANSEN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 18, 1959

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Speaker, on last Saturday, June 13, citizens in the largest city in the Third District of Michigan—the district I have the honor to represent in this House—participated in the dedication of a new modern post office at Kalamazoo, Mich.

The occasion marked the culmination of more than 4 years of planning and anticipation—and many more years of a growing need for more adequate postal facilities for a dynamic, growing, thriving Michigan city.

I share with the citizens of Kalamazoo and the personnel of the Kalamazoo Post Office, headed by Postmaster John Van Eck, their pride in this impressive, wellengineered, modern-equipped new postal facility.

Highlight of the dedication ceremonies and of a postdedication luncheon, the latter sponsored by the Kalamazoo Chamber of Commerce and attended by representatives of all segments of community life, was the participation of the Postmaster General of the United States, native of Michigan, son of one of the State's two original rural carriers, and originator of the commercial lease program for financing construction of new post offices, Hon. Arthur E. Summerfield.

The Postmaster General spoke at both the dedication and the luncheon, and following his luncheon address presented a motion picture, "The World's Most Mechanized Post Office," the story of the

modernization and mechanization of the Washington, D.C., post office. Many of my colleagues in Congress visited this pilot plant of postal improvement here in the Nation's Capital when it was formally dedicated on March 3 of this year.

The new Kalamazoo post office, like the Washington post office, is a symbol of the great advances being made in the mail service under the leadership of Postmaster General Summerfield.

A graphic example of these advances-familiar to many of the Members of this House-is the construction of some 3,000 urgently needed new post offices during the past 61/2 years. These post offices, located in every State in the Union, have been built with private funds and leased to the Post Office Department, thereby avoiding a virtually impossible demand upon Federal funds and, at the same time, keeping the property on local tax rolls to bear a share in the costs of local government.

As I was privileged to point out in my own remarks at the post-dedication luncheon in Kalamazoo, under the administration of President Eisenhower and the leadership of Arthur E. Summerfield in the Post Office Department, the department has been making revolutionary strides in automation and mechanization; methods of transportation have been modernized and adjusted to changing overall transportation patterns in the United States: research and experimentation have been established as a vital activity in the department; rates have been revised and placed on a more realistic basis; liberal and progressive personnel policies-including substantial pay increases—have been inaugurated. All of this has been done with the cooperation and support of the Congress on a basis which transcended party lines.

Only recently the Nation has been given a dramatic demonstration of the potential of missile mail-a development, I am sure, which would have fired the enthusiasm of the imaginative and inventive Benjamin Franklin, first Postmaster General of the United States.

I not only was honored to welcome Postmaster General Summerfield to Kalamazoo and the Third Michigan District, but I was delighted on this dedicatory occasion-and I am hereto pay tribute to his enormous and continuing contributions to an improved postal service, moving toward the declared goal of next-day delivery of firstclass mail anywhere within the country.

For what he has done, and is doing, I salute Postmaster General Summerfield as the father of the modern post office.

Fetish of Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

#### HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 27, 1959

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, the "Fetish of Foreign Aid," by William Henry Chamberlin, is a very penetrating analy-

sis which is timely and stimulating. Under unanimous consent, I include it in the Appendix of the RECORD:

FETISH OF FOREIGN AID: CRIES FOR HUGE SPENDING AGAIN ARE ILLOGICALLY MIXED WITH ASSERTIONS IT IS ANTI-RED PANACEA

(By William Henry Chamberlin)

There is no lack of ingenious schemes, sponsored at home and abroad, for spending the money of American taxpayers on so-

called foreign aid projects.

Cuba's Fidel Castro proposed at a recent meeting of the economic branch of the Organization of American States in Buenos Aires that the U.S. Government find \$30 billion for a Latin American development plan over the next 10 years. Proposals by other Latin American delegates included suggestions that the United States supply fixed amounts of capital every year for Latin America, that the United States create a preferential trading zone for Latin American exports, and that the United States agree to finance the rapid industrialization of Latin America.

There is also considerable advocacy of America's underwriting the foreign exchange required for India's third 5-year plan, which begins in 1961. This bill is variously estimated at \$1 billion and \$1.5 billion. The argument advanced here is that Red China has been bounding along economically under communism and that India, with its mixture of socialism and private enterprise, has been lagging in development: therefore the American taxpayer should fill the breach for India's benefit.

#### SUNFED'S QUICKSANDS

Still another potential funnel for U.S. substance is SUNFED, a project which is being nursed along and held in reserve by the global manners of ECOSOC. This last abbreviation stands for the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. SUNFED, although it sounds like a new cereal, is code for Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development.

What SUNFED could cost the American taxpayer, if a high-spending, high-taxing administration took off the brakes, is evident from this quotation from Gunnar Myrdal's book "An International Economy": "The United Nations experts on economic development calculated that for the underdeveloped countries, the capital needed annually from abroad for industry and agri-culture alone \* \* in order to insure the very modest increase in per capita income of 2 percent a year would be around \$10 billion." Myrdal is a Swedish Socialist who for some years headed the U.N. economic commission for Europe.

American public opinion is being subjected to a campaign, so concentrated and intensive as almost to suggest brainwashing, designed to create the conviction that the issue of the cold war will be determined by the willingness of America to sign unlimited blank checks. It is a rare exception when a sober realist like Mr. John Hollister, former head of the International Cooperation Administration, finds a forum in a mass circulation magazine for expressing some doubt and warning.

Yet some of the assumptions on which the pleas for ever bigger government-to-government subsidies are based are downright untenable and others are very rickety. It simply is not true that this or that amount of dollars will save this or that nation from

passing under Communist rule.
For 7 years the United States has been pouring money into Bolivia on a very considerable scale (in relation to the population and poverty of the country). The argument has been that American largesse has helped to keep in power a left Socialist regime which is accepted as a bulwark against communism. But recent anti-American riots show that this investment has brought little, if any, good will and Bolivia's economic difficulties seem just as far from solution as ever.

Indeed, it is quite arguable that in this and other cases, lavish American aid has been of little real benefit to the recipient countries. It has encouraged their rulers to dodge the temporarily unpopular measure which would put the economy on a sound hasis.

Brazil is a larger and economically more significant country than Bolivia. Here also there is little economic benefit to show for the loans to a total value of some \$900 million which Brazil has received since the Eisenhower administration came into power. Some of these loans were granted on the understanding that Brazil, one of the world's chronic inflationists, would take some economic and financial measures calculated to put its house in order. These measures have not been taken; but one of the difficult tasks which awaits the career diplomat who has been nominated Ambassador (after Senator Morse and the horse that kicked him put Mrs. Luce out of the post) will be to deal with the request that the United States somehow pick up the tab for the deficit of some \$300 to \$500 million between what Brazil wants to buy abroad and what it is likely to sell abroad.

Despite frequent reiteration by Senators and publicists, there is absolutely no proof. that communism will take over in India if that country does not realize the aims set by its government's economic planners. would be an appalling responsibility for the United States to undertake to meet the balance-of-payment deficits of India and other underdeveloped lands which have set goals of rapid industrialization.

#### AVAILABLE CREDIT

It is not as if credit is not available, and readily available, for projects which give some prospect of being ultimately profitable. Apart from private banks and private business investments, the Export-Import Bank, the Bank for International Reconstruction, the International Monetary Fund, among other institutions, are ready to lend a help-ing hand when reasonable conditions of creditworthiness are met.

The U.S. Government, besides dispensing foreign aid of one kind or another to an amount running into many tens of billions of dollars, is accumulating an embarrassing quantity of soft, unconvertible currencies by making cutrate sales from our unwieldy agricultural surplus.

America and Americans have not proved wanting in the spirit of international cooperation. But it is well to remember, with the outflow of gold from this country as a periodic warning, that our resources are not inexhaustible and that a gift, as well as a loan, "oft loses both itself and friend."

When America is asked to commit itself to trying to bail out the ocean of poverty in Africa, in many parts of Asia, in some countries of Latin America, the skeptical instinct of the average American voter and taxpayer is probably a sounder guide than the fallacious eloquence of those who make a fetish of unlimited handouts.

Poison in Your Water-No. 125

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

#### HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, June 18, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I am inserting into the Appendix of the Congres-SIONAL RECORD an article appearing in the Syracuse (N.Y.) Herald-Journal of November 11, 1957, entitled "Every Onondaga County Stream Polluted Somewhere on Route."

The article follows:

SERIOUS HEALTH PROBLEM-EVERY ONONDAGA COUNTY STREAM POLLUTED SOMEWHERE ON

(This is the 14th in a series of articles devoted to the functions and problems of Onondaga County's governmental expansion.)

(By Paul J. Peffers)

It isn't safe to obtain drinking water from any stream in Onondaga County.

All are polluted somewhere along their routes by raw sewage, industrial wastes, or other forms of pollution.

The New York State Water Pollution Control Board is aware of this, so is the Onon-daga County Public Works Commission.

Both know the soil in Onondaga County is honeycombed with cesspools, septic tanks, and disposal trenches of raw sewage.

The rapid population growth has caused a housing boom in the rural areas and sewage disposal facilities are inadequate. To install sewer lines and treatment plants cost money and property owners, already up to their necks with taxes, are facing high annual sewer tax rates, up to \$180 a year for 30 years in some cases, if they want these proper facilities.

It is a serious health problem. Raw or improperly treated sewage can cause typhoid,

cholera, dysentery, dlarrhea.

The State health department is clamping down. Approval of realty subdivision plans now requires a septic tank installation on a lot of 1 acre or more. Under that minimum acreage sewer lines have to be installed.

Onondaga County and the city of Syracuse, realizing something would have to be done, entered in a program of sewage treatment in 1952 which would center on a modern treatment plant on Hiawatha Boulevard.

The plan was a long-range one aimed at the ultimate goal of cleaning up polluted Onondaga Lake. For years, raw sewage has been dumped into the lake by the city, Solvay, and industrial plants.

The county public works commission, created by special State law in 1933, was put

in charge of the plan.

Briefly, the proposal includes a metropolitan Syracuse sewage treatment plant on Hiawatha Boulevard, a West Side sanitary district, and an enlarged Ley Creek sanitary district. Some sewer lines in the West Side area have been installed and work on the plant is slated to start early next year. The entire project is estimated to cost in the neighborhood of \$20 million.

Property owners in the city and several towns in the western section of the county already have been taxed for their share in the project. The first levies were started

this year.

Meanwhile, most of the homeowners in the rural sections depend on septic tanks and, in some low areas, the wind blows more than the scent of flowers. Health officials maintain septic tanks provide only the first treatment of waste materials, not complete disposal. The tank system has to be coupled with tile fields, sand filters or other satisfactory methods.

Right now, the commission has nearly \$15 million of sewage disposal units and pipelines under construction. Still, it can't keep up with the demand. And, if it could, the taxpayer couldn't pay for the service with

high construction costs of today.

A sanitary district is created, constructed and operated by a town or village board. Lateral sewer mains in it are paid for by taxpayers. The taxpayers also pay for the cost of treatment plants and trunk sewers. Generally, the financial arrangement is by bondThe commission operates the Ley Creek treatment plant between Mattydale and Syracuse. It will supervise the metropolitan plant on Hiawatha Boulevard.

The commission's total operating budget for 1958 is estimated at \$446,145.

Besides the commission's facilities, there are treatment plants in Baldwinsville, Minoa, Liverpool, and Camillus, operated by each village. A small plant along Nine-Mile Creek, town of Camillus, treats sewage from the Sylvania plant and a housing development near the plant.

Even if the metropolitan treatment plant costing millions, is put into operation, it is doubtful whether it will abate all raw sewage unless the city's sanitary sewer system is repaired.

Right now, health officials estimate, a large percentage of the city's raw sewage is leaking into Onondaga Creek, then into Onondaga Lake.

This situation would have to be cleared up before the multimillion metropolitan plant could operate adequately.

#### Adams and Strauss Cases Cited

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. LEONARD G. WOLF

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 18, 1959

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, it now appears that the vote on the nomination of Admiral Strauss will take place in the Senate within a week. Both sides of Admiral Strauss' nomination have been presented again and again. But the comparison between this nomination and the Sherman Adams incident has not been made clear yet.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert into the RECORD the following article by Drew Pearson which draws a clear-cut comparison of the two cases:

From the Washington Post and Times Herald, June 18, 1959]

ADAMS AND STRAUSS CASES CITED (By Drew Pearson)

Recollection of Washington headlines exactly I year ago this week makes me a little ashamed. The headlines blazed with news of Sherman Adams' vicuna coat, his oriental rug, and his hotel bills-all presents from Bernard Goldfine.

This column had something to do with digging out the first facts in this conflict-ofinterest case, and the reason I'm ashamed is the contrasting treatment given by Republicans to Sherman Adams and to Adm. Lewis L. Strauss.

In the case of Sherman Adams, they yelled: "Resign. Throw him out." In the case of Admiral Strauss, the same Republicans have ben shouting: "Confirm. Don't persecute

The two cases offer significant contrasts and give deep insight into American politics. They indicate that what is really at stake is money and power. Here are some of the contrasts:

Contrast No. 1: Sherman Adams is not a man of wealth. When his scalp was demanded by leading Republicans, he had no tob to fall back on, and no income outside

his Government salary.
Strauss, a partner in Kuhn, Loeb, filed a partial financial statement with the Senate showing that his stock in one firm, Polaroid Camera, alone was worth \$1 million.

Contrast No. 2: When Sherman Adams was about to testify before Congress, not one member of the administration helped him prepare his difficult statement. Jim Hagerty, an expert at public relations, did not. "Tex" McCrary came down from New York to help, but on that Sunday evening before he testified, no other Republicans or administration representatives were around to give advice.

In contrast Strauss had the regular press relations officer of the Department of Commerce issuing press statements all during his hearings. He also had two Commerce Department assistants—Robert J. Dodd and Arthur Arundel-sitting at his elbow every day at the Senate hearing, with a battery of researchers and others helping him at the Commerce Department.

Contrast No. 3: When Sherman Adams was in trouble Vice President Nixon was one of the first to advise privately that he resign. But for Strauss, Nixon has been using his persuasive influence for confirmation.

Contrast No. 4: Bernard Goldfine had used Sherman Adams' influence at the Federal Trade Commission to avoid trouble over the Wool Labeling Act. This was the conflict of interest.

Admiral Strauss, when Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, had conferred with Adolphe Wenzell of the First Boston, who had been planted inside the Budget Bureau to put across the Dixon-Yates contract. The First Boston Co. was to do the financing for Dixon-Yates.

Finally, when the finagling between the First Boston Co. and the Budget Bureau, plus the conferences with Admiral Strauss, was ferreted out by a Senate investigation the deal was canceled. The Justice Department which canceled it ruled that all the finagling was in violation of the conflict-ofinterest statutes. A conflict of interest carries a criminal penalty.
Incidentally, Admiral Strauss has been a

friend of George Woods, president of First Boston. Kuhn, Loeb and First Boston are so close that in September 1955, shortly after the Dixon-Yates deal, First Boston, Warburg, Ltd., and Kuhn, Loeb (Strauss' firm) teamed up together to form the Transoceanic Development Co. for investment in securities outside the United States.

The value of the Dixon-Yates contract was \$20 million. The value of the vicuna coat Sherman Adams got from Bernard Goldfine, plus oriental rug, plus hotel bills, was about \$5,000.

But the American public can understand a fur coat and a rug. It can't understand a complicated public utility contract. So what's involved in the Strauss case is the tremendous power of Wall Street money behind the man it wants to put into the Cabinet as Secretary of Commerce.

That's why the same crowd that is moving heaven and earth to confirm Admiral Strauss dumped Sherman Adams and indicted Bernard Goldfine as millstones around

the GOP neck.

#### Wheat Program

SPEECH OF

# HON. ROSS BASS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, June 18, 1959

Mr. BASS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, my friend from Iowa and the other Republicans who have taken the floor against this wheat bill today have expressed the "Republagin" philosophy. Now, I want to spell that word "Republagin," R-e-p-u-b-l-a-g-i-n. It is synonymous with "Republican Party". They are "agin" public housing; they "agin" aid to airports; they are "agin" aid to depressed areas; they are "agin" water pollution control; they are "agin" the tobacco bill; they are "agin" the wheat bill; they are "agin" the farmer in general; in fact, I do not know of anything in the world they are not just plain "agin," except for raising the public debt and interest that the poor man has to pay on borrowed money. Now they bring up this bugaboo about the farmers not voting in the wheat referendum. The wheat bill was written in 1938, 21 years ago; in fact, it is an adult this year; it has come of age, and this is the first time they ever worried about him voting, just because he happens to be 21 years old, and they cannot think of any other good reason to oppose the bill before us today.

# The Challenge of Economic Growth in the Free World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter and address by the Honorable Douglas Dillon, Under Secretary of State:

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE, Washington, D.C., June 17, 1959.

Hon. James G. Fulton, House of Representatives,

Washington, D.C.

DEAR JIM: Last week I used the occasion of a speech at Harvard to spell out my deep personal conviction that our mutual security program will involve a persistent effort over a period of at least 20 or 30 years, if we are to succeed in our efforts to help the newly developing nations achieve economic growth as members of the free world. I am enclosing a copy in the belief that you might find it of interest.

Sincerely,

DOUGLAS DILLON.

THE CHALLENGE OF ECONOMIC GROWTH IN THE FREE WORLD

(Address by the Honorable C. Douglas Dillon, Acting Secretary of State, at meeting of Harvard University Alumni Association, Cambridge, Mass., on Thursday, June 11, 1959)

On this same occasion 12 years ago, a great initiative was launched, looking to the reconstruction of a Western Europe struggling to rise from the ashes of war and menaced by the corrosive tide of Communist imperialism.

That initiative fired the imagination of the peoples of America and Europe and inspired them to an effort of a kind never before seen in all history. The energies and resources of hundreds of millions of freemen were mobilized in the task of peaceful reconstruction.

The Marshall plan is now history. To it, we most certainly owe the present strength and possibly even the continued existence of the free world.

Today we are engaged in another great initiative, looking to the growth and progress of vast underdeveloped areas of the free world in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America. The success or failure of this effort will decisively shape the future of this earth for centuries to come.

Its fulfillment will require the dedication of greater energies and resources—and over a far longer span of time—than did the reconstruction of Western Europe.

For its objective is not just the restoration of a devastated area to a previous state of progress, but the shining goal of helping a billion human beings to throw off their ageold bonds of poverty and ignorance.

The attainment of this goal is essential to our survival. We cannot hope to maintain our way of life surrounded by a sea of misery. The less privileged peoples are reaching out for economic growth with almost desperate determination. We must help them find the way in peace and freedom.

The main burden of work and sacrifice will, of course, fall on the less developed countries themselves, just as it fell on Western Europe in the case of the European recovery program. They must accept the major responsibility for their own progress. But they cannot make a real start toward progress

without our assistance.

We are responding to their needs in many ways. Our major instrument is, of course, the Mutual Security program. Financial assistance is an important element of this program, but it is only a part of our response. For the process of growth is essentially one of altering human attitudes and improving human skills. Human beings are the basic resources of development; and it is the fulfillment of their infinitely varied potentialities which must be the major goal of development. That is why we place such emphasis on our programs of technical cooperation and on efforts to improve levels of health and education in the underdeveloped world.

At the same time that we are working with the less developed nations to help improve their human resources, we are also assisting them to meet some of their most pressing financial needs.

We have varied instruments for this pur-

Where development is just commencing or where countries have to support relatively large military establishments to maintain their security, we must, of necessity, provide assistance in the form of grants.

For nations in a somewhat more advanced stage of economic development, our primary emphasis is on loans, often repayable in local currencies, through our new Development Loan Fund.

We are also making every effort to expand the flow of private American investment to the less developed countries, since with it goes urgently required managerial and productive skills.

This effort to help provide skills and resources is no longer just an American enterprise. It has become a cooperative venture in which we are being joined with increasing vigor by more and more of the industrialized nations of the free world. We should remember that it is largely due to the Marshall plan that most of these countries have recovered the ability to join us in aiding the less developed countries. In addition to their participation in the effective work of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, England, Germany, France, Italy, Japan and Canada last year made further contributions to development through either grants or loans.

Nevertheless, as the wealthiest and most industrialized country in the world today, the United States remains the principal single free world source for the foreign capital which the less developed countries must

have to supplement their own efforts. We must continue to take the lead.

We must do this, not simply as a countermove to communism, nor as an exercise in charity, but in the same spirit in which the Marshall plan was launched, as a cooperative endeavor, based on mutual respect and interdependence. Our primary aim must not be to achieve short-term political gains or expressions of gratitude. It must be to help the less developed peoples strengthen their well-being and, thereby, their freedom and independence.

I have so far refrained from discussing the efforts of the Sino-Soviet bloc to penetrate and capture the less-developed countries with trade and aid as part of its overall drive for Communist world domination. I have done so because our foreign ald programs would exist even if Lenin had-never been born. For in today's shrinking world, it is imperative that ways be found, first to halt, and then to narrow, the still-growing gap between our standards of living and those of the great masses of humanity in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America. Such a task is deeply rooted in the traditions of humanitarianism that have always motivated Americans.

However, the growing economic power of the Soviet bloc is a force to be reckoned with in today's divided world. Let us look briefly at that world:

On one side we have the nations of the free world which have already achieved economic growth—not only the strongly industrialized countries of Europe and North America, but also Japan, Australia, and New Zealand.

On the other side, we have the Communist empire, including Russia's eastern European satellites and Communist China and its satellites. This bloc is led by the Soviet Union, which has made remarkable economic progress in recent years.

In between lies the great underdeveloped sector of the free world, which the Communists have openly identified as the major target in their strategy of conquest. If these countries find that they cannot achieve progress in freedom, as they would prefer, they will surely be tempted to try an alternative route to their goal. And today international communism loudly proclaims just such an alternative route.

I am convinced that the events of the next 20 to 30 years will determine the state of the world for centuries ahead. I believe that the biggest single deciding factor will be the path taken by the peoples of the less developed world in their impatient efforts to achieve social and material progress. Over the coming years, the newly emerging peoples will be heavily influenced by three factors:

First, the power of example: If international communism is successful in projecting an image of the Soviet system as the magic blueprint for achieving rapid progress, it will have a powerful influence on men who are desperately seeking to lead their peoples into the 20th century.

It is undenlable that the Soviet economy

today is developing faster than that of the United States. Soviet annual growth in industrial production in recent years has been about 7 to 9 percent, as compared to the long-term average of a little more than 4 percent in the United States. Soviet industrial production is now in the neighborhood of 40 percent of our own. If Soviet and American industrial production continue to expand at the average rates of recent years, by 1970 the Soviet Union's industrial output may be more than three-fifths of our own. This is certainly much less than Soviet Premier Khrushchev's best boast of advancing to first place by 1970 in both absolute and per capita industrial production. However, it should be obvious that if these trends

continue, the Soviet Union will draw abreast of the United States in industrial production in the mid-1980's. Faced with this prospect, it is imperative that the United States find ways of accelerating its own economic growth while always maintaining the stability of our currency. The 5 percent annual increase recommended as a goal in recent studies would seem to be an absolute mini-

By accelerating our domestic growth we will defiate the Soviet line that communism represents the "wage of the future." will demonstrate to the peoples of the newly developing nations that their aspirations can best be met in a free society. And, most important of all, we will create the climate and capacity at home which will permit us to continue the long-term effort needed abroad.

The second factor which will influence the newly developing peoples is trade. The Soviet bloc has recently made substantial trade overtures to these nations. But Soviet trade can be, and is, turned on and off at will for political purposes. Once a country becomes dependent upon the Soviet Union for a large share of its trade, the Soviets do not hesitate to use this dependence as a means of blackmail and pressure.

The dangers for the underdeveloped nations are obvious. But trade they must. It is up to us to provide an increasingly attractive alternative. We must continue to take a leading part in reducing barriers to world trade. We must keep our markets open to peoples who are struggling to improve their lot, and we must strive to find workable answers to the problems they face as a result of price fluctuations in their raw-material exports.

The third factor influencing the develop-ing countries is financial and technical aid. I have already outlined our own program. Mindful of our success, the Soviet Union 5 years ago launched its own ald drive as part of a general campaign to establish the Soviet "presence" in the newly emerging areas. As with Soviet trade, so with Soviet aid-once a country begins to lean heavily on the Soviet Union for its development needs, political strings become very apparent, and that country's independence is in

jeopardy.
This, then is the challenge. Are we, the peoples of the economically advanced free nations going to persevere in our efforts to help the 1 billion people in the free world's less developed areas place themselves firmly on the road to progress? Or are we going to be found wanting in this supreme test of our free and democratic way of life? If we do not measure up to the challenge-if through unwise or inadequate actions on our part we allow the newly emerging nations to be dragged one by one into the Communist orbit-then, as surely as night follows day, our own freedom cannot long endure.

This is a challenge of stamina and perseverance. It entails a coordinated, persistent effort over the next 20, 30, or perhaps even 50 years. We have never in our peacetime history faced anything to compare with it. If we succeed, and these peoples choose irrevocably the path of freedom, then indeed the future will be bright. For their example will be irresistible and international communism as we know it today will become a mere nightmare before the dawn of universal freedom.

I believe that Americans can rise to the challenge. They are at their best in responding to such an opportunity. For provides that "remote and ideal object which captivates the imagination by its splendor and the reason by its simplicity," of which Lord Acton spoke and which, as that British historian said, so eloquently, evokes an energy that is not inspired by lesser and more proximate goals.

But if we are to stay the course, there must be much greater and deeper knowledge of world events among our citizenry. Unfortunately, such widespread knowledge of world affairs is lacking in our country today. This is why many of our people do not fully comprehend the crucial importance of our foreign aid program to our future.

Let me urge each and every one of today's graduates to study and to travel. You must work to keep up your knowledge of world affairs. You must not, cannot, permit yourselves to become buried in the local scene. Our country looks to college graduates for leadership. The promotion of a better understanding of foreign affairs is a field where you can exercise leadership no matter what your occupation.

The task of preserving freedom through perseverence has been laid upon my genera-tion and, to an even larger extent, upon your generation. We must meet this task or foreclose our country's future. We cannot simply pass along the assignment to our suc-

cessors. It will not wait.

We must see the task before us in its historic perspective. We must not permit ourselves to be diverted from it by our involvement in the day-to-day problems of life in a complex world. America owes what it is today to our profound and enduring faith in freedom, justice, and equality of opportunity for all men, everywhere. This is the American message and promise. We must never allow ourselves to forget it.

#### Basic Information on the Aged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. PAT McNAMARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, June 18, 1959

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, on Tuesday the Senate Subcommittee on Problems of the Aged and Aging began its hearings.

For the past 3 days, we had the privilege of listening to statements and discussions by a score of national authorities on the problems of health, employ-ment, income maintenance, housing, financing of medical care and community services.

I ask unanimous consent that an introductory statement by Prof. Wilbur Cohen. of the University of Michigan, be printed in the RECORD.

Mr. Cohen, a nationally recognized expert on problems of the aged, gave a careful, objective appraisal of the social and economic implications of an increasingly aging population. I am sure the Senate will find these facts of great interest.

There being no objection, the introductory statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BASIC INFORMATION ON THE AGED

(Summary of remarks by Wilbur J. Cohen, professor of public welfare administra-tion, the University of Michigan, before the Senate Subcommittee on Problems of the Aged and Aging, June 16, 1959, Washington, D.C.)

1. AGED INCREASING NEARLY A THOUSAND A DAY About 1,230,000 persons became age 65 in 1956, over 3,000 every day.

About 900,000 persons age 65 and over died in 1956.

The net increase was about 330,000, nearly

1,000 every day.

There are 15.4 million persons aged 65 and over representing 8.6 percent of the total population.

By 1975 there will be 20 million aged persons.

2. LIFE EXPECTANCY FOR OLDER WOMEN IS LONGER

The life expectancy of men at age 65 is

about 13 years; for women, 15½ years.
This difference diminishes with age. At age 70, for men, life expectancy is 10.3 years;

for women, 12.2 years.

At age 80, it is 6.0 years for men and 6.6 years for women.

3. ONLY A SMALL PROPORTION OF THE AGED LIVE IN INSTITUTIONS

Three-fourths of all aged persons live with some family member.

About 15 percent of all the aged live in their own households but live alone or with nonrelatives. Another 4 percent live with nonrelatives but not in their own homes. About 6 percent live in other places-about 3 percent in institutions and about 3 percent in hotels, roominghouses, and the like.

4. THE AGED ARE NOT EVENLY DISTRIBUTED THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY

Five States had 10 percent or more of their population age 65 and over in 1950 (Iowa, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Oregon, and Vermont).

Seventeen metropolitan areas with a total population of 100,000 or more had an aged population of 10 percent or more (Tampa-St. Petersburg, Brockton, Atlantic City, Terre Haute, Lowell, Spokane, Portland (Maine), Utica-Rome, Topeka, Lawrence, Worcester, Orlando, Cedar Rapids, Lincoln, Springfield (Mo.), New Bedford, Rochester).

In a State like Illinois with a slightly higher than average proportion of aged, there were 16 counties with more than 13 percent of the population age 65 and over.

5. SMALL TOWNS HAVE THE HIGHEST PROPOR-TION OF OLDER PERSONS

About 13.5 percent of the population of incorporated places of less than 1,000 are aged persons. Aged persons on farms were a slightly smaller proportion of farm people than aged persons in urban areas.

6. NEARLY HALF OF THE TOTAL INCOME OF THE AGED COMES FROM INCOME-MAINTENANCE PROGRAMS

Total income of all the aged was about \$25 billion in 1958.

About \$6.7 billion was received from social security, \$1.7 from public assistance, and \$2.2 billion was received from other governmental programs (civil service retirement, veterans) making a total of \$10.6 billion from all governmental income-maintenance programs.

About \$1 billion came from private pension plans and an additional amount from individual insurance contracts.

Thus over 45 percent of the aggregate income came from income-maintenance programs. Probably about 40 to 45 percent of total income came from employment.

7. PRIVATE PENSION PLANS HAVE INCREASED BUT PROVIDE BENEFITS TO ONLY A SMALL PROPOR-TION OF THE PRESENT AGED

Total contributions to private pension plans in 1957 were \$4.6 billion, of which \$3.9 billion was paid by employers. Total reserves billion was paid by employers. Total reserves in these plants were about \$35 billion. There were 1,250,000 beneficiaries who received about \$1.2 billion in benefits.

About 36 percent of the 49.1 million private wage and salary employees were em-ployed in firms with private pension plans.

8. MOST OF THE AGED HAVE LOW INCOMES

In 1958 three-fifths of all people age 65 and over had less than \$1,000 in money income.

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Another one-fifth received \$1,000 to \$2,000. The other one-fifth had more than \$2,000.

Of the men, about two in five had less than \$1,000 and two in three had less than \$2,000.

#### 9. MOST AGED PERSONS ARE NOT WORKING

Of the 15.4 million aged persons, only about one in every five in December 1958 had a paying job—about 3 million persons. When women who are not themselves employed but are married to earners are included, the proportion of the aged population with some money income from employment is raised to just over one-fourth or about 4 million people.

Thus, over 11 million aged persons are dependent upon income or support from sources other than employment.

# 10, EMPLOYMENT PARTICIPATION FOR MEN IS DECLINING

In 1945 one out of every two men age 65 and over was in the labor force. Today it is only one out of three. In 1890 it was 7 out of 10.

# 11. EMPLOYMENT PARTICIPATION DECLINES RAPIDLY WITH AGE

In 1957, 83 percent of all men age 60-64 were in the labor force. This dropped to 53 percent for men age 65-69 and to 28 percent for men age 70 and over.

#### 12. MOST AGED RECEIVE SOCIAL SECURITY

About 6 out of every 10 aged persons in June 1958 were receiving OASDI benefits. Another 1 out of 10 received some other social insurance or pension benefit.

About one out of six aged persons received old-age assistance.

About one out of five aged persons received income from more than one of the following sources: employment, social insurance, or assistance.

# 13. SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS AVERAGE \$72 A MONTH FOR AGED PERSONS

The average old age insurance benefit awarded to aged persons retiring in March 1959 was \$82 compared to \$72 for all aged persons on the rolls.

About half of all aged married couples receive less than \$125 a month.

#### 14. AGED WIDOWS HAVE THE LOWEST INCOMES

The aged with the lowest incomes are widows. Widows' benefits under social security were \$61 a month for benefits awarded to widows in March and \$56 for all widows. The number and proportion of aged widows is growing. A widow is paid only three-fourths the amount of social security benefits a single retired employee would get under the same circumstances. Over one-third of all aged widows receive \$50 or less a month from social security.

#### 15, MOST AGED MEN ARE MARRIED; MOST AGED WOMEN ARE WIDOWS

About 70 percent of the aged men are marrled compared with 36 percent of aged women.

Nearly 25 percent of aged men are widowed compared with 55 percent of aged women.

#### 16. AGED USE MORE HOSPITAL CARE

Days of hospital care used by persons 65 and over are about 2 to 21/2 times as much as those used by persons under age 65.

About 90 percent of all the aged hospitalized in 1956 and 1957 were in hospitals for 60 days or less in the year.

#### 17. MEDICAL CARE COSTS ARE RISING

Since 1947-49 the overall consumer price index has increased about 24 percent. Medical care costs have risen over twice as fast—49 percent. But hospital room charges have risen 105 percent and are continuing to increase.

During the same period of time surgeon's fees have risen only 24 percent, about the same as the total overall index.

# 18. MOST OF THE AGED DO NOT HAVE ANY HOSPITAL INSURANCE

About 65 percent of the aged do not have any hospital insurance as compared with 34 percent of those under age 65 who do not have such insurance.

For the aged couples drawing OASDI, 80 percent of those with incomes of under \$1,200 did not have any hospital insurance, compared with 35 percent for those with incomes of \$5,000 and over who did not have such insurance.

#### 19. MOST AGED WITH VOLUNTARY HEALTH IN-SURANCE HAVE INDIVIDUAL POLICIES

About 11 percent of the aged have group health insurance coverage while 22 percent have individual policies. This compares with the age group 30-39 in which 53 percent have group coverage and only 18 percent have individual coverage.

Individual policies usually cost more than comparable group policies or have more limitations or both.

#### 20, PUBLIC FUNDS FOR MEDICAL CARE OF THE AGED ARE A RELATIVELY LARGE PROPORTION OF ALL SUCH FUNDS

Public outlays for medical care for civilians of all ages in 1956 (including tax-saving subsidies) were \$4.4 billion. Of this amount, \$900 million or 20 percent was for the aged.

Private expendatures for persons of all ages were \$10.5 billion, of which \$1.4 billion or 13.7 percent was for the aged.

# 21. OVER HALF THE RETIRED AGED QUIT WORK FOR HEALTH REASONS

In 1952, 57 percent of all the aged men who were not in the labor force retired voluntarily because of health reasons.

Of those not working, 77 percent said they were unable to work or were not well enough to work.

#### 22. OLD AGE ASSISTANCE VARIES WIDELY BY STATE

The average State old-age assistance payment in March 1959 was \$64. This varied from \$108 in Connecticut and \$101 in New York, to \$29 in Mississippi and \$33 in West Virginia.

In June 1958 the proportion of the aged receiving old age assistance was 16.2 percent for the United States. This varied from a low of 3.9 percent in New Jersey to 58 percent in Louisiana.

Most States provide for paying medical care costs of aged persons on assistance directly to the provider of medial ccare; some do not.

# 23. ONE-THIRD OF ALL PERSONS 80 YEARS AND OVER RECKIVING ASSISTANCE

One-half of the persons receiving old-age assistance are aged 75 or over. The proportion of aged persons receiving assistance increases with age. Among all persons aged 65-69, 1 in 10 receives aid; among those 80 and over, 1 in 3 receives aid.

A majority of old age assistance recipients live in rural areas and small towns. The proportion of aged persons receiving assistance in such areas is two-thirds higher than in metropolitan areas.

One of every four old age assistance recipients receives OASI (about 600,000), primarily among those living in industrial areas.

24. COST OF SOME ILLUSTRATIVE SOCIAL SECU-BITY CHANCES

Many changes have been suggested by Members of Congress in the social security program. The following are illustrative of some major proposals and their costs (on a level-premium, intermediate basis) measured in terms of percent of payroil:

Pe	rcen
A. Repeal of the retirement test B. Repeal of the retirement test at age	1.00
70	.15
C. Delayed retirement credit, 2 percent	
vear	. 28

D. Increase in retirement test to \$1,500

and \$125 units\_

25. THE AGED ARE NOT A HOMOGENEOUS GROUP Some are between 65 and 70; most are over age 70.

Some are working; most are not.
Some are in good health; most are not.
Some live in institutions; most do not.

Some are living with their spouse, most are not.

Some live alone; most do not.

Some have a high school education; most have not.

Some have adequate incomes; most do not. Some do not receive social security benefits; most do.

Some receive private pensions; most do not. Some receive social security and a private pension; most do not.

Some have hospital insurance; most do not. Some have surgical insurance; most do not. A very few have comprehensive medical insurance; most do not.

Most aged persons live in the State in which they were born, some do not.

Most aged live in urban areas; some do not.

# Retirement Benefits for Self-Employed Persons

· EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 18, 1959

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a statement given by Richard W. Thorington, chairman of the Philadelphia Bar Association's Committee on Lawyers' Retirement Benefits, before the Committee on Finance today.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### STATEMENT OF RICHARD W. THORINGTON

My name is Richard W. Thorington. I am a partner in the Philadelphia law firm of Obermayer, Rebmann, Maxwell & Hippel and present chairman of the Philadelphia Bar Association's Committee on Lawyers' Retirement Benefits. The other members of the committee are Sanford D. Beecher, Frederick E. S. Morrison, Fred L. Rosenbloom, Flugh Scott, William R. Spofford, Lewis Weinstock, and Andrew B. Young.

The Philadelphia Bar Association has consistently favored the principle of retirement benefits as provided by H.R. 10, believing that this represents a practical approach to the problem of establishing a method whereby self-employed persons may provide for their own retirement through the use of

earnings accruing from their own personal efforts.

Accordingly when H.R. 10 was being considered by the Ways and Means Committee of the House in the 84th Congress in June 1955, Mr. William R. Spofford, the then chairman of the Philadelphia Bar Association's committee, appeared and testified in support of the bill.

It was our opinion then and it is our opinion today that current income tax rates make it difficult, if not impossible, for that current income tax the average lawyer and other self-employed persons to provide adequately for old age with savings available to them after the payment of Federal income tax. The ex-emption allowed under section 404 of the Internal Revenue Code for contributions to employee pension plans is not available to persons who do not occupy an employee status. This discrimination in the law is a serious one and has directed attention to the need of a plan under which all selfemployed persons may be accorded the same favorable tax treatment with respect to savings set aside and earmarked for retirement purposes as is available to employed persons. Such a plan-is contained in the bill presently under consideration.

We do not regard this bill as special legislation for the benefit of any group of citizens, but rather as a bill which attempts to remove, in part at least, the discrimination which presently exists in the law in favor of employed persons. I say "in part" because the present bill restricts deductions in any year for persons under age 50 to \$2,500 or 10 percent of earnings from selfemployment, whichever is less, with a lifetime limit of \$50,000. There is no such limitation on amounts that may be set aside to provide retirement benefits for employed persons. We are willing to accept this limitation, however, because we recognize the fiscal problem involved. We believe that an income tax deduction should be granted only where it will serve a public interest. We also believe that it is sound public policy to encourage people to exercise thrift and to make it possible for them to provide adequately for themselves in their old age rather than having to rely on Government as the ultimate source of economic security.

We ask that the discrimination against the self-employed be eliminated, at least to the extent provided by H.R. 10, and that lawyers and all other self-employed groups be afforded the opportunity and privilege of providing for their later years through their own efforts.

# Centennial of Birth of Senator Thomas J. Walsh, of Montana

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. MIKE MANSFIELD

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 18, 1959

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, June 12 was the centennial of the birth of a great Senator and a renowned Montanan, Senator Thomas J. Walsh. On that day special tributes were made here in the Senate and in the Treasure State. One of the finest tributes appeared in the Sunday June 14, 1959, edition of the Great Falls Tribune. It is an article written by Josephine O'Keane, perhaps the foremost authority and biographer of Senator Walsh.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have this article, entitled "Senator Walsh Was Born 100 Years Ago," printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Senator Walsh Was Born 100 Years Ago
(By Josephine O'Keane)

BILLINGS.—Although the Badger State produces no oil, it gave to Montana a great American whose name will be forever associated with oil—Thomas James Walsh, who was born in Two Rivers, Wis., on June 12, 1859.

The boy Walsh gained his first experience in oil as the village lamplighter. Before his life ended, the man Walsh acquired an astonishing knowledge of the gigantic oil industry. Through his spectacular investigation, the American public became alerted to political intrigue practiced by private oil interests.

Perhaps he will be remembered longest for the notable service he rendered in exposing the fraudulent naval oil leases, but Senator Walsh by no means confined his activities to investigation. There were other issues that brought him along the road to fame. For the life of Thomas J. Walsh merits classification in the category of lives that continue to exert influence upon succeeding generations. His public career led through national political conventions spanning 25 years; through the administrations of Wilson, Harding, Coolidge, Hoover in what has been termed one of the most telling eras of modern history.

Few men have won the hold upon the admiration and respect of the public he enjoyed. His distinction came from a characteristic fairness and capacity to deal evenhanded justice even in a political crisis where his emotions were wholly engaged on one side of the controversy. His persistence, his courage, and his willingness to vote according to his own convictions, irrespective of party duty, were paramount in every issue.

Yet, he didn't gain his enviable position by being sensational. Having a creative imagination that was forever reacting against his environment, he went about the usual things of life in an unusual manner. But, having the control of a trained lawyer, he never quite let his imagination run away.

Born in a family of little means, Tom Walsh had to struggle for an education. He taught himself out of need and high courage. Sustained by a determination to become a lawyer, he held steadfast to a goal he saw clearly ahead. It became the driving force of his life, taking him first to Dakota Territory and on to Helena in 1890, shortly after Montana reached statehood.

Those were the stirring days that dramatized the end of a reckless era and the transsition from fortune seekers to permanent settlers; from placer mining where a tin pan might make a man rich to copper kings, warring for control of "the richest hill on earth and the vote of the poor miners who burrowed in its depths." Unobtrusively, Attorney Walsh made his own place in the changing era and had the satisfaction that nothing could take it away from him.

The Helena attorney was not nationally known then, but destined to be. Starting in a modest office in the Gold Block, Walsh slowly increased his legal practice until he became one of the most eminent lawyers in the West. He held an excellent reputation among members of the bar association. His scrupulous fairness and profound knowledge of law gave him the confidence of his associates and respect of his adversaries. But he still had a difficult road ahead of him before first winning the senatorship in 1913.

Like Jefferson, Walsh was interested always

in the welfare of the common man. Above all else he was a workingman's lawyer. Almost from the start of his professional career in this State his uncompromising stand for workmen's rights against business interests practically made him a legend. Out of this regard came an unerring instinct for popular government.

At this stage the influential lawyer became a prominent figure in the councils of the Democratic Party. His office was the rallying point for persons of both major political parties who rebelled against boss rule. Since there was evidence that the citizenry had lost its capacity for independent thought, Walsh envisioned a grim struggle to determine whether democracy had sufficient strength to overcome the special interests who controlled its vote. Sharing his view with political associates, he pointed out the need to arouse public sentiment for rule of the people through progressive legislation. Though the stakes were high, his resourcefulness was unlimited.

Through his consistent efforts, The People's Power League, which he helped to organize, secured the enactment of such progressive reforms as the direct primary, initiative and referendum, popular election of U.S. Senators and other revolutionary laws that are as vital today as they were in his own time.

Consequently, despite the difficulties he had encountered, his campaign for U.S. Senator in 1912 proved a brilliant success. At the polls on November 5, the voters of Montana designated Thomas J. Walsh as the people's choice by a wide majority that amply justified the preferential primary.

In his speech of acceptance before a joint session of the State Legislature on January 15, 1913, the Senator-elect thanked legislators for having chosen him at the critical juncture of political life. He reminded his listeners that this was the last time a Montana Legislature would formally participate in the election of the U.S. Senator. And, in the departure from the old system was witnessed one of his initial triumphs in the movement to make this Government truly popular.

Satisfied that they had chosen a man of deserved eminence and unselfish desires to serve their best interests, the people of Montana sent Tom Walsh off to Washington and undreamed of fame. It is to Walsh's glory that he never broke faith with them. Entering the national Senate as an unknown, Walsh commanded almost instant admiration because of his keen and searching

As he continued to grow in stature, Montana achieved a unique and historically unprecedented position in the Nation. A persistent crusader, Walsh fought tirelessly for what he believed right for all people not for just the favored few. Seldom has history revealed a public servant freer from the taint of personal ambition and greed than was ours in the person of Senator Walsh.

A pronounced leader in the Wilson administration, Senator Walsh, only went as far with the President as his honest convictions allowed him. In a series of speeches defining war powers under the Constitution, Walsh won the praise of rulers in foreign lands. Not until then did the general public really begin to know him as an American statesman, respected throughout the world for his legal ability and clear thinking.

It was not until Americans became involved in World War I that national interests became inextricably entangled with those of the outside world. For 12 years after the cessation of hostilities, when the United States withdrew from almost every form of cooperation with other nations, Senator Walsh fought against the isolationist policy. Up to then few men had given a closer, more sustained scrutiny of international issues than he.

In the powerful Senate Committee on Foreign Relations his long interest in world affairs was clothed with responsibility both in formulating America's foreign policy and articulating it. Walsh urged his colleagues to show more imagination and initiative toward constructive statesmanship. For, he argued, only by commonsense cooperation with other nations could the American people create a world society which might be able to crush the causes of war.

Focusing on the tariff problem, he gave his finest efforts toward formulating a reciprocal trade program, placing still greater emphasis on the need for sound long-term planning. It is noteworthy that many of his logical interpretations have had a substantial influ-

ence ever since.

Because postwar unemployment resulted from the cessation of tremendous war expenditures, Tom Walsh proposed and defended unemployment compensation, and tending it absolutely necessary that governmental capital be invested on a large scale to combat the destitution of the 1920's. He effectively argued that Congress should formally recognize the maintenance of full employment because, he said, "nothing contributes more to stable farm prosperity than the maintenance of full employment in the cities with the assurance of adequate purchasing power for both farm and factory products."

Much of the colossal highway program that has been under way for decades originated in his insistence that improved transportation was the key to unlocking the resources of the vast undeveloped western regions. He considered good roads as important as good homes and as essential as motor vehicles in the transportation revolution this country was even then experience.

Senator Walsh was among the foremost to direct attention to the relationship between highways and airways fed by the same streams of commerce. Believing that air traffic would have a far-reaching effect on national economy and defense, Senator Walsh crusaded for a direct air-route from Chicago to Seattle. His work in promoting the commercial network which would carry passengers and freight proved exceptionally fruitful. Croil Hunter, official of Northwest Airways, Inc., referred to the late Senator as "the real father of the northwestern air route."

This man who was born 100 years ago in the little lakeport where the mingling waters of two rivers flow into Lake Michigan labored ceaselessly for the enactment of that important piece of legislation, the St. Lawrence Seaway. The last public speech Senator Walsh made was his favorable report that brought the treaty to the Senate chamber. That was as far as he could go with it before death claimed him in 1933. It remained for another generation to pick up the banner the fallen Senator had dropped. Coincidentally, this year marks the formal opening of the engineering marvel. As ocean vessels move 2,000 miles inland, bearing their cargoes from the ends of the earth, one wonders how much credit will be ac-corded Senator Walsh for his help in making the great industrial dream come true.

The historic old Madison Square Garden had been the scene of many important happenings in the past, but never had it been the center of a more stirring attraction than during the Democratic convention in 1924 where Tom Walsh presided with coolness and impartiality. On introducing him that torrid June 28, Senator Harrison sald:

"I present to you a real Democrat and the greatest investigator in the history of the country, United States Senator Thomas J. Walsh."

It was that oil-soaked Teapot Dome inquiry that brought Walsh his greatest publicity. But even so, his fame before the American people has never been in proportion to the weight of his deeds.

# The FHA Idea: Better Housing Through Sound Finance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON, HOMER E. CAPEHART

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 18, 1959

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record, an address delivered by Dr. Raymond J. Saulnier, Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, on the occasion of the industry salute to the FHA in honor of its 25th birthday, on June 18, 1959, at Washington, D.C.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE FHA IDEA: BETTER HOUSING THROUGH SOUND FINANCE

(Address By Dr. Raymond J. Saulnier, Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, on the occasion of the industry salute to the FHA in honor of its 25th birthday, June 18, 1959, Washington, D.C.)

Our pleasant purpose here this evening is to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the launching of an idea—the FHA idea—and to express our gratitude for the enormous benefits it has brought to the American people. Essentially, the FHA idea is a simple one.

This statement may surprise those who have been fully exposed to the intricacies of our Federal home loan insurance programs. Indeed, it has not been easy for me to persuade myself that the statement is entirely correct. Along with many others, I have struggled hard to understand the complexities of our mortgage insurance programs, and I cannot pretend that my efforts have been fully successful. I am forever discovering new things about these programs, and forever discovering that things I thought I understood I did not really understand at all.

And there is little wonder that this should be. We have sections galore in FHA, each with its distinctive provisions. Among the survivors—and few ever die—are 203, 207, and 213, to mention but three; and there is 608 of beloved memory. We have several new arrivals, too—220 and 221; and the Lord only knows how many more to come. We have section within sections, too. I would remind you that once upon a time one of the principal FHA programs was elegantly numbered 203b(2)b. This is the stuff out of which the expert is made.

But despite all this, I think we can say that the FHA idea is a simple one. The idea is that, within limits set by sound appraisal procedures and underwriting principles, the pooling of risks in a self-supporting mutual-insurance system enables American families, borrowing from private financial institutions, to buy a home, or improve a home already owned, on liberal—indeed, generously liberal—credit terms. The Federal Government sets the ground

rules, so to speak, and, within these bounds, private funds, protected by Federal insurance, flow into private use.

. This idea was written into law in June 1934 in the National Housing Act. It is not too much to say that it is one of the outstanding social inventions of our time.

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The whole Nation owes a debt of gratitude to FHA for its accomplishments over the last 25 years. Large numbers of business concerns and millions of individuals have benefited directly from its operations.

First, some 14,000 private home lending and investing institutions of our country, many of which are represented here tonight, are approved to make FHA loans. They hold among their assets close to \$26 billion of FHA-insured mortgages and nearly \$1½ billion of FHA-insured home improvement loans. Thousands of these institutions also make loans to finance the construction of homes, premised largely on the ultimate availability of an insured mortgage. And many thousands are engaged in servicing FHA-insured loans, each in direct contact with large numbers of borrowers. Finally, there are many that perform a mortgage warehousing function. I will resist the temptation to explain what warehousing a mortgage means, except to say that it doesn't mean what the uninitiated probably think it means.

Second, many thousands of firms and individuals who help complete transactions in real estate markets benefit from the services provided by FHA. So also do those associated with the construction industry itself—architects, builders and contractors, the nearly 3 million workers in the building trades, and producers and distributors of building materials. And so do those who make and sell the countless things that equip and furnish our homes today.

equip and furnish our homes today.

And finally, 5 million American families have acquired homes under what has come to be called the FHA plan, and additional millions have improved their homes on credits protected by FHA insurance.

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It is fair to say that all of these are celebrating with us in spirit, at least, tonight. And so they should, for FHA, in benefiting them, and the Nation generally, has not just done its job well; it has done its job superbly well.

FHA passes with flying colors the usual tests of an insurance system. In the last 25 years it has sustained losses of only three-tenths of 1 percent on an insurance exposure of some \$57 billion. These losses have been fully covered by its insurance reserves, now totaling nearly \$750 million. In addition, nearly \$100 million of the premiums paid by FHA borrowers have been paid back to them in dividends out of the system's mutual insurance funds.

To have made ends meet in this manner is a very good record, indeed, but I doubt that this birthday would mean as much as it does to us if we could not say more for FHA than that it had been actuarially sound.

We do have additional reasons for this celebration.

One is that FHA has done its job in ways that have enhanced the vigor and increased the strength of our free institutions, not weakened them. The FHA idea does not contemplate the replacement of private financing by public financing. It is the FHA idea that Government's role is to facilitate the flow of private funds into the financing of home ownership and improvement, not to substitute public funds for them. And for the most part this is the way the FHA system has worked, though we would be ignoring important chapters of its history

If we did not acknowledge that even today almost \$2 billion of loans protected by FHA insurance are held directly by the Federal Government.

Another valid reason for celebrating this occasion is that the FHA idea recognizes the equity of placing on those who directly enjoy identifiable and useful services of Government the costs of rendering those services, rather than to levy them on taxpayers generally. And it has demonstrated that such an arrangement is both practical and beneficial. For all the good things it has done in its first 25 years, FHA has not cost the general taxpayer one single cent. It is probably our outstanding example of the principle of user charges put to effective work.

Finally, we can be grateful to FHA for the fact that it has demonstrated the good that can be accomplished by a credit tem that operates under sound construction standards, appraisal practices and underwriting principles. The FHA idea does not contemplate the conduct of an insurance system on a basis that ignores, or even subordinates, any thought of credit quality. On the contrary, it contemplates the insurance of credits on terms that will hold losses within limits that can be supported by only a modest insurance charge. grateful to FHA not just for having demonstrated conclusively that such a system can be made to work, but for having shown that sound finance is an effective instrument for the improvement of human welfare.

IV

Birthdays are appropriate occasions for looking backward and for counting our blessings. They are, or should be, occasions also for looking forward and for counting our new opportunities.

Can there be any question but that the next 25 years will be just as exciting and fully as challenging as the 25 years through which FHA has just passed? They will be different, certainly, and we hope they will be better. Barring the international calamities which we will strive by every means to avoid, we know that in these coming years our home-financing system must help provide a great deal more, and we hope even better, housing for the American people. Compared to the 50 million increase in population of the last 25 years, in the next quarter century our population may increase by something between 65 and 115 million. No one can translate this expected population growth into housing demand with precision. But the number of households may increase half again as much as in the last quarter century. Is it not reasonable to expect housing demand to rise in roughly the same, possibly even a higher, proportion?

To meet this challenge will be no easy task. But the accomplishments of the last 25 years, performed as they were in the face of great difficulties, are so impressive as to provide reasonable assurance that we can do at least as well in the future. In any case, building the houses will be the least difficult part of the Job. The real challenge of the next 25 years will be to meet our housing requirements in ways that leave our free institutions not just intact at the end of the period, but stronger and more vigorous even than they are today.

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Can we successfully meet this challenge? I believe we can, and much of my confidence is based on the fact that we know very well the conditions necessary for success.

First, we know that we must keep our economy on a reasonably even keel. Like all insurance systems, a system of credit insurance is based on the assumption that the conditions affecting the risks it insures can be successfully anticipated. A mort-

gage insurance system implies a prospect of continuing employment opportunities, and a continuing flow of income to individuals and families undertaking the purchase of homes on credit.

It is a measure of the optimism of our country that the concept of installment credit has been applied to the purchase of homes through payments spread over a period of 20 to 30 years; and that FHA, as a Federal instrument for facilitating such purchases, was launched in the depth of the Nation's gravest economic depression. this optimism has been amply justified. Over the 25 years of FHA's history the American economy has grown at a vigorous rate. We have had ups and downs since 1934, to be sure, but economic fluctuations have been kept within rather narrow limits, and FHA has weathered them remarkably We cannot expect to eliminate economic fluctuations entirely in a free so-ciety, but we can expect to narrow their range and to improve our performance as we go along. This is the constructive meaning of the Employment Act of 1946, which it is my privilege to help administer. Clearly, the degree of our success in helping to promote orderly and sustainable economic growth will have a decisive bearing on the degree to which, in the next 25 years, we realize the continuing benefits we can properly expect from the FHA idea.

Second, while we are aware of the benefits obtainable through the use of credit, including the use of credit to finance home ownership and improvement, we also know that there are limits to its safe use. Our installment credit systems, whether protected by Federal insurance or not, make it possible for individuals to achieve significant improvements in welfare by purchasing useful things costing several times their incomes. Indeed, historians will someday look upon our Nation as having introduced the novel idea that an economy can provide its own expanding markets by dedicating itself, not just to the interests of a small class, but to raising the levels of living of the people at large; that this system of mass distribution is an essential complement to mass production; and that the wise use of credit plays a constructive role in this accomplishment.

There will be many temptations in the future to push toward greater liberality of housing credit terms, but we know that the success of FHA in the next 25 years will depend in no small part on its continued adherence to sound construction standards, appraisal procedures, and underwriting principles.

Finally, we know that if FHA is to serve us as well in the future as in the past we must preserve its inherent adaptability. Especially, it is essential that its programs continue to operate on realistic interest rate bases. Only under these conditions will an adequate supply of funds flow directly from private institutions into private use-in part under the protection of Federal insurance, to be sure, but without making a detour through the Federal Treasury. A large measure of FHA's success is due to the fact that its insurance has been available for loans which could carry realistic interest rates. Indeed, if this had not been the case, private financing under FHA insurance would long ago have ceased to be available, and we would not be here tonight.

VI

Given these conditions—a soundly growing economy, the prudent use of credit, and realistic interest rates—and the continued service of those in public and private life who strive daily to make the FHA idea work, we can be confident of successfully meeting the housing challenges of the next 25 years.

As we look toward the future, let me conclude with a final expression of appreciation for the record of the past. To those who helped invent the FHA idea; to the Members of Congress who helped write it into legislation; to the national leaders who maintained its vigor and integrity over the years; to the Commissioners of FHA, past and present, for their constructive stewardship; to the members of FHA across the country for their devoted service; and to you, Mr. President, for your own inspiring support of the FHA idea, we here tonight and millions of our fellow citizens join in salute and in thanks for a job well done.

Thank you very much.

# Editorial Comment on Recent Supreme Court Decision

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 18, 1959

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, in connection with the remarks which I made this morning about a recent Supreme Court decision, I ask unanimous consent to have certain editorials printed in the Appendix of the Recorp.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

[From the New York Times, June 9, 1959] IN THE NATION—A COURT SPLIT ON AUTHORITY OVER CONGRESS

(By Arthur Krock)

Washington, June 8.—Conflicting concepts of the limits to which the jurisdiction (and inherent obligation) of the Supreme Court extend in nullifying the investigating activities of Congress were the root of its 5-to-4 division today in the case of a former Vassar College instructor.

The majority, whose spokesman was Justice Harlan, decreed that when Congress keeps within its constitutional bounds in authorizating and conducting such an investigation, "the judiciary lacks authority to intervene on the basis of the motives which spurred exercise of that [inquiry] power." The four dissenters, for whom Justice Black was spokesman, contended that the judiciary has the authority as well as the obligation to weigh motives as a basis of decision.

The congressional activity which produced this case involved an assertion of his constitutional freedoms by an individual in resisting a House committee's exercise of Congress' power of inquiry. Justice Harlan squared the decision with the court's ruling in the Watkins case. This required that, in the exercise of that power, congressional committee questions be pertinent to stated and constitutional objectives set for the committee by Congress is authorizing an investigation, and that this pertinence be made clear to witnesses. And Justice Harlan ruled that the committee, in addressing three of five questions to the former Vassar instructor. Lloyd Barenblatt, met both requirements.

But Justice Black, for the dissenters,

But Justice Black, for the dissenters, drew so wide a zone of protection from governmental inquiry and act for Communist partisans and their sympathizers that apparently he went too far for one of the dissenters, Justice Brennan. This was indicated by Justice Brennan's carefully limited concurrence:

"It is sufficient that I state my complete agreement \* \* \* that no purpose for the

investigation of Barenblatt is revealed by the [committee] record except exposure purely for the sake of exposure."

However, Chief Justice Warren and Justice Douglas made no restrictions on their agreement with these passages in Justice Black's opinion:

"No matter how often or how quickly we repeat the claim that the Communist party is not a political party, we cannot outlaw it, as a group, without endangering the liberty of all of us. \* \* \* For mixed among those aims of communism which are illegal are perfectly normal social and political goals. \* \* \*

"Once we allow any group which has some political aims and ideas to be driven from the ballot and from the battle for men's minds because some of its members are bad and some of its tenets are illegal, no group is safe. \* \* \* Today Communists or suspected Communists have been denied an opportunity to work as Government employees \* \* \* and in just about any other job. In today's holding they are singled out and, as a class, are subjected to inquisitions which the Court suggests would be unconstitutional but for the fact of communism."

But this was dictum and prophecy. For what the majority held, in addition to finding pertinent to the inquiry certain questions Barenblatt refused to answer, was that:

The House established its Un-American Activities Committee in 1938 to "expose and ferret out the Communists and Communist sympathizers in the Federal Government,' in labor unions, in entertainment, in education, etc. It has "never narrowed the powers of the committee," steadily increased its appropriations and promoted it from a special to a standing group. The establishment and the stated objectives were within the and the stated objectives were within the power of Congress, subject to constitutional limitations set by the Court in Watkins and other decisions. These were properly observed in questioning Barenblatt on his membership in the party at the time and concerning his Communist associations as a teacher, for neither teachers nor educational institutions are immune merely because they are such. In these circumstances the judiciary has no power to intervene on the basis of motives. Therefore Barenblatt was properly sentenced to 6 months in prison and fined \$250 for refusing to answer these questions.

No previous decision and dissent have cast so clear a light on the source of one fundamental difference in the Court—how far it has the power to assert judicial supremacy over Congress.

[From the New York Herald Tribune, June 10, 1959]

SUPREME COURT CLARIFIES

In upholding the contempt of Congress conviction of Lloyd Barenblatt, the majority of a sharply divided Supreme Court affirmed the broad investigative powers of congressional committees in the field of Communist activity.

When he refused in 1954 to answer questions put to him by the House Un-American Activities Committee about present or past membership in the Communist Party, Barenblatt—a former instructor at the University of Michigan and Vassar—maintained that the inquiry violated his rights under the first amendment.

The Court, however, held that the Communist Party cannot be considered an ordinary political organization, and that congressional power to legislate (and to investigate) in the field of Communist activity "rests on the right of self-preservation." It rejected the contention that academic freedom makes education "a constitutional sanctuary from inquiry into matters that may otherwise be within the legislative domain." While reaffirming its 1957 Watkins case ruling that the pertinency of a question to a

clearly defined legislative purpose must be demonstrated to a witness, the Court found that in spite of a vaguely worded charter, a "persuasive gloss of legislative history" has "clothed the Un-American Activities Committee with pervasive authority to investigate Communist activities in this country."

This should not, however, be taken as a charter for harassment of witnesses without compelling legislative purpose. Justice Black, in a biting dissent joined by Justice Douglas and Chief Justice Warren, declared that "the Court today falls to see what is here for all to see—that exposure and punishment is the aim of this committee and the reason for its existence."

The franchise of congressional committees to investigate has been strengthened. But this is liberty, not license, and the sharp words of the dissenters should be a warning to investigators to guard their franchise in the future by not abusing it.

[From the Christian Science Monitor, June 10, 1959]

THE COURT AND CONTEMPT

It is easy to read overly broad meanings into Supreme Court decisions. Two just rendered may prove less substantial in their concessions to State and congressional authority than at first appears.

One looks like a retreat from the Nelson case where the Court held invalid a State law designed to protect the Federal Government from sedition. Now the Court says that decision did not affect efforts of States to protect themselves against sedition. Practical effects of this ruling may be limited. For sedition against States is not common.

In the other decision the Court appears to give back to Congress some of the powers it took away last year in the Watkins case. There, in another contempt case, it set up strong barriers against abuse of congressional investigative powers. In the present case it says a teacher was rightly held in contempt for refusing to answer questions put by a committee about his political beliefs.

Justice Harlan, in the majority opinion, reaffirms that there are constitutional limits on congressional investigations. He says the Court would be alert if an inquiry were attempted into the general freedom to teach and to learn. But he holds no individual rights were violated by the committee's questions.

Four justices strongly dissent. They declare this was in effect a legislative trial based on vague legal authority. Justice Brennan makes the further point that the record shows no purpose of the committee to frame legislation but merely "exposure for the sake of exposure." This is the key question for public judgment.

In this newspaper's opinion too many congressional committees in recent years have strayed far from actual legislative functions. In addition to FBI activities, exposure—especially of the Communist conspiracy—may be desirable. But if exposure, not legislation, be the purpose, then a noncongressional, nonpartisan commission of distinguished citizens is the better instrument.

Justice Harlan says it is not the province of the Court to judge the wisdom or efficiency of congressional committees. But the public should certainly restrain the publicity-seeking personal-promotion misuse of inquiries. And it should ask the Court to hold the line against official oppression of individuals including those holding unpopular views.

[From the Washington Post, June 10, 1959] THE COURT BACKSTEPS

Whether or not the Supreme Court has listened to its critics, it certainly gave heavy

weight to the position of the Government in the two civil liberties decisions handed down on Monday. In the Barenblatt case, the conviction of a recalcitrant witness before the House Un-American Activities Committee was upheld, and the Court's 5-4 decision went far to give constitutional sanction to the committee's operation. In the Uphaus opinion, the Court not only sustained a State contempt conviction, but also explicitly approved the right of New Hampshire to enact laws prescribing State sedition.

The effect of the two decisions is to restrict the application—or at least the interpretation—of some of the Court's most controversial rulings in the area of civil liberities. These include the Watkins and Sweezy cases of 1957, both concerned with limiting legislative inquiries, and the Nelson opinion of 1956, which held that only the Federal Government could prosecute for sedition against the United States—an opinion which was then regarded as voiding State sedition laws.

But the shift of judicial opinion is more apparent than real. In all of the cases at issue, Chief Justice Warren and Justices Black, Douglas, and Brennan have voted consistently to uphold civil rights against what they regarded as possible Government encroachment. Among the remaining Justices, the role of Justice Frankfurter is undoubtedly the most significant. Two years ago he voted with the 6-1 majority in the Watkins case (Justice Clark dissenting), and he also was with the majority in the Sweezy opinion handed down the same day.

Nevertheless, Justice Frankfurter gave a clue to his present position in concurring opinions in both Watkins and Sweezy. He made it clear that he did not join in the broader dicta condemning legislative investigations conducted solely for the purpose of exposure. He felt that the Court should confine its rulings to narrower grounds and avoid sweeping asides on general matters, remarking in Sweezy: "It would make the deepest inroads upon our Federal system for this Court now to hold that it can determine the appropriate distribution of powers and their delegation within the 48 States." caution is the animating doctrine in Justice Harlan's opinion in Barenblatt and Justice Clark's opinion in Uphaus. Thus Justice Frankfurter's long-held philosophy of constitutional law has prevailed.

It probably would go too far to say that the protection of the individual citizen against wild-swinging committees has thereby been permanently diminished. To be sure, when the Supreme Court in 1957 upheld the right of John Watkins not to name names before the Un-American Activities Committee, it limited the range of inquiry when no pertinency to a valid legislative purpose was evident. In the case of Lloyd Barenblatt, who appeared before the same body in 1954, the Court now finds that the pertinency test is inapplicable because the issue was not originally raised by Mr. Barenblatt. But there is a distinction between the two cases.

Mr. Watkins had not declined to testify about his current activities; he had refused. rather, to give the names of associates of some years before. Mr. Barenblatt, however, flatly refused to answer the question whether he was at the time of the inquiry a member of the Communist Party. One of the fine issues between the two cases—testimony about present direct involvement as contrasted with testimony about past associates-the Supreme Court has yet to meet. Justice Harlan's opinion stresses, however, that because the Communist Party is not "just an ordinary political party," governmental action is permissible which in a different context "would certainly have raised constitutional questions of the gravest char-

If this seems to confirm the charter of the Un-American Activities Committee despite the vagueness of that mandate, it also recognizes the undenlable need for Congress to have wide latitude in ferreting out information about the Communist Party. This does not necessarily mean, however, that the Court is unwilling to set limits of pertinence on congressional inquiry when the issue of com-munism is involved. Rather, it says in effect that Congress has a right to protect the country against the particular phenomenon of Communist conspiracy. The Court itself will remain as a bulwark against invasion of basic constitutional rights.

Not unnaturally, the dissenters led by Justice Black see in the majority opinion a dangerous potential for the invasion of civil liberties. In the case of Uphaus, there are grounds for serious misgivings over the ruling that the attorney general of New Hamp-shire can force Willard Uphaus to disclose the guest list at a summer camp meeting of a pacifist group.

In the larger compass, however, it is the task of the Supreme Court continually to reassess the balance between individual rights and the obligation of the State to defend itself against subversion. The Court has, this time, struck a balance in the Government's favor. But the presence of four powerful dissenting voices and the independent position of Justice Frankfurter afford reasonable assurance that the balance will be struck on the other side if governmental organs abuse their power.

#### [From the New York Herald Tribune-June 15, 1959]

SUPREME COURT PERSPECTIVE—BARENBLATT DECISION ADDS TO RED PRODE'S AUTHORITY

Two decisions of the Supreme Court last Monday-Barenblatt v. United States and Uphaus v. Wyman-dramatically iliustrate the need for remembering that what the Court decides, rather than what the Court says in its opinion, is the true measure of the law it declares. In each of these cases the Court dealt with situations similar to but essentially different from, situations on which it had ruled 2 years before-in Watkins v. United States and Sweezy v. New Hampshire. In each of the cases the Court without reversing its prior decisions, has shown that popular assumptions derived from the language of its earlier opinions have been somewhat wide of the mark,

The Barenblatt case can Illustrate both. Lloyd Barenblatt, a former psychology pro-fessor at Vassar, had been identified by a Witness before the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a member of a Communist group at the University of Michigan from 1947 to 1950. When subpoenned by the committee, Barenblatt refused to answer, among other things, whether he was then, or ever had been, a member of the Communist Party. The Court, confining its consideration to his refusal to answer these questions, upheld his conviction for refusing to answer. Mr. Justice Harlan wrote the opinion for the majority (including Justices Frankfurter, Clark, Whittaker and Stewart). Mr. Justice Black wrote a dissenting opinion joined in by Chief Justice Warren and Mr. Justice Douglas. Mr. Justice Brennan dissented in a separate opinion.

#### DID NOT INVOKE FIFTH

Barenblatt did not claim the benefits of the fifth amendment. His arguments were: That the resolution setting up the Com-mittee on Un-American Activities was too vague; that it was inquiring into areas of beliefs and associations with which Congress could have no proper concern because of the first amendment, and that the committee was not seeking information in ald of legislation, but was out to punish individuals through public disclosure. Three

of these contentions; Mr. Justice Brennan put his dissent solely on the last ground.

The arguments made by Barenblatt could be supported, in many respects, by the language of the majority opinion in the Watkins case, which was decided in June 1957.

In the Barenblatt opinion, however, Mr. Justice Harlan tells us that while the Court continues to believe, as it did in Watkins, that the committee's enabling resolution itself is too vague to be a guide, Barenblatt was given additional information as to scope of the particular inquiry by the preliminary statement of the chairman and by prior proceedings of the committee which Barenblatt had attended.

#### EXPOSITEE ISSUE

On the matter of exposure for exposure's sake, Mr. Justice Harlan states that the Watkins case was not decided on that Indeed the Court had expressly ground. conceded that it could not examine into the motives of committee members.

Although the Watkins case is still law, there is certainly a sharp contrast between the opinion in that case and the opinion of the new majority in the Barenblatt case (which, incidentally, includes Mr. Justice Stewart, appointed since the decision in the Watkins case). Moreover, in the Barenblatt case the Court has decided several new matters. The Court has held that, if the Committee on Un-American Activities will take the trouble to make clear the nature and scope of each of its investigations as they occur, the vagueness of its basic charter will not deprive it of the right to compel answers to its questions.

More importantly, the Court has decided that the committee may inquire into beliefs and associations, so long as they are related to the Communist Party and its activities. If they so probed other matters, the inquiries would raise, in Mr. Justice Harlan's words, "constitutional issues of the gravest character" under the first amendment.

#### REDS SINGLED OUT

It is on this latter holding that Mr. Justice Black's dissent poses its most serious question. In effect, as he points out, the majority has decided that Communists have lost at least some of the first amendment's protection which would apply, for example, to Democrats, or Socialists or Prohibitionists. They have lost them because among Communist tenets is the ultimate overthrow of the Government by force and violence.

Of course the Government has and has exercised the power to protect itself by punishing seditious or treasonable acts, but now it may, to an extent which would be forbidden as to other groups, curtail Communist ideas, opinions, speeches and associations. Recalling that in our past history we have had other groups which have been similarly accused—the Socialists in 1920, the Masons in the 1830's, and Jefferson's party in the late 18th century-Justice Black feels that the Court has made a major step away from the safeguards, not only to Communists, but to everyone, embodied in the first amendment.

Perhaps it is too much to expect that in an era of cold war with the Communist world the Court would carry to its ultimate conclusion Mr. Justice Holmes' dictum of "freedom for the thought we hate," or the proud boast, in Jefferson's first inaugural address, of toleration under the Constitution even of those who would like to dissolve the Union. The more significant safeguards in such times will come from a sense of re-straint in the Congress, and a widespread sense in the community of the values inherent in the Bill of Rights.

#### of the dissenting justices agreed with each LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

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Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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Messrs. Magnuson (chairman), Pastore, Monroney, Smathers, Thurmond, Lausche, Yarborough, Engle, Bartlett, Hartke, McGee, Schoeppel, Butler, Cotton, Case of New Jersey, Morton, and Scott.

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Messrs. Eastland (chairman), Kefauver, Johnston of South Carolina, Hennings, Mc-Clellan, O'Mahoney, Ervin, Carroll, Dodd, Hart, Wiley, Langer, Dirksen, Hruska, and Keating.

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Messrs. Chavez (chairman), Kerr. McNamara, Neuberger, Randolph, McCarthy, Young, Muskie, Gruening, Moss, Case of South Dakota, Martin, Cooper, Scott, and

Committee on Rules and Administration Messrs. Hennings (chairman), Hayden, Green, Mansfield, Jordan, Cannon, Curtis, Morton, and Keating.

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Mr. Chief Justice Warren, of California, Hotel Sheraton-Park, Washington, D. C.
Mr. Justice Black, of Alabama, 619 S. Lee St.,
Alexandria, Va.
Mr. Justice Frankfurter, of Massachusetts,

3018 Dumbarton Ave.
Mr. Justice Douglas, of Washington, 4852
Hutchins Pl.

Mr. Justice Clark, of Texas, 2101 Connecticut

Mr. Justice Harlan, of New York, 1677 31st St. Mr. Justice Brennan, of New Jersey, 3037

Dumbarton Ave. Mr. Justice Whittaker, of Missouri, 5000 Van Ness St.

Mr. Justice Stewart, of Ohio, Fairfax Hotel.

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Deputy Clerk—Edmund P. Cullinan, 4823 Reservoir Rd.

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Warren. District of Columbia.

First judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Frankfurter. Maine. Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Puerto Rico, Rhode Island.

Second judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Harlan.
Connecticut, New York, Vermont.

Third judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Brennan.
Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virgin
Islands.

Islands.

Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virgin Islands.

Fourth judicial circuit: Mr. Chief Justice Warren. Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia.

Fifth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Black. Alabama. Canal Zone, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas.

Sixth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Stewart. Kentucky, Michigan, Ohio, Tennessee.

Seventh judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Clark. Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin.

Eighth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Whitaker. Arkansas, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota.

Ninth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Douglas, Alaska, Arizona, California, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Washington, Guam, Hawali.

Tenth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Whitaker. Colorado, Kansas, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Utah, Wyoming.

# Appendix

New Glory for Old Glory

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. CLIFFORD G. McINTIRE

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 19, 1959

Mr. McINTIRÉ. Mr. Speaker, too few of us are constantly conscious of the fact that our flag is a symbol of the truly great American drama, that the Stars and Stripes first fluttered in the winds of dynamic events which were the heightened expression of the breath of freedom.

To refresh our minds, stimulate our patriotism, stir our hearts, and excite our spirits, I submit to the Record the following excellent address:

#### NEW GLORY POR OLD GLORY

(Address delivered by Daniel E. Lambert, Orrington, district commander of the fifth district, Department of Maine, the American Legion, during the special American Legion Flag Day observance program on station WLBZ-TV, channel 2. Bangor, Maine, on June 14. The program was held in cooperation with the Maine Department of the American Legion and station WLBZ-TV, Bangor, as part of a public service effort to stimulate interest in the patriotic observance of our national day of remembrance)

My friends and fellow Americans, Flag Day on June 14 is the annual observance of Old Glory's anniversary.

It was on June 14, 1777, that George Washington proclaimed the first Flag Day. It was on that date that the Stars and Stripes first was displayed officially as the national American colors. This first flag embodied the 13 stripes but had only 13 stars representing the original Colonies which had formed the first Union.

In the eyes of the Maine American Legion, Flag Day is one of the most important of American holidays. The American Legion since its birth has been dedicated to the promotion of flag education and the proper display of the Stars and Stripes.

We of the Maine American Legion urge every citizen of the Pine Tree State to practice good citizenship with home ownership

and display of our flag.

How many of our American citizens know the dramatic history of Old Glory? As an American Legion representative, I would like to devote this Flag Day talk to the birth and

development of Old Glory.

It was at the battle of Fort Stanwix—later renamed Fort Schuyler, at Rome, N.Y., that the American flag was first flown in the open air in the name of freedom. The battle for New York was just beginning. The upstart colony would not respond to the dictates of the mother country, so the English Redcoats were sent over to beat them into submission. And now the unkempt American farmers who fought under Colonel Gansevoort had the nerve to fly this new flag in their faces. The Redcoats laughed, and vowed they'd soon tear it down.

That was on August 3, 1777. But that flag, which was supposed to fall with the first volley of shots, somehow kept flying.

It was still at the mast 19 days later, when the British called off their siege. Then, on October 17, little more than 2 months after the Stars and Stripes first fiew in the faces of the enemy, General Burgoyne handed over his sword to General Washington at Saratoga. One of the most decisive campaigns of the Revolutionary War was over.

That first fing was a homemade affair. History tells us that it was made from shreds of cloth which were available in the fort. It was put together, it is said, from the white of a soldier's shirt, the blue of a captain's cloak and the red from a woman's peticoat. It was fashioned, in the tradition of American democracy, from the resolution adopted by the new American Congress a few months earlier:

"Resolved, That the flag of the 13 United States be 13 stripes, alternate red and white; that the Union be 13 stars, white on a blue field, representing a new constellation."

It was in June 1776, fully a year before this official adoption of the flag that a committee called upon Mrs. Betsy Ross at her little upholstery shop in Philadelphia. Would it be possible, they asked, to make a flag according to the sketch they presented?

They showed her a drawing of 13 stripes and 13 stars, 1 for each of the Thirteen Original States. Each of the stars had six points. Mrs. Ross quickly suggested that the stars be reduced to five points. She showed them how a five-pointed star could be made with one snip of the scissors through folded cloth. George Washington, one of the committee members, immediately agreed and suggested that the new five-pointed stars be arranged in a circle. This would signify equality for all, and that no one star was to be better than another.

Within a few days the flag was made. Although America was to have no official flag until that first Flag Day—a year later, on the 14th of June 1777—the Betsy Ross flag served in the meantime. The deep significance behind the colors which has attended them through the years was pointed out by General Washington:

"We take the star from heaven, the red from our mother country, separating it by white stripes, thus showing that we have separated from her, and the white stripes shall go down in posterity representing liberty."

The first official flag, like the Betsy Ross flag, embodied 13 stars and 13 stripes, representing the Thirteen Original Colonies, But, on March 4, 1792, Vermont joined the new Union, and on June 1 of the following year, Kentucky did likewise. How were these new members to be recognized in the make-up of the flag?

Various suggestions were made. The circular pattern of the stars of the early flag had been replaced by that of three horizontal lines of stars; perhaps Vermont and Kentuck could be placed at the end of the last line. Then, too, they could be represented by two new stripes at the bottom of the flag.

So, in 1794, President Washington approved an act which had been passed by Congress:

"Be it enacted, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That from and after the 1st day of May 1795, the flag of the United States be 15 stripes, alternate red and white; and that the Union be 15 stars, white in a blue field."

This flag, with 15 stars and 15 stripes, was flown over U.S. forces during the War of 1812.

It was the sight of this flag, as it flew over Fort McHenry in September, 2 years after the war's outbreak, that inspired the writing of "The Star-Spangled Banner" by Francis Scott Key.

But the baby Union kept growing. Tennessee and Ohio had joined before the 1812 war; Louislana joined that same year. Indiana joined on December 11, 1816, and Mississippi on December 10 a year later. Now the Union was made of 20 States. Would it not be cumbersome and awkward to add a new stripe and star each time a State joined?

A committee was set up by Congress to study the problem. They realized that more States might join, and that some means must be found to give them a place of honor in the flag without radically altering its plan. Many suggestions were made. Design after design was presented, considered, dropped.

Finally, on April 4, 1818, "An act to establish the flag of the United States" was signed into law by President Monroe. The flag would consist of 13 alternating red and white stripes, plus a field of blue with a white star representing each State. As new States were admitted to the Union, a new star would be added, to take effect, in the words of the act:

"On the 4th of July next succeeding such admission."

Thus, 141 years ago, the general pattern of our flag was settled. Stars were added with the admission of new States, until in 1912—nearly 100 years after the writing of the Star-Spangled Banner—the 48th star was added to represent Arizona, which had joined earlier that year.

Tradition has it that the first American flag to fly over a warship was hoisted by John Paul Jones on July 4, 1777. Later it was transferred to the ship Bon Homme Richard, a decrepit hulk which staggered under the recoil of her 40 guns. With the Stars and Stripes at her masthead, he took her into English waters. Here he secured many valuable prizes, engaging far better ships and defeated them by brilliant seamanship. Finally, however, his ship met her fate in a conflict with a Baltic man-of-war. The

Finally, however, his ship met her fate in a conflict with a Baltic man-of-war. The Serapis, a bristling new frigate, was engaged by the Bon Homme Richard in a tremendous battle. Firing point-blank, the two ships neither gave nor asked any quarter. Finally, the Serapis sent a request for surrender to the shredded and sinking Bon Homme Richard.

Back came the famous reply of John Paul

"I have not yet begun to fight."

Within a few hours the tenacity of this unquenchable American and his crew turned the tide—and the pride of the British convoy lowered her colors to a sinking American hulk. John Paul Jones transferred to the Serapis, and watched the Bon Homme Richard go down with her dead still aboard and the Stars and Stripes still flying.

Telling of it later, he said, "The very last vestige mortal eyes ever saw of the Bon Homme Richard was the defiant waving or her unconquered and unstricken flag as she went down. And as I had given them the good old ship for their sepulchre, I now bequeathed to my immortal dead, the flag they had so desperately defended for their winding sheet."

A finer tribute to a flag can be paid by no man.

When did the flag get its name Old Glory? History tells us that Capt. William Driver, a Salem sea captain, who moved to Nashville just before the Civil War, took with him the

flag from the brig he had commanded. It was his flag which was eventually raised over the capitol there. As it rose to the breeze, history reports Captain Driver as saying, "I have always said if I could see it float over that capitol I should have lived long enough; now Old Glory is up there, gentlemen, and I am ready to die."

In keeping with the humble origin of our banner, one of the first American flags to fly over a schoolhouse was a homemade affair. It was unfurled over a log school in Colrain, Mass, in 1812. Since that date millions of schoolchildren have passed in and out of the doors of the Nation's schools under the protection of its banner. While they learned their three r's, most of them were only dimly aware of the immense significance of that red, white, and blue ensign.

That awareness came later. Some learned the meaning of the flag during those years of the war of 1812 when their fathers, their brothers, or their classmates failed to come home. Others learned it in the Mexican War 35 years later. Still others, in the heartbreaking struggle of the Civil War, carried it into battle against their own countrymenor saw it lined up against them across the

The heroes of the Spansih American War raised that flag over the Philippines and Cuba, as Spain was prevented from any further threat to the New World. The doughboys in Europe carried that flag into battle in the First World War. The American GI, the sailor, the marine, the coastguardsmantook it with them to the corners of the earth in World War II. Fliers wore it on their sleeves high over Europe and the Pacific theater. Old Glory floated proudly with other flags in Korea as the first test of the new United Nations was passed.

One of the greatest peacetime triumphs of the Stars and Stripes came nearly 50 years ago. For four centuries man had tried to reach the North Pole. Explorers of many nations had matched their best against the awful cold and misery of the polar regions, and had never attained their goal. Finally one man successfully completed the struggle. On April 6, 1909, the American flag was fixed in the ice of the pole. There it snapped in the wind-a tribute to the spirit of the brave men of all nations and a monument to the courage of Robert E. Peary, commander, U.S. Navy-the man who had placed it there.

The Stars and Stripes is a new flag. No ancient crest adorns its folds. No timehonored motto is emblazoned upon it. Although possessed of a glorious history, it has existed less than 50 years in its present form. It had its modest beginnings in strips of the clothing of a beleagued Nation. Tradition is not a part of it. Rather, it represents those things for which America is most noted: vigor, youth, independence, leader-ship, goodwill. It welcomes under its folds the hopeful pioneers from many lands. No

other flag on earth is like it.

It stands as a symbol of hope in a world full of doubt. That hope has been engendered by the blood and the struggles of millions of boys and girls, men and women, who have fought for the cause of liberty wherever the flag has been in danger.

It is in danger now; perhaps the gravest danger of its two short centuries of existence. The surest way out of the danger is a full appreciation of-and reliance in-the ideals for which it came into being, the sacrifices of those who have made it possible, and the Almighty God without whose favor it could not exist.

In the words of Henry Ward Beecher:

"The history of this banner is all on one side. Under it rode Washington and his armles; before it Burgoyne laid down his arms. It waved on the highlands at West Point; it floated over old Fort Montgomery. When Arnold would have surrendered these valuable fortresses and precious legacles, his night was turned into day, and his treachery was driven away, by the beams of light from this starry banner.

"It cheered our Army, driven from New York, in their solitary pligrimage through New Jersey. It streamed in light over Valley Forge and Morristown. It crossed the waters rolling with ice at Trenton; and when its stars gleamed in the cold morning with victory, a new day of hope dawned on the despondency of the Nation. And when, at length, the long years of war were drawing to a close, underneath the folds of this immortal banner sat Washington, while Yorktown surrendered its hosts, and our Revolu-tionary struggles endeded with victory.

"Let us then twine each thread of the glorious tissue of our country's flag about our heartstrings; and looking upon our homes and catching the spirit that breathes upon us from the battlefields of our fathers, let us resolve, come weal or woe, we will, in life and in death, now and forever, stand by the stars and stripes. They have been unfurled from the snows of Canada to the plains of New Orleans, in the halls of Montezumas and amid the solitude of every sea; and everywhere, as the luminous symbol of resistless and beneficient power, they have led the brave to victory and to glory. They have floated over our cradles; let it be our prayer and our struggle that they shall float over

Thank you, on behalf of the Maine American Legion, God bless you and remember join your American Legion's compaign "New

Glory for Old Glory."

(Following Commander Lambert's address, the new American Legion film "Stars and Stripes in Review" was shown over the was shown over the Bangor TV station.)

Resolution by Textile Workers Union of America on Area Redevelopment Legis-

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 19, 1959

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the resolution recently passed by the northeastern Massachusetts joint board, Textile Workers Union of America, AFL-CIO:

RESOLUTION ON AREA REDEVELOPMENT LEGISLATION

The problem of chronic unemployment will persist with us even if the level of national unemployment declines. There are more than 200 labor markets with substantial labor surpluses which means that more than 6 percent of the labor force are unemployed in these areas. In 121 major and smaller labor markets, unemployment in excess of 6 percent has lasted for more than 18 consecutive months. Continued unemployment has brought great human distress representing a drain on the resources of the individuals, their families, and the communities.

In most of these areas the long-term unemployment is due to the fact that the older industries have shrunken in size, or closed, or employment in the established plants has been reduced by automation and technological change. New industries and employment have not appeared in sufficient volume, if at all, to absorb the present employees and the new entrants into the labor force.

The area of Lawrence, Mass., has been distressed for many months. The latest report on unemployment shows 7 percent unem-ployed. Our community needs the benefits which would be provided for under the area redevelopment bill now being considered by the House of Representatives.

The American people are committed to maintaining an economy which assures maximum employment, production, and purchasing power. Only by assuring jobs for these people can we assure the realization of this

goal.

We are now helping foreign distressed and underdeveloped areas through our foreign-aid program; these same principles should be implemented in this country: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the northeastern Massachusetts joint board, Textile Workers Union of America, AFL-CIO, urge upon the Congress of the United States that it pass the area redevelopment bill, S. 722 (House version), and that the President of the United States sign this bill.

LAWRENCE, MASS., June 15, 1959.

Disabled American Veterans Renders Real Service to Veterans in Pennsylvania

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 19, 1959

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks it is a pleasure to incorporate an interesting report titled "DAV Service in Pennsylvania," submitted to me by my good friend, Mr. Millard W. Rice, who served as Disabled American Veterans National Commander in 1928-29 and subsequently in various responsible positions with the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States and the Disabled American Vet-

My friendship with Mr. Rice extends over a long period of time. We were closely associated during my third term as commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars when in 1936 I appointed him as Veterans of Foreign Wars National Legislative Director, a position he filled in a highly efficient manner for 5 years, resigning to accept appointment as national service director of the Disabled American Veterans. At the present time Mr. Rice is serving as executive secretary and director of the Disabled American Veterans Service Foundation.

The report follows:

DAV SERVICES IN PENNSYLVANIA

The Disabled American Veterans, through its varied activities, has compiled an exceptional record of vital rehabilitation services freely extended to thousands of Pennsylvania citizens. These splendid humanitarian services are not sufficiently appreciated by those who have benefited thereby, directly and indirectly.

Among the several congressionally chartered veteran organizations which have State departments and local chapters in Pennsylvania is the Disabled American Veterans. The DAV is the only such organization composed exclusively of those Americans who have been either wounded, gassed, injured, or disabled by reason of active service in the Armed Forces of the United States, or of some country allied with it, during time

#### DAY SETUP

Formed in 1920, under the leadership of Judge Robert S. Marx, DAV legislative activitles have benefited every compensated disabled veteran. Its present national commander is another judge, David B. Williams, of Concord, Mass. Its national adjutant is John E. Feighner, of Cincinnati, Ohio. Its national legislative director is Elmer M. Freudenberger; its national director of claims, Cicero F. Hogan; and its national director of employment relations, John W. Burris—all located at its national service headquarters at 1701 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

Inasmuch as less than 10 percent of our country's war veterans are receiving monthly disability-compensation payments for service-connected disabilities-some 2 millionthe DAV can never aspire to become the largest of the several veteran organizations. Nevertheless, since shortly after its formation, in 1920, the DAV national headquarters, located in Cincinnati, Ohio, has maintained the largest staff of any veteran organization of full-time trained national service officers, 138 of them being located in the 63 regional and 3 district offices of the U.S. Veterans' Administration and in its central office in Washington, D.C. They have ready access to the official claim records of those claimants who have given them their powers of attorney. All of them being war-handicapped veterans themselves, these service officers are sympathetic and alert as to the problems of other less well-informed

#### DAY SERVICES IN PENNSYLVANIA

Nine full-time national service officers are maintained by the DAV in the three VA regional offices in Pennsylvania: Mr. Samuel A. Hoopes, Curtis Haube, and William C. Watkins are located at 107 Sixth Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.; John J. Keller, Peter Dudish, and Charles S. Rouse at 19-27 North Main Street, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.; and Rudolph Mileski, William E. Gearhart, and Edward J. Norris at 128 North Broad Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

The DAV department commander is Sterling L. Morelock, 1141 North Highland Avenue, Pittsburgh; and the department adjutant is Harry C. Martin, 432 Market Street, Harrishurg.

The national executive committeeman and alternate of the DAV third district are Mr. Marvin Silver, 7725 Pickering Street, Philadelphia, and Mr. Fred J. Hannan, 110 Milten-

berger Street, Pittsburgh.

Ten VA hospitals are maintained in Pennsylvania: A 488-bed GM hospital at Philadelphia, a 200-bed GM hospital at Altoona, a 455-bed GM hospital at Aspinwall, a 500bed TB hospital at Butler, a 204-bed GM hospital at Erie, a 606-bed NP hospital at Pittsburgh, a 742-bed GM hospital at Pittsburgh, a 1,913-bed NP hospital at Coatesville, a 1,065-bed NP hospital at Lebanon, and a 500-bed GM hospital at Library and a 500-bed GM hospital at Wilkes-Barre.

The Disabled American Veterans representatives with the Veteran's Administration voluntary services are: Jacob Zaslow of 2649 North 25th Street, Philadelphia, Pa., at the general medical hospital at Philadelphia; Mr. Germain Stehle of 1120 Fifth Avenue, Altoona, at the general medical hospital at Altoona; Mr. John Cousins 1237 Berkshire Avenue, Pittsburgh, at the neuropsychiatric hospital at Pittsburgh; Mr. Clifford J. Lecch, R.F.D. 1, Elwood City, at the TB hospital at Butler, Mr. Earl Higgins, 3003 Cherry Street, Brie, at the general medical hospital at Eric; Mr. Bartosiewicz 409 Esther Avenue, New

Kensington Pa., at Pittsburgh; Mr. Robert A. Hance, Glen Mills, at Coatesville; Mr. A. Charles Simonson, 237 Blackman Street, Wilkes-Barre; and Mr. Walter T. Cook, 2916 Butler Street, Penbrook at the neuropsychiatric hospital at Lebanon, Pa.

During the last fiscal year, the Veteran's Administration paid out \$333,443,000 for its veteran program in Pennsylvania, including \$98,350.696 disability compensation to its 138,102 service disabled veterans. These Federal expenditures in Pennsylvania furnish substantial purchasing power in all communities.

Less than 6 percent (7,474) are now members of the 72 Disabled American Veterans Chapters in Pennsylvania.

#### SERVICE ACCOMPLISHMENTS BY THE DISABLED AMERICAN VETERANS

This 6 percent record is strange, in view of the very outstanding record of personalized service activities and accomplishments of the Disabled American Veterans national service officers in behalf of Pennsylvania veterans and dependents during the last 10 fiscal years, as revealed by the following

Claimants contacted, esti-	
mate	192, 537
Claims folders reviewed	160, 447
Appearances before rating	
boards	75, 688
Compensation increases ob-	N 1 1 - 22 200
tained	12, 596
Service connections obtained_	3, 712
Nonservice pensions	2,981
Death benefits obtained	506
Total monetary benefits ob-	
tained	\$6, 423, 542.37

These above figures do not include the accomplishments of other national service officers on duty in the Central Office of the Veterans' Administration, handling appeals and reviews, or in its three district offices. handling death and insurance cases. Over the last 10 years, they reported 83,611 claims handled in such district offices, resulting in monetary benefits of \$20,850,335.32, and in the central offices they handled 58,282 reviews and appeals, resulting in monetary benefits of \$5,337,389.05. Proportionate additional benefits were thereby obtained for Pennsylvania veterans, their dependents and their survivors.

#### SERVICES BEYOND STATISTICS

These figures fail properly to paint the picture of the extent and value of the individualized advice, counsel and assistance extended to all of the claimants who have contacted Disabled American Veterans service officers in person, by telephone, and by

Pertinent advice was furnished to all disabled veterans-bnly about 10 percent of whom were DAV members—their dependents, and others, in response to their varied claims for service connection, disability compensation, medical treatment, hospitalization, prosthetic appliances, vocational training, insurance, death compensation or pension, VA guarantee loans for homes, farms and businesses, etc. Helpful advice was also given as to counseling and placement into suitable useful employment (to utilize their remaining abilities), civil service examinations, appointments, retentions, retirement benefits, and multifarious other problems.

Every claim presents different problems. Too few Americans fully realize that governmental benefits are not automatically awarded to disabled veterans-not given on a silver platter. Frequently, because of lack of official records, death or disappearance of former buddies and associates, lapse of memory with the passage of time, lack of information and experience, proof of the legal service-connection of a disability becomes extremely difficult—too many times impos-sible. A claims and rating board can ob-

viously not grant favorable action merely based on the opinions, impressions or con-clusions of persons who submit notarized affidavits. Specific, detailed, pertinent facts are essential.

The VA, which acts as judge and jury, cannot properly prosecute claims against itself. As the defendant, in effect, the U.S. Veterans' Administration must award the benefits provided under the laws administered by it, only under certain conditions.

A DAV national service officer can and does advise a claimant precisely why his claim may previously have been denied and then specifies what additional evidence is essential. The claimant must necessarily bear the burden of obtaining such fact-giving affidavit evidence. The experienced national service officer will, of course, advise him as to its possible improvement, before presenting same to the adjudication agency, in the light of all of the circumstances and facts, and of the pertinent laws, precedents, regulations and schedule of disability ratings. No DAV national service officer, I feel certain, ever uses his skill, except in behalf of worthy claimants, with justifiable claims.

The VA has denied more claims than it has allowed—because most claims are not properly prepared. It is very significant, as pointed out by the DAV acting national dipointed out by the DAV acting national di-rector of claims, Chester A. Cash, that a much higher percentage of those claims, which have been prepared and presented with the aid of a DAV national service officer, are eventually favorably acted upon, than is the case as to those claimants who have not given their powers of attorney to any such special advocate.

#### LOSSES BY REVIEWS

Another fact not generally known is that, under the overall review of claims inaugu-rated by the VA some 4 years ago, the disability compensation payments of about 37,-200 veterans have been discontinued, and reduced as to about 27,300 others at an aggregate loss to them of more than \$28 million per year. About 6.7 percent of such discontinuances and reductions have probably occurred as to disabled veterans in Pennsylvania, with a consequent loss of about \$1,876,000 per year.

Most of these unfortunate claimants were

not represented by the DAV or by any other veteran organization. Judging by the past, such unfavorable adjudications will occur as to an additional equal number or more during the next 3 years, before such review is completed. It is urged that every disabled veteran in Pennsylvania give his power of attorney to the national service officer of the DAV or of some other veteran organization, or of the American Red Cross, just as a protective measure.

The average claimant who receives helpful advice probably does not realize the background of training and experience of a competent expert national service officer.

#### COSTS OF DAY SERVICES

Measured by the DAV's overall costs of about \$12,197,600 during a 10-year period, one would find that it has expended about \$3.50 for each claim folder reviewed, or about \$3.80 for each rating board appearance, or, again, about \$22.70 for each favorable award obtained, or about \$123 for each service connection obtained, or about \$54 for each compensation increase obtained, and has obtained about \$14.10 of direct monetary benefits for claimants for each dollar expended by the DAV and its national service officer set-Moreover, such benefits will generally continue for many years.

#### METHODS OF PROVIDING SERVICES

Evidently, most claimants are not aware of the fact that the DAV receives no Government subsidy whatsoever. The DAV is enabled to maintain its nationwide staff of expert national service officers primarily because of income from membership dues collected by its local chapters and from the net income on its idento-tag (miniature auto-mobile license tag) project, owned by the DAV and operated by its employees, most of whom are disabled veterans, their wives, or their widows, or other handicapped Ameri-cans—a rehabilitation project in thus furnishing them with useful employment. Incidentally, without checking as to whether they had previously sent in a donation, more than 1,400,000 owners of sets of lost keys have received them back from the DAV's identotag department, 56,343 of whom, during the last 8 years, were Pennsylvania residents.

Every eligible veteran, by becoming a DAV member, and by explaining these factors to fellow citizens, can help the DAV to procure such much-needed public support as will enable it to maintain its invaluable nationwide service setup on a more adequate basis. So much more could be accomplished for distressed disabled veterans, if the DAV could be enabled, financially, to maintain an expert service officer in every one of the 173 VA hospitals.

#### MEMORIAL HONOR ROLL

During the last 10 years, the DAV has also relied on appropriations from its separately incorporated trustee, the DAV Service Foundation, aggregating \$3,300,000, exclusively for salaries to its national service officers. Its reserves having been thus nearly exhausted, the DAV Service Foundation is therefore very much in need of the generous support of all "serviced" claimants, DAV members, and other social-minded Americans-by direct donations, by designations in insurance policies, by bequests in wills, by assignments of stocks and bonds, and by establishing special types of trust funds.

A special type of memorial trust fund originated about 3 years ago with concerned disabled veteran members of the DAV chapter in Butte, Mont., which established the first perpetual rehabilitation fund of \$1,000 with the DAV Service Foundation. Recently it added another \$100 thereto. Since then added another \$100 thereto. Since then every DAV unit in that State has established such a special memorial trust fund, ranging from \$100 to \$1,100, equivalent to about \$5 per DAV member.

Inasmuch as only the interest earning from special donations will be available for appropriation to the DAV for its use in maintaining its national service officer program in the State of residence of each such benefactor, this is an excellent objective also for Pennsylvania. Each such special benefactor is enrolled on a permanent memorial honor roll which, updated, is then included in the annual report of the DAV and its incorporated trustee, the DAV Service Foundation, to the U.S. Congress.

Each claimant who has received any such rehabilitation service can help to make it possible for the DAV to continue such excellent rehabilitation services in Pennsylvania by sending in donations to the DAV Service Foundation, 631 Pennsylvania Ave-nue NW., Washington, D.C.

Every such "serviced" claimant who is eligible can and should also become a DAV member, preferably a life member, for which the total fee is \$100 (\$50 to those born before January 1, 1902, or World War I veterans) payable in installments within 2 full fiscal year periods.

Every American can help to make our Government more representative by being a supporting member of at least one organization which reflects his interests and viewpoints-labor unions, trade associations, and various religious, fraternal, and civic associations. All of America's veterans ought to be members of one or more of the patriotic. service-giving veteran organizations. All of America's disabled defenders, who are receiving disability compensation, have greatly benefited by their own official voice—the DAV.

Lewis L. Strauss, Outstanding American

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 19, 1959

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, the Senate's early morning action today has brought upon our Nation a tremendous loss. - David Lawrence's article, which appeared in this morning's issue of the New York Herald Tribune, is an excellent summation of the episode:

SENATE FIGHT ON STRAUSS CALLED A TRAGIC EPISONE

#### (By David Lawrence)

Washington, June 18 .- One of the most tragic episodes in the entire history of the U.S. Senate is the fight that has been waged to prevent the confirmation of Lewis L. Strauss as Secretary of Commerce. It is tragic because it is based on a personal feud. When hatreds become deep-seated, they sometimes produce far-reaching cleavages, with emotion substituted for reason.

The current dispute is the outgrowth of friction between Mr. Strauss and Senator CLINTON ANDERSON, Democrat, of New Mex-When the former was chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, he rubbed Sen-

ator Anderson the wrong way.

The New Mexico Senator is chairman of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee in Congress. He is influential with his colleagues. Many sided with him-as members of the senatorial club often do-without particular regard to the merits of a question but with greater regard for the wishes of a fellow

#### STRAUSS GAVE DATA

Mr. Anderson's home State-New Mexicois the seat of atomic laboratories where many scientists are gathered. Some of them are embittered over what they believe was Mr. Strauss' animosity toward J. Robert Oppenheimer, the scientist whose clearance was denied for security reasons by a Presidential board. While Mr. Strauss was not a member of this board he did present to the White House the charges that led to the inquiry. It was natural that many of Mr. Anderson's constituents should expect him to do what he could to punish Mr. Strauss.

But this isn't all of the controversy. It couldn't be focused on the Communist issue alone. It so happens that Mr. Strauss fought against governmental operation of power projects and in favor of private power. this gave an opportunity for some of his foes in that field to be lined up against him.

The tactics have been palpable for months. The hearing held by a Senate committee was more of an inquisition than the normal recording of the views of a prospective Cabinet Usually the opposition party doesn't object to the appointment by a President of whoever he wants in a Cabinet post. But the recent hearings resulted in a bitter fencing match and naturally the answers provoked were not always as clear cut as they would be if a different atmosphere had pre vailed. Mr. Strauss was thereupon attacked as being deceitful and as lacking in character

#### PRAISED BY DODD

But not all the Democrats allowed this vendetta to envelop them. Senator Thomas J. Dopp, of Connecticut, for instance, in a speech to the Senate today, said:

"Lewis L. Strauss is a man of 63 years. He is a former shoe salesman with a high-school education who has received honorary degrees from 29 colleges and universities.

"He has a background of devoted service to philanthropic and religious affairs.
"He has earned distinction and wealth in

the field of finance.

"He has a record of honorable achievement in the naval service in which he rose progressively to the rank of rear admiral.

"He has played some role in almost every administration, Democratic or Republican since the days of Woodrow Wilson.

"He has earned letters of recommendation from five Presidents.

"He has been awarded five of his country's highest decorations.

He has been honored by grateful nations of the free world.

"He has taken positions on matters of first importance to this Nation, positions that were controversial, positions that were right.

"In the 42d year of his public life, at its climatic hour, we in the Senate are asked to reward this man by visiting upon him a condemnation and a repudiation that have not been accorded any American in a genera-

#### CONDEMNED OPPENHEIMER

Senator Dopp referred to the case of Dr. Oppenheimer and said: "If ever a Government official, in possession of critical secret information, indicted himself as a security risk by his own words and actions, it was Oppenheimer. \* \*

"It is uncontested that over a period of many years Dr. Oppenheimer persisted in his Communist associations. He was a regular financial contributor to the Communist

Senator Dopp, referring to the Haakon Chevalier case, said it "is an admitted mat-ter of record that Oppenheimer concealed this espionage attempt from security investigators in an attempt to protect a Communist spy."

#### OPPOSED BY LIBERALS

Indignant denials are being made that the friends of Oppenheimer have not influenced the waging of the fight against the confirmation of Mr. Strauss. But the fact remains that for some unexplained reason the present Secretary of Commerce has been the victim of the same kind of smears and innuendoes which only a few years ago were being denounced as "character assassina-tion" in the era of so-called McCarthylsm. Today many of the liberal Senators are lined up against Lewis Strauss.

The most charitable interpretation of all this is that it is a personal feud, and that where human forgiveness should long ago have settled the quarrel between two strongly dedicated men it lingered on until the Senate itself became the vehicle for personal spite and recrimination. It is a sad chapter in American history.

#### Nationality Day U.S.A.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. FRANCIS E. DORN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. DORN of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the proclamation issued by President John Cashmore, of the Borough of Brooklyn, in honor of Nationality Day U.S.A. As a result of this proclamation and the ceremonies held on June 14, 1959, in Brooklyn I have introduced a resolution, House Joint Resolution 430, which would designate the

second Sunday in June of each year "Nationality Day U.S.A." on a nation-wide basis:

Whereas the Italian Historical Society of America has become the pioneer in a laudable movement to promote a nationwide observance of Nationality Day throughout the United States on the second Sunday of June of each year in tribute to all immigrants and their descendants; and

Whereas the first observance of Nationality Day has been arranged for Sunday, June 14, 1959, in conjunction with the traditional

Flag Day celebration; and

Whereas the numerous groups have signified their intention to participate in appropriate exercises which have been arranged for this occasion at the mall in Prospect Park; and

Whereas Brooklyn takes pride in the great contributions which immigrants and their descendants have made toward its cultural and economic well-being during its history

of more than 300 years; and

Whereas Brooklyn is today one of America's largest urban centers and particularly enjoys the distinction of having originated patriotic, religious and cultural ceremonies which have become nationwide in observance:

Now, therefore, I, John Cashmore, president of the Borough of Brooklyn, do hereby proclaim Sunday, June 14, 1959 as the first Nationality Day in conjunction with the traditional observance of Flag Day in our borough and do invite the attention of our own residents as well as the residents of other communities to the commendable purposes for which this occasion has been designated.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the Borough of Brooklyn to be affixed this 11th day of June 1959.

Attest:

JOHN CASHMORE,
President, Borough of Brooklyn.
JOHN A. HAYES,
Assistant to President.

Just More Controls

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. LEO E. ALLEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 19, 1959

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial, entitled "Just More Controls," from the Rockford (Ill.) Morning Star of June 16, 1959:

JUST MORE CONTROLS

It is apparent that the Democratic-controlled Congress does not intend to take any effective action to reduce farm-crop surpluses and the farmer's dependence on Government rather than markets. A Senate-House conference committee has been assigned the task of reaching a compromise on two wheat-control bills which do not meet the overproduction problem any better than previous Federal control measures.

The wheat bill passed by the House is designed to cut planting allotments and boost price supports. Under the bill, wheat acreage of individual farmers would be reduced 25 percent for the next 4 years, and the price-support floor would be jacked up to 90 percent of parity. The present program provides for 75 percent of parity on a total allotment of 55 million acres.

The Senate's wheat bill provides for a sliding price-support level running from 65 percent of parity to 80 percent, depending on the acreage individual farmers plant under their allotments.

Both Houses rejected an administration plan to cut production of wheat surpluses without boosting price supports.

There is a strong possibility President Eisenhower will veto whatever compromise comes out of the Senate-House conference. The President has repeatedly challenged Con-

gress to do something to curb the mounting wheat surplus and its cost.

The Democrats should know by now that control programs do not make the farmers any happier or solve the problems of agriculture. American farmers do not want a dole. Whenever they have had an opportunity to express a choice, they have indicated a desire to work free of Government restrictions and toward a reliance on the natural market.

Farmers and their organizations are conducting intensive sales campaigns at home and abroad on their own initiative and at their own expense. They are thinking in terms of merchandising rather than Government subsidy. The Government should lend encouragement to their efforts by moving away from supports and controls that serve only to fill Government warehouses at heavy expense to the taxpayers. Congress can bestelp the farmers by permitting them to regain their independence.

Another Bout With Tight Money Could Be Disaster

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 18, 1959

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to the attention of my colleagues a very sensible and public-spirited editorial which appeared in the Sacramento Bee on June 4 of this year.

The editorial offers valid criticism of a tight money policy. Because of its timeliness, clarity, and concern about our national fiscal policy, I sincerely hope it will be widely read by my colleagues and fully discussed.

I might add that this California paper is known not to speak for either the Democratic or Republican Party. It has a reputation for taking stands on the merits or demerits of given issues, regardless of who proposes or espouses them.

The Sacramento Bee calls the shots as it sees it and this editorial has hit the bull's-eye:

ANOTHER BOUT WITH TIGHT MONEY COULD BE DISASTER

As if two recessions were not enough in 6 years, the Federal Reserve Board, with its obsession about inflation shared by President Dwight D. Eisenhower, has resorted again to its recession policy by raising its rediscount rates to banks in five of its districts.

Just prior to this action some of the large banks had raised their interest rates to prime borrowers in response to a resurgent economy's need for loans. Demand in the classic fashion had driven up the price of money.

The chief hope that money would remain available for continued growth and that interest rates possibly would subside was for the Federal Reserve System to make it easier for the banks to get money. Instead, the system has made it harder.

The administration appears to have been panicked by economic expansion as a result of its obsessive fear of inflation. It cannot get it through its collective head that increased supplies are a curb on inflation.

With its heavy foot on economic growth, the administration has run up a \$20 billion addition to the Federal debt in 6 years. Higher interest rates have added from \$8 billion to \$10 billion to the annual cost of carrying just the national debt. The loss of unproduced wealth has reached what some competent economists estimate to be \$100 billion. The growth of the total national product fell from 4 percent in 1951 to 1½ in 1958, even as Russia's growth rose by 10 or 11 percent a year.

All through the Eisenhower period of antiinfiation policies prices rose except for last year. The administration and the money managers have evidenced no concept of the fact administered prices, even with lowered production volumes, held the price level up despite action to make money harder to get.

Of course, higher interest rates are discriminatory, since the well heeled corporations either have reserves of money or can afford to pay the higher rates. It is the small business that is driven to the wall.

What is at work is the old conservative fear of growth and policies which play into the hands of the privileged few, a disastrous combination when the Communist world is turning more and more to the economic weapon.

Operation Bootstrap, Indian Style

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 19, 1959

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I have asked unanimous consent to insert in the Record a statement on my Indian bill which I have chosen to term "Operation Bootstrap," Indian style, because the plan has been copied pretty much from the plan of Operation Bootstrap in Puerto Rico.

Since the introduction of this bill 2 weeks ago I have had dozens of letters from organizations interested in Indian problems, from industrial plants interested in the provisions of the bill, and from Indians themselves who see in this bill an opportunity for they and their family to obtain the better things of life.

Contrary to other proposed legislation for the Indian people, Operation Bootstrap does not propose the direct expenditure of a single cent of taxpayers' money. True, there is a tax exemption provided for an industrial plant locating on the reservation's area which one might call an indirect subsidy but it requires no personnel, it requires no direct appropriation. The only cost to the taxpayer is the cost of the tax exemption for the industrial plant.

On the other hand, the benefits, Mr. Speaker, are manifold. The principal problem on the Indian reservations of America is the fact that there is no employment and as my grandfather, a good old Dutchman from Pennsylvania used

still, for idle hands to do.

No work, no job, no income-other than relief-they sit unemployed without hope or purpose.

Where industrial development has offered employment, the entire reservation community has been completely changed, homes are repaired, children are clothed, an atmosphere of pride overtakes the community, with a better diet, bodies become more resistant to disease. The manager of the Bulova Watch Co., who have a jewel bearing plant at Rolla, N. Dak., told a group of us at a breakfast one morning that the absenteeism at the Rolla plant, which

cent. Mr. Speaker, I hope that the Members of this Congress will give serious consideration to Operation Bootstrap, Indian style. Passage of this style of legislation is long overdue.

has 90 percent Indian employment, is

less than any plant the company has.

He said normal absenteeism ran about

15 percent-at Rolla it is less than 3 per-

The Altoona (Pa.) Mirror, One of Pennsylvania's Most Popular and Widely Read Daily Newspapers, Celebrated Its 85th Birthday, June 13, 1959

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 19, 1959

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, amid a shower of congratulatory messages that included greetings from President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Vice President Richard M. Nixon, Members of the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives, Gov. David L. Lawrence, of Pennsylvania, and business and industrial leaders, the Altoona Mirror celebrated its 85th birthday, June 13, 1959.

Founded in 1847 by Harry Slep, a youthful German immigrant with a determined purpose in life and unbounded faith in America, the Altoona Mirror from its humble beginning as a four-page paper of five columns steadily grew in importance in the newspaper field under the inspired leadership of its founder.

Today daily issues of the Mirror contain many pages of eight columns each in presenting practically every facet of news found in the metropolitan daily papers.

The largest edition of the Mirror consisted of 128 pages and was published August 6, 1949, in heralding Altoona's centennial celebration; while the 85th anniversary issue published last Saturday was an 80-page edition replete with interesting articles tracing the Mirror's history and progress and likewise the business and industrial growth of the Altoona area since its first issue over three-quarters of a century ago.

Thus the 1959 anniversary edition embraced the period from the horse-and-

to say, "And Satan finds some mischief buggy era to the present atomic age, and gave an account of the Mirror's stewardship in abiding by the noble precepts of its founder Harry Slep and his son the late Daniel N. Slep, who for many years before his death in 1953 followed faithfully in his father's footsteps.

Truly the successful achievements of the Altoona Mirror and the prominence it has attained as an exponent of clean journalism are enduring monuments that keep alive the memories of a distinguished father and a faithful and renowned son.

Today the legacies of love and devotion to the highest ideals of responsible journalism exemplified by father and son are entrusted to the Mirror family comprised of a 12-member board of directors headed by President and General Manager J. E. "Ted" Holtsinger, who is also recognized in newspaper circles for his marked ability in writing editorials that have been widely acclaimed for their timeliness and content.

With Ted Holtsinger continuing as the guiding genius presiding over the destiny of the Mirror it is the consensus that under his inspiring leadership and administrative ability even greater success and progress are assured as the popular Blair County daily newspaper continues the journey onward to its 100th anniversary.

It was my pleasure to join with the large number of persons in all walks of life who extended on the 85th anniversary of the Mirror sincere congratulations and best wishes to officials and the staff of over 180 dedicated employees as well as, to nearly 500 newsboys, dealers, in independent carriers responsible for the delivery daily of the Mirror to its thousands of readers.

In further salute to the Mirror family incident to the 85th birthday of one of Pennsylvania's most popular and widely read newspapers and in keeping with the spirit of the occasion I wish to include at this point in my remarks an editorial written by the Mirror's president and general manager, J. E. "Ted" Holtsinger, entitled "Our 85th Birthday," together with an article entitled "Happy Birthday" written by Herman S. Reifsnyder, managing editor of the Mirror, who gives an interesting résumé of the accomplishments of the Mirror over a span of 85 years.

In conclusion there is included in my remarks my congratulatory message to the Altoona Mirror on such a memorable occasion as its 85th anniversary:

OUR 85TH BIRTHDAY

(By J. E. Holtsinger, president and general manager)

Eighty-five years ago today the Altoona Mirror was born. Conceived in the brain of a master printer, whose job shop had become an accepted part of the community, it was dedicated to community service. Its continued growth has proven the soundness of its founder's dedication to that service. He had faith in this community and its people.

Harry Slep, the founder of the paper, had a firm conviction that the master craftsmen who lived in Altoona and the surrounding towns would appreciate good printing. He insisted on good legible pages and the type of newswriting that conformed to clean type and good composition of both news and advertising pages.

The Mirror never has been a sensational paper. It has had its share of human tragedy to report, but it has never capitalized on human misery. Its editorial policy has been to give as much space and prominence as possible to the good deeds that men do and never to overplay their mistakes and the penalties they have had to pay for making them.

Starting a business back in those days was quite different in many ways from starting a new enterprise today. The founder and members of his family made up the greater portion of the work force. The apprentices and printers, admen, and reporters all served in dual capacities. Payment for services sometimes consisted of store orders and part cash and it was a happy day when all the pay was in the coin of the realm.

Nothing was deducted from the pay envelopes for social security, income tax, re-tirement fund, insurance or for any other reason and it did not require several bookkeepers to figure out what part of the pay or income of the business had to be set aside for Uncle Sam, for the Commonwealth, and for the city. Had all these requirements been in force at that time the little newspaper never could have been born and, if by some chance it had been born, it never would have survived.

Cash derived from sales of the paper and from advertising was used to pay the workers and when cash was short, as quite often it was, then the letters FHB were likely to come into use. These abbreviated letters meant family hold back. It was a familiar term with all local business of that era.

When there was surplus money it was spent for more type, better machinery, and that host of little things that go into the printing of a better paper. When the first linotype was purchased, the printers, less than 10 in number, were afraid that this would mean the end of their trade. On the contrary, the speed which was attained in setting type soon made it possible for more men and more machines to be added.

As the city grew, the Mirror grew with it. Today it is a regular visitor to almost every home in the city and it goes into more than 90 percent of all the homes in the county. It has held its own in the matter of quality printing and Mirror makeup and Mirror printing are bywords in the whole industry. In the national scene, competing with the largest newspapers of the country, the Mirror has won more than its share of the prizes and in a State noted throughout the Union for its fine newspapers it is a consistent winner of top awards for editorial and advertising content as well as for its excellence in typography.

The 80-page paper which the Mirror presents to its subscribers today taxed the capacity of the five big Goss units in our pressroom. This is one of about 10 daily papers in this State with an 80-page press. pressroom, which is visible from the 10th Street side of the building, is acclaimed as the cleanest pressroom in the State by those who regularly call upon the trade in Pennsylvania cities. It is manned by a crew that takes great personal pride in their work.

The composing room, which also is one of the most modern in the State, is kept in good order by the fine mechanics who work there. They also take good care of their machinery, knowing that clean type and dirty machines just don't go together for long. Those who write the news and advertising copy for the pages also have in mind the type of paper that will find ready acceptance in all the homes of the com-

A modern paper has many partners. Its closest partners and the ones whose opinions and preferences are most likely to be reflected are, of course, its subscribers. They make it a valuable asset to a growing region. Their lives and the life of their time are reflected

in its daily pages.

Another partner of considerable consequence is the advertising community. Cooperation and common trust between the subscribers and the advertisers make it possible for goods to move freely and services to be provided at lower costs than any other discovered means of trade.

Other partners include, of course, senior partner mentioned last week. He has never heard of the term FHB; with him it is a matter of uncle comes first. Then there is the Commonwealth which also comes in for its share of the income and the city and county and school district, all of which are dependent upon the profits of industry and the wages that industry provides for their continued existence.

Then, too, there are the guests. They include the Community Chest and Red Cross and all the other agencies that work for

the betterment of mankind.

Harry Slep, the master printer, would be amazed at the size to which his family has grown. We believe that he would be pleased with them and with the 80-page paper that they present to their subscribing partners on this anniversary.

May those who write and those who print

the anniversary editions in the years to come remember forever his conviction that clean printing, clean thinking and good service are the primary requisites for success.

#### HAPPY BIRTHDAY

(By H. S. Reifsnyder, managing editor)

"Happy birthday" is a greeting that is just about the nicest statement that anybody can receive, whether it be given to the youngest in years or to the oldest. a salutation with much meaning, one of sincerest best wishes, one of praise, one of congratulation, of remembrance, and of accomplishment, It's a salute that one cherishes as an in-

dividual. Yes, even business, industry and all firms appreciate the phrase on the occasion of the anniversary of their founding.

This year, the Altoona Mirror marks its 85th anniversary and it's a birthday, a June 13 one, that has been well remembered by the entire Mirror family and its host of friends far and near and the greetings, received from many, are most certainly appreciated.

Nothing perks up an individual or an organization nearly as much as that greeting "happy birthday." Just remembering it makes the recipient feel proud and happy. Birthdays are noted for their messages of friendship. They also are marked for their congratulations, and of giving and receiving of gifts, whether they be words, of letters, of messages. All are cheerfully given

and gratefully accepted.

On this 85th Altoona Mirror aniversary we accept the birthday event as a pretty good occasion to acknowledge remembrances, not only of the day, but of recent days, of recent months and of years gone by, for the Mirror has been the recipient of honors, awards and praises that have accumulated until today we of the newspaper fraternity are really bursting with pride over the numerous gifts that have been bestowed for services, for innovations, for outstanding achievement in the newspaper profession, in civic affairs and in practically every endeavor that the Mirror has been called upon to play some part.

June, of course, is a pretty swell month in itself. It is a month for brides, of roses, of graduations, for vacations, for celebrating the birth of our flag. It is also a month for sunspots, a hot moon, the surprise of heavy and fast appearing thunderstorms, and of halistorms. It is also the month for the swelling of little apples, green leaves on the swelling of other important things.

Eighty-five years represents an experienced age. Just to operate successfully over that period of years is an achievement. To continue a fine reputation for 4 score and 5 years is commendable. To stay young in spirit and continue to grow is even more creditable. And 85 is a fine time to look back over accomplishments and the resultant awards.

The Altoona Mirror has been extremely fortunate in winning laurels. The newspaper also shares many individual awards gained by the editorial, the advertising, the classified, the mechanical, the press, and the job departments. All have been highly praised for their services.

Gold cups, silver cups, loving cups, plaques, certificates, citations, and medals have all

been bestowed on the Mirror.

This newspaper is a muchly decorated business building. The walls are adorned with framed citations and with plaques. The library displays cups. It's practically a showplace for citations.

All our awards are cherished. All have tended to make the Mirror bigger and better for they have been an inspiration to the family of workers at all levels of employment.

Compiling a list of awards has been an interesting undertaking within recent weeks. Reciting all of them would consume much time. Even a roster of awards fills quite a

large sized volume.

Awards have come to the Mirror in com-petition, on occasion, with the more than 2,000 daily newspapers in the United States. The Mirror has won in many State competitions, both in the open class against 130 daily papers, large and small, and has competed against newspaprs in four States, combined for some years in an association for mutual benefit to advertisers.

General appearance, makeup, typography, best editorials, best editorial page, advertis-ing promotion, and ideas have all brought the Altoona Mirror high awards.

One of the Mirror's most prized gold cups sort of furnished this newspaper with a motto "A Mirror That Shines." And Editor and Publisher, donor of the cup, editorialized on the victory referring to the Altoona Mirror most glowingly.

"Far above any stood the Altoona Mirror. Every page was made up—made up, and not thrown together by a hurried compositor. It was expert workmanship, performed by skilled workmen, interested in producing the finest and most appealing product. Every advertisement bore the stamp of having been followed through from the front office to the delivery platform with an expert hand and a seeing eye. The writing was of real excellence, the paper one pleasing to the eye of the reader. Even food advertising, an eyesore in several of the papers examined, stood out bright and sharp in the Mirror.'

It quite naturally pleased the Mirror as the recipient.

From the Freedoms Foundation came a top award of money and a medal for a Mirror editorial. The Mirror achieved a membership in the internationally famous Headliners Club of newspapermen for a promotion in the news department. We own the President's cup, for the best local advertising campaign. Another gold cup was awarded for excellence in advertising. A bronze plaque came for the best advertising promotion, nationwise, for paper under 50,000 circulation.

A month ago came another award for makeup among papers in Pennsylvania, the Altoona Mirror competing far out of its class, circulationwise, but taking third place, which is an excellent achievement.

The very latest award is less than a few weeks old, being presented for the Mirror's promotion at the 26th salesmanship and idea presentation of the Newspaper Advertising Executives Association in Chicago.

The Altoona Mirror appreciates greatly the numerous citations. The very first plaque ever given any newspaper came to the Mirror, the gift of the Pennsylvania Music Education Association.

Our farm page, a weekly feature now in its 5th year and presented every Saturday, won Penn State University plaudits and more than a dozen grange and farm magazine awards. The Mirror was recognized at a recent national convention of agriculturists held at State College, the Mirror being on the program.

Mirror poetry columns have drawn the greatest correspondence in the entire history of newspapers. Mirror poetry is contributed and a generous space is devoted to all poets from many States. Mirror poetry is quoted consistently in the Williamsport Grit, with full credit with the "appeared in the Altoona

Mirror" notation.

The weekly display of infants arriving at the Altoona Hospital has attracted national attention following a glowing report in the Editor and Publisher and many papers have copied the idea.

Mirror editorials are copied profusely, with credit, too, not only in State newspapers but in the Congressional Record and in other State journals of large size. Two newspapers have been most generous, especially in copying Mirror editorials, to the extent of over 100 individual items, within the last decade. This naturally pleases the newspaper and the authors.

Mirror individuals are called upon often, and most willingly, to act as judges whether it be writing news, columns, editorials or perhaps beauty contests, civic promotions, outof-State newspaper contests. Annually, The Mirror staff judges hundreds of papers, Pennsylvania papers reciprocating for their judges of this State's annual newspaper contests.

Over the years Mirror officials and employees have been selected in view of the paper's high standing among the country's newspapers, to fill high offices in State and national associations.

Pennsylvania Week, celebrated for 8 years in the State and founded by a newspaper-man, saw the Mirror furnishing the executive director of the newspaper promotion for that week in the State. Twice the Altoona that week in the State. Twice the Altoona Mirror was honored as its publishers filled the presidency of the Pennsylvania Newspa-per Publishers Association, the Mirror being a charter member and one of the founders of this organization.

The Mirror has provided a president for the Pennsylvania Society of Editors, a president of the Circulation Managers Association, and a secretary, vice president, and treasurer for the ANCAMS, the American Newspaper Classified Managers Association. Our display advertising staff has long held important positions with the National Advertising Managers Association and has brought home numerous awards. The Pennsylvania Women's Press Association is officered by the Altoona Mirror also. Recent conventions found the Mirror lauded for its high-class advertising standards from national speakers.

Briefly listing the certificates and citations and medals, includes thanks bestowed on more than one occasion for Armed Forces Day promotions, all the health organizations, the American Legion, National Guard, women's auxiliaries awards for meritorious services, Veterans' Administration, U.S. Treasury, DAV, Kiwanis man-of-the-year award, hospital campaigns, ministerium, the various religious organizations, Boy Scouts, National and State YMCA, U.S. Chamber of Commerce, and many others. All recall happy feelings and tasks well performed and praises and thanks were most generous.

The Mirror especially enjoys receipt an-nually of a citation from the National Safety Council and of the various newspaper safety groups for its 100 percent perfect record in the delivery of newspapers by truck and car-

From our newspaper suppliers we appreciate awards for our long amiliations. The United Press has always been the source of the wire news, the organization presently being United Press International, a fine worldwide news source. Plaques adorn the Mirror plant from the comany. Our association with the Newspaper Enterprise Association has likewise been for more than 50 years; in fact the Mirror is a charter member. Newsprint firms supplying paper have long been furnishing the product without delay

And on this 85th birthday the Mirror can claim many more honors for firsts, the first linotype machine in this part of the State; one of the first to use color on page 1 and in advertising; the first for teletype machines, the first for punchers to tape the news for automatic processing on machines, along with up-to-dateness in giant presses with all the latest improvements for today's

high-speed newspaper production.

A Mirror feature of recent months, the city manager election and city operation of 40 years ago, brought many congratulations to the newspaper, the series of 180 daily stories informing Altoonans of problems, of arguments, of political mismanagement. The Mirror has long been an advocate of city manager government, still regarding the few years of operation as the best management this city ever had.

The Mirror is proud of its block-long newspaper plant, more spacious than many of the competitive State newspapers.

Proud indeed, the Mirror commends its loyal employees for long services and the over-25-year club has reached more than 70 in number, with many employees over the 50-year service record, or approaching it within a few years. All help produce "a Mirror that shines."

Keeping up to date and hustling is accomplished through membership in the various newspaper organizations, locally, in the State and nationally. New ideas, new features, new inventions are all studied closely and newspaper employees have the finest and the latest of equipment, lightening and speeding up their work, while at the same time having the employee group enlarged from year to year.

In conclusion, it's our 85th birthday and, as celebrants, we at the Mirror are most happy and grateful for 85 wonderful, prosperous, progressive years.

CONGRESSMAN JAMES E. VAN ZANDT CON-GRATULATES THE MIRROR

(Congratulations to the Altoona Mirror on its 85th anniversary have been extended by Representative James E. Van Zandt to J. E. Holtzinger, president and general manager of the Mirror Printing Co. Representative VAN ZANDT's message follows:)

Mr. J. E. HOLTZINGER.

President and General Manager. Mirror Printing Co., Altoona, Pa.

DEAR TED: The 85th anniversary of the Altoona Mirror is a memorable occasion and I extend my heartlest congratulations.

Reaching the important milestone is a source of happiness because it focuses public attention on over three-quarters of a century of progress in the field of journalism in Blair County, Pa.

As you and the Mirror staff of employees joyously celebrate the 85th anniversary of one of central Pennsylvania's most popular and successful daily newspapers, you have the added satisfaction of knowing that the great progress achieved is a monument to the Slep family tradition of strict adherence to the principles expressed in the canons of journalism-an all-embracing code of ethics of the fourth estate.

This happy event recalls to mind that freedom of the press as guaranteed by the first amendment to the Constitution is a precious right. It is common knowledge that from time to time repeated efforts have been made to muzzle or silence the press in the United States while in foreign nations we have the sordid and shameful spectacle of a subservient press bowing to the demands of power-crazed dictators to the extent such newspapers are propaganda machines of the

Liberty and freedom of the press are inseparable companions and in preserving them the newspapers of the Nation are mighty fortresses in defense of the truth. It is recalled that Thomas Jefferson

warned: "Our liberty depends on freedom of the press and that cannot be limited without being lost," His words are believed to have been uttered as a result of studying the trial of the crusading and courageous John Peter Zenger, a poor printer who became editor and publisher of the New York Weekly Journal in 1733 and who had his presses demolished and was jailed because of his viewpoint that freedom of the press be unassailed.

Freed from jail when his views were upheld in court his name is revered today wherever a newspaper is printed. In fact one American orator described Zenger's victory as the "morningstar of liberty.

Freedom of the press in full bloom brought tremendous power and influence. It is recorded that in 1805 Napoleon Bonapart said at the height of his own power "I fear the power of one newspaper more than I fear the guns of 100,000 troops." When these words were uttered the power and influence of the press were yet in swaddling

Today we have only to recall the fate of the press in countries behind the Iron Curtain or where other dictatorial powers gained the upperhand such as in Argentina when the daily newspaper La Prensa was silenced.

On the occasion of the 85th anniversary of the Altoona Mirror we are forcibly remind that in this blessed United States we have a vigorous, grassrooted free press.

As the Altoona Mirror progresses toward a

century of service as a watchdog for the public interest and in helping its readers to keep abreast of events in this fast-moving and changing atomic age, its greatest challenge is to remain steadfast in its 85-year policy of faithful observance of the principles of sound journalism which means continued refusal to slant the news in violation of the highest tradition of a free press. To indulge in such a form of base journalism would defeat the will of the people in seeking to be truthfully informed and thus would give them no opportunity to profit from the surance of the Lowly Nazarene-"ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free.

Mindful that your life is dedicated to upholding the precepts of responsible journalism and since your outstanding ability as an editorial writer is well known, it is a foregone conclusion that your literary efforts will continue to produce pungent, inclaive, and thought-provoking editorials so essential in keeping Mirror readers abreast of the issues of the day. You are fortunate in having the ald of such fine editors as Herman S. Reifsnyder and J. Edward Benney, which the result that the three of you through a trinity of effort give ample assurance to the reading public and especially the residents of Blair County that their favorite daily newspaper the Altoona Mirror is in good hands.

It further demonstrates you can be depended upon to continue to carry the torch for freedom of the press in the same commendable manner as in the past 85 years and as envisioned by the Mirror's founder, Harry Slep, when he placed his faith in Altoona and established what is now one of Pennsylvania's most highly respected daily news-

With kind regards, I am, Sincerely yours,
JAMES E. VAN ZANDT.

Wall Street Journal Article Proves Need for Overhaul of U.S. Government Patent Policies if Small Business Is Not To Be Destroyed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. HARRIS B. McDOWELL, JR. OF DELAWARE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 19, 1959

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Speaker, an article by Ronald J. Ostrow in the Wall Street Journal of June 10, 1959, proves the need for a complete overhaul of the patent policies of the U.S. Government.

U.S. Government patent policies, in the words of one high-ranking patent official, are "a mess," and with the Federal Government now footing the cost of more than half the research in this country, agitation for a general overhaul of the system is increasing both in the Congress and elsewhere.

Two points are at issue: First, whether present patent policies are fostering or hindering development of inventions, improvements, and discoveries; and, second, whether the Federal Government itself is hastening the death of small business by encouraging big business dominance and monopoly of research.

Within the past 10 years Federal expenditures on research have jumped from \$1 billion annually to more than \$5 billion-with \$3.5 billion for the Defense Department alone in the 1960 budget. Private industry altogether spends only \$4 billion on its own re-

The Defense Department allows a company to keep any patents it develops, except for free use by the Government.

Many people have asked why the United States does not at least recoup its research costs by taking a cut of the commercial royalties. The British Government has been doing this for over 50 years. The Vickers Viscount, developed under Government contract, has returned enough to the British treasury to pay off the original research cost and vield a profit. Jet engines have clearly been a profitable venture for the British Government.

There is no overall Federal Government policy on patents in Washington, as was pointed out in a fine article in the trade magazine Product Engineering, published by McGraw-Hill, May 4, 1959, written by David Secrest.

The Defense Department, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, and the Atomic Energy Commission reflect three widely differing patent poli-cies. Since many contracts cut across several Federal departments and agencies, the contractor may be dealing with

half a dozen different patent attitudes on the same project.

I have joined with the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Thompson] and the gentleman from Utah [Mr. King] in offering legislation which would establish an overall U.S. patient policy similar to the British system. However, my bill differs somewhat from these earlier bills by being directed primarily at the patent policy of the armed services, and preserving the present patent policies of the TVA, AEC, NASA, the Departments of Agriculture, and Health, Education, and Welfare.

Under my bill the Government would share in patent royalties on inventions resulting from Federal research contracts, and small business would be helped. The present strong monopolistic trend which dominates the Federal research and development program would be halted. The record shows that 5 percent of the larger industries and research organizations in this country are now gobbling up about 95 percent of the research contracts.

The magazine Product Engineering says on this point:

Excessive channeling of research contracts into big business is causing considerable worry. Big business (over 500 employees) gets at least 95 percent of the Government research, and 100 firms get 85 percent among them. The top 14 companies getting contracts between 1954-1956 were all big electric and aircraft companies. The Attorney General has warned that channeling all this patent potential into big business is just building up the monopoly trend.

The House Small Business Committee recently spoke of "the ominous shadow cast on the future with the monopoly of technology by big business." Small business helps foot the Government research bill and should at least have access to patents developed at the taxpayers' expense. The big contractors reply that it is their reservoir of knowledge that makes research successful.

I include here the text of my bill, and the Wall Street Journal article for the information of my colleagues:

#### H.R. 7705

A bill to amend chapter 27 of title 35 of the United States Code with respect to the rights of the United States in certain patents arising out of research and development contracts with the United States

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That chapter 27 of title 35 of the United States Code is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"f 268. Rights of United States in certain patents

"(a) In the case of any patent hereafter granted which is based upon an invention, improvement, or discovery conceived or first actually reduced to practice in the course of performance of any research or development contract with a procurement agency, or of any subcontract of such a contract, or in the course of the performance of any prior experimental, developmental, or research work done upon the understanding that a contract (whether or not a research or development contract) with a procurement agency would be awarded, the United States shall have royalty-free, nonexclusive license to practice or have practiced such invention, improvement, or discovery. Each research or development contract hereafter awarded by a procurement agency shall provide that in the case of any patent covered by the preceding sentence, the United States shall receive a percentage, determined by negotiation as provided in the contract, of the income from the commercial utilization of the invention, improvement, or discovery patented.

"(b) As used in this section (1) the term 'research or development contract' means a contract entered into by a procurement agency under which payment is to be made for experimental, developmental, or research work; and (2) the term 'procurement agency' means the General Services Administration, the Post Office Department, the Department of the Army, the Department of the Navy, the Department of the Air Force, and the Department of Defense."

SEC. 2. The analysis of such chapter 27 is amended by inserting immediately below

"267. Time for taking action in Government applications."-

the following:

"268. Rights of United States in certain patents."

[From the Wall Street Journal, June 10, 1959]

SWORD TO PLOWSHARE: MILITARY RESEARCH BRINGS GROWING FLOOD OF CIVILIAN PRODUCTS—ARMY HUT TURNS INTO BEACH HOUSE—NAVY GENERATOR GOES TO WORK ON PIPELINE—BUT SOME SECRETS SLIP AWAY

#### (By Ronald J. Ostrow)

Corporate Research, Inc., a year-old Ann Arbor, Mich., concern, plans to introduce this summer a round 230-square-foot house made of a plastic foam material lined with kraft paper. The company, aiming for the beach house and playhouse markets, will sell the house for about \$249.

New York Savings Bank just installed a high-speed facsimile communications system linking its main office on Manhattan's 14th Street with a branch office at 46th Street and Lexington Avenue. The particular type of facsimile system was developed and is being produced by Alden Electronics & Impulse Recording Co., an affiliate of Alden Products Co., of Brockton, Mass.

These newly developed products have something in common: They were developed primarily with Government funds and made their debuts in the military market. The house grew out of an Army research contract aimed at finding light, portable huts to house troops; the facsimile system resulted from a Navy contract.

#### AN INCREASING IMPACT

The mushrooming expenditures by the Government for what is familiarly known in industry as R. & D., is having an increasing impact on private industry, and ultimately on consumers. In the current fiscal year the Pentagon is spending about 90 percent of its \$3 billion research, development, and evaluation outlay among more than 1,700 private U.S. concerns. A year ago the Pentagon distributed a smaller amount among about 1,600 companies.

Look at some other cases where Government-sponsored R. & D. contracts led to products that found their way into civilian markets, and you get an idea of the diversity of the civilian goods that emerge by this route.

American Optical Co., of Southbridge, Mass., recently began selling a new type of lightweight sunglasses with straight sidepieces, designed to silp on and off easily, but to remain firmly in place when worn. A \$367,000 Air Force R. & D. contract financed development of the glasses, originally made to be used by flyers while wearing radio headphones. "The reception (by the civilian market) has been very good already, and we expect very good sales," says an American Optical official.

#### GENERATORS AND POWERPLANTS

Texas Eastern Gas Transmission Corp. plans shortly to install a 300-kilowatt generator on its natural gas pipeline in Louisiana. The generator, a newly developed product of Solar Aircraft Co. of San Diego, is powered by a 500-horsepower Jupiter gas turbine engine that has been converted to run on natural gas. Solar began to develop the engine in 1947 under a Navy Bureau of Ships contract when the Navy was seeking a shipboard emergency generator. Other models of the Jupiter are on consignment to two boat builders who are experimenting with them as powerplants to run personnel craft for offshore petroleum operations.

Coleman Engineering Co., Inc., of Torrance, Calif., has sold 600 of its Digitizer devices, 70 percent of these to commercial markets, since it developed the machine while working on a \$50,000 Navy contract in 1952 to develop a specialized automatic data handling machine. The Digitizer converts the movement of gages and other motion into numbers, then transmits this data to a computer; commercial applications include automatically recording temperatures and pressures in oil refineries and recording and transmitting weather data from remote observation stations, eliminating the need for such stations to be manned.

A company developing a device under a Government contract usually retains commercial patent rights, but yields to Uncle Sam a royalty-free license to have the item manufactured for military use.

Companies aren't always able to take a product developed for the military and convert it directly into an item for the civilian market. of course. "Commercial benefits from Government R. & D. are usually indirect," says Dr. James E. Lipp, director of development planning for Lockheed Aircraft Corp. of Burbank, Calif. "Technical advances made under Government sponsorship are usually applied in altered form and at a later time in our commercial products," he adds.

### A MAJOR EXAMPLE

A neighboring competitor of Lockheed, Douglas Aircraft Co., Inc., provides a major example of these indirect benefits. Says A. E. Raymond, senior vice president-engineering: "The DC-B jet airliner we're getting into service now follows the pattern of sweptbackwing planes we developed for the military."

A Douglas official explains that sweptwing aircraft, which have greater speed potential, have different flight characteristics than the conventional straight-wing planes. For one thing, the center of gravity in a sweptwing craft is farther to the rear, and the plane has a tendency to be less stable at low speeds.

To work out this and other problems, Douglas, under a Navy R. & D. contract, built the experimental sweptwing, needle-nose D-558-2 Skyrocket, a rocket-powered plane that first flew in February 1948. Later, with Navy contracts, Douglas turned out the sweptwing A3D, which first flew nearly 6 years ago but still is being produced and used as a bomber by the fleet.

"Military experience in operation and design is very useful commercially," says Mr. Raymond, "because the military is pushing for performance primarily, rather than safety. They try out new developments first, so commercial planes always derive some benefit from military designs."

Mr. Raymond is unable to estimate the amount his company saved through military-sponsored research in developing the DC-8, but notes: "If we hadn't had the military experience, we couldn't have built it at all."

Besides reaping both direct and indirect benefits from Government R. & D. projects, companies involved in these projects say the work allows them to maintain larger scientific and engineering staffs than they otherwise would be able to afford. They also find that working for Uncle Sam gives them access to reports on the progress of others in their industry; these reports yield vital technical information.

Observing that "civilian fallout from military R. & D. work is a hard thing to measure," a Raytheon Manufacturing Co. official declares: "We always benefit from military R. & D. inasmuch as it permits us to maintain a large and well-rounded scientific and engineering staff. From their research efforts, we derive a breadth and depth of technical knowledge that we would not be able to achieve solely from commercial R. & D.

Raytheon's development of radar for the Navy during World War II, with the resulting growth of a staff skilled in radar principles, is probably a classic example of Governmentsponsored R. & D. enhancing a company's profit capabilities. "Today, we're a leading producer of commercial ship radar, the basic know-how for which we gained from the Navy work," an official of the Waltham, Mass., concern says. The commercial work is in addition to the radar Raytheon turns out for the military, he adds.

#### A MIXED BLESSING

Companies at work on Government R. & D. programs and sharing technical informa-tion with other concerns engaged in like tasks say this exchange proves a mixed bless-

These reports enable us to save a great deal of money and effort by not duplicating something another company has done already," says the president of a company which develops and manufactures semicon-

But this executive comments that "technical information sharing is one of the prices a company pays for being engaged in Government R. & D." And he offers an example of how some electronics companies got a boost from the Government research work done by one of their competitors.

Backed by a military contract, a young, small east coast concern "did a whiz bang job of developing a silicon power rectifier, a piece of electronic hardware that converts alternating electrical current to direct current. "The minute they were out with this thing, others in the industry who had not been able to develop the rectifier on their own got a copy of the Government report and gleaned vital clues on how to produce the device," he says. The result was that a number of companies had the rectifier on the market at least a year sooner than they would if they had had to develop it entirely on their own.

In this case the company's development was not patentable, and there was nothing to prevent other companies from using the information learned through the Government report in producing their own versions.

#### A QUICKER EVALUATION

A company doing military-sponsored re-search often gets an earlier evaluation of how its work is going than it would if the research was aimed only for commercial mar-

kets, companies say.

"You get a good, early calibration of where your R. & D. stands in military work, not years later as is often the case in commercial research," contends Roy L. Ash, executive vice president of Litton Industries, Inc., Beverly Hills, Calif., electronics concern, whose military development and production currently accounts for about 45 percent of total volume.

"When competing in the commercial market, you often spend several years in the laboratory conceiving and developing a product, and then you take time to develop a market program and to test it, before you finally get around to putting the decision of your success up to the public," notes Mr. "But when you're selling to the military, they're interested in technological improvements just over the horizon—the best brainwork to this point. The Government,"

Mr. Ash adds, "is able to provide an early evaluation of your R. & D. effort."

Small companies often sing the loudest praise of Government R. & D. They say that with the aid of Uncle Sam's research money they're able to investigate fields that would be too expensive for them to look into with just their own resources.

#### COULDN'T AFFORD THE RESEARCH

"A company our size couldn't afford to be in this basic research if it weren't for Gov-ernment contracts," says Ralph F. Redemske, vice president of Servomechanisms, Inc., Hawthorne, Calif., developer and producer of electromechanical systems and components whose sales totaled about \$17 million last year. Mr. Redemske is speaking specifically of the company's investigation of thermoelectric power—the conversion of heat into electricity—under Navy sponsorship since 1957. The research, being carried on at the company's Santa Barbara, Calif., facility, is now at the rate of \$100,000 a year, according to Mr. Redemske.

Government research contractors, both big and small, insist that the direct profits from an R. & D. contract are not what prompt

them to vie for the work.

'There's not much profit in Government R. & D. work, especially when you develop just one of something," says an official Packard-Bell Electronics Corp., Santa Monica, Calif. "But you learn how to make something new, advancing the state of the art, which very often leads to commercial or Government production contracts. often the gleam in an eye in your lab is going to produce a hum in your production

line—regardless of who finances it."

Litton Industries' Mr. Ash also discounts the profits directly resulting from such work. "Litton isn't in this work to sell its engineering services for a fee," he says. "We look at it from the standpoint that for every dollar of engineering we do, there's \$10 or \$15 or \$20 worth of future product sold."

#### - A SMALLER PROFIT

Mr. Ash says that cost-plus-fixed-fee work, typically associated with military R. & D. yields a pretax profit of 6 or 7 percent of sales, lower than the 10-percent profit he says is generally associated with military fixed-price production contracts.

The possible profit you can make from an R. & D. contract is so small that going out for that alone is hardly worthwhile," asserts Dr. James Carter, research adviser of Aerojet-General Corp., Azusa, Calif., subsidiary of General Tire & Rubber Co. "Of course, there's always the possibility of the research contract leading to military production or commercial application," he adds.

Although he won't forecast when any of them might reach the market, Aerojet-General has several commercial applications from some of its military research in the works, Dr. Carter says. One project: Adapting nitromethane as a commercial explosive. "Under a Navy contract, some years ago we did a great deal of investigation of nitromethane as a monopropellant-for missilesone that would be a fuel and an oxidizer at the same time," Dr. Carter recalls. "However, it proved to be either to hazardous as a fuel or to have combustion difficulties."

Aided by its fuel study, Aerojet-General has ironed out some of the problems and now is working with petroleum companies studying the use of nitromethane in seismic oil exploration and also as the agent for underground explosions to step up the yield from low-producing wells. "It's much safer than nitroglycerine," claims Dr. Carter, "and because it's a liquid it's easier to place than solid explosives in a number of applications."

#### A SUBSTANTIAL PORTION

Although Government R. & D. contracts may offer lower profits than that which companies usually pursue, the dollar amount of

the work often is much greater than what they themselves put into research, and accounts for a substantial portion of their total sales volume. For example, Lockheed in 1958 had volume of \$962,679,211, which included \$323,900,000 of Government research and development contracts. In the same period Lockheed spent \$25.2 million on its own research and development program. This year the aircraft and missile maker expects to do \$400 million of Government-sponsored R. & D. while digging down in its own pocket for about \$12 million

"In an industry with a rapidly expanding technology like ours," says Lockheed's Dr. Lipp, "a strong R. & D. program is a necessary foundation for virtually all of Lockheed's sales."

Despite the chance of a hefty production contract or profitable commercial application, companies note that Government R. & D. contracts in some cases have some major disadvantages. For one thing, they say a company's patent position is sometimes damaged by work it does under Government contracts. They also say that nonmilitary projects often are delayed by work on military R. & D. jobs, which usually are on a rush basis, and that Government research wants often are too specialized to do a company's commercial market much good.

Another reason is that companies doing big Government R. & D. projects are, of course, at the mercy of the Federal Government; sudden cutbacks as the result of budget problems or other reasons often have a severe impact. A classic example was the cancellation in 1957 of R. & D. work being done by North American Aviation, Inc., on the Navaho missile. The work had started in 1950 and by the time it was canceled some \$700 million had been poured into it. North American had to lay off 12,000 people when the project was dropped.

Space age concerns, in particular, are upset these days by the regulations of the youthful National Aeronautics and Space Administration regarding patent rights. Just last month a delegation representing some of these contractors trouped to Washington to urge that the agency revamp its rules.

#### ALL RIGHTS CLAIMED

Terms of the 1958 law which created NASA to oversee the U.S. space programs seem to give the Federal Government the right to claim all rights-commercial as well as military-to any invention resulting from a NASA contract. Critics of the legislation say this is contrary to the usual practice under Armed Forces procurement provisions, where a company developing a device under a Government contract retains its commercial patent rights.

Contractors complain that besides retaining both commercial and military rights. NASA regulations define a contract so broadly that a subcontractor or supplier to a firm at work on a NASA project, though he has no direct contractual relationship with the Government agency, surrenders any chance to have a device patented if it's a space age

The NASA patent rules "will restrict creative effort on the part of private industry," warns Robert Lent, director of marketing for Statham Instruments, Inc., of Los Angeles, developer and manufacturer of transducers. electro-mechanical devices that convert physical information to electrical impulses and transmit the impulses to electronic data handling equipment.

Mr. Lent claims the rules assume rockets and missiles won't be used in a commercial way. He complains the rules recently caused

Statham to pass up an order.

"A buyer for a major company that had taken a NASA R. & D. contract came to us and wanted transducers off the shelf. But because his firm was working on a NASA contract, I would have jeopardized the patent

position of our transducers in accepting the order," Mr. Lent contends. He turned down the sale, and the buyer went to another supplier, the marketing director adds glumly.

A NASA official in Washington, citing the agency's provisions that allow the NASA administrator to waive the Government's patent rights, says it's not NASA's intention to apply the rules as severely as some industrial critics fear. Industry's objections to the patent provisions "are currently being considered," he says. "There will be changes," he predicts, "but how far they'll go we can't say."

## CARE Expands Pure Water Supply Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 19, 1959

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, one of the urgent public health needs in the less developed areas is that of improved and expanded community water supply facilities. Nearly a half billion people fall victim to gastrointestinal diseases each year, diseases which are directly attributable to the lack of clean water. Moreover, the rapid growth in world population together with the accompanying trend toward urbanization places considerable strain on already dwindling water resources.

One of the most active programs in this important area is that maintained by CARE. Under CARE auspices, health education programs are begun, and materials for physical improvement provided. CARE-mobile units, equipped with complete audiovisual facilities and designed to carry on intensive educational programs, operate in diverse places. Through ICA, the United Nations, and private agencies, a wide range of films, slides, recordings and posters for basic public health instruction are made available.

CARE book programs also play an important role in this educational process. Many health agencies and institutions overseas rely on CARE's bibliography of medical, scientific, and technical books to meet the study needs of nationals training for service in this field. Simple literature designed to increase public awareness of health problems is widely distributed. In Latin America, for instance, CARE is currently planning distribution of materials on safe water practices to various neoliterate community groups.

The past year has seen a substantial expansion of CARE activities aimed toward developing fresh supplies of pure water. Projects are now underway in various parts of Mexico, Vietnam, and Korea. In the Gaza strip, a program is being planned to provide an adequate water supply for the future development of this crowded and tense refugee area, and ways are being explored to meet the serious problem of dwindling water resources in Libya.

These are but a few of the activities in which CARE is constructively engaged to

bring about needed public health improvements. Dedicated to the concept of helping the world's needy, CARE programs currently operate in some 30 different countries. Certainly the programs deserve widespread public support in their efforts to realize improved conditions.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include an article from the New York Times, dated May 17, 1959, which describes one heartwarming aspect of CARE-sponsored activities in Mexico.

New Well Fights Disease in Mexico—CARE and Quakers Help Program Based on Pure Water and Clinics

(By Paul P. Kennedy)

San Mateo Atenco, Mexico, May 12.—An attack on Mexico's greatest killers, diseases caused by germ-laden water, has begun in this little village.

In a fiesta atmosphere, a deep, pure-water well was dedicated. The well was the result of the combined efforts of Cooperative for American Remittances to Everywhere (CARE), the American Friends Service Committee, the Mexican Government and the townspeople.

This was the first part of the attack on such diseases as typhoid and dysentery. The second will consist of periodic visits by mobile clinics to eradicate the diseases.

According to Dr. José Alvarez Amezquita, Minister of Public Health, diseases traced directly to impure water are responsible for 21 percent of the deaths in Mexico. There are 89,000 towns and hamlets in Mexico that lack pure water, Dr. Alvarez said.

Applications for more than 100 wells in the state of Mexico alone have been received by CARE, according to Mrs. Mary Elmendorf, director of the CARE mission for Mexico.

#### COMMUNITY RAISES FUNDS

The townspeople must provide all the materials, such as casings and cement.

The San Mateo well was the first one because the people of the Santa Maria barrio, or precinct, were the first to raise the required 4,000 pesos (\$320) for the materials.

This amount is required, according to Mrs. Elmendorf, primarily to give the neighborhood a sense of participation in the project. The well rig and the gasoline-engine pump were provided by CARE from funds contributed in the United States. The labor,

of which took 10 weeks, was furnished by four young Quakers of the American Friends Committee.

It is estimated that when the program gets fully under way wells can be drilled in about 2 weeks. Arrangements are being made to add rigs as funds and labor become available.

## SURFACE WATER POLLUTED

Potable water was found at 195 feet. But water in large quantities had been met at less than 15 feet. This was the surface water that the people had been drinking. It was germ-infested.

Arrangements are under way to purchase, through contributions from U.S. companies in Mexico, one or more mobile clinics. These clinics, each equipped with an X-ray machine and manned by a physician and nurse, will tour the towns in which pure water has been introduced. Persons of all ages will be examined for intestinal diseases and will be treated without fee.

This eradication phase of the program is expected to present serious problems, however. The municipality of San Mateo Atenco

furnishes a ready example.

It consists of 13 barrios, or suburbs, of which Santa Maria is one. Only two now have pure water. Eventually, most of the barrios will have it, but as long as one remains without pure water, the possibility of infection remains a threat.

The Wheat Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 19, 1959

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, it was gratifying to note the good judgment expressed by this body Thursday in rejecting the conference report on the wheat bill. All of us who have some feeling for the consumer, the taxpayer, and the farmer, hope that the conferees will go back to work and come forth with legislation which will help solve our No. 1 agricultural problem today.

The conference report certainly did not do it. It would not have substantially cut production and in the long run, it would have cost more money. It would have merely added to our woes by compounding the issue.

It appears to me that the type of legislation which was worked out and presented to this body is just another example that we sometimes get away off the track in representing the interests of the people.

Nobody wanted this legislation; even the majority leadership was lukewarm to it. The wheat farmers certainly did not want it, and in this group, I include those who grow and harvest 15 acres or less. In fact, they were going to be the forgotten men if this legislation passed and was put on the books. They would not have any voice in the program whatever.

The clamor across the country is for more freedom for the farmer. They want less Government interference in their programs. They would like to be able to grow what they can and sell it in the open market. They ask for a halfway decent chance to work out their own problems.

Yet the great architects of the planned economy schemes continually ignore these people as individuals with the ability to think for themselves. The social planners work out the legislation so that Washington and its bureaucracy will continue to have a stranglehold on everything that the individual farmer does. They will tell him what to grow, when to grow it, and how much he can expect for his effort under a complicated formula of compliance or noncompliance, but seldom cross compliance.

When we originally considered wheat legislation in the House—and frankly we were long enough getting to it in view of the urgency—we had some commonsense proposals offered from the floor. Most of them were beaten down without too much consideration of their ability to solve aspects of the problem.

When a new wheat bill is drafted—and certainly this Congress is charged with the responsibility of getting something on the books without further delay—it would be well to look at this program from a practical standpoint, and incorporate some of the ideas for holding down production; reducing storage costs and giving the farmer a chance to say

about the type of program in which he

will participate.

I trust that the conferees will accept this action by the House as indicative that the legislation in its present form is a far cry from what is best for most people. This should be all the prompting they need to go to work and give us a workable bill.

## Panama Students Defy Communist Oriented Leadership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 19, 1959

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, in the course of my addresses to the House on Panama-United States relations, I have repeatedly referred to the communistic agitations among the students in the Republic of Panama. Thus, I read with considerable interest a significant newsstory from the Isthmus by Mr. Ralph K. Skinner in the Christian Science Monitor of June 15, 1959, on the latest developments among the membership of the Panama Student Federation.

From this story it would appear that the rank and file of the students have now openly defied their Communist-oriented leadership. For that action, they are to be congratulated.

I am pleased to quote the indicated news story as part of these remarks:

PANAMA STUDENTS LOOSEN LEFTIST HOLD

(By Ralph K. Skinner)

PANAMA CITY, PANAMA,-Welcome evidence of some unsuspected maturity in the rankand-file membership of the Panama Students Federation was displayed here recently when Communist-oriented leadership was discredited.

At a plenary session of the Students Congress, a resolution was proposed calling for commercial relations between the Soviet Union and Panama. This had been passed by a tiny margin in a committee meeting.

In open discussion it became clear that the majority of the students were opposed and the proponents of the resolution attempted to withdraw it. This was not permitted and the resolution was defeated. This was seen as an enormous forward step for the students here.

This was the first open defiance of the Communist leadership which has ruled the local student organizations for some time.

#### LEFTIST HOLD BROKEN

Another step forward for the students was disaffiliation with the Communist-dominated Internation Student Union. The Panama students had been affiliated with this leftist group but, at the congress, they voted by a big majority to break off relationships. This has been done, it was reported.

A spokesman for the students explained that in their fight against imperialism and unfair conditions within their own country they did not embrace or show friendship for communism.

The students did go on record as demanding that the United States increase the annuity paid to Panama in connection with

the Canal Zone.

Also, with their customary heatedness, the students declared Minister of Education Carlos Sucre as their "Enemy No. 1 against Panama education."

The students are against certain legislation proposed by Minister Sucre to permit him to exert a firmer hand over student and teacher activities in Panama.

#### STUDENTS ALL RIGHT

Señor Sucre told this correspondent that the big mass of students are all right, albeit too romantic. The trouble is in the leadership of student federations by adults who are students in name only.

Some of these adult leaders have been educated and trained in Moscow; several of them are reportedly skilled organizers who work steadfastly for communism. Senor Sucre said that a small trained group of students manipulate and force the entire student body into the appearance of being communistic

The Education Minister also told this correspondent that there are active Communists among the professors in the public schools. He has endeavored to get legislation whereby such individuals can be discharged. Under prior law, he explained, they cannot be discharged solely for being Communists.

Senor Sucre said the main body of teachers in Panama is all right, but there are vicious elements who head up the teachers' union, and these individuals cause the trouble.

He said the teachers of Panama present a fertile field for agitation and discontent because there are some 1,700 qualified teachers unemployed, even after Senor Sucre employed 500 more teachers this year than ever before in this country.

#### BALANCE LACKING

There is seen to be a basic difficulty in education orientation in Panama, where "bachilleres" (holders of bachelor's degrees) are graduating in a 20-to-1 ratio over trained mechanics, machinists, and other skilled

craftsmen who are in short supply.

Minister Sucre would like to orient the schools toward technical training rather than academic training on the grounds of the economic needs of the country. He has plans to do this on a large scale, and has done some work in this direction already, he told this correspondent, adding that he had the full support of President de la Guardia, Jr., in his campaign to teach Panamanian students how to earn a living and to fill known gaps in the occupational fields here.

#### TEACHERS RESPECTED

Although not strong in the two principal cities of Panama, the teachers' union has enormous political significance throughout the rural areas. In many towns, villages, and hamlets the teachers advise not only the children, but also their parents, on national and provincial problems.

Teachers in Interior Panama have a certain privileged status in the community because of their educational status-far superior to their fellow townspeople. The opinion of the teachers is sought and respected.

## International Sportsmanship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

### HON. BYRON L. JOHNSON

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 27, 1959

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Speaker, in light of the discussion on the House floor the other day regarding the participation of mainland Chinese athletes in the International Olympic competition, I believe that members may be interested in reading the editorial which appeared in the June 9 issue of the Denver Post. Under unanimous consent I am having it reprinted here in the Rec-

WE CAN HOLLER FOUL, BUT FEW LISTEN

A curious frenzy in Washington last week indicated just how static our policy toward mainland China has become.

Apparently we are as firmly sold as ever on the idea that the only China of the 20th century is the island of Formosa.

The International Olympic Games Committee, a body both non-American and nongovernmental, made the decision that the Chinese Communist National Committee should be responsible for entering mainland Chinese athletes in the Olympic games.

Formosa could represent Formosa, on the logical assumption that national committees should sponsor athletes they actually are

responsible for.

"A clear act of political discrimination," Washington complained. "Betrayal," cried Formosa, both treating the Olympic Committee action as if it amounted to diplomatic recognition.

Such incidents confirm our suspicion that no new thinking about mainland China, and its near 600 million people, is likely to be done in Washington for some time.

Meanwhile, who knows how soon it will be before some new East Asia crisis puts a gun in our ribs, a position from which we have rightfuly refused to negotiate in the past.

Senator CLARE ENGLE had the daring to tell the Senate last week that he thought we should try to open up some sort of negotia-

tions with Peiping.

The Californian believes that "the challenge to our foreign policy in the next decade is to prevent the total marriage of China to Soviet Russia."

He implied that we can't very well do anying about this if we refuse to even get into Peiping to find out what is going on.

ENGLE suggests that perhaps very limited negotiations about exchanging newsmen, or about starting some trade on the controlled basis we now have with Russia, might at least test the air, without, of course, giving something for nothing.

But the intemperate yelp from the State Department in the Olympic games matter indicates that ENGLE will get nowhere.

The old legacy of "see no China, hear no

China, speak no China-except Chiang," is still too strong.

ENGLE's call was just a faint echo in that senatorial vale known as Foggy Bottom.

No doubt the Red guns pounding Quemoy will sound louder when they start again in earnest.

## Minimum Wage Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JAMES A. BYRNE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 18, 1959

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution by Local 37, Furniture and Allied Workers Union, of Philadelphia. Pa :

RESOLUTION CALLING UPON THE 86TH CONGRESS TO ENACT S. 1046 AND H.R. 4488

Whereas all Americans must be assured of a basic minimum standard of living if we are to maintain a healthy economy at home and a position of moral leadership in the world: and

Whereas the present Federal minimum wage of \$1 an hour is inadequate to provide a bare subsistence in the United States today; and

Whereas more than 20 million Americans lack the guarantee of even this inadequate figure and are without any legal limitation their hours of work; and

Whereas these shocking facts constitute a grave threat to our national economy, a challenge to our moral standards as a people and a peril to our reputation as democracy's showcase throughout the world; and

Whereas the existence of underpaid and overworked wage earners is a particular danger to the well-being of the citizens of Philadelphia; and

Whereas there is now before Congress a bill introduced by Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY and Representative JAMES ROOSEVELT and cosponsored by many of their colleagues in both Houses, S. 1046 and H.R. 1448. This bill would greatly ameliorate this problem by

raising the Federal minimum wage to \$1.25 and including nearly 8 million additional workers under the protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act: Therefore be it Resolved by Furniture and Allied Workers Union, Local 37, UIU, AFL-CIO, That we call

upon the Congress of the United States to give prompt and favorable consideration to this bill without delay, so this serious threat to the economic and moral strength of our Nation will be swiftly met and that the conditions above described can be corrected.

## Dedication of Table Rock Dam, Mo.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. CHARLES H. BROWN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 19, 1959

Mr. BROWN of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday last, our beautiful Ozarks had one of its most memorable days.

Senator STUART SYMINGTON dedicated the first Federal multipurpose project in Missouri, Table Rock Dam.

We are proud of Table Rock, and we are proud of STUART SYMINGTON.

One of our distinguished Taney County citizens introduced our great Senator last Sunday; and his eloquent introduction was worthy of the Senator's eloquent record in public service.

So, today, with the consent of the House, I include as a part of the RECORD the remarks of Marvin Millsap and the address by Senator STUART SYMINGTON at the dedication of Table Rock Dam in Branson, Mo., Sunday, June 14, 1959:

#### INTRODUCTION BY MARVIN MILLSAP

Mr. Chairman, members of the dedication committee, distinguished visitors, and fellow Missourians, someone has aptly said, "Young men shall have visions and old men shall dream dreams." The project we dedicate today was first envisioned nearly a half century ago, and was a cherished dream of many men for the past 25 years. This is an important occasion, significant out of all proportion to its surface implications.

I have heard it said by men privileged to know that this Nation would have found it most difficult to have made sufficient weapons for defense in the last great world struggle without the electricity generated at Grand Coulee and Boulder Dams, While we earnestly hope that no such need ever confronts us again, a sense of security comes from knowing that this dam and its counterparts on the White River will contribute substantially should the need arise. It is interesting to observe that the same groups that opposed this one, opposed those, asserting loudly that there was no need for additional power.

This project, as all others, represents the vision, the thought, effort and toil of many people. Yet it in no way lessens the credit due them to observe that projects of the size and scope of this one are usually completed because of the skilled effort and staunch support of a few dedicated men. None is due greater credit, for none contributed more than the man who is here to make the formal dedication presentation today. From the day he was elected to be your junior Senator, he began a study of this project to determine its merits: and on this deserved basis put his thought, time, and effort, however, whenever, and whereever it was necessary to make certain that this vision and dream would become a reality. With courage and determination, he challenged those who repeatedly recorded their hostile opposition to the principle of Government development, of the Nation's natural resources for the benefit of all.

Since the beginning of statehood Missouri has been fortunate in the men she has selected to represent her in the U.S. Senate. No State can boast of a more outstanding group of men. Witness the distinguished names of Benton, Linn, Atchison, Blair, Schurz, Cockrell, Vest, Geyer, Stone, Reed, and Truman. When time and history, plod-dingly, have written the record, it seems clear that the name of her present junior Senator will be added to this distinguished list. Having announced his intended objective to be that of being Senator of all the people, he transformed this objective, by faithful and diligent performance, into reality by representing farmer, laborer, business and professional man, Republican, Independent, and Democrat alike. If Missouri has been fortunate in his selection, the Ozarks community has been doubly so, for he has given to it time, energy, and thought out of all proportion to its acknowledged political and economic importance.

The aforementioned Senators had one trait in common-a keen sense of duty and responsibility to all the people of the United States. The present instance is no exception. His was the lone voice crying out in a wilderness of unconcern to alert the Nation to the danger to its national security, occasioned by the coming of the space age. Of lesser concern, but of great importance nevertheless, has been his effort on the domestic front to show the need for a national water authority to explore, develop, and conserve our limited water resources to meet the needs of an expanding population and economy.

The press, television, and radio record daily the hopes of many people that the Nation may have the use of his able effort in a greater area of endeavor toward a solution of the stubborn problems of the world that gravely concern man everywhere. They recognize in him an able public servant of great character, willing to defend right as strongly as he denounces wrong, offering a far visioned leadership, characterized by proper proportions of progressive liberalism and valid conservatism. Herein lies wisdom and sound judgment. I am pleased and prvileged to present to our good friend and fellow Missourian, our distinguished junior Senator, the Honorable STUART SYMINGTON—Senator SYMINGTON.

#### ADDRESS BY HON. STUART SYMINGTON, OF MISSOURI

It is a great privilege to be here at the dedication of this magnificent project.

What a wonderful day for Missouri. Amidst the oldest and most beautiful moun-

tains in the country, we have built our State's first multiple purpose project.

For the many people who helped make this possible, this is the day of a dream come true. I wish all of them could be here, but it is good that many of those who made Table Rock possible are on hand.

A project like this does not rise in a day or even a decade. A generation of patient effort went into Table Rock.

The first surveys of the possibilities of

building a dam on this part of the White River were made in 1912. Private surveys continued through the 1920's. The hope for immediate construction was swept away when the depression made private financing impractical.

Nevertheless the potential for water development at this site was too great for the idea to be abandoned.

Early in the 1930's, Congress expressed interest in the development. After prelimi-nary surveys, construction at Table Rock was authorized by the Flood Control Act of 1941. Actual appropriations, however, were not voted until June 1952.

The following year, a cut back in funds threatened the future of the project, but in 1954, more funds were voted and construction put back on an economically sound schedule.

There were more delays and controversies familiar to us all. But now we have it, and all the frustrations of the past can be forgotten in the fresh new hope of achievement.

Today is the beginning of an even greater era in the history of this beautiful section of our State.

If Harold Bell Wright's "Shepherd of the Hills" were to come upon this string of shimmering lakes stretching from Table Rock through Taneycomo to Bull Shoals and Norfolk, he would literally rub his eyes at the beauty which has transformed the economy of southwest Missouri and neighboring Arkansas.

Table Rock Dam will provide a great new source of power for this area. When all four generators have been installed, they will provide 200,000 kilowatts-a tremendous boost for the economy of this region.

Table Rock will help protect nearly a mil-lion acres of land in this basin from damaging floods. Annual flood control benefits will average close to \$1 million a year.

Table Rock reservoir, with a surface area of 52,300 acres, and a shoreline of 857 miles, will provide unexcelled recreational facilities for many thousands of people.

The White River country can rightfully claim to be one of the most beautiful spots in the Middle West.

Now that the natural beauty of this area has been enhanced with this magnificent series of lakes, it should become-and I believe it will become-the No. 1 recreational area of the Midwest.

There will be expanded facilities for one of the brightest attractions of the Ozark country—trout Tishing. A State fish hatchery, fed by waters from this reservoir, is in operation here at Table Rock, feeding an ever-increasing supply to White River fishermen.

The Federal fish hatchery at Neosho will have its capacity doubled. Just this week \$320,000 has been voted for a rehabilitation effort which will help stock the expanding fishing facilities in southwest Missouri.

Missouri State Park Commission is planning to develop areas along the reservoir, and on Friday the Senate passed a bill to provide for the sale of land to the State for this purpose.

In planning for the full development of our State, we should not neglect our forests,

In the Current-Eleven Point Rivers area to the east of here, progress is being made along that line. This week the Senate included in the 1960 appropriation for the National Park Service \$35,000 for a cooperative study of the future of that area. The Park Service and the proper State agencies will cooperate in this study to plan the best development of this picturesque section of our State. This will be an important step forward for the Current-Eleven Point Rivers area.

Local interests must work cooperatively with Government agencies to plan and develop our timberlands. Without such coordinated planning, the economic benefits which can be realized from Missouri forests will be lost.

Many other river basins of our State need to be studied and developed as individual units, in a manner compatible with their potential. An example is the Meramec Basin.

In developing these areas, we should be mindful of the advantages of multiple-purpose projects.

Their dividends are many: electric power, recreation, flood control, and water conservation, all for one investment.

Some projects provide sedimentation control. Others make rivers navigable.

Where nature has given us a diamond, why not cut it to its many facets, instead of leaving some sides rough?

The concept of multiple use is increasingly favored throughout the country. Many of the projects now under construction and being planned by the Corps of Engineers will provide a variety of benefits.

Here in Missouri, for example, two multiple-purpose projects will soon join Table Rock. The Pomme de Terre Dam to the north is nearing completion. The Stockton Dam on the Sac River is in the planning stage, and there are others.

Each step we take in using our resources must be orderly and economic.

A project once planned or partially built should move forward smoothly to its completion. It should not suddenly be halted every few years, or with each change of administration.

At the present time, the Government is practicing the policy of no new starts.

Such a policy represents false economy. It means that needed projects will be delayed for several years, and orderly programs will be disrupted—increasing overall costs.

There has been much debate for many years over what expenditures our Government should and should not make. Even projects for the development of our natural resources have often been called wasteful spending. But it is mighty hard to argue with a dam in being. It stands, as you can see, solid and proud as an asset to the country.

Appropriations for projects like Table Rock Dam are not spending, but investment—investment in the future of America. We will need more such investments in the future. Our country is expanding rapidly, with demands for all types of service increasing. Fifteen years ago the population of the United States was 140 million. Now it is 175 million, and by 1975 will be 235 million.

In 1952, the President's Materials Policy Commission issued an excellent survey of the resource requirements of this country over the next few decades.

The study pointed out that between 1900 and 1950, per capita water consumption in the United States had doubled.

Because our population had also doubled in that period, the demand for water had thus actually increased four times.

This Commission predicted a similar doubling of per capita consumption over the period from 1950 to 1975, as the Nation's standard of living rises.

Missouri, and the rest of the Mississippl Valley, is blessed with a large supply of fresh water. Properly utilized through prudent investment, it can not only support our increasing population but give the people an ever greater standard of living.

Another key resource in which investment is wise is electric energy. The needs of our future growth are sufficient reasons for its development. This same Presidential Commission predicted a rise in our demand for electric power, by 1975, of 250 percent. But the clinching argument for investment here is provided by Premier Khrushchey's bold declaration of economic war on the United States.

In the field of electric power, Russia has the resources to wage such a conflict. The Russians have 10 plants—four of which are completed or under construction, and 6 of which are in planning—each of which produces more kilowatts than the largest dam in this country. Informed authorities in our Government have estimated that the Russians may have already surpassed us in the production of hydroelectric power.

Moreover, in gaging the relative strength of the Sino-Soviet empire and the free world, we can no longer ignore the onrush of Communist China. Its hydroelectric potential has recently been estimated at nearly five times that of the United States.

These figures are the measure of the challenge. As the Communists develop resources that supply economic muscle to their efforts, we must match them to stay ahead.

In our country, energy no longer comes just from fuels and falling water. We have begun to harness nuclear power for this purpose.

A major source of power generation will continue to be water.

Thanks to enlightened leadership, public and private, today mighty power generators stand on many of our Nation's rivers.

But it is estimated that we still have developed only one-fourth of the hydroelectric potential of the United States.

A vast storehouse of 90 million kilowatts remains to be tapped through a sound program of waterpower development.

America should move ahead with surveys, plans and sound construction programs for the basinwide development of the power potential of our rivers.

Such planning should assure that the upper and lower basin areas share equally in the benefits of water development. One part should never be allowed to benefit at the expense of others.

The need for interstate cooperation is paramount in hydroelectric and water programing.

We face a national shortage of developed power.

We must come up with nationwide programing to meet it.

I hope that the State and Federal Governments and the private and local interests concerned can join in formulation of these programs.

Without such cooperation, a few may benefit, but the Nation will lose.

I am confident that with prudent investments in our own resources, our country can stave off any Communist economic challenge.

America and defeat can never be made to rhyme.

With the work, dedication, and patient effort that went into the Table Rock Dam, we can remain the world's No. I economic system.

Let the new economic and recreational wonders of Table Rock be a vivid reminder of the richer life that can be available to all if we utilize wisely what nature has given us.

Each new project is but another step on the road to a better tomorrow.

We can be proud of what this dam represents—a resolution writ into our landscape that the blessings which this country has received will be multiplied for the generations to come.

Toll of Traffic Accidents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. ALBERT RAINS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 19, 1959

Mr. RAINS. Mr. Speaker, Members of Congress concerned by the terrible slaughter caused by traffic accidents, and that includes all of us, are deeply grateful to our colleague from Alabama, the Honorable Kenneth A. Roberts, chairman of the Subcommittee on Health and Safety of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, for the great work he has been doing to promote highway safety. In that connection, permit me to call attention of Members to a splendid paper by our colleague, which was read at the meeting of the American Medical Association in Atlantic City, N.J., June 7. The paper is as follows:

First, I want to extend congratulations to the medical and allied health professions for the gains which have been made toward harnessing many of our mass killers.

Within our lifetime we have seen many diseases which were commonplace early in this century conquered or brought under effective control.

Even now we can look forward to a day in the near future when the terrible crippler polio will be a thing of the past.

New surgical techniques and treatments have substantially reduced the number of deaths and disabilities caused by heart disease.

Progress is being made in the treatment of cancer.

Yet we have with us today a situation of epidemic proportions which is raging out of control and getting worse by the hour.

I speak, of course, of the tragic loss of life, productiveness, and property being caused by automobile accidents on our streets and highways.

Certainly, you who are meeting here—the ones who are called day and night to pronounce dead the persons so needlessly killed—are in a better position to understand the problem than the average layman.

Last year a great amount of publicity was given the fact that the traffic fatality toll was reduced by 1.700 deaths as compared with the figure for 1957.

Why, least year we only killed 37,000 people. Killed them needlessly. I find it difficult to find any comfort in this fact or any cause for self congratulation.

It is my belief that the most probable explanation of the declining death rate is that you doctors are simply getting better at the business of keeping people alive.

Not so widely publicized, however, was the fact that injuries—in both number and rate—had been rising.

Back during the Korean war, the U.S. Air Force got to wondering why it had so many men in hospitals with noncombat injuries.

The investigation had barely started when the Air Force found it was losing more men from automobile accidents than from enemy action.

Furthermore, the automobile injuries were usually more serious and required longer hospital care than the battle casualties.

Further investigation revealed that this situation was true for all of our armed services.

Then the U.S. Public Health Service started to look at the problem with renewed interest, and here we found the most shocking revelation of all.

In 1957, the best estimate we could get from private sources showed that 1,400,000 people were injured in motor vehicle accidents.

The Public Health Service study revealed that the true figure was nearer 5 million—nearly five times greater than we suspected.

Five million injuries a year means 25 million days in bed at the hospital or at home it means 125 people injured for every one killed in a traffic crash.

I do not believe this terrible situation is going to be improved simply by asking our motorists to stop killing and maining each other.

Unfortunately, I think we must accept the fatalistic fact that all traffic accidents cannot be prevented. The more cars you put in one place at any one time, the more chance there is for an accident simply by the law of averages.

And so long as we have accidents, we most certainly will have injuries.

As chairman of the congressional Subcommittee on Health and Safety, I have been studying this problem for about 3 years, and I have reached the conclusion that along with improved techniques for treating and healing our injured, we must have improved safety standard in the automobiles we drive to lessen the severity of those injuries and in some cases to prevent them entirely.

I don't think we can stop a driver from going to sleep at the wheel. I don't think we can stop a faulty tire from blowing out and putting a vehicle out of control. I don't think we can catch every drunk driver before he wrecks himself or someone else.

But I do think we can give the driver and his passengers a safer package in which to ride and a far better chance of escaping death or injury.

This to me is a logical conclusion and a logical place to begin working toward a cure for this epidemic.

John Moore, who directs Cornell University's automotive crash research program, has stated that the seriousness of the injury appeared to be very largely a function of the shape and form of interior car components and how the body hit them.

Dr. Fletcher Woodward, who heads your AMA committee on the medical aspects of automobile injuries and deaths, told our subcommittee:

"We are convinced that if speed, recklessness, and drunken driving are controlled, and if improvements in automobile design are provided to protect those involved in collisions, then the present appalling toll of injuries can be reduced."

These facts have repeatedly come up before our subcommittee, and I am sure they have come to the attention of the automobile manufacturers.

Yet, in my opinion, there has been no substantial improvement in automobile design as far as the safety factors are concerned in the 3 years we have been studying these facts.

With this in mind, I have introduced two bills which would direct the Bureau of Standards, certainly a nonpartisan agency, to prescribe certain safety standards for our automobiles.

One of these bills would require all automobiles shipped in interstate commerce to meet these prescribed standards and the other bill would require that all automobiles purchased by the Federal Government meet the standards.

The latter bill would have the effect, we believe, of making the safety standards regular equipment on all cars, as it would be impractical to manufacture one product for Government sales and a different one for regular dealer sales.

I am sure that this legislation is going to be attacked as Federal intervention into private enterprise.

I am equally sure that the attack will be directed from a highly industrialized area in the great State of Michigan.

But I do not consider this any invasion of States rights, any more than I consider it an invasion of States rights for a Government inspector to certify that the meat I buy is safe to eat or that the drugs I buy to cure my illnesses meet certain standards.

We have been told that the public will not buy safety equipment for his car, when it is offered as optional equipment at extra cost.

But no one has told us that the motoring public would not benefit from safety belts, padded dashboards, windshield washers, positive action door latches, and many other devices, if they were made standard equipment on his car.

I do not recall any great hue and cry for the public to demand purity in meats and other foods and drugs before passage of the Pure Foods and Drug Act. Yet we knew thousands were dying every year from tainted meats, improperly canned foods and drugs dispensed with no supervision.

Who today can deny that passage of the act and the resulting Government inspections and standards has been of tremendous value to all of us and to the country as a whole?

My bills have very simple objectives: to reduce death and injury and to provide the motoring American with the safest possible product.

If it results in the elimination of knifeedged tail fins and projecting spear points from the hoods and fenders of our cars so that a little more money can be spent on cleaning up the interior, I don't believe any of us will suffer or that the economy of the country will grind to a halt.

There are still enough flexible factors such as performance, economy, price and accessories to leave the automobile market one of the most highly competitive in our country.

I plan to hold public hearings on this standards bill in the very near future, and if the provisions of this legislation are in agreement with the policies of your association, I would welcome your support and would hope that you would be willing to have a representative meet with us and make your views known.

Briefly, I would like to discuss with you some other legislation presently before our subcommittee.

Representative Paul Schenck, my colleague from Ohio and ranking minority member of the subcommittee, has a bill which would make it unlawful for automobile exhausts to discharge unburned hydrocarbons in amounts sufficiently concentrated to be harmful to human health. This harmful level again would be determined by the Bureau of Standards.

The Public Health Service has considerable evidence—admittedly some of it is still circumstantial at this time—that air pollution is a possible source of lung cancer, and automobile exhausts are believed to be a major contributor to air pollution.

Then, in the belief that properly trained drivers have fewer accidents and traffic law violations, I have introduced a bill which would provide some Federal funds for research and facilities in the driver training field. These funds would be matched at the State level and control of their use would remain at the State level. None of the money could be used for teacher's salaries, and the Federal Government would only require the submission of a reasonable and workable research plan before granting of the funds.

All the testimony that we have had before the subcommittee has been to the effect that persons who have had formal driver train-

ing have about half as many accidents and violations as those who have not been so trained.

There is a great need for some sort of central violations section where the various States can check the previous record of drivers license applicants, and we have before us a bill which would establish such a records section.

I do not mean that every time a motorist got a parking ticket his law violation would be flashed to Washington, but in the cases of the most serious violations, such as driving while drunk or any offense which leads to license revocation, a permanent record would be made of it.

This would prevent habitual law violators from going to a neighboring State and applying for a new license. At the present time, the States have no means of checking at a central location the previous record of any driver.

The legislation I have mentioned here I consider to be of prime importance in bringing this traffic accident epidemic under control.

My personal feeling is that the subcommittee has proceeded with extreme caution in its work and has sought in every manner to avoid compulsive legislation.

But after 3 years of pointing out some of the things which need to be done, and with no indication of early action on the part of anyone else, I believe we must pass some sort of legislation in the best interests of the motoring public.

The time has come when some responsible body must act to curb this terrible loss of life and property.

And act is what we plan to do.

## Brief History of U.S. Postal Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 19, 1959

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader of Thursday, June 11, 1959, setting forth a brief history of U.S. postal service:

POSTAL SERVICE HISTORY

Wilkes-Barre takes pleasure today in welcoming delegates to the 25th annual convention of the Pennsylvania Chapter, National Association of Postmasters.

While this organization is a relative newcomer on the scene, postal service dates back to the time of the great empires when the need for communication first developed. It was not until the days of the Roman Empire that postal service was perfected, only to receive a setback for centuries after its collarse.

Originally, postal service was largely a matter of government communication. Later, the universities and merchants entered the picture. Gradually, it was expanded to include the general public.

Postal service was inaugurated in Colonial

Postal service was inaugurated in Colonial America in 1639 when formal action was taken by the General Court of Massachusetts. Special messengers carried the mail between villages. It was not until 1692 that intercolonial service was instituted, with the main office established in Philadelphia.

Benjamin Franklin became deputy postmaster in 1737 and postmaster general in 1753. In 1755, a link was established with England.

Eventually, the Continental Congress took charge of the postal service, with Franklin as the first postmaster general. In the Articles of Confederation, provision was made to give Congress the exclusive right to establish and operate post offices. Under the Constitution, these powers were expanded.

The first post office in the United States. incidentally, was established in New York in 1783. In 1789, there were only 75 post offices throughout the country. Today, we have more than 36,000 with expenditures exceeding \$3 billions and stamps and cancellations running into astronomical figures.

As for postmasters, they come in four classes, with the first three appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. The fact that they are subject to confirmation like cabinet officers, ambassadors, members of the Judiciary and other high functionaries is evidence of the importance the Government attaches to the posts.

## Rapid Amortization in Regulated Industries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 19, 1959

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, rapid amortization for tax purposes is a subject that has generated a great deal of political heat and misunderstanding in recent years. In the interest of setting the record straight, Jacob Friedman, a Washington, D.C., engineering and business consultant and a former Government official who dealt with this problem, has prepared a statement setting forth the real benefits, to the Government and to the industry concerned. His facts and figures strip the subject of exaggeration and confusion. I believe members will be interested in a discussion of Mr. Friedman's analysis by Francis X. Welch, editor of the Public Utilities Fortnightly, which I include with my remarks:

RAPID AMORTIZATION IN REGULATED INDUSTRIES (By Francis X. Welch)

Hearings of the Senate Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly, recently made available in printed form, contain some interesting views on the effect of rapid amortization for tax purposes of defense supporting plant structures by regulated industries. hearings were held pursuant to Senate Resolution 57 of the 85th Congress. And while the question of further issuance of rapid amortization certificates for regulated business has now been disposed of by the cessation of the program, the effect of such rapid amortization on the earning capacity of such industries, including both gas and electric utilities, is still being debated in regulatory and academic circles.

Is it a tax saving or a tax deferral, when a regulated business speeds up its deduction for depreciation for taxes so that it is entirely written off in 5 years? Does it amount to an interest-free loan by the Government during the period of amortization—as is so often stated by the critics of such certificates? On June 20, 1957, U.S. Senator Homer E. CAPEHART (Republican, Indiana) introduced into the Congressional Record a statement by an engineering and business consultant, Jacob Friedman, of Washington. D.C., summarizing the costs and benefits

arising from the amortization of Brownlee Dam by the Idaho Power Co.—which, incidentally, the company subsequently voluntarily declined to exercise. Using an estimated cost of \$67,138,000, of which 65 percent had been certified as eligible for rapid amortization, and using an estimated life of 50 years, Friedman arrives at some interesting conclusions. First, he deals with the joint advantages to both private industry and the Government, based on the assumption that a company will be able to invest profitably its so-called depreciation tax benefits at 6 percent annually for 50 years-considering the use of an interest-free loan as an investment at a profit rate equal to the rate of borrowing on alternative indebtedness. He also uses the assumption, for statistical purposes, that the corporate tax will remain at 52 percent, that the Government can borrow money at 3 percent, and that the taxpayer will continue a profitable business operation.

Here is Mr. Friedman's analysis of the conditions which would prevail under these assumptions:

(a) At the end of each of the first 5 years following completion of the facility, the Government will borrow money at 3 percent to offset depreciation tax losses (or company depreciation tax benefits), which are in effect interest-free loans to the company.

(b) At the end of each of the last 45 years, the company depreciation tax loss (or Government tax gain) because of less than normal depreciation allowable, represents a repayment without interest to decrease the remaining balance of the interest-free loans. At the end of 50 years, such loans will be fully paid as the company depreciation tax benefits will equal Government depreciation tax gains.

(c) At the end of each year after the first, Government receives income taxes equal to the company's profit rate of 6 percent multiplied by 52 percent or 3.12 percent of its cumulative depreciation tax benefits compounded annually at 2.88 percent (6 percent—52 percent times 6 percent), the com-pany's net return after taxes on its investment at 6 percent. Moreover, while the loans (depreciation tax benefits) received by the company at the erd of each of the first 5 years are interest free, the Government realizes as income taxes a return of 3.12 percent on the basis of the current value of loans that have compounded at 2.88 percent annually rather than on the basis of the value of interest-free loans. current

(d) The net Government tax loss at the end of each of the first 5 years is equal to the company depreciation tax benefits less the excess of income taxes received in (c) above over the interest expense necessitated by Government borrowing at 3 percent.

(e) Each net government tax gain from the end of the 6th year to the end of the 26th year is equal to the company depreciation tax loss plus the excess of income taxes received in (c) above over the interest expense necessitated by Government borrowing at 3 percent.

(f) Each net Government tax gain from the end of the 27th to 50th year is equal to the sum of the company depreciation tax loss, the gain from income taxes received in (c) above, and the interest at 3 percent on the cumulative net Government tax gain accrued to date that reduces Government borrowing to the extent of such net tax gain as it would not have existed in the absence of a certificate. During this period the net Government gains accelerate.

The important point of Mr. Friedman's computation is that the regulated company's benefits result from investing its cumulative depreciation tax benefits at a profit of 6 percent and compounding them annually at 2.88 percent after payment of income taxes. In the hypothetical (as it turned out, mythical) case of the Idaho Power Co., through

the certification of the Brownlee Dam at the end of 50 years following construction, the interest amounting to \$25,756,000 would have represented the gain of the Idaho Power Co. This is the interest which would otherwise have accrued without benefit of the certificate as a net interest expense after deducting, for income tax purposes, 52 percent of the total interest due on loans equal to the depreciation tax benefits at the end of each of the 5 years.

Note that the value of such a gain at the completion of the construction project is \$6.229.000. This is the amount of money invested at an annual profit rate of 6 percent. But 3.12 percent of this (52 percent times 6 percent) will be returned to the Government as Federal income taxes. Only the remainder of 2.88 percent of the profits can be figured as a component for compounding the interest benefit over the 50-year life period of the project. That is how Mr. Friedman finally arrives at the \$25,756,000 net gain to

the taxpaying company.

But what does the Government get out of this—as a benefit through the certification of the project for tax-paying purposes? Mr. Friedman figures that the Government stands to gain \$30,407,000 at the end of 50 years following the project's construction. Thus Uncle Sam stands to gain more than the taxpayer through the certification of the project for tax purposes. The Government's gain is due to the annual 3.12 percent return as income taxes on the investment of cumulative company depreciation tax benefits compounded annually at 2.88 percent. and the excess of annual savings of interest (at 3 percent) on the cumulative net Government tax gains over what the Government would have had to pay in the absence of a certificate. Mr. Friedman figures that the value of such a gain to the Government at the completion of a project would be \$6,936,000. At 3 percent compounded interest over the 50-year period, this figures out at \$30,407,000, as stated above.

In other words, critics of the amortization tax program have quite generally failed to take into consideration the Government's tax benefits due to the annual profitable investment of the company's depreciation tax

benefits.

Of course there are other benefits from such a program which eventually accrue to the Government as Mr. Friedman states:

"The receipt of a necessity certificate is to no avail unless the certified facilities are utilized in a profitable manner. Accordingly, the necessity certificate program has encouraged the incentive and initiative of private industry to undertake a successful operation, which has made the United States the mightiest nation. The additional plants with their complement of modern equipment, many of which would never have been built under normal conditions and others not built at the time needed by the Government. have provided necessary mobilization capacity, gainful employment, and have generated considerable tax revenue in addition to the Government gains discussed above. In this particular case, an electric power development will attract many industries, which in turn will generate much additional tax revenue in behalf of the Government."

These views are quite different, of course, from those of Russell C. Rainwater, chief accountant of the Federal Power Commission, who placed the cost to the Government of the Idaho certification at \$83,595,827. When asked to comment on Mr. Friedman's computations by Senator Kefauver, Democrat, of Tennessee, Mr. Rainwater submitted a memorandum on August 22, 1957, to the Senate Antitrust Subcommittee, which mainly differed as to the basic assumptions made in Mr. Friedman's computations.

Mr. Rainwater pointed out that the net Government tax gain was based on an interest rate of 3 percent which he thought

was too low, especially in view of the fact that the Government was paying 31/2 per-cent for such borrowed funds at the time of the inquiry. He also pointed out that Friedman had estimated the utility company's tax payment out of its return of 6 percent, whereas in conventional regulation return allowance is always made after the allowance of income tax as an operating expense. Mr. Rainwater also repeated his contention that the use of tax benefits, temporary or otherwise, enables an expanding company with constant need of new capital for construction to employ such benefits virtually as interest-free loans. If the company did not receive the amortization certificate. the funds for new construction would have to be raised by other means, in his view. Revising Friedman's computations in the light of his criticisms, Rainwater came out with a gain to the company of \$165,077,-000 compared to Friedman's \$25,756,000 result in the hypothetical case stated above. Rainwater also computed a net loss to the Government of \$39,064,000, compared with Friedman's gain to the Government of \$30,-407 000

In the nature of a rebuttal to such disagreement with his computations, Mr. Friedman wrote to Senator DREKEN (Republican, of Illinois) on January 17, 1958, a letter in which Friedman justified his computations as follows:

First, as to whether the assumption of 3 percent of Government borrowing was too low, Friedman thought that it was justified over a long-range average—not using just a spot period of higher interest—especially in view of taxes received by the Government from the interest income of those who loan money to the Government itself.

Secondly, as to whether the assumed Government tax benefit was erroneously based on a return allowance before taxes, rather than after taxes, Mr. Friedman made a very interesting observation. He said that he was not making any assumption as to company taxes based on the return allowance at all, but simply using the going interest rate of 6 percent on private capital to estimate the value of certificate to the taxpaver. If there were no certificate issued, the company would have to raise the money from private investors, issue bonds, and pay an assumed 6 percent interest to the bondholders. This 6 percent, paid out by the company, would be deductible as a business cost before taxes. But with the use of the money provided under the certificate, the company issues no bonds, which means that the 6 percent is now accrued as a profit for the stockholders, and the Government gets income taxes on this at the 52-percent corporate rate.

In other words, were there no certificate there would be no taxes for the Government (at 52 percent) on 6 percent otherwise paid to bondholders as tax deductible interest; but where the certificate is used, the Government gets such a tax on the 6 percent accrued as profit to the stockholders. Conventional ratemaking procedure, and whether the tax is assumed before or after the return allowance, have nothing at all to do with it. These additional taxes collected by the Government amount to 3.12 percent (52 percent of the 6-percent earnings) and must be paid by the utility, resulting in a net company benefit of only 2.83 percent (6 percent minus 3.12 percent).

Friedman went on to say that consumer rates remain the same in either situation. He noted also that the 6-percent assumption was admittedly a maximum interest payment rate and that if the company could borrow money from private sources for less, then the value of the certificate would correspondingly be reduced. With respect to Rainwater's comment that the certificate provides interest-free loans for the use of plant expansion, for which funds would otherwise

have to be raised from private sources, Friedman concludes:

"One of the objectives for providing benefits to private industry through necessity certificates is to provide an incentive to ex pand facilities in excess of scheduled needs, which represents a mobilization preparedness measure at an economic risk by industry. To the extent that such additional plant is constructed with the use of depreciation benefits either at the beginning or later in increments, because of the certificate that would otherwise not have been accomplished in the absence of such depreciation benefits, Federal income taxes can be computed in arriving at Government loss or gain. situation has been prevalent during the tax amortization program and, as a result, a tremendous increase in industrial capacity is available for mobilization purposes. Thus, it is agreed that the basic expansion would be undertaken without a certificate but it is not reasonable to assume that excess facilities which could have been built with the use of depreciation benefits would be constructed regardless of the certificate."

As to Mr. Rainwater's computation of a much greater benefit to the company under such a certificate, Mr. Friedman had this reaction:

That such benefits could only be obtained through an increase of consumer rates. Further, that, if consumer rates were increased, such benefits would result in the computation of Federal income taxes (in arriving at Government loss or gain) which are not the funds for new construction whether raised by private financing or not.

Aside from these differences of opinion on resulting benefits of tax amortization, Friedman made an interesting observation on the effect of accelerated depreciation on utility company earnings. In the case of the Idaho Power amortization certificate (which the company declined to use) it was represented that the depreciation benefits, on so-called interest-free loans of approximately \$30 million during the first 5 years—which must be repaid over the subsequent 45 years—represent a subsidy to the company of \$300 million or 10 times the amount of the loans.

Priedman said of this:

"How astonished would the average person be if he arranged to receive interest-free loans of \$1 at the end of each of 5 consecutive years with the understanding that they would be repaid in declining payments over the next 45 years but was advised 1 year before the receipt of the first loan of \$1 that this arrangement represented a gift to him of \$50. That would be analogous to the insinuation made through press releases, hearings, etc.; namely, that interest-free loans due to a certificate are worth 10 times their amount even though they must be repaid."

These are rather original approaches and observations made about a most hackneyed and complex subject. Does the Government benefit more from accelerated depreciation or rapid amortization than otherwise? Does the taxpaying utility? Does the consumer? You pay your tax money and you take your choice.

## Surplus Bins

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. LEONARD G. WOLF

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 19, 1959

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I wish to insert into the RECORD a copy of an

editorial by the oldest newspaper in Iowa; the Telegraph-Herald. The article suggests the possibility that warehousing and storage of food is getting to be a big business itself, and that even here there may well develop a situation in which vested interests in warehousing of surplus foods could stop effective efforts to decrease our surplus stocks.

The editorial follows:

SURPLUS BINS

The State of Kansas, one of the great wheat States, alone has a billion bushels of grain storage capacity, or enough for five average crops of Kansas wheat. The increase in storage capacity in other wheat States has also been phenomenal in recent years.

There is an assumption—which may be wishful thinking—that the wheat surplus is going to be scaled down to a normal carry-over during the next few years. There are various proposals which could accomplish this.

If that happens, will the big proportion of the vast American grain storage plant then become surplus? Warehousing is a leading American industry, but can a warehouse built for grain be converted to other purposes? This will be one of the interesting phases of farm and allied operations as it unfolds.

Will we soon hear a new demand—to subsidize the warehousemen with their empty bins?

This storage for surplus crops is getting to be big business itself. And we shouldn't be surprised to learn that it will be a powerful force to reckon with if we ever get up the courage to cut down the farm surplus, and empty some of those bins.

## Editorial Comment on Pebt Managemer-

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 19, 1959

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, the press throughout the United States has with unusual unanimity supported the Treasury's request for both an increase in the amount of bonds that can be sold to evidence the Federal debt as well as to take the ceiling off the interest on Government bonds maturing after 5 years.

I have already placed in the Appendix to the Congressional Record the following six editorial comments:

First. "Paying the Piper," Washington Daily News, page A5225, June 17, 1959.

Second. "You and the U.S. Fiscal Plans," New York Herald Tribune, page A5231, June 17, 1959.

Third. "Pawn or Sovereign?" Washington Post and Times Herald, page A5234, June 17, 1959.

Fourth. "Federal Financing Reforms," New York Times, page A5242, June 17, 1959.

Fifth. "The Peg and the Kindling," Wall Street Journal, page A5244, June 17,

Sixth. "Up With the Ceiling," St. Louis Post-Dispatch, page A5119, June 9, 1959.

In the Appendix to the RECORD today I am adding four additional editorial comments:

First. "Lowdown on Treasury's Dilemma," by J. A. Livingston, Business Out-

look, June 10, 1959. Second. "Treasury Deep in Trap," by Sylvia Porter, "Your Money's Worth."

Third. "A Little Preventive Medicine" from the Wall Street Journal, June 11, 1959.

Fourth. "The Pension Society" from the Wall Street Journal Review and Outlook, June 9, 1959.

There are other articles which support

the same view, for example:

First. "Paying the Price," The Wall Street Journal, June 5, 1959.

Second. "U.S. Bond Rates," Baltimore Sun, June 5, 1959.

Third. "Treasury Interest Rate," the New York Times, June 4, 1959.

Fourth. "Everybody Has a Stake in Rate Treasury Pays," by Sam Dawson in the Evening Star, Washington, D.C., June 5, 1959.

Fifth. "Debt and Interest," from the

Baltimore Sun of June 2, 1959.

Sixth. "High Interest Rates at Expansion's Threshold," by Harold B. Dorsey, Economic View, June 1, 1959.

Seventh. "Heavy Ceiling," from the Washington Post and Times Herald, June 6, 1959.

Eighth. "U.S. Bond Ceiling Termed 'Political'," by Paul Heffernan, from the New York Times, June 7, 1959.

Ninth. "Liberal and Orthodox," from the Baltimore Sun, June 8, 1959.

Tenth. "New Interest Load," from the

Baltimore Sun, June 9, 1959. Eleventh. "U.S. Faces Hard Tasks in Debt Management," by Edwin L. Dale, Jr., the New York Times, June 7, 1959.

## Madisonville, Ky., a City of Good Government and Good Citizens

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 19, 1959

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, I have previously been privileged to call attention to the enviable record that has been established and is being maintained by the city of Madisonville, Ky., population 17.372. For the fifth consecutive year the citizens of Madisonville will not be required to pay a real estate or ad valorem tax.

The city of Madisonville, named in honor of President James Madison, is the county seat of Hopkins County. It is a beautiful city which is continuing to be improved by public-spirited persons who take an active part in their city government, and who have faith in its future. It has been said that the antidote for pessimism is perspective. Surely the people of Madisonville have not been without perspective in any of their worthwhile endeavors. This fact is evidenced by fine churches, schools, and in every aspect of community life.

When visiting the city of Madisonville one is impressed by the warmth and sincerity of its residents. Interest in their community is generated from father to son and is manifested by civic clubs, professional and business men and by those in all walks of life. The local newspaper, the Madisonville Messenger, and also the radio station, WFMW, like the citizens of Madisonville, takes an active part in all activities for the betterment of the community. Through the medium of the Madisonville Messenger and radio station WFMW, the citizens of Hopkins County are the recipients of up-to-date. unbiased news. The owner, editorial staff, and all personnel connected with this newspaper and radio station are indeed serving the best interests of their town, county, and State.

The people who reside in Madisonville have shown foresight and wisdom in the selection of those who are responsible for the good performance of government. The mayor, David Parish, a successful businessman, is fortified in his efforts by members of the city council, as well as all city officials and personnel of the various municipal departments. Because of the untiring services rendered by such men and women. Madisonville is economically operated. The city has a modern sewer system, a sewage-disposal plant, and its own elec-

tric and water systems.

Madisonville residents have faced a challenge. Service to their community. conscientious performance of their jobssometimes in the face of difficultiesthese and many other everyday duties hold the possibility of deep gratification. For their activities they should receive and enjoy praise. However, I am sure, the true satisfaction, the essence of success, comes to them not from praise but from the doing. Good government and good citizens are one and the same; good individuals make good towns and nothing else does. Good communities make a good State and nothing else can. In this knowledge I hold the citizens of Madisonville, Ky., in the highest respect and admiration.

## TVA Project for Maine and Maritime Provinces

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JAMES C. OLIVER

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 19, 1959

Mr. OLIVER. Mr. Speaker, Maine people as well as our good neighbors in the Maritime Provinces of Canada are eagerly anticipating a favorable report by the International Joint Boundary Commission resulting from the survey now being completed on the economic and engineering feasibility of the Passamaquoddy tidal power project.

Rumors persist that the report will be favorable. This could and should result in a multipurpose development project similar to the Tennessee Valley Authority's great achievement in the Tennessee River Basin and watershed.

I shall work to the end that a full Quoddy power development, integrated with multipurpose, full resources de-velopment of the St. John River Basin, may be constructed on the basis of the concept, established by TVA. Economic benefits for Maine people and our Canadian friends and in fact for the entire northern New England area, comparable to those now being enjoyed by the TVA area, will result from such a project.

I have strenously, with this potential in mind, opposed all attempts to malign TVA since its inception in the early 1930's. Certain interests in our country are determined to discredit and undermine this great example of progress through democracy in action. Opponents have dedicated themselves to a crusade of criticism of TVA, but their failure to justify such criticism on the facts often drives them to the fabrication

of unfair observations.

I recently received an expression of this type of attack against TVA which I referred to the TVA Board in Knoxville, Tenn., for reply. I am including, herewith, a copy of the reply of Hon. Herbert D. Vogel, Chairman of the Board of the Tennessee Valley Authority, which points out some of the misconceptions publicized by the dedicated opponents of TVA in their recent publication:

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY,
Knozville, Tenn., June 12, 1959.
The Honorable James C. Oliver,

House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. OLIVER: I appreciate your sending me a copy of the Dan Smoot report on TVA, and I am happy to have the opportunity to reply to it and correct some erroneous statements.

Mr. Smoot opens his report with a quotation from a statement by a Congressman from California: "The TVA Act of 1933 took the place of the TVA fertilizer program of Muscle Shoals, Tenn., which had become so notorious that it had to be abolished."

First of all, Muscle Shoals has always been, and still is, in Alabama. Second, there never was a TVA fertilizer program of Muscle Shoals, prior to TVA. Since it was nonexistent, it could not have become notorious.

Nor could it have been abolished.

In later paragraphs, Mr. Smoot relates that "The idea was to build one dam at Muscle Shoals, Ala., to help control floods in the Tennessee River Valley and to im-prove water navigation on the river." The fact is that the Muscle Shoals Dam was begun during the First World War, long before TVA was created or even conceived, and completed in 1925. Its principal purpose was neither flood control nor navigation, though its design permits it to function as part of a flood control and navigation system; its original purpose was to provide electric power for two munitions plants built

nearby.

Mr. Smoot has apparently made little effort to verify his statements, and many effort to verify his statements. are directly contrary to fact. He asserts, for instance, that "\* \* \* TVA accomplishments are a bookkeeping \* \* \* miracle and that "\* \* \* the bookkeeping is always juggled. \* \* \* " The truth is, of course, that TVA bookkeeping follows the uniform system of accounts prescribed for all electric utilities by the Federal Power Commission. Moreover, its books are audited yearly by the General Accounting Office, an agency of

Congress, which publishes a report available for all to see.

In the light of fact, some of Mr. Smoot's other statements fall to the ground. "Pensions and retirement funds for TVA employees \* \* \*" he says, "Never show up as part of the operating costs of the Tennessee Valley Authority." It simply isn't so. They do.

"Research and public relations \* \* \* cost." he says, "is never included in TVA cost-of-operation." That, too, is untrue. All cost is reflected in the accounts of TVA and in the audit of GAO.

Mr. Smoot has resurrected an old and many times discredited story when he declares that TVA has flooded permanently more land than was previously damaged by intermittent floods. This statement is quite inaccurate in terms of acreages involved, but the misheading twist is the omission of an important fact: A very large proportion of the land inundated for reservoirs was steep and almost useless, or low-value timberland, or marginal agricultural land. The land protected, on the other hand, its high-value urban and industrial property in cities like Chattanooga, and rich, fertile agricultural lands on the lower Ohio and Mississippi Valleys.

I am reminded of the wealthy Texan who told of owning no large ranches or oil lands, saying that his only property was 8 or 10 acres—in downtown Dallas. All property does not have the same value, and Tennessee River property today is far different from what it was 25 years ago. Today we have a chain of beautiful lakes contributing to recreation (which has become a multimillion-dollar industry), to pleasant home sites, and to advantageous industrial locations. Shoreline lands sell at premium prices running up to many thousands of dollars.

Mr. Smoot has been careless, to say the least, in dealing with the navigation question. He alleges that the Tennessee Water-way costs over \$8 million a year in maintenance. The published, accurate figures show that for the last 10 years the entire cost of operating the waterway-operation of the locks by the Army Engineers, the Coast Guard patrol, and depreciation on the investment, as well as maintenance—has averaged less than \$4 million a year. Nor do I know where information was obtained that the rail freight cost on the goods moved over the waterway would have cost less than 30 percent of the investment in the waterway. Our careful calculations of cumulative sayings to shippers using the waterway-not by any means the total freight cost-now exceed the \$159 million investment in the waterway.

But this juggling of figures, to use Mr. Smoot's term, is but a distraction from the principal usefulness of a waterway as an artery of transportation binding the regions of the country together with stronger ties of commerce. Traffic on the Tennessee Waterway is growing faster than any other waterway in the country. From 33 million ton-miles in 1933 it has grown to 2.1 billion in 1958. Five years ago it was less than half that much. Products move by barge which would never move at all by rail, because of the higher rate. An example is the fastgrowing grain movement from the Middle West. The great poultry and broiler indus-try of north Georgia and Alabama would not exist today without it. Oil moves from Texas gulf ports. Coal, chemicals, and steel move from Illinois, Louisiana, and Pennsylvania. The navigation channel is becoming a highway of industry. Private companies since 1933 have invested nearly \$750 million in waterfront plants, 90 percent of it in the last 8 years, 45 percent in the last 3. The waterway, like all others in the country, is a national investment, and the dividends, like the others, are national in their impact. In this connection I think you will be interested in the enclosed copy of our recent publication on the Tennessee Waterway.

Another thoroughly discredited argument is used by Mr. Smoot to create a tall-wagsthe-dog impression about TVA's power pro-The generation of power by TVA dams was at one time, as he has quoted Congressman UTT, only one of the benefits anticipated from a multipurpose development of the river. If, in this light, the tremendous use of power today seems strange to some, it is because 25 years ago no one dreamed of America's growing hunger for electrical energy to turn the wheels of industry, to light, heat, and air-conditioned homes, to lighten the burdens on farms, and to do all the other things necessary to make a modern Nation. Nor did anyone dream of an atomic bomb and the great demand for power its manufacture would require. The Tennessee Valley is today a citadel of de-fense. Almost half of TVA's total power sales go to the Federal Government for its atomic plants and other critical defense installations. For every mill per kilowatt-hour saved through TVA's low power rates, the Nation reaps an annual benefit of about \$28 million. If we compute the residual benefits resulting from the lower cost of power delivered by private utilities endeavor-ing to meet TVA prices, the benefits are almost doubled.

Mr. Smoot's broad brush not only paints out the real facts about TVA but rather cleverly disguises what appears to be his real purpose, namely, to attack the TVA revenue bond financing legislation now pending in Congress by attempting to discredit TVA itself. Somehow, it is alleged that the Government's own investment of \$1.2 billion in power facilities will be downgraded to a second mortgage. The absurdity of the charge is evident from the fact that the U.S. Government is itself the owner of TVA, and I have never heard of an owner requiring a first mortgage on his own income. In any event, the owner's investment is amply safeguarded in the legislation. At present, the law provides for TVA payments to the Treasury from power revenues which average out to 2.5 percent a year. This, in terms of money, amounts to around \$30 million. Under the proposed legislation a return would be paid to the Government on its investment at the average going rate of interest to the Federal Government (something under 3 percent), and in addi-tion \$10 million would be paid yearly to reduce the Government's investment. This makes a total of about \$46 million TVA would be paying to the Treasury annually.

The charge that TVA refuses to raise its service rates sufficient to meet obligations again shows a complete lack of knowledge of the facts. TVA's power rates are sufficient to meet its obligations, including operating costs, maintenance, depreciation, substantial payments to States and counties in lieu of taxes, and payments to the Treasury which are well ahead of schedule.

The question of congressional control of TVA said to be weakened by the proposed legislation, is a straw man pure and simple. TVA asks for no separation from the control of Congress. TVA is a creature of Congress and Congress can always abolish it or change its policies and activities. Mr. Jensen's remarks, quoted liberally by Mr. Smoot, deal in general with philosophies of government which are the concern of Congress. I can only say that there is no socialism in the makeup of those who comprise the rank and file of TVA, and certainly no communism. Charges implying that TVA is a Soviet showcase are too ridiculous to dignify by counterarguments. In reality, TVA serves as a great proving ground to thousands of foreign na-Far from being a dictatorship of tionals. three Presidentially appointed directors, it is a demonstration of what can be accomplished when all elements of government and society work together to a common end-the development and magnification of na-

tural resources. Nearly 3,000 foreign visitors come to TVA every year, and every bit of the time and money which TVA spends with them is a part of an education in Americanism.

Sincerely,

HERBERT D. VOGEL, Chairman of the Board.

It's Dairy Month and We've Our Hat Off for Old Bossy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. LAWRENCE BROCK

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 19, 1959

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, June is the month of blooming flowers and planned weddings but it is also known as Dairy Month, selected to give us the opportunity to pause momentarily in our busy lives and reflect on the many blessings emanating from good old Bossy, the perennial cow. To many of us here, who have lived and worked on the farm, the thoughts of our youth and old Bossy bring forth a feeling of nostalgia whenever the spring and summer months roll around.

To old Bossy goes the creidt for providing us with the essential products so vital in molding healthy bodies in the transition from youth to maturity. We can humbly thank her for our milk, butter and cheese, and last but not least, beef. Old Bossy, faithful to the end, even gives up her old hide enabling us to walk in fine shoe leather.

With the permission of my colleagues, I insert in the Record, a very fine and expressive editorial salute to old Bossy by Bob and Shirley Bogue, energetic publishers of the Oakland Independent, Oakland, Nebr., in their May 28 issue of the newspaper:

It'S DAIRY MONTH AND WE'VE OUR HAT OFF FOR OLD BOSSY

Balanced and diversified farming is one of the wonderful mainstays of the economy of our area. Everything depends on the farmer. And, now, during June Dairy Month, we'd like to pay tribute to the important part the dairying industry plays in the agricultural diversification of the Logan Valley.

While we've got our hat in hand, we'd like to raise it even higher this year to a member of the dairy industry who is even more important than the farmer—good old Bossy, herself.

Perhaps even the keepers of cows sometimes forget the accomplishments of this grand gal. She's a worker, and she's got figures to prove it.

Average annual production per cow in the United States has reached 6,330 pounds of milk. To manufacture 6,330 pounds of milk, Bossy must eat more than 4 tons of hay and sliage, plus the grass of 5 months in the pasture, and consume at least 1½ tons of grain. She needs 16 tons of water to drink and the salivary glands in her mouth make 6 tons of saliva to soften the 200,000 cuds she must chew for this quantity of milk.

Bossy's four departments—production, transportation, conversion, and storage would measure more than 200 feet if stretched into a straight line. She doesn't complain at all about working 16 hours a day and asks nothing extra for cud chewing on weekends and holidays.

On the group level, dairy cows are much like any group of females. They want a leader, or bell cow, who assumes command of the herd and leads it to and from the pasture each night and morning. A lead cow is very proud of her bell. Take it away and place it on another cow and Bossy sulks, loses confidence in herself, and produces less.

Dairy cows also tend to be clannish. When a new cow is purchased and introduced to an established herd, the newcomer must graze on the outside of the herd for up to 2 weeks before her sisters will accept her as a social equal. In the meantime, herd production may drop as much as 5 percent, but will rise again after the getting acquainted period.

Each herd will usually have a moocher, or freeloader. She is the cow that hurries into the bar and sticks her head through the stanchions of several of her sisters to steal a mouthful of grain before she goes to her own stall. And, of course, there's the mischiefmaker or curious cow who will find a hole in the fence and entice the herd into the cornfield.

Like man, the cow is a creature of habit and routine. She likes to be fed and milked at the same time each day by the same owner or herdsman she has learned to like and respect. She is dainty in her eating and sensitive to good care and attention. Bossy shows her appreciation in production ratio.

The cow is a natural engineer. A herd of cattle always will establish a path through the lowest points in a range of hills. A herd never becomes lost in dense woods and always finds its way to the gate at milking time.

We submit that cows, overall, are much like people we all know—good, bad, or indifferent—but on the whole, mighty nice to have around.

#### Editorial Comment on Debt Management

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 19, 1959

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Congressional Record, I wish to include an editorial which appeared in the Wall Street Journal on June 11, 1959, entitled "A Little Preventive Medicine":

#### A LITTLE PREVENTIVE MEDICINE

A common refrain in this year's corporate reports is the remark by the company's president that "economies and more efficient methods applied during the 1957-58 recession" are contributing to this year's rise in profits.

In other words, the pains of the recent recession brought a good many managements up short. They found that a lot of lax practices had accumulated during the previous boom, and that they are now better off for having been forced to take corrective actions.

During times of trouble, this may seem, to be sure, a somewhat Pollyannaish comfort. Nevertheless, the experience embodies a commonsense truth that might be kept in mind now that some people are feeling quite different pains from prosperity.

As this paper noted yesterday, the impact of higher interest rates, as the demand for

money rises, is being felt throughout the economy. The U.S. Treasury, as President Eisenhower has reminded Congress, finds it painful to have to pay more for its borrowed money. So do a good many other borrowers, from the householder to the small businessman to big corporations. And nobody likes to pay higher prices for anything, whether it's eggs or dollars.

But we can't refrain from noting some other results of this. For the first time in years, to take one example, the managers of the Federal finances are really trying to do something realistic about the Federal deficit and the Federal debt.

What they are trying to do, of course, is no more than prudent anyway and no more than everybody knew before ought to be done. But now the intention is reinforced by harsh necessity. The prospect of rising money costs makes a better balance in the debt load more imperative. Also, more expensive money is making even Congress take a less cavalier attitude toward more deficits and more debt.

Nor is this the only place where the bad taste of the medicine is changing unhealthy habits. Several of the bankers interviewed by our reporters confessed, "We're making a special effort to cut out the more speculative type of loans." And quite a few would-be borrowers are already asking themselves the question. "Is this loan really necessary?"

There's also another side to the high interest rate story. Savings interest rates are going up too; a number of banks and savings and loan associations have already hiked the interest they pay depositors, with more raises in the offing. Thus along with some discouragement to borrowing we have an encouragement to thrift.

The point here is that the interest rate on borrowed money, especially if the Federal Reserve continues to adjust rapidly to market conditions, can act as a regulator against a run-away boom. Both the borrower and the lender are more apt to take a closer look at what they are doing, putting a little discipline on the excess of enthusiasms. The effects of this can be salutary; in fact, we have a feeling they already have been.

Nobody enjoyed the recent recession, and

Nobody enjoyed the recent recession, and few borrowers will be happy at having their plans curtailed. But this won't be the first time that a little preventive medicine, taken in due time, made a much healthier patient.

Chiropractic Day Sponsored on September 18, 1959, by National Chiropractic Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. MERWIN COAD

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. COAD. Mr. Speaker, I invite the attention of my colleagues to an important special observance which will take place September 18 of this year. It is a day set aside for Chiropractic Day, sponsored by and observed by the Nation's second largest profession of healing, the chiropractic profession.

Throughout the world, chiropractors will celebrate the 64th anniversary of the discovery of chiropractic by the late Dr. Daniel David Palmer.

Because the chiropractic profession deals with one of the things important to each of us—good health—I think the value of this special day should not be overlooked.

Therefore, in connection with this observance, I wish to submit for the RECORD, a statement by Dr. Emmett J. Murphy, director of industrial Relations, National Chiropractic Association, Washington, D.C.:

STATEMENT BY DR. EMMETT J. MURPHY

On September 18, chiropractors will look back to survey 64 years of progress wherein the chiropractic profession has been raised to a firm basis of professional skill and ethical standards, and to the point where chiropractic today enjoys the prestige, standing, and material rewards of other professions,

Chiropractic is the second largest healing profession in America. It is classified as one of the four major healing professions, along with medicine, dentistry, and osteopathy by the Executive Office of the President of the United States, Bureau of the Budget, Washington, D.C.

Recognizing the goals already reached by this prominent profession, and the confidence of 33 million people who have received chiropractic care in the United States and Canada, it is indeed proper that we all should pause for a moment to consider the basic principles which form the foundations for this growing profession in our Nation today.

A fresh concept in the art of healing based upon the neurological, physical, and mechanical approach was given to the world 64 years ago. For it was in 1895 that Dr. Palmer brought to the modern world the benefits of chiropractic principles.

After exhaustive research, Dr. Palmer in 1895 introduced to our world these principles which have been carried on by chiropractors who are devoted to the prevention and treatment of disease and to the promotion of public health and welfare.

The specific function by which the chiropractor is distinguished from other modes of healing is his adjunstment of vertebral subluxation of the spinal column to restore normal nerve function.

The remarkable effectiveness of chiropractic methods in health care has won for chiropractic a permanent place in the family of health sciences, and in the hearts and homes of suffering humanity.

The rapid acceptance of this science in the past 64 years leads us to inquire of the standards in use today. And extremely exacting standards they are found to be.

Chiropractic colleges are required to give 4,000 academic hours in a standard 4-year course to obtain accredited ratings. A basic course of 4,400 hours is recommended. Up to 2 years of professional (college) education is required by 26 State chiropractic laws of licensure.

The following typical or basic curriculum for approved chiropractic colleges is based on the profession's code for a minimum of 4,000 hours in a 4-year course:

2 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3	
Anatomy (including embryology and	Hours
histology)	740
Physiology	240
Biochemistry	180
Pathology and bacteriology	520
Public health, sanitation, hygiene	160
Practice of chiropractic principles and	
technique, neurology and psychi- atry, pediatrics, dermatology and	
urology, ophthalmology, otolaryno-	
gology, first aid and roentgenology_	1 960
Obstetrics and gynecology	200
Total	4,000

The average graduate of an accredited chiropractic college is as well qualified to practice chiropractic as the average graduate of an accredited medical college is to

practice medicine, and often must pass the same board examination in the basic sciences to gain a license.

The following salient facts concerning public acceptance of chiropractic need to be

considered:

1. Chiropractic is the second largest healing profession in America. It is classified as one of the four major healing professions, along with medicine, dentistry, and osteopathy, by the Executive Office of the President of the United States, Bureau of the Budget, Washington, D.C.

2. Five hundred and twenty-five insurance companies recognize claims for services ren-

dered by chiropractors.

3. The U.S. Civil Service Commission recognizes certificates of illness for leave purposes signed by doctors of chiropractic, which means that all Federal agencies are directed to recognize such certificates.

 Chiropractic care for veterans has been endorsed by the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Disabled American Veterans.

Major unions of Federal employees have endorsed legislation to widen the use of chiropractic in Federal componsation work.

 Scores of employers provide regular chiropractic treatment for their employees.

 The Railroad Retirement Board accepts statements of sickness signed by chiropractors.

Chiropractic Day—on September 18, 1959—will bring to national attention the present record and the future plans of our profession. In conclusion, a word from the Present Day Doctor of Chiropractic should be mentioned here:

"The profession itself is so ardent about its future that nothing can stop doctors of chiropractic from being devoted public on vants and becoming better ones with the

age of time."

thar le remarkable effectiveness of chiropractic methods in health care has won for chiropractic a permanent place in the family of health sciences, and in the hearts and homes of suffering humanity.

## Tribute to Hon. John E. Fogarty, of Rhode Island

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 19, 1959

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, in the Hartford Courant of recent date, in a column by the nationally known writer, Thomas E. Murphy there appeared a remarkable tribute to one of our colleagues. I should like to call your attention to it:

I went to commencement exercises at a large Ivy League university the other day and the place was crawling with fellows in hoods and gowns showing they were doctors or masters of all the arts and sciences. They gathered in a great hall, apart from the undergraduate bachelors, there to receive their advanced degrees. A visiting scholar was to address them, and I thought his voice was familiar when it came over the loudspeaker on to the campus. Sure enough, as the speaker launched into an erudite speech on the future of education in the United States, I recognized him as a Member of Congress who became a bricklayer right after leaving high school.

I say this with the highest admiration, for this man is one of our better Congressmen. But what a commentary on our educational system that they let him get away to follow the trade of bricklayer. What an I.Q. he must have had. What drive. Still, perhaps college might have ruined him. But I thought it was the irony of the day, that in the midst of all this erudite plumage the big man of the day was the fellow who never went beyond high school. For that matter, who trained Bill Shakespeare?

There is no need to be secretive about it, the Congressman is John Fogarty, and he is considered the outstanding authority in Congress on governmental promotion of better medical facilities in the United States. He held that audience of several hundred scholars in the palm of his hand in a remarkable demonstration of what the indomitable spirit of man is capable of doing in the way of overcoming handicaps.

## Flirtation With Inflation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, earlier this week in Dallas, Tex., Cabinet Secretary Robert Gray laid some economic facts of life on the line before the 44th annual convention of Kiwanis International. To my mind Mr. Gray said about all that needed saying on our dangerous and foolhardy flirtation with inflation. Moreover, he said it succinctly enough, and graphically enough, that his remarks deserve the widest possible distribution, for which reason I include them in the Record:

#### FLIRTATION WITH INFLATION

(Speech by the Honorable Robert K. Gray, Secretary of the Cabinet, before the 44th annual convention of Kiwanis International, Dallas, Tex., June 16, 1959)

I can truly appreciate your disappointment in not being able to hear Douglas Ambridge on this occasion. I know his reputation as an outstanding Canadian and upon his complete recovery I hope that you will still have the opportunity of hearing him at a future date. I feel somewhat as I imagine Cornelia Otis Skinner must have felt when the chairman arose for the usual introduction and with engaging frankness said, "Since we cannot afford Admiral Byrd, we are having Cornelia Otis Skinner." Well, my friends, I stand before you as one of those rare exceptions to the rule that you can't get something for nothing from Washington.

On February 26, 1951, Congress passed the 22nd amendment to the Constitution limiting to two, full consecutive terms the tenure of the President of the United States. In the press, on Capitol Hill, and among political scientists and academicians across the land, the two-term limit is under heavy discussion. Some point to the advantages of limiting the duration of control by one political administration. Others say the third term barrier restricts the right of the citizenry to select the President of its choice. President Elsenhower himself, when queried about the 22nd amendment at a recent press conference said:

"This is one of those questions where you can say a lot and you can argue very plausibly on both sides."

Obviously, much time and many words will pass before we all agree on the wisdom or folly of the no-third-term rule, and I do not raise it today except as a background for

a most interesting phenomenon taking place at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. For the Chief Executive is demonstrating that there exists at least one strong advantage for a lame duck President. At last he can shake the suspicion that everything he does and every stand he takes is dictated by partisan politics.

Today the President is in a unique position—he is the one elected official in all of Washington who by no less authority than the U.S. Constitution will not be a candidate to succeed himself

At last in the closing months of his administration a great citizen like the incumbent can cap a lifetime of public service by pushing hard for the things he knows are right for America without someone charging that he is trying to enhance his own political future.

There can be great power for a "lame duck" President, particularly if he is a "lame duck" President with the determination and the vigor and the drive and the leadership that Dwight Eisenhower is showing these days. With an obvious determination to make the last 2 years of his administration the best yet, the President in recent months has been interjecting more and more of himself into each and every White House meeting. He has been repeating more impatiently the philosophy which he hopes to leave this Nation at the termination of his 8 years in office.

Your President today is working longer hours on a heavier schedule on weightier problems than during any time in the 40 months in which I have been a member of his staff. To all of us at the White House it is obvious that Dwight Eisenhower is determined that history will not record his last 2 years as the "mark time" years of a "lame duck" President.

One of the many areas in which the President is hard at work these days is in behalf of a balanced Federal budget. This issue of such vital interest to all Americans, transcends politics and touches each of us as American citizens, the common denom-

inator we all proudly share.

In addition to being our Chief Executive, the President is a citizen and a taxpayer. As a citizen, he Joins you and me in our concern over our Government's financial condition. He has heard too clearly the Russian declaration of economic war hurled at the United States by Mr. Khrushchev. He has read the warning that communism will let the capitalist countries spend themselves into submission. He knows how the value of his dollars like yours and mine has declined through inflation and he has been in a good position to see the tragic effects of this inflation on pensioners, on those living on social security, and on the annuities purchased at sacrifice of past comforts with the harder dollars of the owners' more productive years.

Uncle Sam has a very good income. It has its ups and downs, but for the next 12 months it will probably be in excess of \$77 billion.

But Uncle is also a very high liver. His budget for that 12-month period calls for spending practically everything he earns except for a little cushion representing about one-half of 1 day's receipts. That is his margin of saving.

Interest costs alone on the money he owes will be nearly \$81's billion next year. He has lived within his income during only 6 of the last 30 years.

Is it any wonder that the President has forced the issue of a balanced budget for the year commencing on July 1?

Yet, there are powerful forces in our country which are accusing the President of sacrificing progress merely for the sake of a balanced budget. Those forces are well organized and outspoken.

We citizens are asked to believe things like

That a balanced budget is a horse-andbuggy notion that has been discredited since 1932

That a national debt can go on growing and need never be paid off because after all, we just owe it to ourselves.

That a little fling with inflation would do

us more good than harm. And,

That the Federal Government can go on spending without it costing anybody anything.

Ridiculous? Of course it is. But every one of these ideas is at the root of the doctrine of buy-now-pay-later deficit financing.

Balancing the budget isn't going to stop progress. But progress most certainly can be stopped by the triple threat combination of deficits, debt, and inflation. We can build the strongest military protection imaginable with missiles and weapons of every description, but we can lose the economic contest with communism by weakening our credit, our currency, and our free enterprise system in the sight of the world.

When Secretary of the Treasury Anderson returned from his trip to New Delhi, he reported that 21 different governments had asked him about our ability to pay our bills and to keep our dollar sound. It is obvious that America's fiscal position is worrisome to our friends. Our country is a young child in the family of nations and it is worrisome to our friends to see us persist in defying the

laws of economics.

The whole world is watching us, and our dollar's value in the world market, our ability to sell goods and services to other nations, and the free world's confidence in America. all depend upon our ability to manage our financial affairs.

The budget for 1960 was not balanced by a process of wild slashing of essential programs. It came about for two principal reasons: First, by postponing increases in many going programs, and second, by anticipating a very sharp pickup in the Treasury's income because of business recovery

The budget calls for the highest defense spending we have ever had in peacetime. Taken together, and including mutual security, an integral part of our defense, expenditures for national security will be almost \$46 billion, or 60 percent of the entire

In the field of space technology, the budget provides more than \$800 million, not including the hundreds of millions which will be spent on military missiles.

In the 1960 budget, over \$5 billion has been provided for the largest civil public

works program in our history.

Expenditures for health research will be at record level. Increases are provided for education, especially in science and mathematics. Loans and grants for urban renewal and other community improvements will require expenditures of over \$2 billion in 1960. and commitments still outstanding at the end of the year will be more than \$6 billion.

These illustrations make it clear that the 1960 budget is far from crippling or weakening essential Federal programs. If this budget is not the feast that some seem to want, it certainly cannot be called a famine.

We all agree that our national security and the civilian necessities of our people should be met. Beyond this, when it comes to the things that are desirable as distinguished from the necessary, priorities have to be set and the total cost must be kept within our

It is politically popular to play Santa Claus, but nobody likes to play tax collector. Still, the fact remains that the Government cannot run the budget by witchcraft, giving away

something for nothing.

If the budget attempted to provide for everything that has been urged upon the

President, the result would be beyond description. And yet I can tell you that there are bills in various committees of the Congress which, if they were enacted into law, would increase expenditures by \$30 billion a year. Fortunately, with the growing public interest in the budget, few of these bills will go through, but the very fact that they are even introduced should cause concern.

Perhaps because I have not been in Government long enough, a billion dollars still impresses this boy from Nebraska.

Using as an example the average family with a total annual income of \$5,000, and the average number of dependents, Congressman CRAIG HOSMER recently developed a formula to explain the parallel between increased spending and increased taxation.

The \$5,000 income family will pay the Federal Government about \$796 as its share of the current \$77 billion national budget.

For every additional billion dollars Congress adds to the budget, Mr. and Mrs. Average American will have to dig down and come up with an additional \$11.14 to cover their share. If your income is \$5,000 a year, the cost to you will be hundreds of dollars. This, of course, is just for operating expenses this year, and provides nothing for payment on the \$6,400 which is your family's share of the debt we owe for past fiscal indiscretions.

The pattern we set in our budget this year will greatly affect future budgets and future years. The pressures for more and more Government spending will increase in the years ahead. America's population continues to grow at a rate equivalent to adding a State the size of Kentucky every 12 months. In the 6 years Dwight Eisenhower has been President, our population has increased by nearly 20 million citizens. (To the Demo-crats in the audience I hasten to admit that this has been a bipartisan accomplishment.) In this growing America, we can expect the demands on the Federal purse to grow. Still we will continue to have two alternatives to red ink budgeting. One is to increase Federal taxes. Before we choose this course we must consider quite frankly if we have not reached the level where we are endangering incentive-the seed corn from which future Federal income must America has already gained shocking distinction of the highest Federal income taxes of any nation on earth. In my mind the alternative of increased income taxes must be abandoned. I want to say that it is not that I'm not proud to be paying taxes in the United States. It's that I could be equally proud for less money.

To me, and I think to you, the far more sensible alternative is to keep Government spending within its income-to return this Nation to the principles of thrift which made her great. If we do not do so, we can expect even further resistance to saving today's dollars for tomorrow. The high activity in the stock market in recent years seems to me, as a layman, at least one indication that the people are already approaching the dangerous conclusion that to speculate is safe, but to save is to gamble.

The battle of the budget recognizes that continued deficit spending is an open invitation to inflation. A balanced budget is Government's best contribution to the fight against further deterioration in the purchasing power of the dollar.

As the President said in his state of the Union message, "Inflation is not a Robin Hood, taking from the rich to give to the poor. It strikes hardest those millions of our citizens whose incomes do not quickly rise with the cost of living. Deficit spending means that the public debt piles up, borrowing increases, taxes remain high or go up, and interest costs are increased. When Government deficits are added to demands by labor for higher wages to keep up with

living costs, and to price increases, the value of the dollar shrinks.

It is obvious what economic end awaits us if we continue this flirtation with inflation. In these days of an enormous prosperity, high taxes, and international peace, now if ever, we have a right to insist on a balanced budget. America is too rich and surely she is too wise to add to her record of living beyond her means. As a Nation, we must permit the past to teach us, just as individuals we learn from experience. man never wakes up his second baby just to see it smile.

May I tell you the greatest single truth I have learned in my 3 years in Washington? As a citizen of Nebraska I used to indulge myself in that favorite American pastime. that luxury of life in a democracy, grousing about my Government. I would say "Why don't they do this or that?" or "They ought to-they-they." But this is the big truth I have learned in my days in the Capital. In a democracy, we, you and I and our fellow Americans-we are the "they" in Government.

May I ask for a show of hands of those who believe that our Federal budget ought to be in the black this year? Now, of those who have raised your hands, I'd like to see the hands of those who have contacted their representatives in Congress to tell them that they want the budget balanced or in surplus. Forgive me for trapping you in this embarrassment, but I wanted to dramatize

to you the crux of our problem.

The very central fact in our way of life in a democracy is the fact of self-government. We all believe in it, but sometimes only as an abstraction. "Self-government" means literally that we citizens govern our selves, and that we have a responsibilitito make the decision and the rules by whrowe live. If mistakes are made, we taketion responsibility for them and try to correct them. When it comes to self-government, citizenship is not a spectator sport. The leaders whom we select and send to Washington are our representatives, but they reflect exactly the kind of thinking we express to them, and if we fall to speak out, the failure is ours, not theirs. Citizenship is a positive responsibility, not a passive one.

This is plain talk, but the issue calls for

Those who would put America in the red ink again this year are not the least bit hesitant about the demands they are making upon your Government. They are not at all reticent about letting Congress know their wishes.

It is time for the 175 million Americans who only want good, honest government, and want as little government as possiblewho want no special privileges from their Government to let Congress know that they are no less interested in its welfare.

Ten cents out of every tax dollar you paid to the collector of internal revenue on April 15 went to pay interest alone on a debt which we are not even beginning to reduce. This makes the battle of the budget your business. You must not treat it as a kind of weird entertainment coming from Washington. If you are worried about your Government's finances, if you realize what in-flation can do to your business and to your country, and if you see no justification for a deficit budget in these prosperous days, then sound off about it. In this democracy of ours, you are the stockholders and the management will listen only to you.

You can do your part in bringing spend- , ing under control in two ways. First, as individual taxpayers you can think twice before making demands on the Congress for more services and benefits. It is a delusion to think and behave as though Government services were free. The Federal Government has no money of its own; the only Federal funds are those moneys which have been

collected from the people, moneys which you and I and our fellow Americans have given or loaned or pledged to our Government. We must put an end to the old cliche that if we finance local projects with Federal funds, then nobody has to pay for them.

Secondly, you can show that you are ready and willing to support a balanced budget. Washington is accustomed to special interest pressure groups demanding this or that. The novelty of hearing from taxpay-ers who think that economy is good for the country will cause any Congressman to listen in astonishment.

The President can lead the fight for a balanced budget, but his chances of winning it depend upon solid evidence of the fact that the country is in back of him. I think the people of this country are in a frame of mind to back up the President on the issue of inflation and the balanced budget.

But it isn't enough to have a frame of mind; what's needed is a frame of action. The people must speak out clearly and forcefully. Their representatives in Washington must be made to see clearly that there's more mileage this year in achieving a bal-anced budget than there is in the overworked political success formula of offering ple-inthe-sky.

saw Bruce Alger, Congressman from Dallas, at the White House yesterday. I mentioned to him that I would be in the key city of his district today speaking to Kiwanians and the Congressman told that he, too, is a Kiwanian. We talked for a moment about the Kiwanis motto, "We build," and, frankly, about whether it would be appropriate for me to talk with you about the importance of building a sound dollar for America. We agreed that it would for one particular reason.

This group impresses me less by its size than by the fact that it represents some 4,000 communities and within those communities some of the most influential mem-

bers in any congressional district.

If each of you, when you return to your homes, were to carry this message to the members of your clubs and their even wider circle of influence, you could start an economy snowball rolling on Washington. You could prove that there is no more underrated power in America than the power of a 4-cent stamp in the hands of a voter.

The issue before us is bigger than partisan politics, bigger than the interests of local or pressure groups. It goes to the ques-tion of how we can best govern ourselves to face the future, with its dangers and opportunities, in a posture of readiness and

strength.

In closing, I want to thank you for inviting me to join you to discuss this most pressing of today's Federal problems. If it seems to you that I have burdened you unfairly with your share in solving them, please remember this statement which President Eisenhower made as he started his second term of office. This great man already had given a lifetime of service to his country and was about to begin another 4 years in the most demanding job in the world—a job with responsibilities he can never put aside-had this to say:

"If in my entire lifetime I have been able to repay any one of the wonderful gifts which God and this country have given to me and to my family, then I shall be etern-

ally grateful.

I wish for all of you a most profitable convention today, proud successes in the years ahead—and, all your days, this remembrance of our few minutes together:

A successful democracy requires of you, its masters, good counsel, sincere interest, and your stanch support.

### **Building Safer Automobiles**

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON, KENNETH A. ROBERTS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 19, 1959

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, the urgent need for a safer vehicle to reduce the terrible toll of life and limb being taken by automobile accidents in this country is fortunately receiving a great deal of attention by thoughtful people throughout the Nation. In that connection, I desire to call attention of Members to a splendid editorial which appeared in the June 9 issue of the Anniston Star, one of the leading newspapers in Alabama. The editorial is as follows:

#### ROBERTS BATTLES DETROIT

Favorable publicity throughout the Nation is our own Representative Kenneth Roberts' just recompense, on the basis of his chairmanship of a special House subcommittee concerned with promoting highway safety.

Hearings are scheduled for July on a bill designed to force automakers to build safer cars. According to Congressional Quarterly, they will pit the five-term Congressman from Alabama's Fourth's District against the might of Detroit.

Representative ROBERTS also is identified as the lawmaker who pushed through a statute requiring manufacturers to put escape handles inside their refrigerators.

Pointing to the chilling statistics on highway accidents, he is being quoted in no uncertain terms regarding the course his subcommittee plans to pursue in the hope of improving the situation.

Top priority is being given to a proposed heasure to be discussed at hearings starting July 7 which would forbid the Federal Government to buy cars not equipped with safety features, recommended by the Secretary of Commerce.

Since the Federal Government is such a big customer, it is reasoned that such a law might result in the incorporation of specified safety features in all cars.

Included would be attachments for safety belts; padded dasl boards to reduce the chance of skull fractures in a collision; steering wheels designed to keep the driver from being speared by the steering column in a crash; rooftop bars which would support the car if it rolled over; better packaging of the -driver and passengers.

Packaging suggestions made to date include seats designed to support the neck to prevent "whiplash" injuries.

I don't see any reason," Congressman Ros-ERTS says, "why autos should be any more exempt from Federal safety standards than airplanes.

He rightly argues that setting safety standards for automobiles involves the same principle under which canned goods and drugs are required to come up to standards of safety.

At the hearings, the auto industry is expected to emphasize that it, too, is vitally concerned with making cars safer, and is adding devices as soon as they are tested adequately.

To many persons, says Congressional Quarterly, Roberts in this fight against Detroit "looks like a pedestrian trying to knock over a Cadillac. But he is optimistic, partly because of the support he expects to get from medicine."

As long ago as 1955, Dr. C. Hunter Shelden told his colleagues in an article in the American Medical Association Journal that "the elimination of the mechanically hazardous features of interior construction (of cars) would prevent approximately 75 percent of the fatalities, or 28,500 deaths each year."

The American College of Surgeons adopted a resolution at about the same time, urging auto makers to "stress occupant safety as a

basic factor in automobile design."

After the July hearings, the proposed bill must receive approval of the parent House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee before it can get to the floor for a vote. unlikely, in view of the expected opposition, that the bill might reach the House floor before adjournment of the present session.

But if the subcommittee hearings accomplish nothing else this summer, Congressman ROBERTS will have placed the Nation further in his debt by turning the spotlight away once more from horsepower, and toward horsesense in highway safety.

He pledges to keep pushing his bill for Federal standards beyond 1959, if necessary.

## Resolution Adopted by Philadelphia Dress Joint Board, ILGWU, AFL-CIO

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON, HERMAN TOLL

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 19, 1959

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, I wish to direct to the attention of my colleagues the following resolution adopted by the Philadelphia Dress Joint Board, ILGWU, AFL-CIO, in support of S. 1046 and H.R. 4488, the fair labor standards amendment of 1959:

RESOLUTION CALLING UPON THE 86TH CONGRESS TO ENACT S. 1046 AND H.R. 4488

Whereas all Americans must be assured of a basis minimum standard of living, if we are to maintain a healthy economy at home and a position of moral leadership in the world: and

Whereas the present Federal minimum wage of \$1 an hour is inadequate to provide a bare subsistence in the United States today; and

Whereas more than 20 million Americans lack the guarantee of even this inadequate figure and are without any legal limitation on their hours of work; and

Whereas these shocking facts constitute a grave threat to our national economy, a challenge to our moral standards as a people and a peril to our reputation as democ-

racy's showcase through the world; and Whereas the existence of underpaid and overworked wage earners is a particular dan-ger to the well-being of the citizens of Philadelphia; and

Whereas there is now before Congress a bill introduced by Senator John F. Kennedy and Representative James ROOSEVELT and cosponsored by many of their colleagues in both Houses, No. S. 1046 and H.R. 4488. This bill would greatly ameliorate this problem by raising the Federal minimum wage to \$1.25 and including nearly 8 million additional workers under the protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act: Therefore, be it

Resolved by the Philadelphia Dress Joint Board, consisting of eight locals of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, That we call upon the Congress of the United States to give prompt and favorable consideration to this bill without delay, so this serious threat to the economic and moral strength of our Nation will be swiftly met and that the conditions above described can be corrected.

## Another Battle in the Long War on Monopolies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the Government of this country belongs to all its citizens, and logically they should all have the opportunity to do business with Government agencies. Yet the U.S. Department of Agriculture, in issuing its Federal milk marketing order for the District of Columbia and nine surrounding counties of Maryland and Virginia, has, in effect, denied dairymen outside of this area the right to sell milk to the national defense agencies in and around Washington.

Alfred Stedman, agricultural writer for the St. Paul Dispatch and Pioneer Press, St. Paul, Minn., details the effect this Federal milk marketing order will have on dairymen in the Midwest and other dairying areas. Under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include Mr. Stedman's article in the REC-ORD:

MIDWEST GIRDS FOR NEW MILK MONOPOLY FIGHT

(By Alfred D. Stedman)

Starting Monday, the U.S. Government is turning over to a virtual monopoly of Maryland and Virginia dairy farmers the milk business of all national defense agencies in and around Washington.

But a new and more unified Midwest fight was brewing Saturday to stop it. The office of Attorney General Lord was at work on new steps. Wisconsin's Legislature is preparing to authorize its attorney general to go to court against such milk barriers.

Overriding such protests, the U.S. Department of Agriculture placed in effect June 1 its proclaimed Federal milk order. This order regulates minimum prices and supplies of milk, cream, and concentrated milk in the District of Columbia and nine surrounding counties of Maryland and Virginia.

The avowed purpose of the new milk order is to discourage sales of such outside dairy products to consumers, including U.S. Government units within the area, on grounds that competition of outside milk is disruptive of local prices.

The Federal milk order achieves its aim of exclusion by defining the milk supply area, by systematically discouraging inshipments from outside that area, and by giving Federal backing to sanitary regulations of Washington and nearby municipalities.

Some of these are notoriously rigged to exclude outside milk of the highest purity by The Washington Post scientific test. May 27 stated where the order's main blow will fall.

"Its effect," said the Post, "will be felt chiefly by distant producers shipping milk here under contracts with Federal agencies."

Now the order in final form will be given fresh study by the State of Minnesota, said Sydney Berde, special assistant attorney general. Among the fields of this new study are:

1. Whether the order violates specific provisions in the defense laws requiring all Federal procurement agencies to give small business equal oppotunities to do business with the Government. Many Midwest dairies and dairy farmers classify as small business, Mr. Berde said.

2. Whether the order comes to the rescue of the Maryland-Virginia Milk Producers Association in its involvement with the U.S. Department of Justice under Federal antitrust laws. The association has been directed by Federal District Judge Holtzoff to divest itself of its acquired ownership of the Embassy Dairy, a retail distributor. That decision now is being appealed to U.S. circuit court. The question is whether the USDA's new Federal milk order, in officially giving the association a near milk monopoly of the market on the supply end, is throwing a potential monke wrench into the Government's antitrust case on the retailing end.

3. Whether Secretary of Agriculture Ben-son's declared policy of freedom of competition as beneficial to agriculture, including Midwest dairy farmers, is being flouted by this Federal order and scores of others whose aim is to exclude competition on grounds

of being unstabilizing.

First effects of the Washington order will be felt by dairy farmers in Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia, and other nearby States who have been selling more milk, cream, or concentrated milk than the Midwest to defense agencies, Mr. Berde indicated. But as these lose their Government outlets for milk in fluid form, more of that milk has to be diverted into manufacturing in competition with Midwest dairying, he pointed out.

The question of Congress voting appropriations for administration of Federal milk orders that are harmful to Midwest dairying comes up in the U.S. Senate soon. issue is sharpened by the fact that Midwest dairy businesses and farmers who are shut out of the Washington market must support Washington defense agencies with their

Tito Handed Billion Dollars U.S. Taxpayers' Money To Strengthen Communism

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 19, 1959

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, Wednesday during the consideration of the mutual security bill H.R. 7500, I offered an amendment to prevent the use of American taxpayers' funds to support, nurture, and strengthen communism in Yugoslavia. My remarks appear on pages 10003 and 10004 of the Congres-SIONAL RECORD.

No member of the Foreign Affairs Committee or any other member present was recognized by the chairman to speak in opposition to my amendment.

During my remarks I stated:

Mr. Chairman, in order that the public may have some idea of the extent to which they have been forced to contribute to the spread of communism through Tito, I will include in my remarks the breakdown of the total amounts of economic assistance to Yugoslavia.

The following is a breakdown of the economic assistance to Yugoslavia:

Economic assistance to Yugoslavia

1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	Obligation	Expenditure	Unliquidated
Cumulative, June 30, 1958 Estimate, fiscal year 1959	\$411, 919, 000 11, 800, 000	\$399, 342, 000 12, 377, 000	\$12, 577, 000
Cumulative, June 30, 1959.	423, 719, 000	411, 719, 000	12, 000, 000

U.S. loans to Yugoslavia during fiscal year 1959 have been as follows:

Mutual security program, special assistance, April 7, 1959, \$7.7 million.

Public Law 480 (equivalent in Yugoslav currency under sec. March 10, 1959, \$69.2 million. 104(g)),

Development Loan Fund, fertilizer project, January 8, 1959, \$22.5 million. Development Loan Fund, diesel locomotives, June 12, 1959, \$5 million.

This compilation does not include the hundreds and hundreds of millions of dollars of U.S. taxpayers' money which has been given to Tito for military assistance which he is using to strengthen communism and to maintain his dictatorship over the people of Yugoslavia.

Under leave granted, I insert the above remarks and breakdown figures in the RECORD.

Onus for Spenders

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 19, 1959

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, a recent editorial in the Detroit News dealing with the subject matter contained in H.R. 7749 under consideration by the House today does an excellent job of explaining the peculiar position in which our executive branch is placed when it is forced to ask for raises in the national debt limit. I agree with this excellent newspaper that the responsibility for increases in the debt limit should be placed squarely upon Congress, where it belongs, as Congress still has controls of the receipts and expenditures of our Federal Government.

Following is the reprint of the Detroit News editorial of June 15, 1959:

ONUS FOR SPENDERS

From the beginning of the Republic down to the present, the executive department of the Government never has had an unlimited authority to borrow.

As in all Democratic governments, the power of the purse is firmly and rightly retained by the Congress. An essential part of that power is the power to borrow.

It is only since 1917, however, that we have had what is popularly known as a legal limit on the size of the public debt. In 1917 the Government faced the then unprecedented problem of financing a world war. It asked of, and got from, an awed Congress a blanket authority to borrow al or any part of \$7.5 billion by sale of bonds.

This was the first limit, subsequently raised in successive stages to the present \$283 billion and soon to be again boosted. The present limit is still in fact, as in 1917, an authorization of borrowing up to the amount

The distinction is not without practical importance. As noted by the Brookings Institution in a book-length study published today, popular understanding of the limit as a limit has opened the way to fiscal fraud. Congress orders the expenditures that produce a deficit and the necessity of borrowing. But when the Government then asks, as now, that the limit be correspondingly increased, the request is normally treated by Capitol partisans as though the Executive had authored the need for it.

The Brookings study proposes that we return in effect to the procedure followed from the beginning of the Republic down to 1917. It proposes that Congress annually authorize any new borrowing made necessary by its appropriations in excess of expected revenue. In that way the responsibility would be fixed where it belongs. The power of the purse would have a matching responsibility of the

We thing this is a very good idea. In fact, it is an idea heretofore urged on this page.

### Wheat Legislation

SPEECH OF

## HON. DONALD F. McGINLEY

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 18, 1959

Mr. McGINLEY. Mr. Speaker, the wheat farmers of my western Nebraska district are well aware that the surplus stocks of wheat now in storage are now under production and a detriment to their own security in a sound wheat market. They are aware, too, of the increasing Government costs and the administration of the surplus storage. It is a bitter irony for the Nebraska farmer, who cherishes his independence, that he is forced to look to the Federal Government for market security against an avalanche of commodity production which our great natural resources can provide in fiber and food.

The problem is, as everyone knows, growing more serious each year, and under the planned attack by our national

publicity media, the farmer continues to lose public prestige in the face of increasing crises in their threat to his way of making a living.

Realizing this predicament, most wheat farmers in my area are willing to make sacrifices by cutting down further on their acreage production and thereby to diminish the surplus.

With this willingness to accept acreage cuts, expressed through their farm organizations, the farmers can rightfully expect the wheat program to compensate them with higher support prices. In spite of propaganda to the contrary, the adequate support price is the only medium the Government has to induce the farmer to comply with controls that would effect decreasing production. Higher support prices for wheat are not synonymous with higher food costs. Higher support prices do, however, promise the surety of decreased production, decreased administration costs of the wheat program, and increased financial security to the farmer rather than the middle man who is the chief beneficiary today of the high Government cost of storing farm surpluses. H.R. 7246, which in 1 week had passed the House and suffered a defeat in approval of the conference report, definitely was a moderate and helpful approach toward a change of departmental policy which, although not the sole cause of the wheat crisis, has greatly contributed to the magnitude of the

Like many others from the western wheat region, I did not believe H.R. 7246 was anything more than stopgap legislation. More effective legislation has been introduced but the red flag of the administration had been raised against it. Therefore I commend the Agriculture Committee for its sincere efforts in issuing a moderate proposal. This measure would not have been financially beneficial in the immediate 2-year period to the farmers of my district, but it represented a step toward some solution to his ever-growing surplus.

I regret that at the time the House voted on H.R. 7246 I was committed to an appearance in my State. Had I been present, the bill would have had my favorable vote. I voted for the conference report with considerable reluctance but in the spirit of offering a bill that would have cut our excessive surpluses.

Editorial Comment on Debt Management

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 19, 1959

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I wish to include an editorial which appeared in the Wall Street Journal on June 9, 1959,

"The Pension Society," in a column headed "Review and Outlook":

THE PENSION SOCIETY

When President Eisenhower talked to a group of business magazine editors recently, he got to reminiscing, and we thought even younger readers might find something useful in an older man's memories:

"When I was a boy, it was thought we could live our lives on a little piece of ground in the West, and the older folks-grandfather and grandmother-could live in the same home, after their days of hard work were ended. That's the way we took care of ourselves and our older people.

"Today, through the changes in our industrial system, we as a people have become dependent for old age security more and more upon pensions, insurance policies, savings bonds and savings accounts. the people that are particularly hurt by depreciation of the dollar. \* \* \* A man who puts away his savings to be used 40 years from now can receive some startling lessons over that 40-year period.

"My wife and I decided in 1916 to get mar-Since I, like all other second lieutenants, was always overdrawn at the bank, I decided that I ought to show a little more sense of responsibility. So I began to buy a small insurance policy. • • • Thirty years later the company came around to pay off. It was so small (in terms of today's dollars) that I would have been ashamed to ask my wife to exist on it for 6 months.

"Today think of the man at the lathe, the drill press, who is earning money which he is putting away in his pension with his company or into an insurance policy. If we cannot today insure him that 40 years from now he is going to be able to have a living left. then I say, sooner or later, he will quit buying insurance policies, he will not have any confidence in a Government bond, and he will not think much of his pensions."

This was the same talk at which the President kicked up an uproar by suggesting that the Government ought to get its debt management in order, as he formally proposed to Congress yesterday, even if that meant pay-ing higher interest rates. The uproar was caused by critics who said that higher interest rates-or indeed, anything designed to est rates—or inuetu, anything de-preserve a sound dollar—is something de-Street to the injury of the common man.

Well, there never was a time when honest money did injury to any society. But perhaps never before in history have we had a time when dishonest money can do such grievous injury to the common man.

The truth is that the people least hurt by cheap money are those who deal quickly with money; the moneychangers and those who earn today and spend today can come closer to compensating for its deterioration in value. Those who are injured most are those who depend upon a promise of tomorrow.

Today, for better or for worse, we are all joining the pension society. The present generation doesn't privately take care of grandmother; the sons leave that to the State or to the corporate pension. And you can be pretty sure that, with the example before them, the sons of the present aren't going to take care of this working genera-tion when it too becomes old.

And among the many alterations this has made in society, good or ill, one seems to have so far completely escaped the politicians who build their careers upon a professed con-cern for the common man. They have not yet grasped the fact that "hard money" onetime epithet hurled by demagogs that at those supposedly trampling upon the poor-has become in fact that true rallying cry of all those whose banner is security against old age and misfortune.

If a poor lieutenant, clinging to the copybook maxims, was gulled by a Government that with cheap money destroyed the greater part of his savings, that might not be a great concern to some politicians or labor leaders, who put no great value upon individual thrift anyway. And perhaps to today's younger generation it may seem just another example of how dumb that old fellow was to try to plan his own future security instead of leaving it to social security or some other collective retirement fund.

But when practically everybody, the thrifty and the wastrel alike, is today depending on that retirement fund 40 years hence, the matter ought to have a different complexioneven for politicians. Today when any man throws bricks at the hardhearted advocates of hard money, he is in reality smashing the hopes of the common man and the dream of

security in the pension society.

## Laboratory in Democracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. FRANCIS E. DORN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 16, 1959

Mr. DORN of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the annual report of Colony House, in Brooklyn, written by Miss Sara M. McCaulley. I have been pleased each year to call the attention of my colleagues to the work of this outstanding social agency in my district:

#### LABORATORY IN DEMOCRACY

#### PAST LABORATORY

Colony House Settlement for the past 46 years has been a laboratory of democracy in the true sense of the word. We have been a workshop devoted to experimental study where we prepared youth and adults for the acceptance of social equality in a democracy. The formula for our experiments was stated in our Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Our laboratory was presented as an oasis of friendliness in the midst of a great impersonal city. We experimented with interweaving the threads of the daily lives of our members through work and play so that they learned to live with each other, to achieve new skills and to build new roots so that each child, youth, and adult could find his own fullest possible self-realization.

It has been our belief that basic planning and coordination must be done in the local neighborhood in order that broad planning and coordinating can be carried on, on a citywide or national basis. We believe that in order to make democracy a living reality to our American people we must secure the active participation of every citizen in our community in planning for the betterment of his home, his group, and his neighborhood.

Democracy had to be learned in small units of group life in the settlement. We found it could not be learned through slogans and preachments but had to be practiced through daily experiments.

Over the years Colony House has worked with many kinds of groups to achieve definite ends. We have had experience in knowing how people can be organized to achieve purposes of common interest. We have seen our adult clubs grow in stature in assuming re-

sponsibility for some project of benefit to its fellow members, and in using democratic methods to accomplish these objectives. During the year a most exciting event occurred when the Heckscher Foundation for Children generously redecorated our entire building and gave new furnishings for some of our rooms. This started a chain reaction with members eagerly offering their services to assist in giving our laboratory a new look.

The past year's program in community organization through a grant from the Schwarzhaupt Foundation has been of most vital importance. This program has been geared to reaching out into the community to make city officials and other organizations aware of the unmet needs of our area.

This has always been the philosophy of the settlement movement, striving to gear our services to the unmet needs of our neighborhood. With this thought in mind please share the highlights of our past year's experiments in striving to meet some of these needs:

#### THE 1958-59 LABORATORY

Twenty-one nationality groups were represented in the 2,694 children and adults from 3 to 92 years of age who participated in our past year's laboratory. Many who formerly were only used in the tests of every day programs now participate as technicians. Our community which a few short years ago was in the state of flux has now stabilized. The neighbors who were formerly labeled apathetic are now searching out new areas for us to test.

One of the most encouraging developments is the positive action of many neighbors including newcomers in accepting their responsibilities of living in a democracy. Although many areas of our community are still clamoring for service in the laboratory, we feel great strides were made in accepting and working toward social equality for

Colony House, like all settlements, is a neighborhood-centered community agency, with a rich history of helping people, carrying through social reforms, and creating new approaches to individual, group and community problems.

A neighborhood is a proving ground for childhood and a haven for old age, the base of daily return of adolescents and adults, soil in which the seeds of human understanding take root and sprout. Surely, more than grass grows in our neighborhood. Since the greatest commodity of our land is our children, the citizens of tomorrow, much of our work in the laboratory was devoted to them since democratic skills do not come about accidently, but must be learned and developed.

Colony House since its founding in 1913 has always had an open door policy for all ages, both sexes, any faiths, and all races, thus providing a unique opportunity for easy contacts out of which mutual understanding grows.

As family life is the primary living process within which the human personality is shaped, our child care program was of indefinable service in assisting families to remain as a unit.

From small crowded flats or furnished rooms with no space for creative play, parents brought their nursery and young school age children to our child care center where they found stimulating opportunity for growth.

The task of parents at best is not an easy one and in our overcrowded, underserved area it becomes even more difficult. It calls for the best of which human beings are capable. The rewards are largely intangible—the satisfaction that comes from seeing children develop into useful, independent, and constructive citizens. Our laboratory technicians, teachers whose concern was the family unit in our neighborhood setting, ofttimes

were the stabilizers in the face of family disintegration. Our daily experiments involved processes of informing, teaching, guiding, inspiring, supporting, and often restraining. Finding the right balance of judgment and self-discipline was an everpresent challenge in our interests in the growth of these young children.

In our Gowanus Center workshop much time was devoted to helping the members develop a satisfying life where they were—in a housing project neighborhood. Here groups who were different were brought together, not to talk about differences, but to work on common problems of neighborhood life.

Many of our families had for the first time been given an opportunity to live in decent modern housing but had been uprooted from ties in their old neighborhoods. Staff was constantly on the alert to locate and secure cooperation in alleviating conflict-producing elements in the community life.

In this center where tradition in the neighborhood was not rooted deeply it was necessary to create a climate of acceptance and each technician had to have the ability to reach out and make the new youth comfortable in our setting. We found it essential in our laboratory of democracy that the idea of participation and involvment—action by our members on their own behalf and for the good of our community were the most rewarding experiments.

Parents of this center are now active technicians in planning for and with their children for a better community spirit. Thus our laboratory has become a symbol of democracy. Not only for the children in the day care and Gowanus programs but for all neighborhood children. Colony House provided an opportunity to develop sportsman-ship as they worked and played together enjoying woodcrafts, games, clay work, cooking, music, dramatics, singing and other activities under trained, understanding supervision. Recreation is a grassroots experi-ment. It grows out of the needs and interests of those who participate. These young boys and girls respond to the disciplines imposed by subject matter in their recreational programs which provide emotional outlets and creative expression for many.

Character growth needs to be cultivated and directed, not left to chance in youth, so our athletic workshop was very active. Here physical fitness and the challenge of accepting a new neighbor for his contribution to the game formed a real basis for reaching future adult maturity.

Hot, blistering city streets in the summer were forgotten by 133 boys and girls who shared the experience of camp or friendly town vacations through the Tribune fresh air fund. Day camp, softball leagues, and a full teenage program with excursions to many exciting new horizons, as well as returning to favorite beaches and parks, provided a challenging program for long vacation days and evenings.

In our day-to-day experiments with adolescents, we found the teenagers feeling their way to adulthood. We knew this was a time of normal physical and psychological growth and change. We knew it was essential for a teenager to be a member of a group of young people his own age. This helps to bridge the gap between childhood and adulthood and offers opportunities for positive growth and development, so many of our laboratory experiments were with teenage club groups. These clubs under the guidance of mature leaders with a real affection for young people have been the very heart of democratic neighborhood experience. These are our citizens of tomorrow who with a better knowledge of their world around them, can be helped to take part in activities directed toward making our community a safer. healthier, and happier place in which to live.

Adult clubs at Colony House have always been a strong factor in our laboratory for democracy. It has been evident over the years that the major reasons for joining the social groups are rooted in the search for pleasurable relations, friendship, and security. But in the warm atmosphere of our laboratory the members were enrolled to seek help for their problems and discovered an outlet for their social instincts.

Our two men's clubs made up of alumn! have not only found outlets for social in-stincts but act as technicians for younger members in the club and athletic programs.

The Senior Mothers' Club which has been active for 43 years and the Liberty Club for 23 years have contributed greatly to our community laboratory.

The Happiness Club for those over 65 years of age has proven that a laboratory is not just for the young in years but must include those young in heart as well, who have much to contribute.

The task of weaving into our community life the contribution of our Puerto Rican neighbors, both newcomers and long-time residents, challenged the imagination and persistence of our technicians. But these experiments have been rewarding. These neighbors have been encouraged to be themselves, proud of their culture, comfortable in keeping it alive, and are now contributing from it to the enrichment of our American way of life. From a shy, hesitant, and almost distrustful acceptance of our laboratory a few short years ago they are now accepting their responsibilities and reaching out to help others participate in a democratic manner.

The most exciting experiment of our laboratory has been that of our new community organization called DARE (downtown area renewal effort). Here 49 local community groups including business, religious institutions of all faiths, PTA's, colleges, political clubs, social agencies, civic groups, etc., have joined together to form a focal point for thrashing out local problems and for meeting local needs.

Colony House has long felt that one of its major functions was to find out by careful observation and through close relationship with the people of our area, their needs, problems, aspirations, and hopes and through sound organization to work with them toward building a better community. Now for the first time we feel we have this sound organization in DARE.

Housing (a major problem); education; health; safety and sanitation; recreation and youth concerns are a few of the projects being conducted in the workshop by this group. Their goal to make this area a better place in which to live and work is a daily challenge to us all.

Our area which had been designated as "blighted" is now a site chosen to inaugurate a citywide slum prevention program in which city officials are cooperating to help achieve our goals.

A laboratory in democracy cannot func-tion in an ivory tower or without the help of many other technicians. To the city departments who worked with us as technicians in our daily programs we are grateful for it is only through that that our laboratory has enlarged to serve more of our community. Our parent organization, the United Neighborhood Houses of New York City, has given us their material assistance and guidance which has helped to broaden the scope of our activities. We are indeed fortunate in having the assistance and co-operation of many Borough and citywide organizations, to each of them we are grate-

In a laboratory a very vital and contributing factor is the quality of the technician.
Colony House has been fortunate in having star members who have a genuine desire to participate in working for an idea and a goal. Our great need today is to build a peaceful, democratic world where each person can live happily and fully, where people get along together, and where each can contribute his best to the community. Because our staff recognizes that we shall have this world only when people are educated to better human relations-and because today's boys and girls will be the ones to build -they have offered their talents and energies to Colony House and made our labora-

tory of democracy possible.

Our faithful and enthusiastic students from Brooklyn and Adelphi Colleges, as well as other dedicated volunteers, have all given time and talents to our experiments.

Members of our corporate and associate boards the gulld and men's council, as well as our many contributors have all shared in the year's work in this stimulating program.

A settlement can only reach horizons beyond its doors if the board of directors has vision. Colony House has always had directors who face the challenge of a constantly changing community and working closely with staff, help as technicians as well as participants in our democratic laboratory.

#### OUR FUTURE LABORATORY

The inspiration provided by foundations having faith in our laboratory, as evidence by the gift of bright new surroundings and the tools for a real community organization, gives us confidence to approach this new year with high hopes for the many experiments that need to be undertaken.

We need to evaluate the capacities of our youth and be willing to use the young people's strength. There are enormous resources in the great aspiration and altruism of youth that must be used for achieving a better social order in our world of tomorrow. We must remember that we, adults of today, are handing down to them, citizens of tomorrow, a great amount of unfinished business, problems whose solutions we have postponed or delayed. Our tob must be to continue our experiments with the youth so that they are able to cope with these inherited problems.

We must strive to see the community is

equally interested in all its people; to learn whether there are hurdles which handicap certain groups; and to study what can be done to improve our neighborhood.

Our community organization must be assisted in their master plan for a renewed neighborhood so that all will have a better place in which to live or work.

As we continue our efforts in the labora-tory of democracy in the year ahead, the words of Nick Kenny in his poem "Charity," will form the basis of our future work:

"It is more of sharing than giving. It is more of Heaven than earth. It is following in His footsteps. It's the soul's divine rebirth.

"It's the sharing of little things, we treasure With some brother who's in need. And helping to make his dream come true-Whatever his race or creed.

"It's forgiving instead of hating Our foe in a world of strife. It's God's tears that fall out of heaven To water the desert of life."

## Editorial Comment on Debt Management

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 19, 1959

Mr CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Congressional Record, I wish to include an editorial which appeared in the Evening Star, "Treasury Deep in Trap" by Sylvia Porter in her column Your Money's Worth:

#### TREASURY DEEP IN TRAP

If you would like a simple explanation of how serious a trap the Treasury is in today.

Imagine you're the head of a huge business which has a lot of outstanding debts. For years everybody has scrambled to lend you money whenever you've wanted any, for your I O U's were recognized as 100 percent safe. Any interest you cared to pay on loans was gratefully received. You were the big fish in a vast pool of money. You were "it."

In the last 18 months, though, your cor-

poration has been spending money as never before, and you've been tapping your creditors as never before. Also in the last few years, many other borrowers have moved in to compete with you for cash, and although you're a bigger fish than ever, you no longer have the whole money pool to yourself. In these years, too, investors who once were eager to lend you in return for an annual payment of interest and a sure payoff at a loan's maturity have decided, in increasing numbers, that they prefer to put money in stocks that might go up in prices, or higheryielding mortgages, or other securities.

Aware that investors like your I O U's less and like other investments more, you approach your top creditors and you say, Will you lend me cash for 5 or 10 years or for a longer period?"

Say your creditors: "No. We don't want to give you long-term loans." Say you: "Even if I pay the highest in-

terest in decades?"

Say they: "No. You can't pay the rates we'd want. Anyway, we just haven't any long-term money for you now."

Say you: "You'll renew my maturing I O U's at least?"

Say they: "But only for a year at most, and that's a favor."

You fume, worry, consult experts. But what can you do? This is a free country; you can't force people to lend to you if they don't want to. You're in a trap, and you have to sweat it out.

And that's exactly the situation in which the Treasury is.

To cover the budget deficit of the past 12 months, the Treasury has been selling billions of new I O U's, and banks and other investors are loaded with them. Although the loans are as safe as ever, competition for the money pool from all sorts of bor-rowers is immense, and investors who once were eager to lend to the Treasury are placing their funds elsewhere. And the Federal Reserve System is concentrating on fighting inflation dangers, won't print enough new greenbacks to fill the pool.

In the past 10 days the Treasury has issued \$5.3 billion of new I O U's to pay off maturing loans and to raise extra cash.

The longest loan it could get was for only 1 year, and on that it had to pay over 4 percent interest against a rate of 11/4 percent on a similar loan a year ago.

Even at 4 percent-plus, buyers aren't eager for Treasury securities now. Even if the Treasury could find some long-term money, it couldn't pay the rates the market want for it's limited by law to 414 percent, and when Treasury Secretary Anderson asks Co-gress to raise that statistical lid, the political lid is likely to blow sky high. And while Mr. Anderson doesn't have to come back to market until late June, the probability is the Treasury then will be just as deep in the

How is it going to get out? Well, a bal-anced budget would help; that would permit the Treasury to stop asking for extra money, and it should quiet some inflation fears. A high enough interest rate to satisfy

investors who want a good return after allowing for the bite from the income tax and from anticipated price rises would help, too.

Those of us who have specialized in Government finance usually have answers when asked what we'd do if we were Treasury Serretary. This time as we study the Treasury's trap our glibness vanishes into gulps. None of us has any quick solutions to this one.

## Twentieth Anniversary of the Declaration of Slovak National Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON, MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 19, 1959

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave obtained, I insert in the Record an address I delivered March 14, at the Benedictine High School in Cleveland, commemorating the 20th anniversary of the declaration of Slovak national independence:

It is an honor for me to be here with you this evening and to join with you in commemorating the love of Slovak people everywhere in the world for God, freedom, and individual liberty so well expressed in the declaration of Slovak national independence.

The lessons of the ages teach us that from time to time evil forces arise which challenge the dignity of man and seek to overthrow the divine plan which secures that dignity.

In our times we are faced with this challenge on all sides. We find evidence of the "dark ages" in this 20th century. The human values which mankind has won at such great sacrifice are being trampled under the heavy boots of the Russian barbarians. At this turning point in history we are faced with a series of choices at the core of which rests the fundamental question "Are we willing to sell our birthright for a mess of pottage?"

In a world torn by strife and tension, we are told we can have peace if we are willing to pay tribute to the new barbarians. The peace they offered in return is no peace at all; it is the strange peace of human slavery. Justice, the only basis upon which peace can be built, is rapidly losing its place in the affairs of nations because it permits no compromise on the dignity of man. A peace without justice is the certain formula for war, a war which no thinking man may countenance.

What is the tribute demanded of us by the new barbarians as the price for an unjust peace?

First, they are asking freemen, par-ticularly the United States, to acquiesce in their enslavement of 35 percent of the people who inhabit the earth. They are desperately to drag the spokesmen for the Western World into another summit conference. At this conference they expect to force recognition of a status quo, that is, recognition of their right to enforce the darkness of despotism and slavery upon humanity. They want freemen to guarantee to them that their evil work will go unmolested. that the conscience of the West will not be moved by the sad plight of so many of their fellowmen. As they hear the millions of our brothers now persecuted as martyrs to our cause, cry out for justice, they are fearful that these cries will be answered by a world enraged by man's inhumanity to man. Evil works quietly in the shadows, always fearful of arousing the forces of righteousness.

That is what lies back of the present Berlin crisis, precipitated by the barbarians of Moscow. First, we are told that unless we desert the people of free Berlin we will be driven out by force. When we responded to the threat by declaring our intention to stand fast in our defense of freedom, the Russians began a series of retreats. Pressed by the deadline which they were so bold to make, and in the face of our determination to be firm, they have now taken the position that if we agree to a summit conference they will not cause a war over Berlin. This is apparent from the fact that only a few days ago the Kremlin spokesman stated the deadline of May 27 would be extended if preparations were underway for such a meeting. But, as always, there is a catch. The continued Russian insistence that no agenda be prepared in advance of the conference gives ample evidence that they intend to limit discussion to those items which force recognition of a status quo.

It is strange, indeed, that at this point in our history, when freemen have advanced so far in knowledge and accomplishments, we should be ordered about by the crude barbarians. We must ask ourselves, has our civilization lost its sense of high purpose. Have we surrendered our mission to the world? There is mounting evidence that something is missing from our national life which, in past generations, made our country the beacon light and great hope of the world.

Not many months ago we had a strange visitor come to our country, allegedly on a vacation. He was the eyes, the ears, and the spokesman for the new barbarians. Every schoolchild in America knew who he was and what he represented; yet this same individual was wined and dined by influential segments of our national life. He shrewdly dangled the prospects of huge profits before the eyes of those industrialists and businessmen who willingly paid him homage. He made no mention of the fact that he was simply carrying out the orders of Lenin, who held that when the time came the biggest capitalists would be anxious to provide the rope with which they were to be hanged by the new order. Nor did he mention the plan to destroy the hard-won gains of free labor in the United States by putting it in competition with the products of his slave empire. Few voices were raised in protest to this spectacle, and those who did raise their voices to the danger were branded as extremists and not representative of traditional American hospitality. Few asked. Since when has it been the tradition of our free people to extend hospitality to a person who has the blood of martyrs on his hands, to a person whose whole life has been dedicated to the destruction of those priceless values which we hold to be as dear as life itself? This emissary of evil left the United States with the false impression that we are a divided people; that we are more interested in material things than in spiritual and human values. He could no more understand the American people and our way of life than could Hitler in his time. The tragedy is that the false impressions gathered during Mikoyan's short visit to our country will make our role in world affairs more difficult and increase the dangers of war.

Now one hears the call for compromise on Berlin from quarters and individuals who should know better than to ask the impossible. What do we have to compromise? All we have ever asked for is the right of the German people to determine their destiny by the process of free elections. We are fully prepared to accept the results of these elections because we believe in the right of all people to self-determination. It is the Russians, the new barbarians, who refuse to accept the verdict of the people directly involved. How can we compromise this position we have taken? There is

nothing to compromise unless we are prepared to abandon our position of moral leadership in the world. There are other disturbing signs of free-

men growing weary and tired of the struggle for survival. For the many years of the cold war it has been our national policy to bring comfort and hope to the oppressed through the media of international broad-Broadcasting to the people in the casts. countries now overrun by the new barbarians in their native tongues, we have been able to keep alive their hopes for a better life, and a return to the civilization of which they are a part. This has proven to be a work of peace, because so long as they could hope, they could not abandon the heritage of freedom, they would not, in desperation, accept things as they are and make accommodations with the despots. Now, we see this policy in the process of change, a change which bodes evil for the future. Gradually there are being eliminated the many voices which carried this message of hope. The Russian language, the language of the oppressor, is beginning to monopolize the Voice of America programs beamed to the darkened lands behind the Iron Curtain.

This tactic can only alienate our proven friends in these many lands and drive them into the camp of the enemy. Frequently I have asked myself whether this results from ignorance or from a secret agreement already entered into by the Eisenhower administration to accept a status quo, that is, to recognize the permanent occupation of these once free lands by the new barbarians.

These are ominous signs of the times, they threaten the precarious peace which now hangs over a tired and weary world. They are dangerous because the appetite of the aggressor cannot be satisfied by concessions, he must have everything or nothing. He understands firmness and courage, though he lacks it himself. The bully is always a bluffer and he dominates none but the timid.

But there are other signs of our times in which we can take comfort. A very large segment of our people have come to recognize the full meaning of the crises of our times. This awakening to the harsh realities of our divided world is being stimulated by the growing pressures put upon us. A move-ment to retreat from materialism is underway in the United States. More people are seeking their strength of purpose from that deep spirituality which is our heritage. When all is said and done, the strength of our country rests firmly in the hands of our people. It is within their power to use that strength as we face the test of our worthiness to lead the cause of peace with justice. In generation past we have not feared to face responsibilities, nor have we feared the threats and boasts of tyranny on the march. We, as a nation, have learned well that man lives not by bread alone.

In the perilous days in which we are living, when human freedom has been taken from millions and millions of people by the tyrants of the Kremlin, we can, with profit, reflect on the history of the Slovak people. As good Americans we must be concerned with the fate of the Slovak people and feel it our solemn duty to do everything in our power to see that freedom is restored to this enslaved nation.

The Slovak people can very well be a symbol of hope for the ultimate restoration of freedom and independence throughout all of eastern Europe. History records that while they were under the hard hand of tyrannous rule for over a thousand years, their spirit of independence and patriotism, their language, their folklore, and their faith, survived the test of tyranny. The gifts of St. Cyril and Methodius to all the Slovak people and to civilization at large, have proved that they can stand the test of time as well as tyranny. These particular

saints of the Slovak people gave to the Slavs their first written language—old Slavonic—and were the trail blazers in the affairs of state administration. Their works distinguished the difference between benevolent rule and rule by force. These lessons were so engrained in the Slovak people that no force can take it from them.

With the breakup of the Austria-Hungary Empire after World War I, we witnessed the reshaping of the geography of Europe. that time the Slovak drive for independence had reached a high peak in the history of its peoples. Right here in Cleveland there was established what later became known as the Cleveland agreement—a document which was intended to express the Slovak bill of rights. This Slovak bill of rights was to be the guidepost in the formation of the new Czechoslovak Republic. It is with sadness that I remind you that the Cleveland agreement was not honored in the formation and development of the Czechoslovak Republic and as a consequence, Slovak autonomy within that republic remained an empty promise up to the outbreak of World War II. But this up to the outbreak of World War II. But this said event of history did not break the spirit of the Slovak people, because under the leadership of Monsignor Klinka, founder of the Slovak Peoples' Party, the cause of the Slovak nation was preserved.

The agents of the Kremlin and the trai-forous agents in its cause will have no more success in subjugating the Slovak people than those who in history past have attempted this same goal. Alien occupation and oppression has not dimmed the aspirations and the hopes of the Slovaks, but has increased their determination for national independence. It is a well established fact that the resistance movement in Slovakia today is among the most powerful in all of eastern and central Europe. The spirit of independence, the love of country, and the burning patriotism of the Slovaks, must be regarded as a great asset in the struggle for freedom of the free world against the tyranny of the Kremlin. I hope that the free world will learn the full lesson of this resistance movement and that in the happy day when freedom is restored to the subjugated lands there will arise a free and independent Slovak nation.

We are saddened by the events which are taking place in Slovakia today. There the evil hand of the Russian Communist is attempting to destroy the very spirit of Saints Cyril and Methodius and to reduce the Slovak people to a state of servility worse than that of the dark ages. But in their evil cause the Russian Communists shall fail, because the spirit of SS. Cyril and Methodius shall prevail so long as there is a Slovak alive anywhere in the world.

Poison in Your Water-No. 128

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 19, 1959

Mr. DINGELL, Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I am inserting into the Appendix of the Congres-SIONAL RECORD an article appearing in the Little Rock (Ark.) Gazette of June 4, 1958, entitled "A Polluted Stream Becomes A Blight, Not An Attraction":

A POLLUTED STREAM BECOMES A BLIGHT, NOT AN ATTRACTION

(By Hubert Thompson)

Pisheries biologists are pretty well agreed that it is impossible to hurt fishing with

hook-and-line fishing. The one exception is trout fishing in streams where they do not

What, then, does hurt fishing, if fishing doesn't deplete the supply of fish?

Three things in particular hurt game-fish fishing. They are out-of-balance fish population, siltation, and pollution.

Examples of fish population out of balance: a farm pond with a few bass and lots of stunted bluegills; and a lake overrun with gizzard shad, buffalo, drum, and carp. cept in the very large lakes it is feasible to restore the balance.

Siltation is caused by poor farm practices. poor drainage practices and sand and gravel washing, principally. Better farm practices, with emphasis on erosion control, have eliminated much of the siltation. However, when it comes to drainage there are two sides to the question to be considered. For example, the draining of the St. Francis River Valley, which ruined it as a great wildlife habitat, but made much rich land available for farming.

Pollution is a manmade condition which can only be controlled by rigidly-enforced manmade laws. The cost of correction measures is sometimes enormous, as demonstrated by the present campaign to clean up the Ohio River, which had become one long cesspool, from which cities took water, purified it, polluted it again, then dumped it back into the river for downstream cities to repeat the process.

Some of the better fishing streams in this State, such as the lower Ouachita River and upper Bayou Meto, are badly polluted. Not only are we not doing anything effective about cleaning them up; we are continually urging more industries to come into the State and pollute our streams, if they don't want to take means to dispose of their wastes without polluting streams, and naturally they don't want to build disposal plants if they can get by without that expense.

To really appreciate the many fine, clean streams we have in this State it helps to look at them again after looking at the blighted streams in some of the heavilypopulated, industrial eastern States. Then remember that each time we allow a stream to become polluted we have an eyesore, in-stead of an attraction.

Town of North Andover, Mass., Endorses Commemorative Stamp for First Postmaster General

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

### HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 19, 1959

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a letter which I received from Mr. Ralph E. Finck, chairman of the board of selectmen, town of North Andover, Mass.:

TOWN OF NORTH ANDOVER, MASS. June 17, 1959.

HOR THOMAS J. LANE. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN LANE: The board of selectmen voted unanimously to endorse your proposal to the Post Office Department special stamp committee that a postage stamp be issued commemorating Samuel B. Osgood, first Postmaster General of the United States.

Since Mr. Osgood maintained residence in the village of Andover, now known as the town of North Andover, the above vote was recorded with a great deal of pleasure.

ed with a great Very truly yours, RALPK E. FINCK, Chairman, Board of Selectmen.

Editorial Comment on Debt Management

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 19, 1959

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Congressional Record, I wish to include an editorial which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald on June 10, 1959, entitled "Business Out-look" by J. A. Livingston, headlined "Lowdown on Treasury's Dilemma":

LOWDOWN ON TREASURY'S DILEMMA

"Joe, I don't think there is any subject in the world that's less understood than this." That's what a high Treasury official said to

me just before President Eisenhower sent to Congress his request to raise (1) the debt limit and (2) the allowable interest rate on U.S. bonds. Only a few days before, Mr. Eisenhower, himself, had had a hard time explaining what he wanted at a press conference. He was asked:

"Mr. President, in these discussions on raising the interest rates, will you please tell us what impact this might have on the people generally?"

The President replied: "The impact ought to be well understood, I should think, by all our people if the country-if the Nation-

cannot borrow money.

"As of now, the rate is fixed for any money except below 5-year money, and if you put the total \$283 billion or \$288 billion finally in short-range money then the people will be so badly hurt that we have got to do something.'

CONGRESS HAS NO CHOICE

Here's how I'd interpret Mr. Eisenhower: Congress has put a limit on how much money the Government can borrow. Right now, the debt limit is \$288 billion. But on July 1, unless Congress acts, the limit will slip back to \$283 billion.

The Treasury has issued bonds, notes, certificates, and bills up to \$286 billion. These marketable securities are held by banks, trust companies, insurance companies, corporations, individuals—by you and me, as bank depositors, as holders of insurance policies, stockholders, and as owners of E- and H-

If Congress doesn't increase the debt limit, think of the absurdity. There'd be 3 bil-lion of U.S. bonds and notes and bills owned by U.S. citizens, which, technically, are illegal—above the debt limit. The long and short of it is: Congress has no choice-it will raise the debt limit.

will raise the debt limit.

Politics and Senator Harry Flood Byrd.
of Virginia, being what they are, the President refrained from suggesting doing away with the limit entirely. Yet the limit is illogical. Congress has to authorize expenditures before they can be made. So why okay 'em double?

#### RATE IS BIGGEST PROBLEM

In 1953, the debt limit caused great embarrassment. Taxes came in slowly. Ex-penses rose. The Treasury couldn't borrow It held up paying bills. That was hard on companies and persons who had done work for the Government and needed to be paid. It was poor business. The richest Government in the world was a slow pay.

The debt limit's a secondary problem. The big one, as Mr. Eisenhower said, is the interest rate. Right now, a bank, an insurance company, a savings institution, and you and I can call up a bond broker and buy Government bonds to yield 4.4 percent or thereabouts. But poor Secretary of the Treasury Anderson can't sell us such a bond. Congress has put a 41/4 percent ceiling on what he can pay.

Why would you or I buy a new Treasury issue which could return only 4.25 percent, when we can get 4.4 percent in the open

market?

So, if Anderson wants to borrow, he has to issue what the President called shortrange securities. There's no ceiling on shortterm interest rates, only on bonds payable after 5 years.

#### IT'S EVERYBODY'S PROBLEM

But the short-term debt is already excessive. Only 26 percent of the Government's marketable securities matures in more than 5 years; 32 percent matures in 1 to 5 years; and 42 percent within a year.

This short-range concentration tends to worsen. Cash-ins of E and H bonds have exceeded sales in 33 of the last 36 months. In April and again in May, redemptions ran \$100 million above sales. The Treasury has to get that money from somewhere. It has to substitute short-term marketable debt for socalled long-term nonmarketable E- and Hbond debt.

This can only end in one way. The Government has got to become its own best customer. The Government has got to buy in its own bonds. It has to retire some of its debt-either (1) by spending less or (2) by taxing more, thus generating a surplus.

In the meantime, Congress has no alternative. It must grant Secretary Anderson freedom to finance in the open market. It will have to raise the interest ceiling on bonds above 414 percent-in case he has to use it. Anderson's fix is everybody's fix.

## Cross Country With the On-to-Oregon Cavalcade-VI

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ORD, I include the report of the sixth week on the trial for members of the On-to-Oregon Cavalcade. These reports cover the journey from Bridgeport, Nebr., to Fort Laramie, Wyo. They appeared in the June 4, 1959, Drain (Oreg.) Enterprise:

"KI" Joins Wagon Train Now in Wyoming MOUNTAINS

(Written by Robert "Rudy" Roudebaugh who is driving the Drain covered wagon in the Oregon Wagon Train. These reports cover the journey from Bridgeport, Nebr., to Fort Laramie, Wyo.)

May 25: Well, the weekend is over and its farewell to Bridgeport. We still have large crowds coming from a 100-mile radius. 7:31 a.m.: We are ready to roll again. ing Morrill County fairgrounds. Janell is back today. She is driving and calls "58" (one of mules) Doc and "57" Jan. Doc is the male and Jan the female. The weather is partly sunshine with a few clouds. 8:26: I can see Chimney Rock. 10:37: Stop for lunch and wait for the Indian raid. 1: We are on our way to Chimney Rock. Arrived at Chimney Rock at 2:10 and Indian raid went off OK, but we had a runaway with one team of mules. They went way up on the hill and nearly got away, but we were able to return them to the circle.

May 26, 6:56 a.m.: All ready to go. Janell is still in bed. The sun is out with clouds over in the west. Wind about 30 miles and howling. 7:09: We are all lined out and on our way. 7:40: Entering Scotts Bluff County, the last county in Nebraska for us. 9:48: Milbeta (population 140) and they were all out to see us. This is sugarbeet country through here. 10:52: Stopped for lunch and feed. Doc and Jan ate a little oats and drank half pail of water. 11:55: On our way again. 12:36: Entering Gearing (population 362). Still having school here. Arrived at camp 1:25. Was led through Gearing by old stagecoach used on old Ore-

May 27: 7:05: Seen headquarters of Scottsbluff National Monument. 9:51: Raining this morning. 11:13: Stopped for lunch and fed Doc. Drank one pall of water, but ate no oats. Jan drank a pail of water and ate about two handfuls of oats. Had to put a bolt in the wagon tongue. 12:20: On our way again. 12:41: Crossing the North Platte River. Arrived Morrill 1:20. Arrived in camp at 1:35 at the Vernon C. Luth farm. The ladies from Morrill brought coffee and cookies for us. James Wilkinson took us in his home for a shower and a beer. I finally got the letters from the Drain mayor to pass out. Only about 3 weeks behind time now that we are out of the population areas.

May 28: I had the 2 to 5 a.m. watch this morning. 7:06: We are on our way to Oregon. Jan has four new shoes. The first she had since she joined the train. 8:43: At Henry (population 180). The Woman's Club of Henry gave us the last coffee and cookies in Nebraska, 9:38: Entering Wyoming, Have to take off our hat to Wyoming for the roads they have here. The Wyoming sheriff's posse met us at the State line and are going to ride to Torrington with us. 10:58: Stopped to feed mules and eat lunch. 11:57: Going west. 12:37: Arrived in Torrington and its starting to rain. Just as we were ready to leave Torrington it started raining and hailing. We put into a long side of the sale barn to quiet the mules. We put into camp at 2:54 at Mr. Stephensen's ranch.

May 29, 6:56: Left campsite. Arrived at Lingo (population 403) at 7:47. Paul and Bobby Cormier rode from camp to Lingo with us. (Editor's note: Mrs. Kiwanda Roudebaugh is now with her husband.) They both got a chance to drive the mules. Weather: Rain and hail this morning; sultry and cloudy now. Last night some kids around camp trying to turn animals loose. Windell Tedwell, a friend of Rudy, is riding now with us. He drove 150 miles to see the wagon train. 10:10: At Fort Laramie (population 400), elevation 4,230. The wagon train was given a banner of the fort. Here comes the Cavalry to escort us in to old Fort Laramie. It is one of the most historic along the Oregon Trail. Crossed the North Platte River. The Cavalry acted as messenger relaying messages until we got to the fort. Mel Ross' (Drain storeowner) red, white and blue spreader rings sure showed up riding with the Cavalry. Arrived at camp at 11:14. The mules have made good time today.

May 30, 6:42: Doc and Jan ate all their oats since they joined the wagon train. 7:08: Leaving Fort Laramie. The Cavalry is saluting us goodby. We are out on our own going right beside the Oregon Trail. We can't go on the Oregon Trail because the rain has

washed ditches in it. However, this is the first day of going right out through the fields and opening gates.

Here is a real life scene: Gail Carnine (scout) rode ahead to the ridge and waved for the wagons to come ahead. We have pulled to the top of the ridge now resting Here are some of the sayings by Ben Griffith of Salem who drives the Independence wagon: "By George, the people said we'd be tired of it by the time we got this far, and I'm just starting to enjoy now." Ben was born in Geneva, Nebr., where his folks had lived since coming there by covered wagon in 1879. Ben is 57 years old and is driving the wagon carrying the official U.S. mail. His wagon is the only one pulled by four mules. The other wagons have only

Dave Gastman (wrangler) rode up from behind with his eyes popped and exclaimed, "I've seen a couple of antelope, and the view of the Platte Valley is sure beautiful." is from Cottage Grove and has worked as Indian packer and guide in the Olympic mountains.

8:23: It is raining again today. It is cold and cloudy. 9:56: Top of pass, elevation 5,500 feet. 10:21: Dropped down a steep hill. 10:23: Arrived at camp at Rock Cliff. will camp here the weekend. It is raining now. Ki is cooking today and she had a whole extra crew to feed. The Cavalry were here for breakfast and lunch, so she got broke in right. Janell slept all morning and missed a good day's trip.

#### Amending Mutual Security Act of 1951

SPEECH

## HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, June 18, 1959

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 7500) to amend further the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, and for other purposes.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, this amendment would strike out the increase of a half billion dollars in the capital funds for the so-called guarantee program. I would like to ask why in all conscience American taxpayers should be guaranteeing or putting up any money in any way to guarantee the investments of American businessmen in France or in England. Will somebody tell me why?

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. I yield. Mr. JUDD. The basic reason is that we believe in the free enterprise system. We believe, in accordance with the gentleman's quotation from George Washington's address yesterday, that the more our relations with other countries are on a private and commercial basis rather than on a government-to-government basis, the better it will be. This provision does not guarantee any American's investment in a foreign country. It is an insurance system and the investor pays a premium. We give no foreign countries any money. If the investor makes any money, the fund guarantees that it can be converted into dollars. If the foreign government, by legal action, should expropriate or nationalize that property, the person guaranteed can come to the insurance fund and be made whole. Our Government will then try to recover from the foreign government on the property. The net result of the program is that we have had it now for 10 years and there has not been a single dime paid out and more than \$3.5 million of insurance premiums have been paid in.

Mr. GROSS. Then what is the need for this if it is not serving any purpose? Mr. JUDD. It is needed because many

businessmen need reassurance before they will go into areas that are not stable.

Mr. GROSS. Just a minute. Do English businessmen need any assurance to invest their money and deposit their gold in this country against the expropriation or seizure of their investments by the U.S. Government?

Mr. JUDD. No, but Americans do. This is going to some 40 countries, I may

say.

Mr. GROSS. With all of the billions of dollars that we have loaned and given to Great Britain has not a climate been established that is favorable to American investors in England? Has not a good faith climate been established?

Mr. JUDD. Many businessmen and firms will invest their money and not come to the guarantee fund and pay to

be insured. But some will not.

Mr. GROSS. We have poured some \$11 billion into France and, yet, it is necessary to set up a billion dollar fund, backed by tax dollars to guarantee American investors if the French Government confiscates their business?

Mr. JUDD. Not a cent of American money has ever gone to France or Britain under this program.

Mr. GROSS. There has never been a test of this guarantee program and the gentleman knows it.

Mr. JUDD. Not a dime has been spent in France or Britain. It goes only to American businessmen if they are insured and qualify under the terms.

Mr. GROSS. You mean if the gov-ernment seized a factory, for instance the Ford investment in France, if the Government of France seized that property and millions of dollars' worth of similar properties, then it would be up to the American taxpayer to underwrite the losses; is that not correct?

Mr. JUDD. The fund would reimburse the American investors who had bought

the insurance.

Mr. GROSS. What would happen if there should be a succession of failures? Would it not wipe out the fund?

Mr. JUDD. In that respect it is just like any insurance proposition. If a whole city burns down, that would be pretty hard on the companies that have sold fire insurance policies in that city. This is an actuarial estimate and, as a matter of fact, it has worked out far more successfully than any of us expected.

Mr. GROSS. The gentleman from Minnesota still has not answered my

question. Why is it necessary to guarantee American investments in England. Italy, and France?

Mr. JUDD. It is not necessary. We do not guarantee them unless they want it and pay for it.

Mr. GROSS. But you certainly do guarantee them.

Mr. JUDD. The program follows the general philosophy of all insurance practices.

Mr. GROSS. But you do guarantee them against confiscation of their property, as to convertibility of currency, and against damage in the event of war if they want all three coverages.

Mr. JUDD. It follows this principle. Where private business or persons want to invest their money and want to pay a premium to buy this insurance, it is in the interest of the United States to have private persons or corporations invest as much of their own funds as possible. That requires less from our taxpayers in

aid to the country.
Mr. GROSS. Let me ask the gentleman this question. Can Mr. Draper get a guarantee for his power company in Mexico? That is the same gentleman who recommended an additional \$400 million for this foreign giveaway pro-

gram.

Mr. JUDD. Mexico has not signed one of these guarantee arrangements with the United States.

Mr. GROSS. But if they do sign, he could come in and get it. And Eric Johnston could get a guarantee if the movie industry wanted to go into business in a big way; he could get guarantees in France, Italy, and England too, could he not?

Mr. JUDD. If his project meets the criteria written into the law, and if we have an agreement with that government under which it promises to make whole individual investors who lose their investment by reason of expropriation, then that could be done. We have to have an agreement with the government before that could happen.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, it just does not make sense that we should jeopardize a single dime of the American taxpayers' money to guarantee investments of American businessmen in England, France or Italy or any other countries where we have pumped billions of dollars since the end of the war. I wonder if American taxpayers are underwriting the yacht that the Prime Minister of Ghana bought from the British recently?

If this business of insuring American investors in foreign countries carries no real risk, as the gentleman from Minnesota implies, and if it is so lucrative as others suggest, I wonder why the big insurance companies of this country have let this business slip through their fingers? It is my observation that private insurance companies are ready. willing, and able to insure any business operation where there is no abnormal risk and where they can expect a reasonable return.

I urge the adoption of my amendment.

The United States and the International Court of Justice. Part II

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 8, 1959

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege Wednesday to offer for the RECORD the first of three parts of an excellent analysis of the United States and the International Court of Justice by Columbia University Prof. Herbert W. Briggs. Today, under leave to extend my remarks, I offer the second part of this worthwhile study.

For purposes of clarity, Mr. Speaker, I am introducing the second part of this study with the first paragraph from the article which appeared Wednesday at

page A5210 of the RECORD:

THE UNITED STATES AND THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE: A REEXAMINATION, PART

(By Herbert W. Briggs)

In his state of the Union message on January 9, 1959, President Eisenhower declared his purpose of intensifying efforts "to the end that the rule of law may replace the rule of force in the affairs of nations" and of making proposals for a reexamination of our own relation to the International Court of Justice. It is no secret that the tide of criticism has been rising against the Connally amendment reservation pursuant to which the United States excluded from its acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court-

(b) Disputes with regard to matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the United States of America as determined by the United States of America.

#### THE INTERHANDEL CASE

In the Interhandel case " the United States first invoked its peremptory domestic juris-diction reservation as a bar to the Court's jurisdiction, to consider the indication of interim measures of protection requested by Switzerland. By a so-called preliminary ob-jection filed on October 11, 1957, the United States had informed the Court that since the United States had determined, pursuant to its domestic jurisdiction reservation, that the sale or disposition of the shares of General Aniline & Film Co. "is a matter essentially within its domestic jurisdiction," United States therefore declined "to submit the matter of the sale or disposition of such shares to the jurisdiction of the Court." his oral argument in October, 1957, Mr. Loftus Becker, agent for the United States, contended:

"This determination by the United States of America is not subject to review or approval by any tribunal. It operates to remove definitively from the jurisdiction of the Court the matter which it determines."

The peremptory character of the U.S. veto on the Court's jurisdiction was exploited by Mr. Becker in his argument that the "Court cannot be considered to have power to indicate provisional measures with respect to

<sup>&</sup>quot; Order of Oct. 24, 1957, on request for the Indication of Interim Measures of Protec-tion (1957), I.C.J. Rept. 105; digested in 52 A.J.I.L. 320 (1958).

the very matter concerning which it is known conclusively that it has no jurisdiction."

The determination made by the United States under its domestic jurisdiction reservation, he argued, "conclusively divested this Court of the prima facie jurisdiction which it did possess prior to that determination," and the Court "no longer possessed any jurisdiction to indicate provisional measures on the subject matter of the determination."

Despite this argument, the Court took jurisdiction to consider the indication of interim measures under article 41 of its Statute; but, because the United States informed the Court that the U.S. Supreme Court had granted certiorari in proceedings by Interhandel in American courts, and the United States was not contemplating immediate sale of the shares, the International Court of Justice rejected for lack of urgency the Swiss request for indication of interim measures.

In the second phase of the Interhandel case, the United States again invoked its peremptory domestic jurisdiction reservation. On June 16, 1953, the United States deposited with the Registry of the Court four preliminary objections, of which the fourth (in the language of the U.S. submissions) reads as follows:

#### "(4) FOURTH PRELIMINARY OBJECTION

"(a) that there is no jurisdiction in this Court to hear or determine any issues raised by the Swiss application or memorial concerning the sale or disposition of the vested shares of General Aniline & Film Corp. (including the passing of good and clear title to any persons or entity), for the reason that such sale or disposition has been determined by the United States of America, pursuant to paragraph (b) of the conditions attached to this country's acceptance of this Court's jurisdiction, to be a matter essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of this country; and

"(b) that there is no jurisdiction in this Court to hear or determine any issues raised by the Swiss application or memorial concerning the seizure and retention of the vested shares of General Aniline & Film Corp., for the reason that such seizure and retention are, according to international law, matters within the domestic jurisdiction of the United States." \*\*

In support of the contention advanced in paragraph (a), the United States preliminary objections once again state that the determination made by the United States that a matter falls essentially within its domestic jurisdiction "is not subject to review or approval by any tribunal" and—

"Accordingly, the question of the sale or disposition of the shares of General Aniline & Film is not justiciable, and the United States respectfully declines to submit the matter of such disposition or sale to the jurisdiction of the Court. Such declination encompasses all issues raised in the Swiss application and memorial (including issues raised by the Swiss-United States Treaty of 1931 and the Washington Accord of 1946), insofar as the determination of the issues would affect the sale or disposition of the shares.

"However, the determination pursuant to paragraph (b) of the conditions attached to this country's acceptance of the Court's compulsory jurisdiction is made only as regards the sale or disposition of the assets." <sup>24</sup> In reply \* the Swiss Government challenged the validity of the peremptory domestic jurisdiction reservation invoked by the United States, first, because it was incompatible with article 36(6) of the Court's statute by which "In the event of a dispute as to whether the Court has jurisdiction, the matter shall be settled by the decision of the Court"; and, second, because the peremptory reservation was inconsistent with the acceptance of compulsory jurisdiction under article 36(2) of the statute. Sub-sidiarily, the Swiss Government questioned the legitimacy of permitting a state which had accepted the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court to divide the subject matter of a dispute, which was alleged to fall within Its domestic jurisdiction, into questions the Court is asked to reject on the basis of international law and questions which are arbitrarily and unilaterally declared to be outside the Court's jurisdiction.™ Since the United States alleged, and the Swiss Government denied, that the subject matter of the dispute fell within the domestic jurisdiction of the United States, argued the Swiss Government, it was for the Court to decide this dispute as to its jurisdiction and to deny automatic effect to the U.S. reserva-

By the time oral proceedings were held at Hague on the U.S. preliminary objections in November 1958, Supreme Court had made its decision reversing dismissal of Interhandel's action in the U.S. courts and reopening the case." In his oral arguments before the International Court of Justice, Mr. Loftus Becker, agent for the United States, pointed out that the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court had made more important the third preliminary objection of the United States to the effect that the International Court of Justice lacked jurisdiction because Interhandel had not yet exhausted available local remedies, but had rendered "somewhat academic" and "somewhat moot" preliminary objection 4(a). Sale of Interhandel's vested was prohibited as long as it was in litigation before U.S. courts. Therefore Mr. Becker declined to reply to Swiss arguments against the validity of the U.S. domestic jurisdiction reservation, but contented himself with assertions that the reservation "is valid," its invocation in the Interhandel case was "not abritrary," and the United States maintained its preliminary objection 4(a) and asked the Court to honor it by declining jurisdiction on the sole ground that the United States had determined that the Court lacked jurisdiction.38

Since the United States did not withdraw its invocation of the peremptory domestic jurisdiction reservation, Prof. Paul Guggenheim, coagent of the Swiss Government, argued the invalidity of the reservation and of its invocation in the Interhandel case, and the Swiss Government requested the Court to reject or join to the merits the fourth preliminary objection of the United States.

ALTERNATIVES TO THE CONNALLY RESERVATION

The behavior of the United States in the Interhandel case reminds one of the observation made by Lawrence Preuss that to entrust to an interested party the determination whether or not a matter falls within its exclusive domestic jurisdiction "is to add to the risk of evasion that of error committed in good faith." \*\*\*

The essence of the objection to the Connally amendment reservation lies in its attempt to usurp for the United States the Court's own function of determining disputes as to its jurisdiction, by substituting the determination of a party in interest for that of an impartial judicial tribunal. The Court observed in the Nottebohm case that "since the Alabama case, it has been generally recognized, following the earlier precedents, that, in the absence of any agreement to the contrary, an international tribunal has the right to decide as to its own jurisdiction and has the power to interpret for this purpose the instruments which govern that jurisdiction."

This "rule of general international law" and "the judicial character of the Court" would suffice, said the Court, even if article 36(6) were not explicit, in relation to parties to the Court's statute, to confer on the Court the jurisdiction to decide disputes as to its own jurisdiction.

It is high time, therefore, that the United States withdraw its peremptory domestic jurisdiction reservation. Assuming that we wish to accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice in legal disputes concerning the questions of international law listed in article 36(2) of the Statute—which we have in fact done—the reservation serves no useful purpose except that of evasion. Moreover, unless the Court finds the peremptory reservation invalid, it can be invoked against us when we are plaintiffs, under the condition of reciprocity contained in article 36(2) of the Statute.<sup>41</sup>

In eliminating the Connally amendment reservation, care should be taken not to fall into the facile error of attempting to incorporate in a new declaration a list of matters considered by the United States to fall essentially or exclusively within its domestic jurisdiction. The rule of law advocated by President Eisenhower would not be furthered by looking backward 40 years to the unconscionable fourth Lodge reservation to the Covenant of the League of Nations which, after stating that the United States "reserves to itself exclusively the right to decide what questions are within its domes-tic jurisdiction," went on to declare "that all domestic and political questions relating wholly or in part to its internal affairs, including immigration, labor, coastwise traffic, the tariff, commerce, the suppression of traffic in women and children, and in opium and other dangerous drugs, and all other domestic questions, are solely within the ju-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Interhandel Case, oral proceedings, Oct. 12 and 14, 1957, I.C.J. Distr. 57/168, pp. 18-20. <sup>23</sup> Interhandel Case, preliminary objections of the Government of the United States of America, filed with the Court June 16, 1958,

p. 26. "Ibid., p. 19.

E Observations et Conclusions du Gouvernment de la Confédération Suisse sur les Exceptions Préliminaires du Gouvernment des États-Unis d'Amérique, filed with the Court Sept. 22, 1958, pp. 28–33; Interhandel Case, oral proceedings, Nov. 5 to 17, 1958, I.C.J. Distr. 58/185, pp. 103–110, 159 (oral argument of Prof. Paul Guggenheim, Swiss coagent, Nov. 12 and 17, 1958).

<sup>&</sup>quot;Ibid., I.C.J. Distr. 58/185, p. 105.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Société Internationale, etc. v. Rogers, 857 U.S. 197 (June 16, 1958); 53 A.J.I.L. 177 (1959).

Oral proceedings, I.C.J. Distr. 58/185, pp. 3-4, 36, 137 (oral argument of Mr. Loftus Becker, U.S. agent, Nov. 5, 6 and 14, 1958).

<sup>\*\*</sup>Preuss, "The International Court of Justice, the Senate, and Matters of Domestic Jurisdiction," 40 A.J.I.L. 720, 733 (1946). This article and the articles by Francis O. Wilcox, "The U.S. Accepts Compulsory Jurisdiction," 40 A.J.I.L. 699 (1946), and by Judge Manley O. Hudson, "The World Court: America's Declaration Accepting Jurisdiction," 32 A.B.A.J. 832-836, 895-897 (1946), contain most valuable information on U.S. acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court.

<sup>\*\* [1953]</sup> I.C.J. Rep. 111, 119-120; digested in 48 A.J.I. 327 (1954). See also Georges Berlia, "Jurisprudence des Tribunaux Internationaux en ce Qui Concerne Leur Compétence," 88 Hague Academy Recueil des Cours 195-157 (1955).

<sup>41</sup> Cf., Norwegian Loans case, loc. cit.

risdiction of the United States and are not under this treaty to be submitted in any way either to arbitration or to the consideration \* \* \* [of any League of Nations organ1," a

As David Hunter Miller suggested contemporaneously, the United States had already removed aspects of all seven listed categories from its exclusive domestic jurisdiction by concluding treaties on the questions designated as solely domestic.48 The conception that a matter can be listed once and for all as falling solely within the domestic jurisdiction of a state is an oversimplification which disregards the relativity of the concept of domestic jurisdiction and flies in the face of the established jurisprudence of the Court.

Nor would the rule of law be served by excluding from our acceptance of compulsory jurisdiction a list of matters, such as immigration or tariffs, whether or not treaties had been concluded on the subjects, and without any attempt to label them as falling within our domestic jurisdiction. extent that such matters fall by international law within our domestic jurisdiction, the listing is unnecessary; and to the extent that we may have contracted international obligations with regard to the listed items, we would merely be denying ourselves the help of the Court in furthering the rule of law without thereby releasing ourselves from the international obligations we had contracted.

Another danger to be guarded against is the ill-conceived suggestion once made by Mr. John Foster Dulles to tamper with the law to be applied by the Court. In his influential memorandum of July 10, 1946," to a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Mr. Dulles wrote that it would be unnecessary "to stipulate who de-cides what is domestic" if the proposed declaration acepting the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court contained a stipulation to the effect that the Court could not decide a case to which the United States was a party unless the law to be applied was based on a treaty to which the United States was a party or unless the parties agreed in advance what principles of international law should be applied by the Court. With cavalier disregard for the institutional developments of 75 years in the judicial settlement of international legal disputes, Mr. Dulles favored turning the clock back to the Alabama Arbitration of 1872 as a precedent, where the parties first negotiated a treaty establishing

the law to be applied before going to court. Senator Millikin took up the Dulles suggestion and introduced an amendment that aceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court by the United States "shall not apply to disputes where the law necessary for the decision is not found in existing treatles and conventions to which the United States is a party and where there has not been prior agreement by the United States as to the applicable principles of international

Senator Wayne Morse pointed out to the Senate that the Dulles-Millikin proposal would have the effect of preventing the Court from applying its own statute in cases to which the United States was a party. By limiting the Court to the application of treaties to which the United States was a party, the proposed Senate amendment sought, in effect, to render inapplicable to

the United States subparagraphs b, c, and d of article 38(1), and thus to prevent the Court from applying customary international law, the general principles of law recognized by civilized nations and judicial precedent.46 Fortunately, the Senate decisively rejected the proposed Millikin amendment, which Judge Manley O. Hudson has characterized as "a ghost which stalked out of the Dulles memorandum" and which "would have been utterly unworkable in practice." 47

Equally retrograde are proposals by which United States would withdraw completely its declaration accepting the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court under article 36(2) and attempt to conclude a limited series of treaties accepting the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court for the limited purpose of the interpretation and application of certain treaties. The rule of law advocated by President Eisenhower would be ill served by such a throwback to the mentality of the Hague Peace Conference.

The jurisprudence of the Court, when confronted with a plea of domestic jurisdiction, is such as to inspire confidence that it will decline jurisdiction over the merits of any dispute the subject matter of which is, according to international law, exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of a state. It may be doubted whether a revised U.S. declaration accepting the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court needs to contain any domestic jurisdiction reservation. Most states accepting the Court's compulsory jurisdiction appear to have found such a reservation supererogatory. It is interesting to note that Belgium, Finland, and Japan in 1958 deposited declarations accepting the Court's compulsory jurisdiction without including domestic jurisdiction reservations.

However, if it will serve to allay nerv-

ousness, however ill founded, there can be no strong objection to a reservation excluding "disputes with regard to matters which according to international law fall exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of the United States." This formula, currently followed, with unimportant verbal variations by Australia, Cambodia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom, is the basis of a consistent jurisprudence on the part of the Court and is in conformity with the statute.

"Ibid. 10702. The text of art. 38 of the Court's statute reads as follows:

"1. The Court, whose function is to decide in accordance with international law such disputes as are submittd to it, shall apply: (a) interntional conventions, whether general or particular, establishing rules expressly recognized by the contesting states: (b) international custom, as evidence of a general practice accepted as law; (c) the general principles of law recognized by civilized nations; (d) subject to the provisions of article 59, judicial decisions and the teachings of the most highly qualified publicists of the various nations, as subsidiary means for the determination of rules of law.

"2. This provision shall not prejudice the power of the Court to decide a case ex aequo et bono, if the parties agree thereto."

Hudson, loc. cit. note 39, at 895-896.

Retired Military Men Lobbyists?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. LEONARD G. WOLF

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 19, 1959

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I wish

to insert into the RECORD an article which appeared in the June 10, 1959, edition of the Clinton Herald.

It is a significant article because of its analysis and discussion of the role of the military man in the armaments race. Many military men upon retiring from active military service return to private life and work as so-called consultants for the munitions makers. There is not much doubt that these consulting functions are in the form of contracts with members of the Defense Department. There is nothing wrong with such arrangements per se except when it is clear that there is no connection between what is bought by the Government for defense purposes and what is necessary for our national defense. This may well be the case today.

Another interesting thought suggested in this article is that our entire economy is too closely tied to the construction of armaments. It is of paramount importance that we find and develop alternatives for the time when defense expenditures will not be necessary. Unless we do this, we will not be able to shake ourselves of the corporate-military state axis which could strangle our society in the next decade.

The Clinton Herald article follows:

RETTRED MILITARY MEN LOBBYISTS?

What could be nicer for a retiring general or admiral than to get a job—paying up to \$40,000 a year or more—with a company which sells some kind of military equipment to the Government?

But the question Congress is going to ask now is: What does he do to earn his money? About July 1 a House Armed Services Sub-

committee headed by Representative F. Ep-WARD HÉBERT (Democrat, of Louisiana) is going to start hearings digging into questions like these:

1. When a retired general or admiral gets a fat job from a company selling to the Armed Forces, is it strictly because of his executive ability and professional experi-

2. Or is he really hired as a lobbyist or influence peddler to use his old friendships and contacts in the Pentagon for the benefit of the company which hired him?

There is a third underlying question: Is a high-ranking official, still in the service, in-fluenced in the selecting of equipment from a particular company by the prospect of going to work for that company when he

HÉBERT Says the picture is not all white and black—that many retired officers now with military equipment companies do a good, legitimate job because of their knowledge and background.

However, he says he thinks more business in Washington is done on the golf links and over the cocktail tables than is ever transacted in the Pentagon.

But any legislation Congress considers to correct abuses-and HEBERT expects to have remedial measures for Congress when it returns in 1960-runs squarely into a problem of individual rights.

Many officers retire in the prime of life and, like nonmilitary people, have a right to make income in addition to their pensions-particularly in fields where their knowledge and experience should pay off best.

Pending results of the Hébert investigation the House rejected last week a ban on such employment for 5 years after retirement. But there is a long history of congressional agitation about military brass going into private industry which does business with the Government.

<sup>59</sup> CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (pt. 5) 4599 (66th Cong., 2d sess., Mar. 19, 1920).

<sup>&</sup>quot;Cited by Preuss, loc. cit. 732. ""Memorandum of John Foster Dulles concerning Acceptance by the United States

of the Compulsory Jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice, July 10, 1946," printed in the Senate hearings (cited in note

<sup>25</sup> above) at pp. 43-45.
45 92 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 10698 (79th Cong., 2d sess.)

When Senator Gerald Nye, a North Dakota Republican, conducted his historic investigation into munitions-making back in the 1930's, it was brought out that retired military brass had big jobs in that industry.

There is a difference between the Nye inquiry and the one to be made by HÉBERT.

The former had its roots in American pacifism and neutralism-this country isolationist then-and the munitions makers were accused of getting fat by fomenting conflicts around the world.

There is no dispute now about American needs for heavy armament. The American economy is so tightly linked with defense production that a sudden decision to reduce armaments drastically might throw the

country into depression.

The Hébert investigation will examine not only the roles of retired officers in firms dealing with the Government. It also will want to know how the military equipment makers go about competing with one another to sell their products to the Government. Meaning, how they try to influence decisions in their own favor.

President Eisenhower, asked at his news conference last Wednesday about the role of the munitions makers in American defense purchases, said: "Obviously something besides the strict military needs of the country are influencing decisions."

Statement of Hon. Leonard G. Wolf Before the Subcommittee on Dairy and Poultry of the House Agriculture Committee, June 19, 1959

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. LEONARD G. WOLF

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 19, 1959

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I would like to insert in the RECORD a copy of my testimony before the Subcommittee on Dairy and Poultry of the House Agriculture Committee, June 19, 1959.

The testimony follows:

STATEMENT OF HON. LEONARD G. WOLF BE-FORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON DAIRY AND POULTRY OF THE HOUSE AGRICULTURE COM-MITTEE, JUNE 19, 1959

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the opportunity of appearing before you today. problem of egg supplies and low egg prices is not confined to the extreme eastern and western edges of our great Nation. Twothirds of the egg supply and the price prob-lem is in the great central belt of our country.

As a prologue to my statement, let me say

first that abolishing the corn and feed grains price support program is neither an adequate nor an acceptable solution to the egg and chicken problem. One of the reasons that eggs and meat producers are in trouble and getting into worse trouble is because the feed grains programs have been weakened, dismantled and disrupted. If we had had a good feed grains income and supply stabilization program over the past 7 years, egg

and chicken prices would not be in the fix they are in now.

I strongly urge that when you come to consider a long-range egg and chicken program, you think of it as part of a comprehensive farm income stabilization program including such parts as the Dairy Marketing

Act which you have introduced, a farm crops bill similar to that which my colleague and a member of your subcommittee, Mr. Coad, has introduced, and similar programs for hogs and other major commodities.

Egg and chicken producers cannot, in my opinion, stand alone in this matter, either on the floor of the House nor as an operating program. Consequently, I believe that the programs must be integrated; they must be part of a common agricultural plan.

As the chairman has said, eggs are selling for less now in real terms, in purchasingpower dollars, than at any time in recorded history. They are selling in Iowa this week for 18 cents per dozen for high quality market grade eggs, at least 10 cents per dozen less than actual out-of-pocket cash cost of production.

A dozen eggs right now will probably buy less of the things farmers have to buy for family living and investments than at any time in the history of this country or any other country in the history of the world. With this new historical low on top of us, we need, of course, to work out some kind of stopgap program to help us get out of this crisis. But we also need to start now to develop and enact a long-term program that will prevent the recurrence of this kind of crisis.

To get out of the current crisis, I urge the enactment of a program of income deficiency payments to egg producers geared to the re quirement that the producer voluntarily reduce his sale of eggs to 5 percent below his volume of sales during the same month in 1958. Such payments would be calculated as the number of cents by which the national average price received by farmers for eggs is less than 65 percent of the parity price of eggs, the current support level for feed grains. A similar program could be placed into effect for chicken meat.

This program certainly would not solve all of the egg and chicken producer's problems but it would at least stave off widespread bankruptcy while we go about developing a

workable long-range program.

In connection with the egg-payment and marketing-adjustment program I have suggested, I hope this Congress will enact mandatory legislation requiring the Secretary to utilize funds available to him to provide for purchase of both eggs and hens to the extent to which he can make humane and economic use of these products under the food-forpeace program and in domestic food distribution programs. Along these same lines, I suggest that we consider the possibility of using chicken and eggs for our school lunch program.

However, Mr. Chairman, partially relieving the current egg and chicken crisis will not be enough. We need to establish an egg and chicken program which will stabilize the market supplies of eggs and chickens at a level that will return a parity of income and

price to family farm producers.

I am informed that family farm egg producers have been working for nothing in producing eggs on the average for the entire period since 1954. If this continues, eggs will cease to be an income-producing enterprise on family farms and we will be allowing another nail to be driven in the coffin of the family farm pattern of American agriculture.

For a long-range program, we need to apply to eggs the same principles that are included in the bill which Mr. COAD has introduced for crops.

First, we should set a stabilization level of not less than 90 percent of a fair parity price. This program should be carried out by a workable combination of income deficiency payments and marketing controls such as is provided for milk in the bill introduced by the chairman of this subcommittee. Such a program could be enforced by means of compliance deposits on sale of eggs as is provide in the milk marketing bill to which I have referred.

The per capita sales of eggs were apparently quite well balanced with demand in 1948, and again in 1952, and were not greatly out of balance in 1958. There is not much oversupply, but that little bit has a very serious price depressing effect.

If we can arrange somehow to stabilize the supply of eggs for a brief period long enough for growing population to catch up with the supply of eggs our problem will be greatly simplified because then we shall be operating a program designed to gear increasing egg production to increasing demand resulting from the increasing population.

Your subcommitte is facing not only a critical crisis in the poultry situation, but also a chronic problem. Appropriate action, may I emphasize, must be addressed to both.

The current egg crisis is not just a tem-porary problem which can be dealt with in a haphazard manner. It is likely to get worse, and in any event will recur, if we do not develop and put into operation a continuing stabilization program for eggs and chickens as a part of a comprehensive income improvement and stabilization program for all major farm commodities, including among others, hogs, manufactured milk and butterfat, and the feed grains.

Except for the temporary purchase programs I have recommended, the suggestions I have made probably would be cost free to the Federal Treasury unless we should again allow the level of unemployment of labor and plant idleness to climb above the 5 percent level. In that case, the payment approach I have recommended would go into operation to maintain a supply of eggs equal to full prosperity conditions, allowing the market price to drop owing to the national economic recession brought on by unemployment. But such price slump would be made up to egg producers through a deficiency income payment.

I am sure that this subcommittee will make the kind of study and propose that kind of legislation which will benefit the egg farmer and consumer.

I cannot close my statement, Mr. Chairman, without mentioning one other question which occurs to me. While the Iowa farmer is getting 18 cents a dozen for eggs, I paid to the man who delivered eggs to my door this morning 57 cents a dozen. I feel that it is within the jurisdiction of this subcommittee to study why this great disparity between what the farmer gets and what I pay as a consumer. I think it is significant to report that I am paying very little less today than I was paying when the farmer received 40 cents a dozen. I would urge this subcom-mittee to pursue the idea of what causes this terrible disparity.

## A Prototype for the Nation To Follow: Detroit's Hundred Club

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 19, 1959

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, it is a

high honor to commend to the attention of the Congress of the United States and to American cities everywhere, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, the most remarkable club in the area of human decency that has yet come to my attention. This is Detroit's Hundred Club. Here is a volun-teer organization of Detroit citizens banded together for the sole purpose of helping materially-in dollars and cents and economic self-respect—the families of Detroit's firemen and policemen who are killed in line of duty.

This is the club which has achieved national attention by promptly presenting \$1,000 to the widow and family of a fireman or police officer whose devotion to duty compelled the sacrifice of his life. In addition the club pays off mortgages and otherwise eases the economic burdens and bereavement of the victim's survivors. I am reliably informed that clubs modeled after the Hundred Club have been organized in other cities. Responding to the Detroit prototype, similar clubs have been formed in Cleveland, Memphis, Indianapolis, Louisville, Orlando, Fla., and other communities of high civic conscience and humane responsibility. Detroit's Hundred Club is a completely selfless, dedicated, and wholly volunteer group with a long record of successful application of its principles in concrete cases. The whole Nation would do well to take note of this success. The uplifting impact of this movement on the morale and esprit de corps of any community's fighters against catastrophe and crime is incalculable. The Catholic Digest, June 1959, has just reprinted from Pageant magazine a condensation of a story by Hal Butler about the club. I am proud to have it republished in the RECORD. The article follows:

#### DETROIT'S HUNDRED CLUB

When a policeman or a fireman risks his life serving the public, and loses the gamble, what happens to his family?

Here is what happens in Detroit. His Widow receives a check for \$1,000 to cover immediate expenses. All his outstanding debts are paid. If there is a mortgage on his house, it is paid in full.

Where does the money come from? From Detroit's Hundred Club, a nonprofit organization made up of business and professinal men. They know that a man who makes a moderate salary guarding the public safety rarely is able to provide for his family in the case of his sudden death, a risk that he assumes daily when he puts on his uniform.

Since the Hundred Club was formally organized in 1952, it has given more than \$80,000 to 40 families of policemen and firemen lost in the line of duty. It has on hand more than \$225,000 in cash and Government bonds to cover future emergencies.

The club does not expect its help to lessen the family's grief. But it does reduce financial problems, assuring the stricken Widow that the death benefit and pension provided by the city of Detroit and 51 suburbs can be used by the family to live on, untouched by crushing debts.

Patrolman Sidney O'Conner was killed on the evening of January 17, 1956, in a gun duel with a bandit in a Detroit bar. next day three members of the Hundred Club appeared at the patrolman's home to present his widow with a check for \$1,000. On the same day wheels were set in motion to pay up an \$8,922 mortgage on the widow's

"The couple had made only one payment on their home," says William Packer, president of the hundred club and an automobile dealer in Detroit. "We figured that if Mrs. O'Conner had tried to make monthly payments on her home from her pension check for the next 10 years, she would have almost nothing left to support herself and her three small children." Because of the club, however, Mrs. O'Conner now lives in a debt-free home and has the pension available for the day-to-day support of her family.

Like many benevolent movements, the club got its start inconspicuously and operated for several years without public awareness of its existence.

In 1950, patrolman Andreas Mellert was picking up a parole violator when he was shot to death by the young man's enraged father.

Packer, a gray-thatched, active man with a rare feeling for the troubles of others, learned that the policeman's widow was about to have a baby, and visited her in the hospital. He was so moved by her plight that he went home and wrote 100 friends, asking them to contribute to a fund for the policeman's widow. At the same time he induced Detroit News columnist John Carlisle to devote a column to the tragedy. By the time Mrs. Mellert's baby arrived, \$7,800 was waiting for her.

A year after the Mellert case another officer, patrolman Stanley Jerlecki, was killed in an armed robbery arrest. Packer was out of town, but a group of his friends, led by chainstore operator Bert Hart, attorney George Fitzgerald, and bakery owner Jack Schafer, raised a substantial sum for the widow.

"About then it became obvious," says Packer, "that this kind of thing shouldn't be handled on such a hit-or-miss basis, that a permanent organization was needed to take care of such cases."

With the help of Carlisle and hotel manager Don Mumford, Packer founded the Hundred Club. Members were asked to contribute \$200 a year for a widows' fund plus \$50 to cover club expenses, which would include two dinner meetings a year. Enrollment was first held to 100, but within 5 months there were 197 members. Today the organization has 300 members, and there is a long waiting list.

The club is operated by a 24-member board of directors, which passes on gratuities rec-ommended by the disbursement committee. Although there is no set formula for amounts to be paid when a loss occurs, disagreement rarely emerges. The club works closely with the police and fire departments to determine the actual needs of a widow and her family. The amount paid is governed by the number of dependents, the mortgage on the home, and the outstanding debts of the family. Gifts have run as low as \$1,000 and as high as the \$9,922 paid to Mrs. O'Conner.

Only 6 months after the Hundred Club was formed, it had its first official case. Motorcycle Patrolman Arthur Meyers was killed in a crash at a busy intersection. Club officials discovered that the patrolman had left a wife and three children, some debts, and a \$7,500 mortgage on his home. Parker, who visited the widow with Carlisle and Hart, recalls the experience.

"You will find that the policemen who die on duty are usually men between 25 and 30 years of age who work in jobs that expose them to traffic hazards and dangers common to tough neighborhoods," Packer explains. "Arthur Meyers was one of these. I'll never forget the moment when we presented his midward to a check the moment when we presented the midward to a check the moment when we presented the midward to the check the moment when we presented the midward to the mi sented his widow with a check to pay off the mortgage on her home."

The Hundred Club doesn't limit its attention to front-page cases. Capt. Warner Bloess, of the fire department, died of a heart attack at the scene of a fire. Bloess received the usual \$1,000 check and the mortgage balance on her home. Grosse Pointe fireman, Charles Van Coillie, died of a heart attack while on duty, and his widow, free of other debts, received \$1,000. More recently the club paid off a mortgage and presented cash to Mrs. Harry Thom, whose husband, a police lieutenant, died of cancer traceable to an injury he had received while on duty several years before.

"We judge each case strictly on the basis of whether or not the city and police or fire departments consider it a line-of-duty explains Packer, "They call the death. pitch."

Several years after the Hundred Club was organized, members became concerned about the financial condition of women who became widows prior to its formation. Investigation turned up 25 in need of ready cash, and a \$1,000 check was sent to each.

Most widows of men lost in action know about the hundred club. However, several years ago Packer and Nate S. Shapero, chairman of the disbursement committee, visited the home of Mrs. William Katke. Her husband, Chief of Police Katke, of Pleasant Ridge, a Detroit suburb, had died of a heart attack while helping a similarly stricken victim. Mrs. Katke had never heard of the hundred club, and she was dubious about accepting the initial \$1,000 check offered her.

She patiently explained that her home was clear of debt and that she would receive a pension adequate to support herself and her 14-year-old daughter.

The club, however, thought she would have trouble stretching her small budget to cover her daughter's education. So Member Jim Zinn, a banker, put together an annuity that added \$30 a month to the widow's income for 10 years; long enough to see her daughter through school.

The hundred club did not win immediate acceptance from rank-and-file policemen and firemen. The bluecoats were frankly skeptical. No one, they reasoned, gave away money in large chunks for no reason. They wanted to know what the "gimmick" behind the generosity might be.

Edward S. Piggins, Detroit's police commissioner until his retirement in September 1958, sums up the opinion now held by policemen: "The hundred club has been one of the greatest stimulants to morale in the Detroit Police Department that has ever come from an outside source. I know that I express the sentiment of every Detroit officer when I say, 'God bless every one of you.'"

Fire Department Chief Edward J. Blohm is just as enthusiastic. "These people are a great credit to the community." he says. "Their organization has accomplished wonders in building high morale in our department."

In the annals of charitable organizations, the hundred club is not only unique in its purpose but one of the most unorthodox in structure. Despite the great amount of good work it has done, it has no physical facilities. There is no building, no office, no clubroom, no paid staff, not even a filing cabinet-and therefore no overhead. "All we have," says Packer with a grin, "is a lot of money."

And another thing, obviously, that Packer doesn't mention: The biggest collective heart in town.

# Daily Digest

## HIGHLIGHTS

House passed bill to increase debt limit. See Congressional Program Ahead.

## Senate

## Chamber Action

The Senate was not in session today. Its next meeting will be held at noon Monday, June 22.

## Committee Meetings

(Committees not listed did not meet)

#### APPROPRIATIONS-LABOR-HEW

Committee on Appropriations: Subcommittee, in executive session, marked up and approved for full committee consideration H.R. 6769, fiscal 1960 appropriations for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare.

# APPROPRIATIONS—STATE, JUSTICE, AND JUDICIARY

Committee on Appropriations: Subcommittee, in executive session, marked up and approved for full committee consideration H.R. 7343, fiscal 1960 appropriations for the Departments of State and Justice, and the Judiciary.

#### APPROPRIATIONS—BUREAU OF RECLAMATION

Committee on Appropriations: Subcommittee continued its hearings on Bureau of Reclamation items in H.R. 7509, fiscal 1960 appropriations for public works, receiving testimony from Senators Engle, Murray, Hruska, Curtis, and Moss; and numerous public witnesses.

Hearings were recessed subject to call of the Chair.

## CONTINENTAL AIR DEFENSE

Committee on Armed Services: The Military Construction Subcommittee continued, in executive session, to hear testimony relative to the continental air defense program, having as its witnesses Dr. C. C. Furnas, chancellor, University of Buffalo; Rear Adm. A. L. Reed, Deputy Director of Naval Intelligence; and Dr. Herbert F. York, Director of Defense Research and Engineering.

#### MINERAL LEASING

Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs: The Public Lands Subcommittee held hearings on S. 1855, S. 1732, S. 1412, and S. 1670, bills relating to mineral leasing and mineral rights in Alaska. Witnesses heard were Senator Bartlett; Max Caplan, Minerals Officer, and Harold Hochmuth, Lands Officer, both of the Bureau of Land Management, Interior Department; Philip Holdsworth, Commissioner of Natural Resources, State of Alaska; Bernard Sampson, a consulting engineer, Fairmont, W. Va.; Gordon Goodwin, Western Oil & Gas Association; and Frank Heintzleman, former Governor of Alaska.

Hearings were recessed subject to call of the Chair.

## POLITICAL BROADCASTING

Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce: Subcommittee on Communications continued its hearings on several bills relative to equal time for political broadcasting with testimony from Representative Cunningham; Robert Sarnoff, chairman of the board, National Broadcasting Co.; John Daly, vice president, American Broadcasting Corp.; Eugene Pulliam, publisher, Indianapolis Star; Lawrence J. Daly, of Chicago; and W. D. Rogers, WDUB-TV, Lubbock, Tex.

Hearings continue Tuesday, June 23.

#### FREEDOM COMMISSION

Committee on the Judiciary: The Internal Security Subcommittee continued its hearings on S. 1689, to create a Freedom Commission and a Freedom Academy to serve as informational media on techniques of communism. Testimony favoring enactment of the bill was heard from Representative Judd; Herbert Philbrick, a writer and lecturer, Rye, N.H.; Dr. Leo Cherne, Research Institute of America, Inc., New York City; and Lt. Col. MacArthur H. Manchester, Reserve Officers Association, Washington, D.C., the latter of whom submitted a statement.

Hearings were recessed subject to call of the Chair.

#### TVA, AND COMMITTEE BUSINESS

Committee on Public Works: Committee, in executive session, ordered favorably reported with amendments H.R. 3460, to amend in several respects the TVA Act of 1933. The bill, as amended, would (1) permit extension of TVA service area of 2,000 square miles or 2½

D504

# Appendix

Visit to Soviet Republic of Dr. Luther C. Peak

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON, LYNDON B. JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, Dr. Luther C. Peak, pastor of the with Dr. Luther C. Fear, paster Falls, with Baptist Church in Wichita Falls, Tex., has recently returned from a trip to the Soviet Union. The Wichita Falls Times of March 8, 1959, printed an interby Peak's findings and impressions.

think Dr. Peak's views will be of inteest to Members of the Senate, and I unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the Con-ERSSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the article ordered to be printed the the RECORD, 4 follows:

TIST MINISTER THINKS SOVIET DOES NOT WANT WAR

(By Wayne Lane)

Russian does not want war but is obsessed want the idea of outstripping every other na-tion in industrial production, in effect conthe in industrial production, in the United States economically.

These were among the impressions gained by Dr. Luther C. Peak, pastor of Faith Bap-Church, during a visit to the Soviet bailt made following an evangelistic cambaign in which he participated in the British

I am absolutely convinced that they do want war," Dr. Peak said.

"Hence of any kind that they desire war, but much indicated just the opposite."

war would destroy everything the Russians war would destroy everything the recommendation seeking to build, the minister explained, seeking to build, the minister of the seeking to build, the seeking to build the seeking the seeking to build the seeking to build the seeking the his ts and industrial output. Furthermore, is is contrary to the philosophy of Lenin, lounder and guiding spirit of the Soviet Republic bilic, whose teachings and memory the peo-

Nowever, Dr. Peak believes, the world some or later must reckon with the conhe or later must reckon with the eco-

The pastor was in Russia 5 days with a Roup of 18 ministers, from the evangelistic to himsters, from the evaluation. Their itinerary was arranged by Intorist, the Russian Government agency, the halso supplied guides and an official to be in charge of the grant during its stay. the in charge of the party during its stay.

The group flew into the country by Rusthe group flew into the country by the group flew into the group f deliner from Amsterdam. Accommoding were provided in a plush Moscow hotel. Most of the time was spent in Moscow, Most of the time was spent in Most of the city the one trip of 60 miles outside the city providing an opportunity to view the collective farming practices.

or. Peak saw no evidence or the property of the people, because, he said, they are entrying more privileges, have more food and

clothing, are better educated and more satisfied in every respect than ever before.

said Government propagandists continually contrasted the people now with the oppression suffered under the czars and before the October revolution of 1917.

Capitalism is depicted there as a "man eat man" society with the strong exploiting the weak and the rich exploiting the poor.

"It seems to me that there everybody is exploited," Dr. Peak said, "not by private enterprise, but by the Government." Yet it is not through forced labor. The masses of the people are not working against their will, but after applying for work are assigned to jobs and paid by the Government on the basis of the work they do.

With the Government operating all industry, profits which would be pocketed by private stockholders in America go to the Government in Russia to be spent on scientific, cultural, or industrial programs.

This was seen by Dr. Peak as a critical point in the worldwide race for economic superiority: Can the incentive of freedom provide sufficient initiative to maintain a production level at which revenue from taxes will enable the Government of the United States to compete with Russia on a comparable financial footing?

"We must realize we're in a race and must wake up and discipline ourselves accordingly." Dr. Peak asserted.

He called for a rebirth of American nationalism, a new patriotic emphasis, and suggested reconsideration of a "speak softly and carry a big stick" policy.

"The United States must stay armed, but at the same time we should make an all-out effort to strengthen the bond of peace with all," the pastor said.

While in Russia, the ministers attended ervices at the single Baptist church in Moscow and later were hosts at a dinner for the pastor, Jacob Zhidkov, and other church-

The church, with 4,000 members, is forced to operate within rigid rules laid down by the Government. Alexander Karev, head of the Russian Baptist Union consisting of 5.400 churches with 530,000 members, said, "We feel that in the Soviet Union we have the nearest thing to apostolic Christianity to be found anywhere in the world."

The churchmen expressed what Dr. Peak regarded as genuine desires for peace. But he quoted Michael Zhidkov, son of the Baptist pastor and himself assistant pastor, as saying, "We believe your people want peace, but the capitalists want to keep a war scare alive so the people will support the Government buying of war materials."

Most of Dr. Peak's time abroad was spent Bangor, Northern Ireland, where he was assigned when the 80 persons in the evan-gelistic crusade separated to conduct revivals throughout the British Isles. The mission was organized by the Church Evangelism Association with the primary purpose of en-couraging work among organized Baptist churches in that area.

#### RESULTS

Members of the team were pleased at the success of their efforts. A total of 3,768 decisons for Christ were reported, including 1,293 conversions, 2,438 rededications and 32 who indicated desires to become ministers or missionaries. Two hundred decisions were made during Dr. Peak's 15-day stay at Bangor.

Following the evangelistic effort, the party divided, some going to the Holy Land and the remainder to Moscow. They reassembled in London for the return flight to the United

While the trip "made a better American of me," Dr. Peak said, and impressed him with the advantages Americans enjoy, it also "opened my eyes to some weaknesses that should be corrected" to meet the challenge of communism.

Among his convictions of what America

must do, Dr. Peak listed:
1. "There should be a tremendous emphasis upon science throughout the entire educational system from the grades through college. We are entering an era when scientific discoveries will completely change the world and the people who excell in scientific achievement will lead the world."

2. "There should be renewed emphasis upon culture." The pastor said he was amazed at the cultural life that has been attained in the Sovet Union in all fields of

3. "I feel that the American people should demand to know the truth concerning Soviet-American relations, uncolored and without bias." Dr. Peak declared that all provocative acts and statements on our part should be played down and frowned upon, and said that if there is any possibility of salvaging peace from the present state of affairs, it is to the interest of every person in the Soviet Union and the United States to see that this

#### PHYSICAL CULTURE

4. "We need to put tremendous emphasis upon physical culture." While voicing pride in the great athletic programs of our schools, Dr. Peak said the benefits of such programs are restricted to too few. The comparative numbers of participants with nonpartici-pants reveals that the great bulk of pupils

are not receiving benefits, he said.
5. "The people should demand of their Congressmen and Senators that we stop the giveaway program." Saying he lays no claim to being an expert in field of political economy, Dr. Peak voiced the opinion that the United States has not bought a single friend through the billions spent for foreign aid around the world. "In fact," he said, "everywhere I went I found people embarrassed, humiliated, and self-respect injured

by the program.

6. "As a basis on which to build a greater and stronger America, a new emphasis should be given religion and morals." The pastor said a terrible mistake is made in presuming moral standards are low in Russia. Persons guilty of immorality are made to feel they are disloyal to society and to the state, in line with the fact which the Reds have recognized; an immoral people made a weak nation. The current drive to reduce drinking is part of the Russian program in this connection. The result has been a marked reduction in alcohol consumption, contrasted with an increase in the United States.

Dr. Peak pointed that while morality is a matter of pride with the Russians, it is taught apart from God. The United States, he said, must stress morals on their true basis-

faith in God.

## Employment of the Physically Handicapped

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JOHN J. WILLIAMS

OF DELAWARE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address entitled "How Delaware Does It." delivered by Gov. J. Caleb Boggs, Delaware, to members of the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped.

Governor Boggs deserves much credit for the excellent progress that has been made in rehabilitating the physically handicapped in the State of Delaware.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

How DELAWARE DOES IT

(Address by Gov. J. Caleb Boggs, Delaware, to members of the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped at their annual meeting, Washington, D.C., on May 7, 1959)

It is a great privilege to be inivted to participate in this annual meeting of the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped, marking the 12th anniversary of the establishment of this organization. I have accepted your invitation because I am vitally interested in this great program of helping the handicapped and be-cause I am proud of the success of this effort in the State of Delaware.

Much of the success of our program of employing the physically handicapped in Delaware can be traced to the leadership provided by the President's Committee here in Washington and the personal drive and abil-ity of General Mass. This must certainly be true across the Nation. In recognition of General Mass' contributions to our work, we made him an honorary citizen of Delaware in 1958. Another big factor in our record is the strong rehabilitation program in the State. Rehabilitation and employment, of course, must go together.

Our program of rehabilitating and employing the physically handicapped in Delaware naturally is based on the same humanitarian and economic factors as the national program. No one can deny the moral responsibility of industry, labor, and government to help those citizens who are prevented from earning a livelihood through physical and mental handicaps. For the handicapped individual we must do everything we can to bring about employment opportunities and provide the incentive for them to help them-

In addition, we recognize the economic benefits of this program to the individual and to the community in removing the handicapped from welfare rolls or other dependency and enabling them to obtain employment through which they can become income-earning, taxpaying citizens. It has been proven that this program pays for itself many times over in humanitarian and monetary value.

We approach the task in Delaware as a team effort-a team composed of industry, labor, community agencies, and the Govern-The Governor's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped, which has grown from 11 to 35 members, was first established in 1947, shortly after the President's committee was formed. The men who have been chairmen of the committee during its existence have kindled the community enthusiasm and forged an outstanding record. One of our past chairmen, Mason Turner, was promoted from my committee to yours. Our present chairman, James H. Sears, has been a real sparkplug in stimulating State awareness of the problem.

We have an employers' advisory council for the Governor's committee which has 100 experienced business and industrial people who interview handicapped persons for job placements. And on the subject of placement, we must also give considerable credit to the Delaware State Employment Service and the U.S. Department of Labor for their complete cooperation and assistance in helping find jobs for our rehabilitated citizens.

As I indicated earlier, we are aided in this effort by an outstanding rehabilitation program carried on by the State board of voca-tional education. We have enjoyed many firsts in the first State during the past 172 years, and one of which we are particularly proud is our position as first in the country for 9 years in terms of the number per capita of handicapped persons rehabilitated. Georgia has succeeded Delaware in first place and I offer my congratulations to that State for their fine program. In the past 5 years, we have rehabilitated 2,300 disabled persons and they have beeen satisfactorily employed. At the time of referral to our rehabilitation agency 85 percent were unemployed. After rehabilitation, these 2,300 men and women were earning at the rate of \$5,-400,000 annually. Of the 2,300 people, 290 were referred by the State welfare department. If they remained on the rolls for 1 year, the State would have expended \$283,000 in welfare benefits. The cost of their re-habilitation services was \$74,240 or \$256 per person, and in 1 year they had earned over half a million dollars in wages. I know there have been similar accomplishments in other States.

Another development in the rehabilitation program of which we in Delaware are proud is the legislation prepared and sponsored 2 years ago by our Congressmen in the 85th Congress, Harry G. Haskell, Jr. Congressman Haskell's legislation lengthened the advanced training available for specialists in the complicated techniques of rehabilitation. Congressman Haskell also obtained a special grant for Delaware's Opportunity Center, a workshop for the handicapped, which this summer, we hope, will employ over 100 disabled persons.

And we cannot forget the achievements of the Delaware Commission for the Blind, which has won national recognition. This commission, which is celebrating its 50th anniversary this year, has been instrumental in providing employment for nearly 17 percent of our blind citizens. That's a slightly higher percentage than the accepted national maximum. Last year, 125 blind men and women in Delaware, working at jobs made possible through our State commission, earned more than \$278,000. That means they were, to a great extent, able to sustain themselves and at the same time relieve the State of what otherwise would have been additional welfare responsibilities.

For the future, we look forward to an expanding program of rehabilitating and employing the physically handicapped as the State can absorb the initial added costs. The new Federal program will shift more of the financial burden to some of the State under a formula that in Delaware will require 50-50 matching of funds by 1963. We will do everything in our power to see that our program is able to maintain its present high quality and even perhaps recapture the num-

ber one rating in the country.
On this 12th anniversay of the President's Committee, is is clear that all those who

have participated in this great human po gram can take justifiable pride in the result

But even as we look ahead to greater gal in the training and employment of the phy cally handicapped, it becomes more and mo apparent that we are confronted by anoth major employment problem-that of t technically handicapped.

I refer to what I am afraid is a growing number of men whose skills have not keepace or have been displaced by the rap pace of technological change. There is urgeneed for a national effort to encourage at stimulate the retraining of these technical handicapped persons.

Technological change, often referred to automation, is essential. It will be source of new jobs and opportunities of the long run. It will mean higher was and a new standard of living. It will redu the physical burden on workers. It is key to our future national security. nological change is essential to the preserv tion of many enterprises that might other wise go out of business because they con not compete.

However, it is a fact that in the short ry momentarily, automation is causing and when the short ry the unemployment. patches, pools, or pockets of unemployment but it still means unemployment to

people who are affected.

As technological change takes place, so people are going to be unemployed as work force is reduced in a particular loc tion or as persons with outdated skills replaced by persons trained to operate new, complex equipment that industry m have. This change is particularly diffict for the older worker who has been train and has gained years and years of experies in a particular job. It is difficult for be to learn a new skill without assistance.

Our physically and mentally handicapy, workers are, in many cases, faced with the additional problem of technical handics Today, many of them are confronted with the problem of starting all over again, a cause the skill they mastered is no long required. Imagine, if you will, the frust tion and fears of these courageous peoling who fear for the second problem. who face for the second time the tremende obstacles to finding their place among to working and self-supporting members of

Society.

Large industry is making a valuable of h tribution to the problem by a great variety of training programs and sound long-rate planning. Labor organizations are more to meet the situation with training course. But this apparently is not enough. Most smaller businesses simply cannot afford training costs involved.

I believe there is a clear call for immedia national leadership on this tough " rapidly growing unemployment problemneed a coordinated effort, State-by-State. retrain the technically handicapped.

The problem of the technically has capped person is not only a difficult empl ment situation. It is one of our great cational challenges. Proper leadership helping to retrain and reeducate the te nically handicapped may well determ whether substantial numbers of people come public dependent or independent earners; whether they and their families eat or won't eat; whether additional new employment benefit programs become ne h sary to alleviate hardship. This is a PI to management and labor problem which my judgment, requires immediate attent

Can't we meet this problem with the sign enthusiasm, determination, and success we experienced with we experienced with the physically has coapped? Haven't we an organizational capped? Haven't we an organizational term in this committee that can be added for this purpose? Shouldn't we devote of the possible effort to this growing problem job dislocation and displacement? I am ggesting that the President's Committee Employment of the Physically Handi-pped take on this task. I am strongly sugsting that the administration give this olect immediate consideration, and per-ps many individuals from this Commitespecially at the State level, would be le to provide much advice and guidance. In Delaware, we have had a small pilot bogram in operation for the past 15 months der the guidance of the State unemployant compensation commission. They have coessfully retrained about 100 women, any of whom were unemployed sewing chine operators, to become practical rese. These women are now working in local hospitals. We are sure that there other places where retraining can be complished.

Beyond the humanitarian aspects of such program, this effort to retrain the techally handicapped also has the same ecomic incentives that we have found in our k with the physically handicapped. Unployed persons are dependent upon unployment compensation programs and ployment compensation programs and haps ultimately on State welfare funds income. During the time they are unployed, they pay no taxes. If we can be them acquire new skills, they probably the compensation of the programs of the property of the property of the programs o return considerably more than the very himal costs of retraining.

In the last few weeks I have had a check de with various Government organizathe in a formal way about the problem. the other hand everyone seems to agree the problem exists, that it will grow, that it will not solve itself.

Ditimately, jobs will be available for perhs whose skills are displaced by techodogical change. Economic history furthes us abundant evidence that this is ways the case. By 1975, economists have edicted, there may not be a labor force believe this is a problem and an opporhity we cannot ignore. In Delaware, we looking for new ways to ease the burden Job dislocation and unemployment by rething persons so they can obtain good, jobs. We are convinced this project be accomplished by the same team effort ong industry, labor, community instituong industry, labor, community ecessful program and the go to work now as an indicapped. If we go to work now as a modern we can almost certainly solve the probability of the governmental effort. essful program to employ the physically without a large governmental effort. we ignore it, we will very likely be faced the future with demands for a crash prom by Government to solve it.

# Meeting the Challenges of Science and Technology

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON, ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, today as attempt to unveil the mysteries of the ace age, it becomes apparent that sci-ice and technology will be increasingly portant in efforts to learn more of the diverse and, insofar as possible, gain ontrol of its forces.

We realize, of course, that exploration outer space is no longer just fantasy "Buck Rogerish" comic strips, Rather, in a highly competitive world, the control of space may well determine victory or defeat for conflicting forcesprincipally communism versus freedom-around the globe.

Progress in science and technology can be achieved, and sustained, not upon wishful thinking, but rather upon the creation of a sound foundation of highly trained and educated individuals; particularly in such fields as engineering and

Recently, Alan T. Waterman, Director of the National Science Foundation, spoke before the Association of National Advertisers, in Chicago, outlining some of the basic objectives he felt should be achieved if our Nation is to provide an adequate "pool" of brainpower to meet the challenges of the future. Dr. Waterman stressed the need for emphasis on two aspects of ou rscience and technology training program, including: (a) The encouragement of support of basic research; and (b) the identification, motivation, and thorough training of future scientists and engineers. To help achieve these objectives, the Director suggested the following things:

First. Raise the status of teachers. particularly high-school teachers.

Second. Encourage learning both for young and old.

Third. Encourage the development of individual talents.

Fourth. Provide basic subjects in the early years of education as a firm yet flexible foundation for life in a rapidly changing world.

Fifth. Improve the content of courses considered essential for general education while still retaining flexibility and high quality of training for careers of all

Sixth. Provide the necessary physical equipment in buildings, laboratories, libraries, teaching, and learning aids.

Seventh. Stimulate and encourage excellence in learning by suitable prizes, scholarships, fellowships, or

To give my fellow Senators the benefit of the wide gamut of ideas put forward in Director Waterman's speech, I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SOME GOALS FOR THE PURSUIT OF EXCELLENCE (Remarks by Alan T. Waterman, Director, National Science Foundation, before the Association of National Advertisers, Chicago, Ill., May 22, 1959)

By whatever name history records itatomic age, age of science, or space age-this time in which we live promises to stimulate man's interest and accomplishment in science and technology as seldom, if ever, be-fore. In spite of differences that exist between nations, they all agree on one point— the importance of science and technology for their future. All nations are witnessing a sudden awakening to the immense potentialities of science and technology-a world movement of possibly greater significance than the industrial age which preceded it.

This forward push of science is a challenge of great and noble proportion, since it promises to extend mankind's economic and social horizons beyond the limitation of immediate material wants and needs. At the same time, these vast frontiers for the advancement of human progress which we see distantly in the new science will continue to pose everincreasing social problems for the people of the world and for relationships between nations.

In case we did not realize it before, events of the past few years have brought out clearly that this is still a highly competitive world. As though by inexorable force, the spotlight of world affairs has been turned to focus upon our competition with Russia. This competition is extremely serious at least in the short-range view. Clearly the Soviets are dedicated to world leadership in science and technology-not in the sense of military competition, but rather in the sense of achieving world supremacy without the need of military domination.

Among other nations, we shall ultimately have to reckon with the genius for organiza-tion and the industry of the German people, the industry and learning ability of the Japanese, and the industry and potentialities of the Chinese. China is coming along fast, as all industrious and vigorous nations can be expected to do. I find no basis whatever for us to be complacent.

Neither can we as a people make the mistake of assuming that all of the requirements for leadership in this competition can be met by our Government. Such view smacks too much of "Let George do it"—or rather "Let Sam do it." We can succeed only by insuring that the people clearly understand the situation in order that they may act vigorously to carry out measures essential for success. By so doing, each of us will play his part in improving the welfare and advancing the progress of all mankind. If we are successful in this we shall not only achieve the things we want ourselves, but we shall be able to exercise the leadership which is necessary for the freedom of the world.

How are we to define our goals in such a campaign? Of one thing we can be sureit will take the best effort we can muster. Here we are truly concerned with "excellence," the pursuit or the recognition of ex-

Our emphasis must be on quality; quality in native ability, quality in training, quality in performance

Quality in native ability we have in abundance, latent among our youth, from all walks of life. We must identify these young people early, give them every encouragement and opportunity to develop their aptitudes to the fullest, whatever these may be, for their own future and for the future of our society.

Quality in training for these young people we must insist upon. This means superior teaching and superior teachers, together with the equipment and materials they should

Quality in performance in science andtechnology requires that we push forward the frontiers of science with all the vigor at our command. This means full support, both financial and moral for the needs of our competent basic research scientists and engineers. Especially does this include the construction of costly capital installations such as those required for nuclear physics, astronomy, and the exploration of outer space.

These requirements are clear. More importantly, we must determine to meet them. This will not be easy. To succeed, every organization, every citizen, every parent must realize responsibilities and play active roles. These are essential ingredients of excellence.

But is there not another issue to be faced? Should we not ask a further ques-tion? Excellence in what and for what? To excel as a nation-among nations-involves leadership in thought and deeds, security from military attack or other forms of aggression, and freedom and independence of action, with due regard for the rights and welfare of others. Excellence within a nation emerges from such bases as sound and strong ideals and aims; a strong, wise, and representative government; a stable and prosperous economy; and from a healthy and well-educated people, a strong labor force, industrial and business competence, a proud culture, and last but not least, vigorous and vital youth.

Perhaps what is missing is a clear con-ception on the part of our citizens of what our objectives are as a nation and more importantly how we can achieve them-and most important of all, what each citizen's responsibility is in cooperating. Probably we would agree on our traditional objective of peace and prosperity-"the pursuit of happiness." However, we do not seem to understand that it will be impossible to maintain our own prosperity and world peace unless we do, and do promptly, the things necessary to compete in a modern world. What is meant by this? Simply to develop our capabilities, both individually and collectively, to the fullest and then, in order to maintain a sound economy. identify and select the areas of endeavor which should engage our fullest attention in terms of money and effort. In science we should put maximum emphasis upon the relatively modest needs of basic research in order to learn all the possibilities of prog-ress in technology and then choose care-fully the fields for development that require large capital sums.

As a nation we are justly proud of our high standard of living. This is surely an asset, but what part does it play in world competition? I think most would agree that much of what constitutes a high standard of living in the public mind is not directed at the real issues ahead. It is true that a high standard of living should accompany success in the major problems a nation faces, but I question the concept of a high standard of living as an end in itself-unless one includes high standards of conduct, education, performance, and aims. If it were an end in itself, then a nation could exhaust its strength in providing greater conveniences, comfort, and pleasures for its people and sacrifice its place as a world power, or even suffer oblivion.

A nation depends upon its citizens both for its internal strength and prosperity and for its position among nations. A democratic nation must concentrate upon the quality and performance of its citizens in order both to achieve the best for them individually and the best for the nation as a whole, to say nothing of the part played by the nation among others. Our goals, then, should plainly be first—the development of excellence among all our citizens to the extent of their capacity and to provide opportunities for its achievement; and second-the development of a sense of values or priorities among our undertakings, in terms of national and worldwide objectives. Such aims cannot be accomplished promptly or to the required degree except by the will of the people and their determination to reach the goal.

I believe we should all agree on this. It is here that we of the Government who are gravely concerned about the matter of excllence in our lives turn for aid to you who are experts in communicating with the public. I should, therefore, like to set before you some of the facts and ideas that occur to us where improvement should be made, in the hope of providing material which you may find useful in developing this theme.

First and foremost, for the long haul, is the question of education and the encouragement of learning. Here we have been negligent. Unless our people are thoroughly educated for a modern world and trained to play important and appropriate roles in it we cannot hope to succeed.

In this field of endeavor we need to do the following things:

1. Raise the status of teachers, particularly high school teachers.

2. Encourage learning both for young and old.

3. Encourage the development of individual talents.

4. Provide basic subjects in the early years of education as a firm yet flexible foundation for life in a rapidly changing world.

 Improve the content of courses considered essential for general education while still retaining flexibility and high quality of training for careers of all sorts.

6. Provide the necessary physical equipment in buildings, laboratories, libraries, teaching, and learning aids.

 Stimulate and ecourage excellence in learning by suitable prizes, scholarships, fellowships, or other awards.

In the area of science and technology we should concentrate strongly on two points:
(a) The encouragement of the support of basic research; and (b) the identification, motivation, and thorough training of future scientists and engineers. Trained manpower we must have to carry out our technological undertakings. Basic research we must have because it is the starting point of all science and, therefore, all technology. It provides the basic, up-to-date information, the breakthrough, and the highly significant new discoveries which pave the way for exploitation in the development of our technology. Unfortunately, since basic research explores the unknown, it cannot foretell what may be discovered, but unless basic research is prosecuted with vigor we may be sure of one thing-we will not even know what are the possibilities.

Finally, by working through interested and competent groups, we should take the message of excellence to everyone—most especially to parents and to children.

Above all, we must keep our eyes on the ultimate goal—to cultivate to the maximum the talents of each individual.

I think we should begin our campaign back in the local communities. Such questions might be asked as: What is each citizen doing in his own community to uncover the boys and girls who may be tomorrow's leaders? Is this the sole responsibility of teachers, guidance specialists, parents, or should every citizen share the job? What is the thinking of parents about their children's future? Do they aim to develop their children's talents, whatever they may be? Or are they primarily interested in a safe and secure future for them, or a job where there are "opportunities" (for what)?

Responsible educators have reported that some 250,000 of our very ablest youngsters end their education every June on graduation from high school. These boys and girls, by any yardstick, are latently tomorrow's leaders—but whose most effective leadership may not be fulfilled for want of funds or preper motivation. Have we neglected them? What fraction of the 250,000 live in your community and in mine? And what are we doing about them? Does anyone face the question as to whether or not they might have more rewarding careers and contribute more to their country by continuing their education? Have they opportunities to do do so? Whose responsibility is this?

I commend to your consideration the possibility of trying to establish in each high school area throughout the Nation a community scholarship fund—for want of a better name. A score of farsighted parents in a given community could make it their business to find out who are the able youngsters needing financial or motivational sup-

port to fulfill the promise of their secondary school achievement. Why couldn't such a plan center around college alumni or alumnae associations? Or local industry? Or local sections of scientific, educational, and other societies? (I should be proud if Princeton men would inaugurate such a movement. Of course, I would not suggest they proselyte, but the youngster could hardly make a better decision.)

they proselyte, but the youngster could hardly make a better decision.)

We badly need more highly trained specialms and most urgently in science and engineering. For example: we are now graduating only about 600 Ph.D.'s in engineering per year in comparison with 35,000 engineering graduates (B.S.). Is this adequate coverage of technical training for the engineer of tomorrow?

By and large the ultimate "payoff" of formal education in the United States is the doctoral degree. Can all qualified youngsters hope to achieve such a degree? How many now would scorn the idea? What are we doing to change such attitudes?

Because the competition we have been discussing is worldwide in nature, shall we continue to be complacent about our lack of competence in the languages spoken by the people of other major nations? Should we realize the handicap this is to our efforts in cooperation with and on behalf of other nations—this inability to communicate freely and naturally with other peoples? For that matter, should we not do more to encourage the education and training of individuals who as specialists in their own fields are able and willing to carry our message to other lands and to cooperate with them in their problems?

If our promising youngsters are to enter colleges as undergraduates, let alone posting raduates, we must provide basic subjects in the early years of education as a firm yet flexible, foundation for life in a rapidly changing world. I think it can be demonstrated that the "hard" subjects of mathematics, English composition, languages, history, science and others, are fundamental to success in any career worthy of the name indeed, our strongest liberal arts colleges now require substantial minors in the sciences, and our finest technological institutions insist on considerable sophistication in the arts and letters.

Who will teach them? Our educational system is about to be overwhelmed by thous ands of youngsters of the postwar generation knocking at its doors. Who will greet them? Will we, as a nation, accept the challenge and provide the numbers, and the quality, of teachers needed to train our children to face confidently and courageously a future which, though marked by world unrest and insecurity, holds vast promise?

How can we make the teaching profession more attractive? By better salaries, by merit promotions, by public recognition? If so how bring this about, and promptly? Our has been called the "affluent society," but our abundance seems to be lavished on material, rather than intellectual, accomplishments. Earlier in our history we were liberal in rewarding teachers of youth; today we are niggardly. Who deserves greater consideration than those who instruct our sons and daughters? The prestige once enjoyed by teachers in the United States has been lost We should restore to teachers some of the prestige in which they were held by our forefathers. We should, without fail, pay them salaries commensurate with their high calling as teachers of our children.

What are the motivations that are moslikely to stimulate citizens to join our pursuit of excellence? Human motivations are many—certainly financial reward, advance ment in career, prestige, accomplishment the pursuit of happiness. But what about duty to one's country (other than military) dedication to the welfare of others, service world freedom, the importance of ex-ellence, and other ideals we cherish? If hey are indeed important, can we not find teans of cultivating them in our national hilosophy?

We are justly proud of our competitive birit of free enterprise. We can point out, owever, that industry today seeks the wellained and well-educated man or woman positions of responsibility in manageent, research, production, and distribution. dustry especially seeks to recruit the wellained scientist and engineer. We can deribe the growing significance to our econny of "the industry of discovery," Sumner chlicter's apt name for modern science and chnology. We can let parents see the stastics which demonstrate that the eager hd accomplished student generally earns ore money, enjoys more prestige, advances ster and further, accomplishes and crees more than the indifferent student.

Nor should we be exclusive in presenting our case for the pursuit of excellence—exellence is not class conscious nor is it conhed to science alone. It should be a mator of concern to every individual in order at he may both develop his life to the fillest and at the same time best serve his Country and mankind.

We can show why it is not undemocratic establish special classes in our schools for the gifted youngster, whether he's gifted science, art, music, history, or in any ther field which leads to a productive Greer. I say again that the pursuit of exellence imposes a requirement that the blents of each individual be cultivated to heir maximum. Democracy must not be quated with mediocrity; it cannot survive without excellence—among its people and mong its leaders.

There should be no conflict between dehocracy and intellectual ability. Indeed there are encouraging signs on this point. Precise times of changing attitudes are not tasy to discern when we observe total soelety or total economy, but from my own Observations in recent months across wide Becgraphic areas of the Nation, I think that hose who do not underwrite intellectual bility may be whistling past the graveyard keep up the courage of their own diminthing company. Why are thousands of citiens getting up at unheard of hours in the als getting up at unneard of hours in the aborning to study physics and Russian by elevision? What accounts for the popularity of the TV show, "College Bowl," in which have the TV show. bur of the top students of one college match htellects with four representing another colge and the winners are greeted on their ampus like returning football heroes.

So far as I am concerned, the answer to Il these questions is quite simple—we have underestimated the desire of our citiens to learn and to know. If this is true, bday is a fine time to begin to portray and develop our theme of excellence, Whatfer our calling, each citizen among us dould be brought to feel an especial reponsibility of his own to recognize and to fulltivate excellence, for himself, and for his children. If then we shoulder our responsibillities together, we will, as Dr. James R. Killan, Special Assistant to the President for Science and Technology, stated in a recent address, "Deepen our understanding and enarge our views of the world, enhance our ense of beauty and order, augment our bower and wealth, and minister humanely, benignly, and responsibly to the needs of bur dellows, our Government, and our country. I can think of no finer objectives than these for the pursuit of excellence. Dilemma of Nation's Egg Farmers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President. the plight of egg farmers continues to concern us all. A thoughtful discussion of this dilemma has appeared in the Pendleton (Oreg.) East Oregonian of June 18, 1959. The editorial points out one shocking truth—that it is the small egg producer who is suffering the most cruelly during this crisis. As a contribution to the discussion of what to do about our hard-hit egg producers, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record this informative editorial entitled, "The Egg and We.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE EGG AND WE

With grain and poultry surpluses it's almost the same old question—as it was with the chicken and the egg-the question of which came first. Egg producers are going broke in part because of the high price of grain feed, and feed is high because of Federal Government price supports, which come from tax payments, part of which of course come from egg producers.

In the hardest hit area-New Jersey-the bankruptcy rate among poultry farmers this year has already hit 17.1 percent. In lesser degree the pinch is being felt as well through-

out the country.

The U.S. Agricultural Marketing Service reports that in mid-April the average price received by the farmer for eggs was 28.1 cents dozen-10.4 below the price a year ago. And prices have been falling off since, hovering around the 1941 low. New Jersey farmers are selling for 30 cents a dozen eggs that cost them 39 cents a dozen to produce. Fowl prices are similarly depressed.

How did poultry farmers get into their present bind? Well, for one thing, they're too efficient for their own good. Production of eggs this year is up 7 percent over 1958, as against a rise of only 2 percent in popula-

With the demand for more and more food in World War II "egg factories" sprang up and output virtually exploded. Flocks now range up to a million birds. Mass hatcheries, more scientific feeding, use of antibiotics, even the piping in of music to keep the layers happy-all these add up to great overproduction.

At the same time, Government support of grain has raised the cost of keeping the hens at work. Feed prices have increased 400 percent since 1939, and they represent more than 60 percent of the pourtry farmer's total outlay. Just to bring a day-old

chick into its laying period costs about \$2.

What to do about it? Lobbyists for the farmers are suggesting Federal production controls, price supports, other emergency But, as Herman I. Miller, poultry measures. specialist for the Marketing Service, points out, 1.7 million farms produce the Nation's eggs, and these are marketed in 25,000 outlets. Just to police production and sale

would require more supervisors than we have egg farmers.

The Department of Agriculture on June

2 announced that it would begin a program of weekly purchases of frozen whole eggs. And since April 16, when purchase of dried eggs for the school-lunch program was stopped, the Department has been buying dried eggs to stabilize prices. The cost of the school-lunch and price-stabilization programs has topped \$15 million.

Chairman HAROLD D. COOLEY of the House Agriculture Committee on June 5 challenged Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Benson to use more of the so-called section 32 funds for egg purchases. The reference is to a provision of 1935 amendments to the Agricultural Adjustment Act which authorizes the use of 30 percent of customs receipts to pay bounties on farm exports equal to the difference between domestic and world prices. Some \$300 million is available.

Meanwhile, the small farmer, rather than the egg factory proprietor, is suffering, and the already decimated ranks of small operators are dwindling. The day when the farmer's wife kept chickens and sold eggs for pin money has virtually disappeared, but the old rural saying is truer than ever-"Zip goes the egg money.

## A Memorial to Samuel Hale Sibley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, the trustees of the University of Georgia Foundation recently adopted a memorial to the late Judge Samuel Hale Sibley, renowned Georgia attorney and jurist who served for many years with distinction to himself and his State of Georgia as U.S. judge for the northern district of Georgia and as both judge and chief judge of the court of appeals of the fifth Federal circuit. Judge Sibley was one of Georgia's most illustrious sons.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this memorial to his memory be printed in the Appendix of the REC-

There being no objection, the memorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A MEMORIAL TO SAMUEL HALE SIBLEY, 1873-1958, BY THE TRUSTEES OF THE UNIVERSITY GEORGIA FOUNDATION

Many memorials will be written of Judge Samuel Hale Sibley, Each will be deserved. We do not believe that we have the power to exaggerate his qualities as a lawyer, judge, man, and Christian gentle-

He was born in Union Point, Ga., in 1873. In 1892 he graduated at the University of Georgia with a bachelor of arts degree, and the following year with a degree of bachelor of laws. In each he attained the highest scholastic honors.

He began and continued the practice of law in Union Point. His character, ability, and success were so great that he became

Georgia's foremost lawyer. Clients came to him from every class and quarter in Geor-

In 1920 he was appointed as U.S. judge for the northern district of Georgia, by President Wilson. In 1932 he was appointed to the court of appeals of the fifth Federal circuit. He became its chief judge, and presided over it until his retirement in 1954.

The lawyers of Georgia rank him as the greatest lawyer of his generation. Justice Cardozo of the Supreme Court of the United States, referred to Judge Sibley as the best

U.S. judge on any court.

With all of his great character, mind, and ability, Judge Sibley was one of the kindest and most lovable men. He was habitually considerate, kind, and thoughtful. In many ways he was as gentle as a wom-Georgia has had, and will have, no

greater man.

Judge Sibley was one of the incorporators of the University of Georgia Foundation, and also one of the original board of trustees. He served for many years and resigned only because of his ill health. We were honored by his association and services on our board of trustees. Many of our members claimed him as a warm friend. His memory will ever be a sweet and gracious

Respectfully submitted.

HATTON LOVEJOY Chairman. ROBERT B. TROUTMAN, HUGHES SPALDING, Committee.

## **Educational Broadcasting**

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. FRANK J. LAUSCHE

OF OHIO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, on May 7, 1959, before the Institute for Education by Radio-Television sponsored by the Ohio State University, Mr. Paul L. Chamberlain, manager for marketing broadcast, military, industrial electronic equipment division of the General Electric Co., Syracuse, N.Y., delivered an extremely informative address on the subject of "Whither Educational Broadcasting?"

Mr. Chamberlain is well known to the educational and commercial broadcasting fields, and his views have long stimulated important discussions in both

The institute is the principal forum of educational broadcasting in the United States and Canada, and this year at its session in Columbus, Ohio, attracted more than 600 delegates from educational and commercial broadcasting and education.

In order that this excellent address may be made available for the reading by all Members of Congress, I ask unanimous consent that the text be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHITHER EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTING?

(By Paul L. Chamberlain, manager of marketing broadcast, military, industrial, industrial electronics division. General Electric Co., Syracuse, N.Y., before the Institute for Education by Radio-Television, Columbus, Ohio, May 7, 1959)

I am very happy to be with you on this occasion. Speaking for General Electric and for myself, I congratulate you for the tremendous-job you have done, and are doing, for education by radio and television. efforts are bearing fruit and are receiving increased recognition throughout the Nation.

It is particularly appropriate for us as proponents of education by radio and television to take time to stand back from our immediate jobs and take a look at just where we are; where we are going; and how we plan

Without such reappraisals, we may run the risk of learning too late that we have been devoting our efforts and our resources to inadequate goals. And perhaps, we may fail to recognize the cumulative impact of

gradual but continuing change.

For several years, you have experimented with the various phases of educational television. You have obtained amazing results at the college level, at the adult level, and even in classrooms at the lower grade levels. You have used closed-circuit television, broadcast television, and microwave for instructional and cultural programing. We are aware of the success you have had and the results you have obtained in expanding the scope, depth and quality of curriculum content. You have proven that every facet of television has its place in education at all levels of learning.

Today, however, I would like to explore with you the future of educational television solely in the primary and secondary schools. These are the levels which have,

and which are, receiving the initial impact of our expanding population.

It is estimated that this year, more than \$3½ billion will be invested in educational facilities throughout the Nation. While the greatest portion of this will be for classroom space, it is interesting to note that the national shortage will still stand at more than 200,000.

With this appalling situation, why is it that taxpayers continue to defeat schoolconstruction bond issues at special referendums? Especially, when in private conversation, few taxpayers will deny the need

for additional classrooms.

This is not an easy question to answer. State legislators and school administrators have given serious thought to the situation and it would be misleading to say they are not perturbed. However, some are still possessed with the thought that education, like the Nation, can only be saved by a spendthrift philosophy that could bring ruin to both education and to the economy.

In spite of the tax revolts we have witnessed in several States during recent months, the search is continuing for new areas of taxation. Apparently one simple fact is being overlooked. No government— be it Federal, State, city, village, or school district—can build one schoolroom or increase one teacher's salary without first raising the money by taxing the public. And, the public is balking.

Yet, we the public must assure the education of our children if this Nation is to remain great in the missile and space era we are now entering. Children are our most valuable resource to meet the challenges of the future, and it is our responsibility to see that they are adequately prepared.

First, let's consider the staggering costs of our present system of centralization. Secondly, let's consider what efficiencies and savings can be realized without sacrificing quality of education if we go one step fur-ther in centralization. The step I suggest is the consolidation of instruction across many school districts through the use of television.

To illustrate the tremendous cost of present centralization, I will use a hypothetical centralized school district in my own central New York State. This hypothetical district represents a composite of several districts in the area.

My composite school district was centralized in 1950, following a long fight among the several towns affected.

The average school tax was approximately \$15 per \$1,000 of assessed valuation. Today, 9 years later, the average school tax is \$45 per \$1,000, a threefold increase. I am sure this is not unique for my hypothetical district.

Now, the reason for this increase in taxes Because of the expanding population, tax-payers have had to authorize more than \$8 million for construction of new school buildings. They have rejected other bond issues about half this amount, and the end of the tax increase is not in sight. My district still needs a new elementary school to relieve crowded conditions and to eliminate double sessions

Unless we make more efficient use of educational facilities, property taxes will have to increase another 40 percent in the next 6 years, since school costs are expected to double.

The boom in bables is going to continue. Last year, in New York State, a record 362,000 births were reported. Based on present educational practices, New York State will need 3,700 additional classrooms each year just to take care of the expected increase in enrollment. Add this to our present shortage of 9,500 classrooms, and 2,000 new ones needed annually merely to replace obsolete facilities, and the cost of our class. room needs in New York State becomes 25° tronomical, especially when you consider that the cost per classroom ranges from \$25,000 to \$50,000.

Then we will need new school buses-at an average cost of about \$8,000 each-to transport the new children to the new class. rooms in the new schools we will have to build. Love never saw such an eternal triangle.

Transportation alone has become a large item in school budgets. In my hypothetical central New York school district, taxpayers are supporting a fleet of 35 buses, annually covering more than one-quarter-million miles at a cost of more than \$100,000. This is only 1 of 500 centralized school districts in New York State. Educational transports-tion is big business tion is big business.

Billions upon billions of dollars have been invested in education by State legislatures and by school districts, as well as by foun-dations. Without these funds, education could not possibly have grown as it did over the last century. The money for all this has come from a prosperous people, who on the whole, also enjoy the highest standard of living of any people anywhere. But, the standard of living which has made these funds possible, is being threatened by stead ily increasing taxation. When the tax load reaches the point where the people's stand ard of living is threatened by reduced real income, education itself will be in jeopardy

Something has to be done before that point is reached. Some have suggested we make more efficient use of our present schoolbuildings by sending pupils to school in two or three shifts. I don't think this is the answer. Statistics indicate that wherever this has been tried, there has been an alarming increase in juvenile delinquency.

Others suggest we use our schoolbuildings the year around, with staggered vacations. This appears to have merit and warrants further consideration.

Neither of these suggestions solve the problem of the shortage of qualified and capable teachers and the increased budgets required to hire them-if they could be found.

According to estimates, 70,000 new teachers will be required over the next 8 years in New York State. About 35,000 of these, or 50 percent, will be required because of increased enrollment. The other 35,000 will be regiured for normal replacement due to marriage, retirements, etc. My State is presently 1,000 teachers short of its normal tequirements. And next year, the State is faced with a large retirement, with too few available replacements. Similar conditions Prevail in other States.

There is little doubt that the time has ducational efforts. We need a method which will offer more economy and more efficient use of teaching talents. od is broadcast educational television.

Educational groups represented by audience have done a remarkable job of proving the feasibility of educational television. You have accomplished such an excellent job, that few now doubt that teaching can be done successfully by television.

I believe the time has come to take edutational television out of the laboratorybroven stage and apply it full scale to help solve the economic problems outlined earlier. Instead of concentrating on what we can do for one school, or for one community, by using one TV station, I suggest we explore What we can do with a system of educational stations serving an entire area of

many school districts.

Martin Codel of Television Digest, has quoted me as saying that within 10 years, the number of educational television stations may well be greater than the number of commercial TV stations. I know some people suspected I had been indulging in marijuana when that statement appeared. But similar suspicions existed 14 years ago when I did some "crystal-balling" on the Inture of entertainment TV. Let me quote from a speech I gave May 1, 1945, to the

Advertising Club of Boston.

"The public may have doubts as to Whether plastic bodied automobiles and such things as helicopters will be ready right after the war, but there is no doubt in their minds about television. Television can have a great effect on our cultural and habit patterns. It may well change our way of life to a greater extent then the automobile, the radio, or the movies. It will have profound effect on education, amusements, and advertising.

"Statements such as these bring up the

tuestion, just where is television today and how fast will it grow postwar. "There are nine television stations now erating-three in New York City, one in Philadelphia, one in Schenectady, two in Chicago, and two in Los Angeles. They have Potential audience of about 22 million

be in operation 2 years after the war. In fact there are 119 applications on file with the Federal Communications Commission right now.

"Within 5 years after the war we believe that at least 140 to 150 stations will be on the air serving nearly two-thirds of the population of the United States, and within 10 years, there may well be 500 or more television." television transmitters in operation."

That statement caused quite a stir 14 years ago. So did my statement regarding the future of educational television when it appeared in Television Digest a few months Today, there are some 40 educational television stations. If educational television is to outnumber the approximately 550 commercial TV stations, we have a lot of growing to do. But it can be done—with a systems approach. I repeat my prediction, that within 10 years, the number of educa-tional stations may well be greater than the number of commercial stations.

I propose the utilization of a multiplicity of educational TV stations on a consolidated basis. This system would spread simultaneous programs from several educational stations across many school districts from a central point. There would be at least four stations serving all school districts in a radius of 30 or 40 miles. Such a system could serve all grades, kindergarten through

12, in each school district.

Television instruction would be available an average of about one-third of the 7-hour school day, to each level of education. For instance, one station would program a total of 2 hours and 20 minutes at the first-grade level; 2 hours and 20 minutes at the secondgrade level; and 2 hours and 20 minutes to the third-grade level during the school day. The other three stations would be telecasting programs to other grades at the same time.

This systems approach is what I meant earlier when I mentioned that perhaps we should take one more step in our process of centralization. Admittedly, many problems will be involved. Undoubtedly many current standard practices will be obsoleted by such a systems approach. There will be fears about the loss of home rule,

But in this audience, we have a solid core of experience in the solution of many problems and in the promoting of educational television.

But first, you must get the economic facts together. It won't be difficult. I have done a little searching in my own area of Syracuse and have come up with some in-teresting statistics which I will use as an example.

In a radius of 40 miles, from Syracuse, are 92 school districts, with 452 schools, in 6 counties. Total public school enrollment in this area is approximately 178,000. State aid for education is more than \$44½ million annually. In addition, the real estate taxes for schools and education amount to more than \$32 million for a total of \$77 million budgeted for education in the 6-county area. And we still have classroom shortages and teacher shortages.

It is estimated that in one county alone, taxpayers will be in debt for more than \$100 million for public school construction by 1970, unless rigid economy is practiced.

We must improve the quality of American education at a price we can afford. In Dade County, Florida, some 5,600 pupils are participating in a classroom educationaltelevision experiment, using one station. According to figures published in Newsweek magazine, important financial savings have been realized wihout sacrificing quality of education. With TV classes numbering 300 or more students, teaching by TV is saving the school system \$300,000 this year-the equivalent of 60 teachers' salaries. Moreover, with auditoriums and lunchrooms utilized for TV sessions, 76 new classrooms did not have to be built, lighted, or maintained, and additional savings are estimated at more than \$1 million. This is but one experiment which proves that educational television is economically feasible.

From and economic standpoint alone, there are many reasons why this system

of instruction should be expanded into every county and every State in the Nation.

Since the average auditorium will seat about 500 students, the cafeteria another 200, and the gyms at least another 500 students, we have in these three locations seating capacity for approximately 1,200. All three of these locations may readily be used as is or adapted with sliding walls for the individual monitoring of several different programs at one time, thus adding to the normal capacity of individual classrooms.

The classical idea of 25 students per teacher no longer holds true in many crowded schools today. We can successfully teach more students with the same number of teachers we now have by using largescreen television-projection equipment, or a multiplicity of receivers in classes of 300 to 400, if the auditorium or gymnasium is used for instructional purposes. The classroom instructors will, of course, handle the regular assignments of discipline, examinations, discussion, and homework appraisals.

Later, assuming the temporary use of auditoriums and gymnasiums is successful, architectural plans for new schools-which will be needed to at least replace presently obsolete buildings-will be designed with

rooms for large-scale viewing.

For the present, however, the above mentioned locations may be used by the simple addition of viewing-monitors or receivers, thus improving the efficiency of use of present facilities.

If we multiply the number of students in each of the gymnasium-auditorium locations by the number of school buildings served by an areawide TV system, we can readily see the large number of students served by instructor, without the expense of building many additional classrooms and trying to obtain many additional, and probably unavailable, teachers.

In the Syracuse area, there are about 600 fifth-grade classes in 6 counties. In this grade, there are 16,000 pupils. All could be taught at one time by just 1 television instructor, rather than by the 435 normally needed classroom instructors. Please let me stress here, we do not mean to displace the presently employed teachers. We cannot teach all subjects on a full-time basis by television. Instructors will be needed to teach non-TV subjects and to perform other functions in the TV-taught subjects.

The point we want to emphasize is that by serving our 6-county area of 452 schools, in 92 districts, by a multichannel educational television system, tremendous econ-omies will be realized, and the quality of

instruction improved.

We suggest that the area be served by four UHF transmitters, sending programs from central studios or classrooms, to each room in grades 1 through 12. This would permit an average of one-third of the school day to taught by television in each of the 12 grades. For constructional economies, all four transmitters would be housed in one building. The four antennas would be mounted atop one tower.

Estimated costs of transmitters, studio facilities, building, land, road access, and classroom distribution equipment and receivers, is \$2,264,000. This amount would be spread over 92 school districts. This averages to less than \$28,700 per district, or less than the average cost of one additional classroom per district. Pupil cost for the district amounts to \$14.81.

Now, let's estimate the cost of operating the television system for one school year. We have checked operational costs of several successful ETV stations. They average about \$500,000 annually. Operational costs for our four-station plant would probably run in the neighborhood of \$11/2 million annually. This is a quick estimate and may be

However, taking this figure and averaging it across the 92 districts, we find the cost per district per year to be \$16,300 or \$8.42 per student. This is less than 2 percent of the present \$493 cost for education per student annually in this 92-district area.

It was recently stated in Syracuse, by a noted State educator, that the development of a major educational television station in that city appears to be far off. The chief stumbling block, it was said, is the high cost of educational television. For one station, perhaps this reasoning is justifiable. But the economics of the systems approach across. county boundaries make educational television so inexpensive, that legislators can no longer afford not to consider educational television; especially when each school district shares the cost in proportion to the student population.
Several reliable manufacturers are avail-

able who can assist in planning for the television system. They will contract for installation of facilities; help with the ini-tial training of technical personnel, and even contract to service equipment and keep it

in operation

This has been a broad discussion of a proposed educational television system for primary and secondary schools. Let's briefly consider some so-called fringe benefits. Time could be allocated to specialized groups. such as gifted students, the retarded, and the slow learners, without sacrificing the learning time needed for the average stu-

The automating of industry today is amplifying the need for more skilled workers and less unskilled. A prominent educator recently stated that functional illiteracy is expected to result in the technological unemployment of more than 15 million people by 1970, unless serious steps are taken or expanded in literacy-education programs.

Many illiterates are now enrolled in basic education programs. However, a far greater number are reluctant to enter such programs. They are too proud or too ashamed to admit their problem. I was quite sur-prised recently to read that there are an estimated 250,000 illiterates right here in the State of Ohio. Educational television. through such basic courses as the three R's. can help to reduce this illiteracy by bringing instruction right into the privacy of their homes, where they can learn without ever having to admit their plight to neighbors.

To reach and hold the large audiences we are talking about, in a systems approach, TV instructors must become experts in visual presentation. They must be able to compete successfully with their commercial cousins of "detergent dramas," adult westerns, Mickey Mouse, and baseball games, or they will lose some of their audience. But just as surely as entertainment television has progressed to Leonard Bernstein and the New York Philharmonic, educational television will also live up to its potential.

There is no other way that the vast number of students of all ages can be reached by great teachers as effectively as through the use of this electronic medium. Robert W. Sarnoff, chairman of the board of the National Broadcasting Co., recently said that if Dr. Harvey E. White, one of the best physics teachers in the country, were to divide his present television-student body into five standard college classes a day, teaching them in the usual way would take more than 1,300 years. Dr. White's "Continental Classroom" is programed over 149 stations and is offered for academic credit in 250 colleges and universities.

There is no reason why our suggested ETV system could not rebroadcast similar programs of great teachers to our six-county area. Our gifted high-school students, and other fast learners, thus exposed to the great teachers, would receive tremendous benefits.

Our warehouse of knowledge has increased so rapidly since the beginning of World War II, that it is absolutely impossible to keep abreast of current developments with our present means of learning. Various groups of specialists can no longer communicate with each other because of this progressive ignorance. Thus, we must use every means at our command to minimize this effect. Educational television has proved that learning, in many cases, can be quicker, more effective, and more easily retained than by conventional methods.

I do not propose that we abandon our present methods of instruction, but I definitely urge that multistation educational television be adopted to supplement our learning on a broad national scale, if we are to survive in this highly crowded and com-

plex world.

Tribute to John L. Conner, of Atlanta, Ga.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON, HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, on June 1, 1959, the Board of Aldermen of the City of Atlanta adopted a resolution commending the Honorable John L. Conner of that city for his many outstanding contributions to the U.S. Navy, the U.S. Government, the State of Georgia, and the city of Atlanta.

Mr. Conner has played a prominent role in the civic and governmental affairs of the city of Atlanta and the State of Georgia for many years and as an official and active member of the Navy League of the United States has worked diligently in support of an adequate national defense. I am pleased to associate myself with this tribute to Mr. Con-

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of this resolution of commendation be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION OF COMMENDATION ON THE OUTSTANDING AND VARIED SERVICES REN-DERED BY THE HONORABLE JOHN LINSEY CONNER

Whereas recent articles citing the many and varied services rendered by the Honorable John Linsey Conner to the U.S. Navy, the U.S. Government, the State of Georgia, and the city of Atlanta have appeared in various publications; and

Whereas Atlanta is proud to claim him as

one of its good citizens; and

Whereas the city is indeed blessed and fortunate in having in its midst one who possesses a talent in so many fields and excels in all of them, untiring in his efforts toward the progress of Atlanta and its people. Such a man is the Honorable John Linsey Conner. one of Atlanta's first citizens, a man who unselfishly and without thought of reward devotes his life to the service of his country: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the mayor and board of aldermen of the city of Atlanta, That this board commends the Honorable John Linsey Conner for his many outstanding contributions to the U.S. Navy, the U.S. Government, the State of Georgia, and the city of Atlanta, and congratulates him on his accomplishments and expresses appreciation and pride for his citizenship and love of Atlanta; be it further

Resolved. That this resolution be spread upon the minutes of this meeting and a copy thereof, under the seal of the clerk of the board of aldermen, be forwarded to the Honorable John Linsey Conner.

Adopted by board of aldermen June 1, 1959.

Approved June 3, 1959.

A true copy.

J. L. RICHARDSON. Clerk of Board of Aldermen.

## A Do-It-Yourself Crusade for Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. KARL E. MUNDT

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, one of our distinguished South Dakota citizens has come up with the suggestion that America's crusade for freedom, which includes our efforts to preserve the free world against communism, should have a counterpart in the form of a crusade to preserve here at home the hallowed freedoms which have made us great and kept us strong. For the information of the Congress and the country, I ask that this proposal be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

Charles R. Hayes, of Deadwood, S. Dak., is the author of what might be described as a "Do-It-Yourself Crusade for Freedom." Mr. Haves is a former supreme court justice in the State of South Dakota. He was State chairman of the Taft-for-President forces in the South Dakota presidential primaries of 1952. He has for many years been a distinguished member of the awards committee of the Freedoms Foundation of Valley Forge, Pa. Presently, he is in the private practice of law in South Dakota's world-renowned gold rush city of Deadwood. His observations are always challenging and constructive.

I ask unanimous consent that the statement be printed in the Appendix of

the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CRUSADE FOR FREEDOM (AT HOME)

(Proposed by Charles R. Hayes, Deadwood, S. Dak.)

Good reasons are declared for the so-called crusade for freedom being staged in foreign lands. Good results from this crusade, costing many millions of dollars annually, are said by many to be either missing or very few.

The words "crusade" and "freedom" appealing to the American people, but words these days often have new and strange meanings. Labels are, of late years, rarely significant of the true character of a movement or organization.

What is drastically needed now in our own country is a sustained crusade on the part of every thinking citizen to bring about freedoms at home, as follows:

1. Freedom from taxation by Congress be-'youd the limits of the supreme law.

2. Freedom from humbuggery by public lervants at Washington and elsewhere.

Freedom from corruption of the ballot.
 Freedom from arbitrary governmental egulation and control.

5. Freedom from the wiles of those who would destroy our form and concept of government.

6. Freedom from interference with the wirthright of man to work.

7. Freedom from judicial legislation.

8. Freedom from propaganda mills suplorted by public revenues.

9. Freedom from Federal domination of the sovereign States.

10. Freedom from profligacy in departments of Government.

11. Freedom from assuming the ills of the

tarth and all its people.

12. Freedom from surrendering to any inernational outfit the sovereignty of the United States.

13. Preedom from legislative appropriations designed largely for vote buying.

14. Freedom from fiscal policies which ontinually reduce the value of our currency.
15. Freedom from the welfare state, the halignant bequest of usurpers of taxing lowers.

What may come from the crusade abroad the best of minor consequence unless an effective and widespread crusade for freedom thome gets under way and meets with rapid and marked success.

Millions of loyal and patriotic Americans an be effective and successful if they will but accept the role of the true liberal.

Posterity will have so much more for which to be thankful if these freedoms are reborn and thereafter survive.

# Professional Responsibility and the Bar

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, on Thursday, June 18, the Honorable Ross L. Malone, president of the American Bar Association, delivered an eloquent address on the subject "Professional Responsibility and the Bar," before the uncheon of the annual meeting of the Georgia Bar Association held at the Hotel DeSoto in Savannah, Ga. I ask unanimous consent that the text of his remarks be printed in the Appendix of the Record

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

PROFESSIONAL RESPONSIBILITY AND THE BAR Address by Ross L. Malone, president, American Bar Association, before the luncheon of the annual meeting of the Georgia Bar Association, Savannah, Ga., June 18, 1959)

Last year a joint conference of the American Bar Association and the Association of American Law Schools filed its final report with both organizations in the form of a definitive statement as to the special responsibilities incident to the right to practice law. The statement was the product of a number of years of work by a distinguished group of lawyers and legal educators. John D. Randall, who will succeed me as president of the American Bar Association, was cochairman of the American Bar Association representatives; Lou F. Fulle of the faculty

of the Law School of Harvard University was the cochairman of the representatives of the Association of American Law Schools.

The final statement submitted by the conference was adopted by both sponsoring organizations. It constitutes a unique analysis of the professional obligation of the lawyer—as an advocate, as a counselor, as a citizen and in all of the other relationships normally incident to the practices of law. If you have not read this report, I commend it to you.

The opening statement of the report is as follows:

"A profession to be worthy of the name must inculcate in its members a strong sense of the special obligations that attach to their calling. One who undertakes the practice of a profession cannot rest content with the faithful discharge of duties assigned to him by others. His work must find its direction within a larger frame. All that he does must evidence a dedication, not merely to a specific assignment, but to the enduring ideals of his vocation. Only such a dedication will enable him to reconcile fidelity to those he serves with an equal fidelity to an office that must at all times rise above the involvements of immediate interest."

In December 1958, 110 leaders of the legal profession of the United States met at Arden House, New York, under the auspices of the American Bar Association and American Law Institute to devote 3 days to a comprehensive analysis of continuing legal education in the United States today. The group was composed of 34 presidents or presidents-to-be of State bar associations, 20 law school deans and faculty representatives, and a selected group of lawyers and judges from throughout the United States with special experience in the continuing legal education program.

At the conclusion of 3 days of serious and intensive discussions, the group joined in a final statement of the conference. That statement, among other things, concluded:

"A practicing lawyer has an obligation to continue his education throughout his professional life. This education not only must increase his professional competence but also better qualify him to meet his professional responsibilities to his clients and the public.

"Programs for continuing education thus far have placed a major emphasis on professional competence and have not always given to professional responsibility the attention it should have. In the future these programs must also emphasize the professional responsibilities of the lawyer. They must help the lawyer to fulfill a wide range of professional responsibilities: To the courts, to the administration of justice, to law reform, to the lawmaking process, to his profession, and to the public."

It was suggested by some who attended this conference that while they had come to consider the increase of professional competence through post-admission education, the most significant product of the conference was the agreement of the conferees that increased emphasis on professional responsibility must be a primary objective of the new era of continuing legal education which we envisage.

The unanimity of opinion on the part of the conferees as to the importance of such increased emphasis evidences a professional consciousness of the bar's responsibility in this area which is quite significant.

It is not a consciousness which is newly developed, however. No doubt it has existed as long as the members of our profession have recognized the existence of a duty to the courts which is paramount to their obligations to their client, as well as to their own individual interest.

Several suggestions have been made as to the basis for the obligations which we encompass in the term "professional responsibility," or "public responsibility" as some lawyers prefer to denominate it. Senator Borah in his lifetime once said:

"If the lay citizen owes something to the public, far greater the obligation of the lawyer. Obligations to the public are to be measured accordingly to ability and opportunity to serve the public, and the public interest has a right to exact services in proportion to our ability to meet the exaction just as the Government should collect taxes in accordance with ability to pay."

There can be no doubt that the position of the legal profession in our present day society is such that we do indeed have a greater opportunity for public service than many other pursuits.

The fact that in the 86th Congress 228 of 437 Members of the House of Representatives and 61 of 98 Members of the U.S. Senate are members of our profession testifies to the willingness of the public in the United States today to entrust the public welfare—and indirectly their own welfare—to the hands of lawyers. Both Senators from 19 of our States are lawyers, and the chairmen of 13 of the 16 standing committees of the U.S. Senate have had legal training.

Thirty-one of the forty-nine Governors of

Thirty-one of the forty-nine Governors of our States are law graduates, and the legislative bodies of our State governments invariably contain a higher percentage of lawyers than of members from any other voca-

These evidences of the confidence reposed by the public in individual members of our profession clearly support Senator Borah's premise that a member of the legal profession has a proportionately greater ability and opportunity to render public service—and there are other evidences which could be offered.

There is another school of thought as to the basis for the professional responsibilities which accompany a license to practice law. That viewpoint was well expressed by Louis B. Seltzer, a distinguished Ohio journalist, who said to the lawyers of the country in an address published in the American Bar Association Journal, "As lawyers you have a special role to fulfill in the administration of the law \* \* . You have been admitted to the bar. You have been given the special rights and privileges, and also the special rights of the court. The public at large, therefore, has the right to expect certain things from you, both as individuals and as an organized profession."

Mr. Seltzer's analysis of our special responsibilities finds them grounded in the special privileges which have been granted to our profession by society rather than in our increased ability and opportunity to render such service.

Whichever of the two you prefer as the predicate for the existence of extraordinary responsibilities which attach to the practice of law, it is significant that there is unanimity throughout the profession as to their existence.

Dean Pound finds the existence of these responsibilities to be a sine quo non of professional status when he defines a profession as "An organized body of men pursuing a learned art in the spirit of public service" and tells us that lacking any of the three qualities included in that definition the pursuit loses its professional status. It then becomes merely a trade or calling in which the remuneration involved is the primary—as distinguished from the incidental—product of the activity and its members are no longer entitled to the special status as professional men accorded to them by society.

The enumeration of the special obligations which constitute the professional responsibilities of the legal profession would require far more time than we have available. Generally, however, they may be said to begin at compliance with the standards of conduct

established by our Canons of Professional Ethics, and to extend to the performance "in the spirit of public service" of all functions affecting the public interest which, by reason of our training and position in society, we are especially qualified to perform.

Obviously, most of these responsibilities are to be discharged by individual lawyers in their day-to-day practice of law. Others, however, are susceptible of performance only by lawyers acting through organized groups—through bar associations. In that category are the responsibilities of the bar in the policing of the bar, in disciplinary proceeding, in legal education and admissions to the bar, and in other areas in which the activity of an individual lawyer would be ineffective.

In the light of the definition or professional responsibility which I have suggested, and the constant challenge which the discharge of this responsibility poses for the profession, I-would like to consider briefly some responsibilities as to which our professional performance is particularly important today.

The first is in the area of ethics in Government, and particularly, conflicts of interest which may arise in the case of the lawyer-legislator. In my travels about the United States this year I have been surprised, and concerned, by the number of states in which this question of the conduct of lawyer-legislators is one of public concern—as well as

concern to the bar itself.

When I stepped off a plane in Honolulu recently, en route back from Australia, I was surrounded by newspaper reporters who insisted upon an interview at the airport. The questions posed dealt almost entirely with the standards of conduct which lawyer-legislators should be expected to maintain. When I addressed the Bar Association of Hawaii 2 days later, I was told—perhaps in jest—that the news stories which resulted from my press conference had repercussions throughout the legislative halls of the capitol.

I am surprised-and disappointed-if that actually was the case. I had said that lawyer-legislators must be especially careful to avoid placing themselves in a position where they may be suspected of permitting a private interest to Interfere with the performance of their public duty. Specifically, I expressed the view that lawyers should disqualify themselves from voting upon measures which might involve them in a conflict of interest and make a complete disclosure of the facts in any case where there is a danger of an apparent conflict, even though no real conflict exists. It seems to me that the professional responsibility of the bar requires such action, even though there results a higher standard of conduct than is expected of other legislators generally.

It is implicit in the professional status which we enjoy that we will observe a higher standard of conduct than the general public, in all situations in which our status as lawyers places us in a materially different position than a layman in the same situation.

Similar problems to those concerning Hawaii have been the subject of correspondence between the Governor of Minnesota and me. His address on the subject to the meeting of the Minnesota State Bar Association last year contains a careful and conscientious examination of the problems in this area and recommendations for their solution.

I have been quite impressed with the report of the Minnesota Governor's committee on ethics in government dealing with this and related questions. Governor Freeman and his committee are to be commended for taking the lead among the States in attacking a problem which all agree is difficult.

The questions concerning Hawaii and Minnesota are receiving attention in a number of other States. To the extent that they deal

with the position and conduct of lawyers in government, the profession has a clear responsibility to take the lead in finding solutions for them. In so doing we must find solutions which are consistent in every respect with the high standards of conduct which are inherent in the concept of the professional responsibility of the bar.

A second responsibility of our profession, which seems to me to be of importance today, is that relating to legal education in all of its phases, including continuing legal education. The franchise which society gives us to perform legal services for the public is predicated upon the benefit to the public which results—not on the benefit that may result to lawyers. If benefit to lawyers were the criterion, no doubt the educational requirements for admission to the bar would be lowered on the theory that it would cost less to get a legal education if less education were required.

In recognition of our professional responsibility for legal education and admissions to the bar, the organized bar in 1922, at the invitation of the American Bar Association, convened the National Conference on Legal Education. The action taken at that conference under the direction of Elihu Root began a new era in legal education and in the establishment of adequate, uniform standards for admission to the bar. Out of that conference there developed the system of accreditation of law schools by the American Bar Association which has done so much to raise the standards of legal education and hence improve the quality of legal service which the public receives.

We have made great progress in this area—progress for which the organized bar of the country is almost entirely responsible. But we have not completed our job and the public is entitled to ask why we have not done so. The overwhelming majority of the profession has said to the public: "We believe that the requirements of the American Bar Association for approval of a law school constitute the minimum educational requirements needed to insure qualified practitioners under the conditions which exist in the United States today. Nonetheless, 37 years after the American Bar Association first promulgated minimum standards for law schools, and authorized the publication of a list of the approved schools, there are still in existence 35 unapproved schools. Their graduates are being admitted to the bar of States whose requirements are below those of the great majority of the States of the United States.

The determination of the requirements for admission to the bar are the prerogative of each individual State, and I would not have it otherwise. Nonetheless, it seems to me that if I practiced in a State whose standards fall far below those of all the rest of the country, I might be inclined to consider the admonition of the shotgun instruction sometimes given to juries, in analyzing the position of my State on this question.

Today there are more than 3,500 students attending unapproved law schools in the United States. True, this is a small percentage of the 42,000 law students of the country, and represents substantial progress over the years, but it is not a situation that should be permitted to continue. Determined action by the organized bar is indicated to complete the undertaking which we began 37 years ago. Only when we have done so can we say that the bar has discharged its professional responsibility in this area in the manner that the public is entitled to expect of us,

The third and final area of professional responsibility which I would like to mention relates to the problem of court congestion. It is a problem which is fast assuming the proportions of a catastrophe in many of the metropolitan areas of the country. The

backlog of cases and the time lapse between "at issue" and trial in many of our cities is a national disgrace. In the Superior Courf Cook County, III., 573 months is the average interval between "at issue" and trial in a personal injury case. In the Superior Court of Queens County in New York City the interval is 38 months; in the Superior Court at Bridgeport, Conn., 31.5 months. In Anchorage, Alaska, from whence I returned quite recently, there was a backlog of 2.100 cases in a one judge court at the time statehood was voted—an impossible situation from the point of view of administering justice. While not so acute, the problem exists in almost every large city in the country.

The Federal court system is in no better condition nationally. At the beginning of this term it had 75,000 cases awaiting disposition. This is enough cases to engage the entire judiciary of the Federal district courts in trials constantly for more than one year if no additional cases were filed.

The problem of court congestion in the United States has assumed proportions which cause it to strike at the very core of the professional responsibility of the bar of this country. No longer can the situation be viewed as only a problem of court administration; or one which concerns only judges alone. The legal profession is the custodian of the administration of justice in the United States. The public rightly holds us responsible for its effective functioning. Both the system and the profession are in jeopardy when the public loses confidence in the functioning of the courts.

There can be no doubt but that if the situation which exists in the Superior Court of Cook County prevailed throughout the United States, and it took 57 months to bring a case to trial everywhere in the country, there would be a revolution insofar as our judicial machinery and the legal profession are concerned. After such a revolution, it is doubtful if we would recognize either the courts or the legal profession. No one could say that in such a situation violent action would be justified.

lent action would be justified.

We have a real and pressing professional responsibility for the solution of the problem of court congestion wherever it exists and the solution is in our hands—in the hands of the practicing lawyers who are handling the cases causing the congestion.

It is not the cases which are tried which result in the congestion. It is the cases which clutter up the docket and are settled on the courthouse steps after they are set for trial, frequently the morning of trial, that are the real problem, and they are within the control of the counsel handling them. I can express that opinion on the basis of some experience. I have been a trial lawyer for more than 25 years, and I believe that it is a fair estimate to say that I can identify at least 75 percent of the cases in my office which will be settled before trial—and that is true of both plaintiff and defendants' cases.

The minimum demands of professional responsibility require that the bar, individually and collectively, recognize the crisis which exists in areas of extreme court congestion. It must determine that these cases which ultimately are going to be settled be disposed of early in their life—and not after the court calendar has been completed. It must under no circumstances, be a party to a delay in litigation because a client's chances of success might be improved—or a favorable settlement be made by a defendant, it such delay occurs. And we must so organize our offices that the delays incident to conflicting settings can be minimized.

By so doing the bar, with the assistance of the bench, can, and I believe will, ultimately solve the vexing problems of court congestion. In doing so it will be discharging its professional responsibility in the highest

tradition of our profession.

The fact that the three aspects of profesthe fact that the which I have discussed stitute problem areas in varying degrees as not indicate that the bar has fallen ort in the discharge of its public obligaas. On the contrary, we can point to ource of professional pride. But nothing to be gained by the discussion of those as in which we can take pride in our formance. You talk to your children but the D's on the report card—and merely bice over the A's.

Our profession can point to many A's in field of professional responsibility. In defense of unpopular defendants, in legal and lawyer referral activities, in law rem, in our reawakened drive for a nontisan judiciary, and in the public service thousands of individual lawyers in comnitles throughout the United States the refession is daily providing irrefutable evice of its consciousness of our public rensibilities and of its determination to charge them fully.

Our objective in the discharge of the proour objective in the discharge of the legal professional responsibility of the legal professions. will never be attained. Our consciousof these special responsibilities will conthatly be challenged to improve our performance; and this is as it should be. mance; and this is as it should be won again been said that liberty must be won again by each generation. Perhaps that is true each generation. Fernaps that the lives of professional responsibility in the lives at lawyers. Certainly it is only as each gention demonstrates its appreciation of ase responsibilities that the bar can conthe to merit the public confidence upon ich we are dependent for our professional estence.

# A Catholic President in the White House?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. FRANK J. LAUSCHE

OF OHIO

THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, reotly I had the privilege of reading a copy of the sermon delivered by Dr. Abba ay 17, 1959, service at the Temple, East 17, 1959, service at the Lead, Cleveland, 6th Street at Ansel Road, Cleveland, Ohio.

The subject of Dr. Silver's sermon, "A otholic President in the White House?" one over which there has been from the to time much controversy, largely to misunderstanding and misconception. Dr. Silver deals with the sublet with a clear and open mind, and with a clear and open fact, history, and intent of the framers of our Constitution.

Mr. President, in order that the Members of Congress and the many others tho read the Congressional Record may have the privilege of reading Dr. Silver's sermon, I ask unanimous consent that the text be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the sermon has ordered to be printed in the RECORD, & follows:

CATHOLIC PRESIDENT IN THE WHITE HOUSE? (By Dr. Abba Hillel Silver)

The question, dear friends, "Should a Catholic be elected to the Presidency of the United States?" always arouses the sharpest

controversy. Controversies which involve re-ligion tend to become unrestrained, and sometime venomous. The partisans come to feel that they are somehow defending not only their interests in this world, in the here-but also their interests in the hereafter. Soon memories of ancient wrongs and bitter hostilities of the past surge into the arena and bedevil the situation. Before long the actual question at issue is lost sight of and people are fighting in a fine frenzy of flagellation ghosts and goblins which their overheated imaginations have conjured up,

It occurs to me that the simplest answer answer to the question "Should a Catholic be elected to the Presidency of the United States" might well be "Why not?" There is nothing in the Constitution of the United States which prohibits it. The Constitution the United States is quite clear on this point. The framers of our Constitutionmany of them keen legal minds as well as great patriots-wanted to be very clear and specific on this point. And so they wrote into the Constitution the following: "No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States." Words could not be more precise or clearer. Our Constitution also has as its first amendment—the first article in the so-called Bill of Rights-the following: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

It is clear that the framers of our Constitution did not wish the United States to be either a Protestant country, or a Catholic country, or a Christian country. They did not wish to give preference to any one religious body or to prevent the free exer-cise of any religion. They wanted the new state which they were setting up to be a secular state. They were not unfriendly to religion. Many of them were church members and belonged to various denominations. They believed in God and they sought to build their new state upon the highest ethical and moral ideals of religion. But they also wanted to keep church and state separate and distinct-each free from the interference of the other in its own legitimate sphere. They knew very well, because they were not far removed from the eventsthe evils, the strife, and the bloodshed which were visited upon the Old World-its gov ernments and its peoples-when a specific church was officially recognized by Govern-ment and received privileges denied to others and where the free exercise of religion was either denied or curtailed.

The government which the Founding Fathers of our Republic were setting up was to be different—different in many ways. Because we are so far removed from those days, we sometimes forget how different they aspired to make their new government. It would be a government which would limit its own scope and authority. It would respect certain basic human rights inherent in each citizen as having been bestowed upon him not by government or society but by his Creator. These rights were ac-These rights were accordingly inalienable and were subject to no annulment or abridgement by govern-ment. They were opposed to political tyranny-even the political tyranny of a majority in a free democracy. A written con-stitution would safeguard the individual citizen against the encroachment of the state. They wanted their Government to be different in other ways. They would set up a system of checks and balances so that neither the legislative branch nor the administrative nor the judicial would be in a position to run away, as it were, with things toward precipitate and ill-considered action. Nor did they wish this Government which they were setting up to be dominated by any other body or organiza-tion—ecclestiastic or otherwise. It was to be free from the control of any other organism within the state.

Their profound wisdom has stood the test of time-170 years-the most turbulent and . ' revolutionary years in the history of mankind. Because of that wisdom, our country has prospered-and no religion has suffered because of it. On the contrary, all religious bodies from the extreme liberal to the extreme orthodox, have thrived. What equally important they have learned to live together and at times to work together for the commond good.

From time to time zealous partisans of this or that religious persuasion would challenge mostly indirectly the clear intent and purpose of the first amendment. They tried to whittle down its scope and meaning. By means of interpretation they hoped to make legal the allocation of public funds to the support of religious educational institutions on a nonpreferencial basis of course. Thus, there are many Catholics and perhaps members of other religious bodies who advocate the granting of Federal funds to parochial schools. It is not that these people really desire a union of church and state. have officially denied it. In 1948, Archbishop John T. McNicholas, speaking on behalf of all American Catholic bishops, stated: deny absolutely and without qualification that the Catholic bishops of the United States are seeking a union of church and state by any endeavors whatsoever, either proximately or remotely. It tomorrow Catholics constituted a majority in our country, they would not seek a union of church and They would then as now, uphold the Constitution and all its amendments, recognizing the moral obligation imposed upon all Catholics to observe and defend the Constitution and its amendments."

I have no doubt that this is the position the Catholic hierarchy of the United States and of Catholic laymen everywhere. But many of them would like to see a relaxation of the first amendment which would make it possible for Federal aid to go to Catholic schools. These efforts, which have been made from time to time, have in the main been unsuccessful. Apart from certain fringe assistance given to the chil-dren attending parochial schools—and in my opinion wisely given-such as participation in the Federal school lunch program, or school buses—the basic principle of the separation of church and state has held good in its original intent.

In 1947 the Supreme Court of the United States proceeded to define more fully the intent of the first amendment. It declared: "Neither a State nor the Federal Government can set up a church. Neither can pass laws which aid one religion, aid all religions or prefer one religion over another. \* No tax in any amount, large or small, can be levied to support any religious activities or institutions, whatever they may be called or whatever form they may adopt to teach or practice religion. Neither a State nor the Federal Government can, openly or secretly, participate in the affairs of any religious organizations or groups and vice versa. In the words of Jefferson, the clause against establishment of religion by law was intended to erect a wall between church and state."

I believe that many Catholics in the United States fully accept this position. Recently, Senator KENNEDY, who came quite close 2 years ago to receiving the nomination for Vice President on the Democratic ticket, and who today is talked of as a possible presidential candidate, was questioned on this very issue and he replied very clearly— and, of course, he is a Catholic—"The first amendment to the Constitution is an infinitely wise one. There can be no question of Federal funds being used for support of parochial or private schools. It's unconstitutional under the first amendment as interpreted by the Supreme Court. I am opposed to the Federal Government's extending support to sustain any church or its schools. As for such fringe matters as buses, lunches, and other services, the issue is primarily social and economic and not religious. Each case must be judged on its merits within the law as interpreted by the courts."

It is true that Senator Kennedy has been sharply criticized by some editorial writers in the Catholic press for the views which he expressed. It is such criticism which disturbs some non-Catholics in the United States. It raises doubts in their minds, as does the continued criticism of the church hierarchy of our Government's failure to

aid religious schools.

But even those of us who are opposed to Federal aid to parochial schools—whethe they be Catholic or Protestant or Jewish and there are Protestant as well as Jewish parochial schools-fail to see what all this has to do with the election of a Catholic to the Presidency of the United States. A Catholic President, if elected, takes an oath of office which is prescribed by the Consti-tution of the United States. This oath of office reads: "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States." Now what right have we to assume that a Catholic President would be less faithful to his oath, solemnly sworn, than a Protestant President? Numerous Catholics have in the past been elected or appointed to high office in this Nation and in every State of the Union—Governors, Congress-men, Senators—many of them elected in States where the majority of the electorate was Protestant—Supreme Court Justices, Chiefs of the U.S. Supreme Court—high ranking military chiefs and key diplomats. They served with unimpeachable loyalty and integrity. Their religion in no way caused them to subordinate the interests of their government to the interests of their church.

In the midst of this controversy, some have conjured up the so-called question of conscience. Conscience would presumably supersede the oath of office which an elected Catholic President would take. I am unable to follow this line of reasoning. When a man takes an oath to uphold the Constitution of the United States, he is in all conscience committed to it. If there is anything in the Constitution which the candidate finds contravening church dogma which obligates him, he cannot in all conscience either stand for office or take the oath of office if elected. There have been Catholics in high public office who have opposed the church hierarchy on questions such as that of Federal funds for parochial schools and on such matters as the appointment of an ambassador to the Vatican. They have not considered themselves, because of their position, either poor Catholics or disloyal to their church. Senator KENNEDY is among those who have registered their opposition to the appointment of an ambassador to the Vatican. Incidentally, President Roosevelt and President Truman, both Protestants, favored representation at the Vatican.

At the moment, it is the question of a Catholic President which disturbs some of our citizens. I recall the time, some years ago, when William Howard Taft was opposed for the Presidency because he was a Unitarian. A Unitarian, it was claimed, was not a Christian and this is a Christian country.

The same religious argument was used against Senator Herbert Lehman when he ran for Governor of the State of New York. How can a Jew hold that office? That office belongs to a Christian. Governor Lehman was elected and twice reelected and subsequently was elected to the senatorship of

the United States. This religious argument is a double-edged sword which can strike in all directions everywhere.

It has been said that because the Catholic

Church claims the only true church that Catholics should therefore not be elected to the Presidency of the United States. I see no objection to the Catholic Church claiming that it is the one true church. religions claim or claimed the same thing. Just so long as the church does not employ the power of government to enforce its claim or ask for special privileges on that account—as is the case in some of the countries of Europe, unfortunately. Lovers of religious freedom cannot accept the thesis "that a State which is overwhelmingly Catholic has a duty to protect this religious faith by controlling the public promulgation of non-Catholic doctrines or the public exercise of non-Catholic worship." This will never be accepted by those who believe in true religious freedom. Catholic theologians in this country may still subscribe to this thesis as an abstract proposition even when practice has made it obsolete. In the United States at least this thesis is one of those sleeping dogmas which no responsible Catholic would

seriously advocate.

Thirty years ago, a Catholic ran for the Presidency of the United States on the Democratic ticket-a great and good man-Alfred Smith, Governor of the State of New Bigotry and religious intolerance combined with other factors to defeat him. Some of the Democratic States of the South for the first time in their history broke rank and deserted their party because of its Catholic candidate. Some of the very issues talked about today were raised then, in even louder and more outspoken terms than now. I recall an open letter which was addressed to Governor Smith by Charles L. Marshall appeared in the Atlantic Monthly. Mr. Marshall, who was a member of the Episcopal Church and an authority on canon law, summarized all the arguments against Governor Smith's candidacy because of his religion. Governor Smith replied in great detail in the same magazine in the issue of May 1927. I reread both letters in preparation for my lecture this morning. Mr. Marshall had quoted in his letter Papal encyclicals and church encyclopaediae and built up a case for the inevitable conflict between religious loyalty to the Catholic Church and patriotic loyalty to the United States. Governor Smith's reply was made, as he writes in his letter, after consultation with his friends, Father Francis P. Duffy, a priest schooled in church law. I was struck very much in the letter of Governor Smith by the following statement. "By what right do you ask me to assume responsibility for every statement that may be made in any encyclical letter? \* \* \* These encyclicals are not articles of faith \* \* \* You seem to think that Catholics must be all alike in mind and in heart, as though they had been poured into and taken out of the same mold."

This is a mistake which people frequently make not alone about Catholics but about Jews. All Jews must act alike, think alike. and react alike to any given situation. They never did and do not do so now. There are sharp divisions of opinion among them. Governor Smith, who was a very loyal Catholic and a product of its parochial schools, challenged that prevalent conception and this challenge has been subscribed to by many Catholics.

I was also deeply impressed by the last paragraph of Governor Smith's letter, wherein he summarized his creed as an American Catholic. He says: "I believe in the worship of God according to the faith and practice of the Roman Catholic Church. I recognize no power in the institution of my church to interfere with the operations of the Con-

stitution of the United States or the enforce ment of the law of the land. I believe in absolute freedom of conscience for all men and in equality of all churches, all sects and all beliefs before the law as a matter of right and not as a matter of favor. I believe in absolute separation of church and state and in strict enforcement of the provisions of the Constitution that Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. I believe that no tribunal of any church has any power to make any decree of any force in the law of the land, other than to establish the status of its own communicants within its own church. I believe in the support of the public school as one of the cornerstones of American liberty. I believe in the right of every parent to choose whether his child shall be educated in public school or in a religious school supported by those of his own faith. I believe in the principle of noninterference by this country in the internal affairs of other nations and that we should stand steadfastly against any such interference by whosoever it may be urged And I believe in the common brotherhood of man under the common fatherhood of God-

'In this spirit I join with fellow Americans of all creeds in a fervent prayer that nevel again in this land will any public servant be challenged because of the faith in which he has tried to walk humbly with his God."

This hope, of course, has not been realized Men in our country are still being challenged because of their faith. Bigotry and intoler ance have not completely disappeared either from the ranks of the Protestants or from the ranks of the Catholics, the Ku Klux Klan, Gerald K. Smith or Father Coughlin-It is hidden away in Intolerance dies hard. some dark corner in the souls of people. Given an opportunity, it will come to the surface, surge forward and create serious and unhappy situations. I pray that it will not happen now.

A man should be elected to office because of his character, his ability, and the issues which he represents-not because of his religion-and no man should be defeated for office because of his religion.

We have a long way to go. In this gracious land we have been given the opportunity to live our own lives and to worship God as we wish Catholic, Protestant, Jew—each according to his own conviction. Let us not endanger that blessed right and freedom which we all enjoy by seeking monopolistic privileges, majority domination or arrogating to ourselves what the law of the land has granted to all. We have a long way to go But if we follow the clear light of our Constitution and the Declaration of Independ ence and the example of the fine men of all faiths who have faithfully and loyally lived up to the principles embodied in them, all of us whatever our religion or race-will be able to move into an even more spacious and beautiful day when as brothers we shall eagerly cooperate for the common good of all

# Indian Corn Tassel as National Floral Emblem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I as unanimous consent that a statement prepared by Miss Margo Cairns, sup orting the golden corn tassel as the naonal floral emblem be printed in the ppendix of the RECORD. Miss Cairns as been one of the moving spirits in e general movement to have the goldcorn tassel adopted as the national bral emblem, and this excellent stateent which she has prepared gives ded reason for such selection.

There being no objection, the stateent was ordered to be printed in the ECORD, as follows:

#### TWO SYMBOLS

Two new stars, the stars of Alaska and waii, are being added to our Nation's banr. As we honor these new States with a w flag, let us also honor the first flag that er waved over this vast land—the tassel Indian corn—maize.

As a symbol of our country, the corn tasantedates our glorious banner by thou-

ands of years.

Our flag is a symbol of our patriots' strugts and victories which gave birth to this tion. The corn tassel is a symbol of our oneers' struggles and victories, and of their ccess in establishing our great agricul-tal system, the economic backbone of Nation.

Our flag is reverentially handled when it is In up and again when it is lowered, when it carried in a procession or when placed on platforms in public gatherings. te laws protect it on all occasions, the elctest and most profound our Nation has. The corn tassel is deserving of reverential Tre comparable to our banner. Our flag as humanly conceived, humanly designed, imanly made. The plant corn, with its ower tassel is a divine creation. Man has tered and developed it; man did not cre-Re it.

E pluribus unum-one out of many; many, ut one. One nation born of many; many

ationalities united as one.

E pluribus unum-one flower of a host of owers; 50 States united in the growing of at one, a symbol of unity that is uniquely, storically, and reverentially America.

MARGO CAIRNS, Washington, D.C.

# Tax Help for Professions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON, RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, any Members of the Senate feel that me form of retirement relief for selfenployed persons is sorely in order, as matter of justice and equity. There no reason why officials of corporations hould have a tax advantage in setting side retirement funds in old age, as ompared with self-employed peopleuch as physicians, accountants, lawyers, uthors, veterinarians, dentists, composers, and others.

I consider myself a supporter of the mathers bill, which was recently introfuced by the distinguished junior Sentor from Florida, to furnish some ssistance to the self-employed by allowng them a tax exemption on a maxihum of 10 percent of their earned income from self-employment, a sum not to exceed \$2,500 annually or more than \$50,000 during a lifetime. They later would pay taxes on this when they receive their retirement annuities.

The Smathers bill is S. 1979.

A very comprehensive analysis of this situation was published in the New York Times for June 21, 1959, under the title "Tax Help in Sight for Professions." The author of the article is J. E. Mc-Mahon, staff writer for the New York Times. I trust that the optimism of Mr. McMahon's article is justified, and I include it in the Appendix of the Con-GRESSIONAL RECORD for the information of my colleagues in the Senate and the House. Mr. President, I ask that such permission be granted accordingly.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, June 21, 1959] TAX HELP IN SIGHT FOR PROFESSIONS -CON-GRESS MULLS BILL GIVING PARTIAL EXEMP-TION TO RETIREMENT FUNDS

#### (By J. E. McMahon)

Hearings on the Keogh-Simpson bill, which would permit limited exemptions of taxes to self-employed persons on money they set aside for pensions and which passed the House of Representatives on March 16, were held last week before the Senate Finance Committee in Washington.

There were no indications, however, as to how the committee might act on the subject. But a more hopeful feeling exists among its proponents that such legislation might soon be enacted. In fact, this confidence has reached a point where banks and insurance companies are preparing to offer service contracts when it becomes law.

However, testimony before the hearing last week was divided on the subject. Keith Funston, president of the New York Stock Exchange, urged support for the bill in a statement that said it would give 10 million self-employed persons an opportunity to establish pension plans. He added that "we believe the time has come for Congress to provide those who work for themselves with the same tax treatment it provides for others."

#### TREASURY OPPOSED

But David A. Lindsay, assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury, said the Treasury was opposed to the measure on the overriding consideration of a revenue loss. He added, however, that the bill would give self-employed persons several tax advantages not available to other taxpayers.

James L. Greenbaum of Cleveland, representing the Bureau of Salesmen's National Associations, told the committee that more young people would pursue sales careers if traveling salesmen on commission could participate in tax-deferrable pension plans, as visualized in the Keogh-Simpson bill.

While there is strong support for the measure in the Senate and elsewhere, opposition to the measure has created some doubt about passage of the bill this year. However, those favoring the legislation say the outlook is more favorable now than it has been in any year since the first bill with this objective was introduced in Congress in 1951.

The cosponsor of the legislation this year is Representative RICHARD M. SIMPSON, Republican of Pennsylvania.

Last year, the Jenkins-Keogh bill, which had a similar aim, also passed the House, but died in the Senate Finance Committee because sufficient time to consider it was lacking before the session ended.

Representative EUGENE J. KEOGH, Democrat, of New York, has been seeking to have

such legislation passed by Congress in every year since 1951, excepting 1954, without success.

His present bill, H.R. 10, known as the "Self-Employed Individuals' Retirement Act of 1959" would provide that all persons selfemployed and subject to income taxes under section 1401 of the Internal Revenue Code, be allowed a tax exemption on a maximum of 10 percent of their earned income from self-employment, not to exceed \$2,500 a year, or more than \$50,000 in their lifetime. would be granted if they became members of a qualified pension plan. On retirement, the pension benefits under the plan would become taxable income.

#### PROBLEM SPOTLIGHTED

The rapid growth of employee-benefit programs in recent years, which has been encouraged through special tax benefits, spotlights the problem of self-employed persons in setting up retirement programs. law denies to self-employed workers the tax benefits that are made available to businesses and their employees under qualified retirement programs. The term qualified means plans that have met with approval of the Internal Revenue Service.

Countries abroad have corrected this inequality. Great Britian took action to solve the problem in 1956 and Canada did so in 1957.

What is sought under the latest bill is to give self-employed workers the opportunity to build a pension fund while getting tax deferment in doing so. At present all-self-employed are automatically covered on a compulsory basis under social security, except physicians, clergymen and Christian Science practitioners. The latter two groups, however, can elect to be covered. But pro-The latter two groups, fessional self-employed persons want to build a nest egg for retirement above social security just as employees in private industry now can do.

Two of the Nation's leading banks-the Bank of New York and the Bank of America National Trust and Savings Associationare so convinced that self-employed may soon receive more equitable tax treatment for pensions they are now issuing pamphlets explaining the proposed law and telling selfemployed persons how they may participate under its provisions. Other banks are said to be issuing leaflets to their depositors on the subject. Most of the big insurance companies here and in other States are studying the proposed law with a view toward issuing contracts under its provisions, if it should be enacted.

The movement to get tax relief for the self-employed goes back 2 decades. In 1939, doctors formed an unusual type of association, which, being taxable as a corporation, enabled its members to establish and participate in a qualified pension plan. While the plan received judicial approval, the Treasury did not go along with it, and thus the arrangement became of doubtful value even in the limited field in which it was

A group of attorneys discussed the subject in 1945 and their talks resulted in the appointment of committees by various associations that paved the way for the formation of the American Thrift Assembly, an organization composed of representatives of more than 30 associations, whose prime objective was to seek equitable tax treatment for self-employed.

The American Bar Association and the American Medical Association have long championed such legislation. Among many other organizations supporting the move-ment are the American Dental Association, American Institute of Certified Public Accountants, American Institute of Architects, the National Association of Real Estate Boards, the National Association of Retail

Druggists and the National Society of Professional Engineers.

Senator George A. Smathers, Democrat, of Florida, recently introduced a bill in the U.S. Senate identical to the Keogh-Simpson bill, except that its effective date would be January 1, 1961, instead of January 1, 1959, as stated in the Keogh-Simpson measure.

### Control Over Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, Dr. George S. Benson of Searcy, Ark., president of the National Education Program, devoted his weekly column of June 10, 1959, to the compelling reasons for the adoption by Congress and ratification by the States of the proposed constitutional amendment set forth in Senate Joint Resolution 32 which has been offered by eight other Senators and me to restore State and local control over public education. I ask unanimous consent that the text of his article be printed herewith in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### SAFEGUARDING OUR LIBERTY

(By Dr. George S. Benson, president, National Education Program, Searcy, Ark.)

A resolution of importance to every citizen has been submitted in the U.S. Senate. It is Senate Joint Resolution 32. It proposes an amendment to the U.S. Constitution reserving to the States exclusive control over public schools. Such an amendment shouldn't be necessary, for when they created the Federal Government the Thirteen Original States retained full control over their respective schools and all other internal domestic affairs.

Such an amendment is necessary now only because the present Supreme Court, acting contrary to the Constitution itself, in numerous decisions has shattered the structure of States rights, one of the great bulwarks protecting each citizen against Federal tyranny, and essential to long retaining personal freedom.

#### A BROAD ISSUE

States rights is not a narrow issue concerning the present controversy raging around Southern schools; nor is the need for establishing full State control over State schools founded on any individual's or group's wishes regarding segregation or integration. The principle of States rights, the delegation to the States of control over intra-State affairs, including schools, was a keystone in the structure of American freedom when the Constitution was drafted. We will cease to have a Republic if this foundation stone is torn out, for destroyed with it would be our individual liberty.

The history of this Nation brings suffi-

The history of this Nation brings sufficient light to bear on the principle of States' rights. The War of Independence was conducted by representatives of the Thirteen Original States assembled in a loosely knit Continental Congress. In the midst of the war this Congress adopted Articles of Confederation and submitted them to the 13 legislatures, in 1778. Article No. 1 said

simply: "This confederacy shall be the United States of America." The States delegated only those powers to the Congress which they could not handle individually—the power to wage war, establish a uniform currency, make treaties, and contract debt for general expenses such as paying the Army.

#### STATES CREATED

Several years after victory in the War of Independence, representatives of five States met and decided to call a Constitutional Convention of the 13 States to better formalize a Federal union. The Continental Congress did not call the convention. felt that creation of a constitutional Republic, with a Federal Government, should be left entirely to the States. In the drafting of the Constitution, the basic spirit and philosophy of the Articles of Confederation were preserved. The delegation of powers to the Federal Government, carefully surrounded by safeguards, followed closely the States' rights philosophy established in the Articles of Confederation.

Yet, after the Constitution had been ratified, Thomas Jefferson and other leaders, still fearful of Federal Government tyranny, secured adoption of the first 10 amendments—the last of which, No. 10, clearly states the Jeffersonian philosophy of States' rights: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectfully, or to the people." These powers included the power of decision over all purely local or statewide affairs.

#### FEDERAL WEDGE DRIVEN

In recent years a Federal wedge has been driven into the door of public education and other States' rights by Supreme Court decisions. After many failures, some legislation has been pushed through Congress—largely because of the apathy of citizens—appropriating huge sums of Federal money for school buildings and aid to students. Legislation is now offered before Congress which would appropriate Federal money for payment of teachers' salaries. Nobody can successfully deny the fact that along with Federal grants finally goes Federal control.

The proposed amendment, Senate Joint Resolution 32, would place squarely in the hands of the local people the right to operate their schools as they see fit and as the Founding Fathers intended when they drafted the Constitution. If the Federal Government takes over control of the educational system, as it is beginning to do ultimately we will have political control and it will become the chief factor in destroying academic freedom. Farsighted people will support Senate Joint Resolution 32 to keep control of public schools in the hands of the several States.

Tribute to the Late John Foster Dulles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an outstanding column entitled "State House Diary," written by New Jersey State Senator Albert McCay, which appeared in the June 11 issue of the News Chronicle, of Moorestown, N.J.

There being no objection, the column was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

STATE HOUSE DIARY

(By State Senator Albert McCay)

John Foster Dulles—There was complete slience.

A reverent hush held everyone spellbound for moments after the Senate Concurrent Resolution honoring the memory of John Foster Dulles was passed unanimously by the State Senate, on May 25. I can imagine no more sincere or heartfelt expression than this, that our Senate Chamber usually humming each day from opening to adjournment should spontaneously be silent. Everyone sensed that in the death of the valiant Secretary of State, who had directed the foreign policy of our United States during the recent perilous cold war years, a great manhad passed away.

It was especially meet and proper that our

It was especially meet and proper that ownew Jersey Legislature should pay homage to John Foster Dulles. In his youth he was "one of us," a fellow New Jerseyite, while attending Princeton University in preparation for an outstanding career in law and diplomacy. I don't think I'm stretching my imagination to conceive that while a student an earby Princeton he often came to Trenton and might even occasionally have visited the Senate Chamber, where my colleagues and I had the solemn but sad privilege of paying final tribute to him so recently.

final tribute to him so recently.

While chatting with Bill Lanning, of Trenton, recently at the State capitol. I caught a brief glimpse of John Foster Dulles' close bond with the people of New Jersey. Bill, who is assistant general counsel of the Commission of Law Revision and Legislative Services of which I am Chairman told me that his father and John Foster Dulles were Princeton classmates and that Secretary Dulles was best man at his father's wedding.

Bill also gave me an inkling of the contribution made to our country by one great American family. He revealed that John Foster Dulles was the third member of his family to hold the high office of Secretary of State. His grandfather, for whom he was named, Gen. John W. Foster, was Secretary of State under President William Harrison and his uncle was Robert Lansing Secretary of State in President Woodrow Wilson's cabinet.

The boundless devotion of John Foster Dulles to our Nation was brought home to me most vividly in a tribute written by Vice President Nixon in the current issue of Life magazine. On his last diplomatic journey to Europe to defend the West from Communism he was in constant pain and unable to keep down a single meal due to the inroads of cancer. That is patriotism of the highest order, isn't it?

John Foster Dulles is a shining example to the whole world of a dedicated states man, an immortal inspiration to myself and everyone else in public life to follow.

## Opposition to Fair Trade Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a very excellent statement by Father Robert McEwen, associate professor of economcs and chairman of the department in he university at Boston College, in opposition to the so-called fair trade bill. or the hearings before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

There being no objection, the statehent was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TATEMENT PREPARED FOR U.S. SENATE COM-MITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COM-MERCE IN HEARINGS ON FAIR TRADE

Mr. Chairman, my name is Robert J. Mctwen. I am an associate professor of eco-lomics and chairman of the department in he university at Boston College. In addi-ion, I am the chairman of the advisory onsumer council to the attorney general of tassachusetts, the Honorable Edward J. Mc-Cormack, Jr. For the record, the memberhip of this advisory consumer council is as bllows: Mr. John Cort, Newspaper Guild; br. Virginia Galbraith, Mount Holyoke Colge; Prof. Philip Gamble, University of Massechusetts; Prof. Joseph Golemme, North-astern University; Attorney John Graham, Jortheastern University; Prof. James R. Mc-herson, Boston College; Mrs. Martha O'Neil, herson, Boston College, Mrs. Martha Chen, leachers Federation; Prof. Arnold M. Solo-lay, Harvard University; Prof. Colston varne, Amherst College. I may say that our losition on the question of fair trade is a manimous one.

In this statement today I am representing hyself as an individual and the advisory onsumer council as a group. I shall not attempt to repeat what I have said on pre-

tious occasions.

My previous testimony has shown that My previous testimony has shown that Christian philosophy and theology can afford to justification for the type of legalized price fixing contained in these fair trade laws.

#### THE DRIVE FOR SECURITY

It is not surprising that people like secu-Aty and hate competition—that is only human nature. Therefore, we can expect to be a parade of business groups in before congress asking for this protection today, and another protection tomorrow.

The function of the Congress is not to give very group what it would like to have. The s. Senate has to be over and above all troup interests—like a common father of The father is supposed to be wiser and hore thoughtful and more farsighted than is children. The good father does not give n to every demand of his children. Either for their own good, or for the larger general tood, he must often exercise his authority to eruse a request which is passionately dehanded by the child.

#### FUTURE OF THE U.S. ECONOMY

In what direction, gentlemen, are you drivag the U.S. economic system? I beg you consider this question as a wholehich this drive for fair trade laws is only the part. In how many other areas are you wen now being asked to restrict compe-lition—always in the name of humanitarian notives of love of the small man, or revertince for an orderly market, or outraged indignation at some chiseler. Even now you are considering bills to curtail competitive bricing in the automobile distribution field.

<sup>1</sup>U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, hearings on fair-trade bills, 85th Cong., 2d sess., Apr. 29, 30, May 1, 6, 7, 1958.
U.S. Senate, Select Committee on Small

Business, hearings on discount house operations, 85th Cong., 2d sess., June 23, 24, 25,

U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, hearings on fair-trade bills, 86th Cong., 1st sess., Mar. 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 23, 24, 25, 1959.

In my home State, and in many other areas including the Washington metropolitan area, the drive to eliminate retail price competition in fluid milk products has almost succeeded. Have you given enough thought to what the economic system will look like when all these eliminations of competition begin to take full effect?

#### PRO AND CON

The time has now come to speak bluntly on this issue. What reasons have you been given to support this demand for fair trade laws?

1. You have received emotional demands from the interested business parties urging this form of protection for their particular business interests.

2. You have heard also a host of unsupported generalizations about the virtues of fair trade and the vices of price-cutting which are backed by no intellectual or theoretical economic analysis.

3. The main proponents of these laws are industries which are at the same time showing record-breaking business profits and a record low rate of business failures.

On the other hand, what have you to dissuade you from passing this legislation?

1. You have the almost unanimous opinion of the educated and professional economic world-practically a thousand to one, that same professional economic world has constantly condemned this type of legisla-

2. You have also against you the vast majority of informed legal opinion.

3. Again, you have almost unanimous newspaper and magazine editorial opposition condemning this particular type of special-interest legislation as completely un-American and completely foreign to the historic type of economic system that made this country great.

4. You have also against you the almost unanimous opinion of all the agencies of Government that have any particular concern with this matter, beginning with the Council of Economic Advisers, the Department of State, the Department of Justice, the Department of Commerce, the Federal Trade Commission, and so on.

#### CONSPORTENCES

And what are the consequences if you en-

act this legislation?

1. You will be repeating the major error of the Volstead Act and the prohibition legislation. For you will pass a law that has absolutely no support among the editorial, radio, and newspaper public-opinion formers of the Nation. You will pass a law that is denounced as iniquitous and as pressure-group legislation by practically the entire intellectual and academic profession. A large part of the legal profession will be out of sympathy with what you do. The consuming public will be out of sympathy with what you do, and will feel no compunction in violating or attempting to violate the provisions of these laws. To some extent, too, even those very businessmen who are asking you to pass these laws will admit, of course, in private with a sort of sheepish grin, that this is special interest and pressure legislation, and that they pulled a "fast one" when they got it passed

In these circumstances, what possible good can come from your yielding to the demand for this law? It will increase general dis-respect for law by adding to the books an-other enactment that has absolutely no public support. Both consumers, retailers, and businessmen will feel absolutely no guilt in violating the provisions of this law, and this breakdown of respect for law is one of the sad and lamentable consequences of the prohibition legislation which it took us many years

2. Furthermore, you will be striking an-other blow at what is left of the competitive economic system in the United States, and

you will be embarrassing the U.S. representatives in negotiations with other countries wherein our official policy is to encourage freer and freer trade in the world. While our foreign representatives are taking this line. however, our domestic lawmaking body will be taking exactly the opposite, a restraint of competition and the promotion of a cartel philosophy. This inconsistency has not gone unnoticed and has caused no little embarrassment in the past to our foreign representatives. That is partially why the Department of State is opposed to this legisla-

3. From a domestic, economic point of view, you wil be adding further supports to already high prices when the whole national endeavor should be in the direction of lowering prices to combat inflation

#### Government Bond Interest Rates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. MIKE MANSFIELD

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, in the Lewistown Daily News, of Lewistown, Mont., for June 16, 1959, appeared an editorial entitled "The Issue Over Government Bond Interest Rates," I think it is worthy of the attention of Senators. and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD.

as follows:

THE ISSUE OVER GOVERNMENT BOND INTEREST RATES

The rumbling in Washington over President Eisenhower's request to take off the interest rate ceiling on Government bonds is best explained as an argument over the roots of inflation. The request itself is being presented as a move by the administration to try to better the Government's competitive position in the money market.

The Eisenhower argument is that the interest ceiling must come off if the Government is to sell long-term bonds as a weapon against inflation. It is pointed out that interest rates on private bonds have risen far above the 41/4 percent the Treasury is permitted by Congress to pay on long-term (5 years or more) bonds. Treasury exponents argue that the interest ceiling hampers the sale of bonds, while at the same time the fear of inflation is diverting money into a rush to stocks. Proponents of the removal of the rate ceiling also say the Government would be better off by having its debt funded in long-term bonds, which they argue are less inhflationary in their effect on credit expansion.

Opponents of the request argue from a general backdrop of charges that the Eisenhower forces have bungled Government fi-nances completely, that higher Government bond interest rates would bring Treasury money into the market to an extent where the cost of money would go up. They say mortgage money, already growing tight under the Federal Reserve System's tightmoney policy, would grow scarce, that installment and short-term financing would be made difficult. Another opposition argument is that higher interest rates would increase bank profits at the expense of borrowers. It is also forecast that by driving up the cost of money and further depreciating the value of bonds bought at ceiling interest, the administration's proposal would

touch off another recession. Proof is being demanded that a genuine emergency exists and that a rise in the cost of living will not follow the raising of the bond interest rate.

On the administration side there are at work such factors as the continuing recovery of business, the relatively stationary status of the cost-of-living index, and a public consciousness of inflation's dangers.

Operating against the administration is the somewhat justified charge that the Nation's finances have suffered under the Elsenhower team's direction. The United States now is carrying its largest peacetime The national budget has been balanced only twice in 6 years, and current budget proposals are so delicately framed that the slightest shift can throw them out of kilter. Economic growth is showing signs of lagging. The bond market is trudging along in the dust left by the stock market which is enjoying one of the most active periods in history.

The issue boils down to whether removing the interest celling on Government bonds would be a genuine step toward stabilizing Federal finances, or would amount to little more than a stopgap. If the latter is the case, then the administration will be shown truly bankrupt in fiscal policy and an overhaul of Government finances decidedly must

be called for.

## History Brutalizes Everyone

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. FRANK CARLSON

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, the Geneva Conference has just concluded a session lasting several weeks devoted to solving some of our problems with the Soviet Union.

These weeks of discussion seem to have brought about only one definite conclusion, to recess for a few weeks, when another meeting will be held.

Our Secretary of State, Christian Herter, demonstrated great patience, but he also demonstrated firmness in dealing with Russia. When one considers the past actions on the part of Russia as a nation against citizens of our own Nation and citizens of other peace-loving countries, it is difficult to negotiate without deep feelings and emotions.

In the June 7 issue of the Wichita Beacon there appeared an editorial entitled "History Brutalizes Everyone." I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

(From the Wichita (Kans.) Beacon, June 7. 1959]

#### HISTORY BRUTALIZES EVERYONE

Christian Herter, Secretary of State, denounced the Communists for many crimes in West Berlin-kidnapings, holdups, burglaries, espionage—at the Big Four sessions in Geneva.

Somehow, his accusations should arouse anger. They don't. The words, and the deeds they describe, seem so routine these

Gradually, throughout the last quarter of a century, the peoples of the great power nations have been losing their ability to feel and express emotions. They have lost the

sense of righteous indignation. Compassion and mercy become increasingly blunted. Even the good citizen's deep concern about his role in public affairs is seldom voiced.

Consider, for example, the news of Russia's crime against 17 Americans. Soviet airmen attacked an unarmed transport over Turkey and shot it down. It crashed in Soviet
Armenia. The 17 servicemen are presumed

The reaction of America was, and continues to be, apathetic. There was no violent outcry against the monstrous crime, no clamor vengeance. In Theodore Roosevelt's America, it would have been difficult to avoid

We aren't urging vengeance. Rather, we deplore the callousness with which America greeted this crime against American citizens and the American flag. People should have felt something.

This lack of emotional response arises from all the things people have lived through. In the 1930's we saw the German nation go insane. Hate and cruelty and total war were glorified, and those who still spoke for freedom and justice were silenced or driven into exile.

Casually, almost blithely, the Nazis murdered millions of Jews and others while the German armies sought to overrun the world. The Wehrmacht had no knightly sense of mercy; at a whim, the open city of Rotterdam was destroyed; in Russia, the Germans coldly murdered the citizens of entire cities. There was nothing for it but to fight fire with fire, violence with violence, cruelty with cruelty. The bombers hammered half the cities of the world with blockbusters, fire bombs, and finally atomic weapons.

The new barbarism did not end with the war. The broken wrecks of men stumble out of Red China to tell tales of a government that rules by brainwashing, torture, and mass murder. The brave children of Budapest chose freedom-and died for it. And the governments of the world coldly threaten massive destruction in pushbutton war.

Is it any wonder that people are emo-tionally numb? Is it any wonder that cries of enthusiasm or of anger are so seldom heard? The world we live in threatens the very meaning of being human. We are all brutalized, whether we know it or not.

The way out of the new barbarism, the dehumanization of our times, is to start thinking in human terms again. Hitler's murder of millions of Jews was too vast a crime to be comprehended. People, however, can comprehend the life and the suffering of Anne Frank, the 16-year-old girl whose diary has touched the hearts of millions. Indeed, the play based on the diary created a wave of soul-searching repentance in Germany.

In the matter of the servicemen gunned down by the Soviet pilots, don't worry about the abstractions of international law involved. Think rather about the heartbreak in 17 homes.

When one starts to think of people as people, not as large political abstractions, he starts to become human and civilized again. Such human interest in men and women is the greatest need of our times.

## Oregon Daily Statesman Heralds 109 Years of Oregon Statehood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, on June 10 the Oregon Daily Statesman of

Salem, one of our State's most traditional and outstanding newspapers, heralded 100 years of Oregon statehood. This was accomplished with a special edition of the Statesman, which discussed thoroughly the history, economy, cultural and political development of our

The editor and publisher of the Statesman, Charles A. Sprague, is not only a distinguished journalist, but served with eminent leadership as the Governor of Oregon from 1938 to 1942. In his regular column, "It Seems To

Me," Governor Sprague has discussed in capsule form the dominant characteristics of Oregon. I should like to quote specifically one particular paragraph in his article.

Now, at the end of the first century as & State, Oregon, ranks high in standards of public morality, conservation of resources, support of education and deployment of government for the public good. It is essentially a State where moderation prevails-Its climate does not go to extremes. and poor are not poles apart—wealth is broadly diffused. Personal drive for power and place is tempered. Radicalism does not flourish, nor yet blind reaction.

I agree completely with Governor Sprague. Oregon is a State of articulate, fair, and moderate men and women who do not resort to extremes. That is much of its appeal. That is behind many of its contributions to our national, politi-

cal, and literary heritage.

I should also like to add that the Oregon Stateman, itself, goes back to the frontier era, when Oregon was still & Territory. It was founded in 1851. Indeed, when the Statesman celebrated its first century of publication, I had the honor of speaking at its commemorative banquet along with one of our State's illustrous historians, Dr. Dorothy O. Johansen, of the faculty of Reed College in Portland.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the thoughtful column by ex-Governor Charles A. Sprague from the Salem Statesman of June 10.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IT SEEMS TO ME

#### (By Charles A. Sprague)

Today Oregon formally launches its Centennial Exposition and accompanying International Trade Fair. And the Statesman publishes a special centennial edition both to aid in promoting the exposition and as a show window for the mid-Willamette Valley. Salem hangs out the welcome sign to vacationists and travelers, inviting them to come this way this summer, and to tarry a while in the capital city.

The century of statehood has been one of both exploitation and development. The pioneer period was drawing to a close when Oregon was admitted in 1859. While the population of the new State was not large. communities were securely founded, land had been broken to the plough, lumbering had become a major industry.

Oregonians of the mid-19th century were stamped from the same dies as other Ameri-They followed the instinct to move westward, seeking better economic oppor-tunity, free land, wider horizons, and the chance of building a new American State on the Pacific coast.

Like Americans in other parts of the country, their greed and eagerness for quick realth led to excesses: Fraud in acquisition if land, waste of natural resources on the

lange, in the mines, and forests.

The political history of Oregon followed he pattern of other States, a sorry pattern in many respects, until Oregon at the turn of the 20th century led a great revolt to cleanse collicies, democratize the legislative process, and wipe out the boss control possible under the converse convention.

he caucus-convention system.

Now, at the end of its first century as a state, Oregon ranks high in standards of lublic morality, conservation of resources, apport of education and deployment of lovernment for the public good. It is essentially a State where moderation prevails. Its climate does not go to extremes. Rich and poor are not poles apart—wealth is broadly diffused. Personal drive for power and place is tempered. Radicalism does not flourish, nor yet blind reaction.

It is a goodly land, fair to look on, rich in life's enjoyment for those who seek it here. Its people are friendly without being officious, helpful without being oversolicitous. They find in frequent communion with nature, at the seashore, in the mountains, along lakes and rivers rest and refreshment

for their souls.

In this centennial year, we are looking backward, reviving memories of our past, tying in dress and in exhibitions to recreate the Oregon of a century ago. But, in the phrase which has almost become a cliche, the past is only prelude. So we look ahead and face forward, fully conscious of the fact that our next century will be what the Oregonians of today and tomorrow make it. The foundations of natural resources are lood. The roots of the population are firm and sound. Hence, the promise is good that our second century will be one of progress it not of spectacle, and that we shall build here a society and a government worthy of our endowment.

## Diversity in New Hampshire

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. NORRIS COTTON

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, the June 22 issue of Broadcasting magazine, the business weekly of television and adio, devotes a 44-page special section to a discussion of "What's Really Hapbening in New England?"

As a New Englander, who for many years has been striving to correct the stale stereotypes which picture the region as a victim of steady stagnation, I am heartened by the perceptive and interesting articles in this special section.

Based on a 2,500-mile tour covering over 90 percent of the area's population, this special section dispels all doubts about the present health of its economy and the bright prospects of the future.

While nobody outside was looking, old New England has been turning modern. It has been lifting its face and strengthening its muscles. The deserted mill is no longer the landmark of the region. A more accurate symbol is the modern factory built of aluminum and glass and set in a land-scaped park just off a six-lane highway.

New England isn't what it used to be. It better, much better; so much better that it is now one of the Nation's liveliest markets for merchandise—even though a lot of beople with merchandise to sell don't know it.

This is the way Broadcasting leads off its special section on New England.

Among the articles in the section is one entitled "Diversity in New Hampshire," which highlights the industrial progress of my State. I ask unanimous consent that the article on New Hampshire from the June 22 issue of Broadcasting be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DIVERSITY IN NEW HAMPSHIRE—MILLS AND TOURISM BRING MONEY INTO STATE

The triangular State of New Hampshire matches its three-sided geographical pattern with a rising economic trinity—employment, income and population. All three of these factors show steadily soaring tracks on economists' charts.

This rocky area's three and one-half-century background of tough individualism finds civilization's progress making important changes in its commercial and living habits. Manufacturing is gaining despite the normal New England textile decline, especially in southern Hillsboro County (Manchester and Nashua) where a third of the State's population dwells.

Hillsboro's hills are dotted with factories, many of them new. Shoes and textiles are now aided by electronics, metal products and other types of industries that give the section the variety it needs. Manchester is famed for one of the all-time textile calamities—closing of the Amoskeag mills in 1935, largest textile cluster in the world (see p. 82)

Manchester citizens recovered from the blow, and neighboring Nashua overcame a similar catastrophe that followed shutdown of the Textron plant (3,500 employees). The long pull back by both cities is recorded in many accounts of the textile decline.

### STATE PROMOTION

The success of local cooperative projects led to formation by the State in 1952 of New Hampshire Business Development Corp., second of the sort following Maine's ground-breaking effort. Pooled funds were loaned for business undertakings. In 1955 New Hampshire Industrial Park Authority was set up to find industrial sites of the newer suburban type. The State provided a revolving fund, out of which have come two industrial parks and several new plants.

Outside industry liked the State's tax structure, some plants moving across the line from Massachusetts. Several years ago the State's technical labor supply had dwindled but there's no longer a worrisome lack of technicians and engineers. New Hampshire's unemployment ratio is below the national average.

Sunmer and winter tourism is developing; spring and autumn are coming along slowly. Tourism, bringing in \$225 million annually, is based on breathtaking mountains; 1,300 lakes and ponds; fancy ski tows and other facilities for the skiing set; historic shrines, and several busy beaches on the short shore-line. The State is often called Boston's playground, but its tourist logs show heavy entries from the eastern half of the Nation. Better roads are being built and will be a big help, as will new motels and tourist lodgings. Lake Winnipesaukee has 72 square miles of area. The State claims the greatest concentration of ski areas in the Nation.

Agriculture is just about holding its own, though poultry, eggs, and dairying are doing well; apples are, too.

#### OPTIMISM IN THE AIR

Everywhere around Manchester, Nashua, and Concord, the capital, there is a feeling that New Hampshire's industrial future is bright. Raytheon and other names that mark the newer economy are familiar around

the southern strip. Two-fifths of all income comes from manufacturing, well above the U.S. average. Shoe plants can and do turn out millions of pairs a year. Concord granite is famous. Lumber and wood products are important along with pulp and paper.

Manchester is strong and healthy, its economic developers say with conviction as they look around this modern city of 85,000. They document an increase of 10,000 jobs and doubled payroll since World War II. Unemployment is down—less than the wartime peak—and even textiles are doing better than a year ago. Manchester still has many textile mills, including Chicopee with 750 employees. This year looks better than 1958 and 1958 was better than 1957. The largest metropolis in New Hampshire looks back to Amoskeag and displays this label, "The City That Refused To Die." Jack Tuelon, the city's industrial development agent, is doing a brisk promotion job.

When anybody brings up Nashua's textile collapse, the municipal boosters cite this boxscore: shutdown Textron, 3,500 jobs lost; 19 replacement plants, 3,700 new jobs. Nashua worked hard to fill all that empty floor space after Textron left. Keene, another city in the southern strip, is now diversified with machine tools, metal products, American Optical, Pittsburgh Plate Glass and Pepperidge Farm frozen foods. An industrial park is being built on speculation. Miniature Precision Bearings employes 500. Keene's population is 17,000.

Portsmouth, an ocean port, heard vague rumors about a recession but didn't consider it a matter of much local concern. A historic city of 22,000, it also has military neighbors who feed the civic kitty—Navy shipyard, \$3 million monthly payroll; Pease Air Force Base, \$2 million. Only commercial harbor in the State, it has oil, coal and gypsum coastwide traffic. At the shipyard a big 5,600-ton submarine now on the ways will cost \$100 million and take 3 years to build. It's twice as big as the renowned Nautilus and will toss a Polaris missile 1,500 miles.

Concord, 29,000, has the customary State and Federal payrolls that mark a capital city. Its industrial progress was marked recently by the new \$2 million laboratory of Nuclear Metals, Inc. Other citles are Berlin, 17,000; Dover, 19,000; Laconia, 16,000.

## Not Mr. Benson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. J. GLENN BEALL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, recently there appeared on the editorial page of one of the leading metropolitan newspapers of the Nation, the Baltimore Sun, an editorial about the dilemma of our farm surpluses. The editorial reminds us that, due to this ill-advised program, which Secretary Benson inherited from previous administrations, we now "have wheat in our hair and running out our ears" and "gradually rising up around us in a nightmarish flood." The editorial calls attention to the fact that Secretary Benson has long been pleading with Congress to adopt a farm program which would cut back surplus in wheat and other key crops, and concludes that "if wheat ends by choking itself to death it won't be Mr. Benson who looks silly.'

The sagacious editorial writers of the Baltimore Sun have for mnay years been writing thought-provoking articles which have attracted nationwide attention. The high standard of Baltimore Sun editorial writing has never waned. I would like to say this word of praise for the Sun. In addition to their superior editorial page is, of course, the paper's thorough and faithful coverage of international, national, and local news. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record the editorial to which I have referred, the editorial titled "Not Mr. Benson," which appeared in the June 9, 1959, edition of the Baltimore Sun.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Baltimore Sun, June 9, 1959] Not Mr. Benson

There is an awful solemnity about the figures in wheat. In a good year we use up for all purposes about a billion bushels. As of June 30, 1953, we had a carryover of 933.5 million bushels. The 1954 surplus figure was 1.036 billion bushels. In 1955 it was 1.033 billion bushels. It dropped slightly in 1956 to 908 million bushels and a little more in 1957 to 880 million bushels. But last year the carryover was 1.2 billion bushels, or a full year's supply, and it will be around 1.4 billion bushels on June 30 of this year, or pushing toward a year-and-a-half full supply. Yet the new wheat crop will run something over a year's supply in itself.

It is against this backdrop of truly psychopathic overproduction that the House is debating a new wheat bill. One of its provisions would boost the support price from about \$1.81 a bushel to some \$2.13 a bushel. Acreages would be reduced, to be sure, but under the new support enticements the demonic knowhow of the wheat farmers would be pretty sure to make up much of the acreage loss through still more efficient production. We are overwhelmed with wheat. We have wheat in our hair and running out of our ears, wheat is gradually rising up around us in a nightmarish flood that makes one think of the sorcerer's apprentice.

So it is no wonder that a new and full suspicion begins to gain ground among even the most sluggish of the political wheatmen in the Congress. As the New York Times was reporting it the other day they are beginning to wonder whether Mr. Ezra Taft Benson isn't outfoxing them after all. Mr. Benson, fronting for Mr. Eisenhower, has long been pleading with Congress to adopt a farm program which would cut back surplus in wheat and other key crops. The political farmers have chortied at these appeals and used them to prove the Secretary and his boss an enemy of agriculture. But if wheat ends by choking itself to death it won't be Mr. Benson, who looks silly.

## Employment for the Physically Handicapped

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, today I received from Melvin J. Maas, Chair-

man of the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped, a copy of the special report of that Committee to the President.

By and large, the report is an illuminating review of the cooperative efforts by the administration and the Departments of Labor; Commerce; and Health, Education, and Welfare, as well as the U.S. Civil Service Commission and the Veterans' Administration, for improving programs in this field. The objective is to enable those individuals unfortunately handicapped to have a greater opportunity to be productive, economically independent citizens of their communities.

The general topics considered by the Special Advisory Council included:

First. "Hire the handicapped—it is good business":

Second. A review of the performance of physically impaired workers in the manufacturing industry;

Third. Efforts to tell foreign countries of the American interest in rehabilitation; and

Fourth. Broader public education on a true understanding of the safe work performance of the handicapped; and others.

In addition, the Advisory Council reviewed such programs as: Services to the handicapped; counseling; vocational rehabilitation; and other constructive efforts to brighten the outlook for the physically handicapped.

All of us regret, of course, that there are a substantial number of our citizens who, for a variety of reasons, find themselves physically impaired. It is always gratifying, however, to note that a vast majority of these do not suffer similar impairment in outlook—in spirit. Rather, they have demonstrated real courage through admirable efforts to adjust to their circumstances and, at the same time, find ways and means to work at responsible jobs, to carry on family relationships, and to integrate themselves as useful, constructive citizens in their communities.

The President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped, I believe, has made a constructive contribution to better understanding of the problems faced by these individuals, to working out programs of opportunity for them and to increase public understanding of their real needs,

The report, I believe, merits the attention not only of the Senate, but of people throughout the country. The overall objective is to attempt to assure that all of our citizens, including those with impairments through no fault of their own, can and should be provided an opportunity to lead a useful, constructive, independent life.

As an illustration of the constructive work by the President's Committee, I request unanimous consent to have excerpts from the report, reflecting the fine work of Federal departments and agencies, printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF LABOR

Since the last meeting of this council, the Bureau of Employment Security has continued to emphasize services to the handl-capped, with particular reference to the aims and objectives of Public Law 565. The past year began during a serious economic maladjustment, in which many more workers than usual were unemployed, and job openings were drastically curtailed. As the year closed, the economy was slowly but steadily progressing toward normalcy. During the year the Employment Service increased its efforts to maintain employment opportunities for the handicapped at the highest possible level.

#### SERVICES TO THE HANDICAPPED

During 1958 State agencies received the greatest number of applications of handicapped applicants ever—472,659—a number 5.6 percent greater than the total for such applications in the previous year. This raw of increase was not as sharp as that experienced for new applications by all applicants, which was 13.4 percent above the 1957 total. These ratios indicate that relatively fewer handicapped persons than workers in general sought the assistance of the Employment Service during the year. This fact might be taken as an indication that employers are responding to the President's Committee's appeal to not only hire the handicapped, but to retain them on the same basis as other workers.

The placement of all applicants declined during the past year, and that of handicapped applicants followed the general trend. A 12.7 percent decrease from the 1957 figure for nonagricultural placements of handicapped jobseekers occurred, with such placements totaling 250,757 for 1958. This decrease is somewhat sharper than the decline experienced for similar placements of applicants in general, and seems to indicate that the handicapped found competition with nonimpaired workers not quite as favorable as would be desired.

Despite the unfavorable economic situation employment service agencies were able to place 5,299 of the 10,858 rehabilitated clients of State vocational rehabilitation agencies referred to them. The placement of such persons was undertaken in acordance with the provisions of Public Law 565, which require State vocational rehabilitation agencies to make maximum use of the services and facilities of State employment service agencies in the placement of rehabilitated clients

Counseling service was provided to 152,104 handicaped applicants in 1958, who comprised approximately 32 percent of all handicapped applicants registered by the State agencies.

The emphasis placed upon service to the severely disabled by the Bureau was in-creased during the past year. Intensified efforts on behalf of this group are more necessary than ever when there is a shortage of job openings. Our placement and counseling services to these people were therefore augmented by more extensive job development efforts and by stress in counseling upon broader exploration of occupational possibilities and adequate preparation for employment. Since many of the severely handicapped appeared at public employment offices in need of medical, vocational training, and other services before they could be considered ready for employment, the Employment Service found it necessary to refer them to State rehabilitation agencies and to other agencies for these services. Another example of the emphasis which was given to serving severely disabled groups was the establishment or expansion, in several States, of specialized programs for mental hospital discharges and for the mentally retarded. Such programs were in operation in various States, including New York, Illinois, Rhode Island, Indiana, Pennsylvania Hawali, Massachusetts, Wyoming and Ari-

#### STAFF DEVELOPMENT

Effective cooperation with other agencies a serving severely disabled persons requires toordination of services, mutual understandng of the programs and responsibilities of he several agencies, and the exchange of information about, or useful in helping, the Persons served. In order to develop more elective cooperation, the Employment Servte has joined with rehabilitation agencies h training activities to increase the knowltige and skills of the staffs of both agencies. tuch of this training has been provided brough grants from the Office of Vocational ehabilitation, and has been conducted in astitutes, conferences, and courses dealing ith the rehabilitation and placement probms of various seriously disabled groups. or example, an institute was conducted at ennsylvania State University in July 1958, hich was attended by State agency and ederal representatives of both employment nd rehabilitation services in the North entral and the Atlantic Seaboard States. This institute considered the employment and rehabilitation problems of older cardiacs, the blind, dischargees from mental abspitals, and the mentally retarded. A milar institute—attended by key personhel in the Pacific coastal area, Hawaii and Alaska-was just recently held at San Frandsco State Colege. In these sessions, the Problems of placing difficult-to-place clients the rehabilitation agencies were considered.

## IMPROVING RESOURCES FOR COUNSELING

We have observed that counseling service of a high quality is a critical requirement many disabled persons who must make tuitable occupational choices or job adjustments. One of the fundamental requirehents of such counseling is the availability of accurate and extensive information about the physical and other demands of occupations, so that realistic judgments may ande concerning their suitability for dis-abled workers. During the past year, we have made much progress on a project to collect and organize rather detailed firsthand information about the usual physical demands of thousands of jobs. When com-Meted, this new fund of information will verify and supplement data that we now have, and will enable counselors and others to expand the range of occupations which hay be considered in seeking suitable em-ployment for handicapped individuals.

# COOPERATION WITH THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE

The Bureau of Employment Security and the State agencies continued the active supbort of the President's Committee's procrams, which we have been pleased to pro-Nde for so many years. The national office taff of this Bureau has worked closely with he Committee in a consultative capacity to help keep it informed on matters relative to its programs and objectives and in assisting the Committee in determining matters of brogram planning and emphasis. In most states, the members of the employment servthe staff played a vital role in carrying out brograms of the President's and Governors committees, and in many instances held the cutive offices on the Governors' commit-The presence of so many employment dervice people at the last annual meeting of the President's Committee was evidence of their belief in, and the zeal with which they work for, the objectives of the Comhittee. State and Federal persons were also active in the six regional meetings sponsored in by the Committee during the year and in the nationwide activities observing NEPH Week. An achievement of which the Bu-leau of Employment Security is modestly broud is the prompt duplication and distri-bution to State agencies of the draft guide. Facilities in Public Buildings for Persons

With Ambulatory Impairments," recently prepared by the Veterans' Administration for the President's Committee. We believe that we have an obligation to make the offices through which the handicapped are served as accessible and as comfortable for them as possible, and we have strongly urged the State agencies to adopt the principles contained in this document when altering existing premises or when acquiring new offices. During the past year the Bureau of Employment Security has, of course, prepared and distributed to the State agencies informational and promotional materials designed for use during NEPH Week or on a year-round basis. Also, it has purchased and placed in each regional office a copy of the film "Employees Only" to supplement copies otherwise available to State agencies for promotional purposes.

The Women's Bureau joined with the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation in the publication of the pamphlet "Help for Handicapped Women," which describes how disabled women can be assisted through rehabilitation to become capable homemakers and wage earners.

Of particular interest to the President's Committee and this Council, is the work of the Bureau of Labor Standards to improve workmen's compensation laws throughout the country. This Bureau developed a set of standards for such laws which include provisions for rehabilitation of the injured worker and for second injury funds that will help to eliminate the objection of employers to handicapped workers based on the fear of excessive liability for a second injury. The advantages of these provisions have been emphasized to many interested groups particularly to the Council of State Governments, and the legislative adoption of such provisions by the States has been urged.

We know that important accomplishments of the President's Committee and the Governors' and local committees have helped us immeasurably in our efforts to improve employment opportunities for handicapped workers. Without such help, our task during the difficult year just passed, would have been much more difficult.

JAMES P. MITCHELL, Secretary of Labor.

#### Report of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare

It is a pleasure to meet with you for this annual assessment of our efforts to restore more handicapped people to useful places in American society. The work which the President's Committee and our departments and agencies are doing to bring more handicapped people into useful employment is a phase of the Federal Government's activities which never falls to stir my enthusiasm.

#### WITHIN THE DEPARTMENT

I am happy to report another year of growth, improvement and accomplishment on the part of the agencies of our Department as they relate to the problems of dis-As most of you ease, injury and disability. know, many of our agencies are concerned with the varied problems of disability. The National Institutes of Health and other units of the Public Health Service, the old age and survivors insurance system, the Children's Bureau, the Bureau of Public Assistance, as well as the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, all are concerned in very real and direct ways with disability in one or more of its various stages.

# ADVANCES IN THE VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION PROGRAM

You will be interested, I am sure, in some of the highlights of last year's achievements in advancing the Federal-State program of vocational rehabilitation.

Number rehabilitated: Another new record was established in 1958, when nearly 75,000 handicapped individuals received rehabilitation services and were established in useful jobs. This was an increase of more than 3,000 over the previous year.

Number served: Another measure of growth is the fact that over a quarter of a million handicapped persons were served by the State rehabilitation agencies last year. The figure represents an increase of 8.3 percent over the previous year, and offers great encouragement for further increases in the number to be rehabilitated in the coming years.

The severely disabled: And equally important gain has been in the number of severely disabled individuals who are served by the State vocational rehabilitation agencies. The proportion has been going up steadily in recent years and in 1958, 10 percent more severely disabled received services than in the preceding year. Associated with this—and reflecting the same trend—is the increased use of rehabilitation centers and related facilities for evaluating and restoring disabled people. In 1958, over 8,000 handicapped people received services in such facilities—an increase of 21 percent over 1957.

Growth of State agencies: As most of you know, the State vocational rehabilitation agencies have been confronted with a mountainous task for these past 4 years—the vastly increased number of people demanding services, the appearance of more and more severely disabled people who require their services, the introduction of the disability benefits provisions under social security, etc. With this in mind, we have been especially pleased to note the growth of the State rehabilitation agency staffs to meet this heavy workload. Their staffs for this year will exceed 4,200 people—an increase of about 300 over last year—and an increase of 1,500 (55 percent) over 1954.

Research: One of the most heartening phases of all our rehabilitation activities is the program of research and demonstration grants. In the swift-moving field of modern rehabilitation, the work we will be doing tomorrow will be heavily influenced by the research underway today.

research underway today.

Last year the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation approved grants to launch 81 new projects, dealing with a wide range of diverse rehabilitation problems. Currently over 150 such research investigations and demonstrations are underway.

Training professional personnel: One of the most realistic problems facing the expansion in rehabilitation today is the need for a drastic increase in the number of professionally trained persons to provide services to the handicapped. To help meet this need. Office of Vocational Rehabilitation administers a program of training grants designed principally to do three things: (1) To help strengthen teaching programs in universities; (2) To give some financial support to students at the graduate level who are pursuing specialized training toward a rehabilitation career; and (3) To provide short, intensive training courses for rehabilitation workers in specialized fields.

I am happy to report splendid progress in the development of this training program. In 1954, before the new act authorized such a training program, only about a dozen graduates in rehabilitation counseling were becoming available each year to meet the staffing needs of the State rehabilitation agencies and other programs. At present, more than 300 graduate students are finishing their graduate work each year, and entering the State agency programs and others.

In the medical field, traineeship grants were made this year to 30 approved residency training programs in physical medicine and rehabilitation, covering traineeships for about 145 physicians. To provide basic re-

habilitation instruction for students in medical schools, grants are now being made to 25 of the 82 approved schools of medicine.

Other grants are helping to offset the shortages in physical therapy, occupational therapy, and other fields. Last year we completed the first year's operation of a training grant program for speech and hearing therapy—which has been one of the most crucial shortage areas in the entire rehabilitation field.

#### OTHER RELATED ACTIVITIES

We have taken pleasure in joining with the President's Committee and other agencies in the series of regional meetings scheduled for this winter and the coming spring. I am informed that the meetings at Montgomery, Ala., and at Indianapolis were highly successful. We look forward to equally productive gatherings at Dallas in April and Atlantic City in May.

The Office of Vocational Rehabilitation has been deeply involved with the President's Committee in the four ad hoc committees which have been investigating certain phases of the problems of the handicapped, on a project basis and the reports from Miss Switzer indicate that very substantial progress has been made. I am glad that we will be hearing the full reports of the committees at this meeting and I assure you that we expect to give every possible help in completing these assignments.

I have reserved for my final comment the highly successful work of the Coordinator's Committee in our Department. This group of personnel officials, representing the agencies of our Department, has done a remarkable job of practicing what all of us preach—the employment of the handicapped. In the 19 months since the Committee was established, 590 handicapped persons have been hired in our Department. The net annual increase in their salaries, as a result of our hiring policy, has totaled \$770,131. At the same time, we have acquired competent workers who contribute as fully to the Department as our able-bodied employees.

In summary, then, we have enjoyed a year of substantial progress in our efforts to bring more handicapped men and women into useful and productive places in life. We appreciate the opportunity to carry forward this work in close cooperation with the President's Committee and the other Federal agencies.

ARTHUR S. FLEMMING, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

#### REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE

While, unlike some other agencies represented on the Advisory Council, the Department of Commerce does not have a basic mission in broadening job opportunities for the handicapped, we are nonetheless eager to support this program in every way possible to help insure its success. We sincerely feel that the business community, as well as the Government, has profited a great deal, and can profit considerably more by aggressively exploiting the opportunity to utilize this valuable manpower resource.

Here are some of the Department's recent activities which might be of interest to the Council:

1. Trade fairs. We have made arrangements to include exhibits on utilization of the physically handicapped as a regular part of the International Trade Fair program. This will provide a new and effective medium for publicizing efforts to insure equal employment opportunities for handicapped persons and wilf demonstrate to other nations our efforts to utilize these people.

2. Lobby exhibit. As you know, we have a regular program of exhibits in the lobby of the Commerce Building which attracts a great deal of pulic interest. We are currently featuring the new exhibit developed by the President's Committee as a part of this program. We feel that this display of the exhibit will very effectively promote the Committee's program.

3. Business Advisory Council. The Department has made the Council membership list available to the President's Committee for distribution of Committee material which might be of interest to them. In addition, an opportunity was provided this year for the distribution of Committee material at a Business Advisory Council meeting. Of course, it should be realized that our contacts with the Council on matters not related to its primary purpose are necessarily limited.

4. Internal operations. The Department has continued the aggressive program of placement and retention of the physically handicapped which has received recognition by the President's Committee in the past. This program resulted in the placement of 127 handicapped persons in a wide variety of Department jobs during this past year. We have strengthened our program through the designation of a top staff man as coordinator of employment of the physically handicapped in accordance with the plan developed by the Civil Service Commission. We have also appointed coordinators for each of our bureaus. This has provided us with a smooth-working team in this field and has enabled us to get the program down to the level where results can be achieved.

 Attendance at meetings. Department officials have attended all regional meetings of the President's Committee as well as the meetings in Washington.

LEWIS L. STRAUSS, Secretary of Commerce.

# REPORT OF THE CHAIRMAN, U.S. CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

I was not able to attend the meeting of this Council held in January of last year, but I subsequently had proof that Mr. Warren B. Irons, who was shortly to become our executive director, represented the Commission, and me personally, in a most able fashion.

This report will cover five points: (1) Our coordinator program; (2) publication and distribution of the pamphlet "Selective Placement"; (3) specific advances in increasing the employment opportunities for the handicapped in the Federal service—special reference to position of telephone operator; (4) NEPH Week activities; (5) ad hoc committee staff work and general comments:

#### 1. COORDINATOR PROGRAM

Past: The record will show that at the last meeting of the Council we had set a definite date in April of 1958 to hold the first meeting of the Coordinators for Placement of the Physically Handicapped in the Washington, D.C., area. This meeting, an all day affair, was held as scheduled with over 200 in attendance. I don't believe it is too immodest to state that the meeting came fully up to expectations.

Follow-ups by correspondence and personal visits have been conducted and we are glad to say that interest has been maintained and results are being produced, except in a few areas which are being made the subject of special attention. We have established a practice of referring all appropriate problems to agency coordinators in every instance where feasible.

Future: Another meeting of the coordinators is planned for mid-July 1959. This is to be in conjunction with a 5-day conference of the Commission's Regional Medical Officers. Wednesday, July 15, of the week of our Medical Officers Conference, they will attend the 1-day session of the coordinators which is planned for that date, where they will take part in the panel discussions. In other words, the coordinators meeting will

serve as a considerable portion of the conference time our regional medical officers will devote to the Commission's program for the physically handicapped.

### 2. PAMPHLET "SELECTIVE PLACEMENT"

Past: This was reported in the planning stage at the last meeting. We said we were going to bring out a publication as a sort of an interim stock-taking measure in our continuing job analysis activity. This was for two purposes: (1) To try out the effective-ness of a do-it-yourself (by agency rather than Commission people) feature with respect to analyzing jobs to determine the basic or minimal physical capacities; (2) To permit us to lock closely at the current edi-tion or fifth edition of a "Guide for the Placement of the Physically Handicapped. Work had been started on the fifth volume of this publication and we wanted to see (a) whether the present format (individual volumes devoted to agencies or groups of agencies) should be maintained; (b) if duplication and repetition could be eliminated and (c) if the guide could be condensed by emphasis on key or typical positions.

This pamphlet was received from the Government Printing Office just in time for the 1958 NEPH Week. Complimentary distribution has been made. We are also glad to report that the Government Printing Office has sold several thousand copies and a new printing will no doubt be necessary in the near future.

Future: We know that "Selective Placement" is not perfect so we are going to try to find out how we can improve it. Also we want to find out the direction our jobanalysis activities should take and how best to proceed further with the guide.

To accomplish these purposes we are now conducting a survey in approximately 30 of the larger agencies in this area. We have received many very complimentary letters of acknowledgment but this is not enough. We are not asking for comments by letter but we are putting it on a personal visit and interview basis. Mr. Carl Murr, our vocational rehabilitation officer, is conducting the majority of these interviews.

We are saying to the officials we interview that now the pamphlet has been out for approximately 6 months we would appreciate answers to questions such as these:
(1) What is your frank opinion of its effectiveness?; (2) just exactly what use are you making of it?; (3) do you think it has any definitely weak points?; (4) what would you do to increase its usefulness?

We hope to arrive at all necessary conclusions and have our plans for future activities along this line firmed up during the coming year.

3. SPECIFIC ADVANCES IN INCREASING THE EM-PLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE HANDI-CAPPED IN THE FEDERAL SERVICE—SPECIAL REPERENCE TO POSITION OF TELEPHONE OPER-ATOR

Past: Until recently, the physical standards for telephone-operator positions required vision in at least one eye, without exception. In the course of its study of telephone-operator positions, the Commis-sion found that many blind persons can do the work satisfactorily with the use of Braille attachments to switchboards, and that such attachments can be obtained for one-position (80-plug) and two-position (160-plug) switchboards. After observing blind operators use such equipment at the Maryland Workshop for the Blind, the Mary land School for the Blind, and the Columbia Light House for the Blind, representatives of CSC's Medical Division concluded that physical requirements for telephone-oper ator positions in Government should be liberalized. General Services Administra-tion gave the Commission great assistance in this project and that agency has agreed make the attachment available without st to blind operators employed in Govmment. I am now pleased to report that the Commission's examination announcement for the position of telephone operator has been amended to admit totally blind splicants.

Future: We are not always able to publibe our day-to-day work items; however, I on assure you that as far as time and reurces permit, we are constantly looking at tery position under the Commission's jurisction for the purpose of facilitating the facement and retention of the physically landicapped to the greatest practicable exint.

We have considered the positions I am about to refer to on previous occasions, but to are again subjecting them to close study to see what practical arrangements can be worked out to enhance the employment opportunities of the blind. I refer to the positions of X-ray darkroom technician, psychologist (especially from the research angle) and economist. These are examples of the occupational areas we are now working in.

#### 4. NEPH WEEK

Past: In connection with the 1958 week we hade every effort to get our instructions and stide lines out to our regional offices as early a possible. The type of reports of their activities during the week which we wanted were outlined very pointedly. They were given until January 15 to submit their comblete summary reports. The reports are now in and are being studied most carefully and citically.

Future: When the studies of the reports from our regions are completed we will rate them as outstanding, satisfactory, or as leaving noticeable room for improvement. The agions will be advised individually as to our sadings and evaluations. Concerted effort will be exerted to profit by past experiences by using them to develop techniques which will intensify and broaden participation in this year's (1959) NEPH week.

We have already noted beautifully prepared reports by certain agency field installations which were forwarded by our regions that give every indication of wholehearted coperation and very concrete results. It is our intention to see that these reports are brought to the attention of the heads of the agencies concerned.

## 5. AD HOC COMMITTEE STAFF WORK

The Commission was represented on two of the four committees which stemmed from the last Council meeting. Mr. Irons is a member of one committee which has very harly, if not entirely, completed its work. As not made quite as much progress. I will not dwell on the work of these committees at any length since their reports are to be presented later in this meeting. Suffice it to say that I believe that the Commission will always stand ready to lend its resources to work of this nature.

As you have no doubt heard, my appointment as Chairman of the Civil Service Commission expires at the end of this month.

Mr. Roger Jones has been nominated by the resident to be my successor.

As I come to close of my work with the Civil Service Commission, I want to say to You, Mel, and my fellow members of the Advisory Council of the President's Committee, that my association with you in our common objective of seeing that our handicapped citizens are given every reasonable opportunity to make their contributions to their Government's work force has been a most rewarding experience. Even though I will be removed from the Government scene, my interest in the handicapped will not diminish.

Chairman, Civil Service Commission.

REPORT OF THE ADMINISTRATOR OF VETERANS'
AFFAIRS

If you were to ask me what the Veterans' Administration has done this past year for the handicapped, I would say, "very little."

But if you were to ask what the VA has done to help the handicapped help themselves, my answer would be, "very much." For whether you consider VA as an em-

For whether you consider VA as an employer; or as a rehabilitator of disabled veterans; or as a participant in the work of the President's Committee, all of our efforts have been directed toward a single end:

To provide the handicapped with a key to independence. To help them use the key. To help them push open the door, if it sticks on its hinges.

Not charity; not handouts. But independence.

Well, what has the VA been doing since we last met?

ADMINISTRATOR'S COMMITTEE ON THE HANDI-CAPPED

Early last year, I appointed an Administrator's Committee on the Handicapped, to give a new "push," a fresh impetus, to VA's activities in behalf of the handicapped.

Its able Chairman, Dr. H. Dwight York, is himself temporarily handicapped, at home nursing a broken ankle.

Many of the following VA's achievements during the year have stemmed directly from the Committee's insipred leadership.

#### A NEW REPORTING SYSTEM

Exactly how many handicapped men and women work for VA? What are their jobs? How are they performing their jobs? What are their disabilities?

To answer these any many other questions, we have revised our personnel reporting system. I am sure the results will be more than a new table of statistics. I expect them to be convincing proof, if further proof is needed, that it is good, sound practice to hire the handlcapped in all areas of VA operations.

And that it is good, sound practice to hire the handicapped everywhere in the United States.

## A NEW STATEMENT OF POLICY

So that there will be no misunderstanding of VA's official position regarding employment of the handicapped, a formal statement of policy aimed at increasing employment of the disabled was issued to all VA departments and staff offices.

A number of other Federal agencies have asked for copies of our policy statement. I am sure all of you have seen the statement but, if not, we have copies for you.

I might say that it is frank and forthright. It does not hide its exact meaning behind a welter of weak words.

#### IMPRINT ON VA ENVELOPES

If you have received mail from the VA lately, you may have noticed: Every VA envelope now carries the slogan of the President's Committee, "Hire the Handicapped; It's Good Business."

When you consider that the VA sends out some 60 million pieces of mail each year, the message is gaining coverage.

## BROCHURE FOR SUPERVISORS

Our Personnel Office has prepared a booklet which shows—with picture and text—66 handicapped VA employees on the job. This will go to all VA supervisors and should go a long way, I believe, in breaking down any remaining prejudice.

The booklet will be off the press in March,

## ACCESS TO VA BUILDINGS

We are surveying all VA regional offices, hospitals, and centers to find out whether all provide easy access for persons in wheel-chairs. If not, we will take steps to see that they do.

In central office, we have installed ramps for visitors and employees in wheelchairs.

#### VENDING STANDS

A sampling of all VA installations has revealed that one-third now have vending stands, canteens, or newsstands operated by the handicapped.

During the year, the cafeteria in our regional office in Los Angeles was turned over to a blind operator. The cafeteria at our St. Paul Center will be put in the hands of a blind operator soon.

VA VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION FOR DISABLED VETERANS

VA's prime responsibility is to the servicedisabled veteran. In our vocational rehabilitation training program, we have taken a number of steps to bring him closer to gainful employment:

We are preparing a study of occupations held by veterans with epilepsy—which today, unfortunately, still sets men aside, as it did during the dark ages of the Middle Ages,

And we are working on another study of occupations held by the homebound—veterans so severely disabled they are confined to their homes.

Both should be ready sometime during 1959.

They will be used—as are previous VA studies of paraplegics and the blind—in the counseling of disabled veterans planning on vocational rehabilitation training. But they also will be available to other agencies and to individuals, to help conquer the walls of prejudice and to render new hope to the handicapped.

Also, we recently have changed our regulations to help disabled veterans make a smoother and quicker comeback to productive employment.

We now allow disabled veterans to get a head start toward independence by beginning their vocational rehabilitation while they still are patients in our hospitals.

And we now permit veterans to start their training even if they cannot complete it by the termination date—so long as some other agency, such as a State rehabilitation agency, can pick up where we must leave off.

Also, we now offer job-finding assistance and personal counseling to disabled veterans after they have completed their training—if they are having trouble making a go of life, unaided.

And finally, we now help the seriously disabled to find sheltered employment, if they are not able to compete in the give and take of our fast-paced everyday life.

### ONE FINAL WORD

All these many activities didn't just happen at the VA. They were caused by the men and women who work there—men and women who consider the cause of jobs for the handleapped not just another task, but a living and vital crusade.

They deserve our tribute and our gratitude.

SUMNER G. WHITTER,

Administrator of Veterans' Affairs.

## Weights and Measures in Alaska, the 49th State

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. E. L. BARTLETT

OF ALASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, when the 44th National Conference on Weights and Measures was in session in Washington, D.C., not long ago, R. A. Findlay delivered an address in which he told how the weights and measures laws are enforced in the 49th State. Since conditions there in respect to enforcement are so different from those in the other States, and since Mr. Findlay has told about this in such an interesting manner, I take pleasure in presenting here the text of the speech he made in Washington June 10, and ask that it be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Weights and Measures in Alaska, the 49th State

(By R. A. Findlay, inspector, division of weights and measures, department of State police, State of Alaska)

To understand the problems of weights and measures enforcement in Alaska as it differs from those of the other 48 States—or I should say 49 now that Hawaii has been admitted to the Union—one must first have a general knowledge of Alaska in relation to its size, population, and transportation. First then, I will give you a brief outline of our State and the conditions we encounter in enforcing weights and measures supervision.

Alaska is a vast territory which covers an area of 546,400 square miles with a coastline of 33,904 miles. This area is more than twice the size of the largest State in the continental United States, and our coastline exceeds the combined total of all the States, The southern tip of the State's panhandle is 750 miles north of Seattle; the State adjoins Canada on the east and extends north to the Arctic Ocean and west to the Bering Sea—at one point only 21/2 miles separates Little Diomede Island of Alaska from Big Diomede Island off the coast of Siberia, a part of Russia. If you were to fly by commercial airline from Ketchikan, the southernmost part of the State, to Point Barrow on the coastline of the Arctic Sea or to Wales on the Bering Straits, actual flying time would exceed 8 hours. You would experience climatic conditions from a possible 60 degrees above zero to a possible 40-50 degrees below zero during the winter months. Contrary to popular belief, Alaska is not a field of ice and snow. In the interior and southern parts of the State we experience conditions very similar to those you would find in your own State. Around the Fairbanks area, in the summer months the temperature rises to 90 degrees and daylight lasts for 19 to 23 hours.

Alaska's population is estimated at 210,-000, figuring a little more than 2 square miles for each resident. In summer months construction workers, fishermen, and tourists increase the population by another 100,000.

Costs of living are much higher than those in the other States. The latest figures show Juneau prices 21.4 percent and Anchorage prices 35.2 percent higher than Seattle prices. Fairbanks was rated 45.4 percent and Nome 49.9 percent above Seattle. With the cost of living at such a high peak, weights and measures officials and representatives of industry can readily understand the importance of weights and measures supervision in Alaska to protect the public against unfair practices.

Our weights and measures supervision has been a division of the State police with just one inspector to handle all the work of testing, supervision, and enforcement of regulations. As you look at the map of Alaska you may wonder how just one man is able to travel over this vast area and still control and enforce the regulations required of us. First, then our police force is made up

of some 50 officers stationed in headquarters of the larger cities or in outposts in the less-populated areas. This personnel, in effect, has supplied the weights and measures inspector with 50 or more deputies to assist in weights and measures enforcement. The officers do no actual testing of equipment but do help by handling preliminary complaints of violations, which are forwarded to the inspector for investigation. They advise merchants and the public of the weights and measures regulations and in many instances have witnessed the breaking and resealing of equipment that needed repair. Phone service, office equipment, and transportation are provided in many cases when the inspector is in the locality of a headquarters station or outpost.

In order to visit the many cities and towns, particularly in the southeastern part of the State, which is accessible only by plane, testing equipment must be readily available. It would be impractical and expensive to transport test weights and measuring equipment on each trip. To solve this problem, we have purchased a number of test weight kits, 50-pound weights, and 5gallon test measures and have placed them in most of the cities scattered throughout the State for the inspector's use when visiting these localities. Westward or interior Alaska, as we call it, differs from the south-eastern part of the State in that there are some 5.000 miles of highways. I wish to point out that our cities are unlike some of the larger cities in your States where you have populations of 200,000 to over a million in a concentrated area. Anchorage, our largest city, has an estimated population of 60,000, and other cities and towns range from 20,000 to less than 1,000 persons. Such populations, of course, reduce the number of markets, gas stations, and other establishments that the inspector must visit in each city. In some cases it is necessary only to spend a day or two in one of the smaller towns and to then travel to the next city or village.

In 1957 we placed in service a weights and measures truck, complete with test weights, standard measures, and a 100-gallon meter prover equipped with a power-take-off pump for checking vehicle tank and bulk-plant meters. This equipment is stored in Anchorage, some 800 miles from the Juneau headquarters of our weights and measures activity. The equipment is used to cover most of the locations within a radius of 500 to 800 miles of Anchorage, as well as all of the highway system.

If you were to travel with me on a field trip of inspections, we would leave our Juneau headquarters by plane and fly 4 hours to Anchorage, where we would work that city for a period of 3 to 4 weeks. We would then travel by truck the loop route to Fairbanks, 456 miles distant, checking all the gas stations, combination lodges, grocery stores, and small towns on the about 6 days we would arrive in Fairbanks, remaining there for a period of 2 to 3 weeks. We would then take a different highway, working to the Canada-Alaska border, then driving through 500 miles of the Yukon Territory and back to the souths' ern border of the Yukon-British Columbia and Alaska borders. We would work the Alaska Highway again to the small town of Haines, where we would ferry our truck and equipment to Juneau, a trip of 6 hours by water, and enjoy the scenery of the most beautiful mountains and glaciers in the world. By this time we would have spent about 50 days in the field and inspected some 400 pieces of equipment.

After a couple of weeks working around Juneau with our truck, we would take the ferry again and drive through the Yukon Territory to the Alaskan border, then take another route of the seacoast towns, mountain villages, and highways, eventually re-

turning to our starting point at Anchorage From here we would fly to Nome and several other cities that are inaccessible by road. There we would find conditions veridifferent from those in the larger cities that we had just left. Living conditions and prices are much higher, for every item of food, clothing, and fuel must be transported by boat or plane. The people in these remote areas are mostly native Indian or Eskimo. The meat markets instead of selling all beef, have their cases filled with reindeer meat from the local herds of refrederal Government.

The native Eskimo is a herder (better known to you as a cowboy) except that the Eskimo walks with his herd instead of using a horse as most cowboys do. Also, the methods of buying and selling are different from the larger cities. For many years the buying and selling of fish has been exchanged on a size basis instead of the cus tomary weight basis that is practiced in the southern part of the State. This makes is difficult, in some respects, to promulgate weights and measures regulations to be uniform for the entire State. Bread is another item that would be difficult to control to uniform weight and size, as you have in your States. In a number of the remote towns, the local baker may have three of four dozen bread pans that may vary is size and shape-resulting in the product being offered for sale in sizes ranging from 1 pound to 1 pound 4 or 5 ounces, all selling for the same price. If we put out regulation that bread for the entire State must be sold in a 1-pound or 11/2-pound loaf with the generally accepted tolerances we would probably force these small bakers out of business and have the local population run us out of town. I do not wish to give the impression that we in Alaska do not have uniformity in our regulations, however, there are exceptions like those have just stated that must be considered when drafting regulations to be enforced over the entire State.

Other regulations that we do enforce are those covering the sale and repair of weighing and measuring devices. The salesman or repairman must report to the department within 10 days the location and type of equipment sold or of the major repair work performed on scales, gas pumps, or other equipment. Before any repairman may break a seal that has been placed on a piece of equipment by the inspector, he must first obtain a permit issued by our office. These permits are issued on a yearly basis to repairmen who are properly qualified both as to experience and as to general knowledge of weights and measures regulations.

Regulations concerning mechanics of equipment were promulgated in order to control to some extent the practice of sales, men who come to Alaska with an order book to sell scales and ship them to the custome without any follow-up to see that the equipment is properly installed for use. One section of our regulations reads, in part: "Any person who \* \* sells \* \* offers for sale \* \* or exposes for sale \* \* \* a fals weight or measure \* \* \* is guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction shall be punished by a fine not exceeding \$500 or imprisonment not exceeding 1 year, or both." Whave notified all known dealers and sales men doing business in Alaska concerning these regulations. They have accepted these regulations and are willing to cooperate in the enforcement of our weights and measures regulations.

Prior to 1956, Alaska had very little weight and measures enforcement, and packer shipped into the State packages having no declaration of the net quantity of the commodity. The merchants were openly selling products on a gross weight basis although the law concerning net weight sales have

een in effect since 1939. This irregularity resses the importance of education, enbreement, and publicity. Unless the mer-hants and packers were informed of the egulations and the weights and measures Incial continually made routine inspections, his habit could have developed into serious omplications which would have been diffi-Gilt to correct. A drive was immediately warted to notify all violators of the requireents. Within a very short time this practe was corrected.

Concerning our future plans on weights d measures administration as a State, e, like a great many of our sister States and jurisdictions, desire to enact the model Sate law, promulgate the rules and regutions as recommended by the National follow the specifications and tolerances conlaned in Handbook 44, with a view to some dy having complete uniformity within all the 50 States of our Nation.

We, in Alaska, feel that we will obtain tals goal in the not-too-distant future by seping before the public our educational Rogram, showing the film, "Assignment— Weights and Measures," to as many clubs and service groups as possible, thus keeping the contact with those officials responsible to appropriations and equipment. Besides the Publicity received during our recent Weights and Measures Week, we also received the State standards of weight and measures. These were presented to the State of Alexten of Alaska by the Secretary of Commerce at the National Bureau of Standards in Washlagton, D.C. These standards, comprising yard and meter bar, gold plated weights from 50 pounds down to one-thirty second ounce, volumetric measures from 5 gallons 2-ounce graduates, and mahoganynished glass cases to display the equipment, ere gratefully received, and they stressed the importance of weights and measures aministration to our State officials.

On March 17 of this year, our legislature w fit to transfer the weights and measures division from the department of State police to the department of commerce. The Govanor has 6 months to make transfers under the State reorganization bill. How this transfer will affect our division is difficult to determine at this time. However, I feel con-dent that our operations in the department of commerce will work out very well and, in ome respects, much better than in the de-partment of State police. Later this year he intend to draft an entirely new weights and measures codes, modeled on the recommendations of this national conference. bust that we may call on the National Bureau of Standards to help develop a future Rogram of weights and measures administration for our State.

Service to the Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, on Saturday, June 20, at Charleston, S.C., Gen. Arthur G. Trudeau made a most atteresting address to the South Caroina Department of the American Le-Sion Auxiliary. The Members of Congress and the American public should and the American public and this address most thought prevoking. I ask unanimous consent that the

text, of General Trudeau's remarks be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### SERVICE TO THE NATION

(Remarks by Lt. Gen. Arthur G. Trudeau, Chief of Research and Development, Department of the Army, to the South Carolina American Legion, Charleston, S.C., June 20, 1959)

Senator THURMOND, Mr. Harman, distinguished guests, members of the American Legion and the Ladies' Auxiliary, ladies and gentlemen, I am delighted to be here with you this morning as a guest of your outstanding organization and of your distinguished Senator, STROM THURMOND. This is a notable occasion for you because it marks the 41st year that your organization has served the Nation so proudly in its capacity of one of our foremost patriotic organizations. I salute you and all my fellow Americans who are truly devoted to the security and welfare of our Nation and to the rights and privileges of all freedom loving peoples everywhere, particularly those who have worn the uniform of their country in war and the families who loyally supported them.

This morning I would like to speak to you about service to the Nation and what it means to a soldier who has the privilege of serving his country as a member of its Armed Forces for over 35 years. Many of you here, I know, have had an active in-terest in our fighting forces for even a longer period and it is fitting that this convention honor you veterans who have given so unselfishly of your time, effort and talents to further the goals of the American Legion and our country. I wish all citizens would conform to your patriotic practice of as eargerly accepting their responsibilities as they do their privileges.

For several centuries, the fabric of American history has been interwoven with the colorful pattern of South Carolina's strands of courage, leadership, and staunchness of purpose. The past two decades have seen you bear your share of our defense effort and you can well be proud of that record.

Today, many of South Carolina's industries contribute substantially to the national defense effort. The Department of Defense maintains important installations here to include Air Force bases and Army posts and depots. They all play a vital role in the affairs of national defense and this fact is keenly appreciated by the military.

All of us here today are certainly fortunate. We have the opportunity of serving the greatest Nation on earth, each in our own necessary, individual way. As citizens of South Carolina, you inhabit an area that is highly important to our national economy. As members of the American Legion, you contribute to the stability of our national programs with experience, guidance, and enthusiasm in advancing our ideals and resisting subversive and traiterous influences. As Americans, you represent tangible evidence of our Nation's ability to meet the challenges ahead of us with the same courage and determination that has marked your history and your heritage, and let me say it will take the best we have to give to win the titanic struggle ahead.

As a member of the U.S. Army, I would like to describe for you briefly one of the unique facets of the Army's mission in serving our Nation and providing part of the defense forces that now are spread around this planet of ours. This concerns the research and development program that is geared to meet the future needs of the Army and is based on the astounding and accelerating advances being made in science and technology. The sum total of all of

our Army objectives and programs is to provide the Nation with an Army that is skilled, tough, and ready around the clock to meet tomorrow's challenge. This is the kind of Army that must be prepared to stand up against the boasts and sinister threats of communism now and for many years in the future.

First, to place, the requirements of the Army's research and development program in proper perspective, let us examine the threat that faces us—the threat against which we must plan our organization and doctrine and develop our weapons and equipment for the future. Only by better knowing the Communists' record, their plans and their intentions can we properly protect our future.

During the time of the Revolutionary War and the heroic actions of those patriots who fought to gain our freedom, there was no question about peaceful coexistence or the type and kind of a threat to our fledgling Nation. Those stanch citizens took the action they devoutly believed was necessary and banded together to fight for their freedom from Concord to Cowpens; from Bunker Hill to Yorktown.

Some of you have seen Bunker Hill and perhaps thought about its meaning. It is not a very impressive hill at first glance; in fact, it is not a very big hill at all, but it is preeminent among American hills, because the men who fought there were very tall men. They stood for principle and determination. When our country takes a firm position today with respect to Quemoy and Berlin or the Middle East and the Caribbean as frontiers of the free world, it is taking the same firm attitude that those courageous men took at Bunker Hill long years ago, even though the purpose might be somewhat different and despite the dissenting notes of those appeasers who haven't the courage or loyalty to support our national position and way of life in these difficult and delicate times.

Like the immortal fighting patriots of our American Revolution, you members of the American Legion are dedicated to preparedness and to preserving and defending our Nation, and I urge you to let no other motive disrupt this high sense of purpose. We need millions more like you to keep America alert and prepared; to combat the complacency, lethargy, and apathy that pervades our country.

Once again, we are in a most severe crisis. An implacable threat stares us in the face, today, next year, and on into the foreseeable future.

The real crises are ahead.

The name of this threat is communismgodless, imperialistic, materialistic communism-which aims at the destruction of individual freedom and justice and our American way of life, and the creation of a world slave state.

The Communists regard the struggle between themselves and us as a matter of life or death, as it truly is.

Lenin put it this way: "A funeral dirge will be sung over the Soviet Republic or over world capitalism."

Khrushchev says it in just four words: "We will bury you."

The question is often asked: "Why can't we coexist peacefully with the Communists?' Perhaps the best answer comes from them, embodied in their dogma, their policies, and clarified by their leaders.

Basic communistic doctrine states that peace can only exist in a classless world and that any means used to achieve that goal is justified and hence, peaceful. Considering the amoral and immoral practices that emanate from the Kremlin and Peking, it is difficult and even impossible for many of us to compromise or deviate from strict adherence

to those sound moral principles that made our Nation great.

Lenin said the existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with imperialist states for a long time is unthinkable. One or the other must triumph in the end. I agree com-

pletely that this is so.

The latest Communist communicator, Khrushchev, said last year: "Of course, we must recognize that we cannot coexist externally. One of us must go to the grave. We do not want to go to the grave. They (the West) don't want to go to their graves, either. So what must be done? We must push them to their graves."

That sort of talk is the answer to any peaceful coexistence question, as far as the Communists are concerned. I would redefine peaceful coexistence in the Russian mind

as meaning "coaxful nonresistance."
As a result, they have initiated an endless, an all-out, and an all-around offensive against us. They attack—on every front and by every tactic-ideological, technological, subversive, political, and economic—as well as military.

As you know, the Soviets have more than 25,000 warplanes. Many of these, such as their Bison and Bear, are long-range bombers capable of destroying this Charleston metropolitan area with just one hydrogen bomb.

The Soviets have about 500 submarines. Some of them, perhaps with a missile capability, may have already observed your sky-

The Communists have 175 standing divisions in Russia alone, plus 21/2 million men in the Chinese Communist army, and another 11/2 million in the satellite forces. We have less than 15 ready U.S. divisions, the same number as Rumania.

In atomic firepower, Khrushchev is talking about dismantling some of his atomic and hydrogen bombs because he already has more than he needs.

In rockets and missiles, Khrushchev claims a missile with a range of more than 8,000 miles. Even as long ago as 1957, the Communists claimed an intercontinental ballistic missile capable of reaching any target on earth. The three sputnik satellites lend substance to these claims and their lunar probe should clinch it.

Lhave given just a few highlights of the Communist military threat. Let us also keep in mind all the other facets of the Communist offensive whether economic, ideological, diplomatic, or subversive. Let us remember that the Communist threat is a monolithic whole, using whatever means or tactics seem most likely at that moment to penetrate and crumble free world defenses without regard to morals or ethics; in fact our Western code is anathema to the men who rule the Kremlin.

Now let us turn from the threat to the Army research and development program which is my special responsibility on the Army General Staff. It is our objective here to provide the most effective weapons and material for our future Army. The scope of this research and development mission material for our future Army. covers an extremely wide spectrum of developments and we feel our responsibility very keenly whether we are seeking better mobility, communications, firepower or logistical support.

Why is research and development important? Because it determines the future weapons and equipment that soldiers will use in combat. The Army bases its requirements for its program on the expected threat our Nation will have to meet, the concepts of tactics and organizations for the battlefield of tomorrow, and on science and technology today and in the future. These factors are all considered in preparing the characteristics and requirements for weapons and materiel. I have mentioned the type of threat that we can continue to expect and I would now like to describe the

rest of the environment that determines the direction of our developments.

The battlefield of the next decade will be much larger than you veterans ever remember and with even less clear-cut boundaries between units. Mobility will be the key to success and combat units will move fast, concentrate to destroy the enemy, and then disperse rapidly. Soldiers will move in aerial vehicles just above the nap of the earth and carry with them new types of lightweight but potent weapons using not only conventional ammunition but atomic rounds. Communications will be increased by new radios and relay systems using the latest techniques of earth satellite transmission and of bouncing signals off the moon.

Science and technology are the other prominent factors in the research and development equation. Our basic research program continues to investigate the latest discoveries and inventions so that they can be integrated into the development part of the program which results in the hardware that rolls off the assembly lines of industry. We contract basic research out to industry and some 123 colleges and universities. Ten major fields and 74 subfields are covered from mathematics, human factors, and medical projects to polar and arctic research. We will continue to stress this type of work because without it there would be little future development. As a matter of fact, our technological progress today is the chief determinant of the state of the weapon art during the next decade and beyond. We can never afford to neglect basic research in the present technological race with the Communists.

What are some of the more promising results of this program that we can expect to see incorporated into future equipment? New metals have been created under extremes of temperatures and pressures. promise to open a whole unexplored field of alloys that will be stronger, more heat resistant and lighter than anything else that we know of today. Missiles, space vehicles and even tanks will benefit from such advances. Electronics is another field that has seen a quantum jump in the last 10 years and can be expected to surge beyond the boundaries of our imagination in the next 10 years. Electronic parts have been reduced in size through micromodularization so that instead of 7,000 parts per cubic foot we can put 700,000 parts in the same space. Applications of solid state physics has resulted in radios and electronic computers of miniature size that can perform all manner of operations to enable information to be gathered more quickly and accurately in combat.

The next step in the cycle is what we call applied research and development. sults of basic research are incorporated into weapons or equipment designed by the industrial engineer guided by the requirements of the military. This has resulted in a large spectrum of developments in the fields of mobility, communications, firepower, space, and those designed to support the individual soldier.

We have some interesting vehicles under development to give us the mobility that we require for the future battlefield. On the ground we look to the "Goer" type of equipment used in the construction industry where large wheels and tires give true, offroad mobility. New tanks and armored personnel carriers are to be operational soon to back up the striking power of powerful new weapon systems.

In the air we are looking for the type of vehicle that gives us the takeoff and landing characteristics of the helicopter and the advantages of the fixed-wing aircraft in for-ward flight. You have probably seen pictures of some of our flying test beds that look like disks or platforms propelled by unusual powerplants. These are the vehicles that

will give us the answer to flying low and slow and quietly just above the battlefield.

Communications and electronics has en abled the Army to increase its command and control capabilities to the degree required by mobility and dispersion. Included in the area, also, are the surveillance drones the will penetrate enemy lines to send or britis back information recorded by radar, infra red, photographic, and TV equipment. The information will then be sorted and evalu ated by automatic data processing systems give the commander the facts needed for decision.

Firepower is always a critical part of ov rifles an programs. We have improved other small arms soon to be operational that outperform anything we have now. Man types of guided missiles are under develor ment to supplement or replace those this we have now. For instance, Sergeant wireplace Corporal and Pershing will replace the workhorse of our missile arsenal, Ret stone. In addition, LaCrosse will back to the frontline infantrymen. These are surface-to-surface weapons fired at group targets.

The Army has an important mission in the aid defense field, as you undoubtedly know We have a shoulder-fired missile, coming in operational use, for the soldier to use against attacking aircraft along with the field mobil Hawk missile to be employed against low flying aerial targets. Probably our most in portant contribution in the future will b Nike-Zeus, the only weapon system presenti designed to attack incoming ballastic mis siles. We have just successfully fired the sustainer rocket motor for this missile and are now approaching the testing stage of the complete system. In the near future whope to fire it against our own IRBM's and ICBM's to arrive the stage of the system. ICBM's to establish its effectiveness for the air defense of our country. There is an ur gent requirement for such a weapon while we are faced with the ballistic missile black mail of the Communists. We are confiden that Nike-Zeus can do this job.

Another though-provoking addition to ou arsenal is in the chemical field. If the Communists ever use chemicals against us must be prepared for such at attack. On the other hand, recent tests with nonlethal gase have shown the really humane nature such a weapon that incapacitates without killing, even leaving no harmful after effect on humans. This is certainly an advantageous way to capture an objective without destroying needed buildings, bridges, and other manmade structures.

The Army's contributions to the nations space program have been substantial and have enjoyed a good share of success in ou projects for the National Aeronautics ar Space Administration and the Advanced Re search Projects Agency. Probably the mo noteworthy of these were the space problest March, still orbiting the sun as I star here now, and the recent flight of the mon keys in a Jupiter missile. We look forwar to participating in the Mercury astronaus trips in space and to launching more sate lites and other experiments in the future.

There is one other area that I assure you we are most concerned with. And that with the most important factor of and battlefield at any future time—the soldier the week firmly believe that the man on the ground, well trained and well led is the ge to success and still is the most necessari and most fundamental part of our nations military posture. He is the man for wholl we have developed new methods of preser ing foods by radiation, requiring no frigeration; for whom the Medical Corps be developed a bone glue that will enable soldier with a broken leg to walk out of the hospital in 48 hours; and to whom we are constantly striving to give every possible aby vantage in future combat so that he cap perform his vital missions.

My principal objective this morning was remind us all of our obligation for service the Nation and to indicate how, in parcular, Army Research and Development is entributing toward that goal. We need all you to energize support for our Armed forces and a more dynamic national effort, ad to activate the thinking in this country that we can replace fear with faith, and omplacency with courage. That is what we eed today if we are to go forward to meet is tremendous Communist challenge which aces us and will continue to do so for many Mars.

I mentioned earlier that you have an imbortant role to play here in South Carolina Legionnaires. Your sense of urgency, of boldness, and the initiative you display in bur fields of activity, all contribute directly to the advancement of the Nation in facing the advancement of the lies before us.

In the present period of tension, we must ever relax our guard. The Communist treat continues to increase and, as Khruchev said recently, "the clock ticks on." our Nation and our Army must be provided th the best possible weapons systems over the coming years. This is a national task add it depends upon all of us. We will all ty depends upon an of us. We take the challenge that faces us. Let us do so willingly and thusiastically with a greater faith in our destiny based on a justifiable pride in our heritage.

I think it can be said, today, that the fate our Nation depends more on our determiaction, vigilance, and preparedness than

er before in our history.

Our potential enemy's capabilities are unbelievably great and are growing greater in both the military and economic fields. The four grows too late to tolerate that seed of teath called complacency any longer.

Arnold Toynbee has pointed out that 19 of 21 notable civilizations have died from ithin and not by conquest from without.

We must not be No. 20.

That vital challenge of tomorrow is our ceatest opportunity today—the opportunity so advance, so build, so defend, and so therish this land of ours that in the far disan future America will still be enshrined and sustained as the leader of free men in the hearts and hopes of all the people of the world.

The kind of national spirit I believe we hould have—spirit that means service—was spressed clearly by a fellow Vermonter of auch earlier vintage. His name was Ethan Allen.

After he had captured Ticonderoga and hirned in the booty, the Congress in its imidity considered turning the captured captured turning the captured captured turning the captured turning tu Cannon back to the British. Aroused by this Sesture, Ethan Allen wrote a letter to Concess, and this is what he said, among other things:

"I wish to God that America would, at this citical juncture, exert herself. \* \* She dory, freedom, and immortal honor if she but knew her strength."

Thank you very much, ladies and gentle-men. It has been a pleasure to be with you.

Results of the Annual Questionnaire in the Second Congressional District of Washington

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. JACK WESTLAND

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, each Year I have sent questionnaires to the voters of my district. The answers to this year's questionnaires indicate the interest of the people in the second district in national and world affairs. answers also are of value to me, the Representative on whom these voters depend. The return has been excellent, amounting to 10 percent of the 75,000 I mailed.

The returns have been grouped into six categories, which are self-explanatory. They include labor, white collar, farmers, professional, business, and miscellaneous. The last category included unsigned questionnaires, housewives, retired persons, students, and others who cannot be classified easily in one of the other groups.

It is encouraging to see the substantial thought given to the issues covered by the questionnaire. Many persons took the time and the trouble to present detailed comments to help form within my own mind the path to follow in representing my district. I appreciate and thank them for their efforts.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the detailed results. The figures I use here represent percentages, not totals of those who answered the questions.

First: In order of their importance to you, number the six most important issues today: National defense, social security, foreign affairs, peaceful uses of atomic energy, taxation, agriculture, education, inflation, power, budget, labor, other.

	Labor	White	Farmer -	Profes- sional	Business	Miscella- neous	All
National defense Inflation Taxation Foreign affairs Education Budget Atomic energy Agriculture Labor Social security Power Other	54 12 8 6 5 4 3 (1) 3 3 0 2	50 13 9 13 4 5 2 (t) 2 (t) 2 (t) 2	54 15 13 7 2 2 2 1 4 1 1 0	43 11 -5 18 11 5 3 (t) 2 (t) (t)	49 12 16 7 2 4 3 0 4 1 1 0 2	48 12 8 10 5 3 4 1 1 3 4 (1) 2	51 133 9 100 3 4 4 3 (1) 2 (2)

<sup>1</sup> Less than I percent.

Second. Do you believe a balanced budget is: (A) absolutely necessary, (B) desirable, (C) unimportant.

	A	В	C
Labor	35	60	
White collar Farmer Professional	44 36	52 61	
Business Miscellaneous	42 16	55 79	
All	35	61	

Third. The President has submitted a balanced budget for the next fiscal year, which begins July 1. Do you believe this budget is adequate?

	Yes	No
Labor White collar Farmer Professional, Business Miscellaneous	80 85 93 82 87 85 84	20 15 7 18 13 15 16

Fourth. If you answered question 3 "no," would you finance such increases by: (A) raising taxes, (B) deficit spending. (Percentage results shown here were arrived at by dividing the number of "yes" answers to question 4A and to question 4B.)

	A	В
Labor White collar Farmer Professional Business Miscellaneous All	60 64 72 74 63 63	40 36 28 26 37 37 35

Fifth. Do you favor freer flow of political leaders, students, farmers, businessmen, and other citizens between the United States and the U.S.S.R.?

	Yes	No
Labor White collar Farmer Professional Business Miscellaneous All	65 75 63 81 69 79 69	35 25 37 19 31 21 31

Sixth. Do you favor medical and hospital care for social security beneficiaries with corresponding increases in individual and employer contributions to cover the costs?

	Yes	No
Labor. White collar. Farmer Professional Business. Miscellaneous All	64 44 51 41 38 60 53	31 54 41 55 60 44

Seventh. Do you favor a summit meeting?

	Yes	No
Labor White collar Farmer Professional Business Miscellaneous All	71 77 77 77 75 77 76	29 23 23 23 25 25 23 24

Eighth. The prices of 12 commodities (corn, cotton, tobacco, wheat, rice, peanuts, milk, butterfat, wool, mohair, honey, and tung nuts) are supported at prescribed minimum levels. In general, do you approve the present farm price support program?

	Yes	No
Labor	23 17 16 22 17 24 21	77 83 84 78 83 76 79

Ninth. Do you favor Federal aid to education in terms of: (A) School construction, (B) teachers salaries, (C) loans to students.

	1	1	1	3	(	,
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Labor White collar Farmer	67 53 46	33 47 54	41 34 24	59 66 76	49 45 43	51 55
Professional Business	64 47	36 53	44 33	56 67	56 41	55 57 44 59
Miscellaneous.	53 57	47	40 39	60	51 48	49 52

Tenth. Do you favor continuation of mutual security programs of military and economic assistance to countries outside the Soviet bloc?

	Yes	No
Labor White collar Farmer Professional Business Miscellaneous All	70 83 75 87 75 69 75	30 17 25 13 25 31 25

Eleventh. Do you favor the President's recommendations for labor legislation?

	Yes	No
Labor	75	25
White collar	89	11
Farmer	84	16
Professional	89	- 11
Business	92	8
Miscellaneous	- 86	14
All.	84	16

Twelfth. Do you favor the cooperative development of power from atomic energy by Federal and private industry?

	Yes	No
Labor White collar Farmer Professional Business Miscellaneous All	90 91 89 90 93 91 90	- 10 9 11 10 7 9

It is obvious from these results that national defense is of primary importance to the people of my district. The fact that inflation ranked next in importance and that the budget was among the top six issues is of great interest to me. The people want inflation stopped and support the President's efforts in this direction by asking for a balanced budget.

The people I represent also want this Congress to pass adequate labor legislation. They believe the President's recommendations on labor legislation are good. I hope this Congress will pass legislation along these lines.

I am extremely pleased to note there is no dissension between the six categories. Substantially the majority of each group has expressed the same viewpoint toward all major issues. This means the people of my district are solidly bound together in their feelings toward what is good for the Nation.

## The International Military Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, on June 13, at the 12th annual conference of the Military Government Association, in Washington, D.C., the Honorable Robert H. Knight, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, made a most enlightening address in which he summarized the international military situation. It is my belief that a reading of this summary will be of great benefit to all of the Congress. I ask unanimous consent that the address by Mr. Knight be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

THE INTERNATIONAL MILITARY SITUATION

(Address by Robert H. Knight, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (ISA), at the Seminar on International Military and Political Affairs, 12th annual conference of Military Government Association, Washington, D.C., June 13, 1959)

Secretary Irwin has asked me to express his personal regrets that he cannot be with you today. He is presently participating in the Foreign Ministers' Conference in Geneva and has, accordingly, asked me to present his views to you.

Underlying the world tension which exists today between the Communists and the free world is the military power of the opposing blocs. While this conflict is being fought on the political, economic, and psychological fronts as well as, from time to time, on a variety of military fronts, the military power basis of each side has a profound effect on all other aspects of the struggle. It is within this frame of reference that I propose to attempt a brief review of the international military situation.

The international military situation presently appears to consist of two elements-the military forces which each side has developed-and the uses to which these forces are being put-now, in this period of tension.

In assessing this international military situation, it is wise to look first at the opposition-to see what are the size, nature and deployment of his forces-and to divine, as best we can, the strategy which he employs. With our best estimates of these factors we can attempt to judge the adequacy of our own forces-and draw some conclusion as to the resultant status of the international military picture.

The total bloc forces today consist of about 8 million men under arms in their regular forces, some 6,750,000 soldiers in their ground forces, 30,000 military aircraft in their air forces and some 3,400 naval vessels of all types.

The foundation of this strength lies of course in the forces of the Soviet Union, with 175 divisions, 20,000 military aircraft and a Navy of some 630 combat vessels, including some 475 submarines. Communist China maintains an army of about 150 divisions supported by some 2,500 aircraft. The remaining forces are those of the European and Asian satellites, whose reliability could vary

from close to that of their Russian or Chines masters, to virtually a liability, as was the case in the Hungarian armed forces in the revolt of 1956. It is pertinent to mention separately the growing Russian missile force, which poses a serious threat today-and which will pose an even greater threat in the years to come.

Although this is the largest military force ever assembled in peacetime under one authority-for one must assume that it can and would be used in a coordinated effortit is not the total of the military resources possessed by the bloc. We must add to these regular forces the millions in militarily trained manpower produced by the militant Communist society and, of particular threat in both hot or cold war, the trained, disciplined Communist apparatus existing in most of the free world countries, an invaluable asset to Communist power in both hot or cold war.

With this tremendous base of military power, one might conclude that it is the strategy of the bloc to employ this power to achieve militarily their goal of world domi-nation. Personally, however, I doubt this. The Communists know, as well as we, the price of such an undertaking-and I doubt that they are willing to pay this price. Why then do they maintain such a large military machine. What is the strategic use to which they are putting or will put this power?

Obviously I am not privy to the strategic plans of the bloc. But I do believe that certain uses to which they are putting their

military power are fairly clear.

First, they must have this military power in order to retain their political power, to suppress any attempts of their subjugated peoples to revolt—both at home especially in the conquered satellite nations While it is sometimes hard for us to believe that so much force is needed for this purpose, the Communist leaders, who came to power through violence, know the amount of powder in the keg on which they are sit-They cannot afford to take chances. The Hungarys and the Tibets must be ruth lessly crushed by overwhelming military power before they have a chance to spread to the main powder magazines.

Secondly, they use this power as a threat to intimidate free nations, large and smallto attempt by the use of saber-rattling to advance their political objectives. One need only review the words of Khrushchev at the time of the Lebanon operation or more recently in connection with Berlin to find the most blatant use of military threats. These threats must be given stature—hence, the second reason for their maintaining such \$

large military force.

Third, they use this power to probe for military weakness—to attempt to grab that which they think we cannot or will not defend. This was their strategy in Kores-We must assume that they would not hesitate to employ a similar strategy again, particularly in such exposed areas as Berlin of

Quemoy.

Fourth, they use this power to support the attempts of local Communists to seize power as was the case in Vietnam, Greece, and Malaya. With the large, well-disciplined Communist apparatus which exists in so many free world nations, we must always be alert to this type of threat, especially in those free world nations whose geographic location lends itself to covert Communist military support. Such countries as Laos and Cambodia, Iran and Iraq, are particularly vulnerable to this type of attack.

A fifth use of their military power which they have only recently begun to explois through Communist style military aid

lograms. In the newly emerging countries, ley have found a market for their surplus ons which they can sell cheaply or barter the products of the local economy. By Reempting the arms markets in certain naons they hope to establish a means of conbl, both through the use of "technical ad-Hers" to train the recipients and through ess to train the recipients and they can supply of spare parts, which only they can Already this approach has begun in The UAR, Indonesia, and Alghanistan, Their most recent venture is the gift of Cechoslovakian arms to the new states of

And finally, of course, the Soviets, them-ves, feel the need for deterrence. Their Poclivity to suspect the West of aggressive deligns, in spite of all we can do to disabuse deligns, in spite of all we can no to disastitude of this fear, creates in their minds also the need to deter. They also realize that in this day of missiles and armed frontiers the control of the specific of the second of the chances of a war—begun by accident rather than design—cannot be overlooked, and they that be prepared to give a good account of themselves should unforeseen events involve them unwittingly in war.

This, briefly, is the Communist side of the bernational military situation, their forces and their apparent strategic plans for using these forces. It adds up to formidable, but hos overwhelmingly military power, being ex-poited fully and intelligently in pursuance

of their goals.

In speaking of our military strategy, I will Coper three basic premises, which I believe the foundation of our military strategy in the cold war. The first of these is detertence. The fundamental role of the milibey in this period of international tension is prevent that tension from turning to war. while in our history we have more often than not forgotten Washington's advice that he be prepared for war is one of the most ectual means of preserving peace"—we talize today that in modern war, with its botential for rapid annihilation, we have no Other choice but to be prepared adequately at the outset. To do this, we have created the most effective peacetime military forces our country has ever known. I need not re-lew for you, I'm sure, the detailed nature of these forces—you undoubtedly are familiar with such forces as our Strategic Air Comhand, the Strategic Army Corps, the 6th and th Pleets—and our combat forces stationed h the NATO area and in the Far East. It by keeping these forces constantly ready to neet military aggression wherever or whenever it occurs.

Yet as great and as costly as is our millthy effort, it alone is not sufficient. We have neither the manpower nor the money to build alone the force necessary to deter the military power created from the nearly billion people under Communist control. This fact has caused us to break historic policy and to join, in peacetime, military alduces with other free nations—so that each can find in concert the security it could not hope to achieve alone. The United States has come to realize that if we are to maintein freedom at home, we must uphold it abroad.

This, then, is the second of our strategic Policies, to cast our lot with the principal of collective security, to help our allies to achieve the military posture, which together with our own, will be adequate to the securiin our own, will be adequate to the second placeds of the free world. To this end, we have implemented the military aid program by which we are helping our allies to equip and train their forces. Together with our things of the second place with our second place with the second place. and train their forces. Together with allies, we have deviced interallied military course, we have deviced interallied machieve commands and planning groups to achieve hore effective utilization of these assets. These include the formal NATO commands of SHAPE and SACLANT, the U.N. Command k Rorea, NORAD here in North America and

interallied military planning groups in the Baghdad Pact and SEATO areas.

During the past 9 years, as a result of our efforts and those of our allies, the military forces of the free world have made remarkable strides toward the goals established as necessary for free world security. The effectiveness and success with the United States and its allies have served this objective is evidenced by the substantial record of achievement in less than a decade. Some of the accomplishments can be cited:

The Armies of the United States and its allies have grown from roughly 4 million men to 6 million men; our navies from some 1,600 ships of all types to nearly 3,200 ships; our air forces from some 33,000 of which about 3,000 were jet aircraft to over 50,000 aircraft of which more than half are jets.

Accompanying these quantitative advancements have been equally impressive but less measurable qualitative improvements. Our forces and those of our allies have been receiving a steady flow of more modern equipment. With the assistance of our MAAG's and missions, the training of the allied forces has been substantially improved. This training has included many interallied exercises wherein the forces of various nationalities learn to operate together under wartime conditions. And resulting from all these measures, although even more difficult to measure, we believe these forces have been instilled with a high degree of esprit and morale. With clear U.S. commitments to assist them and with hard evidence of our material support available throughout their forces, we are confident of the determination of these allied forces to give a good account of themselves should the need arise.

Thus, deterrence and collective security are two elements of our military strategy in this period of international tension. would now like to discuss a third, which perhaps is not so clear because it is a more recent outgrowth of the first two elements. This third element is an organized and determined effort to maximize the contribution of our military forces to our peacetime international objectives.

You might say that this objective stems from the old Yankee tradition of thriftto get the most for our money-or from the principle of war, economy of force-to use our forces to their best advantage. It, in any case, certainly behooves us to squeeze every possible return out of a national asset for which we pay over \$40 billion each year.

The basic concept is to use our military forces to reinforce and support our national, political, economic, psychological, technological, cultural and humanitarian objectives. We realize, of course, the primacy of the first two elements of our strategy. We must not in the process of using our forces for nonmilitary objectives, jeopardize their readiness for combat or their efforts to assist our allies to acquire effective fighting forces. But we strongly believe that in the process of fulfilling the first two elements of our strategy, a substantial contribution can be made to our nonmilitary objectives-given proper planning, coordination and especially imagination and a real understanding of our objectives in various parts of the world. I must hasten to say that by calling this a new element of our strategy I do not mean that our forces in the past have not contributed to our nonmilitary objectives; of course they have, and in large measure. What is new is a recognition of the importance of these past contributions and the vital need to make this new facet of our efforts more effective.

Although sometimes we are prone to forget it, our present military strategy is quite a departure from the traditional strategy of the United States. Historically, we had

always counted upon the protection of the oceans to allow us time to prepare and react. We had studiously avoided peacetime alliances. Fortunately, we now recognize the futility of such a policy in this age of atomics, missiles and Communist expan-sionism. But this change has brought with it new and complex problems which the military has never before been required to face. While not intending that we ignore the traditionally important problems of our forces, such as recruiting, training and equipping, I believe it is worthwhile to examine these new problems—both to see how we might better prepare ourselves to solve them and to discuss possible solutions to some which remain unsolved.

First of all, we are faced with the problem of maintaining forces which are trained, equipped and deployed so as to be able to respond instantaneously to major Communist overt aggression or to limited Commu-

nist military ventures.

Growing from this first problem we are faced with the complex task of securing the bases in foreign countries which are essential to a posture of readiness. Lately in some areas this problem has been re versed and we are faced with the problem of retaining bases which we now occupy in the face of some political opposition. Thus, while in 1939 we maintained forces in only one foreign country, today we have opera-tional or support forces in over 20 foreign foreign countries.

Another change in our military problems arises from our undertaking to help supply and train the forces of some 44 foreign countries. This has made our military assistance program one of our major peacetime undertakings, for it is the keystone in our strategy of collective security.

Stemming from our forces overseas and our MAAG's and missions is a new training problem for our own forces. We must train and orient our personnel to deal effectively with foreign officials, both military and civilian. More than lip service must be paid to the "Ambassadors in uniform" concept, for with more than 40 percent of our military forces located outside the United States, we must equip these personnel with more than just military knowledge, if they are to do their jobs As a recent step in this direceffectively. tion, I might mention the Military Assistance Institute which we established about a year ago to provide specialized training for some of the officers being assigned to our MAAG's and missions. Undoubtedly, more needs to be done to improve the orientation and training of our personnel for these highly complicated and sensitive missions abroad.

Our military forces overseas, together with their dependents, comprise by far the largest group of Americans officially representing their country abroad. This can be a great problem. It is also potentially a great asset. Our job is to assure the latter, to provide that to the extent their primary missions will permit, these personnel with their wives and children, also contribute to achieving our national objectives.

These problems, I believe, point up the changing nature of our military forces and strategy-and outlines briefly the new types of problems which together with our tra-ditional tasks, the Armed Forces of the United States now face.

In summary, I would like to make three points:

that on balance the strengths of the military forces of the op-posing blocs generally might be considered a stand-off-with the Communists possessing the advantage in ground forces-but with the free world having some advantage in air and sea power.

Second, that the Communist bloc is making full use of its military power to achieve its objectives in the cold war by a strategy ranging all the way from threats of missile attack to Communist style military aid programs.

And third, and most important to this discussion-we are striving to achieve the maximum return for our military invest-ment by both deterring hot war through ment by both deterring hot war effective preparation to fight and by utilizing our military assets to the fullest extent feasible to assist in the achievement of our

nonmilitary objectives.

I believe it is worth keeping in mind that while it is vitally important to keep abreast of the Communists in the development of weapons for our Armed Forces, it is no less important that we keep abreast in the use of these forces during all periods of international tension. While the mere existence of our forces and those of our allies serves a major cold war objective, we cannot stop with this; it is vital to our national strategy that our military strategy provide for ob-taining the maximum contribution of these forces toward achieving our national objectives in related fields-economic, political and technological.

## Human Wealth and Economic Growth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, in our efforts to assist economic development in the less developed areas of the world, we should never overlook the fundamental fact that we need more than capital. Our fundamental invest-ment must be in person. Of course, capital investment does affect the lives of persons. But along with our investment in roads, fertilizing plants, steel mills, and other sinews of productivity, we must invest directly in the education of the persons who will operate these new enterprises.

This point is well made in a recent article entitled "Human Wealth and Economic Growth," written by Prof. Theodore W. Schultz, and published in the Humanist, 1959, No. 2. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Professor Schultz' article be printed in the Ap-

pendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

HUMAN WEALTH AND ECONOMIC GROWTH (By Theodore W. Schultz)

(Theodore W. Schultz teaches economics at the University of Chicago and heads the Research Advisory Board of the Committee Development. He Economic studied-and helped to improve-economic conditions in Europe, India, and Latin America, especially Mexico. This article is based on his talk at the Cleveland conference of the American Humanist Association last November.)

We Americans have traditionally taken it for granted that expansion, growth—particularly economic growth—is in itself a good But recently we have witnessed the beginnings of a debate; it is being argued that we are putting too much emphasis on economic growth in national policy and in our thinking, and that is should be given a lower priority. This essentially is the thesis of a recent book by Professor Galbraith of Harvard, "The Affluent Society." In effect, Dr. Galbraith closes the United States off and says that we have grown fairly rich now, and why then be concerned about more economic

This amounts to a very sophisticated new brand of isolationism with which I would quarrel seriously; and I was glad to see an article by Leon Keyserling [The New Republic, October 27, 1958] in which he took Mr. Galbraith and others very much to task for this limited view. Mr. Keyserling said very effectively-not speaking as an economist, and more effectively than an economist could have said it-that if we were truly aware of our responsibility in the world today, we would see that we are indeed very poor.

That is not to argue that economic growth will necessarily solve all the problems of the world. It cannot give us all the necessary and sufficient conditions for world peace. Nor is rapid economic growth always a comfortable process for the countries involved. Very heavy stresses and strains are implicit in the changes brought by rapid growth in the economy. We in the west do not usually consider this when we urge poor countries to move ahead more rapidly. But it is easier to see at home, for example in American agriculture, where change has been so rapid that the social cost is very high. During just one peacetime year, from April 1956 to April 1957, we had two million people leaving American agriculture. That was 10 percent of the American farm population. In leaving a agriculture. sector of the economy they normally had to change both location and job, giving up not only their occupation but their community life as well. When change occurs at such a fantastic rate, the social cost is proportionately high. And we should bear in mind that when rapid growth occurs in poor countries, the same kind of thing happens. This is not to argue against economic growth, but to say that order too has value for the community; that order and change should each have a place in the thinking and experience of communities where change is going on.

What then, we may ask, do people want economic growth for? Do people, as individuals and as communities, want economic growth? Is it important to them, and why? My answer is that economic growth is important on a worldwide scale because there is so much poverty in the world. And we no longer believe that poverty is ordained by God. Men today will not be kept down in poverty because it is a part of the symbolism of a caste or class or religion. Men can, and men will, do something about it.

The example of early industrial develop-ment in the West, of Japan later on and Russia more recently, has become common knowledge all over the world. People in the areas we think of as backward—Africa, some the Asian countries, even the Indians in the mountains of Peru-are rapidly becoming informed and aware of these vital matters, They want first-class citizenship and the right to enjoy some of the fruits of living, and not the bare subsistence that has for

centuries been their lot.

Economic growth, therefore, is important both for us here in the United States and for others; and it is important for us to comprehend the way in which it is brought I believe that we in America do not really understand our own economic growth and how it was achieved. Much of our debate on the subject is in terms of material as against spiritual values; and we think of economics as materialistic, partly because we have identified capital with goods—reproducible goods—and have not seen it in its human context. And this applies to Marxian theory as well as to our own non-

Marxian thinking. At the individual leve the way to achieve economic growth can stated very simply: work and thrift. Yo work hard, you are thrifty and save, and you accumulate something called capits It helps to have chosen your birthplace wisely, to be born where there is plenty of and coal, ores, rich farmlands, harbors and rivers; but I suspect that this is less impor tant than has been supposed. Consider the prosperity of landlocked, mountained Switzerland; or look at what the Puerl Ricans are doing on an island that by almost no resources, or at Mexico, which far from rich in this sense. And there & other examples. The key to economic deve opment, I believe, is in man himself, and not in material resources.

Another road to economic growth has bee revolution-followed by a generation or to of enforced accumulation of capital achieve by forced labor of one kind or another alor with drastic limits on consumption. The h man cost of that road is, of course, appalling It is shown in Boris Pasternak's mucdiscussed novel, "Dr. Zhivago," where we the lives of a few people who try to 55 their souls from the crushing excesses of vast revolution. Similar excesses charge terized the French Revolution, and in son ways also the Mexican Revolution. It would a mistake to see the novel as a pure political document, rather than as an count of what happens to human value during such a revolution. William Faul ner's account of other human values, in "I truder in the Dust," with its setting in of society, is, if anything, sharper and mo devastating than anything in "Dr. Zhivago

WHAT CAUSES ECONOMIC GROWTH?

Let us consider economic growth in the United States, and how it came about. the increases in man-hours of labor, total man-hours worked as our population and labor force have grown, plus the in creases in the stock of real capital, account for most or all of our own economic growt throughout our history? Several recent stud les have been made that bear on this que tion, and they all tell very much the same story.

Consider the period from 1929 to 195 which is fairly recent and avoids some the measurement problems that would met if we went back further. During th time, the total national real income by real income we mean not money income but real things—of this country a little more than doubled. If we think of it is terms of compound interest, this is an in crease of something more than 3 percent

per year.

During this period from 1929 to 195 while total real income doubled, our re sources, in terms of total man-hours in the labor force, increased by 17 percent. At the same time, the total capital stock—that the value of material resources, manufac turing plants, and so forth-went up 42 Pt If these figures are weighed properly cent. the total rise in input (man-hours and caf ital stock combined) is about one thirdin compound interest terms, an increase 1.2 percent per year as compared with 3-percent increase in real income.

The increase in resources, then, would seem to account for about two-fifths of rise in real income, leaving three-fifths operand to be small and to be explained. We added a third our resources, and ended up with twice the product. Where did the rest come from what evaluations the different content of the This is What explains the difference? enigma of our history; we do not under stand it ourselves, and I think most of the political debate on this issue is quite is side the point. Both the liberal and conservative views on economic growth probably wrong.

Businessmen and others who tend to to conservative view would probably argue the if we want more rapid growth in the Ameri

economy, we will have to give larger bentives to people to hustle, to work, save, mest, accumulate capital, build new plants, the so on. Lower taxes on these activities the provide these incentives. And con-tyatives would also argue, no doubt, that ven decisions by government result in the of resources, these should be correged. A fair case might be made here in contection with, for example, some of the mection with, for example, some of the asportation decisions made by the interest of the Commerce Commission and some of on agricultural policies. If, however, as we agricultural policies. If, however, as have just seen, growth in capital accounts for such a small proportion of total growth. it would seem impossible that even subwould seem impossible that even tal in reproducible goods would result in a in reproducible goods would result in a sustantially greater increase in total rowth. It might be wise to do some of the things on other grounds, but that alone bring about appreciably more conomic growth, can be denied.

on the liberal side, our friends in labor which the liberal side, our irrelius have we should say that to get rapid growth we should reduce unemployment; that if, insted of running 5 to 6 percent unemployment on the average, we could get this figbre down to 3 or even 2 percent as they are doing in some European countries, the probwould be solved. Certainly this would result in a larger product in the beginning; there would be a rise when the extra resources in human effort were allowed to work. But it does not follow that this would lead to a higher rate of growth from then one, and the picture in European countries at he work. at present bears this out. Again, I do not present bears this out. Again, I do not have an to argue that a decrease in unemployment is not a desirable thing to achieve; but it cannot by itself bring about economic than the state of the state o bowth of the explosive kind shown in the thexplained figures just given.

Another liberal argument is that the pubsector of the economy should be enlarged, and more resources given to the sovernment to spend in certain ways, in order to achieve this kind of rapid growth. of course, the list of things that ought be done on the public account is a very long one: urban renewal in our large cities; that gement of social security; conservation of course, the list of things that ought to argement of social security, construction of natural resources; improving our parks, there and harbors; development of water tources, dams, power; building highways, achools and hospitals; and so on. But I doubt that even if each of these were inthat even if each or mest would lead to assed by 20 percent, this would read appreciably more economic growth. Certally we are woefully behind in some bublic facilities in our society today, and for the welfare of our citizens we should be spending to these things. But the welfare of our citizens we amount of the welfare of our citizens we amount of the country of the achievement of economic growth in this

# THE FORMATION OF HUMAN CAPITAL

What then is the key to economic growth? The hypothesis which follows has become the center of my own work in studying this subject, and I do not wish to state it domatically as proven; but it seems to or-sanize the relevant facts of our history and therians. the relevant facts of our histories better than any other hypothesis have worked with.

That hypothesis can be stated this way: that hypothesis can be stated this way. looking at our own economic growth from 1923 to 1953, or at the rapid growth of Japan or Garage Countries, one observes or Germany or other countries, one observes what I shall call an underspecification of resources. We have omitted a part whith, and my thesis is that this omission represented by the additions that have made in the stock of human wealth. This human wealth consists of improvethe in human effectiveness arising from fact that man has developed capacities that result from investments in man. We that result from investments in man. We hay feel a bit touchy at having this concept of capital taken over from the realm of reproducible, material things, and applied

to ourselves as humans. And vet perhaps the greatest capital formation that has been going on in our society is this investment in ourselves. It may be that these investments in ourselves-in our abilities, our talents and capacities, in our stamina, our health, the way we live and what we eatare the very kinds of capital that make the greatest returns in terms of reward for our efforts

One aspect of this human wealth, of course, is the great increase in useful knowledge. I first became aware of the importance of this when I tried to understand the rapid growth that has taken place in some parts of Latin America. Mexico, for example, has been an extraordinarily poor country. If anyone had told me, when I first studied it in 1930, that Mexico could achieve the increase in output, in its total production, that it has achieved since that time, I should have said it would be impossible. Particularly I should have said this about the economic area I knew best, agriculture. If I had been told that Mexico, with its pitifully resources, could actually double its output in agriculture—traditionally one of the hardest kinds of output to increase-I should have denied it. But that is what the Mexicans have done. Their gross national product has been rising by 7 or 8 percent a year, but the agricultural product has been rising even faster. In the past 12 years, they have had an increase in gross national product of approximately 80 cent—and they have again doubled their output in agriculture. Although less dramatic, yet similar things have been happening in Brazil and in other places, such as Puerto Rico.

These observations prompted a second look at some earlier work in which I had found that in this country, since 1923, for every 25 percent increase in agricultural output, we had increased our input in man-hours and material resources by no more than 3 to 5 percent. It suddenly occurred to me that some of these countries that are moving forward so rapidly now are doing much the same thing. They have found a way to get a greatly increased output without an input that is proportionately that large. This would appear to be a direct contradiction of the doctrine of the 18th century economists, Ricardo and Malthus, who held that for every increase of, say 10 percent in input, a country would get somewhat less than 10 percent growth in output-the classic image of diminishing returns.

In order to discover just what was going on in these areas, my colleagues and I began a series of studies, particularly of Argentina, Mexico, and Brazil. These studies showed that Brazil and Mexico in particular began to develop, in the late twenties, and achieved an increase in agricultural output that was substantially greater than the additional input. Argentina showed a pattern of growth that looked very much like that of Canada and the United States—until Perón came to power; and then it reversed itself. And unfortunately. Argentina has not begun to move forward again even now, 3 years after Perón's

In another study, I then undertook to try to discover whether these unexplained, omitted inputs could be represented as the return on the investment that has been going into humans. One of these investments is education, in high schools, colleges and graduate schools in the United States. Comparing figures for two dates, 1920 and 1956, we can identify what the economists would call gross capital formation, in ourselves, for this one kind of investment during that period. In 1920, counting all the costs as you would if you were developing capital in the physical sense, our investment in education in the United States was \$1.6 billion. In 1956, this figure had risen to \$22.7 billion. This is a much more rapid increase than the

value of our physical capital during the same period. In fact, it was 7 percent of gross physical capital in 1920, and in 1956 it was up to 28 percent. And even this is an understatement. In terms of net capital (that is, the life of capital when its depreciation is subtracted), the comparison is even more striking, because during this period the life of human capital has been increasing very substantially. A person invests in himself. and then has a longer period of useful activity in society than he would have had 30 vears ago. At the same time, the life of socalled physical capital is getting shorter and shorter. This is one of the notable phenomens of our time.

#### PETTIENS ON INVESTMENT IN KNOWLEDGE

The individual and social returns on our investment in education are suggested in the results of a recent study in which Morton Zeman of the University of Chicago tried to explain the very large differences in the average earnings of urban workers, Negro and white. Using census figures, Dr. Zeman was white. Using census ngures, Dr. Johan was able to classify people, white and Negro, by region, city size, age, and education. He found that in the North, comparing Negro and white workers all of whom had had 5 years of school, the average difference in their earnings was small. The average earnings of nothern Negroes were slightly less than those of whites of the same educational level.

Of course there are other factors influencing earning power, such as age, city size, and so on; and in the South the picture is still more complex. But the extraordinary thing was that, at any rate in the North, the most important factor determining earning power of both white and Negro workers was the amount of education they had had. This suggests that one of the tragic errors in American history has been our failure to invest in Negroes as citizens as we have invested in whites as citizens. One of the great costs has been the lower productivity in the economy, as well as the individual differences in earnings as revealed by Dr. Zeman.

Other studies, of white and Negro farm families, have yielded similar results. The implication is that our economy pays high rewards for more investment in people, as fifth year in school, the sixth year in school, the seventh and eighth and on through the high schools-with each added year of education, the rewards increase.

The social returns on investment in new useful knowledge are demonstrated in another set of studies. In a project underwritten by the National Science Foundation, we attempted to identify particular pieces of new knowledge that have moved into the economy, and to see what they cost the society and what return they make to the society. One such piece of new knowledge that we were able to isolate and treat in this way was the development of hybrid corn.

The history of hybrid corn development in this country goes back to 1910, with relatively few people involved at first, but with a pyramiding of effort in the later stages. A colleague of mine has just published the results of some very ingenious research; he has found that if we count all of the private and public costs of hybrid corn, everything that has gone into its development-and the records on this are quite complete-a total of \$130 million has been invested since 1910. (This figure also allows for compound interest over the time period, but that is a technicality.) Then if we measure all of the product that can be identified and attributed to this particular new piece of useful knowledge, we find that its contribution to the consumer surplus—and it quickly becomes a consumer surplus, which is what made the analysis so difficult and required so much ingenuity-turns out to be no less than \$910 million. That is, the return on the \$130 million invested is running at 700 percent per year.

Most of the time we consider it an improvement if we can work out an allocation of resources that increases the return from 5 to 6 percent. We criticize private or public business if they are sinking funds in 5 percent areas when they could use such resources in activities that produce 6, 7, or 8 percent. My argument is that we should be looking for ways in which human effort and useful knowledge can move us into the range of 50 percent, 100, 200—even 700 percent return. This is the key to the explosion of our own economic well-being.

If my hypothesis is correct, it carries radical implications for our thinking about the rest of the world. It implies that fewer steel mills and other big plants should be built in the underdeveloped countries, and more invested in the people of those countries, as we have invested in ourselves.

As we look at other countries, let me draw a few comparisons. We can now gain new insights on why Great Britain's growth has been appreciably slower than our own during the past 50 years. The British have neglected education of the middle group in their society. Their elementary education system is much like ours, perhaps better. But at what we call the high school level, before university education begins, the story is of two different worlds. Our high schools, like the elementary schools in both countries. still deal in mass education. At this level we are still investing in people on a mass basis. In Britain, on the contrary, only some 15 to 18 percent of the people go beyond elementary school.

By way of contrast, let us look at Japan, an Asiatic country, highly populated. Something happened in Japan at a very early date, and it began to produce not only industrial products but also much more food under the most adverse circumstances. The agricultural achievements of Japan between 1875 and 1910—before World War I—stand as a miracle. In 1873, Japan moved to universal education, a 6-year program, compulsory all over the country. As a result, they very soon had a literate population; the rural people became more skilled at farming, and a supply of labor was made available to industry that was more sophisticated than even European countries had at that time, and far more so than that of other Asiatic countries. we should remember that we did not have universal compulsory education for Negroes, or for some whites, in the United States at that time. (Some of my American col-leagues, confronted with these facts, have said, "Why, it couldn't have happened. It hadn't happened in the United States yet.")

I think I now understand why Japanese tenant farmers could come to our west coast and do better at farming than many American farmers with whom they were competing. It is often said that they were able to save and buy land because they were willing to accept lower standards of living. But that is not the whole story. I have seen some of these farms; I remember one, of 231 acres, not far from Stanford, which had been acquired by a thrifty Japanese tenant who came over in the late twenties. He and his family farmed the land intensively, with little extra labor-about 10 people in all at peak periods-and today he is an American citizen, owns his farm, and his three sons are all graduates of the University of Cali-When I visited him, he was selling over half a million dollars' product a year from 231 acres. The intricacy of that farming operation make our agriculture in the most of the United States look simple.

A parallel situation would be the postwar recovery of West Germany. When I saw the destruction of the houses, the factories—whole cities in ruins—like everyone else, even the Germans themselves, I missed completely in anticipating the rate of recovery. We simply could not visualize what would hap-

pen in growth, in production, during the next decade, or up to the present. And the reason was that we were putting too much emphasis on steel mills, plants, machinery, railroads, and buildings. We didn't see the human capital—and it was the human capital that went to work.

#### ALONE ON THE HIGH ROAD?

What does all this mean for U.S. policy? I believe it means that the time has come when we have to understand ourselves, and recognize the predominant role of human capital, human wealth. Somehow we have hit on a productive formula for our own society; and it seems that the Russians also are making large gains on this score. The importance of the role of new physical capital in the Soviet Union is often overstressed. The Russians, like ourselves, have been creating human capital very rapidly; and they have been turning it sharply and directly to economic account—undoubtedly at the expense of values we hold dear in our own free society.

Therefore, as we take a hand and act responsibly in other countries, we should bear in mind that the increase in real earnings, the rise in product that is needed to help the peoples of the world out of their poverty, requires human capital. Whether it be in point four technical assistance programs; in activities like the Rockefeller Foundation work in Mexico with hybrid corn; in the work of church groups operating through some 1,600 mission projects in agriculture, education, and health in Latin America and elsewhere; or through private business-the transfer and development of new knowledge, new abilities, and capacities are the most important contributions we can make. This is where the underdeveloped countries tend to neglect themselves. The great neglect in India, for example, is men. There are now three countries in Africa that are investing more per capita in human resources in this generation than India is. The great emphasis on human capital in Puerto Rico makes it stand out in comparison with other Latin American countries.

We in the United States stand here on the high road, which is indeed well paved with large stocks of knowledge and many developed abilities. This is our good fortune, part of our heritage and history. But is this road for us alone? What about most of mankind, trudging on the low road marked "poverty," working so hard and with so little knowledge? Shall we leave them there, like the lonely cultivator described in Faulkner's "Intruder in the Dust"? "The man and the mule and the wooden plow, which coupled them furious and solitary, leaning terrifically against nothing."

## What "Written Constitution"?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, in the June 29 edition of U.S. News & World Report, Editor David Lawrence ably discusses under the heading "What Written Constitution'?" recent comments by Supreme Court Justices. This provocative editorial provides food for thought for all persons interested in constitutional government. I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the artic was ordered to be printed in the RECOS as follows:

WHAT "WRITTEN CONSTITUTION"?
(By David Lawrence)

Justice Black 2 weeks ago wrote an opinit dissenting from the judgment of five oth Justices of the Supreme Court on the su ject of congressional power to interrogate witness about his Communist connector.

Mr. Black spoke, also, for Chief Just Warren and Justice Douglas. A brief opin agreeing with Justice Black's basic co Cusion was filed by Justice Brennan.

Thus, the high court direction.

Thus, the high court divided 5 to 4. T majority and minority opinions, respective are significant, because of the reasoning the Justices on both sides of the argume The issue in the case turned on wheth

The issue in the case turned on whete anyone connected with the Commun Party can claim the right of protection with the constitution of the consti

This view is refuted convincingly in majority opinion, written by Justice Harvin in behalf also of Justices Frankfurter, Class whittaker, and Stewart. He avers that interests of the people as a whole must balanced against the rights claimed und the first amendment. He calls attention the avowed objective of the Communical Party which differs from other politic parties in that the overthrow of the Gornment of the United States by force advocated. He might have added that the Communist Party is working directly in interests of a foreign government which engaged in a cold war with this countaind hence cannot by any meanes be pon an equal footing with the Republical Democratic, or Socialist Parties in Americans.

This balancing of interests, however, seef to disturb Justice Black, who thinks illest aims of a political party should not be criterion. He writes:

"This is closely akin to the notion the neither the first amendment nor any other provision of the Bill of Rights should be forced unless the Court believes it is reasonable to do so. Not only does this viole the genius of our written Constitution, it runs expressly counter to the injunction to Court and Congress made by Madis when he introduced the Bill of Rights.

"Unless we return to this view of o judicial function, unless we once again cept the notion that the Bill of Rigmans what it says and that this Court menforce that meaning, I am of the opinion that our great charter of liberty will be menored in the breach than in the observance."

What strange words these are to read day, in the light of that 1954 decision who told the country that it must accept a versal of the "psychology of 1896" as forth in the famous Plessy v. Ferguson cision. This had unheld 20 years of supreme court rulings in favor of "separation but equal" facilities.

There was no Communist menace with first amendment to the Constitution ratified in 1791. Might it not be are therefore, that whatever the psychologist 1791, it should not be reversed?

Justice Black says the demands of the Government against protection from Coff or munist activity and in favor of what called self-preservation are exaggers at the court decides some day, apparent till the Court decides some day, apparent after subversives have gained their points.

maybe the situation wasn't exaggerated the all? Can we ignore the "clear and presal danger" doctrine enunciated by Judge and Hand, who wrote that it isn't necessary ary to wait for a plot to be consummated thre the Government takes action to preen its own overthrow?

but the majority opinion which has been alled a change from the famous Watkins he it claims to distinguish between this the lit claims to distinguish between the preceding cases, the fact remains that reading both sides in the five to four reading both sides in the five to four reading both sides in the five whether the sides of the property of the propert have today a written or an unwritten constitution.

The argument of the majority is that Constitution.

the argument of the majority is that compers may, within limits, compel answers of witnesses from whom information is that on which to base the writing of new the minority says this is merely ex-The minority says this is merely exphion be crystallized on the need for cortes we law? Would some of these Justices orlid congressional committees to expose active laws? acteteering in labor unions, just because subjects certain witnesses to "humiliaon and public shame"?

Clearly, the fact that the Justices divided to four on whether the Republic can preserve itself against a group or party that poducive to confidence in the wisdom of the Present Supreme Court of the United Will the latest ruling be reversed as he Justice changes his mind? Is this a riten Constitution?

### The Strauss Debate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY

OF OKLAHOMA

THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. Fitsher. tunanimous consent to have printed the Appendix of the RECORD an ediorial entitled "The Strauss Debate," which was published in the Washington cost and Times Herald on Saturday, une 20, 1959.

There being no objection, the editorial ordered to be printed in the Rec-Ro. as follows:

THE STRAUSS DEBATE

The Senate debate over the confirmation adm. Lewis Strauss as Secretary of Comadm. Lewis Strauss as Secretary sece finally has come to an end. The out-one is one that must be discomfiting to he is one that must be discomfiting to he President, embarrassing to the admin-tration, and humiliating for the Admiral, tation, and humiliating for the Auditorial is too bad that this result was not avoided y a withdrawal when that could have been a withdrawal when that could have been complished as a gesture of deference to senate which so early disclosed a clear character to confirm the nomination.

The national interest (and even the inter-st of the nominee and of the administraon) may be better served by this result an by a confirmation, with a narrow marby a confirmation, with a harrow the that would only have transferred the share. that would only have translet to a bate from the floor of the Senate to a gate from the floor of the Senate of the Fernand Rer forum. The breakdown of confidence tween the Admiral and the Senate was complete that the quarrel, in one form another than the quarrel, in one form another, surely would have continued. The another another surely would have continued. The another a good thing for the country a merciful thing for the Admiral to this debate is read as a partisan ven-

this debate is read as a partison that or merely as a personal quarrel, it will

be misread. If it is construed as a verdict on the Admiral's competence, ability, administrative talent, and public service, it will be misconstrued. These things were not at issue.

What was at issue was made increasingly clear as the debate went on. The notable addresses of Senator Mongoney and Senator O'MAHONEY, among others, illumined this issue, in the closing week of the debate. The Admiral had too frequently exhibited a disregard of the right of Congress to know about the transactions of the executive departments. And he came before the Senate at a time when many Senators were feeling irritation at the exhibition of this same sort of executive arrogance by other officials.

The Admiral's estimate of the reach of executive privilege would have enormously diminished legislative prerogatives if it had been allowed to prevail. He appeared to the Senate as the virtual spokesman, the symbol and the exponent of a doctrine of executive secrecy that the majority simply could not countenance. Senators had a right to feel that by confirming Admiral Strauss they would encourage the imitation of a philosophy of executive secrecy.

It is this issue that finally overcame, in the minds of many Senators, an initial reluctance to obstruct the President's choice of a Cabinet member.

The Congress does not always have the power to compel members of the executive departments to be communicative about the operations of Government for which it shares responsibility. However, to use an old truism of politics: although it cannot make them talk it can make them wish they had

Political debate, such as that heard these past weeks in the Senate, more than constitutional doctrine or judicial intervention, constantly is at work, refining the separa-tion of powers. Out of such debate emerges better understanding of that reciprocal deference owed by each branch to the others to the end that a system so dependent upon mutual respect and understanding may operate successfully.

## Depressed Areas Hold Back New England

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. JAMES C. OLIVER

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. OLIVER. Mr. Speaker, we are being continuously brainwashed with economic and financial statistics painting a rosy-hued picture of the recovery of our economy from the deep recesses, which resulted in mass unemployment and loss of growth at this most critical period in our Nation's history.

In the many areas where pockets of unemployment still persist, there is no experience of recovery. My people in Maine who are still unemployed, trying to exist on substandard levels of income, fully appreciate the hollow tone of these self-serving statistics, with which we are being bombarded.

It is not only the severe problem of the depressed area that concerns many of us in Congress. But that which concerns us even more, if that is possible, is the complacency of the leaders of this administration, which permits them to brush off apparently, as in-

consequential the lack of growth and expansion so urgently required to compete with the Sino-Soviet economic challenge.

This country needs to use all the human and material resources which we can command and we cannot afford the luxury of the delay, now stalemating the enactment of the depressed areas bill. This is not radical or extreme legislation. It is not the dream of so-called spenders. There can be no action which is more conservative than the basic philosophy of this bill which is to develop the stagnant areas of our Nation and put people back to work.

Growth and expansion of our economy through full employment and production is the only solution to the common enemies which we are fighting, namely communism and inflation.

The area redevelopment bill should be enacted now to give America the weapon of full employment to win this war.

I am in complete agreement with a summary of the remarks of Mr. Solomon Barkin, research director of the Textile Workers Union of America, recently made at the University of Massachusetts, which are included herein:

DEPRESSED AREAS HOLD BACK NEW ENGLAND

AMHERST, Mass., June 11.—"Twenty-seven major and smaller labor markets in New England continue to be distressed suffering from chronic unemployment despite the substantial recovery which overall nationwide sta-tistics show," said Solomon Barkin, director of research of the Textile Workers Union of America speaking last night before an AFL-OIO institute at the University of Massachusetts.

Barkin spoke on "The Need for Industrial Development in New England." "Average unemployment in New England still is at the rate of 6.5 percent with much higher percentages persisting in the States of Maine and Rhode Island," Barkin stated. "Unemployment in the region is highly

concentrated in the chronically distressed areas. The unemployment rate in these 27 labor markets was 9.5 percent. While they included 25 percent of the working popula-tion, they had 40 percent of the unemployed. In addition to these 27 labor markets, there are 13 other labor markets in which there was a substantial labor surplus exceeding 6 percent of the labor force.

The highest unemployment rates in individual labor markets are to be found in Maine and Rhode Island. In Maine the fig-

ure is 16.6 percent.

"Industrial development of New England has not been sufficient to keep up with the rate of displacement, not to speak of the growth of the working population. Much more must be done by all individual New England communities to improve themselves so as to be attractive for new industry. Instead of depending upon outside companies establishing branch plants, the region must make a thorough study of its resources both human and natural and seek to build upon them. New industrial complexes must be organized to become natural growth centers. Older communities lacking in plant sites should be helped to clear the industrial and slum areas to allow for the construction of new modern plant structures. Residential slums must be cleared up with urban renewal projects.

"New England's universities must be harnessed to engage in research and development work designed to promote local economic enterprise. Untapped water, mineral and power resources such as are found in Maine must be explored for immediate util-

ization," said Barkin.

Barkin called for a new era of industrial redevelopment of distressed communities and urban centers, as a new way to assure economic growth, assure maximum employment, and stabilize the American price level. He noted, however, that the region's leadership which excludes trade unionists has not been enterprising and aggressive enough to assure an adequate rate of growth and expansion in employment. The trade-union movement

must insistently prod the elected officials in these States into more venturesome programs of economic development if the unemployed and the new generations are to find profitable employment.

"Passage of the area redevelopment bill now being considered by the House of Representatives is an essential element in such a program for regional redevelopment," Bar-

kin concluded.

Unemployment and distressed areas in New England, May 1959

	Date of data	Number of dis- tressed areas	Civilian labor force	Unem- ployed	Percent of unem- ployed	Number in excess of 6 per- cent
A. Labor force unemployment: New England			4, 259, 570	275, 702	6.5	
Maine	April 1959do March 1959 April 1959 May 1959 March 1959		367, 200 231, 800 147, 800 2, 097, 740 1, 054, 900 360, 130	35, 800 10, 200 8, 175 123, 767 57, 600 40, 160	9, 6 4, 4 5, 5 5, 9 5, 5 11, 1	
B. Distressed areas		27	1, 154, 990	110, 109	9. 5	40, 895
Maine: Smaller and very small labor markets.     Vermont: Smaller and very small labor markets.     Massachusetts: Distressed areas.	February 1959 do	2 1 14	61, 200 15, 600 410, 260	10, 200 850 85, 399	16.6 5.4 8.6	6, 528
Major labor markets. Smaller and verys mult labor markets.		10	235, 350 174, 910	20, 703 14, 676	8, 8 8, 4	6, 582 4, 201
4. Connecticut: Distressed areas	May 1959	8	307, 800	23, 500	7.6	5, 032
Major labor markets		1 7	139, 600 168, 200	10, 600 12, 900	7. 6 7. 7	2, 224 2, 808
5. Rhode Island		2	360, 130	40, 160	11.1	18, 552
Major labor markets Smaller and very small labor markets.	March 1959do	1	343, 800 16, 330	38, 900 1, 200	11. 3 7. 7	18, 272 280

Source: State departments of employment security.

Inflationary Interest Raise Forced by Federal Reserve Strike Against Treasury Permits Tax Evasion by Banks and \$285 Billion Gift From Taxpayer and Is Forerunner of Hair-Curling National Depression

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. GERALD T. FLYNN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1959

Mr. FLYNN. Mr. Speaker, I have inserted in the Congressional Record, under the dates of June 5 and June 17, articles pertaining to the vault cash bill, the banks and the money system. In these articles I have explained that the Federal Reserve System of the United States, at a time when Government bonds were stabilized at 21/2 percent went on strike against the Treasury of the United States and refused to buy bonds at that rate, thus forcing the Treasury Department to gradually increase the interest rate until it is now about 2 percent over what it was in 1952. The effect of this is to cause this Government to pay on its public debt an additional 2 percent a year or approximately \$6 billion in interest. These are inflationary dollars because they are dollars for which the American people get nothing additional in return. This increase in the public debt has had a corresponding effect on the private debt of individuals, corporations and municipal corporations. They are now forced to pay this additional interest meaning that the banks and other financial institutions are collecting untold billions of dollars additional in interest each year. All of these are inflationary dollars and the payment has been forced upon the people because the Federal Reserve banking system went on strike against both the Treasury of the United States and the public in order to force up the interest rate.

After interest rates increased, the Federal Reserve banks and others started to cry "Wolf, wolf," but instead cried "Inflation, inflation." This plaintive cry was designed as a scare to make the American people fearful of what they thought was a loss or runaway American dollar. The fact is that our price-cost index has remained almost stationary for the past 2 years but that this upward spiral of interest brought on by the bankers strike has had the effect of taking the public and the individuals' dollars away on interest without giving them anything in return.

I explained that the interest rate could have been stabilized as it was for many years under the Truman administration by the Federal Reserve bank continuing to support the Treasury bond market on the United States. I explained that when the banks forced the interest rate up, they set up a gimmick by which the banks could entirely avoid the payment of Federal income taxes. I set forth a table showing how it

worked and how the banks actual made a tremendous profit through the use of this gimmick in addition to the complete avoidance of income taxes.

The banks have now forced interes on the public debt to the statutory cell ing of 41/4 percent and the administra tion, with the help of the Federal Re serve System is asking that the interes rate be taken off Government bonds that the banks can strike for still high! price on the interest rate. If successful this will have the effect of raising the interest rate all around the country at if the Government pays 5 percent if terest on its debt, the private rate banks will go to 7 percent or 8 perces just as it did before 1929. That will ce tainly be inflationary. Then, under the guise of stopping inflation which the banks will say is getting out of hand, the Federal Reserve System, as they hal announced in the June 15 issue of U News & World Report, will tighten ! the Nation's economy by decreasing the amount of money and the flow therec to a point where small business, hop builders, and individuals will have compete on the money market at his rates of interest with big corporation and the Government for an insufficiel number of dollars to take care of the needs of the American Nation. shortage of funds, high interest rate and the inability of small business to loans will make it necessary for banks, who will be required to call the loans pursuant to action to be taken the Federal Reserve banks in their dri to tighten the money supply, will for small business into bankruptcy, will cause them to lose everything they have just as in 1929. At that time many well slaves to a money system instead money being a tool for men to use. banks are again, through high intere rates and a tight money supply, at tempting to get the American public accept this system under the scare this we are entered upon a period of run away inflation and that it is either a cal of accepting right money or ruination I This is false and nothing inflation. could be further from the truth. have no others calling for such a ren edy and if the Federal Reserve band will not support the Treasury bond ma ket of the United States, then this Col gress which is charged with the duty coining money and regulating the val thereof, should take such steps as a necessary to prevent a recurrence of the atmosphere that created the depression of 1929. We should start by refusing increase the interest rate on Govern We should then amel ment bonds. the capital laws, statutes, and so fort to make them apply to banks and the prevent the banks from avoiding the payment of income taxes. The Federal Reserve bank holds at

The Federal Reserve bank holds approximately \$25 billion in reserve fund. It is claimed that only \$5 billion of the money is necessary for the needs of the Federal Reserve System and the value cash bill is an attempt by the banks have \$15 billion of the money held by the Federal Reserve bank credited to the right vidual reserves of the individual banks then issue money at the rate of seven it

and could with this money, create and could, with this money. The baks could invest this \$105 billion in 5 ecent Government bonds, if the interrate is raised, and collect over \$5 billo a year interest for 30 years on 30her bonds. The country would end up bying the banks over the next 30 years billion, as follows:

Billion his money during the next 30 years\_\_ 150 repurchase of the bonds given Torepurchase of the bonds bought by bank end of 30-year period .....

The banks will have received this \$285 billion from the American Government bithout having invested one penny of their own money and it will have amounted to \$91/2 billion a year for the heat 30 years. At the end of this period the Government of the United States will owe its present debt of approxia owe its present debt of applications of the strong a bankers' "steal." Let us look for a moment at what we could do for, through the \$20 billion that the Federal Reserve bank holds and which it does not need, we could have paid back through a separate operation, reinvested this reserve in Govemment bonds at the same 5 percent interest, and if they did so and annually thvested the interest received thereon, this \$20 billion would in 60 years grow at an amount that would be adequate to by the entire public debt of \$285 billion and in addition thereto, the Federal Rethe hand would have received the \$20 billion that it started with and would in addition that it started with and would in \$40. addition thereto earn approximately \$30 billion more than is needed which could defray the cost of the program during that period. This could be done without coting the taxpayers one penny—and we Would eliminate our debt in 60 years and to the most part they would not have to del in any security other than U.S. bonds.

Would it not be better for this country to Would it not be better for this manner use the reserve funds in this manner and pay the public debt than it would be to give this reserve back to the Federal give this reserve back to the considered member banks without considered member banks without considered member banks without considered member banks without considered members and operations of the constant of the constan eration? Let us be Americans and operate for the good of all American citizens. Let us not give our stamp of approval to special interests. Let us not approve the backers' "steal." Let us use this money to pay the public debt and let us hold the ine against inflation by keeping the interest rate where it is and by taking steps against the Federal Reserve bank it it persists in following policies that bring about a hair-curling depresoring about a hair-curing of the savings of the and wipe out the savings of the steat majority of the American citizens, and all within a few years time.

Yes, this is a period of prosperity but this is the time that plans are being laid by those who, innocently or not, would bring about the depression which could well mean the end of democracy and liberty for this Nation.

DEFEAT THE VAULT CASH BILL

Please see the diagram attached on how the investment of \$20 billion would bay the national debt in 60 years. [Chart omitted in RECORD. 1

The Fallacy of Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. E. L. FORRESTER

OF CHORCTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. FORRESTER. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Frederick S. Porter, a retired Baptist minister, addressed a group in Columbus, Ga., upon the subject of "The Fallacy of Security."

This address should be read by every man, woman, and child in our country, I unqualifiedly endorse his remarks, and I proudly place them in the RECORD,

The address reads as follows:

### THE FALLACY OF SECURITY

Modern man is seeking a new god. Security is its name. Men have always paid tribute to this diety. They have sought to find security against the rainy days, and the hazards that life brings. But never before have men brought such lavish sacrifices and such wholehearted devotion to lay upon the

altar of this new god.

Leslie Gould, the financial editor of the New York Journal American, said recently, "When a young fellow comes in looking for a job, his first question is not what are the chances of promotion, but what kind of pension will he get 40 years hence." A scholastic magazine found, in a survey of 40,000 students, that instead of asking, "How can I get a job that will challenge my abilities and give me a chance for progress?" a discouraging proportion asked, "How soon will I get more money?" or "In what kind of job do I have to do the least work?" One boy replied that he would "like to be a retired businessman." The desire for security seems to be what most Americans want. Many of them are willing to sell even their freedom in order to obtain it.

This new god security demands much. It calls us to sacrifice our wealth and even our first-born upon its altar. We pour billions of dollars into bombers designed to deliver the atom and hydrogen bombs. We work around the clock with experiments in jet propulsion and rocket projectiles. And still

we do not achieve security.

The worship of this new god touches all of life. It finds expression in our efforts to make life easy. We measure the worth of any new program or plan by what it does to remove difficulty. We suppose that in proportion as we make life easy and secure we have become successful. This attitude has crept into education. The lessons must not be too difficult; the school days too long; the duties too severe. It reminds one of the Harvard student, who, after selecting his courses for the new semester said, "The first class begins at 10 o'clock in the morning, and all the classrooms are on the ground floor.

Our physicians tell us that to keep healthy we must exercise self-discipline, and sacrifice indulgence. But we believe in the easy way, so we laugh at our doctors, and indulge our appetites. We follow this procedure until our muscles become soft and the waistline bulges and then we get

It is this soft, secure, easygoing, slovenly way of living that is the bane of our so-ciety. We have come to believe that we can slouch into the better life and hitchhike our way into the kingdom of ease. We do not want to pay the price of living at our best.

A few voices are being raised against this idol worship. The President of Columbia University, speaking to the incoming students, urged them to grab opportunity, not security. He warned, "I am quite certain that the human being would not continue to exist if he had perfect security.'

Such security in its very essence is static. It would drug us to sleep, slow down wheels of progress and bring civilization to its twi-

There is, then, something else that needs to be given priority. The great pioneers who have contributed most to human progress across the years were not motivated by the desire for immediate security. The spirit which distinguishes them was their boldness and courage, their willingness to live dangerously, to build upon risk. One of the great souls of modern times is Madam Curie. She was a young woman with a brilliant mind. One day in the classroom of a university she head a professor say, "Some of you may have stars at your fingertips." That utterance caught fire in her imagination, and she devoted herself to scientific research. She fell in love with Dr. Pierre Curie, and together they searched for radium The road was long and hard. Failure dogged their steps and they were on the point of quitting. One night they walked into their laboratory, to see their evaporating dishes aglow in the darkness. It was radium. Their search was rewarded. They had stars at their fingertips. The real pioneers of progress have been such people, who ask not for security but for opportunity.

The people who laid the foundations of our country were not striving for security. They risked everything for the ideals of free-They resisted the tyrants of their day. They lifted their faces and their hearts to heaven and cried, "We know no king, but thee, O God." With that concept of the sovereignty of God over all the affairs of men they set sail for the new world, to light the fires of freedom. They were not seeking security. Their cemeteries grew faster than their gardens. But by their perseverance, industry, courage and faith they laid the foundations of this free land. Immediate security was not their dominant concern. If it was-it was a security they would win for themselves, earn with their own hands, achieve by their own sacrifice. It was no security they demanded as their natural

right.

Furthermore, the great insights into life have not come in periods of ease and security. They have come out of chaotic days. Our sweetest songs were born in sadness. Our greatest poetry came out of the shadows. It was not in hours of security and ease that men built the Chartres Cathedral, or painted frescoes on the Sistine Chapel or wrote a Constitution in Independence Hall. They came out of dark and dangerous days. The qualities in human life that we like best grow in the soil of difficulty and risk. When the sun is blotted out and the wind blows chill, some people for the first time find themselves. "Defeat may serve as well as victory to shake the soul and let the glory out." We may not like this kind the glory out." We may not like this kind of world, but it is the kind of world best calculated to produce character. We must remember that where there is no hardship there is no hardihood; where there is no suffering, there is no sympathy. Behind every great virtue there is a corresponding difficulty. The soul would have no rainbows had the eyes no tears.

A character in one of Ibsen's plays asks the question of a prima donna: "Who taught thee to sing?" Answer: "God gave me a

sorrow.

If you go into a jewelry store to purchase a diamond, the salesman first will spread a black cloth on the counter. I suppose the dark background brings out the beauty of the diamond. It may be that the jewel of spiritual compensation is all the more beautiful and attractive against a dark background.

I do not mean by this to minimize the importance of certain forms of security, or to ignore the obligation which society has for the good of its members. The fact that people are homeless, helpless, hungry and afflicted hurts us deeply. The conditions causing such distress must be remedied. Our mission, as Christians, in the face of such need is crystal clear. "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these, ye have done it unto Me." But in seeking to place personal security upon the throne we lose the vision of life's possibilities and responsibilities. Christians, of all people, should know what constitutes se-curity. They know it is not found in ease and comfort, nor in any man-made guarantees. It is found in the spirit of free men with a living faith in a living God. truth runs through the Scriptures like a scarlet thread. The Old Testament prophets-Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and the others-were the pioneers of their day and generation. They were not motivated by security. They challenged the religion which had become soft, comfortable, and undisturbing. "Let justice roll down like waters, and right-eousness as a mighty stream," cried the prophet Amos. The god security has usurped the throne of the living God, and they would have none of it. Their courage did much to restore men's faith and confidence.

The finest passages in the Old Testament did not come out of periods of ease and security, but out of the days of trial and testing. The religious genius of Israel did not record its greatest achievements in the prosperous and secure days of Solomon in all his glory. It was in days of difficulty when the proud waters of Babylonian wrath swept over Israel's soul that faith leaped to life. In such times the prophets put the trumpet to their lips and reasserted the unshaken and everlasting spiritual realities.

When you turn to the New Testament you do not find men searching for security. The Founder of our faith and his associates, and his greatest Apostle, were men who, by a strange paradox, represented themselves as poor, yet making many rich, "as having nothing, and yet possessing all things."

Turning now to another phase of our

The search for material security is hoary with the age and hazards of many generations. Many persons have advanced the theory that it is the task of the Government to protect its citizens from all the material hazards and insecurity of life. Such persons know little about history, human nature, or economics.

Is the principle of mutual security by compulsion a sound method of achieving security? Are we willing to forfeit our basic freedoms to procure it? We call it social security; in reality, it is socialistic security, Woodrow Wilson once said that the history of freedom is the history of the restriction of government, rather than the increase of it. In other words, government intervention starts by doing things for people, and ends by doing things to them. Any popular government having the power to grant monetary or other valuable favors to its citizens will be besieged to do so in increasing measure until it finally bankrupts them to carry the burden they have laid upon themselves. Fiscal responsibility and solvency are absolutely essential to sound government and economic stability.

The government has no means of obtaining the money to meet these obligations except by taxation, increasing debt, or by issue first money. The administrative process which this coercion and distribution necessitates consumes a large part of the moneys dis-tributed. The method is socialistic in its concept, in its administration, in its waste, extravagance and inefficiency. And no insurance actuary in America would endorse it as a sound business enterprise.

Why do men seek security in socializationthat is, depending partly upon the efforts of others to meet their needs? It is said they do this because the state has the power to force others to provide for them if they are ill, indigent, unemployed, unfortunate, or old. But knowing that the state will do this, it is easy to lose self-reliance and slip into dependence-in other words, to develop

the qualifications necessary to obtain public assistance. Thus, a great number of people lose the habit of thrift, initiative and selfreliance. The attempt to obtain security by socialization destroys the hope of attaining security by one's own effort. The loss is far greater than the gain. No collectivism in history has ever attained a measure of security comparable to that which freedom

Facts prove the validity of this conten-tion. While reformers at Washington are dispensing economic security with the right hand of social legislation, they are, with the left hand, simultaneously, through Federal over-spending, tearing down economic security through diluting the purchasing power of the dollar, of all savings, all insurance, all bonds, and annuities. We live in a haven of prosperity suspended over a precipice of fiscal insecurity. While at-tempting to achieve the security of others, we are jeopardizing the security of the state itself, already bogged in debt, deficits, mounting welfare payments and bureau-cratic spending, and increasing regimenta-tion. All of which endangers the national security, aiding and abetting the Communist conspiracy in the United States.

One would assume that with widened prosperity, social security, and productivity that the need for welfare activities would be diminished. As a matter of fact, under the proposed new budget, \$14 billion will be spent, as against \$3.2 billion 10 years ago; and that does not include the program for aiding veterans and farmers—which will amount to \$10.5 billion more.

And all this in an era of record employment, record income, and a record gross na-

tional product.

The end result of our system of security I do not venture to determine. I am not an economist. But this, at least, is obivous. The type of security we have thus far achieved, instead of accomplishing what its sponsors so confidently predicted in allaying our economic ills, anxieties, and tensions, and in promoting a greater degree of confi-dence, happiness, and well-being; instead of that, presents this curious parodox: We claim the highest standard of living in the world, have the greatest wealth, the greatest productive ability, and the greatest degree of security. Yet, we are not a secure and happy people. We find more mental and emotional disturbances, more hypertension, more fear, frustration, and anxiety; a greater erosion of character seen in the pyramiding of crime in all its categories and dimensions; more divorce, drunkenness and drug addiction than has been known in all our previous history.

Our President recently reminded us that the United States could be the richest Nation in the graveyards of history. That fate can be averted only by returning to sound ethics, sound economics, a sound fiscal policy, and a sound currency; combined with morality and integrity in government.

Such is now, and always has been, the price of national survival.

## Sam Hoffman of Rocketdyne

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. JOE HOLT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. HOLT. Mr. Speaker, recently Sam Hoffman of Rocketdyne-a division of North American Aviation, Inc.-located in Canoga Park, Calif., received the Goddard Memorial trophy for outstanding achievement in the missile field. The award was made at the Robert H. God-

dard Memorial dinner, honoring the American father of rocketry, during the national missile industry conference.

Rocketdyne received the Borg-Warner Missile Industry Award. Hoffman was honored individually by the Goddard Memorial trophy presented by Missiles and Rockets magazine.

The award made to Rocketdyne was given for the performance of its liquid propellant rocket engines in missile and space launchings during 1958, and was accepted by T. F. Dixon, chief engineer

Hoffman was chosen for the Goddard trophy by the 14 editors of Missiles and Rockets magazine for "outstanding achievement during 1958 in the missile field."

The first award was presented las year to Dr. Wernher von Braun and the Army Ballistic Missile Agency.

## Lewis L. Strauss

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON, STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial, which ap peared in the New York Herald Tribun on Saturday, June 20, on the subject of the Senate action early Friday morning

#### DISGRACE TO THE SENATE

The Democrats have been complaining bitterly about Republican charges that the control of the Legislature has produced 'won't do" Congress. So to prove that the Democratic leadership can bring somethin to a vote, they have refused to confirm, as member of the President's Cabinet, Adm Lewis Strauss, whom Mr. Elsenhower correctly described as one "who in war and peace has served his Nation loyally, honorably, and effectively under four different Presidents."

The Democratic verdict—in which 2 Republicans joined but which 15 Democrative refused to indorse—against Lewis Straus was in itself a disgrace to the Senate. worse was the fact that this country's highes legislative body wasted weeks in acrimonio pursuit of what was essentially a privat

The Senate, of course, has the right to re fuse confirmation of a Cabinet appointment It is a right, however, that has been use with such discretion that only seven previous nominations to the President's official family to the group which the Chief Executif chooses as his advisers, responsible to his and for whom he is responsible to the coun try, have been rejected in the entire histori of this country. Adding Admiral Strauss the list, on the basis of a farrago of unproved charges, strained constructions of word and attitude, and mere dislike, was a wanter abuse of privilege.

The Senate has important work to do Several Democratic Senators, in addition hope to prove to the Nation that they and their party should be trusted with the Government of the United States. One would imagine that the best method of doing so, if the present division of action was the present division of authority between the two major parties, would be for the leading Democratic Senators and their colleagues to set a record of constructive achievement. Instead, they have descended to petty brawling over personalities and simple obstructionism—spitework that can only

arm their own reputation and the business Government.

The knifing of Lewis Strauss will not be brigotten or condoned. But the country is utilled to hope that, having squandered much time in malice, the Democrats of the nate will recall their obligations under the Constitution and get back to work.

## The Federal Debt Management

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 27, 1959.

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, the followng comments made by Mr. Reno Odlin, resident of the Puget Sound National ank of Tacoma, Wash., on the Treasury bepartment's proposal regarding savhes bonds have impressed me greatly. lam sure my colleagues of the House will recognize the importance of this subject h its relationship to the debt manage-

ment of our country. Mr. Odlin is a noted authority or Fedtal financing and, under unanimous consent, I include the text of his stateent in its entirety immediately follow-

ng my remarks:

JUNE 10, 1959.

As you know, I have been connected with he savings bonds program for some 18 years. have been working on it from the time the rst War Finance Committee was appointed h this State; I was State chairman, and still ocupy that post in the present Savings londs Division.

This whole question of our monetary and scal policy and our debt management probm has been my avocation for an awfully ong time. I served for 6 years on the board the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco, and for 4 years was one of the 12 members the Federal Advisory Council of the Fedtal Reserve System. I was, until very reently, chairman of the executive committee of the Savings Bonds Division of the Treasbry, and withdrew from that job when I was ppointed chairman of the American Bankers Sociation Savings Bonds Committee. I am so a member of the American Bankers Asociation Government Borrowing Committee, which, as you know, is an advisory group which meets with the Treasury rather tequently.

I give you that bit of background just to tresh your own recollection, and to sub-dantiate the fact that I am fairly familiar with the problem over a good many years

I would like to talk to you about the other broposals in the Secretary's message of trans-hission, namely, the question of increase in the public debt limit, and the question of emoval of the interest rate ceiling on Treasdry bonds. I think the Secretary's letter gave pretty convincing historical background to histiry the request for removal of that ceilng. Frankly, we are being penned into the area of very short bills, notes, and certificates because the Treasury hasn't got any elbowtoom at all under the present ceiling, with tespect to longer term bonds. I certainly advocate restoring that flexibility by removal of the ceiling of 4 1/4 percent.

This letter is intended to ask your help in respect to the savings bonds phase of the broblem, rather than to argue the question of interest rate ceilings. I would appreciate It if you would give this your consideration, and if I can convince you that you should go along with my thinking, do everything you can to induce your colleagues to approve the recommendation.

There are \$421/2 billion of E- and H-bonds outstanding. This is about 15 percent of the total national debt. It is that part of the national debt that presents no problem of refinancing, but that has over the years operated to spread the Treasury's indebtedness widely among millions of individuals in the best noninflationary manner possible.

In this money market, with rates steadily increasing and the pressure of continuous demand operating to push them still higher, the present E- and H-bond rate is completely unrealistic. We set a goal the beginning of this year of \$5 billion of sales. We are lagging quite badly behind that objective, and in the first 4 months are already a couple of hundred million below our goal. Meantime, as other competitive investments become more attractive and offer higher returns, the total of redemptions has been rising. The net result is, instead of getting a net inflow to the Treasury, there is a little outflow, not serious yet, but it could become quite a flood.

This proposal now before the Ways and Means Committee is to raise the allowable return on savings bonds, and the intention of the Treasury is to set that rate at 3% percent. There would also be a recognition of the previous buyers and holders by an automatic stepup in the rates of the bonds which they now hold. As you can appreciate, without this step-up there would be a wave of redemptions in order to convert into the newer and higher rate securities.

We have talked this thing over and discussed it with the Treasury for months, and the present proposals are completely in line with my thinking as chairman of the committee, and with that of all the other members of the volunteer organization of the Savings Bonds Division with whom I have consulted over the past several months.

This whole thing is extremely important in the overall debt-management problem. We must be able to offer securities that will attract savings and retain the momentum of the Savings Bonds Division. This pro-posal, I think, will do that, and will enable us to provide the Treasury with a steady net inflow of true savings, which simply cannot be promised unless the rates are in line with existing market conditions.

I very earnestly hope that you will go along with us on this and use every effort you can to see that it is promptly enacted into law. I know the circumstances completely justify the proposal, and I am satisfied that it would reinvigorate the savings bonds program in a most desirable way.

Thanks a lot for your careful consideration, and I hope you will do everything you can in this direction.

With best regards always.

Your very truly,

RENO ODLIN.

Abraham Lincoln Spoke in Olney, Ill., September 20, 1856

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. GEORGE E. SHIPLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. SHIPLEY. Mr. Speaker an article was brought to my attention by Mr. Bert Michels of Olney, Ill., one of our well-versed historians, which appeared in the Olney Times newspaper on February 13, 1941. It mentions the appearance in Olney, Ill., of Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas on September 20, 1856.

The Olney Times was edited and published by Louis C. Spelman but several years ago was sold and Mr. Spelman is now employed by the Daily Republican Register at Mt. Carmel, Ill. Olney is my hometown and I have read this newspaper article with a great deal of interest. I recommend others to read it and, under leave granted, submit the article for printing in the RECORD:

GREAT EMANCIPATOR VISITED HERE IN 1856-MISSOURI PUBLICATION RECORDS OLD EVENT

The Olney Times is this week in receipt of a letter containing information of Abraham Lincoln's appearance in Olney in 1856. This information has been supplied by Harry Pratt, executive secretary of the Abraham Lincoln Association in Springfield, who has spent much time in searching old newspapers concerning Lincoln's being in Olney. The Missouri Republican at St. Louis in its issue of September 24, 1856, and the Chicago Times of September 25, 1856, gave accounts of the Olney speech by Lincoln.

The item is as follows:

"Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas both spoke in Olney at political rallies on Saturday, September 20, 1856. Douglas spoke in a grove near town and Lincoln in the courthouse.

"Douglas left Springfield Friday and at Vandalia met Lincoln, Dick Taylor and his fellow Democrat, William A. Richardson. They took a train for Olney in the evening. At Olney Lincoln met the other two Republican orators, Senator Lyman Trumbull and Ebenezer Peck of Chicago. The Republicans challenged the Democrats to a joint discussion, but met with refusal.

"At 8 a.m. people began assembling in town, delegations coming from all quarters with flags, banners and music, and according to the only two newspaper accounts of the meeting, which happen to be both Democratic, all the banners bore the names of 'Buchanan and Breckinridge.' Not a single Republican banner for 'Fremont and Day-ton' was to be seen. This account was typical of the political reporting of the day, not only in the Missouri Republican and the Chicago Times, which describe the meeting, but in all papers.

'At 10 a.m. Charles H. Constable opened the Democrat meeting with a most effect and beautiful speech and then introduced Douglas who arose amid the deafening cheers of almost 5,000 Democrats. He bowed his acknowledgment and spoke for nearly 2 hours exposing the designs of the Fremont party. He vindicated the Democratic Party in their course in regard to Kansas Terri-Old Ben Bond followed Douglas setting forth the clear duty of the old line Whigs to follow Douglas. At 2 p.m. the meeting adjourned until night. Douglas went on to Terre Haute where he spoke in the evening and the next morning went to Galena for another speech.

"Meanwhile the Republicans had distributed handbills among the Democrats an-nouncing the Republican meeting at 2 p.m. at the courthouse. Trumbull opened for the Republicans. The Democratic press remarked that he stood there hoarse and excited-with that attenuated form, that intellectual face, that sardonic smile, which looked as cold as moonshine-with no more warmth than a frog or a mummy, pleading for bleeding Kansas.

"Then Abe Lincoln tried to get up steam, but with all his tact in that line, it was a dead failure. A rumor was about that Col.

William H. Bissell the candidate for governor would soon resign because of ill health, and Lincoln was to be the candidate. This, said the Democratic reporter, accounts for the herculean labors during this contest,

not all for patriotism.

"Ebenezer Peck of Chicago was the last Republican speaker. To the Democrats he looked like only half a peck. Lincoin, Trumbull, Peck, and Taylor attended the Democratic meeting walking around like bad boys at a camp meeting. The stalwart Abe moved about, brimful of a big speech; but without a crowd. without a crowd.

"Col. William A. Richardson of Quincy and Orlando B. Ficklin of Charleston were the Democratic orators at the evening meeting at the courthouse."

## Poison in Your Water-No. 129

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I am inserting into the Appendix of the Congres-SIONAL RECORD an article appearing in the Bristol, Va., Herald-Courier of October 19, 1958, entitled "Water Pollution Termed Handicap in Bristol Area."

#### WATER POLLUTION TERMED HANDICAP IN BRISTOL AREA

(EDITOR'S NOTE .- This report on shoreline development of TVA reservoirs in the Tri-City area is taken from a special survey conducted by the Tennessee State Planning Commission. The overall report for the State is entitled "Reservoir Shoreline Development in Tennessee: A Study of Problems and Opportunities.")

The Tri-Cities area, which is rapidly be-coming Tennessee's fifth metropolitan region, includes four tributary TVA reservoirs. In addition to those factors which have already resulted in economic growth, there will be added a link of the Federal interstate limited access highway system connecting the central south with the east coast. There is every reason to believe that these highways will further stimulate reservoir shoreline development in those sections of the State where the two are in proximity. There is evidence from other parts of the country that limited access expressways increase the development potential in an area which possesses other advantages for industry. increased accessibility of this area should also further its recreational development.

Since these reservoirs are not linked to the inland waterways system, there has been only passing attention paid to the identification of potential waterfront industrial sites. However, just as Tennessee Eastman is made possible by location on a water supply, there is reason to believe that sections of these reservoirs could develop industrially due to the presence of processing and cooling water. In fact, this region is considered to have among the better industrial waters in the State because of freedom from calcium and magnesium deposits. When the problem of pollution is overcome, the value of water may increasingly appeal to industry.

### SPECIAL PROBLEM

Pollution is a special problem. Both Boone and Fort Patrick Henry Reservoirs have received industrial and domestic sewage from Elizabethton, Johnson City, and Bristol. Significant improvements in water

quality below Bristol and Johnson City have recently occurred as a result of the State's stream pollution control program requiring municipal and industrial treatment measures. Additional industrial pollution at Kingsport below Fort Patrick Henry results in damage to the upper reaches of the Hol-stone River above Cherokee Reservoir. Finally, a serious problem results from the addition of calcium chloride salts by an al-kall plant at Saltville, Va, TVA states that the effects of these latter wastes "persist farther downstream than those of any other pollutant in the valley", directly affecting the length of the Holston River as far as Cherokee Reservoir. In fact, there have been instances in the past where industrial prospects have had to abandon consideration of sites along the Holston River because of inferior water quality.

Even though no specific studies looking toward the identification of water front sites are yet available, there are those who feel that such sites do exist and they point to areas along the Holston River where a series of historical alterations in channel course and depth has left a number of natural terraces which provide level sites with suitable foundation and with access to railroad and highway.

#### HANDICAP CITED

However, the immediate problems and opportunities in this area result from development of the shoreline for residential subdivision and for recreation, in response to the urbanizing influence already at work. The problems resulting from reservoir water level fluctuations are especially acute. fluctuations range of water levels definitely handicaps certain water oriented recreation. Only one county park (located on South Holston Lake and developed with the aid of the Sullivan County Planning Commission) and one municipal park (located on Boone Lake) have so far been developed on the waterfront. Warrior's Path State Park on Fort Patrick Henry has been developed to answer the need for a State park in this area. Practically the entire shoreline of Watauga Reservoir is within the area of Cherokee National Forest. TVA will transfer roughly 4,000 acres of waterfront land to the forest, enabling Watauga to remain in a natural mountain setting with its attendant recreation possibilities.

Another influencing factor is the limited extent of TVA land. These reservoirs have largely been built since World War II and land acquisition policy largely been built of flood easements.

So far, residential subdivision has maintained fairly satisfactory quality. This is due in some degree to subdivision regula-tions established by the Sullivan County Planning Commission whose jurisdiction contains the entire shoreline of Fort Patrick Henry and most of Boone and South Hol-It has been observed that the estimated average value of summer homes built in 1955 fell below that for either 1954 or 1953. This could be an indication that substandard development is a present threat.

There can be little doubt but that pres sure upon shoreline uses will increase in the future. There should be increasing opportunities to utilize recreational, industrial, commercial, and residential values of these lands. This area is comparable to the four metropolitan centers of the State and needs to keep special watch over the development of the shoreline. The recent establishment of a regional planning commission for this three-county area to supplement the work of the Sullivan County and four municipal planning commissions already existing, should prove well suited to coping with reservoir planning problems. The group already has approved a study looking toward identification and reservation of individual sites. This should include the first specific attempt to locate industrial areas on tributary reservoirs.

Communist Prey on Latin American Ills

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I include the following article by Mr. Tad Szulc, which appeared in the New York Times, Sunday, June 21, 1959:

COMMUNISTS PREY ON LATIN-AMERICAN ILLS-PRESSURE IN THE HEMISPHERE AIMED AT SUP-PLANTING U.S. POSITION

(By Tad Szulc)

RIO DE JANEIRO, June 20 .- One evening this week a short, smiling man strolled casually into the gardens of Catete Palace here and applauded a speech by President Juscelino Kubitschek that explained why Brazil had just broken off loan negotiations with the International Monetary Fund.

The man was Luiz Carlos Prestes, secretary general of the Brazilian Communist Party. and he could not have been more pleased by what he heard. Although he is personally under judicial indictment and his party has been illegal in Brazil for 12 years, Senhor Prestes and his fellow Communists, who stood in a drizzle waving posters damning the Monetary Fund and demanding trade relations with the Soviet Union, were treated with politeness normally accorded to guests

at a garden tea party.

Senhor Prestes' presence on the palace grounds, and particularly the occasion for his visit, were a striking illustration of the frequently successful tactics and techniques currently employed in Latin America by the local Communist parties, which act these days with a remarkable degree of coordination among them. But the incident also was illustrative of the disturbingly deliberate tolerance granted the Communists by quite a few Western Hemisphere governments that. like Dr. Kubitschek's, do not actually harbor anything resembling Communist sympathies.

#### BIG INFLUENCE

Numerically very small in relation to other political parties, operating legally in less than half of the republics but with ample freedom in most of others, the Latin-American Communist parties are exercising influence that is completely out of proportion to the size of their memberships of even the "fellow traveling" grass roots support they occasionally command.

Although there are no immediate prospects that the Communists can capture, in the foreseeable future, the government of any Latin American nation, they have become in numerous instances forces to be reckoned

Directed by extremely skilled leaders, they rely principally on infiltration in key activities and capitalize on the fact that, in many countries, their practices are tolerated because often democratic governments find it unpalatable to curb communism or because in tight electoral situations they are courted for votes they can deliver even if it is only a matter of a few tens of thousands

Along with supporters of Juan D. Peron. the former dictator, the Communists have been in the forefront of a bitter battle against the austerity measures of Argentina's President, Dr. Arturo Frondizi, whom they backed in the 1958 elections. They infiltrated in certain areas of the government despite anti-Communist measures enforced by Dr. Frondizi. This week the Argentine military, demanding the ouster from the adMinistration of all pro-Communist and proeronist elements, set off a crisis threatening he President's continuation in office.

With the assignment of turning Latin merica against the United States as one of he principal objectives, the Communists e playing on nationalistic sentiments and deep social and economic problems pre-Mling here to gain their goals, and there no doubt their efforts leave a mark.

The Catete palace incident was typical of

als method as the Communists again took e opportunity to agitate for trade relaons with the Socialist camp, a line that finding a growing audience in Latin Amer-

#### MORE COORDINATION

These tactics are not new, but they are eing put into effect with a greater mo-lentum and sense of coordination than at

by time before.

United States and Latin-American intellience experts believe a major push by comunism is underway in the Western Hemihere. They trace it to strategy talks held Latin American Communist leaders who tended the 21st Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in Moscow earlier this har and then traveled to Communist China for further conferences with Mao Tse-tung, the leader in Peiping.

The result of these talks in terms of Com-Munist objectives in Latin America was, in ect, disclosed in a speech in Santiago, Chile, May 10 by Luis Corvalan, secretary eneral of the Chilean Communist Party. In address at a meeting of his central comlittee, he condemned every program of Misting and future inter-American cooperaion. He described plans of the United Natons Economic Commission for Latin imerica for creation of a regional common harket as a scheme for penetration by U.S. harket as a scheme for penetration of the stars, the founding of an inter-American hank as "opening new fields to U.S. capital-sts," and last month's economic conference in p. h Buenos Aires as an occasion when "Latin-American delegates went home with empty Pockets."

A nascent campaign against next Febru-Ty's inter-American conference of foreign ministers in Quito, Ecuador, was in effect announced by Senor Corvalan and subsequently confirmed by a seizure of docuhents of the Ecuadorean Communist Party salling for efforts to discredit the parley. Intelligence exports think the Communists may attempt to disrupt the conference by at

by violent means.

The Communist conferences in Moscow and Peiping are being followed up by re-tional contacts of Communist leaders in atin America. One such meeting was reortedly to have been held in Montevideo,

truguay, this month.

There is little doubt that the Communist trategy in Latin America is directed from loscow. There is a vast amount of travel between the Iron Curtain countries and atin America. The Soviet embassies in dexico, Argentina, and Uruguay, as well as the legations in those countries and in arazil of Soviet satellite states, are in contant touch with local Communists.

### EMBASSY CENTER

The Soviet Embassy in Uruguay, with a taff of 70, is the largest center in the Americas for the dissemination of Commualst propoganda, and presumably instructions, to the local parties. In Mexico, three Soviet diplomats were expelled this year on charge of directing violent strikes. Argenuna did likewise with six Communist diplohats accused of illegal acts.

The Moscow radio is beaming more than hours of weekly broadcast to Latin America, including a program in the Indian Quichua dialect. One hundred especially edited periodicals from the Soviet bloc and Company of Latin. Communist China are circulating in Latin

America, including the monthly Novedades de Union Sovietica (News of the Soviet Union), selling 100,000 copies. Eighty publishing houses and book stores specialize in the distribution of these publications. This effort backs up more than 250 local Communist or pro-Communist publications.

Forty-nine Communist-operated "bina-tional centers" in Latin America appeal to descendants of persons from the Iron Curtain countries. Legislators, artists, and students are constantly invited to visit the Iron Cur-

tain countries.

Undoubtedly this concerted drive by communism is having an impact in Latin America, though it still is indirect, insofar as it is camouflaged into identification with popular local causes. The Communist strategy is to infiltrate to the greatest possible extent into the national life of the Latin-American countries, then seek to influence policies.

#### MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

With Communist parties legal in 8 of the 20 Latin-American republics, handfuls of Communist members sit openly in the parliaments of six countries. A few Communists, disguised with the labels of other parties, are members of the parliaments in at least five other republics.

In several countries where the party is technically illegal, such as Brazil, the Communists are completely free to operate. They infiltrate labor unions and student organizations to a considerable extent, and news-papers to a lesser extent. In Brazil there is said to even be a small but influential infil-

tration into the army.

While the current line is to "cooperate with the progressive bourgeois parties," as the Chilean Communist leader said in his speech was the case in Cuba since the revolution, and to work for respectability, the Communist hand is almost invariably seen in most strikes and incidents of violence that are cropping up with growing frequency throughout Latin America. The Communists also often help to stage riots in protest against economic austerity measures.

## Toward Greater Unity in the Atlantic Community

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I recently participated in a debate on the subject of Atlantic unity in the pages of Western World, the first bilingual transatlantic magazine. My worthy opponent was M. Felix Gaillard, former Premier of France. I ask unanimous consent that my essay, "Steps Toward Effective Unity Are Possible Now," which appeared in the June 1959, number of Western World. be printed into the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the essay was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STEPS TOWARD EFFECTIVE ATLANTIC UNITY ARE POSSIBLE NOW

(By Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY)

Effective steps toward the goal of Atlantic unity can be taken now, provided the mem-

ber governments and peoples have the will.
With one reservation, of course.
If the phrase "Atlantic Union" is interpreted to mean a federal union of Western democracies patterned after the United States of America, obviously it cannot be created immediately. Even if every man and woman in the countries concerned favored such a union, it would require a great deal of time to bring it into being. This, as we all know, is still far from the case.

But if by Atlantic Union we mean a de-

gree of Atlantic unity adequate to meet the challenge of our time, then such steps are not only possible but overdue. For the foundation has already been well and solidly laid. To the extent that the Atlantic Com-munity is incarnated in NATO, limited Atlantic unity already exists.

This progress has, of course, been greatest

in the field of defense.

Never before, except during actual war, have national governments gone so far in establishing a unified defense structure. In fact, as many of us can remember, the Allies of World War I did not agree upon an overall commander until the final year of the

The nations of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization selected a Supreme Commander 8 years ago. Since then they have created organized forces under a unified command structure. They have established a common infrastructure, including such facilities as airfields and pipelines, for common use, have submitted their national defense programs to an annual review by the North Atlantic Council and carried out programs of mutual defense support and some common procurement.

These accomplishments, the fruit of efforts by dedicated men from all our nations, are as heartening as they are extensive. can we believe that they are enough to meet

the challenge which confronts us?

### THE COST OF UNINTEGRATED DEFENSE

The cost of maintaining our defenses under the present system is straining all our national budgets and may become prohibi-

Far as we have gone toward unity in defense, we are still paying billions of dol-lars a year in costs which might be eliminated by further integration, costs which result from duplication, and lack of standardization in separate national defense programs.

On this subject a very pertinent state-ment was made by Percival F. Brundage, who was recently Director of the Budget in the Eisenhower administration. He stated: "With a complete integration of the North Atlantic forces to include a unified design of weapons, standardization of equipment and ammunition, coordinated navy. air, and land forces, and above all a consistent and united foreign policy, I am convinced that the total expenditures could be reduced by one-third and be more effective

\* \* \* " The Soviet Union is pressing and the source of the soviet Union is pressing and the source of the sour The Soviet Union is pressing us hard, so hard that we may find ourselves forced to do things which we would not otherwise choose to do.

A complete integration of defense would obviously require a considerable degree of political and economic integration.

Experience in Western Europe, the Coal and Steel Community, and the Economic Community, or Common Market, appears to indicate that political integration can be promoted by intimate economic cooperation. Yet the NATO nations have as yet made relatively little progress toward unity in the economic field. The implementation of article II of the North Atlantic Treaty. on which such high hopes were based, has proved exceedingly disappointing. How little has been achieved in relation

to the economic cooperation that is necessary, is indicated by the following passages of the resolution on economic affairs adopted by the Fourth NATO Parliamentarians' Con-

ference on November 21, 1958:

"Trade policy should be coordinated according to common principles among the countries of the Atlantic Community. \* \* \* The North Atlantic Council, in the light of new concepts for defense of the North Atlantic area, should consider ways to minimize the obstacles to effective negotiations on tariff concessions inherent in the insisttence in certain countries on maintaining tariffs and quotas in certain industries because they are considered essential to the national defense."

Efforts to create greater political unity among the NATO nations have been pursued for many years. It is a goal accepted by the North Atlantic Council, by our governments and by a huge majority of our political leaders and our citizens. In May political leaders and our citizens. In May 1956, the North Atlantic Council directed a committee of three Foreign Ministers, popularly termed the "Three Wise Men," to advise it on "ways and means to improve and ex-tend NATO cooperation in nonmilitary fields and to develop greater unity within the Atlantic Community."

Since the report of this committee was approved by the North Atlantic Council in December 1956, some progress toward such unity has been made. Consultation within the Council has been extended to cover developments in all parts of the world as well as the actual texts of the replies of the United States, Britain and France to the successive notes addressed to them by Mr.

Khrushchev.

Yet this degree of unity falls far short of

what the situation requires.

Because of division the West is hesitant in meeting successive Soviet threats. Were the Atlantic Community something with a swift policy of its own it could make its decisions effective with a minimum of risk, Together we vastly outstrip the Communists in essential items—economic resources, actual production, number and skill of available technicians, potential military powerin every item save that of mere numbers. United in a manner that permitted the full use of its power the Atlantic Community would be immeasurably superior to the Communist bloc-and have nothing to fear from

#### THE COMMUNIST DRIVE IS POLITICAL AS WELL AS MILITARY

Although attention at this moment is focused on the Soviet threat to Berlin, most thinking men realize that the Communist drive to dominate the world has become political and economic as well as military. Indeed, many of them believe that Communist expansion is going to be pursued primarily by political and economic offensives.

In pursuing their aim the Communists

possess one asset of outstanding importance; a monolithic unity. They can decide what to do, and act, while we negotiate with one another. Thus, as has been widely agreed and repeatedly stated by President Eisenhower, our critical need is a unity adequate to meet these challenges.

The Secretary General of NATO, Paul-Henri Spaak, has outlined this need very clearly in the current issue of Foreign Af-

"Here we are faced with the real weakness of the Atlantic Alliance in every sphere—the lack of unity. This is the prob-lem which we are up against whether we are dealing with scientific research, armaments, production, aid to underdeveloped countries, military organization, or the conduct of diplomacy. We still jealously guard our individuality I fully appreciate the very genuine values which this encompasses; yet I realize, too, what it is costing us in dupli-

how difficult it makes it for us to get results. This would imply, of course, the conviction that there exists today a real community of interest among the members of the Alliance which must be served with the

cated effort, both intellectual and financial, what it means in terms of wasted energy and same energy, love, and pride, that for centuries have been put at the service of each Individual country. I know that at present this is a dream. Yet the dream must one this is a dream. day become a reality, for it is on this reality that our future depends. Of that I am convinced."

This problem of adequate unity has confronted our governments ever since NATO was formed 10 years ago, and they have not yet found a solution. It involves two exceedingly difficult questions: Just how uni-fied do we need to become to meet the challenge of our time? How do we obtain the unity which is found to be necessary?

Greater cooperation and unity, so long sought by our governments, is now being

sought on two other levels.

The NATO Parliamentarians' Conference has met annually since 1955 and has achieved much success in promoting mutual understanding and a common viewpoint among the legislators of our countries. It has adopted a number of resolutions each year seeking to promote unity in political, economic and military affairs, which have been considered by our governments as well as by the North Atlantic Council.

#### THE ATLANTIC CONGRESS, 1959

Therefore, this year, on June 5, the Atlantic Congress, comprising 650 leading citizens of the NATO countries, is to meet in London. It is expected to be comparable in its size and significance to the Hague Congress of 1948 which led directly to the creation of the Council of Europe and indirectly to the European Coal and Steel, Atomic Energy, and Economic Communities.

Thus the search for greater unity is being pursued by governments, by legislators and by representative private citizens from among our peoples who are the sovereign

power in democratic nations.

The Atlantic Congress was called by a resolution of the Third NATO Parliamentarians' Conference in 1957. One may hope it will have a wide impast on our peoples, through the contacts and exchange of views which will take place, through its resolutions and recommendations and by bringing home to our peoples that they are members of one community.

It can be expected also that the Atlantic Congress will prove exceedingly valuable in focusing public attention in the NATO countries on the need for adequate unity. But it is evident that a gathering of this size, meeting for only 5 days, cannot conduct a comprehensive exploration of how such unity may be attained. For so com-plex a task, some smaller body is required, one which can meet as long as may be necessary.

The resolution of the Third NATO Parliamentarians' Conference which initiated the Atlantic Congress sought to fill this second need as well.

Adopted by a unanimous vote of the Parliamentarians, it recommended that the NATO governments bring about a conference "composed of leading representative citizens selected on a nonpartisan basis and directed to convene as often as necessary in order to examine exhaustively and to recommend how greater cooperation and unity of purpose, as envisioned by the North Atlantic Treaty, within the Atlantic Community may best be developed."

The resolution further proposed that "the members of the conference should, as far as possible, be officially appointed but should act in accordance with their individual con-

This recommendation of the NATO Parliamentarians was unanimously approved by the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee on April 24, 1958, but was not brought to a vote in the Senate before the final adjournment of Congress. Under our system, any legislation which has not been completed must be initiated afresh in a new Congress. Actually, no government has—as I write—shown any enthusiasm for such a

continuing body.

Many of us in the U.S. Senate believe that a meeting of leading representative citizens of the nature proposed could be a very important means of promoting Atlantic unity. Accordingly, on March 19 I introduced, with my Democratic colleague, Senator ESTES KEFAUVER of Tennessee, and my Republican colleagues, Senators CLIFFORD P. CASE of New Jersey and John Sherman Cooper of Kentucky, a resolution designed to fulfill this purpose. Similar resolutions were introduced into the House of Representatives by Congressmen A. S. J. CARNAHAN of Missour and CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI of Wisconsin, both ranking Democratic members of the Foreign Affairs Committee.

#### A PROPOSED ATLANTIC CONVENTION

It will be noted that the proposed con' vention would be brought about by action of the legislatures and parliaments of the NATO nations. A precedent for such action was the formation of the NATO Parliamen, tarians' Conference in 1955, which resulted directly from steps taken by the North Atlantic legislatures.

I believe that the meeting of the proposed convention would open the way to important, perhaps decisively important, step towards the unity we now require. It would constitute a probing action to determine mine how we can achieve this democration unity without sacrifice of democratic values.

Its members would comprise some of the

foremost citizens of our nations, men and women with experience gained from many

occupations.

They would make an exhaustive survey of our principal problems, meeting as long of as many times as might be required. Free from official responsibilities and speaking only for themselves, they could take a "new look" at these problems and possible solu tions, a task which cannot be carried out by government officials who are restricted within the bounds of existing policies.

And both their surveys and their efforts to find solutions would be conducted on NATO basis, not a national basis, so that all recommendations would be designed to serve the interests of the Atlantic Com-

munity.

Their function, of course, would be solelf advisory. They would have no authority other than to make recommendations. And whether their recommendations would lead whether their recommendations would lead would be a solely would be solely advisory. to action by the NATO governments would depend upon how sound and practicable such proposals were considered by governments and peoples concerned.

Much would thus depend upon the collective wisdom of the members of the pro posed convention. I cannot but believe that a select body of the wisest among our cities zens who were willing to devote time to this complex job would produce at least some proposals which would be regarded as acceptable and thus would enable us to take a large step forward in our effort to attain

adequate unity.

The role of the proposed convention has been compared with that of the commission of leading citizens which have so often beel appointed by our governments to investigat some complex problem. This procedure has been followed with effective results in the

United States and Britain.

In the United States the term "convention has a special meaning due to the great suc cess of the convention of 1787 which created the United States. It was formed in a manner analogous to the meeting now proposed and succeeded in 100 days in inventing new political institutions.

That day was long ago and the situation was not that of today. The American State had already become a loose confederation which needed only further tightening to betome a single nation. And having achieved independence from Britain their major probems were internal.

The NATO countries have remained each fully independent, with no slightest delegation of sovereignty to any single directive body.

It is their common danger from the ever more insolent menace of world communism and their common need of better satisfying the demands of the underdeveloped peoples, that are driving them towards unification—tresistibly if they are successfully to meet the twin challenges.

How far this process of unifying their policies can and will go depends, in my spinion, upon the urgency of these two bressures. But because we do not presently tim at complete union is no reason for not taking the first steps in the essential direction. And time is running short.

#### Lewis L. Strauss

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial, which appeared in Washington's Evening Star on Friday, June 19, on the subject of the Senate action early that morning:

THE STRAUSS DEFEAT

The Senate's close vote early this morning against confirmation of Lewis L. Strauss as Secretary of Commerce has deprived the President and the country of the services of very able, patriotic, and devoted man, whose singularly distinguished public service began some 40 years ago—a record which stands unblemished despite his defeat.

Two votes cast the other way would have turned this defeat into victory. The difference was that close. Everybody had long since concluded that it would be very close. But the odds, because of the nature of the case made against him by his critics, seemed to favor Mr. Strauss. It was, in our opinion, a filmsy sort of an excuse for a case which is a greater reflection on the Senate than it is on Mr. Strauss.

The defeat is a rare incident in the history of Presidential appointments to the Cabinet, and a strange departure from the principle underlying the President's right to choose his own Cabinet members, modified by the Senate's right to advise and consent.

What accounted for this departure from that principle, we believe, was an unusual combination of circumstances which had no temote connection with Mr. Strauss' competence or character as a public servant. The nature of that combination of circumstances became more apparent as the uninspired, largely artificial and absurdly rambling speeches of his opponents dragged out the Sanate debate.

One circumstance in this combination is that Mr. Strauss' personality exhibits a certain stubborn confidence in his own rectitude, and made him, long ago, a controversial figure—the controversy being between people who like him and those who dislike him.

Another circumstance is that he has trampled on a great many sensitive toes by sticking to certain principles which he regards as fundamental.

He alienated the advocates of public power. He not only believes in private

enterprise, he speaks up for it and seeks to encourage it against the trends of the times. He became the chief personal target in the Dixon-Yates business, which was a heaven-sent issue for any demagog. And for 5 tense years he was Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, years in which the Commission was spending about \$10 billion in a field which is new, which comes close to traspassing in supernatural areas, which invites deep and understandable conflicts of emotion, theory, and economic philosophy, and in which there can be no decision without opposition.

Another circumstance is the Senate's growing suspicion of the highly important principle of executive privilege, which the legislative branch, jealous of its own prerogatives, feels is being ineptly or self-servingly abused. Mr. Strauss came along at a time when he was made the convenient whipping boy and symbol of such abuse, although there are many worthier and untouched candidates for that honor.

Another strange circumstance was Mr. Strauss' refusal to say the expedient thing; or, more importantly, to say what some Senators thought he should have said, in explanation of essentially trivial matters, instead of saying what Mr. Strauss thought he should say.

should say.

Thus, all these circumstances made political bedfellows of a substantial group of Senators whose opinions on other things may be as far apart as the poles but were united in opposition—along with the shrill Communist radio propagandists who will hall their votes as victory.

The other—and very important circumstance—was that Senator CLINTON P. ANDERSON, whose bitter hatred of the candidate became conspicuous, is a popular and respected Senator. He was able to become the catalytic agent which combined these various elements in opposition. And he has now had his victory.

#### Now for Interest Rates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. JOHN W. BYRNES

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an editorial from this morning's Washington Post:

NOW FOR INTEREST RATES

Now that the House has approved the necessary increase in the limit on the debt, it ought to get down to business on the other half of the President's recent financial proposal: the elimination of the interest rate ceiling on Treasury bonds. There are two aspects of this matter which seem not to be very widely or thoroughly understood at the Capitol and to which the House Banking Committee may wish to direct its particular attention.

First of all, the notion ought to be dispelled that the removal of the interest celling automatically would mean that interest rates would go up. It is probable that an immediate offering of bonds would command rates higher than now allowed—but what is important is that the Treasury be taken out from under the celling so that it can plan its financing and refinancing with greater flexibility. The presence of the ceiling tends to put upward pressure on short-term offerings, and its removal might lower interest rates on such obligations.

In the second place, there is need to scotch the argument that the Treasury can (and just as well might) limp along with shortterm refinancing of outstanding short-term debt, on which the ceiling does not apply. The average maturity of the Federal debt has shortened materially in recent years, contributing to the rising interest burden in the budget. If this trend is to be effectively combatted, the Treasury must be free to float bonds in place of short-term paper whenever an opening in the market presents itself. The fact that the opening is not now readily apparent does not mean that when the present groundswell of recovery investment levels off such opportunities will not be there. As we have said before, removal of the interest ceiling would be no cure-all for the Treasury's difficulties-but it is an essential ingredient.

#### Traffic Safety in the 86th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, the Subcommittee on Health and Safety of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce has scheduled hearings July 7, 8, 8, and 9 on several bills relating to highway traffic safety. Under permission to extend my remarks, I am submitting herewith, for the information of the membership, an article I wrote which appeared in the April issue of the Traffic Digest and Review of the Traffic Institute of Northwestern University. The article is as follows:

The American motorist is presently permitted to purchase, for premium prices, some assurances that he can avoid death or crippling injury in the event he becomes involved in a traffic accident.

For a slight additional charge, a motorist can have his car equipped with seat belts, proven time and again to greatly reduce the chance of death or injury from a crash.

For a slight additional charge, a motorist can have the dash panel of his car padded with energy-absorbing foam, practically eliminating any chance of a serious head injury in the event of a crash.

For a slight additional charge, a motorist can have his car equipped with windshield washers, assuring him of always having clear vision when driving under adverse conditions.

I will not attempt to list all of the safety devices with which an automobile can be equipped for a slight additional charge.

This, to me, is comparable to letting a housewife go to the market and offering her a choice between tainted meat, found on the market in huge quantities before passage of the Pure Foods and Drug Act, and fresh, safe, Government-inspected meat.

#### POPULARITY NOT A FACTOR

I have been told that the safety features I have mentioned, as well as many others, have not been adopted as standard equipment because they have not proved popular with the public when offered as optional equipment, for a slight additional charge.

With the annual loss of lives from traffic accidents running from 37,000 to 40,000 and the annual economic loss to the country running into the billions of dollers, I think it is evident that we cannot afford to let

ourselves believe we are in a popularity contest.

I do not recall any great hue and cry from the public for the Federal Government to demand purity in meats and other foods and drugs.

Yet, we know without question that before this act was passed, thousands were dying every year from spoiled meats, food canned improperly, and drugs dispensed with no supervision.

Who today can deny that this Government action has been of tremendous value to all of us and to the country as a whole? And what body but the Government was in a position to, or even willing to, assume the

responsibility for this action?

There may be no great public hue and cry for seat belts in automobiles, for padded dashes, windshield washers, or any of the many other safety devices which have been developed; but no one can question their worth, their ability to reduce the suffering and death now being experienced on our highways.

And we desperately need to get these devices out of the optional equipment category and into the standard equipment field.

For the past  $2\frac{1}{2}$  years I have served as chairman of the special subcommittee on traffic safety, and have been recently named chairman of a newly formed subcommittee on health and safety.

The health and safety subcommittee will continue the work of the traffic safety subcommittee.

#### PUBLIC HEARINGS PLANNED

During the time in which I have been active in this field, the subcommittee has heard literally millions of words of testimony from representatives of the automotive industry, researchers, safety officials, law enforcement officers, judges, doctors, and attorneys.

Almost without exception, they agree we still have a long way to go in the traffic safety field, particularly in regard to research.

But here we are talking about some gains which have been made but which are not

being utilized.

Since there have been no voluntary steps made to correct the situation, I have introduced in the present Congress legislation

which would:

1. Direct the Secretary of Commerce to make a study and determine what reasonable safety devices should be standard equip-

ment on all automobiles.

2. Make it unlawful to ship any vehicle which does not have these safety devices in

interstate commerce.

At the earliest possible date, I intend to hold public hearings on this bill, and I will then entertain any suggestions as to why it should not become law.

I am confident that there will be objections, and I am equally confident that the principal ones will come from the northwesterly direction of Detroit.

My personal feeling is that the subcommittee has proceeded with extreme caution in its work and has sought in every manner to avoid compulsory legislation.

But after 2½ years of pointing out some of the things which need to be done, and with no indication of any early action on the part of the manufacturers, I believe that we must pass some sort of regulatory legislation which will insure the public of getting the safest possible product.

As I have said, I anticipate considerable opposition from a powerful industry when this bill comes up for consideration, and I have prepared a counter measure which I have also introduced in the present Congress.

This bill would require the Secretary of Commerce to make the same sort of study of safety devices, and then would require that all automobiles purchased by the Federal Government be equipped with these devices.

The Federal Government is such a good customer of the automotive industry that I believe equipment placed on automobiles for Government purchases would soon become standard on all automobiles manufactured.

It would not be practical to tool a plant one way to manufacture automobiles for the Government and another way to manufacture for regular purchase.

This is a sort of back-door approach to the problem, but I am hopeful the end results would be the same.

#### OTHER LEGISLATION PROPOSED

Briefly, here are some of the other measures which will be considered by the current Congress:

A bill which would provide some Federal funds for research in the driver-training field.

It has been demonstrated time and again that properly trained drivers, drivers with formal driver training, have fewer accidents, fewer fatalities, fewer injuries, and fewer traffic law violations.

This money would not be appropriated for the actual operation of driver-training classes, but would be used for research and study to develop the best possible type of driver-training courses.

The funds would have to be matched at the State level, and control of the funds would be at the State level. States using the funds would, however, have to make a reasonable accounting of the expenditure to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Still another important piece of legislation is one which would determine how much damage to our health automobile exhaust fumes are causing and require some control of the amount of pollution being discharged into our atmosphere.

At a recent air pollution conference in Washington the Public Health Service said there is some ground for belief that automobile exhaust fumes are a source of lung

cancer.

There is expected to be introduced in the near future, if it has not already been introduced, a bill drawn by my colleagues from Arizona, the Honorable John J. Rhodes, which would set up a central records system of traffic law violations.

In the event of a serious violation, such as driving while intoxicated, hit and run or driving at excessive speed, a permanent record would be made at this central bureau.

The record would be made only for the most serious offenses resulting in license revocation. It would not be desirable or practical to make such records for minor violations, such as parking meter violations, parking in a restricted zone, etc.

#### NATIONWIDE LICENSE REVOCATION

As the situation is at present, a driver in Alabama, for instance, can have his license revoked a traffic law violation, and then skip right across the State line into Tennessee or some other State, complete the necessary residence requirements and get himself a new license which will serve him until he gets into another scrape with the law.

The State issuing the license has no way of checking to see what his previous driving record has been, or even checking to see whether he has been previously licensed in Alabama.

With a central records section reporting on all license revocations and traffic law violations, the examining officer could check any applicant's previous driving record in much the same manner that a law enforcement officer can check a suspect's criminal record with the FBI. In summary, let me say that the Federa Government does not want to and will not needlessly work a hardship on any industry or in any manner invade provinces traditionally governed at the State level.

Human life, however, is too precious and billions of dollars in economic loss is too costly for any of us to stand idly by when solutions to the problems causing these

losses apparently are at hand.

If it falls the duty of the Federal Government to legislate safety equipment onto our automobiles to reduce the pitiful slaughte now taking place on our highways, then say legislate.

If it falls the duty of the Federal Government to legislate funds for improving out driver trtining, then I say legislate. If it falls the duty of the Federal Govern-

ment to legislate action against the pollution of our air, then I say legislate. We have looked in many other directions for constructive action on these problems

and have found little or none.

The time has now come when some responsible body must act to curb this terrible loss of life and property. And act is what we plan to do.

#### A Good Recovery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. GEORGE M. WALLHAUSER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. WALLHAUSER. Mr. Speaker, it is very difficult to be a prophet.

In the field of economic forecasting we are subjected to continual and continuous opinions as to the course that our economy will take, whether up of down, and it is hard to separate the thoughtful prognoses from the guesstimates. Specifically, I refer to the economic conditions of 1 year ago, when we were being subjected to all kinds of cures for the recession, many of them drastic and some unrealistic. If you look back at some of the headlines and new stories, you will be struck by the almost unanimous suggestions of the prophets of gloom and doom that large tax cuts be made, additional billions of dollars be spent, or similar proposals of pump priming.

It is, therefore, comforting to those who resisted these temporary expedients to note that the economic advance of our great Nation has been very substantial. The Labor Department's latest report indicates that more Americans are now at work than in any May of our history, and, furthermore, shows that the number of unemployed has again dropped.

Recessions and unemployment are major problems and deserve the complete dedication of all of us to avoiding them, but sometimes, it appears to me, that the suggested cures would only compound the problem, in the long-range view.

Another signpost of promising recovery is the rise in personal income in May, which was up 7 percent, or \$25 billion on an area basis from May 1957. This, of course, gives an impetus and a gain in the buying power of the average American, especially since retail prices ad-

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anced only fractionally during the same eriod. Most of this increase in income as in wages and salaries, which is a ery desirable component of the total. this also gives further hope for increase h employment that is so desirable.

The main purpose of these remarks is not to chide those who took the dim view. but rather to stimulate our thinking for being confident that the free-enterprise stem of our great country, proven as it has been by the test of time, can, with try little external assistance, produce own recovery, especially if our citizens retain the necessary confidence in it.

We should derive complete satisfaction Out of the fact that our system, as com-Dired with the Communist ideology, has the resilience to return to the normal, and above, without taking away goods, chattels, and personal liberties of any of our citizens.

#### Albert J. Tully

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. FRANK W. BOYKIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. BOYKIN. Mr. Speaker, under ave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial from the Mobile, (Ala.) Press under date of June 15. 1959 entitled "Well Deserved Honor", which editorial tribute is paid to Hon. Albert J. Tully, Mobile attorney, who has lust been elected as president of Kiwanis International.

The good people of Mobile and south Alabama who are familiar with Mr. Tully's long service to his community, his State and his Nation are proud of the honor which has been conferred apon him by this great international civic organization. As this editorial points out, Mr. Tully's election as president of Riwanis International is the crowning Achievement of his 20 long years of unselfish work.

I know of no better ambassador of good will for our city and our State than Mr. Tully. Again I say we are all proud of him—we are proud to claim him as our own and all of us wish for him a highly successful term of office with many many More years of unselfish service to his organization and to his fellow man.

#### WELL DESERVED HONOR

Albert J. Tully, Mobile attorney, richly deserves the singular honor that came to him wednesday in his election at Dallas, Tex., as president of Kiwanis International.

His many friends and acquaintances in Mobile can very well vouch for the wisdom used by this huge parent-body of civic clubs around the world in naming such an outstanding man for its topmost office.

This development speaks eloquently for the personal qualities and the value of Mr. Tully's citizenship. It is the crowning achievement of 20 long years of active service by the Mobilian to his community, State and Nation.

Intelligent, courageous, and progressive, Mr. Tully has made many contributions toward the betterment of Mobile.

His climb to the top of the ladder in Kiwanis International bring worldwide recog-nition to himself and to Mobile.

We look forward gladly to the fact that in his capacity as international president, he will travel widely, not only as a representa-tive of Kiwanians, but also as an able ambassador of good will for Mobile and Ala-

Christ United Church of Christ, Conyngham, Pa., Celebrating 150th Anniversary of Its Founding

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS - OF

## HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following news article from the Hazleton, Pa., Plain Speaker of Friday, June 19, 1959.

[From the Hazleton Plain Speaker, June 19, 19591

WEEK-LONG CELEBRATION BEGINS SUNDAY, ENDS JUNE 28

The 150th anniversary of the founding of Christ United Church of Christ, Conyngham, will be celebrated from Sunday, June 21,

through Sunday, June 28.
Under the leadership of the Rev. Harlan A. Breininger, pastor, the congregation will mark the beginning of Christ Church in 1809; cornerstone laying of Christ Union Church in 1826; erection of first frame church in 1872; second frame church in 1873; and dedication of the present church

The Rev. Dr. Allen S. Meck, president emeritus of the Theological Seminary, Lancaster, will be the speaker for the anniversary service at 10:15 a.m., Sunday, June 21.

Other festivities for the same day will include the dedication of memorials and new additions; a guided tour of historical spots in Conyngham at 5:30 p.m.; a covereddish supper at 6 p.m.; and a historical pageant at 7:30 p.m.

#### FORMER PASTORS' NIGHT TUESDAY

Two former pastors will play prominent roles in the observance of Former Pastors'

Night at 8 p.m. Tuesday.

They are: the Rev. A. Gail Holt, pastor of St. Luke's Church, Lancaster, who will be liturgist. Reverend Holt was pastor of Christ Church from 1942 to 1952; and the Rev. Perry L. Smith, national field secretary of the committee of correlation and promotion, who will preach the sermon. He was pastor of Christ Church from 1924 to 1930.

#### REVEREND LUTZ TO SPEAK

Community night, to be held at 8 p.m., Thursday, will feature a sermon by the Rev. Wayne Lutz, president of the Suequehanna Synod and pastor of First Church, Berwick.

Liturgists for the community night service will be: the Reverend Lawrence Delp of Christ Lutheran Church; the Reverend Ray Deming of Conyngham Methodist Church; the Reverend Russell Bechtel of St. John's United Church of Christ, St. Johns; and the Reverend James Gold of the Nescopeck-Mountain Grove Charge.

Refreshments and informal fellowship will follow the services on Tuesday and Thursday nights.

#### CLOSING SERVICE JUNE 28

The concluding service will be the Anniversary Communion and Homecoming, to be held at 10:15 a.m. Sunday, June 28. This will be followed by a covered dish luncheon at 11:45 a.m.

LeRoy Hinkle will be guest soloist for Tuesday night's program.

Margaret Fink served as chairman of the anniversary committee, wrote the pageant and gathered material for the anniversary booklet.

Pastors who have served the congregation and dates of their service are as follows:

Rev. John N. Zeiser, 1820-1839.

Rev. Isaac Shellhamer, 1839-1855.

Rev. John A. Reubelt. Rev. John W. Lesher.

Rev. Samuel Seibert.

Rev. John B. Poerner, 1855-1858. Rev. Henry B. Hoffman, 1858-1870.

Rev. John M. Clemens, 1871-1880.

Rev. Tilghman Derr, 1881-1887.

Rev. J. B. Kerchner, 1887–1896. Rev. A. B. Lobach, 1897–1900.

Rev. C. E. Correll, 1900-1912. Rev. W. A. McClellan, 1912-1913.

Rev. S. F. Hartzell, 1914–1917. Rev. Daniel A. Brown, 1917–1922.

Rev. Perry L. Smith, 1924-1930.

Rev. Irvin G. Snyder, 1930-1939.

Rev. Milton A. May, 1939-1942.

Rev. A. Gail Holt, 1942-1952.

Rev. Harlan A. Breininger, 1952.

#### ANNIVERSARY COMMITTEES

Serving on the various committees were the following persons:

General: Margaret Fink, chairman; William Adams, Mrs. Fred Heppe, Edmund Richards, Mrs. Leslie Schultz, Frank Stratzell, Rev. Harlan Breininger.

Historical: Margaret Fink, Edmund Richards, co-chairman; Mrs. Edmund Richards, Mrs. Sterling Evans, Mrs. Henry George, William Walp, and Mrs. John Luschyk.

Invitation: Frank Stratzell, Mrs. Fred Heppe, co-chairman; Mrs. George Kay, Mar-

garet Fink.

Hostess: Mrs. Leslie Schultz, Mrs. Loretta Karchner, co-chairman; Mrs. Eva Kirch-doerfer, Mrs. Earl Miller, Mrs. Claude E. Miller, Mrs. Sterling Evans, Mrs. Fred Heppe, Mrs. George Kay, Mrs. Harlan Breininger, and Mrs. George Smith,

Anniversary booklet: Rev. Harlan A. Breininger. William Adams.

#### Lewis L. Strauss

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial, which appeared in the Long Island Daily Press on Saturday, June 20, on the subject of the Senate action early Friday morning:

THE SENATE AND MR. STRAUSS

The Senate refusal to confirm Lewis L.

Strauss as Secretary of Commerce: Deprives the Eisenhower Cabinet of one of its strongest and stormiest members.

Renews the question of hewing to the tradition that the President has uppermost rights in choosing his assistants.

Throws a new element of contention into

the 1960 political campaign.

The vote that rejected Mr. Strauss was 49 to 46, 2 Republicans joining 47 Democrats to reject him. Fifteen Democrats voted to confirm him.

It was only the eighth time in our history that a Cabinet appointee was refused confirmation. The last was in 1925 in the Coolidge administration.

The battle over Admiral Strauss, former Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, was bitter and prolonged. The scars will be evident in the Senate Chamber for a long time.

Mr. Strauss' public service spans some 40 years. He has made valuable contributions—and he also has made some outstanding foes.

Mr. Strauss is wise when he says he is confident "that history will be just" to him.

History, with its objective perspective, is almost always just in its judgments,

#### Soviet Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the weekly newsletter entitled, "Trends," released by the First-Second National Bank & Trust Co., of Wilkes-Barre, of June 18, 1959:

[From Trends, of Thursday, June 18, 1959]

From the Western point of view, it makes a little sense that the Russians, when they get a chance to be reasonable and to contribute to a lessening of world tensions, don't eagerly seize that chance. The Western mind which doesn't quite fathom the Soviet insistence on being difficult is viewing the problem through Western eyes.

If Western diplomats can go to conferences with a dedicated hope of making agreements which will ease tensions, it is because their Governments, resting on the consent of the governed, are free to seek settlements which would let East and West live in real peace. Among the leading Western nations, no objective has priority over this one. On it, our diplomats cannot see eye to eye with the Communists, because the Communists view their revolution as continuing and incomplete.

They can not accept any arrangement which would effectively hamper the spread of Communist power and influence. Their ideological tenets teach that eventually the Communist revolution will encompass the entire earth. Privately, the average Russian worker may regard such thinking as absurd nonsense, and silently wish for an end to tension—hastening the day when even the masses behind the Iron Curtain can live like Americans. Officially, no Soviet politician can turn his back on the Leninist vision of world revolution. In all the years since the Bolshevik revolution, only one powerful Russian figure has appeared even temporarily willing to accept the existing high water mark of Communist penetration tnd try for a period of peace and consolidation. man was Khrushchev, and his aims showed through when he acknowledged the Tito thesis of many roads to socialism and boldly attacked the long reign of Stalin as a chapter of violence and perfity. Had the Soviet leader then been secure in his job, that might have been a good time for brass tacks East-West negotiation of a long-term modus vivendi. Since then, Khrushchev has, under various pressures, reverted to more traditional communism. In protecting his power . against the Stalinists inside Russia and

against the obvious design of the Communist Chinese to win leadership of the Iron Curtain world, Khrushchev finds life easier of he presses the cold war at every opportunity. In frank moments, Khrushchev has told interviewers that he believes Russia can pull up even with the United States in productivity of its agriculture and industry; that he hopes to live to see this; and that he therefore would like to see 5 to 10 years of tranquility.

However, Communists long have operated on the theory that weakness and disunity in the West will provide moments of Red opportunity. Some, who perhaps have longer to wait to the two cars in every garage phase of Russian development than Khrushchev has, see the next year or two as promising in this respect, with the United States facing a presidential election next year, with France still weakened by the Algerian problem, with Chancellor Adenauer reportedly governing with reduced prestige in West Germany and with Britain facing a national election before next summer. These are some of the reasons why Moscow presumably sees no urgensy in an East-West settlement calling for Soviet concessions, and why Western hopes for any real progress toward peace this year are weighted with doubt.

#### Safer Automobiles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, with the toll of dead and injured in automobile traffic accidents bringing new horrors daily, the people of the Nation are waking up to the fact that we need safer automobiles. It is encouraging that the problem is the subject of increasing editorial comment in leading newspapers across the Nation. Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to call attention to an editorial which appeared June 15, 1959, in the Evening Bulletin of Providence, R.I. The editorial follows:

# WE NEED SAFER AUTOMOBILES

Highway accidents have reached epidemic proportions. They constitute a greater threat to the safety of large segments of the population than some diseases do. In 1957, the death rate among insurance policyholders from automobile accidents was greater than from pneumonia and influenza, from all forms of tuberculosis, and from diabetes. Nearly 39,000 Americans lost their lives in highway accidents in 1957.

Three components in all highway accidents are (1) the driver, (2) the highway, and (3) the motor vehicle. A great deal of attention has been paid to methods of inculcating better habits on drivers and of building increased safety into highways. A few years ago, studies at Cornell University considered methods of building safety into automobiles.

A House subcommittee in Washington next month will open hearings on a bill to compel auto manufacturers to build safer cars. The bill would forbid the Federal Government to buy cars not equipped with safety features recommended by the Secretary of Commerce. Since the Government is the greatest single customer for cars, a law of the kind proposed is expected to lead to the adoption of prescribed safety equipment in all cars.

Seeking enactment is Representative Ken-NETH A. ROBERTS, Alabama Democrat who got Congress to enact a law requiring manufacturers to install escape handles inside refrigerators. The kind of safety devices he would like to see in automobiles, according to the Congressional Quarterly, are safety belts, padded dashboards to minimize the danger of skull fractures in collisions, steering wheels on which no driver could be impaled, rooftop bars to protect collapse of a car rolling over on its side, and seats designed to prevent whiplash injuries of the neck.

Mr. Roberts knows that he faces a battle with the Detroit manufacturers, who believe the value of most proposed devices is yet to be proven. But he says automobiles no more should be exempt from Federal safety standards than airplanes. In his crusade, he hopes to win support from members of the medical profession, such as Dr. C. Hunter Shelden who, back in 1955, said that elimination of hazardous features of interior car construction would save three-fourths the number of lives lost in crashes.

Mr. Robert's efforts to have the industry build a safer automobile will not be lost on a population that sacrifices more victims on the highway than are claimed by discases that once ravaged the land.

#### A Hollow Sound

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. JOHN H. RAY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. RAY. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial by Mr. Thurman Sensing, printed in the June 15, 1959, issue of the Southern States Industrial Council Bulletin, is I believe thoughtful, constructive and timely. I am glad to submit it for the careful attention of all Members of Congress:

#### A HOLLOW SOUND

Advocacy of a sound dollar and a stable economy has a rather hollow sound unless it includes return to a redeemable currency. The only way control of the Nation's purse strings can be retained in the hands of the people, where it belongs in a free nation is by means of a redeemable currency. One of the first steps on the road to totalitarian ism, of one sort or another, is by means of a "managed irredeemable currency." If his has been the record of totalitarian government throughout history—and there is no reason to believe it is different here than elsewhere.

When our Government went off the gold standard in 1933 under a Democratic administration, it violated sanctity of contract and broke its solemn promise to the people it robbed the people of 42 percent of their savings; it substituted a dishonest dollar for an honest dollar. It took away from the people their gold, which they had earned and which was theirs, and gave them in exchange pieces of paper. Since that time a dollar has been a dollar only because the Government says it is a dollar.

When that step was taken, we entered upon a period of economic immorality that has permeated the blood stream of our naonal life ever since. It continues under both political parties. The Republican Party advocated a return to the gold standard in its 1952 platform, but for some reason it was not included in the 1956 platform. The Democratic Party has not advocated a return since 1933. There is apparently no hope in the leadership of either party. This leadership must come from the people.

It is the nature of government—any govmment—to spend all the money the people all ever let it spend—and when the people we no control over the amount available, as now the case with us, then the sky is the thit. It can well be believed that the reaneither party is advocating a return to gold standard is because this would limit amount of money available to the poliamount of money available to the police promise all things to all people—and the good on these promises by means of onting-press currency. If the people are disatisfied, they can only complain; whereas, ander a gold standard, if the people are dissatisfied, they can turn their paper money in lo gold and cut off the funds available to the Politicians at the source.

The gold standard, of and by itself, exerts ho magic. It simply provides the conditions magic. It simply provides the conthe only method thus far discovered whereby who knows about as much about money as behaps anyone who could be named, has dollars, commodity dollars, managed dollars. \* They have not worked, and I do not think they will work. But gold has worked ton Alexander's time down. When something holds good for 2,000 years, I do not believe it can be because of prejudice or a mistake in theory."

There are bills now before Congress making there are bills now before congress on debe dollar fully redeemable in gold on demand at \$35 an ounce for the gold. To make the dollar sound again, and to protect themselves against the further ravages of inflation, the public should write their Senators and Representatives insisting on passage of one of these bills. Then the people, by de-manding gold in exchange for their paper noney, could put a stop to Government sending for which new money is being created.

The Treasury still has ample gold to make this feasible. This situation will not hold good forever, though—the way things are go-tradity.—because nationals holding dollar edits abroad—who can demand gold for credits abroad—who can demand good their dollars whereas our own people can-lot—are becoming more and more wary about the value of the dollar and the drain on the dollar and the drain of the dollar and the dollar a on our gold reserve is continuing at a steady Pace. Redeemability put off too long may well become impossible.

John W. Inwood of Western Union Co.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOE HOLT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. HOLT. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call attention of my colleagues to the article below complimenting Mr. John W. Inwood, of the Western Union Co., on his 46 continuous years of serv-

INWOOD SERVES 46 YEARS WITH WESTERN UNION

John W. Inwood, district manager, Westem Union Telegraph Co., Los Angeles, has lust completed 46 continuous years of service With the telegraph company.

Inwood started with Western Union 46 Stars ago as a messenger boy in Passaic, h.J. On April 5, 1913, he delivered his first telegram and 5 years later became manager of the Passaic office. He also served as manager at Paterson, N.J., and in 1929 was promoted to the position of superintendent in

Providence, R.I., and superintendent of the Philadelphia office in 1933. He came to the west coast in 1937 when he was appointed superintendent of the Los Angeles office, and in 1957 became district manager of the Los Angeles area.

Inwood is president of the Southern California Chapter of the Armed Forces Com-munications and Electronics Association, and has served on various committees of the Rotary Club of Los Angeles. He is a member of several other local organizations, including Lincoln Club, Jonathan Club, Morse Telegraph Club, Greater Los Angeles Press Club, Beverly Hills Mens Club, Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, and Merchants and Manufacturers Association.

He is a member of All Saints Episcopal Church in Beverly Hills where he recently served as clerk of the vestry. He has one son, the Reverend Jay McMormick Inwood, who until recently was chaplain for Episco-pal students at UCLA and who has now accepted a parish at Northeast Harbor, Maine.

Secretary McElroy's News Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. AUGUST E. JOHANSEN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Speaker, because of my own concern over the comments of Secretary McElroy regarding the recent Communist jet attack on an American Navy patrol plane off North Korea-which I voiced in my remarks during the debate last Friday on the increase in the debt limitation-I include here, under permission to extend my remarks, the questions and answers on this subject at the Secretary's news conference last Thursday:

Secretary McElroy. I think those are my opening comments. I am available for questions.

Mr. McDaniel (Associated Press). Mr. Secretary, in view of the comments, de-mands, or suggestions from the Hill, has the Navy to your knowledge or in your cognizance instituted or started any action that might lead to the courts martial of any officer over the events in the Far East in the last few days?

Secretary McElroy. No steps have been taken and I have seen no occasion for steps to be taken. I think it might be well for me to say a little something about this event of the shooting up of the Navy plane off North Korea because to my mind the things that have been given the greatest attention are not the most significant things about this incident.

The really important thing to my mind is that here was an aircraft on a peaceful mission, flying over waters which are clearly international waters, and this plane was attacked by what I would consider an irresponsible pair of fighters with the results that are well known.

The only reason a major tragedy didn't take place was because of the high quality of piloting by the Navy pilot. This, in my opinion, should be regarded as no different from the kind of thing that could happen to a military air transport craft which, of course, is not armed. The military air transport craft also is on a peaceful mission. The same thing is true about an ordinary commercial aircraft.

Now when you have a condition of peace in the world or even a condition of cold war you don't expect that you have to be in a position to defend yourself against irresponsible attack if you were flying over in-ternational waters which are clearly your right to fly over.

I think it's not dissimilar to the kind of situation you might have here in Washington. People don't go out at night with guns in their pockets and yet that doesn't mean that some irresponsible person may not attack you and injure you or even kill you.

Now this is serious obviously. This is serious principally to my mind in the increase of international tension. This country, of course, will not have its right infringed, but to my mind the question of whether we provide heavy armament for a ship, an aircraft which is on a peaceful mission in international waters, over international waters, I should say, or a ship which is on international waters, is some-thing which I think is a kind of an aside as against the main issue.

Mr. GREENE (New York Daily News). Mr. Secretary, what are we going to do about it? Secretary McElroy. What are we going to

do about what?

Mr. GREENE. Well, as I recall the last count we have been hit 11 times over international waters by Soviet or Soviet allied planes. They have always started the shooting. Are we just going to keep on and let them keep on shooting or what are we going to do to try to stop it or retaliate?

Secretary McElroy. Well, you see, this becomes a matter of high policy. If we have aircraft in the area, of course we would respond, but let me ask you, do you want to send aircraft where you can't find the people who will perform the assault? What would

you do?

Mr. GREENE. If you want my answer, sir, I would send them all out with fighter escorts and I would shoot at anything I could find. You asked me and I gave you the answer.

Secretary McElroy. Thank you very much. [Laughter.]

Mr. PRINA (Washington Star). Mr. McElroy, can you explain whether the guns on the Naval patrol plane were missing or were they dismantled? They seem to have said from the Far East that parts were missing. That is, they are still hoping to get parts of this type of gun. [Laughter.] What is your understanding of that point?

Secretary McElroy, I don't believe that there is anything significant in the lack of parts. The important gun, if there was any gun on this craft that was important and as think I have tried to suggest to you that isn't the important thing. There's too much preoccupation with that particular gun which isn't the way you are going to knock off a Mig anyway except by very, very unusual marksmanship.

In my opinion, the problem is not spare The aircraft is really being used in reconnaissance in a way in which it was not originally built to be used. It was built to be used as an antisubmarine craft. Now in reconnaissance it has some equipment which is not required for the antisubmarine purpose and in order to get that kind of equipment housed in the aircraft you may very well displace certain of the guns which are placed in the forward part of the craft for antisubmarine use and for reconnaissance would not have important use.

Mr. PRINA. Mr. Secretary, was that done in this case?

Secretary McElroy. Was what done?

Mr. Rogers. Did you displace the forward guns in order to make room for special equipment?

Secretary McElroy. Well, this is what we are trying to get the exact information on. (Secretary Snyder confers with Secretary McElroy.) Well, here is the statement that

was put out, so I might as well read it to you:

"This particular plane was assigned to reconnaissance missions rather than antisubmarine duty during its deployment in the Western Pacific." That is what I have just said. "Because of this, the forward turrent, useful only against surface targets, was deliberately rendered inoperable by utilizing the space to house reconnaissance-type equipment. For a similar reason, and to compensate for the weight of the additional equipment, the top turrent had been removed.'

Mr. PRINA. (Washington Evening Star). But that still leaves the question that may be insignificant as far as you are concerned, but there seems to be a flap going around the point whether-they don't have parts for that type of gun out there.

Secretary McElror. Well, as I say, we have

no indication that there is a lack of parts that's any factor in this problem at all.

Mr. Rogers. Well, Mr. Secretary, were the missing parts available? Could they have been put back on?

Secretary McElroy. Well, what difference does it make? Why is this important, when you wouldn't have put them back on any-way? This seems to me to become ridiculous.

Mr. RAYMOND (New York Times). Mr. Secretary, there are reports coming out of the Far East saying that the crew members referred to missing parts. The crew members apparently thought it important enough to refer to them, and that's why we are asking about them.

Secretary McElroy. Well, I have given you all of the answer I can give you. I don't think it's important in the matter.

Mr. Hackes (NBC). Mr. Secretary, is it your feeling that fighter escorts of any kind are not really necessary, or would you say there had been some flights that would be considered hazardous enough to have a fighter escort?

Secretary McElroy. Well, the instructions are that these flights be undertaken in such a way that they will not be provocative, by which it is meant that they, in proceeding along at a very safe distance outside of what even the most extravagant claim of territorial waters has been, that the direction be such that there would be no suggestion to indigenous forces that the direction was carrying the craft toward those borders.

Now this I am sure has been followed. Under those circumstances there is no flight of the type we are talking about here that I would consider required fighters escort unless you had a recurrence of this kind of attack.

I think this was irresponsible. I don't know why it was done; whether it was some sort of a coordinated harassment with what goes on in other parts of the world in connection with the Geneva Conferences, I don't know. It obviously is a very dangerous thing for anyone to do against this country.

I think it may just as well be known that the commanders in the area have full authority to provide fighter escort if they consider that this is required. They have not done so up to this point according to our information to date.

The PRESS (unidentified). Mr. Secretary, is the nationality of the attacking planes now known?

Secretary McElrox. Not fully identified. We think that the location from which they came would suggest that it would be more likely that they were North Korean, but there is no positive identification.

Mr. Rogers (New York Herald Tribune). Mr. Secretary, there is a report of a photograph having been taken of the attacking airplanes, having been sent to Washington. Is that so, sir?

Secretary McElroy. I don't know.

Mr. REICHER (McGraw-Hill). Mr. Secretary, have there been instances in recent years of Soviet bloc aircraft being sighted or intercepted over our territorial limits?

Secretary McElroy. Ours were not over their territorial limits.

Mr. REICHER. I realize that. That is not my question. Have there been any instances of Soviet bloc aircraft sighted or intercepted over our territorial limits.

Secretary McElroy. Over U.S. territorial limits?

Mr. REICHEK. (Nods.) Secretary McEleov. No. Mr. REICHEK. None at all? Secretary McElsov. No.

The PRESS (unidentified). Over Alaska

too, put it.

Mr. REICHEK. By United States, I mean-Secretary McElroy. It is certainly true that Soviet or North Korean or Communist Chinese-we can't always identify exactly who they are, but craft of those countries are flying the same general area of waters in which this incident took place. Our patrolling craft see craft of the other side with some regularity. This is not unexpected. It's an area where I think both sides have a desire to keep track of what the other side is doing.

#### Preparing for the Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, the firm of Eli Lilly & Co. enjoys the respect and admiration of all Hoosiers. Its accomplishments in the pharmaceutical field have brought added distinction to In-

It is thus with great pleasure and hope that we greet the new \$5 million agriculture research center which the Lilly Co. has established at Greenfield, Ind. The company now intends to apply its efficient methods of research in agriculture and animal husbandry as it has heretofore done in the field of drugs and medicines. Among the well-wishers of this new endeavor is the Indianapolis News, as expressed in its editorial of June 18, 1959:

#### PREPARING FOR THE FUTURE

There should be little cause for worry about any lack of improved quality food production to meet the demands of a rapidly growing population as long as there are enterprising firms like Eli Lilly & Co.

The company has dedicated a vast \$5 million agriculture research center at the west edge of Greenfield. There Lilly scientists will probe into such questions as animal nutrition, control and treatment of plant dis-

eases, and veterinary problems.

It is a new field for the Indianapolis pharmaceutical firm, but the achievement tradition of the Lilly company gives promise of outstanding results.

The research program should do much good for mankind, eventually resulting in healthier, faster growing livestock, grain, and other food products.

The new center represents the way American private enterprise is ready to meet the problems of the future. The Lilly firm deserves congratulations for another in a long list of forward-looking accomplishments.

Awards Presented by Television Station WWLP, Springfield, Mass.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, las Tuesday evening, June 16, WWLP, television channel 22 in Springfield, Mass presented its annual "Outstanding Serv ants of the Public" awards to four pel sons who have participated in the publi life of the community and the Common wealth of Massachusetts.

Those receiving the awards from WWLP Television President William Putnam were Mrs. Margaret C. Ell Mrs. Edna Ludden, S. Douglas Polit mus, and myself. I was unable to be Springfield to appear on television an receive my award personally, because congressional duties here at the Capito but I am most grateful to channel 22 5 Springfield for the honor bestowed upo

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend m remarks in the Appendix, I include th scripts read by President Putnam making the awards to the outstanding citizens with my remarks, as follows:

#### MARGARET ELLS, SPRINGFIELD

A familiar name in education and community affairs in Springfield is that of Margaret C. Ells. She was born in Dank. Vt., and educated at Castleton Norma School, in Castleton, Vt. Mrs. Ells receive her bachelor of science and master of science degrees from Boston University.

Her long teaching experience include early work in Vermont at Westn Saxtor River and Bellows Falls and as a teaching principal of a four-room school in Amhers

Since 1908, Mrs. Ells has been teaching Springfield—at the Central Street Gram mar School, at the Evening High School Commerce and Continuation, and Trad High School. The latter assignment date from 1934 to 1953. Since 1934 she assistant principal at Trade High School.

In 1954 Mrs. Ells was appointed a par time instructor and scholarship counsel by American International College.

The city of Springfield will honor Margar C. Ells by naming the new Blunt Par school after her.

She has been presented the Pyncho award, the Probus Club award, the out standing citizen award, and the neighbor the month award.

She is an active member of the Catholi Women's Club, the College Club, the Business and Professional Women's Club, American Association of University Profes sors, and the American Vocational Association

#### EDNA LUDDEN, BOSTON

Mrs. Edna Ludden, the public affairs of cer for the Massachusetts Civil Defens Agency, is a native of Lowell, Mass, and was educated in the Moody School.

Long active in public affairs, Mrs. Ludde was one of the first women's division cap tains in the Natalie Hammond Air Ras Squad during World War II.

She is a former social worker for the Massachusetts Department of Correction and

secretary on the late Gov. James M. Curley's imployment staff.

Edna Ludden is the only woman to have een appointed to the city of Boston Charlestown Housing project and was assistint housing manager.

With a group of 32 women, Mrs. Ludden let up the first recruiting station in the rederal building in Boston-3 days after the ttack on Pearl Harbor in 1941. For this temonstration of patriotism the Secretary of the Navy awarded her a special citation.

Mrs. Ludden has been most active in sotial, civic, and political activities for the

last 30 years.

#### S. DOUGLAS POLHEMUS, SPRINGFIELD

Doug Polhemus was born in East Northleld, Mass. He attended school at Mt. Her-non School, Mt. Hermon, Mass., and went in to Oberlin College in Ohio where he recived his bachelor's degree in 1938. The bllowing year Doug was presented his mas-er's degree from Ohio State University. rom 1939 to 1943 he did national and local B Association work in Los Angeles, New fork, and Hartford.

Like many others, Doug found himself in the service of his country from 1943-1945, serving with the Army Air Corps and the

5th Infantry Regiment.
After his discharge from the Armed Forces in February 1946 he rejoined the National TB Association on the program detelopment staff in New York City.

In September 1946 Doug joined the Lacka-vanna TB and Public Health Association Scranton, Pa. He moved to the welfare touncil of Lackawanna County in February of 1949 where he remained until April 1952. At that time he joined the Community Council and United Fund of Greater Springfield. He has served that organization well as executive manager until this year. Doug has resigned to return to his alma mater, Oberlin College, as alumni secretary.

HON, EDWARD P. BOLAND, MEMBER OF CONGRESS

To an outstanding servant of the public for noteworthy achievement in demonstrating the true meaning of the words "public tervant" we take note of EDWARD P. BOLAND and hereby signify our gratitude and that of the citizens of Massachusetts.

#### A Citizen Speaks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

#### HON. JOE HOLT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. HOLT. Mr. Speaker, enclosed and a self-explanatory letter from a constituent of mine, Mr. Richard L. Bean, who resides in North Hollywood. Calif. I wish I would receive more letters from people like Mr. Bean and less from selfish pressure groups. I know that a great many of my colleagues feel the same way. The letter follows:

Hon, Joseph F. Holf, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. HOLT: While others put their hand out, may I put my hand up as one more among the seldom heard from multitudes who subscribe to the principle that more individual hard work and self-responsibility, rather than more welfarism, should ttand as the goals of our Government and our whole society.

This letter is prompted because I feel there is far more support among our total citizenry for the basic principles of independent, self-reliant action than our Government representatives happen to hear. It grieves me—and seemingly virtually all of friends and business associates—to see organized pressure groups constantly cam-paigning for costly, special interest projects. I urge you, who must heed what vocal

groups expound in unison, to keep in mind the unquestionable need to plan and act for the greatest good of the greatest number. And remember, please, that believers in independent, free, competitive pursuit of progress all too often are so independent that they do not themselves join together to apply sure, even for conservatism.

Wherever possible, let us—and you—en-courage Americans to work for the prosperity and advancement we desire, not merely vote

for it.

I wish you and your colleagues would always run Government business as rigidly economically and efficiently as you would your own. Let's take the hard way, not the easy way. Let's put the brakes on spending and open the throttle on initiative.

Sincerely yours,

RICHARD L. BEAN.

# Let's Answer City Critics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. MERWIN COAD

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. COAD. Mr. Speaker, as a Representative from primarily a farm area and being privileged to serve on the Agriculture Committee, I have devoted my time and efforts to the task of working out a solution to the complexity of problems which have separately or in combinations caused and contributed to a near social and economic bankruptcy of the family farm operation as well as the rural communities which service the farmer's needs.

Mr. Speaker, I do not pretend to know the answers to the farm problems, but I do know that the following editorial from the June 20 issue of the Wallaces Farmer answers an important side issue which has unfortunately in recent years complicated the processes of developing and revising our National farm policies and programs to meet the needs of our National well-being as well as assist the sagging farm economy.

I wish to commend the Wallaces Farmer for presenting a clear picture of the "beneficiaries of our farm programs."

The editorial follows:

#### LET'S ANSWER CITY CRITICS

Vicious attacks on farmers and farm programs have become a popular pastime with some city people.

Farmers will be the first to admit that our Government programs have some flaws. But many of the accusations being made are ridiculous in light of the facts. Here are some recent samples.

"The farm program \* \* \* is supposed to preserve the family farm. \* \* \* The biggest beneficiaries, though, are the huge, wealthy corporate-farm operations."—Wall Street Journal.

"In short, the whole farm support program, which has cost you \$18 billion in a quarter century, is a colossal failure. You're going to spend another \$5.4 billion on supports this fiscal year."—Life maga-

These are examples of how editorial writers let themselves get carried away when they're discussing farm programs. The

U.S. Department of Agriculture estimates that only about 5,000 farmers get loans on all crops totaling more than \$50,000 a year. Compared with some 5 million farmers, this is one farmer in 1,000 who can begin to qualify as a wealthy operator.

U.S. Department of Agriculture reports a the price support program with \$2.6 billion of grams of \$5.7 billion for 25 years of operation, 1933-58 (rather than \$18 billion).

U.S. Department of Agriculture charges the price support program with \$2.6 billion of the \$7 billion fiscal 1959 budget. Of the estimated \$5.4 fiscal 1960 budget, only \$1.4 billion is allocated to price supports.

Prominent farm spokesmen have risen to answer some of these attacks. One of the best answers came from Senator AIKEN, of Vermont. It was put in the Congressional Record. Some quotes from it:

"Many of these attacks are obviously in-spired by those who would profit by the abandonment of programs which tend to maintain farm income at a reasonable level.

'Most of them, however, are the result of uninformed or misinformed public opinion. Some attacks are strictly diversionary tac-

"The furor over farm programs has become so intense, so biased, and so unreasoning as to cast confusion and suspicion into the public mind.

"Farm legislation, for the most part, has been honestly enacted and conscientiously

applied.

The primary purpose of the modern farm program was to restore and maintain a healthy national economy. The second rea-son was in the interest of national security."

Farm subsidies have been widely criticized. Yet the billions of tax dollars that go to benefit airlines, shipowners, and other businesses are seldom mentioned by the city press. They're said to be "in the public interest."

More than \$2.2 of \$5.4 billion in the 1960 U.S. Department of Agriculture budget is actually a subsidy to consumers and the general public. Most of it is spent in the best interests of the country as a whole, not just the farm segment.

Rev. Dr. J. J. Gavenda, of St. Joseph's Parish, Hazleton, Pa., Named to Rank of Domestic Prelate

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

#### HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Hazleton Plain Speaker of Friday, June 19, 1959:

#### DUE REWARD FOR SERVICE

The naming of the Reverend Dr. J. J. Gavenda, of St. Joseph's Church, to the rank of domestic prelate brings honor not only to his parish, but the community as well.

For 25 years Monsignor Gavenda has unostentatiously served as pastor of one of the community's largest churches, compiling a record of service seldom equaled.

The temporal achievements of his pastorate stand as visible memorials to his ad-ministrative ability. These include a mod-ernized church and the St. Joseph's school which provides educational, recreational, and social facilities which are enjoyed by the community as well as parish members.

But the measure of his service lies pri-

marily in the field of spiritual leadership.

Beloved by his parishioners, respected by the people of the community and admired by his fellow clergymen, Monsignor Gavenda represents everything a pastor should be.

Quiet and unassuming, Monsignor Gavenda has been a great leader of a great parish. His people, for the most part from the moderate income laboring families, have responded with diligence and faith to follow in his footsteps to move ever forward.

Monsignor Gavenda's elevation to the rank of domestic prelate provides due recognition

for years of outstanding service.

He holds doctorates in canon law and sacred theology from the Lateran University

He serves on the board of examiners for diocesan clergy and is spiritual director of the Slovak Federation.

His years of service to the Scranton diocese include instructing at St. Thomas College (now the University of Scranton) and Marywood College and 8 years as vice chancellor of the diocese.

He attended St. Thomas College, St. Bernard's Seminary, Rochester, N.Y.; St. Vincent's Seminary, Latrobe; and Catholic Uni-

versity, Washington, D.C.

Despite this outstanding educational background and important service, Monsignor Gavenda retains the humility that marks the typical parish priest as a sincere man of God.

People of all faiths in the Greater Hazleton area join the members of St. Joseph's parish in extending congratulations to Monsignor Gavenda.

#### For Shame, Senators

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I want to insert an editorial from the June 20 edition of the Indianapolis Star:

FOR SHAME, SENATORS

The defeat of Adm. Lewis L. Strauss as Secretary of Commerce was described by one Washington correspondent as a blow to the prestige of the President. It was nothing of the kind. It was a blow to the prestige and honor of the U.S. Senate and the Democratic leadership that brought it about. For they have exposed themselves, this Senate majority, as vindictive, petty, basely partisan, and mean-willing to dishonor a man who has served his country more unselfishly and far better than any of those who voted against

Admiral Strauss has had one of the most outstanding careers in American public life. Starting in the traditional American way, as a poor shoe salesman, he made two brilliant careers, in the U.S. Navy, where he rose to the rank of admiral, and in the field of finance, where he became a wealthy man.

Like many other Americans who have risen in this free land to eminence and wealth, Strauss was not content to just sit and count his money. Instead, he devoted 42 years of his life to public service. He served as aid to five American Presidents, of both political parties, and was commended by all for his achievements. He has received five of his country's highest decorations for service.

Yet now, near the close of his public career, he has been subjected to one of the most merciless public character assassinations in the history of the Republic by mean and petty men and women who have put politics and personal prejudice ahead of

integrity and honor. What were the charges against Strauss? That he favored the dismissal of Robert Oppenheimer from work on atomic weapons-because Oppenheimer admitted he lied to security officers about his Communist associations; because Oppenheimer admitted he contributed regularly to the Communist Party while working in U.S. atomic laboratories; because he admitted an attempt to cover up a Communist spy attempt to gain atomic secrets. What honorable and patriotic American would not have doubts of the loyalty and reliability of a man with such a record?

Strauss has been accused of favoring private power development and opposing the socialization of the American electric industry. Does this make him "an enemy of the people" as Senator Wayne Morse described him? If so, so is President Eisenhower "an enemy of the people" for he favors the same thing.

Strauss opposes trading with the Soviet Union. He believes that such trade will strengthen the Communist countries in their attempt to destroy this country's lib-erty and independence. Is this a reason to castigate and smear his character and achievements with malicious innuendos?

No wonder we get so many mediocre and stupid people serving us in our Government when men of highest personal integrity and character can be subjected to such an "ordeal by slander," when a man whose devotion to his country and to the people of America has been demonstrated by a brilliant career can be dragged through the mud of personal vilification and abuse. Thus the U.S. Senate majority rewards honorable service to the Nation.

President Eisenhower was right when he said yesterday, "It is the American people who are the losers in this sad episode." Not only did the people lose, but so did honor, freedom, and justice.

We are ashamed of the Senate of the United States and the Democratic majority. We are proud of Admiral Strauss, And so we say to him, "Be of good cheer. You have been judged by your inferiors and found superior.

A World of Danger and Challenge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. BASIL L. WHITENER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, on June 2, 1959, Dr. Charles H. Malik, President of the General Assembly of the United Nations, delivered the commencement address at Belmont Abbey College, Belmont, N.C., at the 81st commencement exercises of that splendid institu-

Dr. Malik's remarks are very timely and point up the serious situation confronting the free world today. I am pleased that he was able to visit my district and take part in the commencement exercises at Belmont Abbey Col-

The school is an outstanding Benedictine institution of higher learning and Dr. Malik could not have had a more appropriate place to deliver his forceful message on international relations. I include his address in the Appendix of the RECORD:

A WORLD OF DANGER AND CHALLENGE (Commencement address by Dr. Charles H. Malik, president of the 13th session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, at Belmont Abbey College, in Belmont N.C., at the 81st commencement exercises on June 2, 1959)

Young people graduating from college and stepping forth into the world constitute a special breed of men. They know the sort of world from which they are emerging but they have no clear idea of the kind of world into which they are stepping. It is not nec essary for my purposes today to raise the question as to which of these two worlds is more real, but I may indicate in passing that it is by no means certain that the worldly world of clash and action is more real than the thoughtful world of study and learning. The discrimination between these worlds and the assigning to each one of them of its proper reality is one of the most fascinating philosophical investigations, but 1 shall not go into that here. The decisive point is that these young men are actually getting into this worldly world and therefore it is the duty of those of us who are im mersed in that world and who are called upon to address them at this solemn hour in their life to give them some inkling of what sort of world they are getting into. It is world at once of great danger and gre challenge, and in painting the danger I shall also indicate the conditions that would face and overcome that danger. I beg the young these situations but to treat them as real challenges with which they have to wrestle and through which, when real responsibility in due course shall devolve upon them, they could build a far happier and more peaceful world than this into which they are now stepping.

There is a menacing situation in the Far

East. The combined weight of China and the Soviet Union could prove too much for that region to bear indefinitely without cracking, and the cracking already began month ago in Tibet. Four conditions are therefore required: To promote the real independence of the Chinese mainland; to cause Communist China to change its policy of hatred and hostility to the West; to build up native strength especially in Japan; and to develop much closer and friendlier asso clation among the non-Communist forces of that area. So long as China and Russia act as one, so long as the Chinese Communists hate the West, desire its destruction and do everything in their power to weaken it, and so long as there is softness and looseness of association opposing the Communist camp peace is in constant danger in the Far East-

There is a menacing situation throughout Asia and Arica. The Communists are boring and infiltrating everywhere and the average standard of living is about one-thirtieth of that in the United States. Three conditions are therefore required: To give well-founded hopes to the masses that their lot can be improved without yielding themselves to Communist control or direction; to support and strengthen the non-Communist elements who are dedicated to independence and are genuine believers in the values of freedom and human dignity; and to counteract Communist infiltration and intrigue by every possible means. Peace is exceedingly fragile h Asia and Africa so long as the Communist olitical and ideological thrust is not adeluately counteracted politically and ideologtally, so long as the forces of freedom are reglected or abandoned to their fate or given inly lipservice or hollow consolation, and so long as the masses discern no tangible hope thead.

There is a menacing situation in the Midtle East. The Communist infiltration is at very advanced stage, the Berlin crisis may e only a feint to allow this penetration to eepen further, the internal divisions within he area are most debilitating, and the West eeps on withdrawing unceremoniously. our conditions are therefore required: to o what can be done, and a little more, to hinimize the divisions and antagonisms in he area on the basis of independence and listice and with a view to removing hostility and promoting friendship toward the West; b support and strengthen the non-Comhunist forces who really believe in the values of freedom; to abandon the disastrous policy drift, and to develop a vigorous, daring, and imaginative policy with respect to the Middle East; and to devise a sound scheme development of the area through the maxhum equitable utilization of its oil re-Sources. So long as the West displays Paralysis and disunity in its policy toward important sections of the Middle East, and long as the forces of freedom keep on contracting in that area and international communism works havoc directly or indictly everywhere, the Middle East could set thame the powder keg of the world.

There is a menacing situation in Eastern Europe. The Iron Curtain clamps down tight upon Europe at its center. Beyond every existing emergency with respect to Berin and Germany in general, two conditions are therefore required: To restore the integity and cultural unity of Europe by lifting the Iron Curtain so as to permit free ecotomic, intellectual and political intercourse between the eastern and western halves of the old continent; and to insure to the So-Met Union in return for the lifting of the fron Curtain every guarantee against aggression from its western frontiers. So long the spiritual unity of Europe is broken and so long as the Soviet Union in permiting the restoration of this unity is not combensated with absolute guarantees of security so far as Europe is concerned, peace h Europe remains absolutely chimerical.

There is a menacing situation in the ranks of the West. It is doubtful that there is adequate internal unity in America, in Britan, in France, in Germany, in Italy, to meet the Present challenge, and there are evident agns of friction and division among the Western allies. Two conditions are therefore required: that the countries of the West he given much deeper and more vigorous leadetship so as to arouse the comfort-ridden Public from their lethargy and complacency and bring about the maximum possible in-ternal unity; and that they sink their rivalries and divisions between themselves by some of them really sacrificing for the sake of the whole. A divided West, a softened-up West, an unawakened West, a West with each part thinking only of itself and seeking only to save its skin, cannot save either itself or the world. the world from catastrophe.

There is a menacing situation with respect to subversion and indirect aggression. The processes of infiltrating, undermining subverting, and taking over whole countries from within are going on apace. One condition therefore is required: to wake up to these new tactics of war, to stop talking about aggression as though it were the only means of waging or achieving the aims of war, to take energetic countermeasures, including solemn arrangements by treaty, as such against indirect as against direct aggression, and to prove in fact that not only

direct aggression will not pay but indirect aggression will not be rewarded. So long as the international conspirators subversively operate with impunity, war is already raging and winning without the softened and luiled and blind and stupid noticing it.

There is a menacing situation in the technological field. So far as the means of delivery are concerned practically every month the Soviet Union puts forth an extraordinary feat unmatched by anything from the other side. One condition therefore is required: to demonstrate equal or superior technological accomplishment by the West. So long as this technological discrepancy in rocketry is not visibly corrected people could miscalculate and the uncommitted areas could lose heart and the whole structure of peace and security could suddenly collapse.

There is a menacing situation with respect to the apparent relative strength of East and The successive withdrawals in China, in southeast Asia, in the Middle East and in Europe, and the none-too-self-confident words and acts of the West, yield the impression that the Communist onslaught is irresistble and the nonCommunist world does not have the strength to halt it, and reinforce the suspicion abroad that communism is after all the wave of the future and we are here dealing with an irreversible historical process. One condition therefore is required: a firm determination supported by action to demonstrate that there is no preponderance of strength on the side of communism and the wave can be both arrested and reversed. So long as the record shows one advance after another and not a single retreat, not even for one inch, where is the tranquility of order which constitutes peace?

There is a menacing situation with respect to the moral and psychological resolve. Pacifism, namely, the acceptance of peace at any price, and appeasement appear to be rampant and possibly on the increase, either because of fear, or because of misguided principle, or because of the decadence of the soft and comfortable, or because of ignorance of the nature of communism, or because Communism has succeeded in softening up the non-Communist world. Two conditions therefore are required: to make perfectly clear that only the peace that is based on justice, freedom and truth is worth the ticket, and any other peace could only be a shortsighted postponement of the day of reckoning; and to rouse the soft and satisfied from their slumber, stupor and slothfulness. So long as the spirit of pacifism, for whatever reason, enfeebles the moral resolve, so that people are not prepared to die in defense of something infinitely worthwhile for which they desire to live, people may have been already conquered without a fight.

There is a menacing situation in the intellectual and ideological order. You know what the Communists believe and want but you do not know what the West believes and wants, and what you do know of this is not adequate to counteract the Communist intellectual thrust. One condition therefore is required: a more robust faith in the power of ideas leading to the articulation of an honest, true, and universal message. So long as the believers in matter and force outwit the believers in mind and persuasion in the use of intellectual weapons, the conquest of the mind by subterfuge and falsehood will go on by sheer default.

There is a menacing situation in the discrepancy between the performance of international communism and the performance of whatever is its opposite number on the other side. There is nothing coming from the West comparable to the absolutely superb organization, vigilance and dedication of the Communist Party. Two conditions therefore are required: to identify and counteract the direct and indirect agency of the Communist Party wherever

if functions; and to promote an internationale of freedom that can somewhat compare in organization, dedication and mutuality of support with the international Communist movement. So long as the west operates for the most part through external economic, political, and military arrange-ments with independent national states; so long as it does not recognize that these diverse nationalisms require some inclusive international system; so long as the friends of the West do not meet with the same warmth, fellowship, support and protection which the Communist Party accords its members and friends through the world; and so long as the ideological content of the realm of freedom is deficient, the free world will always find itself on the defensive vis-a-vis the international Communist assault.

There is a menacing situation in the fact that the enemies of freedom take advantage of the amenities of freedom to undermine and destroy freedom. Thus the free world does not have in the Communist world anything like the field day that the Communist world enjoys in the free world. One condition therefore is required: to restore this balance of operation between the two worlds by every possible means. So long as it is possible for communism to penetrate the Middle East, Asia, Africa, Europe, Latin America, and even the United States, with no corresponding possibility for the free world to penetrate China, the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe; so long as there are Communist Parties outside the Communist realm but no free parties inside the Communist realm; so long as one doctrine only is allowed in the Communist world whereas in the non-Communist world there is a virtual infinity of doctrines: the enemies of freedom will always find it possible to exploit ruthlessly to their own advantage these civilities which flow from the very nature of freedom.

There is a menacing situation in the fact that the quest of success, security, and pleasure appears to be the dominant passion The result is a most paralyzing of vouth. climate of complacency and softness. thing therefore is required: to fire youth with noble and unselfish quests, to reactivate the great principles of self-sacrifice, selfcontrol and self-denial, to set up great and worthy causes to which youth can completely dedicate themselves. So long as people seek and lead only a life of ease and comfort, so long as they are not swept off their feet by something eternal that takes them completely outside their petty selves and interests, society will degenerate and the tremendous issues facing us all will not be met.

There is a menacing situation in the fact that men of good will are not united enough. Good will abounds in the world but this vast reservoir is not sufficiently tapped. Two things therefore are required: to pray and work hard that the initiative of Pope John XXIII in calling an ecumenical council to try to unite the Christians, or as many of them as possible, according to the will of Christ be crowned with success, and to bring as many men of good will, even beyond the Christian family, as possible together on the basis of the natural law. So long as the forces of evil and darkness appear to act in greater unison than the forces of good and light, the cause of man and truth will continue to suffer.

The present moment of history then is made up of these 14 distinct situations, each constituting a real danger and each calling for real possibilities of action and achievement. We talk about the foundations of peace, as though there is such a thing in general. Peace cannot be founded today without the most serious consideration of these situations. Concrete decision by responsible leaders is daily, hourly, called for with respect to each one of them. They cover virtually the whole gamut of human

existence. They prove that man is pro-foundly troubled today—they prove that he is not at peace with himself. It is very well to wish mankind sweetness and light and peace; it is very well to sentimentalize and say, let us all be brothers, let us all live in peace. Would that stubborn reality were so responsive as to yield docilely to our kindly wishes. Who or what is preventing us from living together like brothers in peace? These 14 situations: Some of them involve very hard judgments indeed, upon you and upon the world, and facing them the sensitive and tenderminded may not be able to sleep. But it is better to face the truth and die than to live a thousand comfortable years in falsehood and escape. The basic truth today is that there is an inescapable conformation between communism and the rest of the world calling for historic decision, and I am not sure the effective forces of freedom are sufficiently aware of what is at stake, nor whether they are adequately prepared, on every level of human existence, to meet the challenge. Perhaps the Berlin crisis or the Middle East crisis or the Tibet crisis will awaken them; but I am not sure.

A vision of something great and tremendous, a call to an heroic mission, the challenge of a truly universal message—this is what is required today and this is alas what is lacking. The immediate situation then presents the aspect of a final and total judgment—everything is being weighed—one's life, one's values, one's culture, the vitality of the whole civilization to which one

It is very much then like the last day. And those who believe will tell you that God is there and that most certainly He watches over His own, even if He should sorely chasten them still.

## Nuclear War Hearings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 19, 1959

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, on Monday next the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy's special Subcommittee on Radiation, under chairmanship of our distinguished colleage from California [Mr. HOLIFIELD], will commence its hearings on the biological and environmental effects of nuclear war. We do not live in a dream world but in an actual world in which every day everybody faces risks of one kind or another. The degree of these risks is to some extent under our control by reason of our freedom of choice as to what we eat, what we do, how we work, and many other matters of choice. The degree or some of the other risks we face is not a subject of our own choosing but are conditions of the world in which we live.

In approaching these hearings such an evaluation of risks must be kept in mind. Rightly or wrongly the free world has based its defense on nuclear weapons simply because Communist manpower resources give them overwhelming conventional arms superiority. Unless all its past actions are to be disregarded, the ultimate objective of the Communist bloc is one world, a Communist one.

Realistically, it is safe to say that nothing stands in the way of accomplishing that objective except Sino-Soviet reluctance to pay the price of a nuclear war.

The hearings will deal with what that price is. What it is to the United States and what it is to the rest of the world. What it is to present generations and what it might be to future generations.

Capitulation to the Communists would avoid possible payment of the price of a nuclear war. But there is also a price tag on capitulation. It is the destruction of Western civilization and the relegation of its millions of souls of this and succeeding generations to the slavery of the communes.

What the hearings should provide is the information needed to compare these two prices; that is, the price of possible nuclear war and the price of capitulation. I have no doubt that the price of capitulation will be shown by far the most costly.

I am frank to say that I opposed holding the hearings, not because of what they will disclose, but for fear that the intricacies and technicalities involved, as well as temptations of the sensational, might make it difficult for the price tag I mentioned to be reported accurately to the public. However, the witnesses have been selected with extreme care. They are men of stature and knowledge. They will present their statements insofar as possible in nontechnical language understandable to the layman.

I am hopefully confident that newsmen covering these hearings will report them fairly and fully, without concentration upon the sensational, and in full awareness of the hearings' relationship to the future of Western civilization, as well as the United States. It will be understood that there is a price for not running the risk of nuclear war, as well as for running it. There may also be disclosed in these hearings ways and means to substantially minimize the latter.

# Coal Industry Blames Dwindling Oversea Sales on Low Prices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following column by Mr. Sam Dawson, Associated Press business news analyst, that appeared in

the Hazleton (Pa.) Plain Speaker on Thursday, June 18, 1959:

COAL INDUSTRY BLAMES DWINDLING OVERSEA SALES ON LOW PRICES

(By Sam Dawson)

New YORK.—One American industry that hasn't priced itself out of the world market despite high wage scales says today one reason its oversea sales are dwindling is that its prices are so low.

its prices are so low.

The coal industry says it is being barred from same markets by prohibitive tariffs or

import quotas and is having trouble in a fet others because of continuing dollar short

Dr. Ludwig Erhard, West Germany's Minister of the Economy, promised during his recent visit here that his country's tariff of American coal would be lifted as soon as surplus German coal piled up at Ruhr pitheads could be straightened out.

Paul C. E. Finet, of Belgium, president of the Europeon Coal & Steel Community, whi is here this week, also thinks his organization will have the coal glut licked before to

long.

American coal producers hope so, but the wonder if the German problem is temporar or chronic. They say they can deliver coal of Germany at a lower price than many European mines can produce it. And in time Europe will have to face up to it.

Piles of unsold German coal and increase mine unemployment led West Germany to clamp on a 20-mark (\$4.76) a ton levy on imports, after the first 4½ million tons a year

which are duty free.

Dr. Erhard's ministry says U.S. coal averages 70 to 80 marks (\$16.66 to \$19) per to delivered there. At 80 marks a ton the dut comes to 25 percent, making the price \$23.8

The National Coal Exporters Association of the United States has different figure. It says that at present Atlantic freight rates. American low-volatile coal for steel mill us can be delivered in Germany at \$15 to \$1 a ton, so that the flat \$4.76 duty is about \$1 percent, and the top price \$20.80.

percent, and the top price \$20.80.

In either case, both sides agree it is prohibitive and intended to be. And little American coal is entering Germany.

American coal exports took a big spurt if 1957. Europe was racing to raise industrial output, and was hampered by the oil crist following the Suez blockade. Then ocean freight rates slumped sharply. And German importers signed long-term contracts for American coal.

The national coal policy conference put total exports that year at 59 million tons, o which 50 million went to West Europe, with Germany getting 15½ million of them Last year the total toppled to 38 millions, with Europe taking 80 percent of it.

tons, with Europe taking 80 percent of it.

The conference estimates that total sports this year will slide to 30 million top with Europe's share 24 million.

Coal men blame tariffs and import quotas and an increase in sale of residual oil by Venezuela, although the slowdown in Burope's industrial drive (especially in steel making) was also a prime factor.

making) was also a prime factor.

Since Germany clamped on the tariff that it is a second our biggest customer, buying 5 to 6 million tons of coking coal for the metallurgical industry. Japan takes 2½ to million tons. Brazil, Argentina, Chile, and Spain are good customers—when the dollar problem isn't troublesome.

Lower ocean freight rates aren't the only reason America can sell coal cheaper in Germany or Ireland than the Ruhr or New

castle can produce it.

According to the conference, mechanization has raised productivity here to 11 top per man per day, while West Europe averages less than 1 ton per man per day, and Britain 11/4 tons.

Mechanization doesn't work well there be cause most European mines are too deep at the seams too narrow, too short and too it regular for the use of the big machine that scoop it out of the rich American contents.

But a lower price won't help if other governments choke off imports to keep their own mines ones and their own mines ones are their own mines ones and their own mines of the mines of their own mines of their own mines of their own mines own mines of the mines of their own mines of the mines of their

own mines open and miners employed. The same kind of motivation is found here in other industries that we, too, was to protect. Coal men, for instance, have been known to favor import quotas on heavifuel oil. And so have domestic oil producers.

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Poison in Your Water-No. 130

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON, JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant o permission granted I am inserting nto the Appendix of the Congressional RECORD two articles appearing in the cople's Voice, a newspaper published in Helena, Mont.

The first article, entitled "Pulp Mill Pollution of Clark Fork Blamed for Fish Which appeared in the People's oice of August 15, 1958, shows the vice and evil of using our precious lifegiving vaters for disposal of poisons and waste. The same poisons which killed the fish h the stream would have the same toxic effects on humans.

The second article appearing in the People's Voice of June 12, 1959, entitled Central Exchange Takes Big Step Ahead in Stream Pollution Control," de-Scribed how the Farmers Union Co-op has installed two new processes in their lefining at Laurel, Mont., to eliminate dumping of impurities and poisons into the Yellowstone River.

Both the Central Exchange Co-op and Refinery and the People's Voice are to be commended for their part in helping to clean the streams of this country of toxic substances.

I hope the two articles are read together to prove that it is not necessary to dump poisons and filth into our waters and that we can have both industry, large municipal population and bure water for our people if we act wisely and vigorously on all levels of government.

The articles follow:

[From the People's Voice, Helena, Mont., Aug. 15, 1958]

PULPMILL POLLUTION OF CLARK FORK BLAMED FOR FISH KILL

Evidence presented at a meeting in Helena Monday by the fish and game and State health departments definitely established that waste discharges from the Waldorf Paper Co.'s pulpmill west of Missoula taused the recent health hill in the Clark caused the recent heavy fish kill in the Clark Fork of the Columbia downstream from the pulpmill, according to a press statement reeased by the two State departments.

In attendance at Monday's meeting in addi-In attendance at Monday's meeting in audition to representatives of the two State agencies were representatives of Waldorf Paper, and the Western Montana Fish & Game, and Game Association.

The evidence that established the cause of The evidence that established the cause the fish kill included: (1) Its location, as almost every fish found or reported to be dead was below the pulpmill; (2) fish held in cages above the pulpmill did not die whereas those held below the mill died particularly those held below the mill died particularly when a dark colored foaming efficient was discharged from the mill.

In addition to the fish kill, State fish and game biologists stated that "excessive Srowths of slime have resulted from the pulp-mill discharge and the pulpmill discharges." These smother fish food organisms and prevent fish from reproducing. Although the condition is just starting in the Clark Fig. 1. Clark Fork River, it was proved disastrous to fish in streams affected by pulpmills in other States, according to the biologists.

Dr. G. D. C. Thompson, State board of health executive officer, asked specific ques-tions to determine whether or not the permit to continue operation of this mill should be extended. As a result, Mr. Sandberg agreed that a new lagoon would be in operation within 10 days. The mill will be shut down for approximately 1 week in early September after which time the complete lagoon system, covering approximately 100 acres, will be in operation.

This legoon system, in addition to absorbing any waste due to any future malfunction of the plant, is intended to treat the waste and prevent the development of slime in the Clark Fork River. Within the plant a new monitoring system is to be started immediately to insure that harmful wastes are not discharged into the river, Waldorf officials concluded.

From the People's Voice, Helena, Mont., June 12, 1959]

CENTRAL EXCHANGE TAKES BIG STEP AHEAD IN STREAM POLLUTION CONTROL

BILLINGS .- A \$200,000 investment in the welfare of Yellowstone Valley residents was recently made by Farmers Union Central Exchange through the installation of two new processes at their petroleum refinery at Laurel, Mont. The new system practically eliminates any problem of stream pollution from the refinery, and further safeguards residents who depend on the river to supply their homes, businesses and crops with an uncontaminated source of water.

Water used at the refinery for the production of steam and for cooling purposes is now run through a large cisternlike tank known as a Cyclator, where certain chemicals are added to separate out any impurities. A sludge is formed that settles to the bottom of the tank and is later removed and burned. A slow-moving arm skims the surface of the tank continuously to remove any minute particles of oil clinging to the surface. The clear water flows out of the tank and back through the refinery to be used again and again before it is discarded. The reuse of the waste water that is permitted by the new process drastically reduces the total amount of water that is discharged into the

When the water becomes too hard to reuse, when the water becomes a hard of least, it is run through the Cyclator, but instead of going back to the refinery, it is pumped out to a retention pond capable of holding over 5 million gallons of waste water. During the 15 days it takes for water to pass through the two basins of the pond, undesirable chemicals evaporate into the air, and oxygen from the air completes the purification job. The purified water passes directly from the pond to the Yellowstone River.

ONE OF FIRST OF ITS KIND

The new system is one of the first of its kind and is designed primarily to solve the problem of phenol pollution caused by the new catalytic cracking units used in the refining of high-octane gasoline in recent years. The phenols are chemicals that tend to give drinking water an unpleasant and somewhat antiseptic taste and smell when they appear in strong enough concentration.

The project began in the winter of 1958 when Universal Oil Products Co. was hired by the Central Exchange to make a study of existing waste disposal facilities at the refinery and submit their recommendations for improvement. Their recommendations were improvement. Their recommendately and enthusiastically accepted by refinery officials and the Montana State Board of Health. The U.S. Public Health Service and the Water Pollution Council also aided in the formation of final plans for the project.

FUCE HAS SHOWN BOLD LEADERSHIP

When informed of the completion of the new facilities, Dr. G. D. Carlyle Thompson, executive officer of the Montana State Board of Health, had this to say: "The Central Ex-change has shown bold leadership in vigorously attacking this problem of water pollution that is of vital concern in many sections of the United States today. This new system of waste disposal and pollution controls adds nothing to the operating efficiency or output of the refinery, but has been carried out be-cause the Central Exchange feels a definite responsibility for keeping the water supplies Yellowstone River residents pure in every spect. We can be pleased with and thankful for their attitude toward this problem."

Ever since the Laurel refinery was acquired by the Central Exchange in 1943, determined action has been taken to prevent the pollution of the Yellowstone River. Over a third of a million dollars has been spent at the site during the past 16 years on ever-improving waste water disposal systems.

# The United States and the International Court of Justice-Part 3

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

#### HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, last week it was my privilege to offer for the REC-ORD the first two parts of an outstanding review of the United States and the International Court of Justice by Columbia University Prof. Herbert W. Briggs. Today, under leave to extend my remarks, I present the third and final part of this excellent analysis. The first two parts appeared at page A5210 of the June 17 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and page A5329 of the RECORD for June 19.

THE UNITED STATES AND THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE: A REEXAMINATION-PART 3

(By Herbert W. Briggs)

RESERVATION OF DISPUTES ENTRUSTED TO OTHER TRIBUNALS

Little purpose seems to be served by the reservation by which the United States excludes from its acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court-

"(a) Disputes the solution of which the parties shall entrust to other tribunals by virtue of agreements already in existence or which may be concluded in the future."

If the parties to a dispute which has not been submitted to the International Court of Justice entrust it to another tribunal, the reservation is unnecessary. If the parties to any case of which the Court has been seized agree to its discontinuance in order to submit it to another tribunal, no reservation is required for this purpose, since, by article 68 of the Court's rules, the Court "shall direct the removal of the case from the list." The only purpose served by such a reservation would appear to be that in which a party violates its prior agreement to submit certain matters to tribunals other than the Court and files an application against the United States before the Court. Even in the absence of a reservation, the Court might feel constrained to allow a preliminary objection to its jurisdiction be-cause of the violation of the prior agreement by applicant state.

It may be doubted whether the United States reservation-which has been followed only by Liberia and Pakistan 48-would be

Footnotes at end of speech.

applicable to situations in which the parties agreed to refer a dispute, not to another tribunal, but to the United Nations Security Council or to a commission of conciliation. Comparable reservations (with slight verbal variations) of fourteen other states \* ex-clude from their acceptances of the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court "disputes in regard to which the parties to the dispute have agreed or shall agree to have recourse to some other method of peaceful settlement." a reservation which appears to have been picked up from bilateral treaties of arbitration and conciliation, in part to preserve special arbitral procedures and in part to safeguard the procedure of conciliation.50

Article 95 of the United Nations Charter

provides that-

"Nothing in the present Charter shall pre-vent Members of the United Nations from entrusting the solution of their differences to other tribunals by virtue of agreements already in existence or which may be con-cluded in the future."

No particular harm is done by the U.S. reservation which follows this phraseology, although, by resolution 171C(II), adopted on November 14, 1947, the United Nations General Assembly expressed the view that, "preferably and as far as possible," arbitration clauses in treaties should envision submission of disputes to the International Court of Justice, 51

#### THE MULTILATERAL TREATY RESERVATION

Only Pakistan has copied the obscure reservation by which the United States purports to exclude from her acceptance of the compul-

sory jurisdiction of the Court-

(c) Disputes arising under a multilateral treaty, unless (1) all parties to the treaty affected by the decision are also parties to the case before the Court; or (2) the United States of America specially agrees to jurisdiction."

The origins of this lamentable reservation are found in the Dulles memorandum of

July 10, 1946, which observed:

2. Reciprocity: Jurisdiction should be compulsory only when all of the other parties to the dispute have previously accepted the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court.

"Comment: The Court statute embodies the principle of reciprocity. It provides for compulsory jurisdiction only 'in relation to any other state accepting the same obligation' (art. 36(2)). Oftentimes, however, disputes, particularly under multilateral conventions, give rise to the same issue as against more than one other nation. Since the Court statute uses the singular 'any other state,' it might be desirable to make clear that there is no compulsory obligation to submit to the Court merely because one of the several parties to such dispute is similarly bound, the others not having bound themselves to become parties before the Court and, consequently, not being subject to the charter provision (art. 94) requiring members to comply with decisions of the Court in cases to which they are a

This incomprehensible statement, characterized by Judge Hudson as "a jumble of ideas," 35 led the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations to observe that article 59 of the Court's statute, providing that the Court's decisions have "no binding force except between the parties and in respect of that particular case," removed all cause for doubt. The committee added, however:
"If the United States would prefer to

deny jurisdiction without special agreement in disputes among several states, some of have not declared to be bound, article 36(3) permits it to make its declaration conditional as to the reciprocity of several of certain states." <sup>14</sup> To meet Mr. Dulles' objection, the com-

mittee therefore proposed the text of the

U.S. reservation quoted above, and the U.S. Senate, on motion of Senator Vandenberg, adopted the reservation without clarifying debate, and without understanding its meaning or its implications." The language of the reservation betrays much confusion of thought. To this day no one is quite sure what it means. To the extent that the reservation requires that the United States "specially agree(s)" to the Court's jurisdiction, the special agreement will, as Judge Hudson observes, replace the declaration as the basis of the Court's jurisdiction, and the United States will be denying the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court in disputes arising from multilateral treaties. Whether the "affected by the decision," Judge Hudson, "applies to the parties to the treaty, or only to the treaty itself, the Court would lack jurisdiction under the American declaration unless every party to the treaty is a party to the proceeding before the Court. And if the phrase requires that all parties bound by the decision must be parties to the case before the Court, the reservation becomes meaningless.34 Other commentators tell us that the Senate did not intend by this reservation to nullify the effect of the U.S. declaration in relation to disputes arising under multilateral treaties.67

Since the record fails to support the view that either Mr. Dulles or the Senate had any clear grasp of the problem they vaguely envisaged, one is forced to inquire whether there is any problem relating to the Court and multilateral treaties which creates a danger against which the United States needs protection by a reservation. There are hundreds of multilateral treaties currently in force to which the United States is a party. Although the United States, pursuant to its declaration under article 36(2) of the statute, eccepts the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court in all legal disputes concerning '(a) the interpretation of a treaty," it is, by article 59 of the statute, clearly not bound by a decision of the Court in a case to which the United States is not a party. It may, nevertheless, believe that its interests will be affected by a decision of the Court con-struing a multilateral treaty to which the United States, as well as the litigants actually before the Court, are parties. In such a case, the United States can fully protect its interests by intervening the the pending case. The construction of the multilateral treaty given by the Court will then be binding on the United States but, according to article 59, only "between the parties and in respect of that particular case." It is not seen how this works injury to the United States merely because certain other parties to the multilateral treaty were not before the Court. Between them and the United States the Court's interpretation has no binding force. This may be inconvenient, but the Court cannot, under its statute, require states to intervene in cases before it. Nor can the multilateral treaty reservation of the United States accomplish this purpose. Its only effects are to nullify United States acceptance of compulsory jurisdiction and sterilize the rule of law with regard to a large and important category of cases.

#### RESERVATIONS RATIONE TEMPORIS 59

By its current declaration, the United States limits acceptance of the Court's compulsory jurisdiction to certain disputes hereafter arising. One of the preliminary objections filed by the United States in the Interhandel case was to the effect that the Court lacked jurisdiction because the dispute was alleged to have arisen before August 26, 1946, the date of deposit of the U.S. declaration.

The reasons for excluding a dispute from the operation of the rule of law merely because it arose before a certain date are not obvious. The current declarations of 17 States \*\* contain no reservations limiting the jurisdiction of the Court ratione temporis. On the other hand, 22 declarations a currently in force contain such reservations All 22 of these declarations limit acceptance of the Court's compulsory jurisdiction to disputes arising after a certain date, and 16 03 of the declarations contain the further limitation that the situations or facts giving rise to the dispute must also be subsequent The exclusion date is deterto that date. mined by various formulae, frequently the date of entry into force of the declaration or (in case of renewals) of a prior declaration.
Apparently only the Union of South Africa today follows the policy of excluding from each new declaration disputes for which jurisdiction had been accepted under the previous declaration.

It has been pointed out 68 that many of the great arbitrations of the past would not have come within the jurisdiction of tribunals if past situations or facts had been excluded by reservations ratione temporis The potential development of the system of compulsory jurisdiction is also limited by the fact that, because of the condition of reciprocity contained in article 36(2) of the Court's Statute, reservations of disputes situations, or facts ratione temporis may become available as defenses even to States which have included no such reservations in their declarations.

It seems desirable that the United States should omit the reservation ratione temporis contained in the words "hereafter arising" when it deposits a new declaration. If, how ever, reasons are thought to exist for excluding certain past disputes from the operation of the rule of law, the new declaration should at least accept compulsory jurisdiction for legal disputes arising after August 26, 1946.

#### DATE OF TERMINATION

Paragraph 3 of article 36 of the Statute of the International Court of Justice provides, in part, that declarations may be made unconditionally \* \* \* or for a certain time-Of declarations currently in force, 10 specify no time limit for their duration." declarations of Thailand and Cambodia are currently in force for designated periods of 10 years each, after which the declaration of Thailand will expire unless renewed and the Cambodian declaration will continue in force subject to denunciation on notice. The declarations of Belgium (1958) and Japan (1958) are currently in force for 5-year periods, after which each continues in force subject to denunciation on notice. The declaration of Turkey is apparently for a 5-year period, although it has twice been renewed retroactively after expiration. The declarations of Switzerland and Liechten stein are terminable on 1-year's notice of denunciation. The declarations of the United States, China, and Mexico are now terminable on 6-months' notice given at any time. The declarations of Luxembours (1930), The Netherlands (1956), Denmark 1956), Norway (1956), Sweden (1956) and Finland (1958), in force for 5-year periods, are automatically renewable for 5-year Per riods unless notice of termination is given not less than 6 months prior to the expiration of any 5-year period. The declaration of Honduras (originally for 6 years) is also automatically renewable.

All of these declarations may reasonably be

said to meet the requirement of the statute of being made unconditionally \* \* \* or for a certain time. On the other hand, the declarations of Canada, New Zealand, the Philip, pines, France, Liberia, Australia, Union of South Africa, Portugal, Israel, the United Kingdom, Pakistan, and the Sudan are currently terminable on notice; and the dec larations of Cambodia, Belgium, and Japan will become terminable on notice after the elapse of the time specified. This trend is unfortunate and has already been abused by States seeking as by States seeking to avoid being made re-spondents in particular cases, se

Footnotes at end of speech.

The provision of the current U.S. declarathe provision of the current o.s. deciment that it is terminable on 6 months' helice is not undesirable; but the Scandihian formula of automatic renewal for 5hr periods unless denunciation is made not than 6 months prior to the expiration of 5-year period is probably preferable.

#### A SUGGESTION

t is the considered judgment of the writer t is the considered judgment of the the national and international interof the United States would be fully protected and the rule of law in international and the rule of law in the sales would be appreciably furthered if the Dated States, giving the required 6 months holice, withdrew its declaration of August 14 1946, and deposited a new declaration subulating:

That the United States of America recoghis as compulsory ipso facto and without spicial agreement, in relation to any other State accepting the same obligation, the hisdiction of the International Court of Justice, in conformity with article 36, para-Shiph 2, of the Statute of the Court, in all legal disputes concerning:

(a) the interpretation of a treaty;
(b) any question of international law;
(c) the existence of any fact which, if
established, would constitute a breach of
an interpret an international obligation;

(d) the nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an interhational obligation;

Provided, That this declaration shall remain in force for a period of 5 years and shill be renewed by tacit agreement for further periods of 5 years unless it is deholinced by notice received not less than 6 months prior to the expiration of any such 5-year period."

"However, the Japanese Declaration of september 15, 1958, contains the following exclusion: "This declaration does not apply to dispute have disputes which the parties thereto have agreed or shall agree to refer for final and bliding decision to arbitration or judicial settlement."

Australia, Belgium, Cambodia, Canada, Australia, Belgium, Cambouia, Fance, Israel, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, The Sudan, Thailand, Turkey, Union, Wingdom, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom.

For brief discussions of this reservation, Lauterpacht, 10 Economica 145-147 (1930); Hudson, op. cit. 469-470; Hambro, 25 Brit. Year Bk. of Int. Law 145-148 (1948); Vulcan, 18 Acta Scandinavica Juris Gentium 44-46 (1947-1948)

a U.N. General Assembly, 2d sess. Official Records, Resolutions, Sept. 16-Nov. 29, 1947 (Doc. A/519), p. 104.

Loc. cit. 44

32 A.B.A.J. 836 (1946).

Report (cited in note 26), p. 6. 92 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD 10618, 10621 (78th Cong., 2d sess., Aug. 1, 1946).

Hudson, loc. cit. 836, 895.

Wilcox, loc. cit. 836, 895.

Quincy Wright, 41, A.J.I.L. 445-452 (1947), and comment thereon by Hudson, 42 A.J.I.L. 12-13 (1948)

For a valuable analysis of the Statute and the practice of the Court, see Edvard Ham-The Interpretation of Multilaters. The Artesties by the International Court of Justice, 39 Grotius Society Transactions "The Interpretation of Multilateral 25-255 (1953).
Art. 63 of the Statute of the Interna-

tional Court of Justice provides:

1. Whenever the construction of a convention to which states other than those concerned to which states other than the than the case are parties is in question. the Registrar shall notify all such states

2. Every state so notified has the right to intervene in the proceedings; but if it uses this right, the construction given by the disagrant will be equally binding upon it."

For more detailed discussion, including an analysis of the construction given by the discussion, including an analysis of the construction an analysis of the Court's jurisprudence with

reference to reservations ratione temporis, see the writer's Hague Academy lectures for

\*\*Bulgaria, Cambodia, China, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Haiti, Honduras, Liechtenstein, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay. Philippines, Portugal, Switzerland, Thailand, Uruguay.

<sup>41</sup> Australia, Belgium, Canada, Colombia, El Salvador, Finland, France, Israel, Japan, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Sudan, Sweden, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom, United States.

Australia, Belgium, Canada, Colombia, Finland, France, Israel, Japan, Luxembourg, Mexico, New Zealand, the Sudan, Sweden, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United King-

Lauterpacht, 10 Economica 139-144.

"Bulgaria (1921), Colombia (1937), Do-minican Republic (1924), El Salvador (1921), Haiti (1921), Nicaragua (1929), Panama (1921), Paraguay (1933), United Arab Republic (1957), Uruguay (1921).

See C. H. M. Waldock, "Decline of the Optional Clause," 32 British Year Book of International Law 244, 267 ff. (1955-56).

# The Risks You Run With Cheap Eyeglasses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. MERWIN COAD

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. COAD. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to acquaint my colleagues with an article which appeared in the April issue of Good Housekeeping entitled "The Risks You Run With Cheap Eyeglasses."

This article frankly discusses the risks involved in so-called quickie or cutrate eyeglasses and by so doing lends considerable support to my bill, H.R. 345, which, if enacted, would prohibit the advertisement in the District of Columbia of the retail sales price of eyeglasses.

Prohibition of price advertising in a number of States have been successful in discouraging sales of questionable products used for ophthalmic purposes. The article follows:

THE RISKS YOU RUN WITH CHEAP EYEGLASSES

They're considerable, and many people are unaware of them. The glasses we're talking about are sold by so-called quickie or cutrate operators. They often advertise whileyou-wait service and free examinations and sell glasses for as little as \$7 to \$10 (in cases, for example, where the same customer might pay \$20 or more for glasses through conventional sources). Although such glasses sometimes do their job adequately, there's a strong chance that something will be wrong with them. That something could be minor enough to make little immediate difference to the wearer. But it could also be enough \so that the glasses would aggravate, instead of correct, a vision problem. It could create totally new problems, and, in extreme cases, the result could be serious damage to vision. Here are some of the corners that can be cut in the process of delivering a cheap pair of glasses:

The prescription may not be filled accurately. If you need glasses, an ethical ex-aminer will have tried to determine the exact specifications of lenses that will correct your eye problem. Almost all places that sell glasses maintain a supply of readythat sell glasses maintain a supply of ready-made lenses already ground to the most frequently called for specifications. It is quicker and cheaper to provide you with lenses directly out of stock than to grind them especially for you or to do additional grinding on stock lenses. (A routine sam-pling by Good Housekeeping of glasses bought at cutrate stores in several cities indicate their lenses did not always meet the prescription. Some lenses were close to, but weren't the prescription. For example, in a pair of glasses that was bought for \$7.50, one lens met prescribed specifications; but the other lens was off sufficiently to fail to give the correction that was needed.)

The lenses may be of second-best quality. Even if ground to the same specifications, not all lenses are the same. Quickie dispensers often use what are known as toric lenses. These cost about 25 percent less than a new kind-corrected-curve lenses. Although a toric lens can meet a prescription's exact specifications, the wearer still could get distortions and aberrations when looking through some parts of the lens. Corrected-curve lenses eliminate, or greatly minimize, such distortions: (The Good Housekeeping sampling turned up several cases where at least one of the lense used Too, bargain operators often was toric.) rely on inferior foreign-made lenses or on rejects and second-quality lenses from American factories. These lenses may have various defects that may serious affect transmission of light.

The optical center of the lens may not be placed correctly. Somewhere on the lens is a point that should be directly in front of the center of the pupil. This is called the optical center and is the main point of focus on the lens. In order to prevent any discomfort-commonly referred to as strain—the optical center must be positioned properly. Accomplishing this sometimes involves a process known as decentering the lens, when it is cut to size. (Lenses brought from wholesalesr are much bigger than when they're finally inserted into frames.)

The fittings may be wrong. A proper fitting cannot be accomplished in the minute or two that frequently is allotted by quickle operators. In a first fitting, the fitter using precise measuring instruments—de-cides where the optical center is on each lens. He also determines how large the lenses should be and what frame would be most desirable in size and comfort. After glasses are assembled, a fitter should check alignment of the optical center with the pupils. If either fitting is careless, the wearer could fail to get full benefit of glasses that technically met the prescription.

Inferior frames may be used. Cheap, in-ferior frames lose shape rapidly. If the glasses slide down your nose, you no longer look through the correct optical center without strain. Among frames of glasses bought by Good Housekeeping, there was considerable difference. Those on cheaper glasses were obviously inferior.

Little service, if any, is provided after glasses are bought. All glasses, no matter what the price, may require adjustment of some kind after they've been worn for a while. A screw may have to be tightened, a sidepiece straightened, and so on. The rep-utable dispenser generally provides this service at no charge and encourages customers to use it. Such servicing isn't always available at the quickie stores.

Mistakes, of course, occasionally happen even when glasses are bought from highly reliable dispensers. That's why glasses should always be checked by the examiner who prescribed them. The conscientious

<sup>1</sup> Many States now prohibit price advertising for glasses.

examiner-if he doesn't provide the glasses himself-will insist that patients bring their

glasses for a checkup.

The basis of proper eye care is a regular, thorough examination by a competent practitioner, who prescribes glasses only when they're necessary. Ophthalmologists—medi-cal doctors who specialize in care of the eye-either provide their patients with glasses or recommend reliable opticianstechnicians who fit and make glasses—to fill the prescription. Optometrists-they are not M.D.'s, but are vision specialists licensed to examine eyes and prescribe glasses-usually fill their own prescriptions

As a rule, cutrate eyeglass dispensers have examiners on the premises. The examina-tions they give rarely take more than 15 minutes. Most ophthalmologists and optometrists say a complete eye examination re-

quires at least 45 minutes.

#### Protecting the Public Purse

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, in an editorial entitled "Protecting the Public Purse," the Journal of Accountancy recently took note of the variety of legislation before Congress which calls for financial reports. The editorial goes on to say that unless such financial statements are supported by independent audits and that unless such audits are "in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards" and by agents with professional qualification "there is very real danger that the public and public officials may think they are getting protection when they are not."

Under permission to extend remarks in the RECORD, I submit this editorial for the consideration of my colleagues:

PROTECTING THE PUBLIC PURSE

The U.S. Congress and Federal administrative agencies have recently been showing much interest in the financial reporting of organizations with which the Government is

directly or indirectly concerned.

Adequate financial statements are an obvious necessity wherever public money is involved. Government lending and regulatory agencies cannot perform their functions properly without such statements. In addition, they are essential to proper management of the reporting organization. These facts are receiving greatly increased recognition both in legislation and in agency action.

The Small Business Administration, for example has recently issued regulations requiring that any small business investment company licensed by SBA "shall submit at the end of each fiscal year, a report containing financial statements for the year and an opinion thereon by an independent certified public accountant based on an audit conducted in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards" (Journal of Accountancy, January 1959, p. 14).

The Pension and Welfare Funds Disclosure

Act, passed in the closing days of Congress last summer, provided that the administrators of such funds must file with the Secretary of Labor each year financial reports "sworn to by the administrator, or certified

to by an independent certified or licensed accountant, on the basis of a comprehensive

The Securities and Exchange Commission has, of course, since its inception required the filing of detailed financial reports with registration statements, and has also required independent audits in connection with them.

Another important Federal agency very much concerned with financial statements is the Rural Electrification Administration, which requires them from local cooperatives borrowing Federal funds. About a decade ago REA decided that instead of relying entirely on its own staff for audits of electrification cooperatives, it would require independently audited statements, and specified that such audites be conducted by certified public accountants.

In the present Congress, bills have been introduced calling for financial reports from labor unions, certain tax-exempt organizations, public housing authorities, the National Association of State Militia, Federal credit unions, the Great Lakes Compact Commission, and certain activities of the Tennessee Valley Authority. While it is un-likely that all or even many of these bills will be enacted during this session, there is every reason to believe that legal requirements for financial reports will become more widespread as time passes.

Some of the bills now under consideration would require that the financial statements be supported by independent audits. Others, notably some of the labor proposals, are either vague or silent on this point.

There is serious danger that legislation or agency regulations calling for financial reports may be adopted which will fall far short of the intended purpose. If audits are not required, or if auditors may be selected who lack the necessary qualifications, or if the scope of the auditor's examination may be limited by the organization under examination, the effectiveness of requirements that financial statements be filed with Government agencies may be undermined.

The executive committee of the American Institute of CPA's has given much thought to this problem. After careful consideration, the committee adopted a general policy which was reflected in the testimony of Research Director Carman G. Blough before the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency last January (Journal of Accounting, Mar. 1959, p. 73). The two basic points of this policy are: first, that any legislation requiring independent audits should provide specification of the professional qualifications of the auditor, either in the law itself or in regulations to be issued later; and second, that audits should be conducted "in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards." Mr. Blough emphasized the fact that this phrase has a clear meaning both in law and in rules of professional conduct. As all professional ac-countants know, it is part of the standard form of auditor's opinion. Unless it is stated or clearly implied, the term "audit" by itself may have little significance.

Without clear standards, there is very real danger that the public and public officials may think they are getting protection through adequate independent audits when they are not.

The public-including the management of the organizations directly concerned-may even be dangerously misled by vague provisions for financial reporting which will be wholly insufficient to protect the public interest.

The accounting profession has an importjob of public education to do while legislation and regulations of this nature are in the making.

Attorney Gilbert S. McClintock, of Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. FLOOD, Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Record of Friday, Jun 19, 1959, as well as an editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times Leader of the same date:

[From the Wilkes-Barre Record, June 18 19591

#### GILBERT S. MCCLINTOCK

Because it has been so useful, the life Gilbert S. McClintock has spoken eloquent for itself. He was dedicated in the best sens of the word-in terms of service-to the we fare and advancement of the community and of a host of its institutions. The list is long and varied. It reflects Mr. McClintock's W and zeal for worthwhile undertakings. was wholehearted in pursuing them and net er seemed to lack the energy to give of by best to every cause that enlisted his support and leadership although his interests cov ered a wide range.

He was a son of Andrew Hamilton MC Clintock and a grandson of Andrew Tool McClintock, two distinguished lawyers

Admitted to the bar in March 1912, Gilber McClintock was a member of the American Pennsylvania, and New York Bar Associa tions. He was a graduate of Princeton in 1908 and of the University of Pennsylvania Law School Law School. Whether he was identified with commercial, financial, cultural, or philar thropic organizations, Mr. McClintock we not only a forceful leader but an advise whose counsel was invariably sought and

highly respected.

His stature was shown by his many high posts in industry, banking, church, civil life, and cultural organizations. His was career of enduring service and worth, and any one of a number of posts that he held would have made him well known far outsid the confines of the community as well within. As examples, he was chairman the board of Glen Alden Corp. and of Miner National Bank of Wilkes-Barre. He rated a chief founder of Wilkes College. He will a prime mover in Wyoming Valley Commu nity Chest. Children's Service Center W conceived and promoted by him. He was largely instrumental in starting the Bol Scouts in Wyoming Valley, and "Who's Who in America" listed him as a member of the library council and advisory council, depart ment of art and archeology of Princetos University. He was one of a group of mel who promoted the establishment of an ar museum on a site at South Street between South River and West River Streets. A groul of wealthy people had agreed to contribute when the depression came along resulting a suspension of the undertaking.

The setbacks of the anthracite business found Gilbert McClintock continuing his in terest in its welfare and showing a concern against any mishandling in this industry

Considering the character and the breadth of his activities and the fact that his cares was unmatched, Gilbert McClintock prob ably made the most valuable contribution to Wyoming Valley of any man in its history.
His associates in all his endeavors will

miss him sadly for he was a friendly indi-

ual with the respect of all and the affec- LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF n of everybody who knew him well.

from the Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader, Friday, June 19, 1959]

GILDERT S. MCCLINTOCK

lawyer, banker, industrialist, civic leader, Micator, the cator, philanthropist, clubman, and mber of a distinguished family, Gilbert McClintock easily qualified for a place among Wilkes-Barre's leading citizens.

Son of Attorney Hamilton McClintock and andson of Attorney Andrew Todd McClintook, whose roots were deep in the soil of area and who were outstanding citizens of their day, Attorney McClintock inherited, ong other things, prestige and a promibest place in the community. But he was an satisfied to rest on the laureis of his lorebears. He carved a new career for himand enhanced the family's reputation for public service.

Attorney McClintock stood out in so many delds that it is impossible to identify him th one. Many men are known because of their profession, business or some extracorricular activity. But Attorney McClintock was preeminent in so many spheres that he defied normal classification. If anything served as a measure of his worth

the community, it was this: As chairman of the board of Glen Alden Corp. and the Miners National Bank of Wikes-Barre, he made a substantial conbibution to the economy of the region, his decisions affecting thousands of families.

Despite the pressure of private interests, gave unstintingly of his time, talents, and resources in community service, heading and organizations as the hited Fund, Community Chest, Boy Scouts America, Wilkes College, Legal Aid Soci-Society of Arts and Sciences, and Graphic History Society of America. He was dentified with more than a score of other dies as a director or officer. In many in-tinces, as in the case of Wilkes College and Wyoming Valley Council of Boy Scouts, to cite two examples, he was a founder.

The record is lengthy and impressive. The public knows most of the story, but not all especially his benefactions. He was forever doing things behind the scenes, just a a few weeks ago he gave a valuable painting 10w weeks ago ne gave a value of the princeton balversity.

Associates knew him as a warm friend, associates knew him as a warming and dependent thinker, and good neighbor and citizen. Wilkes-Barre had reason to be Stateful to this native son who served it so long and ably. His sudden death yesterday afternoon leaves a void in the community.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer, phis 50 percent: Provided, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity pur-chasers, but such printing shall not interthe With the prompt execution of work for Government. The Superintendent of occuments shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES .- The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the Congres-SIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim re-port of proceedings shall take . Il needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the Congressional RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION, 182b. SAME: ILLUS-TRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS .- No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the Congressional Record the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

- 1. Arrangement of the daily Record .-Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: Provided, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.
- -The Public Printer shall 2. Type and style .print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the Congressional Record, in 71/2 -point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These reunusual indentions be permitted. These re-strictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.
- 3. Return of manuscript .- When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of sald manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. Tabular matter.-The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following

5. Proof furnished .- Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Mem-

bers without charge.

6. Notation of withheld remarks.—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. - addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. Thirty-day limit.-The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: Provided, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. Corrections .- The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: Provided, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: Provided further, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in

the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to

apply to conference reports.

10. Appendix to daily Record .- When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: Provided, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. Estimate of cost .- No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the Congressional Record by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, tele-grams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. Official Reporters .- The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place

in the proceedings.

# Daily Digest

#### HIGHLIGHTS

Senate cleared for President bill on wheat support and adopted conference report on housing bill.

House debated bill relating to interpretations of conflicts of Federal and State laws.

# Senate

# Chamber Action

Routine Proceedings, pages 10353-10389

Bills Introduced: 16 bills and 5 resolutions were introduced, as follows: S. 2212-2227; S.J. Res. 111; S. Con. Res. 50-51; and S. Res. 135-136. Pages 10355-10356

Bills Reported: Reports were made as follows:

S. 551, to declare portions of Bayous Terrebonne and LeCarpe, La., to be nonnavigable streams (S. Rept. 409);

S. 1356, to increase an authorization relative to dam No. 3 on the Big Sandy River, Ky. (S. Rept. 410);

S. 1264, to provide for a program to eradicate the dogfish shark in the Pacific coastal waters, with amendments (S. Rept. 411);

S. 1451, mutual security program for fiscal 1960, with

amendment (S. Rept. 412);

S. 283, 1135, 1705, 1828, 539, 640, 1791, and S. 1940,

private bills (S. Repts. 413-420, respectively);

H.R. 4603, to amend the Bankruptcy Act so as to consolidate referees' salary and expense funds, with amendment (S. Rept. 421);

H.R. 7176, fiscal 1960 appropriations for general Government matters, with amendments (S. Rept. 422);

H.R. 7040, fiscal 1960 appropriations for independent

offices, with amendments (S. Rept. 423);

H.R. 7343, fiscal 1960 appropriations for the Departments of State and Justice, and the judiciary, with

amendments (S. Rept. 424); and

S. Res. 135, authorizing appointment of a special committee to represent U.S. Senate at ceremonies in Juneau, Alaska, on July 4, 1959, where the first U.S. flag bearing 49 stars will be flown (no written report)-referred to Committee on Rules and Administration.

Pages 10354-10355

Bill Referred: One House-passed bill was referred to appropriate committee.

Printing-Bristol Harbor, Maine: Report of Secretary of Army on review of report dated May 6, 1959, from Chief of Engineers on Bristol Harbor, Maine, was ordered to be printed as S. Doc. 30. Page 10365

Alaska Rail and Highway Commission: Senate con curred in House amendment to and cleared for Pres dent S. 498, to extend life of Alaska Rail and Highwa Commission.

Airport Compact: Senate passed with committed amendments S. 2183, granting the consent of Congres to interstate compacts for the development of operation of airport facilities.

Bills Placed on Calendar: Two bills, as follows, were ordered to be placed on calendar: H.R. 5515, to increase an authorization relative to dam No. 3 on the Big Sand! River, Ky.; and H.R. 7500, mutual security program for fiscal 1060.

Legislative Program: Majority leader announced that highest priority will be given on the program ahead fi appropriation bills and conference reports. He pointed out that the following three appropriation bills were reported today and will be taken up as soon as possible H.R. 7176, general Government matters appropriations H.R. 7040, independent offices appropriations; and H.B. 7343, State-Justice appropriations. Reported bills of calendar may be called up on motion at any time, and Senate will meet in evening sessions and on Saturday if necessary, to complete legislative action on the appro priation bills by July 1. It was also pointed out that S. 1512, transferring responsibility for making appraisal from FCA to Federal land banks, and S. 1513, to clarif. status of Federal land banks, will be taken up as soop as they are cleared with Members interested.

Pages 10352-10353, 1038

Housing: By 56 yeas to 31 nays (motion to reconside tabled), Senate adopted conference report on S. 57 Housing Act of 1959.

S. Con. Res. 51, to make a technical correction in the enrollment of S. 57, was adopted.

Pages 10383-10384, 10389-10431

Wheat: Message from House rejecting conference ff port on S. 1968, to strengthen the wheat marketing quota and price support program, was laid down and Senate then adopted by 44 yeas to 40 nays (motion [4]

# Appendix

# Need To Strengthen Columbia Basin Interagency Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON, RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a thoughtful editorial from the Oregonian, of Portland, of June 16, 1959, which by the property of Portland, of June 16, 1959, which by the property Committee in order to recommend sound and wise regional water-development programs for the Pacific Northwest.

In addition, the Oregon Daily Journal of Portland, Oreg., of June 16 has likewise advocated a more decisive role for the Columbia Basin Interagency Committee. I ask unanimous consent that this informative editorial, entitled "Stronger Role for CBIAC," also be brinted in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the editonals were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Oregonian, June 16, 1959] NEED FOR STRONG CBIAC

The Columbia Basin Interagency Committee is reappraising its role in the Northwest and some of its members seem determined to make CBIAC a stronger force for comprehensive development of the region's water resources. The Oregonian, which has been critical of the committee's failure to put together a master plan, supplementing that of the Army engineers for navigation, flood control, and power, and its avoidance of the controversial, roadblock issues, is hopeful if skeptical.

CBIAC certainly can improve its work by stabilishing a small, permanent staff and a secretary who is not changed each year with the chairmanship. This probably will be done. But then what?

It was made very clear at a meeting at Imberline Lodge, Friday, both by members of the parent Federal Interagency Committee in Washington, D.C., and by Maj. Gen. J. S. Bragdon, Special Assistant to the President for Public Works Planning, that the regional representatives of the seven cabinet departments on CBIAC must operate "within the framework" of their departmental laws and Policies. In other words, CBIAC cannot make decisions; it can only advise and recommend.

The committee has made some recommendations, as in the request for funds for fashery research. But when it comes to the Point of saying what dams should be built, it is often stymied. In the Middle Snake, for example, the Federal Power Commission refused a license for Mountain Sheep Dam and suggested construction of Nez Perce Dam; the Department of Interior wants a light dam at Pleasant Valley site; the Army favors a high dam at Mountain Sheep. Any

one of these projects would rule out the others.

Since CBIAC no longer has a rule of unanimity, it could, however, express its views and work in a positive way for accomplishment of such congressional proposals as self-financing of the Columbia River power system and making a Federal corporation out of Bonneville Power Administration. It remains a question whether CBIAC will wish to get involved in this controversy in which political battlelines already have formed in the region and nationally. But how can it justify its existence if it fails to act in a matter so important to the Federal water program in the Northwest?

CBIAC has taken no leadership, either, in seeking congressional restoration of Western States' water rights destroyed by the Supreme Court decision in the Pelton Dam case, despite the presence of seven Governors as nominal members of the committee.

The Governors have produced little leadership to justify their addition to CBIAC, although sporadically they have been active. Gov. Mark Hatfield, of Oregon, now is taking the lead in seeking a stronger CBIAC. We hope he prevails on other Governors to participate in the work of the committee, rather than delegating their seats to subordinates. Governor Hatfield Friday suggested that positive decisions might be achieved by changing the bylaws to provide that a majority vote of the States and a majority vote of the Federal departments should govern.

eral departments should govern.

The 1954 charter of CBIAC charges the committee, along with coordination and planning, "to provide means by which conflicts may be resolved" and "to promote resolution of interagency problems at the regional level." It has failed to meet these objectives, With a dozen Federal agencies active in the water resources field, and sometimes working at cross-purposes, the need for this type of coordination and resolution of conflicts is demanding. CBIAC is the only agency, weak as it has been, that is sufficiently representative to do the work. We will watch the reorganization movement with interest and hope for success.

[From the Portland (Oreg.) Journal, June 16, 1959]

STRONGER ROLE FOR CBIAC

That organization is the strongest which is willing, now and then, to take a frank look at itself, acknowledge its defects and seek ways to remedy them.

The fact that the Columbia Basin interagency committee has done this, in forthright discussions at Timberline Lodge last Friday, might very well be interpreted, then, as a sign of strength rather than of weakness.

It should be noted that Gov. Mark Hatfield's criticism of the CBIAC were prefaced by an acknowledgment of its achievements "in providing a forum for discussion and dissemination to the public of facts and group thinking" and in developing essential basic data on resource development through its subcommittees and task forces.

Governor Hatfield was not the first to suggest that the CBIAC ought to play a stronger role in resolving conflicts which are barriers to basin development.

Brig. Gen. Allen F. Clark, North Pacific division engineer, CBIAC chairman for the past year, has been saying somewhat the same thing. The CBIAC executive subcommittee prior to Friday's meeting had outlined some proposals designed to clarify its goals and strengthen its authority in matters of resource development.

The same subcommittee has now been charged with producing a positive program for achieving some of these aims. This will not be an easy task. For the CBIAC represents Federal agencies which sometimes have conflicting interests and States which may have differing views relative to the merits or demerits of a given project.

Further, the committee cannot escape the fact that the final responsibility in the authorization and financing of Federal projects lies with Congress. At best, the CBIAC's pipeline to that body will be a long and sometimes leaky one.

But Congress would listen better if the voices from the Pacific Northwest were less blurred by conflicts among ourselves. The Corps of Engineers itself has sought to reduce the blurring. Its revised 308 review report tried to take into account the varying interests of different segments of our economy. But it obviously did not and could not satisfy everybody. Voices against the report have, been loud enough to hurt many of its proposals in congress.

The CBIAC has already acted to point out those projects on which there is little or no conflict. It has taken preliminary steps to analyze and determine the validity of the objections to some of the others.

Its ability in the future to speak with a stronger voice in behalf of Pacific Northwest resource development will depend to some degree on the willingness of the people of our region themselves to recognize that no particular interest can have all its wants in one phase of development without stepping on somebody else's toes.

The term "comprehensive development" is bandied about freely. But there are practical limits to "comprehensiveness." What we need to seek is "optimum development," that which offers the most in return to all the people on the basis of reasonable compromises where obvious conflicts exist. Perhaps the CBIAC can take the lead in trying to build the kind of "public climate" necessary to achieve this.

# Russian View of Vote on Nomination of Lewis L. Strauss

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

#### HON. ALBERT GORE

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, it is interesting to note that the news media behind the Iron Curtain have interpreted the vote on the nomination of Mr. Lewis L. Strauss as a blow to the prestige of the President.

I ask that an Associated Press dispatch from Vienna, Austria, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the dispatch was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

VIENNA, AUSTRIA.—The Senate's refusal to confirm Lewis Strauss as Secretary of Commerce was reported by Communist bloc broadcasters in Austria today as follows:

"This was a blow at Elsenhower's prestige, the like of which no President had suffered in 3 decades. But then Strauss was a big banker who got his admiral's rank for producing atom bombs, and he was also noted for advocating the most reactionary views in domestic and foreign policies of the United States."

# Responsibilities of a Citizen in a Democracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON, HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, three visitors have come to my office this week from New Jersey. They are high school juniors who will spend the next 3 weeks in Washington on summer senatorial scholarships. They will visit legislators and other Government officials. They will gather data on projects which interest them. The two boys and one girl were chosen by a panel of newspaper judges from 400 students who submitted entries from the entire State. The judges paid particular attention to essays written by the students with each entry. I, and others, have been impressed by these essays; the students have given serious thought to the theme: "My Responsibilities as a Citizen in a Democracy.'

I ask unanimous consent to have these three essays printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the essays were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WINNING ESSAY SUBMITTED BY MISS ZOHARA MUSHINSKY, OF HAMILTON HIGH SCHOOL, TRENTON, N.J.

Just 3 months ago I stood before a judge at the Federal Naturalization Court, in Trenton, and with my heart full of joy took the oath that made me a citizen of the United States. My happiness was tinged with a little guilt. however, when I thought of the multitudes who had dreamed, hoped, fought, and even died for such rights and privileges as I was about to receive by merely raising my right hand and repeating a few words. This land had welcomed us when we were driven from my native country by the engulfing Red terror of communism. Here we found shelter, peace, and above all, the blessed freedom which had once been only a hopeless longing. We had been relieved of the fear which once was a constant part of our lives.

But I was once again afraid as I remembered that my own country had once been free, and its citizens had not always worn the heavy yoke of totalitarian rule. Its people, feeling safe and secure, had become apathetic and careless of their duties toward their country. When World War II came, it

found the country unprepared and unable to mobilize rapidly. After the bitter years of fighting, a weakened and exhausted nation fell easy prey into the Jaws of the Russian trap. The citizens emerged from their lethargy too late; they had not lived up to their responsibilities, and so democracy was denied them.

"Could this happen here, also?" I asked myself. Yet I already knew the answer. It could happen anywhere, for a free country can remain free only so long as each and every individual works to maintain that precious liberty. American citizenship brought me many rights and privileges, and the only way in which I can express my gratitude and love to my new country is by carefully fulfilling all the obligations which citizenship entails.

For many years we had been kept ignorant of true world conditions by strictly censored newspapers which showed the Marxist point of view. We were surprised at the diversified opinions found in American newspapers and at the factual reporting. To help maintain this freedom of the press, it is my duty, as it is the duty of all citizens, to read these papers and keep informed of America's achievements and problems. Freedom of speech has been granted us here, but we might use it wisely and well. It is our sacred obligation to speak openly against tyranny and injustice wherever we may find it. For if we fail to live up to this, one of our most important responsibilities, we may one day find that free voice silenced, because we failed to use it in a time of crisis.

The highest privilege granted to a citizen also bears with it the weightlest duties and most sacred obligations. It is the right to participate in our country's Government, our right to determine in whose hands we shall place the fate of our Nation, the right to vote. It is the responsibility of every citizen, as it one day shall also be mine, to vote at every election and to always select the candidate who will best serve democracy's cause. Freedom flourishes only when an uncorrupted, honest government rules. The duty to provide America with such unimpeachable administration rests with its citizens.

The United States has been described thus, "A government of the people, by the people, and for the people, whose just powers are derived from the consent of the governed." America has always dealt uprightly and fairly with her citizens. Never once has our Government failed us.

It is therefore our moral obligation to be equally just and honest in our dealings with the Government and to rally to our Nation's defense in any emergency. It is a citizen's duty, not only to protect his country in time of war, but also in peacetime by supporting such organizations as the Civil Defense and the Red Cross. America spends billions annually for the defense and welfare of her citizens. Consequently, it is every citizen's responsibility to pay his income tax honestly and willingly, for it bears the expense of the many privileges we all enjoy.

The United States has given me, an individual citizen, more than I shall ever be able to repay. Perhaps living up to my responsibilities as a citizen in this democracy will serve as partial recompense for the glorious gift of liberty which was given my family in the haven we found.

If I could speak to every American and know that my words would be heard, I would say, "Do your duty to your country with eagerness and pride, for by doing so, you guard this Nation from the tragic fate which has befallen half the earth. Each responsibility well carried out helps the flame of democracy burn a little brighter, shedding healing light on this partially darkened world."

WINNING ESSAY SUBMITTED BY MR. ANTHON'S NOWELS, STUDENT OF MANASQUAN HIGH SCHOOL, MANASQUAN, N.J.

The greatest single threat to the peace and advancement of the American people today is not the Soviet Union, nor the hydrogen bomb. Granted, that these offer a very real danger to us and all peace-loving nations but they can never represent as great a danger as the apparent apathy and indifference on the part of a great many Americans.

Every person who lives in our democracy is granted certain privileges, and in return is expected to accept responsibilities. Unfortunately, many people are endangering their own country by a lack of interest of refusal to take an active part in their own Government. The laxity of so many citizens even as far as their hard-fought-for right wote, is one of the best examples of this problem, which constitutes a malignant threat we democracy on every governmental level.

democracy on every governmental level.

In view of this, I see two very real responsibilities: First to make sure that I am not guilty of this negligence, that I will vote when I come of age, that I will keep myself informed, and familiarize myself with important issues; and especially to check the records of the various candidates and evaluate their platforms. Also a participation is community affairs, the preservation and protection of my civil rights, as well as the rights of others, is of prime importance. And if I should enter the field of politics as candidate, it would be my duty to honestly represent my constituents, refrain from any connection with special interest or pressure groups, and to retain independence of judgment and action. I must in all ways be a participating member who helps to make our democracy a functioning reality instead of a beautiful dream.

The second, and most difficult responsibility, is not only to stamp out this apathy and dangerous indifference, a blight if allowed to spread, that could easily bring an end to the democratic system of government; but to instill the pride of being an American I must be willing to take the initiative to organize and to inform other people of their obligations as Americans.

It is important that I, together with my fellow citizens, create an active interest in civic affairs and in our Government so that the best qualified persons are selected for the most important job: That of governing the people of the United States.

WINNING ESSAY SUBMITTED BY MR. DONALD B. READ, STUDENT OF RIDGEWOOD HIGH SCHOOL RIDGEWOOD, N.J.

"I hereby declare, on oath, that I will absolutely and entirely renounce and abjure all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state of sovereignty of whom or which I have heretofore been a subject or citizen; that I will support and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States of America against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; and that I take this obligation freely and without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion; so help me God."

There are the words uttered by an alient as he becomes a citizen of the United States. He has pledged to renounce and support many principles of government. Are not those who are citizens by virtue of American birth similarly pledged? What does out oath hold us to? What must we do as citizens of this Nation?

In the first place a citizen must defend our Constitution and laws. These laws have been set up as guides for our particular segment of democratic civilization. The Constitution is the supreme law of the land; the other laws are the detailed guides. The citizen's support of the laws should not be passive nor should it be one of blind ac

ptance. He should know the Constitution of understand the laws which affect him. he feels that a law is wrong he should all that he can to have it corrected; but it proves to be best for the majority of

tople, he must obey it.

Secondly, the citizen must be active in his poort of the Government. The basis of a mocratic state is an informed public. It mocratic state is an informed public. It the duty of every citizen to be aware of Nat is happening in his Government, what adidates for office stand for, what changes h be made for the better, what his part can in local and national affairs. A citizen a privilege to vote—it is also his duty. We ballot is the greatest tool of democracy. the of the greatest freedoms given to us is be right of choice. To use this freedom well ten we go to the polls we must know some y definite things: what the power of each cted official is, all one can find out about th candidates, what qualifications are cessary for the office, as much as possible but each proposal for referendum.

The citizen must be willing and eager to we his country in the best way he can. He hast be ready to accept public office and do he best to be as successful a public servant

s private citizen.

The third point is defense of this Nation. the citizen must defend the laws, the Govenment, and the country as a whole from ternal and external enemies. This defense by force of arms if necessary. This is our by force of arms if necessary. This is Government, our Nation, our home; we must

The people who take the oath of allegiance have worked and studied to become citizens. They realize the value of the democratic life the United States, for they have had the experience of living under other types of govenment. Should these new citizens be more ware of their duties than are we? No. We must be just as ready as they to assume the control of their duties of their duties of their duties as ready as they to assume the control of their duties of their duties. the duties, responsibilities, and privileges of our Government. We must inform our-selves, vote with great care and decision, and serve our local, State, and national govsumments to the best of our abilities.

# Millions Affected by Rural Redevelopment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

#### HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 23, 1959

EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, More than 15 million Americans would be eligible for rural redevelopment beneats under the provisions of area redevelopment legislation, S. 722, as reported by the House Committee on Banking and Currency

According to information furnished me, the population of the 663 counties in the United States likely to benefit from the rural redevelopment provisions of the bill was 15.5 million in 1958, and constituted 18 percent of the total population of the 20 States in which they are located.

These rural counties included more than half the population in some States. For example, in Mississippi, they repreented 89 percent of the State's population; in South Carolina, 74 percent; in West Virginia, 70 percent; in Arkansas, 60 percent; and in Alabama, 56 percent.

The States in which these rural counties eligible for rural redevelopment benefits included between 25 and 50 percent of the population were Tennessee with 43 percent, Kentucky with 37 percent, and North Carolina with 30 percent

Other States with significant proportions of their population in the rural distressed counties were Georgia with 23 percent, Louisiana with 21 percent. and my own State of Oklahoma with 16 percent.

Mr. Speaker, at this point I should like to insert the following table which gives statistical data in this connection:

Population in counties eligible for rural redevelopment benefits under area redevelopment legislation (S. 722, House revision)

	Counties eligible for rural redevelopment benefits		
State	Number of counties	Population (1958)	Percent- age of State popula- tion
Total	663	15, 531, 600	18.2
Alabama Arkansas Florida Georgia Illinois Kentneky Louisiana Michigan Michigan Minnesota Missouri New Mexico North Carolina Ohio Oklahoma South Carolina Tennessee Texas Virginia	28 5 2	1, 782, 100 1, 044, 200 273, 300 885, 600 20, 400 886, 400 656, 600 63, 700 51, 200 1, 882, 800 220, 900 69, 000 1, 373, 900 77, 000 361, 400 1, 767, 500 612, 200 715, 400	56.0 59.5 62.2 23.1 22.6 621.0 9 2.0 88.5 17.7 30.3 15.9 442.6 6.4 442.6 6.8 4.1 48.2

Mr. Speaker, as a further example of the support for this area redevelopment legislation, I should like to insert in the RECORD at this point a copy of the resolution adopted by the Conference of Southern State Municipal, Leagues and Cities:

RESOLUTION ON AREA REDEVELOPMENT BILLS ADOPTED BY CONFERENCE OF SOUTHERN STATE MUNICIPAL LEAGUES AND CITIES, JUNE 12-13, 1959, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Where as the Conference of Southern State Municipal Leagues and municipal officials, sponsored jointly by the American Municipal Association, has considered the enormous benefits to States and communities in the southeastern United States of the area redevelopment bill approved by the Senate (S. 722) and under consideration in the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress; and

Whereas S. 722 provides \$389.5 million of loans and grants to foster industrial growth, with one-half of the funds earmarked for underdeveloped rural areas and one-half for large industrial centers with chronic unemployment; and

Whereas 65 percent of the total loans and grants authorized by the bill will be available to southern communities in 628 underdeveloped rural counties and to 53 southern cities with excessive unemployment; and

Whereas the depressed areas legislation proposed by the President (H.R. 4278) discriminates against the South by eliminating all assistance to rural areas, 94 percent of which are located in the South; and

Whereas the provisions of S. 722 will accelerate the balancing of industry with agriculture in depressed rural areas, thereby reducing the enormously costly emigration of population and affording permanent relief from the billions of dollars of annual subsidies now poured into rural areas to support farm income: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Conference of South-ern State Municipal Leagues and Cities urges the Members of Congress for the South to support a sound area redevelopment bill and oppose the proposal of the President and others (H.R. 4278) which discrimantes against the South by eliminating all assistance to depressed rural areas; and be it

Resolved further, That a copy of this reso-lution and the statement of fact adopted by this conference be transmitted to all Members of Congress from the southeast and to the mayors of some 2,000 southern com-munities which would benefit from the provisions of S. 722.

National Parks as a Source of Prosperity Through Encouraging the Tourist Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I have been sponsoring two bills which have-as their goal-although via different methods-the establishment of a national seashore park in the Oregon Dunes and Sea Lion Caves.

Some bitter-end opponents of my proposals, as contained in S. 1526 and S. 2010, have charged that the Oregon Dunes National Seashore would be a failure because they allege that the Olympic National Park - northward along the Pacific seaboard-is a failure.

I challenge that claim, Mr. President. To my knowledge, no national park is a failure. However, I might be said to be a prejudiced witness. The same cannot be said about Lawrence E. Davies, distinguished and accurate correspondent in the Western States for America's No. 1 newspaper, the New York Times.

In the New York Times of June 22. 1959. Mr. Davies has written an extensive dispatch from Port Angeles, Wash., about the 1959 tourist prospects for the Olympic National Park. The headline sets the theme of the article. It reads: 'Olympic Park Set for Busy Summer.'

That tells volumes, Mr. President. Further on in the course of his informative article Mr. Davies writes:

Port Angeles, a city of 15,000, has substituted tourism for its once thriving lumber industry. It has been rapidly building motels and now boasts it has 500 units for park visitors.

Mr. President, if our Oregon Dunes and Sea Lion Caves National Seashore is established, I predict that prosperity through tourism likewise will come to the Oregon seacoast communities of Flor-ence, Reedsport, Newport, and others. Why should national parks bring prosperity elsewhere but not to Oregon?

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record the dispatch by Lawrence E. Davies, of the New York Times staff, from that newspaper of June 22.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

[From the New York Times, June 22, 1959]
OLYMPIC PARK SET FOR BUSY SUMMER—MILLION VISITORS EXPECTED IN SEASON—SCIENTISTS STUDY CLIMATE FROM OLYMPUS

#### (By Lawrence E. Davies)

PORT ANGELES, WASH., June 21.—Science and the great American motoring public have begun their 1959 summer invasions of Olympic National Park.

Science is curious about glaciers and climate. A five-man party established itself last week on Blue Glacier high up on Mount Olympus, the tallest peak in this primeval

area of northwest Washington.

At the same time a summer crew of seasonal rangers and naturalists completed training. They will help handle more than 1 million prospective visitors on the park's 600 miles of hikers trails, 150 miles of automobile roads, and 25 scattered campgrounds.

The Office of Naval Research is underwriting a summer-long study of Blue Glacier from a camp on Snowdone, 6,800 feet up on 7,954-foot Olympus. It is a continuation of a project started in the summer of 1957, under a grant by the National Science Foundation, as part of the 18-month International Geophysical Year.

#### OPERATED BY UNIVERSITY

The project is operated by the Department of Meteorology and Climatology of the University of Washington, headed by Dr. Phil Church. Ed LaChapelle, a Foreign Service meteorologist from Alta, Utah, directs the science party, as he did during the International Geophysical Year.

William Fairchild, a pilot from Port Angeles, where park headquarters are cituated, carries men and supplies to the glacier camp in a light ski plane. Heavy equipment was dropped on the area in 1957 by the Air Force.

Weather records kept by the party in 1957-58 showed this area to have the greatest precipitation in the country. It is thought that a normal year may produce 200 inches, or close to 17 feet, of precipitation in the Biue Glacier vicinity.

The fact that other parts of the wilderness area have upward of 140 inches of rain a year is one reason for the existence of Olympic National Park.

Its great rain forests, with virgin spans of Douglas-fir, western hemlock, and Sitka spruce, and with lush growths of mosses, ferns, and other plants, compete for attention with the snow-capped Olympics, part of the coast range.

Olympic National Park is only 21 years old. By Executive order, President Franklin D. Roosevelt increased the original 643,000 acres by more than 200,000. President Harry S. Truman added 47,753 Federal acres to the park area, bringing it to 898,000, or about 1,400 square miles.

#### HARD-ROAD PLAN OPPOSED

Today some conservationists oppose the hard-surfacing of any more roads within the park boundaries, as is envisaged by the Mission 66 program of the National Park Service.

This year, thanks to \$5 million paving project, motorists may drive over an 18-mile improved highway from the northern park boundary near Port Angeles to Hurricane Ridge. The view from the top of the ridge is generally regarded as one of the conti-

nent's superb vistas. Much of the 60-mile snow-crowned Olympic chain is visible on a clear day from this grandstand seat.

More hard surfacing of park roads is in

Oscar A. Sedergram, assistant park superintendent, noted in the absence of Superintendent Dan Beard that the Olympic Park staff has only 12 permanent rangers to patrol the vast acreage. Glenn D. Gallison, the park naturalist has one assistant.

the park naturalist, has one assistant.

For the summer, 22 seasonal rangers and ranger-naturalists have been added.

This park has done little so far to develop overnight accommodations except for providing small campgrounds. Some of these lack modern restrooms.

The major concessionaire, National Park Concessions, Inc., is adding 10 units to Government-owned Lake Crescent Lodge. This is a well-run establishment on a lakeshore in the park's northwest corner, where about 100 persons can be housed. Several less modern groups of cabins are scattered through the park.

Port Angeles, a city of 15,000, has substituted tourism for its once thriving lumber industry. It has been rapidly building motels and now boasts, it has 500 units for

park visitors.

#### **Backing Public Officials**

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. FRANK J. LAUSCHE

OF OHIO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a letter to the editor, published in the New York Times of June 18, 1959, and authored by Mr. Robert H. Austin, of Johnson City, N.Y.

In his letter, Mr. Austin not only pays tribute to conscientious members of Congress, but also suggests a nonpartisan organization of public-spirited citizens to help good Members of Congress get a fair break in public relations.

It is so rarely Congress receives any pleasant bouquets, that Mr. Austin's letter should be of interest to all Senate and House Members.

Mr. Austin is an outstanding publicspirited citizen, well known in New York State, who has devoted many of the best years of his life to civic causes.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, June 18, 1959] BACKING PUBLIC OFFICIAL: MOVE TO COUNTER SMEAR ATTACKS ON NATIONAL LEADERS PRO-POSED

To the Editor of The New York Times:

The tragedy of John Foster Dulles had a profound effect on me. It must have also affected millions of other thinking citizens. Here was a devoted national public servant who literally fought his life away with unyielding courage and persistence for what he felt was best for America. Yet he was subjected to cruel and unreasonable abuse and criticism, with few defenders, until he was close to death.

Then, and only then, was there a public awakening and appreciation of his unselfish

public devotion and sacrifice. The same we true with the late Senator Robert Taff former Secretary of Defense James For restal, and other national figures.

Why should there not be an organized nationwide group of public spirited citizens nonpartisan, who would make it their bushness to see that the public has all the fact is accurately informed about our Senator Congressmen, and national leaders who as subjected to unfair and unjustified abush from selfish or ignorant sources because the stand firmly for courageous and faithful representation?

Under our form of government, for instance, a U.S. Senator can look only to political party—whichever it may be—for of ganized help in defending his public record

no matter how fine.

Surely there must be many thought? Americans who would join a nonpartise movement to show public appreciation to integrity in office and faithfulness to the public trust. In this way false propagand and smear attacks against a truly hone Senator, Congressman, or Cabinet office could be dispelled by the light of fact and truth, rather than be permitted to polse the minds of unthinking voters.

I have unstintedly given many years of my life to local and State civic activities. But to survive the present struggle with communism our form of government must fund

tion at its best.

In my opinion it cannot do this unless and until our citizens, in a nonpartisan spirit show greater appreciation and give some for of strong public backing to our nations public servants, who through courage, hone devotion, and unselfish fighting spirit profitheir worth beyond question.

JOHNSON CITY, N.Y., June 15, 1959.

# Greater Use of International Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. PHILIP A. HART

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATE

Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. HART. Mr. President, it enormously encouraging to me, as I sure it is to all Members of the Senat when we find examples of distinguished educators in our communities joining with the press of our towns and cities present material on public questions an instructive and interesting fashion Such an example is an article which ap peared on May 23, 1959, in the Hillsda (Mich.) Daily News. Written by Dr. H. Roberts, head of the history department of Wildeland ment of Hillsdale College, it gives actual background surrounding our par ticipation in the International Court Justice, and presents in persuasive fash ion the reasons why the Congress should repeal the so-called Connally reserve tion.

The senior Senator from Minnesol [Mr. Humphrey] has submitted a resolution (S. Res. 94) to remove this reservation, and I hope, as I know he does that there can be hearings on the measure in the present session of the Congress.

I ask unanimous consent that the biticle from the Hillsdale Daily News printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES MAY LEAD WAY TO GREATER USE OF INTERNATIONAL COURT

(By Dr. W. H. Roberts)

A significant movement is underway which bound to effect profoundly the interpreation of international agreements. We have earned from experience that no matter what he Soviets agree to do, they will eventually ome up with an interpretation which will Aullify the agreement for all practical purloses.

The United States is considering putting nto every treaty and agreement a clause which says, "That any dispute that may arise s to the interpretation of the agreement be submitted to the International Court of Justice and that the nations signing the agreement shall be bound by the inter-

Pretation of the Court."

The movement to reemphasize a rule of hw administered by a court of justice began new some months ago. A year ago President isenhower proclaimed May 1 as Law Day in the United States. In 1958 there were over 20,000 ceremonies on that day emphasizing the importance of law and the courts. Last May 1 there were also many thousands of events commemorating the day.

In his state of the Union message last anuary the President called attention to this movement and stated that he would soon call on Congress to make significant changes In our relations to the International Court.

The American Bar Association has thrown the weight of its influence behind the movement. It has a committee on world peace through law. The chairman of this committee, Charles S. Rhyne, delivered a scholarly address on the subject in Washington last March before the ninth conference of national organizations called by the American Association for the United Nations.

The leading lawyers of the free world are banded together in a momentous task to improve the procedures and increase the use of the International Court. They feel that if the efforts of the international scientists could split the atom, the best legal minds of the world can in time achieve a major breakthrough in the problem of international peace.

Last April 13. Vice President RICHARD NIXON delivered an able speech before the National Academy of Political Science in New York. This speech was a sort of trial balloon on the issues that the administration has been considering.

In the administration program is the plan eventually to include the above mentioned clause in regard to the interpretation of agreements and also a request to Congress asking for the repeal of part of the Connally reservation which was attached to our ratiacation of the statute of the present Interhational Court in 1945. This has to do with domestic issues.

No one is asking that the International Court should decide issues that are domestic in the characteristics. in character. But the Connally reservation excludes domestic issues "as determined by the United States of America." This pre-Judging by us violates all principles of a court of law by allowing the litigant to decide his own case. The friends of law are willing to let the Court decide whether the issue is domestic or not.

Our example has been followed by other states to the extent that few cases ever get to the International Court. We presented the case of the Russians shooting down our plane over the Sea of Japan and asked for \$1,300,000 damages. All the Russians had to do was to say that it was a domestic issue and the Court had to dismiss it. This unilateral decision on whether it is domestic or not is a two-way street and can be used against us.

The International Court is the least used of all the organs of the United Nations. There are 15 judges who are elected for 9 years. They draw a salary of \$20,000 a year. of the best legal minds of the world sit upon this Court. All great legal systems are represented. In the last 13 years the Court has handed down only 10 judgments.

In the same length of time the Supreme Court of the United States has handled close to 13,000 cases and has heard oral arguments

in 1,300 of these.

It is believed that the business of the Court would greatly increase if this reservation to decide unilaterally the character of the case were removed. If the United States sets the example, other states will follow us.

It is also proposed that the Court hold sittings at the U.N. headquarters, either as a full court or in chambers of three judges which the statute of the Court would permit. It would also greatly reduce the cost of litigation and increase the business of the Court if it met in places near the countries which brought the dispute before it.

The United States would be true to its historic character if it should take the lead in increasing the functions of the International Court. Throughout most of our his-

tory we have led in this field.

In the Jay Treaty with England in 1795 we agreed to arbitrate the disputes growing out of the Revolutionary War settlement. This gave great impetus to the cause of arbitration as also did the Treaty of Washington in 1871 which provided for the arbitration of the Alabama claims. During the 19th century 177 cases were settled by peaceful arbitration.

We played an important part in the founding of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague in 1899. The first case that ever came before it, the Pious fund case, was brought by the United States. Elihu Root, an American, helped write the protocol of the first world court in 1920. American judge has sat upon that Court and the present one from the very begin-

The refusal of the Senate to join the Court established by the League of Nations was a gross violation of the traditional spirit of this country.

It is true that the Soviets will not be eager to submit their interpretations of agreements to a court of law but they do desire the good will of the world. It would make their professions of peaceful intentions look phonier than they do if they deliberately reject the clause to submit the differences on interpretation to a court of

The use of a court of law is the road that all civilized men have followed in passing from barbarism and violence to civilization. If mankind is to survive on this planet, it will have to sooner or later learn to use a court of law for the settlement of disputes.

Resolution on Milk Sanitation Standards and Federal Milk Marketing Orders

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter of transmittal from Mr. W. L. Henning, secretary of agriculture, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and a resolution adopted by the Northeastern Association of State Departments of Agriculture at its annual meeting, held on May 25, 1959, at Easton, Md.:

> COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA, DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE Harrisburg, June 17, 1959.

Hon, DANIEL J. FLOOD, Congressman from Pennsylvania, House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN FLOOD: I am enclosing a copy of the resolution adopted at the annual meeting of the Northeastern Association of State Departments of Agriculture, held recently in Easton, Md., concerning milk sanitation standards and Federal milk marketing

Your kind consideration of the position of the northeastern departments of agriculture will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

W. L. HENNING. Secretary of Agriculture.

RESOLUTIONS UNANIMOUSLY PASSED CONCERN-ING MILK SANITATION STANDARDS AND FED-ERAL MILK MARKETING ORDERS

Whereas the Federal milk marketing order program materially affects the returns that the majority of milk producers in the Northeastern States receive for their milk; and

Whereas the several Federal milk marketing orders in operation in the Northeastern States take into consideration, in determining the level of class I prices, variations in economic factors affecting the production and marketing of milk in each specific marketing area, including labor costs, sanitation standards, taxes, feed costs, etc.: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Northeastern Association of Departments of Agriculture, duly assembled at Easton, Md., on May 25, 1959. goes on record as being unalterably opposed to the inclusion in any northeastern Federal order any provision which would limit the level of class I prices as determined pursuant to the several economic formulas used in computing such class I prices, by relating such prices to the Midwest condensary price or other manufactured milk price;

Whereas the enactment of Senate bill No. 988 or House of Representatives bill No. 3840, known as the National Milk Sanitation Act, would result in further concentration of' authority in the Federal Government and a diminution of power of the several States, which is contrary to the policy of the National Association of Departments of Agri-culture: Now, therefore, be it Resolved, That the Northeastern Associa-

tion of Departments of Agriculture duly assembled at Easton, Md., on May 25, 1959. goes on record as being unalterably opposed to the enactment of such or similar legis-

> PHILLIP ALAMPI. President.

TRENTON, N.J.

ELMER E. TOWNE. Secretary-Treasurer.

MONTPELIER, VT.

E. E. TOWNE. Secretary.

John Hobbs Memorial Dedication

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF HON. JAMES W. TRIMBLE

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. TRIMBLE. Mr. Speaker, John Hobbs, of Rudy, Ark., was an immigrant, but he loved this land and gave his life

to its betterment. It was my good fortune to know him for many years. He worked for and encouraged the development of rural Arkansas, was a leader in boys' and girls' club work, and was an outstanding advocate and promoter of rural electrification. He left his mark upon his adopted country.

Douglas G. Wright, Administrator of the Southwestern Power Administration, was the speaker at the dedication of the John H. Hobbs Memorial Substation at Cassville, Mo., on June 8, 1959. He gives good insight into the character of Mr. Hobbs, and, under unanimous consent, I insert his address following my remarks:

Mr. Evans, beloved family, friends, and neighbors of Uncle John, when asked to give this address, I feared I might not be able to do it because I might be too emotional. And then, I thought: Nobody would ever really be emotional unless he were sad, and no one who ever knew Uncle John could be a sad man, because Uncle John's life con-

tained no place for sadness. Little more than a quarter of a century ago there was born in this land a new movement of economic liberty, conceived in cooperation and dedicated to the proposition of self-service. For the past full quarter of a century this movement, since its birth, has undergone the constant struggle to determine whether that movement or any movement so conceived and so dedicated could endure or, whether or not, it must succumb to a so-called, free-enterprise system which is actually nothing more than a regulated, profitmaking monopoly.

Uncle John Hobbs was a man in this program. And this program should perhaps first be analyzed before we analyze the man

whose memorial we dedicate today.

This program was actually an emancipation proclamation. It did not bear the popular appeal of freeing human beings from bondage inflicted by other human beings. Rather, it bore only that appeal that would fill the heart of a man like Uncle John, who decided that drudgery should disappear from the lives of rural people, and that rural people and common people were entitled to all the great things that electricity could bring to them if it were made available.

Do you think this movement meant bringing it only to the rural areas? No, it was bigger than that. It meant harnessing the resources of the country—the water resources of the country, the other resources of the country-for the first time in the history of this country-for public benefit rather than for private profit. There was no room in this program, and we found that out, before its birth, at Muscle Shoals Dam. We found out that it could not be done except as a program of public benefit. We found it had to be done that way or it wouldn't be done at all. We found out that with this development of resources came this dream of bringing the resources to all people-all people-wherever they lived-whatever their state in life.

If you think this program wasn't important, visualize for me, if you will, and with me: What would this country be today if that movement of economic freedom had not been born 25 years ago?

I doubt very much if we would have won World War II. I doubt very much that, without the mighty gigantic generators of TVA and Bonneville, and yes, of Grand Lake—I doubt if we would have produced the sinews of war that enabled us to turn an almost disaster into a glorious victory. I doubt very much if the farmers of this land could have produced the food that it took to feed the world during that period.

I doubt very much that the young people, who today look forward to living on a farm and having the advantages that you created-I doubt very much that they would be interested in a farm at all.

I know people like me wouldn't be trying to get back on one. I'm not about to try to get an outside privy and a copper wash tub. You don't have to have them. I'm not going to do without my TV, and you don't have to. I doubt if we could have been sitting there in air-conditioned comfort in that dining room where we had lunch today if Uncle John hadn't walked the first mile, and got the first member for his co-op. I doubt that this country would have looked anything like it does today, if there had not been the greatest emancipation that man has ever seen since slaves were freed.

Yes, this movement-this birth, and this movement-that Uncle John contributed so much to, and through which I am thankful, I had a chance to know people like Uncle John, and with which I was privileged to work, has brought progress to rural America.

This movement has changed America. If America has a higher standard of living than any other country in the world today, it is directly traceable to this movement-and to no other. If you think other countries in the world have social unrest, which we please to call a feeling of nationalism, it is because they didn't have an Uncle John, and they didn't have that birth of economic freedom 25 years ago which has been, and is, known as the REA program and the hydroelectric development through Federal projects.

What manner of man was Uncle John? What was there about him that fitted him for this type of program? Was he a big fellow? No. Was he a dynamic person, who, by his very appearance, overwhelmed you? No. Was he a rich man? No. Was he a man who had been elected to high office and by this prestige had accomplished great things? As a matter of fact, to understand what Uncel John was you probably can look at no other individual than the Lord himself. Because Uncle John was filled with a white flame-something that no man can see but no man can help but feel. Faith, hope, and charity. "These," said the

Lord, "are the greatest virtues."

Uncle John had all three, sufficient not only for himself, but sufficient for all the people with whom he came in contact. He had faith in all men. He was human. He could get just as mad as any of us. But he had an undying faith that the things that were right would come true. And he hoped; he hoped eternally that people would recognize and appreciate those things that were right. And then, greatest of all: The charity in Uncle John's heart. The charity that man had was a love such as we talk about but never understand.

You know, if there is a religion on earth, it is the love of man for his neighbor. And who is your neighbor? All men are your neighbors.

There's a difference between love and like. You don't have to like a person to love him. But you can love him and you can give of yourself, and you can sacrifice some of those things that God has given to you. All these things Uncle John did. He understood faith, hope, and charity. And then, in addition to that, like Jesus Christ himself, Uncle John never thought of what had happened to him, or what would happen to him, in the work that he performed.

When I studied what I would say to you today at his memorial, I could think of nothing more appropriate than a verse of prose that I read somewhere. Where, I cannot remember. Who wrote it, no man knows. That verse said something like this:

"He never owned any property. His family was poor and of the lower class. He was never elected to public office, He never made

great successes. His own generation condemned him. And when he died they cast lots for his garments—the only things he owned. And yet, no man ever lived—and yet, no man who ever lived—affected the world as did that poor Nazarene, whom we call: 'Lord'.'

Now Uncle John must have had-he must have had-and all of you who knew him, I am sure, believe it with me that somehow he did have—that living spirit which we find only in the supernatural, only in the things that make a man go far beyond the last mile and so enshrines himself in the hearts of his friends, that he is immortalized in memories of all people everywhere.

If I were trying to dedicate a memorial to Uncle John, I could not but fail. His memory is dedicated in your hearts far beyond my poor power to add or detract. But I would rather ask that you try to find in your own life, in memory of this man, some of the greatness, some of that white, living flame that made him and this program true in his

day and in his hour.

The struggle is not over. The economic liberty won by the things you have done, by its very success, breeds and enhances constant efforts to bring man back into \$ different form of slavery. Any time man has conquered the natural drudgery and the things imposed upon him by nature, his success in that conquering has attracted other men who wish to exclusively enjoy it. You must not let that happen.

The white flame of Uncle John must live in you and be transferred on to your children in such a way that this economic liberty shall not perish from this land.

It is with that hope and that prayer that I dedicate this memorial.

Thank you very much.

# Arizona Watershed Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. JAMES E. MURRAY

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, on June 17, 1959, it was my privilege, as chairman of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, to arrange for a discussion of a notable contribution the State of Arizona is making to water conservation. Through the good offices of the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, Hon. CARL HAYDEN, Mr. Joseph Arnold, director of the watershed management division of the Arizona State Land Department. presented a pictorial description of the Arizona watershed program. The presentation was made in the hearing chamber of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee.

Mr. Arnold explained, and his slides showed, how the State of Arizona has combined all its facilities in a program to ascertain the best methods for getting full use of the rain and snow that falls in the State. The State departments of lands and of fish and game, the State university, the Federal Forest Service, the Bureau of Land Management, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and a number of other Federal and State agencies and private organizations are cooperating in this study of watershed management.

Broad public support is provided by a brivate organization of distinguished titizens known as the Arizona Water Relources Committee.

This fine effort was brought to our ttention earlier in this session by Senaor HAYDEN's remarks which were pubshed in the RECORD of February 9, 1959. Shortly afterward, Senator HAYDEN proided each of the members of the Inerior and Insular Affairs and the Pub-C Works Committees with a copy of the rochure published by the Arizona Vater Resources Committee under the Itle of "Preliminary Economic Considrations of the Arizona Watershed Protram." Largely in response to this re-Nort, Senate Resolution 48 was amended In the recommendation of the Interior Committee to provide that reduction of vapotranspiration losses is to be condered by the Select Committee on Na-Monal Water Resources.

The background previously furnished by Senator Hayden increased the value of Mr. Arnold's presentation. In addition, by way of introduction, Senator Rayden briefly reviewed the purposes of the Arizona watershed program, and his informative remarks are set forth at the conclusion of my statement.

Mr. Arnold's presentation was heard by a number of Senators and by the staffs of the Interior, Public Works, Agriculture, and Appropriations Committees. Also present were representatives of several of the executive departments that are concerned with waterments that are concerned with watermed and other natural resources proframs. The national headquarters of various conservation organizations also were represented at the meeting. I have received a number of comments expressing interest in this Arizona profram and commending the very clear and interesting description that Mr. Arnold gave.

We are indebted, it seems to me, to the State of Arizona for pioneering this ane cooperative effort to make the most of our limited water resources. I thank the senior Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN] for making possible the presentation. I am confident this presentation contains many worthwhile suggestions that may be applicable to other states.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous conbent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record the statement made at the June 17 meeting by Senator HAYDEN.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the Econp. as follows:

THE ARIZONA WATERSHED PROGRAM

(Introduction by Hon. CARL HAYDEN)

A study of watershed conditions by noted scientists sponsored by the State land debartment. University of Arizona, and the Sait River Project Association initiated the Arizona watershed program in 1956. Reborts of these scientists were published in two volume documents, "Recovering Rain-lall."

To implement the most feasible recomhendations of the watershed study, a watershed management division was set up in the State land department, and a citizens group, known as the Arizona Water Resources Comlittee, was created in December 1956, to bring about public participation. Numbering approximately 60, committee and subcommittee members represent major economic interests of the State-municipal, industrial, and agricultural users; mining, timber, and livestock interests, hunting, fishing, and other recreational interests. With this broad representation, the committee comes with built-in democratic checks and balances-so important to serving the greatest good to the greatest number. Working closely with Federal, State, and municipal agencies, the committee and division encourages research and application of accepted practices leading to better managed watersheds.

Objective of the Arizona program is to recover a greater percentage of precipitation falling on the State's watersheds. The underlying principle of treatments now being tested on pilot watersheds is aimed at reducing evapotranspiration losses of water by converting worthless tree and shrub vegetation (which wastes water) to grasses and herbaceous plants (which are

more efficient users of water).

Anticipated benefits include: (1) Increased water yields for municipal, industrial, and agricultural needs; (2) accelerated growth and increased quality of timber; (3) reduced costs of controlling wildfires and reduced losses of timber products; (4) increased production of forage and browse for livestock and game; (5) improvement of fishing habitats; and (6) reduced erosion, particularly in plnyon-juniper and chaparral types—which are now reported to be the worst

contributors of silt.

The Arizona watershed program places particular emphasis on upstream phases of water management which have not kept pace with advances in downstream water management, as evidenced on the Salt and Verde Rivers by the dams, canals, irrigation ditches, the purification plant for the city of Phoenix, the network of stream gages, and the 10-year rehabilitation program of the Salt River project aimed at reducing seepage and evapo-transpiration losses by enclosing irri-

gation water in concrete conduits.

By contrast, we are only now getting started on a program of watershed management—a program aimed at recovering rainfall more efficiently in order to maintain adequate quantities of water behind the dams that supply downstream municipal, industrial, and agricultural needs. Closely allied to other water conservation efforts, sound watershed management will certainly be needed to make most efficient recovery of any increases in precipitation resulting from cloud seeding tests and in providing water for recharging underground aquifers, a new program just getting underway in Arizona.

Mr. Joseph Arnold, of the Arizona State Land Department will now discuss the Arizona watershed program.

Monetary and Fiscal Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD two fine editorials, from Bakers Weekly, commenting on monetary and fiscal policy.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From Bakers Weekly, June 15, 1959]
THE PRESIDENT STATES HIS CASE FOR A SOUND ECONOMY

It was our privilege the other day, as a member of the Society of Business Magazine Editors, to attend a conference with President Eisenhower at the White House. He is, of course, laboring under a schedule that is even heavier than usual with manifold problems, of which the apparent deadlock between the Soviet and the West in the Geneva discussions and the struggle to get some constructive legislation out of Congress before the summer adournment, are two major examples.

On other occasions he has indicated his growing concern over the size of the national debt and the importance of narrowing the gap between Government receipts and expenditures. He has taken a position which, al-though firm, is in our opinion altogether realistic. There have been no optimistic predictions that this could be accomplished overnight through any magic action by either the adminstration or Congress. The President is, however, ready to throw the full weight of his personal prestige and the authority of his position behind a demand that Congress recognize the peril of the continuing inflationary pressures and make at least a start on a program aimed at bringing the budget into balance sometime within the foreseeable future.

To achieve that goal he will need solid support from a majority of the American public. If businessmen in general, and industry leaders in particular, can be persuaded to use their influence in their own communities, they can promote the broader understanding of the problem that is needed to encourage Congress to take remedial action.

With this in mind, the President took advantage of the visit of the business magazine editors to deliver a 15-minute extemporary discourse, in down-to-earth Eisenhower language, about his convictions on this subject.

We decided that the only way to present an adequate report of what the President had to say was to bring our readers the complete text of this discussion. It appears in this issue.

We feel sure that most of our readers will agree with the President's basic objectives. Even those who may disagree on one aspect or another will concede that he has reduced a complicated subject to its simplest terms and made a persuasive case for his position on this issue.

[From Bakers Weekly, June 15, 1959] BALANCING BUDGETS AND DIETS

At the annual convention of the American Medical Association in Atlantic City this past midweek, President Eisenhower had much to say that was of special interest to his doctor audience, but took advantage of the occasion to reiterate the message he had given the business magazine editors a few days before. At one point, he drew a parallel between eating and spending habits, with a plea for common sense. Here it is:

"The relationship between the balanced diet and the balanced budget is easily understood. Neither is an end in itself. There are some useless items of food all of us crave and often eat, no matter how unwisely, just as there are always products and services for which we, the Federal Government, thoughtlessly spend, often to our own detriment."

To which, once again, we can only say "Amen,"

# Retention of Passenger Train Service in the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON, RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, because many Members of the Senate are vitally interested in the retention of railroad passenger service in the United States, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Roseburg (Oreg.) News-Review of June 17, 1959.

This editorial, written by Charles V. Stanton, editor of the Roseburg News-Review, draws the contrast between the progressive passenger policies of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad and the defeatist program under which the Southern Pacific system is trying gradually to withdraw from passenger operations.

I commend the editorial by Mr. Stanton to all of those who desire to see the passenger train survive in this country and not fade into limbo.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MEETING COMPETITION (By Charles V. Stanton)

The morning's mail frequently brings materials from railroad lines seeking to preserve and rebuild passenger travel.

The Baltimore & Ohio offers a typical

example. The B. & O. has improved equipment and service, provides better schedules, is using air-conditioned trains, self-propelled diesel cars, observation coaches, private sleeping accommodations, and, at the same time, has made a big cut in fares.

In other words, the B. & O. is competing

for patronage.

In direct contrast is the policy of the friendly Southern Pacific Co. which is drastically reducing its passenger service and, in my opinion, is seeking to discontinue passenger trains entirely as quickly as it can conveniently do so.

Criticism has been directed at me be-

cause I insist the friendly Southern Pacific should furnish passenger service. I was told, for example, that in this area we have a great deal of freight and that running passenger trains on a line where freight is being carried forces freight cars, producing reve nue, onto sidetracks to permit passage of

unprofitable passenger trains.

DIFFERENT SPIRIT NEEDED

Personally I can't see how passenger trains would provide much interference for the one and only freight train we get out of here each 24 hours.

The friendly Southern Pacific puts a great deal of emphasis on the fact that it loses money on its passenger trains; that they provide a totally unprofitable operation; that freight rates could be reduced if the railroad line didn't need money to sup-

port unused passenger trains.

Some of my critics have insisted that I am impractical and unfeeling to want the railroad company to perform an unprofitable

Anyone, I am sure, will agree that the friendly Southern Pacific can't make passenger trains pay so long as it tries to discourage use of the trains.

For example, I saw a letter in another newspaper not long ago from a railroad pas-senger who asked: "Why are the railroads setting up schedules which are next to impossible for the commuter and which any schoolboy could predict in advance would be

A friend of mine who lives in another city says he called up a certain railroad line to get a seat on a passenger train. He was told by the ticket agent, he says, that all accommodations were taken. But, hoping to get the train, he went to the depot on the lone chance that someone would cancel out. He found just six passengers on the train he had been told was sold out.

#### PASSENGER COMPETITION

Obviously it is true that railroads today have far more competition than in years past. Where the railroads once furnished the only method for long distance inland transportation, we have private automobiles, buses, and airplanes in direct competition. These methods of transportation have cut deeply into railroad passenger travel.

But how deeply would they cut had railroads attempted to give up-to-date service and schedules. Let's don't forget, too, that we have more people and more leisure time

and more travel.

If railroads had speedy, comfortable coaches, stewardess service, adequate schedules and connections, drive-yourself automobiles at reasonable rates at terminals, and other conveniences, would they attract enough passengers to permit profitable op-eration? Some railroad lines seem to think They're going after the business.

But the friendly Southern Pacific takes a defeatist attitude. It maintains a service that has had little improvement since the Spanish-American War, schedules that don't meet, upstairs ticket offices with propaganda and advertising for the airlines, and discouraging information to prospective passen-It is quite evident that it wants to kill off passenger trains rather than enter into the competitive field.

#### Nomination of Admiral Strauss

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, the Senate action taken last Thursday on the nomination of Adm. Lewis L. Strauss has not, as might be guessed, gone unnoticed by the press. Unfortunately, some editorial writers have chosen to wave a lazy finger and cry "politics." In few cases was there an effort to judge the vote for what it was: the attempt of individual Senators to weigh a very worthy tradition—almost unfailing Senate confirmation of Cabinet level officers-against the poor case made by one such nominee during 6 long months of testimony.

The news column by James Reston in the June 21 edition of the New York Times was a refreshing exception. In sensitive, thoughtful fashion, Mr. Reston describes the levels of the controversy which other observers have overlooked. I was also pleased to see the editorial which appeared in the Bergen Evening Record, Hackensack, N.J., on June 20.

Instead of angry words, the Record of fered calm appraisal.

The Christian Science Monitor's editorial of June 20 also provided some perspective on the issues involved in the Senate vote. Walter Lippmann's column from today's issue of the Washington Post is another significant analysis.

Mr. President, there can be no unanim ity of opinion on a question as contro versial as the one decided here last Friday, but I believe that the question is one worth very deep consideration by those who present facts or interpretations to the citizens of this Nation. For that reason, I am particularly pleased to offe these for the great interest they hold. I ask unanimous consent to have thes four articles printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

[From the New York Times, June 21, 1959] THE VETO POWER THAT CAN WORK BOTH WAY

(By James Reston)

Washington, June 20 .- All the reporters and instant analysts who tried to explain this week why the Senate refused to confirm Lewis L. Strauss as Secretary of Commercial had a rough time of it, and no wonder.

They were dealing, under the tyranny of a deadline, with the mystery of life, with the savage passions of Washington politics and the irreconcilable conflict of personal con-

science and personal ambition.

The great human stories of Washington are beyond the scope of daily journalism. Lewis Strauss, with his rigid concepts of personal and family conduct, his missionary zeal, his unyielding loyalties to the old Commonwealth of Virginia, to the President, to the Republican party and to his religious crusade against the Communists, is the proper subject, not of a newspaper column but of a psychological novel.

It is easy to explain President Eisenhower's sense of outrage at Admiral Strauss' defeat It is easy to explain the negative votes of men who fought and opposed the admiral in the great power struggles over the budget, power policy, internal security policy and nuclear testing policy.

What is more interesting and harder to define is the feeling of sensitive and moderate men, such as Senator MIKE MONEONEY of Oklahoma, who turned against him in the end, or Senator J. Fulbright who was so torn by his own divided feelings that he left the Senate chamber late Friday evening before the vote and spent a sleepless night at home.

PROPHETS AND HISTORIANS

Rather than probing into the maze of conflicting theories about the personal motives of the Secretary of Commerce and his opponents, it would probably be wiser to leave the admiral to the prophets and the historians.

Who is to say, even now, where the truth lies in the complicated lives of other Wash ing figures who have wielded great power and then vanished in glory or defeat?

John Foster Dulles was virtually canonized at the end. Dean Gooderham Acheson was vilified. Senator Walter George was re-warded for a lifetime of service by being rushed off the stage by HERMAN TALMADGS Another former chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Tom Connally, has joined the company of ghosts in Washington who cannot retain power and who cannot go home. The first Secretary of Defense, James Forrestal, took his own life, and so did Senator Bob La Follette after he was defeated by Joe McCarthy.

Politics in Washington is a kind of war. It has its own heroes and villains and scapeloats. It is played hard for large stakes and few who play it to the hilt escape the yranny of the counterattack. It has its basualties, like all wars, and Admiral Strauss has now been added to the list.

If he had fought it in another way, he night have avoided his spectacular defeat, but even when allowances are made on both ildes for all the personal feuds, the chances are that he would have lost.

#### THE DIVISION OF POWER

For this is not a normal situation in which he President can rely on the normal asumption that the Senate will confirm anybody he appoints. The Government of the Inited States is a divided Government. Three times in the last 6 years the electorate las given control of the legisature to the Democrats.

In this situation, each party has a veto over some actions of the other. Nevertheess, the President, with the full knowledge that many influential Democrats in the Sentle had no confidence in Admiral Strauss, brought him back from retirement, and taked for his confirmation.

This was done, moreover, while the President was exercising his veto over the legistature, and threatening to use it whenever he disagreed with the judgment of the Democratic majority. It was done, too, at the beginning of a fierce battle for Presidential succession, when the majority leader of the Senate, Lyndon Johnson, was being condemned by the Republicans for presiding over a "won't do" Congress.

Lewis Strauss was thus the victim of many factors. Johnson could have saved him in the end, but he chose to demonstrate that in a divided Government the veto power works both ways.

|From the Bergen Evening Record, June 20,

#### THE VERDICT ON MR. STRAUSS

The Senate's rejection of Lewis L. Strauss as Secretary of Commerce is the first such rejection of a Presidential Cabinet nomination since 1925. It is only the eighth in U.S. history. As to the 49-46 vote against confirmation, this is irrelevant.

Mr. Strauss was rejected on the basis of a number of facts and allegations, including his being an Old Guard Republican, Napoleonic in character, deceitful in congressional dealings. On the more involved questions—his private-power advocacy in the Dixon-Yates mess and his impelling the Security-risk exile of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer—he created stubborn hostilities and stubborn questions as to philosophy.

The denial of Mr. Eisenhower's nomination was almost entirely on the strength of the Senate's Democratic majority. Forty-seven of the 49 voting not to confirm are Democrats. This majority has not, as a unit, been disposed to oppose the President or to test his strength in this kind of public contest. There is little reason to believe the administration has been more than incidentally rebuffed. Mr. Strauss has been found wanting by a jury largely competent and not emi-nently unfair. If the question of his ad-ministrative ability has not been seriously disputed, the patterns of thought and attitude which accompany that ability have been raised to a point sufficiently serious to make the Senate action not indefensible in the trial by history for which Mr. Strauss has appealed.

[From the Christian Science Monitor, June 20, 1959]

#### STRAUSS REJECTED

Senate refusal to ratify the nomination of Lewis Strauss to be Secretary of Commerce looms large in terms of personal and political drama. But it is not likely to alter greatly the course of history. For few of its causes hinged on long-range national issues.

This rare rejection of a President's choice for a post in his Cabinet had its partisan aspects. No doubt many Democrats' welcomed an opportunity to rebuff Mr. Eisenhower. They have recently been frustrated both by his veto power and by gains in the economic situation which give support to his, rather than their, planning. The vote was largely along party lines.

Some votes may have gone against Admiral Strauss because of his secrecy policies while Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission. Some doubtless for his position in the Oppenheimer and Dixon-Yates controversies. But these AEC actions hardly disqualified Mr. Strauss for the Commerce post. They probably were not decisive in causing the Senate to go so far as to deny the President the right to choose his own Cabinet.

There is reason to believe rather that the nomination falled because a number of Senators were convinced by Mr. Strauss himself that Congress could not depend on him to cooperate with it or to give it reliable information. Floor debate and the minority report of committee hearings indicate that his own explanations of his conduct defeated him.

Patriotic and reasonable Senators were lined up on both sides of this controversy. It is possible to be grateful for the able and devoted services of Admiral Strauss and still recognize good motives among his opponents.

[From the Washington Post, June 23, 1959]

# THE STRAUSS AFFAIR (By Walter Lippmann)

Admiral Strauss has suffered through a painful ordeal which need never and should never have happened. The whole wretched business arose from the fact that the President's political advisers at the White House failed to take account of the political situation in Congress.

Admiral Strauss's 5-year term as Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission expired on June 30, 1958. As this date was approaching the question of reappointing him to another term was much debated in Washington—at the White House, in Congress, in the press. The most careful soundings were taken. The President did not reappoint Admiral Strauss, and the reason was well known at the time. The admiral had made so many enemies in Congress that it was doubtful whether he could be confirmed by the Senate. It was certain, moreover, that, if confirmed, he and the Atomic Energy Commission would be in continual trouble.

After June 30, 1958, the President assigned Admiral Strauss to various posts having to do with atomic energy, all of them posts which did not require confirmation by the Senate. But in the early autumn, following the resignation of Mr. Sinciair Weeks, the President appointed Admiral Strauss as Secretary of Commerce. The date of the appointment is significant. It was October 24, about a fortnight before the congressional elections in which the Democrats won a huge majority in the Senate.

There is no reason to think that the White House took the trouble to find out what the majority leadership, which was Democratic, would do about the appointment. This was a grave error. The White House was on notice since the affair of the chairmanship of the Atomic Energy Commission that Admiral Strauss was a highly controversial figure in Congress. With a congressional election pending, the White House should at the very least have held up the appointment to the Department of Commerce until after the elections were over.

For only then would it have been possible to obtain the "advice," as the Constitution says, of the Democratic leaders as to whether the majority would "consent" to the appointment.

The failure to take this elementary precaution, which was required both by commonsense and by courtesy, precipitated the horrid struggle which ended last week. Had the White House sought the advice of the Senate before making the controversial appointment, the President might well have received assurances that Admiral would be confirmed. Or if the White House had found again, as it had found a few months earlier in regard to his appointment as Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, that he would be fiercely attacked and perhaps defeated, the appointment should never have been made. As it has turned out. it would have been better for all concerned. including Admiral Strauss, if he had not been appointed.

What is the explanation of the failure of the White House to seek the advice of the Senate leaders before seeking their consent? The main explanation, I would guess, is that in October with a hot election campaign in progress, with Gov. Sherman Adams no longer at his post, the whole matter was fumbled. Later on, when opposition began to appear, the White House reassured itself wishfully with the thought that it is not right to oppose an appointment to the President's Cabinet.

This theory is a feeble one. It is true that the Senate has only eight times rejected a nomination for the Cablnet. But the Senate has very often—I do not know how often—been sharply divided about confirming a nominee for the Cablnet, and nothing was ever said before that the minority who voted against were somehow violating the spirit of the Constitution.

As a matter of fact, Roosevelt's nominee for Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Harry Hopkins, was opposed by Senator Vandenberg, and Roosevelt's nomination of Henry Wallace was bitterly opposed by Senator Taft. In both cases, the opposition voted against the nominee, not because he was accused and convicted of any wrongdoing, but because the opposition disagreed with his political philosophy.

philosophy.

That is the reason why Admiral Strauss was rejected. There were strong personal objections to him on the part of many. But the fight would never have been waged so persistently against him had it not been that there is between him and a majority in the Senate a deep ideological difference.

The other day, at his press conference on June 3, the President was drawn into making some remarks, quite unrelated to the Strauss affair, about the problems of a government, like the present one, which is divided between the two parties. Mr. Eisenhower said that he and Mr. Dulles had often talked about whether it would be better to have a parliamentary system in which the government stays in power only when it has the confidence of a majority of the legislature.

They had decided, he went on to say, "to stick with what we have." For my own part, I think they were right. For a parliamentary system, attractive as it is when it works well, would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to operate in a Federal union on a continental scale. But this does not mean that we should not under our system do what we can to see to it that the executive branch has the confidence of the legislative. This is most particularly necessary when the government is divided between the parties.

Thus, if the Eisenhower administration is to get along well, the President needs a Cabinet which can count on the support of a congressional majority. This would never have been true of Admiral Strauss.

#### The Development Loan Fund

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record two editorials from the Christian Science Monitor and the Minneapolis Star and Tribune commenting on the action recently taken by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to place the Development Loan Fund on a long-term basis. Each of these editorials demonstrates the need for Congress to take such action this year.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the Recons, as follows:

[From the Christian Science Monitor, June 16, 1959]

#### RESCUE OF A WHIPPING BOY

We are pleased to see Senator Fulbright's 5-year, \$5 billion plan for foreign development loans get off to a good start. It will need all the momentum it can muster. At best its passage through Congress will be difficult. And at the end of the congressional gantlet stands the President, who twice recently has reluctantly disowned this legislation he himself did so much to generate.

To be sure, the bill has moved forward only slightly in being approved by an 11-to-4 vote of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. But its sendoff by a strong bipartisan majority was impressive. The big test lies ahead in the House.

If the bill survives this ordeal, we hope Mr. Eisenhower will reconsider his opposition and not use his veto power. In 1957 the President called for a substantial 3-year program for the Development Loan Fund. In 1958 his administration asked for a 5-year, \$5 billion program; exactly what the Fulbright bill now seeks.

Mr. Eisenhower's reluctant about-face reportedly was caused by a triumph of the arguments of his Treasury Secretary over those of his State Department. While it is true that the bill would tap Treasury revenues by up to \$1 billion a year, this need not unbalance future budgets if other spending is kept down. Mr. Fulsmight's measure merely gives the loan fund a priority for being instrumental to national survival, thus rescuing it from its present exposed position as Congress budget season whipping boy. We feel the President should be glad to let some other less vital expenditures take a turn in that position.

[From the Minneapolis Star and Tribune, June 12, 1959]

#### A WAY TO CLOSE THE GAP

Many prominent Americans have called attention in recent weeks to the importance of narrowing instead of widening the gap between the have and have-not nations of the world.

Adlai Stevenson, Fugene Black of the World Bank, Representative Chester Bowles, and other leaders have emphasized the importance of solving the problem of poverty in the underdeveloped areas of the world.

As a result, there is more than the usual interest this year in the additional money being sought from Congress for the Development Loan Fund. This is an agency that

makes long-term, low-interest loans to spur economic growth and thus serves as a tool to improve living standards.

At the moment, the chances appear to be good that the Fund will get at least the \$700 million sought by the Eisenhower administration. Whether the authorization will be on a long-term basis or for only 1 year is another question, however.

The administration has taken a curious tack on the Development Loan Fund. Three years ago it wanted a 3-year authorization. Now it wants only a single year's approval. The President has admitted that he now is against the long-term authorization because it conflicts with his new fiscal policy.

So far this year the House has voted an \$800 million addition to the Loan Fund, while the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has recommended that the Fund be authorized to loan up to \$1 billion a year for a 5-year period.

It is doubtful, according to Chairman Ful-BRIGHT of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, that the House will approve the Senate committee's recommendation even if the Senate does. But the fact that the House went beyond the administration's request in money and the Senate committee went beyond the administration's request for authorizing legislation seems to indicate that the Fund should not suffer in any compromise which will come out of Congress.

The Fund certainly can plan better if it knows that it is going to have a certain amount of resources over a given period of time. And it can provide more aid for underdeveloped countries—and thus help close the gap—if it has more money to loan. So we hope Congress will take the broad view on both counts in approving compromise legislation.

#### Where Do We Go From Here?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. GEORGE H. FALLON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the recent weekly newsletter by Senator John Marshall Butler, "Where Do We Go From Here?" I am doing this at the request of Mr. George D. O'Neill, with whom my friendship extends over a long period of time:

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

(A weekly newsletter by Senator John Mar-SHALL BUTLER)

Washington, June 15, 1959.—In the present state of world conditions, this question is frequently asked. It is, of course, difficult to answer. The solution will require the wisdom, forthrightness and vision of our national leaders and the unflinching support of our people. Courageous decisions will be meaningless unless all Americans are prepared to meet the challenge. The United States and its allies must not be timid in telling the Soviets that the free world will resist without hesitation all further Communist aggression in any area of the globe.

Former President Hoover phrased the challenge of these critical times in this manner only recently: "The time has come for a determined stand \* \* \* against creeping Communist conquest." In his view, a lack of firmness on the part of the Western World has accounted for many of today's problems and frustrations.

Under conditions of equality with respect to nuclear weapons, a total war would cause devastating damage to the United States as well as to the Soviet Union. The Russians realize this, and it is doubtful that they would do anything which would lead them down the road to destruction. So long as our military strength—our retaliatory and deterrent capabilities—are effectively maintained, general war is only a remote possibility. But, it can be expected that the Communists will continue to stir up affairs in as many places as they can at one time.

U.N. General Assembly President Malik tells us that communism now controls one-third of all mankind and that it has penetrated the remaining two-thirds to a varying degree. Within our own borders, according to FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, American Communists have started a new drive to infiltrate some of our basic industries. The prime objectives of the Kremlin to communize the entire world and to destroy the values of freedom are obviously unchanged.

And so, wisdom, forthrightness and vision are needed domestically as well as internationally. If the United States and the Western World fall, all is lost. Our allies must substitute deeds for words—they must stick with us in resisting the Communist onslaught. If foreign aid is to be a permanent instrument for the conduct of international diplomacy, these funds should be dispensed to those countries who unhestitatingly and vigorously stand with us.

In this vital effort, all Americans can help by exposing the menace which would consume us for what it really is, and by awakening those who feel that it is no longer necessary to defend, with courage and conviction, freedom and liberty.

#### The Connecticut Jewish Ledger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, the Connecticut Jewish Ledger was founded in 1929 as the Springfield, Mass., Jewish Ledger, covering western Massachusetts and the Greater Hartford area. Despite hardships of the depression years, it expanded to Bridgeport and New Haven.

The Ledger survived the flood of 1936 in Hartford, when it was printed in Holyoke, Mass. The final trip of papers was made in rowboats to the offices on State Street in Hartford. During the 1938 hurricane, the paper was published by candlelight.

With the rise of nazism, the Ledger assumed new importance, filling a vital need to inform Connecticut Jewry of the new dangers and problems abroad. Wartime presented the problems of a big drop in advertising and a shortage of newsprint. But the Hartford Jewish Ledger overcame this hurdle, too.

Publisher Samuel Neusner, who founded the paper, suffered a heart attack in October 1945 but remained active. He is now inactive due to illness. He used the Ledger as an instrument of Zionism in the fight for an independent Jewish

state in Palestine. He obtained support from newspapers in the Connecticut Valley in this battle.

In the first issue of the Ledger, Mr. Neusner said it was founded to give Conhecticut Jewry local means of recording its life and voicing its need, and to make known the interests and institutions of the Jewish communities in the region. The paper also was designed to mirror the movements in Jewry, the religion, the thought, the literature of the Jewish people, Palestine and its romance, the Diaspora and its needs.

Today, as a recipient of the first award of excellence of the American Association of Anglo-Jewish newspapers—now the American Jewish Press Association—the Ledger, as one of the English-language Jewish weekly papers in Connecticut, strives to cover local, State, national, and international events of interest to citizens of the Jewish faith in Connecticut.

While certainly not the spokesman for Connecticut Jewry, the Ledger often is the voice of its aspirations.

The editorials of Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman, editor since the paper's founding, have been widely acclaimed.

The present managing editor is Berthold Gaster.

#### Red Menace in the Americas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, the rising wave of communism in the Americas was described in an editorial in the June 5, 1959, issue of the Star and Herald, of Panama, Republic of Panama, the well-known and well-posted Isthmian newsbaper. The editorial follows:

#### RED MENACE IN THE AMERICAS

Political unrest appears to have broken out in more than one of our Latin American hations. It is reportedly, and we might also say factually, growing under the support, factual or strongly suspected, of Communist influences in many of our free American hations, possibly in all.

There are few nations around the world that do not have their Communst parties. Perhaps the Red aim is currently the sabolage of our Americas.

Russia is spending millions in all of our free Americas. She has taken a critical time for this drive. She is using craftily trained agents, well-educated men, yes, and women too, all well supplied with cash to be used in areas which are feeling the economic aqueeze in soaring food costs, unemployment, kindred tile.

Our lead story Thursday, reporting rioting in Guayaquil, Ecuador, notes that martial law has been enforced. Civilians are reportedly fighting the police, with the list of dead set at over 20, and casualities surpassing the hundred mark.

Ecuador's president is reported as blaming the Reds. Our Guayaquil dispatch yesterday from the Associated Press reported nightlong rioting as civilians battled in the streets with army forces. Tanks and armored cars were patrolling the streets.

These are not isolated fires. They are part of a godless movement on the part of Soviet Russia to communize the world. The Kremlin is out to dominate the free world and doesn't give a hoot for the human suffering which must result.

It is time for our free world as we know it to get wise to the situation. Communism is a menace to our free way of life. The Reds grow daily more belligerent. It is time for us of the free world nations to stand up and be counted. Time is truly running out.

#### National Honors for Liberty Tree Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. BURR P. HARRISON

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. Speaker, on May 5, you took time from your heavy schedule of official duties to receive a liberty tree from the Junior Chamber of Commerce of Strasburg, Va. Similar pine seedlings were presented as patriotic reminders to the other Members of this House, many of whom acknowledged them in letters to the Strasburg Jaycees praising the undertaking.

These little trees, planted in soil from Valley Forge, Bunker Hill, the Alamo, Jamestown, Yorktown, and Virginia's historic Shenandoah Valley, also were left at the White House for the President, and at the offices of other high officials of the executive branch, and were presented to the Members of the other body.

Because of the generous encouragement the Strasburg Jaycees received during their distribution of liberty trees at the Capitol, I believe the House will share my pleasure at learning that this project won top honors at the Jaycees national convention, held last week in Buffalo, N.Y.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, Mr. Speaker, I include the pertinent portion of a press release announcing this national recognition of a patriotic effort planned and carried out by the energetic and public-spirited young men who compose the Strasburg Jaycees:

#### U.S. JAYCEE CONVENTION

As the U.S. Jaycee convention came to a dramatic close Friday, June 19, after a whirlwind week in Buffalo, N.Y., delegates were still shaking their heads in amazement at the sweep of national project awards by one of the smallest chapters in the Nation. Strasburg, Va., with 30 active and 12 associate members, halling from the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, walked off with 4 first place awards, including a national sweepstakes winner in "Public Affairs" and the coveted "Grand Project of the Year" given annually for the most outstanding Jaycee project conducted in the United States.

Jaycee observers were hard pressed to recall when a chapter had made a similar sweep, and all agreed it had never been done by such a small chapter. Having taken its population division first place award in two

different fields, tiny Strasburg went into the national sweepstakes in the "Public Affairs" category against first place winners from four other communities and took the national. Then in the judging in the all inclusive "Project of the Year" finals which pitted together five first place winners who had themselves been selected from thousands of projects Strasburg captured the No. 1 project award in the Nation.

The top award winner is a program called Liberty Trees, and Jack March, project chairman, who was on hand to receive the awards for the chapter, explained that Liberty Trees were small white pine seedlings planted in red, white, and blue pots, containing soil from historic spots; the Shenandoah Valley, Jamestown, Yorktown, Bunker Hill, Valley Forge, and the Alamo.

It is designed, the chairman added, as a countermeasure to the Communist celebration of May Day and is a program to "Encourage Americans To Learn About America." Besides being sold locally, where proceeds went into a scholarship fund, every Senator and Congressman was presented with a Liberty Tree as well as other high officials including President Eisenhower, Secretary Herter, FBI Director Hoover, and Governor Almond of Virginia,

#### Democrats Versus Democrats

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. JOHN H. RAY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. RAY. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial clipped from today's June 23 issue of the New York Daily News is interesting as an analysis of some political thinking and planning in the Congress. I submit it without comment.

DEMOCRATS VERSUS DEMOCRATS

The Democratic leadership in Congress is coming in for some interesting attacks from a number of its friends.

Two left-slanted outfits—Americans for Democratic Action, and the National Committee for an Effective Congress—are putting the curse on Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, Democrat of Texas, and his congressional pals for surrendering to the Republicans.

Especially, say ADA and NCEC, have these lawmakers knuckled under to the GOP on the Government spending issue (which NCEC calls irrelevant), whereas Johnson & Co. ought to battle for the old New-Fair Deal policy of flinging the billions to the breezes.

We believe another Democrat—Senator Harry F. Byrd of Virginia—is much more in tune with current public opinion when he says our colossal national debt plays right into Khrushchev's hands.

BYRD'S contention is backed up indirectly by Senator Homer Capellar, Republican of Indiana, who says our next war will have to be financed on a pay-as-you-go basis, "because we simply could not afford any greater national debt."

If you ask us, Johnson & Co. are merely being smart politicians in trying to grab the "party of economy" label from the Republicans and ignoring the ADA and NCEC. These groups apparently cannot see the public-opinion pendulum swinging away from spend-and-spend and toward save-

Welfare in a World Perspective: A New Look at Race Relations

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, the speech which follows is one of the finest speeches I have ever seen. No doubt it will annoy many people because it does not oversimplify the terribly difficult problem of race relations. But the thoughts it contains and the approach it takes deserve the prayerful consideration of every man of good will in the United States. In my opinion through this speech our able colleague from Connecticut, the Honorable CHESTER BOWLES. has performed still another great service to the Nation.

WELFARE IN A WORLD PERSPECTIVE: A NEW LOOK AT RACE RELATIONS

(Remarks by the Honorable CHESTER BOWLES at the Annual Health, Welfare, and Rec-reation Conference of the Health and Welfare Council, Hotel Statler, Washington, D.C., Friday, May 22, 1959)

Mr. Morgan, Mr. Tribble, Mr. Aiello, delegates to the annual Health, Welfare, and Recreation Conference, no invitation I have had since I returned to Washington in January has been more welcome or challenging than this opportunity to speak to you today.

Those of us who temporarily occupy one position or another in public life-particularly those of us who call ourselves legislators-often come to think in legal, statistical, overgeneralized terms.

It is refreshing to be once more in the midst of people representing nearly 200 agencies who are spending their time and talents day after day in helping to solve the practical problems of the 2 million people who live in our National Capital area.

With considerable hesitation, I have decided to take this occasion to discuss our most critical and embittering social problem-race relations.

This week is a particularly good time to take stock. Five years ago last Sunday our Supreme Court ruled that color alone could no longer bar any child from a public school.

It was a momentous occasion and we all felt it. Those who had long favored desegregation thought the struggle had been won. And most of those who opposed it assumed that the only question left unanswered was the timing and the technique. The fact itself was accepted by the vast majority of Americans-north, east, south, and west.

Since then, more than one-fourth of the biracial school districts in the 17 southern and border States which officially practiced school segregation have been nominally desegregated, usually in a quiet and healthy manner which has escaped the headlines. In this connection the record of the District of Columbia, which so many of you helped to write, has been historic.

But these 5 years also have been scarred with smoldering resentments, defiance of court orders, and outbreaks of violence.

These expressions of racial conflict have not been limited to our Southern States. Nor are they symbolized merely by a deserted school in Little Rock.

On the contrary, the attempted bombing of an integrated high school in Hobbs, N. Mex., a white mob stoning a Negro home in Levitttown, Pa., an outburst of racial gang war in Chicago-these are signs to give pause to all the participants in America's racial conflict.

In 1954 the Nation as a whole underestimated the significance and meaning of the Supreme Court's decision. Since then we have tragically missed opportunities for constructive action.

After several years of optimism and com-placency it is now clear that integration is a bigger, more stubborn, more universal, and more important problem than many of us imagined. We know now that racial differences and discrimination go deeper than Su-preme Court decisions, not to mention paratroopers, can reach.

All of us, North and South, Negro and white, need to think anew.

Where and how do we go from here?

For we must go on in fulfilling the promises of the Constitution and of our national conscience. We can pause for reappraisal, but we cannot stop or go back.

The problem is full of agony and, as in most great issues, no one side has a monopoly of truth. Each has its points which must be considered with both humility and tolerance. All of us need to be awakened from our dogmatism and from our cliches.

My remarks today will undoubtedly dis-appoint those who have taken extreme positions in this controversy. Yet my approach inevitably reflects my personal experienceas a longtime friend of the South, as a former Governor of a northern industrial State, as a former Administrator of a large Federal agency in the turmoil of wartime Washington, and as U.S. Ambassador to India, where I saw our difficulties as the dark-skinned two-thirds of the world see

I offer my views not as solutions, but as guidelines to the kind of national discussion which I think is long overdue.

1. We must recognize the problem of discrimination as a national, not a sectional

Half of all American Negroes now live in the North. There is now no northern city without its tensions and its shame.

Yet many northerners still smugly look at racial discrimination as a sectional problem. Thus they condemn what they consider to be the slow place of integration in the South. while remaining indifferent or nearly so to the discrimination all around them.

There are 39 States outside the South. Only 19 have established Fair Employment Practices Commissions. In the other non-Southern States, there has been no legislative action on employment discrimination at all.

Since 1949, when we in Connecticut first authorized our State Commission on Civil Rights to prevent discrimination in publicly owned housing, there has been some progress elsewhere. Yet today only nine States outside the South have adopted antidiscrimination legislation affecting publicly assisted housing. In 30 other non-Southern States, no official action to end housing discrimination has occurred.

The great northern and western industrial cities are all drawing Negroes out of the South, and are all faced with the demoralization of city slum life that goes beyond race.

There are five times as many Negroes in Chicago as in Birmingham, four times as many in Detroit as in New Orleans, six times as many in Los Angeles as in Miami.

In most northern cities the professed equal protection of the laws still hides extensive segregation in fact—by residential exclusion, and by the natural selection of poverty. In view of our major northern cities do more than 20 percent of the Negro students attend school with white children.

To be sure, some cities such as New Haven. Pittsburgh, and Washington are now taking far-reaching steps to rebuild themselves, including the slum clearance and human rehabilitation essential to the solution of racial

Yet almost any northern community that honestly examines its own racial relations will realize how far it is from living up to its professed ideals. And once we see what is missing in our own cities and States, we will be less inclined to feel that it is enough to denounce the foolhardy actions of white extremists south of the Mason-Dixon line.

Nothing too will speak more persuasively to the South than a better example among the too-ready critics farther North.

2. The Constitution as interpreted by the Supreme Court will ultimately prevail.

The Constitution, after all, is color-blind-The 14th amendment does require the end of racial discrimination in all parts of our public life. The universal declaration of human rights, endorsed overwhelmingly by the people of the world, affirms this as one of the first principles of world order.

Moreover, our Constitution will be enforced. The Supreme Court has ordered desegregation with all deliberate speed.

Negro litigants will see that this is com

plied with—and the new Negro arising in the South and elsewhere, will supply all the litigants necessary, no matter what pressures are organized to stop him.

There can be no question but that in parts of the South, school desegregation will continue for some time to be massive ly resisted. The courts, the Department of Justice, and the President have no choice but to enforce the Constitution, gradually. case by case, step by step.

The courts and the country obviously will accept very gradual steps in good faith compliance. But regardless of what party is in power, the observance of the law ultimately will prevail.

The great hope, however, is not for a reluctant and grudging acceptance of the in-Rather, the hope evitable force of the law. is that recognition of historical necessity will encourage an increasing effort to bring the various elements in each community

into harmony.

3. We must supplement litigation with persuasion.

Of course the law itself is a powerful teacher. The end of segregation in the Armed Forces, in the Nation's Capital, and on interstate trains did more to convince many skeptics that integration in these areas made sense than any amount of talk could have done.

There appears to be a temptation, how ever, to rest on the oars of lawyers and judges and say that this is all now a matter of law and order.

The President seemed to say precisely this when he stressed that he has told no onenot even his wife, whether he thinks the Supreme Court desegregation decision was right or wrong.

But Court orders alone will not suffice to change the minds and hearts of people Somehow those who seek to end racial prejudice must go deeper than statutes and Court decisions.

If this were merely a legal issue between those who believe in upholding the law and those who seek to circumvent it, then there would have been no issue until the Supreme Court acted in 1954. But this turns the problem upside down.

The Court acted because the constitut tional guarantee of equality involves the deepest political principles of this Nation and because there was a moral issue pre-sented which went to the heart of our Bill of Rights and our Christian civiliza-

The law does not get its sanction merely because it is the law. It wins support because it embodies the moral purpose of so-

The task of our political leaders, and of all who want to establish equal rights is not only that of invoking and carrying out court decisions but also of convincing people that they are right.

That is why the proposal for an independ-th Federal agency like the "Community Relations Service" advocated by the Senate majority leader, Senator Lynpon Johnson, could be so important. Conciliation, provided it is consistent with the guarantees of the Constitution, is precisely what is needed to

help the law.

As Senator Johnson himself has said: Controversies involving civil rights have eached a point where they can be paralyzing b whole communities. But they are contoversies which can be settled if the yawning chasm between people can be bridged
to the channels of communication among our people."

4. The new generation, white and Negro, must rise above the deep-seated prejudices

of their elders.

The spectacle of Negro children in Little Bock, Clinton, Sturgis, Nashville, and the Integrating cities of North Carolina walking Quietly to and from school through jeering angry mobs shocked most Americans, as it did people around the world.

When one remembers the fears of childhood—of changing to a new school, even when everyone is friendly and of the same race-one can imagine how these lonely Ne-Sto children felt in the midst of unfriendly

White crowds.

Yet is not the old prophecy coming alive Are not the children leading us now? In almost every city and town in the South where school integration has begun, the children are making out all right together. "If the grownups would just leave us alone, there would be no trouble," said a white student in Little Rock.

5. White and Negro moderates both have

an historic role to play.

Many white southerners are still content to say that the problem will take a long time to solve and that the Negro must be patient. No thoughtful man expects a quick solution. But we cannot afford to forget that a lot of time has already passed.

It is now 96 years since emancipation, 183 Years since a southerner wrote the declara-

tion to which this Nation is dedicated.

That all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, and that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men—these are not just the words of Thomas defferson. They are the political creed of this country. Yet the historic timetable for establishment. tablishing these equal rights for all Americans has been gradual indeed.

The white southerner nevertheless has a case he can and should make. Generations of slavery, second-class Negro citizenship, inferior schools, houses and jobs are now blaguing us in the form of high rates of discase and crime and a low level of education in areas where Negroes predominate.

To be sure, such demoralization is also the state of much of the rural poor whites of the South and Puerto Ricans brought up

and trapped in our congested urban slums. But the Negro has been an outcast longest, has suffered most, and is now the most exreme example of a problem facing the whole

country.

This argument is indeed a good reason than simply integrate the for doing more than simply integrate the schools. It underscores the need for getting at the very conditions which produce the

demoralization in the first place.

The demoralization of the Negro does endanger southern white society, just as the demoralization of any members of a community endangers that community.

Take a county where a depressed Negro population outnumbers the white two or three or four to one. If that Negro com-munity is ill housed, ill fed, ill clad, if it is sick, ignorant, and angry, can a relatively well-off white minority be "safe" in any meaningful sense of the word?

Or take a big southern city. If half of the town is a Negro slum, breeding uneducated bitterness, juvenile crime and racial violence, what kind of community will this be for the white people who pretend to want to live there?

The new South that is now taking shape has no room for low and inhuman standards

of life for anyone.

Instead of using demoralization as an excuse for doing nothing about integration, it should cause the southern moderate to insist that a vast amount more must be done in a number of fields.

We need a far-reaching program to end the demoralization of much of the Negro community and of the poor whites as well. By championing slum clearance and measures for adequate housing and public health, the white South might then be in a position to ask the Negroes, the courts, and the rest of the country to accept a realistic pace for school integration—perhaps beginning only in the first grade and at the college and university level, with a voluntary transfer system with even segregation by sex in some areas where coeducation adds to the fears about integration.

But by holding back, southern moderates leave the field not only to the white demagogues but to future Negro demagogues.

So far Negro leadership has been on the whole remarkably intelligent and restrained and the Negro people have accepted its counsel. They have steadily offered the hand of friendship and compromise for acceptance by at least some substantial part of the white South.

A new Negro is standing up in the South and elsewhere. His expectations may not all be met. But some good and true men of the white South must meet him face to face, must sit down at roundtable conference, must talk with him and understand

Without such a minimum response, it is too much to expect that the majority of Negroes will forever stand by the moderate ministers of the Gospel and the well-trained lawyers who now speak for them.

6. I believe that the Christian Church must take the initiative in advancing a

racial reconciliation.

Let's face it: In many churches in America, a minister who goes against the prevailing sentiment of his congregation risks his job as much as the politican who alienates his constituents.

But from the beginning of the Christian era, it has been the church's duty to prevail against erroneous opinions, even at the price of martyrdom. Surely the church today should be the last citadel against the public relations approach that his infected so much of American life.

Many bishops and ministers in the South have spoken against violence and in favor of law and order. But is this enough?

There will be violence, and the law will be frustrated, unless the two sides in the racial conflict now splitting every southern community begin to communicate again with each other, to negotiate, to reason together, to find common remedies.

Is this not the time for the white and Negro ministers of every southern community to form a continuing roundtable conference dedicated to finding Christian solutions to the racial problems of their community?

For, after all, no country should be in a better position than the United States of America to solve this problem this way. Not only do we have nearly two centuries of democratic experience behind us, but the

racial groups in this country, particularly in the South, have the great good fortune and blessing to share the identical Christian faith.

It is no coincidence that it was a white minister in the South, perhaps the most fervently religious section of our country, who said of the integration crisis: "There's just one question to ask: what would Christ

In our hearts we know the final answer. We know that Christ came to demonstrate the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. We know we are our brother's keeper.

We know too that we have done those things which we ought not to have done and left undone those things we ought to have

We know that the pride of race, the fear of the strange and the different is one of man's original sins and that it has not been fully erased from man's mind anywhere.

But we also know, as Lincoln said, that the Declaration of Independence "gave liberty not alone to the people of this country, but hope to all the world. It gave promise that in due time the weights would be lifted. from the shoulders of all men, and that all should have an equal chance."

Our religious and democratic faith tells us to get on with this job like men.

7. Our capacity to deal with discrimination in America is a measure of our capacity to lead a worldwide revolution for freedom.

My own perspective on this problem has been, I confess, affected by looking at it for some time from the other side of the globe. As a former Ambassador to India, I know how spectacularly American prestige rose as a result of the Supreme Court desegregation decision.

While touring Africa 4 years ago I sensed against how vital a successful solution of our racial troubles is for our future relationship with the two-thirds of the world's

people who are colored.

In the winter of 1957 in South Asia I saw the enthusiasm generated by the successful conclusion of the Negroes' bus boycott in Montgomery, Ala. Later in the Soviet Union I saw the Communists take full propaganda advantage of the bombing of Negro churches in the same State.

Of course we can say that prejudice is as old as the hills and just as persistent. India, for instance, has known conflict and caste through centuries of struggle between Hindus and Moslems, Brahmins and untouchables.

In Algeria there is open warfare between the French minority and the Arab majority. In all of Africa the out-numbered white man feels the stirring of the slumbering African masses,

Therefore as we Americans concentrate on a new effort on our own major social problem, we can take mild comfort from the awareness that our country does not stand alone in isolation as an immoral historic throwback to a bygone age of prejudice.

Having said this, I hasten to add what is merely the other side of this coin. The world community has a vested interest in the speed and effectiveness with which we end discrimination in the United States. Our own role in the world depends increasingly upon the same proposition.

As is true in so many other aspects of our national policy today, the world situation is requiring us to do the things which we should do anyway. No one but a cynic would argue that we should suddenly become interested in equal rights for Negroes merely because our propaganda position in the world would be helped by such progress.

Nevertheless, it remains more true today than it was in 1947, when one of our distinguished former Secretaries of State, Henry L. Stimson wrote:

"No private program and no public policy, in any section of our national life can now escape from the compelling fact that if it is not framed with reference to the world, it is framed with perfect futility."

In closing, I should like to suggest that all of us, northerners and southerners, easterners and westerners, Negroes and whites can learn much from a study of that incredible man, Mahatma Gandhi,

There were always two sides to Ghandi's program. One was direct resistance to unjust laws or practices. The other was constructive popular action to create the conditions of justice.

He begun his career before the turn of the 20th century in the Union of South Africa where he went as a lawyer for some Indian

traders.

In 1893, South Africa was a land run by some million Europeans who sat on top of some 5 million Africans who had almost no rights at all. In addition, were 100,000 Indians, most of whom had been recruited as cheap labor for the white plantations and

Soon after he reached Pretoria, the young man of 24 invited all the Indians in the city to a meeting. He urged them to fight racial discrimination but without hating or hurting their opponents.

And since their aim was to reason with the whites, the first thing they should do, he said, was to consider the reasons given by the whites for their discrimination

In the Indian merchants before him. known for slick dealings and sharp bargainings, he proposed complete truthfulness and more concern for the poor. He called on all Indians to do something to improve the unsanitary conditions in the Indian sections

Why wait for legal victories for the necessary drain cleaning? he asked.

We can't blame the whites for all our troubles, he argued. Perhaps we can't by ourselves end all the poverty in which our people are trapped, but if those of us with some money and some education will join in, the slums can be cleaned up, freshened with a coat of paint and made habitable; the illiterate adults can be taught to read; volunteer schools can be provided for the children of the poor.

And he began to build the institutions to do these constructive tasks.

In 1913 he returned to India, after negotlating a settlement with Prime Minister Smuts who once jailed him but later came to say to him, "I am not worthy to stand in the shoes of so great a man." And for over 30 years in India, Ghandi pressed his constructive program of village improvement, the end of untouchability, and the reform of individual lives.

The bus boycott in Montgomery carried out with dignity and restraint represented an adaptation of Ghandhian principles in democratic America.

"We are seeking to improve not the Negro of Montgomery but the whole of Montgom-ery," said Rev. Martin Luther King on the occasion of the formation of the Montgomery Improvement Association which conducted the boycott.

Instead of merely sitting by until the Supreme Court ruled bus segregation unconstitutional, the Negroes of Montgomery in amazing unity carried out a courageous, peaceful, direct action which took the Nation by surprise.

The long-term effects of this Ghandiantype action on the white conscience may take time to register. But it had an immediate effect in changing the Negroes.

Perhaps the change is best reflected in the story of the old Negro woman who, when asked if her feet were not tired from plodding so many miles each day to work replied. "Brother, for a long time my feet have rested, but my soul's been tired. Now my feet are tired, but my soul is resting."

In this light, with good cheer, let us move ahead with all deliberate speed.

#### Father of a Deceased Veteran Speaks Out

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ORD, I include the following letter from Mr. M. E. Powell, Sr., of Folkston, Ga., in which he expresses his feelings and views regarding the shooting down by the Communists of U.S. planes while on peaceful missions. Mr. Powell lost his son in 1956 on a flight over the China Sea when his plane was shot down by Communist fire:

FOLKSTON, GA., June 18, 1959. Hon. Daniel J. Flood, Representative from Pennsylvania,

Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I hope you will pardon me for taking the liberty of writing you, as I realize you are a most busy man, and no doubt have plenty of correspondence from the constituents of your home State. But after reading the attached newspaper clipping, I wish to advise that I am wholly in accord with your statement.

On August 23, 1956, an idential type plane, operating from the same home base, Iwaukini, Japan, was shot down over the China They were not as lucky as this last one was, my son and 15 others fine young men went to a watery grave.

I wonder, and I suppose the other mothers, fathers, wives, sisters, and brothers of those sixteen men wonder also; were their loved ones also out there as sitting ducks for a trigger happy Communist to murder at his

Congressman Flood, as I stated above, I only wrote this letter to let you know that I, as well as thousands and thousands of other Americans, feel as you do about this unnecessary murder of our young men by Communists.

But why in heaven's name can't those in authority in the military see that these young men are dear to their loved ones, whether they be just enlisted men or admirals, and give them something to fight back with?

Any person in the present (shrinking) free world today, with just common sense, knows Communists cannot be trusted no where, no place, or no time. It doesn't matter whether his name be Mr. K. Mr. M. Mr. G. or what have you, the only thing you can say they have been honest about is their avowed intention of ruling the world anyway they can get there, other than that the words agreement, honor, and integrity mean nothing to these boys. They only recognize force with respect, why can't we at least show them a little of that with a promise of plenty more if necessary.

Thanking you for taking the time to read this, I am,

Most respectfully yours,

M. E. POWELL, Sr.

In Memoriam of John Foster Dulles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON, ALBERT H. BOSCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. BOSCH. Mr. Speaker, as further tribute to the life and work of our late Secretary of State, the Hop orable John Foster Dulles, and under leave to extend my remarks, I include memorium written by Heinrich von Brentano, Foreign Minister of the Fed eral Republic of Germany, which ap peared in the June 1959 issue of the German News:

IN MEMORIAM OF JOHN FOSTER DULLES (By Heinrich von Brentano, Foreign Min' ister of the Federal Republic)

The news of the passing of the forme U.S. Secretary of State and personal advise to the President, John Foster Dulles, has caused profound and genuine sorrow to millions of people throughout the world. Both his friends and his opponents will agree that a person of outstanding importance has departed from the stage of world politics. name will be linked forever with the event

ful and tragic history of our age.

While conducting his country's foreign policy, John Foster Dulles developed a style all his own. A profusion of tasks and an uncommon measure of responsibility were thrust upon him. Supported by the unqualified confidence of the U.S. President to whom he was linked in mutual sympaths and friendship, he created for himself and exceptionally strong position in the political

life of our time.

The experience he had gathered in a splen did career as attorney at law enabled him to be one of the most brilliant negotiator and mediators in his time. Filled with profound and unshakable belief in the justice of his cause as protagonist of the free world he met this man who was cool and yet fer vent, strict and yet kind, unyielding and yet understanding, earnest and yet serens was left untouched by the magnetism of his personality. personality. For John Foster Dulles no antagonism existed between politics and ethics; it was that quality which was appreciated by his friends, respected by his of ponents and feared by his enemies.

Like all great ideas, the conception accord ing to which John Foster Dulles conducted American foreign policy during the difficulty years of his tenure of office, was basically clear consistent, and clear, consistent, and convincing. In look ing back upon the lifework of this man, even those will recognize this quality who falled to understand the Secretary of State in the confusing ups and downs of daily events and reproached him with lack of ideas, with

rigidity or opportunist tactics.

When taking up his office, John Foster Dulles was at once faced with that tragic and dangerous antagonism between the Essi and the West from which all mankind suffering. Those who reproach him with having frequently emphasized and relentlessly defined that antagonism rather that bridging it over fall to make the bridging it over, fail to realize the historic significance and the ideological basis of the struggle between the free West and the totalitarian resolution talitarian, revolutionary system of bolsher

Not every question of foreign policy lead to a satisfactory answer at once, much a responsible statesmen may labor to find solution. John Foster Dulles always deal solerly and specific forms. soberly and sincerely with the political factors determining contemporary internations

relations. His instinct for what was possible, enhanced by experience, prevented him from engaging in wishful thinking such as some his critics substituted for actual facts. and yet this perspicacious statesman, this traly sympathetic man, was not without hope or confidence in the future.

In spite of all his disappointments he never Pacillated in his conviction that a worldwide easing of political tension could be accom-Pushed in peace. He knew, on the other hand, that it could only be achieved by the rediness of the free West to defend its inalienable rights with firmness. He never had any illusions about the hardship involved in such a course. But he was not prepared to surrender to difficulties; he was a statesman regalved to overcome them.

The death of John Foster Dulles has bereft the German people on either side of the line that tragically separates them, of one of their most faithful and genuine friends. leaded the legitimate interests of the German people with all his passion for justice. He regarded it as one of his chief tasks to restore to Germany the right of self-determihation. He was aware that the unnatural division of the German people was both a reflection and a consequence of world tension, which he was anxious to end in order to restore and secure world peace. This in-aight and this aspiration were the basis of his close political cooperation with the German Federal Government, and also the basis of the profound personal friendship that dereloped between him and the German head of government, Federal Chancellor Adenauer. Saye rise to that identity of action which has Proved its worth in so auspicious a manner. It will be incumbent on German policy to continue the same close cooperation with the Successor to the late Secretary of State in his high office and thus faithfully to hold in

trust the legacy of a friend.

Like all great men John Foster Dulles was an idealist in the truest sense of that term. idealism in thought and realism in action, far from being mutually exclusive, complement each other. He who denies the power of ideas can only fall back on sheer might, while he who ignores reality becomes an illu-

How strongly the thinking and acting of John Foster Dulles was determined by ideas and reality alike, he once expressed at a time of crisis as follows: "At times the free world seems to be governed more by its antagonism than by that which unites it. Its will in foreign policy always develops in full view of every one, and this encourages our opponents to sow distrust. All this is confusing that the second of the se and tiresome. At times a feeling threatens to overcome us that what we do is senseless. But we should never forget that diversity is the hallmark of freedom. It is a fact that detatorship is always weaker than one thinks and democracy always stronger than it seems to be a seem of the seems of it seems to be."

The counsel and aid of John Foster Dulles will now no longer accompany us in the worldwide political conflicts we face. But whenever doubts or discouragement threaten to overcome us, we should always remember overcome us, we should always this courage and deep power of conviction.

#### H.R. 3

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. FRANK W. BURKE

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. BURKE of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, in the consideration by the House of

H.R. 3 there is a strange admixture of intense feeling by men of good will but of fundamentally different persuasions concerning interpretation of the law.

Conflicts of law is one of the most vexatious subjects in the whole field of jurisprudence. Those who have, over the years given attention to conflicts of law have struggled with comity, the obligations imposed by the doctrine of full faith and credit and the relationship between the States and the Federal Government in those fields wherein each is competent to act.

In recent years, the Nelson case and others like it have given thoughtful lawyers pause. Certainly, the courts let stand for too long the impression that by the Nelson case the States were disarmed from protecting themselves against subversion.

If H.R. 3 sought only to make clear the power of the people to defend themselves through their governments against subversion, it would have a laudable purpose. Undoubtedly, clear-cut legislation aimed at the problem of subversion and the interpretation of laws concerning that crime would receive unanimous support in this body.

When, however, H.R. 3 aims not at subversive activities but seeks in two pages to restate the law of conflicts as devolved through 150 years of jurisprudence it leaves the field of constructive legislation and sows confusion in the fields where clarity and general understanding have characterized the law for

Every interstate carrier, every packer and processor of food, every importer and exporter of goods, will be threatened with a relitigation of legal relationships which have been accepted as the law based on scores of decisions. If there is a corn on our jurisprudential toé, let us not seek to relieve the pain by amputating the leg at the hip. If the sponsors of H.R. 3 truly seek to define the respective interests of the States and of the Federal Government in the field of subversive activities, let them, by direct and positive action propose legislation so aimed, and they will find multitudes of supporters where they now meet oppo-

Mr. Speaker, I yield to no Member of this body in my detestation of subversive activities against the Federal or States' governments but I cannot support H.R. 3 in its present form.

#### Edwardsville, Pa., Incorporated as Borough 75 Years Ago

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times Leader of Wednesday, June 17, 1959:

EDWARDSVILLE AT 75

Having attained the respectable age of 75, the Borough of Edwardsville, which was incorporated in 1884, is celebrating its diamond jubilee fittingly. In 1934, it staged an Old Home Week celebration to mark its 50th milestone. In 1984, if all goes well, it is expected to go to town on its centenary.

Although the borough itself is relatively young, as towns go, Edwardsville's history dates back to colonial days. As the years passed, Welsh, Irish, Scotch, English, Ger-mans, Jews and immigrants from countries in central and eastern Europe flocked in to populate the municipality, then known as Morgantown. At the time of its incorporation, its name was changed to Edwardsville in honor of Daniel Edwards.

Edwardsville, with a population of 6,686, according to the 1950 census, has had an interesting history. Many of its sons and daughters not only have become prominent figures in Greater Wilkes-Barre, but they are to be found today all the way to the

west coast.

Edwardsville has known moments of great joy and sorrow. As a mining center, it has made a substantial contribution to the economy of the region and today is experieconomy of the region and today is experi-encing an era of prosperity it has not known for many years, thanks to extensive build-ing operations and business expansion. Through its talented sons and daughters, its famed eisteddfods, as well as its churches and schools, it has made a considerable cultural contribution as well.

Through good times and poor, through peace and war, Edwardsville has carried on as a well-knit community, taking challenges in stride. The spirit, in which it is celebrating its 75th milestone, is an indication of its vitality and neighborliness.

On this auspicious occasion, we take the liberty, on behalf of Edwardsville's neighbors, to extend best wishes.

# The Militarist Federal Government and the Peace-Loving GDR

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. ALBERT H. BOSCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. BOSCH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an article from the June 1959 issue of the German News. The article dispells for all time the claim of the Soviets that the Republic of Western Germany is being built into a militaristic fortress intended upon attacking East Berlin and East Germany. I commend this article to your attention:

THE MILITARIST FEDERAL REPUBLIC AND THE PEACE-LOVING GDR

At Geneva and at several other occasions representatives of the Soviet Union and the Soviet zone of Germany claimed that the German Federal Republic was a "hunting ground for militarists, Fascists, and revanchists," that the government of Bonn was "preparing a military attack against Germany's Eastern neighbors" and that there-fore the Federal Republic was a "grave danger to the peace of world." At the same time it is being asserted that the so-called German Democratic Republic is a peace-loving country doing everything to combat the revival of German militarism."

The following figures show what these arguments—which are being brought forward to support the Soviet proposal for a "peace treaty"—are worth in the light of facts and figures and how double-faced Moscow's policy really is.

In the German Federal Republic the strength of the armed forces is as follows:

	Men
Army	123,000
Navy	20,000
Air Force	47,000
Territorial defense forces	12,000
Border guards	12,000
Armed police forces of the Länder (State police)	14, 000
Total	228, 000
Compared with this the figures	of the

Compared with this the figures of the Soviet zone of Germany—the so-called German Democratic Republic—are:

	Men
National People's Army	89,000
Navy	10,000
Air Force	11,000
Armed police forces	91,000
Armed militia	300,000
Union for sports and technics	
(paramilitary organization)	625,000
Total	1, 126, 000

# Anniversary of Forcible Occupation of Baltic States by Soviet Russia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. WILLIAM PROXMIRE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the American citizens of Lithuanian descent of Racine, Wis., commemorated the 19th anniversary of the forcible occupation of the Baltic States with a mass meeting in Racine last Sunday.

This anniversay marks one of the most flagrant acts of Soviet imperialism—the occupation and integration into the Soviet Union of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a resolution adopted by the Racine branch of the Lithuanian-American Council on June 14, 1959, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION OF THE LITHUANIAN-AMERICAN
COUNCIL, INC., RACINE BRANCH, RACINE,
WIS.

Whereas Lithuania, Korea, Hungary, Tibet have shown that in this modern world a new imperialism has arisen which comes from only one source, that political doctrine of man's enslavement which is called communism; and

Whereas the totalitarian nature of the Soviet Russian regime creates hostility to human dignity and the institutions of freedom: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we should not in any way condone the many acts of physical and moral assassination committed by Communist dictators against ideological opposition; and be it further

Resolved, That fraternizing ideas and ideals with the cruel and ruthless dictators will dishearten millions of liberty-loving people in the Communist orbit as well as in the free world itself.

Therefore, we, the here undersigned, are firmly convinced that a summit meeting under present circumstances will strengthen only the cause of international communism; and be it finally

Resolved, That we would very sincerely like to express our heartfelt thanks for many efforts which we know are being made by the President, the Senate, and the House of Representatives of the United States on behalf of those who are yet behind the Curtain of Iron and who still dream of the freedom which must surely and certainly come to them if such efforts will be continued.

MARTIN KASPARAITIS, Chairman. PETER PETRUSAITIS, Secretary.

RACINE, WIS., June 14, 1959.

#### Profit Sharing in American Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, despite the fact that the practice of profit sharing has accomplished great success in American industry during recent years, there still remain many glaring misunderstandings about the economics of this plan.

Rev. Bernard W. Dempsey, S.J., chairman of the department of economics at Marquette University, recently delivered an outstanding speech on this topic which analyzes the profit-sharing plan and clarifies many of the misconceptions surrounding this program.

This is a very revealing address, Mr. President, delivered by one of the greatest authorities on profit sharing in this country, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE ECONOMICS OF PROFIT SHARING

(By Bernard W. Dempsey, S.J., chairman, Department of Economics, Marquette University)

Profit sharing is subject to genuine economic analysis, analysis most fruitful and revealing. Yet in elementary textbooks of economics commonly used in American colleges and universities profit sharing is scarcely mentioned at all. In more advanced texts on labor relations it is bundled into a supplementary section on wage supplements even though wage supplements are elbowing their way to a place of their own in the national income estimates because quantitatively they can no longer be ignored. But profit sharing, in spite of its obvious practical successes, in spite of its evident practical possibilities, and in spite of its analytical attractiveness, remains for most economists a controversial subject like God and truth and sin about which scientific men are forbidden to have convictions.

One minor but legitimate source of misunderstanding about the economics of profit sharing must be brushed aside at once. The things that are shared in a profit-sharing program are not always or even principally profits in an analytical sense, though of course they are profits in an accountil sense, i.e., not disposable revenue. In the cases where they are true profits, they are not profits that would be there to accret to the owners if the program did not exist thing shared is usually efficiency earning reduced cost due to the participation everybody in the organization doing his form the most economic fashion—which he nothing to do with speedup and stretchool

When a sound program utilizes the e perience and native ingenuity of the wor force and "why don't we try it this way?" listened to seriously, then we get a remark able economic phenomenon. The rewards innovation, in economic analysis, are is puted to the bold entrepreneur, the spes head of economic progress. But under sour profit sharing a steady series of minor and even minimal innovations continually original nates in the work force and through program accrue, as they should, to the work force. Furthermore, the very introduction of the profit-sharing program is itself organizational innovation in which the wo force also participates, and to the extent the general efficiencies arise from the organization tional innovation new and true profits appe to which all members of the new organis tion have a title. But we may repeat, the are not profits that would be there to shared by stockholders without the prograff

Such purely verbal difficulties should no cause serious trouble. All of economic seence got along for a hundred years, not to well we must admit, under the terminolog of the British liberal school to whom land meant water, labor meant management, as corn meant wheat. The Council of Profi Sharing Industries has been aware from it beginning that the term was not satisfactor but usage and custom sanctioned it so was retained. Yet within this year charge was seriously made that the return on capital had to be lower in the profisharing companies than in others because something that belonged to the stockholder was being paid to somebody else. A modest statistical study revealed clearly thi profit-sharing companies do right well their return on capital and have nothing fear by comparison. The objection reveals chiefly complete ignorance of the economic of profitsharing.

The fact that profitsharing goes by name that is not perfectly satisfactory po ically and analytically has a certain pro priety in its impropriety. Profitsharing anything but a planned movement; it be few a prioris. Profitsharing has grown slowly step by step and piecemeal out good will, intelligence, and experient Until about 20 years ago, when the experience ence table had grown to a point where gross margin of error had largely disal peared, profit-sharing programs emerg where independent minds, concluding the there must be a better way of doing often inspired by religious motives, install a program and adjusted it as they we along. Profitsharing today is the result this gradual workaday, practical development. Practice has far outrun theory and the economics of profitsharing is therefo a description and analysis of what has be done rather than a blueprint for should be done. Profitsharing is a bund of practical wisdom born of experiment experience whose dominating merit is this it works, not that it conforms to someone idea of what will work.

Because profitsharing grew up as a home spun affair, its variety of operation is becappreciated on the hoof. The impression sears Pension and Profit-Sharing Fund almost \$800 million owned by some 200,00 employers has come to be well known, as deserves to be. Especially is the Sears of ample impressive, because Sears is primarily a mercantile business and people

whed to belittle profit sharing frequently ald that profitsharing might work in small anufacturing companies where the relation ween cost and waste, spoilage, rejects and the like could be clear to anybody. But in large enterprises where these relations reand pulled around corners and upstairs, brontsharing would have no perceptible exect on operations. Nor had it any place in a mercantile business, where these relamercantile business, where the total up with less tangible things like service, courtest and the other concomitants of personal contact.

But while the size and nature of Sears' auccess with profit sharing have served to show that it can work in a very large combany and in one which is not primarily in physical production, there are endless other impressive profit-sharing successes. In a certain manufacturing business the equipment, though in mechanical running order, was old and needed to be replaced. Replacement cost was high and management was not in a position to get good financing conreplently on good terms. The profit-sharing fund had the money and the proposition was put to them. The machines were bought and installed, replacements substan-tally the same as the old ones. A deprecia-tion schedule was set up based on the experience with the old machines. But when the men realized that they were now working on their own machines, not only in the broad sense that is true under any profitsharing program but in the literal sense that their fund actually owned them, the depreciation schedule simply lost its meaning. At present writing it looks as though the hachines may last forever with the care and haintenance they are getting, and whether this value accrues to the fund directly on its investment or indirectly through higher brofits makes little difference.

Before the price decline of 1948-49, a certain company had been selling its product at a market price around 25 cents a pound. Prices broke to 16 cents a pound and some companies were in serious trouble. The head substantial profit-sharing firm in this industry stated to this writer, "We could sell for 11 cents a pound." In a certain processing business, the average cost per foot of a standard product is 47 cents. Product and process are uniform and universally known for years; there is no room special gains arising from a peculiar knowledge of trade secrets. But a particular profit-sharing company in this industry could sell its product for 84 cents a foot and sell its product for 54 tents, you are all familiar with the achievement of Lincoln familiar with the achievement o cola all familiar with the achievement compensation of hourly rated employees in recent years has been more than \$11,000, more than years has been more than of which they are a part, and yet they are selling a better product than they sold in 1934, at twice that of the industry of which a brice lower than was charged at the depth or the depression. I have given two wellknown examples and two little-known examples. The process and its effects are the same; examples could be multiplied indefinitely.

Actually, profit sharing has worked so well Actually, profit sharing has worked so where the disregarded an analytical vacuum and filled it with its own achievement. At the present moment it is common knowledge present moment it is being that economic analysis has no web-theory worthy of mention. As far as economists worthy worthy of mention additional addit that economic analysis has no wage honic worthy of mention. As in a monistry worthy of mention. As in a monistry worthy analysis is concerned, economists freely admit that even apart from the additional confusion produced by the complica-tion of inflation, there is no way of really bryving categorically that wages in a particular industry—or in the economy as a shall are too high or too low. Economic analysis analysis simply does not have the tools, the apparatus. There is no perfectly certain

analytical way of revealing whether union organization has had any effect on wages as a whole and no certain analytical way of testing the commonly held proposition that relative gains by organized labor are primarily at the expense of unorganized labor. Wages are cost to the company and income to the workers. The company says unemployment exists and growth is stifled because cost is too high—the unions say because income is too low. And except in gross cases, economic analysis cannot give an unequivocal decision between the two contentions. In short, you can take your choice and say that profit sharing is a practical success in spite of the fact that it was in contradiction to such wage theory as was prevalent or because of the palpable inadequacy, the inconclusive and uncon-vincing quality of such wage theory as was available.

Actually, contemporary wage theory has only one valid instrument of analysis—the marginal productivity method of wage anal--and this instrument performs very differently under different forms of economic organization. This one trustworthy instrument of analysis is the brainchild of one of the early practitioners and almost the sole analyst of the economics of profit sharing, John H. von Thunen.1

The approaches to a theory of wages which still prevail in the United States were the product of an English economist, David Ricardo (1772-1823). Circumstances which need not concern us here caused Ricardo to take it for granted that economic factors and social classes were coextensive and antagonistic. As the Red Queen remarked, The moral of that is the more there is for me the less there is for you." Karl Marx (1818-1883) admittedly and explicity took over from David Ricardo two ideas, (1) the labor theory of value—that the relative value of all commodities depends on their labor content; and (2) the theory of class conflict, based on the identity of economic factors and social classes, and leading to the conclusion that the normal and inevitable wage for labor was a subsistence wage. Since labor was the sole cause of the whole value and labor did not get the whole value, labor was obviously being swindled. Ricardo's conflict of class interest became Marx's class

Now these theories were in most open and violent conflict with common American experience. Our most typical enterprises in the early American economists like the Careys, and later, Henry George, pointed out. But they mixed their good points with bad ones and cultured Europe had nothing to learn from scholars in buckskin. Our most typical enterprises in the 19th century were familyowned and operated farms and family-owned and operated small businesses in which the same persons were landowners (actual or prospective), capitalists (actual or pros-pective) and workers. There is no possibility of conflict between factors and classes in an owner-operated farm. The owner's concern as to how his net income breaks down into wages, interest, rents, and profits is a very secondary and purely analytical one—it's his income. While there may be opportunity for personal conflict in a family business, there is little more opportunty for the identification of classes and factors than there is on the owner-operated farm. The presence the frontier effectively prevented wages from approaching the minimum of subsistence in the United States. They seem to have been about three times the wages of comparable workers on the continent of Europe.

Yet in the face of this plain and common experience, American business and labor came to think and talk and act wholly in terms of the Ricardo-Marxian theorems that never had more than momentary validity even in England and Europe. The sons of the one-family farm went to college and learned about the opposition of interest from economics texts. The widely used work of John Bates Clark (published in 1899) even raised the principle of marginal productivity under competition from an analytical method into an ethical norm. After about 1875, workers learned the same theorems from European agitators who were long on British and continental theory and short on American facts.

Adam Smith had prepared the way for the acceptance of this unsatisfactory and confused thinking, partly by a purely verbal twist. There is no question that specialization by human persons greatly enhances output; by specialization a particular task is done better, easier, faster, and by the ex-perience gained on the specialized task, the task itself may be simplified, abridged or even eliminated in favor of some more economic alternative. What is true of specialized tasks is also true and inevitably bound up with the location or site of the activity. If we were to move the dairy farmers of Wisconsin and Minnesota on to the orange groves of Florida and California we would have the same work force and the same land, trees, and animals but we would have less butter and fewer oranges. This efficiency arising from specialization on one type of land, is one of the valid arguments for private property.

These elementary facts were well known to Aristotle 2 and were refined and elaborated by the scholastic writers from the 12th to the 17th century. By 1600 these basic notions were accurately described as first divisio operis, the division of the task, and divisio rerum, the division of resources, which we now call provate property. But resources are designed by providence for the use of all men. The division of resources does not destroy that designation and destination, but Application of labor to the is a means to it. resources so divided does not change their destination, however subdivided the tasks performed on these resources may be for the

sake of efficiency.

But Smith, in the famous first chapter of his first book in his classic example of pinmaking, spoke not of the division of task but of the division of labor. In spite of the thorough and complete classical and medieval work on these points, Smith's analysis was regarded as a new idea. Now the example in itself is perfect—a pin is a highly useful little object which sells for a very small fraction of a cent. And if you ever doubt the value of the division of tasks and the subsequent specialization of labor, try making your own pins and see what a poor product you get for how many frustrated man hours. But the analysis and explanation was not as good as the example. Smith described this process as the division of labor, not of the task, and the reason for its existence he described as man's propensity to truck and barter. From this in-adequate analysis grew the faulty but in-fluential notion of the economic man. What was divided first was the task, the job, an objective thing, not labor, a personal thing. Cicero long ago well defined labor as "the carrying out of a more burdensome task or duty." Labor is a personal thing the performance of a human being. A man

On this and the points in the preceding paragraph, see the author's forthcoming "Frontier Wage," Loyola University Press, 1959

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Cf. St. Thomas Aquinas, "Commentary on the Ethics of Aristotle," book V, lesson 9,

See footnote on the first page in the definitive Cannan edition.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Tusculan Disputations," 2:15:35.

is not divided; it is the task which is divided. The man, the agent, specializes but remains a whole man and the whole man specializes.

The division of the task and the division of resources are based on the interdependence of men with their providential variety of talents and interests. The development of these talents and interests is the source of the increased product which is the essence of a higher standard of living and a

better economic life. Smith gave a superficial and inadequate reason for specialization-"the propensity to truck and barter"-and used an unhappy term to describe it, the division of labor, though well describing its benefits. Ricardo identified classes and factors with resulting opposition of interest partly due to Smith's unhappy terminology and Marx took Ri-cardo's class conflict and labor theory of value and bound them into an aggressive class struggle. Many Americans who are by no means Marxists talk in terms of an essential and enduring opposition of interest which could not possibly be true. Marx solved Ricardo's problem by having one class kill the other off. The United States has solved the problem by making everybody middle class. To Marx, with his hatred of the bourgeoisie and respect for titled nobility, this may seem an awful fate-but clearly it is the less bloody solution and more people have had more meat and potatoes than under any alternative. can continue to live under it.

Profit sharing by going back to real fundamentals restored unity and order to the economic process. Resources are divided in private property; tasks are divided and subdivided under specialization. But men are united in interdependence and productive activity. This they always have been and always will remain; the merit of profit sharing is that it brings to light and uses these simple, inevitable relationships. Nothing is ever produced at all except to the extent that factors of production do actually cooperate in any economic system. Profit sharing emphasizes this obvious and essential, inescapable unity and provides sound economic motives for its efficient promotion. The marvel is not that profit sharing when soundly programed produces the wonders that it does. The marvel is that the basic, inescapable elemental truths which it clarifies and utilizes could have been obscured and ignored as long as they were.

The economics of profit sharing is therefore the rational explanation of the enormous efficiency which it makes possible. This it does:

 By tossing aside the unrealistic Ricardo-Marxian motion of opposition of interest which is in clear and simple opposition to the daily cooperation of workers and management in producing anything.

2. More positively, it highlights the personal functional unity of men in production. Resources may be divided, tasks may be divided. Men are united and goods are multiplied.

3. This is the practical working out of Henry Pesch's exposition of the fatal analytical weakness of socialism. Socialism seeks to socialize things and processes—property and production. These things are passive, impersonal material. Men on the other hand, not only can but must be socialized. Men produce a decent standard of living only to the extent that they do actually cooperate, working together in unity. Profit sharing is a tried and proved method of achieving this essential purpose.

4. In any program motives are provided which not only furnish a release for the developed powers of the common man but furnish an occasion for their further development. The untapped potential of human abilities is almost certainly our greatest unutilized resources.

In deferred programs where the worker becomes in some sense inevitably an investor and is not solely dependent on some State social security payment.

6. By providing a solid living wage as the base and a variable productivity figure above this, profit sharing combines two legitimate goals of workers, a firm base for a living wage, and the maximum possible return for his productive efforts without introducing a strangling rigidity into costs.

#### Geneva and the Soviets

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. ALBERT H. BOSCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. BOSCH. Mr. Speaker, I know that all Americans are very proud indeed of the actions of our Secretary of State, Hon. Christian A. Herter, during the trying times of the now ill-fated Foreign Ministers' Conference which has been adjourned to July 13, 1959. His actions and those of France and Western Germany regarding West Berlin are in support of President Eisenhower's position not to budge an inch, but what about Great Britain whose actions seem to leave a suspicion that she is not nearly as firm on this issue? If, as Secretary Herter reports, Khrushchev obviously hopes to grab West Berlin and then West Germany, then the best way to use the 3-week Geneva recess would be to dispel any iota of doubt as to the unified position of the Western Powers that such cannot and shall not come to pass.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include an article from the German News of June 1959, which is an information service published monthly by a nonpartisan group of German parliamentarians:

GENEVA AND THE SOVIETS
(By our special correspondent at the Conference)

There will be no reunification of Germany for the time being. This is one of the conclusions one is forced to draw after observing the talks of the Foreign Ministers at the Geneva Conference. When analyzing the results of the Conference one must bear in mind that the representatives of the Western Powers were practically forced to meet Mr. Gromyko at the conference table after the Soviets had provoked the Berlin crisis. This crisis was devised to fit into the present Soviet timetable and it is now becoming obvious what Moscow's intentions are. There was, of course, the Berlin ultimatum. Fittingly the Western Powers presented their proposals for the German capital city on the eve of the day originally selected by Nikita Khrushchev to start turning West Berlin into a concentration camp of the installment system. These proposals were rejected by the Soviet delegation.

By threatening to run Western troops out of Berlin through a one-sided cancellation of the Four Power Agreement the Soviets created an atmosphere of uncertainty and

fear as well as a period of increased tension during the course of which their psycholog ical warfare machinery went into full tion. Moscow was at least partly successf in creating a feeling in the West that some kind of an agreement must be reached uf der all circumstances, or something terrib will happen. However, for the Soviets Berlin question is nothing else but a devi which is to get the whole German proble moving-in the direction Moscow wants to move. As was to be expected the Sort Soviet draft for a so-called peace treaty the Geneva Conference. He asserted the this treaty must be signed first and that question of German reunification will left to the two German states. A study this draft makes it clear what the Sovie are after with regard to Germany:

1. There will be no reunification, but confederation of the two German staff which, in the end, will lead to the communication of the whole of Germany.

2. The withdrawal of foreign troops at the creation of a zone free from nucle weapons will swing the military balance; power in favor of the Soviet Union, whit commands the strongest armed forces on the European Continent.

3. West Germany is to be left defenseled the political future of Germany is to be the of enforced neutrality—for the time bell anyway.

4. West Berlin is to be put under the ? litical and economic administration of t Ulbricht regime.

The proposals contained in the Soviet dr will never be acceptable to the German pe ple, and Mr. Gromyko knows it. He will at have realized by now that the Western Pot ers will not agree to any such settlemer The Soviet tactics, therefore, boil down this: Keep talking in a comparative friendly atmosphere, force home the vis according to which the German Democrat Republic is a reality. In the Soviet view has already been merited by the West Geneva—insinuate that the German Feder Republic has become the hunting ground Nazis, militarists and revanchists, and eth leave the Berlin question an open proble until a summit conference or let the bright regime in East Berlin blockade Berlin, in case the latter appears to be mo opportune at that particular moment. Fro a summit conference the Kremlin expects settlement which will guarantee the stati The spe quo in Europe for the time being. The spe and determination with which the Soyle want to achieve this aim has been more the remarkable. They obviously want to be into a position to turn their backs to Euro for a while in order to devote their streng resources, and manpower to a number other objects, such as the economic conso dation of the Soviet bloc.

Their present political offensive shout therefore be met by a counteroffensive. Dutch Foreign Minister recently stated the West would be in a much better barguing position if the NATO Powers blockade. Soviet Russia at the Straits of the Dardane and in the Baltic Sea. Furthermore, the litical offensive should be carried into Morcow's European satellites by a policy, which would make the enslaved people behind the following process of freedom and democracy. Greecould have more open support in her disputively made and the forces deserve the wholehearted support of the West, who represent the most effective bulwarks against bolshevism. Best will be the testing ground for the determination and the strength the free world is willing and capable of mobilizing in order.

combat the Soviet offensive. Risks? What could be more risky than the prospect of a policy which, in the end, will put the whole of Europe at the mercy of Stalin's heirs?

## Thought-Provoking Addresses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON, JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. McCormack. Mr. Speaker, this commencement season has brought forth an excellent crop of thought-provoking addresses. Our universities have also seen it fit to give due recognition to the service of men who are outstanding leaders in their respective lines of human endeavor. Honorary degrees are more than a mere accolade. In their highest academic sense they are an acknowledgment by the community of scholars engaged in the pursuit of truth of achievements of lasting value in government, science, arts, and the professions.

Three of our famous institutions of learning in this country have honored this month a world figure who has won the admiration and regard of our people. Boston College, Brown University, and the New York Medical College chose Gen. Carlos P. Romulo as their speaker.

In conferring on him the degree of doctor of laws honoris causa, Boston College gave General Romulo the following citation:

Recognizing its mandate to bear unceasing witness to the majesty of God and the secred dignity mirrored in man, the Christian university propounds the perennial affirmations which are at once the stone of the altar and the foundation of public order. Yet this is not enough. The university looks for opportunities to single out and applaud those men of service whose lives exemplify the concepts of faith and freedom which lie at the heart of our civilization. One conclusion which emerges from profound reflection on the state of humanity is the need for some supranational authority which will unite the hopes and the good

which will unite the hopes and the good will of men toward the establishment of world peace. Pope Pius XII put the matter lainly in more than one allocution: "The Catholic doctrine on the state and civil society has always been based on the principle that in keeping with the will of God the hations form together a community with a common aim and common duties."

Today we welcome to our plenary con-

Vocation a statesman of historic importance who has been a leader in the first successful attempt to express in charter and constitutions and in the practical agenda of delibration and goverance this last best hope of world beace.

General Romulo has participated in every session of the United Nations since its inception in San Francisco in 1945. He has served with wisdom and courage as President of the General Assembly, and twice as President of the Security Council. Elected secretary-General by a nearly unanimous vote, he was vetoed by the Soviet Union.

Originally a newspaperman, whose honest its perceptive reporting earned him a Puller prize in 1942, he was aide to General MacArthur at Bataan and Corregidor, and returned to the Philippines in the battle of Leyte. Since then he has been his country's leading diplomat, a voice that is heard and understood not only by the West but by all nationalities and estates of Asia. He has been one of the builders of the house of peace in our time, an eloquent spokesman in Washington for his country and in the East the best friend the United States has.

Wherefore the president and trustees of Boston College, empowered thereto by the supreme authority in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, have summoned Carlos P, Romulo into the circle of the honorary doctors of the university, and now joyfully proclaim him doctor of laws, honoris causa.

The New York Medical College, for the first time in its history of 100 years, conferred an honorary degree, doctor of human letters, and chose General Romulo for such a distinction with this citation:

Gen. Carlos P. Romulo, author, educator, statesman, soldier, you have made the world a better place by your distinguished leadership in the battle for freedom for all men.

By pen, by word, and by sword you have helped to widen the areas of respect for the individual; you have struggled to create the essential climate in which men of science and knowledge can work for the good of mankind; you have fought oppression and tyranny; you have labored for the dissemination of knowledge; you have sought to broaden educational opportunities for all; and by your courage, ideals and statesmanship you have brought about a deeper understanding between nations.

All men of learning and science salute your life's work and the principles upon which it is founded.

In recognition of your achievement, the trustees and faculty of New York Medical College Flower and Fifth Avenue Hospitals are privileged to confer upon you pro causa honoris et pro merito the honorary degree of doctor of human letters.

Senator Theodore F. Green, of Rhode Island, distinguished alumnus of Brown University, in introducing General Romulo to the alumni and graduates of Brown University, delivered the following address:

The privilege of presenting the principal speaker of the evening has been granted to me and I am very happy to welcome to Brown University, as an honored guest, a personal friend and a stanch friend and ally of the United States, Ambassador Carlos P. Romulo.

Early in life, as a high school student, he demonstrated his oratorical skill and his dedication to the struggle for freedom by delivering an impassioned speech entitled "My Faith in America," and when the judges of the contest announced him as the winner his father said, "You know what this means, Carlos. It means the university in the United States for you. Your mother and I are proud."

Since then we all have become proud of the magnificent achievements which have been accomplished by Carlos Romulo as, in turn, a student, newspaperman, editor, author, lecturer, soldier, and diplomat.

He was graduated from the University of the Philippines with a bachelor of arts degree and, at Columbia University, which he attended as a reward for winning the oratorical contest, he earned a master of arts degree.

Returning to his home in the Philippines, he became an assistant professor of English at the university and, later, head of its English department. Coincidentally, he was gaining fame as a newspaperman and editor for Manila newspapers and as a director of Manila radio stations.

His great interest in the relations between these United States and the Philippines was further stimulated by increasing threats of Japanese domination in the Far East, which occasioned his making in 1941 an extensive tour of the countries neighboring the Philippines. The reports which he sent out from those countries warning of the dangers of a Japanese invasion and of the general apathy, won for him the 1941 Pulitzer prize and great respect for his distinguished correspondence.

After Pearl Harbor he was inducted into the U.S. Army as a major. The assignment given to him by Gen. Douglas MacArthur was to serve as press agent and keep all Filipinos informed of the progress of the war. His untiring and loyal service throughout World War II resulted in his promotion to the rank of brigadier general.

He witnessed the occupation of his beloved homeland by the Japanese and became known as the last man to leave Bataan. Not only did he witness destruction and horror in his country, but he also suffered prolonged separation from his wife and four sons witnout the comforting knowledge that they continued alive and free, until the return of General MacArthur to the Philippines and the liberation of the islands reunited the family.

In 1945, General Romulo returned to the United States as chief of the Philippine mission here and continued to work for Philippine independence and for a world organization to make and maintain the peace.

He led the Philippine delegation to the first session of the United Nations Assembly in London in 1948 and continued to add to his great prestige and influence at subsequent sessions there. He was elected President of the Fourth General Assembly in 1949 by a vote of 53 to 5. This surprised nobody because he was not only an important world leader, but also a genial and friendly member of the assembly. Philippine President Elpidio Quirino made him Secretary of Foreign Affairs in 1950 and for the following 2 years, General Romulo devoted his full time to fighting communism in his own country.

in his own country.

He supported Ramon Magsaysay in his candidacy for the presidency and when the latter was elected in 1953, Romulo was sent back to Washington as the president's personal representative and later was appointed Philippine Ambassador to the United States, in which post, I am glad to say, he continues today.

At every opportunity he has written and spoken eloquently and powerfully of his love for and faith in the United States of America and the Philippines, and also of his fear and hatred of colonialism, communism and militarism.

He is the author of several widely acclaimed books including "I Saw the Fall of the Philippines," "I See the Philippines Rise," "Crusade In Asia," "The Meaning of Bandung." "The Magsaysay Story," and other books which reveal his deep understanding of and passion for finding solutions of the problems not only of the Far East but also of other parts of the world.

Ambassador Romulo has been awarded degrees by 35 universities including Harvard, Temple, Notre Dame, and Boston College. He was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize in 1951 and 1953. More recently, the Freedoms Foundation of Valley Forge honored him with the Freedom Leadership Award for 1958.

For several years it has been my pleasure to know Carlos Romulo personally. I have met with him at the Philippine Embassy, at sessions of the House of Representatives while he was a Delegate from the Philippines, and at sessions of the United Nations General Assembly. With each year of our friendship, my respect and affection for him has continued to grow.

Soldier, diplomat, scholar, and author, Ambassador Romulo embodies the essence of each of those great professions. And, furthermore, he possesses the ability to express his experiences and his philosophy of freedom and tolerance.

So, it is an especial satisfaction to me to present to you, my fellow Brown alumni, the voice of freedom, the Honorable Carlos P. Romulo, Philippine Ambassador to the United States.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to commend for the careful perusal of the Members of the House, two of the commencement addresses delivered by General Romulo. The one he delivered on the campus of Boston College was highly praised by the Boston newspapers. It is seldom that we hear a good word for what America has done for the world. General Romulo analyzes the Marshall aid plan 10 years after its operation in Europe and makes a substantive discussion of how it contained communism in a critical period.

In his address before the New York Medical College he takes another view of the American people, a singular view these days when we hear of nothing but derogatory statements criticizing everything that we do. For this analytical observer of the American scene presents to the world the spiritual American, and it is inspiring and heartwarming to hear such words from one who has not hesitated in the past to tell us frankly our weaknesses and yet can also see our virtues and project them to other peoples with such convincing eloquence.

I include these two remarkable addresses in my remarks as follows:

EXCERPTS OF COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS DELIV-ERED BY GEN. CARLOS P. ROMULO, FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE FOURTH GENERAL AS-SEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS, UPON RE-CEIVING THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF LAWS HONORIS CAUSA, FROM BOSTON COLLEGE, JUNE 8, 1959

The proposed shift in emphasis from military to economic aid that we hear nowadays in Washington is of great interest to us in Asia. We recall the Marshall aid plan which provided a solid foundation for the entire security structure in Western Europe and its conception must be counted as one of the great creative acts of statesmanship in our time.

To my mind, this was indeed its principal merit: that it was a great creative act. It conceived of security as a positive, not a negative, function; a problem not merely of military defense but of the revival of the real source of the strength and stability of nations—economic health, political stability, moral integrity, and above all, freedom.

After more than a decade we can look back and really appreciate what is accomplished. For the Marshall plan channeled a substantial portion of the wealth and power of the United States into a constructive enterprise of noble scope and purpose; nothing less than the economic rehabilitation of an entire community of nations to the end that they might be strengthened sufficiently together to preserve and safeguard their own cherished liberties. International communism has tried very hard but it has so far falled to produce anything to match this inspiring spectacle of the mightiest Nation on earth unselfishly expending

so much of its substance to help other nations to remain free. No amount of hostile propagands can cancel the massive infusion of strength which the Marshall plan has given to the countries of the Atlantic alliance, nor its tremendous effect upon governments and peoples elsewhere as a shining example of the generous spirit which imbues the foreign policy of the leading power of the free world.

Back of the plan, of course, was the fresh realization that the four freedoms could no longer be preserved or defended piecemeal. They were in truth, in the most literal sense, indivisible. Freedom of speech and of the press, freedom from want, freedom of worship—each was meaningless without the others. It was inevitable, therefore that the problem of achieving security for the free nations of Europe should involve also the task of creating or reestablishing the economic, social, and political conditions under which all of these freedoms could flourish. Military power was important, but it was not enough. For the Communist threat was not confined to the military sphere alone, it was also economic, political, moral—a total challenge to the democratic way of life.

So it has been in Europe; so it is in Asia, in the Middle East, in the Far East, in the Philippines, all over the globe. It is an inescapable fact that right now the danger of armed aggression is the main preoccupation of the big powers in Geneva. Consequently, their major effort is concerned with alliances, rearmament, the building up of military strength. They are seeking in power, freedom from one kind of fear-from the fear of attack and of possible subjuga-tion. The strengthening, the defense of the other freedoms is being temporarily subordinated to the overriding need for security from potential aggression. To a certain extent, even freedom from want is being held in abeyance in favor of the requirements of military preparedness.

The true nature of the challenge and the all-embracing scope of the struggle should not be lost sight of. It should not be forgotten that, in the final analysis, it is not only the safety of the nations but also the essential dignity and the inalienable rights of every man that are at stake. Is man but the creature of an all-powerful state, to be directed, used and disposed of according to the will of a government whose powers are not derived from the consent of the governed; or is he endowed with certain rights and freedoms of which no one, not even the state, can deprive him without just cause? This is the ultimate issue, and the free world must not forget or ignore it. For hardly a day passes without some new evidence, some grim reminder that many of these rights and freedoms are under ruthless and systematic attack on the other side of the Iron Curtain. Man's memory is short and it is good to recall specific cases:

Over there, freedom of speech and of the press is a mockery. Has the American public forgotten the case of William Oatis?

Freedom from fear is an illusion where there is no security of person, no sanctity of domicile, no fair trial and due process of law. Have the Americans forgotten the case of Fred Voegler? Ask him; he knows.

Freedom of conscience, of thought, and of worship are not only nonexistent. Whoever upholds them is tortured, terrorized, ostracized, liquidated. Have we Catholics and has the world forgotten the case of Cardinal Mindzenty? Ask him, the virtual prisoner that he is languishing away in an embassy room.

Freedom to live a life of one's own choice, freedom to live in dignity on a sovereign people has been ruthlessly destroyed by Soviet tanks and Communist troops—ask the Hungarian freedom fighters and the Dalai Lama and the hapless people of Tibet.

These are among the famous, the celebrated cases. Less well known but perhape even more significant is the flight of hur dreds of obscure, ordinary people from Eastern to Western Europe, from North to Sous Vietnam, from Tibet to India, men as women seeking asylum from persecution, trying desperately to escape the intolerable burden of slave labor, or hoping merely breathe the air of freedom again, and to fee think, speak and worship as their conscient moves them. They flee in an irregular by continuous stream—it is an exodus, and the direction is toward freedom.

It may be a comparatively easy matter if the free nations of the world in which the seek asylum and new homes to satisfy the expectations of these refugees from total tarian despotism. The real test is for the nations to fulfill the highest hopes of the own peoples that their essential rights a freedoms will not only be respected approtected but constantly advanced to constantly advanced

This challenge the peoples of the free wormust accept and overcome if they are have real security and the strength to provide the form and from any direction. We are holing in Asia, in the Philippines, in the East that in this new developing trend more stress on economic aid and less on military that is currently being discussed your Congress, that the same creative that inspired the Marshall aid plan magain be formulated with such changes course as are dictated by new condition characteristics of the areas to which it to be applied.

EXCERPTS OF ADDRESS DELIVERED BY GE CARLOS P. ROMULO, PHILIPPINE AMBASSAN TO THE UNITED STATES, BEFORE THE 185 GRADUATES OF THE NEW YORK MEDICAL COL LEGE, JUNE 9, 1959

To be a world leader such as America, today and as England was yesterday, is to like a lightning rod; it is to attract all jealousy, envy, hatred of a divided world is to be unappreciated, disliked, misrepresented and traduced.

It is not surprising therefore that America should be presented with various faces: "Ugly American" in Southeast Asia, the hiding American in Bolivia, the uncertain American in the Middle East, the uncouth American in England, the bungling American whoever happens to be in the minority part in Washington.

As I address the graduates of 1959, you men and women who are about to face a undertake their responsibilities as citizens a free nation, it seems to me most appropriate to enjoin them that it is their duty project to the world the American that little known, the America that has been suffered since she became a world leader, the merged since she became a world leader, the abundance and your atom bomb.

abundance and your atom bomb.

It is spiritual America and the spiritual American.

The image of the Pilgrim father and of the Revolutionary soldier is now a mere blur of cause it has been supplanted by the glams of the cowboy, the publicity of the most of the cowboy, the publicity of the most open a time the focus of world attention upon a time the focus of world attention used to be Concord, Bunker Hill, Valk Forge. Now it is Little Rock, Las Vegs Hollywood, the Appalachin rendezvous.

The spiritual American who is God-fest ing, who originated the idea of the equal:

of man because he knows we are all created In the image of our Lord, who proclaimed it a time when it was a political heresy so to do, who fought for it because he believed it to be an inalienable right, he is the forgotten man to the outside world.

The spiritual American who has estab-The spiritual American who has country more the shed and sustains in his country more demosynary institutions than any other country in the world, who takes care of the shear the mentally aged, the feeble and the infirm, the mentally handicapped, the deaf and the blind; who personally supports with his means more campaigns for charitable institutions and drives for funds for the fight against cancer, Pollomyelitis, sclerosis, heart diseases, and other dread scourages of humanity, than any other citizen anywhere, he is not known outside his home country.

The spiritual American who as a Rotarian, a Qvitan, a Lion, a Jaycee, a Surroptimist-Bervice clubs that cannot and do not exist in totalitarian regimes—bands together with his neighbors to serve a worthy community Project, who devotes time, effort, and money foster international good will and bring his country closer to other peoples, the world does not know him for the generous, civicspirited, warmhearted human being that he is.

The spiritual American who goes to his church or his synagogue, who has more temples of worship in his country than in all the countries of the world combined, who takes his religion so seriously he does not spare himself in supporting it, who considers the Holy Book so sacred and precious it is one one of the most treasured heirlooms in many an American family, this, too, is the American the world seldom hears about.

The global struggle in which America is how engaged is not a fight for strategic areas or for natural resources. It is a fight for man's mind and man's heart. Military superiority and economic supremacy are not enough to win such a struggle. Fighting an atheistic ideology and Marxist dialecticism, you are fortunate you have as your arsenal and your God-loving and your reservoir as a God-fearing and Cod-loving Nation, the immeasurable power of faith and of the spirit. This is the power that wins without destroying, that builds and uplifts to assert itself not to win any victory but to foster and develop concord, good will, understanding, and peace. It is spiritual America that can win friends and allies, and it is when the spiritual American is better known all over the globe that the highest values of the American way of life will be better appreciated by the rest of mankind, and freedom and democracy pre-

The Fate of Berlin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ALBERT H. BOSCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. BOSCH. Mr. Speaker, just prior to the report of our Secretary of State to the American people on the recent Foreign Ministers' Conference, it is well to know a little about the history of the city of Berlin.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include an article from the June 1959 issue of the German News which I believe will be of interest to my colleagues:

THE FATE OF BERLIN-THE POLITICAL SITUA-TION OF THE GERMAN CAPITAL CITY

On August 11, 1919, Germany ceased to be a constitutional monarchy and became a republic. Berlin remained the capital. With her defeat in 1945 Germany surrendered the rights of sovereignty to the Allied Pow-What was left of Germany was divided into zones and the respective military commanders took over all governmental func-tions. In the Treaty of Potsdam all German territory East of the Oder and Neisse Rivers was put under Polish or Soviet administration, pending a final peace treaty. Berlin was divided into four sectors and received a status independent of the four occupation zones. On July 7, 1945 the four respective military commanders took over officially the

administration of Berlin. In March 1948 the Allied government of Germany broke down, with no German government to take over its functions. United States and British zones agreed upon an economic union. Later the French zone joined as well. This "United Economic Area" created its own semigovernmental institu-

Central Germany, under the control of the Soviets was administered by a "German Economic Commission". On June 16, 1948, the Soviet members of the Allied Control Commission and of the Allied Kommandatura of Berlin left. Berlin's function as the capital of Germany ceased. The blockade and Soviet police terror forced the freely elected German City Council to move to West Berlin. On November 30, 1948, the Soviet commander appointed a second City Council and a Mayor, completing the split of the

In the first post war years Berlin was more than ever dependent upon areas in the Soviet zone of Germany for food supplies and raw materials. Exploiting this situa-tion the Soviets tried to put pressure on the Western sectors by making communications with West Germany difficult. The three air corridors remained open. But already in the beginning of 1948 train service was curtailed. British and American military trains were subjected to inspection. On March 20, 1948, the Soviets left the Allied Control Commission and a few days later started to throttle off all lines of communication between Berlin and West Germany. The roads were blocked, the trains ceased to run and the rivers were closed to barges. The ship-ment of coal and even milk from the Soviet zone were discontinued, thus imposing a tremendous strain on the population of West

In connection with the monetary reform the Soviets severed all lines of communication between the Eastern and Western sectors of Berlin. On June 25, 1948, General Lucius Clay ordered the airlift. Flown into Berlin were supplies, out of Berlin children and sick or old people as well as industrial products. On the 300th day of the blockade, for instance, 927 aircraft landed in Berlin bringing in more than 6.000 tons of supplies. Since the two airports of West Berlin could not accommodate this traffic, another aerodrome was built in the record time of 3 months. Finally the Soviets gave in and lifted the blockade.

The latest threats, uttered by former American Communist Eisler, indicate that the Communists intend to run Western troops out of Berlin by yet another block-ade. The situation will again be critical. It should be remembered that the future of Germany's capital city cannot be separated from the future of Germany as a Berlin's fate is Germany's fate is Europe's fate. A free Berlin is a claim to and a first and necessary step toward reunification and peace in Europe. Youth Looks at Its Elders

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. ALFRED E. SANTANGELO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, May 27, 1959

Mr. SANTANGELO. Mr. Speaker, on June 22, 1959, I had the privilege of attending the graduation exercises of the James Otis Junior High School located within my congressional district. - I was impressed by the words of the valedictorian, an outstanding student named Richard Paloini, age 14, who graduted with high honors from this junior high school.

In recent months, we have seen disclosures of the rise of juvenile delinquency and the impression has been gathered that youth are rebels without causes, vandalizing, looting, and running amuck. The good that youth accomplishes is lost in the glaring headlines of juvenile gang fights and shocking disclosures of horrible incidents, which, if performed by adults, would be serious

It was a refreshing experience to hear a young man plead eloquently for the cause of youth and an understanding of its accomplishments and an appreciation of its problems. The following valedictory remarks by Mr. Paolini in the presence of several public officials; the school's principal, Mr. Maurice Bleifeld: the assistant superintendent, Miss Marion Clark, I am sure will prove as inspiring and informative to the readers as it was to the listeners:

Youth Looks at Its Elders (By Richard Paolini)

Mr. Bleifeld, Miss Clark, teachers, parents, Mr. Bieliea, Mass Cataline relatives, friends, and fellow graduates, the older generation today invariably looks upon its nast with nostalgia saying, "Kids were older generation today invasion, "Kids were its past with nostalgia saying, "Kids were voung. We had more different when we were young. We had more respect. We never did what they are doing."

I would like to read you a quotation:
"The students hide their favorite readings and hate their teachers. They are exasperated at the difficulties of their studies and do not know what good it does them. Although they go through the regular course of instruction, they are quick to leave when they are through. This is the reason for the failure of education today."

What I have just read was written by Confucius in the 5th century B.C.

Every age, it seems, has had its problems with children. And each age feels that its younger generation violates the laws of society most. The positive aspects of our youth are forgotten. Our newspapers today, to promote sales, force upon the public the sensational aspects of youth in our society—murders, gang wars. Our literature, movies, and television all play upon the sordid activi-

ties of a misguided few.

I wish to reiterate the word "few," for it is but a handful of adolescents who prompt glaring headlines of teenage crime. what of the rest of us—the overwhelming majority who never make the headlines? Why? Because we are striving to become decent and productive members of society, and our activities do not usually sell newspapers or attract attention. It has been the lot of the majority, then, to remain unrecognized. It is high time they were.

June 23

During our 3 years at Otis, we have been fortunate indeed to witness and to take part in many worthwhile activities which point up the positive aspects of our students—the Harlem Hospital Projects, the Junior Red Cross, clearing the schoolyard and empty lots, the school sanitation drive, articles and editorials in our school newspaper, and the restoration of the synagogue on 105th Street, for which we received the mayor's "Salute to Youth Award" for the best community service by a school.

Through these activities we have disproved the reputation a few boys have forced upon the young people of East Harlem. We have proved that the words "East Harlem" and "juvenile delinquency" are not synonyms; that the misdeeds of a few boys do not reflect the actions of an entire community.

We are leaving Otis today. We can be proud of our school and our contributions to it. Let us hope that what we have accomplished may remain an inspiration to those who follow us.

Our thanks to Mr. Bleifeld and our teachers for their patient, guiding hands, and their untiring efforts to instill in us an appreciation for democracy and the democratic way of life.

Thank you.

## East and West and the Summit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON, KATHARINE ST. GEORGE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, some weeks ago I was privileged to read a lecture delivered by His Excellency Ambassador Quaroni, of Italy, in Bonn, Germany

I have asked our very good friend, the Ambassador of Italy to the United States, His Excellency Manlio Brosio, whether there would be any objection to my putting the lecture in the Congressional Record. I have received word today from Ambassador Brosio that after consultation with his colleague in Bonn, they have no objection to the lecture being placed in the Congressional Record.

Mr. Speaker, I have read many speeches, lectures, and articles on Russia. Some have been passionate, some objective, and some very slanted either to the right or the left.

This treatise on the U.S.S.R. and what it stands for in our world and in the world to come is the work of a scholar, a scholar with knowledge and understanding. It is not the work of some bright individual who has spent 10 days or possibly 6 weeks in the Soviet Union and comes back with all the answers, most of them incorrect and undigested at best.

This lecture, delivered originally in German and presented here in a translation, is something that we need and can study over and over. It is the work of one who understands both the East and the West and knows that between the two stands the U.S.R., who to so many in both the East and the West is a rather terrifying enigma.

Ambassador Quaroni understands the enigma. He has lived with her and so he is able to explain and solve the riddles of her personality as very few have done, and certainly none have done better.

EAST AND WEST AND THE SUMMIT CONFERENCE (Lecture by His Excellency, the Italian Ambassador to Bonn, Dr. Pietro Quaroni)

First of all, I should like to thank you, Your Magnificence, most sincerely for honor which you have shown me by your invitation to address the Free University of Berlin. The Free University of Berlin is not like other universities: it was created at the time of the Berlin blockade, at a moment when the will to resist of the people of Berlin evoked the admiration of the whole world. I ask to be forgiven if I permit any inaccuracies to mar the language of Goethe. but I have preferred to speak in German, in the hope that you might understand me better. I say "hope", because it often happens that when a foreigner speaks our own language, we cannot but think: Why does he not speak his own language, it would be so much easier to understand him.

During my first stay in Moscow, the most prominent personality of the Western diplomatic corps was without doubt the German Ambassador, Count Brockdorff-Rantzau. Although he had the reputation of being an extremely proud man, he always showed me-at that time I was still a young secretary-a certain measure of paternal benevolence. Once when we were discussing the book of a German journalist who had stayed in Moscow for about 2 months and then had written a long book about Russia, Count Brockdorff said to me with a smile: "My young friend, you will have the same experience. After a few months, it is very easy to write a book about Russia: after a year. it is much more difficult, and after two years it is impossible."\ I repeat his remark only because I wish to say that those who are called experts on Russia—and I mean the true experts-are people who are extremely careful and extremely modest in their opinions about events in Russia. They are people who are always prepared to recognize how little we really know about Russia.

But there are nevertheless a number of firm positions on which—at least in my opinion—one can always fall back. And some of these points I would now like to discuss.

Firstly: When thinking or speaking about Russia, one should never forget that the leaders of Russia are Communists, that is, they think as Communists, and their logic is always only the logic of dialectical materialism.

This I consider essential and fundamental. There are two schools of thought about Russia: Some people—and I should say that perhaps they constitute the majority—believe that, particularly in regard to their foreign policy, the Russians are mere pragmatists, that is that they are more or less like all the other great powers. Contrariwise, I am firmly convinced that the Russians are first of all Communists and then politicians. This holds true both for their domestic and their foreign policy, and by no means less so for their foreign policy than for their domestic policy. And I am also convinced that if this fact is not correctly understood and appreciated, it is impossible to understand the basic direction of Russian policy.

Naturally things are never either quite black or quite white. It is one of the firm tenets of Communist policy that the existence, the development and, therefore, the power of the Soviet state as the fulcrum of world revolution is essential for the future of communism. Once this tenet has become an article of faith, it is not always easy to draw a clear line of demarcation between the policy of Russia as Russia and the policy of communism.

When one attempts to analyze the police of Phillip II of Spain, one sees a great mu titude of diverse elements: The power Spain, the glory of the House of Hapsbur the concept of absolute royal power, and on. But if one were to forget, among t diverse elements of this unusual cocktain that the concept of a mission to defend as spread the Catholic faith was the supres and decisive element, our understanding the policy of the Spanish kings would deed by very limited. The same holds tro for the policy pursued by Moscow. The are always diverse elements in this police but the decisive element invariably remain communism. The Communists, and esp, cially the Russian Communists, have developed their own peculiar form of logic. Whi do statesmen do when they must make decision? They consider the general poll ical situation, they estimate the presumable attitude of the different powers, and this the probable developments of their police But all this depends on a "sensitive fee ing": on a flair for political developmen and situations. In our world, a good politician is a man whose flair for politics, who instinct for future developments, is super to that of his colleagues. The Russi statesmen likewise base their decisions up an analysis of the situation, but they ways do so as Communists, and it is the intrinsically Communist attitude which the essence of their policy. Our analysis a situation is amateurish, pragmatic; the is scientifically based upon Marxian di lectics. A Western statesman who makes mistake is merely someone who lacks sound political instinct. A Communist wh makes a mistake is a man who has insuf ciently studied, or incorrectly applied, di lectics; a mathematician who has made error in calculation, because he who ful understands and correctly applies dialection cannot err. Thus, a Communist state man can be pragmatic, Communist-pres matic, in his decisions, albeit pragmati But he is a dialectician, a Communist, the analysis of the situation which dete mines his decisions.

I do not know whether I have succeede in discussing this quite clearly with your Perhaps it would be better to mention a fer examples:

If I, as a Western diplomat, wish to discuss what an Italian political party will on given circumstances, what should I de I should consider the opinions of the morprominent personalities of this party, the influence within the party, and I should present the consensus of these opinions.

A dialectician, however, would say to me No, that is not the right method. First we must see what social class that party resents, for it will be the interests of the class which will determine the party list.

Let us turn our attention more closely foreign policy. There is a treatise by Len's which even today is authoritative: purporialism as the Last Stage of Capitalism. The basic concept of this book is as follow. When internal class conflicts have reached a certain climax within a given country, governing class, being unwilling to renount its privileges, will attempt to strengthen internal position by external expansion. It is reason a capitalist society which is the initial stages of its decline—as we all today, even the United States—tends, perhaps better is driven to go to war.

perhaps, better, is driven, to go to war, or this inherent trend towards war can be velop in two directions: War between capitalist states or a coalition of all capitalist states against the Communist work which by its mere physical existence represents a threat to capitalism, because it offer to the exploited masses of our world a direct solution for their problems. The policy of the Soviet Union must, then, logically everything within its power in order to pro-

note war between the capitalist states and to prevent an anti-Communist coalition. This means that the Soviet Union must be every means at its disposal to intensify the conflicts between the classes and between the conflicts between the classes and

between the capitalist states.

In the third volume of his "History of opplomacy" Potemkin tells us how Soviet diplomacy skillfully exploited the diverging interests of capitalist countries during the order to preceding the Second World War, in order to prevent an anti-Russian coalition at any time. And in its basic aspect it cannot be denied that what Mr. Potemkin tells as is true.

We on our side understand very well that the Russians fear a coalition and that they suffer from a kind of siege complex. this reason, there are people in all of the countries of the West who believe that we aust convince the Russians that we do not intend to attack them, that in reality we are very peaceable. Perhaps it would be hore precise to say that most of us desire only to be left in peace. It is said that thless we can convince the Russians that We have no thought of aggression, there cannot possibly be any relaxation of tension. This may be true theoretically, but practically—in my opinion—this argument overlooks one little element: that the Russians Over there are Communists, and, being Comnunists, they cannot believe that capitalists can truly be peaceful. Here I should like to mention, in passing, that to the Russians in non-Communists are capitalists; to exbe better to say that those who are not better to say that those will communists are actually Fascists. For Moscow, even Mr. Bevan is a Fascist.

The Russians were at one time prepared to believe that a man like Roosevelt really had peaceful intentions toward Russia, because he was not class conscious. It was this attitude which enabled him to place attitude which enabled him blas full trust in the possibility of peaceful cooperation between America and Russia. But so the Pussian Communists argue so the Russian Communists argue this is and can only be a temporary state of affairs, for either Roosevelt himself will become class conscious—and in that event he will pursue the basic biological anti-Communist policy of capitalism, or else his class will depose him and elect another resident who is more class conscious. In accordance with their own nature capitalists are aggressive, especially toward the souls. Soviet Union. It follows that a people which truly desires to live in peace must above all liberate itself from its capitalist elements: it must become truly democratic. If it fails to do this, a good Communist is infortunately unable to put any faith in it. It is impossible to inspire the Russians with confidence in us and in our policies for the confidence in us and in our policy being very reason that the Russians, being Communists, cannot repose any confidence us as capitalists. The Communists are convinced — scientifically convinced — that they know us and our innermost reactions nuch better than we know ourselves: that we can deceive ourselves, but that we canhot deceive ourselves, but that deceive them, and that they, as Commuulsts, must not let themselves be deceived about us. Here, I should really add that I do not understand why today there is so huch talk about confidence in foreign pol-For centuries, foreign policy has been Conducted without this confidence, and in the last century the great powers of Europe were able to live in peace for almost a hundred years. I mean peace at least in the sense that all of the wars which took place that the wars which took place that the wars which took place that the wars which took place the wars which took place that the wars which took place the wars which wars which the wars which the wars which the wars which the wars which was which was which which was which which was w during this hundred years could be localized geographically and historically. And not-valled among the great powers. I am afraid that this company of confidence has introthat this concept of confidence has introduced a quite unnecessary element into present-day diplomacy.

You may ask me: If this is really so, why do the Russians themselves talk so much about coexistence? It is one of the difficulties of our age that both sides use words. such as peace, democracy, freedom, and that the selfsame words convey different, and sometimes even contradictory, concepts. The word coexistence was coined in Russia. But what does coexistence really mean to the Russians? During the early days of more classical Marxists, still field to the belief that a Communist revolution was impossible in a country which did not have a sufficiently developed capitalist society; that the seizure of power by the Communists in Russia was only an accident, a fortunate accident, but an accident nonetheless. world revolution, the revolution of the European West, was bound to follow. And this revolution, above all at least the German Revolution, was expected by the Russians, by Lenin, from the very first day. Lenin died in the belief that the European Communist revolution was imminent. But the Occident, Europe, has gravely disappointed the Russian comrades: that revolution has vet to come.

Naturally, the Russians and the Communists did not draw the conclusion therefrom that Marx's entire theory was wrong. They still believe as firmly as ever that the rev-olutionary transition from capitalism to communism is inevitable. I repeat—this transition is not a matter of volition; it is an imminent biological process, just as the butterfly must inevitably emerge from its chrysalis. It is almost incidental that Communist society is better than that of the capitalists. Capitalist society contains within itself the germs of Communist society, and these will develop, whether one wants it or not. In his own peculiar way of por-traying similes Khrushchev has told us this very well: "You do not ask a pregnant woman whether or not she wants to give birth to a child. When the day comes, the child is born."

Thus, all the nations of the world, including the United States of America, must become Communist some day. But that does not mean that this transition will take place everywhere at the same time. we know that we all must die, even if-Bossuet said-we do not always believe it. But that does not mean that all persons who were born on the same day must also die on the same day. The same holds true for the transition from capitalism to com-There is a certain period during which capitalist states and Communist states must live side by side on this earth. It will be a transitional period, probably; also, a fairly long one, in which the Communist states will represent the strong vigorous future, while the moribund capitalist states will drag on their tragic existence as the remnants of a past condemned by history—but it will only be a transitional

This means—I do not know whether I have made myself sufficiently clear—that for the Russians coexistence is the mere statement of a fact, of a factual situation. That does not mean that the Communists accept the existence of capitalist society as final. And naturally it also does not mean that the Communist world has renounced its sacred duty of doing everything within its power to facilitate and to accelerate this process of development. Our good friend Khrushchev has told us so quite frankly. He once said to a group of foreign diplomats in Moscow: "My little doves, you must all become Communists, and we shall help you on your way." And only a few weeks ago he frankly stated: "The Soviet Union is always ready to end every war, except, of course, the class war."

We in the West attribute an entirely different meaning to this word coexistence. For us, coexistence means that the Russians might become reconciled to the idea that one part of the world can remain capitalistic or democratic, and yet continue to survive on more or less friendly terms with them. When we speak of coexistence, we mean that the Russians should finally more or less be content with what they have, and leave us in peace in our own countries.

Unfortunately we shall never find this kind of coexistence—at least, not in our life-The Russians are not inclined to leave us in peace. That is what I mean when I say that it should never be forgotten that the rulers of Russia are Communists. The fundamental principles of their ideology-and I have only touched on a few of their principles: there are still many othersare inseparable from the Communist state of mind, and determine the entire course of Russian policy. A change of Russian policy towards the West will become possible only if somebody comes to power in Russia who is no longer a Communist, or at least not so much of a Communist. And this will not happen by tomorrow.

In this sense Khrushchev is just as good Communist as Stalin. His friends, like his opponents, are equally good Communists. Is Khrushchev really the successor of Stalin? Can he attain to the position held by Stalin? We cannot say—we must continue to wait and see. But all the people who are fighting for power, those whom we already know, and those who may be the men of tomorrow, whom we can only see emerging far beyond the horizon—they all are Communists. Whether one comes and another goes is purely an internal Russian affair. For the foreign policy of Russia, and it is only that which is of interest to us, these changes make no difference: whether the leader of Russia is one man or a team, whether he is named Khrushchev or Molotov or Suslov or something else is all the same to us. Does this mean, you may ask, that nothing new will ever happen in the Soviet Union? Of course not, there is no country where nothing happens.

Russia is digesting communism. This is not the first time that Russia has had to digest an alien civilization. It also happened in the time of Peter the Great. order to create a new Russia which would be to his own liking Peter the Great upset Russian society with little regard for human life, human dignity, and human suffering. Peter the Great wanted to transform Russia into a land of officers and engineers. After his death his successors conducted an unending struggle for power, but nevertheless the basic elements of the Petrine re-forms remained undisturbed. This struggle went on for almost a century, and during that time Russia digested the new ideas in its own way. At the end of this period of digestion we have the courtiers of Alexander I, who certainly were not the officers and engineers envisaged by Peter the Great, but who also had nothing in common with the boyars of Alexis Michailovich. I suggest that something similar will also happen to communism: Russia will adjust this new form of government and form of life to its own spirit and its own way of life, and the result will be a society which may not have much resemblance to Stalin's dreams, but probably will even less resemble our own society. But these are speculations con-cerning the future, the very distant future. In Russia everything takes a long time, and this development will also take a long time. I think we should make no mistake. In our age, people move at supersonic speed. Ideas, however, move forward slowly, they go on foot just as they did a thousand years Events in Russia occur, as formerly, on two levels: On top, they are fighting for power, and this fight for mere power is often disguised by the different interpretations of Communist theory. But mostly it involves no more than theological hairsplitting; quietly Russia is digesting communism and preparing the new society.

What is happening in Russia below the surface, how the new classes are organizing behind the curtain of the classless societythese may be most interesting questions. But it is likely that they will be interesing only to our grandchildren. What affects us and concerns us are the political foreign relations between the East and the West. And in this sphere nothing will change until a non-Communist heads the Government; so long as there are Communists at the head of the Government, everything will remain as it used to be. It is an open question how many Russians are members of the Communist Party, and how many of these party members are truly convinced Com-munists. But the organization of the party has been created so that only those people who are true, genuine, ruthless, unrelenting Communists can reach the top and attain leadership, so that the reactions of individual people and also of individual factions, however interesting they may be for the fu-ture, have no real influence on the present situation.

Should one, then, reach the conclusion that there can be absolutely no new developments in the field of foreign policy? This is also not true, but has nothing to do either with the people in Russia or with us. We are now in a situation where there is a balance of power between America and Russia. It began some time ago, but it is only since relatively recently that people have begun to take account of its implica-

Formerly, the situation was different. The Americans had or believed that they had an absolute preponderance in atomic power. The Russians had or believed that they had an absolute preponderance in conventional weapons. Conventional weapons mean, more or less, the weapons with which the Second World War was fought. This peculiar posi-tion made it possible for both sides to believe that they could win a war easily and quickly. Now both have begun to be convinced that such a war would not be easy, and that it would be possible only in connection with tremendous losses. A new word has been found for the present situation, and, of course, it is English: a nuclear stalemate. I do not know how this word could best be translated literally into German, but I can translate it for you politically in a good old well-known phrase. It is called 'the balance of power'. A time will come— as we all hope—when right and not might will be decisive in international relations; but this is only a hope. And it is very, I repeat, very dangerous to suppose that the hope of a possible future is a political reality today. Today, just as in the last millenaries of history, as known to us, power is still decisive. Under such circumstances the only means which mankind has found to maintain the peace is, indeed, the balance of power.

I should like to mention something else in this connection. That the Americans have never wanted war, that is, a preventive war, is a fact which does not need to be discussed. It is of no significance that a few theoreticians have spoken or written about it: the aggressive intentions of the United States and of NATO are something which exists exclusively in the broadcasts of Radio Moscow. But also, I do not believe that the Russians really want, or have wanted, war. I do not believe that the Russians wish to spread communism by force of arms. There have been moments in the history of Soviet Russia, which now is already forty-one years old, when such an intention could be attributed to the Russians:

for example, the campaign against Poland in 1920. It cannot be denied that at that time the Russians believed that they could communize Poland with the help of the Red Army, and that from Poland they could support the revolution which was then breaking out here and there in Germany. But that was all. Such critical moments, as, for instance, the Berlin Blockade and the attack against South Korea, offer no indication to the contrary. The Russians thought that they could carry both operations through without severe consequences. When they saw that they were mistaken they quickly found a way to liquidate the operation. It may be said that Russian policy always contains a certain element of risk. There is always an element of risk in every policy, but the Russians have never taken their foot off the brakes, and they do not show any tendency to do so now.

Russia is a dictatorship, of that there can be no doubt, but it is not true that all dictatorships are aggressive, at least not insofar as they do not go to extreme consequences. A comparison between Stalin and Hitler or Mussolini is not exact: both of our dictators were firmly convinced that they had a momentary preponderance of power which was only temporary: it was a question of now or never. With the Russians and the Communists the contrary is true: they are convinced that time is working for them. They can wait; the transition of the entire capitalist society to Communism is an historically and biologically inevitable development. Whether it takes place ten years earlier or ten years later does not make any great difference. The Russians believe in the Cold War; they do not believe that the tran-

sition to a hot war is necessary, or even advantageous, for their ends. I am firmly convinced that Khrushchev was expressing his honest opinion when he told us in the course of one of his numerous conversations: "In order to ensure the victory of Communism throughout the world war is not necessary; peaceful competition will be enough."

I should like, here, and only in passing, to

emphasize something else. We should always give careful attention to what the Russian leaders say; they have the good, or bad, habit of always telling us the truth. When I say, "the truth," I should add that we must understand clearly what various words, such as peace, freedom, and so on, mean in the Communist jargon. But it is not difficult to understand this meaning; it is sufficient merely to study the sacred writings of communism cursorily; they are all at our

disposal.

I believe, therefore, that the Russians tell us quite clearly and quite frankly what they are thinking, what they are doing, what they are going to do. But we want to disbelieve it, particularly so when it interferes with our own ideas. We put an interpretation upon the statements of the Russians which may be pleasant for us, but which is not the interpretation of the Russians. happens constantly, and it is the cause of many a misunderstanding. I have said that the Russians do not want war. I should add that the Russians also do not want peace, at least not peace as we understand it. In this respect our grandfathers had much more simplicity and were much more reasonable than we. For them, when there was no war, there was peace. We do not like to accept such a clear and simple concept of world affairs. We are not happy about this idea of a peace which is merely not war. We want a peace which is organized in accordance with the law, a peace with treaties which settle every little detail, a peace with judges and sheriffs. Only that is what we call peace. One might also call it total peace. But unfortunately that is what we cannot have, and what we shall not have. If we can

content ourselves with a peace which merely not war, and which is based on balance of power, we can have it. We have already had this kind of peace, but noth more, for the last 15 years. I have to you, and I emphasize it again, that I lieve that the Russians really do not wa nor seek, war. But this should not be terpreted in the sense that we can afford pleasure of a complete or even partial armament. When we say the Lord's Pra we say: "And lead us not into temptation This applies to people, but it is probs even more applicable to nations and to world powers. Russia should not be led be temptation. Much is said about the gressiveness of NATO. May I remind that in the year 1950, when the NATO ganization really began its labors, the B sians in Germany alone disposed of 28 divisions quite ready for war, disions which could be deployed at moment, upon telephonic orders from M cow. Opposed to these Soviet divisions forces of the West-if by forces we are understand really battleworthy divisions not merely divisions which exist on pa (there are always plenty of paper divisions consisted of not quite two full divisit That is temptation. At that time there a story that someone asked Field Mars Montgomery whether he believed that Ruscians had the atom bomb and Mo gomery is supposed to have answered: don't know whether the Russians have atom bomb, but I am sure that they do have bloycles, because if they had bloyc they would have been in Bordeaux long at What do the Russians mean when t

What do the Russians mean when be tell us that peaceful competition is enough to insure the final victory of communist only means that they believe that capitalist society is incapable of overcomplits inner contradictions, that it is not a to adjust itself to the new conditions of the conditions of

age.

But they also believe, as I have alree told you, in our aggressive intentions; believe that this spirit of aggression will crease as our economic and social struct becomes increasingly deranged, and that peaceful and undisturbed development the Communist world must await the do fall of the last capitalist power. For reason, they are particularly interested preventing our stabilization; wherever posterior ble they must aggravate our internal external conflicts; they must make et possible effort to separate the so-called derdeveloped countries from the politi and economic influence of the West. are persuaded by their dialectical philo-phy, that if we, the West, lose the possib ity of exploiting these countries, we sp also lose the foundation of our propert and that then we shall be ripe for a 50 inner development as revolutionaries.

That means, in other words, the Russe must continue in their present course action, with one, but also one very imports reservation. Their policy may lead to brink of war—and I mean a hot war only to the brink, not further. Even too a war could endanger the very existence the Soviet Union; why risk this danger was

it is really not necessary?

Where is the brink of war? When there a balance of power, it is obvious that be sides must move very carefully. When the is no such balance of power, one can also so about much more carelessly.

It is within this narrow frame that possibilities of an understanding between East and the West are embraced. On one side, there is the challenge of peace competition; on the other, the challenge of balance of power; there is nothing

What does this mean in practical teres.
We must renounce any possibility of a total

Peace. Total peace may have a variety of mennings. It may mean that we can impose upon our opponent our own solution of every problem. But this kind of a peace is possible only as a consequence of total victory: it implies an unconditional surrender. This must be excluded in the very nature of tangs.

But total peace can also mean that there a a possibility of solving, if not all, yet at least the most important, the most urgent moblems. Unfortunately, this is likewise sciuded. The balance of power can protect is from war for a very long time, but only on condition that we renounce the solution of many important problems. Which problems should, and which should not, be approached is a question which can only be answered after long and careful experiments.

This is really the crisis of the present foreign policy; both sides understand very clearly that we cannot, or must not, go to But both sides as yet do not understand that we also cannot have peace, or at least only a very limited, very unsatisfactory kind of peace. In a situation like the present the only possible agreement is the acceptance of the status quo by both sides, But the West cannot accept the status quo, and the East still less so. What is possible in the present position of the relations between the East and the West is at bast only a small and temporary relaxation of tension, which is more a matter of atmosphere than of facts, and which really should never be taken seriously. This means that a real pol-ley cannot be based upon the ethereal lestening of tension. It is like having malaria. You have an attack, the fover rises, then it lalls again, and the attack is over. But it will return: you have not got rid of your malaria just because you do not have an attack of fever. Decreasing and increasing tensions are cyclic symptoms of the cold war. As nobody wants to plunge into hot war, tension must lessen now and then. But then the tension always increases again. that is possible in our day are a few de facto agreements. But even such agreements are impossible in some instances, and probably they are the most important ones.

I have just said that we have not yet entrely faced up to the consequences of this situation which has been created by the balance of power, and this applies in par-ticular to the Soviet side. The Russians— in accordance with their theories as Communists—are fully convinced that our society ety is suffering from serious inner conflicts, and they firmly believe that these conflicts will make it possible for them to influence the Policy of the Western powers. They are dialectically convinced that the working classes classes of the West entertain peaceful and talon, feelings which are not shared by the sentiments toward the Soviet dominant capitalist class. Theoretically at least, it should therefore be possible to combei the Western governments, through the Working classes, to accept the terms of the Soviet Union.

It is true that we too, think along somewhat similar lines. Much is said today about the great domestic—particularly, economic—dimculties of the Russians; for instance with regard to the decentralization of industry and the reorganization of agriculture. It is believed that they also have serious political dimculties. That is probably true, although we do not know exactly where the greater dimculties lie. And it is further said that the Russians need a certain measure of disarnament in order to reduce the burden of their military budget on their finances. It may well be true—I mention it in passians that the Russians really desire a certain measure of disarmament, but for this disarmament they certainly are not prepared to sacrifice their will to power.

The difference between us and the Russians inheres in the fact that our propaganda cannot get through to the Russian masses, and that in any event, Russian public opinion cannot exert any influence on their government, at least as matters stand now. And we all know this.

Contrariwise, Russian propaganda can get through to our masses. And in our countries, public opinion cannot simply be ignored by the Government. The Russians also know this, and they certainly are not missing any of their opportunities. It goes without saying that if we had

It goes without saying that if we had the same opportunities we would also make use of them.

In this sense it can be said that a summit conference is only one aspect of the propaganda diplomacy of the Soviets: a propaganda which is directed at our own public opinion and at the countries which, as it is said, stand outside of the two blocs,

And therein, without doubt, there lies a certain weakness of our side. We have not as yet adjusted ourselves to this new propaganda diplomacy and probably we are unable to do so. We believe that the object of diplomatic negotiations is to reach an agreement couched in strictly legal terms, now, and as used to be the case in the That is why we are so cautious. When we make a proposal we always suppose that it is possible that the other party might accept it, and then it would be binding upon us. The Russians make their proposals upon the assumption—which often enough is psychologically well-founded—that we will not accept their proposal. Thus they can portray themselves before public opinion as peace-loving people. But they do not consider themselves bound by their own proposals. The London Dis-armament Conference is a good example: Under the pressure exerted by Stassen and Moch we had accepted practically all of the proposals and conditions of the Russians. This was a bitter disappointment for them, and consequently they completely reshuffled the cards and finally they rejected their own proposals. Our own public opinion and also our own diplomacy still have a lot to learn before they will have a better understanding of the rules of propaganda diplomacy, or, if you prefer, of mass diplomacy, in a balance of power era.

I have already mentioned that the only possibilities between the Russians and ourseives are confined to a few strictly limited factual agreements. We shall be able to know what kind of an agreement is possible, and what not, only if and when the Russians are convinced that their propaganda diplomacy cannot have any real suc-In this sense, the summit conference is really only a phase, an appearance, a maneuver on a grand scale. It is my opinion that the preparations for this conference are just as important as the conference itself. If we are prepared to say "No" the Russians do, and to insist upon our "No" without becoming impatient and without expecting a miracle, if our public opinion is neither too nervous nor too optimistic, then we may perhaps be in a position to find out how far the Russians are willing to go to meet us. And then the Russians, too, will see how far we are able, or want to go. Then, and only then, will it perhaps become possible to achieve something useful, but always on a very modest scale. Unfortuntely, we must renounce any great hopes, any utopian dreams, any expectation of great miracles. Our dreams are dangerous. They do not promote peace, they can only aggravate the tension. We must be modest, very modest; and realistic, very

Trust should be created. But it is impossible to convince people that we do not want war, when these people, steeped in the

prejudices of their theories, believe that we dream only of war against the Soviet Union, and that, because we are capitalists, we are dirty bourgeois pigs. We can only hope that some day the Russians will convince themselves that we cannot make war on them, because it is impossible for us to win this war, at least, quickly and without tremendous losses, just as the Russians are not in a position to win any war against us easily and quickly. With, the passage of time this too can come about, but it cannot be achieved through diplomatic negotiations.

Limitation of armaments? What, in fact, does this limitation amount to? It is an attempt to maintain the balance of power cheaply. But heretofore we have tried to achieve this for a long time, and in circumstances which were much more favorable than those obtaining today. A truly great power will never renounce the full development of its own power potentialities in order to make it easy for its antagonist. The limitation of armaments is genuinely desired only by those powers which do not have the money with which to arm. The limits of armament are determined by the financial resources of a State. Many times the Russians have announced the demobilization of hundreds of thousands, or millions, of soldiers. Although we have no means of veri-fying this, I am convinced that it is true. But it was not a genuine disarmament; on the contrary, it was only because the Russians cannot simultaneously develop their atomic armament and maintain their conventional armament. In respect of the Russians there is also another difficulty. A lim-Itation of armaments without any control is unthinkable. But the Russians cannot agree to such a control for reasons of domestic policy.

I believe that here in the West it is not fully understood that the inner strength of the Soviet Government rests on the conviction of the Soviet masses that there is no power in the world which can successfully oppose their Government. If a group of people wearing any kind of an official badge on their caps were given the right to go where they liked in Russia, and to open doors that are locked, then the ordinary Russians might come to believe that there is something in the world which is more powerful than their own Government. And that might well be the beginning of the end.

Thus, quite apart from everything else, we stand before these alternatives: either disarmament without control or, more exactly, the extremely limited control which the Russians are willing to accept—or no disarmament at all.

Many people believe that the atomic weapons which the Americans and the Russians now possess constitute a potential of destruction so great that it really makes no difference whether it is increased still further. I do not know whether this is 100 percent true from the point of view of nuclear military strategy. It is likely that we are not far removed from this position, and probably it will afford the only possibility of a genuine limitation of armaments, once both sides are convinced that there really is no point in accumulating still more atomic weapons, and that the conventional weapons are, after all, really not so important in comparison to all of the various kinds of nuclear weapons. But this is likewise not a matter which can be settled by diplomatic negotiations. It can only develop by itself, out of the reality of the facts.

What, then, can we really expect from a summit conference? Only that the Russians may convince themselves of the necessity of accepting the presence of the other side as a fact which may perhaps be unpleasant, but which nevertheless is a fact,

and that they may begin to draw the conclusions from this simple fact. It would seem quite a simple proposition, but, things being what they are, the cold war is an attack and a counterattack of two ideologies: the Communist ideology and the Western ideology, which we understand as democracy and freedom. There is an essential difference between these two ideologies. The Western ideology possesses its own inherent worth: the people who believe in this ideology hope that other peoples—and perhaps even all peoples—will adopt the same political and moral ideology. But our idea of democracy and freedom can fully justify itself even if only a few peoples accept this ideology.

For Communism, it is rather different; in the long run Communism cannot tolerate any other ideology. Communism is justified only if it is the sole possible solution of the problems of our society: there is no salvation other than by Communism. If it can be proven that salavation is possible outside of Communism, then the entire Communist theory must collapse. This is the true reason why the Communists are so bitterly opposed to the Socialists; for if it can be proven that a better society, more or less as they conceive of it, can also be achieved by the methods of democratic Socialism, what then remains of Communism?

That is also the reason why it is impossible for Moscow and Tito to come to a real understanding. Tito is a Communist who believes that Communism can be erected by methods which are not quite the same as those of the Soviet Union. If, however, the possibility of an individual interpretation of Communist doctrine were to be acknowledged, the entire world organization of Communism would collapse. You will now understand why it is not so easy to reconcile the Russians to the existence of a capitalist world, and to the limits which this existing situation imposes on Communist expansion. What is required is a psychological adjustment to a completely new situation, and this can be attained only very slowly. A summit conference could at best constitute a modest first step in this direc-

One of the most frequent criticisms heard here and there against the so-called NATO policy is, that it is not a constructive policy, because it is founded upon the basic concept of negotiating with the Russians from a position of strength; that is, of attempting to force the Russians into some kind of a surrender by building up our striking power.

If the policy of the Atlantic Alliance was truly such, I would be among the first to criticize this policy. But the fact is, that nobody has ever dreamt of negotiating with the Russians from a position of strength, we have wished only to avoid having to negotiate with the Russians from a position of absolute weakness. And that is something entirely different. If you are in a position of absolute weakness you do not negotiate, you surrender. Nobody expects, nobody has any illusions, that we can compet the Russions to surrendes. But the Russians likewise ought not to have any illusions of being able to thrust us into a position of defencelessness. It is, therefore, my un-shakeable conviction that we must make every effort, that we must do everything which lies within our power, to maintain a reasonable balance of power between us and the Eastern bloc-not in order to force the Russians into a surrender or near-surrender, but, instead, solely to preserve the peace and in order to avoid being forced to surrender ourselves.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is not true that armaments lead to war. The people who held high office in governments are never completely stupid, nor are they fools. Wars are made only when somebody has reason to be-

lieve that his power is superior to that of his opponents. There will be no war so long as there is a balance of power, and if the balance of power can be maintained only by an armaments race, this does no necessarily lead to war.

When we reflect upon our relations with the Russians, we must never forget that we are not facing an ordinary imperialist power. The ideological element, which is always the decisive factor in Soviet policy, completely alters the situation. So long as this ideological element remains the basis of Soviet policy any possibility of reaching an understanding must overcome sharply defined obstacles. An understanding is always based upon a compromise, and a good compromise is always only a compromise to the extent of about 50 percent. An ideological imperialism cannot agree to certain compromises. The Holy King, Louis IX, of France, was not only a saint but a very clever politician. But do you believe that for the sake of any kind of interest of French foreign policy he would have sacrificed to Islam one foot of Christian soil? Our mutual Emperor, Frederic of Hohenstuafen, also was a very clever politician, but he was no ideologist. To achieve his own purposes of foreign policy he would without hesitation have surrendered Christian territory to the Moslems. I do not want here to compare Mr. Khrushchev to St. Louis, but. without doubt, he is also no Emperor Frederic II.

The Russian Communists hold to the most terrible of all faiths: scientific faith. I must ask you to bear with me for repeating this constantly, but I consider it to be of the greatest importance. They believe that they possess a scientific key for the exact inter-pretation of all questions of domestic and foreign policy. And by virtue of their scientific faith they believe that our world is doomed, that sooner of later we must all become Communists. When Mr. Khrushchev told the Western diplomats in Moscow: "Your children will be Communists," he did not say it in a spirit of macabre humor; he firmly believes in what he says. In the eyes of the Russians we belong to the past, an anachronistic past which vainly tries to defend itself; history has condemned us to death. The Communists cannot resign themselves to abstaining from a further advance for any reason except that it is physically impossible for them to advance. The advance of Islam was first halted by force of arms before the walls of Constantinople. It would have been impossible to bind these Arabs by a simple treaty to cease to propagate their faith. The limitations which can be set to such advances, the liimtations which the Russians will accept, are but two: firstly, the physical and military impossibility of spreading communism by war. That, I repeat, the Russians do not want; they do not want to endanger the existence of the Soviet Republic. For this reason the West must carefully preserve the balance of power. Secondly, the domestic impossibility of promoting the social disintegration of a country by their Communist propaganda. Therefore, we all, we countries of the West, must always be careful to preserve our domestic stability-socially, politically, and economically.

These two limitations cannot be established by diplomatic treaties—they can only be de facto limitations.

Will we have a summit conference or not? This question cannot as yet be answered with certainty. And in my opinion it is one which is not really of great importance. A genuine lessening of tension is impossible so long as there is an ideological division of the two worlds. A genuine lessening of tension is impossible without tolerance, and tolerance is the daughter of a certain kind of scepticism. He whose belief is firm cannot be tolerant.

In order to attain to a small, limited lessening of tension, a lessening of tension which will exist more as a matter of fact than by virtue of treaties, we shall need great deal of time and patience. A summit conference would at best be a small step along this path. But if there should not be a summit conference, it would also be small step along the same path. This might mean that we were beginning to understand the limitations imposed by impossibility Talleyrand, who And that is also important. was not at all a bad diplomat, once said "Diplomacy is the art of the possible That sounds somewhat pessimistic, does I, too, am a pessimist, but in the sens that I do not believe in miracles. After all what do we really expect of the Russians In the span of one lifetime my generation has endured two World Wars. It is natural that we have had enough and that we cherish only one dream: to put on a dressing gown and slippers and to sit quietly in a comfortable armchair. Such a wish is only to natural, but unfortunately it will not be out lot. There are generations which were born with slippers; there are generations which were born with boots; and, may God merciful to us, we belong to those who wer born with boots. Therefore we alway dream that one fine morning we shall walk up and find that the Russians have sudden become nice and peaceful people, that the have grown little wings on their shoulder and have turned into pretty white little angels.

Unfortunately we shall not see such miracle. And if we think that at some spectacular meeting, any of the heads of the tacular meeting, any of the heads of governments of our time will be able to solve the problems of our world, the problem the coexistence of communism with demorracy, we are deceived by an illusion. if we believe that any other heads of govern ment on our side will be able to solve the problems by any different approach, then are likewise deceived by an illusion. The problems will be solved only when power the other side passes into the hands of other people, who have new ideas and are with out ideological spectacles. You will say the even then it will not be easy. Russia, even a non-Communist Russia, will remain a great power, a great power in the full sense of the word: a new Russia, and it is not easy come to terms with the youthful strength such a great power. such a great power. When we dream of new Russia, we are really dreaming of Russia as she was at the beginning of the 200 century. Than too the dream of the 200 century. century. Then, too, that Russia was a power a danger, but—if I may say so—a comfortable danger. danger. All that is past and it cannot return. Even with a non-Communist Russithe basic question, the question of limiting the spheres of power of Russia and America will be difficult to define. As long as the problem remains unresolved, we must patient.

patient.

In one of his speeches, Mr. Khrushchev he given us—in my opinion—a master description of the situation as he sees it. said: "We are confident of the final victor, of communism. For this victory, we do not need war, peaceful competition will enough." This is the crucial question. Peaceful competition. What does peaceful competition mean? Both worlds, the communists and the democracies, have the domestic difficulties; there will always be difficulties in this world. A society without difficulties is a petrified society, and we not live in a petrified society. On the contrary, the whole world is in motion, and we are moving with it. The Russians are firm convinced that communism is the only possible way of overcoming the difficulties the historical world crises of today. The conviction is their strength. In order to withis peaceful competition, we must protect that our democratic, or, if you like, our capture is the strength of the contraction of the contraction, or, if you like, our capture is the contraction of the contraction, or, if you like, our capture is the contraction of the contrac

Wastic, society is likewise able to overcome wese difficulties. And not only that, but we Tust also prove that our society, our system, to overcome these difficulties better and the easily than communism; that is, at the of less human suffering. The Commuats do not deny the human suffering which companies their history. They only claim at it could not be otherwise; the conflicts the capitalist world can be cured only by regery, energetic, merciless surgery. We must prove that this is really not necessary. the can prove this, if we can succeed in our Gorts, then we will have won; then we will have won the cold war. For when speaking the relations between the East and the vet, ladles and gentlemen, however we wish to characterize these peculiar relations: cold at, coexistence, peaceful competition; it al-Tys amounts to one and the same thing. Smeone said once: "A rose can be given many names, but it still is a rose."

It is the task of all of us to win the cold a: it is a problem which does not permit arybody to remain neutral. But in order tin, one must believe in the possibility of It is not sufficient to pay a mere b service to the ideas of freedom and democ-ncy. Our falth must stand upon as firm a foundation as that of the Communists; if besible, our faith must be stronger than that of the Communists. It would have been im-possible to overcome the blockade of Berlin it we had not believed in the justice of our cause and in the possibility of victory. In a certain sense, the whole Western World is in state of blockade. We must have full condence in the possibility of our victory; there hust be no sentiment for surrender. A war anot we won when from the outset people re convinced of defeat. But for the victory of the people of Berlin, courage and faith ere not enough; they also needed the air-Dosible without the shield of the might of the United States. The Russians tolerated the airlift only because they knew that an attack against the airlift might mean war sainst the United States. We still need this shield in order to keep the peace, in order to be a developing our beautiful of so developing our beautiful of so developing our breserve the possibility of so developing our oclety that it will adjust itself to the new requirements of our times—in a few words: that we shall win the peaceful competition

All this, ladies and gentlemen, will take a dong time, at least years, and probably decades. The situation will not change over alght. There will be no miracles, there is no hope of changing our conflict-ridden, unpleasant situation from one day to another. dy any new plan, by any audacious project, by any new plan, by any audacious project, by any clever idea. It is a slow and painstaking back to lay each brick upon another.

Big Farmers' Free Ride on Public Stirs Scandal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, it is no secret that tremendous pressure has been and continues to be placed on Secretary of Labor Mitchell, who has proposed changes, based on the Wagner-peyer Act, with respect to the hiring and treatment of farmworkers, and who has proposed public hearings on the said changes or regulations.

On June 11 of this year, Don Harris, staff labor writer for the Los Angeles Mirror-News, laid it on the line in his article, "Big Farmers' Free Ride on Public Stirs Scandal." I believe the facts and observations presented bolster the position of those of us who have publicly commended the Secretary for his stand and for those of us who have introduced legislation to bring farmworkers-America's forgotten people-under minimum wage protection.

The article follows:

BIG FARMERS' FREE RIDE ON PUBLIC STIRS SCANDAL

(By Don Harris)

There is a story simmering beneath the surface in Washington today that soon may explode into one of the Nations' biggest scandals.

It concerns the almost desperate attempts by powerful farm lobbies to block public hearings over the plight of 2 million American farm workers.

Ostensibly, the lobbylsts are out to scuttle Labor Secretary Mitchell's plan to virtually force growers to hire Jobless domestic farm workers before importing foreigners.

#### FEAR SUBSIDY EXPOSED

But the Mirror News learned from reliable sources what they really fear is that public hearings would arouse taxpayers to the point where they'd demand not only an end to the bracero import program, but an end to the multibillion-dollar farm subsidy program as well.

For public hearings would let the taxpayer know that less than 5 percent (242,000 farms) of the Nation's farmers hire anybody to speak of.

And that this same 5 percent of large and corporate growers get the bulk of the millions of dollars poured into crop supports every year.

Commerce Department surveys show also that this same 5 percent markets 22 percent of all the cattle in the United States and 42 percent of the sheep, and produces 47 percent of the fruit, 62 percent of the vegetables, 37 percent of the cotton, and 57 percent of the potatoes in the Nation.

The surveys show also that 9 out of 10 farm families harvest their own crops.

That in itself, Mitchell is known to feel, would destroy the myth being spread by the Farm Bureau lobbyists that his labor rules would hurt the small farmer.

#### TAXES PAY FARM HANDS

What it all adds up to, observers say, is the fact that the taxpayer is virtually subsidizing not only the large growers' crops, but his labor costs as well.

This is the call to arms dispatched by William H. Tolbert, top lobbyist for the Na-tional Farm Labor Users Conference, over Mitchell's proposed new rules for hiring do-

"Do anything you can, anywhere, to stop them and to prevent the issuance of them (the rules) and the holding of the public hearings."

#### DEMOS BACK MITCHELL

Meantime, 35 Democratic lawmakers, including Representatives ROOSEVELT, MILLER, and COHELAN from California, have lined up with Mitchell in the fight.

They signed a statement commending Mitchell for his proposals to improve conditions of agricultural workers.

And they deplored the efforts of the large growers to block the new rules—and the public hearings.

"The fundamental issue is the responsibility of our Government to protect the basic rights of a long-neglected group of citizens," the statement said.

#### DOMESTIC BENEFITS

Briefly, Mitchell's proposed changes in the Wagner-Peyser Act would require growers to provide adequate family housing and trans-portation for domestic laborers, pay them the prevailing wage rate, and make growers use the U.S. Employment Service interstate labor-recruiting program.

As it is now, the large growers import up to 500,000 braceros annually, circumvent the interstate recruitment program, and drive down prevailing wages.

All this at a time when 2 million American farm laborers are working only an average of 144 days a year for an average annual wage of \$892.

And through pressure from farm lobbyists the workers have been excluded from all the social benefits (minimum wage, jobless pay, workmen's compensation, etc.) other American workers enjoy, except social security.

#### LEGAL OPINION SOUGHT

Mitchell's administrative rule changes are now before the U.S. Attorney General for an opinion on their legality.

Farm bloc Congressmen forced that move by threatening to pass a resolution condemning him for attempting to legislate by administrative edict.

The Attorney General's opinion is expected any day now.

The public hearings on the rules are scheduled for this summer.

## Increases for the Soil Bank

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. J. FLOYD BREEDING

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. BREEDING. Mr. Speaker, I would like to go on record at this time in favor of a larger and more realistic appropriation for the conservation reserve program.

My reasons for doing so are two: First, I believe that the authorization for the 1960 conservation reserve program contained in H.R. 7175 is inadequate to carry out the goals contemplated by the Congress when the Soil Bank Act was originally approved. Furthermore, the limitations imposed by the provisions seem to me to be either impossible of administration or so restrictive as to hamstring the program and render it ineffective.

Second, I wish to go on record as believing that recent newspaper articles critical of the administration of the conservation reserve with respect to contracts entered into on State-owned land have been written without full understanding of the facts and this criticism has been unfair to this situation in particular and to the farmers of America in general.

These newspaper articles have appeared in recent weeks in various parts of the country and they exhibit a misunderstanding of the farm problem and of the various Federal programs which the Congress has enacted in attempts to solve these problems. Because of this misunderstanding and the misrepresentations in these articles, the writers of them are doing the Nation's farmers a

disservice and are creating public criticism of congressional programs which is undeserved.

For a good many years, the farmers of America have produced more than can be consumed domestically and sold for export at reasonable prices. This overproduction has averaged about 10 percent of the total in recent years and the carryover of stored surplus has reached unmanageable proportions. These surpluses act to depress the prices which farmers receive for their goods. The economic condition of most farmers has been adversely affected by the squeeze between falling prices and the rising costs of production which has attended the inflationary movement since the Korean war.

The whole national economy has been depressed as a result of the depressed farm economy and it has been generally held that the Government should take steps to alleviate this situation in the interest of the overall national welfare.

An approach to the agricultural overproduction problem was suggested in 1956 and the necessary legislation to carry it out was included in the Soil Bank Act of 1956.

In its simplest form the Soil Bank Act provided for a national conservation reserve. The conservation reserve has as its objective the rental by the Government of sufficient acreage, to be held from production for a specified period of years, to bring a balance between national production and consumption. During the time the land is placed in the conservation reserve it is devoted to uses which contribute to the conservation of soil, water, forests, and wildlife. This makes sense to everyone who has given thought to the problem.

The program has been in operation for 3 years and some 23 million acres have been placed in the conservation reserve on a voluntary basis by the Nation's farmers. To achieve the original objective of bringing a balance between production and consumption, it will be necessary to place at least twice this acreage in the reserve.

Under the law, and the regulations pertaining to the conservation reserve, farmers who have control of land, either by ownership or by lease, can place land in the conservation reserve for periods of from 3 to 10 years. Only land which is currently being used for the production of crops is eligible for contract.

Certain restrictions have been set up which control further the eligibility of land which can be placed in the conservation reserve. In the event land has been newly purchased it cannot be placed in the conservation reserve for at least 1 year unless the county agricultural stabilization and conservation committees—which administer the program at the local level—find that the new owner would farm the land himself in the absence of the conservation reserve program.

Land owned by the Federal Government is not eligible to be placed in the conservation reserve. Since November 25, 1958, country clubs, golf clubs, cemetery associations, or State, county, town, or local governments or subdivisions

thereof are prohibited from being payees under a conservation reserve contract.

The regulations also limit producers to a maximum annual payment of \$5,000. While this tends to limit participation by large landowners, it has the advantage of making the program available to a greater number of small landowners. As presently being administered, the general aims of the program, approved by the Congress, are being carried out.

I believe that sufficient acreage can be attracted into this program to bring production down to the level of national consumption. When that is accomplished surpluses will disappear and farm income should become more stable. In the meantime, a valuable contribution will have been made to the conservation and wise use of millions of acres of land which will always be at hand for use in the event of future need or emergency.

Furthermore, assistance has been given through the program to hundreds of thousands of small farmers in making adjustments to a more favorable economic situation. I believe that this is just the type of program recommended by the editors of Life magazine in the editorial which was so critical of the price support program and the big subsidy payments to large corporate farming operations. I cannot understand why Life magazine included the soil bank in their blanket indictment while recommending such a program in the same article

Neither can I understand the reason for the criticism in the recent series of articles in the Washington Daily News.

It is true that the conservation reserve annual payments equal \$6.50 per acre or more on many contracts in Colorado and New Mexico. However, these payments are determined by the productive capacity of the land as compared with other farmers in the vicinity. The rates are set by local farmers who have knowledge of productivity, land values, and other factors that go to make up fair rental rates for land. The ownership of the land is not a factor in setting the rate.

Many acres of State school land in the West have been rented to farmers for years at relatively low rental rates, usually because the renters must expend considerable sums to make productive use of these lands. Where these lands have been placed in the conservation reserve the rate per acre at which these lands are rented from the State may be much less than the conservation reserve annual payments. However, I believe that the comparison is unfair because this ignores the other costs which these renters have been put to in renting this State-owned land. Furthermore, since conservation reserve rental rates are the same for comparably productive land in the vicinity, whether State-rented land or privately owned land, it would appear that the rates were fairly established, and that the Government is getting production adjustment as planned. If anything is improper with this situation, it is the low rates which some States are forced to accept as rental payment for State school lands.

I believe that the newspaper publicity which has attended these isolated cases is unfair to all parties involved and is unfortunate in the impression believe created that the soil bank conservation reserve is not a sensible approach to the agricultural surplus problem, as well a being an aid to making land use change which are badly needed in many parts the country.

The Members of this Congress can of the Nation and the farmers of this Nation no better service than supporting the soil bank program at the \$450 ml ion level for 1960 without the addinimitations better left to those responsible for administering the program.

Congress Should Enact a Nonpuniting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, honesty ethics are not provisions that can be legislated in a way to assure against the control of unions by racketeers or gan sters who infiltrate a labor union. In stead of including high sounding phrase our task through a labor-management reform bill as I see it is to establish standards and rules to assure union members the protection of a democratic mechanism for the union members it itself to exercise control over honesty its own affairs.

Certainly I do not support any proposed law to burden labor with mountains of redtape and to provide for Government bureaucrat to regulate the internal affairs of each union. Actually I happen to believe that punitive overly restrictive provisions of any law we pass would be a boomerang and defeat the very objectives of such legislation in the long run. Meanwhile if weaken the willingness and incentive union members to be active in the union affairs, likewise we would achieve the reverse of our purpose.

Mr. Speaker, what is needed now is simple law to protect the rank and in members of unions and assure them voice in union activities and at the same time to protect the public from abuses both business organizations and unions. But outside the framework of such protective provisions, under the law Government should not have any role such referee or arbitrator in legitimate collective bargaining discussions or in weighting disputes in one direction or another in the real purpose of any bill passed to Congress should be to provide to labor not to business, a means of curbing in ternal evils in trade unions; and conversely give to business, not to labor, means of remedy to internal evils business.

Regulation and public disclosure requirements need not be as burdensor

or penalties so great as to prevent any legular union members accepting re-

Consibility of a union office.

By the same token I would hate to see Congress succumb to the temptation of passing an overly technical bill. aw, calling for simple procedures with equirements that are not complicated. high-sounding so-called bill of rights easily could end in a mass of conflicting hterpretations and thus aggravate abor-management disputes and create

costly legal conflict. The need it seems to me is for the enactment of a law which will allow legitimate unions to function effectively. If such can be obtained with even reluctant Support of labor and business leadership, Source of future irritation and con-Sicting election issues will be removed. Otherwise I would guess management for example, or possibly labor, might end to far worse than at present. We have seen that happen on the State level in my State of Washington. The defeat of \$ 50-called right-to-work law did not end with the situation as it had been before. Instead labor came out of their victory both angry and organized. Business since then has had to contend with an aroused antagonist determined to press advantage. As I see it, business and abor both will fare better in the long run with a labor reform bill fair to both parties, business and labor. Obviously neither is going to be completely pleased With any measure Congress passes. But either side be too dissatisfied, and we legislators will not have heard the end of this issue. We will be sorry indeed if any continuing irritant is left to come

back like a ghost and haunt us each year and especially each election year. So as I say, Mr. Speaker, I believe if Congress fails to act or cannot agree on a fair nonpunitive bill, the future will hold only added contention and difficulty due to ever-increasing pressures.

The Congress has a job to do. The sooner we do it the better. Let us pass a fair labor law and go home and be prepared to defend what we do to our constituents on merit and not on emo-

## Fair Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. BRUCE ALGER

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, for the benefit of the Members of the House, I submit the following statement of Dr. the following statement stewart M. Lee, chairman, department of economics and business administra-lon, Geneva College, Beaver Falls, Pa., before the Special Subcommittee on Fair Trade of the Senate Committee on In-terstate and Foreign Commerce, in opposition to all bills which would establish ederal sanction for resale price mainenance:

My name is Stewart H. Lee. I wish to thank the committee for the opportunity of presenting this statement in opposition to all bills which would establish Federal sanction for resale price maintenance. I live at 206 Oakville Road, Beaver Falls, Pa. June 1950, I have taught economics and business administration courses at Geneva College. For 2 years I taught economics courses at the University of Pittsburgh. At present I am chairman of the department of economics and business administration at Geneva College.

I received my bachelor-of-arts degree from Geneva College, and master-of-arts and doctor-of-philosophy degrees from the University of Pittsburgh. My doctoral dissertation, which was accepted at the University of Pittsburgh, summer, 1956, was entitled "Some Economic Implications of Resale Price Maintenance With Particular Attention to the Discount House."

I have been a contributor to publications of the Council on Consumer Information, headquarters at Colorado State College, Greely, Colo., and the American Marketing Association's publication, the Journal of Marketing.

I am not representing any group. I am speaking before your committee as an economist, as an educator, and as a consumer. In years of study and research on the subject of resale price maintenance, I have come to the conclusion that little good if any has come or will come to our economy by the passage of such laws, and that some harm and possibly a good deal of inequity have been present under resale price maintenance laws, and that this type of legislation would create an even worse situation by forcing resale price maintenance upon States which have rejected it.

I would like to speak briefly on the reasons put forth by the proponents for the need of fair trade laws, and attempt to meet their arguments.

1. Fair-trade proponents say that these laws are needed to prevent loss leader selling and predatory pricing.

We already have protection from this type of pricing on the national level in the following: The Federal Trade Commission Act. section 5, states, "That unfair methods of competition in commerce are hereby declared unlawful." And more precisely the Robinson-Patman Act, section 3, states, "It shall be unlawful for any person engaged in com-merce \* \* \* to sell, or contract to sell, goods at unreasonably low prices for the purpose of destroying competition or eliminating a competitor. In addition most of the States have passed so-called loss-leader or unfair practice acts to prohibit the very pricing practices which the proponents of fair trade say they need protection against.

In addition one will find in studying the testimony presented at previous fair-trade hearings, and the Federal Trade Commission's 1945 report on fair trade, that when loss-leader bills have been introduced to meet this problem of predatory pricing, proponents of fair trade shied away, wanting to have no part of such loss-leader bills.

Studies in Canada and studies by the Federal Trade Commission do not substantiate the fears of loss-leader selling. These studies have indicated that there is very little real loss-leader selling being done.

2. Fair trade proponents say that these laws are needed to protect small business.

There seems to be little doubt that fair trade laws have helped big business get bigger in at least three ways; (1) Big businesses can develop their own private brands and create a market for these and undersell fair traded products; (2) they can handle fair traded products and get a wider margin than they would normally get on non-fair-traded products, and in this way increase their

profits and/or reduce prices of non-fair-traded products and put the squeeze on small business because of these fair trade (3) big businesses are the only ones that can afford national advertising which helps to protect their markets from the competition of small business which cannot afford such large advertising outlays.

If fair trade laws are needed to protect small business, then the question might well be raised: Are there no small businesses in Washington, D.C., Alaska, Missouri, Texas, or Vermont? These areas have never had a fair trade law. In the States in which fair trade laws have been invalidated, have small businesses disappeared? Prior to the passage of any of the fair trade laws were there no small businesses in the United States? Are there no small businesses that sell furniture and major appliances, items which the manufacturers have rarely fair traded? objective statistical study of these questions might produce some very relevant informa-tion, information which I feel should be obtained before a vote should be cast on this piece of legislation. Congress has never seen fit to pass a fair trade law for the District of Columbia. Does small business really need this so-called protection?

Are lower costs of production and distribution to be passed on to consumers or not? Or is an artificial price protection law to be made available for all regardless of costs? One might well ask where our standard of living would be today if this type of protection had been in existence during the turn

of the century.
3. Some fair trade proponents say that fair trade laws are needed to prevent quality

deterioration of their products.

Up until 1931 on the State level and 1937 on the national level, fair trade laws were not in existence. During the over 150 year period prior to the passage of these laws are we to assume that quality deterioration ran rampant? Since most goods are not fair traded, or have not been fair traded, are we to assume then that quality deterioration is present in most products? Furniture and most major appliances have not been fair traded. Is one to assume then that there is quality deterioration in these products since they are not fair traded? I believe that this argument is just another attempt to strengthen the financial position of the manufacturers who are mainly in the national market. Do these same manufac-turers feel that the products they purchase for their own plants are being deteriorated since practically none of these items is fair This I feel is a very weak argu-

4. Fair trade proponents state that fair trade laws are necessary in order to have an orderly market for distributing their products or sales will decline.

The facts as presented in Electrical Merchandising would seem to contradict this contention. This trade publication predicts the following percentage increases-in 1959 sales over 1958 for these products which have generally been fair traded:

Units	1958 (in thous- ands)	1959 (in thous- ands)	Percent increase
Fry pan-skillets	3,750	4, 500	20, 0
Irons: Automatic Steam Travel	1, 100	1,500	36. 4
	3, 975	5,000	25. 8
	476	500	5. 3
Mixers: Portable	1, 995	2, 500	25, 3
	770	1, 000	20, 9

<sup>5.</sup> Fair trade proponents state that fair trade laws should be permissible since there are other forms of price maintenance which

There are at least seven different methods by which retail prices may be maintained by the seller through the marketing channel to the ultimate consumer. These include such practices as: (1) consignment selling; (2) selling through manufacturerowned retail stores; (3) granting of franchises; (4) selling direct from manufacturer to retailers who will abide by the manufacturer's suggested retail price; (5) selling direct from manufacturer to consumer; (6) having your own private brands made up; and (7) the entire public utility field.

In each of the above cases except No the seller who establishes the retail price assumes additional marketing responsibilities and risks in order to be able to maintain his price. In No. 7 the price is determined and enforced by the Government. Under this proposed law the sellers would not be assuming any additional responsibilities or risks as suggested in the above conditions, but they would be getting the legal benefit of price protection. If a seller is really interested in maintaining prices, it seems rather logical that he should be willing to assume some of the additional risks involved in marketing his products. Since there are already many ways to maintain price additional method of maintaining price without having him assume additional risks in the marketing

Since the demise of fair trade in the electrics field the following companies have instituted programs in an attempt to stabilize price by assuming some additional responsibilities in marekting:

 Sunbeam has instituted a consignment program for certain products in some areas.
 The Toastmaster division of the Mc-

(2) The Toastmaster division of the Mc-Graw-Edison Co. has instituted a directshipment-to-retailers program for one toaster on a trial basis.

(3) Schick is now distributing its electric shavers on a direct-to-dealer distribution basis.

(4) Dormeyer has adopted an authorized

franchised distributor program.

6. Fair trade proponents state that farmers have price supports and labor has the minimum wage, so small business should have fair trade. There is a very important difference. The price supports level and the minimum wage level have been established by Congress, while the fair trade price is established at the discretion of the manufacturer. Do the advocates of fair trade want Congress to establish fair trade price?

7. Fair trade proponents state that bargain prices offered by discounters on name brand items are offset by high profit margins on less familiar brands. This is reductlo ad absurdum. With or without fair trade retailers are going to have different profit margins on different products. Where price competition in a product is keen the profit margin will be low, and where price competition is restricted, e.g., by fair trade, the profit margin will be higher as will be illustrated later with figures published by the National Association of Retail Druggists.

After much study and a careful analysis, it seems that not one of these arguments can be used as a valid defense for the passage of a fair trade law. What would appear to be the most valid argument and the most honest argument would be that resale price maintenance laws maintain and improve the profit picture for the seller by maintaining and increasing retail prices.

It might well be that the most important consideration with regard to fair trade bills has to do with their impact upon the prices consumers must pay for their products.

In order for a product to be fair traded it has to bear a trademark, brand, or name of the producer. This very condition tends to bring this product a stop away from the economist's concept of pure competition because the very trademark or brand name tends to create differentiation among the products in the minds of the consumers, This is best illustrated by Bayer aspirin. The heavy advertising of the trade name has created, in the minds of the buyers, a product difference which does not exist. So Bayer aspirin sells in fair trade areas for 67 cents a hundred, 5 grains U.S.P., while one can purchase another aspirin, 5 grains U.S.P., at as low as 9 or 11 cents per 100 in the same fair trade area. Yes, there is competition between the Bayer and 9-cent aspirin, but the consumer is aware of Bayer. Thus, Bayer has been able to gain a control over price in the marketplace which indicates a move away from pure competition. This is developed more completely in this additional statement from my doctoral dissertation which I would like to submit for the record.

Facts which have been presented by proponents of fair trade in the past to show that fair trade prices increased less than nonfair trade prices in inflationary periods is to the economist almost perfect proof that the product was not selling in free and open competition. If a product is really selling in free and open competition then the seller has to sell close to his cost of production including just enough profit to keep him in The very fact that some fair trade business. prices did not increase during an inflationary period indicates that the price was already at a level higher than would prevail under conditions of free and open competition. This, too, is developed more completely in my additional statement.

Are these products really selling in free and open competition? Mr. E. S. Herman, in his testimony before the House subcommittee which held hearings on fair trade legislation during the last session of Congress, had data to show than in 20 areas in which fair trade contracts have been used, that the 20 largest producers produced 96 to 100 percent of all that was produced; that the 8 largest producers produced 81 to 100 percent of all that was produced and that the 4 largest producers produced 65 to 99 percent of all that was produced. These figures would seem to indicate that instead of free and open competition being the requirement for maintaining prices that the real requirement is to have a considerable degree of concentration.

The antitrust laws prohibit horizontal combinations which will restrain competition, but resale price maintenance laws permit a so-called vertical price-fixing program which has as its ultimate effect horizontal price fixing. This point is also developed more fully in my additional statement.

I have attempted to outline briefly some economic principles which illustrate how fair trade creates an upward pressure on price, now I would like to present some empirical evidence. These facts and figures have been developed by myself and a number of other persons over a period of time, and give a reasonably wide and varied picture as to the cost of fair trade prices to the ultimate consumer.

I feel that I would be correct in saying that no one knows how much fair trade costs consumers, but the results shown in the following studies would seem to indicate that fair trade does cost the consumer.

1. Table I is a comparison of fair trade prices and the prices which I actually paid for 20 items. The total I paid was 30.6 percent below the fair trade prices.

2. Table II is a comparison of fair trade prices and lowest discount prices for five electrical appliances in a study made by the St. Louis Better Business Burcau. The total for the discount prices was 30.8 percent below the fair trade prices.

3. Table III is a comparison of former fair trade prices and prices in Sears, Roebuck catalog as developed by the Consumers Information Bureau. The total price for the 10 items from Sears was 30 percent below former fair trade prices.

4. In the testimony presented by Al Akerman, Jr., executive secretary, Nation Anti-Price-Fixing Association before Senate Subcommittee of the Select Committee on Small Business, June 1958, on discoult house operations, he presented an amount showing fair trade prices and prices charge by Eckerd's of Tampa Inc., whose total prices are prices was 31 percent below the fortrade prices.

5. The Wall Street Journal, July 11, 18 quoted a sales manager of one large man facturer, "Take a toaster that lists for \$17 and has been selling for \$12.88 since the for fair trade, that price will firm soon about \$13.95." That price would be 22 pecent below the fair trade price. Another executive of a Philadelphia department stowas quoted in the same Wall Street Jours as stating, "Prices have stabilized at about to be approximately 30 percent below the fair trade price.

6. Masters Mall Order Co. of Washington D.C., in its 1956 discount price list had it following discount prices below fair trade Kodak, 20 to 29 percent below fair trade Revere, 25 to 30 percent below fair trade Argus, 20 to 25 percent below fair trade Bell & Howell, 20 percent below fair trade Ronson, 30 percent below fair trade. Sunbeam, 33 items averaged 26 percept below fair trade.

General Electric, 25 to 30 percent belliair trade.

Toastmaster, 6 items averaged 28 percel below fair trade.

Revereware, 54 items averaged 25 perceibelow fair trade.

7. A Department of Justice study in Ist of the prices of 736 products in drugstor in Washington, D.C., and in fair trade are showed that the Washington, D.C., prices were 28 percent below the fair trade prices. And another department study of 245 ites in the appliance field showed Washington, D.C., prices were 27.7 percent below the fatrade prices. These figures were present at the hearings in July 1954 on a fair trade of the Washington, D.C.

8. A Department of Justice study in 18 of 132 rapid turnover, fair trade, consumitems revealed these facts. First, of the items surveyed, an average of 119 were available in each city. Second, of the 119 items available some 77 on the average sold blow the fair trade prices in each of the cities. Thus, consumers in the sonon-fair-trade area purchasing these items could effect savings of 27 percent low their fair trade value of \$2,033.20. third, even if consumers in the area purchased all 119 of the items able, items which include those selling fair trade as well as below fair trade price consumers would, nonetheless, still have fected an average saving of 19 percent belothe fair trade figures of \$2,279.34.

Apart from these overall figures, the six vey revealed a rather wide range in privavings below fair trade levels in each of eight cities.

9. Table IV shows the former fair trait prices and catalog prices for Sears. Roebut Montgomery Ward's, and Spiegel's. The prices are not 1-day specials.

Sears was offering 11 Toastmaster products at 19 percent below former fair prices: and 1 Sunbeam product at 17 percent below former fair trade prices.

Ward's was offering 15 General Elect's products at 23 percent below former trade prices; and 9 Sunbeam products at percent below former fair trade prices.

Spiegel was offering seven General Electroproducts at 20 percent below former trade prices; nine Sunbeam products appercent below former fair trade prices;

Toastmaster products at 17 percent be-

low former fair trade prices.

Table V shows advertised prices of elecheal appliances, not at discount houses, but to orthodox retail stores. These figures retal that Woodward & Lothrop, Washington, D.C., was selling two Toastmaster products 23 percent below former fair trade prices. Cimbel's, New York, was selling seven Toastaster products at 27 percent below former lar trade prices. Kaufman's, Pittsburgh, as selling eight Sunbeam products at 26 Percent below former fair trade prices.

10. Table VI shows the actual items purased by me in November 1958, while in Washington, D.C. Twenty-five Items were Purchased at a total price which was 20.4 ercent below the fair trade prices which were charged in Pennsylvania.

11. In April of this year while attending conference in Washington, I purchased 28 drugstore items at a total cost of \$26.55. The identical group of items if purchased in by home town would have cost \$36.43 due to take trade. The dollar savings—\$9.88; the bercentage saving-27.12 percent.

12. The following statistics are taken from article in the "Information Bureau" section of the National Association of Retail Orneggists Journal, entitled "What Is the Value of Fair Trade to Pharmacy?" (Apr.

10, 1959 issue, pp. 36, 38, 44.)
The results of the survey presented in the ARD Journal reveal that nonfair-trade tems had an average gross profit of 26.29 betcent, and fair trade items had an average gross profit of 33.66 percent. In other words item costing 66 cents would sell for 81 under fair trade but an item costing 66 cents and not sold under fair trade would sell for only 84 cents. Thus the average fair trade Drice in this study was 19 percent more than the nonfair-trade price.

This study also stated that fair trade items counted for 32.16 percent of total sales. Using these figures developed in the NARD ournal, it is possible to project an estimate as to the cost of fair trade to consumers just in in one field, the drug and proprietary store.

In the report of the Department of Comherce, Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Business: 1954, "Retail Trade," volume II, drug and proprietary stores' total sales were \$2.252 million. If we can accept the figures presented presented in the Journal as being accurate, then approximately 32.16 percent of these sales were in fair trade items, and fair trade items cost 19.36 percent more than nonfair-trade items, so fair trade pricing cost the Consumers \$326,990,000 more just in drug and proprietary stores.

13. In a recent study published in Home purnishings Daily, April 2, 1959, retail prices were published. were published for 9 electrical appliances in 30 retail stores in 8 cities. This price study revealed the following:

Product	List price	Aver- uge retail price	Sav- ings over list	Percent list above average
General Electric:			100	AR AN
CONCERNATION OF THE PARTY OF TH	\$21,95	\$15, 10	\$6, 85	45.4
The state of the s	18.95	14. 38	4, 63	32, 2
Minim:	80, 105	62.47	27, 48	44.0
Mixer HM Iron 84 Pry pan FPM	21,00	14.61	6.39	43.7
Par pan kusa	17, 95	13, 05	4, 90	37.5
Townster	19, 95	15.88	4.07	25. 6
Prop. 3 1 1124	19, 95	14, 12	4, 83	34.2
Rkillet 8A1	17.95	12.06	5, 29	41.8
	19, 95	16, 08	3, 89	24. 2

tormer fair trade prices of these companies, brices one could expect to be the actual prices if this this fair trade bill is enacted into law. So on these nine items this bill would have the tendency to raise the actual price 24.2 percent to 45.4 percent.

In these many studies the non-fair-trade price was 17 to 31 percent below the fair-trade price. This is just a study with regard to individual purchases. What is the impact of fair trade when projected to the entire economy? Unfortunately we have no complete or exact studies, but the following statistics give some idea of the possible range of the cost of fair trade to the consumer.

1. In the House hearings on the McGuire Act in 1952, the cost of fair trade to consumers, which was presented by Dr. Joseph Klamon, was estimated close to \$2 billion.

2. Nation's Business, a publication of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, in its March 1955 issue stated, "Depending on whose estimate you use, somewhere be-tween 4 and 20 percent of all retail sales—which means between \$7 billion and \$34 billion a year is sold at fair-trade prices. The best guess is around 7 or 8 percent, which would be some \$12 to \$14 billion annually." Using these figures, 4 percent to 20 percent, and 1957 total retail sales figures-since fair trade was abandoned in 1958 by many—and the previous figures developed on the cost of fair trade from the many studies one arrives at the following as possible total costs to consumers.

Estimated cost to the Nation's consumers due to fair trade: Total retail sales for 1957,

\$200 billion.

Minimum projection (4 percent of sales or \$3 billion fair traded): 17 percent, mini-mum cost \$1.4 billion; 24 percent, average cost \$1.9 billion; 31 percent, maximum cost \$2.5 billion.

A middle projection (7½ percent of sales or \$15 billion fair traded): 17 percent, minimum cost \$2.6 billion; 24 percent, average cost \$3.6 billion; 31 percent, maximum cost \$4.7 billien.

Maximum projection (20 percent of sales or \$40 billion fair traded): 17 percent, minimum \$6.8 billion; 24 percent, average \$9.6 billion; 31 percent, maximum \$12.4 billion.

These figures would seem to indicate that fair trade has been costing American consumers from \$1.4 billion to \$12.4 billion annually.

Let me be the first to admit that these figures are nothing but educated estimates, and until more accurate figures are developed only estimates can be used, but in the testimony of the proponents of a Federal fair trade bill the impression is certainly given that many, many products need the protection of fair trade pricing, and that many retailers need this protection. If those proponents feel that these estimates are very far out of line then they would seem to be defeating their own arguments that fair trade is vital to the survival of small business and to the maintenance of quality

In reality these figures may well be too conservative on a projected basis, because this bill would make fair trade pricing applicable to all 50 States and the District of Columbia. This would encourage many manufacturers who have never fair-traded their products to do so.

In a period of potentially dangerous inflation it is extremely questionable if a bill should be passed which has all the indications of inflating prices even more. If this bill will not have an upward pressure on price then the proponents of fair trade are to be congratulated for working so diligently for the passage of legislation which will keep the prices of the products they Testimony was presented by the NARD in the House hearings that an A. C. Nielsen & Nielsen survey proved that the weighted average price of each brand, as paid by the collective American consumer, was approximately the same in both the fair trade and non-fair-trade areas of the country in which the survey was conducted. If this survey is a true picture, then it is quite obvious that no fair trade law is needed.

At the present time the difficulties in the

enforcement of resale price maintenance laws, the growth and acceptance of the discount house, and the changing retail pattern seem to obviate these resale price maintenance laws. It is assumed that this country is committed to a system of economic organization predominantly of free enterprise. Many of the virtues of free enterprise are confined to free and effectively competitive enterprise.

Evidence seems to indicate that resale price maintenance legislation and an effectively competitive system are incompatible. A choice must be made between an economy in which Government regulation becomes more important or an economy which is to be based upon the free enterprise system. The choice does not rest upon the acceptance nor rejection of resale price maintenance legislation, but the passage of such legislation is indicative of a trend away from a freely competitive economic system.

Table I.—Comparison of fair trade and discount prices

Article	Fair trade price	Dis- count price paid	Num- ber items pur- chased
Argus automatic slide changer, Argus slide magazines	\$14.95 13.50	\$10.50 9.30	1
Whirl-Away car and home washer	6, 95	4.65	1
Hamilton Beach electric mixer Arrow 35 mm, slide viewer	19.50	12, 29	1
Shick injector blades 20's	5, 95 1, 50	3, 95	1 2
General Electric steam iron Sunbeam sutomatic frypan	17.95	11.40	1
and lid. Kodak 35 mm. film, 20 expo-	22.95	15. 97	1
sures	13,00	11.04	4
Kodak 620 Kodacolor film	3.96	3.16	2

Total cost for all items if purchased at fair trade prices.  Total cost for all items at the discount prices	\$120.21
Total dollar sayings	36, 77
Total savings percentagewise	30, 6

TABLE II.—Savings on electrical appliances purchased at discount houses

Article	Fair trade prices	Lowest dis- count price	Savings over fair trade prices	Percent savings
Portable mixer	\$19, 50 43, 95 17, 95 69, 95 14, 95	\$12.28 26.37 13.43 53.97 48.97	\$7, 22 17, 58 4, 52 15, 98 5, 98	37. 0 40. 0 25, 2 22. 8 40. 0
Total	166, 30	115.02	51. 28	30.8

TABLE III

Former fair trade retail prices on Sunbeam appliances are compared below with Sears, Roebuck mall-order prices. It can be safely assumed that Sears, Roebuck is making a reasonable markup on this merchandise.

Sunbeam appliances	Former fair trade prices	Sears Roebuck mail- order prices	Percent savings
Model HM hand mixer	\$21,00	\$14.00	33
Model J hand mixer	16, 95	11.85	30
Model S4 steam-dry iron.	17,95	11.88	- 34
Model 12W Mixmaster Electric fry pan (812 inch	45. 95	31.75	31
Model RL fry pan (1134	16.95	10.88	36
inch)	15, 95	12.75	20
Model T20 toaster	28, 95	19.75	32
Model GO waffle grill	34, 95	26, 75	23
Model CF5 deep fryer	24.95	17, 75	23
Model AP percolator	27. 95	18.90	32
Total	251. 55	176. 26	30

Source: Consumers Information Bureau, Radio City Station, New York, N.Y.

mer catalog, 1959

Model No.		Sug- gested list price	Catalog price
10000	Tonstmaster:	1,01	
4332	Steam dry fron	\$18.95	\$14, 75
444	Dry iron	11.95	9.95
1B24	2-slice automatic toaster.	18.95	15. 95
1316	2-slice Powermatic touster.	29, 95	22.95
1C5	3-slice automatic toaster.	29. 95	23.95
2D3	Grill waffler	34, 95	28, 95
10A1	Blender	34. 95	28, 93
5D1	10-cup automatic coffee maker.	39. 95	22 95
8D1	11-inch fry pan and con- trol, aluminum.	22.45	17. 95
8C1	11-inch fry pan and con- trol, stainless steel.	20.45	23. 95
8D1-A2	11-inch cover	4.00	3. 49
	11 items		9 213.79
54	Sunbeam: Steam dry iron Percent difference, 1 item.	17. 93	14.95 7

## Montgomery Ward's fall and winter catalog,

	Sug- gested list price	Catalog price
General Electric:		
9-cup deluxe percolator	\$29.95	\$23, 58
Automatic 9-cup percolator	19.95	15.88
Waffler	22.95	18, 44
Pop-up toaster	18, 95	15.44
Toast-R-Oven	29, 95	23, 88
Portable mixer	19,95	15.88
All-purpose mixer	29, 95	23, 44
2-quart saucepan	14.95	11.88
4-quart saucepan	18, 25	15,44
Il-inch fry pan with cover	18, 95	15.44
Silicone control	7.95	6.44
Spray steam dry iron	19.95	15, 88
Steam dry iron	16, 95	13.44
Steam dry traveler	11.95	9.44
Dry iron	9.95	7.88
15 Items	391, 25	232. 68
Percent difference	- 2	3
Sunheam:		
All automatic toester	29, 95	23, 88
Hand mixer	21.00	16.88
Fryer-cooker	25, 95	19.88
Mixmaster, chrome, with	1000000	
juicer	59.95	47.88
Mixmaster, white, with juicer-	49, 95	39, 88
Fry pan, 1012-inch	19, 95	15, 88
Fry pan, 1152-inch	23.95	18.88
Fry pan, 12½-inch	26, 95	21.44
Steam dry iron	16.95	13. 88
9 Items Percent difference	274.60	218.48

Spicaels spring and summer catalog, 1959

	Sug- gested list price	Catalog price
General Electric:		
Stourn deschere	\$17,95	\$13.88
Visualizer fron	9, 95	7.87
Peek A Brew coffee brewer	10, 95	16, 77
Crome on copper coffee brewer	29, 95	23, 88
Touster-R-Oven	10.95	15.88
Toaster-R-Oven	31, 95	25.75
Mixer	19.95	15, 88
7 Items	149.65	119, 95
Percent difference	2	)
Sunbeam:		
Steam dry iron	17:95	14.88
Magic-action touster	29, 95	23, 88
Electric skillet, 8-Inch	19, 95	12.88
Electric skillet cover	3.00	2.49
Electric skillet, 10-inch.	19, 95	15.88
Electric skillet cover	3, 50	3.95
Electric skillet, 12-inch	23, 95	20, 88
Electric skillet cover	4, 50	3.95
Mixmaster with juicer	49, 95	37.50
9 Items	169, 76	135, 29
Percent difference	2	
2-silce automatic toaster	18.05	25.00
Do	29.95	15.88 24.77
2 items Percent difference.	48.99	40.65

Table IV .- Sears, Roebuck spring and sum- Table V .- Percent difference between manufacturer's suggested list prices, and actual prices at nondiscount house stores (the date is date the price was advertised)

Sug- gested list price		Actual price	
Woodward & Lothrop, Washington, D.C., Mar. 6, 1959;	T. TELL		
1B24 Toustmaster 1B24 Toustmaster	\$16, 95 18, 95	\$12,90 14,79	
2 items Percent difference. Gimbals, New York, Dec. 7, 1958, Toastmaster:	33, 90 23	3 27. 78	
1B24, Toustmaster	18, 95 29, 95 18, 95	14. 95 22. 98 11, 96	
2D3, grill and waffle iron 11-inch fry pun 8D1-A2, cover 5D1, 10-cup coffcemaker	34, 95 19, 95 4, 09 29, 95	24. 21 14. 32 2. 44 21. 98	
7 Items	154, 70	112.87	
Kaufmans, Pittsburgh, Dec. 19, 1958, Sunbeam;			
Automatic toaster Steam and dry iron Immersible griddle (cover and	29, 95 17, 95	21, 70 13, 45	
Control extra)  Coffeculaster  Portable mixer	17, 95 39, 95 21, 00	13, 45 29, 20 14, 75	
DeLuxe Mixmaster Waffle baker and grill Automatic heat control	46, 95 35, 95 7, 95	34. 95 26, 20 5. 95	
8 items Percent difference	217, 65	160.65	

#### TABLE VI

Article	Fair trade or list price	Price paid	Percent
St. Joseph aspirin for children, 50 tablets	\$0.39	\$0.33	15.4
Adbee drops, 50 cubic centi-	3, 50	2.39	31.7
meters. Palmolive brushless shave		13 6 1100	
Richard Hudnut creme rinse,	.69	. 62	10.1
Mennen Baby Magic, 9 fluid	1.98	. 83	15.3
ounces.	1.00	.85	15.0
Kaopectate, 10 fluid ounces Colgute toothpuste, 5 ounces	I. 13 . 96	.96 .47	15, 0 31, 9
Johnson's baby shampoo, 7 fluid ounces	1.89	.77	13. 5
Aspergum, 36 tablets	.98	£ .63	14.7 35.7
Chooze, 2 for Dramamine, 12 tablets	. 29	. 125	30. 6 13. 8
Dramamine, 12 tablets	1, 49	.73	25:5
Tampax Super, 40	.69	1.19	20, 1 14, 5
Westinghouse 12-5b bulbs (list price \$0.17 each)	2.04	1.62	20. 0
12 GE 5b bulbs	2.04	1,69	17. 2
meter, 36 exposures, colored.	2.65	2.38	10.2
Envelopes Revion lipstick	1,00	. 75	15. 4 25. 0

1 Special.

Note. - Excise and/or sales taxes where applicable not

list:
Price of all items if purchased at Beaver
Falls, Pa.
Price for all items purchased at Washington, D.C. 22.91 Cash savings..... 5.87 Percent savings ....

"Dan" Emmett's Songs Still Live

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. ROBERT W. LEVERING

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. LEVERING. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to announce to the House of Representatives that on Thursday, Friday and Saturday of this week, Mount Ver non, Ohio, the birthplace and buris place of Daniel Decatur Emmett, the composer of "Dixie," and other famous songs, will hold a 3-day celebration if honor of the 100th birthday of "Dixie-

I am sure that my colleagues from the South, and the North, and the East and the West will be happy to learn of this commemoration of a noted song, and of its composer, who was the father ominstrelsy in the United States.

There has been a revived interest ! Daniel Decatur Emmett and "Dixie" this year. One evidence of this revived in terest is a feature story which was car ried in the Cleveland (Ohio) Plate Dealer, issue of Sunday, June 7, 1953 relating to the song and the composed Under leave and Mount Vernon. granted me, I am inserting this excellent story by George J. Barmann in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

The article follows:

DAN EMMETT WHISTLED "DIXIE" INTO HISTORI

(By George J. Barmann)

Mount Vernon, Ohio, June 6 .- The 50 pizzicato of autumn rain was playing alors the streets of New York that Saturday night in 1859, when Dan Emmett, his fiddle fixed in its case under his arm, left the theate and started back to his boardinghouse.

He hadn't gone more than a block or t when Jerry Bryant, for whom he was working as a musician, with Bryant's Minstreet caught up with him, and they squeezed int a musty doorway of a tobacco shop. Neith felt like much, really. The show was slipping Attendance was bad.

"Dan," sald Bryant suddenly, "our number are getting stale. I got to have a fresh tund Can't you compose a new walk-around, some thing that'll catch with the boys, that'll take their minds off this war talk, something I the git-up-and-git style?"

"That's a big order, Mr. Bryant," he sald "but I'll see what I can do."

#### YOU BEITER HAVE IT

"Yes," the minstrel man said, "I got to had something by Monday. Dan, you better have it by then or, well, you'll wish you were p.

Two days to write a song, Emmett though A man can't do a piece likt that. But he in his kitchen chair there by the window night. No use, though; it wouldn't come Next day, Sunday, was cold and wet, and by was still staring out at the shapes of brid and dripping roofs. and dripping roofs.

"What a morning," Dan said to his wife Catherine, who had come into the room. wish I was in Dixie."

"You show people," she said, "you keen saying about being in Dixie, What's mean?"

"Well," he said, "it's a common expression When things aren't going well where are, you wish you were in Dixle \* \*
Dixle \* \* in Dixle."

For Daniel Decatur Emmett, minstr musician, and man from Mount Vernon, the was the magic moment. Years later, in at interview with a reporter from the New York News, he was recalling that morning in boarding house.

JUMPED UP AND GOT TIN WHISTLE

"Suddenly," he said, "I jumped up, my tin whistle, and sat down to the tab to write. In less than an hour I had the first verse and chorus. After that, it is easy. When my wife returned, I sang it for her. 'It is all finished now except the name sez I? What shall I call it? Sez she. Call it I wish I was in Dixle's Land.'" "I agree and we gave it that name. and we gave it that name. 'How do you the song?' sez I, 'I like it first rate,' sez she

oldn't like anything."

took immensely. It was unforgetable, became the marching song, the national of the South—the song and helped split a Nation. the South-the song that saved a

when Jeff Davis was inaugurated President the Confederacy, down in Montgomery, the Confederacy, down in motion to the confederacy, down in motion that they played "Dixie." They rattled it out to the confederacy and at Eull Run and at Appearance for the confederacy down in motion of the confederacy, down in motion of the confederacy down in the confederacy down in motion of the confederacy down in the confederac attox Court House. And it was played for Lincoln at the White House.

and Daniel Decatur Emmett was a Northand Daniel Decatur Emmets was a larger and a Union soldier and the son of an bolitionist.

Bere in this community, the seat of Knox Ounty, Dan Emmett, composer and father the American minstrel show, is to be lored this month. His "Dixie" is 100 years Nd this year.

on June 25, 26, and 27, Mount Vernon most remember Dan Emmett. There most remember Dan Emmet.

The Elks

Cub, and speeches and a parade and other

and speeches and a parade and other

the Elks

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the Elks

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Cub, and speeches and a parade and other

the Elks

Cub, and t big." And, of course, there will be

Tes," said H. Ogden Wintermuth, attique dealer, authority and writer about the composer, "I Imagine we'll play Dixie'

Wintermuth and Dr. Robert L. Eastman bace established the Daniel Decatur Embert Birthplace Museum, in the old Embers Birthplace Museum, in the old Embers of the Birthplace Museum and Dr. East-Mett home, but it didn't do well. Dr. Easthan now rents the house to Dr. Joseph W. allman, who uses it as his office.

The little white house with a green tin the little white now the destruction host was threatened with destruction 1954, and Dr. Eastman and Wintermuth and host and Dr. Eastman and Wintermuth and host are selected it and moved was threatened with destruction in and Dr. Eastman and Winternan and moved from its original site at South Mulberry and West Ohio Streets to North Gay Ave-

"I don't know why it didn't go over the tay we hoped," Dr. Eastman said. "I guess haybe it would have if it were in the South. hat's what my wife, Catherine, says anyway. tankee and writing 'Dixle' just won't do, She's from Richmond, His being a the says.

On the front of the house is a half-hidden aque: "The birthplace of Daniel Decatur Above the m founder of minstrelsy." Above the mantel to the tiny living room, the doctor's reception from the control of Den by Irene Kintion room, is an oil of Dan by Irene Kinhey, a local urtist.

Up in Mound View Cemetery, a red granite one shows Dan Emmett's burial place. the inscription says that his song "inspired courage and devotion of the southern beople and now thrills the hearts of a re-

Rearby there is the Dan Emmett Elemen-Mearby there is the Dan Emmett Element Drive and Decatur Drive. Up the road a piece is ban Posset downtown there Dan Decatur Drive. Up the road a particular bank Emmett Grange. Back downtown there a bronze on a boulder. This plaque came Danghters of the Confederacy.

Motorists who travel the Public Square which large sign, "Dan Emmess which is part of Hotel Curtis, managed by Carrette University Carroll E. Berger, an Ohio State University Raduate who used to play professional basebul in Georgia and Florida and South

On the wine list of the 90-year-old, 55h hotel the traveler can order a Scarlett Hara, a cocktail, at 75 cents.

Now and then we get an order for one," Now and then we get an order 101 only of Mount Vernon. "Myself, I don't use it." No one in Mount Vernon is brash enough to say what "Uncle Dan" used back in those days, but there are plenty of people who y they knew him, all right. Wintermuth that he comprehers seeing Emmett that he remembers seeing Emmett scratch out "Dixie" on his violin in the old opera house here.

Dan Emmett was born on October 29, 1815, of Irish descent. He had little education in the schools and when he was 13 he started to work for the Huron Reflector in Norwalk, Ohio. Later he came back here to write on the local Western Aurora.

Pretty early the boy showed a talent for rusic. When he was 15 he wrote "Old Dan massic Tucker." And at 17 he left for a 3-year enlistment in the Army and was a fifer. After this, he joined a circus band and he kept on studying and practicing music.

GETS IDEA FOR MINSTREL SHOW

It was in 1847 that Emmett, in New York with a circus band, got the idea for a minstrel show. He was staying at a theatriboardinghouse, and three other men there got up a little blackface entertainment.

In the old Branch Hotel, down in New York's Bowery, Dan performed with the troupe. Their cork-smudged faces and troupe. Their candy-striped suits and their playing of Emmett's "Old Dan Tucker" started an uproar. The audience yelled for more-and the minstrel show was born.

The Virginia Ministrels is what Dan Emmett called his show. They went up and down the country, north and south, and they were so good that they went to Eng-land. But over there they fell flat because the English somehow were not amused by all this.

Dan Emmett came back to America and took up with the circus again. So one day he went back to New York and joined Byrant and his minstrels, the kind of show he liked best. He worked as a fiddler and a comic and did an occasional composition.

Then it was that he wrote "Dixle's Land," which later became known simply as "Dixie." Wintermuth said Dan got \$10 for the job.

"Dixie" was moderately popular right from the beginning, but it really caught on when it was played in the South. There is a question about where in the South, just as there is some disagreement about exactly what prompted the writing itself. Some say its fame was secured in New Orleans, in the fateful spring of 1861. Others say it was in Montgomery and in Charleston.

"TURKEY IN STRAW" ANOTHER OF WORKS

Anyway, it spread quickly, in parlors, in saloons and in the streets, to become the marching and rallying song for the Civil War that was breaking across the land.

Dan Emmett wrote other little ditties of the "Old Dan Tucker" style: "Turkey in the Straw," and "Blue Tail Fly."

Equare dancers have been cavorting to "Turkey in the Straw" for years, and its catchy tune and rhythm have excited symphonic composers. Burl Ives, the famous folk singer, has done much to help revive Emmett's music.

Dan had some quaint titles for other tunes he wrote: "Pompy O'Smash," "Ledder Breeches," and "Back Action Spring" and "Dar He Goes, Dats Him."

Long after the Civil War, Dan Emmett came back to Mount Vernon to sit in the rocking chair on his front porch and talk with neighbors about the times he had. This was in 1888. It seemed that Emmett was to stay here for good. But he had one more tour left.

It happened when Al G. Fields, who was king of the minstrel men then, came to town in 1895. He dropped in on Emmett and persuaded this man who made America minstrel mad to make a last circuit of the boards. It was a triumphal procession. In city after city the 80-year-old composer was cheered wildly as he stood in tears on the stage and the band blared out "Dixie." He was the star again.

STAMP IS SOUCHT TO HONOR EMMETT

Dan Emmett died in Mount Vernon on June 28, 1904.

In Mount Vernon today, Congressman ROBERT W. LEVERING, whose home is at nearby Fredericktown, says he wants the Post Office Department in Washington to issue a special stamp to honor the composer of "Dixie." He rejects the idea that the song was strictly a southern tune. He has justification for his feelings.

President Lincoln came out of the White House to address a joyous crowd on the lawn that night after the news arrived that Confederate forces had surrendered at Appomattox. The U.S. Military Band was there to help celebrate the victory.

'What's your favorite selection?" leader of the band called to the President through the noise.

"Play 'Dixie,' " Lincoln called back. "We have captured the Confederacy. Now 'Dixle' belongs to the Union."

So Dan Emmett gave the Nation its first national song of native origin. "The Star-Spangled Banner" and "America" and "Yankee Doodle" all are tunes with overseas

But there's no mistaking the banjo twang and the tambourine jangle of "Dixie."

## The Procrustean Bed of Administrative Regulation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. WALTER ROGERS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of all the able speech of the Honorable OREN HARRIS, of Arkansas, chairman of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the U.S. House of Representatives

The speech itself, is the best evidence of its outstanding quality and depth. THE PROCRUSTEAN BED OF ADMINISTRATIVE REGULATION

(By. Hon. OREN HARRIS, Chairman, House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce)

Mr. Chairman, members of the Great Lakes Conference, and guests, the topic of my re-marks this morning, "The Procrustean Bcd of Administrative Regulation," will recall to you one of the Greek legends learned during your days of youthful academic application. You remember how Procrustes, the robber, put up weary travelers on a bed which he kept for his nefarious purposes and how at night, after his visitor had fallen asleep. would tie the victim to the bed and proceed to fit him to it by cutting off his legs if they were too long or stretching them if too short. This wicked business continued to plague the Grecian travelers until that great Athenian, Theseus, rid the country of this scourge

Now the objective of the Subcommittee on Legislative Oversight is to determine the extent to which statues enacted some years ago are, like Procrustes' bed, so limiting or so extensive in scope as to force the independent administrative agencies to operate within unrealistic bounds, and, further, to free them from disrupting pressures tending to exert harmful influence upon the faithful discharge of their duties.

ORIGIN AND PURPOSE OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946

provided that:

\* each standing committee of the Senate and House of Representatives shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee;".

Subsequently this provision was incorporated in the House rules and, in February 1957, when the House of Representatives was considering the resolution authorizing the 'legislative oversight" activities of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Speaker Rayburn took the floor to comment:

"I trust that the gentlemen will set up a subcommittee \* \* \* to go into the administration of each and every one of these laws to see whether or not the law, as we intended it, is being carried out or whether a great many of these laws are being repealed

or revamped by those who administer them."
On March 6, 1957, the authorizing resolution having passed, I appointed the Special Subcommittee on Legislative Oversight. Shortly thereafter, funds were requested to enable the responsibilities indicated to be carried out. On April 11, 1957, the appropriation resolution passed and the Subcommittee thereupon undertook to establish itself as a working organization. To achieve its broad purpose, it became necessary that the Subcommittee undertake:

(1) To examine the basic legislation which might be so limited in scope as seriously to restrict the carrying out of the regulatory functions intended by Congress, so broad as to cause the agency to operate in areas not intended by Congress, or so ambiguous in language as to create honest doubt regarding the specific limitations within which Con gress desired that the agency exercise its regulatory powers;

(2) To study the actual operational functioning of each agency to see if it has been performing with an acceptable degree of efficiency and with propriety and in a man-

ner best serving the public interest; and
(3) To render each agency free from pressures and influences which might cast a cloud of suspicion upon the integrity of its decisions.

#### EXAMINATION OF BASIC LEGISLATION

Now let me discuss with you the first of the subcommittee's three undertakings which I have just presented. That is the need, in many instances, for changes in the law which established and now governs each agency and which, for one or more of the reasons mentioned, requires amendment in order that the particular agency be enabled to function in the manner intended by Congress and in the best interests of the general

The memorandum of the subcommittee announcing the hearings, which were begun in January 1958, stated that the questions to be presented at these hearings should be directed toward the following:

"Powers given in any enabling statute. Their possible inadequacy. Attempts to ameliorate these by agency rules. Changes in areas regulated."

As the result of the hearings and the studies made of the information obtained through them, the subcommittee made a number of specific recommendations to Congress for legislative changes. One, for example, was a recommendation that section 7(c) of the Natural Gas Act be amended to enlarge and clarify the authority of the Federal Power Commission to grant temporary certificates in cases of emergency after notice and no objection.

The subcommittee has also recommended "A study of the effect of court decisions on the congressional intent as mainfested in the various organic acts creating the commissions, as well as in any amendment."

#### FUNCTIONING OF THE AGENCIES

A. Their adherence to basic legislation: In its initial outline of policy, the subcommittee indicated it would approach this aspect of the problem through examination into the two following questions:

"(1) Whether the law has been and is being faithfully executed by the agency in

the public interest, and

'(2) Whether the law and the statutory standards it contains have been and are being interpreted by rule, or internal pro-cedures, to enlarge the area of regulation beyond that intended, and to administer it through procedures not intended by the Congress."

The subcommittee regarded as particularly requiring further legislative inquiry: (1) consistency of agency findings, absent amending legislation or court decisions, as to what constitutes the public interest; and (2) the reasons for frequent variation in the application of criteria from case to case.

B. Organization and operation: In the early policy pronouncement "outlining the scope of the subcommittee's activity", one of the subjects slated for examination was the operation of the commissions. As you are no doubt aware, except for the Interstate Commerce Commission, the President not only appoints the commissioners but also specifically designates the chairmen. Selection of the chairman by commission members and limitation of his term of office as such, and assurance of each commissioner that he will be entitled to serve out his full term, except for improper performance of his duties, should tend to reduce executive influence upon the agencies.

To strengthen the commissions in this regard, the subcommittee recommended that The chairman of each commission should be selected by the members thereof and his term as chairman should be for not longer than a 3-year period" and "The President should be authorized by law to remove any member of any commission for neglect of duty or malfeasance in office, and for no

other cause."

## INDEPENDENCE OF ADMINISTRATIVE AGENCIES

A. Agency contacts with others: An extremely difficult and delicate problem exists in the matter of seeking, under the circumstances of many currently accepted practices. the maximum freedom and independence of administrative agencies without unduly restricting proper communications essential to the conduct of normal business. This situation obtains largely in association or contacts between an agency on the one hand and, on the other, individual members of the regulated industry, associations of such members, officials in the executive department of the Government, and offices of Members of Congress.

There is certainly a legitimate field for proper types of communication between agencies and interested persons in the cate-gories mentioned. Much information of great value to the agencies is constantly being provided them from such sources. And persons in these groups can submit to agencies numerous requests and inquiries which are highly proper and appropriate and which help to expedite the carrying out of the administrative process.

On the other hand, unless care and caution are constantly exercised and observed in this field, such activities can quickly expand to the point where they go beyond the limits of propriety and create situations fraught with danger to all involved. The great difficulty lies in drawing clearly and equitably the line of demarcation limiting this type of action.

This situation has required the subcomittee to give earnest consideration to following:

1. The degree of identification of the reflatory agency with those whom it regular

2. Actions of the executive department which might exert undue pressure up the agencies: and

3. Contacts or communications by Mobers of Congress which serve subtly to fluence agency action.

As a step toward keeping contacts of types enumerated within proper bounds. subcommittee has recommended the folloging across-the-board legislation applicable to all administrative agencies:

"Any communication, written or nonwi ten, to or from a commissioner or commi sion employee, pertaining to any proceed which by law or by commission rule or pr tice must be determined upon the reco shall be included in the public record-memorandum containing the substance any such nonwritten communication shi be included in such record."

B. Individual conduct in agency matter I would like now to discuss a subject wh presents one facet of perhaps the m fundamental problem in self-government That problem is, what effective measure can be put into practice which will be a reasonable prospect of winning the served confidence of the public in the partiality, fairness, and integrity of the ministration of the law?

We are well aware of the difficulty establishing morals by legislation. The mitted difficulty of establishing morals law does not mean, in my view, that cannot improve the administration of and justice by means of a published code ethics, setting standards of conduct for who participate in administrative proces The task of formulating such a calls for the careful thought and creat ability of members of the bar, especial those practicing before administrative age cies, and commissioners and staff person of the appraise them. of the agencies themselves.

A code of ethics by itself is of little pritical use. The ability and character of administrators and the men appearing ber them are of more importance. Moreover, Valentine B. Deale, Esq., of the District of Columbia bar, testified before the committee:

"Ethics in the administrative process linked with efficiency of administrative erations. The climate for fast deals of arrangements is good when administrations are marked by excessive delay inadequate procedures, complexity of relations, poor public information provision and so forth.

"On the other hand, efficient operation tend to keep everyone on a straight narrow path.

As a result of the subcommittee's cons eration of this most serious problem-report contained a recommendation for statutory code of ethics with civil and crisinal sanctions governing commission methods bers and employees and those appears before them.

## EX PARTE PRESSURES

When commissions are entrusted with power to give licenses or franchises of thority worth millions of dollars, it is a for gone conclusion that certain selfish intere will begin to put on the pressure. If paraphrase the Federalist, the seekers are franchises were angels, there would be an need for ethics or even criminal law in field. These presumes the seekers of the see field. These pressures, generally by ex par communications between commission men bers and personnel on the one hand and terested persons or institutions on the other constitute perhaps the greatest obstacle

nance in the administrative process. Ununately, the hearing record of the submittee is replete with instances of imper ex parte pressures upon commis-ers. While this type of activity apparently ex-

in every branch of government, its most espread use and damaging influence is t in connection with the exercise by the ncies of their adjudicatory and rulemakpowers. And it is the operation of this sure in these two areas that I would like discuss somewhat further. All will agree, leve, that the commissions, when exering their responsibilities in adjudicatory reedings, as for example when licenses or achises are sought by contending applians, should hold to the standards of proor Clark M. Byse of the Harvard Law chool said in a statement made before our abcommittee. "\* \* if the adjudicative tm is utilized, that is, if Congress says that a decision shall be based on evidence adthe ethical standards applicable to dees and to lawyers in court proceedings would not be applied to the administrative did not be applied to the administrative

You will appreciate, then, the deep feeling tou will appreciate, then, the desprise disappointment experienced by members our subcommittee upon learning. In the hances when both commission members and thorneys appearing before them had enhard in highly questionable actions in conction with adjudicatory proceedings.

Now when we consider the matter of ex lette communications in connection with mlemaking proceedings of an administrative sency, the issue is not so clear cut. De of administrative activity can be spread the a wide spectrum. Some of the rules laid down are of such broad and genapplication that they apply with equal application that they apply the control industries to all members of a particular indusand, to substantially the same degree, these them all. In other instances of rule-baking, while the proceedings appear to be traloping a policy of broad application—tleast this appears theoretically so—a real-back view of the situation will reveal that the the view of the situation will reveal that the the view of the situation will reveal that the interior industry members. Certainly in the interior situation justice to the few so directly decreed requires that they be apprised of all below. relevant matter considered by the commiston in arriving at its decision. And there seems to be nothing inequitable in the application of a policy of no ex parte communication of a policy of no ex particle of a policy of in connection with such rule-making proceedings. Because rulemaking, in its numerous forms

of application, does so often directly affect one or a few members of a regulated indusor a few members of a regulated and have little or no effect upon the bulk of the members thereof—the question arties: Should not the prohibition against Should not the pronounced to inthence Commission action be applied to e rulemaking proceedings where the pritate rulemaking proceedings which the right of an individual is at stake in the be applied to adjudicatory proceedings?

which the Supreme Court recently viewed this matter in the Sangamon Valley televition case. There, in a rulemaking decision spendic. is interesting to note the manner in thending its table of area allocations of telehalon channels, the Federal Communications Commission withdrew VHF channel 2 ton Springfield, III., and assigned it to St. Louis, Mo. ta springfield appealed the decision and the court ourt of appeals sustained the Commission. The appeals sustained the Supreme Court for a writ of certiorari.

The U.S. Department of Justice, in its brief the U.S. Department of Justice, in the the Supreme Court urging denial of the with Supreme Court urg., stated:
Court urg., s

court's attention to certain testimony given

before the Subcommittee on Legislative Oversight of the House \* \*, subsequent to the decision by the court of appeals affirming the Commission's order. The testimony indicated that after the rulemaking proceedings here had been initiated by Notice of Proposed Rulemaking, and while it was under consideration by the Commission, representatives of the St. Louis operator was interested in having a new VHF channel assigned to St. Louis, and representatives of the petitioner and the other applicant for channel 2 in Springfield, made ex parte presentations with respect to merits of the rulemaking proceedings to various members of the Commission."

The Supreme Court granted the petition for certiorari, stating that, in view of the representations of the Solicitor General's brief concerning the conduct brought out in the congressional hearings, "the judgment of the court of appeals is vacated and the case is remanded to the court of appeals for such action as it may deem appropriate."

The Department of Justice, in its brief before the court of appeals on remand, urged that the case be returned to the Commission on the grounds that the ex parte approaches disclosed in the subcommittee hearings (1) violated the rules of the Commission and (2) departed from "the cherished judicial tradition embodying the basic concepts of fair In support of this second ground the Department urged that:

"Even were the Commission's procedure slient on this score, considerations of basic fairness would require a ban on ex parte pleas in this type of administrative proceedings, involving as it does an allocation of specific channels among several communities, and a resolution of conflicting claims asserted by competing parties in relation to the use of valuable spectrum rights. The need for fairness cannot turn on whether the label 'quasi-legislative' or 'quasi-judicial' be applied. The outcome of this proceeding, we emphasize, affected particular interests in a concrete, substantial way. Where, as here, fundamental fairness requires the consideration and resolution of the subjectmatter to be conducted on the basis of full. open presentation by the interested parties, no proceeding should be sustained on appellate review where it appears that this basic requirement has not been scrupulously observed."

The court of appeals accepted both grounds pressed by the Department of Justice, vacated the Commission order and remanded the case to the Commission for an evidential hearing to determine among other things, the nature and source of all ex parte pleas and other approaches involved in the

#### INTERFERENCE BY GOVERNMENT OFFICERS

I have mentioned earlier that a cause of great concern to the subcommittee, one that bears on the independence of the agencies, is the effort sometimes made by various branches of the Government to influence the course of agency decision. In a number of instances the Congress has provided by statute that certain officers of the executive branch may participate in matters in the jurisdiction of the independent commissions. Such participation is often necessary in the interests of an overall governmental policy on budgetary matters, national defense, or the conduct of foreign policy. In such instances the Congress has tried to provide expressly for the kind of cooperation essential to a coordinated approach to special prob-lems while maintaining for the agencies a free hand in their conduct of day-to-day administration.

Yet, just last month, the Department of Justice sought to interfere in a matter that was exclusively within the province of an independent Commission. You will remem-ber that in February of this year the Federal Communications Commission ruled that the equal-time provision of section 315 of the

Federal Communications Act was applicable to a television station which had shown an incumbent officeholder and his major opponent for reelection on various news telecasts. Mr. Lar Daly, another candidate for the office, alleged that such appearances, presented by the station solely as news stories. constituted such use of the station's facilities as to entitle him under section 315 to equal opportunities to use the station's air time. When the Commission ruled in Mr. Daly's favor and directed the licensee to grant him equal time, the large broadcasters quickly asked the Commission to reconsider. On May 7 the Attorney General sought

from the Commission permission to file a memorandum setting forth the Govern-ment's official view that the Commission should reverse its interpretation of section 315. On June 17, 1959, the Commission released an interpretive opinion in which it denied the petition for reconsideration and

upheld its earlier ruling.

The objection that many Members of Congress had to the action of the Attorney General in the Lar Daly case has nothing to do with the rightness or wrongness of the Commission's interpretation of section 315. But at the time the Department of Justice applied to file its memorandum some six bills had been introduced in the Congress which would have the effect of exempting newscasts from the coverage of section 315, and thus accomplishing the result desired by the Department of Justice. The Attorney General's action is particularly interesting because in 1955 the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce solicited the views of the Department of Justice concerning a bill that would similarly amend section 315 to exempt news coverage from its equal-time require-ment. At that time the present Attorney General declared in a letter to my predeces-sor as chairman of the committee that "whether or not this bill should be enacted constitutes a question of legislative policy concerning which the Department of Justice prefers to make no recommendation."

It would appear that the Department's reticence to press its views before a com-mittee of Congress disappears when the same issue is presented to one of our independent agencies.

#### H.R. 4800

As the result of the subcommittee's hearings during the preceding Congress, I introduced, on February 19, 1959, bill H.R. 4800 which proposes certain amendments to the basic legislation governing the six inde-pendent administrative agencies with respect to which our studies were conducted. The provisions of this bill deal in detail with many of the subcommttee's recom-mendations which I have related to you. This proposed legislation is designed to protect and assist the agencies in the performance of their official responsibilities and it is hoped that hearings on the bill will begin in the near future.

MOST RECENT ACTIVITY OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE

The subcommittee is presently nearing the conclusion of 8 days of panel discussions participated in by representatives of six of the major regulatory commissions, prac-ticing attorneys, officials of the regulated industries, representatives of the Federal Trial Examiners Conference, trade associ-ations and bar associations. This panel has had under discussion four topics which should interest all persons engaged in activities in the field of administrative regulation. They cover (1) measures to prevent the exertion of influence upon commission members or employees, (2) the role of hearing examiners, (3) the role of commissioners and their staffs, and (4) the efficiency of the commissions.

In the conduct of this panel discussion every effort has been made to have the participants express their individual views which may or may not be the officially adopted viewpoint of the commission of which the participant is a member or employee. The subcommittee, although in-terested in knowing the official views of each of the commissions, desired at this time to have a free, objective and fair presentation of the views of all the participants. It is through hearings of this character that the subcommittee expects to acquaint itself with many aspects of the problem with which it might otherwise not become famil-The results to date have been most informative and illuminating and have, to an appreciable extent, better equipped the subcommittee to perform its responsibili-

#### CONCLUSION

While the subcommittee's inquiries into the field of improper pressures have received the most widespread publicity, this should not be allowed to overshadow the more fundamental and important matters entrusted to it for investigation, study, and recom-mendation. It is not a "hatchet" committee. As I stated to you at the very beginning of my remarks, the subcommittee's objectives include the releasing of independent agencies from the Procrustean bed of any duly restrictive or vague basic legislation. operational difficulties, or improper pressures or influences from whatever source they might emanate.

If, in the course of the performance of its responsibilities, the subcommittee finds evidence of wrongdoing, it has the duty to bring to light all of the attendant facts. But it is the wrongdoers and not the subcommit-tee that must bear the blame for such happenings. They are the ones who have brought upon themselves the discredit and publicity for their actions.

Despite the magnitude and complexity of its task and limitations imposed upon it by conditions beyond its control, our subcommittee has developed the need for a number of important changes in the various laws governing the administrative agencies. Our investigations have aroused citizens generally to a more acute realization of the need for continuous efforts to find solutions which are in the public interest.

We live in a highly developed form of society. Reasonable governmental regula-tion of economic and other power exercised by private persons and groups is necessary for the general public welfare. This is especially true in the fields of transportation, power, communications, fair business practices, and investment. Congress, as representative of the people, cannot engage in the day-to-day surveillance which is needed. Delegation of a certain amount of governing power must, therefore, be made to specialized and expert regulatory commissions. But this delegation does not mean abdication. It rather in-creases the responsibility of Congress.

So long as the regulatory acts sketch only a general outline to be completed and clarified by administrative commissions themselves and opportunity for judicial review is not present in many important situations, there should not be any relaxation in the vigorous exercise of the constitutional power of legislative control and supervision.

#### Attack on Navy Patrol Plane

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. AUGUST E. JOHANSEN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Speaker, I share the deep concern expressed in many newspaper editorials over the recent attack on a Navy patrol plane off North Korea by Communist jets and the lack of adequate explanation of the inability of the plane to defend itself.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include two excellent editorials; one from the Kalamazoo Gazette of June 19, published in my district, and one from the Chicago Tribune of the same

The editorials follow:

[From the Kalamazoo Gazette, June 19. 19591

#### IN A TOUGH PRECINCT

In most American cities a policeman is required to carry his badge and pistol at all times, off duty as well as on.

And in tough precincts, patrolmen cus-

tomarily work in pairs.

Yet in a tougher precinct, the skies over the Sea of Japan, an American Navy plane was patroling alone and underarmed when it was fired on by Red-starred MIGs.

Somebody blundered. We do not know who. Maybe we never will,

Initial reports were contradictory. The plane commander was quoted as saying his forward guns were inoperable because of lack of spare parts. The Navy Department a little later said they had been removed to make room for reconnaissance equipment.

Wherever the blame is ultimately placed,

it shouldn't happen again.

If it turns out that the Navy is the victim of an austerity program, then Congress, now loudly demanding investigations and swers, ought to begin at home. But if the plane were sent out, inadequately armed and alone, into precisely the kind of area the Communists choose for their murderous forays, then the Navy officers responsi-ble should be asking their hometown policemen for advice.

It has been suggested that the Communists timed their attack to add to the tensions at the foreign ministers' conference at That would be a typical Red tactic, although doomed to failure since it is bound to stiffen the West's resistance to international hoodlumism.

The attack has been called an act of war, which it is, although attempted murder would seem to be a more accurate term, under the circumstances.

Some have suggested that the plane's helplessness was itself an assurance of its peaceful mission. Maybe so. But if we were to follow that theory to its logical conclusion we would be disarming our troops in Europe and calling our forces home from the Orient.

Our intentions are peaceful, certainly, but we need not and must not abandon the right of self-defense. Nor should we fear that shooting back at attackers would precipitate a worse situation.

If the Communists ever decide to start a war the initial shot will be incidental. If they are bent on harassment only, even up to and including murder, then adequate defense is not only the best answer but the best preventive. Our planes are less likely to be attacked if they are well armed and, better still, if they follow the example of cops in tough precincts.

## WHY CAN'T WE DEFEND OURSELVES?

President Eisenhower expressed dismay Wednesday that a Navy patrol plane attacked by two Communist fighter planes was unable to retaliate with fire from its guns. The statement makes clear that our military aircraft have authority to defend themselves against unprovoked attack, which is as it should be, for there have been 33 encounters of this kind with the Communists since

The question remains why the Navy plane did not return Red fire when it was shot up over the Sea of Japan. There are conflicting explanations of the failure, and a Kary board of inquiry has been convened to be vestigate. Its report must be clear candid.

The two tail guns of the plane were operating condition. Confusion over plane's intercommunication system held action by the gunner until his guns been knocked out and he had be wounded. Turret guns had been remove when the plane was converted from and submarine to patrol duty. There remains two other guns in a forward turret. The never went into action, and the presum tive reason is that they were inoperable cause of lack of parts.

This explanation will be as unsatisfactor to the American people as to the Preside, who said that inability to respond to att was of particular concern to him because his long military experience. American that it is inviting murder to send America aircrews into exposed quarters without ad quate means to defend themselves. fact that the attack occurred over into national waters and was in violation of ternational law does not detract from foolhardiness of failing to make provise for Communist cussedness.

Related to this fact is one of even greet importance. It bears on the question, why, with defense expenditures annual running to \$40 billion or more, with amp funds and great quantities of arms flow to allied nations as gifts, an American mi tary plane is sent in a virtually defense condition into a situation of risk.

If a plane is converted for different m sions from those for which it was intende it should not be sent out until it has all the defensive armament that it needs, wi some to spare. But if the report is stained that the guns necessary to the fense of the 14 Americans carried by the plane were out of action for lack of partitles. there is a condition approaching crimin negligence.

The situation is reminiscent of what b pened during the Korean war, when, and American forces had been engaged months, there were still serious shortal of ammunition with which to supply men in the front lines against the Co munists.

The incident over the Sea of Japan flects dangerous apathy and complacency the command level. The tensions of cold war are such that our military leads ship is warned to be prepared for attack any day and at any hour. The plane whi came under attack was obviously not of war basis, as it should have been. The cident, while grave enough and profour irritating to Americans who are tired being pushed around by Communist thus is just a harbinger of the colossal disast that would overtake this country if it we not thoroughly never the country if it we not thoroughly prepared and on an allalert when exposed to a major Commun assault.

In the nuclear age, a nation gets no so ond chance. We must insist that the mineral articles are already as a stable broad are already as a stab tary establishment stop dawdling achieve instant readiness.

Poison in Your Water-No. 131

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVE Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pure ant to permission granted I am inse

onal Record an article appearing in he San Francisco (Calif.) News of Jugust 27, 1958, entitled "United States eeking To Halt Pollution Fish Deaths."

UNITED STATES SEEKING TO HALT POLLUTION FISH DEATHS

(By Ed Neal)

Uncle Sam may step in and do what the tate of California seemingly can't—end the belodic slaughter by pollution of fish in the upper Sacramento River.

Thousands of steelhead and salmon have Thousands of steelhead and same the toxic steel killed since 1940, victims of the toxic steers of Spring Creek. This tributary steam enters the Sacramento River just bove the Keswick Dam.

In normal rain years the poison is dilited by adequate water releases from hasta Dam. But in subnormal seasons, the loison turns killer.

In 1955 the legislature even mediately in 1955 the legislature even middle sciences. The report pinned make a \$20,000 survey. The report pinned own Spring Creek as the culprit, declaring Waters are very acid and carry in solution the concentrations of iron, zinc, and cop-ber, all of which are waste mine products. But the report is decaying in the files of he Central Valley Water Pollution Board.

Mow Uncle Sam has entered the picture in the form of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife service. Paul F. Berg, acting supervisor for Fish and Wildlife's basin studies, discoses the current Trinity River project is the control of the contro perfect vehicle to end Spring Creek pollution for once and all.

"Certain features," he says, "can be built connection with construction of connection with construction of spring Creek power facility to accomplish this."

Berg discloses that "we are appraising all vallable data concerning the extent of the samage to the fishery resulting from this length of the samage to the fishery resulting from the samage to the fishery resulting beautiful beau bollution, to determine the correlation behate the potential economic benefits to the shery that could result from abatement.

Re's asking the help of Sacramento River thermen to pinpoint previous pollution the He's particularly anxious to know the

He's particularly

We have records of kills reported in 1940, 1944, 1948, 1949, 1955, 1956, and 1957. Some the specific data was not recorded and the kills could have taken place unobserved furing some of the years not listed.

If you have any dope, write him (Paul F. Berg), c/o U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, D. Box 1317, Sacramento 8.

Deer hunters seem to be having their broblems during the current coastal season. To quote Ken (Red) Chisholm, the rifie extent at Roos-Atkins, "Those blankety-blank bucks are sticking too close in the brush bucks." h Marin County."

Then he went on to elaborate. "There's too much feed under the brush. We know they're in the brush, but you almost have to then on the brush, but you almost have to tep on one to flush him," he said, borrowng a term from the pheasant hunter's book. Ken also admitted he missed one last "I got off a snap shot at a running buck about 75 yards away, but I didn't con-

Then consider the plight of another Marin Bortsman, Les Sadier of Stinson Beach.

The other night, about 1 a.m., he heard a hoise out in his vegetable garden. He hashed a light, and over the fence went a forked horn. But Les is a fisherman, not hunter.

Bill Nittler, the Abercrombie and Fitch Runsmith, tried his luck near Cloverdale last keek. Bill didn't even fire a shot, but three of his partners scored on a trio of threepointers.

They were Dave Jordan and Frank Crowell, th of Oakland, and Bob Cortopaso, Mill People's Capitalism Within Our Time

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to commend to the attention of our colleagues the script of a national broadcast over the NBC network on June 15, 1959 by Wilma Soss, president of the Federation of Women Shareholders in American Business.

PEOPLE'S CAPITALISM WITHIN OUR TIME

Here is a pocketbook postscript to image minority.

Stockholders are a minority, too. But they are much less of a minority than they used to be. We'll know more about that this week when the New York Stock Exchange makes public its census of stockholders. Last week I forecast that the census will show there are more small stockholders, more employee-shareowners, and more women stockholders than ever before. It will also show that shareownership has gone up among laborers, clerical, and sales help, and doctors too.

GROWTH IN NUMBER OF STOCKHOLDERS IN UNITED STATES

My guess is that by now at least one out of every 10 adults 1 (maybe more) in the United States owns stock in publicly held corporations. But it will remain for the sizzling 1960's before we reach the projected 20 million shareowners. It will be closer to 12 million stockholders this year.

A survey of Current Business by the U.S. Department of Commerce shows median family incomes up from \$5,000 a year to over \$6,000. Six thousand two hundred dollars was the median income of shareowners in 1956, but it will be higher this year.

#### SURPRISE INCOME GROUP

It is no surprise when one out of three or four proprietors and executives turn out to be a shareowner, especially in these days of stock options often exercised on borrowed money at discount prices. But it was a surprise in 1956 to discover that half of all adult shareowners were in households with incomes between \$3,000 and \$7,500 a year.

Actually, about 10 percent of the shareowner population report household incomes under \$3,000. This includes retired folks.

#### STOCKHOLDERS ARE GETTING YOUNGER

Stockholders are younger than they used to be. They are no longer to be found chiefly among our senior citizens, most often pictured at stockholder meetings. At one United States Steel meeting, one of the most articulate stockholders was a baby-crying.

In 1956 only about 13 States and the District of Columbia made it easy to give stock to children. Now 49 States have laws facilitating stock gifts for minors. In 1952 the average shareowner was 51 years of age. My guess is that this year the average age will be lower.

STOCKHOLDERS BETTER EDUCATED THAN THEY USED TO BE

In 1952 almost 20 percent of those owning stock had gone only as far as the 8th grade in school or less. Today, the largest amount of stockholders are likely to have high-school diplomas, although only about a third of the shareowner population probably has a college degree.

PEOPLE'S CAPITALISM NEW WITHIN OUR TIME

About 10 times as many people own stock indirectly as directly. Over 100 million people own stock through insurance, pension funds, mutual savings banks and other financial institutions, including investment trusts. According to the National Association of Investment Companies, roughly 1,800,000 people own stock indirectly through open-end trusts, popularly known as mutual funds. Socialism in this country has taken the form of welfare capitalism and it ranges from Federal social security to noncontributory pensions in corporations. fare capitalism has become a part of the people's capitalism. People's capitalism is the goal of the New York Stock Exchange. It aroused much interest on the part of Mr. Khrushchev and some of the Russians. This form of capitalism is something new within our time and corporate democracy is part of it. One cannot exist without the other. What is corporate democracy?

According to Webster, "a democracy is government in which the supreme power is retained by the people and exercised by representation as in a republic." In corporate democracy the power resides in the stockholders and is exercised through directors who are elected by the stockholders.

POLITICIANS SHOULD TAKE A NEW VIEW OF STOCKHOLDERS

Although stockholders are also voters in local, State and Federal Government, you never see a picture of a politician kissing a stockholder, for fear it would be a kiss of political death. The old-fashioned idea, that a stockholder is a symbol of greed, wealth, and selfishness, still prevails around election time, even though big business has to depend on small stockholders for its capital. Actually the change in our tax structure has led largely to other forms of investment for the really rich, including investments in tax-exempt bonds. With the inheritance tax, there are fewer big fortunes than there used to be. So the stockholder who owns only a few shares is becoming increasingly important in financing U.S. industry. What's more, small shareowners are beginning to take this importance seriously.

Stockholders are hard to organize. Stockholders who belong to managerial or labor groups, tend to express themselves through organizations that express their class interests. Employee-shareowners in companies which have an open ballot, instead of a secret ballot, tend to be apathetic if not downright fearful of making known their views. Then too, the largest single group of shareowners is housewives. Therefore, stockholders as a group have not been an especially rewarding electorate for politicians, who could capture their votes at other levels.
Inflation is not alone in beginning to

change all this: Part of the growth in stock ownership and a change in the attitudes of the shareowner population have come about within this minority group through the so-called minority stockholders.

THE ROLE OF THE MINORITY STOCKHOLDER

The minority stockholder is really a misnomer-actually it is the large shareowner who is in the minority today. Sometimes an articulate stockholder is referred to as a professional stockholder. These are the stockholders who make a career of attending stockholder meetings, armed with proxies, a knowledge of parliamentary procedure, stockholder rights, managerial weak points, and occasionally a motorized megaphone to insure being heard. These stock-holders are professional only in the sense They receive no pay and often of training. little thanks for exposing what they be-lieve to be the cause of the silent or uninformed majority. Sometimes they are called hecklers and they, in turn, are heckled, giving an annual stockholders' meeting the sound of the bleachers at a ball The better the show, the bigger the game. attendance next year.

History shows all progress has been spear-headed by a minority. It is nearly always the fate of a minority in running counter

<sup>1 1958</sup> census shows one in eight.

to an accepted view—to be ridiculed. What is ridiculed today often becomes the fashion tomorrow. The fact remains that during the past 20 years crusading minority stockholders have laid down the ground rules for stockholder meetings, ploneered postmeeting reports, made annual meetings more accessible and democratic, and made cumulative voting a controversial issue.

Minority shareowners have dramatized issues that otherwise would have escaped general notice. For example, recently the annual meeting of the second largest railroad, a five-share owner, also representing other stockholders, appeared in mourning "to match the passing of the dividend while cuts in salaries over \$50,000 a year had been reinstated."

Independent shareowner resolutions on company proxy statements are usually reported as having been "overwhelmingly defeated." This is partly due to the size of the institutional vote which generally supports the management and because, stockholders, unmarked proxies can be cast against shareowner proposals.

Because of issues brought out by an articulate minority, managements have been strengthened and managements have fallen \* \* \*. All in all, the activity of the minority stockholders has improved the lot of the stockholder generally.

CORPORATE DEMOCRACY VERSUS NATIONALIZA-TION OF INDUSTRY

The new census will show a wider distribution of stock ownership. Share ownership, together with profit-sharing plans in such companies as Sears Roebuck and Pitney Bowes is the American way of owning industry \* \* instead of nationalizing it in the name of the people—which sometimes is in name only. Stock ownership by the people and corporate democracy—called people's capitalism—may prove our most convincing answer to communism in the eyes of the world.

Stockholders are a minority today that may become a majority tomorrow. Just work, wait and see.

Next week I'll be back at this same time with another pocketbook postscript to image minority—the women.

My views are my own and not necessarily those of the National Broadcasting Co. or the Federation of Women Shareholders in American Business.

## Jeannette District Memorial Hospital Completed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JOHN H. DENT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following: When a small, vigorous community succeeds in completing a community project of the magnitude and importance as the Jeannette District Memorial Hospital it is certainly worthy of note.

In our busy daily routine of trying to analyze and solve the complexing problems of our modern society, we sometimes fail to take note of the numerous occasions when people collectively and voluntarily perform a community service that puts meaning in the phrase "our way of life,"

I am proud of my hometown and our neighboring communities for their generous support of this needed public service project.

All of us are looking forward with personal and community pride to the day in the very near future when our dreams come true.

Our town is further blessed with a daily newspaper and a staff from top to bottom that always supports our com-

munity efforts.

It is a real pleasure as a friend and fellow townsman to put into the Congressional Record the attached special report from Marian Hollendonner, whose fine work as a journalist, manager, reporter, editor, and community worker, over recent years in our community has earned a well-deserved reputation as an observer and commentator on our area, its peoples, its work, and its institutions.

After reading her editorial entitled "Our Dream Soon Will Come True" you can understand why I am so proud of my hometown, its new hospital, and the people who have made our dream come true.

#### OUR DREAM SOON WILL COME TRUE (By Marion Hollendonner)

I saw a dream walking the other day. Almost running. Hurrying to come true. It was the Jeannette District Memorial Hospital, dream of everybody in the greater Jeannette-Irwin area for the last 12 years.

I went through the hospital from top to bottom on a conducted tour to find the answers to questions I had been hearing on all sides: "What's with the hospital? Why doesn't it open?"

Take my word for it, nothing's gone amiss or is likely to. The hospital is staffed—51 doctors have accepted the opportunity to be a part of the institution; another 145 employees have been hired, nurses, aldest clerks, accountants, custodians, help of all kinds; and the equipment is installed.

But preparing a hospital for occupancy and operation after the building shell is finished, is the biggest, most complicated job you can imagine.

#### PARTIAL OCCUPANCY IMPOSSIBLE

It's not like a family's building a dream house and moving into part of it while the carpenters are still hammering and the plasterers and painters are stapping stuff on the walls. That kind of inch-by-inch occupancy is not possible. This dream must be complete.

Every pill must be in the pharmacy, every hypodermic needle sterilized, X-ray apparatus ready, therapy room prepared, laboratory complete, office organized with its IBM machines, kitchen fully equipped, oxygen piped into every room, blankets, bed linens, towels, rubber gloves, bandages, casts and a million other items must be "at the ready."

As one of the Sisters of Charity who will head a department told me, "before occupying and operating this hospital, we have to be prepared so that no patient will become worse or expire because of lack of equipment or facilities. Everything must be adequate and complete. And we need the same facilities for one patient as we need for a hundred. We must be ready to cope with any emergency, any disease, any condition of any patient the minute we open our doors. For we are dealing with people and their lives."

To all of you who have a nickel's worth in this venture—and most of us have much more than that—I say this Jeannette District Memorial Hospital will be a jewel perfection, our community's most propossession when it finally does open.

#### A WONDERFUL SITE

The building is well laid out and built last. The results of intelligent forethous and planning are visible throughout. To exterior is beautiful, the view delights And I quote one of the administrating standard a nun of many long years experience hospitals, when I call the facilities "fablious."

Let me tell you about the facilities the most impressed me, to whet your appeter for what you'll see when open house is not in the next 6 weeks.

The boilerroom has both gas furnaces standby oil equipment. A generator can switched on if electric power should fail.

The hospital has its own laundry.

The hospital has its own laundry. there's a sewing room for repairs and replenish linen and toweling supplies.

#### RUN BY FOOD CONCESSIONAIRE

The kitchen is dazzling with stainless set and includes, in addition to the expectal lineup of modern appliances, through sthrough refrigerators, an icemaker, and latest in food carts. Each food cart serve 20 patients at one time and has set rate space for hot and cold items while sold coffee and milk flow from soda-fountain-it spigots.

Theh kitchen and the cafeteria for the stand help will be run by the same food concessionaire who feeds the guests at Duquesne Club, the Carlton House and Gateway Plaza in Pittsburgh.

There are four nurseries in the obstetred department, a regular one, one for the organism, one for the little "premmies," and of for the suspects—those babies who may evelop infectious or contagious complication.

An intercommunications system on each floor is connected with a little flat microphone under each patient's pillow. This lows the patient immediate contact with nurse's station. No signaling with a light pushbutton bell for these people. The tercom was custom built for Jeanney hospital.

#### SOFT MUSIC IN LOBBY

There is a record player broadcasting music in the lobby. There is a private missions office where the patient and family can pour out their woes—finance physical and emotional—in private.

There is a chapel whose altar will be ma

of marble from Italy.

A dictaphone is installed in a soundpring room off the operating room so the docton dictate direct to the medical recomments about the patient's condition.

#### A LIPESAVING MACHINE

A "beautiful machine"—again I quote gi guide, one of the nuns—will be avaliable quick use in the operating room in case patient's heart might stop during an opation. "It may never be used," my inforant commented, "but it may save some one's life."

#### THERE ARE NO WARDS

All but three of the rooms for paties are double. Those three are single. The are no wards. The walls and ceilings of done in a combination of pastels—piblue, green, gray and yellow—none exact alike. Drapes are plain in these same cox, and are interchangeable for any room, wild prints or exotic flowers to give paties the heebie-jeebies.

The beds raise and lower for the trones or shortles for comfortable dangle instead of just raising or lowering at he and foot. The double rooms can be divided by drawing drapes attached to tracks in the ceiling to insure privacy when desired. The double rooms can be divided by drawing drapes attached to tracks in the ceiling to insure privacy when desired. The desired by the ceiling to feathers,

A medicart, used to carry medicine around to patients at stated intervals, has a unique tool-proof card system to eliminate any chance of neglect or wrong dosage. Instrusound waves.

The hospital prints its own forms-79 of hem—on a multilith machine. They indude the most complicated kind of tabulation charts for medical records.

#### A WONDERFUL TEAM

I have deliberately refrained from desighating what Sisters of Charity I met while touring the hospital—simply because these administrators comprise a tremendous, com-Pact team. They are dedicated, efficient, in-senious, superbly trained and businesslike. This team is a great part of the reason why our hospital is destined to rate with the best in the country. These nuns and men and women volunteers from the city are now on the job, literally running, to get the hospital open.

Another reason why our hospital will be a ewel-our dream come true-is that it is built with a heart as a foundation—the heart of this community as illustrated by the money and muscle everyone has poured

And as the hospital's prestige grows so will our community burst with pride. Just wait 'in you see it. Jeannette's newest industry.

# Control and Abatement of Air Pollution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, the Air Pollution Control Association is holding its 52d annual meeting in Los Angeles this week. The organization, its membership, its operations, and the convention program—all are of extreme importance to this Congress, for a broad understanding of these items can be the basis for effectuating a savings of millions of dollars to American taxpayers.

In the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee at this time are proposals to extend, in duration, and function, what is known as the Federal air pollution control law. I am hopeful that the proposed legislation will get no further; but if it comes to the floor, Members of the House will be better qualified to make their decision by using the background information that I present today.

Public law 159, 84th Congress, authorized a program for research and technical assistance—to obtain data and to devise and develop methods for control and abatement of air pollution—by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service. I do not know how much has been accomplished by this office in the interim period, but I an convinced that any increase in appropriation or authority would be a mistake and would constitute an unnecessary contribution to the cause of inflation and Federal extravagance. My conclusion is based on these two premises: First, the Air Pollution Control

Association and its members have made remarkable strides in the problem of atmospheric sanitation; further intrusion into the field of air pollution by the Federal Government is unnecessary and undesirable. Second Public Health Service participation in this work has already enkindled another bureaucratic blaze which, if fanned by more tax dollars, will spread throughout the country and engulf an increasing amount of the duties and responsibilities of private enterprise.

Anyone who has lived in western Pennsylvania or in other industrial regions understandably has a very intense interest in the problem of air pollution. I remember not too far back when I would drive toward Pittsburgh on a sunny morning only to meet a growing darkness as I approached the Turtle Creek area. By the time I arrived in the Triangle, visibility had been reduced considerably and anyone not familiar with the air pollution situation would have the impression that it was a cloudy day. Pittsburgh lived up to its reputation as the Smoky City. Dust and grime on window sills and floors were a persistent menace to the housewife. Many men had to change shirts twice a day. The combination of smoke, dust, fumes, and odors made the city particularly displeasing to visitors who were not accustomed to prevailing atmospheric conditions in industrial areas.

Suddenly Pittsburgh, through the initiative of its industrial and civic leaders, was transformed into a clean city. Through science and engineering, industries learned how to reduce the pollutants. They found that any fuel could be burned with a minimum of smoke if proper equipment and proper combustion methods were utilized. They invested millions of dollars in such equipment and in various types of filters and other apparatus to reduce discharge from stacks and vents. Through community cooperation and industry's willingness to spend money-and without Federal funds-Pittsburgh has emerged as a modern and beautiful city. Service clubs, church groups, industries, labor unions, and individual residents pitched into clean up their community, and the results stand as a tribute to this cooperative effort.

We still have our atmospheric contaminants in industrial areas. Despite the almost miraculous progress that has taken place, there is no comparing the cleanliness of-for instance-Washington, D.C., with that of my own city of Johnstown or the other towns where mills and factories are the principal sources of livelihood. There is much more work to be carried on in the field of air pollution control, but I question whether we can afford to permit the Federal Government to involve itself any

From time to time the success of local air pollution programs has attracted attention in Congress, but this recognition has perhaps been too infrequent to emphasize just how much progress has been taking place at the community level. In 1951 our former colleague from Columbus, Mr. Vorys, spoke at length on the

effectiveness of air pollution control action in his home city. We have also been advised of progress in Pittsburgh and other metropolitan areas; unfortunately, what the APCA members back in a hundred or more other cities are doing has gone unnoticed in Congress.

Headquarters of the APCA are at Mellon Institute in Pittsburgh. This organization is made up of more than 1.200 individual members, including technical experts from Federal, State, and municipal Governments. A great assortment of industries and companies are represented, including manufacturers of aluminum, steel, chemicals, soap, cement, rubber, automobiles, and a variety of other commodities; refineries, coal producers, oil companies, and electric utilities; and, in addition, numerous producers of air pollution control equip-

Last year the APCA convention was held in Philadelphia, May 25-29. Topics included incineration, status of the automobile exhaust problem, evaluation of wind tunnel studies, health effects of air pollution, and other technical and administrative subjects. Over the years the APCA has come to be recognized by leading officials in Government. President Hoover, President Truman. and President Eisenhower are on record with tributes to the association. Its work has been the subject of comment by the Secretary of Commerce and the Department of Health, Education, and Wel-

I was therefore astonished to read a statement from the Public Health Service dated July 25, 1958, that contained this paragraph:

Air pollution is becoming increasingly serious as population growth and industrial expansion add to the volume of pollutants discharged into the far-from-limitless ocean of air that surrounds us. Although the problem has recently received considerable attention from governmental bodies as well as from industries and voluntary organizations, there has been no opportunity for representatives of all these groups to meet together to assess their progress and to develop a coordinated plan for future action.

This message was contained in an invitation to the National Conference on Air Pollution, which was held in Washington in November under the auspices of Public Health Service. - The message was, of course, without basis in fact. Through the Air Pollution Control Association, there has for more than half a century been an opportunity for representatives of government, industry, and voluntary organizations to meet for the purpose of assessing progress on air pollution problems and to develop coordinated plans for future action.

I assume that the statement by the Public Health Service was an oversight. In any event, it should put Congress on notice that there is a grave danger that such lack of information can be extremely costly. I do not know how much the National Conference on Air Pollution cost the taxpayers of this country. Perhaps the Public Health Service has submitted this information to one of the interested committees of Congress. It would be particularly significant to determine whether the U.S. Government underwrote expenses of any of the delegates not on the Federal payroll.

In contrast to the National Conference on Air Pollution, the annual meetings of the Air Pollution Control Association are not in any way subsidized by the Federal Government. The only cost involved is the traveling expenses of those Government workers who attend the APSA meetings. I notice that the Los Angeles program includes participation by a number of employees of the Federal Government. This cooperation should be encouraged. APCA offers a platform for the many groups interested in clean air. The convention should be especially educational for whomever was responsible for the letter of invitation to the Public Health Service Conference last year. Perhaps other Public Health Service officials will then recognize that the proposed increase in appropriations and extension of activities of PHS are not necessary.

Most of all, the APCA convention reminds Congress of the deep interest of public officials, industries, associations, and individual companies in the problems of air pollution. I am hopeful that this knowledge will result in a vote against the amendment to Public Law 159 if it ever comes out of committee. That amendment would give Public Health Service an additional \$2 million per year for air pollution control activity. I think the proposal is unnecessary. It is a challenge to Congress. We appropriate billions of dollars annually, but we must never overlook an opportunity to save whatever comparatively small amounts are involved in any legislation. Increasing funds for this activity would not only constitute extravagance and contribute to the inflationary spiral; it would encourage extension of Washington's great bureaucracy which, if not checked, can bring economic catastrophe to this country.

Air control problems are essentially local problems. Topography of the land and prevailing atmospheric conditions preclude the application of a single air pollution control law to a variety of localities. If Los Angeles, in order to solve a serious smog problem, finds it necessary to invoke an ordinance requiring special equipment for muffler and exhaust pipes, let Los Angeles do so. Other cities may follow suit if they so desire. There is positively no need to set up a giant office in Washington to determine what laws are best to keep air clean in the communities of our land. In certain areas of our country regional air control districts that include portions of two or more States have been created. Those developments are as they should be, but to inject Federal authority or supervision into such projects is a presumption that should not be tolerated.

Our best wishes for a successful APCA convention are in order. If the APCA and its membership continues its dedicated efforts with the same vigor that has marked past accomplishments, then we may rest with the assurance that further Federal encroachment is unwarranted and unwanted.

Hon. Albert M. Greenfield Speaks at 75th Commencement Services of the Philadelphia Textile Institute

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. HERMAN TOLL

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 19, 1959

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, my home city, Philadelphia, is justly proud of the Philadelphia Textile Institute, which this year celebrated the 75th anniversary of its founding.

A guest speaker at the commencement services on June 6 was one of Philadelphia's most distinguished civic and business leaders, the Honorable Albert M. Greenfield. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include Mr. Greenfield's speech:

REMARKS OF MR. ALBERT M. GREENFIELD AT THE 75TH ANNIVERSARY YEAR COMMENCE-MENT OF THE PHILADELPHIA TEXTILE INSTI-TUTE, SATURDAY, JUNE 6, 1959

Ladies and gentlemen, it is roughly 6 months ago since I had the opportunity to receive your president, Dr. Hayward, and representatives of your trustees who apprised me of the oncoming 75th anniversary of the founding of the Philadelphia Textile Institute. On this occasion, they refreshed my memory on the development and growth of your school, and invited that I serve as chairman of the honorary committee for this, your diamond jubilee year.

Those who are here today know the Philadelphia Textile Institute to be a unique institution; unique in that it is the oldest and largest technological school of its kind in America. Unique, too, in that it is the only one of its kindred institutions which has not been absorbed into a State college system. Unique in that, while providing a rounded education in the humanities, it gives specific service to an industry so important to our national economy. Unique in that it has maintained its independent, voluntary character exemplifying the private initiative traditional in the growth of higher education in America.

You are intimately acquainted with these several characteristics of the institute; yet, it is important that they be restated from time to time so that they become living values and guideposts in the future development of this institution. The major educational institutions in our Nation which have made the greatest contributions to the development of knowledge and research have each proceeded from this same background. The industry, to which this college is dedicated to supplying trained leadership and dedicated to serve with men of broadgaged executive and technical knowledge, similarly proceeded from this background—the characteristics of which are the exercise of private initiative, individual energy and the use of each man's resources to the highest level of his capacity in making his contribution to his fellow man.

It is for reasons of this kind that I have been glad to serve as chairman of the honorary observance committee, and to invite the Nation's leaders in government, in industry, and in education to voice their support and to felicitate you during this jubilee year. This committee, today, is comprised of men of the highest statute in our national life—from our former Presidents of the United States, through members of the Cabinet, the U.S. Senate, Governors of our

various States and the leadership in industry, and business, and finance from all corners of our Nation—each of whom brings recognition to your accomplishments in both the worlds of commerce and education, and of the contribution of your graduates to their community and to the Nation.

It is worthwhile to note that, beyond educational services to your student body, this college has just completed its work on your 7,500th research project for your industry and that you have served over 750 corporations, universities, and governmental agenticles in research activity. And, as in mosforward looking institutions, what has been accomplished is but groundwork for the task yet to be undertaken and the goals yet to be achieved.

To accomplish such goals, the Philadel phia Textile Institute faces the same problems as every other institution of higher learning in this country. Of these, you have heard much in the past few years for there is, at last, a concerted effort to acquaint our people as to their responsibility to education to assure its continued growth in this bountiful land.

The only possible answer to the needs of education appears almost as soon as the problem is stated. It is that as a Nation of independent people and uncentralized edu cation we must now come to a collective decision that we can afford to and, indeed must spend more on education. We can po longer be content with half measures. must push forward even more energetically than we have and call now for a mobilist' tion of private citizens, government, industry, the teaching profession, students, and their parents-indeed, all friends of learn ing-to meet the problem which confront us. The initial and strongest support mus come from those who have enjoyed the fruits of higher education—the graduate and former students of our colleges.

Further support, of course, must come from the various levels of government from private foundations, from private in dividuals and from corporations who receive the benefits to our society which process from our educational institutions.

You will welcome the report which I have been asked to make at this time that the special progress fund for this anniversary year—subscribed to largely by alumni, foster alumni, students and their parents—bas passed its initial goal of \$75,000—a 200-per cent increase over voluntary giving in past years.

To accomplish the task set forth in genting this institution for its responsibilities for the future, this is but a beginning. matching sum will be sought by the Year end to enable the Institute to extend and improve its educational and research serices. It becomes our part—and especially the part of those with closest ties to the college through their alumni status and through the industry which it serves—to assure that the Philadelphia Textile Institut attains its full position of prestige in educational achievement and in industry contribution.

The Flow of Gold

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. J. EDGAR CHENOWETH

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. CHENOWETH. Mr. Speaker, there is great concern in this country

over the depletion of our gold stocks. I wish to include in my remarks an editorial from the Washington Evening

Star on this subject.

Mr. Speaker, this editorial calls attention to the fact that for the first time in 20 years our gold reserves are below \$20 billion. The writer of the editorial does not share the apprehension of others Over the decline in our gold stocks, but does admit that the situation-cannot be ignored. I personally feel that the situation is much more serious than the editorial indicates. I would like to see us replenish our gold stocks, and this can be done by increasing the production of gold. The present price of \$35 per ounce is wholly unrealistic. The producers of gold are entitled to a fair price, which Will enable them to resume operations.

I also feel that there should be a free market in gold, and that citizens of the United States should be permitted to own and possess gold, as are the citizens of foreign nations. I have introduced a bill authorizing private transactions in gold, and a number of similar bills are bending. I would like to see this legislation passed at this session. This would be a start to working out a satisfactory solution of our gold problem.

The editorial follows:

THE FLOW OF GOLD

When the Treasury Department this week hands over to the International Monetary Fund approximately \$344 million in gold, our gold reserves will drop below \$20 billion for the first time in 20 years. The decline has been irregular for the past decade, from the high point of \$24.5 billion in 1949, but has been continuous and more rapid for the past 18 months. The largest drop was recorded in 1958 at \$2.3 billion and there are estimates that it may be as high as \$2 billion in

For the record, the transfer to the IMF honors a commitment—approved by Congress and the President—to increase our subscription to that agency. The bulk of the gold outflow, however, has been of a different king. kind-namely, its delivery on demand to foreign nations having dollar balances sufficient to cover their purchases of the metal. There have been numerous explanations for this movement of gold, but it is significant that it marks a confidence-lacking "flight that it marks a confidence-lacking from the dollar has pretty much fallen of its own lack of weight. There has, in fact, been an increase in net dollar balances (not converted into gold) over the past year—and by approximately a half billion in the first quarter of 1959 alone.

The more valid explanation seems to be that our sales abroad, down substantially for more than a year past, have been running behind the total dollar value of our import purchases, plus foreign investment of American can private capital and the various types of foreign aid (military and nonmilitary). Foreign nations that have thus acquired a surplus of dollars—and particularly those like Great Britain, most of the countries of Western Europe and Japan, whose economies have grown much stronger in recent years—are taking the opportunity now to boister their own currency reserves in gold. It might properly be pointed out that this strengthening of the of the economies of friendly nations has been one of our own hopes in the postwar

Against this background there remains the question of whether alarm is justified about our changing gold position. The consensus is that it that it is not, but neither should it be

observed with indifference. By law, the Government is required to hold an amount of gold equal to 25 percent of all Federal Reserve currency and deposits belonging to member banks. The balance on hand this week will amount to about 40 percent, representing an excess margin of about \$8 billion. There are, furthermore, both private and governmental ways to check the gold drain if necessary. One of the best and surest ways is for American business and industry to protect and improve its competitive position in world markets-a way that requires cost controls, good salesmanship and quality of production. Curtailment of foreign-aid spending abroad, particularly in areas of greatest economic recovery, is one of several alternatives available The course of events to Government. through the remainder of 1959 should tell whether the first way is coming to pass, or whether there may be need to invoke some of the others

## Tribute to Postmaster General

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON, AUGUST E. JOHANSEN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Speaker, as a sequel to the dedication on June 13 of the new post office at Kalamazoo, Mich., the Kalamazoo Gazette paid a richly merited tribute to the Honorable Arthur E. Summerfield, Postmaster General, who participated in the dedication ceremonies.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include this editorial:

#### BUSINESSLIKE GOVERNMENT

Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield's visit to Kalamazoo for the dedication of our new post office was both a pleasure and a privilege for this community.

It was an opportunity to get acquainted with the dynamic Cabinet member who has revitalized the moribund Post Office Department, and a chance to see an example of the improvement being made throughout the biggest business-type service organization in the world.

Summerfield, a successful Michigan businessman before he was drawn into public life, is an outstanding representative of the kind of people with whom President Eisenhower has been able to surround himself.

Memories are often short. We forget the past and take the present for granted. It is appropriate, therefore, to recall that when Summerfield took over the Department in 1953, not a post office had been built since 1938. Postal facilities averaged 50 years old—obsolete, inefficient, wasteful.

Our new post office is only 1 of 3,000 built since Summerfield took charge, as part of a program of 12,000 and including mechanization and automation. The Department is now utilizing machines that sort letters at a rate of 18,000 an hour, cancel stamps too fact for the eye to follow. And only the other day Summerfield presided over the experiment of transmitting mail by guided missile.

This is businesslike government, resulting in a brand of progress beyond the imagination and executive capacity of the oldfushioned professional politician.

From the outset, Summerfield broke with political tradition. In the past, the winning party had often rewarded its national chairman by making him Postmaster General-in

addition to his party duties. Usually he kept on politicking while career men ran

Summerfield promptly resigned as Republican national chairman to give full time to the direction and improvement of an operation that, doing a business of \$20 billion a year and employing more than half a mil-lion people, is too big and too important to be run on a part-time basis.

Both in attitude and in method, this represents the best in modern government, a conspicuous example of what the President has sought in choosing his official family

from the ranks of the ablest.

Remarks of Dr. Frederic H. Barth at the 75th Anniversary Year Commencement of the Philadelphia Textile Institute. June 6, 1959

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. HERMAN TOLL

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 19, 1959

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, on June 6. 1959. I had the privilege of attending the 75th anniversary of the founding of the Philadelphia Textile Institute, the oldest and largest technological school of its kind in America.

Among the distinguished speakers at this memorable occasion was the Honorable Frederic H. Barth, an outstanding educator, who only yesterday was appointed acting postmaster of the city of Philadelphia.

Pursuant to permission granted, I include Dr. Barth's remarks at the commencement services:

REMARKS OF DR. FREDERIC H. BARTH AT THE 75TH ANNIVERSARY YEAR COMMENCEMENT OF THE PHILADEIPHIA TEXTILE INSTITUTE, SATURDAY, JUNE 6, 1959

Fellow alumni and friends of Philadelphia Textile Institute, those of us who have shared in the formulation of plans for the diamond jubilee year of our college, may feel justifiable pride in the revitalized spirit that has become manifest among old grads and young alike, who together have given ex-pression to their belief in the future of their college by a dramatic increase in alumni giving. Our alumni family has taken the mature view that attendance and graduation from Philadelphia Textile Institute should mark but the beginning, not the severance, of ties to education; that the educated man recognizes some responsibility to his alma mater to help nurture it so that It can continue to bear the fruits which he enjoyed, for future generations. This calls for a lifelong partnership which can be a rewarding one in satisfactions and in prestige.

The principal aims of the Diamond Jubilee Alumni Progress Fund are to spur Philadelphia Textile Institute's growth of reputation in educational accomplishments and research ability. With its alumni family and friends made aware and receptive to the college's opportunity in its 75th year to take up slack and alert itself to the challenge of the future, which it must meet as spirited patriarch among the textile colleges our Nation, the potential is great for fulfillment of the role we envision for it.

We have seized 1959 by the forelock, and we do not intend to loosen our grip on progress. We have enlisted a new kind of

leadership among our alumni who, by reason of personal and business success, are willing to provide their college with a bonus for investment in improvements in quality of its education. I want to salute at this time William A. Popp, 1938, founding chairman of the President's Club, which now boasts 18 members who gave \$1,000 or more to the fund. Frank H. Kaufmann, 1937, founding chairman of the Prestige Club, has enrolled 57 members who contributed \$250 or more; and Charles P. Hoffner, 1949, has enlisted 95 members in the 75'ers Club of which he is founding chairman. Membership in these newly formed clubs remains open, and we hope that by the end of the year their numbers will raise a strong voice in shaping the future of Philadelphia Textile Institute. These chairmen have rendered a yeoman service and their enthusiasm has been contagious and invigorating to the campaign. And I want to thank Peter J. Osborne, 1949, who has devoted his efforts specifically to the building of an organizational structure in the class agents division of the alumni progress fund. These and other men have carried the brunt of the work, and they deserve the thanks of the entire alumni body and of the trustees of the college.

In addition to this vigorous leadership has been the fine support which has come from Joseph A. Golden, alumnus of the class of 1928, who is serving as chairman of the foster alumni division. This phase of activity is geared to solicitation of leading executives in textiles and related fields of industry who recognize Philadelphia Textile Institute's value in developing a dynamic executive-level educational program to meet the requirements of a revitalized

textile world. These and other facets of our diamond jubilee alumni fund are still in progress. Even more significant, we have not lost sight of the fact that there is no better time than now to make Philadelphia Textile Institute better known in Philadelphia and throughout the Nation. In order effectively to accomplish this important goal, a 75th anniversary observance honorary committee was formed, comprising a cross-section of na-tional leadership. To Albert M. Greenfield, chairman of this committee, goes the sin-cere thanks of our board of trustees and our alumni association. Mr. Greenfield's general interest in higher education impelled him to accept this assignment, and to bring to the diamond jubilee the favorable climate which permeates our activities. I want to take this opportunity, also, to express alumni thanks to Mr. Greenfield for the special gift he made, in the sum of \$3,000, spur our campaign. This created incentive to reach our initial goal. I hope that Mr. Greenfield, as chairman of the honorary committee, will favor us with some remarks. He needs no introduction. He has earned for himself the coveted title of "Mr. Philadelphia" for his vast accomplishments in the business world and in civic and philanthropic life of our community and the Nation. We are proud of the part he is playing in helping to shape the future of this oldest and largest independent textile college in America. Thank you.

Undesirable Neighbor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. AUGUST E. JOHANSEN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 22, 1959

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Speaker, sometimes basic truths are better expressed in the vernacular of the man on the street than in the flawless language of diplomacy.

A constituent and friend of mine in the Third Congressional District, Mr. Forest Sweet, of Battle Creek, Mich., wrote me recently in this vein about the negotiations at Geneva and the prospective summit conference.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include his homely, but realistic, comments:

I am a simple man and probably oversimplify complex matters, but suppose we treat the commies, Russia as well as China, as we would an equally undesirable next door neighbor. We know he is there—we can't get rid of him—but we ain't gotta have anything to do with him. We tried to be pleasant and neighborly and got snarls and threats in return, so why not build a barbed wire fence and make him stay on his own side and we stay on our side? I ain't versed in diplomacy but, since he wants to talk with us about affairs in the neighborhood, I'd give him one more chance and tell him first: You'll act like a gentleman or we won't even recognize your existence from then on. If Ike told Herter to tell Gromyko to tell Khrushchev that same thing, might get a decent basis for summit talks.

## California's Junior Logging Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. CLEM MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. CLEM MILLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I wish to present a most useful and beneficial program, sponsored by the forest products industries of California, to familiarize our youth with the prospects and future for lumber and logging. Spearheaded by the Redwood Region Conservation Council in northern California, we hope that its fine example will spread elsewhere in the United States wherever lumber and logging are prevalent:

THE JUNIOR LOGGING CONFERENCE

The oldest industry in America is the forest products industry, yet none is undergoing more astonishing changes right now than those businesses established on wood and other products from our forests. Each year sees new gains in research, new advancements in land management practices, more acreage certified to tree farming and continuous forest crop production, to cite only a few examples.

Equipment manufacturers who provide the saws and milling machinery, the tractors and trucks, even the tires for these heavy work vehicles, all are perfecting new production techniques and new methods for making an old, hard job easier and more efficient. More and more mills are installing automatic units to do jobs once done by hand. Equipment to supply the needs of this dynamic industry is undergoing tremendous changes.

In the face of these new developments, it is no wonder that each new generation of workers entering forest employment, particularly in the vast forests of our Western States, finds itself caught up in a program of learning methods and techniques which are brandnew and cannot be learned from old hands who have been doing the same thing the same way for generations.

In the Redwood-Douglas-fir region of northwestern California, leaders of the forest products industries have taken concrete action to help new employees bridge the gap between past and future, between school and job.

Spearheaded by the Redwood Region Conservation Council, a nonprofit forest products industries conservation education organization with headquarters in Santa Rosa, a program has been developed in cooperation with the California State Department of Education to provide forestry, logging, and lumbering courses to students in high school anticipating forest employment upon graduation. This program, established in 1953, will be operating in nine high schools in the fall of 1959, with approximately 400 boys enrolled in these forestry, logging, and lumbering courses. Other schools in the region have incorporated some phases of the program into farm forestry units taught in conjunction with vocational agriculture courses.

The Redwood Region Conservation Council has, just this year, produced in cooperation with the Foundation for American Resource Management, a curriculum outline for forestry instructors at the high school level which will help teachers save much research time by giving them a compact base from which to start working up their individual classroom curriculums. In other ways too Redwood Region Conservation Council has attempted to bridge the gap between school and community, between educator and businessman. Local industries are encouraged to lend support to high school instructors in need of community cooperation.

Perhaps the most outstanding example of the fruits of such cooperation is the annual Redwood Region Conservation Council Junior Logging Conference, held in the spring prior to the close of the school year. At this time over 100 boys are invited to a 3-day session of intensive forest employment training. Seven such conferences have been held.

They convene, usually at Mendocino woodlands which is a rented campsite on the Jackson State Forest in Mendocino County with a faculty numbering about 55 of the region's recognized leaders in the forest products industries, as well as educators and personnel from the State division of forestry and the U.S. Forest Service, both public agencies cooperating wholeheartedly in this program.

In the region, the junior logging conference faculty has become widely known as the million dollar faculty since to purchase the skills and services of the men who comprise it for 3 days would probably run close to that amount. For this program, all give voluntarily of their time and energy, even to bringing along the necessary equipment for demonstrations, including such items as chainsaws, tractors, planting tools, aerial cameras and wood sample kits.

The facilities of the Union Lumber Coat Fort Bragg and of contract loggers operating on the Jackson State Forest are made available to the boys who have an opportunity to view first hand many examples of subjects they may have met previously only on the pages of their classrooms textbooks. Daylight hours are devoted to an extensive program of field trips, tours and in-camp demonstrations on a wide range of subjects all related to the production and harvest of the forest crop and the manufacture of goods from that harvest.

Evenings are devoted to speakers and panel discussions on many subjects, ranging from job opportunities, industrial safety and technical details on the structure and use of wood to open forums for question and answer exchanges.

Evenings are also devoted to what might be termed "philosophy sessions" as industry leaders and youngsters discuss the ramifications of working and living in a free enterprise society. Human values, opportunities to the energetic, possibility of success and the sacred right to be a failure if you like, without interference from anyone, are brought into open discussion. In many instances, this is the first time students have had an opportunity to examine these concepts. Economics is included, and it is made abundantly clear that no product can be sold on the open market for less than the costs involved in its making, including labor, processing, plant investment, shipping and other factors. Many of the students have had no classroom study in economics, many hold fuzzy ideas as to what money can and cannot do, about the source and expenditure of tax monies, about the power and the significance of the individual.

The purpose of all this is singlefold—to help boys become men; the kind of men who will be workers and, in some cases, leaders in the forest products industries of the redwood region in the near future.

The Junior Logging Conference is a ploneer attempt to teach not only the newest developments in industrial technology, not only the goals of evercontinuing research for better ways to do things, but also to inculcate very fundamental and vitally significant attitudes into the lives of young men. These attitudes are what men live by and color all that they do and seek in life.

In a tremendously complex technological economy, where more and more often men are trained and counseled to be specialists in some particular field to the exclusion of everything else, there is a need for men who have fixed values and unlimited goals. There is a need for men who will stand or fall on their own ability, asking no intervention from agencies of government. There is a need for men who are conscious of their own power as individuals, who have explored their own potential and who know their own limitations.

Such men have built the forest products industries of the Redwood-Douglas-fir region in California. In the Redwood Region Conservation Council Junior Logging Conference they have pooled their resources and their energies to help bring up a generation of men of similar inclination to take over the reins of operating industries in their own time.

The Junior Logging Conference program was the first of its kind in the United States. The idea has spread to other forest areas and it is the hope of the Redwood Region Conservation Council that it will continue to grow, that each forest region in the Nation will see the merits of the program and seek to establish similar programs. It is even possible that other kinds of industry will find value in programing of this kind and that through this pioneer program American industry will move to take some responsibility for educating young men destined to be the workers of tomorrow. When such youngsters step into the vacancies in the ranks of industrial employment they bring to their employers not only youth and strength, but sound values and a willingness to work and learn and grow with the industry of their choice.

## The Public Is Demanding a Sound Dellar

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. RUSSELL V. MACK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. MACK of Washington. Mr. Speaker, letters that I am receiving daily

convince me that the American people are extremely concerned over excessive Government spending. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include such a letter received from Mr. Frank L. Davies, of Vancouver, Wash.:

MAY 27, 1959.

Hon. Russell V. Mack, Member of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Dear Congressman Mack: People in many countries have been ruined or impoverished by inflation caused by excessive government spending. I am worried about inflation in the United States and depreciation in the value of the dollar. If our Government keeps spending more than it takes in, we certainly will have more inflation and prices will keep on going higher.

If this happens my savings will be worth less, my business will be worth less, my insurance will be worth less, my bonds will be worth less, my income will buy less, my social security will buy less.

I hope you will vote only for essential expenditures, and against waste and appropriation bills favoring special interests. If we are to survive as a strong Nation, we must avoid further inflation.

Let's keep the dollar sound.

Sincerely,

FRANK L. DAVIES, Vancouver Oil Co.

VANCOUVER, WASH.

The United Nations Must Investigate the Red Chinese Crimes Against Tibet and Against Civilization

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 19, 1959

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington News of June 22, 1959. The crimes of attempted genocide against the completely peaceful Tibetan people are exactly what the world must expect any Communist regime to commit whenever it thinks it has a good chance to get away with it. But what is com-pletely inexplicable is that some Americans still advocate bringing the United Nations down to the level of such lawlessness by accepting Red China into membership instead of insisting, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, that a government seeking admission must first qualify by bringing its international behavior into harmony with the charter. If the United Nations is to survive as a useful international agency, it must, as a minimum, live up to its own principles and investigate, expose, condemn, and oppose the Communist rape of Tibet.

The editorial follows:

[From the Washington Daily News, June 22, 1959]

TRAGEDY IN TIRET

Tibet is far, far away—about 7,500 miles from Chicago over the North Pole. It is a mystical land—and, few Americans know or care very much about it or its Buddhist people. But few will read the latest statement by the Dalai Lama without compassion and sympathy for the Tibetans, and extreme indignation at Red China.

The spiritual and temporal leader of Tibetans, now exiled in India, tell for the first time the tragic story of the Red Chinese rape of his country—from the day in 1950 when Red China's armies came in, through the day, early this year, when he was forced to fiee. It is a story of how for 9 years Red China has been doing to Tibet what Soviet Russia did to Hungary in a few weeks.

And the end doesn't seem to be in sight the Dalai Lama accuses Red China of attempting to liquidate the Tibetan race by swamping the country with 5 million Chinese. The Nazis committed genocide (extinction of a people) with gas chambers; the Red Chinese way is slower but effective,

This way, familiar in the history of Communist aggression, is described by the Dalai Lama as "a reign of terror which finds few parallels in the history of Tibet. Forced labor and compulsory exactions, systematic persecutions of the people, plunder and confiscation of property belonging to individuals and monasteries, and the execution of certain leading men in Tibet—these are the glorious achievements of Chinese rule in Tibet."

In 1956 there was a brief period of hope for more reasonable Chinese policies. Indian Premier Nehru got Peiping to piedge that these repressive policies would be modified. But Red China broke that piedge as quickly and violently as it had broken its 1950 promise to respect Tibet's domestic autonomy.

Continued repression brought this year's "spontaneous upsurge" of the Tibetans. Red China's brutal suppression of the uprising, and the flight of the Dalai Lama.

After weeks of contemplation he has spoken, and he asks for only one thing—an international commission to examine the serious charges he has made against Red China. He is willing to accept the verdict of such a commission.

Red China will never agree to such an investigation, just as Soviet Russia never would agree to a United Nations investigation of the Soviet rape of Hungary. But just as an investigation of Hungary was made over Moscow's protests, so an investigation of Tibet should be made, too.

If, as the Dalai Lama suggests, Red China's objective is to wipe out all traces of Tibet and its people, then the records of civilized man at least ought to include the evidence of how it was done and by whom.

## Success Story of an Integrated Farm Co-op

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, a Wisconsin farm cooperative which has practiced vertical integration at the grassroots is thriving and has blazed a trail that many other rural communities would do well to imitate. Located in my home district, the A-G Cooperative Creamery of Arcadia grew out of two rival co-ops which were cutting each other's throats. It is now a unified and expanding setup offering a variety of services to more than 1,060 members.

An article in News for Farmer Cooperatives, a publication of the Farmers Cooperative Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, tells the success story of the A-G Co-op. Under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include this article in the RECORD.

VERTICAL INTEGRATION AT THE GRASSROOTS (By Henry H. Bakken and G. S. Grewal, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.)

Too much cooperation of the wrong kind may be as bad as too little cooperation of the right kind. This was the conclusion of the farmers of Arcadia, Wis., in 1924. In this rich farming community the dairymen had formed two rival cooperative creameries, one called Glencoe and the other Arcadia, both located in the same village.

After years of internecine war between the rival organizations, the only thing they had to show for their effort was indebtedness, frustration, and ill will. The managers of the two associations had the good sense to realize the futility of such rivalry and they took the initiative in persuading the membership that they had much more to gain by working together than they could possibly hope to realize through continuous competitive conflict.

In 1925, this line of reasoning led to the merger of the two creameries under the name A. G. Cooperative Creamery. Arthur C. Schultz, former manager of the Arcadia Creamery, was selected to manage the new enterprise, with assets of about \$40,000. From the beginning, Mr. Schultz has been dedicated to the notion that the primary purpose of a cooperative is to render service to its membership.

As soon as the success of the new creamery was assured, the dairymen, many of them also poultry producers, took steps under Schultz' leadership to convert the Glencoe Creamery building into a cooperative hatchery as a subsidiary of the A. G. association. They began the hatchery business in 1927 on a very modest scale, supplying the needs of some of their members who at the time maintained relatively small flocks of layers.

#### BEGAN HANDLING FEED IN 1928

Both cows and hens require feed, so in 1928 the A. G. Cooperative Creamery began buying feed concentrates in wholesale quantities and selling its supplies directly to members from the car door. In 1929 it acquired an elevator building without milling facilities to hold inventory supplies which might be obtained both from the standpoint of cash discounts and prices.

Throughout the great depression years of the thirties, the Arcadians marked time, simply building and strengthening the organizations they had established with such high hopes in the twenties. After this fateful decade passed, however, the A. G. Cooperative began bursting out at the seams. In 1941 the creamery reequipped to receive whole milk, and from that time on, less and less farm separated cream was received until all milk deliveries were in whole form. The demand during the war for milk powder hastened this development, and in 1945 the creamery installed a modern spray.

By the year 1946, the best in this history of the creamery, it was diversified to the point where it offered for sale a number of dairy products such as processed whole milk, cream, skimmed milk, buttermilk, butter and milk powders. Total sales exceeded \$1 million, and capital assets reached the quarter million mark.

Before 1944 the A. G. Cooperative Creamery was actually a private corporation operated informally as a cooperative, 'In 1944 it decided to reorganize and the new association was incorporated under chapter 185, Wisconsin Statutes, as a bona fide cooperative.

In the meantime, the association was undergoing other changes. A new tile building was constructed in 1941 to receive poul-

try for slaughter, and the hatchery continued to expand in volume of output to 60,000 chicks annually. A new manager of the hatchery employed in 1942 pushed volume up to 125,000 chicks in 1943, 150,000 in 1944, and 175,000 in 1945.

In 1950 the patrons and managers of A. G. became interested in the production of broiler chicks. A scouting party of the association was sent out on an investigational tour of the broiler industry, notably in Indiana. What they saw on this trip, they liked. When they got home, they prepared a feast of chicken and invited businessmen and intertested farmers to the banquet.

On this occasion they gave a report of their findings. This was so inspiring that a complete program was drawn up to initiate the venture in the Arcadia area. Under the details of this program, growers had to agree to:

1. Finish four batches of birds per year, each in 10 to 12 weeks.

2. Purchase chicks from the A. G. Cooperative hatchery.

3. Use one brand of feed purchased from A. G. to insure uniformity of quality of the finished birds.

4. Process and market their birds through the A. G. association.

The first batch of broilers raised by four producers was delivered in May 1951. The management established a goal to produce at least 5,000 birds each week of unexcelled quality. More and more producers came forward to enter this program until production mounted to the point where new facilities for slaughter were required. In 1952 the association acquired a brewery building in Arcadia and converted it into a poultry slaughtering and cold storage plant—beginning operations here early in 1953. This building was destroyed by fire in January 1959.

Production of broilers rose from 5,000 birds weekly in 1952 to 60,000 in 1957. This annual production of 3 million birds weighing approximately 10 million pounds live weight is now being delivered by 110 members. All broiler production is pooled on a quarterly basis and the average price realized by the association for each 12-week period determines the settlement price with the growers.

In order to keep the broiler industry going on full schedule, 108 farmers keep laying flocks of approximately 65,000 breeder hens to supply the A.G. hatchery with a sufficient number of eggs to produce 3 million broiler chicks for 8 hatches of 450,000 per setting. In addition, another half million chicks are hatched to supply the farms with egg laying strains. This is the only cooperative hatchery in Wisconsin; it is also the largest hatchery in operation in the State.

#### EXPANDED FEED FACILITIES

To keep pace with the increasing demand for feeds and feed concentrates, the cooperative had to expand its facilities for grinding, mixing, and delivering supplies to the farms of its milk and poultry producers. In 1955, a new addition to the old elevator was built and equipped with modern machinery. Three years later the co-op completed a second elevator for processing and mixing commercial feeds.

These new mills have many labor-saving devices for automatic loading and unloading and elevating or transferring supplies from place to place in the mills. The association has acquired bulk delivery trucks and effects a savings of \$4 to \$5 a ton compared with stack deliveries.

The A. G. integrated cooperatives of Arcadia completed the fiscal year 1957 with a total volume of business approaching \$7 million. Payments in the form of equity reserves totaled nearly \$190,000. There are nearly 1,150 farmer patrons in the system

and their ownership in the business now exceeds the million dollar mark.

Another facet of poultry production was initiated late in 1958 by A. G. in a program to market high quality, large eggs throughout the year. The main reason for this venture in egg production is to take advantage of the high premium for large eggs at all times, and particularly during the months of September, October, and November.

During 1959, the A. G. Cooperative will furnish each of its egg producers with approximately 1,500 pullets a month to assure continuous production of large eggs. This association has already developed a market outlet for this quality in one of the best egg markets in the Middle West.

Plans are afoot for further integration in producing, processing, and selling agricultural products grown in the Arcadia community. The value of this association as a business builder to other enterprises in the area is inestimable. The success of the debt free A. G. Cooperative Creamery is contagious and the future appears brighter to folks within its sphere than in many other agricultural communities. Truly the farmers of Arcadia have blazed a trall that many other rural communities would do well to imitate.

## U.S.S. "Squalus"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, the June issue of Klaxon, a publication by the U.S. Submarine Veterans of World War II under the editorship of Mr. Bob Parry, California commander, Submarine Veterans of World War II, contains a very interesting and informative article commemorating the 20th anniversary of the sinking of the submarine U.S.S. Squalus off the New England coast in May 1939.

The Squalus disaster was one of those once-in-a-while occasions that truly grips the heart and mind of the Nation. All of us, I am sure, were constantly at hand in spirit during the heroic Squalus rescue operations. Though, tragically, a number of men lost their lives, the whole country rejoiced over the fact that a newly developed rescue chamber proved successful in bringing alive to the surface a portion of the crew from the unflooded sections of the submarine.

I know many will be interested in reading this account of the Squalus disaster. Under leave to extend my remarks, I submit the Klaxon article for reproduction in the Record:

#### U.S.S. "SQUALUS" (SS192)

The keel of the soon-to-become famous SS192 was laid October 18, 1937, at the U.S. Navy Yard, Portsmouth, N.H., and on March 1, 1939 was commissioned U.S.S. Squalus with Lt. Oliver F. Naquin, U.S. Navy, as first commanding officer.

On May 23, 1939, while operating off the coast of New Hampshire and making her 19th trial dive, the main induction valve failed to seat properly allowing water to flood the after section of the ship through the 31-inch line. She settled stern first in 240 feet of water, with 25 members of her

crew and 1 civilian representative trapped in the flooded portion of the ship.

Soon after the time her surfacing message should have been received, Rear Adm. C. W. Cole. commandant, Portemouth Navy Yard, alerted her sister ship, U.S.S. Sculpin (SS 191) to look for the missing submarine in the designated diving area. She soon spotted a red smoke signal, marked the location and made contact with the personnel of the Squalus through the marker buoy, containing a telephone, previously released by her, however, this contact lasted only a few moments before the cable was broken. The submarine had been on the bottom 5 hours by this time.

Quickly the whole Nation was alerted. Divers, salvage, and submarine experts were immediately dispatched to the scene of the disaster. Preliminary observations made by a Navy diver and at 11:30 the following day the U.S.S. Falcon (ASR2), which had rushed to the area from New London, Conn., lowered the newly developed McCann rescue chamber over the side and contact was established with the entrapped men through the forward torpedo room hatch. Presh air, dehydrating material, food, and hot coffee were furnished the survivors. Harold C. Preble, civilian naval architect, Lt. (jg.) John C. Nichols, and five crew members made the first trip to the surface after having been confined in the sunken submarine for a period of 29 hours, thus becoming the first persons to use the Mc-Cann diving chamber for which it was intended-a result of improved rescue equipment after the experiences of the ill-fated \$4 and \$51 in previous years.

The second trip of the chamber was completed within the following hour, carrying Roland Blanchard, F2c.; William D. Boulton, Sic.; Lawrence J. Gainor, CEM; Judson T. Bland, EMic.; Lloyd B. Maness, EM3c.; Francis Murphy, Jr., QMic.; Robert L. Washburn, S2c.; Warren W. Smith, SM2c.; and Raymond P. O'Hara, PhMic.

The third trip followed without incident

With nine survivors.

The fourth and most harrowing trip commenced at 7:45 p.m. to bring up the last of the known survivors, Lt. O. F. Naquin; Lt. W. T. Doyle, Jr.; Allen C. Bryson, Flc.; Eugene D. Cravens, CMic.; Charles S. Kuney, Y2c.; Donato Persico, Sic.; Carol M. Pierce, M2c.; and Charles A. Powell, RM2c.

While the diving chamber was being brought to the surface, the downhaul cable, which controlled the ascent of the chamber became fouled, making it impossible to continue raising the chamber. It was decided to lower the chamber and send down a diver to unshackle or cut the downhaul cable, thereby freeing the chamber. This was accomplished, but as the chamber was again being raised by the retrieving cable attached to the top of the chamber, the strain proved too great and the cable almost severed. The chamber was again lowered to the bottom.

Two divers were sent down in quick succession to bend on a new retrieving cable, but both became entangled in the myriad of cables and lines, could not accomplish the task, and had to be returned to the surface.

Due to nightfall and weather conditions it was decided to attempt raising the chamber by the badly frayed retrieving cable. The chamber was deliberately ballasted to give it an almost negative buoyancy and it was raised gently by hand from aboard Falcon.

The last of the survivors were evacuated at 0025, May 25, after 36 hours in the submarine and over 4 dramatic hours in the rescue chamber.

A fifth trip of the chamber was made the afternoon of May 25 to the after torpedo room hatch to assure no survivors were in this section of the ship, and it was discovered the room was flooded.

Rescue operations were secured and the submarine salvage experts began the dif-

ficult and arduous task of raising Squalus from such a great depth.

Major difficulties were encountered in the salvage operations due to the extreme depth, chilling waters, the stern being deeply imbedded in mud and weather conditions.

On August 12 the submarine was raised 80 feet from the bottom, towed 2 miles, and then she struck an uncharted pinnacle and grounded. Finally on September 13, she rose from the bottom, her bow broke the water and then misfortune struck as she again plunged into the murky depths. That very same day the determined salvage crew again raised her and this time they met with success. That night, after laying on the ocean's floor for 113 days, Squalus was towed home into the Portsmouth Navy yard, thus climaxing the grueling salvage task seldom, if ever, paralleled in the Navy's history.

She was decommissioned November 15,

Immediately an extensive \$1,400,000 overhaul was undertaken and she was recommissioned May 15, 1940, as U.S.S. Sailfish (SS192) with Lt. Comdr. M. C. Mumma, Jr., as commanding officer and several of the Squalus survivors as members of her crew.

The SS192, despite her unfortunate start in the U.S. Navy, was in Manila Bay when World War II commenced, and on December 13, 1941, fired a brace of torpedoes at three Japanese destroyers, scoring one solid hit, thus sinking one of the first enemy warships accounted for by the U.S. Navy, and received her baptism of 20 depth charges.

After completing 12 war patrols, officially credited with sinking 45,029 tons, earning 9 battle stars on the Asiatic-Pacific Area Service Ribbon, Presidential Unit Citation and Philippine Defense Ribbon, she returned to her home at the Portsmouth Navy Yard, and on Navy Day, October 27, 1945, was decommissioned amid elaborate ceremonies and her conning tower now stands at the Navy Yard gate.

The following personnel lost their lives in U.S.S. Squalus:

Ens. Joseph H. Patterson; James A. Aitken, FC3c.; John J. Batick, EM1c.; Joshua Casey, Fic.; John A. Chesnutt, CMM.; Robert L. Coffey, EM2c.; Eivin L. Deal, MM2c.; Lionel H. Fletcher, EM3c.; Kenneth R. Garrison, CMM.; Robert F. Gibbs, TMic.; John P. Hathaway, Fic.; Eugene A. Hoffman, MM1c.; Alexander B. Keegan, Sic.; John P. Marino, S2c.; Huie K. McAfee, EM2c.; Alfred C. Priester, TM2c.; Frank H. Schulte, MM2c.; Bascom S. Scyphers, EM1c.; Sherman L. Shirley, TM1c.; Jack J. Strong, MM1c.; John M. Thomaia, MM1c.; Robert P. Thompson, SC3c (attempted to escape through the after battery compartment hatch, undogged the hatch, and his body was later washed out that hatch which was found open by the divers); Marion L. Ward, RM3c.; Robert R. Weld, F2c.; Donald Smith, civilian, General Motors representative.

On this, the 20th anniversary of your supreme sacrifice for your country and the U.S. submarine force, we the U.S. Submarine Veterans of World War II pause to remember and appreciate your devotion to duty and contribution to our submarines of today.

## Poison in Denver's Water

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. BYRON L. JOHNSON

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, our distinguished colleague from Michigan [Mr. DINGELL] has regu-

larly called attention in the Appendix to water pollution. Let me add another entry. It is an article by Bill Miller which appeared in the June 21 issue of the Rocky Mountain News, which newspaper is widely circulated in the district I represent.

It is my privilege, Mr. Speaker, to help call the attention of all Americans to the threat of our water, our greatest physical resource:

Your Water Is Threatened by Pollution (By Bill Miller)

Last weekend a Colorado Congressman charged that the U.S. Chemical Corps operations at Rocky Mountain Arsenal have contaminated underground water in the area.

Representative BYRON L. JOHNSON, Democrat, of Colorado, said the contamination "has ruined farms, destroyed plant and animal life, and is threatening the water supply of Brighton."

This is just one phase of the water-pollution problem in the Denver metropolitan area—a problem that is growing more and more complex as the population increases.

Equally as shocking as Johnson's disclosure, however, are these startling facts:

During the winter months of low stream flow a waterplant in the area was taking in a domestic water supply for treatment that was 100 percent sewage flow.

Most of the sewage-disposal plants in the area are overloaded. At peak periods operators bypass the plants and dump raw sewage into streams.

Downriver water districts, which use the stream water for domestic water supplies, are forced to treat this effluent and attempt to make it drinkable.

Although State laws limit the amount of human waste pollution that can be dumped into streams, this limit is exceeded by many sanitation districts several hundred times.

The same State laws outline a testing procedure which measures the quantity of oxygen utilized in the blochemical oxidation of organic matter. This legal limit also is exceeded several hundred times by many districts

Truck farmers north of Denver use this polluted water for irrigation purposes. Still unanswered is the question: Can this polluted water contaminate vegetables?

In and around Denever, there are 45 authorities in the business of collecting and disposing of sewage.

Some experts are convinced that's 44 too many

There are in the area 21 municipal sewage treatment plants—plus a half-dozen, including the one at Rocky Mountain Arsenal referred to by Johnson, operated at military installations by the U.S. Government.

Having this many treatment facilities in the area, at first glance, looks good. But most of them are too small,

OVERLOADS ON PLANTS INCREASING

They are overloaded now and the loads are increasing as the population grows.

National studies show that per capita costs of these small plants are far greater than costs for large treatment plants.

Thus, the collection and disposal of sewage is one of the biggest, most expensive, and complex problems facing metropolitan Denver. It will get bigger, more expensive and more complex.

It's a problem that concerns every householder, every community and special area water or sanitation district, cities—large and small—the State and the U.S. Government.

There is no State money available for this purpose while Federal aid for the entire State in 1958 was limited to \$636,675.

The 1959 allotment from the U.S. Government for construction of sewage plants is \$635,700. All of it already has been spoken for,

Colorado's Department of Health is responsible for seeing that streams, lakes, and other waters of the State are kept free of pollution by human wastes.

This agency tests stream water-and effluent entering streams from sewage plantsto determine if State health laws are being met. In most cases, they are not.

A law, passed by the last general assembly, gives the department authority that previously was lacking.

A lawsuit developed between Denver and the department.

DENVER ITSELF A VIOLATOR

Denver, which has primary but no secondary treatment of sewage, is an offender. In 1957, the State told Denver it should

build a secondary treatment plant—at an estimated cost then of \$8 to \$10 million,

Denever has not complied.

Denever is not the only offender. Districts along Clear Creek (no longer very clear) also are violating State law.

Clear Creek is a source of drinking water for thousands, from Golden to the stream's junction with the Platte River.

This water, of course, is filtered and chlorinated before it is pumped into water lines.

Clear Creek drains into the Platte River as does sewage from the Depever plant. Fortunately, no community below Denver now depends on the Platte for drinking water.

Brighton, for instance, uses deep wells. But these wells are being endangered, according to Representative Johnson, fault sanitation procedures at the arsenal.

Streams and rivers in this semiarid area have still another vital function-that of recreation.

Cherry Creek as it meanders through Denver is lined with concrete walls. It is bordered on both sides by trees, shrubs, and The stream flow is small but pleas-

Denver violently opposes the plans of Glendale, a small community surrounded by Denver, to build a sewer plant and dump effluent into Cherry Creek.

Regional planners tell us that creeks and rivers, such as the Platte, Clear Creek, and Bear Creek, should be developed as recreation sites.

But continued use of them as open sewers can destroy their use for these purposes. For instance, the Platte, north of Denver, is worthless to fishermen.

With population rushing toward the 1 million mark, sewage—its collection and disposal—no longer can be ignored.

Sewage, and the watercourses utilized to dispose of it, do not recognize political boundaries.

Or do epidemics that could result if the problem is not solved.

Sewage is not popular as a subject of polite conversation.

But it's a problem that multiplies, even though we would like to ignore it.

It's a problem that begs for metropolitan cooperation-one that cannot be solved without this cooperation, plus the expenditure of millions of dollars.

The Rocky Mountain News will examine these problems and offer possible solutions,

## Executive Censorship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 26, 1959

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, studies conducted by the Special Subcommittee on Government Information, at the direction of Hon. WILLIAM L. DAWSON, of Illinois, chairman of the House Committee on Government Operations, show that only by constant vigilance can the Congress prevent unjustified restrictions which executive agencies seek to impose upon the availability of information to the Congress and the public. The subcommittee recently received from Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, of Minnesota, an account of some of the censorship obstacles encountered by the Senate Subcommittee on Disarmament, of which the Senator is chairman. His statement illustrates the necessity for congressional committees to be ever alert for attempts by executive agencies to misuse secrecy labels which are intended solely for the protection of genuine security matters, not for hiding information which may cause controversy or be against policy.

The statement follows:

EXPERIENCE OF THE SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT ON THE DECLASSIFICATION OF GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS AND TESTIMONY

(Statement of Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, chairman, to the Special House Subcommittee on Government Information)

Achieving a balance between informing the public and preventing the dissemination of information which would be injurious to the Nation's security is one of the great problems that confronts our Government at the present time. In this effort both the executive and legislative branches have a responsibility.

The Congress has been wise to establish special committees to study this problem and to take or recommend action when agencies of the executive branch appear to be restricting unduly the availability of information to the public. In addition to these special committees the other committees of the Congress must also be alert constantly to guard against the deliberate or inadvertsuppression of important data when national security is not involved.

The purpose of this testimony is to share with the Special Government Information Subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations the experience of the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Disarmament with the declassification of information by the executive branch. I am presenting this statement in response to a request from the distinguished chairman of the subcommittee, John E. Moss.

It is not my intention to suggest that the specific cases I cite be investigated further. Rather, it is to show that information is withheld for reasons that cannot be justified in the name of national security and to stress the need for yigilance on this matter by all congressional committees.

Over the past year the Subcommittee on Disarmament held a number of hearings, many of them in executive session. In all cases the executive session was held because the witness requested it. Usually, after such a session the transcript of the hearing was submitted to the executive agency or agencies involved for review. The executive agency then marked those parts of the testimony that, in its opinion, should remain classified. In order to determine whether this classification was justified, the subcommittee and its staff reviewed carefully the testimony after it was returned by the executive officials. When the reason for the classification was not self-evident, the executive officials were questioned about it. Frequently a reason other than security was given for restricting the information. When these erroneous reasons were pointed out the

executive officials often lifted the classifica" tion label.

The experience of the Subcommittee of Disarmament suggests that in a great many cases the executive branch censors testimony for insufficient reason. In order to correct this practice the committees of the Congress and their staffs ought to review carefully all testimony which executive depart ments ask to have classified. The review should seek to determine the reasons for continued classification and whether the are valid. Such a procedure would redound to the benefit of the electorate by providing our citizens with an opportunity to become better informed. Members of Congress would also be in a much better position to perform their constitutional responsibilities

The cases which follow illustrate the various points I wish to bring out:

1. The Central Intelligence Agency, in reviewing testimony given by a noted scientist. had classified a passage of testimony. When questioned as to why, the CIA official indi-cated he did not agree with the conclusion of the scientist and incorrect information When challenged should not be given out. further on the point, the CIA representative agreed to let the scientist's conclusion stand

2. The Atomic Energy Commission at first classified portions of testimony given by one of its chiefs of divisions that there was no evidence the Soviet Union was developing testing, or producing so-called clean nuclear weapons; that is, weapons with reduced radioactive fallout. The Commission was asked whether it was not in the interest of the United States to have this information brought out. The Commission reviewed the matter and decided that the information was of interest and agreed to leave in that portion of the testimony.3

3. The Department of State had struck out of testimony questions by the chairman and answers by a witness regarding a study being made by the Government on U.S. overset bases. When it was pointed out by the subcommittee that this information was contained in a news conference of the Secretary of State, the Department officials then said the testimony had been deleted because ! seemed irrelevant. It was suggested that ! was not the function of the Department in reviewing testimony for publication to rule on the relevancy of the discussion, particularly questions the chairman considered sufficiently relevant to raise in the first place. The Department then agreed to leave in the discussion on the oversea base problem.3

4. The Department of the Army and the Department of Dafense classified testimony relating to the results of Operation Sage brush, simulated war maneuvers of the Armed Forces using tactical nuclear wcapons The Army refused to remove the classifica-tion even after it was pointed out that at the time of the maneuvers, in October 1955, reporter wrote extensive stories about them and that these news accounts could only have been written as a result of considerable background briefing on the part of military officers. Part of the reason why the Armi wished to continue to classify the information, according to one officer, was that the results indicated the Army didn't know quite what it was doing in the maneuvers. Evel if this were true, said the officer, the information should not be released.4

5. The Department of the Army requested the elimination from the record to be Pub lished several portions of testimony submitted by Army Chief of Staff, Gen. Maxwell Taylor. When challenged on the classifications tion, over 90 percent of what had been taken out was restored. Among the passages finally declassified were those containing general discussions of page 200. discussions of new nuclear weapons devel opment and the tactical uses of these weap ons. They also put back statements the

Footnotes at end of speech.

general had made on the necessity of improving our nonatomic or conventional weapons capabilities if a nuclear weapons test ban should go into effect, general information on the fabrication of nuclear weapons, expressions of opinion regarding the reliability of agreements with the U.S.S.R., views on the psychological impact of a nuclear test suspension on people around the world, and the effects of nuclear failout.

6. The Government continues to classify significant information dealing with seismology, the study of earthquakes and movements in the interior of the earth. This includes testimony given before the Disarmament Subcommittee and documents submitted to the subcommittee by executive agencies. The subcommittee has never received a satisfactory explanation as to why such studies should be kept secret.

The reason that such studies should be made available is that advances in the science of seismology are needed and neces-sary to improve our knowledge about the detection and identification of underground nuclear explosions. It is to the interest of the United States to speed up our work in this field so that we may have a better conception of the capabilities of a control system for the cessation of nuclear weapons tests. An expanded research program in seismology is essential and a number of wellqualified and prominent seismologists and geophysicists have recommended specific projects; yet, the detailed description of these projects and the estimates given for the workability of certain theories for the detection and identification of nuclear weapons tests remain closed to the public and to scientists throughout the country. What is particularly of concern is that some of our scientists who have visited the Soviet Union within the past year report that in some fields in seismology the Soviet Union is much more advanced than the United States and that in many respects more money is being spent on fundamental research in seismology in the Soviet Union than is being spent in the United States.

This suggests to me that the Department of Defense should not be the primary agency-responsible for developing programs in the field of seismology and related scientific fields. Perhaps if this work were lodged in the Coast and Geodetic Survey of the Department of Commerce or the National Academy of Science, the scientists of the country would have access to the results of studies made and experiments conducted.

The six cases discussed briefly illustrate that Government agencies mistakenly classify information and deny it to the public. These are not the only cases that could be cited, but I believe the ones I have submitted amply demonstrate the need for vigilance on the part of congressional committees to review carefully all transcripts which contain classified information. If this is done, then perhaps executive agencies, too, will exhibit greater awareness of the public's need to know and will exercise greater care in the future in the classification of testimony.

I would not want to end this statement without emphasizing that in most cases over-classification of information is not a deliberate effort to deceive the people or to protect the Government from criticism. Generally I think it is due to a habit of being over-caucious; in other words, to follow the rule to classify when in doubt.

<sup>1</sup>Hearings of the Subcommittee on Disarmament, "Control and Reduction of Armaments," pt. 17, testimony of Dr. Hans Bethe, p. 1539, discussion of the number of earthquakes occurring each year in the U.S.S.R. and Chinal equal to a given yield of nuclear explosive.

\* Hearings of the Subcommittee on Disarmament, "Control and Reduction of Armaments," pt. 16, testimony of Brig. Gen. Alfred D. Starbird, p. 1394.

\*Hearings of the Subcommittee on Disarmament, "Disarmament and Foreign Policy," pt. I, testimony of William C. Foster, pp. 73-74.

'Hearings of the Subcommittee on Disarmament, 'Disarmament and Foreign Policy,' pt. I, testimony of Gen, Maxwell D. Taylor, p. 140.

\*Ibid., pp. 116, 117, 118, 119, 133, and 136.

\*Since preparing this statement I am pleased to report that some of this information has been released. Some material contained in the Berkner Report on Seismic Improvement was released on June 12. There is the possibility that more of such information will be forthcoming.

## The American Philippine Science Foundation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, I take great pleasure in reporting that one of our most loyal and stanch allies, the Republic of the Philippines has embarked seriously upon a program of scientific development and modernization. To help promote this movement a group of tried and true friends of the Philippines have inspired, formed and organized the American Philippine Science Foundation. led by Gen. Carlos P. Romulo, the Philippine Ambassador to the United States and President of the Fourth Assembly of the United Nations, as president, the distinguished Nobel physicist, Dr. Arthur H. Compton, as cochairman and His Excellency, Carlos P. Garcia, as honorary pres-

This group includes Messrs. Alexander Calhoun, vice president of the First National City Bank of New York; James Jacobson of the Chase Manhattan Bank: Mr. Paul C. Smith, former editor and general manager of the San Francisco Chronicle and former president and board chairman of the Crowell-Collier Publishing Co.: Mr. John E. McKeen, president of Chas. Pfizer & Co., Inc.; Dr. George E. Armstrong, formerly Surgeon General of the U.S. Army and now vice president in charge of medical education at New York University; Mr. Richard Reuter of CARE; Prof. Frederick Pfitzpatrick of Columbia; Mr. Max Abelman, philanthropist and former officer Manufacturers Trust Co., and public relations expert, and other prominent citizens.

The events leading to this important development may be summarized as fol-

Founded in 1954, for the first 5 years of its existence, the Foundation engaged in an educational campaign in the Philippines on the essential role that science and technology play in the viability of a modern nation. This campaign reached a climax when Dr. CoTui, formerly professor of experimental surgery at New York University, founder and vice president of the American Bureau

for Medical Aid to China and now director of laboratories at the Creedmoor Institute, was invited by President Ramon Magsaysay early in 1957, to study the science needs of the islands. The report of the survey was finished after the late President's untimely death and was rendered to President Garcia in April and June 1957, months before the advent of Sputnik I.

In part I of the report, attention was drawn to the dangerous scientific and education deficit of the country and a nine-point program was recommended. These points called for all-out Government support of scientific work, for the establishment of a coordinating agency close to the Chief Executive, for the enhancement of science education, for revision of tax laws to attract philanthropic aid, for simplification of administrative machinery to expedite scientific development, and finally for the Philippines deliberately to assume the role of the cultural center of southeast Asia. In part II, untapped sources of possible aid from abroad were pointed out: namely the thousands of American friends of the Philippines and the large overseas Filipino communities in the United States.

This program coincides with that of the present administration in the Philippines. During the Philippine congressional session of 1958, Republic Act No. 2067, fathered by Senator Emanuel Pelaez and called the magna carta of Philippine science, was passed, providing for speedy development of science and technology. The National Science Development Board was established, with the chairman, Dr. Pauline J. Garcia, formerly Secretary of Health, enjoying a 6-year term and having cabinet status. Science teaching is being intensified and science talent searches have been instituted under the direction of the Science Foundation of the Philippines, of which Dr. Juan Salcedo, Jr., formerly Secretary of Health, is President. An intensive research effort on Kadang-Kadang, a disease threatening the coconut industry, the industry of greatest magnitude there, has been initiated. Modernization is also taking place in other scientific fields.

Meanwhile, here, the APSF in the United States is shifting from the educational role to a more active one. President Garcia, on his visit to this country in 1958, made a sizable personal contribution to help get the activities underway and smaller sums have been contributed by American firms and overseas Filipino groups. The support of CARE was won in spending over 3 high school science libraries with promise of 17 more when the need arises. With its still slender resources, the APSF has sent over information on upto-date world science and educational developments. However, more, much more, aid is needed to bring the scientific structure of the Islands to the point where it will be able to sustain a nation of now 24 million and rapidly growing.

All patriotic Americans should rejoice in this development and I call upon all and sundry, private individuals as well as corporate bodies and foundations, to do their utmost to encourage this movement. Its philosophy is in perfect consonance with that of the report of the President's Science Advisory Committee, recently made public. There is probably no better way to help the Filipinos help themselves for all time than this of helping them build their scientific structure and thus enabling them to achieve the fulfillment of their national destiny. In the ultimate analysis, their failure will be our failure and their success our success and science and technology may well spell that difference, for in this rapidly changing world, scientific progress is national defense in depth for them, for us and for the entire world.

## Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following newsletter of June 20, 1959:

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Congressman BRUCE ALGER, Fifth District, Texas)

JUNE 20, 1959.

The Mutual Security Act (foreign ald) passed 271 to 192 (Alger against) after 3 days' debate. Approximately \$3,500 million was involved, mainly allocated to military assistance (\$1,440 million), economic (\$1,900 million)—which includes defense support (\$750 million), Development Loan Fund (\$700 million), technical assistance (\$209 million), special assistance (\$250 million), and contingency fund (\$100 million).

Military assistance goes to 37 countries (26 of these also get economic aid). Our 1,700 combat ships, 42,000 planes, and 900.-000 men are increased by our allies by 2,500, 30,000, and 4.9 million, respectively. We also maintain 250 oversea military installations to support our far-flung Strategic Air Command (SAC). Since inception in 1949, United States has spent \$22 billion and other nations \$122 billion in the joint military effort. (Yugoslavia got \$800 million.) NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) gets most of the funds, although South America, the Mideast, Asia, and Far East are included.

Economic assistance (\$1,900 million) is dispensed as defense support. Development Loan Fund, technical assistance, and special assistance. Defense support goes to 12 nations-Korea, Republic of China (on Formosa), Vietnam, Philippines, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, Pakistan, Iran, Turkey, Greece, and Spain. Actually, it is twofold.
(1) Outright grant to help support economically the increased military capability, and (2) grants and loans to develop economically the industries and standard of living. The Development Loan Fund is continued and expanded by \$700 million to provide increased loans, repayable in local currency (so this becomes a gift). Technical assistance is offered to 49 countries and 9 territories, designed to introduce innovations and increase skills, also to improve standards of living with emphasis on health, education, agriculture, industry to lay basis for long-term benefits. We provide (1) U.S. technical experts, (2) materials for demonstration projects, (3) education in this country for foreign people, (4) U.S. colleges contracting to organize educational institutions in foreign countries. Special assistance provides health and education programs in West Berlin, Afghanistan, Bolivia, Burma, Ethiopia, Haiti, Indonesia, Israel, Jordan, Liberia, Libya, Morocco, Nepal, Somalia, Sudan, Tunisia, and Yugoslavia. This is conceived to be "economic aid that is necessary to achieve political, economic, humanitarian, or other objectives of the United States." The contingency fund is at the disposal of the President for discretionary use to further any alm of the act as the President may see fit.

Historically, foreign aid extends the lendlease philosophy of World War II. Earlier, aid in World War I was in the form of loans with interest, some later canceled. After World War II, \$3 billion was spent through UNRRA (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation) in liberated countries to purchase goods for immediate needs. Then the International Monetary Fund was established for currency convertibility, and the World Bank for reconstruction loans. The Marshall plan for European economic recovery provided \$5 billion a year for 4 years. Always, the overall purpose was twofold: (1) Survival from aggression; and (2) continuation of our free society. The magnitude of U.S. foreign aid is \$124 billion since July 1, 1940, to June 30, 1959, \$49 billion through World War II, and \$75 billion since then (plus this bill). In addition, we have \$3,420 million in international funds.

The area of agreement in debate over foreign aid includes recognition of the need for: (1) Disaster relief to other nations; (2) combatting the threat of Soviet imperialism; and (3) stable economic relationships of the United States and other nations in their respective growth. The area of disagreement embraces everything else. Probably there are as many differing views as there are Mem-bers of Congress. Basically, there seem to be two prevalent attitudes. Some believe governmental foreign aid is necessary and permanent in the immediate and long-run interest of the United States, that weaker countries must be aided, that the national interest is in the humanitarianism of our Government. Others believe in the "fortress America" argument, that the United States must concentrate on its own military and economic strength, relying less on strong allies, and that humanitarianism or charity begins at home and is not, as now practiced, the role of government.

Perhaps arguments for and against will highlight these differences. For (1) help build a strong free world alliance essential to U.S. security; (2) help U.S. allies build adequate defenses without imperiling their basic economy; (3) provide a more economical defense for United States in money and manpower; (4) help deter Soviet aggression and to meet it more effectively if deterrence falls; (5) help raise living standards in the less developed areas and thus make Communist claims less attractive; (6) lay foundation for world prosperity by building self-sustaining economies; (7) help develop favorable attitude toward United States; (8) help stimulate increased private American investment in underdeveloped areas; (9) help increase American exports and develop markets in underdeveloped areas: (10 help provide employment for Americans.

Arguments against (generally in same order): (1) United States is providing much larger percentage (of its national income) on military contribution than the allies. Are our allies really neutrals? Will these nations use these arms against each other or us? (2) United States is imperiling its own economy by giving away borrowed money. U.S. debt is greater than that of all the world, it operates at a deficit, its gold supply is being drained by these gifts to others, its currency is becoming soft in the world market. (3) Such outpouring of our wealth,

therefore, is not the economical way. thing imperiling our basic economic strength weakens (a) our military potential and capability, and (b) our freedom, now and for future generations. (4) We do not deter Russian aggression by spending when one of their own dedicated aims is to "spend us into bankruptey." (5) The fallacy of com-munism successfully preying on poverty is not borne out in fact, though many accept it unquestionably. Raising economic standards does not, in itself, dispel communism. (6) Self-sustaining economies cannot be imposed by U.S. dollars or know-how, but by development from within the individual country. (7) The attitude toward United States will not be determined by monetary help. We cannot buy friends or allies. (8) Private American investments will result from presence and recognition of oppor-tunity for profit. (9) Foreign aid as a sub-sidy for American business and employment is wrong. On the contrary, such aid has built industries abroad for which taxpayers paid and which now compete with our industries and our employment to U.S. detriment, although it may not be a permanent dislocation.

Unanswered questions include: (1) What is effect and relationship between foreign aid gifts and trade balance between recipient nations and United States? (2) Has U.S. private investment gone up or down in these nations? (3) Have these nations benefited. measured by their economic growth? (4) How much buying is done abroad and in United States with these foreign aid dollars? (5) How much have private U.S. banks loaned to private investors in foreign economic endeavors? (6) What relationships are there between the Export-Import Bank. the World Bank, and foreign aid's Develop. ment Loan Fund to particular nations? (7) Is the investment guaranty program sound (8) How much Public Law 480 agricultural surpluses are given away in relationship to foreign aid, and how much and what happens to these local currencies thus generated? I see it, the foreign aid program is self-defeating and is badly in need of review. We help neutrals or enemies and alienate friends. We rely on materialism when freedom, free enterprise, and deep-seated spiritual beliefs are our ruling precepts. We expound charity, simultaneously manipulating our gifts as instruments of foreign policy. This confuses everyone, including ourselves.

My conclusions are these: (1) Our Government intends that foreign aid shall be continuous and global; (2) the threat of Communist aggression rules out our continu ing to dispense lavish foreign aid when our own economy is threatened and our defenses are inadequate; (3) in a number of recipient countries our foreign aid helps to strengthen political systems hostile to our own; (4) our foreign aid speeds rather than retards the growth of communism; it inflates our economy; it is partially responsible for the alarm. ing flight of gold from our control; it is destroying our foreign markets and increase ing unemployment among American workers (5) by the very nature of the foreign aid we extend, it must be inefficient and wasteful; and (6) our governmental foreign aid program is unsound in principle.

My recommendations are these: (1) That our traditional generous private charity and governmental grants to relieve disaster be continued; that we encourage the expansion of our private missionary efforts; (2) that in countries which we are morally obligated to defend and which are directly threatened with Red aggression, military assistance for the time being—should be continued, but on a realistic basis; (3) that foreign ald which directly or indirectly promotes governments that are hostile to our constitutional concepts of government be terminated immediately; (4) that so long as governmental foreign ald is continued, the recipient

thould pay a part of the cost of the proposed Project; that our aid should terminate when e conditions on which that request is based have been remedied; that private technical, edentific, and educational assistance be exlended only to friendly peoples who seek our ald on a cash or loan basis; (5) that until loreign aid is terminated, the Congress take steps properly to exercise close supervision and control over the manner in which all loreign ald funds are being spent; that all luture economic aid, plus what can be salaged from unexpended foreign aid funds, be Averted to and handled by the Export-Im-Port Bank; Our Bank; (6) that the \$3.9 billion re-quested by the President for the fiscal year 1960 be reduced \$2 billion and that each Year thereafter foreign aid be substantially reduced until terminated within 3 years; and (7) that military matters be left to our military and foreign affairs be left to the State Department, and their existing organlations, so we can dismantle the huge 12,500 Person foreign ald bureaucracy, and stop the duplication of effort.

One Hundredth Anniversary of Unification of Italy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a concurrent resolution which expresses the sense of Congress that the President extend official greetings from the United States to the beople of Italy on the occasion of the centennial anniversary of the unity of Italy, which occurs in March of 1961. In connection with the celebration that is to be held that year in the city of Turin, the cradle of Italian unity, the resolution provides for official participation by the United States in the celebration in recognition of the progress and achievements of the people of Italy during the past century.

The centennial anniversary of the unification of Italy and its emergence as a free and united nation capable of shaping its own destiny is a great event in the history of the Western World. I believe it would be of invaluable bene-At to the whole free world to participate in this celebration, in order to demonstrate to nations all over the globe what a free and determined peoble can achieve. I am informed that a major international exhibit will be held connection with this anniversary celebration with this stress the achievements of human labor and the human mind over the last 100 years. In that case, the free world will have much to gain by this exhibit, while the neutral and the anti-Western nations will have much to learn from it.

One hundred years ago this month, in June 1859, the troops of the Kingdom of Sardinia were victorious over the forces of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in battles at San Martino and Solferino in northern Italy. They were supported by the French Army, their ally in the war against a numerically superior enemy.

When the smoke of battle had subsided and the short war of 1859 had ended, it was clear that the decisive struggle for the unification of Italy under an Italian ruler had been won. Although Austria still held Venice, its grip on the rich Po Valley had been broken loose and a great nationalistic tide surged forward with increasing speed.

The goal of the unity of Italy, the dream of the creation of a single nation out of a myriad of small states, many of them under foreign domination, but all of them maladministered and economically unbalanced, was now moving forward. The small kingdom of Piedmont and Sardinia, under the liberal King Victor Emmanuel II, had become the guiding force behind the unity movement which became known in history as "Risorgimento Italiano," a new political renaissance. Victor Emmanuel was fortunate in his choice of a Prime Minister, the celebrated Camillo Benso di Cavour, one of the outstanding statesmen of the 19th century.

Following the retreat of the Austrians from Milan and Lombardy, the latter regions accepted the rule of King Victor Emmanuel. A few bold political strokes in 1859 and 1860 resulted in the annexation of the many small states, following plebiscites expressing the will of the people. It is in this period that we learn of the exploits of Garibaldi and his volunteers in the expedition which cul-minated in the downfall of the Bourbon dynasty in the campaign of 1860. Garibaldi's name has since become legendary and is known to millions of schoolchildren the world over. There were, however, many other able and patriotic Italian leaders who labored for years to help make Italy what it is today-one of our most trusted allies and a dependable friend.

The Risorgimento was truly a national movement and a great magnetic force that was forging a strong nation out of small and weak states. Their citizens were all of common blood, common language, and common national aspirations, yet they were subject to different laws, different rulers, and different destinies. The patriots, who were condemned as conspirators, were jailed and tortured. They were the Italian counterpart of the Paul Reveres and the Benjamin Franklins in America, of Washington, Jefferson, Adams, and the others who fought in the American Revolution and gained the independence of our Nation.

In post-Napoleonic Europe of the 19th century it was difficult to introduce innovations to the people stressing the principles of freedom as proclaimed by the victory of the American Revolution and embodied in the U.S. Constitution. The United States was a new nation, comprised of people who settled on a new continent and shaping their own history as they went along, but free from any historical bondage once they were successful in casting off British domination. This was not true, however, in the case of Italy and Germany. In the aftermath of the napoleonic era, these two nations suffered from the old bondages of feudalistic practices and the

absolute rule of too many and inept hereditary princes and kings.

Centuries of political divisions had created barriers which seemed insurmountable. Forces totally alien to Italy had become entrenched over the years, such as Austrian domination in the north, the Bourbon dynasty in the south and in Tuscany, and others. If a new nation had to be created, it required a truly national movement with concomitant forces working in each region toward a common goal. It also required as leader one of the small states active in the national movement. The Kingdom of Piedmont and Sardinia was the logical leader, since it took the lead in granting to its subjects a liberal constitution in 1848 and in forming a constitutional government along democratic lines. It had the necessary leaders, the administrative organization and a willing ruler to accept this challenge.

Over the coming 2 years, between now and 1961, the people of Italy will relive the events and the experiences associated with the struggle for unity a century ago. It is to be hoped that they will find renewed strength to tighten the bonds of their national unity in order to enable Italy to emerge unscathed from the ideological struggle of today, which threatens to undo from within what has been achieved over the past century. There will be many celebrations as the events of 100 years ago are relived in ceremonies in all parts of the country.

The major national celebration, however, will take place in the city of Turin, the capital of Piedmont and the recognized cradle of Italian unification in 1861. There, in the austere Baroque palace which housed the first parliament of the delegates of Italy, where modern Italy was proclaimed a unified nation in March 1861, solemn ceremonies will be held to observe this centennial anniversary.

From March to October 1961 a series of spectacular events will reenact those fateful years of Italian history and three major exhibitions will bear witness to the progress of Italy and of world civilization over the last century. Two of these exhibitions are to be devoted strictly to Italy, its history and its achievements. The third exhibition is to be international in character and scope, and all nations have been invited to participate. The organizing committee, which is presided over by the Premier of Italy, the Honorable Antonio Segni, intends to honor at these exhibits the accomplishments of human labor in the various nations, their well-being, their cultural progress, and their efforts to improve the standard of living of their people.

U.S. participation in the celebration has been officially presented to the U.S. Government by the "Comitato Per Le Celebrazioni Del Primo Centenario Dell-Unita d-Italia"—Committee for the Celebration of the First Century of the Unification of Italy—through the good offices of the Italian Embassy in Washington. The above-mentioned committee is represented here by the America-Italy Society, a private non-profit organization whose offices are located in New York. Mr. Peter Grimm

is president of the society and Mr. Peter G. Treves is treasurer.

No doubt this initiative will have also the full support of all the organizations of Americans of Italian extraction, and of all of the associations, agencies, and individuals in this country who care for the development of intimate relations of friendship existing between Italy and the United States.

Mr. Speaker, I am happy to introduce this concurrent resolution designed to express the friendly feelings of the people of the United States toward the people of Italy as they approach their centennial anniversary as a unified and independent nation. I trust that we shall participate, together with other nations, in the great celebrations scheduled in 1961 as a token of our esteem and our moral support of Italy's unity and independence in this crutial period in world affairs.

The Risks in Rejection of Fake Soviet Negotiations Are Less Than the Risks in Going Through the Motions While the Kremlin Gains Time To Wear Down or Divide the West

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 19, 1959

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following article by Edgar Ansel Mowrer:

WEST BERLINERS PREFER NEGATIVE TO NEGOTIATION

(By Edgar Ansel Mowrer)

Berlin.—Whatever the final outcome of negotiations with the Russians about this city, thoughtful Berliners believe they will have served no useful purpose. The reason is, they say, when a thug demands your pocketbook you do not negotiate with him about it. You tell him where to go. Therefore, they would have preferred that the Western Three had simply answered the Soviet ultimatum with a ringing "No." For they favor the status quo over any likely alternative.

Their reasons are three. First, they believe that a refusal to negotiate would have brought the reunification of Germany nearer, and not postponed it further, by convincing the Russians that the westerners are not going to give an inch—even—until Germany is reunited.

Second, they fear that any concessions to the Soviets over Berlin are bound to lead the Russians to ask for more concessions and eventually get them—naturally, all for the sake of peace.

Third, they feel that Berlin is such a thorn in the Soviet flesh that eventually the Rus-

sians will be willing to pay a lot for having it removed. They are aware of the English contention that "the West is weaker at Berlin, short of war, than the Russians, therefore must be ready for concessions." This they laugh at.

For they think they know that the Kremlin could not wage a successful war and has even more reason for avoiding it than the West. Naturally, in any war, they know even better than Prime Minister Macmillan that they and their city would be the first victims. Yet they have convinced themselves that if the West is unwilling to fight if necessary for Berlin, it will eventually have to surrender or fight somewhere else. Many accuse the British in particular of being ready to purchase a brief peace with the U.S.S.R. at Germany's expense.

Yet although they insist that Berlin must and will be both free and reunited at some not too distant day, actually they have been disappointed so many times that their optimism is wearing thinner. In 1945, when Germany and their city were divided, they felt sure that the Western allies would soon catch on to Soviet intentions and compel Moscow to free its unwilling captives.

This confidence was confirmed by the successful Anglo-American airlift. Then in 1953, at the time of the East German revolt, when the West failed to intervene, it fell with a dull thud. It has never entirely revived since. Even the acceptance of negotiations with the Soviets over an insolent Soviet demand for an independent West Berlin has dealt it a severe blow.

Now, the West Berliners who discussed the matter with me feel each further year of division lessens the chance of reunification without war. For if Western flexibility is doing nothing else, it is weakening the will to resist of the East Germans. It is to complete this weakening, West Berliners believe, that Khrushchev is so determined to get the Western Powers out of Berlin.

Khrushchev's German victims are not growing to like communism any better but, having lost most of their hope in an approaching liberation, they are beginning to wonder if the Communists, after all, do not have the laws of history on their side.

Germans have always bowed to a strong government that knew its own will. Compared with the nervous pacifists of the West, Soviet Communists certainly seem full of unyielding determination. "They play to win," was the way a West German described the German Communist leaders. Sooner or later, he and other West Berliners feel, the people of East Germany are likely to come to terms with their Communist masters, not because they are reconciled, but because they can see no hope of a change.

Obviously any such loss of hope would make German reunification more difficult if not impossible. Reunification is the only thing—short of surrender by the West—that can at long last end the cruel and unnatural plight of a city cut in two by politics.

Therefore, West Berliners oppose not only anything that even looks like a concession to the Russians but any possible Western desire to make free Berlin less disagreeable to Khrushchev and company. For, as an economics professor insisted with great heat, "The only way to get anything from the Russians is to make it dangerous for them to refuse. Believe me, Moscow is even less prepared for war than Washington. For God's sake, tell your President not to be bluffed by empty Russian threats."

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Prints, plus 50 percent: Provided, That a discount of a caceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 725.

## LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Prints as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the susual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports of documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

#### RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the Congressional Record is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, when Mr. Raymond F. Noyes is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the Record at \$1.50 permonth, and where single copies may also purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

#### CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

# PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Prints to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the Congressional Record, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

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# Appendix

Tribute to John W. Carpenter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, June 24, 1959

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, some of the great chapters of American history have centered around the rise of a farm boy to a position of great eminence in business and industry.

Such was the story of John W. Carpenter, who, at 77, died last week in Dallas. In the passing of Mr. Carpenter, his home town, his State, and his Nation suffered a loss.

His first job, at 19, was with a utility company in east Texas, where he dug postholes for \$30 a month. He later returned to head the same company.

But, despite the high positions he later held in business and industry, Mr. Car-Penter remained a friend of the farmer, and believed that prosperity came from the soil.

He once expressed his philosophy this

I like farming. I like to improve Mother Parth. I like to make two blades of grass grow where only one grew before.

The Dallas News, in an editorial of June 18 and a news story of June 17, set down in words the feeling of John Carpenter's friends and neighbors when they learned of his passing. I ask unanimous consent that both be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial and the article were ordered to be brinted in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Dallas Morning News, June 18, 19591

## A GREAT CITIZEN

The Horatio Alger prescription for success The Horatio Alger prescription for state has drawn American satire's attention for decades, but it stands up well as a recipe for light. for living. It was a simple thesis that the man who lives a clean life, works hard, gives his best, forges ahead. Probably John W. Carpenter did not read Horatio Alger in his youth. Touth he did not have time. But he lived up to the prescription. His was that kind of a life. And of a life. He was that kind of a man. And he succeeded.

John Carpenter believed in the concrete taings upon which communities and regions can build to greatness, in light and power, in what mass transport in highways, in what water can do and what can be done with it, He reached the top by working for and with these things. Texas Power & Light and southland Life stand high as monuments to his lifework. He has not lived to see what the eventually his greatest contribution. will be eventually his greatest contribution to his next to his native region and State, the completed development development of the Trinity River.

Dallas has lost a great citizen. Our good fortune was that John W. Carpenter was

spared to a long and full life in which his powers could be and were exercised to the fullest for Dallas, Tex., and the Nation.

[From the Dallas Morning News, June 17, 1959]

TRIBUTE PAID TO CARPENTER, A FARM BOY WHO WORKED HIS WAY UP

John W. Carpenter, who throughout his 77 years built monuments to himself in the hearts of the countless he helped by his genius and who lived to see a great monument in stone and steel tower over the city he loved, is dead.

"The loss will be great, for he was a great citizen and a great friend of Dallas and her people," declared a shocked and saddened friend of some 30 years, Mayor R. L. Thorn-

Carpenter, a farm boy who worked his way to the top by helping others—for he believed that the best way to help others was to broaden their opportunities to help themselves-was chairman of the board of the Southland Life Insurance Co.

The loss of the man who had long been identified as a builder of Dallas and Texas was already beginning to be felt Tuesday night as word of his unexpected death spread

among his longtime friends and associates.

Mayor Thornton said of him: "He was one of the most vigorous citizens of his age. He was always on the firing line for Dallas.

Ben H. Wooten, president of the First Na-tional Bank in Dallas, declared that "his foresight, vision, and courage has been one of the great factors in the building of Dallas, the State and the Southwest."

Expressing sorrow at the news of Carpenter's death, Lester T. Potter, president of the Dallas Chamber of Commerce, commented: "We should particularly recognize that he was a great man \* \* \* productive over a period of many years in the life of his community.

"His death," said Potter, "leaves a loss, there's no question about that."

Through most of his lifetime, Carpenter had been associated with the public utility business. Long a friend of the farmer, he

believed that prosperity came from the soil.

He once said, "I like farming. I like to improve Mother Earth. I like to make two blades of grass grow where only one grew before."

His intense devotion to agriculture was exemplified by his work with the Texas Research Foundation at Renner, which he served as cochairman of the board of trustees.

And, he believed that electricity was one of the ways that prosperity could come to the farmer. In 1932, he wrote, "If Texas agriculture is to be made a healthy, prosperous industry the farmer must have available a standard of living equivalent to that of his city neighbor, with equal training and responsibility.

"Electricity is another, an important one, of the many agencies which are making it possible to realize this goal."

Carpenter expanded his theory into thousands of miles of transmission lines reaching into rural homes throughout the State.

His first job, at 19, was with the Corsicana Gas & Electric Co. where he dug postholes at \$30 a month. He later returned to head

the company.

He came to Dallas in 1917 as vice president and general manager of Dallas Power & Light Co., later assuming the same position with the Texas Power & Light Co. which he later headed.

A big-framed man with a strong jaw and steady gray eyes, Carpenter throughout his life kept the driving energy and habits of hard work that in his early days carried him in 7 years from a newly hired posthole digger to a utility company executive.

Deliberate of movement, he was quickly able to concentrate his entire attention on any subject brought up and his associates loved to tell him his mind worked swiftly as a steeltrap, enabling him to make prompt decisions, and act immediately whatever the circumstances.

That his energy was abundant was mani-fested in the fact that he managed or organized nearly 25 major companies in the Southwest, including some 11 utility companies, the Southland Life Insurance Co., Lone Star Steel Co., and the St. Louis & Southwestern Railway Co.

Carpenter had been president of the Trinity Improvement Association and is credited with having as much to do with the Trinity's development as any other man.

There is practically no civic, charitable, or community enterprise of any type which he has not headed or of which he has not been a director.

A Dallas leader ones said of him: "If I were asked to pick out the most powerful single citizen of this town, I think I'd pick Carpenter. This is a town of many powers, not just one; but I have a feeling Carpenter could probably push more issues one way or the other than any man."

On April 4, this year, he saw dedication of the huge, towering building of the com-pany which he headed push its way higher than any other building in Dallas, or any west of the Mississippi.

Just as he believed in the advancement of the farmer, he believed in the education of his fellow human beings.

He was instrumental in the establishment Texas Technological College at Lubbock and served on its first board of regents. He held an honorary LL.D. degree from the college. Later Southern Methodist University conferred upon him the honorary degree of doctor of engineering.

Throughout his varied and fruitful life he never forgot his beginning.

"I am," he said once, "a sentimentalist. Which is all right as long as you don't let it run away with you."

#### An Interview With Senator Humphrey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. EUGENE J. McCARTHY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, June 24, 1959

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an interview with the senior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. HUMPHREY] by Courtney Sheldon, and published in the Christian Science Monitor of June 10, 1959.

The exchange demonstrates the keenness of mind of the senior Senator from Minnesota. I think the Senate will find his comments most edifying.

There being no objection, the interview was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW TACTICS TO WIN OBJECTIVES-A CAPITAL INTERVIEW WITH SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

#### (By Courtney Sheldon)

(Third in a series of interviews on Capitol Hill to record the viewpoints of Senators SYMINGTON, KENNEDY, and HUMPHREY, each of whom is generally considered a serious prospect for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1960.)

WASHINGTON .- Minnesota Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, once a college professor in political science, twice elected mayor of Minneapolis, and now a leader of the northern. liberal wing of his party and the possible choice of that faction for the Democratic presidential nomination next year:

Believes that a Soviet move toward an acceptable nuclear test ban agreement is one of the things that Khrushchev will make at a

summit conference.

Recommends that the United States program its farm production 5 to 10 years in advance to help underdeveloped countries improve their diets and feed their hungry.

"What issues do you feel the Democrats should concentrate on in 1960, Senator

HUMPHREY?

"Well, I think you will find that issues will vary in different areas of the country. In my part of the country, the utter failure of this administration's agriculture policy will still be an issue, for example.

"A countrywide issue will be the failure of the administration to really plan economic growth. Now here is a difference, I think, between liberal Democrats and Republicans. Some of us believe in the broad outlines of national planning for economic growth.

"I believe, for example, that we can't leave things to the accident of chance. I think that in the light of the kind of competition we are facing internationally from Soviet communism we have to make better use of our resources.

There are some limits to them and they ought to be programed and utilized. At the same time we must provide the widest opportunity for individual decision within that great national plan. We do, however, need goals to strive for-objectives to accomplish."

"Now on international affairs what issues

of consequence do you anticipate?'

"Well, here the Republicans take fixed positions and try to hold them without getting into the field of maneuver and using new tactics to win objectives.

"We haven't won anything. We have been lucky to hang on. The same administration that tried to repudiate the doctrine of containment, which we had for a period after the Soviets were pressing so hard in Western Europe, has embraced containment even more than the previous administration.

"It has been incapable of understanding the social revolution that is going on in the world. Conservative government, by its nature, tends to embrace the status quo. It approaches change with fear and timidity.

Would you favor more or fewer periodic summit meetings just to exchange views?"

"I would favor more. I wish we could these summit meetings a little less of a circus or bazaar. Meetings of heads of state would be better if there were not quite so much headline attention until something was done '

"You favor more contacts with the Soviets all along the line, such as yours with Khrushchev?

"I wish you could see the volume of letters that comes everytime any American, including myself, meets with the Soviets. You'd think that somehow or other we were going to catch political leprosy.

"It seems to me we have more to gain from meeting with them than they have from meeting with us. And I enjoy the idea of intellectual competition, as well as political

and psychological competition.

I like to have the opportunity of telling the Soviets a little about the way of our life, and doing it in a friendly and polite manner, and I think it is a good idea for them to see our country. They live under gross misconception as to what American life is all about. This misconception could lead to dangerous miscalculations."

"Do you feel that we have gone too far or not far enough in our efforts to the Soviets on a nuclear test ban agreement?

"I really believe that in the past few months we have been very sincere and have gone quite a way with the Soviets on a policy of trying to reconcile differences. I had a feeling in January that maybe we were being a little too stiff. That has been changed.

"While bringing to the attention of the Geneva delegations the new scientific data, we have demonstrated a willingness to adapt ourselves to this new material and to give the Soviets an opportunity to join with us in further scientific research for better means of inspection.

"I hope the Soviets will come around ultimately and I think they will. I believe this is one of the things that Khrushchev will do at a summit conference."

'If that did not come about, would you favor unilateral banning of atmospheric

Atmospheric tests, I would. lieve we have nothing particularly to gain in atmospheric tests militarily and we have a great deal to lose, both psychologically and possibly in health.

"We can do these tests underground. can do them at extraordinarily high altitudes which is a much safer process from a human health point of view.

"Now on the farm problem, is there really

any feasible long-range solution?"

'A sound national agricultural policy must be based on expanded soil conservation; adequate farm credit; continued research not only in production but in uses of food and fiber; a price support or income protection system designed to aid the family farm production pattern-with definite ceilings on the total of commodity loans or payments to any one farm producer.

'Farm price supports should be extended only when farmers accept production and marketing controls; there should be no supports for products or producers who fail to comply with necessary production regula-

tions.

"And finally the means of income protection or price supports should be variedwhatever works best for any commodity or producer. By this I mean the Secretary of Agriculture should be authorized to use crop loans, compensatory payments, pur-chases, extended credit, and even retirement of unneeded acres.

"Production plans must include not only the domestic and normal export needs, but also food and fiber for strengthening our foreign policy in the food deficit areas, plus food for the needy at home—possibly the use of food stamps for those on social security plus others who receive all too inadequate allowances.

"I believe that this Nation would be better served by an agriculture of smaller units. I suggest that we look upon this production of food and fiber as a great economic asset in the cold war and that we utilize it as par a definite international economic program; that we work with the under developed countries and see what their food deficits are, and then start to help these countries improve their diets and feed their

"This programing of farm production for international use should be done 5 to 10 years in advance so that the recipient nations and our farm people can plan on it."

## Statement by Dalai Lama Made at Recent Press Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. MIKE MANSFIELD

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, June 24, 1959

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, ask unanimous consent that the official translation of the prepared statement issued by the Dalai Lama in Mussoorie. India, on June 19, be incorporated in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the translation was ordered to be printed in the

RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, June 21, 1959] TEXT OF DALAI LAMA

Ever since my arrival in India I have been receiving almost every day sad and distress ing news of the sufferings and inhuman treatment of my people. I have heard almost daily, with a heavy heart, of their increasing again, creasing agony and affliction, their harass ment and persecution and of the terrible deportation and execution of innocent men These have made me realize forcibly that the time has manifestly arrived when, in the interests of my people and my religion and to save them from the danger of near annihilation, I must not keep silent any longer but must frankly and plainly tell the world the truth about Tibet and appeal to the conscience of all peace-loving and civilized nations.

To understand and appreciate the significant cance and implication of the recent trage happenings in Tibet, it is necessary to refer to the main events which have occurred in the country since 1950. tI is recognized by every independent observer that Tibet had virtually been independent by enjoying and exercising all rights. exercising all rights of sovereignty, whether internal or external. This has also been impliedly admitted by the Communist government of China for the ernment of China, for the very structure the terms and conditions of the so-called agreement of 1951 conclusively show that it was an agreement between two independent and sovereign states.

#### AGGRESSION IS CHARGED

It follows, therefore, that when Chines armies violated the territorial integrity Tibet they were committing a flagrant act of aggression.

The agreement which followed the invasion of Tibet was also thrust upon its people and Government by threat of arms. It was near accepted by them of their own free Consent of the Government was secure under duress and at the point of bayonet

My representatives were compelled to also the agreement under a threat of further military operation military operations against Tibet by invading armies of China leading to the utt Tavage and ruin of the country. Even the Tibetan seal which was affixed to the agreement was not the seal of my representatives but a seal copied and fabricated by Chinese authorities in Peiping and kept in their possession ever since.

While I and my government did not voluntarily accept that agreement we were obliged to acquiesce in it and decided to abide by its terms and conditions in order to save my people and country from the danger of total destruction.

#### MINISTERS FORCED OUT

It was, however, clear from the very beginning that the Chinese had no intention of carrying out the agreement. Although they had solemnly undertaken to maintain status and power as Dalai Lama they did not lose any opportunity to undermine my authority and sow dissension among my People. In fact, they compelled me, situated as I was, to dismiss my Prime Ministers under the threat of their execution without trial because they had, in all honesty and sincerity, resisted the unjustified usurpation of power by representatives of the Chinese Government in Tibet.

Far from carrying out the agreement they began deliberately to pursue a course of Policy which was diametrically opposed to the terms and conditions they had them-

selves laid down.

Thus commenced a reign of terror which finds few parallels in the history of Tibet. Forced labor and compulsory exactions, systematic persecution of the people, plunder and confiscation of property belonging to individuals and monasteries, and the execution of certain leading men in Tibet—these are the glorious achievements of Chinese rule in Tibet.

During all this time, patiently and sincerely, I endeavored to appease my people and to calm down their feelings and at the same time tried my best to persuade the Chinese authorities in Lhasa to adopt a policy of conciliation and friendliness. spite of repeated fallures, I persisted in this Policy till the last day, when it became impossible for me to render any useful service to my people by remaining in Tibet. It is in these circumstances that I was obliged to leave my country in order to have it from further danger and disaster.

## COMMISSION IS PROPOSED

I wish to make it clear that I have made these assertions against Chinese officials in Thet in full knowledge of their gravity because I know them to be true. Perhaps the Peiping government are not fully aware of the facts of the situation but if they are not prepared to accept these statements, let them agree to an investigation on the point by an international commission. On our part I and my government will readily agree to abide by the verdict of such an impartial

It is necessary for me to add that, before It is necessary for me to add that, below I visited India in 1956, it had become in-creasingly clear to me that my policy of anity amity and tolerance had totally failed to create any impression on the representatives of the Chinese Government in Tibet.

Indeed they had frustrated every measure adopted by me to remove the bitter resentby my people and to bring about peaceful atmosphere in the country for the peaceful atmosphere in the the purpose of carrying out necessary rethe benefit of my people, I had practically hade up my mind, when I came to India, not to return a manifest to return to Tibet until there was a manifest change in the attitude of Chinese authori-tics. ties. I therefore sought the advice of the Prime Minister of India, who has always shown me unfalling kindness and consideration. After his talk with the Chinese Prine Minister and, on the strength of assurances given by him on behalf of China, Mr. Nehru advised me to change my deci-

#### NEHRU'S ADVICE FOLLOWED

I followed his advice and returned to Tibet in the hope that conditions would change substantially for the better and I have no doubts that my hopes would have been realized if the Chinese authorities had on their part carried out the assurances which the Chinese Prime Minister had given to the Prime Minister of India.

It was, however, painfully clear soon after my return that the representatives of the Chinese Government had no intention to adhere to their promises. The natural and inevitable result was that the situation steadily grew worse until it became impossible to control the spontaneous upsurge of my people against the tyranny and oppression of the Chinese authorities.

At this point I wish to emphasize that I and my government have never been opposed to reforms which are necessary in the social, economic and political systems prevailing in Tibet. We have no desire to dis-guise the fact that ours is an ancient society and that we must introduce immediate changes in the interests of the people of Tibet. In fact, during the last 9 years several reforms were proposed by me and my government but every time these measures were strenuously opposed by the Chinese in spite of a popular demand for them, with the result that nothing was done for the betterment of the social and economic conditions of the people.

#### LAND REFORM DESIRED

In particular, it was my earnest desire that the system of land tenure should be radically changed without further delay and large landed estates acquired by the State on payment of compensation for distribution among tillers of the soil. But the Chinese authorities deliberately put every obstacle in the way of carrying out this just and reasonable reform. I desire to lay stress on the fact that we, as firm believers in Buddhism, welcome change and progress consistently with the genius of our people and the rich traditions of our country but the people of Tibet will stoutly resist any victimization, sacrilege and plunder in the name of reforms, the policy which is now being enforced by representatives of the Chinese Government in Lhasa.

I have attempted to present a clear and unvarnished picture of the situation in Tibet. I have endeavored to tell the entire civilized world the real truth about Tibet, truth which must ultimately prevail however strong the forces of evil may appear to be today. I also wish to declare that we Buddhists firmly and steadfastly believe in peace and desire to live in peace with all peoples and countries of the world. Although recent actions and policies of the Chinese au-thorities in Tibet have created strong feelings of bitterness and resentment against the Government of China, we Tibetans, lay and monk alike, do not cherish any feelings of enmity and hatred against the great Chinese people.

#### PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS SOUGHT

We wish to live in peace and ask for peace and good will from all countries of the world. I and my Government are therefore fully prepared to welcome a peaceful and amicable solution of the present tragic problem, provided that such a solution guarantees preservation of the rights and powers which Tibet has enjoyed and exercised without any interference prior to 1950.

We must also insist on the creation of a favorable climate by the immediate adoption of essential measures as a condition precedent to negotiations for a peaceful settlement. We ask for peace and for a peaceful settlement but we must also ask for maintenance of the status and right of our state and people.

the gentlemen of the press I and my people owe a great debt of gratitude for all that you have done to assist us in our struggle for survival and freedom. Your sympathy and support have given us courage and strengthened our determination. I confidently hope that you will continue to lend the weight of your influence to the cause of peace and freedom which the people of Tibet are fighting for today. Gentlemen, I thank you one and all on behalf of my people as well as on my own behalf.

## Alton McClellan, Texas Baptist Father of the Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, June 24, 1959

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, Alton McClellan, a courageous and respected citizen of Stamford, Tex., has recently been named Texas Baptist Father of the Year.

This event is made especially noteworthy by the fact that Mr. McClellan is a victim of polio, and has been paralyzed in his legs by his deadly disease since 1943. But this is not all; polio has stricken Alton McClellan's wife and son as well. Fortunately, the latter two are now fully recovered. The story of Alton McClellan is an inspiring one. It is another illustration of the importance of medical research, a cause which is being so effectively led by the distinguished senior Senator from Alabama [Mr. HILL] and the distinguished junior Senator from Oregon [Mr. NEUBERGER]. Senators will find the story of Alton Mc-Clellan, as reported in the Dallas Morning News, of much interest.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article and the editorial from the Dallas Morning News of June 18, 1959, entitled "Baptist Dad of Year Led in Polio Struggle" and "Baptist Dad of Year," be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article and the editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BAPTIST DAD OF YEAR LED IN POLIO STRUGGLE

The Salk vaccine didn't come soon enough for Alton McClellan of Stamford, who was named the 1959 Texas Baptist Father of the Year, Wednesday.

Polio has struck three times at the radio repairman's home. McClellan will never walk again, but fortunately the disease left no permanent scars on his wife and son who also fell victim to polio.

McClellan, the father of three children, used his experience to help teach his boy to "I knew how tough it was for walk again. him," he said.

A devout Baptist, McClellan said it is more important for a father to set a good example for his children than to be able to walk.

Sponsored by the Baptist Standard, denominational magazine, and the 1½-million-member Baptist General Convention of Texas, the award is made each year to honor Texas Baptist fathers who have made outstanding contributions to Christianity.

McClellan was stricken with polio after returning from the first all-American bomber raid over Rome in 1943. He was later sent to a veterans' hosiptal in Arkansas for 14 months.

He came out of the hospital in a wheelchair, still paralyzed in the legs but able to use of the upper part of his body.

After finishing his education at Texas University and marrying his hometown sweetheart, McClellan returned to Stamford to join his father in the radio repair service business. When his father died in 1953, McClellan took over the shop and expanded it to include television repair.

The family leads a normal life, filled with hobbies, music lessons, and church activities.

In addition to teaching a Sunday-school class, McClellan has been a deacon for 6 years, an officer in brotherhood, teaches in study courses, and is active in training union.

Asked his advice on raising children, Mc-Clellan said: "Fathers need to play more with their children and be more liberal with oldfashloned discipline when it is needed."

#### DAD OF THE YEAR

The Baptists of Texas have the custom to pick out the Baptist Father of the Year. For 1959 he is Alton McClellan of Stamford.

McClellan fell victim to polio while in the service in 1943, came out of 14 months in hospitals deprived of the use of his legs by paralysis, but otherwise very much of a man. This he proved by finishing his education at the University of Texas, marrying his hometown sweetheart, and joining his father in the radio repair business.

Polio attacked both his wife and his son, but both recovered completely. McClellan taught his own son to walk again. He supports his family and has a thriving shop. He teaches a Sunday-school class and is an officer in his church. Legs or no legs, he is still tall in the saddle.

McClellan of Stamford is quite a man.

#### A Christian Home

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. GEORGE M. GRANT

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 24, 1959

Mr. GRANT. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Henry L. Lyon, pastor, Highland Avenue Baptist Church, Montgomery, Ala., recently delivered a sermon entitled, "A Christian Home," which should interest the people of every race and creed.

Dr. Lyon is known for his unselfish work for all people and is one who loves his fellow man.

The sermon follows:

#### A CHRISTIAN HOME

(A sermon delivered by Dr. Henry L. Lyon, pastor, Highland Avenue Baptist Church, Montgomery, Ala., May 3, 1959)

Scripture (Genesis 2: 15-25; Acts 16: 15b): "Come into my house, and abide there."

In the beginning we read a passage (Genesis 2: 15-25) that gives us a word picture of the first home, that of Adam and Eve. And now we come to Acts 16: 14-15. "And a certain woman named Lydia, a seller of purple of the city of Thyatira, which worshipped God, heard us: whose heart the Lord opened, that she attended unto the things which were spoken of Paul." Here we find a

good woman, a good Christian, who ministered to God's servants as they held a revival meeting on the river's bank at Philippi. 'And when she was baptized, and her household, she besought us, saying, 'If ye have judged me to be faithful to the Lord, come into my house, and abide there." Lydia extends an invitation, "Come into my house." What was she saving? "Paul and Silas, I invite you to come into my home." That is one of the highest privileges any individual has, that he can exercise in the life that now is. It works two ways: first, the privilege of saying "I have a home and I invite you to come to my home"; second, it is a privilege to be invited into a real home. I had rather be invited into a home (and I mean every word of it) than to receive an invitation to any meeting regardless of whatever the occasion might be. When I am invited to a home, I am invited into a unit, a segment of the greatest institution of the entire world. It was established many, many years before Jesus Christ came into the world.

The picture of the first home is very inter-Man was formed of the dust of the ground and God breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul, made in the spiritual image of God. We are further told that God looked down on the man and saw that it was not good for him to be alone. God now provides Adam with a wife. God caused a deep sleep to possess him. A rib closest to man's heart is removed for the purpose. God did not take a part of his head to symbolize that woman was to be above man; neither did he take a part of man from his lower extremitles to symbolize that woman was to be beneath man. Woman came from a place very close to the heart of man, that she might be loved by him. So we see this picture of the first home, that of a kingdom. When we think of a kingdom, we think of a king and a queen. And that is just the teaching of both the Old and the New Testament. The father is the king and the mother is the queen; not ruling, not reigning, not bossing, but near and dear to-gether in the home—loving one another, working together, serving together, building together. And one day the highest, the most God-given privilege that any man or woman ever enjoys is theirs-to give to the world a son or daughter. This privilege is to make this world a better place in which to live or a more sinful world. All this being true, Highland Avenue Baptist Church is giving an entire week with the emphasis upon the importance of the home, the Christian home. This is true also throughout the entirety of the Southern Baptist Convention-praying in our homes, meeting at the church, rededicating our homes to God.

Home is so important this morning. realize that I am a product of my own home where my mother and father lived. This last week it was necessary for me to go to the State Department of Archives and History here in our city to look up some information concerning those who have gone before me, loved ones and relatives. It was necessary for me to get photostatic copies of several sheets of the past census records—some going back to 1850. The 1850 census record was so fragile that they had to microfilm it, and we had to look at the record through a special machine. We came on to the census of 1860, 1870, and 1880, and on to later years. Here is one of the photostats of the 1870 census. As I look down here I find the name of my great-grandfather and great-grandmother. In a later census I see the name of my own father. He was only 5 years old at this time. As I looked at all those pages and studied the information, I could not help but say to myself again, "What I am to a large extent has been determined by what these people were back there in those days."

There are some people who would have you

believe that what you are is determined al together by acquired characteristics, by that which one gets from environment. picture, we see the development of character in the light of one being a sponge that you absorb character by the process of moral osmosis without exercising much effort-free from thoughtful decisions. But don't you believe that. Life is shaped and fashloned by environment, but also I want you to know that medical scientists believe and recognize that the bites, the urges, the stings, the biases of life are inherited. Blood does tell. Blood is certainly involved in those factors that determine how high of You can how low an individual will go. You can not wave your hand and say "I will dismiss blood; I will dismiss everything that has gone on before me, and what I am right now I am going to be the master and king

Not only does blood tell with us who are living now but it will tell with unborg generations. There are going to be some of your boys and girls who are going to wrestle with some terrific difficulties in life. and those difficulties are going to constitute that which you and you and this preacher. all of us, have passed on down to them in the body, in its structure, in the bites, the stings, and urges of life. And what about the institutions—God's institutions of home church and green and are the still and green and structure and green and green and structure and green and structure and structure and green and structure and struc church, and government, that we shall hand down to posterity? This means that those of us who are mothers and fathers right now ought to recognize that the greatest con tribution we can make to the world is not by making large amounts of dollars and in vesting those dollars; in building social pres The greatest contribution you make the kind of young men and women you give to the world. I am wondering on the basis of what has already happened in your home with your little boy and girl (maybe some of you have young men or women who will graduate from college this year) what their future will be. I ask you to face the ques tion on the basis of how much you pray and the moral and spiritual example set by you in the home. What can the world ar-ticipate coming to guide and sustain it insofar as the contribtuion from your home is concerned.

I believe these things are right in the deep of my heart. This morning I made this statement to a group of intermediates: "p the days of your courtship, in the days your schooling, realize that one day you will stand before the stand before the marriage altar and take the marriage vows to make a home. This ought to be of such great importance that, as you look into the face of the boy or girl you with, you should challenge your heart with this question: What may I expect in the way of a home if I stand before the marriage altar one day to take this man or this woman to be my companion? Can I afford to consider marriage with him or her when I re alize that this one will be the father of mothers of my children'?" This is long range thinking. That is building for the tomorrows. These teachings are not found in the textbooks of today. Oh, they do have a fee courses in eugenics—but they do not have the spiritual stiller than the spiritual stiller. the spiritual sting that causes young people to want to be something and to help other to be something.

I would be a traitor to truth if I did not say to you that the American home of 1958 involved with two great enemies. The inst I do not hesitate to mention, nor the first I do not hesitate to mention, nor the second. The first is alcoholic beverage. You say "Why, oh why, preacher, can't you preach a sermon without preaching on probable beverage?" I have been doing a join of thinking in the last few days and reading in the paper about the five men who ing in the paper about the five men who am somewhat confused about the State of Alabama. We build our Kilby Prison, our Draper Prison, and we put men in prison

When they violate the laws of our State, When they commit crimes of passion when their blood has been fired by alcoholic beverage. We send them to prison and yet, at the same time, Alabama is in the business. I was talking with a prisoner who said "I bought the liquor that put me in prison from a State of Alabama liquor

There is no place whatsoever for alcoholic beverages in the home whether you drink a lot of it or whether you just drink your cocktails. It reaches down on the inside and takes away the very marrow of woman-hood and manhood. The American home literally staggers in its stupor of drunken-

hess and debauch. That is our first enemy.
If you have ever opened your mind and heart, please open them now. The next danger that faces the American home is that which certain people would do to the human race in these hours. I am not a lanatic. I want you to face the truth. In these hours the Supreme Court and the Congress of the United States are willing to make a social experiment and thereby gamble with the future of America on the basis of saying that if we integrate and amalgamate into one race, we will settle all of our Problems. This calls for a complete invasion of the American home.

If God had wanted one race, he would not have brought into being different races. The existence of different races is the work of God. Some of us as older people pull ourselves away and say, "I will have nothing to do with it. All of my children are grown up and married." As grandfathers and grandfathers. grandmothers you need to consider the possibility of becoming the grandparents of a mulatto. You say "But there is no danger of that happening in my family. We are well bred." The brainwashing operation of the prediction of the predi the present hours speak differently.

In these hours, not only the children and the young men and women but even the grandparents have been brainwashed. What kind of homes are we going to have tomortow in America? Let me give you a picture of the future. If we continue to accept the interest of the future of th integration propagands of this hour, we are Roing to have standing at the altars of some of our churches a white girl and a Negro boy, or vice versa, being married by some of the white preachers who say today that You cannot be a preacher of the Gospel uns you believe in integration of the races. and what are we going to have and see in our hospital nurseries? Dear God, help us. You are going to see a mixed breed of people. I appeal to white people. I appeal to Negroes. Let's save America. Let's save our homes from the ravages of this certain trag-edy. edy. It is not right under God and I am Some say "Our preacher gets excited and I wish he would shut up." Why do you want ne to shut up? Is it because you are in business. business and you are afraid that someone will think you have the same ideas that Your preacher has might mean the loss of customer? church said that not long ago, and he sug-Sested had that not long age, am that I move. I am not moving. I am the pastor of Highland Avenue Baptist Chine. Church, a church of white people, and it is soing to stay that way if I have anything to do with

We are about to go into summer camps and your boys and girls will be told: "If you want to do that want to be accepted; if you want to do that which is right, you are going to have to bractice integration and amalgamation."
This will do untold harm to the future homes of homes of our country.

The glory of the home is seen in its devo-on to God. The American home should The glory of the nome store ton to God. The American home shours support the church. Some of you support every other institution, some of them good, and have a many dollars in their support the church one and have given many dollars in their sup-port. Some of you have not given one

dime to the support of your church. up and support your church, not only with dollars but by your presence and prayers. A chair occupied by your boy or girl in Sunday school can be a means toward keep-

ing them out of the electric chair.

We are in a predicament today. We have men in responsible positions of public leadership who say they want to do something for little children. Oh, I appeal to your heart as I appeal to my own heart-let's do something for all little children: white, black, yellow, red, all children; let's bring them to God and teach them that God loves every one of us, and that one is just as sacred in his sight as the other. There is not a white boy or white girl in Mont-gomery, Ala., that is fit to be the husband or wife of a Negro woman or a Negro man, And there is not a Negro man or Negro woman that is fit to be the wife or husband of a white man or white woman. Why is this true? Because God did not make them fit for one another. It is not his will for them to integrate or amalgamate.

The glory of the American home is seen in its freedom, its freedom to worship God according to the dictates of conscience. We have lost a lot in these days. We have lost our States rights and we have drifted into an hour when there are those who have developed an operation, that if they find any person who opposes them, they will have him declared mentally incompetent. In these hours, friends, let's live for God in our homes. Young men and women, one day when you stand before the marriage altar to take the vows of marriage, I im-plore you to treasure the pure blood of your family. I dare you to build homes that will honor God and be an uplift to humanity.

Jobs, Markets, and Foreign Imports, the Threat From Abroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. SAMUEL S. STRATTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 24, 1959

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, in the past I have had occasion to call the attention of the House to some of the problems posed by foreign imports. I have pointed out the way in which unfair competition from abroad has taken away the jobs of our own working men and women and has jeopardized American business operations. In this connection, I was very much interested in reading an editorial which appeared in the Albany Times-Union, June 22, 1959, and under leave to extend my remarks I include the editorial:

JOBS, MARKETS, AND IMPORTS

Prof. Walter Hallstein, of West Germany, delivered an interesting address at a luncheon given recently by the American Committee of United Europe.

Professor Hallstein is president of the Common Market, the economic organization of six European nations-France, Italy, West Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg.

In his address he thanked the United States for prior assistance and expressed the hope that there would be a new round of tariff cutting.

Two points were not discussed to any de-

1. What is to be done by the countries of the Common Market regarding quotas of imports from the United States? There is no use cutting tariffs if our exports to those countries are so limited as to leave us out of that market altogether.

2. What is the difference in price between American goods and European goods based on the lower standard of living in European countries and, therefore, the lower price of labor? For instance, in 1957, the average hourly wage of American steelworkers was

In the following countries of the Common Market, it was—West Germany, 67 cents; Luxembourg, 89 cents; Belgium, 77.5 cents. It is to be noted that whereas in 1936, the United States imported 268,810 tons of steel. in 1958, this country imported 1,702,819 tons of steel.

Thus far, in 1959, for the first time in American history, the imports of steel products have exceeded exports.

What effect does this have upon American labor? The Wall Street Journal recites the story of nearly 1,000 watchmakers employed by the Elgin National Watch Co. voluntarily taking a cut in wages up to 10 percent.

The American machinemade product is not superior to any other machinemade product, but the price is higher. As a result this country's products have become outpriced in many markets of the world, and we have been giving American manufactured goods away as foreign aid.

Now, in some commodities, European and Japanese competition is becoming acute even in our domestic market. American goods are being outpriced at home.

The most dangerous competition from

Europe is in automobiles.

Basing itself on American aid and the export of capital by American automobile companies, the European automobile industry has waxed strong and aggressive and is now competing with American automobiles not only in the markets of the world but in the American domestic market.

One result of this competition is the increased use of automatic machinery to cut the cost of labor. Industry has no alternative if it is to remain in business, as wages

are the principal cost of industry.

This will ultimately increase unemployment, which is a social danger in any country and a terrible one here.

However, as the machine becomes more automatic, it can deprive man of the opportunity to earn a living. This country has experienced the consequences of mass unemployment and wants no more of it.

The export of American capital benefits a few people-those who own the exported capital. It does not help American industry to keep Americans at work.

And that is the issue before us now. Some argue that if Switzerland can produce as good a watch for less money, why bother to make them here at all? Why bother to make anything here? Where shall we get precision tool makers and workers should war come?

Shall we import them from Switzerland?

A Tribute to Stephen F. Austin State College and Its President by Dr. Walter Prescott Webb

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON, RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, June 24, 1959

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, last February, Dr. Ralph Steen, a distinguished historian, was inaugurated as President of Stephen F. Austin State

College at Nacogdoches, Tex.

At the inauguration ceremonies, another distinguished and well-known Texan delivered a highly meaningful address. The man was Dr. Walter Prescott Webb, known throughout our State and Nation for his scholarly and distinguished work in the field of history. An immediate past president of the American Historical Association, he is a visiting professor in history at the Rice Institute in Houston, Tex., and for years was a distinguished professor of history at the University of Texas.

Stephen F. Austin State College at Nacogdoches, an old Spanish town in the eastern part of the State is now in the midst of a building program involving several million dollars. This exemplifies our State of Texas and the South looking boldly forward and working to-ward a better future.

A great deal of the credit can go to the institution's president, Dr. Steen, who has distinguished himself as a historian and educator, and now as head of this fine new school in an historic setting.

Portions of Dr. Webb's address have been reprinted in the Houston (Tex.) Post, and in these thoughtfully considered words are a graphic picture of the man, and the philosophies which are reflected in the progressive attitude of Dr. Steen and the school and the South.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the condensation of an address by the beloved Dr. Walter Prescott Webb entitled "A Corner of the Old South." as printed in the Houston Post for June 11, 1959.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Houston Post, June 14, 1959]

A CORNER OF THE OLD SOUTH

(By Dr. Walter Prescott Webb)

Each college has general obligations which it owes to a very large area in common with all the other colleges and universities. is the general business of Stephen F. Austin, of its sister colleges, of the university and the A. &M. to train young people for service to the Nation, for service to the State of Texas which supports them all. But Stephen F. Austin has a unique obligation to be of special service to the geographic area in which it is located, to a circle drawn around Nacogdoches as a center with a radius of 200 miles. That is Stephen F. Austin's special domain. There its opportunities are greatest, and its obligations inescapable.

I think the problems of the college in relation to this area can best be examined when the area is seen in its natural setting. In an attempt to place the Nacogdoches area in that setting, I will start with the whole United States and wind up with the area surrounding this college. The whole United States consists of three great regions which are generally accepted by us all, the North, the South, and the West. It is obvious that Nacogdoches does not belong to the North, geographically or culturally. That leaves us to place it as between the West and the South. It will help here to observe that Texas is divided into two great sections, commonly known as west Texas and east Texas. West Texas belongs to the American West, and east Texas belongs to the Old

South. The pines on this campus furnish all the proof we need that this east Texas is part of the Old South. The houses reflect the fact; the accents of the people indi-cate it, and the old families with their aristocratic traditions, presumptions, offer ample proof that this is a little corner of the Old South.

Since this is true, then the problems of this college situated in the westernward corner of the Old South are pretty much the same problems that face all the colleges all over the Old South, not only the colleges,

but the universities as well.

I am sure that by this time the regents, the president, the faculty, and the visitors think they know what I am going to say next, and they are dreading a little to hear me say it. Well, I'm not going to say it, and if I were to make a hundred speeches over the Old South, I would be careful to avoid the subject that is now on our minds.

I do avoid this issue because it is not germane to the future, to the opportunity, and to the highest obligation of this institution. This issue reminds me of what a very wise and humane President said when his advisers came and asked what he was going to do about Brigham Young and the Mormons who were cutting capers in Utah. This President said, "I am going to do what I used to do in plowing a field where one of these big pine trees had fallen down. The tree was too big to move, too green to burn, and so I just plowed around it. It is my opinion that the time has come when the South-including east Texas-should go on and plow around one great obstacle in order to get on with its crop. After all, the log does not occupy more than a small part of a very fertile field which will respond bountifully to the right sort of cultivation.

Let us take a look at the great field which the South is, at how much there is of it, and what it will produce, ignoring for the present the log that is too heavy to move and too green to burn.

What I am advocating is a positive rather than a negative approach to the problems of the South, to the problems of this corner of the South known as east Texas. Since about 1840 the South has been nourishing a negative attitude, much concerned with seeing that something was not done. It has not spent enough time studying what could be done, what might be done to the benefit of the region. It has since 1865 looked back nostalgically to what it considered the good days, the days of dominance and glory. It has nursed its resentment of what happened following the Civil War when the South was exploited with a cruelty and relentlessness without parallel in modern history. That cruelty and exploitation left a bitterness which has not even yet passed away.

As a result of the Civil War and what

followed, the South did not keep pace with the economic development of the Nation. Poverty became almost the common lot, and that poverty showed its ugly head in all the affairs of men, in bad health, inadequate education, in soil depletion and human deterio-

No wonder the South looked back on a better time, no wonder it took a negative attitude toward what was happening, when everything happening was detrimental to it. No wonder it romanticized the past and built an unreal halo around the leisurely life of an older age. The South was the sick man of the Nation, the sick region, and its dreams were largely induced by the fever of poverty. Its sensitivity was that of the period and poor. This is a dark picture, but no darker than the reality which it represents.

I think it could be shown that from 1870 to 1930 the South's condition became progressively worse. By this I mean that it. dropped further and further behind the North and the West in wealth, in welfare, in education and in health. It dropped so far behind that the South became a Nation problem. It had created a crisis.

Now the demands of a crisis are often met by revolution or during revolution. The election of 1932 marked the beginning of \$ revolution induced by a national crisis of which the South was a part. The economy had collapsed in 1929 and the revolution that was inaugurated in 1932 was designed to rebuild it on different principles.

Fortunately for the South when the economy collapsed, it took down with it the polltical forces that had historically been responsible for the exploitation and degreds tion of the South. Those political forces fell in the election of 1932, and have never been able to reestablish their evil influence.

It was in the midst of this revolution that a group of Southerners were called to Wash; ington by National Emergency Council and asked to draw up a report on the condition of the South, and to make recommendations for doing something about it.

President Roosevelt addressed a letter to this group in which he stated that the South was the economic problem No. 1 of the Na-

tion. In part he said:

'No purpose is closer to my heart at this moment than that which caused me to call you to Washington. That purpose is to obtain a statement \* \* of the economic con ditions of the South, a picture of the South in relation to the rest of he country, in or der that we may do something about it.

"My intimate interest in all that con-cerns the South is, I believe, known to all of you; but this interest is far more than a sentimental attachment born of a considerable residence in your section and of close personal friendship for so many of your people. It proceeds even more from my feeling of responsibility toward the whole Nation. It is my conviction that the South presents right now the Nation's No. 1 economic problem—the Nation's problem not merely the South's. For we have an economic unbalance in the Nation as a whole due to the whole, due to this very condition of the South.

"It is an unbalance that must be righted for the sake of the South and of the Na" tion."

In due time the committee issued "The Report on Economic Conditions of the South," including Mr. Roosevelt's bold and undiplomatic statement.

I am convinced that this report marked the turning point in the history of the South. Until that time it had been going downhill all the way, since that time if has been going and the state of the sta has been going up, improving its position in reference to the North and the West and in reference to the Nation. In some cases its progress has been spectacular-

Of each \$100 in demand bank deposits in 1930, the North had \$78, the South \$1 and the West \$11. Twenty years later 1861. North's part had dropped from \$78 to \$60 the South's share had almost doubled, from \$11 to \$20, and the West's share had in-creased from \$11 creased from \$11 to \$20. In that 20 years 1930-50, the individual income in each sec tion increased. The northern individual income increased 119 percent; the western increased 148 percent, but the southern increased 225 percent. In 1930 the South paid in individual income to 1930 the South paid in individual income to 1930 the South paid. in individual income tax less than \$6 out of each hundred, but in 1950 the South had nearly three times as much, or \$16, an increase of 266 percent. crease of 266 percent.

I would have little confidence in the marvelous progress the South is making it were based on political action in Washington. I would argue that what was down in Washington manual argue that what was down in Washington manual argue that was down in Washington manual argue that was down in Washington manual argue that was down in the washington manual argue that was down in the washington manual argue that was down in the washington and washington arguer that was a superior washington and washington arguer than the washington and washington arguer than the washington arguer that washington arguer than the washington arguer than the washington arguer than the washington arguer that washington arguer that washington arguer that washington arguer that washington argu in Washington marks the first step in pulting the South on its way to helping itself. Though I have not compiled the figures show what has happened since 1950. I see evidence everywhere that the progress

continuing. Furthermore, I believe that the improvement has only just begun.

What the South needs today more than any other one thing is for its people to catch a vision—not of a glorious past, but of a far greater future. They need to see that the South today is the most thriving of the three regions. It is not the richest by by far, but its wealth and its general welfare are increasing more rapidly than that of any other region, and that is what I mean by most thriving.

What I would do, if I could, is this. Would convince the southern people that their future is brighter than it has ever been in history; I would so inspire them that they would get so busy realizing on the opportunitles ahead that they would forget the degradations and injustice of the past, drown their bitterness in success, and revenge the bast by becoming the prosperous region of the Nation.

I suspect that these words are falling on skeptical ears, that many feel that now the University professor is talking through his academic hat. We have been so accustomed to thinking the South must play third fiddle that we have difficulty seeing it in a leading tole. You would like to believe that what I

have said is so, but you want the proof.
All right. I'll give you the evidence on which I have based my statements. I'll talk which I have based my statements. In terms of wealth and the resources from which it is derived. I'll talk of three forms of wealth; first, that produced from the farm and what and the ranch, what grows on them and what lies beneath them. Second, I'll talk of trade and manufacturing. Third, I'll tell you of a slient revolution in technology which has placed the South squarely in the path of destiny.

Let us look at the South, not as the enormous area, but as a piece of real estate which mous area, but as a piece.
We are figuring on buying. This makes we are figuring on buying. What are the pomanageable in our minds. tentials? What are the natural advantages?

What are the assets? They are indeed many. 1. The South is the only region in the United States that fronts the sea on two sides. From Virginia to Key West it looks east to Europe across the Atlantic; from Key West to Brownsville, it looks south to Latin America. The South's shoreline along the Atlantic is 1,099 miles; along the gulf 1,659 miles. It has a total shoreline of 2,758 miles. It has nearly 4 times the shoreline of the North, more than twice that of the Pacine coast, and nearly 600 miles more seacoast than the North and West combined. If there is a potential fortune in the sea, then the South has the easiest access to more than half of it.

2. It has one-third of the good farmland the Nation, and this land is now being made better by the year.

3. It has two-thirds of all the land with 40 inches of rainfall or more, an asset too great to be measured.

4. It has a long growing season which gives it an advantage in the production of food and her of livestock and feed. Because of these things, the South is the richest region in renewable resources. It was once a great natural forest, of which a tiny sample survives on this campus. It is again becoming a great forest, and I can see that east Texas has much etter forests now than it had when I taught here in 1926.

5. It has in the interior the greatest supply of fresh water, if we exclude the Great

6. In minerals it produces 45 percent of the oil, all of the sulphur, and it has enormous, hous deposits of coal and iron which have hardly been touched.

Now I want to ask this question of you businesamen, regents, citizens: Would you consider the purchase of a piece of real estate that had all these natural advantages, all of this real and potential wealth

as a good investment? In short, would you buy the South? Well, why don't we start doing it?

But I am not through. I have not touched on the industrial potential, which is in some ways even more exciting than the natural resources. It is common knowledge that the industrial revolution is at last entering the South. We say it is industrializ-ing. We have evidence of this industrialization all over east Texas; we have it in the paper mill at Lufkin; we have it in the steel production at Daingerfield. We have it all along the gulf coast from Beaumont to Corpus Christi. There on the salt water it is having its greatest boom. I need not elaborate any further.

What I do want to do is to point out a silent revolution that has occurred in technology which almost inevitably makes the industrial future of the South, of east Texas, not bright, but brilliant. Manufacturing, especially from minerals, never is developed through the use of one mineral. Industry develops by bringing together a combination of resources. Such a combination was found in Pennsylvania and West Virginia, and out of this combination grew the steel industry which has meant so much to this country. The three resources found in juxtaposition there were coke and coal, lime, and iron ore. This trilogy ushered in the age of steel, and did much to give the North its dominance in the American economy.

Due to a technological revolution South now possesses such a trilogy of resources. I refer to the petrochemical industry which has already made great headway along the east Texas gulf coast. This new trilogy is oil, sulfur, and fresh water. The South, including Texas, produced 45 percent of the oil, 100 percent of the sulfur, and it has an unlimited quantity of fresh water. The petrochemical industry is still in its infancy, and its future is so great that the imagination cannot encompass it at this time. It would be a mistake to say that the South, like Br'er Rabbit, has fortunately fallen into the brier patch of opportunity. It is more accurate to say that the South has stood still and the brier patch has grown up around it. But there it is, and we should make the most of it.

One other feature I want to mention: it is that at last the South is developing capital centers with enough money to develop its own resources. It no longer has to go north to obtain capital in moderate amounts. Texas capital financed the paper mill at Lufkin, the steel mill at Daingerfield, and it is being invested in the oil fields of the Northwest and Canada, and in many other enterprises. The South is slowly becoming an exporter of capital.

What the South needs now, most of all, is more people who understand the advantages it has, and the forces that are operating to give it a great future. These people need to see a vision of the South, not as it once was, but as it is and can be. I believe the southern people can be made to see this vision. What they need is information and the information is available. What I would like to do, if I could, would be to bring together 10 men from each southern State, give each of them the facts on which the vision is based, and persuade them to return to their respective States, and sell the idea to a hundred more, and these to a thousand more so that the South would turn its whole attention to developing is enormous potential.

Well, I have wandered far from the man who is being inaugurated, apparently but not really. I have been talking to him all the time because he is going to direct the affairs of a State college set in a pine forest in a corner of the South that is old and that is new. I have tried to give him a perspec-tive on the region in which he operates and

which he will serve. I would like to engage his interest in the program I have suggested. and I would also like to engage the interest of his regents, his faculty, his patrons, and all the citizens of east Texas. I would like for all of them to catch vision of what this country might be and can be.

Of course those who have dreams never quite realize them. The teacher never quite reaches his goal in aiding the student to develop his own talents. The president never quite reaches his goal of having a faculty that is perfect; and maybe the regents never quite reach their goal of having a perfect president. But all of us get farther by trying. A dream of some sort lies behind every achievement.

All of us are really teachers and teachers do not reap the harvest of the seeds they plant because they plant for posterity and mankind. It was the poet Shelley who phrased this truth as only the poet can.

The seeds ye sow, another reaps; The wealth ye find, another keeps; The robes ye weave, another wears; The arms ye forge, another bears.

This same truth I read in a story of the life of Gen. William Booth, the famous missionary in London who founded the Salvation Army.

His young missionaries would go out to their work in the slums, and come in completely discouraged, with their spiritual ears beat down. In trying to rebuild their spirits, according to this story, Booth would quote a passage whose author I have never been able to identify. I have often felt that this quotation should be written in invisible ink and be framed also over the desk of a new president. It runs: "Sow the seeds and fear not the birds for the harvest is not yours."

### The Right To Know

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. FRANK CHURCH

OF IDAHO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, June 24, 1959

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "The Right To Know," which appeared in the June 18 issue of the Meridian (Idaho) News-Times.

I believe this editorial is indicative of the growing discontent among the people of this country with the creeping concealment that has come to remove more and more areas of Government business from public view.

The people's right and need to know how their lives are being affected and how their money is being spent must be jealously defended in every era. News-Times has performed a valuable service in contributing to that defense.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### THE RIGHT TO KNOW

That business of Congressmen paying fancy salaries to their relatives—including even teenage sons and daughters—is bad enough.

But even more serious than the misuse of our tax money is the fact that the guilty Congressmen can refuse to let the public know who is on their payroll.

Talk about an incredible situation. Here are men, elected by the people and spending the people's money, who can legally tell the people, "It's none of your business how we run our office."

It's as though the superintendent of a firm refused to tell the firm's owners who was on the payroll, or how much they were

being paid.

Unfortunately, the congressional-payroll scandal is only part of a growing trend—a trend toward depriving the people of freedom of information.

Politicians and bureaucrats-big little—are violating every principle of democracy by setting themselves up as censors of what the people shall be told. Often they hide behind the claim of national security-even when no security is involved.

An example of that was cited by Idaho's Senator Frank Church, who has introduced an amendment to establish a public information policy for the Mutual Security Act.

It was regarding the amount of rent the United States was paying Brazil for use of an island as a guided missile station. There was no secret about the base being therebut the amount of rent was "classified material," not available to the public.

As Senator Church said, "Certainly, the safety of the United States cannot be adversely affected by letting the American public know how much the project is costing them. If the people are being gouged, they have the right to know it."

That situation, like the congressional nepotism scandal, is on a national level but the creeping web of censorship extends also to many State, county, and even municipal levels. So this fight for freedom of information isn't just a campaign of journalists-it concerns every man and woman and child in our Nation.

So far, Idaho has been fortunate-with only a few smalltime bureaucrats attemptto make private secrets out of public

But, if we lose our freedom of information on a national level-and we're losing more of it each day-it won't matter much what happens on our State level.

It will be too late to speak up then. you can speak up now-to your Senators, Representatives-in protest against needless withholding of information from

And we'd better speak up. Freedom of in-formation is so basic a part of democracy that, without it, all our other freedoms will be in dire jeopardy.

#### Poultry Prices and Government Policies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

#### HON. NORRIS COTTON

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, June 24, 1959

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, prices paid to farmers for eggs and poultry have plummeted downward in recent months to levels that can mean real hardship for many farm families, including some in New Hampshire where poultry is a leading source of farm income.

The basic cause of the price decline is overproduction. While the present surpluses are a result of several factors. there are good reasons for believing that the Federal Government itself has busily promoted and even financed some of the production increase that is now dragging the poultry farmer closer and closer to disaster. My colleague from Delaware, Senator John J. Williams, recently detailed the ways in which lowinterest Government loans have been used to expand poultry production. He very properly denounced the "ridiculous situation" of six different Federal agencies loaning money to expand poultry production at a time when overproduction plagues the industry.

Poultrymen have scant chance for success in their efforts to reduce production and bring their markets into reasonable balance as long as the financial power of the Federal Government is arrayed against them. The U.S. Department of Agriculture should put a prompt halt to all loans for poultry production until the supply situation gets back to

The Government must take its share of the blame for the badly scrambled state of the egg business today and must set its own house in order without delay.

Poultrymen have been hard at work on their own answers to their problems. The President of the New Hampshire Poultry Growers' Association, Mr. Robert Horsburgh, of Fremont, N.H., recently testified before a House Agriculture Subcommittee and presented the suggestions adopted at a special meeting of the association.

The association flatly rejected the concept of price supports and marketing quotas which have only made bad situations worse when applied to other farm commodities, and they called for an orderly reduction and elimination of price support programs on feed grains which have only produced higher costs to poultry farmers.

Mr. Horsburgh, in his testimony before the House committee, made one statement which I believe merits the special attention of the Senate and the Nation. He declared, "In my considered opinion the overwhelming majority of our New Hampshire poultrymen value their freedom of action so highly that they are willing to suffer through the present crisis rather than ask for any long-term Federal help with its resulting controls." That is the kind of spirit which will solve the problems of the poultry industry. He went on to emphasize that New Hampshire poultrymen are engaged in a positive program of their own to build better markets for their products.

At the very least the poultry farmers of New Hampshire and the Nation are entitled to the assurance that the Government will not actively pursue policies which will take them straight into trouble. So far, its "helping hand" has done them more harm than good. I believe poultrymen can work out a sound solution to their problems if the Government stops its poaching and removes the roadblocks it has put in the way.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the testimony of Mr. Robert Horsburgh, president of the New Hampshire Poultry Grower's Association before the House Agriculture Subcommittee, as well as an editorial from the Washington Daily News of June 22, en titled "Uncle Sam's Egg Scramble.

There being no objection, the address and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF ROBERT HORSBURGH, PRESIDENT NEW HAMPSHIRE POULTRY GROWERS' ASSO CIATION BEFORE HOUSE AGRICULTURAL POUL TRY SUBCOMMITTEE, JUNE 18, 1959

Mr. Chairman, my name is Robert Hors' burgh, from Fremont, N.H. I am an inde pendent market egg producer and president of the New Hampshire Poultry Growers Association, with a paid membership of 462 A special meeting of our association was called on June 15 for the purpose of polling members on questions facing the industry that their views might be presented to this subcommittee. We feel that you are more interested in the views of the majority of poultrymen in an area than in the personal views of their leaders which may or may not reflect majority opinion. Our membership voted that I should appear at these hearings to insure that this subcommittee was made aware of the following resolutions adopted at the special meeting:

1. Resolved that the New Hampshire Poultry Growers' Association go on record being opposed to any grain company com peting against independent poultry grower by indulging in so-called integration move ments which involve the financing and/or raising of breeders, broilers, replacement birds, and market egg birds in the State of New Hampshire and the United States as a whole

whole.

We feel that the abandonment of this practice will greatly eliminate the drastic overproduction of all poultry products which has caused financial chaos to all poultrymen

2. Resolved that the New Hampshire Poultry Growers' Association strongly use the lowering in an orderly manner and even tual elimination of price supports on basic feed grains.

The New Hampshire Poultry Growers billion in inventories and loans for support programs a national scandal that endangers the basic soundness of our economic system

(3) Resolved that the New Hampshire Poultry Growers' Association oppose direct Federal support of price, and control of production of poultry and eggs, except for energy gency surplus removal and stabilization that avoid any long term storage of poultry of

poultry products.

(4) Resolved that the New Hampsh Poultry Growers' Association urge the Federal Trade Commission and the Justice Description partment to continue to investigate chall, store buying and marketing practices as well as integration. as integration of production to insure there are no monopolistic tendencies or restrains of trade involved. of trade involved.

(5) Resolved that the New Hampshift Poultry Growers' Association oppose marketing quota bills, H.R. 6901; H.R. 1118 H.R. 7149; and the marketing order H.R. 7563; H.R. 7565; H.R. 7573; and H.R. 7557 scheduled for heart 7557 scheduled for hearing before the Hould Agricultural Poultry Subcommittee June and 15, 1059 and 18, 1959.

Perhaps you may justifiably criticize thes resolutions as being negative in character and offering no positive suggestions to the subcommittee for action subcommittee for action. After listening special meeting it is my considered opinion that the overwhelming majority of our New Hampshire poultrymen value their freedom of action so highly the the active debate of our members at of action so highly that they are willing suffer through the present crisis rather that ask for any long-term Federal help with resulting controls. What they are doing in a positive manner is working to help them selves have better representations. selves have better representation in the

tetplace. This effort is presently on a reexpanded in cooperation with other regional Morts to form the basis for a national pro-

We appreciate the opportunity to present truly representative poultrymen's Views from the State of New Hampshire. Thank you.

From the Washington Daily News, June 22, 19591

UNCLE SAM'S EGG SCRAMBLE

Since January 1, the Government has spent 512 million of the taxpayers' money buying th eggs. This is a futile effort to prop the Prices, now the lowest in 18 years because of A big surplus.

One of the reasons for the oversupply is that this same Government, now busily stor-ing eggs, has been equally busy promoting

Six different agencies have been out soliciting farmers to borrow money to build more henhouses and produce more eggs. Parmers Home Administration alone, Senator J. WILLIAMS reports, was responsible for increasing the flocks by a half million

layers in the last 2 years.
"Only last week," the Senator said, "my attention was called to an order from the top office of the Farmers Home Administra-tion to one of their field offices that if that office could not report more loans to farmers they would lose their jobs and their office be

For more than 2 years the Marketing Serv-For more than 2 years the Markening of the agriculture Department has been warning poultrymen they were overproducing—urging them to hold back. But other branches of the Government, some in the tame department, have been stepping up their loans to increase broiler and egg production. The Small Business Administration done has lent nearly \$41/2 million for this. purpose in these same 2 years.

If you think that egg you had for break-fast was scrambled, have a look at what the Government has done to the egg business.

Will Clayton: Statesman of Vision

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON, RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, June 24, 1959

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the American people are indebted to a great many people in our history for contributing to the whole effort which has made this Nation what it is today and raised it to the position of free world leadership it now enjoys.

One of the men who contributed to this stream of leadership and statesmanship was Will Clayton of Texas.
His guidance helped bind the ties of interest more firmly with our European neighbors who are part of the free

Mr. Clayton and other men who have helped make America great are discussed in true. in William E. Bohn's column "The Home Front," in the New Leader magazine.
Mrs. Ellen Clayton Garwood's letter is
quotal in the New Leader magazine. quoted there. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, the article of Mr. Bohn which appeared in the New Leader for June 22, 1959, under the title "Statesmen and Presidents."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the REC-ORD, as follows:

THE HOME FRONT (By William E. Bohn)

STATESMEN AND PRESIDENTS

On April 27 I wrote a column entitled, "Will Clayton and the Marshall Plan," the springboard for which was a short biography of the Texas statesman, written by his daughter, Ellen Clayton Garwood. In my little essay I ventured this remark:

"If at the time the Marshall plan was fashloned we had had in the State Department the sort of pronouncement-making routineers whom we have been watching for some years, Europe would surely have gone

Mrs. Garwood spoke with modesty about her father's talents and achievements. But, like many other Texans, she is interested in government, and my little remark about the sort of men required in Washington caught her eve. I promptly received a letter which

is too good to keep concealed:

"My book is only the first that will eventually be written about Will Clayton and his contribution to creative government policies, and I am grateful that you have recognized that these policies need to be emphanized that these poincies need to be emphasized—that we need more action and fewer 'pronouncements.' Teamwork by 'a set of realistic, energetic men' can accomplish much, of course, but what I hoped to point up in my book (something in which I perhaps failed) was that this teamwork, essential as it is, is not enough. It has to be sparked, triggered by an outstanding dy-namic individual at the helm and such a person can be produced only by a free society-one which, in the tradition of Christ, emphasizes the individual quite as much as the masses.

"Thus the modern trend toward State ownership (which finds its apex in complete State capitalism or communism) must be modified and blended with a return to emphasis on free enterprise (private capitalism) in order that we may come forth with a government philosophy—neither all State capitalism nor all private capitalism-for our new close-together world. This philos-ophy is one which my father preaches and exemplifies: Freedom for the individual, preserved in a gradually developed free trade throughout the world-a start having been made in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which he fatheredand help for the masses, carried out by State subsidies to tide over industries and labor that must reconvert, by State loans or grants from developed to underdeveloped nations.

"Some of these ideas were put into motion when my father was in the government. But to put them into motion there was the need of a strong and compassionate individual to do the pushing, much as a symphony orchestra, in order to do justice to a great composition, must be led and pushed by a Toscanini or a Charles Munch. fear sometimes for our seeming inability to come up with strong, middle-of-the-road leaders; we have anemic middle-of-theroaders and strong rightists and leftists, but what we need-I think you will agree-is an inspiring statesman of integrity who can blend creatively the best of both. I wanted my study of my father's life to show that this was and is possible."

I am presenting this letter in the hope that it will add something useful to the present great discussion of the Office of the Presidency. During the past two national

campaigns, we have had the most inadequate examinations of candidates and programs anyone could imagine. The Republican campaign managers have been largely re-sponsible for this, for they have replaced sponsible for this, for they have replaced political argument with Madison Avenue publicity techniques. A really good man, Adlai Stevenson, was buried under mountains of slick printed and televised stuff, and as a result we have had two terms with a President who has obviously and openly enjoyed his great office as a nice, easy job on which to float into history.

I can remember the regimes of great Presidents—Grover Cleveland, Theo-dore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, and Franklin D. Roosevelt. They were all men who stood up like mountains. They thought their own thoughts. Each of them stood up for what he believed and, Congress or no Congress, put through a good part of his program. What this country is now is due largely to these four men.

In her short letter, Mrs. Garwood said enough to indicate that we are passing through a time which requires both courage and wisdom. No one can tell what our Government will be like 10 years from now. What sort of combination of the suggested principles in our society will give us the best life and how can we attain it? Where do we want to go and how can we get there?

The one sure thing is that we cannot stay where we are. Somehow, during the next few months, our two parties must select candidates which can be depended upon to do something toward leading us in the right direction—something comparable to what was done by the men whose achievements have marked the political chapters of my life. This time let us pick a fifth man as great as the other four.

Authority of Office of Civilian and Defense Mobilization in Disposition of Stockpile Minerals

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. FRANK CHURCH

OF IDAHO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, June 24, 1959

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, I received this week a letter from the Idaho Mining Association, by A. J. Teske, assistant secretary, detailing the concern of the mining industry in my State about reported plans of the Office of Civilian and Defense Mobilization to seek legislation to broaden its authority to dispose of stockpile minerals.

This letter graphically depicts the state of mind of minerals producers in this country about the off-again, onagain, topsy-turvy policy of this administration in its dealings with the hardpressed domestic minerals industry.

I have assured Mr. Teske that not only is there no plan among western Senators to give OCDM broader authority to dispose of stockpiled minerals, but on the contrary, every effort is being made in the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs to see that existing authority will not be used to depress the domestic industry, already reeling from so many blows.

I joined in a resolution to prevent this action as to copper, and I am a cosponsor of a bill which would require review by the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of any OCDM decision to dispose of stockpiled minerals, before it could become effective.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Teske's letter be printed in the Appendix

of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JUNE 15, 1959.

Hon. FRANK CHURCH, U.S. Senator, Senate Office Building,

Washington, D.C.
DEAR SENATOR: The May 28 issue of Engineering and Mining Journal's weekly Metal and Mineral Markets carried an item of extremely ominous tone to domestic mining interests.

The article, originated by the McGraw-Hill Washington News Bureau, read, in part, as follows:

"The Office of Civilian and Defense Mobilization (OCDM) is readying a piece of legislation-the proposed new Federal stockpiling law-which would relax present restrictions on Washington's authority to dis-

pose of excess stockpile items.
"The bill would set up a single national materials reserve inventory, including all material now in several stockpile cate-

gories:

"First, the supplemental stockpile of foreign metal and mineral commodities received in barter exchange for surplus U.S. crops; second, in the Defense Production Act inventory of domestic metals and minerals acquired under incentive purchase support programs; third, the Government's tin stockpile; and fourth, Interior Department's inventory of domestic metals bought to support market prices.

"The new materials reserve inventory would take from the national stockpile, commodities that are now in excess of three goals. Now, commodities in the national stockpile cannot be disposed of without ex-

press congressional approval."

The article goes on to say that under the new proposal the OCDM could dispose of any or all of the materials reserve inventory without the consent of Congress, although it would be required to give Congress 90 days' notice of proposed sales. In addition OCDM would have broader discretionary authority in deciding what materials in the national stockpile are "excess" or "obsolescent", and thus transferable to the reserve inven-

In effect, the proposed legislation would suspend over world metal markets like a sword of Damocles an estimated \$4 billion worth of surplus. A more effective depressant on metal prices would be difficult to conceive.

Since the proposal has already been approved by the Bureau of the Budget and appears to represent the weight of opinion within the administration, the McGraw-Hill bureau saw fit to report that congressional observers are betting that some eventual disposal is in the cards.

It is the considered opinion of this association that it is completely unreasonable to entrust sole responsibility for administration of such a program to a group of bureaucrats who have demonstrated so little foresight and ability in permitting these vast surpluses to accumulate.

Much of the excess material was acquired against the better judgment of the mining industry, as in the case of the President's accelerated stockpiling program from 1954 to 1957. To use such materials now to prolong the mineral market depression would be add-

ing injury to the original insult of ignoring the advice of mining men.

Furthermore, the proposed disposal program is extremely discriminatory. A substantial amount of these surplus metals were obtained through barter exchange for sur-plus farm crops. Thus, the weight of a burden on the agricultural segment of the economy was removed at the cost of increasing the burden on the mineral producing segment. And all the while, that part of the mining industry which has managed to continue operating without subsidy is forced to continue to contribute through taxes to the grandiose farm subsidy program.

The fact that the advocates of minerals disposal have pledged to administer the new program in an orderly manner so as not to adversely affect normal markets is hardly reassuring in view of the bureaucrat's numerous sanctimonious promises, when each new stockpiling program was proposed, that the metals acquired would be held intact so as not to constitute a market threat to do-mestic producers. The new proposal represents an unconscionable breach of all these previous pledges and could hardly be expected to breed any confidence in new promises.

The executive committee of the Idaho Mining Association earnestly urges that you use every means at your disposal to oppose this latest threat to the welfare of the do-mestic mining industry. Not only would the proposed legislation exert a profound influence on metal prices for many years to come; it would also place domestic mineral producers completely at the mercy of a handful of Government bureaucrats and planners whose past ineptitude requires that even now the U.S. Government must continue to buy and add to its stockpiles foreign metalsat prices substantially above what domestic producers are able to get. A case in point is the shutdown early this month of the Nation's only cobalt mine in Lemhi County, Idaho, while the Government continues to purchase foreign production.

The thinking of the Idaho Mining Association on this matter of stockpiles conforms more closely with that embodied in S. 2048 and H.R. 7121. These bills would preserve the traditional legislative control over Executive actions by barring Government sales of metals and minerals acquired under the Defense Production Act unless the proposed dispositions are approved in advance by both the Senate and House Interior Committees. It is reported, however, that these bills apply only to acquisitions under the Defense Production This association would favor extension of this coverage to barter and market support stockpiles as well.

Yours very truly,

IDAHO MINING ASSOCIATION, A. J. TESKE,

Assistant Secretary.

Foreign Imports Are Forcing American Business To Move Abroad, With a Consequent Loss of American Jobs

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

#### HON. SAMUEL S. STRATTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 24, 1959

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, one of the serious consequences of the increasing competition we face from foreign imports, a competition which undermines business activity and jobs in this coun-

try, is that American firms, in order better to compete with this competition, begin to move abroad themselves. know that this has already happened in other industries. When it does happen, then the businesses themselves may survive, but the jobs of American citizens connected with them are lost. Certainly we must do everything we can as legislators to prevent this unfortunate develop-

Some indication of the extent of this threat as it relates to the carpet industry can be gained by reading an editorial which appeared in the June 5 edition of the Amsterdam Evening Recorder.

Incidentally, I have been advised that 2 million yards of wilton carpet imported from Japan represents some 60 percent of the wilton production of Mohasco Industries Co., of Amsterdam, N.Y., one of the great carpet manufacturing plants in this country. It is time that we recognized this threat to our own economy

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the text of this editorial, together with a reprint of a news article from the Journal of Commerce which also appeared on June 2, 1959:

[From the Amsterdam (N.Y.) Evening Recorder, June 5, 1959

MADE IN JAPAN

Announcement of the largest carpet contract ever negotiated between the United States and Japan is creating quite a stir in textile circles, and well it might. One does not need to be in the industry to appreciate where this could lead.

The agreement between the Philadelphis Carpet Co. and one of Japan's largest trading corporations will involve production of about

2 million yards of witton carpet annually.

Present plans call for weaving, spinning and dyeing operations to be handled by Japa. Technicians and designers from nese mills. the United States will supervise production

A spokesman from the Philadelphia firm Herbert E. Doerr, Jr., says the new Japanes subsidiary will in no way affect operations at the Philadelphia mills. Perhaps not, but it will certainly affect those who are de-pendent upon the domestic textile industri for their livelihood. There is just so much carpet purchased in the United States each year, and every yard made abroad is the much less that has to be manufactured here.

Saying that the highest quality control standards will be maintained, Doerr indicate that the foreign-made carpets will retail of an average of from \$7.95 to \$9.95 per yard This is considerably less than the price of

wilton carpet produced in the United States.

No one who lives in Amsterdam should have to be told what an influx of Japanes carpeting could do to the carpeting could do to the carpeting could do to the carpeting could do carpeting could do to an industry alread suffering from the steady lowering of textile tariffs during the past quarter of a century This could very well prove to be the stra that breaks the camel's back.

At the same time, textile manufactured can hardly be blamed for trying to operate a profit. Patriotism is a fine thing, but does not balance the books at the end of fiscal period. If American firms are beliff forced to move operations abroad in order to stay in business it is time we all to a closer look at what is going on.

Since the end of World War II the United States has spent billions of dollars to support industry in foreign nations. We, as taxparers, pay our full share for this support program. In return, we are permitting the refinations we help to rule downstia marks. nations we help to ruin domestic market for our own industries. It does not make much sense.

The time to alleviate this threat is long overdue. We are not going to maintain leadership in the world market by creating a ridiculous situation whereby foreign companies, supported in part by our taxes, are literally threatening our own industry.

What is happening in Philadelphia today could happen in Amsterdam tomorrow unless corrective action is taken now. The warning is too obvious to be ignored.

| Prom the Journal of Commerce, June 2,

U.S. CARPETING MILL FORMS JAPANESE IMPORT SUBSIDIARY

Philadelphia.—A new importing firm to fell Japanese carpeting in this country has been set up, it was announced here by Herbert E. Doerr, Jr., president of Horizon Carpets, Inc. Horizon Carpets is the new subsidiary for the Philadelphia Carpet Co., established in 1846, of which Mr. Doerr is vice president in charge of sales.

This is the largest agreement ever arranged between Japanese carpetmakers and a U.S. company and establishes Horizon as the world's largest importer of carpets from the Far East. Mr. Doerr said. The new firm will act as selling agent in this country for Mitsul Co., Ltd., of Osaka, Japan, one of the world's largest trading corporations which represents virtually every Japanese carpet mill, he added.

The agreement calls for about 70 percent of the entire Japanese carpet output, an estimated 2 million square yards annually, to be sold in this country by the new firm.

#### PREVIOUS IMPORTS CITED

The significance of the agreement stands out when the volume of carpet imports is considered. A total of 548,000 square yards of machinemade carpets was imported from Japan in 1958.

In the first quarter of 1959 the imports from Japan of such carpets more than doubled compared to the same period in 1958, reaching 223,000 square yards, the American Carpet Institute reports. Hooked rugs and braided rugs from Japan, however, are not included in these figures.

First shipments of Japanese carpets are expected to be received at Horizon Carpets warehouses in New York and Los Angeles sometime in July.

#### TYPES DESCRIBED

Four different lines of fabrics are expected to be available initially, with an additional four scheduled for late fall delivery. All the Japanese fabrics will be 100 percent wool Jacquard Wiltons. They are expected to retail in this country between \$7.95 and \$9.95 a square yard.

a square yard.

"Japanese mills do produce less expensive carpets," Mr. Doerr said, "but we will import only the better quality goods."

The new importing firm has already assigned experienced American technicians to Japanese mills. These experts in weaving, spinning, and dyeing techniques will work directly with Japanese manufacturers.

Top officers of Horizon Carpets include H. E. Doerr, Sr., vice president, John P. Doerr, treasurer, and Thomas M. Hyndman, secretary.

## Is the USDA Antifarmer?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 24, 1959

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I have had occasion from time to time to

draw the attention of my colleagues to the antifarmer attitude of the press in general.

It is therefore with pleasure that I wish to point out that in some publications there are indications of a growing understanding of the unfortunate and unfair administration of farm programs by the present Secretary of Agriculture. An editorial in a recent issue of the magazine County Agent Vo-Ag Teacher raises some extremely pertinent questions on this subject. I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the Record in order that all Members of Congress will have an opportunity to consider the import of the question raised.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the County Agent Vo-Ag Teacher]
IS THE USDA ANTI-FARMER?

Is the Department of Agriculture antifarmer? If it is not—it certainly acts like it is.

The U.S. Department of Agriculture is one of several agencies in the Government charged with running programs concerning special factors of the economy. For example, the Labor Department has the interests of the city worker at heart (and favors the minimum wage), the Veterans' Administration looks after the veterans (and refrains from advocating big cuts in benefits), and the Commerce Department is on the side of business and industry (and has never advocated an end to shipping subsidies or oil-depletion allowances). The State Department, for its part, fights for foreign aid as though its top officials were running for election in foreign countries.

All the programs run by these agencies contribute something to the national well-being. The majority of lawmakers over the years, Republican and Democrat, favored these programs or they wouldn't now be in existence. They were developed through give-and-take between Government officials and Congress. Significantly, none of these agencies is demanding major legislative changes which reduce benefits for people they represent—either long-range or short-

The U.S. Department of Agriculture, on the other hand, has a 6-year record of advocating legislative changes intended to withdraw benefits from the industry for whom it acts as spokesman. Is agriculture less important to the national well-being than, say, foreign aid, which costs about \$3 billion of direct benefits; or veterans' benefits, which cost about \$5 billion a year? Certainly the current farm program is not working, but does that mean that there is no need for a farm program? Is it possible that at least some of the blame for the failure rests with the U.S. Department of Agriculture bureaucrats?

Perhaps the biggest disservice the U.S. Department of Agriculture has performed for farmers is the damaging publicity which it not only condones, but actually puts out in the form of public speeches. No other similar agency puts out so much propaganda about the economic sector it's supposed to represent.

No other agency has done so much in its sphere of influence to damage the economic status of the sector it serves without providing compensating influences. Most recent examples are the reduction in feed grain and ollseed price supports and the revision in the parity index. Reliable estimates indicate these two moves alone will cost farmers at least three-quarters of a billion in income this year if market prices follow supports

down as the U.S. Department of Agriculture fully expects them to.

A further major disservice performed by the U.S. Department of Agriculture is its part in erecting an insurmountable wall of animosity between itself and the Congress. This, more than any other single factor, is what's preventing enactment of sorely needed farm program reforms. The U.S. Department of Agriculture brass takes the easy way out, and blames Congress—while the surplus problem gets worse. Why is it that most law-makers, both Republican and Democrat, just don't believe that U.S. Department of Agriculture spokesmen are out for the best interests of agriculture? Is it all politics?

Are the best interests of agriculture and the Nation furthered by stubborn insistence on a favored idea, or by honest effort at compromising differences—as most other Government agencies do all the time in their negotiations with Congress? Congress shows no intention of giving the U.S. Department of Agriculture what its leaders say it needs. Perhaps all problems would be solved if Congress were abolished.

Whether the U.S. Department of Agriculture is sympathetic to agriculture depends solely on the policy decisions of a handful of political appointees at the top—and not on the 98,000 able workers who daily do their level best to serve agriculture.

These employees, along with farmers everywhere, may well ask: If the U.S. Department of Agriculture is not antifarmer, why is it doing everything in its power to run the farmer down?

Are the Doctors Withholding a Cure for Cancer?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 24, 1959

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, perhaps because of my own recent illness and because I have taken an active role in medical-research legislation. I receive quite a few letters from many parts of the Nation alleging that doctors have deliberately withheld a possible cure for cancer.

I never have believed such charges. I think they are without substantiation in fact. To begin with, doctors themselves are human beings. They and their loved ones are subject to all human ills, and among these ills is cancer. Doctors and doctors' loved ones have succumbed to its ravages. If doctors have never withheld from distribution potential cures for infantile paralysis or scarlet fever or diphiteria, why should they do so with the more serious disease known as cancer? No genuine proof sustains so grave a claim against our physicians.

While I think the medical profession can be criticized legitimately in some spheres, I regard as without merit or proof the charge that doctors have suppressed a cure for cancer. What possible reason could motivate so sinister an act?

This same view has been expressed effectively in an editorial entitled "Are the Doctors Withholding a Cure for Cancer?" which was written by the nationally known author, Harry Golden,

from the June issue of the Carolina Israelite, published by Mr. Golden at Charlotte, N.C.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Harry Golden's editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows;

ARE THE DOCTORS WITHHOLDING A CURE FOR CANCER?

Wherever I go around the country I find someone, perfectly sincere, who believes that there is a positive cure for cancer but that "the doctors refuse to let the people in on it."

I also receive manuscripts of articles in which the writers tell of these mysterious cures for cancer and arthritis, and the essays go into the details explaining why the medical authorities find it to their interest not to reveal this information to the public. It should also be stated that in Chicago there is a highly respected and competent pathologist who has accused the medical profession of refusing to put his positive cancer cure to the test it deserves. My logic tells me that there is one major flaw in all of these charges of withholding cures, and this major flaw is that the accusers refuse to think of doctors and even of medical bureaucrats as people, and they are people you know. I am sure that there are doctors who have crippling arthritis, and I am equally certain that there are wives and mothers and children of doctors who have cancer, and that a doctor here and there has had to stand aside helplessly and watch a loved one suffer the terrible agony of the last stages of cancer. So, why would he withhold anything that would bring comfort and prolong the lives of their own fiesh and blood? Nonsense. I do not believe any of this, and I return the essays with this argument and up to now no one has come back with an adequate rebuttal.

The medical profession over the years has been stubborn on many things, and the American Medical Association drove me to drink when it threw its weight around against the reelection of Senator Frank P. Graham, of North Carolina; but as far as withholding cure is concerned, I do not believe a word of it. There are too many in on it, and too many doctors are strong individualists. In fact there were quite a few doctors right here in North Carolina who even supported Frank Graham with all their hearts and all their energies.

#### The Boundary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. GEORGE D. AIKEN

OF VERMONT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 24, 1959

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, I have received a very fine poem or song entitled "The Boundary," from Mary Nims Bolles, of Bellows Falls, Vt.

In view of the ever increasingly close relationship between the United States and Canada, Mr. President, these verses are very timely, indeed; and I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the poem was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE BOUNDARY

Where the hearts of men are fervent
And the souls of men are free
There's a bound'ry line that stretches
West and East from sea to sea;
And it's not patrolled by soldiers,
Uniformed and brave and rash,
Through the balsam-scented forest
It is just a woodsman's slash.

Canada and U.S.A.
Where no taunting bugles play
When dawn lifts from the Atlantic
Over Fundy's roaring bay.

No trench mars the golden acres
Of the windswept fields of grain,
Nor do battlements and watch towers
An uneasy peace maintain.
On five inland seas the commerce
Of two nations safely rides,
For no demon of destruction

Canada and U.S.A.
Where no taunting bugles play
When the sun goes down in splendor
Where Vancouver guards the bay.

Ever lurked beneath their tides.

North and South across the border Traffic burdened highways lead, And the nations meet and mingle Knowing neither race nor creed, North the Union Jack is waving Emblem of a nation's pride And the Stars and Stripes as proudly Float upon the southern side.

Canada and U.S.A.
Where no taunting bugles play.
Can't you see those flags awaying
East and West from bay to bay?

There's a boundary line untroubled By distrust and discontent, And it reaches West and Eastward Clear across a continent. Stronger than a might of legions That for conquest seek release, Is our ancient pledge unshaken,

And the po. ple's will for peace.

Canada and U.S.A.
Where no taunting bugles play
And three thousand miles unguarded
Faith in God and man display.
—Mary Nims Bolles,
Bellows Falls, Vt.

The People Have Their Say: What First District People Think on Key Issues Before Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. ALBERT H. QUIE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, this year—for the second year in succession—I mailed out many thousands of public opinion questionnaires to as many first district residents as I could reach.

I am a strong advocate of public opinion questionnaires, because I believe that a questionnaire helps both the people back home and the person they have elected to represent them.

It enables the people to easily inform their Congressman of their thinking on important questions confronting Congress, and it enables the elected representative to receive the views from as many people as possible on these issues.

This is not to say, Mr. Speaker, that the sole duty of a Congressman is to discover which way the winds blow and vote accordingly. But each Member of Congress has a vitally important obligation to inform himself of the views of the people who he is striving to represent.

Exactly 96,531 questionnaires were mailed from my Washington office to people in the First Congressional District of Minnesota. The number of questionnaires returned to me represents 12 percent of the total.

The questionnaire of 1959 asked seven major questions on the central issues befor the Congress and on key aspects of U.S. policy.

Before I review the results of the questionnaire, I would like to point out that many people in the first district worked with me to make this questionnaire possible. They were volunteers—people who donated their time and energies to the the task of addressing envelopes for the questionnaires. Their task was truly an enormous one and without their help I could not have succeeded with this project.

The tabulation of the questionnaires shows an interesting expression of opinion. I do not say that this poll is an index to the thinking of all the people of the first district—but I believe it can be said that the poll provides some expression of the thinking of many people in southeastern Minnesota.

The largest single expression of views came on the very first question, which dealt with the balanced budget. This heavy concentration of opinion cannot be dismissed or ignored. It is most significant.

In answer to the question: "Should Federal spending be kept within the President's budget of \$77 billion" 95 percent of those who returned the questionnaire answered yes. Only five percent voted no.

The second largest bloc of opinion came on a question on labor reform. First district people were asked if Congress should enact labor reform legislation which would (a) regulate the administration of union dues, and (b) further restrict secondary boycotts and blackmall picketing.

Ninety-one percent of those answering the question responded "yes" to section (b).

Eighty-nine percent supported section

Looking at the results of this tabulation, it is possible to draw a composite picture of the thinking of a majority of the people who answered the questionnaire.

A clear-cut majority of those who returned the questionnaire thoroughly endorse the President's balanced budget. They feel that if Congress adopts programs over and above the budget, is should raise taxes.

They do not support Federal aid to help pay a portion of teachers' salaries. They heavily back up the idea of labor

reform. They reject a broadened social Security plan to include medical services (to be financed by an increased tax on employee and employer.)

On the subject of foreign policy-with respect to the cold war and the world Communist conspiracy—a majority beleves that our affairs are being conducted "about right." But a great many believe that our policy should be even more firm. Only a handful of those responding to the question feel that our policy has been too firm so far as Soviet Russia is concerned.

With this summary, I now present the complete results:

Questionnaire

	Percent	
	Yes	No
1. Should Federal spending be kept within the President's budget of \$77,000,000,000?  Lucrose adopts programs which will increase the cost of Government above the President's budget at the cost of Government above the President's budget.	95	5
budget, should these programs be paid by:  (a) Increasing taxes?  2. Do you favor increasing Federal gasoline taxes from 3 cents to 4½ cents per gallon to maintain a payasset of the state	82 11	18 89
Be-you-go basis in Federal gasoline taxes from 3 cents to 452 cents per ganon to manusar a pay     Bo you favor a new Federal-aid program to help pay a portion of teachers' salaries'.      Should Congress enact labor reform legislation which will:	64 21	36 79
(a) Regulate the administration of union dues?  (b) Further restrict secondary boycotts and blackmall picketing?  (c) You favor the general idea of broadening social security benefits to include medical services, to be 6.	91 89	9
7. What do you think of our foreign policy with respect to the cold war and the world Communist tongiracy?	26	74
(a) About right? 54 (b) Not firm enough? 41 (c) Too firm? 3		

#### Bela Kovacs of Hungary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 24, 1959 Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ORD. I include the following recent obituaries from the Washington Post and Evening Star of June 23, 1959, respectively. Bela Kovacs was a long-time enemy of the Communists and it is hoped that some day the free world will learn the reasons behind his apparent last minute reconciliation with the Communist regime.

[From the Washington Post, June 23, 1959] BELA KOVACS OF HUNGARY

VIENNA, June 22.—Bela Kovacs, 65, who fought communism and lost as leader of Hungary's Smallholders Party; died in a hos-Jital in south Hungary today after a long illness, Radio Budapest said.

He had been in a hospital for the last 6 months.

After World War II Kovacs headed Hungary's biggest party, the Smallholders, and also was Minister of Agriculture. He was arrested arrested by the Russians in 1948 when they took over Hungary and only released in 1953 after Stalin's death.

Royacs returned to Hungary from Siberia

Kovacs returned to Hungary
as a sick and broken man.
During the 1956 revolution Premier Imre
Nagy made him Minister of Agriculture
again. After the crushing of the uprising
Kovacs was under house arrest for a time.
In October 1958, he was surprisingly made
a member of Hungary's Communist Parlia-

Several months later Kovacs broke 2 years of Political silence and publicly praised the Communist regime.

[From the Evening Star, June 23, 1959] BELA KOVACS, FOE OF REDS

VIENNA, JUNE 23.—Bela Kovacs, 55, a militant anti-Communist when he headed Hungary's Smallholders Party just after World

War II, has died in political obscurity. Budapest radio reported Mr. Kovacs died Sunday at a hospital in Pecs, in his home district in southwest Hungary. He had been reported seriously ill last week.

Mr. Kovacs fought in the anti-Nazi underground, then opposed the Communists as head of the Smallholders, a once-powerful party of peasants and businessmen.

The Communists destroyed the party after taking over Hungary in the late 1940's and exiled Mr. Kovacs to Siberia. He returned in 1953, his health broken.

Mr. Kovacs was named agriculture minister in the short-lived Imre Nagy cabinet during the anti-Russian revolt. Some said he was appointed without his own consent.

Last fall his name appeared on the Communists' single-party election list for Par-liament. Early this year, he issued a state-ment supporting the Communist govern-ment, apparently under pressure from the

#### For Admiral Byrd: A Memorial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. J. CARLTON LOSER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 24, 1959

Mr. LOSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I am including an excellent editorial which appeared in the Nashville Banner, Nashville, Tenn., on Friday, June 12,

All of us owe the late Rear Admiral Byrd a debt of gratitude for the many accomplishments he made during his period of service for his country. It would be fitting to erect a memorial in the memory of such an illustrious son. The editorial endorsing such a proposal will be of interest to each Member of Congress and it follows:

FOR ADMIRAL BYED: A MEMORIAL

Senator WILLIS ROBERTSON of Virginia has made the appropriate suggestion that a memorial be erected-on Memorial Avenue, in Arlington County—to the late Rear Adm. Richard E. Byrd. And Congress should act swiftly on the authorizing legislation he has introduced.

Admiral Byrd, scientist, intrepid explorer, public servant, belongs in the Hall of Fame public servant, belongs in the Hall of Fame—and unquestionably will be nominated for that when, as the rules prescribe, a quarter century has elapsed after his death.

The memorial proposed would be eminently in order, recognizing the stature and achievement of one who spent his life in

the service of his country.

There would be no public expense involved. for the National Geographical Society, under whose auspices Admiral Byrd did much of his exploration, will pay for the monument. The site would be picked by the Secretary of the Interior, and would be on public land.

He lifted the curtain on the present stage of scientific progress. Truly he linked the poles—the first man ever to fly over both, the North and the South, bringing factual data within the scope of textbooks study, and keeping America in the vanguard of both science and territorial gains in a quarter vital to future need. His work, including five expeditions to the Antarctic, was the forerunner of missions accomplished in the International Geophysical Year. At the time of his death 2 years ago he had been picked to direct the American phase of that designated as "Operation Deepfreeze."

History will record this career of distinguished labor—dedicated to the welfare and security of his country; but public interest of a grateful nation seconds the Robertson proposal. The Byrd Memorial belongs.

Amsterdam, N.Y., Helps Itself in Fighting Unemployment and Attracting New Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. SAMUEL S. STRATTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 24, 1959

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, one of the serious economic problems which has confronted my district has been unemployment. To deal with this problem I have, as Members are aware, introduced several pieces of legislation designed to improve the opportunities of these hardhit communities in helping themselves to get back on their feet economically. I still feel strongly that legislation of this type should be enacted without further delay.

Nevertheless, Mr. Speaker, even the best legislation can not be effective unless the individual communities are also prepared to work to improve their own conditions and unless they have set up appropriate machinery to attract new industry. In this connection, the experience of the city of Amsterdam, N.Y., which is in my congressional district, and which has been particularly hardhit by unemployment, should be of great interest to all of us. Amsterdam has established a remarkable record in helping itself get out of this economic pinch and in bringing in new business. Something of the effect which this program has had in Amsterdam can be gained from an editorial which appeared on

June 22 in the Amsterdam Evening Recorder, and under leave to extend my remarks I include the text of the editorial:

THE DIRECT APPROACH

While in certain circles it might be considered bad manners to blow your own horn, it certainly is one way to make sure others know what type of music you can play.

A good example is the extensive direct mail campaign being carried out by the local chamber of commerce. It has been successful in providing the initial contact for several of Amsterdam's new industries.

The progress made in filling the industrial space left vacant by the departure of Bigelow-Sanford was outlined at a recent meeting of the chamber. Louis Shapel, Grossman representative, stated that close cooperation and coordination of activities were largely responsible for the success already achieved.

Because of these coordinated efforts, 15 new industries are presently located in the former Bigelow-Sanford property. While many of them are not too large, combined they employ 727 people. The average annual total payroll of these workers amounts to well over \$2 million, filling an important ecomplexity.

nomic gap in the community.

Amsterdam has a lot to offer industry. But outsiders have no way of knowing this unless we tell them about it. Because the Amsterdam Chamber of Commerce has gone all out to advertise what we have in the way of industrial inducements, our community is the better for it. We hope the letterwriting campaign will continue to be as successful in the future as it has been in the past.

## Resolutions Adopted by the Pennsylvania Federation of Democratic Women, Inc.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 24, 1959

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I again have the privilege to include four resolutions adopted by the Pennsylvania Federation of Democratic Women, Inc., at its recent convention in Reading, Pa.:

Whereas we are proud that the Democratic leadership in the U.S. Congress has stepped so vigorously into the vacuum created by the fallure of the President to exert national leadership both in foreign and domestic affairs: and

Whereas we are proud that the Democratic Members in Congress from Pennsylvania have represented our State with so much ability, integrity, and devotion: Now, there-

Resolved, That we, the delegates to the 32d Annual Convention of the Pennsylvania Federation of Democratic Women, meeting in Reading, Pa., this 10th day of June 1959, do hereby commend the Speaker of the House, the Honorable Sam Rayburn, and the majority leader of the Senate, Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, as well as each and every member of the Pennsylvania delegation to Congress, and express our heartfelt appreciation to them for the outstanding work they are doing for our country; and be it further

Resolved. That a copy of this resolution be spread upon the minutes of this meeting and forwarded to Speaker Rayauan, Senator Johnson, and each Democratic Member of Congress from Pennsylvania. Whereas we have repeatedly called upon the Democratic Members of Congress from Pennsylvania to support and advocate the equal rights amendment to the Constitution of the United States and to resist any attempts to weaken or change the amendment as it has been introduced; and

Whereas the amendment is now before Congress again for consideration: Now,

therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the delegates to the 32d Annual Convention of the Pennsylvania Federation of Democratic Women, meeting in Reading, Pa., this 10th day of June 1959, do hereby call upon the Pennsylvania Members of the Congress of the United States to advocate and support the equal rights amendment without any changes therein; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be spread upon the minutes of this meeting and forwarded to the Members of Congress from Pennsylvania.

Whereas unemployment continues to be an acute problem, particularly in Pennsylvania, where we have the largest number of so-called distressed areas in the country; and

Whereas the Congress of the United States has before it legislation to authorize Federal loans and other alds to industry and local governments in such distressed area: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved. That we, the delegates to the 32d Annual Convention of the Pennsylvania Federation of Democratic Women, meeting in Reading. Pa., this 10th day of June 1959, do hereby call upon the Pennsylvania Members of Congress to advocate and support Federal aid for distressed areas as a means for relieving unemployment therein; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be spread upon the minutes of this meeting and forwarded to the Pennsylvania Members of Congress.

Whereas the increasing number of children entering our public schools has created tremendous problems in providing adequate buildings, teachers, and textbooks; and

Whereas no State in the country, including Pennsylvania, can adequately meet its own demands for educational systems: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the delegates to the 32d Annual Convention of the Pennsylvania Federation of Democratic Women, meeting in Reading, Pa., this 10th day of June 1959, do hereby call upon the Pennsylvania Members of Congress to advocate and support Federal aid to education legislation so as to guarantee for each child in America an up-to-date modern educational system; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be spread upon the minutes of this meeting and forwarded to the Pennsylvania Members of Congress.

American Export Lines Cited for Excellence in Maintenance of Sanitation by the U.S. Public Health Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HERBERT ZELENKO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 24, 1959

Mr. ZELENKO. Mr. Speaker, excellence in the maintenance of sanitation is worthy of widespread approval and is particularly noteworthy when it affects

the transportation facilities which are in constant use by the general public. Such a development has recently occurred in the citation by the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service to the American Export Lines, of New York City, for the fourth consecutive year.

The award is based upon the inspection during the last calendar year of each of the 28 vessels operated by the American Export Lines which earned a rating of 95 or better on the official Health Service inspection including no less than 166 separate items of sanitary construction and maintenance. Most significant is the fact that similar citations to American Export Lines were awarded in 1956, 1957, and 1958.

The presentation of the citation was made by Mark D. Hollis, Assistant Surgeon General, to L. S. Andrews, vice president in charge of operations, during ceremonies on one of the company's vessels in Hoboken, N.J. Joseph B. O'Connor, regional director of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, gave formal approval to the award.

Mr. Frazer Bailey, one of the best known and mostly highly respected executives of the maritime industry, is managing director of Export.

Included in the fleet of this company are two 1,000-ton passenger carriers, the SS Independence and the SS Constitution.

Ships of American Export Lines call at ports on the U.S. North Atlantic coast, the Mediterranean, Black Sea, Red Sea, north Africa, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, and Burma.

Judge Prescribes Haircuts for Delinquents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, the relationship of haircuts to juvenile delinquency has perhaps not been adequately explored. Somewhere in the myriad investigations of delinquency and its cause perhaps a relationship of this sort has been noted. At any rate the following editorial from the June 22 issue of the Indianapolis Star points to an new approach for those who believe a return to the razor strop would lessen the delinquency problem:

SHEAR TRUTH

A judge in Pennsylvania says that almost every boy who has come before him in the last year for a serious crime has needed, decent haircut. The judge tells them the first step on the road to reform must be into a barbershop.

This is sound advice, although it may sound superficial. A trim haircut does not make the man. Many famous men, to whom the world owes thanks, wore locks flowing to their shoulders, or wigs, or powdered and beribboned their manes. They were doing what everyone else did.

However, like the lads of today with unshorn hair, they were different from the rest of humanity. They were more learned, wise, braver or had more integrity. What the Judge is telling the boys is: If you are going to be different, be good and different.

#### Military Justice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. ALFRED E. SANTANGELO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 24, 1959

Mr. SANTANGELO. Mr. Speaker, a great deal of confusion exists in connection with my amendment to bar defense contractors from receiving funds under the defense appropriation bill if defense contractors hire retired military or naval personnel above the rank of colonel who have been connected with the service within the last 5 years.

Several people believe that present law adequately provides against undue influence. Others claim military regulations cover the situation and no legislation is necessary. The fact belie the assertions. It is apparent that while there are statutes seemingly affecting the situation of undue influence on former subordinates and friends by retired officers, the enforcement of the statutes are ineffective and are being used in insignificant areas. Just laws and just regulations apply to the powerful and weak alike. It is no answer to enforce them againsts the lowly and the insignificant while doing nothing with respect to the mighty. I quote the applicable statutes.

Pirst, 10 U.S.C. 6112(b) (1956):

If a retired officer of the Regular Navy or the Regular Marine Corps is engaged for himself or others in selling, or contracting or product of the selling or contracting or war or negotiating to sell, naval supplies or war materials to the Department of the Navy, he is not entitled to any payment from the United States while he is so engaged.

Second, 67 Stat. 437, 5 U.S.C. (Supp. IV) 59c (1953):

No payment shall be made from appropriations in any act to any officer on the re-May, Regular Marine Corps, Regular Air Geodatt Geodetic Survey, and Public Health Service for a period of 2 years after retirement who selling or for others is engaged in the selling of or contracting for the sale of or negotiating for the sale of two any agency of the long the coast of the Department of Defense, the Coast the Department of Defense, the Coast dard, the Coast and Geodetic Survey, and the Public Health Service any supplies or war mat-

The distinction between these two statutes should be carefully noted. The first part of the carefully noted offifirst act applies (a) only to retired officers of the Regular Navy and Regular Marine Corps, (b) as long as they hold their their retired status, (c) who, for themselves or others, sell, contract or negotiate for the sale of naval supplies or war materials to the Navy Department. The second statute applies (a) to retired regular officers of all Armed Forces—and other listed Government departments— (b) only for a period of 2 years after retirement, (c) who, for themselves or other others, sell, contract or negotiate for

the sale of any supplies or war materiels to the specified Government departments-including the Department of Defense. Neither statute applies to reserve officers; and it appears that neither statute applies to retired permanent enlisted personnel, advanced to commissioned rank on the retired list under the provisions of 10 U.S.C. 6151(1956).

Title 18, chapter 15, section 281, provides for a fine of \$10,000 or a prison sentence for whoever being the head of a department, or other officer or employee of the United States or any department or agency thereof, directly or indirectly receives or agrees to receive any compensation for any services rendered or to be rendered by himself or another, in relation to any matter in which the United States is a party or directly or indirectly interested, before any department, agency, court martial, officer, or any civil, military, or naval commission.

The next section of 281 reads as follows:

Retired officers of the Armed Forces of the United States, while not on active duty, shall not by reason of their status as such be subject to the provisions of this section. Nothing herein shall be construed to allow any retired officer to represent any person in the sale of anything to the Government through the department in whose service he holds a retired status.

In the enforcement of the foregoing provisions, there is much to be desired. A recent article by a newspaper man, Jack Steele of the Washington Daily News, demonstrates the inadequacy of present laws and regulations and its ridiculousness in its application. I set forth the article, which is self-explanatory and imposes several questions:

NAVY RETIREE LOST PAY FOR SUPPLYING BEER, BUT 720 OTHERS HOLD JOBS WITH DEFENSE FIRMS

(By Jack Steele)

A retired Navy lieutenant commander recently was forced to forfeit his retirement pay during an 8-month period in which he allegedly sold beer to officers' clubs and ships' stores.

This is the only recent case uncovered by investigators for a House Armed Service Subcommittee in which a retired military officer has been penalized or prosecuted for representing a defense contractor or supplier.

It was cited today by Chairman F. ED WAED HEBERT, Democrat of Louisiana, to il-lustrate the "incongruity" and "fuzziness" of present laws and regulations covering the employment of retired officers by munitions makers.

SEVEN HUNDRED AND TWENTY-ONE IN JOBS

The Defense Department reported last week that 721 high-ranking retired officers hold big-paying jobs with 88 major muni-tions and missile firms—each with defense contracts running into many millions.

None apparently is in danger of losing

his retirement pay, since these retired generals and admirals are not technically engaged in "selling" to the Defense Department.

The low-ranking Navy officer who did lose his retirement pay temporarily was Comdr. Ronald Anthony. He retired July 1, 1957, and soon thereafter took a job with the Hoffman Cigar Co., of Norfolk, Va., which also was a sales agency for Budweiser beer.

Lieutenant Commander Anthony argued that he was engaged in sales promotion and

public relations in pushing the beer to officers' clubs, Navy exchanges and ships' stores in Norfolk. He insisted that he did not actually sell or negotiate sales of the beer.

#### BULING

But the Navy's Judge Advocate General asked the General Accounting Office for a ruling on his case.

Comptroller General Joseph Campbell ruled last January 6 that Lieutenant Com-mander Anthony had to forfeit his Navy retirement pay for about 8 months while he held this beer-selling job.

Mr. Campbell based his ruling primarily on a rider to a 1956 appropriation bill which bars retirement pay for Navy and Marine officers while they are engaged in "selling, or contracting or negotiating to sell, naval supplies or war materials" to the Navy

This law, which has no time limitation, does not apply to Army or Air Force officers.

An earlier (1953) law bars retirement pay for officers of any service if they engage in selling military supplies or war materials within 2 years after their retirement.

#### QUESTION

But the big question these laws pose is: What constitutes selling?

This was conceded yesterday by Navy Secretary William B. Franke in a TV interview with Represenative HEBERT.

Mr. Franke noted that the law covering retired Navy officers is more stringent than that which applied to Army and Air Force

He suggested that all military officers who retire should observe some time lag before they take jobs with defense contractors. But he did not say whether this should apply only to selling jobs.

The HÉBERT subcommittee is expected to open hearings on the problems created by retired officers working for defense contractors in a couple of weeks.

We eagerly await the hearings to be conducted by Representative HÉBERT.

### Establishing Rules of Interpretation for Federal Courts Involving the Doctrine of Federal Preemption

SPEECH

OF

#### HON. HAROLD B. McSWEEN

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 23, 1959

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 3) to establish rules of interpretation governing questions of the effect of acts of Congress on State

Mr. McSWEEN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 3. First, I should like to commend the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. Willis] author of the majority views found in the report of the Committee on the Judiciary to accompany H.R. 3. These views are written clearly, and they intelligently explain the desirability of having an expression from Congress which would guide the Supreme Court and eliminate the doctrine of preemption in that narrow area of concurrent legislative jurisdiction.

This is the very restricted area in which both the Federal and State governments may constitutionally legislate. Until recently it was the jurisprudence of the Supreme Court that Federal law was supreme if the Federal act expressed the intent of Congress in specific lan-guage to preempt, but that State law would be effective in the absence of this specific preemption.

The Supreme Court has recently applied its doctrine of Federal preemption to invalidate laws of the States where the Federal act did not express a specific intent to completely occupy a field of legislation and where there was no conflict between the Federal and State laws. Or the Supreme Court has inferred a preemptive intent on the part of Congress. H.R. 3 is a simple and concise provision to eliminate this new preemption concept and to restore the concurrent powers of the States.

Much has been said in opposition to this bill about problems which it will cause. The case against H.R. 3 has been exorbitantly overstated. All legislation can be said to raise problems. The pattern of centralization of authority in the Federal Government by Congress has been, regrettably, well developed in re-cent years. Certainly this trend toward centralization should not be developed

beyond Congressional intent.

I urge the passage of this legislation as necessary to restore to the States the authority which the preemption doctrine has recently destroyed.

#### Can Union Power Be Curbed?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. EDGAR W. HIESTAND

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. HIESTAND. Mr. Speaker, those of us who are trying to pass legislation to protect the public against harmful union practices are under constant attack by union leaders who want no restraint on their vast and arbitrary powers. It is a source of great encouragement therefore that such a leading liberal monthly magazine as the Atlantic Monthly carries in its June issue an article which accurately diagnoses the problem we face. Let me quote the concluding paragraph of this article:

Unions have achieved their present position largely through public indulgence, and if the public becomes less indulgent, union power can be curbed. What is needed is a general awakening to the real nature of the problem. In its fundamentals monopoly power is the same whether used by laborers or by businessmen, and it has the same adverse effect on the rest of society, with an inflationary influence to be added in the case of labor. It has been subjected to reg-ulation in business; how much longer will it go unregulated in the labor area? Will the rest of society continue to accept the prin-ciple that a labor union's freedom in the pursuit of its own self-interest shall be unrestrained?

The author of this study, Prof. Edward H. Chamberlin of Harvard University is an internationally recognized expert on

monopoly and competition who holds an M.A. degree from the University of Michigan. In order to show the wide esteem in which his work is held, I need only to point out that Mr. Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers Union, referred favorably to Professor Chamberlin's work on business monopoly in a statement before the Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly of the Senate Judiciary Committee on January 28, 1958, which was 1 day after Professor Chamberlin's pioneering work on labor monopoly, "The Economic Analysis of Labor Union Power" was published. It is to be hoped that Mr. Reuther and other labor leaders will in time come to view Professor Chamberlin's work on labor monopoly as sympathetically and as favorably as they view his writings on business monopoly.

Mr. Speaker, at this point, under leave granted, I wish to insert Professor Chamberlin's article in the RECORD:

CAN UNION POWER BE CURBED?

(By Edward H. Chamberlin)

Profesisonal economists are ordinarily expected to approach economic problems from a public point of view rather than from that of any particular special interest. Yet it is a fact that in general they have been strongly associated with an attitude critical toward business and have said little in criticism of labor.

To explain this situation one must recall the long tradition of sympathy for the cause of labor dating back to the gloomy days of Ricardo and Malthus in the early 19th century; the weak position of the individual laborer vis-a-vis his employer in those times when unionism was a cause, not a business; the liberal economic tradition with its overwhelming distrust of bigness, of monopolistic forces, and of concentrations of power in any form; and the fact that such concentrations have been prominent for many years in industry but lacking until recently in

We know that much of this explanation is anachronistic today. In particular, there is the striking growth of union power in the last 20 years. Prof. Sumner H. Slichter has dramatized it by pointing out that we live not, as we used to think, in a capitalistic society but in a laboristic one. Certainly most of us have a time lag in our thinking. and the economist's distrust of power has not yet been transferred in any substantial degree to labor. But I do believe that such a transfer is in process. Indeed, the most disturbing thing to my mind is not so much that people are unaware of the significance this growth in labor union power but that so many seem to think that nothing can be done about it. I do not believe that anything in the field of social policy is inevitable, and we ought to stop saying that it is, however great the difficulties to be

The belief that nothing can be done about labor unions is held in large part because of their political power. Now labor, like business or farmers or other interest groups, must in the political field be a formidable mixture of the good and the bad, and I do not attempt to make an evaluation here. I raise the question of political power only because of the defeatist argument that nothing can be done to regulate labor unions. Union leaders have the problem not only of delivering their own vote but of appealing effectively to nonunion labor— still roughly two-thirds of the nonagricultural working force—and to the many di-verse and powerful nonlabor elements in

For example, at a convention of the American Farm Bureau Federation held in Boston last December a stiff labor platform was adopted which called for a continuation of the investigation by the McClellan committee and the enactment of bans on secondary boycotts, blacklisting, recognition picketing, hot cargo practices, the allocation of markets, control of production or prices, col-lection of shakedown fees for unloading trucks, and "make work" and featherbedding practices.

is also encouraging to recall that the Taft-Hartley Act, which set a precedent for subjecting labor unions in some measure to public regulation, was passed in 1947 over the opposition of organized labor (and over a veto by President Truman); that its lending author, Senator Taft, from the highly industrialized State of Ohio, was reelected in 1950 despite the desperate attempt of big labor to unseat him; and that the Taft-Hartley law, after 12 years, is still on the books. It is encouraging, too, that Arizons Senator Goldwarez, the leading exponent in the Senate of curbing union power, was reelected recently in spite of efforts by the UAW in faraway Michigan to defeat him.

The belief that nothing can be done about labor union power reduces to the be-lief that nothing will be done about it. kind of fatalism is particularly evident with respect to the inflationary problem. Creep ing inflation, we are told, is inevitable all we can do is to accept it and learn to

live with it.

Now the doctrine that inflation is in-evitable is very closely linked with a par-ticular kind of inflation, namely the cost-push type. We know a great deal about how to control inflation of the demand-pull variety by well-established monetary and fiscal techniques. No one believes that such infiation is inevitable, though it may approach inevitability in wartime. If the way years are omitted, prices have risen veri little in the United States over the last hundred and fifty years. Years of rising or stable prices, and many of these latter

have been years of prosperity. Inflation of the cost-push variety is held to be inevitable partly because the conventional methods of control are not effective against it. For many reasons, the upward pressure on wages exerted by individual unions is strikingly insensitive to fiscal and credit restraints. credit restraints. And so, when one limits his thinking to fiscal and monetary measures, it is easy to conclude either that nothing can stop the upward cost push or that it can be stopped and that it can be stopped only at an unaccept able social cost of rising unemployment and loss production. By holding demand check, the economy is indeed slackened cost increases are harden to a general cost increases are harden to a general cost increases are harden to a general cost increases. cost increases are harder to pass on. ployer resistance to wage demands is creased, strikes are harder to win, and was so economists like to speculate on how high unemployment must go before it begins act as a brake on wage demands. The great mistake, I think, is in trying to control wage-push inflation by methods which are inappropriate for the lob. demands are correspondingly reduced. inappropriate for the job.

It becomes necessary to go back and as a very simple and fundamental question.

What is the source of the problem? If it is If It is most obvious way to seek a remedy would be to reduce the power, and the to reduce the power, and this is in fact the gist of my proposal. An alternative proposal would be to strength on the proposal to the proposal would be to strengthen management by such devices, for example, as the pooling arrange ment among airlines which has recent received so much publicity. Perhaps all might have some of both. But stranger enough I have found in discussing the matters that many who are horrified at thought of weakening unions have no

lection whatever to strengthening management. ment. They would prefer to equalize power at a higher level, for bigger and better struggles, whereas I should prefer a measure of the struggles. of disarmament.

Inflation is only one aspect of the general Problem. The basis of labor union power is similar to that of any monopoly power—

Control of a market through collective action-but with the superimposition of decisive elements unique to the labor market.

The monopoly problem is simply one of maximum gain, both by the suppression of internal competition and by closing the path of entry to any from outside who would by their participation tend to break down the monopoly. This is precisely the method of monopoly in both the industrial and the labor areas. The striking difference between them is that monopoly in industry has been recognized as a matter of public concern for a long time and has been subjected with at least partial success, to a program of regulation: whereas labor monopoly, hidden by the attractive phrase "collective bar-Saining," has hardly been recognized, let alone brought under control.

The control of monopoly generally involves the application of some standard of fairness, and in industry this standard has usually been found by a reference to competitive markets. Two procedures in applying the competitive criterion have been developed. In the case of public utilities and certain forms of transportation, monopoly permitted and subjected to direct regulation. Here the lack of alternatives open to the consumer is recognized by imposing the obligation of service on the company. Here too, public commissions, subject to court review, regulate rates and earnings in accord principles designed to bring about a rough correspondence between earnings in the regulated and in the competitive sectors of the economy, with allowance for such cial factors as stability of income, risk, and so forth.

For the great bulk of the industrial area which remains, the attempt is made to preserve competition by forbidding agreements in restraint of trade, forbidding mergers under certain conditions, and outlawing certain specific practices which are regarded as detrimental to healthy competition. The expectation seems to be that enough competition can be preserved to give the public at least a reasonable protection against the abuses of concentrated private power and against the consequences of Government regimentation.

The success of these policies may be questioned: I think everyone would agree that there is room for improvement. get perspective on the policy, however, by comparing the prevailing spirit of American industry with that of continental Europe, where cartelization is generally accepted and where since agreements in restraint of trade are not forbidden, all manher of informal and tacit agreements and generally restrictive mentality dominate the picture. I once heard the contrast put in this form: If a European retailer has an item titem on his shelf for some months without its being sold, he is likely to raise the Price because of the cost he has incurred in keep the cost he has a merican in keeping it for that time; the American retailer, on the contrary, will lower the price so as to get rid of it and make room for something else. The notion of not engaging too vigorously in price competition is a universe. universal phenomenon in some degree, but willingness to gain business at a rival's expense United States, and I think the antitrust laws in this country are an important part of the reason why this is so.

Concentration of economic power in the labor field is paradoxically very great, partly because few people are aware of it. It

is hidden because the gains which are made, say in terms of wages or so-called fringe benefits, are made immediately speaking from the employer instead of from the pub-

There is a common belief that higher wages come out of profits; and this is often superficially the case as a short-run proposition. Yet such a belief is in direct conflict with a fundamental longrun principle of economics as hoary and as generally re-spectable as the famous law of supply and demand, namely, the law of cost: that prices tend to conform to cost of production, including a normal allowance for profits. The principle is a rough one, and it ought to be elaborated if space permitted, pecially as to the amount of profit which it includes. But there is no reason to expect wage increases, any more than increases. in the cost of raw materials, to be met out of profits; both are paid in the end by the public in the form of higher prices.

Through the law of costs, the power of labor to raise money wages, and so indirectly to raise prices, is fundamentally no different from the power of business to raise prices directly. Monopoly wages, like monopoly prices, are paid in the end by the public; and it is for this reason that there is exactly as much public interest involved in the regulation of monopoly in the labor field as in

the field of industry.

Now the problem of industrial monopoly power, even at those times in history when it has been of the greatest public concern, has never been associated with inflation. How is it, therefore, that such an association is made in the labor field? There are several reasons for this: The practice of wage settlements over wide areas on a pattern basis, so that one increase means many more; the institution of the annual wage increase, augmented by the growing practice of embody-ing it in long-term contracts; competition among labor leaders to outdo their rivalsand we must include competition from employers in nonunionized areas to do even better, so as to avoid unionization; and finally the fact that wages are more important than profits as an element in prices. The role of union power in cost inflation would seem to indicate that the control of this general inflationary force may be achieved only by putting a damper on thou-sands of individual wage and price increases.

How then to hold them in check? The decisive elements unique to the labor market which are mainly responsible for the fact that labor has too much power are not a part of collective bargaining per 'se. They are accretions of power which have developed partly through specific exemptions by Congress and through court interpretations, partly through a failure to understand the problems, but mostly through an uncritical public indulgence which can only be explained by a confused belief that since the labor cause is good, the more power in the hands of labor the better. As a practical matter, it seems to me that progress could be made in reducing union power by attacking directly those accretions which clearly rest upon privileges and immunities of laborers as compared with other citizens, and which it is therefore reasonable and fair to correct on the simple ground of equal treatment for all.

A recent booklet entitled "The Legal Immunities of Labor Unions," by Dean Emeritus Roscoe Pound of the Harvard University Law School analyzes an impressive list of such immunities. They are treated under the headings of torts (civil wrongs), contracts, restraint of trade, duties of public service, the right to work, racketeering, centralized power, and irresponsibility. Legal immuni-ties are related to economic power, and each such immunity therefore contributes its bit to wage-push inflation. Certainly the appeal of equal treatment for all is a strong one in a democracy. Why should it not apply in this area?

On the more purely economic front, the power accretions are startling. The practice of making a deal with the teamsters to honor a picket line has nothing to do with free speech, as the Supreme Court seems to think it has because it involves picketing, and it has nothing to do with collective bargaining. It is simply a power gadget to deprive an employer not only of the services of his own workers who are on strike but of all other goods and services as well. The old legal principle that a service of such vital public necessity as transportation must not be closed or obstructed clearly corresponds to the economic realities. Yet it has not been adapted to development of recent decades in the transportation field. Most firms in mod-ern times are heavily if not totally dependent for their existence on private trucking. In fact, the teamsters derive most of their power not from the racketeering with which they are ridden but from their control over transportation, including the freedom with which they can choke off this vital service from any specific business enterprise they please.

The threat of potential violence and intimidation through the device of the picket line are powerful factors-so powerful, in fact, that nowadays a firm rarely attempts any operations at all if a strike has been called, although it would be within its legal rights to do so. For all practical purposes the alternative of making a bargain with anyone other than the union has been removed. Even the attempts a few months ago in the bus strike in Massachusetts to run a few buses operated by supervisors for schoolchildren were successfully blocked by masses of pickets surrounding the buses. Boycotts, hot cargo rules, refusals to work with nonunion labor or on materials produced by nonunion labor or by the wrong union are used with impunity to close the channels of trade and commerce. These and other privileges and immunities which tremendously augment union monopoly power are unique to the labor market.

Many of these developments are a logical conclusion of what seems to be the overrid-ing principle that a union's economic power must not be compromised. In the further matter of agreements and alliances, for instance, anything is legal so long as only labor groups are involved. No-there is one qualification of mock seriousnes. A union may restrain trade as much as it pleases and combines with others agains other unions, against nonunion laborers, against some particular employer, or against the general public, provided only-in the quaint language of the Hutcheson decision—it is acting in its own self-interest.

I have seen a statement by an important labor leader before the Joint Economic Committee of Congress to the effect that even to raise the question of whether unions have too much power is to question their very right to exist. This is the union point of view, and it seems to be widespread. Yet what could be more absurd? Has anyone ever held that to reduce and regulate monopoly power in the business area was to question the right of business to exist?

We need only to make the distinction between collective bargaining and the appli-cation of further pressures, to make clear that such pressures may be reduced as the public interest and ordinary fairness require, without imperiling the existence of unions, Should a union be allowed to strangle a business economically by arranging with the teamsters to cut off its transportation? It seems to me we might as well ask if a physically strong customer in a retail shop should be allowed to twist the arm of the shopkeeper in order to drive a better bargain

I suggest as a good general rule that no employer should have brought against him pressures exerted by anyone other than his own employees. To implement such a principle fully may seem too much to hope for, but it should not be overlooked that there is an opening wedge in the outlawing of the secondary boycott by Congress in the Taft-Hartley Act. It remains, after closing some of the loopholes which have developed in this prohibition, to make progress in applying the general principle more widely. There seems every reason to think that the questions of alliances in the labor field, interunion relationships, and the extent of single-union control are as much a matter of public concern and of regulation as are intercorporate relationships and agreements in industry.

A national policy of encouraging collective bargaining, adopted in the middle thirties in the belief that labor's bargaining power was weak and needed to be strengthened, has encouraged not merely collective bargaining but the development of a wide power complex. The careless view that labor must have enough power to win may have been understandable when labor was the underdog. But pilots who can close down airlines in negotiating for top salaries of well over \$20,000 a year are not underdogs. And when a few hundred workers in New York who merely deliver newspapers after they have been produced can deprive 10 million readers of printed news and inflict losses, not only on their employers but on a whole community, estimated at \$50 million, it seems clear that the time has come for a reevaluation of where the power now lies.

As this article is being written, the fastapproaching crisis in the steel industry provides an example on a national scale of where the power lies. However one may judge the demands of the steel workers and wage-price relationships in the industry, the simple fact remains that the Nation will be offered its choice between a long-drawn-out strike which would deal a heavy blow to economic recovery or an inflationary increase in costs. Indeed, it may very well get both.

The increase in wages (or fringe benefits) will be inflationary for two reasons: (1) Whether at once or after an interval, steel prices will be higher, and so will the prices of all things made of steel; (2) less obvious but much more important, an increase in steel wages (already among the highest) must be followed by other wage increases. This is so because of the pattern phenomenon: if steel workers get more, inexorable pressures are created to bring other wages in the whole structure into line. So the wage-price spiral works not only vertically from wages to prices but horizontally from wages to other wages, and especially so when a key industry like steel is involved. With these considerations in mind, the question of whether or not certain steel companies could increase wages without raising their own prices (whatever the answer) recedes into proper perspective.

The choice between a disastrous closing down of the steel industry and another round of inflation is indeed a hard one, and if unions had less power other alternatives with a measure of concern for the public interest might have a hearing.

Unions have achieved their present position largely through public indulgence, and if the public becomes less indulgent, union power can be curbed. What is needed is a general awakening to the real nature of the problem. In its fundamentals monopoly power is the same whether used by laborers or by businessmen, and it has the same adverse effect on the rest of society, with an inflationary influence to be added in the case of labor. It has been subjected to regulation

in business; how much longer will it go un-regulated in the labor area? Will the rest of society continue to accept the principle that a labor union's freedom in the pursuit of its own self-interest shall be unrestrained?

## Jewish War Veterans-M.D.R. District Council Memorial Service, May 31, 1959

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 24, 1959

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, May 31, 1959, me-morial services were conducted in the name of the Mattapan, Dorchester, Roxbury District Council, Jewish War Vet-erans of the United States. It was my privilege to be the principal speaker at these exercises. To me it was a dual honor because the Honor Veteran of 1959 selected by the district council was Robert A. Carpenter who was killed in action during the battle of Levte. The Carpenter family were my neighbors in the Mattapan section of Boston, Mass. JEWISH WAR VETERANS OF THE U.S.A., M.D.R.

DISTRICT COUNCIL MEMORIAL SERVICE, MAY 31, 1959

Raising of colors: "Star-Spangled Banner." COMMANDER. In the name of the Mattapan, Dorchester Roxbury District Council, Jewish War Veterans of the United States, I summon all comrades within hearing to join in reverent tribute to our departed comrades, whose names remain forever on our rolls. Though their faces have vanished from our midst, they will abide with us through the precious memories we retain. They still guide and direct our actions, through the inspiring examples of patriotism and manly performance of duty, which they have pro-

To our comrades who surrendered their lives on the battlefield, in the hours of our Nation's greatest peril, we pay the highest measure of tribute. We likewise here honor all our comrades who wore the uniform of the United States, who returned to safety to serve their Nation in peace as in war, and were then called to their eternal rest.

One of the chief objects of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States is, "To honor the memories of our heroic dead and shield their graves from neglect."

Comrades, let us pray for the eternal peace of those who have departed. To those who have honored us in life and in death, let us pay a full measure of our And let us here highly reloyal devotion. solve to dedicate our own strength and lives to the ideals of democratic freedom for which they gave their utmost.

CHAPLAIN. Lord, Thou has been our refuge in all generations. Before the mountains were brought forth, before Thou hadst formed the earth and the world, even from everlasting to everlasting, Thou art God.

But man Thou turnest into dust and "Return unto me, all you children of men." Man is like grass which flourisheth and groweth up in the morning, but in the evening is cut down and withereth.

We bring our years to an end as a tale that is told. Teach us to number our days that we may get us a heart of wisdom.

Let Thy work appear unto Thy servants and Thy glory upon their children. And let the grace of the Lord, our God, be upon us.

COMMANDER. We are here to pay tribute to the many heroes of all races, and of all creeds, who in their lifetime rendered patriotic service to our country. Let us bow our heads and let our voices be hushed in memory of every American soldier, sailor and marine who made the supreme sacrification in the defenses of our Nation.

CHAPLAIN. Lord, our God, Thou who art our inspiration in life, Thou who givest comfort and consolation in death, we pray this day that Thou mayest send Thy comforting influence into the homes which are marked by the gold star of bereavement. To the widows and orphans of all who have fallen in defense of our Nation's ideals; to the parents, the brothers and sisters; to all who were deprived of their dear ones, through the devastation of war, grant Thy Divine consolation.

We pray Thee, O our God, that the spirit of patriotism may abide with us strongly peace as in war; that the service rendered America by us, the living sons and daughter of Israel, may be as eloquent and challenging as the sacrifices of our brethren who gave their lives in battle.

Bless America and the world with peace that there may be no further need for the instruments of war. Let all the Nations beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning. Let them learn was no more. Give all mankind such under standing and counsel, that living together in peace and in harmony, they may promote their mutual welfare and perpetuate the ideals of our Nation.

Let us in 1 minute of silence, recall out own precious memories of departed col rades, and each speak in his own heart the prayer that loving memory calls forth.
One minute of silence. And may the

souls rest in peace.

Chairman Albert Schlossberg, Congress man Burke, Cantor Kischel, Commande Cohen, distinguished guests, ladies and gen tlemen, it is indeed a great pleasure for me as chairman of this Memorial Day service to welcome you and extend to you the Mattapan, Dorchester, Roxbury District Council, Jewish War Veterans of the U.S. for your participation in this annual Memorial Day observance. We of the Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A. deem it a sacred dust to honor the memory and shield from new lect the graves of our heroic comrades. join in honoring the memory of all men women, who died in the service of our be loved country, without regard for their or creed. We welcome, in addition to guests who will address you this morning.
Mr. Melvin R. Lubin, commander of the New England Region No. 1, Jewish War erans of the U.S.A., Messrs. Bernard Julis and Jack Smith, past commanders of the M.D.R. District Council, J.W.V., and Mr. seph Carpenter, brother of the "Honor yet eran" of 1959. eran" of 1959.

principal speaker, a resident of my of hometown, Milton, Mass., and current representing the 12th We are indeed fortunate to have, as representing the 13th Massachusetts District having been elected to the 86th Congress November 1958. Our distinguished gus was registrar of vital statistics for the city i Boston under the late Mayor Maurice in the Tobin. For 10 years our guest served in the Massachusetts Legislature, 4 years of which he served as assistant to the served to the ser he served as assistant majority leader to then speaker of the house, Congression THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR. He was house charman of the World War II Veterans Problem and Korean Veterans Commission. Duris World War II Congressman Burke was special agent in the military intelligence, at tached to the 77th Infant. tached to the 77th Infantry Division in

South Pacific. Ladies and gentlemen, our distinguished guest, Congressman James A. Burke.

Congressman James A. Burke. Mr. Chairman, members of the Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A., ladies and gentlemen: Memorial Day, with its sad and sacred memories, has come again. This is a day consecrated to the fighting men of the United States who gave their lives in the honor of our country. Their precious memories are clustered about us for they have not left us—they live as does our country, the leader of the free world against communism.

Almost a century ago when the great Civil War became a part of our history in which thousands of lives were lost to protect our heritage and billions of dollars were spent to preserve the life we know today the United States emerged without dismemberment.

Today the great struggle between slavery and freedom has passed from our national scene and those whose families were broken and separated are now reunited as brothers and fellow citizens of the United States of America.

Thus it is those who sacrificed their lives and died in the struggle of the Civil War and the wars since to protect the honor and heritage of the United States should be remembered on this day.

Yet with all of our sacrifice we today are leaders of the free world in a fight against communism which has the theory to destroy, and batter our great country into submission

We all know this—despite the fact we today are honoring our men and women who sacrificed their lives so that this country might live and be nourished in the lives of free men.

All the pomp and ceremony, the sighs and supplications, the eulogy and tribute of today can weigh naught with voiceless lips and hearts that are long since still.

The import and value of this Memorial Day stand only insofar as we, the men and women upon whose shoulders rest the burden and duties of the present hour, realize and remember the principles for which they have fought, and each for himself resolves that the light shall not be dimmed, that the effort they remember they are the standard or the standa

they put forth shall not have been in vain.

Although this day was originally set aside
in memory of the departed comrades of the
Civil War, it has now so developed itself as
to embrace a nationwide tribute to all those
fought for our country and have now passed
to their reward.

So when the time comes for us to pass on to those who shall succeed us that which they whose memory we honor today fought and conserved for us we can truly say in the words of Kathryn Lee Bates in the mighty lines of "America, the Beautiful"

O beautiful for patriots dream That see beyond the years Thine alabaster cities gleam Undimmed by human tears.

And because it is a holy and wholesome thought to pray for the dead, may it please almighty God that "they rest in peace."

Chairman Schlossers. Officer of the day, You will escort to the memorial, Mr. Joseph Carpenter, brother of our honor veteran, Robert A. Carpenter, for the placement of the memorial wreath:

The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want. He maketh me to lie down in green pastures; He leadeth me beside the still me in the paths of righteousness for His hame's sake. Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will and Thy staff, they comfort me. Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies; Thou anolntest my head with

oil; my cup runneth over. Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life; and I will dwell in the house of the Lord forever."

Let us all rise for the traditional memorial and Kaddish prayer to be chanted by Cantor Irving Kischel, of Temple Shalom, Milton.

#### EL MOLEY RACHAMIM

"O God, who art full of compassion, who dwellest on high, grant perfect rest beneath the shelter of Thy divine presence, in the exalted places among the holy and pure, who shine as the brightness of the firmament, to all those who have gone to their eternal home, the plety of whose life forms the subject of our meditation today. We beseech thee, Lord of compassion, shelter them evermore under the cover of Thy wings, and let their souls be bound up in the bond of life, and may they repose on their resting places, and let us say, Amen."

OFFICER OF THE DAY. Firing squad, pre-

OFFICER OF THE DAY. Firing squad, prepare to fire three volleys. Comrades, present arms.

Detachment from Headquarters, First Naval District, fires three volleys. Bugler sounds taps.

Order arms.

Closing remarks by Mr. Samuel Cinamon, commander, Department of Massachusetts, Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A.

### Holt Succeeds Brehm

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. ROBERT A. EVERETT

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 24, 1959

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record, the following editorial from the Commercial Appeal, "Holt Succeeds Brehm." This editorial which follows was written by the Honorable Frank R. Ahlgren, editor of the Commercial Appeal a very outstanding newspaper of the Nation. Mr. Ahlgren is a member of the board of trustees of the University of Tennessee and himself an outstanding leader not only in Memphis but in the Midsouth as well.

Both Dr. Holt and Dr. Brehm have been foremost leaders in Tennessee education as well as throughout the Nation. We feel that we are very fortunate in our great State of Tennessee to have a distinguished, hardworking and capable gentleman such as Dr. Andrew D. Holt to take over the presidency of our uni-

Dr. Holt is a native of Milan, in my congressional district, the son of the late Mr. and Mrs. Andrew David Holt and an alumnus of Milan High School. Dr. Holt, who is 54 years of age, has been an educator all of his adult life. He began his career as a grade school-teacher at the age of 20.

In 1949 he was elected president of the National Education Association, after serving several years as executive secretary of the Tennessee Education Association. He received his bachelor's degree at Emory University in Atlanta and his master's and doctor's degrees at Columbia University. He became an administrative assistant to Dr. Brehm in 1950 and in September 1953 was named vice president of the university.

[From the Commercial Appeal, June 20, 1959] HOLT SUCCEEDS BREHM

Tennesseans in particular and those concerned with the welfare and progress of education in general will welcome the news that Dr. Andrew D. Holt succeeds Dr. C. E. Brehm as president of the University of Tennessee.

Dr. Brehm leaves office because he has reached the compulsory retirement age of 70 after 42 years spent in the intelligent, energetic service of Tennessee. His service of 2 years as acting president of the university and 11 years as president was preceded by distinguished endeavor in the College of Agriculture. The considerable expansion of the university in the number of students—from around 4,000 to more than 16,000—and in the variety of courses offered in greatly expanded physical facilities is the best and most significant testimony to his value to the institution.

Dr. Holt is a native of west Tennessee, Milan to be exact. As he moves up to assume new responsibilities, there is hardly a rung on the educational ladder he has not touched. He even served as athletic coach once upon a time. He taught in high school and was principal of the training school here at Memphis in what was then the West Tennessee State College and is now Memphis State University. He served in numerous other capacities with distinction before he went into the university field.

From 1950 to 1953 Dr. Holt was assistant to the president of the University of Tennessee and has been vice president there since the latter date. He is, in consequence, fully conversant with the university's operations and its needs.

Tennessee teachers will probably recall Dr. Holt best as the man who battled with courage and persistence to obtain better salaries when he was executive secretary of the Tennessee Education Association. It may be noted that Dr. Holt is cognizant of both national and world pictures in education. He was chairman of the White House Conference on Education and a delegate to a world conference on the same theme. He has been president of the National Education Association. The honors and accomplishments named, however, are but a few of the many to his credit.

West Tennesseans, as well as people in other grand divisions of the State and those in too many other States to mention, will recall Dr. Holt as a most personable and agreeable companion and a speaker of charm and ability. He has proved that a man may be friendly and reasonable and at the same time a tenacious fighter for the things in which he believes.

Tennessee is fortunate that a man of Dr. Brehm's ability will be followed by another of similar talents as head of the University of Tennessee.

#### Future of the Dollar

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 24, 1959

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following articles from the June 29, 1959, issue of U.S. News &

World Report which present a thorough analysis of the American dollar and its stability. Since this is indeed a problem that can become major in proportions, I felt these articles should be bought to the attention of all Members of the House for their careful study and consideration:

FUTURE OF THE DOLLAR-WHY GOLD IS BEING LOST AND WHAT IT MEANS

(A tide of dollars from United States has built up the economies of large areas of the Now those areas are competing with United States. That's what lies behind the drain on this country's supply of gold. Does this mean that the once-mighty dollar is in danger? There's no sign of a "run" from the dollar. But experts say United States may have to change its policies to check the outflow.)

The American dollar-once the proud symbol of a solidly solvent United States—today sells at a discount under the currencies of many other nations.

No longer is the dollar the unquestioned leader among currencies.

Instead, questions are being raised in many parts of the world about the dollar's future. There are predictions that the dollar, sooner or later, will have to be "de-

valued"-reduced in value in terms of gold. What has happened? Is the dollar really

in trouble?

To find answers to those questions, the economic unit of U.S. News & World Report has delved deep in to the economic forces now at work. At the same time, leading authorities on money were interviewed in Europe and this country to get further insight into the dollar's future.

The conclusions that emerged are those that follow:

The dollar no longer is the scarce currency it once was. Aid from the United States, spending by Americans abroad, investments abroad by American companies, buying of foreign goods have enabled the outside world to pile up almost \$15 billion in claims on U.S. gold and goods. Those claims are continuing to grow at a high rate.

The outside world has grown strong once again and can compete with the United States on equal or better than equal terms in a growing number of markets. As a result, it is becoming a question whether the United States can continue to give foreign aid and carry the present load of military spending abroad without running into trouble. It may become necessary to call on nations in Western Europe in particular to bear more of the cost of maintaining American military forces abroad.

Loss of gold to date, in itself, is not serious. If the outside world should lose faith in the dollar and try to turn its dollars into gold, the result could force drastic remedies. However, there is no present sign that a "run" from the dollar is even a remote prospect.

The dollar's old position as a currency of impregnable strength could be restored quickly by drastic cuts in foreign aid, or by a reduction in spending abroad by this country's military forces. Military spending ac-counts for about 3.4 billions a year, which just about equals this country's deficit last year in international payments.

#### NOW AND WHAT'S TO COME

The net of all those conclusions is that the facts indicate no present ground for serious worry about the future of the dollar in relation to other currencles.

Why all the stir, then, over what is happening to the dollar?

The answer is found in a number of facts. In 1958 the United States lost \$2.3 billion in gold-a record loss for postwar years that dramatized the situation surrounding the dollar. The Treasury announced on June 19 that the gold supply will drop to a 20-year

low when \$343,750,000 is paid to the monetary

Dollars, once scarce, had become some- PAID OUT BY THE UNITED STATES TO OTHER COUNTRIES thing of a glut on the market.

If trends at work in 1958 were to be shortlived, the resulting problem would not be important. However, in 1959 those same trends have persisted. There is nothing immediately in sight to suggest that they might be checked.

American business, for example, continues to find it difficult to expand its sales abroad. At the same time, with business activity rising, this country has had to buy more raw materials from abroad. People, too, have found foreign-made goods attractively priced and have bought more imported automobiles and other goods.

That isn't all. U.S. companies, attracted by lower wages in other countries and by growing markets in other countries, have continued to increase their investments abroad. Tourists spend more dollars than ever. U.S. gifts of dollars hold high, and American military forces abroad continue to spend at the rate of \$3.4 billion a year.

It not is a question how long all of this can go on without creating a problem of major proportions for the dollar. The appearance of that problem is clearly recognized outside the United States.

#### FINANCING THE COMPETITION

The United States, thus, with unprecedented generosity, has built up the nations of Western Europe and Japan into formida-ble competitors. The United States has helped other nations develop mass-production industries. It has made gifts of capital equipment. Its industries have been generous with advice and training. The result is that today more and more American industries find themselves face to face with competitors they helped to build up.

What the facts disclose is this: Much of the outside world is restored to full economic health. Western Europe, in industrial strength, today rivals the United States. The United States, even so, is continuing to bear the major burden of defending Europe and of defending Japan. It is maintaining military forces overseas at high cost. The United States, as well, is bearing the major share of aid to underdeveloped nations of the world. This, too, is costly in dollars.

The dollar's problem is found to trace directly to those facts.

As a result, this question is beginning to raised abroad even before it is being raised in the United States: Is the time near when Japan and Germany and France and Britain-among others-will have to share more of the burden of defense and of aid to underdeveloped areas of the world?

Interviews with leading monetary thorities in Europe reveal that they think the answer is going to be "Yes." It probably is going to become necessary sometime to sit down and to work out an arrangement that relieves the United States and its dollar of part of the present burden being placed upon

#### EXPORTS VERSUS IMPORTS

A glance at the accompanying tables helps you to understand what is going on.

How other countries are piling up U.S. gold and dollars

PAID OUT BY THE UNITED STATES TO OTHER COUNTRIES

[Millions of dollars]

	Yearly average, 1950-56	1957	1958
Total	20, 640	27, 188	26, 885
Goods bought from abroad Transportation charges Travel abroad Other services Income from investments in the United States	10, 973 1, 093 960 650	13, 291 1, 428 1, 372 843 653	12, 944 3, 477 1, 454 847

How other countries are piling up U.S. gold and dollars-Continued

[Millions of dollars]

	Yearly average, 1950-56	1957	1958
Private gifts, pensions, etc	568	694	696
	2, 096	3, 120	3, 365
	2, 223	1, 613	1, 611
	256	963	963
	1, 381	3, 211	2, 924

RECEIVED BY THE UNITED STATES FROM OTHER COUNTRIES

Total	19, 088	27, 687	23, 460
Goods sold abroad	13, 463 &1, 355	19, 327 1, 847	16, 20,
States	567	785	791
Income from investments abroad	2, 077 922	2, 881 1, 268	2, 876 1, 275
Foreign investments in the United States, other	704	1,579	604
U.S. deficit (-) or surplus (+). Change in foreign holdings	-1,552	+499	-3, 425
of— Gold Dollars	2 367 2 1, 185	1 772 2 273	2 2, 294 2 1, 131

Excludes military ald.

The United States, you will notice. ceived less income from abroad in 1958 than in 1957. The totals were \$27.7 billion in 1957 and \$23.5 billion in 1958. Most of this drop resulted from sales of less mer chandise to customers in other countries The income from investments abroad and most other earnings have held high. In this year, so far, there is no sign that exports of goods are growing. During the first months of the year, exports were running below the levels of 1958.

On the other hand, look at what the United States is paying out to other coun tries. Buying of goods from abroad dropped moderately in 1958 from 1957, but not nearly as much as sales of U.S. goods to people abroad. This year imports have been rising and the surplus of exports over imports likely to shrink further.

The surplus of exports over import vanishes when other payments are examined This country last year spent nearly \$3.4 billion to maintain military forces abroad. made grants of \$1.6 billion for economic ald and nearly \$1 billion in Government loans Then private investors placed \$2.9 billion in plants and other facilities abroad. Alto gether, this country's payments to other nations in 1958 amounted to \$26.9 billion-

#### A RUN ON U.S. GOLD?

This left the country with a net deficit in world transactions of \$3.4 billion. And the signs point the the signs point to another large deficit in the current year. Total dollar claims neid outside the country amount to \$14.9 billion. This may reach more than \$19 billion before the end of the current year. The gold supply of the country is \$20.5 billion.

Does this mean that the United States could lose all of its gold? The answer to that question, briefly, is "no."

To the \$14.9 billion in dollar claims, ternational institutions, such as the International Management national Monetary Fund, add \$1.7 billion but this is not a claim on gold. Some \$2.7 billion is held by private business firms and individuals, who cannot get gold directly. A total of \$12.4 billion is held by private banks abroad, central banks, and foreign governments. Of this sum, central banks, and and governments hold \$8.6 billion, which the total most likely to be converted into gold if the dollar should run into danger.

#### BOLSTERING THE DOLLAR

It is against this background that moves now are being made to firm up faith in the dollar. The Federal Reserve Board is committed to a policy of preventing infiation through excess expansion of credit. The Pederal Government is moving toward a balanced budget. These steps are giving rise to a situation that indirectly supports the

Rising interest rates, for example, are likely to persuade foreign holders of dollars to invest their money in this country rather than take gold. The outflow of gold, in fact, is considerably smaller this year than last and so far has gone principally to the Netherland. lands and Japan.

Competition from industries abroad is forcing American companies to pay closer attention to costs. Industries now are less willing to grant wage increases that force up costs and prices. Price rises are leading to loss of markets abroad. They also are opening American markets more widely to foreign goods. The U.S. share of world trade in manufactured goods dropped in 1958 to the lowest level in 8 years, while the share of Germany and Japan jumped substantially during this period.

Inflation control in the United States thus is becoming more than an academic argument. Maintaining the value of the dollar now is being viewed widely as necessary both to protect the country's gold supply and to keep and hold markets in the United States and abroad.

This remedy may help to correct the present U.S. deficit in world accounts in years

ahead. The fact remains, however, that the United States has been running a deficit ever since 1950. This persistent outflow of dollars is leading many analysts to believe that the time is fast approaching when U.S. Policies will have to be changed.

#### A CURRENT SURPLUS

Actually, on current transactions, the United States runs a surplus. The country consistently has an export balance in merchandise trade, although the balance has been reduced recently. Private investors also receive nearly \$2.9 billion a year from investments in other countriesis likely to increase in years ahead. a figure that

Altogether, on such accounts, the United States last year had a surplus of \$5.2 billion. The deficit in balance of payments resulted from such things as foreign aid, military spending outside of this country, and the dollars invested abroad by American business a

Outflow of payments by the U.S. Government amounted to about \$6 billion in 1958. Of this total, about \$3.7 billion went to countries in Western Europe in the form of billion. military spending, military supplies and services and economic assistance.

## LESS AID FOR EUROPE

Now it is being suggested that Western Europe could forgo aid and help the United States to reduce its deficit in dealing with other countries of the world.

The industrial countries of Europe have staged a strong recovery in productive capacity and in output. Much of this resulted pacity and in output. Much of this results of the many years of U.S. aid. These countries can compete with the United States in world markets and even in the U.S. many world markets and even in the U.S. man U.S. market. They also are able to support a rising standard of living in their own countries. In addition, European businessmen are making investments in other areas, such as Africa and Latin America. And the countries of Europe and able to accumulate reserves of gold and dollars.

This development indicates that Britain Ahls development indicates that broadened Western Europe now are able to take over the costs of their own defense and to dispense with grants of aid. If all such U.S. payments to Europe were ended, the deficit payments to Europe were ended, the deficit

that this country now runs in world accounts could be partly eliminated.

It also has been suggested that Europe is in a position to take on a greater share of the cost of developing the undeveloped areas of the world. This again would help the United States to end its deficit and strengthen the dollar as a world currency.

These changes in policy can be made only through new arrangements between governments. However, European experts in monetary affairs have lately been saying that perhaps the time is near for talks on the problem.

#### WHAT'S REALLY CAUSING THE WORRY ABOUT GOLD

Since 1950 the U.S. gold reserve has shrunk by \$2.3 billion.

Possible claims from abroad against U.S. gold have increased 8 billion.

As a result United States now holds only 20.5 billion in gold, smallest reserve in 13

Foreigners—including governments, banks, private citizens—hold 14.9 billion in U.S. dollars. These dollar holdings, potentially, could become claims against the gold remaining in the U.S. stockpile.

In a real emergency, therefore, the United States could lose so much gold that enough would not be left for the reserve against currency and bank deposits required by law.

Actually, such an emergency is unlikely. The United States, if necessary, could stop selling gold. Also, U.S. gold is sold only to foreign governments or central banks, and these hold only 8.6 billion in U.S. dollars. The dollars held by private banks and citizens in foreign countries could not be turned in for U.S. gold unless these holdings were first transferred to official agencies abroad.

#### FUTURE OF THE DOLLAR AS FOREIGN EXPERTS SEE IT

(This gives you a detached viewpoint on the U.S. dollar and its problems. Is the dollar really in trouble? The European bankers and financial authorities quoted here speak from long experience in dealing with troubled currencies.)

What follows is an authoritative summing up of the British Treasury's view of what is happening to the dollar:

Question. "In view of the continuing loss of gold from the United States, do you believe that the dollar is overworked or wob-bly?"

Answer. "I do not think the dollar is at all a weak currency. America has enormous gold reserves and, although she has got an adverse balance of payments at the moment, it is because of the large foreign aid. She hasn't got an adverse balance in the ordinary sense of living beyond her income."

Question. "How long can the United States tolerate this adverse balance and the loss of gold?"

Answer. "It's desirable that there should be some redistribution of the gold reserves, but obviously it couldn't go on forever at the present rate because the reserves would run out eventually."

Question. "How should the United States cope with the problem? Should it curtail foreign aid to check the loss of gold?"

Answer. "I don't think there is any urgent need to reconsider the American foreign-aid program. I think you will have to be think-ing about what the real problem is—that is, whether your exports recover.

"You see, world trade is recovering now. It seems to me extremely likely that American exports will also rise as expansion is going on all over the place. But, clearly, if this went on and your exports didn't recover at all, then I think you would have to get other countries to carry some of the burden of foreign aid that you're carrying yourself

Question. "Do you think, then, that there is a good chance this problem of the loss of gold will solve itself through an expansion of American exports?"

Answer. "Well, I think that is the first thing to look at. Yes, I think there is a reasonable chance of that. It seems to me quite likely that your costs are falling, now that production is rising. Labor productiv-ity in America is rising quite fast at the moment."

Question. "So you think American export prices are becoming more competitive?"

Answer. "I should have thought that would be the position. You see, with a bigger volume of output to spread the overhead. your costs must be improving. And, of course, if your customers are richer they will buy more."

Question. "Is it correct to say that you do not see the United States heading into an early crisis because of the outflow of gold?"

Answer. "The United States is in a very strong position at present. All this loose talk going on about a gold crisis is absolutely silly. Foreign aid is so important in the general political situation it would be a mistake to do anything rashly or in a hurrythough I think that, if your exports didn't recover and you went on losing gold at this rate, you would have to sit down with other countries to talk about the problem of foreign aid.

'I think it should be solved cooperatively."

#### A SWISS SIZE-UP: RESULT COULD BE DEVALUATION OF DOLLAR

The consensus among bankers in Switzerland can be outlined in the following way: The American dollar has been relatively weak in the Swiss market for foreign currencies. This weakness is due to an abundance of dollars not offset by an expansion in the demand for dollars.

Swiss experts recall the experience of this country in 1936. Switzerland at that time had the highest prices in Europe and found that it was difficult to sell goods abroad. Instead of reducing wages and prices to regain its competitive position, this country took the "easy" way out and devalued its currency.
The feeling here is that the United States

may face somewhat the same problem in the not-distant future. American prices often are high compared with prices that can be offered by competitors abroad. It seems impossible politically to reduce wages in the United States to correct this situation. In the end, the result could be devaluation.

If the dollar should be devalued in the future, the question among experts here is whether the new price of gold would be \$50 an ounce compared with the present \$35, or whether the increase should be to \$70 double the present price.

#### A BANKER SAYS: "WHAT HAS HAPPENED SO FAR IS HEALTHY"

Another view of the gold and dollar problem is presented in this London interview with the chairman of one of Britain's biggest and most important banking establishments with a worldwide organization:

Question. "Do you consider the loss of gold that's been going on for some 15 months a serious problem for the United States?'

Answer. "Well, part of the trouble in analyzing this is that people are mulling together two quite different problems—the gold loss and the trouble the U.S. Government is having with its bond-financing policy. Now, I have no doubt that the bond business is a practical problem that will be solved.

"Now look at the gold problem separately from that of the problem of debt manage ment. One thing you find here in Britain is that most of the comment is an echo of the animated discussion in the United States of this problem. After all, when a high American official says this is a matter of concern, then we in Britain must take it seriously. But, in fact, as we see it, what has happened so far is healthy and to the credit of the United States."

Question. "Do you think American gold re-

serves are in danger?"

Answer. "If you measure reserves against quick liabilities, Britain has been living with a ratio the wrong way by 4 to 1 for a long time. To have a ratio the right way of 2 to 1 is beyond the dreams of bliss. One reason for American anxiety about the recent adverse balance of payments is the fact that it is a novelty for you in America."

Question. "What do you consider the

cause of this unprecedented adverse balance

of payments?"

Answer. "There's wide appreciation here in Britain of the two principal reasons for the loss of gold in the United States. First, the free world, and Europe in particular, has recovered, and trading up and down the world is on more or less equal terms. Second, the United States has continued deliberately to pursue very enlightened economic policies as a creditor nation accepting the responsibilities of world leadership. You have continued to send dollars abroad through aid and investment even during the period of re-

Question. "When does the fall in gold re-

serves reach the danger point?"

Answer. "Nobody knows what the danger point in reserves is. In our own experience, people have warned that, if gold and dollar reserves fell below a certain level, we would have a disastrous crisis. Yet the reserves frequently have fallen below that so-called danger point and there has been no crisis. What matters is not any figure but what is in men's minds-that is, what men around the world think of the future outlook in your country."

Question. "Do you expect the problem to

Answer. "Well, if you talked to bankers on the Continent-particularly Swiss bankersyou would be told that the United States is heading into a serious crisis as a result of the loss of gold and the fall in the reserves. I

just don't follow that.

"I have lived in America and I think I know American ways. The United States has a record of taking action to deal with problems such as this-maybe a little late and maybe after a lot of talk and confusionbut you have a record of coping with these problems. But I don't think that the existing facts warrant drawing a graph showing a loss of gold in the months ahead along the same lines as has occurred in the past 15 months or so. Frankly, I don't know whether, even if the United States does nothing, the loss of gold will continue."

A FINANCIAL EXPERT: "REVALUING GOLD WOULD NOT HELP AT ALL"

This exclusive interview, held in London, is with Maxwell Stamp, a director of Philip Hill, Higginson & Co., Ltd., one of Britain's principal merchant-banking firms. Mr. Stamp is a leading British authority on international finance.

Question. "In your opinion, Mr. Stamp, does the loss of gold constitute a real threat to America?"

Answer. "The answer is: If it goes on for several years, something will have to be done about it. But, in the meantime, it's a healthy thing. I would expect that there is a very good chance that natural forces will bring about a correction in due course."

Question, "Would an increase in the gold

price help solve things?"

Answer. "I don't think that is appropriate at all. Revaluing gold would not help at all in the circumstances. Nor do I think there is any call whatsoever for devaluation of the

"I'm not one who thinks that America is pricing itself out of the market. I think that we tend to be very unduly impressed by the

fact that, in certain particular lines in which one would expect it, America is relatively uncompetitive. I'm thinking, for instance, of heavy electrical machinery, where you have a large amount of rather highly skilled labor involved, and, therefore, expensive labor."

"I would expect that, as the enormous amount of money that America is spending on research comes into play, there will be a continual flow of new products from America. These will be unobtainable elsewhere-at any rate, while they are new. This will boost American exports pretty well.

"We've also go to see what effect the opening up of the British market fully to American imports is going to be. If you take things like costume jewelry, for instance, that seems to me to be a thing into which the Americans are very good and very competitive. There are all sorts of things in which they are extremely competitive.

"One has got to remember, too, that large numbers of countries all around the world outside the United States have been adopting restrictive monetary policies to get their own balance of payments straight. No one wants to keep restrictive monetary policies on a moment longer than is necessary. As and when the balance-of-payments problems get solved outside the United States, and reserves grow because of the loss of gold from the United States-one would expect that relatively easier policies will be adopted that will have a natural corrective action on the outflow of gold from the United States."

Question. "Are you advocating a walt-and-see policy for the United States for the

time being?"

Answer. "That would be very, very strongly my opinion. After all, America still has a very, very large amount of gold. There is another factor which one has to remember. That is this: One of the reasons for the loss of gold has been the very heavy amount of investment abroad by Americans and the American Government. This has to be serviced. After all, if you put up a new plant abroad it takes time before the profits are repatriated to the United States. But these are an asset of the United States outside the United States.

"This is not the sort of situation in which the loss of gold, which is being used to make these investments abroad, ought to cause you any trouble. After all, these assets abroad are there—they're earning, they're profitable and, ultimately, the profits will be repatriated back to the parent companies. I would expect that this, too, would have a very powerful corrective influence.

Question. "If the loss of gold continues over the next year or so are there corrective measures that would be practical for the United States to use?"

Answer. "One of the things is the relative rates of interest. As long as foreigners are content to leave dollars in the form of dollars in the United States rather than take them out in the form of gold, the gold losses will be moderated. You can make it worthwhile for people to bring back gold to the United States by offering a sufficiently attractive rate of interest. The higher the short-term rates are relative other people's short-term rates-and longterm rates, too, if it comes to that—the less the tendency there will be for gold to flow

Question. "So you see no immediate threat to American gold reserves?"

Answer. "If you look at the gold stock, which is still \$20 billion-that still is a lot The fact that something like 13 billion is earmarked against currency is a pure luxury in this day and age. a level that can be reduced or eliminated altogether. There are very few countries that still have a gold backing for their currency. All you need gold for is to redeem your currency if foreigners want to change I'd have it into gold or other currencies. thought that this is a case in which you can sit back and watch how things develop."

Statement of Judge Henry Ellenboges of the U.S. Delegation to the 14th Ser sion of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs, April 29, 1959, at Geneva-Switzerland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. THOMAS E. MORGAN

OF FENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 24, 1959

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, under

leave to extend my remarks in the AP

pendix of the RECORD, I wish to include copy of the statement made by Judge Henry Ellenbogen, an advisor to the U.S. delegation to the 14th session of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs, recently held at Geneva, Switzerland, Judge Ellenbogen was a Member of Congress from 1933 to 1938 when he resigned to run for judge of the Common Pleas Court of Allegheny County. He still holds that position. He has long been in terested in the problem of narcotics and

has had an opportunity to study the matter both as a legislator and a judge In the later capacity he made a thorough study of narcotics and habit-forming drugs. Pursuant to the study, he ad dressed the 10th Judicial Conference of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania

which was held on January 28, 1958, at the Dauphin County Courthouse, Har risburg. He has a fine background of knowledge on narcotics and is well

qualified to speak on the subject. statement before the Commission at Geneva is very comprehensive, and since the topic is one of timely interest to each one of us, I refer it for your attention

The statement follows:

STATEMENT OF JUDGE HENRY ELLENBOGEN OF THE U.S. DELEGATION TO THE 14TH SESSION OF THE COMMISSION ON NARCOTIC DRUGS APRIL 29, 1959, AT GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

Mr. Chairman, I deem it an honor and privilege to address the distinguished Chair man and the eminent members of this Commission.

I have had the opportunity to learn of the problems created by the illicit traffic in nar cotic drugs both as a legislator and as indeed

As a Member of the Congress of the United States, it was my duty to consider the nature substance, and form of the laws that were necessary to combat and root out the brought about by the illicit traffic in. use of narcotic drugs. As a judge for more than two decades I have seen personally poisonous and the destructive effects of national cotic drugs on the human body and the great and permanent danger to society.

I hope you will permit me this personal reference. I have had in my court all man ner and kind of crimes and criminals. have found the sale of and the traffic in that cotic drugs one of the foulest of all crimes The illegal sale of narcotic drugs is a crime against the individual to whom they are sold and a crime against the body of the society.

NARCOTIC DRUG ADDICTION THREATENS OUR

#### YOUTH

Narcotic drug addition is finding many of its victims among the young people of all nations. For instance, in the United States of America about 13 percent of all known addicts are under 21 years of age. In the larger cities the percentage of juvenile addicts is far greater. For instance, a survey conducted in Chicago in 1952 revealed 5,000 known addicts of which one-third or more were under the age of 21 years. As is the case with adults, 90 to 93 percent of the Juvenile addicts are addicted to heroin.

The spread of narcotic drug addition among our youth has been considered such danger that the Congress of the United States in the Narcotics Control Act of 1956. signed by President Eisenhower on July 18, 1956, provided that sellers of narcotics to persons under 18 years of age shall be punished by death in the discretion of the jury. The State of Texas passed a statute effective April 24, 1957, which provided, for a second offense of illegal sale of narcotics to persons under 19 years of age, a mandatory sentence of 10 years to life or even death. The State of Missouri by a recent statute adopted Au-Sust 29, 1957, provided for selling, giving, or delivering any narcotic drug to a person under 21 years of age a mandatory sentence of imprisonment of 10 years to life and a fine of \$10,000, or death, at the discretion of the jury hearing the case. In my own State of Pennsylvania the legislature passed house bill 56 which provided for the death penalty for sellers of heroin to persons under 18 years of age at the discretion of the jury hearing the case. However, the bill was vetoed by the Governor. Th State of Minnesota by a statute effective April 2, 1957, provided for imprisonment of 10 to 40 years and a fine of \$20,000 for furnishing narcotic drugs to persons under 18 years of age.

Vast narcotic drug addiction poses a dire and appalling threat to the future of all nations. If left uncontrolled, it can enguif a nation in ruinous destruction, perhaps as devastating as an atomic explosion.

I submit that the work of this Commission is as important as any of the other permanent commissions of the United Nations. Narcotic drug addiction is comparable to a contagious disease. Every drug addict eventually infects others, usually among his friends and associates. Every one of the new addicts will again infect others, and so the vicious circle continues. Once addicted, permanent cures are difficult and infrequent.

MOST DRUG ADDICTS BECOME CRIMINALS AND ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR MUCH CRIME

The cost of drug addiction is fantastically high. In the United States the average drug addict must spend from \$50 to \$100 per week to obtain the drugs to satisfy his craving. Since few persons can afford such sums of money, most drug addicts eventually resort to crime to obtain the necessary funds. There is general agreement between law enforcement agencies concerned with narcotics and medical authorities that in order to obtain the funds which they need to buy narcotic drugs, mostly heroin, male drug addicts commit burglaries, robberies, holdups, lar-cenies, and many other crimes including occasionally, though not typically, crimes of violence. violence such as assault and even murder; the female dope addict usually becomes a shoplifter and a prostitute.

The carefully considered respect of the Council on Mental Health on Narcotic Addiction of the American Medical Association adopted by the American Medical Association in June 1957, states that there is general and the state of addicts eral agreement that "the majority of addicts do engage in crime (other than violations of the narcotic laws) after they become addicted in order to support their habits." It is startling to read the reports of the experts on the number of crimes caused by drug addicts. Some authorities estimate that in the large metropolitan areas as much as 50 percent, and in the country as a whole about 25 percent of all crimes are attributable to illegal traffic in narcotic and habit-forming

Whatever the precise percentage may be, there can be no doubt whatsoever that any substantial reduction in the illegal traffic in narcotic drugs and in the number of drug addicts would bring about a substantial reduction in crime.

NATURE AND CHARACTER OF DRUG ADDICTION

Drug addiction has been defined by the Interdepartmental Committee on Narcotics in its report to President Eisenhower of Pebruary 1, 1956, as "a state of periodic or chronic intoxication, detrimental to the individual and to society, produced by the re-peated consumption of a drug (natural or synthetic)" U.S. Senate report of the Committee on the Judiciary, Apr. 25, 1956, No.

Dr. David W. Maurer (lecturer on narcotic addiction), and Dr. Victor H. Vogel (medical officer in charge of European activities U.S. Public Health Service), in their book, "Narcotics and Narcotic Addiction" (1954), adopt the definition of Vogel, Isbell, and Chapman, as follows: "Drug addiction may be defined as a state in which a person has lost the power of self-control with reference to a drug, and abuses the drug to such an extent that the person or society is harmed. It should be noted that addiction implies a compulsive and repetitious use of the drug, and that the harm done the user varies with the degree of personality disorder which characteristizes the addict. \* \* \*"

#### TOLERANCE AND DEPENDENCE

The American Medical Association report, referred to above, has this to say about tolerance and dependence:

"Tolerance is defined as a diminishing effect on the repetition of the same dose of the drug or, conversely, as a need to increase the dose in order to obtain the original degree of effect. Despite intensive research, the mechanism of tolerance is still unknown. The degree of tolerance which can be developed to the opiate drug seems almost boundless. Authentic cases have been recorded in which adicts took as much as 5 grams (78 grains) of morphine intravenously in less than 24 hours. \* \* \* Tolerance inevitably follows repeated administration of the opiates. \* \* \* Tolerance is manifested both by decrease in the intensity of the effect induced by a given dose of the drug and by decrease in the duration of observable action of the drug. If the dose of morphine the addict is taking is held constant for a period of weeks or months and the drugs are given at intervals of 6 hours, signs of mild abstinence ultimately appear or 5 hours after each injection. means that most patients receiving drugs in clinics would periodically wish to have their doses adjusted upward. What the final upper limit would be is unknown as are the physical effects of long-continued taking of large amounts of opiates."

I want to emphasize that addiction is not nullified by tolerance. The addict does not lose his craving for the drug. Rather his need for it increases, and the quantity needed to produce the desired effect must be

Continuing with the American Medical Association report, "Emotional dependence refers to the psychological meanings of the use of drugs and the effects of drugs. Psychological dependence is, of course, related to the effects opiates create within the central nervous system. These drugs have the peculiar property of depressing primary drives. They diminish hunger, thirst, fear of pain, and sexual urges. They allay anxiety, create a sense of pleasant relaxation, freedom from worry, and enable the user to engage in fantasy.

"The development of physical dependence creates a new biological need, the satisfac-tion of which is directly pleasurable just as is the satisfaction of hunger or thirst. addict tends to discard the usual methods of adaptation to life situations. Taking the drug often becomes the answer for all of life's problems. This creates a tendency to an indolent parasitic existence in many

"Physical dependence is defined as the development of an altered physiological state which is brought about by the repeated administration of the drug and which necessitates continued administration of the drug to prevent the appearance of the characteristic illness which is termed an abstinence syndrome. When an addict says that he has habit, he means that he is physically dependent on a drug. When he says that one drug is habit-forming and another is not, he means that the first drug is one on which physical dependence can be developed and that the second is a drug on which physical dependence cannot be developed. Physical dependence is a real physiological disturb-

"Physical dependence is important in that it tends to make chronic opiate intoxication continuous rather than intermittent. forces the addict to seek his drugs by any and all means. The first concern of many addicts becomes obtaining and maintaining an adequate supply of drugs."

#### DRUG ADDICTION IS A COMPLEX PROBLEM

Drug addiction is a complex social, economic, medical, psychiatric and legal prob-lem. It is a local, state, national and international problem.

Without overlooking the various aspects of this difficult problem, the experience in the United States proves that severe penalties strictly enforced, are an effective weapon in

reducing drug addiction.

This is the viewpoint of the Government of the United States, that is, the Federal Government, and of the governments of the

individual States.

In keeping with this belief and on the basis of actual experience, the penalties for the violation of our narcotic drug laws have been steadily increased and what is equally important, these penalties in most instances have been made mandatory.

#### PENALTIES

On July 18, 1956, the Congress of the United States passed and the President signed, the Narcotics Control Act of 1956. It provides a sentence of not less than 5 or more than 20 years for a first offense for illegal sale of narcotics, and for a second or subsequent conviction, a sentence of 10 to 40 years. These sentences are mandatory. The act prohibits a suspension of sentence and the granting of probation or parole. The Federal Narcotics Control Act of 1956 was influential in causing the imposition of increased penalties for the violation of narcotic drug laws by many of the States. Some of the recent State legislation is as follows:

In the State of Alabama an amendment to the State narcotic drug law adopted Septembber 4, 1957, provided the following mandatory penalties:

For unlawful possession of narcotics: 2 to 10 years in prison for a first offense; to 20 years for a second offense; 10 to 40 years for a third offense.

For unlawful sale of narcotics: 5 to 20 years for a first offense, and a possible fine

of \$20,000; 10 to 40 years for subsequent offenses.

No probation or suspension of sentence may be granted for any narcotic offense ex-cept for a first offense of unlawful possession of narcotic drugs.

In the State of Colorado an amendment of the statute adopted March 26, 1957 imposed the following mandatory penalties for the violation of the narcotic drug laws:

For unlawful sale of narcotics: 5 to 15 years in prison, with no probation or parole until the minimum sentence has been served.

For the unlawful possession of narcotic drugs and other narcotic offenses: 2 to 10 years for a first offense; 5 to 15 years for a second offense. No probation is granted for a second offense

In the State of Illinois an amendment to the State narcotics law, effective January 1, 1958, made the unlawful possession of narcotic drugs a felony punishable as follows: 2 to 10 years in prison for a first offense; 5 years to life imprisonment for a second or subsequent offense; no probation or suspension of sentence is possible upon con-

viction of a second or subsequent offense.

For unlawful sale of narcotics: 10 years to life imprisonment for a first offense; life imprisonment for a second offense; no probation or suspension of sentence is granted for any offense or unlawful sale of narcotics.

In the State of Minnesota House File 318, effective April 2, 1957, provided the following penalties for narcotic law violations: 5 to 20 years in prison and a fine of \$10,000 for a first narcotic offense of any type; 10 to 40 years and a fine of \$20,000 for furnishing narcotic drugs to persons under 18 years of age, or for a second subsequent conviction of any narcotic violation.

In the State of Missourl an amendment to the State narcotic drug control law, adopted August 29, 1957, imposed the following mandatory penalties:

For a first offense: 2 to 20 years in prison; for a first offense of being a drug addict, the court may suspend execution of sentence and place the offender on probation on condition that he enter a U.S. Public Health Service hospital within 30 days after conviction and remain until discharged by the medical officer in charge. No parole, probation, suspen-sion of sentence, or other form of judicial leniency may be granted for any narcotic violation except for medical treatment of addicts.

Five to 30 years in prison for a second offense, or a first narcotic conviction by a person previously convicted of any felony relating to narcotic drugs; 10 to 50 years for a third offense, if previously twice convicted of any narcotic law violation; 25 years to life imprisonment for a fourth or subsequent

Ten years to life imprisonment, a fine of \$10,000, or death, at the discretion of the jury, for selling, giving, or delivering any nar-

cotic drug to a person under 21 years of age.
In my own State of Pennsylvania, the recent law of July 19, 1957, provided the following increased mandatory penalties: For unlawful possession of narcotic drugs:

2 to 5 years in prison for a first offense; 5 to 10 years for a second offense; 10 to 30 years a third offense.

For unlawful sale of narcotic drugs: 5 to 10 years in prison for a first offense; 10 to 20 years for a second offense; life imprisonment for a third offense.

Except for a first offense of unlawful possession of narcotics, no probation, parole, or suspension of sentence may be granted, and the minimum sentence is mandatory.

The State of Ohio has had a minimum penalty of 20 years since 1955 which has almost completely driven out illegal traffic These are a few representative examples of recent Federal and State legislation imposing severe penalties for the violation of narcotic drug laws.

The increased penalties have had a most salutary effect in reducing narcotic drug addiction. The U.S. Bureau of Narcotics under the able leadership of Dr. H. J. Anslinger prepared a number of graphs which show the very substantial reduction in narcotic drug addiction which followed the imposition of severe penalties. In the District of Columbia there were only 60 addicts for the first 11 months of 1958 as compared with 200 addicts for all of 1956. In the State of Ohio there were 37 addicts for the first 11 months of 1958 as compared with 92 addicts for all of 1956. In the State of Texas there were 175 addicts for the first 11 months of 1958 as compared with 523 addicts for 1956. In the State of Louisiana there were 50 addicts for the first 11 months of 1958 as compared with 142 addicts for 1956. And in the State of Illinois there were 631 addicts for the first 11 months of 1958 as compared with 908 addicts for 1956.

The strictest laws are of little use unless there is an adequate and well-trained staff to discover and arrest law violators.

In that connection the U.S. Bureau of Narcotics, Department of the Treasury, under Dr. Anslinger established in 1956 a school of training course for State and local law enforcement officers. In the first 2 years of its operation that school trained 376 law enforcement officers, including 26 from foreign countries. Through this school the U.S. Bureau of Narcotics is rendering effective assistance to the several States and to the local governments in their efforts to suppress the abuse of, and illegal traffic in narcotic drugs in their respective areas by training enforcement staffs and increasing their effectiveness.

We have not overlooked the treatment of drug addicts in the United States. The Federal Government has two splendid hospitals which are especially devoted to the treatment of drug addicts. They are located in Lexing-ton, Ky., and in Fort Worth, Tex. Several of the States have established splendid hospitals for that purpose. An important step in eliminating drug addiction is the passage of statutes which permit the compulsory commitment of drug addicts by the courts. Many of our States have enacted laws for the compulsory commitment of drug addicts. These States are Alabama, Arizona, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Flor-ida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minne-sota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebrassota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebras-ka, Nevada, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, Oregon, Rhode Island, Pennsylva-nia, Tennessee, Texas, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, and Wisconsin.

Such laws for the compulsory commitment of narcotic drug addicts are in pari materia with laws for the commitment of the insane; they are valid under the police power or the State.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for permitting me to speak.

Poison in Your Water-No. 132

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON, JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 24, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I am inserting into the Appendix of the ConGRESSIONAL RECORD an article appearing in the Denver (Colo.) Rocky Mountain News of August 20, 1958, entitled "City Needs Money To Obey Health Order, Mayor Says":

CITY NEEDS MONEY TO OBEY HEALTH ORDER, MAYOR SAYS

Mayor Nicholson said Tuesday the State board of public health "can do all the ordering they want, but without the dough there isn't much we can do."

The board found Denver guilty for the second time in 2 years Monday of dumping inadequately treated sewage in the South Platte River.

Witnesses claimed it would cost the city \$10 million to meet the problem by installing a secondary treatment facility at its East 50th Avenue and Marion Street sewage plant.

"Where are we going to get the money.
I'd like to ask them," Nicholson said.
The mayor added he won't decide whether

to appeal the decision in the courts until he receives an order from the board.

William F. McGlone, Denver attorney and board president, said he will draft a formal order with Assistant Attorney General Sam Freeman this week.

McGlone announced the board's action became final and unanimous Tuesday after two board members visited the plant and inspected the river.

McGlone said the board would give Den-ver "a reasonable time" to comply with the

## Edwardsville, Pa., Now Celebrating Its 75th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON, DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 24, 1959

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC ORD, I include the following news story from the Wilkes-Barre Sunday Independent of June 21, 1959:

EDWARDSVILLE LAUNCHES JUBILEE CELEBRATION WITH HUGE PARADE

Edwardsville opened its celebration of the 75th anniversary of the borough yesterday afternoon with a parade that spread over blocks and took 90 minutes to pass.

It featured groups of men and women costumes, floats, bands, fire apparatus, police units, and the numerous organizations of the town. Among them was a beautiful float by Edwardsville Lions Club with Miss Edwards ville, the teenage queen and their cours Miss Edwardsville, selected Friday night reign over the diamond jubilee, is Miss Mar garet Mary Wallace, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Peter Wallace, 28 Green Street, Edwards ville.

The teenage queen is Rita Chepulis.

JONES, DANDO ATTEND Back for the celebration and participating in the parade were two prominent men who have their roots in the borough. They were Justice Benjamin Jones, of the supreme court, and Harold Dando, sheriff of Buts County, after retiring from the State policy Justice Jones acress as the state policy of the suprementation of the state policy of the state polic Justice Jones served as borough solicitor years, while Dando is a native son.

Brothers of the Brush were out strong with over 300 members marching in line, followed

by 200 Sisters of the Bonnet.

Among other groups participating were the entire membership of Edwardsville fire department in uniform, civil defense units, and police under James Garrahan, and members of the kangaroo court.

POLICE HEAD PARADE

Kingston and Wilkes-Barre motorcycle police and a detail of State police headed the parade, followed by a military color guard. Hugh Jones was the marshal, assisted by

A. J. Hozenipa, Burgess Chester Petroski, Hayden Evans, Frank Troski, and Ben Davis. The various units included: clergymen, ecial guests, borough and school officials, Alexander's Band, Lions float with marchers, Republican women of Edwardsville with float, Woodward Hill Auxiliary, Edwardsville firemen, Sisters of the Bonnet with floats, Navy, Army and Air Force vehicles, St. Joseph's Post of Catholic War Veterans with float, Kingston VFW drum and bugle corps, civil defense police, Girl Scouts, Boy Scouts, Ed-Wardsville Little League, Luzerne and Swoyerville fire engines and ambulances, Edwardsville High School band, Brothers of the Brush, mounted units, Edwardsville fire and ambulance units, floats by Spaulding, Hudak's and Suzanne's, Old Slocum float and marchers, Rruk's float with Corner Cafe unit. Rolls Royce cars by Ed Eyerman and Lewis Wolfe.

The anniversary book will be distributed Tuesday and the mammoth firemen's parade will be held Wednesday night. The climax to activities is scheduled for Saturday night with a grand ball in Russian Club Hall, Main Street.

## Alaska Only for the Young?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. ERNEST GRUENING

OF ALASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, June 24, 1959

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, Alaska is our youngest State, and is a young man's country. The average age in Alaska is 26, which compares with the national average of 29.8.

But Alaska is not only for the young. It is for youngsters of all ages—from 9 or younger to 90 and beyond. Alaska welcomes people imbued with a pioneer spirit, regardless of their age or previ-

ous condition.

These facts are well set forth with specific examples in an article entitled "Alaska Only for the Young?" written by Donnis Stark Thompson, and published in the July issue of a most excellent publication called the Alaska Sportsman published in Alaska's capital Juneau. In this issue of the magazine, the article is profusely illustrated with wonderful photographs; but, unfortunately, these cannot be reproduced in the Congressional Record, and must be left to the imagination of the reader.

For those who are interested in Alaska, as millions of our fellow Americans are, I know of no better way of setting acquainted with the 49th State than to read the issues of this excellent magazine of the great outdoors, which is filled with stories of everyday adventure on the last frontier, as we Alaskans have long fondly called our 49th State.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed at the conclusion of my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Rec-ORD, as follows:

> ALASKA ONLY FOR THE YOUNG? (By Donnis Stark Thompson)

Alaska is said to be the country of the young, the last of the "last frontiers," where the brave, venturesome youth comes after leaving friends, home, mother and everything else except hope behind, to pit himself against a hostile wilderness.

Some of my neighbors on the Kenai Peninsula, home of the moose and the huge brown bear, don't quite fit into the popular

formula.

Take Jessie Ainsworth, who lives alone seventeen miles out of the little town of Kenai. Her tiny one-room log cabin overlooking Island Lake is surrounded by spruce, cottonwood and birch trees, and sometimes

by bears.

Jessie is a red-headed, dynamic 62-yearold who served as a mess sergeant with the WAC's in the South Pacific during World War II and was in Manila when peace was declared. Her two children grown, she was casting about for the next step in her life when she wrote from her home in Arizona to a friend in Seward and jokingly asked about a job. The reply was a telegram saying to catch the next boat to Alaska-the job was waiting.

She has been here ever since. During the winters she worked, usually as a cook in the Seward Sanatorium, and in the summer she stayed at her cabin. Last winter she drove the seventeen miles back and forth to Kenal and worked in a restaurant so she could live

in her cabin.

Jessie has plans to build a larger house and add modern conveniences as she can afford it. Now, she must carry all her water from the lake. She cuts all her firewood. She does without a lot of things, including electricity and a telephone, but she has many compensations. She is free, she is independent, she lives in what must be the loveliest spot on earth, and for her every day can be a day of discovery

While Jessle and I were talking, a hummingbird flew from flower to flower in her yard. Her face lighted up with wonder. hummingbird. I didn't know hummingbirds got this far north. That's the first one I've ever seen up here in this country."

She told me about different animals she had observed, then pointed to strips of salmon hanging in her cabin. "It bothers me something awful, having that in here, but I have to because of the bears." Then she told me about having to shoot a black bear a few days earlier when it decided to move in on her.

"It was terrible," she said. "I hope I never have to shoot another one. The moaning and squealing as he died was something awful. Some people like bear meat, but I couldn't stomach it. I gave it all away to the neighbors."

Denny Sternes is no raw youth, either. Born in Cork, Ireland, 76 years ago, Denny came to Detroit in 1888 and was working up north as a government surveyor in During the winter of 1955 he made his move to the Kenai. He drove the Alaska Highway alone, and arrived at the home-stead on which he had filed.

The temperature was 35° below zero. walked the section line for 1 mile, decided the land was his, then took from his pack two blankets, one air mattress, and a piece of canvas that he fashioned into a tentlike shelter, and settled down for his first night on his claim. Next day he started felling logs and peeling them meticulously for his dream house, an ambitious 27- by 37-foot log cabin.

Since then Denny decided that homestead wasn't quite to his liking and gave it up to try a different location. He made a trip "outside" and back, alone in his 1948 car, and has put in many solid working hours to raise a little capital. He's a brickmason and steelworker by trade, and he gets many calls for concrete work in an area where such skills are rare.

#### SEVENTY-SIX, GOING STRONG

Denny talks of selling his investments back in Detroit for money to start a big concrete and cement plant up here. At 76, he is still eagerly searching the horizons of the future.

The second time I saw Denny he said. "Say, Sis, I'm leaving tomorrow for a caribou hunt up in the hills. I heard about it and I'm goin'. Why don't you come along?"

I had plausible excuses for not going, but I wasn't fooling myself. I couldn't have be-gun to keep up with that Irishman, the way

he gets around.

Irene Van Sky, 61, lives in a house little bigger than the attached woodshed which she herself fills every fall. Born in Kentucky, reared in Ohio, she came to Alaska to be near her son and his family. Instead of moving in with them, however, she got a homestead of her own. She built her first cabin, which was 10 by 12 feet. Of her present cabin she says, "Oh, I had help on it. The help did the bossin' and I did the

She has done a tremendous amount of clearing, and the scattered garden plots and berry patches represent an immense achievement where every square yard of clearing, without machinery, means an unbelievable amount of drudgery. She has more than 5,000 strawberry plants, besides potatoes, rhubarb, tomatoes, and cucumbers. Every old stump, every upturned tub or kettle, is sprouting one of her experiments. I marveled at her strawberries and how she raised

"Raise 'em?" she yelped, "Why, I can't kill 'em. They're takin' the place over." She went on to say, however, that she has trouble getting any berries because the birds "Just this morning I chased 8 or rob her. "Just this morning 10 spruce hens out of there."

"Oh, well," I told her, "spruce hen season opens in a couple of weeks, so you can get your strawberries back in the form of fried

chicken."

#### BEAR IN THE BERRIES

She told me of being at the far end of the berry patch when a black bear ambled across the road, across the end of the patch, and on into the woods.

"You know," she said, "out here I've thought a lot about what I'd do if I saw a bear. Well, I didn't do a durned thing, and neither did he."

To get some cash, the hardest crop to raise on the Kenai, she sells plants and garden produce, baby sits, and once raised rabbits. She has to carry all her water, and in winter she has to melt snow for water for the rabbits. That was too much bother.

Irene is an avid fisherman. She told me about catching her first silver salmon. "Only 12 pounds, but he put up such a fight I was so scared I saw yellow spots. My son asked me what I'd do if I tied onto one of those big kings, and I told him I'd quit fishing and go hunting."

Of Alaska she says she loves it and would do it all over again-homesteading, clearing and all, except the rabbits. In fact, the only thing in the world she could think of that she really needs is a well with a pump. Then she added, "And a moose this fall, naturally."

J. W. and Wilma Thompson, 68 and 62 respectively, have been living in and out of Alaska since they went to Nenana in 1944, she to teach and he to superintend the school there. In between periods of raising corn on their farm in Iowa, they have lived in Nome, Fairbanks, and Seldovia. Each time the call of the North grew stronger, until finally they homesteaded at Kenai. teaches, J. W. has a tiny office where he practices law and handles real estate. Being a veteran of World War I, he did not have to clear any of his homestead to prove upon it.

One of J. W.'s more interesting Alaskan experiences happened a couple of years ago. All the young men of the family had gone on an extended moose hunt, only to return weary, discouraged and mooseless and find a moose just waiting to be butchered. J. W. had bought a hunting license and 2 hours later bagged a moose only a few miles from

J. W. heartily recommends moose hunting for that exhilerating something different for

those past 65.

Homesteading in Alaska fits into the life pattern of Fred E. Burgess. Now 66, he was born on his uncle's homestead in the Palouse country in Washington, reared on a homestead in Idaho, homesteaded a sagebrush farm in Oregon. He and Mrs. Burgess toured Alaska in 1957 and went home thinking.

Recently I found Fred on his Kenai homestead, surrounded by his potato patch and a line full of drying clothes, waiting for his wife to finish up their business down in

Although his formal education ended with the eighth grade, Fred has been a lifelong student, particularly of forestry and forest conservation. He became interested in this subject in France during World War I, when he noted how much more progressive the French were than the people back home in the matter of conserving their trees. He has served on many irrigation, reclamation and conservation boards, sometimes as chairman for many years.

Fred is optimistic about Alaska's future. He dreams of making his homestead a model

tree farm.

I glanced about the cabin, small enough to allow th occupant to stay in bed and flip the sourdoughs on the stove, and wondered fleetingly just what a person would bring to such cramped quarters. What, of 66 years' accumulation, would one consider necessary, and what could be left behind?

Almost in answer to my thought, Fred dragged a battered suitcase from under the bed and removed a sheaf of worn, folded papers. Not without embarrassment he explained that these were some poems he had written many years ago, and he wondered whether I'd like to read them. There I sat in his tiny shanty on a claim and read stirring, beautiful words of patriotism—words that are rather out of fashion in this blase

Ed and Claudine Perkins, 65 and 60, live on a high cliff overlooking Cook Inlet and an incomparable view of snow-covered peaks on the Alaska Peninsula. Claudine was a teacher for 19 years. Ed was a carpenter—a trade that is coming in handy now that they're building their fine log cabin with a "patio and everything"—and a forester with various forestry organizations in the Western States.

Their children grown, they came to Alaska in 1952 and made several trips back and forth before they admitted that they had fallen under the "spell of the North." Moving here permanently meant giving up a brautiful home in Seattle, but Seattle is only 5 hours away by plane and they have visitors from home every now and then. Some are impressed, some downright appalled.

As Claudine put it, "We had this fellow up here and he just couldn't get over it. He kept saying, 'How could you give up that wonderful home in Seattle, where you had everything? All you had to do was push a button, and here you don't even have electricity. You even have to carry water to flush that modern tollet you brag about.' He kept that up all the time he was here, and he couldn't even see the inlet below us, or the mountains across, or the woods behind

"And while he was here we talked about a camping trip we were going to take.' Claudine paused to giggle, but I thought his remark might well echo the thoughts of many of their friends. "He said, 'Camping trip. Great Scott. You're camping all the

Yes; it's true, Alaska is a country of the young—the young at heart.

#### Is It Worth It?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I wish to include the final article in a series which has been appearing in Look magazine written by Mr. Earl Mazo which presents a very objective picture of the Vice President. These articles have been a condensation of Mr. Mazo's book entitled "Richard Nixon: A Political and Personal Portrait," which is being published by Harper & Bros. and appeared for the first time on the newsstands yesterday. I feel sure that this most interesting and stimulating biography which has been written in a most authoritative and fascinating way will undoubtedly become one of the Nation's best sellers:

IS IT WORTH IT? (By Earl Mazo)

RICHARD NIXON will not run for President in 1960 if he feels he will have to strongarm his way to the nomination. His Presidential fever is not that high. He says, happen to think the Presidency is the toughest job in the world. I do not intend to get on the treadmill Taft was on or that Stassen has been on-of seeking the nomination at all costs.'

Nixon has various reasons for his seeming willingness to bow out of politics at this time (an action he also contemplated at the start of the 1952 campaign and before the 1956 campaign). "I shudder at the thought of going through another campaign," he says. "It is a backbreaking, brutal test of the mental, nervous, and physical system.
Unfortunately, the high-pressure campaigns are getting worse."

He also believes that his family would be

far better off financially if he had renewed his law practice instead of going into politics after World War II. He worries that he may not be able to save adequately for his children's education. "I came to Washington 12 years ago with \$10,000 in Government bonds, my GI life insurance, a 1946 Ford, furniture, and \$14,000 worth of life insurance. Today, I have an equity in a house; we have a lot invested in furniture. | The family is better and more expensively clothed.

and its living standard is considerably high er.] But my net worth today is pretty small."

Nixon's current financial status is this "I own no stocks or bonds. [He cashed his Government bonds to buy his first house.] The only real property I have an interest in is the house in which we live on Forest Lane in Washington. The purchase price was \$75,000, and I have a \$50,000 mortgage on it with interest at 5 percent. In addition to that, we have only that amount of money in the bank which is necessary for current expenses. I have my retirement fund, which I contribute to on the same basis as Members of the Senate. | He pays \$218.75 a month and will be eligible for a pension of about \$15,000 a year when he is 60.] I have increased my life insurance, but I have increased it in term insurance. On this basis, you get more coverage for your money, but get nothing back unless you die. [His total of life insurance is \$39,500, including the \$10,000 GI policy.] The only other things and what one columnies the assurance and what one columnies the and what one columnist likes to refer to as 'the fabulous gifts' I have received on my trips around the world. I own no real estate other than my house. I don't own a lot. a piece of land any place. My wife owns nothing ing. We actually spend everything we get in. That is the way it has to be, if I am to do my job properly.'

The Vice President's gross salary is \$35,000 year, plus a \$10,000 expense allowance Nixon gets his check the last day of every month. After all the deductions-including \$485 for Federal income taxes—his monthly take home pay is \$2,202.09. It hardly compares with the income he could earn. Of an any-time-you-want-to-come basis. has been offered the presidency of a large California business enterprise and a partner ship in a New York law firm, each guarantee ing him an annual income of more than

\$100,000.

After a dozen years of an exceptionally successful political career, the net worth breakdown in dollars and cents shows NIXO today to be only a little better off, relatively. than he used to be. He says he regards himself—the knowledge and personal potent tial he has piled up—as the only really m-portant investment he has made for his family. "The only thing is, the health angle could ruin it." he adds. "If anything hap-pens to me physically, at this age, I would have only a short time to get account it. have only a short time to get around it. That's perhaps the major risk I am taking at the present time. at the present time—the one in health. It's a gamble."

During his childhood, Nixon was susceptible to illness; when he was 4, he nearly died of pneumonia; and during his senior year in high school and the senior year. in high school, he had a severe attack of un dulant fever. But today he is physically sound, despite the fact that he seeming! takes few precautions to stay that way.
would rather read than exercise. He is avid sports fan (he reads the sports page every morning before the regular news) and is more intimate with scores of baseball games going back many years and the relative standing of players than he is with spe cific election returns. He is not much of performing sportsman, however. He plays golf only occasionally. He does not hunt of fish. He is a nonjoiner of organizations. Sixteen-hour workdays were a play Sixteen-hour workdays were common to him before he was 16—and they still are. of can't do anything about it," he told me. still have to learn how to pace myself." major forms of relaxation would seem to propping his feet up on his desk while work ing or talking in his office, and listening his hi-fi set at home.

Nixon's Quaker upbringing excluded many relaxing pastimes available to members other sects. For example, card playing looked on as an unnecessary frivolity and gambling as a sin. However, during the war, Nixon became known as the only sane and sensible poker player in the South Pacific.

As a lawyer, he was able to qualify for a direct commission in the military service, and joined the Navy as a lieutenant, junior grade. After routine training, he shipped to New Caledonia and detailed to the naval air transport organization known as SCAT. Lester Wroble, a Navy friend and now vice president of a paper company in Chicago, says Nixon earned a three-pronged reputation at their first war-theater outpost, place called Green Island. With supplies and materials wheedled out of visiting naval craft, he set up what became known as "Mixon's Hamburger Stand," where officers and men supplemented their less appetizing service rations without charge. Occasionally, too, Nixon got hold of various items not on the Government issue list, like bourbon whisky, that were priceless to the men, and he shared everything with all hands.

His prowess at poker was impressive. played bridge in law school for the first and last time," Nixon relates.. "I never played Poker until I joined the Navy." The Green Island poker games ran to high stakes, as they did at other lonely outposts around the world. Wroble remembers one pot of

\$1,100. But Nixon avoided the wild hands. "Dick never lost, but he was never a big winner," says Wroble. "He always played it cautious and close to the belt. He seemed always to end up a game somewhere between \$30 and \$60 ahead. That didn't look like showy winnings, but when you multiplied it day after day, I'd say he did all right."

By hard work and by playing "close to the belt," NIXON has managed to do all right for a good part of his life. His ancestry dates back almost as far as any can in North America. Kinsmen of his mother came to Delaware from Wales in 1699. His father's line on this continent began when a James Nixon emigrated from Ireland in 1753. On his father's side, Nixon's forebears were tough, strait-laced, Bible-pounding Methodlats. His mother's family were devout Quakers. Richard was born in Yorba Linds, a farming village 30 miles inland from Los Angeles, on January 9, 1913. In 1922, the

family settled in East Whittier, Calif.

Family Intimates see Richard Nixon as a composite of his father, mother, and grandmother. Nixon says, "My grandmother set the standard for the whole family: honesty, hard work, do your best at all times. She had strong feelings about pacifism and very strong feelings on civil libertles. At her house, no servants ever ate at a separate table. They always ate with the family. There were Negroes, Indians, and Mexicans she always was taking somebody in."

The jutting jaw, thick eyebrows, upswept note and tendency to jowis that caricaturists have made Nixon's trademark are actually Milhous family imprint. The Vice President's brothers have the same no-nonsense look, and so does Hannah Nixon, their amall, dainty mother.

Allowances and spending money unheard-of among the five Nixon boys. first son, Harold, was born in 1909; Richard, in 1913; Donald, in 1914; Arthur, in 1918, and by and Edward, in 1914; Arthur, have died. Donald is now employed by a California. California milk company, after having tried in successfully to establish a chain of drivein restaurants which featured a triple-decker sandwich called the "Nixonburger." Edward is a Navy pilot.) Hannah and her husband Frank Nixon worked hard to lift their for their forms. their family from its early poverty. Richard began earning his own way at 10 or 11, just as soon as he was big enough to hire himself out as a part-time farm laborer. He later had lobe had jobs pumping gaseline and culling rotten apples and did two stints as a barker for the wheel of chance at the Slippery Gulch Rodeo in Prescott, Ariz. Nixon barked for the legal front of the concession, where the prizes were hams and sides of bacon. This was a come-on for the back room, which featured

Much of Nixon's early life centered at the East Whittier Friends Meeting House, the Quaker church where he and his family attended one form of service or another four times on Sunday and several times during the week. Nixon played the organ at the meetinghouse and taught Sunday school. Dr. Albert Upton, professor of English and drama at Whittier College, Nixon's alma mater, says, "The DICK I knew so well in college was not what I would call a militant Quaker.

He was just a typical Quaker."

Merton G. Wray, a schoolmate of Nixon and now a Whittier attorney, says, "I cannot reconcile his massive-retaliation policy in politics and as a public official with what I understand of the Quaker philosophy and of their fellowship of reconclination." Wray, who was often an opponent of Nixon in speaking contests during school years, adds, Since high school, Nixon has had the uncommon ability to take advantage of a situation before and after it develops. His success is due to knowing what to do and when to do it."

Nixon's brother Donald recalls, "Dick always planned things out. He didn't do any-thing accidentally. \* \* He wouldn't argue with me, for instance, but once, when he had had just about as much of me as he could take, he cut loose and kept at it for a half to three-quarters of an hour. He went back a year or two, listing things I had done. He didn't leave out a thing. I was only 8 and he was 10, but I've had a lot of respect ever since for the way he can keep things in his mind."

Dr. Upton says he was touched when he saw pictures of Nixon genuinely weeping on the shoulder of Senator William F. Knowland at the Wheeling, W. Va., airport after Nixon's dramatic 1952 telecast concerning the Nixon fund. "Once, I had to teach him how to cry," says Dr. Upton, "in a play called "Bird in Hand." He tried conscientiously at rehearsals, and he'd get a pretty good lump in his throat—but that was all. But on the evenings of the performances, tears just ran right out of his eyes."

During his 3 years at law school, Nixon's morale rose to peaks of enthusiasm and dropped to valleys of despair, which is characteristic of him even today. Friends gave him the nickname "Gloomy Gus" because he would complain, "I'll never learn the law; there is too much of it," when his grades were the highest. A schoolmate, who observed him studying late one night, advised him not to worry. "You've got an iron butt," he said, "and that's the secret of becoming a lawyer."

"I have a fetish about disciplining myself," Nixon admits. When provoked, he can swear a blue streak—but only among friends. He dislikes social affairs, especially formal dinners, but he has disciplined his bore-dom. "I found when you get bored, you get dom. "I found when you get bored, you get tired," he says. He watches his diet care-fully, figuring "the worst thing in the world is to eat heavy food when you have a lot of work to do." He is particularly fond of cottage cheese and ketchup.

He is probably the fastest dresser in high office, with a record of 8 minutes for formal clothes and 21/2 minutes for regular wear. He tends to deprecate himself, even in speeches. He makes a point of reading editorials that are critical of him or of a policy he favors, but often passes over or merely scans the laudatory comments. He has never watched himself on a filmed television program, and though he has a Kinescope copy of the "Nixon Fund" telecast, he has never taken it out of its can.

None of his law-school friends expected him to go into politics. Nixon himself recalls harboring no grandiose ambitions in the political field. "I wanted to enter the he says, "but I wasn't a youngster who wanted to be President."

Mrs. Nixon says that there was no talk of political life at all, either before or after their marriage. She has also said, "It would not have been a life I would have chosen." Any enthusiasm Pat Nixon may have felt for her husband's choice of career was dampened by the fund episode in 1952 and the terrifying experiences in South America. where she and the Vice President were stoned and spat upon and came close death. There is no indication that she has changed her views now that her husband stands on the threshold of the highest office in the land.

Of Nixon's predecessors, seven Vice Presidents have been elevated to the White House on the death of Presidents. Three of the nine Presidents in this century alone have taken office by succession. But only one Vice President, the controversial Martin Van Buren, has been elected on his own, without first succeeding to the office. (NIXON broke a precedent when he became the first Republican Vice President to be reelected.)

It is generally conceded that if Nixon suc-

ceeds to the Presidency before the next election, he automatically will be the Republican nominee. Democratic National Chairman Paul M. Butler believes Nixon will get the nomination in any case. "The first objective of our efforts is Nixon," Butler says. He is our common target." Nixon himself wonders why "the Democrats continue to make me their major target if, as Truman says, I am the easiest man to beat."

Since Nelson Rockefeller's triumph in the New York gubernatorial election has cast him as the serious Republican rival, Nixon has been willing to share or even shed the glory-and the abuse-of being front runner. "Potentially, Rockefeller could be a strong candidate for President," says Nixon. "He is photogenic, has a good voice, and he likes people and shows it in the way he meets them. In addition, he showed the ability to select and use expert professional advice in his campaign for Governor." With or without himself as a candidate,

Nixon sees a hard, challenging road ahead for his party, with not a single State or section safely Republican. He is satisfied that President Eisenhower and most Republican Party leaders "appreciate the fact that my primary desire is to see the administration succeed, and to rebuild the party so that this nomination would be worth something to somebody-maybe somebody else." Since Eisenhower has told him several times of his very strong feeling that it would be improper for him to show any favoritism between potential candidates, Nixon does not expect an endorsement from Ike-either for himself or for anyone else.

If Nixon does ascend to the Presidency in 1960, he will bring along many strong and seemingly unshakable habits and convic-

Essentially a cautious individual, he doesn't wish away risks. Few contemporaries can match his political boldness, and he is one of those rare politicians who would rather listen than talk. He constantly probes for opinions. Frequently, the eleva-tor operators, and maintenance men and clerks on Capitol Hill make more sense to him than his colleagues.

He is often said to have no interest in the

welfare of minorities and to sail with the political winds on civil rights. This is one of his failings as a politician. One has to dig long and hard to become convinced of his sincerity in this area. Intimates have always known that Nixon has no sense of racial or religious bigotry. Tolerance has been a way of life in his family. (A Quaker great-grandfather ran a station on the slave-rescuing "Underground Railroad" in southern Indiana.) As a student, Nixon wouldn't abide, and helped prevent, the exclusion of a Negro boy from a school club. Later, in law school, he was infuriated to learn that some officials of the American Bar Association had once tried, on religious grounds, to keep Louis D. Brandeis, whom he greatly respected, from being confirmed as an Assoclate Justice of the Supreme Court.

That Nixon is sincere on civil rights is certainly not to say he would refrain from using the issue politically. He has done so and will do so again. But his position on specific facets of the problem, such as school desegregation and compulsory fair-employment-practices laws, clearly is not tailored to capture bloc votes, since he favors a gradual program of desegregation and opposes as unworkable the idea of a Federal law to end discrimination by force. common surmise in Washington that Nixon would welcome racial antagonisms to split the Democratic Party and win the Negro votes in Eastern and Western States. Such a development could decide the Presidential election. The fact is, however, that he wants tensions eased and the problem of discrimination solved-and he would welcome a bipartisan effort to bring that about, though knowing full well that removal of the civil-rights issue would be a boon to the Democrats.

Nixon disagrees fundamentally Eisenhower on how to deal with this delicate "I feel strongly that civil rights is primarily a moral rather than a legal question," says Nixon. [Eisenhower sees it as a matter of enforcing the law, whether you like it or not.] "Laws play a necessary part, of course," Nixon points out. But he also contends it is "unrealistic to assume that passing a law or handing down a court decision will solve this problem. Where human relations are concerned, a law isn't worth the paper it is written on, unless it has the moral support of the majority of the people." It is his belief that "the place to start mobilizing the moral conscience of America is among our young people; they have the minimum of prejudice.'

As for school desegregation, he says, "The moderate approaches which have been put into effect in Nashville and Louisville are very constructive. They are reasonable and sensible and provide a possible formula which might spread all over the South in a way that would be workable and realistic."

Over the years, Nixon has altered his position on some issues. His espousal of Federal aid in certain fields of education and his support for freer world trade are typical. The most significant change, however, has come about in his interest in foreign affairs. In this field, he is the administration'sand perhaps the Nation's-leading advocate of Big Aid over Big Guns. "In the next 10 years, our greatest external danger will be not military, but economic and ideological," Nixon insists. Therefore, he believes, it is more important to provide money for peopleto-people and cultural-exchange programs than for missiles and submarines.

Nixon sees a "critical need" for corrective labor legislation stronger than that proposed by Senator John F. KENNEDY in 1958 and again in 1959, but he firmly opposes the right-to-work approach. "All that the right-to-work movement accomplished in 1958 was to serve as a red flag in bringing out a tremendous organized labor vote which was predominantly pro-Democratic," he says. "Right to work states a general principle that sounds good, but such measures in practice have been relatively ineffective. They don't touch the abuses that need to be dealt with. Those who supported right to work with their time and money would have

been far better advised to have contributed to the election of candidates to the State and national legislatures who could be counted on to consider and vote for necessary labor legislation."

Tax reform is another issue on which Nixon has firm personal convictions.
"While popular politically, the idea that we can get more tax revenue simply by soaking the rich is phony and unworkable, because the tax rates now are at such a level that we have dried up that source," he says. "You couldn't squeeze any more taxes out of the people in the higher brackets at this point than you could get juice out of a cue ball." Nixon favors a program that would lower taxes in the higher brackets, which "have reached the point of diminishing return," reduce corporate taxes and revise excise taxes. "This would have the effect of stimulating economic growth by unleashing capital and encouraging new capital," he says. "This, in turn, would lead not only to more revenue for the Government, but even more important, it would inevitably produce

more and better jobs."

What kind of President would Nixon be? To begin with, he would probably be the hardest-driving Chief Executive and the most controversial since Theodore Roose-There would be nothing haphazard. nothing bland about his administration, nor any doubt about its political identity. It would have holdovers from the Eisenhower regime, but under Nixon, they would move more energetically. And when the party's call to battle sounded, Cabinet members and other administration chieftains would most likely take to the hustings instead of touring faraway places or tarrying in Wash-

ington, as has become customary.
While Nixon would head the Republican Party in fact as well as name, the out-right partisanship of his administration would probably be less rigid than many anticipate and hope for. The first cries of disappointment probably would come from party leaders lining up at the White House door for patronage.

Lacking experience as an executive, he would of necessity have to stop writing all his own speeches, handling all his own press relations, being his own aid, and trying to manage all the activities for which the President is responsible. In addition, he would be haunted by some episodes from his career as a razzle-dazzle campaigner and congressional investigator. To uphold executive immunity in his administration after having demanded, as a Congressman, that President Harry S. Truman's people testify before Congress, for example, Nixon would need the best of his political skills.

In fundamental outlook, a Nixon administration probably would not differ radically from the Eisenhower administration. Essentially, it would maintain the familiar image of being conservative on domestic matters and internationalist in foreign affairs. But a Nixon administration undoubtedly would differ from Eisenhower's both in approach to problems and in make-

It could be expected to have businessmen in some important positions, but would never be a businessman's administration. It would also have brain trusters: "Frankly, Republican administrations and the Republican Party need, above everything else, a broader intellectual base. We have not used adequately the talents available. We have not called enough on our educational leaders, the so-called eggheads." There would be labor leaders, scientists and individuals of diverse talents in high positions. Furthermore, Herbert Hoover, Truman, Eisenhower, and maybe even Henry Wallace would be offered specific assignments. "Ex-Presidents and ex-Vice-Presidents should be constantly

consulted; their advice should be sought, and they should be asked to do special missions for the President." For all the bitter ness of his past campaigns, Nixon wouldn't hesitate to utilize his worst enemy if he felt that person was the best man for a particular position. The Vice President under Nixon would find himself burdened with even more than the record number of responsibilities Nixon has received under Elsenhower.

There would be little room for speculation about a Nixon administration's position on any issue of consequence. This approach would be selective, however, since Nixon considers himself "practical in the sense that I don't believe in taking issue simply for the sake of a fight." His maxim on com-promise is: "A leader must always conserve his resources for the battles that count-He must look at the major objectives of his administration \* \* \* and must never become involved in a fight on a minor issue which might prejudice his chance to win on s major issue."

As President, Nixon would probably have foreign relations as his primary interest-He would have a strong Secretary of State, one who could best fit the Dulles mold. deal with the Communists, Nixon is convinced American diplomats must have quality of unshakable conviction and character which an individual develops only through experience in handling the toughest practical problems." Nixon see that quality in a few well-known political and diplomatic figures, and also in several labor leaders. union official is often on the guest list when the Vice President entertains for visiting statesmen. Some labor leaders probably would have important State Department assignments after an overhaul of our overses personnel policies, which undoubtedly would be Nixon's first major task.

NIXON's solid belief in the importance of fate and circumstances in politics makes his honest observations seem coy or evasive. Concerning his political past and future, he told me, "I have been in a very fortunate position as a political man since the time I started. The positions I've gotten, first the House, then in the Senate, then the Vice Presidency, generally have come to me. happened that I was at the right place at the right time. This can change. The only thing that I will do so far as the future is concerned is continue to do the most effect tive job I can for the country and, of course for the party. And then what should happen will happen."

### Protecting Our Planes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 24, 1959

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, leave to extend my remarks in the REC ORD, I include the following editorial from the New York Times of Tuesday, June 23, 1959:

#### PROTECTING OUR PLANES

The problem of how to deal with attacks on our lightly armed reconnaissance plans in neutral waters and over the high seas more complex than it might seem to be of the surface. We were rightly outraged when a Navy patrol plane was attacked and badly damaged last damaged last week in waters at least 35 miles off the coast of North Korea by two Com

munist jet fighters. The much slower Amercan plane was not adequately armed to meet

this type of assault.

It should be borne in mind, first of all, that the function of this American plane was not combat. It was doing a nonbelligerent job for which it had been especially equipped. It had reason to do that job, and every right to do so, especially in the light of the repeated reports of Communist violations of the Korean armistice terms. Some sort of constant watch is obviously imperative, but it can be kept without our provoking hostilities.

On the other hand, it has been urged that auch noncombat planes should not be made atting ducks for trigger-happy Communist
MIG pllots, Korean, Chinese, or Russian.
They could be accompanied by our own jet aghter escorts on each patrol mission. But in that way these missions would be turned into potentially combat missions and we would certainly be accused of having invited any clashes that might occur. We do not wish to be placed in the position of swagger or bluster or of taking actions that could be regarded, even mistakenly, as aggressive or as asking for trouble.

For this reason, we have thus far leaned over backward, in the matter of a general Policy, to prove our peaceful intent. But that, also, does not solve the long-range problem of how to deal with unprovoked attack from an enemy that is less scrupulous than we are: Our military authorities, therefore, are making a careful review of the whole question in the effort to find some Solution that would preserve the lives of our then and at the same time preserve a desira-ble national position. That is not easy.

Meanwhile, the decision as to whether strong escort is required at any given time or place is to be left to the commanders in the field. as a temporary measure. It is not, however, a permanent solution, and further study will be required.

#### Oregon's Centennial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. EDITH GREEN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, the action by this House and the other body in admitting to statehood the new States of Alaska and Hawaii was an action in which I was proud to join. New interest in Hawaiian statehood has risen in the past few days because of the approach of next Saturday, when the people of Hawaii will hold their primary, and, as is expected, vote their approval of statehood. But, without in any in any way detracting from the legitimate pride which every American feels in the two youngest members of the Pederal family, I would like, at this time, to remind by colleagues of the birthday celebration of one of the older sisters.

The State of Oregon, putting aside the laboration of the older sisters. fabled womanly reluctance to talk about her age, is very proud of having reached the century mark and in my city of Portland there is being held a grand centennial trade fair and exposition to mark the event. Throughout the State State, innumerable communities are holding their own Oregon centennial celebrations. In the Washington Post

for June 21 there appeared an article about Oregon's birthday celebration. I ask unanimous consent that it appear at the conclusion of these remarks.

From the Washington Post and Times Herald, June 21, 1959]

NEW STATES STEP ASIDE FOR CENTENNIAL

PORTLAND, OREG .- Now that their first hurrahs are subsiding for the moment, the new 49th and 50th States are going to have to step aside and give up some of the limelight to an older sister, the 33d State,

Oregon's 100th birthday is upon us and the old girl is planning a real wingding, a centennial exposition at Portland lasting until September 17. That, however, is not the only magnet which will draw tourists to that northwestern paradise.

Don't settle for just a quick visit to the exposition, moving on to squeeze all the Western States into one trip. You haven't western Oregon when you have taken the usual tour of the area around Portland, the Columbia River Gorge, and Mount Hood-magnificent though they are.

In the east, in the central, and southern areas, on the Pacific Coast, this star in our

flag shines brilliantly.

Rent a car in Portland to drive through the forests and farms of the coast range for at least a few days along the Pacific. You'll agree with the entry in the Lewis and Clark

Journal: "Ocean in view. Oh, the joy." One of the joys is Highway 101, whose beauties in California are known to so many. It's thrilling in Oregon, too. In fact, from the northernmost tip of Washington to southern California, 101 is surely one of America's most varied and spectacular roads.

Its 440-mile stretch in Oregon is an admirable example of State foresight. Less than 30 miles of the wonderful beach evpanse is private property. All the rest is reserved under the State park system for free

Fishing and resort towns along the coast, mostly whiteshingled and bright with flowers, are faintly reminiscent of New England.

But there's a more uncluttered feeling because of the miles of unspoiled scenery, the deep forest just a little way inland and the differences in history.

The hardier pioneers of the Oregon Trail, Lewis and Clark, the earlier British, Spanish, and French navigators and the fur traders have all left their mark.

Any of these spots could be the setting for

a truly adult western:

Astoria, settlement of the fur traders, where you can follow the whole story of the Northwest in the carved friezes on the Astor column. With its history, the tower gives column. With its history, the tower gives you a stupendous view of the homes and gardens climbing the steep hills, the fishing fleets and the great mouth of the Columbia where it rolls into the Pacific.

Fort Flatsop and Seaside, the end of the trail for the Lewis and Clark Expedition, one of the grandest treks of all time. They wintered here in 1805-06.

Seaside now is one of the most attractive resort towns along the whole western coast. Vacationers from Seattle, Portland and other Northwest cities love its great wide beach and promenade along the ocean but a lot of eastern travelers pass it up.

Lookouts like Cape Perpetua, named by Captain Cook in 1778; and towns and bays and cliffs with Indian, Spanish, or English names all have vivid stores to remind us that Sir Francis Drake and the Spanish explorers of the 16th century knew this coast long be-fore the Pilgrims landed in Massachusetts.

Maybe you can take your history or leave it alone. There's plenty of fun and fine living in each of the towns along 101 plus every imaginable sport in the outdoors around them.

Trim fleets at Newport, Waldport, Depoe Bay, Astoria, and other centers take you out for exciting deep-sea fishing.

Other sportsmen try their hand at surf casting, or go for striped bass and other varieties in the famous fresh water streams threading the forest.

Swimming; beach parties; digging for those unsurpassed razor clams; renting a crab ring to snare your own big, tender, hardshell crabs; golf on splendid courses with distracting views of sea and mountains: riding, hiking; hunting for agates on Agate Beach (if you know how to tell an agate from an ordinary pebble) are all available. There's plenty of room for every activity.

If you do nothing but gasp at scenery your trip will be greatly rewarding.

The entire route is varied by remarkable rock formations and islets offshore where the sea birds cluster.

The highway climbs and winds, around and over great cliffs and headlands, above secret little coves where the surf boils, then along smooth miles of sand where it rolls

up gently for joyful swimming.

Farther south, near Florence, the fantastic cliffs and headlands fade into miles of white sand dunes. Local residents claim these are the largest dunes in the country.

Again you get into rugged country, rugged but flowery too-covered with rhododendrons or azaleas or other blooms according to Reason

Then the world-famous Rogue River fish-ing heaven and on to meet California's coast and the redwood groves.

Still you've seen only one segment of Oregon-but what a segment it is.

## Camp St. George, Mountaintop, Pa., Awaiting 15,000th Camper When It Opens on June 28

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 24, 1959

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD. I include the following newsstory from the Wilkes-Barre Sunday Independent of June 21, 1959:

AWAITING 15,000TH CAMPER-CAMP ST. GEORGE OPENS JUNE 28 FOR 40TH SEASON

Camper No. 15,000 will be welcomed when Camp St. George, Mountaintop, opens for his 40th season next Sunday. The camper, who will be honored, will be identified after records are checked

The camp, which was founded 40 years ago by the late Reverend Joseph E. Klump and a group of volunteer workers from St. Boniface Church, operates 20 days each Summer. The first 10-day period is for boys and the second

period is for girls. The age limit is 8 to 18 years, inclusive, for boys and girls.

St. Boniface Branch 75, Knights of St. George, has handled the camp project for the last several years as a part of its youth

activity program.

The camp president is Henry Stegmueller

Situated on Wilkes-Barre-Hazleton Highway, across from St. Jude's Church, the camp comprises 50 acres, 8 modern cabins, a mess hall, playground area, swimming pool, pavilion, baseball diamond, Indian trails and picnic tables and benches for parents and guests.

President Stegmueller announced the following camp committee for this season:

Leonard Krackenfels, Joseuh F. DeVizia, Henry Stegmueller Sr., Thomas Koval, Rev. Joseph C. Ward, Ray Cronauer, Stewart Kline, Ray Woods, Thomas Woods, Al Carpist, Ludwig Rauscher Jr., Joseph Greenfield, James Walsh, Carl Blaum, William Nylon, Eugene Burke, Donald Ruddy, John Stankus, John P. Mager, Harry, Heck, Clarence A. Cronauer, Gerald Stilp, Peter Shiner, and Joseph Greenfield Jr.

## Cardinal Urges Schools Teach About Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 24, 1959

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. there is no person in the world who has a better insight into and understanding of the evilness and destructive determination of the Communist mind, and of the vicious intent of atheistic communism, than His Eminence Richard Cardinal Cushing, Archbishop of Boston.

On Sunday, June 21, 1959, over TV channel 4 of Boston, Mass., Cardinal Cushing discussed communism in contrast with our way of life. He also pointedly called attention to the apathy of our people, an observation I thoroughly agree with.

The remarks of Cardinal Cushing should be read as widely as possible.

In my remarks, I include the text of the remarks of Cardinal Cushing:

CARDINAL URGES SCHOOLS TEACH ABOUT COMMUNISM

What is the difference between communism and our way of life? The communistic way of life is naturally rooted in the ma-terialistic philosophy behind communism. There is nothing new in the communistic philosophy. It is over a hundred years old in its crystallized form and it was put into that form by Marx and Engels \* \* \* and then perpetuated and further elaborated by Lenin and Stalin \* \* \* I sometimes call them the four horsemen of communism.

In the materialistic philosophy of communism, the only thing that exists is mat-ter \* \* \* the natural order. There is no order above the natural order. There is no Supernatural Order \* \* \* everything stems from matter, hence they use the expressiondialectic materialism, which embraces a form of philosophical theory that everything comes from matter and only from matter.

Therefore, in the Communist way of life, which is the application of the theory behind communism, we live only for a time

\* \* the old pagan theory \* \* \* "Drink and be merry, for tomorrow we die." The great difficulty is in the practical application of the principle \* \* the root source of communism \* \* you must live in a slave state \* \* a police state. The whole thing is absolutely unnatural for all who believe in God \* \* \* and the dignity of the masterpiece of God-namely man,

#### INNATE DIGNITY

Now in our way of life, we follow a philosophy that is rooted in spirit to value the existence of God and the fact that every man is a child of God, irrespective of his race or creed. He has an innate dignity because he is composed of a body and soul, The soul is the principal of his life made in the image and likeness of God—it's immortal, it's destined to live for eternity, and in accordance with our philosophy of life, man has God-given rights and should live in accordance with this philosophy of life \* rooted in the spiritual values and in the belief of the Supernatural Order must have love for one another \* \* friend or foe \* \* \* we must love everyone.

That in a summary way expresses the difference between the communistic philosophy and Christian philosophy, rooted in the existence of God and existence of order.

Jews and Christians of all types accept the spiritual values emanating from God and supernatural force, and if we hold fast to the supernatural order, we are not going to be brainwashed in the avalanche of propaganda which seems to get most of the publicity, especially in our country, whereas our rebuttal of this propaganda does not get a similar measure of publicity.

And, indirectly, multitudes of our people are being deceived and partly brainwashed by this propaganda machinery of the Communist Party, which is somehow or other very active in this country and gets this propaganda over the media of information like television, radio, the press, and maga-zines—all done in a very subtle manner but it is done-and we have not been able to counteract all that—by getting an equal amount of publicity—or the publicity we get is not featured enough. The result is that we all accept communism as another political movement, a new social order— whereas the whole thing is intrinsically evil.

What about instructing children about communism? Personally, I have been convinced, even though many do not go along with me, that we should teach communism in the upper grades of our high schools and in our colleges-and we should teach it for what it is-an intrinsic evil-like a medical student being taught about cancer and about the nature of cancer. Our children should be taught about communism-an evil influence—the most potential enemy that ever confounded a God-fearing people in the history of mankind. The point is, many do not believe in that because they think if we teach the children communism, some of the children might think of this as gooda new way of life.

The problem is to get the right teachers to instruct the children in the trends of communism. I don't know how we can arouse our people from apathy and indifference unless we teach communism.

I was speaking the other day to an admiral in the U.S. Navy who had spent many years in the Intelligence Service. He had read an article I had published on communism and he said. "I am a frightened man-for the simple reason that I am tremendously dis-turbed by the spathy and indifference of the people at large.'

I only hope and pray that many others will come along of the caliber of Mr. Dulles. He was the outstanding man in my opinion, not only in national life, but in international and diplomatic circles who really comprehended the evils of communism, and always kept on the straight line to the end-doing business with the Communists, but at the same time he knew he couldn't trust them, and knew it was impossible to do business with them. He laid the foundation of a future policy toward Communist philosophy. He always stayed on the line written across the fundamental principle that communism is anti everything that we hold near and

#### LACK OF INTEREST

But let me tell you one thing. If I were invited to give a talk this day, and it was announced that I would talk on communism, I think I would be talking to myself. The people do not seem to be interested-that is sad-it doesn't seem to augur well for the future, it is a shame to find that the greatest country in the world should be sold down the river of deceit and sold rapidly away because of lack of interest, lack of enthusiasm, for the ideals and welfare of the country.

People are tainted today by the material istic philosophy of life-even if we defeated the Communists tomorrow, and they ceased to exist, we would still be impressed by the materialistic philosophy of life that is very evident in practice. Whether it is embedded in the average person is to be doubted, but from the way that we are living in a marterial letter. terialistic aura, it is very evident to me that the battle of the future may not come for hundreds of years.

It is the battle for the minds and souls of men between the two philosophiesmaterialistic, that this life is the be-all and end-all, and the spiritual rooted in love of God and one another. Teach communism and at the same time, teach about God.

I think you have to understand that there are different types of Communists. of them are only nominal Communist For example, there are people who are look ing for a better social and economic order They are deceived to the extent that the may think communism is the answer their social and economic problems, specifically to problems of unemployment.

#### OTHER GROUPS

There are others who are Communists from a viewpoint of political theory. The do not accept democracy or any other of ganized form of government. They the theoretical Communists to the extent they feel th they feel that communism is the answer the worldwide problems of inequities among peoples—and so on. Then, there is a third group of Course a third group of Communists—the sincered dedicated Communists—the since bers—the card carriers—and the "fellow travelers" of the party. These individual could be sincere. Many of them are dedicated to this cated to this particular cause of communism

They are the masters of deceit because following the manifesto of communism. following the dictates of their leaders. are convinced that in order to establish universal communistic state, they can bypast every law of morality, of justice, of honest It is specifically stated in the writings Marx, Lenin, and Engels—and in the marks of Stalin and Khrushchev—that and thing goes." Their nay is not nay the yea is not yea.

ary. He is selling communist is a mission workers and neighbore workers and neighbors. He is an apostle communism. Some of them have suffer a good deal \* \* within the party itself \* \* and, yet, they remain to his fellow workers and the suffer a good deal \* \* within the party itself \* \* and, yet, they remain to his fellow workers and the suffer itself \* and, yet, they remain firm whether is through fear or misinformation, of exaggerated idea that communism solution of all the world's problems; the of the matter is that wherever you have Communist identified with the party, to man is dedicated to the cause—they are apostles of the cause. As a result, they infiltrate. They have their fifth column. They could even infiltrate into the Cathol Church but they could seem to the Cathol Church but they cause they are caused to the cause—they are caused they cause they cau Church, but they could never penetrate One of them told me himself that they ha been trying to infiltrate into the various ligious groups—"We have even been trying infiltrate into your own group, and we acconvinced that we can do it—but. We also convinced that also convinced that we cannot penetrate

#### REDS CLEVER

If we are alert—if we understand the technique of their methods—the so-could Communist mind—and if we act according and act against their subtle propagands, will find that little by little we will be ing the initiative; but, they are clever. identify themselves with good movement. They insist upon the fact that there shi be no such thing as segregation of peop on the basis of race, creed or color, anyone who believes in God in my opider follows along that idea—we are all children of God-we all were created for the same destiny-but they hold that we should love and help one another. And they violate this

Principle more than any people on earth.

They always talk about the rights of labor, the only thing the working man has to lose is his chains they say—but they put chains on the feet of millions of laborers in slave labor groups. But they identify themselves with good causes and are again masters of

The one thing Communists fear most is religion. Bob Considine, a feature writer, was telling me that in the interview with Khrushchev everything was beautiful until thee they mentioned religion. Then Khrushchev lost poise and portrayed his true character. They know full well that in order to survive they must conquer the world. Unless they do that they are done, and they will pass as at the contract the property of the passed. pass, as other false philosophies have passed from this earth. It is for the free world to hold fast to God, religion, spiritual values, and at the same time take a personal the same time take a personal to the same take a personal to the same sonal interest in their own government, and elect the best of leaders who believe in the the existence of God and in the dignity of man. Unless we have leaders of that type, regardless of political party, well, they can succumb to the deceitful propaganda of communism.

We should pray more, speak to God more; that's prayer, after all. Christ our Lord gave us only one prayer. "Our Father." We should speak to God in our own simple way, and speak to God as our Father, no matter what our faith may be. All of us can do this. If we are close to God, we will be close to one another.

NEED ENTHUSIASM

We should pray for Communist leaders. Communist Party members. They may be sincere. Let us give them credit to the ef-fect that entere. Let us give them credit to the erfect that they are sincere. If we had the enthusiasm of some of the outstanding Communists in the world, and applied it all to the community of the world, and applied it all to the community of the commu the moral principles of the love of God and love of man throughout the world, we would be a face of this would be able to change the face of this

We are not articulate enough with regard to religion and our belief in God, and the result is that materialism and secularism are creeping to the result is that materialism and secularism are recepting to the result is that materialism and secularism are recepting to the result is the result in the result in the result is the result in the result in the result is the result in the result in the result in the result is the result in creeping into our lives and we are bypassing

Not everyone can comprehend the prin-ciples behind communism, not everyone can be an be an articulate missionary for our way of life, but everyone can pray, speak to God

in behalf of what is good, fine and eternal.

If we are what is good, fine and eternal. If we are concerned about ourselves, we should be concerned about our children's children. I tell you we're not leaving them much much. I tell you we're not leaving much. They will carry the burden of the mistakes of this generation. Let's all begin to come back to God in prayer and reparation and severyone. tion and meditation. Pray for everyone, friend and foe. Let's have a comeback to the God, comeback to prayer, comeback to the ideals of this Nation under God.

God love you all.

Heavy Electrical Machinery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WILLIAM E. HESS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 24, 1959

Mr. HESS. Mr. Speaker, some very interesting information was given to me recently by the general manager of the Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Co. plant, in Cincinnati, Ohio. I asked him to furnish me certain facts in regard to the purchase of heavy electrical machinery, which is highly important to our national defense.

Under leave to extend my remarks I in-

clude the following statement furnished me, which I believe will be of interest to all Members of Congress:

During the first quarter of 1959 the following orders for large steam turbines were placed in this country.

Manufacturer	Number of units	Unit size (kilowatts)	Customer
Allis-Chalmers Do General Electric Westinghouse Do Brown Boveri	1 1	340, 000 22, 000 200, 000 325, 000 00, 000 200, 000	Consolidated Edison. Black Hills Power & Light. New England Electric. Public Service (New Jersey), Kansas City R.P.U. Los Angeles Department of Water and Power.
Do Parsons.	3 1	22, 000 500, 000	Medina Electric Co-op. Tennessee Valley Authority.

The first five items totaling 947,000 kilowatts, you will note, were all placed with U.S. manufacturers and are all being paid for with private funds.

The last three items totaling 966,000 kilowatts involve public moneys, either Federal or municipal. To produce this 966,000 kilowatts of turbine capacity will require in the neighborhood of 2 million man-hours of direct labor and something over 700,000 hours of indirect labor. In other words, these or-ders will cause this country to import some 2,700,000 man-hours of labor, much of which would fall within the highly skilled category. Machines involved are of such nature that high production methods are not possible due to the many variations in size and other factors. It is, therefore, entirely probable that approximately the same number of manhours would be involved abroad as in this

Recently there has been considerable agitation, and I believe some sympathy within Congress, to increase unemployment benefits and also for the Federal Government to create employment. The action of the private utilities, as indicated by the first five items in the above tabulation, indicates that they are helping to absorb a considerable amount of labor by placing their orders here. Where the purchases are with public funds, as in-dicated by the last three items, there is a tendency to increase unemployment, or at the best, there is no tendency to aid in decreasing unemployment. It seems to be entirely inconsistent to increase a bad condi-tion on one hand and then lay out funds with the other to alleviate that condition.

I realize that some authority in determining whether equipment of the class mentioned above is to purchase in the home market or imported, lies with the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization. However, I believe it is the function of Congress to establish major Federal policies and I hope that you can see your way clear to establish a policy whereby heavy equipment necessary to the country's welfare and defense will be purchased from domestic manufacturers. There are a number of other strong reasons for taking such action but I am sure you are already familiar with these and I am not going to attempt to indicate them here.

Better Than Coffin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, it is a little understood fact that today we can get more medical and hospital care for our dollar than ever before. The cost of living is much higher because of inflation over the years; that is, the dollar buys less. Therefore, the necessities of life cost more dollars.

This brings us to the record fact, seemingly a dilemma in view of the dollar's decreased buying power, that as life expectancy is being increased because of improved medical care, older citizens on fixed income are hurt. An editorial from a northeast Georgia newspaper quotes a colleague on this subject, "Today's hospital costs better than coffin."

TODAY'S HOSPITAL COSTS BETTER THAN COFFIN

"I think one reason hospital costs are going up and have gone up is that the pa-tient now comes out on his own feet rather than in a coffin."

This is the opinion of U.S. Congressman THOMAS B. CURTIS of Missouri. He goes on to say; "People get an awful lot more for \$1 of medical and hospital care today than they ever got before."

Congressman Curits believes that the increased cost of living today indicates, in many cases, an increase in the quality and standard of living. Among these increases are better medical care and longer life.

These same years of added life, though, are levying a tax of inflation on America's older citizens, thus creating an economic problem, the Congressman said. His suggested solution: Modern nursing homes which can care for the aged at reduced rates.

Government, Congressman Curris said, will always play an active role in solving social problems, but he stresses the individual's role in bringing about improvements and he urges medicine to take an interest in governmental activities at the grassroots level.-From Georgia Health magazine.

The Marine Corps and Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, a recent editorial in the San Diego Union briefly. but factually, summarizes the logical need to strengthen the U.S. Marine Corps as the Nation's force in readiness. It reflects the concern of so many of our thinking citizens that a Marine Corps of 175,000 is not adequate in these times; that a corps so reduced will not be

able to provide the three combat divisions and three air wings the Congress

has established by law.

We, of course, as Members of this body, know that in fact the three divisions and three wings will have to be maintained at considerably less than full strength so long as the corps is held at 175,000. This thoughtful editorial comment on the nature of the calculated risk we take in reducing and even eliminating combat-ready Marine units, measured against the seriousness of the continuing threat so clearly and succinctly described will, I hope, help to prompt a careful reconsideration of this problem by all Members.

Under leave to extend my remarks. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial "The Marine Corps and Security" be reprinted in the REC-ORD. I commend it to the serious atten-

tion of our colleagues.

[From the San Diego Union, June 8, 1959] THE MARINE CORPI AND SECURITY

Despite the lessons of history and the harsh facts of the current world situation the leadership of the House of Representatives steamrollered attempts to increase Marine Corps strength from 175,000 to 200,000 men. But there is good reason to believe that the Senate will rectify a situation so inimical to national security.

Two of the most powerful Members of the Senate, Mike Mansfield, Democrat, of Oklahoma, and Paul Douglas, Democrat, of Illinois, have served notice that they want a Marine Corps of 200,000 men. And they want it at the earliest possible moment. In this they have the concurrence of Lynpon John-

son, the Senate Majority Leader.

In a recent speech on the floor of the Senate, Senator Russell Long, Democrat, of Louisiana, reminded his colleagues that they are charged under the Constitution "with raising and supporting armies." Senator JOHNSON warned that although the intent of Congress was misread last year when the Marine Corps was cut back to 190,000 men, it will not be permitted to be misread at this session.

The lesson of Korea must not be forgotten. When that war broke out, those who seek to make a ceremonial force of the Marine Corps had successfully cut corps strength back to six battalions. This was in spite of the fact that Congress had appropriated sufficient funds to support a measurably larger force.

With the chips down, the Marine Corps by a massive effort was able to provide a brigade that turned the Communist tide at Pusan. This is but one example of how the Nation's traditional force-in-readiness has fulfilled its mission with distinction.

Suez. Lebanon, and the Formosa Strait crises have followed each other in lightning swiftness. In each case this Nation's swift and telling counters to Red aggression demonstrated the way in which the Marine Corps fulfills its precise and effective role.

The philosopher, George Santayana, once made a comment that fits today perfectly: "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it." The House leadership proved this.

Time after time the Congress has spelled out in detail the roles and missions of the Marine Corps. Only last year Congress stated unequivocally that "a strong Marine Corps is essential to our National Defense Establishment." That strength is translated into a striking force immediately available and prepared to fight a general war, a small war, or a limited war.

The Senate shows no sign of abandoning the position taken in 1958 by its Appropriations Committee: "In the considered judgment of the committee, the security of our nation demands that the Marine Corps be maintained at a minimum strength of

Certainly, history and a volatile world offer no rebuttal.

Our No. 1 Soldier Steps Down

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JOHN JARMAN

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 24, 1959

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Speaker, Okla-homa is extremely proud of one of its famous adopted sons, Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, who on June 30 is stepping down from the post of Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army and retiring after a long and distinguished career.

Although the general has never lived in Oklahoma, his parents, Mr. and Mrs. John E. M. Taylor, live at 1204 Northwest 48th Street in Oklahoma City, and General Taylor frequently has visited his parents in Oklahoma since they moved from Kansas City, Mo., to Muskogee, Okla., in 1922, and several years later to Oklahoma City.

Mr. Speaker, we in Oklahoma would like to join in paying tribute to General Taylor for his outstanding record of service to the Army and to our Nation, and at this point I should like to insert in the RECORD an article appearing in Orbit, the magazine of the Sunday Oklahoma, on June 21, 1959, written by Mr. Allan Cromley and entitled "Our No. 1 Soldier Steps Down."

OUR NO. 1 SOLDIER STEPS DOWN

(By Alan Cromley)

Washington.-Gen. Mexwell Davenport Taylor, who was honored Tuesday by the Oklahoma Legislature, will retire from service June 30. Those around him are certain he won't be comfortable in a rocking chair.

He delivered a speech before a joint session prior to presentation to him of resolutions passed by both houses. They commended him on his service to his country.

They say he hasn't made up his mind what he'll do when leisure time is suddenly thrust upon him after 40 years of Army selfimposed discipline.

It's not believed that he'll make a hasty decision, although corporations are re-portedly bidding for his services as a high-

powered administrator.

At 57 years of age he is a trim, 172-pound 6-footer. He's a nonsmoker. He drinks Scotch whisky—moderately. He's a strong believer in physical fitness and practices it.

He speaks German, French, Spanish, Japanese, Korean, and some Chinese, He prefers philosophy to whodunits. He reads classical literature and likes classical music.

The beautiful wooden desk in the general's big office in room 3-D-668 of the Pentagon is always clean when he leaves it. He wades through a staggering amount of work, much of which he takes home to Quarters One at nearby Fort Meyer on weekends.

He never cusses, out loud at least. He displays anger only by a voice inflection which

his associates say is highly effective. He smiles, but not to excess.

Even so, he has a sense of humor that is fatal to an heroic pose. He tell this story on himself. It was during the war when he became a paratroop general.

He asked a group of troopers what they thought of their job. Several maintained

they liked the danger.

"Then I asked another soldier. He said I don't like jumping out of airplanes but I like to be around people who like jumping out of airplanes."

"Those are my sentiments entirely."

And even more cogently, Taylor's aversion to the Homeric phrase (except when uttered by Homer) is illustrated by two inscriptions at West Point.

On the walls of a gymnasium are these words: "Upon the field of friendly strife are sown the seeds that, upon other fields, on other days, will bear the fruits of victory.

Taylor's words? No. sir. Those were put there by Gen. Douglas MacArthur when was Superintendent of the Academy.

Along came Taylor, years later, as superintendent. His comment on physical fitness was inscribed on a locker room scale. says, "This scale is to remind the officers of West Point that a potbelly cannot lead the corps of cadets."

On this subject, physical training, Taylor leads as well as directs. "I've often told my officers that a man's on duty if he's exercis-

ing." he says.

He's probably the best 57-year-old squash and tennis player in the country—certainly in the Pentagon. He plays every day. If the weather permits, he plays tennis of sold collegiate caliber, and his partner is likely to be Lt. Col. Charles Daniel one of his three be Lt. Col. Charles Daniel, one of his three aides, all-Army doubles champ of 1948.

If the weather is bad the general play squash at the Pentagon with Lt. Col. Bernard

Rogers, another aide,

Rogers is 37 and appears to be in good condition but he admits to being "glad when the general takes time out for a breather. To the comment that this seems rather strep uous for a 57-year-old, even it is Taylor, aide replies that the general does not overed it, does not prolong the game beyond 30 of 40 fast minutes. 40 fast minutes.

In fact, he seems to be a man of moders tion in everything but self-control. If all this adds up to a robot, which it certainly seems to, it's a wrong impression, declare the

general's intimates.

They say he's so well organized in his personal habits that he has been able to learn his languages, attend about every school the Army has to offer, keep in tip-top physical trim, maintain a clean desk—and still have time to prake and seed and still have time to make and keep friends.

The general is said to be a gracious hos He's married and the father of two sons.

John, the older, is an employee of "a Government agency". ment agency." (This is a Washington et phemism for the supersecret Central Intelligence Agency.) The other son, Thomas is in his second vector. is in his second year at the U.S. Militan Academy, where the general ranked fourth the class of 1922.

Why he wasn't first is hard to understand He does not like to sit still. He's alway on the go. He's the nearest thing to per petual motion yet developed by the Pents

All this brilliantly directed energy will be lost to national defense next month when the general complete. the general completes 4 years as the Army of top military officer. (Civilian Secretary the Army Wilber Brucker is his boss.)

Were it not for fate and his basic disagre ment with certain administration defend policies, Taylor might be headed for the only higher military lob received higher military job possible—Chairman the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

This is technically impossible. Air Force Gen. Nathan Twining was recently appointed to another 2-year term as Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman. He's expected to be able to return from a lung cancer operation to his lob by the end of June.

But even if Twining's health should fail, Taylor probably would not be his successor, in the opinion of everyday Pentagon re-

Well known is his view that the administration has neglected the Army and slighted preparations for limited wars. He does not believe that future ware will be won solely or

even largely by airpower or nuclear weapons.

In July 1955 he pulled no punches in telling. ing Congress that to run the new Reserve program he had to have 13,000 more men than provided by administration cutbacks.

His speeches reflect an intense belief that the runtil he nithiled to death

the United States could be nibbled to death in plecemeal encroachments—as well as blass. blasted to bits in one big nuclear holocaust. Standing behind him in this view, despite

the frowns of administration massive taliators has been Army Secretary Brucker. Only a door separates their offices. Each day at 2:45 p.m. Taylor strides through the door for a 30-minute conference with his civilian counterpart. On Mondays they have lunch lunch together.

It would have been interesting to have eavesdropped during recent Pentagon shifts caused by the unexpected death of Donald A Quarles, Deputy Secretary of Defense, and

the serious illness of Twining. Brucker would have been a logical choice as Quarles' successor, but the President chose outgoing Navy Secretary Thomas S. Gates, Jr., who in a recent speech urged the elimination of the successor of the elimination of the second seco the elimination of very expensive mass destruction, single-purpose weapons systems

to provide additional funds for limited war

preparations.

However, his words did not win Army supto meet limited and cold war threats was greater reliance on the Marine Corps and aircraft carrier task forces—not a big Army and more airlift.

It remains to be seen how outspoken Taylor will be once he leaves the service and the accompanying mandatory allegiance to the Commander in Chief.

Rumor, of questionable accuracy, had it at one time that he would write critical memoirs. However, he reportedly was very pleased. bleased when the President gave him perma-nent four-star status for retirement.

This would not necessarily deter a man or Taylor's demonstrated integrity, but he's not likely to follow the path of his predeces-sor as Chief of Staff, Gen. Matthew Ridge-way. way, who said, "The pressure that was brought on me to make my military judgment conform to the views of higher authority was sometimes subtly, sometimes crudely applied."

Taylor has the admiration of Eisenhower for his the admiration of as a peace-

for his brilliance in combat and as a peacetime administrator. His biography crowded with achievement.

For instance, on September 7, 1943, Taylor was sent by British PT boat and Italian corvette the vette through enemy lines to Rome 24 hours ahead of the planned airborne operation and scheduled invasion of Italy.

In uniform, but disguised as a prisoner of war, he sneaked through enemy territory to an all-night conference with Marshal Pietro doglio, who had secretly surrendered his Italian troops to allied forces.

He finally convinced Taylor an airdrop would be suicidal. "Calling it off was the toughest decision I ever had to make." says Taylor, who was anxious to demonstrate the val. the value of paratroops in such a situation.

Elsenhower later said that Taylor took risks on that mission which were "greater than I asked any other agent \* \* \* to undertake during the war,"

Taylor was awarded the Silver Star, which was followed by the Distinguished Service Cross for his participation in a predawn D-Day jump with elements of the 101st Airborne Division into Normandy.

That was when he was put in a very un-

general position. He got separated from his troops. He was crawling along a hedgerow.

He heard someone on the other side. Was it friend or foe? Then came a chirping noise, somewhat like a cricket, and the general knew all was well.

He fell into the arms of an American GI, and they greeted one another like long-lost brothers. The chirping noise had been produced by a device given to paratroopers for mutual recognition in the dark.

And then there was Bastogne, where the 101st Airborne Division, then commanded by Taylor, was surrounded in the Battle of the Bulge. It caught Taylor in the United States, he having been summoned to the Pentagon for briefing.

He flew back and made his way through enemy lines to the besieged unit, where Brig. Gen. Anthony McAuliffe, assistant division commander, had just uttered his famous "Nuts" reply to a German demand for sur-

It isn't likely that Taylor would have ever considered, or at most uttered, such a dramatic and headline-catching rejoinder.

But he appreciates it just the same. He says it was "the greatest monosyllable of the

It's hard to predict where the general goes from here. If his predecessors are a criterion, it will be to a good job in business or in-

Ridgway is chairman of the Mellon Institute for Industrial Research at Pittsburgh, Pa.

Gen. Omar N. Bradley, who preceded Ridgeway in the Chief of Staff job, is chairman of the board, Bulova research and development laboratories.

But come what may, General and Mrs. Taylor won't lack for groceries. His retirement pay will be \$15,300 a year.

And even if he has to occupy that rocking chair for a while, he can read that stack of German and Japanese newspapers that he subscribes to.

#### Veterans' Pensions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

#### HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, on June 22, 1959, there was an article in the Wall Street Journal regarding the pension bill, H.R. 7650, which passed the House

last week. This is a good article and I think all Members will find it helpful. THE VETERANS' PENSION BILLS

Some dispute and confusion has arisen over a provision of the major veterans' pension bill passed by the House. It is really two bills not one. The first by basing veterans' pensions on need and by other changes would result in savings estimated at \$12 billion over the next 40 years. But the second by qualifying a large group of present and future widows of World War II and Korean war veterans for pensions, would add some \$22 billion over the same period above the cost of the present program for widows.

This results from so-called widows' equalization. Under present law the widow of any World War I veteran qualifies for a pension if she meets the test of need. But widows of veterans of the later wars do not qualify unless the veteran at time of death had established some degree of disability incurred during his wartime service. The bill would remove this requirement.

Regardless of the basic merits of granting pensions to veterans' widows, it seems only fair that widows of veterans of all wars should be treated alike. To the extent that a widow without other means is enabled to get along because of a pension, she will not be a charge on other publicly financed relief. The Eisenhower administration has backed the concept of widows' equalization in the past, though it made no formal recommendation this year.

Thus the addition of this provision is an Improvement over the present system. The additional costs of widows' equalization, however, provide an additional reason for the Senate to tighten further the tests of income for both pensioners and widows,

Remarks of Congressman Lane at Annual Banquet of Veterans of World War I in Boston, Mass.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 19, 1959

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a portion of my remarks at the annual banquet of the Veterans of World War I of the United States of America at the Hotel Bradford, Boston, Mass., on June 20, 1959.

REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN LANE AT ANNUAL BANQUET OF VETERANS OF WORLD WAR I IN BOSTON, MASS.

Greetings: You saw what happened in the U.S. House of Representatives last Monday. A pension reform bill was passed. Its purpose, on the face of it, was to scrap flat pension payments and substitute slidingscale benefits, based on need.

There is not a man or woman here who opposes higher pensions for veterans with non-service-connected disabilities who are in need. Or to provide for their widows and their orphans.

This is nothing new. We have been for

this all the way.
What we do object to is the manner in which this worthy cause is being used to block progress toward a pure service pension for the veterans of World War I.

Representative Van Zandr, myself, and 32 others, opposed the bill for this reason alone.

Although the bill was sweetened up with temporary increases to beguile the innocent, we saw its real though hidden motive.

The needs test is the trap.

They don't intend to hit you all of a That would be too obvious. Slowly but surely, through the application of the needs test which will not only take into account your outside income but that of your wife's as well, they propose to choke off most pensions for non-service-connected disabilities.

This is a challenge that must be met by a strong and sustained reaction in favor of a service pension for all World War I veterans based on age, and without the slippery sliding scale that makes a mockery of the pension reform bill that was passed by the

House last Monday.

The report on that bill came out last Friday. We were given no opportunity to consider the testimony of those who were for, or against it. Amendments to the bill were prohibited. It was rammed through under a gag rule.

I know many Members who voted for this bill with great reluctance. They did not want to be recorded in opposition to a veterans' bill, even though that so-called veterans' bill was a betrayal of the veterans of World War I.

The sponsors of the bill knew this and took advantage of it, forcing Members to vote for it against their will. The House was placed in the awkward position of supporting it, or, being cornered like the man who was asked: "When did you stop beating your wife?"

There were not many with the courage to vote against this bill that, in the long run, and in fact, will be detrimental to the best interests of all veterans.

The terminology of this bill with its needs tests, places veterans in the same category as recipients of old-age assistance, depriving them of the right to receive a pension based on age and honorable service.

In response to this veiled insult we should redouble our efforts to win a genuine pension for World War I veterans, consistent with similar pensions that were provided to the veterans of previous wars.

This is the purpose of our organization, but not the only purpose.

As veterans, we insist that our Nation shall be fair in its treatment of the men and women who served it so well in time of national peril irrespective of the wars in which they served. As we look at the record, we feel that the veterans of World War I have been the victims of neglect. And we are determined to correct that oversight.

As veterans who know firsthand, the cost unpreparedness, we are also concerned with the state of our Nation and its leader-

In the pleasant month of June, that is set aside for beautiful brides and starry-eyed graduates, we live again through our children and grandchildren, the beginnings of a brave, new world.

In the role of senior veterans, we are like the elder statemen who, out of the accumulated wisdom of their experience, do not rest on memories, but lead our people toward tomorrow.

Ours is a great and fruitful land where there are hurdles on the road of progress but no walls.

The only factors that slow our development are lack of vision and lack of will.

As we look around our Nation, we see most of our people busy at their work, providing for their families, improving their standard of living.

As individuals, most people are doing well. But what about our national goals?

Is there confident direction and purpose, able and willing to do those things which can, and must be done?

In Washington, one senses a cautious mood, basing policy on things as they are, watching and waiting.

As if afraid to go ahead. Negative. Not positive.

In spite of so much that needs to be done, and can be done if the tremendous resources of our Nation are fully employed.

This constructive force, once liberated, could finance many more development programs and balance the budget at the same

This supercaution at Washington, this lack of faith in the capacities of our people, is doing our Nation and the cause of freedom a great disservice. If our Nation is realizing only three-quarters of its present potential, the reason for this is lack of leadership that can be traced to the hesitation at Washington.

In urban redevelopment, airport con-struction, medical research, education, aid to underdeveloped countries, foreign policy, and other problems, there is lack of imagination, planning, and initiative.

Meanwhile, deterioration does not stand

The other day, I happened to see a survey of a Massachusetts industrial city.

More than 70 percent of the housing

units were built in 1919 or earlier.

Almost 30 percent had limited plumbing facilities, or were in need of substantial repairs.

Only 40 percent had central heating. The oldest school, still in use, was built

in 1876. Most of the industrial buildings date

back more than half a century.

This is not an isolated case. York City to the smallest village, there is a huge backlog of essential building; public, residential, commercial, industrial, the community services that go with them, that would provide work for hundreds of thousands of people in manufacturing, construction, and related industries, and would open up new economic opportunities for many more.

The airplane manufacturing, electronic, and nuclear energy industries are devoting most of their research and their production to meet the needs of national defense. But there is no reason why they cannot be enlarged to provide for the needs of people, and the needs of other industries, thus serving as a spur to our economy, thereby increasing our national wealth.

From the neighborhood variety store to General Motors, there is not one enterprise in the United States, outside of agriculture, that could not produce more, or sell more, given the encouragement and the leadership that must come from Washington. Economic expansion will not be stimulated by timid policies. Trying to balance the Federal budget in line with present revenues, is putting a brake on America's progress. No wonder that so many Americans feel frustrated. Instinctively, they know that the vast possibilities of our Nation, its brainpower as well as its horsepower are not being given the fullest opportunity to show what they can do.

It is rare for a nation to distrust its own power for good.

Yet, in the field of foreign affairs, we hang back like a nation that has run out of original ideas. We wait, for the Com-munists to make their next move, and then try to repair the damage instead of preventing it.

We have a surplus of farm products that cost us hundreds of millions of dollars just to pay for the storage. We can't dispose of it in the United States without wrecking the farm economy. At the same time, we don't know how to give it to the millions of starving people of India, who desperately need it but cannot pay for it.

Has it ever dawned upon our Government to offer some of it to the millions in undeveloped countries who do not have enough These people have been reached to eat? by us with this generous offer which is proof of our good will toward them. But this takes imagination, and bold leadership, and a knowledge of the way that freedom can appeal to human beings the world over.

A Lincoln-or a Wilson-would touch the heart of mankind with such a pronouncement—and then would follow through with prompt and effective relief. It would take only part of the present wasteful storage costs to ship this agricultural surplus have-not nations. Before this inspiring example of humane leadership, Communist

propaganda would beat in vain. We would have taken a positive step forward in winning the trust and the faith of mankind. But, Washington does not move.

This is but one example of the poverty of ideas.

To hold the line, resting upon past achievements, is not enough.

We are not looking forward to the dawn of a new age. We are in it, and events are racing ahead of our leadership.

The carefully worded statements out of Geneva reveal how much we are on the defensive.

The Communists have been pushing, and confusing, and blackmailing us to get out of West Berlin, where the allies maintain small forces under an agreement signed by World us and the Russians, at the end of War II.

But no demand was made by the Western Powers that Russian forces should get out of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Poland, and other countries which they occupy in violation of the sovereign rights of those captive people

Another illustration of our lack of initia tive.

What distresses me, and many Americans is that we have a wealth of human as well as material resources that we are not using

To expand our own economy so that we may also help other people, and thus defeat the fraud and the danger that is communication.

To achieve this mobilization of strength for peace and progress we must look to American people to provide the leadership that we are not getting today.

I realize that this is a serious charge. but the times plead for creative ideas and vigor ous action

When will the United States wake up? I believe that the veterans of World Walf

can help to provide that missing leadership.
In concert with other groups we must rouse the sleeping glant of public opinion. Sparked by their great and generous idealism, and powered by their magnificent abilities, there is nothing that ties, there is nothing that the American people cannot accomplish.

This, then, is our patriotic duty to the United States and to the cause of human freedom. freedom.

Uncle Dan Chase Preaches Brotherhood Through Medium of Competitive Sports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. EDWIN B. DOOLEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. DOOLEY. Mr. Speaker, one of the outstanding gentlemen that it has been my privilege to know is Dan Chase University of Maine Phi Beta Kappe who has devoted a great part of his to teaching men the spiritual value

Dan Chase, chief motivator of the Sportsmanship Brotherhood, an organization dedicated zation dedicated to spreading the dot trine of fair play and human decency an international scale, has been a friend of some of the greatest athletes of time. Devereux Milburn of polo fame Bobby Jones of golfing memory. Ruth, Jim Thorp, and a host of others knew him well and respected him for his vitalism, sincerity vitalism, sincerity and dynamic person

ality. Dan Chase carried their deeds to young men all over the country, preachthe dictrine of sportsmanship. Truly he has enriched the lives of many with selfless purposefulness and inherent dignity.

Following is a tribute to him which arst appeared in the Long Island Sun-

day Press:

[From the Long Island Sunday Press, Dec. 20, 1953]

UNCLE DAN CHASE PREACHES BROTHERHOOD THROUGH MEDIUM OF COMPETITIVE SPORTS

(By Johnny Dunne)

"We need more sports, not less. But sports for the purpose of developing sportsmanship, for developing friendship, understanding and good will; not sports just gate receipts, nor sports mainly for public entertainment.

The speaker was white-haired Dan Chase, the 68-year-old sports missionary from Jackson Heights—and points throughout the world—who has devoted his life to developing American youth through sports to build character and ideals for successful living.

To meet "Uncle Dan," as the gentleman

is known by his endless army of admirers, is a wholesome pleasure. To hear his vibrant voice with a dynamic personality expound the virtues of sportsmanship, pure amateurism and clean professionalism, is a hever-to-be-forgotten experience already enloyed by many thousands for almost two generations.

What a full life, Uncle Dan has lived through "and I will continue to live through. with the grace of God." From his humble start on Thanksgiving Day (Nov. 26) of 1885 or the small town of Baring, Maine (total population of 350), he has carved a career that makes a "Who's Who" look puny in print.

From Baring High, Dan went to Hebron Academy, then the University of Maine, where he played varsity baseball and football 4 Years, captained the hockey team, starred on the chess team; was class president, and carred the right to wear a coveted dent, and earned the right to wear a coveted Phi Beta Kappa key, to name a few of his

The honorable gentleman, too, has been director of athletics at Hamilton College and Company of athletics at Company of athletics at Hamilton College and College at Hamilton College at Hamilt and Connecticut State College; specialist in physical training for the New York State Military Training Commission, chief of the Bureau of Physical Education of the State of New York State Of New York State Of Many Boys' dreau of Physical Education of the State of New York and director of many Boys' Clubs and 4-H Club camps. He has devoted time to a physical time to summer lecture courses on physical education and recreation at Cornell, Columbia bla. Springfield, Cortland State Teachers, Battle Creek, etc.

And for organizational work, he started the first Statewide physical ability test in this Statewide physical ability test in State, the first State tournaments in baseball, track, tennis and skating; was the arst President of the New York State High Schools Schools' Athletic Association, organized the New York City Baseball Federation (sandlot) and launched the Cambridge University (England) rugby football tour. He has been, since it. since its founding in 1926, the executive director tector of Sportsmanship Brotherhood, and execution executive director of the New York City Park Association since 1950.

The above is just a brief idea of how dynamic Uncle Dan Chase has been. Lots more to the let's get more to his glowing record but then let's get onto the slowing record but then leven-onto the business beforehand, the even-tempered gentleman declared. The writer, tempered gentleman declared. however gentleman declared. The within 1937, wanted to get across the point that for outstanding work with boys, did he not?

The tending work with boys, did he not?

The Jackson Heights luminary conceded this point. He also conceded that he has given thousand and old siven thousands of talks to young and old alike alike, on the one theme, "Sportsmanship." which field he has been associated since his college days at Maine. We know Dan, too, could have made the grade in professional baseball, but had preferred to "devote my life to developing American youth." This job he has done most effectively and "I will continue to do 'til 'twilight and evening star and one clear call for me, and may there be no mourning at the bar when I put out to sea.

Dan long has been known to have the ability to take it. The experience he went through when "I wrestled with an electric train on my way to make a speech at the Norfolk, Conn. YMCA on February 14, 1937," the writer will never forget. Dan had gotten off a station before his scheduled stop. When he realized he was at Darien, he attempted to catch up with the train. He managed to latch onto the rear car and fell. The dreadful experience resulted in his having both shin bones shattered and a shoulder collar bone and 12 ribs broken, as well as two vertebra pushed together.

"You will remember that several germs and diseases tried to put me out of the game then, but did not succeed. Though I spent a year more in a cast and brace, I came back, good as ever, and took the same train and gave the same speech on sportsmanship, indominable courage in the face, 1 later to a day." We nodded assent. It was an example of almost insurmountable odds.

In 1926, Dan had done a grand job promoting sportsmanship in the New York schools and developing chapters of the Sportsmanship Brotherhood. He was persuaded to become executive director of the Sportsmanship Brotherhood. He's had that

The purpose of the Brotherhood is "To foster and spread the spirit of sportsmanship throughout the world." Through the agency of sports and games, the Brotherhood has been able to bring about a better understanding and fellowship between the peoples of the different countries of the world and to build up a basis of real brotherhood based on understanding and good will.

Remember what Galesworthy once said: "When the spirit of sportsmanship reigns in international affairs, the cat force which now rules will retreat to the jungle." The spirit of sportsmanship is "the spirit of the Sermon on the Mount, the Golden Rule, and the Ten Commandments, applied to the field of physical activity," the 68-year-old gentleman stressed.

"Bishop Manning once said, 'A well played game in which the rules are kept is as pleasing to God as a prayer in a great Cathedral.'

Dr. Fosdick said, in addressing a group of coaches and athletic leaders, "You men have the approach to the heart of youth in a way we ministers do not have because you speak the language of youth. When you say, 'play fair and give your opponent a square deal,' you have more effect than when we say 'Love they neighbor, etc.'" added the sports mis-

sionary.
At this time, the patriarch of sportsmanship, lapsed into poetry, his own, which ex-emplifies the spirit of being a winner, even

"Did you miss the spare, did you get a split, Though you looked for a strike on a per-

fect hit? Did you let your team down when it count-

ed on you? Did you feel like a hound caught chewing a shoe?

Did you do your best, and not cuss a bit, When the pins stood up, that belonged in the pit?

Then you won just the same, and in life's bowling game

You're sure to go far and earn lasting fame. To keep your temper is not easy to do. When all the bad breaks seem coming to you.

Remember one lesson, keep throwing the

The best you know how, and the pins will soon fall.

For you make your own breaks if you hit

the wood right,
And the only defeat is, to give up the fight. The breaks come and go, in life as in play, So keep playing the game and you'll win anyway.

### The Liberty League of Santa Ana. Calif.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON, JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 24, 1959

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include the preamble to the constitution of the Liberty League, Inc., of Santa Ana, Calif.

It is very apparent to me that there is an awakening over all the country to the realization that this Republic must return to the basic principles set forth by the framers of the Declaration of Independence and Constitution. The Liberty League, Inc., is only one of many such organizations which have sprung to life throughout my district as well as the whole Nation. It is my belief that these organizations will prove as valuable to this Nation as did the minutemen of 1776.

The preamble follows:

The principles upon which this organization is founded are set forth in the following preamble to the constitution of the Liberty League Inc :

"Having recognized that our rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness are given to, us by God, and that we are dependent upon the U.S. Constitution to protect these God-given rights, we shall actively oppose all attempts to substitute atheism, alien ideologies, or anti-Christian traditions in place of our Christian concepts.

The authors of our Constitution had unusually shrewd comprehension of the dangers of concentration of governmental authority. They sought to insure, for all time, that the Federal Government could not attain a position of dominance over American citizens, but that it would ever remain an instrument for the preservation of law and order, and that it would be subservient to the people.
"Under this Constitution, unique in all

history, the United States developed from a weak nation into a leader among nations.

"For 150 years the Constitution was upheld by our representatives in Government. But during the past 30 years we have witnessed evasion, selective enforcement and total revision of our Constitution via the back door of court interpretation, treaties, and executive agreements. As a result, government by men is being craftily substituted for government by law; powers not dele-gated to the Federal Government are being grossly usurped; countless unauthorized functions are being undertaken by the Federal bureaucracy, and we are rapidly trending toward the very dictatorship which our Constitution was specifically designed to

"The world is now heavily engaged in a cold war between the principles of dominant government under which people are pawns in the control of their leaders and the principles of restrained, limited government under which peoples are sovereign citizens, as conceived by our Founding Fathers and exemplified in the U.S. Constitution.

'The United States is currently abdicating its position as a champion of its own constitutional principle of limited government, and is increasingly adopting the concept of omnipotent government.

'Therefore it is necessary that we now take action to regain the rights usurped by the Federal bureaucracy and demand that they be returned to the States and to the people as provided in our Bill of Rights."

The Liberty League appeals to all citizens who wish to be currently informed regarding legislation, and who wish to take action through this organization in the submission of petitions requesting investigation and/or other remedial action against subversive activities, Communist infiltration, and viola-tions of the Constitution of the United States.

#### Twenty-fifth Anniversary of FHA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 24, 1959

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, rarely has a Government agency served as practical a purpose compatible with the traditional American private enterprise system as has the Federal Housing Administration. This week on June 27 we are commemorating the 25th anniversary of the existence of the FHA, and I should like to call to the attention of the Members of Congress some pertinent facts in its history and its future.

The fundamental concept of the FHA is that it strengthens private institutions through enlightened Government co-operation rather than through the approach to direct Government lending as advocated by many who lack faith in American private financial institutions. In its 25 years, the FHA has been instrumental in the expansion of American home ownership and has materially contributed to all facets of home construction and home financing.

Another important point is that it is a fully self-sustaining institution with sufficient reserves at this time to weather any anticipated economic storm. stands today without debt to the taxpayer—a rare thing in this day and age of excessive squandering of public funds.

The FHA has been one of the few governmental institutions that has maintained its original objective over the years and has rarely deviated from its policy of financial soundness.

Obviously, an operation as large as FHA cannot claim perfect administration, but I can say truthfully it has fewer critics in proportion to its activities than any other governmental agency of which I can think.

I, personally, object to the increasing paternalism in the operation of the FHA and its assumption of many responsibilities which should be left to lending institutions, builders, or borrowers themselves. Over the years, existing for the most part under the socialistic New Deal regimentation, it is not surprising that the FHA has acquired a degree of bureaucratic redtape that should be removed as soon as possible.

The future indicates that the FHA will continue to serve a constant area in the field of home financing. While repeating my conviction and faith in its principles and in the sincerity of its administrators, I feel it must undergo drastic modification since its present complex structure and cumbersome procedures may be poorly adapted to the challenges of the future.

Numerous private organizations and institutions, which over the years have had close association with the FHA, have made recommendations as to the improvement of its operation to produce simplicity, flexibility, and improved operation.

As a member of the House Banking and Currency Committee, I will certainly devote my time and energy to cooperating with the agency and American private enterprise in an effort to provide maximum possible utility of the FHA with a minimum of redtape and bureaucratic impediments.

There is no reason for lack of confidence in the future if we continue to expand the investment of American families in their own homes, since an obvious irrefutable fact is that home ownership is one of the basic safeguards of American liberties.

## Views of an Editor on Minimum Wages

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. LEONARD G. WOLF

OF TOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks I wish to insert into the Appendix of the RECORD a letter I received from Mr. Roland White, the editor of the Dubuque Leader. The Leader is a labor newspaper and Mr. White is a citizen first and a unionist second. As a matter of fact, his brand of unionism is the highest form of citizenship. Mr. White outlines the problem of the minimum wage in a sensitive and incisive way. I hope that my colleagues will read his statement with care:

Congressman LEONARD G. WOLF, House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR LEN: Your letter of May 6, and a subsequent press release from Secretary of Labor Mitchell which I perused just today prompt me to put a portion of my views about wagehour law amendment on paper.

Secretary Mitchell's statement accompanying a report by his Department on the \$1 Federal minimum which went into effect March 1, 1956, included these remarks:

"I am recommending that the Congress give the protection of the Federal minimum wage law to several million workers not now covered by the act. These unprotected workers very much need a Federal minimum wage. Their chances of receiving this protection would be jeopardized by an effort at the same time to raise the minimum wage for workers already covered by the act. sequently, I am not recommending an increase in the minimum wage at this time

It seems to me that there are a number of parties whose interests deserve to be considered:

1. A substantial portion of employees not now receiving \$1 an hour or the benefit of a 40-hour week should get both.

2. Employers now paying less than \$1 an hour—in many cases substantially less should be given a transition period of temporary duration in which they will first move up to \$1 and then gradually to the \$1.25 level of other employers who are not their competitors.

3. Employees now receiving \$1 to \$1.25 on hour, covered by the act, constitute an important segment of buying powers. Secretary Mitchell's supporting statement that many workers are now being paid the bare minimum" means that they have not had a raise since March 1, 1956. injustice to them.

4. Employers who are now paying in excess of \$1 an hour either voluntarily or by agree ment with a union, in some cases substantially tially in excess of \$1, deserve to be spared the unfair competition of others, located mostly in the South.

5. Family-type small businesses which may not be put under the coverage of the act can nevertheless have the living stand ards under which they operate given protection by placing chain stores and larger units which compete with them under the act. In the past some of these larger businesses have been averaged and act. nesses have been exempted on the ground that they compete with the home-owned small stores. To my mind it is the small stores which need protection—not from competition but and competition, but from competition based on a standard of living too low for a mer The large bush chant and his employees. scales in their favor in competition with the little family merchant.

When a merchant does a substantial portion of his own work, it is unfair to have that same work when done in another business prices at hour. In the long run I believe he would be stronger competitively even if he well placed under the act himself. The same true in application of the 40-hour week. Large stores which are permitted to operate longer hours without premium pay are in effect undermining the self-amployed comeffect undermining the self-employed com petitor.

I hope I have made myself clear. time when the effects of automation giving added strength to demands for work giving added strength to demands for work weeks shorter than 40 hours where work have strong unions, I believe every effort is need to make the 40-hour week available to the millions who do not yet have it we do not, the march of events will crest elesses of the special privileged and the classes of the special privileged and underprivileged in the ranks of labor, widen ing the gap which already exists.

Having had 18 years of grassroots experience with this problem—the entire period ence with this problem—the entire profit of the wage-hour law except for my 3 year of military service during the "freeze wages otherwise—I believe I am in a power of the wages of the military service wages of the a problem which is not simple, one in which tion to comment with some authority the interests of divergent groups need be taken into consideration. I do not class to know the complete area. to know the complete answer, but I am co fident that my general line of thinking sound for the Second Congressional Distant and for the Nation as a whole. Any leader or employer the second Congressional Distant and for the Nation as a whole. leader or employer representative who you otherwise may be viewing the proble arrowly.

Sincerely and fraternally.

ROLAND A. WHITE.

Edito's. too narrowly.

### Depressed Area Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON, JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I com-mend to the consideration of Congress, R.R. 5440, a bill which I have introduced for the purpose of amending the Interhal Revenue Code of 1954 to stimulate the economy of depressed areas. My bill would exempt a company from the corporate income tax for a specified period where its operations are carried on in surplus labor districts and provide employment for at least 200 persons throughout the taxable year.

This measure is designed to provide for quick results. With proper encouragement of this type, a corporation could indertake operations having an immedate beneficial impact upon the negected community involved. I use the word neglected advisedly, for the plight of America's surplus labor areas has been disregarded entirely too long.

Year after year, the Secretary of Labor diligently provides an accumulation of statistics categorizing the degree of distress of the affected areas, and year after year the people of those areas wait in vain for the action necessary to restore to them the opportunities for employment of which they have long been deprived. Promises of remedial legislation have not been forthcoming. Instead of getting something into the books that will answer the prayers of these impoverished citizens, Congress fumes, fusses, and fumbles as the days, weeks, months, and years move on.

I resent the shabby treatment to which our unemployed working forces have been subjected. Six months of the current Congress have gone into the records without enactment of a measure to open new job opportunities for those who are in greatest need of work. The situation is particularly deplorable in view of the fact that U.S. Treasury subventions are so easily obtainable by foreign nations seeking means to elevate their economic

What can our people anticipate with regard to distressed area legislation, Mr. Speaker? The workable bills which I and other Members of Congress introduced for the purpose of invigorating business and industrial activity in surblus labor districts are apparently giving way to omnibus proposals that will include a complexity of stipulations entrely divorced from the original intent of the authors.

The Secretary of Labor has time and again established the validity of appeals from chronically distressed areas, and any at any attempt to saddle these regions with the attempt to saddle these regions of the temporary economic problems of the temporary economic presents denetropolitan constituencies presents delaying tactics that extend and intensify the hardship and poverty of a wide segment of the populace.

Despite the obstacles that confront the distressed area bill, I am hopeful that my colleagues will come to recognize the urgency of the need for this legislation. Meanwhile, I am confident that H.R. 5440 will serve to initiate resuscitation of the economy of communities in my district, and in other areas where depressed conditions have persisted over a long period of time.

As part of my remarks, I would like to insert an article written by Mr. William Black, a newspaper reporter for the Johnstown Tribune-Democrat, and an editorial from that newspaper dated June 17, 1959:

[From the Johnstown (Pa.) Tribune-Democrat]

JOBLESS RATE HERE ABOVE UNITED STATES (By William Black)

The Johnstown district is not making employment hay while the job sun shines brightly on the Nation as a whole.

The return of boom times elsewhere finds Cambria and Somerset Counties in the shadows—still 1 of 27 sections across the Nation having 1 of 8 breadwinners (12 percent or more) out of work.

As a matter of fact, this region does slightly worse than most of the other 26 hard-hit areas. It has about 13 percent on the idle rolls.

In addition, some of those still on payrolls are working less than a normal 5-day week.

Two economic tragedles accentuate the local situation.

First, the district has been in the job doldrums for 10 years.

Second, the Johnstown office of the Pennsylvania State Employment Service (covering Cambria and Somerset Counties) reports that there are no indications of any appreciable improvement in the foreseeable future."

When Gov. George M. Leader visited Johnstown in March 1958, to discuss his crash program to "get men back to work as quickly as possible," the Pennsylvania State Employment Service office here counted 12,400 unemployed in Cambria and Somerset

Today the figure is 12,200. Month-bymonth jobless figures show:

Month	1958	1959
January February March April May June July August	11, 200 12, 100 12, 400 13, 600 15, 400 16, 900 18, 100 17, 900	16, 500 15, 700 14, 800 13, 400 12, 200
September October November December	17, 300 16, 800 16, 700 16, 300	

May's 12,200 jobless figure contrasts markedly with the national trend. Across the country, employment rose by a million in May to a record 66,016,000 for the month.

Unemployment fell by 238,000 to 3,389,000. Nationally, the May total represented the largest number of Americans with jobs for any month of May. It compares with an alltime peak of 67,221,000 in July 1957.

Percentagewise, the national ratio of unemployment to the labor force is 4.9. In Cambria and Somerset Counties, the comparable figure is 13 percent.

The reason for the job erosion? Long ago the district put its eggs in two baskets-

Coal is the chief villain. In the postwar era the bituminous industry in the Central Pennsylvania fields has been a dying dynasty. But its demise has been so gradual as to go almost unlamented.

Here's a startling fact: During some of the darkest years of the depression of the 1930's, three times as many coal miners were em-ployed in Cambria County as are at work

For example, in 1936-a mighty black year-20,569 men boarded mantrips. As of last December 31, the total had dwindled to 7.360.

Worse yet, the number has fallen off at least another 1,500 since January 1, according to the PSES. As a matter of fact, mine employment in Cambria County is at the lowest level since the Pennsylvania Department of Mines began keeping the boxscore

Somerset County is not any better off. employed 8,080 miners in 1936 and only 2,417 at the end of last year

Indiana County had 7.916 miners in 1936 as against 3,283 when 1958 bowed out.

The comparable figures for Bedford County, which never was any great shucks as a coal producer, are 811 and 251.

Coal, of course, has taken giant strides down the road to produce the course.

down the road to mechanization. The other factors which have militated against a continued high employment level-such as a tide of residual oil imports, competition from other fuels, soaring transportation rates, unenlightened legislation—have been expounded repeatedly by the operatiors.

Increasingly, a competent corps of industrial and business leaders is bending to the

task of revitalizing the coal industry.
Pennsylvania Electric Co. and the Curtiss-Wright Corp. are prominent in the move-

Penelec currently is conducting a "coaltricity" campaign-a plan for greater use of electricity and thereby greater consumption of district-produced coal.

"Coal and electricity are inseparably tied together with the economy of the area, and we in Penelec sincerely believe that to-gether they may well become the 'Prosperity Twins,' " said Louis H. Roddis, Jr., Penelec president.

Mr. Roddis expressed the opinion that the "twins" will revive the bustling commercial and industrial activity which many communities have lost through the decline in coal production.

'Current research at Curtiss-Wright is going to mean a lot to the bituminous industry in Pennsylvania," said John W. Dickey. general manager of the company's research division at Quehanna, Clearfield County.

The firm has developed a roadbuilding material which uses coal as a major component. Mr. Dickey pointed out that be-tween 2,000 and 2,200 tons of coal would be used for every mile of highway.

Both the State and Federal Governments have expressed an interest in pushing "coal roads" if they are proven feasible.

Mr. Dickey also disclosed that Curtiss-Wright is hoping to find other uses for coal.

"Our researchers are currently working on the use of coal as a means of soil stabilization and on its application to nuclear energy," he said.

The steel industry, like coal, is perfecting ways and means of producing more goods with fewer men. Automation is on the march in the mills.

Johnstown plant of Bethlehem Steel Co. now is turning out steel at or near its capacity rate of 200,000 ingot tons per month. Yet the plant has no more than 14,500 men at work.

In general, people in the community regard 16,000 as the normal force for Bethlehem's Johnstown plant. The total has gone as high as 17,000.

Of course, the current slow pace of the car shops contributes much to the number of men still on layoffs. The railroads—which have had rocky going in recent months—are doing only a minimum of buying.

Aside from the car shop situation, however, there are few who are optimistic that the company will ever again need as many men here as it has in the past.

Astute union leaders are particularly apprehensive over the prospective job trend. One of them said:

"I think the day will come—perhaps within the next 15 years—when as few as 8,000 men will be considered a normal force at Johnstown plant."

Of course, community leaders know that industrial diversification would be a solution—a means of taking up the job slack. But the road to realization is a long, steep haul.

[From the Johnstown (Pa.) Tribune-Democrat, June 17, 1959]

JOB EROSION HERE IS CERTAIN SIGN OF DANGER AHEAD

Every town has its Pollyannas, the folks who insist on viewing the past, the present and the future through rose-colored glasses, the people who prefer not to face unpleasant things, the innocents who believe that present economic difficulties will take care of themselves and that it is a mistake to call attention to current problems because it will hurt business.

Johnstown—Greater Johnstown, that is has more than its share of these don't-rockthe boat, things-could-be-worse, everythingwill-work-out-in-the-end people.

To any of them who are willing to read, yesterday's article by William Black must have been at least disquisting. Mr. Black, a member of the staff of this newspaper, pointed out that the Johnstown area is one of the 27 soft spots in the Nation's economy.

While the recession is over in most of the Nation, and employment and production are zooming to new highs, one out of eight workers in Cambria and Somerset Counties is out of a job. In the Nation as a whole, unemployment is down to 4.9 percent of the available labor force. Here, the unemployment figure is 13 percent.

#### COAL INDUSTRY TROUBLES

Coal, of course, is largely to blame. Three times as many miners were employed hereabouts at the depth of the depression as are on the job today.

The steel industry, too, is finding ways of achieving greater production with fewer men. In years gone by, 16,000 was considered a normal employment level at Johnstown Plant, Bethlehem Steel Co. There are those who fear this level may never be achieved again, without major plant enlargement, beyond anything now blue-printed.

The answer, of course, is diversification of industry. That means enticing new industries into the area to take up the slack. But every town in America is bidding for new industry. And some towns have more to offer than we have.

In this competitive fight for new industry, Greater Johnstown is particularly handicapped in that we refuse to present a solid front. Instead of one municipality of well over 100,000, we are a town of 63,232 (1950 census), plus 18 splinter boroughs and townships, each riding off in its own direction. (Unless we do something about it, the 1960 census is likely to show that Johnstown has dipped under the 60,000 mark.)

#### COMMUNITY PLANNING

Pennsylvania Electric Co. is showing an excellent film on industrial development. It points out graphically that areas either unable or unwilling to plan for the future

dramatically on a communitywide basis are avoided by industries looking for new homes.

Such planning is impossible here because of the present bull-headed determination in each of the 19 municipalities to go it alone. It will continue to be impossible until and unless all of us recognize that this area is headed downhill and that the most effective thing we can do to halt the trend and to turn it upward is to consolidate into one progressive, forward-looking community.

Tax money is being wasted by the bushel basketful here because we insist on preserving costly, inefficient duplication of services on both the municipal and educational levels. The economies that could be achieved through unification would provide enough for an industrial development program that could not help but bring results.

And yet we stubbornly go our separate ways, ignoring the danger signals of the present and refusing to face the potential disaster that lies in the future if we continue to drift.

#### JOB EROSION NOT OVER

Consider this: Johnstown plant, Bethlehem Steel Co., today employs approximately 14,500 men. Mr. Black reports:

"There are few who are optimistic that the company will ever again need as many men here as it has in the past.

"Astute union leaders are particularly apprehensive over the prospective job trend. One of them said:

"'I think the day will come—perhaps within the next 15 years—when as few as 8,000 men will be considered a normal force at Johnstown plant.'"

Fifteen years is not a long time in terms of Johnstown's 160-year history. Now is the time for us to be acting aggressively to offset the expected continuing erosion of jobs here and to provide new employment opportunities for our young people.

Today's Johnstown is not attractive industrially to companies looking for new homes or for locations for branches. One recent survey called this city a sleeping giant. And, indeed, we are asleep. While we slumber, the wide-awake cities which are showing vision and a progressive spirit are getting the new plants—and the new jobs.

It can't happen here, you say? Friend, it is happening here. And we haven't seen the worst of it—unless we move forward, hand in hand, toward the secure future we can build only if we read the handwriting on the wall and unshackle the sleeping glant through dynamic, visionary, forward-looking action.

#### Monsignor Lawlor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 24, 1959

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, as a former parishioner of St. Mary's Parish, Bayonhe, N.J., it is with deep regret that I note the passing of Monsignor Lawlor. Monsignor Lawlor possessed great faith, great kindness, and great understanding. It was with these qualities as well as the wonderful spirit of the man himself that will be greatly missed by all who came in contact with him. His contributions for better understanding between people of all religions was only surpassed by the outstanding contributions he made as a priest. He was devoted to God and to his fellow man.

I can think of no more fitting tribute than the one paid on the editorial page of the Bayonne Times, on Tuesday, June 23, 1959, which read as follows:

#### MONSIGNOR LAWLOR

Some years ago there was a slogan current. "One in eight will die of cancer," pointed at persuading people to give generously to cancer fund. Monsignor Lawlor's remark was, "They ought to remember that all eight will die." He said it with that curious combination of seriousness and humor, sternness and kindness that made him memorable to all who had contact with him, and it illustrated his life-iong determination to keep his attention concentrated on the big facts that made the difference. It was his way to cut through the verbiage to the resity, and it was his practice to express his convictions forthrightly and unmistakably.

Monsignor Lawlor became the senior Catholic school superintendent in the United States, and he guided the parochial schools of one of the world's great arch-dioceses through the years of their greates growth. He discharged, with skill and devotion, his pastoral duties at St. Mary's during a long period of challenging and dramatic social change. His presence in the community was felt throughout his long tenur here by his participation for many divicauses, including the Community Chest. He won many honors as an educator, as a civil leader, as a writer and scholar, and a priest he was cited by two popes. A few years ago when Monsignor Lawlor was receiving a new honor, Father Baker said of his knowledge he gained as a curate si St. Mary's: "He is a great priest, a grant friend, and an exemplary citizen whom sknow is to love and to honor is to honored."

It is a sentiment to which all who kneshim will respond "Amen." He was a middevoted to humanity and to God, and by death finds all of us in his debt.

Essay on America Wins Girl Honors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 4, 1959

Mr. GEORGE P. MILLER. Man. Speaker, I want to congratulate Anne Nahm of 960 Arbor Drive, Sa. Leandro, Calif., and her teachers at S. Louis Bertrand School for her accomplishment in winning the essay away sponsored by the California Disable. American Veterans Auxiliary. She wis sponsored by Oakland Unit 7, Oakland Calif.

This annual award was established be encourage Americanism and the love country.

Mary Anne is a very wholesome and comely young lady of 11 years. She was a member of the sixth grade at St. Low Bertrand School when she won contest.

I think that her essay is well worth preserving and I include it as part these remarks.

ESSAY ON AMERICA WINS GIRL HONORS
SAN LEANDRO, June 1.—A simple but moving essay on the spirit and beauty of America

Dr

has won statewide honors for 11-year-old Mary Anne Nahm of 960 Arbor Drive.

Mary Anne, a sixth grader at St. Louis Bertrand School, competed against 3,400 other students in the contest sponsored by the California Disabled American Veterans Auxiliary. She was sponsored by Oakland Unit 7 and was presented a plaque at special school ceremonies.

Here is the winning essay:

"America is a country of richness and beauty. Nature has given us magnificent mountain ranges, great stretches of green forests and gentle rolling green plains. Hundreds of lakes, blue and sparkling, add to the beauty of our land. Rivers plunge through the rocky gorges or flow slowly through the valleys to the sea. We are more fortunate than other countries because within our boundaries are most of the materials we need to support our great Nation.

"Liberty is and has always been the very spirit of America. Indeed liberty is part of our way of life. It means our right to vote and has a process of the control of the c and hold office and our rights to free speech and religion. It means our rights to take sides on any question and to stand up for what we believe. Liberty is our birthright and the most precious possession of every American.

"In the United States we believe that every citizen is important, no matter who he is. We all have an opportunity to have an edu-Cation. All our fathers have the opportualty to get a job to make a decent life for themselves and for their families.

'In God We Trust' on all our coins reminds us that we are a religious Nation. Many of our important political meetings are opened with prayer. This does not mean we have a national church or national re-"Gion. We all know the Constitution Suarantees to each person the right to Worship as he pleases.

These are some of the reasons why I love America, but most of all I love my country because it is a gift from God to me."

## Free Criticism and Court Decisions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. PHILIP. J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, there has been great interest in proposals pending in Congress to change certain decisions of the Supreme Court. Opponents of any congressional action designed to offset congressional action designed the the legal effect of the decisions in question have indicated that criticism of members of the Supreme Court is subversive of the processes of justice. I think that it is most unfortunate that anyone should suggest that honest criticism of the Court, the Congress, the Executive, or anyone else in this great Government is in any way subversive or imbroper. Congress is continually under criticism and it can be said honestly that much of this criticism is unfair, unwarranted, unjust, and some of it is even slanderous and libelous.

Members of the Supreme Court itself have not always felt that criticism of the Court was improper. A very distin-suished Justice of the Court, Mr. Justice Brews. Brewer, as long ago as 1898 in a Lincoln bay address spoke as follows:

It is a mistake to suppose that the Subreme Court is either honored or helped by

being spoken of as beyond criticism. On the contrary, the life and character of its Justices should be the objects of constant watchfulness by all, and its judgments subfect to the freest criticism.

Mr. Justice Brewer was not the only Justice to expound this view. Mr. Justice Stone, one of our eminently great Justices and teachers of law, was quoted in the book "The Supreme Court From Taft to Warren" as saying:

The Justices themselves have been less anxious to black out knowledge of the Court's activity than are certain of its self-appointed protectors. \* \* \* In 1930 Justice Stone was quite undisturbed by the close scrutiny the Senate gave Mr. Hughes' nomination. Stone regarded it as evidence of wholesome interest in what the Court was doing. "I have no patience," the Justice commented, "with the complaint that criticism of judicial action involves any lack of respect for the courts. Where the courts deal, as ours do, with great public questions, the only protection against unwise decisions, and even judicial usurpation, is careful scrutiny of their action and fearless comment on it."

Other Justices in more recent times have expressed similar views. Mr. Justice Black, for example, in the case of Bridges v. California (314 U.S. 252, 1941) spoke as follows:

The assumption that respect for the judiciary can be won by shielding judges from published criticism wrongly appraised the character of American public opinion.

And Mr. Frankfurter, on the same occasion:

Just because the holders of judicial office are identified with the interests of justice they may not forget their common human frailities and fallibilities. \* \* \* Therefore judges must be kept mindful of their limitations and of their ultimate public responsibility by a vigorous stream of criticism expressed with candor however blunt.

Whenever honest criticism of any Government body or official is prohibited or inhibited we will be in serious danger of losing one of the most precious attributes of our democracy and a truly necessary incident of free governmentthe right to criticize.

Congress most assuredly has the right to criticize the Supreme Court or any other agency of Government. But it has a great obligation in this case which it must fearlessly accept and honestly discharge and that is to correct some of the legal decisions which it deems inconsonant with the Constitution. This duty must not be assumed lightly nor can it be shirked. When there is sound reason for changing a Supreme Court decision the Congress should not hesitate to do so.

#### **Ned Smith**

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. ARCH A. MOORE, JR.

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, C. E. Ned Smith, noted editor of the Fairmont Times, Fairmont, W. Va., passed away in the Fairmont General Hospital on Friday, June 19, 1959. Mr. Smith was a noted West Virginia newspaperman, a stanch supporter of the Democratic Party, a believer in the late Senator M. M. Neely of our State and certainly, for my party, a well respected adversary.

For years his widely read "Good Morning" column had perhaps the largest following of any newspaper feature in West Virginia. Long active in the affairs of his community Ned Smith will be missed by the people of Fairmont and the people of my State.

I should like to include in my remarks an editorial which appeared in the Fairmont Times, the newspaper Ned Smith headed since 1917.

#### NED SMITH

Ned Smith-no one ever called him anything else-and the Fairmont Times were one and inseparable. He molded this newspaper, of which he was editor for 42 years, in his own image and one didn't think of one without the other.

Death brought an end yesterday to a long illness, which had prevented him from doing the things he liked best and stilled his once-facile fingers. His devotion to the newspaper to which he had devoted more than two score years of his life was exemplified in his insistence that he come to the office for a brief period each day, sometimes when he was scarcely able to be out.

He was a man of varied interests, and he had careers in many fields. He was a politician of distinction and so recognized by the leaders of the Democratic Party to which he gave long and faithful service. He was a public servant and held positions of responsibility for many years at every level from town council to membership on an important Federal commission.

Ned Smith would have done well in show business, to which he was always attracted. He was a gifted director of amateur theatricals, something of an actor and talented as a producer.

Above all, he was a master of the English language. In yellowing scrapbooks today there are scores of his "Good Morning" columns which have been preserved and cherished by those who followed this feature in the Times for more than 30 years. He had a style that was distinctively his own though sometimes others on his staff and

It could be that his love of the language came from his mother, for it was she who first introduced him to the classics that were to become an integral part of his life. If he had a favorite, it was Shakespeare, and there were few of the immortal passages from the Bard that he could not quote in full.

elsewhere tried to emulate it.

He also was devoted to history, especially that dealing with the wars in which this Nation engaged. When talk turned to the Civil War, for example, he seemed to be describing a battle at which he had been present instead of repeating what he had read in books.

For those who had heard him tell in intimate detail of an anonymous soldier in the ranks and his struggle at Gettysburg, it was not difficult to imagine how he rode in the turret of a Sherman tank with his only son, who went to the wars straight out of school.

From the day the telegram starting "We regret to inform you \* \* \*" came from the War Department, Ned Smith was a changed man. It could not be said that he lost at that time any of his physical strength, which was to carry him through illnesses that even his doctors thought would be his last, but something went out of his life that March day in 1945 that never returned.

Ned Smith was a widely traveled man, but he always returned to the community he

loved and to the family to which he was devoted. In the years when he no longer was able to continue his former routine, his wife, his daughters, his sons-in-law, and his grandchildren were equally devoted to him. Deep sympathy goes to them in their hour

Of Ned Smith, it can be truly said that his passing will cause sorrow in the community on which he left such an indelible imprint and throughout the State in which for so many years he had been a prominent figure in so many fields of endeavor.

He liked to call himself, in the circles of the great where he mingled, a small-town editor. He was all of that, with his finger on every pulsebeat of the community, but he was also a master of his profession whose like we may never see again.

#### Air Cargo

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON, ISIDORE DOLLINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 24, 1959

Mr. DOLLINGER. Mr. Speaker, there is growing concern for the plight of our international air carriers in the face of growing and expanding competition from foreign lines.

Several years ago, TWA and Pan American were comfortably ahead of their foreign contemporaries in the battle for transatlantic passenger business. Today the picture is alarmingly changed and the Government-owned carriers representing various European countries have forged strongly to the front of both TWA and PAA in volume of business and indications are that they are certain to hold and add to this advan-

There are limited methods by which the U.S. Government can help our international airlines, in the Atlantic, in the Pacific, around South America. One, of course, is to keep our Government out of competition with our own airlines. Another is for our Government bargainers to be a little less generous when negotiating bilateral air agreements. Uncle Sam cannot continue forever as "the last of the big spenders."

On the other hand, the carriers can help themselves. They can look for new fields of endeavor to merchandise their excellent product. An example of what can be done to increase airline business is illustrated by a recent pronouncement from Mr. Juan T. Trippe, president of Pan American, that he is working with manufacturers toward the development of a 35-ton jet air freighter, capable of doing five times the job of piston planes at half the cost.

Air cargo has never developed to anything close to its potential. Obviously positive steps must be taken to make the carriage of air cargo not only desirable but profitable. There are good reasons for belief that air cargo offers a market with a greater profit potential than does the carriage of passengers.

I am happy, Mr. Speaker, that this initiative in the direction of air cargo

has developed with an American-flag carrier. Under leave to revise and extend my remarks. I include in the Appendix of the Record an article from the June 15 issue of Forbes' magazine, entitled "Strange Cargo":

#### STRANGE CARGO

No will-o'-the-wisp darting before an airline pilot's gaze has ever been more beguiling than that of the air cargo business. A big dream of the early postwar years, air freight never really got very far off the ground. Although the business has shown some growth, it has never matched the optimists' projections. For many fledgling operators, it has been a tombstone. For the stronger passenger carriers, it has been little more than a sideline.

#### THE PLANE AND THE MISSION

But last month the industry was humming with serious talk about the future of air cargo that would not be lightly dismissed. The man who started it was pioneering President Juan Terry Trippe of Manhattanbased Pan American World Airways, Inc., the United States largest international airline. At his annual meeting Trippe announced that he had been working with aircraft manufacturers to develop a 35-toncapacity jet air freighter which would do five times the job of present piston planes for about half the cost.

"We are now confident," said Trippe, "that American manufacturers can undertake a contract for such a craft. \* \* \* During the course of the current year, we will be able to make a substantial order for modern turbine-powered cargo planes." With such aircraft, Trippe predicted, Pan Am's freight operations will become as important as its passenger business

Considering the amount of air cargo Pan Am now handles, it was quite a prediction indeed. Last year, of his \$313.2 million total revenues, Trippe brought in only \$33.4 million, or 10.7 percent from air freight and express. Moreover, as airlines go, that was a rather large percentage. Mighty American Airlines, which leads the domestic trunklines in cargo business, got only 7.6 percent of its revenues from that source. Trans World Airlines, both a domestic and an international operator, reported just 4 percent from freight and express volume.

#### WATCHING WASHINGTON

Most airline men agree with Trippe that the right kind of jet could revolutionize the air-freight business, and some point out that the international carriers, and Pan Am in particular, hold an edge over the domes-tic carriers in capitalizing on it. The reason: Long-range international airlines have the advantage of competing with waterborne forms of transportation, which are not only slow but also require multiple handling of

Twenty-five Years in Priesthood Observed by Very Rev. Vincent A. McQuade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 19, 1959

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the sermon by Cardinal Cushing on the occasion of the observance of 25 years of priesthood by

Very Rev. Vincent A. McQuade, President of the Merrimack College in North Andover, Mass.:

[From the Lawrence (Mass.) Evening Tribune, June 22, 19591

#### TWENTY-FIVE YEARS IN PRIESTHOOD

Twenty-five years of Roman Catholic priesthood was observed by Very Rev. Vincent A. McQuade, O. S. A., Ph.D., president of Merrimack College, Sunday at 10:30 a.m., when he celebrated a solemn Mass of Thanksgiving in the Collegiate Church of Christ the Teacher.

The mass presided over by Richard Cardinal Cushing, and who delivered the sermon, was attended by members of the clergy. members of the celebrant's family, and visiting friends from near and far. The capacity congregation that filled the church was tribute to the esteem in which the president of the college is held by all and a mark of recognition for what he had been able to accomplish in directing the establishment of an outstanding institution of learning under the Augustinian Fathers.

Cardinal Cushing, in his sermon, remarked that "This is a sort of family day and I pro pose to confine my remarks to the spirit of the day. Therefore, in simple language, we will speak briefly of the occasion we commemorate. I take this occasion to thank God for all the blessings and favors of 25 years of priestly service, and to bring to the attention of the faithful the need of vocations for the priesthood.

"I thank the faithful for their cooperation in making the accomplishments of the priest hood productive and possible. It was the night before He died that Christ instituted the priesthood, and one would almost get the impression that it was an afterthought Christ could have selected angels for his priests, but Christ chose men, human beings

to entrust that responsibility.
"These responsibilities are in a general way twofold: The priest was to be the custodian of the Eucharistic Body of Christ and the custodian of the Mystical Body of Christ The priest is the custodian of the Eucharistic Body of Christ 'Do ye this in commemoration of Me. Do ye what? Change the bread and wine into My own body and blood. The supreme act takes place at the holy sacrifice of the mass.

"As the custodian, the priest at the cs thedral, church of lowly mission, anywhere on land or on sea, can offer Mass at an es tablished or portable altar and call down of the altar table the Christ in the swaddling clothes. This takes place day by day. The priest brings the Host to the sick and the priest brings the Host to the sick and the priest brings the Host to the sick and the priest brings the priest brings the host to the sick and the priest brings dying, and exposed It in the monstranes, "So it is that the only successful priest the holy priest."

the holy priest.

"The priest is also the custodian of the mystical body of Christ—the church. In church is a society of men who believe the same doctrine and trying to live the lives in the image of Christ and aiming a live in the live the lives in the lives of the same doctrine and trying to live the lives in the lives with God in exercity. the union with God in eternity. As custodian of the mystical body of charge the priest must be equipped through studies, through gifts of nature and grace protect the church against enemies.

"So it is that you find in the priesthod men of various talents. You find in the priesthod men of all kinds of character personalities and after the priesthod men of all kinds of character personalities and after the personali personalities, and gifts, all using their God given talents for the welfare of the church Some are identified with seemingly jost tasks, others are identified with tremendor

projects of one type or another.

"We honor this morning a priest who, so the custodian of the mystical body of Christ the custodian of the mystical body of christ with has been identified from the beginning with Merrimack College. He is the first preside and we might say, in effect, the founder this great educational institution. When stood a few years ago on this site glanced from one end to the other, I say

that the man who inaugurates the project must be a priest of vision, of courage, and educational know-how.

"The tools that God uses are in a particular sense his creatures. Some priest must be assigned here under the grace of God with vision. That priest was appointed in due time and we are saluting him today on the occasion of his silver jubilee in the Priesthood. He had the vision, he had the courage to go ahead and bring it to reality. Since buildings alone do not make a college, he was gifted with the know-how on the inaugurating of tradition, spirit. Under God, we are grateful today to Father McQuade for what he has done in the past 10 years. Look about and you can see for yourselves.

"Although we join this morning on the occasion of the 25th anniversary, we thank God for what he has been able to accomplish as a priest and in a particular way of what he has accomplished since most of us have known him and loved him and re-

spected him.

Secondly, a jubilee of this kind is not for vain glory on the part of the jubiliarian. We are the tools of Christ. A tool cannot do anything unless it is put into the hands of one who can use it. The hands of the priest are the hands of Christ in a sense and ever is accomplished by a priest is accomplished by Christ. It is Christ who offers the Mass, forgives the sins, and enters the taherman tabernacle of our souls.

The humbler and meeker the priest is. then the more confidence and trust he has in God, and the more it seems that he performs. It is not for vain glory or worthss praise that a priest commemorates his Jubilee. People see in the priest the double of Christ, even though the priest is a man who may be unworthy of the title. The need for a priest is something that the faithful in our day have not fully comprehended.

"There is hardly a place on earth that has a surplus of priests. We have a minimum of 60,000 priests needed in Latin America, and in practice." in practically every diocese of the United States there is a great need of priests.

"The vocation constitutes the greatest need and the greatest challenge in the church of our day. It has always been my belief that there is an abundance of vocations in the the service of God. If the priest is to serve as the custodian there must be an ample supply of custodians.

The time was when parents would pray daily that God would call all or one of their children to His service. Today, we meet countless objections on the part of parents, Children of God and Children are born to the service of God and we must never forget that a vocation comes from God. I really believe children get their call to be priests or sisters around their confirmation time and they should be encouraged to reach their goal.

We commemorate the silver jubilee of Pather McQuade and he is privileged to celebrate this holy Mass to thank you for all the help you have given. You are the conse-crated priesthood of the laity, you are lay apostles, you are the Catholic Church, memers of the mystical body of Christ. No briest could ever build without the help of others, whether it be a church or institution. These things cost money and costing more and more with the advance of time.

Whatever we have here at Merrimack College under God and through Father Mc-Quade, his conferes, the credit belongs to You and all the benefactors of Merrimack College. I become the articulate voice of all the friends of Father McQuade gathered here this morning when I say to him "We congratulate you for your silver jubilee. Most of us have known you only since you came to this sector of the Augustinian portion of the Vineyand of the Augustinian all that time. vineyard of the Lord. During all that time, even though it is less than one-half of your priestle. priesthood, we have seen in you a double Christ, seen in you a spiritual man of God,

a worthy custodian of a Eucharistic Body. We have seen in you a priest of vision, courage, know-how, for the establishment of this higher institution of learning. We think you for your priestly examples and commend you for your zeal. It has been our privilege to work with you and stand behind you."

#### Operation Bootstrap-Reservation Style

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I have asked consent to insert in the RECORD two editorials from South Dakota papers on the Indian self-help bill which is becoming known as "Operation Bootstrap-Reservation Style." These editorials indicate the interest of South Dakota people in an industrial program on reservations.

The two editorials-one from the Pierre (S. Dak.) Capital Journal, Pierre, and the other from the Mobridge (S. Dak.) Tribune, Mobridge, are as fol-

[From the Pierre Capital Journal, June 17, 19531

BERRY WOULD PUT FACTORIES ON RESERVATIONS

Representative E. Y. BERRY has announced his intention to introduce a bill in Congress which would offer important inducements to industrial corporations to locate factories on Indian reservations. These inducements would include such things as tax exemptions or credits and assistance in financing construction of the plants.
"The bill," BERRY declares, "if approved by

Congress, will do for the Indian reservations exactly what the industrial program in Puerto Rico has done for the people of that Commonwealth."

In Puerto Rico industry has been offered a 10-year tax exemption, plant construction assistance, and Commonwealth cooperation with firms interested in expanding or establishing new plants. The program has re-sulted in important improvement in living standards in the country.

"Everyone agrees that the only solution to the Indian problem is through industrial development providing income and employment opportunity for the Indian people," BERRY asserts. "The law that I succeeded in getting through Congress providing trades training and on-the-job training for Indians, has been helpful, but the appropriations for this program have been too limited."

The Daily Capital Journal agrees that the sclution to the problem of depressed standards of living among Indian families must be found in providing opportunities for employment. The Indian with a steady income is no problem to anybody.

Unfortunately, South Dakota ranks at the bottom of the list of States in the number of people employed in manufacturing industries. If this situation can be changed by inducing the establishment of new plants on the Indian reservations in this State it will certainly be something of great benefit, not only to the Indian people, but to everybody else.

It is, of course, a long road from the mere introduction of a bill in Congress to its enactment and approval. BERRY may or may not succeed in getting the bill passed. We hope that he succeeds.

[From the Mobridge Tribune, June 18, 1959] NEW SOUTH DAKOTA INDUSTRY WOULD AID INDIANS

What is probably the most logical approach to the perennial Indian problem that has been offered is proposed in a bill West River Representative E. Y. BERRY is introducing in Congress to encourage industry in or adjoining Indian reservations and authorizing the tribes to cooperate with industrial concerns in establishing plants that will employ Indians.

Tax exemptions and fast writeoffs are provided for concerns that establish industries designed to employ Indians and train them industrial production. Tribal funds could be made available to finance construction of plant facilities which could then be leased or sold to the industry on a long-time basis. Such partnership between the tribe and the manufacturer designed to provide steady employment for the Indians would be an incentive on the part of both to make the operation of the plant successful and continuing. In several instances Indians have rapidly provided skilled labor for plants near reservations, while relocating programs have met with good success in training them to work in numerous industries in cities over the Nation.

This section of the State is especially interested in Representative BERRY's bill, since it would offer a means by which tribal councils on Cheyenne River and Standing Rock Indian Agencies could take a leading part by working with industrial concerns solving many of the problems facing the

Indians.

Reducing the Gold Supply

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. PHILIP. J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, many Members of Congress, as well as economists, businessmen, and interested citizens are greatly concerned by the con-tinuing heavy outflow of gold from the

United States. During recent periods of time many American and international financial officials have been concerned by these heavy gold movements.

Last year the United States suffered its biggest gold outflow in the amount of \$2,500 million. During the last 2 weeks of April the United States lost \$179 million in gold, or more than in the entire first quarter of the year.

Many reasons and excuses have been given for this outflow of gold but none of them are very convincing to the ordinary American citizen who looks upon the dissipation of our gold reserves with alarm.

Technical reasons indicate that the United States is running a deficit in its overall transactions with the rest of the world. The principal reason for the deficit is that American exports have not kept pace at a time when imports have greatly increased.

Congress should begin to ask itself the question, "How long can we afford to stand these huge drains on our gold supply?" To some, sluggishness of U.S. imports indicates that American goods have been priced out of world markets. How are these gold shipments tied in with the fact that the British budget has been balanced and British taxes have been reduced, while our budget is not balanced and taxes are increasing?

The British have been gaining reserves in ordinary international transactions during the year. They are also leaving their gains in dollar form rather than converting them into gold in order to build up the necessary balance to repay \$200 million to the International Monetary Fund. That payment was made and it is, therefore, likely that future gains in trade balances will be converted into gold in keeping with past British practice and custom.

Does this account in large part for the outflow of gold during April? The interest rate differential indicates high rates in New York and low rates in London, Amsterdam, and Frankfort. Since this is expected to result in foreign investments in the United States, it should normally step up the export account in whatever amount is invested by other nations here.

However, as many economists and businessmen know, only steady and marked increases in exports can permanently affect trade balances and effectually stop the flow of gold from the United States.

When is this Congress going to realize that the reciprocal trade treaties are causing a flow of cheaply produced foreign goods into the United States and other nations that is undermining most of our markets overseas and causing widespread unemployment and depression in many industires in this country. It is high time that something was done to bring order out of chaos that exists in our international and domestic economic, financial, and monetary affairs. Congress should act and I urge this course now without delay.

#### Strauss Rejection Politics at Its Worst

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. PAUL B. DAGUE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, no Member of the House can experience anything other than shame at the miscarriage of legislative prerogative that was displayed in the rejection of Lewis L. Strauss as Secretary of Commerce.

Mr. William S. White, an able columnist writing in Monday's Evening Star, underscores the indefensible position of those who voted against Mr. Strauss' confirmation in these words:

They have refused Mr. Elsenhower the privelege of any President to have a man of his own choice in the Cabinet so long as that man is not morally or mentally unfit. And they have made this great demonstration over what usually is politically the least significant post in all the Cabinet, that of Commerce.

That the denial of confirmation—not to Admiral Strauss but rather to President Eisenhower—was motivated solely by political reasons is also underscored by Mr. White further along in his article:

They disliked him as an Old Guard Republican, a Herbert Hoover Republican, an anti-public-power man, as indeed he was and is. \* \* For the first personal defeat of President Eisenhower they have attempted in his 6 years in office, they have chosen the worst possible vehicle.

Mr. White then proceeded to further emphasize the fact that the attack on Mr. Strauss was in reality an attack on the President in this observation:

Why, then, did it all happen? It happened most of all because of the long frustrations of many Democrats, mostly liberal Democrats. For years they have been clamoring that the party must fight Eisenhower. Now, at last, they have prevailed on calmer colleagues to fight. Their motive was understandable " " but the trouble was that the Democrats oversimplified. To fight is one thing. But to fight at the wrong time in the wrong place and for the wrong reason is quite another thing.

In his final summation Mr. White comes to this conclusion:

There were only two simple and related issues: Did the President have a right to Strauss if he wanted him? And was there against Strauss' fitness to serve (not his ideas or his personality) a case so overpowering as to justify turning him down? The answer to the first question was plainly yes. The answer to the second question was plainly no. And when the passions have died, some of the men who voted against Strauss will regret it, for simple human reasons if not also for political reasons.

Mr. Speaker, I am greatly pleased that this House had no part in this infamous treatment of a thoroughly dedicated public servant. And I am equally pleased that our party, with but insignificant defections, stood squarely in back of the President's nomination. In my opinion political repercussions over this incident are in the making and on the record they can only affect the opposition who went so far out of their way to display their personal dislikes and frustrations.

## Bills To Rebate Taxes to States Must Be Equitable

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. HENRY ALDOUS DIXON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. DIXON. Mr. Speaker, a proposal which is given consideration frequently by many Congressmen is that a portion of the taxes collected by the Federal Government should be rebated to the States.

Without arguing the merits of this idea, I believe it is important to draw attention to a serious and probably unintentional inequity in most of the bills

which have been introduced to carry out this idea.

These bills typically rebate to the State 1 percent or 5 percent of the Federal income tax collected within that State. The inequity arises from the fact that the amount of Federal taxes collected in any particular State is largely a geographical or business practice coincidence and is largely unrelated to the amount of taxes paid by the people of the State in question. For example, in a State such as Utah, even the personal income withheld by a number of our large employers with out-of-State headquarters is remitted to the Collector of Internal Revenue in States other than Utah where the income was earned and where the payroll deductions were made. Practically all of the Federal excise taxes such as those on new cars, appliances, machines, and so forth. are remitted by the manufacturer in the State of the parent manufacturer, even though the amount of the tax is expressly paid by the final consumer in Utah. These are but obvious examples of the irrelevance of the amount of Federal tax collections within a State as a measure of the Federal taxes paid by the people of that State.

It would therefore be manifestly unfair to use the amount of Federal tax collections within the respective States as the base for distributing Federal grants. As an example, for the fiscal year 1958 the Internal Revenue Bureau reported Federal tax collections in Utah amounting to \$200,022,000, whereas a fair estimate of the actual taxes paid by the people of Utah for the same year would be \$278,300,000.

These figures were carefully estimated by the Utah Foundation, and Mr. Henry R. Pearson, executive director of the Utah Foundation, and his staff deserve to be commended for bringing to light these significant discrepancies which show that Utahans pay almost 40 percent more in Federal taxes than is attributed to the State through collections.

I am placing in the Record the method used by the Utah Foundation to compute Utah's share of Federal taxes which further elaborates reasons for the disparity between collections and the actual taxes paid by the people of Utah.

METHOD OF COMPUTING UTAH'S SHARE
FEDERAL TAXES

Federal tax collections are reported by the Collector of Internal Revenue in his annual report. Collections for each tax are shown by the district office that collects the tax District offices are located in each State with several States having more than one district office.

However, there is a great difference per tween the location of the office of the ternal Revenue Service and the actual residence of the taxpayer who finally bears per burden of the tax. The U.S. Treasury partment has recognized this fact, and pointed out that the Federal tax collections in a State do not necessarily reflect State's true share of the Federal tax burdes since they fail to show the amount of taxes paid in directly.

Even the direct individual income taxes withheld by employees may not be accurately reported for a State, since many employees whose headquarters are in other States pay these withheld taxes to the Collector of ternal Revenue at the main office location.

Thus, the State where the withheld income tax is reported may not be the residence of the taxpayer who actually paid the tax.

The manufacturers excise tax on a new automobile is actually paid by the purchaser in Utah, although the tax itself is remitted to the Collector by the manufacturer in Detroit and shows as a collection of the Internal Revenue Collector in Michigan. In a similar manner taxes paid by Utahans on ap-pliances, tires, and other products may be remitted to collectors in other States. Corporation taxes paid by a railroad or steel mill are usually remitted to the Collector of the State in which the corporation has its headquarters, although the tax is actually borne by consumers in many States who use the service or product.

Because of these facts, the amount of Federal taxes paid by the residents of any particular State cannot be determined except by calculation. During the past few years, much work has been done by national and State research organizations throughout the country to find a formula that will accurately estimate a State's share of the Federal tax

Utah Foundation from the beginning of its research program has used a calculated figure to estimate the Federal taxes paid by Utah residents. In the past, the Foundation applied Utah's percentage of the total U.S. individual income payments to the total U.S. tax collections in order to obtain an estimate of Utah's share of the total Federal tax burden. While this method did result in a reasonably reliable estimate for Utah, additional research on the subject by Utah Poundation and other national and State tax research agencies in recent years has suggested that further refinements could be made which would insure a more accurate result.

The following is a formula which Utah Poundation believes will give a more reliable estimate of the Federal taxes borne by

the people of Utah.

Utah Foundation's formula involves three (1) individual income taxes not withheld, (2) individual income taxes withheld, and (3) all non-individual income tax revenues (includes corporation, excise, gift, estate, and miscellaneous taxes).

Each of the three factors comprising this formula is apportioned among the States in a manner which it is believed will reflect most accurately the incidence of Federal taxation in each State.

Following is the way the three factors are used in the apportionment of taxes:

(1) Individual income taxes not with-held: Actual collections in each State are presumed to reflect the actual tax burden for the State. Income taxes not withheld (i.e., those on dividends, rents, royalties, professional income, etc.) must be estimated and paid by the taxpayer himself, and ordinarily paid to the collector in the State of the tax payer's residence.

(2) Individual income taxes withheld: Apportioned to each State in the ratio that the State's total individual income bears to the total national individual income using latest U.S. Department of Commerce data. reports on individual income taxes withheld by employers do not necessarily reflect the residence of the taxpayers, since most large firms make payments of these withheld taxes to the collection district in which their main office is located. Alloca-tion among States on the basis of income payments is thought to be the best method for distributing these withheld individual income taxes.

(3) All nonindividual income tax revenues: Apportioned to each State in the ratio that the State's total individual income bears to the total national individual income. (Same method as for withheld individual income taxes.) Norz.—The Tax Foundation (a national tax research organization) further refines allocation of these non-income-tax revenues by distributing the burden for many of the excise taxes on the basis of known consumption patterns for each State.

However, Utah Foundation discovered that the use of these additional refinements did not materially alter the figure obtained for Utah by using the income-allocation method. For example, the May 1954 issue of Tax Outlook published by the Tax Foundation, shows Utah's portion of the Federal tax receipts to be 0.40 percent. The method employed by Utah Foundation shows Utah's portion of Federal taxes for 1953 to be 0.39694 percent. For this reason, it is thought that the income-allocation method is nearly as accurate for Utah and certainly is much more practical in making these computations over a long period of time, since many of the consumption figures by States are not available for earlier years.

To illustrate the procedure used, following is a point-by-point description of the calculation of Utah's share of the Federal taxes for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1953. See accompanying table. Reports used to make these calculations include the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, fiscal year ended June 30, 1953, and the August 1954 edition of the Survey of Current Business (published by the U.S. Department of Commerce).

1. Total income payments to individuals for continental United States. During calendar year 1952 (calendar year immediately preceding end of 1953 fiscal year)—\$256,091 million. (From p. 15, Aug. 1954, Survey of Current Business.)

2. Total income payments to individuals for Utah during calendar 1952-\$1,075 million. (From p. 15, Aug. 1954, Survey of Current Business.)

3. Percentage that Utah's individual income is of U.S. total-.41977 percent. (Divide figure from step 2 (\$1,075 million) by figure from step 1 (\$256,091 million).)

4. Total Federal internal revenue collections in continental United States-\$69,-492,505,000. (Total, less amounts for Territories and possessions from pp. 92-93, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue-1953.)

5. Federal individual income tax—\$36,-208.218,000. (Total of income tax not withheld and income and old-age insurance withheld taxes less amounts for Territories and possessions from pp. 60-61, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue-1953.)

6. Total non-income-tax Total non-income-tax revenues in United States—\$33,284,287,000. (Subtract figure obtained in step 5 (\$36,208,218,000) from figure obtained in step 4 (\$69,492,505,000).)

7. Utah's share of non-income-tax revenues—\$139,717,000. (Multiply figure from step 6 (\$33,284,287,000) by figure from step 3 (.0041977).)

8. Total income and old-age insurance withheld tax in continental United States-\$24,645,618,000. (Total less amounts for Territorics and possessions from pp. 60-61, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue-1953.)

9. Utah's share of withheld income and old-age insurance taxes-\$103,455,000. (Multiply figure from step 8 (\$24,645,618,000) by figure from step 3 (.0041977).)

10. Income tax not withheld collected in Utah-\$33,443,000. (Actual collections in Utah from p. 61, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue-1953.)

11. Utah's share of individual income tax and old-age insurance taxes-\$136,898,000. (Add figure from step 9 (\$103,455,000) to figure from step 10 (\$33,443,000).)

12. Utah's share of Federal taxes-\$276,-615,000. (Add figure from step 7 (\$139,717,-000) to figure from step 11 (\$136,898,000).)

13. Total Federal Internal Revenue collections in United States, including Territories and possessions-\$69.686.535.000. (From p. 93, Annual Report of the Commissioner of

Internal Revenue—1953.)
14. Percent that Utah's taxes are of U.S. total in continental United States (excluding

Territories)—39805 percent. (Divide figure from step 12 (\$276,615,000) by figure from step 4 (\$69,492,505).)

15. Percent that Utah's taxes are of U.S.

total (including Territories) — 39694 percent. (Divide figure from step 12 (\$276,615,000) by figure from step 13 (\$69,686,535).)

### The Trinity River Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, representing the southernmost district of California, and as a newly assigned member of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, I am intensely interested in all phases of California's water problems, and their possible solutions.

But, at the same time, I am also cognizant of the need to spend Federal money only where it provides the soundest means of accomplishing the purpose. In the matter of the Trinity project power facilities, we have been afforded the opportunity to develop the plants at private expense and at an immediate saving of \$60 million to the Federal Government.

Although my district is located farthest from the Trinity area, there will certainly be a beneficial impact in my district from this great project, as well as in all parts of California, from the standpoints of water and of the tax dollars involved.

The bills which have been introduced in this Congress in support of joint development of the Trinity project appear to be very favorable in their terms to the Federal Government, by providing a recapture clause should the Government desire to take over the facilities on 2 years' notice, at any time prior to the expiration of the 50-year contract.

I am very much interested in this proposal and its effects on the unsolved water problems of my district and State. I am looking forward to full and complete hearings by the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, with confidence that the issue will finally be acted upon by Congress, and the power facilities' construction may commence. The interest which the project has evoked in my district, over 750 miles from the Trinity site, is exemplified by the following editorial from the San Diego Union, dated March 25, 1959:

#### A DOOR OPENS

A compromise has been suggested to end the long and sometimes bitter argument over power development in connection with the Federal Trinity River project in northern California.

A Federal recapture clause has been included in a new Trinity River project bill introduced by Representative James B. Utt, Republican, of California, and Representative CHARLES GUBSER, Republican, of California, and immediately accepted by the Pacific Gas & Electric Co.

The Federal Government has favored a partnership by which private capital devel-ops power features of Federal water projbut in this case opposition has developed from public power advocates and in particular from those who contend the power will be needed for the pumps of the San Luis project. This the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. denies.

But to meet this objection the new bill provides that the Federal Government may take over the Trinity power facilities constructed by the company, at their depreclated cost, at any time after the proposed San Luis project begins operation or after

July 1, 1967.

Robert H. Gerdes, executive president of Pacific Gas & Electric Co., said the joint private-Federal program recommended by Interior Secretary Fred Seaton will save the U.S. Treasury \$60 million in construction costs. In addition it will provide \$75 million more net revenue to the Central Valleys project, from the rental of falling water and \$145 million in additional Federal, State, and local taxes, based on a 50-year contract.

A door to settlement of this dispute has been opened. It has dragged on long enough.

#### Lectures on Lincoln in West Indies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON, PHILIP, J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, the Abraham Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission, has, during the past 18 months. received from numerous governments and peoples abroad invitations to the Commission to participate in the Abraham Lincoln sesquicentennial year observances being held in these distant lands.

The members and friends of the Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission have been impressed and very pleased with this evidence of respect for the Great Emancipator among men and women of good will in lands hundreds and thousands of miles distant from the United

In response to such a communication from the new Federation of the West Indies, Mr. John B. Fisher, an able and distinguished young man, who is well known both in Massachusetts and in Washington, and who is one of President Eisenhower's appointees to the Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission, was designated as representative and spokesman for the Commission in a lecture tour of the Caribbean area.

Mr. Fisher accepted this assignment and spent the 2-week period from March 10 to March 24 in that area speaking in many of the schools and colleges there, delivering public lectures each evening and visiting public officials and private leaders in the interest of the Abraham Lincoln essay contest, in which over 2,000 boys and girls of the West Indies are now participating with greatest enthusiasm.

The results of Mr. Fisher's tour have proved so gratifying in terms of their good-neighbor impact that I am placing in the Appendix of the RECORD at this point certain press reports and items of correspondence testifying to the effectiveness and the value of this endeavor. I cannot help but feel, as I read these press reports particularly, that our best foreign relations are perhaps those achieved through personal contacts of a cultural nature rather than those of a strictly political and diplomatic type:

[From the Antigua Workers' Voice, Mar. 13, 1959]

MR. FISHER HOLDS SUCCESSFUL PUBLIC LEC-TURE; LARGE CROWD PACKED THE LIBRARY TO HEAR ABOUT ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Abraham Lincoln, a man of tremendous faith, great courage and determination but above all a champion of freedom was the theme of a lecture delivered by Mr. John B. Fisher of the United States at the Public

Library on Wednesday evening.

Beginning the evening's program Mr. C. M. O'Mard, B.A. Headmaster of the Princess Margaret School and the local representative for the UCWI, welcomed Mr. Fisher to Antigua and, on behalf of those present and the extra mural department of the U.C.W.I. thanked him for his coming to Antigua and for gracing us with his presence.

The public library which has been the lecture hall of such eminent persons as the American poet, Mr. McNeish and recently Professor Sparrow, proved too small to accommodate the enthusiastic audience. fears of those individuals who were jampacked on the veranda outside were relieved soon after Mr. J. F. Foote, M.A., chairman of the evenings engagement, had introduced Mr. Pisher as a man of "general distinctions too numerous to mention."

Mr. Fisher lived up to expectations-he proved to be a great orator; his charm and manner quickly set every one at ease and those who were privileged to have heard him could not fail to be impressed by his deep knowledge of his subject, his diction and delivery of speech which was distinctly audi-

ble throughout.

Beginning the biography of Lincoln in the humble log hut in Haggenville, in 1809, Mr. Fisher "toured" Lincoln's career through Indianapolis to Illinois and then to Washington. Mr. Fisher noted first of all, Abraham's thirst after knowledge, then he went on to speak of Lincoln's faith in himself, his faith in his country and in his men whom he chose and lastly, of his great spiritual faith and convictions which no doubt aided and inspired him in his great alm of making all men, 'regardless of color, creed, or race free. Mr. Fisher told of Lincoln's pristine disappointments and failures. Defeated in several public elections, Lincoln persevered and hardships, overcame them all, and produced the famous Douglas-Lincoln debates which won him the Presidency of the United States. Lincoln's greatest achievement was not, however, this nor his victory over the South in the Civil War, but his famous and historical "Emancipation Proclamation" of November 1863.

Having accomplished all that his great life demanded and having attained all that he set out to achieve. Lincoln could have ut-tered the words of that most famous Martyr, "It is finished" in all earnestness and satisfaction as he lay in Peterson's house shot through the head by an assassin.

To conclude the entertainment, Mr. R. S. Byron moved a very fitting vote of thanks during which he indicated that the large gathering not only showed interest in the subject of Abraham Lincoln but was also in

recognition of the magnanimity and stature of the lecturer himself.

[From the Barbados Advocate, March 18, 19591

FISHER HERE TO LECTURE ON LINCOLN

SEAWELL, March 17 .- Mr. John B. Fisher, & member of the Abraham Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission, at present on a tour of the West Indies lecturing at public meetings on the life of Lincoln, arrived here this after noon by BWIA from Trinidad to lecture at Harrison College tonight.

Mr. Fisher, who is traveling with his wife. is due to leave for Jamaica tomorrow. He was met at the airport by Mr. Douglas Mc-

Lane, Jr., U.S. vice consul.

He said that he was appointed to the Commission by President Eisenhower and the purpose of the Commission was to plan a year long term of celebration in the United States and with their friends abroad to celebrate the 150th anniversary of Lincoln's birth.

In addition to giving public lectures on the life of Lincoln Mr. Fisher is visiting schools to stimulate interest in the essay contest on the life of Lincoln, the grand prize for which in the West Indies will be a 30day all expenses paid visit to the United States.

Mr. Fisher is a businessman in the United States of America, but was formerly chief secretary to U.S. Senator Saltonstall, of Massachusetts. He has been a teacher of American history and English and is at the present time interested in education as a trustee of Mount Holyoke College, one of the largest women's colleges in the United States.

[From the Jamaica Daily Gleaner of Mar. 19. 1959]

LECTURES ON ABRAHAM LINCOLN TONIGHT

Mr. John B. Fisher, member of the Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission, which is set up as part of the U.S. Government plan for celebrating the 150th year of Abraham Lincoln's birth, arrived in the island last night by BWIA Viscount flight from Bar-

Accompanied by his wife, he will remain for 5 days and is staying at the Courtleigh Manor Hotel.

Mr. Fisher has just visited Antigua, Bar bados, and Trinidad, lecturing on Abraham Lincoln and also in connection with a federalwide Lincoln essay competition for children of secondary schools in the unit territories—the first prize of which is a paid visit to the United States.

Mr. Fisher, who was appointed to the Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission by President Eisenhower, will give a talk of Abraham Lincoln Abraham Lincoln tonight at the Parish Library, commencing at 8 o'clock.

He will be welcomed by the Honorable Florizel Glasspole, Minister of Education, and chairman will be the Honorable Dr. Ivan Lloyd Minister of Honorable Dr. Ivan Lloyd, Minister of Home Affairs.

The lecture is being sponsored by the U.S. Government and the Jamaica Historical

[From the Jamaica Daily Gleaner, Mar. 24. 1959]

SESQUICENTENNIAL COMMISSIONER SAYS LIN-COLN PLACED PREMIUM ON UNION'S PRES

A vivid and informative sketch of Abraham Lincoln as a Commander in Chief who was dedicated above all else to the preservation of the Federal Union and the freeing of the enslaved, was given in a public lecture on Thursday night last by Mr. John B. Fisher at the Kingston and St. Andrew Library Tem Policy Library, Tom Redcam Avenue.

Mr. Fisher who a year ago was appointed to the Abraham Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission by President Eisenhower, is currently touring the West Indies in aid of the federationwide essay contest being sponsored by the U.S. Information Service, Portof-Spain, Trinidad. Accompanied by his wife, Mr. Fisher arrived from Barbados on Tuesday last.

Mr. Adolphe Roberts, historian presided over the lecture in the absence of the Hon-Orable Dr. Ivan Lloyd, Minister of Home Affairs. The Honorable Florizel Glasspole, Minister of Education, welcomed the lec-

After his introductory remarks Mr. Fisher traced briefly the history of Abraham Lincoln's life from his birth in a Kentucky log cabin to his death at the hands of assassin John Wilkes Booth in 1865.

Mr. Pisher said that the success of the 16th President of the United States through life had its basis in his personal faith, his faith in himself, his political faith his faith in his country, his spiritual faith, faith in the divine being.

#### BASES IN PAITH

These bases in faith were what made possible his rise from the humblest of beginnings in a tiny log cabin in the American wilderness to the White House, the home of the Presidents, in Washington, D.C.

Mr. Fisher said the late President was a man of many strengths and of human weaknesses. He was, for example, Lincoln the Politician, who realised with the approach of the Civil War that above all else the Fed-

eral Union must be preserved.

He was Lincoln the husband and father who, despite home life and the tragic death of two of his children, never faltered in family love and loyalty. He was Lincoln, the President and Commander in Chief, dedicated cated above all else to the preservation of the Federal Union and the freeing of the enslaved and most important he knew that the preservation of the Union must come first and then the freeing of the slaves, since only if the Union were preserved could the slaves then be freed.

Lincoln, continued Mr. Fisher, martyr, a martyr to the Federal Union, to freedom, and to peace, who died at the hands of a "crazed assassin just as the Civil War ended victoriously" and after the slaves had have

had been freed.

Finally, Mr. Fisher said: "Lincoln today is not just a great American, not just a great President of the United States. He is a worker president of the United States. He is a world figure because he has become increasingly a symbol of freedom to all men everywhere; and a symbol of what can be achieved through faith in one-self, faith in the future of one's country and faith in the divine being." today for New York. Mr. Fisher and his wife leave

> U.S. INFORMATION SERVICE, U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY,

Subject: Visit of John B. Fisher, representative of the Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission to Jamaica.

Mr. John B. Fisher's lecture on Abraham Lincoln drew the largest crowd ever to be accommodated inside the new Kingston and St. Andrew Parish Library. Both the lobby and the adjoining periodicals room were pressed into service. The audience of over 200 was about evenly divided between upper grade high. grade high school students participating in the federationwide Lincoln essay contest and adults. Among the adults were educators, profess. professional people, and trade unionists. The meeting was chaired by Mr. Adolphe Roberts, Jamaica's leading historian and vice president of the Jamaica Historical Society Society. The address of welcome was de-livered by the honorable Florizel Glasspole, Minister of the Jamaica Historica. Minister of Education, and the vote of thanks

was extended on behalf of the audience by Mr. Mortimer Geddes, president of the Association of Assistant Masters and Mistresses and a member of the executive committee of the American University Graduates Associa-

In his speech of welcome, the minister of education stressed the long historical asso-ciation between the United States and the West Indies, and appreciatively alluded to the numerous projects being undertaken by the U.S. Government to build understanding and friendship with the West Indies. He mentioned the federationwide Lincoln essay contest currently being conducted by USIS, the many scholarship opportunities extended to Jamaicans by American schools and the study grants given under the ICA program. He said that Jamaica and the West Indies in their drive for federation and self-government were encountering many birth pangs experienced years ago by the United States and stated that the firm example of the United States was of real service to the West

Mr. Fisher's excellent address was most attentively received by the students in the audience most of whom took copious notes throughout the program. Several American graduates told the PAO after the lecture that they were deeply satisfied that so many Jamaican teachers and Ministry officials were in the audience. Their senti-ments were summed up by Dr. Evans and Mr. Wesley Powell, headmaster of Excelsior High School, who said, "This should help show what American scholarship is capable of. After tonight it will be more difficult for many of our friends at the Ministry to disparage American university

Mr. Fisher spent 20 minutes after the lecture signing autographs for students.

The lecture was followed by a reception at the home of the PAO. The principal Jamaican guests at the reception were Mrs. Edna Manley, wife of the Chief Minister, and Mr. Glasspole; other guests included executive committee members of both the Jamaica Historical Society and the American University Graduates Association, whose organizations had cosponsored Mr. Fisher's program in Jamaica. Soveral representatives of the press and two of the faculty from St. George's College (who had studied at the Jesuit Seminary in Weston, Mass., near where Mr. and Mrs. Fisher had lived for a number of years) were also present.

The success of Mr. Fisher's lecture was gratifying to the USIS staff for a rather special local reason. Months before Mr. Fisher's lecture was announced, Thursday, March 19, had been designated by the secondary schools drama festival committee as the final night for the yearly drama festival and the islandwide schools sports committee had chosen the day for the opening of the annual secondary school sports championship. This meant that any other activity involving students or teachers would be in strong competition for its audience. The good turnout to Mr. Fisher's lecture is strong proof of the attractiveness of his subject and the good will and support of the two cosponsoring organizations. Several teachers were so enthusiastic about the lecture that they urged USIS to arrange for a second lecture on the following Monday (March 23) stating that they were sure at least twice the number of people would attend.

Teachers and students who met or heard Mr. Fisher were forthright in their praise of his ability as a speaker and his knowledge of his subject. The highest praise proba-bly came from the Minister of Education, who, in describing the public meeting to the permanent secretary of his Ministry, said he got the feeling in listening to Mr. Fisher speak of Lincoln that he was not talking about a historical figure but a man who he had known all of his life. The Minister

paid a further compliment by using Lincoln as the theme for his speech at the Mico Training College graduation the next day. He is reported to have stressed Lincoln's firmness of character, devotion to learning, and insistence on every man's rights.

> U.S. INFORMATION SERVICE. April 3, 1959.

Mr. JOHN B. FISHER, Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C.

Dear John: I hope that you and Mrs. Fisher found the West Indian Lincoln lecture tour both pleasant and worthwhile. On the Monday morning following your de-parture we received a copy of the taped interviews you did in Barbados. They were

I find that all in all with your good assistance we have already generated more attention to Lincoln in the West Indies than

at first seemed possible.

Since the first part of this letter was written we have received most excellent reports on your visits to Barbados and Jamaica in addition to that already received from Antigua. The Minister of Education in Jamaica in a recent letter is eloquent in his praise of your good works in his island. Our American consul in Barbados was also very pleased with your visit there. Tom Noonan in Kingston boasts that he has already drafted a glowing report of your activities in and around Kingston.

From our point of view your West Indian tour for the Abraham Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission has been a series of outstanding successes in every department. We are especially happy that Mrs. Fisher could be with you. She made the picture complete and supplemented your good work in a most charming and gracious manner.

Our very best wishes to both of you.

Sincerely yours,

GARLAND C. ROUTT. Director, U.S. Information Service.
P.S.—Your kind letter of March 30 came this morning. Thanks for your thoughtful-ness and kind words.

#### Raymond V. McNamara

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. WILLIAM H. BATES

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 24, 1959

Mr. BATES. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of the House, the retirement of a very distinguished and able postmaster in Haverhill, Mass., Mr. Raymond V. McNamara. He is known and highly respected throughout the Nation as the past president of the National Association of Postmasters. In fact, he was, on three separate occasions, elected and reelected to the position of president of that organization, an honor accorded to few men and exceeded by none. He is held in the highest esteem by the Postmaster General and, indeed, throughout the postal service.

The high honors he has received and the great contributions he has made to our country in his chosen field have merited the admiration and respect of those whose pleasure it was to know him. I know his many friends join with me in offering our best wishes as he undertakes his well deserved retirement.

I include herewith an exchange of correspondence on the occasion of his retirement:

APRIL 10, 1959.

Hon. RAYMOND V. McNamara, Postmaster, Haverhill, Mass.

DEAR RAY: It is with a deep sense of personal disappointment that Mrs. Summerfield and I find that we cannot be present for the testimonial dinner in Boston which will mark your retirement as postmaster of Haverhill. A long-standing commitment to deliver an address in Los Angeles makes it impossible for me to join your colleagues in paying to you a tribute so well earned.

For my own part, I hope this letter will express in some measure the Department's appreciation for the contribution which you have made to the postal service, as well as my warm personal affection for you as a

friend.
Your enthusiastic support during your tenure as President of the National Association of Postmasters made the task of modernizing the postal system easier and earned for you the gratitude of the Department and your fellow postmasters.

The high integrity and devotion to duty which mark your career as a public servant and as a leader of postmasters reflect the religious principles which have guided your life. Mrs. Summerfield and I wish you many more useful and happy years, because we are sure you can never really retire from the postal service, nor from the National Association of Postmasters.

Sincerely.

ARTHUR E. SUMMERFIELD,

Postmaster General.

(Letter forwarded to Francis R. Sinervo, postmaster, Palmer, Mass., for presentation to Mr. McNamara at retirement banquet, April 18.)

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF POSTMASTERS
OF THE UNITED STATES,
Haverhill, Mass., April 30, 1959.

Hon. ARTHUR E. SUMMERFIELD, Postmaster General, Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Summerfield: Among all the communications which I received upon the occasion of my retirement as a member of your official family, none brought me greater joy or consolation than your intimate and highly complimentary letter commenting on my services as postmaster at Haverhill, Mass.

As God gave me the talents and the opportunity, I have tried to give to my beloved Postmaster General and the Service I had the honor of representing a loyalty and a dedication that has never waned.

As one who abhors expediency and compromise, I glory in the knowledge that I have remained faithful and loyal to the high ideas and ideals set forth by a courageous leader in whose path I was privileged to follow.

On this day, when tears are near the surface, I cannot refrain from making my last official act one of thanksgiving and appreciation to you for all the many generous acts of kindness and consideration shown to me throughout your years of service as Postmaster General of the United States.

You must find a personal satisfaction in the knowledge that out of a quarter of a century of antiquity you have brought the Postal Service of our Government to its highest peak of efficiency. That I have had a small part to play in this tremendous drama brings to me a sense of pride and happiness, born of affection for a courageous leader and a complete devotion to the service of this great arm of our Government in the service of its people.

That our country may continue to be blessed with your unselfish and outstanding leadership is my fervent hope and prayer. May God bring to Mrs. Summerfield and jourself health and contentment, length of

days and the happiness one finds in the knowledge of a job well done, is the sincere and heartfelt wish of one of your most devoted followers.

Again, with an expression of high esteem and affection, I shall ever remain,

Sincerely yours,

RAYMOND V. MCNAMARA.

MAY 5, 1959.

Mr. RAYMOND McNamara, Postmaster, Haverhill, Mass.

DEAR RAY: I have learned with mixed feelings of your retirement as postmaster at Haverhill. I am disappointed that you are leaving the postal service, because I think it is a loss to that service. On the other hand, I am very pleased that you will receive the benefit of a richly deserved retirement.

You have served long and honorably in the postal service, and indeed you have done a great deal not only for your own post office but for your associates throughout the Nation. You leave with the good will and friendship of many of us who have had the pleasure of knowing you and of working with you during the years. I know you can look back with justifiable pride on your years of service. I only hope the years ahead will hold for you every reward and happiness.

Best personal regards.

Sincerely,

LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, U.S. Senator.

## Democratic Party Should Renounce Democratic Advisory Council

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following of Battle Line from the Republican National Committee, June 17, 1959:

DEMOCRATIC PARTY SHOULD RENOUNCE DEMO-CRATIC ADVISORY COUNCIL

While a united America was handling the Communist challenges of Lebanon, Quemoy, and Formosa in 1958, the Democratic Advisory Council kept up a steady drumfire of divisive criticism designed to create a false illusion that America was divided in her resolution and abilities to oppose aggression. It was the first time political stump-speakers had shortchanged U.S. objectives when Americans were in the gunsights of the enemy.

In April of 1959, representatives of the NATO countries came to Washington for a 10th anniversary meeting at which unity over the Berlin challenge was affirmed. The Democratic Council, however, lived up to its reputation for irresponsibility. It issued a statement designed to make America look ridiculous, weak and without allies. The final NATO communique, a ringing declaration of Western unity, demolished the council's theme but the council pamphlet already had done its damage in the headlines.

Now at the tense climax of the Geneva Conference, which could involve the peace of the entire world, the irresponsible Democratic Council has again published an hysterically false pamphlet attempting to depict the United States as militarily weak and headed for disaster.

At a crucial hour, the Democratic Council may have undermined the position of our

Geneva negotiators and could have strengthened Communist intention to remain tough over Berlin.

It is time for the Democratic Party, as a whole major political party, to repudiate this council of 24 Democrats who are without office, power, or responsibility to speak for anyone but themselves.

Democrats in Congress, Democratic officials across the Nation and rank and file Democrats should join in denouncing the permicious charges published by the Council so the world will know the truth—that Americans are militarily strong, are morally united and are determined and able to resist aggression and appeasement regardless of political affiliation.

The United States is militarily weak only in the delirious pages of Democratic Council pamphlets and Democrats everywhere should join Republicans in making this fact clear to the Communists.

#### STEVENSON VERSUS STEVENSON, AGAIN

On June 13, reporters asked Adiai Stevenson—in Washington for the Democratic Advisory Council meeting—what he thought about the administration proposal to lift the ceiling from the interest rates on Government bonds. Stevenson indicated approval, saying: "To compete for money in this kind of market, you have to make bonds more attractive."

On June 14, however, Stevenson approved a Council statement attacking the bond interest proposal as "indefensible."

Thus Stevenson, typically confused and indecisive, managed in 2 days to get on both sides of the issue.

The incident recalled another typical Stevenson performance in April of 1958. On April 29, Stevenson joined in an Advisory Council statement calling for a tax cut and terming the recession "a seriously mounting crisis."

On the following day in Chicago, Stevenson made a speech in which he came out against a tax cut and declared, "I believe the recession will level off soon."

The latest example shows once again that no one can be sure of what Stevenson believes on a specific issue and, apparently, this confusion includes Stevenson himself.

## Now Let's Have a National Children's Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. MARGUERITE STITT CHURCH

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 24, 1959

Mrs. CHURCH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record or an interest of the remarks in the Record or an interest of the remarks in the Record of the remarks in the Record of the remarks in the Record of the remarks of the remar

Now Let's Have a National Children's Day Mother has had her day, Sunday will be Father's Day, and this week the loving thought of all is to get Dad something his he will like and remember. A box of favorite cigars, nice haberdashery, a snapp hat, or even something in a hobby line.

Now, when do we get our third big day to complete the cycle of family affection

Children's Day? This is something for the parents to think about, while the young folks concentrate on making Father's Day as happy and successful as was Mother's

Congresswoman MARGUERITE STITT CHURCH has in Congress a joint resolution, introduced at suggestion of the Peacock newspapers, calling for President Eisenhower to proclaim a National Children's Day. We are looking forward to favorable action on it.

In fact, we so firmly believe there should be an official Children's Day that we are including it, as of now, in the Peacock newspaper's platform.

Above all, let's insist there be a Children's

What are your suggestions?

#### Surplus Eggs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON, ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 24, 1959

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, on the successive dates of June 16 and June 17 there appeared in the evening and morning editions of the Peoria Journal Star similar editorials stemming from scheduled hearings of the House Agriculture Poultry Subcommittee on the subject of surplus eggs, and I should like to have reprinted in the Record at this point both both editorials for they give us much protein—eggs, that is—for thought.

#### AND NOW IT'S EGGS

A subcommittee of the House Agriculture Committee of the nouse on proposals to give emergency relief to producers of poultry and eggs. Whatever Congress does, if anything, will only further complicate the agricultural economy. Every new farm farm price prop puts new stresses strains in the patched-up structure of prices.

In mid-April the average price received by the farmer for eggs was 28.1 cents a dozen.
That was 10.4 cents below the price of 12 months before. The price has been dropping

New Jersey farmers are now selling for 30 cents a dozen eggs that cost 39 cents to pro-One farmer offered to give 500 dozen to first comers, just as a protest against the low prices. People who took the free eggs bought and prices. bought another 750 dozen to help him.

What happened to egg prices? One answer is that too many eggs have been produced. Production is up 7 percent this year. "Egg factories" sprang up during World in World War II, in response to the demand for

more food, and the output virtually ex-ploded. Plocks increased. Scientific feed-ing and the use of antibiotics stimulated

At the same time, chicken farmers have een surering from the artificial prices created by the Government for grain farmers. The high price of grain feed, due to Federal Government price of grain feed, due to Federal Government grain price supports, makes the production production of poultry and eggs more costly, and the poultry farmers, like all taxpayers. The Government bas been buying dried

The Government has been buying dried eggs to Sovernment has been buying to stabilize prices and announced on June 2 that it would begin a program of weekly buying of frozen whole eggs.

bgg production controls and price suports have been suggested. But 1.7 million farmers produce eggs and they are marketed in 25,000 outlets. Just to police production and price sure the production and price sure the more sure than the production and price sure that the production that the production is the production that the production and price controls would require more supervisors than there are egg farmers. Price supports will also encourage continued overproduction.

Some administration or some party in Washington some time will have to show enough backbone to get us out of the vicious circle of subsidies and unwanted surpluses.

#### SAME PROBLEM EVERYWHERE

The Poultry Subcommittee of the House Agriculture Committee is going to begin hearing testimony tomorrow on proposals for emergency action to offset a recession in egg and poultry prices.

Poultry farmers have the same problem as a great many other farmers. They're too effi-cient for their own good. They have improved production methods so much that they're raising more chickens and producing more eggs than the country can consume.

The result is that prices go spiraling down unless the Government steps in with some artificial support to provide relief, either through price supports which are a drain on the country, or direct subsidy, which also is costly.

Lobbyists for the farmers are suggesting Federal production controls, price supports, and other emergency measures. Help for the poultry industry presents special problems, however. Herman I. Miller, poultry specialist for the U.S. Agricultural Marketing Service, points out that 1,700,000 farms are producing the Nation's eggs which are marketed in 25,000 outlets. The policing of production and sale would require more supervisors than there are egg farmers.

The Department of Agriculture on June 2 announced that it would begin a program of weekly purchase of frozen whole eggs. And since April 16, when purchase of dried eggs for the school lunch program was stopped, the Department has been buying dried eggs to stabilize prices. Cost of the school lunch and price stabilization programs already has topped \$15 million.

Part of the trouble in the egg and poultry business stems from the Government's effort to help other segments of the farm popula-Government support of wheat and corn has increased the cost of raising chickens. Feed prices have increased 400 percent since 1939 and they represent more than 60 percent of the poultry farmer's total outlay. Just to bring a day-old chick into its laying period costs about \$2. Already many small farmers have given up the raising of

Thus the problem of farm surpluses continues. Price supports and production controls have never provided a solution and there's little indication they will here, either.

#### Lewis L. Strauss

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 24, 1959

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, the Press has expressed its reaction, shared by many, to the Senate's assassination of the character of Lewis L. Strauss. Pursuant to permission granted me, I insert in the Appendix of the RECORD the following editorials and articles of the past few days:

[From the New York World-Telegram and Sun, June 20, 1959]

STRAUSS REJECTED

We hope the politicians who dangle Lewis Strauss' bald scalp are happy in their achievement. Their happiness is certainly

the only discernible gain in this sorry mess.

Mr. Strauss served our country in many capacities over the last four decades-always with distinction.

He failed of confirmation by the Senate in his appointment as Secretary of Com-merce, a position for which he was eminently qualified.

Over the many long months of debate where objections have been raised to Mr. Strauss' confirmation, we have read carefully the evidence presented and have gathered that the principal argument against Mr. Strauss has been that some Senators do not like him.

In our opinion, that is an insufficient cause for rejecting him. He was defeated by politics. Bad politics, at that.

[From the New York Mirror, June 20, 1959] THE TRICK ON STRAUSS

The friends and admirers of Admiral Lewis L. Strauss must regard Lyndon Johnson's parliamentary trick, which resulted in the Senate's failure to confirm Strauss by a vote of 49-46, as disgraceful.

And a trick it was.

Although the admirers of Lyndon Johnson will always be able to point to this as an example of his astuteness, they will have much explaining to do to those who cannot understand why Johnson, the conservative Democratic leader, should uphold the position of Strauss' left wing opponents.

And that is what defeated Strauss-left. wing opposition—because he was effective in bringing about the dismissal of J. Robert Oppenheimer, the scientist who once paid dues to the Communist party, as his testimony shows.

[From the New York Times, June 20 1959] POLITICS DEFEATS MR. STRAUSS

The President, under the Constitution, has the right to appoint the members of his Cabinet subject to the approval of the Senate. This approval is not usually withheld and should not be, for the Chief Executive must be free to choose the members of his official family.

In the case of Lewis L. Strauss, however, 49 Members of the Senate saw fit to refuse the President's request and voted against the nominee. It seems fitting to inquire into their reasons. Some did it for personal pique, some—and very few, we should judge—because they thought he was unfit, a number to support the pique of their fellow Democrats, the vast majority to go along with their party plan and reduce the prestige of their President.

Thus for an assortment of causes a splendid public figure was cast aside and the Democratic majority satisfied with this blow it has delivered to the Republican occupant of the White House, wears a grin of satisfaction.

Tribute should be paid to those Democrats who did not follow the party line and voted to confirm. The real tribute, however, should go to Mr. Strauss himself for his services during the war and as head of the Atomic Energy Commission when the hydrogen bomb, our greatest source of security, was developed under his leadership.

[From the New York Times, June 21, 1959] STRAUSS CASE RAISES ISSUES FOR ELECTION-BITTER PERSONAL ANIMOSITIES SEEN AS AM-MUNITION FOR THE 1960 PRESIDENTIAL CAM-PAIGN-VINDICTIVE PRESSURES USED

#### (By Arthur Krock)

Washington, June 20.—The Senate's rejection of the President's appointment of Lewis L. Strauss to be Secretary of Commerce had its roots in personal and atomic policy differences between Strauss and a few Senate Democrats. But certain aspects of the events leading up to the rejection assure that the action will be nourished by the Republican

leadership of the 1960 Presidential campaign for development into an interparty issue, Because, however, two Republican Senators could have effected the Secretary's confirmation by voting for instead of against it, and 15 of the 64 Senate Democrats supported the President's appointment, the party versus party issue will not be as clearcut by the process of arithmetic as it was made by the following circumstances:

- (1) Whether or not it can ever be proved that, as Vice President NIXON put it, LYNDON B. Johnson, the Democratic leader, engineered the Senate action in a way to justify criticism, at any rate Johnson and the other Democractic Senators viewed as Presidential aspirants were solidly aligned against the nominee. These were HUMPHREY, of Minnesota; Kennedy, of Massachusetts; and Sym-INGTON, of Missouri.
- (2) Democratic Senators whom Johnson has found dependable on tests of his leadership, but a number of whom would have surprised no qualified observer by voting for Strauss, all opposed the appointment. this group are BIBLE, Nevada; CHURCH, Idaho; ERVIN, North Carolina; FREAR, Delaware; GREEN, Rhode Island; HAYDEN, Arizona; HILL, Alabama; Jordan, North Carolina; Long, Louisiana; Neuberger, Oregon; Smathers, Florida; Sparkman, Alabama; and Talmadge, Georgia.
- (3) Five or six Republican Senators had Washington for outside engagements after the majority leader made this statement to the Senate Wednesday: "If I can, I should like to assure any members \* who desire to be away on Thursday, Friday and Saturday-so far as I know, I will say, they are not members of my own party—that we shall have a definite agreement as to when to vote, so that no one will be taken advantage of." But this was conditioned before and afterward by re-peated notice from Johnson that Republicans were leaving at their own risk, so that it is only an argument that they had good reason to be surprised by Johnson's decision to hold the Senate in session until a ballot was taken.

#### GOP FILIBUSTER

By filibustering, the Republican leaders were able to stave off a vote until all their absentees but MILTON R. Young had been brought back to the Capitol. But the filibuster was determined enough to force the Democratic leadership to agree at that point to a "pair" of Young who was pro-Strauss and the assistant majority leader MANSFIELD, of Montana, who was present, and anti-Strauss. This prevented the Democrats from taking advantage of that situation. But bad feeling was engendered on both sides of the party aisle by charges and counter charges of leadership sharp practice. And the Republican campaign orators are sure to represent this part of the espisode as further evidence of official Democratic strategy to reject the Strauss nomination.

(4) The real leader of the fight against confirmation, Anderson, of New Mexico, was a very influential Senate Democrat to whom many of his party colleagues are indebted for help in both personal and legislative situations. His individual war against Strauss, beginning over differences between them with respect to the latter's activities as Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, grew on his side into one of the most implacable vendettas ever waged on Capitol Hill. In pursuance of this, Anderson made every possible type of appeal to his fellow Democrats for support in the controversy. "All my chips are on this one," he would say, and remind his auditors of past favors. He also argued that in a personal contest between a loyal Democrat (himself) and a "reactionary Republican" (Strauss) there was a party obligation to be considered. SUCCESSFUL ARGUMENTS

The success of these arguments, which the final lineup suggests, was much more effective than Anderson's attack on Strauss' personal and official integrity, offers further material for a Republican 1960 campaign charge that Democrats were basically responsible for the rejection of the Secretary of Commerce.

But whether the opposition of the two Republican Senators to Strauss will impel the public to assign to both parties the responsibility or credit for the action (according to their approval or disapproval of it), bitter consequences are sure to emerge from all this background of intrigue, of personal and leadership pressures, of attacks on character, of suspicion or proof of unworthy motives, of accusations of broken promises.

The prestige of the Presidency has been challenged, and/or General Eisenhower's official and personal moral standards have been aspersed, by the Senators who voted to reject the eminent public servant he chose to associate with himself in the inti-mate relations of the Cabinet. And the President, who backed Strauss to the limit against every attack made on him as an administrator and as a man, is not likely to treat the rejection as a closed incident in the many communications to the people he can

1960 campaign.

## be expected to make before the end of the ONLY EIGHTH TIME

Not only is this the eighth rejection of a Cabinet appointment in the history of the Republic. It marks a Senate repudiation of the type of highly talented, self-sacrificing citizen that it has become increasingly difficult for Presidents to recruit for Government service except in time of war. Furthermore, this particular citizen who became the eighth of his species had served and been commended by four Presidents, awarded five of the highest national decorations, was an officer in the Naval Reserve who rose to rear admiral, and who, as he vastly understated it in his comment on his rejection, had "done the best I knew how to do to protect and defend the national security when that was not the recognized, nor easy, nor popular course of action at the time" (the decision to produce the H-bomb).

And, since many of the reasons given by Senators as outweighing these extraordinary achievements were captious, plainly contrived, palpably the result of political or per-sonal pressure or vindictive, it is not inconceivable the American people will produce a much larger majority for Strauss than the

Senate produced against him.

#### History and Moral Responsibility

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

#### HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 15, 1959

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, June 13, 1959, at Dart-mouth College, Mr. Charles H. Malik, President of the United Nations General Assembly, addressed the graduating class of 1959. His talk was such an excellent one I am asking that it be placed in the RECORD so that my colleagues and others may read it:

HISTORY AND MORAL RESPONSIBILITY (By Charles Habib Malik)

The rising generation looks up to the reigning generation for wisdom and guidance. It has sat at its feet for 20 years both at home and in school, and when the moment comes to leave the halls of learning it is subjected to the last and most concentrated bolt of advice that the reigning generation can muster. The world and its problems are analyzed and eager youth are adjured to face and conquer them. New analysis is excellent and advice is wonderful, but the rising generation has every right to address its elders in the following terms:

"We are grateful to you, our elders, for bequeathing to us a flourishing civilization The economy is prosperous, there is peace in the world, there are wonderful opportunities ahead, and we are blessed with vigorous free institutions. But you are also bequeath ing to us tremendous problems. Are you old elders, who are reigning just before us altogether innocent of the problems we re-ceive? And if our difficulties are in part your own creation, must you not therefore refer us to a wisdom even above yourselves wherewith to illumine our mind and guide our footsteps?"

#### A FALSE EXUBERANCE

The note of humility and confession of guilt is somewhat lacking in the profusion of analysis and advice to which youth is treated at this season of the year. There is a false exuberance, a somewhat unjustified opti-mism. There is to an analysis and as mism. There is too much self-sufficiency, as though man can lift himself by his b straps. There is too little awareness that we straps. There is too little awareness that are in the palm of powers much greater than ourselves, powers we have consciously The unconsciously wronged and offended. sense of just retribution is weak.

How to Tace the truth without flinching how to own one's moral responsibility with respect to it, how to pass on both the truth and one's responsibility to the coming gen-eration, fairly and with creative grace, and how to do all this without affectation high with despair—this is something for which much prayer and much purity is needed.
And yet nothing short of this is the duty
of those who are of those who are called upon to address the graduating classes this year.

#### INPUITABILITYS

Consider closely, then, a few matters. West win in China after the Second World War Was that an inevitable result? Are we dealing here with a market result? ing here with a predetermined social, political, bistories cal, historical process that could not have been helped? Those who say we are with there are some who do—are thereby saying cal movement which irresistibly culminates in hostility to the West in hostility to the West. Are they then prepared to accept the theory that the very universe, the team that the very universe. verse, the very laws of history, the very nature of things, is against them and walues? This is always them and the very nature of the very nature of the very nature. values? This is always what happens those who brush aside moral responsibility and blame impersonal cosmological factor for their state. It would seem, therefore that it were better for them to say: it partly our fault, it was the fault of this of that decision or this or that decision or this or that decision or this or the fault of this or that decision or this or that policy or this or that weakness in our human nature.

Why has the Middle Eastern situation deteriorated so much? Was that inevitable In the early days of the United Nations literally could not get a Middle Eastern no resentative to shake hands with a Commitnist delegate. Ten years ago the Soviet fer tor in Middle Eastern events was negligible. Today nothing in the Middle East or about the Middle East the Middle East is considered or decided to cept as a function of the Communist factor. Can people therefore comfort themselves the thought that the cosmos is such this result had to come about? Is not truth rather that we are here dealing with sibility? It would seem therefore that were better for people to say: It was part our fault, it was the faulty of this or the

decision or this or that policy or this or that Weakness in our human nature.

#### DISTNO CHILTINES

Old cultures and peoples are emerging into independent nationhood throughout Asia and Africa. There is an admixture of antiwesternism in varying degree in all this rising nationalism. Again the question arises, was this a fated phenomenon? Is Asian and African nationalism necessarily and by nature incompatible with friendship and cooperation with the West? Those who blame it on European colonialsm are only saying that the association of European and non-European cultures has been such that When the non-Europeans asserted their inde-Dendence of the Europeans they had to be anti-Western. But this involves a tremendous moral judgment. Nor can the Western cosmologists prove that the international Communist movement was not itself largely responsible for this anti-Western virus. Again the final truth appears to be a thoroughly human situation in which the West exhibits a certain inadequacy both in dealing with non-Western cultures and in competing with communism for their soul. And so it would seem that it were better for people to say: It was partly our fault, it was the fault of this or that policy or attitude or weakness in our human nature.

The fashion now is to blame everything on the atom. You cannot do this here, you cannot be firm there, you cannot press for a decision elsewhere, because you then run the risk of nuclear war. Ergo, compromise, coexist, be flexible, withdraw with a face-saving saying formula. The atom is a godsend to the pacinsts, the defeatists, the appeasers, the fellow-travelers, the decadent, and the plans plans tired. In its shadow they are enjoying a most wonderful field day. But assuming that the atomic stalemate is already upon us an assumption that requires much proof still three questions arise:

(1) If the same is true of the other fellow, Why must one be more scared than he?

(2) Why did the West not press for a peaceful settlement of the issues now confronting the world before the atomic stalemate came

(3) Why was the atomic stalemate allowed to develop in the first place when only a decade ago the West had (and almost certainly it still has) the greatest concentration of science and technology in history? These questions raise fundamental issues. It would seem to the form seem in their light that it were better for people to assume moral responsibility for what happened.

# TREMENDOUS CIVILIZATION

One aspect of Western life is this tremendous material civilization. It is a great achievement and without a certain spiritual attitude, a certain view of man, mind, matter, and the nature of things, it would have been impossible. But the spiritual significance is hidden and people in their human weakness are apt to dedicate their lives to the quantum and abunthe quest of security, comfort, and abundance as ends in themselves. In fact this aspect of Western existence is unfortunately what what impresses non-Western peoples most, with the result that the most serious tensions and misunderstanding—psychological, economic, and political—build up between

the West and the underdeveloped peoples. Is this fair to these people? Is it fair to the West itself with its infinite intellectual and spiritual resources? Is it right to blame this misunderstanding of the West on the inherent limitations of the East, namely, to say that because the East is sensuous and materialistic it sees only sensuality and materialism in the West? I think this is too easy a disclaimer of moral responsibility. Again it would seem that it were better for people to say: It is partly our fault, it is the fault of this or that policy or tendency in our culture or weakness in our human nature.

Consider finally the dynamic character of communism. It appears to be winning on every front. However you explain them and whatever be the counterbalancing sources of comfort, the following are stark facts: Communism controls directly one-third of the world, and it has infiltrated and softened up in varying degrees the remaining twothirds: it commands a most formidable international organization, superbly active every minute everywhere; it has a great appeal, especially to some intellectuals and to those who are seeking an absolute; it appears to command great atomic capabilities; the West appears to be on the whole on the defensive, waiting for a Communist initiative to react to it; and the visible struggle is all on this side of the Iron Curtain. In the face of all this the West cannot say: They are winning because they use methods to which we will not stoop. Can they not be beaten by other and better methods? It would seem therefore that there is room for a more anxious beating on the breast to find out what is really happening in the world

#### A LESSON IN HUMILITY

From what happened in the Far East, from what happened in the Middle East, from the phenomenon of anti-Westernism, from the atomic stalemate, from the materialism through which the West is understood or misunderstood, and from the defensivism of the West in face of Communist dynamism-from these things a lesson of humility can be properly drawn. The rising genera-tion is receiving wonderful things at the hands of the reigning generation, but it is also inheriting these serious situations for which, in the universe—whatever that may mean-not the cosmos, not dark impersonal forces, not the laws of nature or of history, but the human culture of a whole epoch must assume the responsibility. The confession of one's limitations rooted in the knowledge of the limitless sources of one's being is the ground of all truth, all hope, and all progress.

This is a world through and through subject to moral judgment. History is a field of real moral responsibility. Man, in the free-dom of his conscious decision, makes or unmakes history. The reason why the rising generation can look forward to a future of positive achievement is precisely because the last word has not been uttered. It is grateful to the reigning generation on two counts: because it is bequeathing to it so much solid achievement and because it is leaving for it so much still to be done. The issue is not closed; he alone laughs who shall laugh last. In this way the commissions and omissions of the past shall keep the future busy until the end of time.

#### MORAL LAW GOVERNS

If then historical fatalism is nonsense, if man alone is the captain of his fate, it follows that history is governed by moral law. Moral law is the exact opposite of dark forces acting blindly. In the creation of history there is the most lucid revelation of norms and patterns which we know we should obey; and when we disobey them, the unrebellious among us will confess their guilt. And, in addition to the knowledge of the facts, the whole problem of education for historical leadership is to sharpen the conscience so as to see, recognize, and obey these patterns and precepts, and to impart to the soul the moral courage to witness to the truth once it has known it, and the humility to confess its guilt when it falls short of the best it knows. Vision, obedience, witness, and confession—these are the four pillars of all moral education for the responsibilities

of history.

The industrial and technological capabilities of the free world are still vastly preponderant. Scientific research is passing through an astoundingly creative phase, and

there appears to be nothing foreclosed so far as any conceivable material instrumentality is concerned. Economic productivity is so abundant that many, if not all, of the eco-nomic problems of the underdeveloped countries can be solved, given of course adequate foresight and wisdom on the part of political leaders. There is a vigorous political awareness in the free world, and one should never underestimate the power of free men once they are aroused and once they appreciate what is really at stake. The possibilities of educating and guiding public opinion through television, the radio, and the press are simply fantastic. In the free universities with their wonderful cumulative traditions the mind can seek and discuss the truth in all fields in perfect freedom. And God, the living God, the creator and re-deemer of mankind, of you and me in per-son, is worshiped, loved and obeyed in countless homes and churches.

#### IMMENSE RESOURCES

These are the immense resources of the free world. In their totality there is nothing even comparable to them anywhere else. If history rests on the shoulders of those who make it, and on nothing else, the leadership of the free world has an unparalleled opportunity to make history today. There is nothing that happened in any of the areas to which I referred that cannot be retrieved, and while things never go back to what they were, they can always be lifted onto a new and higher plane. Everything depends on the

depth of personal existence.

Let there be therefore full understanding of what is historically at stake today; let the international Communist movement be understood exactly for what it is—a radical rebellion against the tested values of the positive tradition, including objective truth and God; let the peoples of Asia and Africa and Latin America be respected and helped, in their exertions to develop themselves and to stand on their feet, on the basis of juridical and moral equality; let there be a solid grounding in the wonderful virtues of the liberal arts, such as Dartmouth teaches and promotes, with all their freedom and joy and depth and universality; let there be joy and depth and universality; let there be real faith in a hidden, living, just, merciful and loving Judge; and let there be a firm determination never to compromise with falsehood, never to yield to tyranny, never to bow the knee to darkness, and always to respond to genulineness and truth—let those things determine the personal existence of those who carry the responsibilities of his-tory today, and I am certain all will be well in the end.

#### TO TODAY'S GRADUATES

And so to the young men who are graduating today from this great institution of learning I say this:

You can never be grateful enough to your elders for the great material and spiritual world which they are bequeathing to you. You are privileged to receive established working institutions with boundless possibilities which hardly any generation before you received.

If part of your inheritance consists of great problems which rock the world today, remember that it is the world stature recently attained by America that is thrusting these issues upon your mind. Many of these problems existed 50 years ago, but you feel them keenly today because world historical responsibility has suddenly fallen upon you.

You will be tempted by the cosmological fallacy to blame things, conditions, blind forces, impersonal factors, for what should be your own responsibility. The distinctive glory of man is that he alone is responsible for his fate, and I beg you never to abdicate

Be merciful and understanding in your judgment of the reigning generation, because

who knows that one day you will not require mercy and understanding yourselves.

#### LIBERAL EDUCATION

Through the liberal education you received in these halls you will be able, better than through anything else, to confront, comprehend and cope with the complex issues of the modern world. Indeed you will find that this education is one of America's greatest spiritual achievements, and that it holds untold possibilities precisely for the emergent Asia and the emergent Africa, if only people thought enough and cared enough.

Be worthy of the infinite material and spiritual riches that the toils and tears and sufferings and cumulative vision of 4,000 years have built up for you. You have means and ends at your behest that no generation ever had. Live up therefore to the expectations of this wonderful trust, and be thank-

When the cup of historical responsibility is offered you, drink it to the full. And when you have honorably acquitted your-

selves before your conscience and before your God, fear nothing. If you have known a real man he will haunt you the rest of your life. And because personal existence is the key to everything, seek the knowledge of the most real man, so that you will ever change in the image of the pattern of his person while you live.

#### INNER RENEWAL

There is nothing new under the sun except the renewal of your inner person every day. All ideas, all ambitions, all pence plans, are as old as the heavens, but when you open your being, in humility and in humor, to be transformed in the image of the highest-that is new under the sun. Only the new creature is new.

Your day is going to be momentous. Come unto it, therefore, slowly, patiently, gracefully, in the full maturity of your powers. Seek greatness in your day, seek excel-

lence, seek depth.

You belong to the choicest cream of Western society. Much more depends on you than you now think. May it therefore never be said of you, never, "\* \* \* but if the salt have lost his savor, wherewith shall it be salted?" (Matthew 5:13.)

I assure you this will never be said of you if in every gladness and in every adversity you "wait upon the Lord." For it is written: "Even the youths shall faint and be weary, and the young men shall utterly fall: But they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run, and not be weary; and they shall walk, and not faint." (Isaiah 40:30-31.)

#### Repeal 10-Percent Travel Tax

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker. under unanimous consent, I insert in the RECORD an article from the Southern Railway System magazine Ties, the June 1959 issue. The article deals with the 10-percent travel tax on persons and the need for its repeal.

Mr. Speaker, as you know, on June 1, 1959, I introduced a bill, H.R. 7470, which would repeal the transportation tax on persons. The bill has been referred to the Committee on Ways and Means. As my colleagues are well aware, this is a tax which was passed as an emergency wartime measure. Its intent was to discourage unnecessary use of the transportation facilities of our Nation so that they could be used to the fullest possible degree for the war

Although passed as an emergency measure, a wartime measure, the tax continues to be levied today, long after the emergency ceased to exist. The tax continues, and so does its burden continue, for every public carrier engaged in the transportation of persons and, further, for every person who travels by means of public transportation-meaning, of course, almost every American taxpaver.

This article well points out the reasons, indeed the necessity, for repealing this unjust and severe wartime tax. I am pleased to commend it to the attention of my colleagues in Congress, with the hope that they will give this vital matter their careful study and earnest consideration:

REPEAL THE 10-PERCENT TRAVEL TAX

World War II has been over for almost 14 years. Some fighting men of Saipan, Omaha Beach, and the Ardennes are grandfathers by

Yet the 10-percent wartime tax on passenger travel still lingers-seriously injuring the very carriers that it was intended to help. Congress can and should repeal it now.

The tax was an emergency wartime measure, imposed principally to discourage nonessential civilian use of the hard-pressed railroads when they were jammed with milltary movements.

The same considerations that led to the adoption of the tax during World War II now call just as strongly for its immediate

At the time, railroads were carrying approximately 97 percent of all organized military travel. If war should come again, much the same kind of performance will be expected of railroads.

But this wartime tax that has long outlived its usefulness is hurting railroads seriously in their efforts to be ready for any such

emergency.

Railroad passenger service today is threatened by annual operating deficits of almost \$700 million.

If there is anything railroads do not need it is to have prospective passengers discour-

aged from taking the train.

As railroaders, we are most keenly concerned with the damage this tax does to railroads. But we know, too, that we are not alone in feeling the pinch. The tax hurts airlines, buslines—in fact, all common carriers in the passenger business.

Essentially, what the tax does is drive travelers away from the public carriers (like railroads) to the principal private carrier-

the family automobile.

Three out of 10 familles in this country, however, do not own an automobile. They have no choice. If they want to travel, they must use the public transportation services subject to this tax.

So the tax is unfair-in that it discriminates against one part of our population, against the people least able to afford the extra cost the tax adds to the price of a

This is not a tax on the carrier, but the passenger. The railroad, airline or bus line simply collects it for the Government.

More than that, the tax is dangerous. In weakening our essential public carriers, it undermines our national strength and preparedness. By adding some \$200 million a year to transportation costs, it gives one more boost to the inflationary spiral.

It might be noted, too, that the tax discriminates against persons traveling within the United States. To certain foreign des-tinations the travel tax does not apply. In this way it tends to discourage the traveler from seeing America first-and to promote foreign resorts at the expense of our own resort and recreation industry.

Even if you liked this travel tax, it would be hard to find something good to say about

The only possible excuse for retaining it at this point is the revenue it brings into the Federal Treasury.

But how much of the \$200 million a year is real, and how much of it is an illusion?

For example, the tax paid on business travel can be and is being deducted as a business expense by various companies in computing their corporate income tax. that extent, the so-called revenues from the travel tax are simply being taken out of one Government pocket to be placed in another.

Looking at it another way, it is almost impossible to estimate how much income tax revenue from public passenger carriers the Government is losing as a result of the travel tax and its effect on passenger business.

Repeal of the tax would probably stimulate the passenger business generally, resulting in increased tax revenues.

When these factors are taken into consideration, considerable doubt exists that the Federal Treasury would really lose all that revenue—or even the major part of it if the tax were repealed.

In its recent report on the railroad passenger train deficit, the Interstate Commerce Commission recommended nine specific steps that could be taken to remedy the situation.

First on the list was the repeal of the 10 percent Federal excise tax on passenger

Last year Congress recognized that World War II had ended-for shippers of freight, at least-when the legislators repealed the percent wartime tax on freight shipments. Isn't it about time a similar peace treaty

was signed with America's travelers?

# Bills To Rebate Taxes to States Must Be Equitable

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. HENRY ALDOUS DIXON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 18, 1959

Mr. DIXON. Mr. Speaker, a proposal which is given consideration frequently by many Congressmen is that a portion of the taxes collected by the Federal Government should be rebated to the

Without arguing the merits of this idea, I believe it is important to draw attention to a serious and probably un intentional inequity in most of the bills which have been introduced to carry out this idea.

These bills typically rebate to the State 1 percent or 5 percent of the Federal income tax collected within that State The inequity arises from the fact that the amount of Federal taxes collected in any particular State is largely a geo graphical or business practice coinci-

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dence and is to a considerable extent Wholly unrelated to the amount of taxes paid by the people of the State in question. For example, in a State such as Utah, even the personal income withheld by a number of our large employers with out-of-State headquarters is remitted to the Collector of Internal Revenue in States other than Utah where the income was earned and where the payroll deductions were made. Practically all of the Federal excise taxes such as those on new cars, appliances, machines, and so forth, are remitted by the manufacturer in the State of the parent manufacturer, even though the amount of the tax is expressly paid by the final consumer in Utah. These are but obvious exam-ples of the irrelevance of the amount of Pederal tax collections within a State as measure of the Federal taxes paid by the people of that State.

It would therefore be manifestly unfair to use the amount of Federal tax collections within the respectives States as the base for distributing Federal grants. As an example, for the fiscal Year of 1958 the Internal Revenue Bureau reported Federal tax collections in Otah amounting to \$200,022,000 whereas a fair estimate of the actual taxes paid by the people of Utah for the same year

Would be \$278,300,000.

These figures were carefully estimated by the Utah Foundation, and Mr. Henry R. Pearson, executive director of the Otah Foundation and his staff deserve be commended for bringing to light these significant discrepancies which how that Utahans pay almost 40 percent more in Federal taxes than is atbibuted to the State through collections.

I am placing in the RECORD the method used by the Utah Foundation to com-Dute Utah's share of Federal taxes which further elaborates reasons for the disbarity between collections and the actual taxes paid by the people of Utah.

The Remarkable Achievements of the Credit Union Movement

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON, JOHN H. DENT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 1, 1959

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I cannot let this opportunity pass without rising to opportunity pass without press the gratitude and appreciation of Peness the gratitude and approximation of the peness the gratitude and approximation of the peness o members, for the benefits derived from the passage of the Federal Credit Union Act Passage of the Federal Cross of 1934, and the continued interest and support of the Members of Congress the support of the Members 25 years of credit union history which are culminating in this quarterentury celebration, reflect the confidence of millions of families in a truly democratic institution. The history of the growth of credit unions in the United States clates and the rest of the world is worthy of note.

In the United States today there are nore than 19,000 credit unions serving

the credit needs of American families and teaching them the advantages of systematic savings. In 1947 there were only 7 credit unions organized outside of the United States and Canada: in 1957 there were more than 5,000 in countries located throughout the world.

There are more than 1.000-1.116credit unions in my State of Pensylvania. serving over half a million members and their families. Nine hundred and fortynine of these organizations are chartered under the Federal Credit Union Act, the remainder are chartered by the State. These small financal organizations, State and federally chartered, have been serving the financial needs of an estimated 23 percent of the population of Pennsylvania. Any institution which serves one-fourth of the population of a State through the cooperative efforts of its membership must indeed have much to offer. It must also enjoy the full trust that only an efficiently organized and managed institution can command.

Credit unions do have much to offer: They help millions of individuals to establish regular saving habits.

They are available to, and operated by, people from every walk of lifegovernments, communities, churches, schools, manufacturing, retailing-and numerous other occupations.

They provide small loans for provident and productive purposes such as family emergencies, home repairs, purchases of consumer goods, at a cost of 1 percent or less.

They pay dividends on savings invested, that is a member's share balance, at a rate of 3 to 4 percent annually.

Their assets can be used only to make loans to members or to invest in Government securities, they are operated by the members for the members.

The following record of achievement will attest to the fact that credit unions enjoy membership confidence in the efficiency of their management:

In 1957, they held more than 17 percent of all personal loans outstanding.

They currently have assets in excess of \$4 billion—almost 7 times larger than a decade ago-Pennsylvania alone has \$192 million in credit union assets.

They have a total membership in the United States of more than 10 million, 3 times the 1947 membership.

Members' shares totaled \$3.6 billion in 1957—Pennsylvania credit union members have deposited shares of \$168.1 million.

There are 19,166 individual credit unions located throughout the United States. There were only 2,000 prior to the passage of the Federal Credit Union Act of 1934.

They are among the most numerous consumer-lenders in the United States.

Few organizations can point to a more impressive list of accomplishments.

I have a very deep conviction that freedom of economic opportunity can best be achieved if all available safeguards are made available to the workingman-the little man. The history of the credit union movement more than convinces me that my conviction is a valid one. Since the first credit union law was passed in Massachusetts, 50

years ago, credit unions have been growing in financial and numerical strength. Credit union members have been able to turn their backs on the loan sharks in times of adversity. Funds have been forthcoming from their own coopera-tive—the credit union. The only guarantees needed to receive a loan are personal integrity and approved member-

Similarly, credit union members have not had to turn to unscrupulous installment finance companies to secure funds with which to acquire goods and services to assist in achieving an ever-rising higher standard of living. A recent article in Fortune magazine—May 1959—notes that the traditional class concepts which use "a neatly layered social pyramid" are today no more than a source of confusion:

The basic reason for the increased confusion about class in the United States is the steady growth in the number of Americans who can afford at least some of the amenities once associated with the highest positions in our society.

Credit unions have contributed a fair share to the rising standard of living for millions of American families. We have always been a nation rich in credit resources. However, we have never been rich in credit resources for the little fellow. Credit unions have filled the gap between the readily available credit for the wealthy, well established, and the loan shark's high-cost credit. These self-help organizations have solved both savings and credit problems for bluecollar and white-collar workers and many others who otherwise would have been unable to purchase consumer durable goods, or who would have had to pay double the cost through those lenders who profit from high-risk, high-interest, credit transactions.

The impact of these self-help institutions on both the social and economic well-being of this country, and the general welfare of American families cannot be too highly praised. They are the exemplification of the American ideals of equality of man, freedom of opportunity, and unselfish cooperation.

I join the Credit Union National Association in its confidence in the futurequoted from an anniversary brochure:

A better way of life is promised for more people around the earth, as the credit union movement continues to grow. Credit unions are more needed today than ever before.

More Poison in Colorado Water

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. BYRON L. JOHNSON

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 23, 1959

JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. Mr. Speaker, in the second of its series on water pollution, the Rocky Mountain News in its June 22 issue calls attention to a new Colorado law.

The new law, introduced in Colorado's last legislative assembly by Dr. (Senator)

Wells, of Brighton, strengthen the hand of the State health department, but money will be needed to get sewage treatment plants constructed.

Present Federal aid discourages joint action by adjacent sewer districts. However, Senate approval of H.R. 3610, introduced by our colleague the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. BLATNIK] will provide larger Federal grants and henceforth encourage joint and more economical action among metropolitan area sewer districts.

The public health and safety, as well as its convenience and pleasure, demand greater public attention at every level of government.

The article follows:

NEW LAW STRENTHENS STATE BOARD OF HEALTH

(By Bill Miller)

A new law puts teeth into the heretofore toothless enforcement jaws of the Colorado Department of Public Health.

It is Senate bill 274, introduced by Dr. (Senator) William Wells of Brighton, and adopted by the last legislature. It was signed into law by Governor McNichols.

According to Dr. Roy L. Cleere, department executive director, the bill "strengthment".

ens our hand considerably." For many years, the department has had the duty of enforcing State sanitation laws.

#### LAW DECLARES

One of these laws declares that "the health, safety and welfare of the inhabitants of the State of Colorado require that the streams, lakes and other waters of the State

be kept free of pollution by human wastes."
Further, it stipulates that it is "public policy of this State that no discharge which contains human excreta shall be permitted to flow in the streams, lakes or other waters of this State unless such discharge shall comply with all standards of the State board of health adopted pursuant to law." In addition, the law states, the number

of coliform count in such discharge shall not average more than 1,000 per milliliter.

In the metric system, a liter is a little more than 1 quart. A milliliter is the 1,000th part of a liter.

The coliform count is an index of bacteria. The coliform is a normal inhabitant of the human bowel.

#### PURPOSE OBVIOUS

Purpose of this law is obvious. The State wishes to keep the amount of bacteria entering streams and rivers at a level consistent with good health.

But what happens?

State tests show that the average coliform count ranges as high as 240,000 parts per milliliter-a far cry from the 1,000 parts

per milliliter legal limit.
The department, on January 14, 1957, adopted a regulation which gave it another

testing device.

This required that effluents have a BOD (biochemical oxygen demand) not exceeding 50 parts per million, unless the receiving watercourse is used downstream as a surface source of domestic water supply.

#### THIRTY PARTS LIMIT

In that event, the allowable maximum BOD shall be 30 parts per million.

Simplified, this means sewage must not exceed 30 to 50 pounds per million pounds in the BOD test. BOD measures the quantity of oxygen utilized in the biochemical oxidation of organic matter in a specified time and temperature.

The BOD count, at various measuring points in the area, has ranged as high as 680 pounds per million pounds-again a far cry from the legal limit. When water is low sewage per pound is high.

Denver keeps its coliform count in good shape by means of heavy chlorination be-fore the effluent is dumped into the Platte River. But the city runs into trouble with the health department on its BOD count.

This lead to a series of hearings, court action, and eventually, Dr. Wells' new law. In September 1958, following a series of hearings, the State ordered Denver to follow

#### certain procedures in treating its sewage. DENVER RESISTS

It gave Denver 36 months to build a sec-

ondary treatment plant costing \$10 million.

Denver resisted and obtained a court order restraining the State from enforcing its demands on the grounds that the State health department was attempting to enforce a reg-

ulation, not a law.

That's where the matter stands today. Denver has not started to build a secondary treatment plant. The State has taken no further action.

The new law includes the standards of treatment set up by the health department in its previous regulations and adds other standards that must be met.

This is what Dr. Cleere means when he says the law "has strengthened our hand."

It keeps the coliform count at 1,000 per milliliter.

The law also requires:

1. Minimum standards for effluent from sewage systems shall be not more than fivetenths milliliter per liter for settleable organic matter; not more than 75 parts per million for suspended organic matter; not more than 50 parts per million for the combined suspended and dissolved organic matter when measured in terms of 5-day 20° C. blochemical oxygen demand.

2. Plans for construction of any publicly financed water or sewage treatment facilities shall be submitted to the Department for review of sanitary engineering features before

construction.

3. The Department must maintain a quality testing program on the waters of the State.

4. Examination for water quality shall include such tests as may be necessary to determine the effects upon water quality em-ployed for recreational, industrial, agricultural, fish and wildlife, and municipal uses.

#### M'GLONE AGREES

William McGlone, Denver lawyer and president of the policymaking State health board, agrees with Dr. Cleere that these standards best can be met through the consolidation of two or more districts.

"Consolidation," McGlone said, "unquestionably is the answer in this area. The problems can be solved more completely and more economically for the average citizen by consolidation.

"We hope this can be accomplished. But these standards must be met one way or the other. If they are not met by consolidation then each district will have to accomplish it

Armed with the new law, the Department feels that it can now enforce its demands.

But it prefers to have cities and districts solve these problems voluntarily.

Denver has its problems as do all other sanitation districts in the area, including those serving the Clear Creek Basin.

Books as an Instrument for Winning the Minds of People for the Cause of Democracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 19, 1959

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, on June 15, Mr. Justice Douglas delivered a very significant and timely address before the American Booksellers Association. In his address Justice Douglas made a penetrating analysis of the power of books as an instrument for winning the minds of people for the cause of democracy; He pointed up the very thorough and skillful use of books made by the Russian and Chinese Communists in their worldwide ideological campaign. Using every known language and major dialect, the Communists have flooded the bookstalls and marketplaces of the world with books which advance the cause of communism and discredit Western democracy. These books are offered at prices which the working people in all countries can afford to pay-and this means nothing more than token payments which bear no relation to the cost of production. Having visited many of the bookshops in Europe and south and southeast Asia, I recognized the importance of providing books at a price that people could afford to pay or, if necessary, practically giving away the books. I urged in 1955, the Appropriations Subcommittee and Members of the House to provide a more effective program for distribution of books throughout the world.

Justice Douglas points out how we, who have so much to offer the politically awakened minds of Asia and Africa, have not responded to this opportunity until the past few years. He makes the point that while we lag far behind the Rus sians and Red Chinese and this critical area, there is still time for us to act and that the action we have taken to date offers great promise for the future. well-deserved tribute is paid by Justice Douglas to the work of the U.S. Informa tion Agency in producing the kind of books needed in foreign language editions and at a price the people of Asia and Africa can afford to pay for them.

After taking the initiative to get the facts on the use of books in our worldwide information service, I was assisted by the determined efforts and persuasive leadership of our esteemed colleague from Illinois, BARRATT O'HARA. O'HARA campaigned in and out of Congress for a new program which he called classics of democracy. In this task he had the help of a group of straight thinking American citizens and the Chi cago Daily News. From my personal knowledge I know the many obstacles and the inertia which the U.S. Information Agency had to overcome before this program could be launched. The record of accomplishment to date is a testament to what can be done when the executive branch and the Congress see clearly and together what must be done.

We still have a long way to go in making full use of American literature, including the classics of American democracy, as a means to turning back the tide of communism. This is the conclusion reached by Mr. Justice Douglas.

Under leave previously granted, I insert in the Record the address delivered by Mr. Justice Douglas on "Books as an Instrument for Winning the Minds of People for the Cause of Democracy," as follows:

The bookstalis of Asia are busy places these days. The regimes of illiteracy are being replaced by more enlightened ones. It's a slow process but progress is evident. The generation that is learning to read and write has been virtually starved and is now developing great appetites for literature. One of the great tasks of printers and publishers is to fill this need by supplying books and tracts that cover the spectrum of human interests.

Those of you who go to Asia and browse in the bookstalls will make some astounding discoveries. I remember finding in a little bookshop in the old city of Delhi an edition of the story of "The Three Bears" in the English language. It was passably fair as a printing job. Its sold for an anna or two—I anna being about 1.3 cents. But the most interesting fact was that this book was Printed in Moscow.

Printed in Moscow.

Both Russia and Red China have vast publishing ventures to take care of some of their International interests. I do not have the figures for Red China. But the Russian agures are somewhat startling. She has a state agency known as International Book Which has translated some 16,000 books into hearly all the languages of the world and is selling those books in over 60 nations. Those books would not, of course, include the writings of Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Paine, John Stuart Mill, John Locke, David Hume, or Emerson. They would not include the life of Abraham Lincoln. Books that showed the frailties of communism—such as The God That Falled," by Crossman, "The Fall of a Titan," by Gouzenko, "Nineteen Eighty-Four," by Orwell—would never be cleared by the Soviet censors. But the books of Charles Dickens, Jack London, and John Steinbeck that reveal the seamy side of Western life are used by the Soviets for their own purposes. When I traveled Russia and Visited the libraries there, I always found on Russian library shelves that kind of book from pens of western authors. But there were none there that even attempted to give balanced view of American life. Even books like "The Red Pony," by Steinbeck, would never get clearance at the acquisition desk of any Soviet library.

The standards Russia uses for selecting books for her own people are largely followed in selecting literature for sale abroad. But there are exceptions. She caters to local tastes by publishing books of national or area interest. All told, Soviet Russia caters to all tastes except those that are anticommunist. Books on mathematics, philosophy, history, and even religion to a degree are all included. The Soviet list of 18,000 book titles is impressive. There are of course political and propaganda works in the list. But they do not dominate it. There does indeed seem almost a division of labor between Soviet Russia and Red China when it comes to saturating the book

markets of Asia with literature. Soviet Russia seems to deal largely in tracts that will interest and excite the new intelligentsia of Asia. Red China turns out most of the Communist propaganda pamphlets and tracts that flood the area.

These Communist printing Russia and Red China have several advantages over our printers and publishers. the first place the Communist press, being state owned and controlled, is as much an arm of government as the navy or air force. It enjoys an enormous subsidy. It is designed to operate as an instrument to help fulfill national ambitions. There is no profit and loss account to watch-no fear being in the red. The literary or educational tract like the political pamphlet is in the same category as the jet fighter plane or the missile. They are all on earnest missions to help proselytize the world. Moreover, Communist parties in other lands provide the agencies through which book distribution can be made quickly and Through the local Communist promptly. Party the local needs of Asia or Africa can be assessed and changes in tastes can be relayed on to headquarters in Moscow or

This is severe competition for the West. The two Communist countries I have mentioned have a long head start over us. They have mastered the languages of the world as part of their evangelistic program; and their tracts pour into these countries in all the languages that the people speak and write. Dealers can get these books on consignment from the Communist Parties. They sell hard back books for 20 cents and paperback books for an anna.

We are not offering competition at the level of the anna. At the level of 10 cents and upward the USIA is now offering competition. It is effective competition and the first the Communists have know in this field.

The problem is a complicated one. The books must be kept at a low price, for a day laborer in India does not make more than \$3 or \$4 a week. A lecturer joining the faculty of an Indian university will not make more than \$40 or \$50 a month. A man or woman who wants to build a personal library has difficulty budgeting for books on such a low income. A dollar book is out of reach of most. Even a 10-cent book may represent a large outlay for some families.

.If the books are published in English, they must be reduced to a vocabulary ranging from 1,000 to 5,000 words. The simplification is necessary because many thousands of Asians are only semiliterate in English.

Publication of books in the language of the various areas complicates the task. In India there are 17 distinct languages. There are about 40 Asian languages in which our skills are greatly limited or nonexistent. Some of our scholars may speak Punjabi, Tamii, or Telegu. But we are not well versed in most of the languages of Asia, not to mention Africa.

India has a modest low-cost book program started in 1955 under the Southern Languages Trust Fund. It aims to familiarize the people of each language group with the literature in the other Indian language groups. It also includes great works from the field of foreign literature. It has brought out about 100 titles so far.

The USIA program is much more ambitious. USIA, working with American publishers, has placed 6 million paperback books in the bookstalls of Asia and Africa since 1956. These have been in the price range of 10 to 15 cents. USIA pays the entire cost of financing the manufacture, promotion, and shipping. The publishers participate in effect without profit, their payment being 5 cents a copy which USIA pays as a service fee to cover overhead and indirect costs. A

book retailing for 10 cents is sold to the distributor for 2 cents who in turn sells it to his retailers at 6 cents. The USIA list of low-priced books is growing. About 130 titles are available in English and 175 titles in translations. These translations cover 16 languages.

"Selected Writings of Thomas Paine" have been put into Tamil and 25,000 copies have been distributed in a 10-cent edition. De-Tocqueville's "Democracy in America" is in Hindi in a 25,000-volume-16-cent edition. Five thousand copies of Thoreau's "Walden" is in Telegu in a 63-cent edition. Lisitsky's "Thomas Jefferson" is in Punjabi in a 32-cent edition of 3,000 copies. There have been 2,500 copies of Ludwig's "Abraham Lincoln" published in Marathi in a 42-cent addition. And Van Doren's "The Portable Emerson" has been translated into Guyerati in a 5,000 edition selling at 32 cents.

A real penetration has been made into the low-price book markets of Asia, particularly in India. The Communists no longer have the monopoly they once enjoyed. Yet it is still true that the Communists largely dominate the market of books that sell for under 10 cents. And that market is an important one in that part of the world. The average annual income of the Indian is only \$60 a year. That averages out at about 15 cents a day. That amount goes further in India than it does in America. But it still excludes most of the luxuries. It means in effect one meal a day with precious little left over for such things as books. As literacy spreads, the demand for books will in-Those who command the market of crease. Those who command the market of books that sell for less than 10 cents will assert great leverage over the minds of those just learning to read.

This weapon may be a decisive one in the battle for the hearts and minds of the people of Asia

I have mentioned only a few of the difficulties and perplexities of this low-price book program for Asia and Africa. One of the greatest is presented when our books are to be put into areas where there is a dollar shortage. Such a country is India. If payment is to be made, it must be made in rupees. In Africa some of the countries are in the sterling bloc and there is no way of readily converting pounds sterling into dollars.

It will take ingenuity to solve all of these problems. Where America sells its surplus food abroad, accepting payment in blocked currencies, perhaps ways can be found to use those currencies either to establish plants abroad to do the printing job or to finance contracts with local printers in India and other countries to do the publishing. The possibilities are great. We have barely started to exploit them. If we can turn our excess cereals and other foodstuffs into currencies that can be used to tell the thrilling story of American democracy to the peoples of the world we will be well on our way to win this cold war. Our task is to use our surplus food that feeds a starving world to produce literature that will enlighten them as well.

I have spoken so far of only the low-price book program. If all other books in the USIA program are included, the number distributed abroad jumps to nearly 10 million a year and the titles covered amount to about 1,000. These are printed in 50 different languages. The total program for all books—low price and others too—costs about \$3 million a year. It is the one way we have of entering the mud huts of Asia and Africa and letting the people discover for themselves the warm heart, bright conscience, and broad tolerance of our people. They can get this new insight through our literature. "This I Remember," by Eleanor Roosevelt, published in 18 languages, "Capitalism in America," by Frederick Stern,

published in 22 languages, "This I Believe," by Edward R. Murrow, and many of the works of Thornton Wilder, Stephen Crane, Walt Whitman, Carl Sandburg, and American authors of like standing are our best salesmen. The Communists can build steel mills, cement plants, DDT factories, and assembly lines as good as ours. But they de not have the cause of freedom, equality, and justice to exploit. Our great advantage over them is found in the ideals of our Declaration of Independence and in the respect for minorities which shines through our Bill of Rights. If we exploit them, the Communists will run second in the ideological race that has now spread to all the continents. There are many sectors where the contest is going on including the student exchange program, the various cultural exchange projects, and even some of our economic aid. One important distinctive area where we can exploit this great advantage which we have over all Communist regimes is in our lowprice book program. The poten greater than we have as yet realized. The potential is

Only the other day I read two disturbing accounts. Ethiopia, I learned, has at long last obtained jet fighter planes from the Pentagon. So has a South American country whose budget to maintain and operate those jet fighters is greater than its budget for education. Ethiopia is about 98 percent illiterate and this South American country is about 56 percent illiterate.

Jet fighter planes are no answer to the problems of illiteracy, disease, and poverty. Yet those are the forces that shape the issues which we face in the global struggle for the hearts and minds of people. Jet planes may help the powers-that-be keep the multitudes who have barely enough to eat temporarily quiet and subdued. But they only complicate the long-range prob-The tragedy is that the great decline lem. in American prestige abroad has been largely due to the fact that we think and act in military terms. Generals who have a vast command over billions in our budget represent us abroad as the rich, arrogant, powerful Nation that has little concern for the human beings who live in squalid mud huts next door to the runways where our million-dollar planes land and take off. America is coming to mean the bomb, not the fulfillment of dreams of independence and education.

Much of the evil which came out of World War II stemmed from the paramount influence of the military in setting our war objectives. War these days is political. The American military mind does not seem to understand that the enemy of today can perfectly well be the ally of tomorrow and that the converse is even true. The great tragedy is that we think of the world crises in military terms. We will solve our international difficulties with ingenuity, not with missiles. Of course we need to act from a position of military strength. But our military might should not control our political strategy. We need in America a ferment of ideas. A ferment of ideas and complete reorientation to the world will be our only salvation.

We are not identified with the peoples of the earth in their struggles to get on with their own revolutions. We have largely forgotten our own revolutionary inheritance. We must return to it if we expect to keep the political balance in the world from shifting to the Communist side. That is why those who translate the American classics into the languages of the world, print them, and distribute them among the villages of Asia and Africa are doing as important work as those who design our missiles.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the Congressional Record, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take .11 needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the Congressional Record semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the Record without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the Congressional Record the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

- 1. Arrangement of the daily Record.—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily Record as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: Provided, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the Record with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.
- 2. Type and style.—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and de-bates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the Congressional Record, in 71/2-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 61/2-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These re-strictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.
- 3. Return of manuscript.—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the Record issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the Record for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the Record of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. Tabular matter.—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. Proof furnished.—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the Record style of type, and not more than

six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. Notation of withheld remarks.—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr.—addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the Recogn.

7. Thirty-day limit.—The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: Provided, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. Corrections.—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: Provided, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: Provided further, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10. Appendix to daily Record.—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: Provided, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the Congressional Record.

11. Estimate of cost.—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the Congressional Recogn by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, tele-grams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legis latures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

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12. Official Reporters.—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place

in the proceedings.

# Appendix

Commencement Address by Hon. Henry Fountain Ashurst at Arizona State

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

#### HON, BARRY GOLDWATER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, June 25, 1959

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, on May 18 of this year Hon. Henry Fountain Ashurst, who was one of Ari-Zona's first two Senators, delivered the commencement address at Arizona State College, Flagstaff, Ariz.

By a coincidence, Senator Ashurst was speaker of the House of Representatives in the Territory of Arizona when my uncle was President of the Senate, at the time the legislation was passed establishing this college. I ask unanimous consent that the remarks of Senator Ashurst be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE HENRY FOUNTAIN ASHURST, AT ARIZONA STATE COLLEGE, FLAGSTAFF, ARIZ., MAY 18,

My first duty is to thank the faculty and the administrative staff for the honor of the invitation to deliver this address and I am making no attempt to conceal—probably I should say dissemble—my emotion upon this occasion. Pannin, to Dr. Walkup, president of this col-I am deeply grateful to Governor lege, and to Regent Hon. Lynn M. Laney, severally, for their beautiful and generous

This institution of learning, for the past three score years, has been an object of my pride and affectionate solicitude and I may be Pardoned an effusion of sentiment when Perceive how, from meager but worthy be-sinnings, this college has grown in grace, strength, and dignity.

In stately ceremony with the buoyancy and the confidence of youth many young ladies and young gentlemen, educated and equipped with social and cultural resources and skills have passed from these doors into a busy and thank heaven—a competitive and commercial world.

I am of the opinion that persons of chararm of the opinion that persons of care and habits of industry will triumph over any difficulty or adverse circumstance and will succeed without the adventitious ald of great family ald of wealth or the prestige of great family

Mark how I emphasize "habits of indus-Indeed, I commend to you the goddess of hard work. She loves her votaries and lew be they who following her precepts ever come away from her altars empty handed or visit her shrines in vain.

"Consider how time's vastly corridors Ring with words of famous orators. Are their epigrams spontaneous, Off the cuff, extemporaneous?
Or do they while in the shower or while Think up some brilliant phrase worth saving,

Then roll it on the tongue and smile, And store it away for future file?

Not even the great Churchill, without notes, Could stand and deliver such golden quotes, Had he not learned from his earliest boy-

hood days To store away many a brilliant phrase, And then when he stood up before the throng

He could draw upon a treasury of phrases

all day long. Eloquence, like any success, tolls, works, bleeds and sweats,

Eloquence never forgets."

Nowadays, it is frequently said that the glamour, romance, and high emprise of longago days have departed from our times; that only humdrum, routine, prosaic duties are presented, and that in this highly mechanized 20th century there is nothing that savors of the glamorous, romantic, or fabu-

Many world-weary and satiated persons must needs seek the pages of history to find exhilaration. They read of the Golden Age of Athens; they read of the men and women who wrought "the glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome;" they dwell upon the history of the 13th century which saw the erection of many of the great cathedrals and the founding of many of the universities of Europe.

They thrill with the story of the rise and progress of liberty and her achievements in America; they wish that they might have lived in the midst of those stirring events, and it is but natural, in the rhythm of life, to revere bygone days and try to reconstruct their scenes.

When, however, we take a close view and make a careful survey, we perceive that high emprise and romantic exploits are occurring all about us and that opportunities for achievement are ever present; are regnant in our world of today and are at the beck and call of all those persons who will woo them well and tirelessly. The lovely enchantments of bygone days are with us here and now and there is much in everyday life that inspires and gives a mighty upsurge to the human spirit, and as for my single self, I should prefer to live in this present epoch rather than in any other epoch this world has known.

During the past 14 years there has appeared a vast literature prophesying the end of what we are wont to call our civilization. Opulent with irony as are all human affairs there is no irony sharper than the fact that the stronger and more powerful a nation becomes the more poignant is the fear and terror that descend upon it.

Doubt as to his survival has come to mankind at regular intervals-not only in our modern world but also in medieval and in antique times. Everything that mankind has invented has brought terror and fear because every invention is susceptible of two uses—good or evil—but happily mankind possesses the wisdom, judgment, and discretion enabling him to decide to what usegood or evil-such an invention shall be put.

The midwives of nuclear science and nuclear physics have recently delivered some lusty infants-the atom bomb and its synthetic half brother the hydrogen bomb-and these infants could become troublesome creatures since by them mankind presumes to take into his own hands the fire and the

force of Old Sol himself. The birth of these infants reminds one of the speech addressed by the Duchess of York to her unscrupulous son, King Richard the Third: grievous burthen was thy birth to me and tetchy and wayward was thy infancy."

I take no stock in the gloomy jeremiads so constantly chanted that the human race will destroy itself; I do not subscribe to the defeatist attitude which declares that human beings are nothing but the helpless zanies of a witless fate and thoughtless chance which will overthrow the wisdom of the wise, overthrow the valor of the brave and the trophies of the truth. I utterly reject such philosophy and assert that mankind is endued with conscience, reason, judgment, and ample power of self-direction and has his fate in his own hands. We make our

world quite as much as we are made by it.

Those explosive forces that have brought such specters of dreadful terror to so many persons will, before the silver of the years shall have crowned the temples of the young persons here, be the selfsame forces that will heat and illuminate mankind's habitation, drive his machinery, transport him and his commerce, and heal and cure many of mankind's physical ails and agonies.

To paraphrase Kipling:

"When he formed his shining systems whirling on celestial rods

Lord Creator said to his children you may someday be as gods

Someday with beaming faces you may create as I have done

Know the splendor I am knowing as I fashion star and sun."

I said a moment ago that we thrill to read

of the birth, rise, and progress of liberty in America—and is it any wonder?

Until the birth of the U.S. Govern-ment, nations generally had an unregistered birth date. Their beginnings were legendary or obscure. They had no birthday celebrations because through the many centuries they had at some unknown date severally emerged from some dim, mysterious region supposed to be peopled with giants or heroes. Romance, tradition, and folklore, false in fact but beautiful in fiction handed down the myth that nations were sired or mothered some by lions, some by wolves, eagles, swans, or unicorns. But the beginnings of our Nation are well known-if one were flippant of speech one might say that the United States was a self-starter. We know the hames of the founders, where they were born, and where they were educated. We that the founders were not chasing any will-o'-the-wisp. They were not idle dreamers out on a holiday excursion; they knew that mankind cannot construct a society where all persons shall be equal as to intellect, ingenuity, adaptability, tempera-ment, or ambition. They knew that a gov-ernment cannot cure the ruined spendthrift by filling his pockets with money. They knew that a manmade law cannot give to the nightingale the wings of an eagle nor give to the eagle the art of trilling the beautiful midnight minstrel of the nightingale; that freedom, liberty and livable conditions of life do not come from the graceful wavings of a magician's wand but that these things—like our daily bread—must be earned.

It would be a fascinating drama in the realm of the imagination to see pass before us in review all the men who wrote the Declaration of Independence and also all the men who wrote the Constitution of

the United States-documents of grandeur in world annals. All the characters of men known to history, biography and fiction,

would appear.

Some men wearing brocaded waistcoats; some wearing silk breeches, silver buckles at the knee and instep; the stock, the gaiters, the cork-soled boots, the powdered wig, lace cuffs, the ivory snuffbox. quick, razor-edged tempers, the punctilious pride, the authentic scholarship, the statesmanship; some of them could have outshone Lord Chesterfield in an exhibit of graceful manner. Brilliant rhetoricians shaping sentences like daggers of jade; word stylists; some of them spoke like a sweet-singing wash

Many of these men comprehended the garnered wisdom of the ages and were familiar with the history of the Republics of the antique world. Not a few had been graduated from colleges in the Colonies; Harvard, King Williams School (now St. Johns College), Yale, William and Mary, Princeton, Kings (now Columbia), and the Pennsylvania College; some had been graduated from English, Irish, and Scottish universities, and one need not be acutely imaginative to seem to hear the eager and eloquent oratory, the vibrant words and gorgeous rhetoric of that romantic long ago. Some of them ascended the steep acclivity from obscurity to far-shining fame— some few descended the declivity from fame to oblivion. Some of them with steady hand at sunrise, held dueling pistol and with same steady hand, at sunset, held mint julep or hot-buttered rum. Nearly all were devoted equestrians-good riders who daily printed their horses' hooves into the receiving earth. They were men of courage and fortitude, of self-esteem and self-respect, of energy and action with bold, penetrating eyes, projecting noses and convex, sunburned faces. They were drawn from the various trades, professions and occupations, and were shrewd to a remarkable degree. They each and all were fiercely determined to set up a government assuring civil liberty, and they launched mankind's first major Republic since the days of ancient Rome. They bravely raised the banner of a Republic at a time when the entire world seemed fixed in autocratic systems of govment. Eight of the men who signed the Constitution had 11 years before also signed the Declaration of Independence. principles of the Declaration and the guaranties of the Constitution have withstood the mutations and vicissitudes of time, and have beaten back the wildest storms that ever blew because they embody the inborn, invicible sentiments of those who know the value of freedom, and who respect the dignity and sacredness of human life.

The founders attempted to guarantee freedom of opportunity only, and thus they guaranteed the right and the privilege of every citizen to employ that opportunity and to earn or win as many of the prizes of life as his character, intelligence, zeal, skills, creative imagination, courage, and luck

would bring him.

Among the civil liberties protected by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights is the right of every citizen to try to acquire a home, a shop, a farm; to acquire property, large or small; to earn wages; make investments, and increase his fortune, so long as he does not interfere with that same right belonging to everyone else.

These civil libertles Karl Marx communism would destroy. The Government should be the servant—Not the master of the citizen, but communism would make the government the master of the citizen. Human beings are not the property of the state but are free souls to be governed by the laws made by their representatives instead of the whims of some totalitarian dictator.

Communism is a fatal delusion that has no regard for the sacredness of human—no regard for the value of human liberty; it would deprive labor of its wage, ambition of its stimulus, excellence of its supremacy and charter of its respect.

Lack of monetary wealth does not necessarily indicate lack of success in life. Many persons who have not accumulated riches, live happy, noble, useful lives and are truly good and truly great. Multitudes of American men with the purse of a peasant carry themselves with all the politeness, pride, and

bearing of a prince.

Multitudes of American women with meager financial resources walk with courage and spread sunlight, mercy, and kindness with a charm and grace that any queen might well emulate. Conversely, now and then, some indifferent person by the legerdemain of chance of the impishness of the dice of destiny is awarded a fortune.

Frequently some worthy person by industry, integrity, and business judgment earns a fortune and believe me when I say that if the refreshment of adventure, risk, and hazard were eliminated, life would become flat, insipid, and almost unbearable and it is also quite true that success in all departments of life generally gravitates toward those who are competent, industrious, and patient.

The world at times may seem to be a runaway orb and many thoughtful persons wonder just what sort of civilization is being gestated but we should be much comforted to remember that America possesses many durable values: The kindness of providence; the justness of nature; a vast, beautiful and bountiful land with its rivers, minerals, forests, rich soils; harbors of amplitude; American enterprise; American love of fair play; American respect for the individual without regard to his station in life; the heritage of the invention and skills of the past; body-that is-the corpus of the combined wisdom and experience of the preceding generations. These things may not be taken away. Every American may exclaim: "Mine is the majestic past; mine is the shining future. 'All things for America, she is the vital axle of the restless wheels that bear me onward; beyond the map of America my heart can travel not but fulls that limit to its utmost verge'.

The first settlements were made on our eastern coast at Jamestown 352 years ago and at Plymouth Rock 339 years ago; and these intervening years of progressive de-velopment have a history brilliant and varied in its coloring. Like a gorgeous tapestry, some of its threads are golden, some are silver, and some crimson with the life blood of the pioneer freely shed in his contests with savage men and savage beasts but these threads are interwoven into one picture of civil freedom such as mankind has never before in all the ages looked upon.

Our frontier line like the shadow line of the sun dial receded under the advancing sun of civilization and from the date of the earliest settlements the American experiment of free government has been filled with sacrifice, tragedy, color, romance, and high endeavor.

Of this, at least, we may be certain: Arrogance and injustice always lead to a national downfall and we find comfort in the assurance that our own opulent and powerful America-while she has never chosen the violet, emblem of modesty and selfeffacement, as her national flower-she has not stood in stiff Lucifer-pride and haughtiness; she has walked becomingly before the world; has given bounteously to the world, and, in troublous times, she has been the world's constant and competent nurse. Efficient in war, she has always been generous and element in victory.

There are persons respectable in number

and respectable in character who fear that

evil may be gaining perponderance in this world and that mankind may fumble in his attempts to solve and master the mighty secrets of nature—they fear that such fumbling might be mankind's extermination but such a view is lacking in the comprehension of the tenacity of mankind and the scope of the divine purpose.

Mankind is inexterminable and there is everywhere a conservation of spiritual energy that preserves the core of every noble resolve and worthy action and molds them into a beneficent achievement aiding the human race in its arduous struggle upward

and onward.

June Is Dairy Month in New York State

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, June 25, 1959

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, June is Dairy Month in New York State, and I have prepared a statement regarding the celebration in our State, which I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JUNE IS DAIRY MONTH IN NEW YORK STATE

The month of June is being celebrated as Dairy Month in the State of New York. is appropriate that this potent and essential force in the economy of the Empire State should be so honored, particularly because it is often away. it is often overshadowed in the public mind by our commercial and industrial attributes

New York has for many years been a leading State in the production of dairy products. It currently ucts. It currently ranks second in the entire Nation.

I am pleased on this occasion to pay tribute to the dairy industry which has contributed so much to the health and diets of people throughout the world. Indeed, the story of milk is probably as old as the story of man. story of man. In its production, its nutritional value its tional value, its importance to the economy

may be read the progress of the human race Each year research uncovers more facts which reemphasize the importance of milk and the numerous products of milk as vital foods for infants, children, and adults. the present time no entirely satisfactors substitute has been found for milk, the item solely designed by nature to serve as food. Milk has been found for milk, the or Milk has been called one of nature's "wholes" by noted authorities on nutrition Milk contains some of all the known essential food partial tial food nutriments. Some of these are pre-ent in greater amount than others but an are present in significant amounts. thus be called nature's most perfect food.

production of other industries tends to scure the production of dairy products agriculture is still the oldest and most wide spread of them. spread of them all. The cash receipts from the farm sales of dairy products in the pire State in 1958 amounted to nearly that million and accounted for slightly more than 50 percent of the total 50 percent of the total cash receipts from

As of January 1, 1959, the number of mike cows in the State 2 years old and over total 1,409,000. The care of these dairy cows and the farm production of feed for the dairy herds provide jobs and the same of th herds provide jobs and income for thousand of rural residents on some 100,000 farms in

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New York. During 1954, the latest year for which official data are available, more than 28,000 persons were employed on dairy farms in the State of New York. Wages paid to these farmworkers totaled more than \$35 million in 1954.

The distribution of milk and its products in the State requires the operation of hundreds of pasteurization and bottling plants as well as over a thousand plants to produce butter, cheese, ice cream, dried milk, con-densed and evaporated milk and a number of other products. It has been estimated that about 3,000 licensed milk dealers serve consumers throughout the State.

Out of every dollar the average consumer spends for food for home use in this country about 17 cents goes for dairy products. Dairy products in one form or another are

used in nearly every meal we eat every day.
We have been blessed in the United States with abundant supplies of milk and the products of milk for as long as we can remember, thanks to the dairy farmers of New York and the entire Nation. Let us hope that the dairy industry of the State of New York York and of the country as a whole will remain strong and that we will always be assured of an adequate supply of good wholesome milk and its products.

#### Banditry in the Sky

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, June 25, 1959

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, on June 18 I declared that from now on all American planes in the air should make certain their guns are in working order and loaded.

I made that declaration after a defenseless Navy aircraft was strafed by Communist Mig fighters over the Sea of

Japan on June 16.

Since that time I have learned many other Americans express the same reaction to this and other attacks made upon our planes by Communist air bandits.

On June 19 the Washington Star carried an editorial entitled "Banditry in the Sky." timents of other outraged Americans as well as my own sentiments in this matter, I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BANDITEY IN THE SKY

Since early 1950 more than 30 of our milltary aircraft have been subjected to unprovoked attacks on the fringes of the Communist empire, east and west. As a result of these outrages, nearly all of which have occurred occurred in international airspace, 112 young Americans have been reported dead or missing. As a result of them, too, the Red totality of the result of them are totality of the result of them. totalitarians have long since made clear that they take an outlaw's view of legitimate acrial missions and that they are inclined to be trigger-happy against our patrol planes even in regions where those planes have a even in regions where those planes have a right to be.

So it seems astonishing that in the latest So it seems astonishing that in the latest of these incidents (over the Sea of Japan, 38 miles of the coast of Communist North

Korea) the American naval plane involved was so poorly armed that it was incapable of answering the fire of the Soviet-built MIG's that wantonly attacked it. The Defense Department's explanation of this is that the patrol craft had been stripped of most of its guns to make room for special reconnaissance equipment. In addition, there was a snafu of sorts in operating the intercommunications system between the pilot and the tail gunner, who was wounded.

Happily, this particular plane and its crew escaped destruction, but the story could easily have had a tragic ending, and it leaves a number of questions unanswered. How often, for example, do the Navy and Air Force send out underarmed aircraft on patrol missions in sensitive areas like the Sea of Japan? Is such risk-taking the exception or the rule, and why should there be even the exception? After all, in view of the Communist attack record since 1950, these necessary missions, though peaceful and warranted as a matter of international law, are potentially dangerous, and the men who undertake them should certainly be adequately equipped to defend themselves against what might be called banditry in the sky.

This is a point that seems self-evident. In our dangerous world, patrol operations are essential to security, and the risks they entail must be accepted, but not on an unarmed basis. As to that, we think Senator Beings of Congress and the American people as a whole in declaring that "Our planes as a whole in declaring that Our planes should be fully armed and have their guns ready to fire if they are attacked" so that "our men can fire back immediately if they are fired on." It does no good to turn the

other cheek to a murderous Mig.

## Appraisal of Current Trends in Business and Finance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. WALLACE F. BENNETT

OF TTAH

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, June 25, 1959

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an article entitled "Appraisal of Current Trends in Business and Finance," published in the Wall Street Journal of June 22, 1959.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Appraisal of Current Trends in Business and Finance

In a letter published in this newspaper a few days ago, Senator PROXMIRE, of Wisconsin, one of the younger Democrats in the upper Chamber, explained his opposition to the administration's plan to eliminate the interest-rate ceiling on new issues of Government bonds due in 5 or more years. One reason he gave was that "the Government will borrow far more cheaply at short-term rates than at long-term rates."

This assumption of the Senator's is not necessarily correct, although it reflects a commonly held belief. It is true that short-term rates today are lower than long-term The Treasury's 90-day bills yield less than 3.5 percent, while its bonds due after 1960 yield more than 4 percent. Short-term rates have been lower than long-term rates for more than 20 years.

However, in earlier periods the contrary situation has existed. For instance, through much of the 1920's short-term open-market yields on the Government's securities exyields on the Government's securities ca-ceded the yields on its longer term obliga-tions. In 1920, the highest yield for 10-year Government bonds was only about 5 percent, while for 6- to 9-year bonds it was slightly above 6 percent, and for 3year issues over 6.5 percent. And in the late 1920's, when long-term U.S. bonds yielded less than 4 percent, 3- to 6-month obligations of the Government got as high as 5 percent.

Thus it is quite possible that if the Government is forced, by a refusal of Congress to remove the ceiling, into nothing but short-term financing, its interest-rate expense will become high rather than low. Indeed, such an outcome seems fairly likely, because the Government's increasingly concentrated call for short-term funds would surely raise their price.

The Government's demand for short-term funds would become increasingly concentrated because outstanding long-term bonds tend inevitably to become short-term ones through the mere passage of time, as their due dates get closer and closer. Under the Senator's system the whole debt would in time become a short-term one, since longterm issues would be replaced by new short-

term obligations as they matured.

Furthermore, this system could raise the cost of money to the Government extremely sharply, because short-term rates tend his-torically to fluctuate more widely than long-term rates. For instance, since a year ago, when the supply of funds exceeded the borrowing demand, open-market yields on 3-month Treasury bills have quadrupled, from less than 0.9 percent to almost 3.5 percent. In contrast, the yields on 3- to 5-year issues have not quite doubled, from 2.25 percent to around 4.3 percent. And the yields on 10-year issues have only gone up about one-third, from 3.2 percent to about 4.2 percent, or a level under that of the three-to-fives.

If the present general tendency of money rates to rise continues long enough, short-term rates will almost inevitably get above long-term rates, regardless of whether the Government is forced into exclusively shortterm financing.

#### Study of Transportation Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, June 25, 1959

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the remarks made by Dr. Ernest Williams before the so-called transportation council at White Sulphur Springs, W. Va., on Friday, June 5, 1959. Dr. Williams has been working for the Department of Commerce on a study of transportation policies—a study undertaken pur-suant to the wishes of the President as expressed in his budget message.

Dr. Williams' statement was transmitted to me and certain other Members of the Congress by the Under Secretary of Commerce for Transportation, Mr. John J. Allen, Jr. In transmitting the statement, the Under Secretary asserts that Dr. Williams has been working on the study since February, has been giving it professional direction, and, in consequence, reports that the remarks of the doctor reflect quite accurately the thinking of the Department of Commerce and the administration in regard to the direction their study will take, including the questions of public policy in the field of transportation which must be studied and resolved.

Anyone interested in the views of the Department would be well advised to read these remarks.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS BY DR. ERNEST J. WILLIAMS BEFORE THE TRANSPORTATION COUNCIL, WHITE SUL-PHUR SPRINGS, W. VA., JUNE 5, 1959

As you know, the President called upon the Department in his budget message to make a comprehensive study of transportation policy. Moreover, he made available funds for the purpose of getting the study underway. Certain special emphasis was placed in the budget message on a review of merchant marine policy with particular reference to the Merchant Marine Act of 1936. Such a review is to be an inherent part of the entire study, but as arrangements are only in a very early stage for this portion of the study and as this council is concerned more largely with domestic matters I shall make little reference here to the merchant marine aspects of the study. Suffice it to say that I have been asked to lay out the product, bring together people capable of carrying it out, and accept the responsibility of bringing together at the end recommendations for the consideration of the Department.

Under the terms of the President's directive, we are attempting to organize to make the most comprehensive study of transportation policy which has been attempted since the National Resources Planning Board study of 1939 to 1942. In the interim, as you will know, there have been a great many other studies of various aspects of transportation policy, such as those made by the Board of Investigation and Research, those under Senate Resolution 50, the Sawyer report, the report of the President's Advisory Committee on Transportation Policy and Organization, commonly known as Weeks' Committee, among others. Moreover, certain transportation matters were touched upon heavily by the two Hoover Commissions, and particular areas of transportation policy have been dealt with separately as by the Curtis and Clay Committees in their respective fields, and by the Attorney General's Committee on Administrative Procedures, among others. Also this Council has undertaken studies upon various questions referred to it by the Department, some of quite far-reaching implications.

One consequence of all this recent history is that transportation is presumed by many to be a well studied and well understood field-one in which little further study is needful but where instead decisions ought to be reached in the light of present knowledge. This tends to be coupled with a feeling that all is not well in the transportation industries and that, at least in part, deficiencies are a result of Government policies. There is much to be said for this point of view, but I am not wholly in accord with it. I need not point out to this group that almost any major changes in transportaion policy which might be recommended from any quarter are likely to be intensely controversial, nor need I point out that the facts brought to bear in support of different attitudes toward any such proposals would not always prove to be consistent. In fact,

some of the most necessary knowledge for working toward a program which might lead to a balanced devlopment of our transportation systems as called for by the President is missing. Some of that knowledge will not be supplied except by a long-term program which seeks to fill gaps in the present program of data collection and which seeks also to provide further qualitative information.

An example will suggest what I have in mind and, at the same time, will suggest something about the nature of our approach to one phase of the present study. The Weeks' Committee devoted a large amount of its attention to the question of the regulation of competition among the several forms of transportation. It regarded this as one of the central issues of transportation policy which required solution if the Nation were to have an optimum development of transportation services. Precisely these recommendations of the committee generated the greater part of the controversy which surrounded its report.

Its recommendations presumed certain conditions in the transportation markets described in its report as constituting active and pervasive competition. The belief that competition among types of transportation was of far-reaching scope was shared by all members of the task force. That belief was based, however, upon their experience and general knowledge and not upon any factual analyses of transportation markets after the pattern that would be followed by economists attempting to measure the nature and strength of competitive forces and to forecast the results which might be expected to follow their exercise. Neither time nor re-sources were available for such study, and the task force was expected to rely on its judgment fortified by what could be learned from others within and without the industry.

You will recall that sharp exception was taken, both to the existence of effective or workable competition in the transportation industries and to the committee's expectations of the results that would flow from such competition when certain regulatory restraints were removed or modified. When it became necessary to attempt to document these major assumptions of the Cabinet committee report, the lack of knowledge about total traffic flow, the distribution of traffic among competing agencies, the commodity composition of traffic handled by some of the more important means, the effects of rate and service competition, and the possible propensities toward destructive competition within and between forms of transportation became painfully apparent. The relaxation of regulation to the degree recommended by the Cabinet committee depends for its success in the public interest upon the existence of workable competition on the one hand and upon the ability to set appropriate cost standards for minimum rates in the day-to-day practice of regula-tion on the other hand. No reasonable assurance of either could be derived from the available data.

In consequence, in this particular area of our study, we will endeavor to explore as thoroughly as it can be done the nature of the transport markets and the competitive forces present in them as well as the economic and cost characteristics of the several forms of transportation and the usefulness of the available cost-finding procedures. We do not start with a conviction that regulation requires far-reaching change through statutory revision. Instead we seek to analyze the conditions which regulation must meet in the present and predictable scenes and then to consider whether any changes would be constructive.

Indeed we propose to delve as deeply as time and resources permit into the underlying presumptions on which policy recommendations have hitherto been based. On

the whole the objective which the Cabinet committee had in mind is not altered but indeed reinforced by the language chosen by the President. In our present frame of mind, balance is to be equated with the securing of an optimum development of the several forms of transportation. It is not something to be planned out and forced upon the industries but something to be approximated through the working of competitive forces within an appropriate climate produced by Government policy, both regulaset of policies which will produce such a competitive neutrality among the forms of transportation as will enable each separately or in conjunction with others to make manifest to the users of its services both its service capabilities and its cost characteristics. This is, of course, an intensely difficult problem and one which gathers in many strands of Government policy, including issues which lie in the realm not only of regulatory policy but also of Government provision of transportation facilities, Government sub-sidies where they exist, tax policies of various kinds and the whole set of issues that is associated with alleged indirect subsides.
We do not propose, in our present work, to treat of only a part of these issues, but in stead to try to spell out their interrelationships in search of a set of consistent recommendations.

It may well be, of course, that implements tion will have to follow the route of comparatively slow progress in detail toward objectives that are as nearly consistent with the Nation's interest as a whole as it is possible to devise. Moreover, certain measure theoretically required to conduce toward balanced development may prove, upon amination, to be refinements of small practical importance. In a sense, our first objective in the tive in the study is to try to spell out a desirable direction for policy to assume over the years and to identify the relationship of separate Government separate Government programs to that direction tion. It will doubtless prove to be the cast that many ways of moving will present them selves, some of which may be more feasible or acceptable than others. It will also probably prove to be the case that the effective ness of the Deraylescent of the De ness of the Department in connection with the implementation of any proposals which the study may generate and which may find acceptance in the administration will depend in considerable part on the extent to which the permanent steff of the state of the the permanent staff of the Under Secretary Office can be strengthened. For the completion tion of a study and the presentation of recommendations is only the beginning of the process by which change may be brought about if it should be found desirable.

The present date is far too early to permit even a suggestion of the character of results which may be brought forward. Our start upon the study has been been study has been start the upon the study has been slow, and to present we have present we have been engaged largely blocking out the areas to be studied, search ing out the ways by which the studies might appropriately be undertaken, and negotiatil with people whom we desire to associate w us in the enterprise. We do not expect fully launched upon most phases of study until later this month. Particularly in the area of promotional policy we will struggling with the struggling with issues in which very progress has been made to date in the deret opment of appropriate theory for the order mum use of Government shall have to plow considerable new ground. In consequence, we are not anticipating that the underlying studies will approach of the pletion much before October 1 nor that results of the separate phases of the study can be brought into some degree of coordination which may enable us to produce a tents tive body of recommendations. tive body of recommendations before

The present arrangement of the work will tend to produce underlying reports on [1]

rate regulation of surface transportation, (2) controls of entry into surface transportation, (3) economic regulation of air transport, (4) Government investment in transportation facilities, (5) differential effects of taxation and social security programs, (6) labor, (7) Government procurement of and provision of transport services, and (8) merchant marine policy.

We propose throughout the conduct of the individual phases of the study to seek the advice of the several transportation industries, through their trade associations and otherwise, to consult with shippers and shipgroups, and to take advantage of the thinking and information available in the Several agencies of Government concerned in one way or another with transportation problems. We are, however, endeavoring to insure that the persons associated with us as consultants or otherwise in the direct conduct of any phase of the study shall be drawn from outside the industries or Governmen agencies affected. When we have produced some results in shape to be considered, we may very probably employ a small advisory committee with whom we can dis-cuss possible lines of policy in detail in order to test our conclusions both as to their probable effects and as to their appropriateness. Such a committee may lend valuable assistance in insuring that we do not commit egreglous errors of either interpretation or judgment. At some stage it is my hope that it will prove possible to present at least certain phases of the work to this council for the purpose of securing representative reactions before recommendations have reached a final form. We already have the benefit of the comments of most members of your executive committee, and they are highly instructive. tre Naturally, they show considerable diversity of opinion, but there runs through most of them evidence of a feeling that change is the change of the chang change in Government policy is needed, and there is a fair amount of agreement about some areas where change is called for. Taken as a whole, these materials provide an excellent checklist of matters to be given consideration. Whatever use may be made of an advistory group or of this council, however, responsibility for final resommendations to the Department through Under Secretary Allen will be study staff, and no Allen will rest upon the study staff, and no effort will be made, as we now see it, to get an agreed committee report.

U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce Urges Adoption of Wilderness Bill

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

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HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, June 25, 1959

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, as a cosponsor, both in the 85th and the current Congress, of legislation to establish a national wilderness preservation system, I was particularly pleased to observe the action of the national convention of the U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce last week in approving unanimously a resolution expressing the orsanization's endorsement of the wilderness bill. Yesterday, Fred Sturgis, of Florida, the able national chairman of the January of the the Jaycee conservation committee, made available to me the text of the resolution passed by the convention at Buffalo, N.Y. It urges Congress to adopt legislation. legislation to preserve wilderness areas

and to give appropriate recognition, place and stature to wilderness and associated resources in the total Federal natural resources program.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the resolution approved by Jaycee convention delegates, representing 180,000 members in 3,700 local units, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION ON PRESERVATION OF WILDERNESS AREAS

Whereas the needs of the expanding U.S. population include recreational and educational opportunities of the type to be found only in wilderness areas; and

Whereas certain important wildlife species and ecological relationships can be preserved and used for recreational and scientific purposes only in wilderness-type habitat; and

Whereas properties already under Federal ownership and/or management contain appropriate areas in numbers adequate to satisfy anticipated public needs for wilderness resources in the foreseable future: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the U.S. Junior Chamber Commerce, in convention assembled at Buffalo, N.Y., on June 17, 1959, does hereby endorse the basic provisions of S. 4028, as introduced in the 85th Congress and known as the wilderness bill, and petition the 86th Congress to adopt legislation to preserve wilderness areas and to give appropriate recognition, place, and stature to wilderness and associated resources in the total Federal natural resources program; and be it further

Resolved, That the U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce direct copies of this resolution to the Presdent of the United States, all Members of Congress, and the Secretaries of the Departments of Interior and Agriculture.

The Relationship Between State and Federal Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, June 25, 1959

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, it is with particular satisfaction and delight that I view the passage of the antipreemption bill, H.R. 3, by the House of Representatives. I am convinced that the overwhelming majority of American citizens have long favored the enactment of legislation such as this, and its passage by the Congress is long overdue. It is my sincere hope that the Senate will not falter on this legislation again this year.

In this connection, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix to the RECORD an editorial entitled Antipreemption Bill Would Fix State Status," from the State, a newspaper published in Columbia, S.C. This editorial most ably points up the need for this legislation, and also lists some of the outstanding organizations that sup-

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

ANTIPREEMPTION BILL WOULD FIX STATE STATUS

An antipreemption bill, now before Congress as H.R. 3, deserves strong support from all sections of the country. It would do much to clear up confusion created by recent court decisions tending to hamstring State

The antipreemption bill, favorably reported by the House Judiciary Committee, would make no changes in any existing laws. but it would reverse some recent decisions by the Supreme Court. It would force the Court to revert to a traditional interpreta-tion of the relationship between Federal and State laws.

Basic purpose of the bill is to prevent the Supreme Court from presuming, as it did in the Steve Nelson and Cloverleaf cases, that passage of a Federal law excludes the States from legislating in that field. In the Nelson case, the Supreme Court voided the sedition laws of 44 States, and in the Cloverleaf case, States were prohibited from enforcing their own agricultural sanitary laws because there were Federal laws on the same subject.

Under traditional judicial interpretation, it has been held that the Congress had not preempted the field unless the law itself spe-cifically so stated, or the Federal and State laws were irreconciliable. Of late, the Su-preme Court has been throwing out State laws on the basis of presumed congressional

intent to preempt a legislative area.

A second part H.R. 3, though also an antipreemption clause, deals specifically with
subversion and sedition laws. This section would restore the antisubversion statutes of the 44 States that were voided by the Su-preme Court in the Nelson case. It would clarify the manifest intent of Congress not to prohibit State enforcement of criminal penalties for advocating the overthrow of the State and Federal Government.

Organizations supporting this legislation include the American Bar Association, the National Association of Attorneys General, the Conference of Governors, the American Medical Association, the American Farm Bu-reau Federation, and the President's Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. The Attorneys General of the United States, while supporting the principle of the bill, wants the antipreemption injunction to apply only to sedition laws.

The State wholeheartedly endorses the provisions and intent of the proposed legislation. As Governor Byrnes pointed out last night in an address before the Georgia Bar Association, the Court must be curbed. If allowed to continue its invasion of the legislative field, he said, State and local governments will be destroyed.

This bill would do much to prevent the Supreme Court from simply preempting the State governments out of existence—from moving all authority, from the Pacific to the Atlantic to the Potomac. The fact that 44 States were affected by one decision alone makes it far more than a sectional issue.

The Court has issued a challenged to legislative and State authority. This is a fine opportunity to meet the challenge directly, and to clarify a very muddled situation.

Strauss Ouster a Costly Victory

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, June 25, 1959

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article written by William S. White entitled "Strauss Ouster a Costly Victory," published in the Washington Evening Star of June 22, 1959.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STRAUSS OUSTER A COSTLY VICTORY-DEMO-CRATS SEEN AS LOSING KEY 1960 ISSUE IN FAILURE TO CONFIRM SECRETARY

(By William S. White)

The Democrats have won a costly victory in an unnecessary war in the Senate's rejection of Lewis L. Strauss to be Secretary of Commerce.

They have refused Mr. Elsenhower the privilege of any President to have a man of his own choice in the Cabinet so long as that man is not morally or mentally unfit. And they have made this great demonstra-tion over what usually is politically the least significant post in all the Cabinet, that of Commerce.

A Strauss confirmed would have created for them a far more useful issue for 1960 than a Strauss repudiated-and repudiated, moreover, on grounds so thin as to have no example in our history.

For the very qualities the Democrats attributed to the nominee would have been endless bad news for the Republicans had the Democrats allowed him to be confirmed in office. They found him arrogant toward Congress. They found him deceitful (though to an onlooker his deceit seemed to lie most of all in his refusal to cooperate

with his Senate prosecutors.)
They disliked him as an Old Guard Republican, a Herbert Hoover Republican, an antipublic power man, as indeed he was and is. Every shortcoming they attributed to him would inevitably have weakened the administration politically had he remained in it. For his basic political philosophy has been a handicap at the national polis for at least 20 years.

In plain words, the Democrats have rescued Mr. Elsenhower from the consequences of what was, politically, a poor appointment in the first place. For the first personal defeat of President Eisenhower they have

attempted in his 6 years in office, they have chosen the worst possible vehicle.

For wherever else it may lie, the true vulnerability of the administration surely cannot be said to lie in the less than burning question as to who is to run the Department of Commerce. Mr. Strauss is incomparably more important politically as a symbol of harsh Senate veto than he ever would have been as a recipient of Senate approval.

In fact, in looking back, the whole af-fair was a series of blunders—first by the President, then by Strauss himself in his human but unwisely belligerent conduct before the Senate, and then by the Democrats. The Republicans would have been the losers had the Democrats allowed him to be confirmed. But the Democrats are the net losers now.

Why, then, did it all happen? It happened most of all because of the long frustrations of many Democrats, mostly liberal Democrats. For years they have been clam-oring that the party must fight Elsenhower. Now, at last, they have prevalled on calmer colleagues to fight. Their motive was understandable, for politics cannot and should not be simply an unending polite

But the trouble was that the Democrats oversimplified. To fight is one thing. But to fight at the wrong time in the wrong place and for the wrong reason is quite an-

other thing.
They got the whole question confused. The point never was whether Strauss would he a good Secretary of Commerce. The point never was whether he had the truly sound political ideas of the present. were only two simple and related issues: Did the President have a right to Strauss if he wanted him? And was there against Strauss' fitness to serve (not his ideas or his personality) a case so overpowering as to justify turning him down?

The answer to the first question was plainly "Yes." The answer to the second question was plainly "No." And when the passions have died, some of the men who voted against Strauss will regret it, for simple human reasons if not also for political reasons.

For, politics aside, the Senate simply did not live up to its best traditions; the Senate simply was not fair.

## Move To Counter Smear Attacks on National Leaders

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, June 25, 1959

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter to the editor, published in the New York Times of Wednesday, June 17, 1959, and authored by Mr. Robert H. Austin, of Johnson City, N.Y.

In his letter Mr. Austin not only pays tribute to Members of the Congress but also suggests a nonpartisan organization of public-spirited citizens to help insure that the public is accurately informed with regard to Members of Congress. Mr. Austin's letter should be of interest to all Senate and House Members, as well as to the general public.

Mr. Austin is an outstandingly public-spirited citizen well known in New York State, who has devoted many of the best years of his life to civic causes. He is a long-time executive of the International Business Machines Corp. but has found time to take leading parts in many highly useful civic projects, especially those connected with public health and traffic safety.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BACKING PUBLIC OFFICIALS-MOVE TO COUNTER SMEAR ATTACKS ON NATIONAL LEADERS PRO-POSED

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The tragedy of John Foster Dulles had a profound effect on me. It must have also affected millions of other thinking citizens. Here was a devoted national public servant who literally fought his life away with unyielding courage and persistence for what he felt was best for America. Yet he was subjected to cruel and unreasonable abuse and criticism, with few defenders, until he was close to death.

Then, and only then, was there a public awakening and appreciation of his unselfish public devotion and sacrifice. The same was true with the late Senator Robert Taft, former Secretary of Defense James Porrestal, and other national figures.

Why should there not be an organized nationwide group of public-spirited citizens, nonpartisan, who would make it their bush ness to see that the public has all the facts, is accurately informed about our Senators, Congressmen, and national leaders who are subjected to unfair and unjustified abuse from selfish or ignorant sources because they stand firmly for courageous and faithful representation?

Under our form of government, for instance, a U.S. Senator can look only to his political party—whichever it may be for organized help in defending his public record, no matter how fine. no matter how fine.

Surely there must be many thoughtful Americans who would join a nonpartisan movement to show public appreciation for integrity in office and faithfulness to the public trust. In this way false propagands and smear attacks against a truly honest Senator, Congressman, or Cabinet officer could be dispelled by the light of fact and truth, rather than he have been senated. truth, rather than be permitted to poison the minds of unthinking voters.

I have untilitied to poison the minds of the mi

I have unstintedly given many years of my life to local and State civic activities. But to survive the present struggle with communism our form of government must function at its best.

In my opinion it cannot do this unless and until our citizens, in a nonpartisan spirit show greater appreciation and give some form of strong public backing to our national public servants, who through courage, honest de votion, and unselfish fighting spirit prove their worth beyond question.

ROBERT H. AUSTIN. JOHNSON CITY, N.Y., June 15, 1959.

# The Problem of Putting the Federal Fiscal House in Order

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. WALLACE F. BENNETT

OF UTAH

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, June 25, 1959

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed the Appendix of the Record an article entitled "Putting Federal Fiscal House in Order," published in the Salt Late City (Utah) Tribune of June 10, 1950.

There being no objection, the editorial as ordered to be provided in the control of the control was ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

PUTTING FEDERAL FISCAL HOUSE IN ORDER

In recent years the problem of managing the enormous national debt-now in neighborhood of \$285 billion—has become more and more difficult.

Government bonds are selling below participated in the public is buying fewer U.S. savings bonds and cashing to the same selling below participated in the same selling below and cashing in those bonds at a continual increasing rate. The Treasury has had we shift to the sale of shift to the sale of short-term securities (In 1946 only 44 percent of the interest bearing marketable debt was set to fall diswithin 5 years; today 74 within 5 years; today, 74 percent falls due

in

This situation arises from the fact that Covernment bonds, though called the world tensor safest investment. safest investment, can't compete with preterest rates offered elsewhere. Savings topped pay 3.26 percent if held to maturity rate on long-term Government bonds is fixed at 4.25 percent by a 40.

at 4.25 percent by a 40-year-old law.

President Eisenhower has now asked gress to remedy the situation.

He wants the interest rate on savings bonds used to 3.75 percent raised to 3.75 percent.

He wants the interest ceiling eliminated or long-term Governor. for long-term Government bonds.

And he wants the debt limit raised to \$288 billion on a permanent basis and \$295 billion on a temporary one. (The present ngures \$283 and \$288 billion, respectively.)

Mr. Elsenhower makes the point that when the Government borrows, it can do so successfully only at realistic rates of interest that are determined by the supply and demand for securities." He also emphasizes that "an artificial ceiling \* \* \* under today's conditions makes it virtually impossible to sell bonds in the competitive

The Government's financial house obviously needs to be put in order.

how effective will a raise in interest rates be? In other words, would an increase in the yield on Government bonds bring a corresponding increase in the interest rates on competitive securities?

These are questions which Congress must consider carefully.

The interest on the public debt will cost 88.5 billion dollars in the next fiscal year according to revised Treasury estimates. (In 1945 the figure was 3.6 billion; in 1954, just after the Korean war ended, it had increased to 6.4 billion.)

Higher interest rates raise the cost of government and mean an added strain on

the budget.

Mr. Eisenhower and his financial advisers Mr. Eisenhower and his financial auvisce believe that the proposed changes are a necessity. The Treasury is in a difficult position and cannot manage the debt under present present conditions.

However, it will do little good for Congress of to provide for more realistic management of the national debt if Congress does not adopt truly realistic attitude toward the debt itself.

President Eisenhower is fighting for a balanced budget.

But that merely means breaking evenand the national debt is not reduced. Indeed, the request for a new debt ceiling

went to Congress in the same package with the proposed interest rate revisions.

president Eisenhower says that "achieve-ment of a fiscal position that allows our revenues a fiscal position that allows our revenues to cover our expenditures—as well as to produce some surplus for debt retirewill improve substantially the environment in which debt management

We agree wholeheartedly.

But when will that position be achieved? The administration's requests apply to an impact immediate problem. The fundamental problem of excessive spending will not be touched.

Awards Presented to Strasburg (Va.) Chapter of Jaycees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, June 25, 1959

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the in the Appendix of the Record a news release in regard to the awards that were presented to the Strasburg (Va.) chapter of the Jaycees at the U.S. Jaycee convention held in Buffalo, N.Y.

I am deeply gratified that the liberty tree project of this chapter was the top

Recently I had the pleasure of presenting one of these liberty trees to each

of my colleagues in the Senate on behalf of the Strasburg chapter.

There being no objection, the news release was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

As the U.S. Jaycee convention came to a dramatic close Friday after a whirlwind week in Buffalo, N.Y., delegates were still shaking their heads in amazement at the sweep of national project awards by one of the smallest chapters in the Nation. Strasburg, Va., with 30 active and 12 associate members, hailing from the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, walked off with 4 first-place awards, including a national sweepstakes winner in public affairs and the coveted grand project of the year given annually for the most outstanding Jaycee project conducted in the United States.

Jaycee observers were hard pressed to recall when a chapter had made a similar sweep, and all agreed it had never been done by such a small chapter. Having taken its opulation division first-place award in two different fields, tiny Strasburg went into the national sweepstakes in the public affairs category against first-place winners from Vero Beach, Fla., Spartanburg, S.C., Win-ston-Salem, N.C., and St. Paul, Minn., and took the national. Then in the judging in the all inclusive project of the year finals which pitted together five first-place winners who had themselves been selected from thousands of projects, and included Jesup, Ga., Paducah, Ky., Canton, Ohio, and Dayton, Ohio, Strasburg captured the No. 1 project award in the Nation.

The top award winner is a program called liberty trees, and Jack Marsh, project chairman, who was on hand to receive the awards for the chapter, explained that liberty trees were small white pine seedlings planted in red, white, and blue pots, containing soil from historic spots as the Shenandoah Valley, Jamestown, Yorktown, Bunker Hill, Valley Forge, and the Alamo.

It is designed, the chairman added, as a countermeasure to the Communist celebration of May Day and is a program to encourage Americans to learn about America. Besides being sold locally, where proceeds went into a scholarship fund, every Senator and Congressman were presented with a liberty tree as well as other high officials including President Eisenhower, Secretary Herter, FBI Director Hoover, and Governor Almond.

Learn and Live: Presentation by Harold E. Fellows

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, June 25, 1959

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, in these challenging complex times, our progress, security-indeed, our survival-depend more and more upon intellectual achievements, upon the capability of men to accumulate knowledge and understanding and to create accomplishments for the benefit of mankind.

The era of the "muscle man"-of achievement through man's individual strength-is rapidly fading away.

True, there is force in the world. For the most part, however, this can be assigned, not to man's muscle, but to his control over the forces and powers of nature. Today, these include water power, nuclear energy, atomic-hydrogen bombs, electricity, gasoline, and other types of fuel, such as steam and othersthese are the powers which, for good or evil, are "moving forces" in the world today.

To fulfill his obligation to humanity, and posterity, man must develop the vision, wisdom, humility-the kind of right thinking, based on spiritual principles-that will enable him to utilize these forces for constructive, not destructive, goals.

From the past, the world of today inherited a rich accumulation of knowledge and achievement. In our time, a commendable contribution is being made to this storehouse-particularly in the fields of science and technology.

However, without a thirst for knowledge, a desire to learn, to grow, to understand, to create intelligently-man will stagnate and the wheels of progress will cease turning.

However, imbued with a dedication to translate the new power—of control over natural forces—to the betterment of humanity, man can achieve new proportions of greatness, of human accomplishment.

The horizons of each human being need be limited only by the resources of his energies and inclination for, with a love of learning, the whole world is an open book; the realms of knowledge and understanding to be obtained are limit-

If it were possible to inoculate the youth of today, I would humbly suggest that one of the most important attitudes to instill in their eager, energetic, resourceful, fertile, imaginative minds would be the love of learning-the realization that, through the miracles of knowledge, guided by the right kind of spiritual principles-man can extend himself far beyond the limits of the flesh; that he can live, create, and achieve in realms that may far exceed his dreams.

Currently, the National Association of Broadcasters is engaged in a special project of the Nation's radio and television broadcasters and it is based on the theme "Learn and live." The objectives are:

To develop among all Americans a respect for learning and knowledge, making ignorance unfashionable.

To stimulate among young people a sense of the exciting adventure of growing to their full intellectual capacities,

To impress upon their elders, especially parents, their duty to guide and support youth in obtaining knowledge and train-

To instill pride among all Americans in doing a job well no matter what that job may be.

Wisely, the project is not just concerned with mechanics and methods of imparting knowledge, nor the problems building more schools-although these, in their own way, are significant. The learn-and-live campaign, however, seeks to stimulate intellectual curiosity and inspire young people to apply themselves to the business of learning and their parents to give them encouragement.

Recently, I received from Harold E. Fellows, president and chairman of the board of National Association of Broadcasters, comprising more than 2,000 individual stations, a thoughtful presentation on their program for emphasizing the theme "Live and Learn."

Recognizing that this philosophy contains the ingredients of a sound foundation upon which learning and education can be improved and strengthened, I request unanimous consent to have the thoughtful comments of President Fellows printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the matter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### LEARN AND LIVE (By Harold E. Fellows)

Overwhelming concern has been expressed by our people and our leaders since the first manmade moon was launched, concern that we, as a people, make more and better use of our national brain power to meet the change and challenge of the space age. The need for developing and using—now and for the long pull—the full intellectual and technical capacities of the people has been stated with repeated urgency by responsible Americans of all shades of opinion.

Dr. James Killian, Jr., questioned "whether we Americans, in our drive to make and acquire things \* \* \* have not been giving too little attention to men and ideas." The President's science adviser said, "At all levels in our society we should cultivate a taste for learning, for scholarship, and all that is excellent in mind and spirit."

President Eisenhower himself put it this way in his state of the Union message: "redoubled exertions will be necessary on the part of all Americans if we are to rise to the demands of our times. This means hard work on the part of State and local governments, private industries, schools and colleges, private organizations and foundations, teachers, parents, and perhaps most important of all, the student himself with his bag of books and his homework.

"With this kind of all-inclusive campaign, we can create the intellectual capital we need for the years ahead, and do this, not as regimented pawns, but as free men and women."

The broadcasting industry has embarked upon a special public service campaign to accomplish just that. Traditionally, broadcasting quickly has responded in times of national crises. It has been observed that what Pearl Harbor did to our military complacency, the sputniks did to our intellectual complacency. Radio and television, providing direct and immediate communication with the people, can help to awaken the public consciousness to the necessity for placing greater emphasis upon attainments of intellect and skill, and pride in doing a Job well. Broadcasting contributes significantly in the drive to unleash the imagination of the people, especially young people. There can be no "slowpokeism" today, not if we wish to survive agreeably.

We are on the threshold of the space age, an era that may be filled with wonder or teeming with terror. In either situation, to morrow is bound to demand more of us as a nation and as individuals than anything we have ever known. Imagination, originality, knowledge, and skills, the use of the mind, must be nurtured in our young people. If America is to face up to the challenge, the Nation must be imbued with a respect for learning and fired with the excitement of grappling with ideas. The pursuit of happiness, let alone the pursuit of survival, cannot long be sustained by the easy answer, slickness that substitutes for depth, the soft job, the rationed effort that just gets by.

The individual must be encouraged to discover both his mind and himself.

By unanimous approval of the board of directors, the National Association of Broadcasters is taking the leadership in a special public service project, with this theme: "Learn and Live."

These are the objectives:

To develop among all Americans a respect for learning and knowledge, making ignorance unfashionable.

To stimulate among young people a sense of the exciting adventure of growing to their full intellectual capacities.

To impress upon their elders, especially parents, their duty to guide and support youth in obtaining more knowledge and training.

This project is not concerned with methods of imparting knowledge nor the problems of building more schools. The "learn and live" campaign will, however, seek to stimulate intellectual curiosity and inspire young people to apply themselves to the business of learning and their parents to give them encouragement.

Announcements and other materials are being provided by the association for broadcast on local radio and television stations. Many broadcasters are developing the "learn and live" idea to suit the needs of their communities. They are working with other community leaders and interested groups.

There is a growing awareness of the unexplored advance regions in the area of human improvement. Man never will know all that may be known, never will be all that he might be. The frontier that lures us now is the endless, always rewarding frontier of human progress, which can be approached only through and by individual progress in human relations, the humanities, the arts, science, technology, crafts, and skills. As individuals and as a nation we must prove ourselves capable of handling, for the common good, the potentialities of the space age, with emphasis on the space we already occupy, right here on earth.

This is the challenge: Learn and live.

#### Wanted: Some Brinksmanship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. THOMAS J. DODD

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, June 25, 1959

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, on Tuesday, June 23, the Hartford Courant carried a lead editorial on the Berlin crisis which desirves the widest possible circulation.

Some of us in this body have been urging for months an immediate build-up of our Armed Forces to impress upon the Communist world our determination to hold firm in Berlin.

The results of the Foreign Ministers' Conference offer clear evidence that the Communist rulers refuse to take our words at face value unless those words are backed up by action.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WANTED: SOME BRINKSMANSHIP

Secretary Dulles shocked the world when, a little more than 3 years ago, he advocated

what soon became known as brinksmanship. "Of course we were brought to the verge of war," he said. "The ability to get to the verge without getting into war is the necessary art." To be sure, putting it this way did make us sound like atom-rattling militarists. We may be suffering still from the unhappy interpretation put on those words. But surely the world knows by now that what Mr. Dulles meant was something far different.

Actually, Mr. Dulles was desperately concerned lest we repeat the tragic mistake that had let loose both World Wars: allowing the aggressor to underestimate the democracles. Kaiser Wilhelm gambled that he could get away with a quick war against France and Russia because, under Britain's constitutional system, Sir Edward Grey could not certify in advance that Britain would fight if Belgian neutrality were violated. In the same way Adolf Hitler, emboldened by the sickening retreat of the Allies from Rhineland arming to Munich, thought the democracles were too pacifist to fight. As for the United States, that he saw as too corrupt and contented, too fat and flabby, to do again after 1939 what it has done after 1915.

Today there is a risk that Mr. Khrushchev will make an identical miscalculation. We are wasting our time getting the shivers over the irrelevant question of whether there ought to be a summit meeting or not. The real question before us is how to let the real question before us is how to let say about fighting rather than being pushed out of Berlin.

It became clear, in those 6 weeks of talk at Geneva, that Mr. Khrushchev doesn't really want to negotiate. He is sweetly reasonable about negotiating when the West gets out of Berlin. But there is just no question whatever in his mind whether we will get out. Secretary of State Herter—to whom every alert citizen should listen tonight, as he reports on Geneva—put it this way when be got off the plane in Washington:

"The Soviet Union \* \* \* revealed clearly that its true desire is to absorb West Berlin into East Germany, and to keep Germany divided until it can be brought under Soviet influence."

If this seems just talk, consider what Mr. Gromyko himself said. Take for example that June 10 statement, in which he set 1-year deadline for getting us out of Berling.

"Considering the position of the Western Powers, the Soviet Union is ready to refrain from insisting on the immediate abolition of the occupation regime in West Berlin. The Soviet Union could agree to accept a temporary prolongation of certain occupation rights of the Western Powers in West Berlin—on the condition, however, that this situation would last for a strictly limited period, namely, I year."

Despite some softness among West German Socialists and Britain's Labor Party, despite a brooding aloofness in President gaule, the West seems agreed that it would be fatal if we let Berlin go. Giving in before either a sudden Soviet blow, or the farmore likely steady pressure of attrition, more likely steady pressure of attrition, have survived a dozen years of cold There would be no telling where we would or could, regroup for a last stand.

or could, regroup for a last stand.

This is a deadly serious threat. Yet while we talk about being firm, we act as though the next ball game were our most serious concern. There are two needs, immediate needs, in this interlude in the Geneva talks needs, in this interlude in the Geneva talks are that all are clear in their own minds as sure that all are clear in their own minds to the gravity of the Western positions second, and still greater need, is to take some overt action that will get into Mr. Shechev's head that we mean what we say for

The Pentagon, apparently, has begged for some strengthening of the Western many and in a debilitated NATO

Maybe partial mobilization is too risky in this tense world, though that hardly seems likely. Certainly there should be some visible action, to leave no doubt that we will use force if need be. We have said this over and over again. But we have done nothing to make it unmistakable that we shall keep open the road to Berlin by land, water, and air, and that we shall keep West Berlin free,

In view of what Mr. K. has been saying in his outwardly conciliatory but actually ruthlessly inflexible speeches, it seems certain that unless the West backs down Russia will sign that separate treaty with East Germany. That will do more than harden the split of the two Germanys, and establish the technical sovereignty of the East Germans. It will make it possible for the East Germans to use little harassments like delays in signing papers, in repairing roads or canal locks, in passing trains at control boints, in buzzing Western air traffic through the flight corridors. Such a slow strangulation of West Berlin, because it is less brusque and shocking than a sudden blockade, can be even more dangerous.

Thus we are right back to where we started Thus we are right back to where we shall last November 27, when Mr. Khrushchev first told us to get out of Berlin, or else. Surely he doesn't relish the thought of atomic destruction any more than we. But he does he does seem to feel that time, and strength

are on his side.

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In that classic statement at the Minnesota state fair 58 years ago, Theodore Roosevelt said: "There is a homely adage which runs: speak softly and carry a big stick; you will so far." That should be the policy of the United States and its allies today. Instead we are talking loudly and carrying a little stick.

#### Decade of Deficits

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON, JOHN SPARKMAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, June 25, 1959

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, in today's Washington Evening Star there is a very interesting column by Sylvia Porter entitled "Decade of Deficits." In a very readable manner she handles this very complex situation. The article is quite provocative. I commend it to the careful reading of all and ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Appendix of the Record, as follows:

DECADE OF DEFICITS

(By Sylvia Porter)

On Tuesday, June 30, the Treasury will close its books on the decade of the fifties.
While to us 1959 still has 6 more months of life, to the still has 6 more months of the

while to us 1959 still has 6 more monus.

life, to the Treasury this is the end of the fiscal year, the end of the decade.

During this decade a Republican has occupled the White House most of the time, and such proud a such p such proud financial conservatives as George Humphrey and Robert Anderson have run

During this decade the economy has been

in the greatest prosperity ever known. Yet, in the 12-month period to end Tuesday the Government has chalked up the biggest peacetime budget deficit in all history—a deficit estimated at close to \$12.5 in the control of the control of

In this decade, the Government has achieved only 3 years of budget surpluses—

one under former President Truman and two under President Eisenhower in 1956 and 1957.

In these 10 years the Government's new borrowing has raised the national debt to a record of near \$286 billion, and the annual bill just for debt interest has increased from \$5.7 billion to \$8.6 billion.

In these deficit-dotted fifties we've carried the heaviest taxload in the Nation's lifetime, and we now pay in annual taxes twice as much as we put aside in personal savings. This turns upside down the relationship between taxes and savings prior to World WarII

And even these facts don't tell the full story about the fifties, for this decade marks the third in a row of huge deficits.

In the past 3 decades the Government has had only 6 years of surpluses; the other 24 years have been soaked in red ink. Since 1930 our national debt has skyrocketed 1,800

Going back to 1789, you'll find no record comparable to this. From 1789 to 1930 our Government had 93 years of budget sur-pluses, 46 years of deficits. But since 1930, I repeat, the story has been only 6 surpluses, 24 deficits.

No matter how smug you may feel about deficits (particularly when they're the Federal Government's), this performance of the fifties must compel you to a bit of sober

In the thirties the deficits were understandable. We were trying to spend our way out of the worst depression of all times.

In the forties the deficits were even more understandable. We were trying to win the biggest war of all time, and although 7e might have financed more of it by higher taxes, that's a "20-20 hindsight" comment.

But in the fifties? We've had two recessions, but short, relatively mild ones. The Korean war ended long ago. The cold war has remained, but this has almost faded into an accepted part of our economy.

Obviously, a key explanation is that we have chosen to fight the postwar recessions by big increases in Government spending instead of quick, big cuts in taxes. The giant deficits of the fifties have coincided with the recessions of the fifties. At the end of the recessions the spending programs remain, the budgets get larger and larger.

Obviously, we have chosen to rely on business booms to balance our budgets. If the budget in the year to start next Wednesday is balanced, the reason will be not a cut in spending, but a spectacular rise in the Treasury's tax take out of our fatter paychecks and

And, also obviously, red ink is likely to continue to color our budgets in the sixties unless we seize this moment of boom to figure out sounder financial ways to fight the recessions of the future than we have the recessions of the past.

British Association for American Studies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, June 25, 1959

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a brief account of the conference of the British Association for American Studies, held in April of this year.

This account, prepared by Dr. Bernard Crick, is further evidence of the fruitfulness of the exchange program between the United Kingdom and this country. More than 100 teachers gathered for the conference and, in a very intensive program, renewed and expanded their interest in and knowledge of American studies. The account of this conference is reassuring to all those who are interested in the exchange program with other peoples of the world.

There being no objection, the account was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

BRITISH ASSOCIATION FOR AMERICAN STUDIES-1959 CONFERENCE

> (By B. R. Crick) BACKGROUND

The British Association for American Studies itself arose, it will be remembered, out of the series of four conferences, held from 1952 to 1955 in Cambridge and Oxford, which were sponsored by the U.S. Educational Commission in the United Kingdom (under the Fulbright Act) and the Rockefeller Foundation, and which were intended to encourage the growth of American subjects, particularly history, politics, and literature, in British universities and schools. These conferences lasted between 10 days and (a gruelling) 3 weeks; they were concerned with the teaching of dons or schoolmasters coming to American history and literature mostly for the first time.

After the last of these meetings, the British Association for American Studies was founded and has since held its own 3day conferences, which have proved extremely lively and well attended gatherings, composed mostly of university teachers, though some school teachers have attended and also a good few adult education lecturers. In 1958 the B.A.A.S. received from the Rockefeller Foundation a large and wellconceived grant intended to aid American studies in Great Britain over a 5-year period by providing funds for, first, scholarships and research in the United States and Britain; second, the purchase of American documentation on microfilm; and third, the holding of special conferences. In the same year the committee of the B.A.A.S. decided that the time was ripe for another full-scale conference. A 10-day affair was planned and was intended, in part, to bring school teachers more fully into the picture than the smaller and shorter annual conferences had allowed, though by now-in contrast to the earlier Fulbright conferences-it was a much more developed picture of academic teaching and research activity. And 1959, it was noted, marked the tenth anniversary of the activities of the U.S. Educational Commission in the United Kingdom.

Such a conference was made possible by the ability to pay for the accommodation of participants and the administrative expenses out of the above-mentioned Rockefeller grant, and by the U.S. Educational Commisssion generously paying the fares and other costs for American scholars under Fulbright auspices in western Europe (not merely Great Britain alone) who were invited to lecture at the conference. It should be said here that the flexibility of these arrangements and the entire initiative and control left to the B.A.A.S. itself was appreciatively commented upon by participants almost as much as the fact of the grants themselves. Nothing would have been possible without the warm and active support of Dr. W. L. Gaines of the U.S. Educational Commission in London, and the cultural attaché of the American Embassy, Dr. Carl Bode, also gave— as ever—invaluable help, as did the librarian of the American Library in London, Miss M. Haferd, who, in particular, provided an excellent working library and a library exhibition for the conference.

#### ORGANIZATION

The enclosed program in its ingenious complexity scarcely speaks for itself, but it does provide a guide to the ambitious scale and range of what went on. Basically the scheme was quite simple. There was to be no pedagogic distinction between old hands and beginners, no separation of university from school teachers, or, indeeed, of school teachers actually teaching American subjects from those only hoping to do so in the future. Instead there was to be a wide variety of fare intended to broaden everyone's knowledge outside their specialization. The assumption was largely correct that the great majority of the school teachers present would in fact already have some teaching knowledge of American history and literature-in contrast to the situation in the first Fulbright conference in 1952. The emphasis seemed very much on broadening and deepening existing interest and knowledge, and thus on demonstrating to those present who were talking up such themes at all for the first time that there are now serious and established-if still small-disciplines of American history and literature in the universities. The alone was obviously an important thing for many sixth form teachers to realize since they are, by and large, very reluctant to teach their senior pupils subjects which are not likely to occur in the university examination syllabuses schools.

So the organizing principle was one of intellectual rigour mitigated by variety of subject and form. The conference was built on three main columns and a subsidiary one (as shown in the first three pages of the enclosed program). There were general lectures first thing each morning followed by syndicate discussions and questions; there were special lectures, usually two a day, under the three broad heads of history, literature, and government; there were 11 specialized seminars meeting concurrently for sessions of 2 hours four times during the conference; and, lastly, some evening programs of educational or historical films. But before describing the operation of this scheme, it might be best to say something about the clientele of the conference.

#### ATTENDANCE

The conference was advertised by sending out about 3,000 individual announcements, including the circularizing of their members by the Headmasters' and Headmistresses' Associations. Advertisements were also put in the Times Educational Supplement, the Times Literary Supplement, and the W.E.A. Journal, Highway. Some 500 inquiries were received, which led to 283 application forms being completed and returned, apart from those of members of the association (which were accepted as of right). Of these 283 applicants, 164 applied for the history sessions, 76 for the literature, and 43 for the Government (as will be seen, 114 people attended). The following table shows the subject and occupation composition of the actual attendance of the conference. (Graduate students. it should be noted, were not invited to apply and are not normally members of the association, although in fact perhaps some half dozen graduate students attended the conference, and are included in the category of "miscellaneous.")

It will be seen that there was a total attendance of 114, which included 40 existing members of the association. It should be pointed out that the categories history, literature, and government defined the seminars which people applied to attend. These are not necessarily the usual special subject of the people concerned, since a few studied another discipline for the purpose

of the conference; i.e., there were a few people who normally teach Government, who studied history, and vice versa, and three university geographers, who were not otherwise provided for studied history.

wise provided for, studied history.

In addition to the figures shown in the above table, there were in attendance the 11 British tutors; the 16 American lecturers (none of whom stayed for the whole time, of course, though they were encouraged to stay longer than required by their individual lectures); and also some half dozen special guests for the whole or part of the conference, and an equal number of people who attended occasional lectures—these were mainly American scholars resident in Oxford at the time.

On the application forms the question was asked: "Have you taught or made any serious study of your specialization chosen above (i.e., American history, literature, or government)?" Of those who were finally accepted for the conference (although it will be noted that this number is larger than those actually attending as stated above), 101 answered "Yes" to this question and 25 "No." Thus it can be stated that about one-quarter of the participants in the conference had not, by their own valuation, made any serious study of the subject before. As has already been said, the conference in its whole conception was intended to assume-in contrast to the earlier conferences—an existing body of study and knowledge, but answering to the above question was not made the basis of refusing applicants: applicants were chosen according to their academic degrees, the character and importance of their teaching post, and their age—i.e. the people were chosen according to their present or future potential to benefit American studies.

Of the numbers originally accepted, 35 withdrew, of whom only a few were last minute illnesses, etc. Most of these places were filled from a reserve list of applications, but the degree of changeabout and the wastage of perhaps 11 places argues that in any future conferences a fee should be asked from the participants payable at the time of application.

It will be seen from the above table that there was a highly satisfactory proportion of nonmembers to members; that is, about two-thirds of the participants were nonmembers, i.e., attended such a conference for the first time. It can be surmised from the table that while American literature has made considerable, indeed remarkable progress within the universities, its situation is less good relative to history in the schools. Literature constituted two-fifths of the total attendance at the conference.

An interesting figure, the significance of which may not have been appreciated before in the affairs of the association, is the attendance of 22 under the category of "adult education." It seems clear, both from these figures and from informal discussions at the conference, that there is even at the moment a considerable interest in topics American in English adult education, and that this is capable of considerable expansion. Most of these adult education participants are of course university extra-mural lecturers, so the courses can be assumed to be of some academic standing.

In view of the increasing importance of the teacher training colleges in English education, since the courses are, within the next few years, to be extended from 2 to 3 years, a special effort was made to attract teachers from these places; but very few applicants from training colleges were received.

# \* AFTERTHOUGHTS

There can be little doubt that people coming to such a conference for the first time felt, with a very few exceptions, richly rewarded and benefitted by the experience. A

very few had obviously hoped for something closer to elementary instruction in American history, though it had been made quite plain from the first announcements that this was not the function of the conference. But the clear majority of schoolmasters would plainly have been put off by such a different type of—not conference, but school; the few disgruntled seemed those who had not prepared themselves at all beforehand.

This is not the place for an appraisal of the state of American studies in Great Britain, but the conference did bring certain issues into focus. It was very interesting, for instance, to hear the amount of talk between schoolmasters about to start American courses and those already embarked. Some of these participants would obviously have welcomed some official discussions or seminars on such teaching problems, but then again, clearly not the majority who preferred to discuss educational techniques informally and to use the sessions to try out and extend their knowledge. One thing did clearly emerge from the cellar and common-room talk among and with the school teachers; their general concern with the supply of American books because of their cost, and also their difficulty in adapting American style textbooks to English school use.

University teachers of American history and literature seemed more established than can have been the case in the earlier Fulbright conferences, but again, except at a few fortunate places, they had a feeling of realization in common that their subjects are still underrepresented on their departmental syllabuses. But the attendance of 12 university teachers who were not them members of the association was very encouraging.

The political scientists seemed to furnish a different case; some fairly substantial knowledge of American politics is always demanded in Government courses. Their case for expansion is bound up with the under development of political science as a whole in most British universities, not with balance of teaching withing existing departments. It is noticeable how many articles for instance, on American topics appear in Political Studies compared to the historical and literary journals. This perhaps makes the political scientists, by and large, feel less need of the association than do the historians and literature teachers.

Social sciences, meaning sociology or psychology, were almost unrepresented, both in participants and program. The absence of sociologists from the association is explained by similar reasons to those that make the membership of political scientists relatively small compared to their involvement ology is American or uses American methods that English sociologists—where they gist at all—are already closely in touch with at all—are already closely in touch with a probably the newest and most marginal of all serious disciplines in British universities. But this is not to say that some voices some lectures on modern American social some lectures on modern American shought. But perhaps the timetable was full enough already.

One other factor worthy of note was, as seen above, the large attendance of teachers in adult education, who constituted just under one-fifth of the whole conference, under one-fifth of the whole conference. These teachers were mostly in university and extra-mural courses, and seemed as a group exceptionally lively and optimistic in the valuations of the demand for more American subjects among their audiences. It is to be subjects among their audiences. It is to be hoped that more will be done in the future than has been done in the past the stimulate or help the teaching of American subjects in adult education.

adult education.

If any summary is called for, it is simply that there seemed overwhelming agreement

Among the participants of the conference that it had been very successful, that much had been learned, and that further meetings Would be worthwhile, although it should be pointed out that the normal conferences of the association promise (or threaten) to become much larger in any event due to the increase in the number of members. Certainly the assumption of the conference that elementary teaching was no longer needed, seemed to have been justified, although it is nevertheless true that the systematic, although fairly advanced, discussions of the seminars, seemed to be more appreciated than the necessarily rather scattered nature of the topics covered by the lecturers. There was, in other words, a strong back bench feeling that the center of future conferences should be the seminar rather than the genalso suggested in some quarters, that something might be done specifically to encourage graduate students either to attend fuconferences or to meet together on some occasion themselves.

A final comment on something which is how almost taken for granted. On the one hand, the great success and enjoyment of the conference was undoubtedly due to its Interdisciplinary character in the syndicates and in the whole range of the lively extracurricular discussions and contacts. But, on the other hand, there was literally no observable sentiment in favor of the interdisciplinary teaching of the American studies. studies movement type at either school or university level in this country. This issue was, indeed, raised by Professor Spiller's excellent lecture on "American Studies and the Study of America" and was extensively discussed. Everyone seemed to agree that progress in the study of America should and could only be made within the existing academic disciplines in Great Britain; but that interdisciplines in Great Britain, interdisciplinary conferences themselves create an eagerly welcomed broadening of the an eagerly welcomed broadening of the conference of t perspectives within the established disci-plines. The proof of this latter proposition eems to be that hardened conference goers within the normal professional associations of history, literature, and political science, all appeared to agree that the conferences of appeared to agree that the conference of appeared to agree that the conference of the confere the British Association for American Studies are the most stimulating and origihal which they have ever attended.

Views of NATO Conference by Palmer Hoyt, Editor of Denver Post

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

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# HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 25, 1959

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, 1 of the 130 American delegates to the recent Atlantic Congress of the North Atlantic Treaty nations in London was Palmer Hoyt, the distinguished publisher and editor of the Denver Post. Mr. Hoyt, a native of my own State of Oregon, served as chariman of the education and public information committee of the Atiantic Congress. I am happy to report that my wife, Maurine, a delegate to the MATO meeting, was likewise a member of this of this important committee.

Mr. Hoyt has returned from the Atlantic Congress full of enthusiasm and optimism over the wider and more diversified contracts established among the 14

free nations unified in NATO. Because NATO is more important than ever as the shield and defense of Western Europe since the Geneva conferences bogged down, I believe that Senators will be interested in reading these thoughtful and illuminating observations published by Mr. Hoyt in the Denver Post upon his return to that community.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the article entitled "Practical Ideas Born in NATO Town Meeting," written by Palmer Hoyt, and published in the Denver Post of June 14, 1959.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PRACTICAL IDEAS BORN IN NATO TOWN MEETING

(By Palmer Hoyt)

Last week I returned from an unusual meeting, the Atlantic Congress. It was called in London. Six hundred and fifty men and women from 14 nations were there. represented nations which had pledged themselves-"their lives and sacred honor"-to defend each other against aggression. They had signed the North Atlantic Treaty.

The assembly was without precedent. people there carried no official credentials. They were just people. Like me. What they were to do, what they were to say would move no armies, or start no wars.

Some called the Congress a "super-plan-

ning body for NATO." Others defined it as an advisory council. Others accepted it as a multi-nation town meeting of private citizens to articulate a profound hope for sustained peace. I liked the last. That is what it seemed to me.

The most important thing about the Atlantic Congress was that it came off at all. Such things have not happened under the

threat of an aggressor.

The hopeful fact that citizens of 14 free and sovereign nations could sit down to-gether and talk about the broadening of a military system into an Atlantic community on common cultural and ideological interests embellished in my mind an ageless dream:

The dream of uninterrupted peace.

To that exent, the fact that the Congress was held—amid the fretful developments of the Cold War—is more important than what was said or what was done.

However, a lot was said and a lot was done. Those things were important, too.

The results of the Congress' recommendations and conclusions have been reported in the world's press.

The proposals for freer trade were rooted in reality. So were the pleas for greater economic cooperation among members. Who could dissent against joint aid programs for undeveloped countries? And no voices were heard in opposition to demands for more extensive educational and intellectual exchange among members.

Not all the results of this extraordinary gathering were general. The Congress rec-ommended specific action, too. For example, it decided to establish a "studies center for the Atlantic community," which would "serve as a clearing house and intellectual focus" for the alliance. How better could the Western Alliance counter Soviet ideological warfare than by beefing up an un-official organization within NATO to tell the truth? And that, too, was demanded by the Congress.

Many of the delegates took with them to London great skepticism. They were prepared for a meeting characterized largely by forensic demonstrations. The assembly was made up of people commonly regarded as practical—businessmen—legislators, success-

ful intellectual leaders and so-called molders of opinion.

There were many reasons to predict that the Atlantic Congress would prove to be little more than an intellectual children's crusade, or another Ford peace ship. But the Congress did not turn out to be a witless exercise.

The recommendations hammered into final form by the Congress, as suggested above, were broad and general. If the constructive and forward-looking proposals made by the five major committees of the Congress were occasionally idealistic, they were more often extremely practical.

For example, in the committee I was assigned to head-that on information and education-recommendations were specific for governments to strengthen their NATO information programs. Why? Obviously, unless and until the nationals of participant nations understand the obligations and opportunities imposed upon them by the treaty, it will be a dead letter. And the people, in such a result, could be dead pigeons, too.

The Congress accepted without reservation that "education of the young in the ways of collective world order" is the secret to NATO's success. To that end, therefore, the students of the educational systems of all signatory nations must understand the charge of article 5 in the treaty, whereby "the allied peoples promise to fight, and, if need be, give their lives for one another if any one of them is attacked."

One mission, therefore, of NATO-as interpreted by the Atlantic Congress duly assembled in England's ancient capital—is to focus the attention of free peoples upon such obli-

gations. No more. No less.

The conference was not all beer and skittles. It met under some strain. The Icelanders stayed away, still peeved by their conflict with the British over fishing rights covering the offshore waters of their island.

De Gaulle jolted the Congress and embarrassed the French delegation by his insistence upon a more equal sharing of atomic

Offsetting the family disputes, however, was the encouraging news that the Russians were highly displeased. They were outspoken in their annoyance.

Quotations from Pravada and Izvestia were widely distributed among the delegates, giving support to the view that perhaps the Congress was more meaningful than they had dreamed it would be.

There were two official languages for the Congress, English and French. Instantaneous translations were available. Because all delegates understood one language or the other, communication was established.

It became clear at once that if communication between like-minded people can be established, understanding results; and when understanding is present, conclusions may be drawn: ergo, from conclusions, commonly comprehended, agreements are possible.

I drew one disquieting conclusion from all this—disquieting to Americans: The Europeans present enjoyed practical familiarity with two or more languages, the Americans (with pitifully few exceptions) understood but one tongue-their own.

Thus one of the great problems of American education must be the proper teaching of foreign languages.

The congress was opened on Friday, June 5, with the full panoply of the crown.

To a westerner with no background in court affairs, the march of the regally uniformed Weish trumpeters and the gally-bedecked Queen's Guard were reminiscent of Gilbert and Sullivan so recently displayed

at Central City.
But the Queen, Her Majesty, was one all could demand of royalty. Her speech of welcome was a classic in simplicity and logic. To me a line from the speech set the tone for the congress.

"The success of this congress," Queen Elizabeth said, "will depend on the simplicity of its recommendations and the clarity of its ideas."

Now, one final and personal observation: If the delegates to the Atlantic Congress, the first such congress, fell short of charge, they at least tried. And their failure or success could, one day, be measured in the toll of war or in the blessings of peace.

Address by Basil Dean to Western Airlines Inaugural Banquet, Calgary, Alberta, Canada

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

OP

## HON. ALAN BIBLE

OF NEVADA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, June 25, 1959

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, the close ties of warm friendship which have bound the United States and Canada over the years dramatically illustrate how nations can enjoy peaceful coexistence if it is based upon mutual trust and understanding.

I am in receipt of an address delivered before the Western Airlines inaugural banquet at Calgary, Alberta, on June 2, by Basil Dean, publisher of the Calgary Herald and president of the Calgary Chamber of Commerce. I am indebted to my good friend, A. E. Cahlan, an outstanding newspaper publisher in Las Vegas, Nevada, who forwarded me Mr. Dean's comments. I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS TO WESTERN AIRLINES INAUGURAL BANQUET, CALGARY, ALBERTA, JUNE 2, 1959, BY BASIL DEAN, PUBLISHER OF THE CALGARY HERALD, AND PRESIDENT, CALGARY CHAMDER OF COMMERCE

I hope my fellow citizens of Calgary will not object if I address my remarks tonight principally to our very distinguished visitors from across the border. I would like, if I may, to tell them something about the country which is today proud to have them as its guests.

Sometime yesterday afternoon, our visitors flew over one of the most remarkable phenomena in the history of Western civilization. I refer, of course, to the 49th parallel, the western boundary between Canada and the United States. It is remarkable because we pay so little attention to it. In many places, it would be almost impossible to find it without a careful survey. At those points where it is marked, it is marked chiefly by the presence of those very friendly officials performing duties on both sides of it, who, it seems to me, spend most of their time making sure that visitors feel welcome when they move from one side of the border to the other. Neither of us has found it necessary to defend this border for almost 150 years. In fact, I am told that it was necessary for the governments of the two countries to agree to waive the provisions of a treaty well over 100 years old in order to permit the warships of our respective nations to move up the St. Lawrence Seaway as part of the opening celebrations this summer. These warships are, of course, armed, and our two

countries agreed long since that we would not maintain armed vessels on the Great

But although by common consent we minimize, as far as possible, the inconveniences which this boundary line might otherwise create, nevertheless, it is there. When our visitors crossed it, they moved into another country—technically a foreign country, al-though the words "foreign" and "alien" seem quite inappropriate when you are discussing the relationship between Canada and the United States. This is a different and the United States. This is a different country-different in spite of all the manifold similarities-from the one which lies on the other side of the 49th parallel. We are, of course, very much alike. We are probably more alike than any other two nations on earth, and certainly we can boast with some pride that we get along better to-gether than any other two national neighbors. We share the heritage of the Englishspeaking peoples. Many of the things which are done differently in Canada from the way they are done in England or Australia or New Zealand, can be traced to the influences of the North American environment. We have both contrived to become independent of the British Government, though by rather different means. You dispensed with them in 1776; we, being either less impatient or more slow-witted, waited until 1867, and even then did not go quite as far. That is why the personal representative of Her Majesty the Queen, in the person of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of Alberta, is sitting in an honored place at this gathering tonight; and that is why he was saluted with the national anthem when he entered this room. You sec, by 1867 King George III had long since gone to his reward, and by that time it was not necessary for us to take quite such drastic steps as you did.

We are thus in our usual situation of be-

ing a half-way house between the United Kingdom and the United States. In a recent satirical revue called My Fair Lady produced by the students of McGlil University in Montreal, one of the characters was made to observe that Canadians spend half their time explaining to the Americans that they are not British, and the other half explaining to the British that they are not Americans, and consequently have

no time left to be Canadians.

One thing that should be said about Canada is that there is a good deal of it. There is in fact, over 3,800,000 square miles of it. The province you are now visiting, Alberta, is in itself quite substantial. I hesitate to say this, considering the origins of some of our visitors, but it is necessary for me to point out that Alberta has 366,000 square miles—or almost, and I say this with trepi-dation, almost 100,000 square miles more than Texas. Later on this week, you will be visiting Edmonton. Down here, in what we in Calgary like to regard as the balmy south, we always think of Edmonton as a northerly city. But there is a great deal more of Alberta lying north of Edmonton than there is lying south of it. And there is a very great deal of Canada, which few of us I am ashamed to say have ever seen, lying north of the Alberta boundary. And when you place alongside these enormous areas our relatively very small populationonly about 17 million-you have one of the clues to the national character of Canada. There are only about four of us to every square mile of territory we have. But of course we aren't scattered evenly over our territory. Most of us live in a narrow ribbon running about 200 miles north of the United States boundary; in fact, it was once remarked by a cynical observer that Canada is a nation 3,000 miles long and two railway tracks wide, because naturally most of the established settlements lie along the routes of the two main transcontinental rail-

You have about 10 times as many people as we have, and your annual production is about 15 times as great as ours. It is only natural, then, that we sometimes feel dwarfed by our great, and wealthy, and thank God friendly neighbor. And here is another clue to the national character of Canada. We are the next-door neighbors not only of the most powerful nation on earth but of the most powerful nation in the history of mankind. Because of our prox-imity, and because of the wealth of social and personal and political and commercial and economic contacts that we have, we think we know a good deal about you; at least we think we know a good deal more about you than anybody else does. our hearts, we know that the fact that we are still here, still masters of our own destiny, still politically independent, still a sep arate nation, with our own institutions, our own culture and our own society, is perhaps the most striking single example of the sin cerity of the American belief in freedom and in friendship.

I would like to remind you of some obset vations made in India a few years ago by our then Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, was on a world tour. Some Indians were quizzing him about what they described as American imperialism. He said to them quite simply, "You must remember that I come from Canada. And the existence of Canada, in Italia is a said to them the said to them the said to the Canada in itself is a sufficient denial that the United States is imperialist in the sense that you are trying to make out" I believe it was generally felt in Washington that these observations had been of considerable assist ance to U.S. policy in Southeast Asia at the

time.

I said a few moments earlier that one of the clues to the Canadian national character could be found in our consciousness of our proximity to such a powerful neighbor. The effects of this proximity are exceedingly complex; they have been the subject of much learned study, and I do not propose to be labor you with any close examination night. However, one of the most obvious of However, one of the most obvious of them is the influence of the United States upon the way we live. Our standards of living are for all practical purposes controlled by your standards. In the first place, the state of the American economy has a direct and immediate effect on the state of the Canadian the Canadian economy. In the second place, we tend to take it for granted that whatever in the way of the granted that whatever in the way of physical, material benefits and the creature comforts you enjoy, we should enjoy too. A worker in the Chrysler plant at Windsor, Ontario, sees no reason why he should some contents of the contents of reason why he should not enjoy precisely the same living standards as his exact counter part in the Chrysler plant just a mile across the river in Detroit.

Now, obviously, any standard of living the product of a combination of people skills, and resources. We have far fewer people. And this yearning of Canadians accentuated by the fact that we are exposed constantly to all the reflections of your way of life as a processed to the product of the second people of the second of life as expressed in television, movie magazines, and so on, to enjoy the same kind of material compared of material comforts that you do. exerts constant pressure upon us. It always seems to me extraordinary that we come as closs as we do to matching the kind of life that citizens of the United citizens of the United States are able to enjoy. As you probably know, our living standards are second only to yours in the whole world. world.

But this is not so easily achieved as if might appear. We depend, far more than you, on trade with the rest of the world for the living standards which the living standards which we enjoy. He haps a very few figures will illustrate

Last year, the gross national product of the United States was \$437 billion. Of this you sold abroad by way of goods and services just over \$22 billions. Of this just over \$22 billion, or near enough 5 per

cent. You imported under \$21 billion worth of goods and services, or again, roughly, 5 percent.

But contrast this picture with ours. Our gross national product in 1958 was \$32 billion. Our exports of goods and services were slightly under \$5 billion, or about 15 percent; our imports were slightly over \$5 billion, or again about 15 percent. In other words, exports are three times as important to us as they are to you.

To put it another way, you had to export only \$131 worth of goods for every American. We had to export nearly \$300 worth of goods for every Canadian. To sustain our standard of living, we had to find the foreign currency, most of it U.S. dollars, to buy \$300 worth of imports for every Canadian; you found it necessary to import only \$123 worth of goods for every American.

Our trade with the United States alone works out this way: The average American bought \$17 worth of Canadian goods last year; the average Canadian bought \$210 worth of American goods last year.

The most important consequence of this contrast is that while, to a considerable degree, the economy of the United States can afford to live on the domestic market, ignoring markets in other parts of the world, Canada cannot do any such thing without running the risk of an unprecedented economic disaster; and since our price structure is very closely geared to yours, of necessity, we must always face the problem that while you might price yourselves out of many your might price yourselves out of many world markets with only minor economic consequences, the same results imposed on the Canadian economy would spell for us something not far short of ruin. is the chief reason why economic policies pursued in Washington are invariably viewed from this side of the border with great apprehension. What may often seem to the U.S. Government to be a minor trade measure designed to sustain an American industry from temporary dislocation by surpluses in the market may quite often result in the market may quite of the severest possible consequences to a similar Canadian industry which has been relying for its welfare on exports to the United States. This has happened in the recent past in quite a number of instances, and I, therefore, hope that you will endeavor to be as patient with us as you can when we sometimes seem to you to be making a lot of fuss about nothing.

I think, in all fairness, I should add that many of these problems would be a great deal worse were it not for the unfailing sympathy and understanding with which representations from the Government of Canada on such matters are received by your Government in Washington. Whatever happens, we can always rest assured of one thing—that the United States is not really trying to hurt us, and if we sometimes do get hurt, as we do, it is because that aspect of the matter had never occurred to anyone involved in making a particular decision.

From the beginnings of our history in this Country, we have had to face the problems of a curious and inconvenient geography. Many of these problems would disappear if we had more people, but with the number of people we have, they continue to be severe. From the beginnings of Canada's existence as an independent member of the Commonwealth, we have had to make sacrifices in the interests of the political and economic coherence of our country. have had to endeaver to force our trade into East-West patterns within Canada, because for a variety of reasons, some of them in-volved with American economic policy, and others involved with our own sense of nationhood, it has not been possible for trade to follow the natural pattern of movement north to south and vice versa. In this sense, it is a pared or the following the south and the south it is a paradox that Canada exists at all, and it is probably true to say that it exists only because a succession of Canadian statesmen, from our first prime minister Sir John A. MacDonald on down, have been determined to make it work, and have been supported in this resolve by the Canadian people.

And although, as I said earlier, in many respects we live very much the way that you do, as you have seen for yourselves, there are some subtle differences in the way we go about things which are important to an understanding of the relationships between us. While, in a very general sense, your political institutions and ours develop from a common root, the British parliamentary system, the course of history has caused them to develop on somewhat different lines. You have a written Constitution, in which the divisions of authority among the three main branches of government are very carefully defined, and you have a Supreme Court whose primary function is to make sure that dividing lines between the three branches are kept clearly defined. We are not quite so precise in these matters. We have a written Constitution of a sort called the British North America Act. But all it really does is to define the areas in which the Federal parliament may legislate on the one hand, and the areas in which the provincial legislatures may legislate on the other hand. Within these areas, each legislature is supreme and sovereign, and may enact any laws it chooses without interference by the courts. We have nothing, so far, remotely resembling your Bill of Rights, although the present government of Canada is endeavoring to enact something of the kind. We think we enjoy pretty much the same degree of freedom that you do, but the difference is that our freedoms aren't spelled out in statutory form as yours are. We enjoy them, in the main, by virtue of precedent and tradition going back into the roots of the Anglo-Saxon heritage which both our coun-

One of the aspects of this heritage which I am quite sure we have inherited from Great Britain is the talent for muddling through. For example, this British North America act to which I have just referred, was originally a statute of the parliament in Westminster establishing the Dominion of Canada. Until a few years ago, if we wanted to amend it, the procedure was for the Canadian Parliament to pass a resolution and then ask the Houses of Parliament in London if they would be good enough to make the necessary amendments. This they invariably did with a good deal of courtly ceremony. Ten years ago, we decided that it did not befit our style and dignity as a sovereign nation to have to go to some other country to get our constitu-tion amended, so the Canadian Parliament made a declaration that henceforth we intended to amend the constituiton ourselves. What we had unfortunately forgotten was that the British North American act affects both Federal and Provincial rights, and obviously, therefore, the provincial legislatures must have something to say about amend-ments. For the last 10 years we have never succeeded in working out any machinery for amending our constitution, and what we would do if it became essential to amend any part of it, nobody knows.

Pretty much the same set of circumstances surrounds the question of a Canadian national flag. For some years after we became a sovereign dominion, we simply used the Union Jack, which, of course, is also the flag of the United Kingdom. Over the succeeding decades, however, a practice grew up of flying the Red Ensign—that is, the red flag with the Union Jack in one corner and the Canadian coat of arms in another corner—as the flag of Canada. A few years ago, our government announced that it would be appropriate to fly this as the Canadian flag until such time as we had designed a proper flag of our own. Ever since that time, we have been arguing about what sort of flag we ought to have and we haven't come any-

where near to settling the argument yet. However, nowadays we all fly the Red Ensign, at least in English-speaking Canada, and no great harm seems to have come of it.

Then, too, we have had a little trouble deciding upon a national anthem. Whatever else Canadians may disagree about, they are all agreed on their loyalty to the Crown, so we sing or play "God Save the Queen" on all ceremonial occasions. We also have another anthem, a sort of semiofficial national anthem, "O Canada," which you have already heard sung. The one drawback to the content of heard sung. The one drawback to this one is that at the moment it has at least three different sets of words, and we cannot really agree on which set of words is the proper set. However, we don't feel too badly about this, since we understand that it took you until 1931 to declare that the "Star-Spangled Banner" was your official national anthem, and since you had presumably been thinking about this ever since 1776, or at least since 1812 when Francis Scott Key wrote it, we feel we have plenty of time to spare, since we could scarcely have been expected to get started on the problem until 1867; and, on the same basis as yours, this would take us until the year 2040 before it could be argued that there was any real urgency about it.

Now, as you will have observed, this has been a very disjointed and superficial study of just one or two aspects of the country you are visiting, and of its relationships with your own country. I have not, for example, even touched on the large and sometimes difficult problem of continental defense, and I have not touched on it for one reason which seems good to me: and that is that in defense, there is no doubt in my mind whatever that we stand or fall together, and in the light of the job which the defense forces of our two countries are required to do, any private discussions we may get into about the best way of doing it, or who is to be in charge, are exceedingly insignificant.

### Here's Why Farmers Are Leaving Farms

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. ALBERT H. QUIE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 24, 1959

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, in recent years there have been many statements uttered—some in the nature of partisan attacks—on the subject of farmers leaving the farms. It has been said by some that Government policies have been responsible for an exodus; and others, just as firmly, deny that farm policies or programs have been the reason.

Regardless of what causes the movement of farmers from the farms, no one can contradict the fact that there has been movement away from agriculture.

In the future, Mr. Speaker, I will dwell at length on this subject and will present to the House some statistics on movement of farmers from the farms. For the present, I would like to call to the attention of every Member of this House—and the other body—a pertinent article on the subject which appeared in Successful Farming magazine for July.

At this time I would like to quote from the article:

HERE'S WHY FARMERS ARE LEAVING FARMS

(By R. K. Bliss, former director, Extension Service, Iowa State College)

We often hear the statement that Government policies concerning agriculture are driving farmers from their farms.

The facts are: Government political policles of either party have had little to do with farmers shifting to other occupations, to towns and citles. But changes in farming methods, machinery, power, and technical know-how have had a great deal to do

with it. Here's why:
Output per man—up: Principal cause of farmers leaving agriculture has been greater farm power and bigger and more efficient farm machinery. Farming today is a far cry from the day when 2 horses pulled a 14-inch walking plow. I recall plowing 90 acres one spring with 3 horses pulling an 18-inch walking plow. I believe that the largest plow in our neighborhood at that

You know what a modern tractor hitched to a four-plow gang can do today.

Electricity enables farmers to do chores more quickly. Nowadays electricity lights buildings, pumps water, milks cows, grinds feed, keeps little pigs warm, and does many other things to make farmwork more efficient. Pushbutton methods of feeding livestock are reducing the time of getting the job done still further.

These are the real reasons why 11 million people have left farms during the past quarter of a century. With more power and better machinery, they were not needed in food production. Anyone who argues that Government policies are principally responsible for the farmer exodus simply lacks understanding of the fundamental reasons why more food is being produced by fewer

The farm family has not grown larger— but the family farm has to be much larger in order to keep the farm family busy.

Production per acre-up: Increased technical know-how has sharply increased peracre vields.

Example: In 1933-the year before the crop adjustment program was started-U.S. farmers harvested almost 2.4 billion bushels of corn from almost 106 million acres. In 1958 U.S. farmers harvested almost 3.8 billion bushels of corn from a little over 73 million acres—almost 33 million acres less than in 1933.

Production per animal-up: Great progress has been made in the economical production of livestock products. Fewer animals are now lost by disease. Hog cholera and tuberculosis can be controlled. Animal parasites and files are under better control.

Better combinations of balanced supplements, including stilbestrol, are producing more beef on less feed at less cost. The advances in beef production have been almost as remarkable as the advances in crop production.

Costs of hog production are being reduced through better feeding, disease control, and increased number of pigs produced per sow.

Herd improvement associations, progeny testing, proved sires, artificial insemination associations, and better feeding methods have resulted in sharply increasing milk production per cow.

Fewer hens are producing more eggs on less feed. With modern equipment hens are laying eggs the year around.

Adding the ups: The foregoing developments have made it possible for fewer people to produce more food-thus displacing millions of farm workers. The United States is going through a genuine agricultural revolution and the end is not yet. More adjustments will have to be made which will inevitably make some people unhappy—but this appears to be the way of progress.

At the present time about 45 percent of the United States farms are producing about 91 percent of the national agricultural products that are marketed. The 55 percent of the farmers who produce the other 9 percent must get part-time work or move entirely to other employment in order to better their financial situation. They have not been helped much, if at all, by past price support programs—because they have little to sell. The more grain, wheat, or cotton a farmer has to sell, the more he has been helped by price support.

The rural development program began a few years ago by the Government is designed to help the low-income farmer. But the lowincome farmer is more of a community and social problem than a farm problem. fact is that a large number of these lowincome farmers get more income from work off the farm than they earn from their farms. What they need is an opportunity to earn a better living.

The foregoing are some of the things that should be kept in mind in the continuing farm debate.

Let us get away from the old shopworn cliche that political policies—either Demo-crat or Republican policies—have been prin-cipally responsible for driving farmers from farms.

## Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, June 25, 1959

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I have stood before this body on many occasions to voice my disapproval of certain facets of our foreign aid program. Although favoring aid to our real allies I have called for a reevaluation of our approach to foreign aid to avoid scattering misdirected dollars to the four winds at the expense of American taxpayers.

In a candid editorial entitled "Yes, We Do Favor Foreign Aid," the Manchester (N.H.) Union Leader cites the need for foreign aid which is dictated by commonsense. This is a very informative and revealing editorial.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### YES, WE DO FAVOR FOREIGN AM

It is indeed encouraging news that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has approved a requirement that the President formulate a plan for reducing and eventually eliminating outright gifts of economic aid to foreign nations. This, and another amendment requiring the administration to remove some of the air of secrecy from foreign aid spending, is at least in part a tribute to the hard work of "opponents" of foreign aid.

So much has been written in these col-umns about inefficiency, corruption, and misuse of funds in the foreign aid program that the impression may have been created that we oppose all foreign aid in principle. This is not at all true, and this might be a good time to try to clarify this newspaper's posi-

When this newspaper condemns foreign aid, we refer specifically to the program as currently constituted. While we sincerely as currently constituted. While we sincerely believe that the present foreign aid program is largely illogical and has created as many problems as it has solved, we just as firmly believe that there are circumstances in which foreign ald can be used to promote the best interests of this country.

We emphasized the latter, for it is obvious that foreign aid has ceased to be s tool of our foreign policy and has become instead, what Eugene Castle describes as "The Great Giveaway." Foreign aid is not Foreign aid is not at all a new concept. It has been used and used profitably-by nations throughout the entire course of history.

This newspaper has asked only that the foreign aid program be of manageable size and reasonable concept. We believe foreign aid should be just that—aid. We do not believe we should require a readjustment of the whole economy of the recipient nation, but rather, we favor a program whereby aid would be given for carefully-scrutinized programs which have a good chance of suc-

ceeding.

It is the height of the ridiculous to as sume that the United States can forever support the economies of 70-odd nations without suffering irreparable harm to its own economy. There probably will always be some poverty in this world, and foreign aid distributed in helter-skelter fashion will not change that fact. We can help under-developed countries attain higher standards of living, but we cannot do the job for them.

This newspaper also insists that foreign aid be dictated by common sense. For example, we oppose military aid to most Latin American countries, but favor substantial military aid for Korea, Nationalist China and Turkey.

As has been pointed out in these columns repeatedly, the vast foreign aid bureaucracy is entirely unnecessary—or at least will be when we shift from outright gifts to care fully calculated loans. Such loans should be requested by the recipient nation not forced upon it—for projects which, although carefully considered in advance by the United States, are nevertheless indigenous projects.

One result of what we propose, of course, would be the abolishment of the ICA, that vast self-perpetuating bureaucracy which has become a law unto itself, and whose sole purpose for existing seems to be to formulate new plans for giving away the tax payers' money. Foreign aid should and directly handled by the State Department and the Defense Department and controlled closely by Congress.

Thus, it is possible to favor foreign aid in principle, without regarding as acceptable the monstrosity we have created through past blunders.

## Grants Without Strings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, June 25, 1959

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an extended cellent article entitled "Grants Without Strings," written by Roger A. Freeman. The article suggests that a change from our present system of over 100 programs of Federal aid to the States to a system of nonearmarked grants or tax sharing—similar to ing—similar to the recent change in Great Britain—could serve to preserve State and local autonomy while main taining Federal-State financial cooperation tion.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GRANTS WITHOUT STRINGS-SHOULD UNITED STATES, LIKE BRITAIN, GIVE STATES, CITTES NONEARMARKED FUNDS, THUS PRESERVING AUTONOMY?

(By Roger A. Freeman 1)

The British Government, on April 1, 1959, Combined a dozen Exchequer grants to local authorities—for education, health, child care, are protection, etc.—into a general, non-earmarked grant totaling £393 million (\$1.1 billion) in the fiscal year 1959-60. Government funds, together with locally raised moneys, are now being allocated among the various local services at the discretion of 147 county and county borough ough councils.

This shift from programmatic to fiscal srants, adopted after long and lively debates in and out of Parliament, is a significant change in central-local government relations with far-reaching implications. Nonear-marked payments to local authorities are not a new invention and have been used in a small way before. The British Government employed them in 1929 to compensate sate counties for certain property exemptions.

Australia and Canada have paid subsidies to state and provincial government for several decades. Many American States channel a percentage of State-collected taxes to counties, cities, and towns. New York, in 1946, adopted the Moore plan which allo-cates graduated per capita grants to cities and and towns. The U.S. Government used Beneral Brants in 1836-37 to distribute an accumulated Treasury surplus among the

The relative advantages of programmatic grants on the one hand and fiscal (nonearmarked or general) grants on the other have been discussed from time to time in the United States, as the number and amounts of programmatic grants kept in creasing. From insignificant sums prior to 1930 From insignificant sums prior to 1930. Federal payments to States and localities grew to \$2.6 billion in 1952 and are shown at \$7.1 billion in the U.S. budget for 1960. The number of programs exceeded 60

in 1952 and now runs well over a hundred. This rapid expansion of programmatic grants has resulted in increasing Federal direction of State and local activities. Un-conditional, fiscal grants have been sug-gested as ested as an alternative to this growing centralization. Because the arguments for and against fiscal grants in Great Britain and the United States are quite similar, it may be interesting to compare the highlights of the parliamentary debates with parallel controversies in the United States.

The Government white paper, published on July 10, 1957, declared it "a purpose of the control of the changes to give local authorities greater freedom. freedom in the spending of their money.

The Ministers of Housing and Local Government and of Education (Henry Brooke and Geoffrey Lloyd) and their parliamentary secretaries presented the case in the House of Commons as follows:

There is a fairly widespread agreement that there is too much interference by whitehall in local affairs and that local government is declining in status and effectiveness. The Government believes that an important cause of that decline is the growing reliance of local authorities on special exchequer grants. The main trouble with specific grants is that they must inevitably undermine the responsibility of local authorities for allocating their total resources in accordance with their own judgment of the needs of their area. pose of the proposals is to strengthen the character of local government in the hope that the general grant will bring greater cohesion of purpose. The programmatic grants encouraged disintegration of the (county) councils into functional committees while now decisions will have to be made by the council as a whole.

The Ministers emphasized that there was no intention of reducing the total amount of grants or even to freeze them at their present level, that this was not an economy measure but one of transferring decisions on relative urgency of local needs to local au-

thorities.

This recalls the statement which the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Winston Churchill, made in proposing unconditional grants in 1929: "It is the considered policy of his majesty's government to convert the system of percentage grants into a system of block [general] grants, that is to say, to pay definite sums instead of percentages to the local authorities, to give those authorities increased discretionary powers, to make them responsible for any extravagance or any unduly bold enterprise to which they may commit themselves, and to give them 100 percent of any economies they may themselves be able to effect."

The labor party strongly opposed the change to general grants in 1957 and 1958. Members charged that the block grant would mean that the battle was going to be transferred from one between the minister and the treasury or between the ministry and the local authority to a battle conducted on the floor of the council chamber. Those interested in education, health services, child care or fire protection were going to have to battle for what they could get out of the general grant. It was held that decisions affecting the national welfare could not be left to the discretion of local officials.

Their main complaint was, however, that general grants would, in the long run, mean less spending on these services. Under the percentage system, which was in effect for 40 years, local authorities received from the Exchequer £60 for every £40 they raised from local sources, with a slight adjustment for local property taxes. This system of open-end grants acted as a powerful incentive to boost local taxes which in turn increased Exchequer grants. Closed-end grants computed by general and school-age population and other objective factors would offer no such premium for greater spending because all amounts beyond the government funds would have to come from local taxes.

This argument has validity. It is easier to convince a taxpayer or local official of the need for spending \$1 of local money if this means getting \$2.50 in local benefits. Britain, as in the United States, spending from local taxes is closely scrutinized but central government funds are widely regarded as "free." They come from the inexhaustible national treasury, are paid by somebody else and cost the local taxpayer nothing. Thus public spending is likely to rise more rapidly under an incentive system than with closed-end formula grants.

The percentage system has led to the strange situation whereby areas with greater economic capacity and higher levels of taxing and spending received relatively larger government aid than low-income sections. This is equalization in reverse. Fiscal grants based on population will cut down the amounts going to wealthier counties and give the poorer counties relatively more. It might appear paradoxical that this change was proposed by the Conservatives and opposed by the Labor party.<sup>3</sup>
The fiercest resistance to the general grants

proposal came from the educational associa-tions, which called it "an economy measure directed against education," and expressed fear that the new system would spell dis-aster for the education service. They stated they would be opposed even if sufficient money were provided in the grant because they could not be sure of getting it for edu-

Education has been receiving more than four-fifths of the combined grants-not including grants for housing, police, etc., which will be continued. Some local authorities, the teachers felt, might now allocate a larger share of the funds to other services. Teachers naturally exert some influence over education committees but harbor a profound distrust of county councils. There is no evidence whether this feeling is mutual.

The percentage system provided a reward for the good authorities, that is, those which spend more. Under the new system all expenditures in excess of the grants have to be raised locally without an incentive.

'The teachers' concern was in no way assuaged when the Minister of Housing and Local Government denied that the quality of education depended on how much one spent on it.

The parliamentary secretary to the Ministry of Education illustrated the undesirable effects of programmatic grants in the House of Commons on July 29, 1957, by saying that "local education committes in general are showing an increasing capacity to forge rather closer links with the Ministry than with their respective county councils or

county boroughs."

This trend toward a "vertical functional autocracy" has also been observed in the United States. Joseph E. McLean, in an article "Threat to Responsible Rule," described how "the loyalty of the specialist is primarily to the function rather than to a general responsible authority" and runs "from the specialist in Washington to his counterpart in Squeedunk and back." This cooperation weakens the position of the governor, mayor, legislature, city council or county commissioners, and may have divisive, not to say disintegrating, effect on government as a whole and society." As other writers, Mr. McLean saw one of the reasons for this tendency in the growth of programmatic grants.

Wallace S. Sayre recently pointed out that, "The educational bureaucracy seeks to isolate the school district and itself from the other institutions of local government (mayors, councils, boards of supervisors, other administrative agencies such as police, welfare, local courts) as a way of achieving optimum autonomy." 4

The separation of education from the rest of local government is almost universal in the United States with the exception of some parts on the eastern seaboard. Political scientists generally hold this to be detrimental to responsible government. But Ernest A. Engelbert found that, "The educators feel that the proposals of the political scientist to bring the function of education into the framework of general government would put education at the distadvantage and mercy of

Mr. Freeman, vice president of the Institute for Social Science Research in Washington, D.C., has served on the research staff of President Eisenhower's Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, of the White House Conference on Education, and in the Executive Office of the President. He was assistant to the Governor of Washington

<sup>\*</sup>However, a parallel exists in the United States: The Eisenhower administration has proposed equalization grants for education while the Democratic proposals generally favor per capita grants.

National Municipal Review, September

<sup>1951,</sup> p. 411.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Additional Observations on the Study of Administration," Teachers College Record, November 1958.

political elements, who would show neither understanding nor sympathy for the goals and needs of the schools." 5

Educators can point out that the schools under an independent organization and with specific State grants in aid have done better financially than the other services of State and local government. Rowland Egger demonstrated that "there is no sector of American social organization in which, for all practical purposes, the separation of powers has so completely disappeared [as in the public schools]," and that the substance of authority has passed into the hands of the educational bureaucracy. "The means by which this end has been achieved is the grant-in-aid." <sup>6</sup>

The Economists summarized the British debate over the general grants proposal: "On balance, the arguments in favor of the change prevail—that it will make the local council a more important body than the local council committee, that it will put more responsibility for getting value for money on those who make the decision to spend it, and that it should eventually provide more taxpayers' money for school children with below-average facilities than for those with above-average facilities."

However, there is little doubt but that the Labor Party, if returned to power, would lose no time in reestablishing a system of programatic incentive grants.

In the U.S. proposals for general or fiscal grants have not been seriously considered by Congress. Walter Heller, on June 5, 1957, suggested to the Joint Economic Committee "a direct feedback of Federal tax collections" to State and local governments.

"Congress should give careful consideration to methods of sharing its relative revenue abundance with the States and their subdivisions without at the same time impairing their autonomy \* \* \* A straight per capita sharing system \* \* \* might be the easiest and least controversial method of putting a goodly share of Federal budgetary leeway, if any develops, at the disposal of the States." \*

A few months later I developed the idea further for the same committee: \*\* the number of Federal grant-in-aid programs has been multiplying rapidly with new ones added each year. With many more being proposed, a continuation of current trends could easily, within a few years, bring the number up to 150 or 200—each with its own statute, regulations, bureaucracy, chain of command and pressure group. Such detailed control of State and local activities would, in effect, mean the end of the Federal system as we have known it, a system that rests on the dispersal of decision-making power among several levels of government. The advantages of fiscal, nonearmarked grants appear to be:

1. The President and Congress could devote their time and energy to questions of national security and international affairs with which only they can deal. They would not have to concern themselves with the adequacy of many local services and facilities in every city and county.

5"Education—A Thing Apart?" National Municipal Review, February 1953, p. 78. 2. It would reverse the trend of increasing national control of State and local activities and permit States and communities to run their own affairs.

It would eliminate the need for maintaining a vast Federal bureaucracy to control and supervise the spending of the Federal funds in over a hundred programs.

4. It would inject greater flexibility for counter-cyclical action into Federal-State-local fiscal cooperation.

Their main disadvantage is that, if left to local discretion, the range and level of public services may vary widely from State to State and from place to place.

To summarize: If the justification for Federal grants is held to be inadequate fiscal capacity of some or all States, unconditional grants offer a method of Federal aid while preserving State and local autonomy. Such grants could be allocated to States, or also to cities, in the form of tax sharing, on a per capita basis or with some built-in equalization, or by a formula combining these factors. If, on the other hand, the establishment and maintenance of definite levels of public service throughout the country—regardless of local judgment—are deemed to be of overriding importance and essential to the national welfare, programmatic grants for these services are the logical answer.

# Shhhh—Let's Not Talk About It (the Farm Mess)

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, I want to abolish the farm subsidies programs that are costing this Nation such a tremendous amount of money. We have in storage \$9 billion in surplus products costing \$1 billion a year just for the storage. I would like to see this disposed of on a fire sale basis and the proceeds used to relocate the small farmers who cannot operate without subsidies, to reduce the national debt and to help reduce taxes. This is the 4-point program called for in H.R. 7848 which I have introduced. Notwithstanding the provision of the story on this program to Washington reporters on more than one occasion, these good gentlemen of the press do not seem to think there is any interest amongst their readers in this subject. Or if they do, their editors must not think so, because so far as I can find out, only one daily newspaper, in Illinois, and one weekly newspaper, in California, ever printed anything about it. Yet the response from readers of those two papers has really been amazing. A few days ago I included extracts from many letters I have received, each and every one of which was strongly in favor of the 4-point program. This mail keeps coming in and I include herewith extracts from more letters. I hope by this means to indicate to my colleagues that the people of this country overwhelmingly want to get rid of this farm subsidy mess: that it is something we can and should be talking about and acting upon; not something we will not talk

about and do nothing. Each of the following is extracted from a different letter:

I want to congratulate you on your 4-point program to end the farm mess \* \* \* I hope that you will not relax in your campaign and that the American people will finally be able to rid themselves of the greatest economic folly of the 20th century,

I own 190 acres of farmland in Walworth County, Wis., and have seeded 153 acres of it in corn and 25 in oats this spring. I have farmer neighbors whose acreage runs between 70 and 200 acres. I have spoken to them and to a man they are against subsidy programs of any kind. Again thanking you for the first sensible plan of getting the Government out of the farm business.

I wish to compliment you for your fourpoint program to end Government subsides and return agriculture to a free enterprise basis. The situation as it now stands is a disgrace to our democratic form of Government. It is merely socialism in its worst form.

This taxpayers revolt against the farm subsidies is the best way to an end of colorsal spending. Hope sincerely that your fellow Congressmen will get behind this program and end this terrible and costly mess.

I again do wish to express my admiration for the seemingly unpopular stand you are taking. Be assured that most of the people are with you.

I would like to add my personal opinion that you should be congratulated for taking such a firm stand on the farm surplus mess. It is gratifying to know that we have men in Washington like yourself who are trying to clear up this farm surplus situation for the betterment of the whole country.

Congratulations on your bill to rid the average citizens of the practice of dippins into our pockets to benefit the minority group of farmers. I have noted an increased interest and protest among nonfarmers on this issue.

After 20 years of emergency legislation to help the farmers, I think it is about time for the American taxpayer to get some help an emergency. You are to be commended for your efforts for the American people.

After having read all the trash put out by the self-styled friends of the farmer, it refreshing to read your four-point program. You, of course, recognize the basic problem the return to a free market—and attack directly and effectively. Good luck in your crusade for sanity in agricultural legislation.

This is to inform you that you, in my opinion, have made the smartest and best suggestion to end the farm mess of anyone in Government and I heartly endorse your four-point program.

While at first glance the cure seems almost as bad as the disease, I know a lot of people would be relieved to see your so-called four point program put into effect to end the farm mess once and for all. The makeshift rended is so far have only aggravated the student of the ridiculous programs that encourage off of the ridiculous programs that encourage ever-increasing accumulations of unneeded unwanted, unsaleable, and unusable gramungulates. More power to you in accomplishing this herculean task.

I can almost hear the screams of wounded bureaucrats opposing your plan to get rid the huge grain stocks accumulated by the

<sup>&</sup>quot;Nature Over Art: No More Local Finance," American Political Science Review, June 1953, p. 461.

<sup>7</sup> Nov. 23, 1957.

<sup>\*&</sup>quot;Fiscal Policy Implications of the Economic Outlook and Budget Developments," hearings before the Subcommittee on Fiscal Policy of the Joint Economic Committee, 85th Cong., 1st sess., p. 111.

<sup>\*</sup>Federal Expenditure Policy for Economic Growth and Stability," Joint Economic Committee, 85th Cong., 1st sess., papers, p. 1100, hearings pp. 587 and 613.

ve to

Government, and currently being stored at back-breaking costs to the public as a result of the unsound, uneconomic, and unworkable farm policies in effect the past years. If this miracle can be brought about, let's alert everyone to the dangers inherent in any attempt by the Government to maneuver artificial stimulus into any field of a free

The plan certainly makes sense to the I bet you will be surprised to see the number of citizens who will back this type of legislation, be they farmers, city-dwellers, or as we all are, taxpayers.

Let me be one of those to congratulate you on your opposition to the farm swindle.

Your proposed fire sale of the gigantic farm surpluses accumulated by the Frankenstein monster known as Commodity Credit Corporation appears almost frightening at first glance, but what more dramatic way could be found to end this senseless dissipation of our national economy?

It is good to know that someone finally has the courage to attack the staggering farm problem at the very roots, as proposed in your stagers. in your so-called four point program. \* \* It is a drastic step that would have serious temporary repercussions, but would ulti-mately be less costly than endless continua-tion of the present ineffective policies. I wish you success in your effort.

You are certainly on the right track with your campaign to get the Government out of the farmers. the farm price support program. The American taxpayer is cheated when his tax dollars are lars are used for such purposes.

## Dismantled Plane Guns

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 25, 1959

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an editorial entitled "Dismantled Plane Guns," from the June 22, 1959, edition of the Concord (N.H.) Daily Monitor.

The editorial speaks for itself, and deserves the attention of the Members of this body.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

# DISMANTLED PLANE GUNS

An incredible decision that led to dismantling of two of three guns on a Navy patrol plane attacked by Communists off the Korean coast coast has brought demands for a searching investigation from Senator Banders.

In the last 9 years of a cold war with Communists there have been 32 other officially reported reported air incidents that have led to the death or disappearance of 112 Americans.

Looking at this record, Bringes finds it difacult to understand why any American military plane should be sent out on any mission without a chance to defend itself.

Neil McElroy, secretary of defense, says the attack probably was made by North Koreans. Identification of the two attacking planes seems far less important to determine than the reason why the Navy plane was not ade-quately armed.

The Pentagon says two gun turrets in the Navy plane had been removed to make room for special equipment. The only other op-erating gun, in the tail turret, was knocked out in the first enemy pass and the gunner

This raises a question of how many other inadequately armed American planes now are flying training or routine missions. In an area in which there is potential danger at all times, it would seem commonsense that no plane is sent out which is ill prepared in terms of defense.

Patrolling of a zone about 38 miles off the North Korean coast is full of peril although the area is supposed to be in international waters. The Communists have shown too many times that they take a dim view of what they consider activity near their terri-

Results of a full investigation called for by Senator Bamces may clear up responsibility for a distressing lack of functioning plane armament.

This investigation should also clear up claims the Navy is being denied needed plane parts to keep within its budget. For a nation that is shoveling out billions to other countries, not to count a golden harvest going to farmers, this is a situation if true, that borders on the fantastic.

The attack underlines the need for eternal vigilance by all segments of the Nation's defense forces against sneak attacks by Communists. It should result in no American military plane taking off on any mission in a state of unreadiness.

## Cross Country With the On-to-Oregon Cavalcade-VII

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, June 18, 1959

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, the Onto-Oregon Cavalcade rolls on to Independence, Oreg., where a big welcome for the travelers is planned for mid-August. The latest account of the journey, June 1 through June 6, appeared in the June 18 issue of the Drain (Oreg.) Enterprise. It was written by the Robert (Rudy) Roudebaugh family:

ANTELOPES, OIL WELLS SEEN BY WAGON TRAIN VOYAGERS

(Written by the Robert R. Roudebaugh family as they travel to Oregon by covered wagon from Independence, Mo.)

Monday, June 1: All hooked up and ready to roll from Redstone Cliff camp. Doc got new shoes all around over the weekend. Janell hated to leave this place as it was good fishing. The mules ate good over the weekend; they should pull good today. We're traveling right along the trail. The rock cliffs stay a quarter of a mile south of us. Nice day. Everybody has their canvas tops back to the second bow. We just went by the grave of the first white woman that died on the Oregon Trail. Had to stop, the water barrel fell off. 7:45: Out on the highway. I have really found out how tough it was on Rudy to write these notes and drive, 8:18: Leaving highway. 8:36: We are right on the Oregon Trail. 8:45: I can see a high peak. I suppose we will be able to see it for 4 or 5 days. It's called Laramie Peak. 8:22: Pulling up a long grade. ing up a long grade. Have stopped halfway

to let mules rest. They are really sweating and puffing.

An Oregon car from Cottage Grove stopped and gave Janell a card. They own the Fairy-side Roller Rink. 10:36: Stopped again to let the mules rest. We sure have been climbing. We are on the trail now—no cars, no telephone poles, no nothing but green grass. It's a beautiful sight. 11:23: Arrived at George Robert ranch where we will make camp for tonight. George left Lexington, Nebr., 40 years ago. His son-in-law, Homer Trimble—who runs the ranch for him nowand Rudy played football against Gothenburg 23 years ago when in Lexington High School. This is a beautiful place to camp. but it has ticks and rattlesnakes. We are sure looking out for them.

Dean Winegar, secretary-manager of the Cozad Chamber of Commerce, brought us all out pictures that were taken when we were there. He has been here all day and has taken more pictures and is going to send us some of those.

June 2: 6:53. All hooked up and ready to roll. Waiting for Roy Brabham to get hitched up. 6:58. Now we're rolling west on the old Oregon Trail. The sun is out and real warm, but we woke up this morning to find frost. But seem three enterloses on the find frost. Just seen three antelope on the ridge above us. Janell and Ki are scared of this trail. They think the wagon will tip over. We are now stopped to see a herd of antelope. We had about 15 people to visit us anterope. We had about 15 people to visit us last night at camp. They drove up in cars and trucks. I don't know how they made it. Most of them were newspapermen. 8:07. On the highway again. You can still see Laramie Peak from here. 8:45. Crossing Middle Bear Creek—just a small stream. Janell has been driving, and the mules are little scared of the big trucks, but Janell can really handle them. 10:19. Crossing Horse Shoe Creek. 10:54. Arrived in Glendo, Wyo. 11:17. Arrived at Glendo Lake camp, about a mile west of town—population 215. June 3: 6.54. And all hooked up and ready

to roll. We are having a short stall here, Tex is getting a shoe tightened on his horse. 7:06. And here we go. It is a real hot morning. If it keeps up will have to start earlier, because of the heat on the horses. Doc and Jan are eating good and right on the ball. They sure are a wonderful team to drive. Janell is riding with Roy Brabham today so she can take care of the little coon.

It's on the bottle. We were invited out; I
(Rudy) to the oldest bar in Wyoming by the
Denver Post Photo and News Reporter for an interview, 8:22. We're coming into the sheep country now. Still see Laramie Peak. 9:11. Leaving Platte County and entering Converse County. We have been moving parallel and half mile south of the North Platte River. It's sure a pretty little valley along here. 10:15. Crossing North Platte River. It's about 300 feet wide. 10:32. Left oil road, now on gravel. Entered Orin, an old railroad station not being used. Now we are on dirt-old Oregon Trail again. 11.15. We stopped to feed animals and eat lunch. Doc and Jan ate and drank good today. 12:07. We are heading west again. Arrived at camp. 1:21. I have my wagon greased and ready to go in the morning. Made camp at the Ben Kohrs ranch.

June 4: Last night the Chamber of Com-June 4: Last night the Chamber of Commerce invited us to showers and the children to a drive-in. Then the rest of us visited the Douglas Museum. The population of Douglas is 2,600. They sure were a lot of nice people. Left camp 7:11. Still on the old trail. Doe and Jan are walking right out this morning. 7:53 Starting through the bandlands of Wyoming. 8:57 Entering Douglas. We have a police escort. Entering Douglas. We have a police escort. Entering Douglas. We have a police escort. Talk about kids and dogs; there's plenty here to see us. 9:20 Leaving Douglas and crossing North Platte River again. Sugar beets and corn up and looking good. It's just a small valley. Douglas is site of Wyoming

June 25

State Fair. 11:04 Stopped for lunch. 11:59 Ready to take off. Doc and Jan never ate, but drank two buckets of water. 12:18 going over the LaPrele Creek and pulling long grade. We are on a two-way highway. We have stopped for the night at the Bill Dixon ranch. Chamber of Commerce of Douglas brought us out watermelon and ice cream this evening.

June 5: 6:54 Leaving camp. Ki is on cook shift today. We are waiting on Tex to start the wagons. We are 39 miles from Casper. 7:59 Crossing Little Box Elder Creek. 8:06 Janell has gone back to bed. We are still on six-lane freeway. 9:25 Now we are on a two-way highway. 9:38 Left highway and on gravel. Janell is just getting up. 9:58 She just saw her first oll well. 10:35 We are at Glen Rock city park for lunch and to take eare of our animals. Doe kicked we take care of our animals. Doc kicked me in the stomach as I was feeding him-that will be the last time he'll kick me. Doc and Jan ate and drank good today. 11:40 Leaving park to go through Glen Rock. I see a big sign that says "Wagon Train Welcome." Today the sun is out. It's about 87 degrees. 1:09 We are on the old highway in the heart of the oil fields of Wyoming, right on the trail. Janell has been driving for the last 3 hours. She is singing a song "Side by Side" and that's about all the words she knows. 1:30 Made camp on Con-tinental Oil Corp. land. We have been traveling alongside the North Platte river all day.

June 6: We are 21 miles from Fort Casper. 7:00 We left right on time. I just saw Geo Curr. He drove the stagecoach in the Plum Creek days. The cavalry was here from Cheyenne this morning. Ki is on cook shift today again. Janell, Ki and I were on television last night in Casper. Going over Muddy Creek. 9:50 Pulled out for lunch. 11:08 Pulling out from lunch stop. Doc ate, but Jan only drank water. 11:21 We were on the outskirts of town and had a Indian raid. They shot guns and whooped so much our mules went wild. The Indians were really in beautiful garments. 1:00 We stopped and met the Governor of Wyoming. Then on a reviewing stand and right over the mike our mules brayed. Boy, talk about people laughing, because it went over a radio station. 1:31 We left the reviewing stand and paraded through Casper. I want you to know it was hot. 2:01 Got to Fort Casper to make camp for the weekend. We had a wonderful place to stay with every-thing to eat, drink and dancing. Indian dances were put on for our benefit also. The cavalry from Cheyenne came to see us

Uncle Versus Uncle-Milk Fight in Perspective

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. ALBERT H. QUIE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 24, 1959

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, in last Sunday's St. Paul Pioneer-Press Mr. Alfred D. Stedman, associate editor of the newspaper, wrote an excellent column which puts the Washington, D.C., milk fight into perspective.

Mr. Stedman is known as an authority on agriculture and one of the most perceptive farm columnists in the Nation. In this column he clearly shows the forces at work in the legal action which involves Washington, D.C.'s, milk monopoly:

UNCLE VERSUS UNCLE (By Alfred D. Stedman)

Not every embassy in Washington flies a foreign flag. For instance, Embassy is the name of a dairy that qualified as American. It took its American freedom literally. And thereby hangs a tale.

Seven years ago, Embassy Dairy was fighting for freedom. Milk monopoly was its foe. It fought in the courts to save money for the Government. It fought for American rights to buy milk outside the Washington wall and sell it to customers including the Nation's defense forces at economical prices. In its fight it circulated an "Open Letter to Uncle Sam."

"Dear Uncle Sam," it said, "in case you have forgotten, this land of the free reaches a long way from Washington. Far from the Potomac there extends a panorama of farms and pastures where cows graze. The cows give much good milk that's for sale at less than Washington prices." As to a monopoly wall barring such milk, it said:

"The dairy farms outside the legal wall are good enough to help man the Armed Forces clustered at Washington. Why should these farms be barred from supplying milk for those forces to drink? The Constitution savs commerce between States shall be free.'

Back in those days, this column wrote that open letter to Uncle Sam. Embassy Dairy

got permission to reprint it.

And still that old fight goes on. issues do not stay settled until they are settled rightly.

First, the battle centered on milk for Washington homes, Embassy Dairy lost that in court, Milk from outside the local supply area continued to be barred on socalled sanitary grounds even if OK'd by the U.S. Public Health Service.

Next, the fight shifted to center on milk for the Armed Forces. At a public saving to them, Embassy Dairy kept on bringing in good milk from outside the nearby area. But after years of struggle, Embassy gave up. In July 1954, Embassy sold out to the Maryland and Virginia Milk Producers Association and agreed not to do any milk business in Washington for 10 years.

Now the issue heads for the U.S. Supreme Court. And what will be Uncle Sam's role? That's just the point. On this issue, he is a split personality.

In one of his personalities, he is the U.S. Department of Justice. As such he will be fighting for freedom of commerce in good milk before the Nation's highest tribunal.

But in his alter ego, he is the U.S. Department of Agriculture. In this personality, he and his new Federal milk order for Washington are prime restrainers of such freedom of commerce into that whole defense area.

How does it happen? Absorption of the Embassy Dairy didn't settle the issue. In district court in 1956, one Uncle Sam (Justice) challenged the sale on antitrust grounds. In this personality, the Government charged the association with monopoly. It attacked the sale as aiming to lessen competition. The association claimed exemption as a cooperative from the antitrust provisions.

The district court dismissed the monopoly charges. But it held the Embassy sale un-lawful. It gave the association a year to dispose of Embassy Dairy. It canceled Embassy's agreement to quit the Washington milk business.

Now the association is appealing to the Supreme Court to uphold the sale. counter appeal, the Justice personality of Uncle Sam is renewing, with vigor Government charges of monopoly and elimination of competition.

Uncle Sam's other ego (Agriculture) doesn't appear in court. The background The background issue of freedom of competition on Government milk purchases isn't out in the open.

But on June 1, this ego of Uncle Sam did place in effect the new Washington milk order supported by the association. order very much restrains freedom of sales of good milk and milk products to the defense forces. Thus it achieves in other ways restraints on competition that the association had sought through buying out Embass Dairy. So this turns out on scrutiny to be a case of Uncle versus Uncle.

White House Conference on Youth

. EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, June 25, 1959

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, we recall that, in accordance with the direction of President Eisenhower, a White House Conference on Children and Youth scheduled for 1960.

For the sixth time in half a century the Nation will focus its attention on the needs and problems of its young people. According to plans, about 7,000 citizens will gather in Washington for the Golden Anniversary White House Conference, March 27 to April 2, 1960.

The purpose of the Conference is promote opportunities for children and youth to ealize their full potential for a creative alice their full potential for a creative life in freedom and dignity.

We recognize, of course, that the fur ture of our Nation depends upon our youth of today.

Recently, I received from Mrs. Rolling Brown, National Chairman of the Conference, a brief resume of the back ground, purposes, and objectives of the Conference.

I request unanimous consent to have the resume, followed by a listing of off cers and leaders helping to make Conference a success, printed in the Ap pendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the matters were ordered to be printed in RECORD, as follows:

THE CALL TO ACTION

"Every 10 years during this century there has been a White House conference outh cerned with the Nation's children and Youth These conference These conferences have contributed much to our present recognition of the importance of children and youth and their full velopment to our national future.

"A new decade will soon begin, and I and therefore, directing that a sixth White House conference on children and youth be in March 1960. The rapidly accounts in March 1960. The rapidly changing in which we live, and the increasingly pace of change, make the pace of change, make it incumbent upon to do everything to do everything we can to plan ahead set to see that we prepare to see that we prepare today's children for the life in tomorrow's world \* \* DWIGHT D. EISENHOWE.

The Golden Anniversary Conference, 40 the held in Washington, D.C., March 27 to 1988 2, 1960, has been called the greatest spain undertaking of our time in the lift of our undertaking of our time in behalf of our

Its purpose: To promote opportunities for children and youth to realize their full and dignity. dignity.

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Its focus: On the effects of our rapidly changing world on the development of our young \* \* on appraising and reappraising the values and ideals we live by \* \* on students. studying the factors that influence individual fulfillment—family, religion, education, health, community life

Right now, a half million citizens, private and public agencies at local, State, and national levels, are at work preparing for the Conference. The pre-Conference materials they are developing during the year before the Washington meetings plus the plans for carrying out the recommendations in the decade that follows point up this significant

The Golden Anniversary White House Con-ference on Children and Youth is a process rather than 5 days of meetings—an 11-year process of earnest study and action that continues until the next Conference in 1970.

The 1930 Conference, bringing together some 7,000 delegates on invitation of the President, will provide the rallying pointthe springboard for a concerted attack on virtually every question that affects the wellbeing of the next generation and hope for a more rewarding tomorrow. For this reason, it is truly a total approach to the total concerns of young people.

#### HOW IT BEGAN

In 1908 Theodore Dreiser and James West called on President Theodore Roosevelt to discuss the plight of orphaned children. So impressed was the President that on Christmas Day he personally addressed 200 invitation. invitations requesting people from all over the Nation to attend a White House Con-ference in January of 1909.

## WHAT HAS HAPPENED

This first Conference gave impetus to the establishment of the U.S. Children's Bureau in 1912, the enactment of child labor laws. laws, and the organization of the first national voluntary agency concerned with the welfare of children. In each decade that followed, a White House Conference on Children and Youth called by the President left its week.

Established national responsibility in setting minimum health and welfare standards for mothers and children.

1930: Produced the most comprehensive collection of data on the health and welfare of children ever assembled, including the Children's Charter.

1940: Led to strengthening of personnel and training standards in equipping American children for the successful practice of democratics.

1950: Endorsed a platform for meeting the problems which prevent young people from achieving healthy personalities; developed machinery for continuing activity during the time between conferences.

## HOW IT IS ORGANIZED

The national committee of 93 distinguished citizens appointed by President Eisenham senhower has been organized into major committees on conference studies, interpretation tation, organization and arrangements, inance and followup.

## Joined for action

A National Council of State Committees, representing Governor-appointed commit-tees from 54 States and Territories and the District of Columbia.

A Council of National Organizations representing about 500 voluntary groups

An Interdepartmental Committee on Children and Youth representing 34 divi-sions of the Federal Government.

# It's a citizen's Conference

This Conference will be run by the people of the United States, acting through their local, State, and national organizations in constitutions. in cooperation with the national committee. \* \* \* This is the only way that such a Conference can truly reflect the desires and aspirations of the American people for the children and youth of this country. Arthur S. Flemming, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

#### WHO WILL ATTEND

Invitations to the White House Conference in Washington will be issued by the President on recommendation of the Committee on Invitations and Credentials. The Conference participants will include representatives of State committees, national organizations, 700 young people, national leaders, and 500 international guests.

#### HOW IT IS FINANCED

The financing will be derived in major part from the citizenry through grants from foundations and contributions by organizations, industry, and individuals, with the Federal Government providing funds for initial organization.

#### HOW YOU CAN PARTICIPATE

By indicating your interest to the chairman of your State committee or national officer of your organization.

By engaging in projects relating to children and youth that are under the sponsorship of your national organization.

By relating the program and projects of the local and State groups to which you belong to the planning of the State committee

By joining forces, as an individual, with the army of citizens participating in pre-Conference preparation.

Every citizen has a vital stake in the future well-being of our young people. That's why it's a citizens' Conference—why it's yours for a more rewarding tomorrow.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON CHILDREN AND YOUTH

Honorary Chairman: President Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Honorary Vice Chairman: The Honorable Arthur S. Flemming.

Chairman: Mrs. Rollin Brown.

Dr. Hurst R. Anderson; John H. Artichoker, Jr.; Dr. Philip S. Barba; Dr. Leona Baumgartner; Dr. Philip E. Blackerby, Jr.; Mrs. James E. Blue; Mrs. Fitzhugh W. Boggs; Ernest J. Bohn; Robert E. Bondy; David B. Bradley; Mrs. Wright W. Brooks; Mrs. Moise Cahn; Erwin D. Canham; Marvin Cannon; Cahn; Erwin D. Cannam; Marvin Cannon; Mrs. Charles U. Culmer; Edgar C. Corry; Miss Jacqueline B. Daise; Dr. Donald K. David; Morton Deitch; Sister Mary de Lourdes; Lee C. Dowling; Dr. Martha M. Eliot; Dr. Jack R. Ewalt; Mrs. Otto L. Falk; Mrs. Crecene A. Fariss; Dr. Luther Foster; Dr. Ruth Freeman; the Very Reverend Monsignor Raymond J. Gallagher; Mrs. Frank Gannett; Dr. John W. Gardner; Dr. Zelma Watson George; Dr. Eli Ginzberg; Melvin A. Glasser; Sherwin M. Goldman; Mrs. David Graham; Theodore Granik; Dr. Edward D. Greenwood; Dr. Daryl P. Harvey; Mrs. Gabriel Hauge; Mrs. Thomas Herlihy, Jr.; Miss Margaret A. Hickey; Dr. Herlihy, Jr.; Miss Margaret A. Hickey; Dr. Reuben L. Hill, Jr.; Dr. A. John Holden, Jr.; Dr. Donald S. Howard; Homer A. Jackson, Jr.; Mrs. Berne S. Jacobsen; Mrs. J. Robert Johnson; Danny Kaye; W. W. Keeler; Philip M. Klutznick; Dr. Helen R. LeBaron; Rt. Rev. Arthur Carl Lichtenberger; Harry M. Lindquist; Judge Donald E. Long; Mrs. Nicholas Longworth; Mrs. Robert H. Mahoney; Miss Susanna Matthews; Mrs. Alvin A. Morrison; Rev. Edward J. McGovern; Albert J. Nesbitt; Miss Vera L. Newburn; Rev. Dr. Guy D. Newman; Mrs. Katherine B. Oettinger; Mrs. James C. Parker; Paul W. Philips; Capt. Frank J. Popello; Dr. Walter L. Portteus; William L. Pressly; Dr. Samuel DeWitt Proctor; Joseph Reid; Mrs. Laura G. T. Robinson; Mrs. Rutherford Rowan; Miss Karen Sanchez; Peter T. Schoemann; Dr. Arthur A. Schuck; Dr. Milton J. E. Senn; Dr. Alfred R. Shands, Jr.; Miss Gladys Sheridan; Roy

Sorenson; Miss Sue Stewart; Dr. Joseph Stokes; Dr. Ruth A. Stout; Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum; John Tannehill; Dr. Ralph W. Tyler; Miss Harriet L. Tynes; Rev. Dr. William J. Villaume; Mrs. Bowden D. Ward; Miss Collier Webb; Dr. Ellen Winston; Dr. Dorothy

Woodward; Whitney M. Young, Jr. Executive Director: Ephraim R. Gomberg, Associate Director: Mrs. Isabella J. Jones.

PRESIDENT'S NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON CHILDREN AND VOUTER

Chairman: Mrs. Rollin Brown.

Vice chairmen: Dr. Hurst R. Anderson, Dr. Philip S. Barba, Mrs. James E. Blue, Mr. Robert E. Bondy, Mr. Erwin D. Canham, Dr. Donald K. David, Dr. Luther Foster, Mrs. Frank Gannett, Dr. Edward D. Greenwood, Dr. Daryl P. Harvey, Dr. Donald S. Howard, Dr. Ruth A. Stout, Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, Rev. Dr. William J. Villaume, Msgr. Raymond J. Gallagher.

Secretary: Mrs. Katherine B. Oettinger. Mr. John H. Artichoker, Jr., Dr. Leona Baumgartner, Dr. Philip E. Blackerby, Jr., Mrs. Fitzhugh W. Boggs, Mr. Ernest J. Bohn, Mr. David B. Bradlev, Mrs. Wright W. Brooks, Mrs. Moise Cahn, Mr. Marvin Cannon, Mrs. Charles U. Culmer, Mr. Edgar C. Corry, Miss Jacqueline B. Daise, Mr. Morton L. Deitch, Sister Mary de Lourdes, Mr. Lee C. Dowling, Dr. Martha M. Eliot, Dr. Jack R. Ewalt, Mrs. Otto L. Falk, Mrs. Crecene A. Fariss, Dr. Ruth Freeman, Dr. John W. Gardner, Dr. Zelma Watson George, Dr. Eli Ginzberg\*, Mr. Melvin A. Glasser, Mr. Sherwin M. Goldman, Mrs. David Graham, Mr. Theodore Granik, Mrs. Gabriel Hauge, Mrs. Thomas Herlihy, Jr., Miss Margaret A. Hickey, Dr. Reuben L. Hill. Jr., Dr. A. John Holden, Jr., Mr. Homer A. Jackson, Jr., Mrs. Berne S. Jacobsen\*, Mrs. J. Robert Johnson, Mr. Danny Kaye, Mr. W. W. Keeler, Mr. Philip M. Klutznick, Dr. Helen R. LeBaron, Rt. Rev. Arthur Carl Lichtenberger, Mr. Harry M. Lindquist, Judge Donald E. Long\*, Mrs. Nicholas Longworth, Mrs. Robert H. Mahoney, M'ss Susanna Matthews, Mrs. Alvin A. Morrison, Rev. Edward J. McGovern, Mr. Albert J. Nesbitt, Miss Vera L. Newburn, Rev. Dr. Guy D. Newman, Mrs. James C. Parker, Mr. Paul W. Philips, Capt. Frank J. Popello, Dr. Walter L. Portteus, Mr. William L. Pressly, Dr. Samuel DeWitt Proctor, Mr. Joseph Reid\*, Mrs. Laura G. T. Robinson, Mrs. Rutherford Rowan, Miss Karen Sanchez, Mr. Peter T. Schoemann, Dr. Arthur A. Schuck, Dr. Milton J. E. Senn, Dr. Alfred R. Shands, Jr., Miss Gladys Sheridan, Mr. Roy Sorenson\*, Miss Sue Stewart, Dr. Joseph Stokes, Mr. John Tannehill, Dr. Ralph W. Tyler, Miss Harriet L. Tynes, Mrs. Bowden D. Ward, Miss Collier Webb, Dr. Ellen Winston, Dr. Dorothy Woodward, Mr. Whitney M. Young, Jr.

Executive committee: Executive committee is comprised of the officers and members at large whose names are followed by an asterisk.

#### A Summit Meeting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, June 25, 1959

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, in these days when Soviet Russia is attempting to make all roads lead to the summit, I think it is appropriate that we refresh our recollections of past conferences, and reaffirm our stand that we will not go to the summit for the sole purpose of discussing Russian demands. Dr. Eona R. Fluegel, chairman of the political science department at Trinity College, discusses summit meetings in an article entitled "Are We Ready for the Summit," which appears in the Free World Forum, a bimonthly journal on foreign affairs. Dr. Fluegel performs a distinct public service, in my opinion, by bringing her sound views to the attention of the Amercian people, and I ask

printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

unanimous consent that this article be

## ARE WE READY FOR THE SUMMIT?

(By Edna R. Fluegel)

Time was when the Madison Avenue version of "the tongues of men" (organization, of course) "and of angels" (Music Hall) at least included "sounding brass" as the free world was coerced to the summit. Nothing is left in 1959 but "a tinkling cymbal" as the West moves to accept its assigned position in a production initiated in, produced by, and held for the benefit of communism. How did it happen and what is to be done?

The origin of the summit idea and the history of the four meetings-three held during World War II, one held in the cold war of the postwar era-warrants scrutiny.

The first meeting was held in Teheran, November-December 1913. Prior to that date Roosevelt and Churchill had invited Soviet participation at such meetings as the Atlantic Charter conference and Casablanca, but had accepted Stalln's excuses and had kept him informed of developments. Russia was still a "junior partner" in the opinion of Roosevelt and Churchill throughout 1942 and the main anxiety had been to keep the Russians from surrendering. The situation changed dramatically after Stalingrad and in February 1943 with the German threat blunted, Russia began to shape her part of the postwar world by unilateral moves. The League of Polish Patriots, the nucleus of the first Polish Communist Government, and the Free German Committee, the core of which was to become the Communist Government of central Germany, were both launched by the Soviets without consultation and without notification. This writer, then an officer in the State Department, wrote a memorandum at the time noting that the Soviet Polish setup marked the first great break in allied unity, while the establishment of the German Committee was in the unilateral institution of the first postwar German Government. Having heard Secretary Hull remark that 1931 (Munchuria) marked the beginning of World War II—this writer concluded that this action by Russia in February 1943 was the possible beginning of world war III. Contrary to published statements, this was the feeling in government throughout the subsequent months which were marked by the fracas over Soviet failure to acknowledge lend-lease, the abolition of the Comintern, and growing acrimony over the deal in launching the second front.

In August 1943 a meeting at the White House reviewed a memorandum which advanced the thesis that Russia would be the dominant power in postwar Europe and must be appeased; and that the United Nations be established before war's end and must include Russia, that otherwise one war would merge into the next. The conclusion reached was that we must meet with the Russians and conclude binding agreements while the war in progress provided the "cement" for allied unity. This was our reason for the first foreign ministers meeting at Moscow followed by the summit meeting at Teheran.1

Even then, Russia utilized a tactic that was to be repeated again and again. Shortly before the American group left for Moscow, Stalin threatened to call off the meeting as useless unless the first item on the agenda was resolved and the date for the Normandy invasion was finally fixed. We agreed. This decision, which froze Western strategy by assuring our engagement on the Continent, meant that, from the late spring, 1944, on, Russia could concentrate on her postwar plans for Eastern Europe while still threatening to negotiate with Germany. In addition, Russia also insured her future as the dominant force in Asia by securing the total reversal of the Cairo decision to build up Nationalist China. The alibi of Yalta-that Russian power was dominant in Asia anyway-was true only because at Teheran it was decided to arm and equip Russian instead of Nationalist Chinese forces for the war on Japan. Is it any wonder the Russians like summit meetings?

The second meeting was held at Yalta, February 1945. It was the product of anxieties generated by the results of Teheran and was an attempt, through additional bribes, to firm up the "quid" received by the Western Powers at Teheran-Russian participation in the projected United Nations and agreement on postwar settlements. It is a much-reviewed and still not fully understood tragic episode.

The third and last wartime summit meeting was held at Potsdam, July-August 1945. It dealt with extensions of the same anxieties which were briefly relaxed by additional appeasements. It was supposed to be the last such meeting since a mechanism had been established at Yalta in the form of periodic foreign ministers' meetings, to carry

on after the end of the war.

It is significant to note that, while motivated by fear of allied disunity, the three wartime meetings were meetings of theoreti-cal allies. The "cement" was the need to resolve differences and to preserve unity in the face of at least one common enemy, Germany. The alarm had been sounded in February 1943, but the meetings were designed to prevent, not to cope with, a new war-hot or cold. The recognition by Churchill of the Iron Curtain in 1946 and the acceptance of the existence of a cold war in 1947 marked the fallure of the appeasements at the wartime summit meetings to attain any durable results, although the cost was very durable indeed.

A decade elapsed between Potsdam and Geneva before the device adopted to maintain Allied unity, a device that failed, was dusted off and used again to relax the tensions of the cold war, tensions augmented by the growing power of Russia resulting directly from the wartime summit appeasements. The Berlin crisis, fall of China, Soviet Abomb, Korea, and the successful transition of leadership in Russia had intervened. This

time it was the Allies (minus sizable chunks of territory and power) versus Russia (restored and swollen by its European satellites and backed by Communist China), with a sizable portion of the United Nations neutral The meeting, long demanded by Russia, was held largely in response to British pressure on the United States to try again to achieve coexistence. The meeting was a blunderpredictable and since widely so acknowledged.

Again the drive is on. This time the United States is being pushed to the summit rejuctantly, forebodingly, and almost hope-lessly. The consensus seems to be that the United States must go, not because there is any hope of success, but to prove good faith and to preserve unity (with the British). The position of France, Western Germany, and Italy introduces a new element of strength, but Britain's attempt to serve as middlement. middleman is a grave weakness.

Not if we proceed, as in the Should we go? past, to pay a price to achieve the facade of unity and to return having surrendered real power for promises and increased disunity and tension. Yes, if we first establish what we are defending and then take the offensive to achieve it. That knowledge as a prelude

What is the West? What is the free world? What is the source of tension? world? What is the source of tension? it geography? Economics? Lack of person-to-person contact? Some commentators appear to think in terms of Anglo-American relationships of part of NATO. of American relationships, of part of NATO, of the whole of NATO. Even the so-called global approach that would encompass an trouble areas shies from the question of This leaves a regional (however expanded or contracted) approach confront ing a world-encompassing drive. Unless the free world is defined as that portion of the world outside and inside the Iron Curtain which refuses to be absorbed by atheistic communism, it remains a world that cannot be rallied and that will be yielded piece meal at recurring summits. It is this concept of the free world that alone matches and could outmatch the Communist concept. It alone could preserve allied unity and mobilize peoples to counterattack. must, in short, take the offensive or perish fight ideas with ideas or succumb.

A recent newspaper report was to the effect that in the opening round at the Geneva Foreign Minister. Geneva Foreign Ministers' Conference Russians had failed to get the whole how but had received some nice, julcy pork chops. That was a homely recognition of the fact that, if we meet at the summit discuss only Russian demands, then the Russians inevitably get something, since

negotiate on their terms.

Let us approach the summit only when we are ready, when we are agreed on what we are defending and for what we stand and with our own demands. Let us approach, not as a "tinkling cymbal" or the as "sounding brass," not even "with the tongues of men and of angels," but having "charity," that is, an appreciation of God and of the basis on which our world must rest. This "charity," this belief in many creation by God and in his destiny, shared by all the world's religious. by all the world's religions, is the real unifying feature characters. fying feature shared by the non-Communist world. Unless the West, the free world etc., means this, it is not worth defending to the death and unless communism is confronted by this fronted by this determination it cannot be stopped. A summit meeting should not be held unless and until held unless and until we are ready for the confrontation—and then it must be or "they" because the fundamental issue is not negotiable.

The use of "summit" for Teheran is correct according to both usage and protocol. 'Foreign ministers" is used for the Moscow meeting as a matter of custom as according to strict protocol, the wartime meetings of foreign ministers should not be so desig-These meetings were not institutionalized until late summer 1945, in implementation of the Yalta decision, February

The Military Forces We Need and How To Get Them

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. HENRY M. JACKSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, June 25, 1959

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I wish to bring to the attention of the Senate a report issued last week by the Demo-cratic Advisory Council. It is entitled, The Military Forces We Need and How To Get Them."

The report presents a persuasive case for the expenditures needed to close the missile gap and to strengthen our conventional forces. The report deserves wide reading and sober consideration.

As distinguished an analyst as Walter Lippmann recommends careful reading of this report by the American people. In his column "Debate on Defense" on June 25, 1959, Mr. Lippmann said:

There is a large literature already existing which is critical of our defense policy.

Having read a good deal of it, I would venture to say that this pamphlet is much the best in its field, evidently quite expertly informed, reasonable, and civillan in its temper, and lucidly written.

It ought not to be brushed aside as a partisan document. For, in fact, the argument it makes has the support of large numbers. numbers of Republicans, especially of those who have paid close attention to the problem of defense, and of many of the military men who by common consent are leaders in military thought.

The report is estimated by the Public Printer to require about 434 pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, at a cost of \$384.75. Notwithstanding the cost, I ask unanimous consent that the report be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

THE MILITARY FORCES WE NEED AND HOW TO GET THEM

OUR OBJECT WHICH LIES BEYOND WAR AND WEAPONS

Just 96 years ago, in its General Order 100, Just 96 years ago, in its General Order 100, the War Department stated the function of military force. "Modern wars are not internecine wars in which the killing of the enemy is the object," so the order read. "The destruction of the enemy, in modern war, and indeed modern war itself are war, and, indeed, modern war itself are means to attain that object of the belli-gerent which lies beyond war." In our new era of nuclear weapons it is all the more es-sential sential that in determining our military strategy, and the weapons with which to carry it out, we know clearly the objects of this Nation which lie beyond war and the weapons of war. Once we know that, it will be of war. it will become apparent that some weapons, under under certain circumstances, will be far better suited than others to further it.

What is this object? Is it self-preservation? Surely, in the last and most desperate eventuality. But there is much, and of the greatest importance, to be sought and de-fended short of that eventuality. What this is we may sum up as the maintenance of a world environment in which nations seeking, as we are seeking, to develop in their own way, free of dictation from others and without imposing our will on others, may

survive and flourish. Putting it another way, our object is a workable system of free states, with the military force necessary to protect them, with the arrangements necessary for their economic development, and with sufficient community of ideas and pur-poses to hold them together. For it is only in this sort of world environment, it is only as a member of such a group of free states, that we Americans, and others as well, can continue to live according to our most cherished values.

Why this is so we have discussed in our first two pamphlets. In our third pamphlet we discussed errors in policy which have made the way harder than it had to be. In the fifth we outline an economic foreign policy necessary to the end just stated. In this pamphlet we discuss the military forces we need in the world as it is today, and as it is likely to continue to be for some

In this present-day world, military power is an essential prerequisite both for the se-curity and survival of our free world environment and for any negotiated settle-ment of differences with the Sino-Soviet power. If the Communist powers are able to enforce their will, they have no need to adjust their interests to what they refer to as a condition of coexistence with what they dislike. Furthermore, be believe that the possession of power which cannot be coerced is the best hope of going beyond the settlement of specific differences to a broader agreement that would progressively relegate the reliance upon force to the background, Our long-range objective is the reliable and effective control and regulation of armaments. We do not see how this objective can be achieved if the Russians, in the absence of agreement, are to be conceded unchallengeable superiority in the instruments

The military forces and strategy we outline here are not an alternative to negotiation of differences and mutual reduction of armaments. They are the best means to those ends as well as to some measure of

A FURTHER ANALYSIS OF THE FREE WORLD ENVIRONMENT

In the free world environment we seek, many other states and peoples than our own play essential, though varying, parts. The very spaciousness of the environment is a significant quality. Furthermore, in the maintenance of it, the factors of military strength, economic vigor, and political unity are all necessary to support one another in accomplishing the end sought.

The indispensable center of the economic and military strength of this group of free states is the Western Hemisphere and Western Europe. The survival and development of free nations will rest upon the strength and unity of this central core. This, in turn, means that the freedom of Western Europe from Soviet domination is essential to preservation of this core. Without Western Europe as part of it, no strong and free group of nations will exist. On the contrary, should Western European production be available to the Soviet Union, it could extend its hegemony over Asia and Africa, perhaps even over South America. Under these circumstances this Nation could not be preserved in anything like its present form. This point is strongly brought out in the first two pamphlets.

This conclusion does not depreciate the importance of other areas outside the Western Hemisphere and Western Europe. viously the Middle East, with its oil and as the crossroads of east-west and north-south routes, south Asia, southeast Asia, the Far East, and Africa are all associated with vital interests of a free world system. It would be disastrous should any of these areas now free be detached from the free and open world and be added to the closed Soviet Communist system. But the prime disaster would be to have this happen to Western Europe, if for no other reason that that it would greatly enhance the likelihood of its occurring in the other areas as well.

In the discussion which follows we shall, for purposes of clarity, consider first what military forces we need to defend the central core of free world strength, and then ask whether these forces are also of the type and scale to meet emergencies elsewhere in the

WHAT MILITARY STRATEGY IS CALLED UPON TO DO

As the world situation clarified after the Second World War, it was plain that the only militarily aggressive power was the Soviet Union (to which we must now add Communist China). The Soviet Union maintained a vast ground army and rejected all attempts to obtain international control of atomic weapons and limitation of arms. Instead it proceeded vigorously to develop its own nu-clear armaments and submarine fleets. The Soviets also showed every intention of pushing their control westward into Europe and breaking the connection between North America and Western Europe by forcing

American troops and bases out of Europe. NATO was the response to this threat and pressure. The problem that NATO milihad to solve was that Western Europe needed security without being destroyed to get it. It needed not the promise of liberation after conquest, but security against conquest. The most likely form of conquest in 1949 was along the line of the takeover of Czechoslovakia, a Communist revolution supported by the presence or the threat of Russian troops, and Russian troops were present in large numbers in Eastern Germany and Poland.

At this time the United States had a monopoly of nuclear weapons. So the earliest NATO strategy rested on the sound belief that a small (compared to Russian forces) Anglo-American-European ground and air force would deter any surprise invasion of Western Europe aided by Communist uprisings, while the U.S. Strategic Air Command (SAC), with its nuclear weapons, promised to counterbalance the Russion superiority in ground forces in the event of a large-scale invasion.

Today, this belief is no longer valid. In the first place, British and French forces in Europe, since 1951, have been decreased, not increased. The German contingent, slow as it has been in developing, is now the numerical equal of the British, larger than the French, and soon will furnish more manpower than all the rest of the European nations in NATO's important center army. This primacy causes political concern among the European allies. So what we have is a NATO force too small, and politically un-

In the second place, there has been a radical shift in the balance of strategic nuclear power-involving both the weapon and the means of delivering it. Not only has Russia broken the American monopoly on the weapon, but it is dangerously ahead on long-and medium-range missile delivery. The Secretary of Defense concedes that on present expectations the next 3 years will give the U.S.S.R. a superiority over the United States of three to one in intercontinental ballistic missiles.

Even this gloomy statement may be optimistic. If present programs of production are maintained on both sides—and there have been no decisions to change the U.S. program—the U.S.S.R. may achieve a capacity to destroy U.S. retaliatory power at a risk which they might regard as worth running. To put the matter more graphically: Russian missiles, raining down on SAC aircraft and missile bases, could end our capacity to retaliate, much as a knight in

armor was rendered powerless when he was knocked off his horse and could not get to his feet again. Clearly, such a relative disadvantage in military strength would downgrade our capacity to deter war or prevent Soviet blackmail.

THE FIRST PRIORITY IS TO ASSURE NUCLEAR ADEQUACY

It should be obvious, therefore, what our first priority should be. It is to make certain with all possible speed that we have, and then to maintain, a position of adequate nuclear strategic strength vis-a-vis the U.S.S.R. By adequate nuclear strength wa mean the situation in which the other side, even with the great advantage of the first blow, cannot be confident of its ability so thoroughly to destroy our nuclear forces that it need not fear a retaliatory blow more damaging than it is willing to accept. If the U.S.S.R. also maintains such a posture, we can say that a situation of effective nuclear parity exists between the two countries.

Unless we maintain nuclear adequacy, it makes little difference what other weapons we produce. Either they would be knocked out before they could be used; or, better yet from a Russian point of view, the mere existence of her clear military supremacy could achieve diplomatic victories-i.e., changes in the conduct of peoples-without the use of that power. For without raising the statistics of the matter to the level of a universal law of history, there is overwhelming evidence to show that peoples and governments quickly adjust themselves to the reality of unopposable power.

Nowhere is this more likely to be true than in the case of nuclear weapons about whose catastrophic effects all peoples are vividly aware. If there were pratty solid evidence that the Russians could disarm or incapacitate the United States at a risk acceptable to them, then all Asians, most Europeans, and a pretty sizable number of Americans would be prepared to act on the evidence without inviting proof.

It is imperative to proceed with a program of dispersing, hardening, and adding mobility to our strategic deterrent systems. The surest deterrent to an all-out strike against us would be the conviction on the part of the Russians that their first strike could not destroy an overwhelming proportion of our retaliatory delivery systems.

In striving for nuclear adequacy, we must always set our goals high enough to permit a margin of insurance to cover faulty intelligence reports and possible rapid advances achieved by the U.S.S.R. without our knowl-

THE CONSEQUENCES OF NUCLEAR PARITY

Even if, by some great good fortune, the administration should throw off its lethargy and decrease the vulnerability of our strategic nuclear power, in view of the natural, technical, and industrial resources of the Soviet Union, we cannot count upon achieving more than nuclear parity with her. This situation has far-reaching consequences. The first of these is the impact upon the deterrent effect of strategic nuclear forces.

If one power has nuclear weapons in plenty, and the means to deliver them against another power's homeland, while the latter has none, it is pretty clear that the latter is not likely to attack the former. This is the situation, ideal from the point of view of the possessor of nuclear weapons, which is known as nuclear monopoly. Some aspects of this situation existed between the United States and the U.S.S.R. from 1945 to 1949. We did have a monopoly of nuclear weapons. But those we had were few in number and of small power by today's standards; nor did we have very effective means of delivering those we had at intercontinental ranges.

There is another possible situation: one power may have nuclear weapons in large numbers and may have perfected the means to deliver them, while another power also has nuclear weapons and delivery means but one or both in substantially inferior numbers and quality. Again, the latter country is not very likely to attack the former. This situation, which can be described as a state of "nuclear advantage" or "predominance," really did exist around 1953-1955. For after the development of the H-bomb, and the completion of our force of B-36 intercontinental bombers, and B-47 jet bomber force with overseas bases, the United States did achieve a position of overwhelming superiority in strategic nuclear force. Even though the Soviet Union was building up its weapons stocks, and was beginning to develop a long-range jet bomber force of its own, it was most unlikely that the Soviet Union would have considered attacking the United States, or any of our allies. She could have been punished severely with nuclear weap-ons without being able to strike back effec-

The deterrent effect which our superior nuclear forces had upon Soviet policy in this situation has been called "active deterrence." It reached beyond protecting us against direct attack and modified the conduct of the potential aggressor in other ways. It was this active deterrence which the administration was exploiting when it announced the national strategy described by the press as "massive retaliation." This laid upon the Strategic Air Command the task of defending our allies everywhere, as well as the United States, sgainst threat-ened Communist attack. Even then, how-ever, the Soviet Union, though still relatively weak in nuclear weapons and delivery means, had significant capacity for administering nuclear destruction, particularly against our allies in Western Europe, which she might have used if pushed to the wall. This capacity on her part set limits on the use we could make of our active deterrent. Its positive utility was limited. This possession of nuclear destructive capacity limited to last-resort use if threatened with attack or after actual attack has been called passive deterrence.

It was our active deterrent power which diminished as the Soviet Union grew in nuclear strength. There was, of course, nothing unforeseeable about this, particularly after the Russians mastered the H-bomb in 1953. It explains why massive retaliation turned out to be such a perishable strategy. For, in the state of nuclear parity, active deterrence is attenuated, if not lost altogether, and powers in the state of nuclear parity retain largely passive deterrence, deterrence against direct attack. This rests upon the aggressor's belief that a direct attack, which does not destroy his victim's power to retaliate, will bring back upon him unacceptable damage. At the same time, the active aspect of the deterrent weakens as the prospective user of strategic nuclear weapons contemplates the unacceptable damage to his own country which the use will surely bring down upon it.

Furthermore, as we permit the Russians to achieve a lead in strategic missiles, their deterrent power becomes increasingly active, while our strategic force continues to lose what active significance remains to it. we permit the Russians to achieve a decisive missile superiority, so that we cannot even be sure of our ability to administer a telling second strike, not only will our strategic power be stripped of its active significance, but also even its ultimate value as a passive deterrent will be placed in jeopardy. That is why it is of first importance that we have the poisition of parity in strategic power that seems quite possible if we make the effort.

Add to this weakening deterrent power of our strategic nuclear force the additional fact that the Russians, along with the development of formidable strategic nuclear force of their own, have maintained, mod-

ernized, and mechanized their vast land force, and have equipped it with tactical nuclear weapons, and the full extent of the Western dilemma appears. Because of the mortal danger of Russian nuclear retaliation against the United States, the strategic nuclear power of the United States no longer furnishes to Europe the protection it once offered against the Russian land forces. Yet it was precisely while this change was octhis country to increasing dependence upon the deterrent power of our strategic nuclear forces and, by some strange madness, set about reducing our own land forces to pre-Korean strength—an example which had cumulative effects when the British and French reduced their contribution to West ern Europe's local defenses.

The last defense program submitted by the Truman administration recognized the perishable quality of our active deterrent It called for total military strength of 35 millions, with an Army of 21 ready divisions, an Ale Porce of 142 an Air Force of 143 wings, a Navy of 409 major combat vessels in active fleets (including 16 carrier groups), and a Marine Corps of 3 divisions. This was the defense program at which the present administra tion took its new look during 1953 and 1954. The results of this jaundiced reassess ment will all be in by June 1959, by which time our forces will be almost precisely million weaker. The Army will by then have 14 divisions, many of them sadly un derstrength and all cursed with the obsolescence of their weapons and equipment The Air Force will have 102 wings, having taken reductions in all elements not di rectly related to the strategic deterrent. and Marines will have 389 warships which have also suffered from obsolescence and 3 divisions, now understrength.

With the dependence that can be placed upon our strategic forces declining because of growing Soviet nuclear strategic power, and those forces we might employ to fill the gap being reduced for budgetary reasons, the stage is being set for a major tragedy. In this situation, two antithetical and equally bad policies have found some supporters.

LIMITED NUCLEAR WARFARE OR WITHDRAWAL

Spelled out to its fullest stretch, limited nuclear warfare means that the Soviet Union and the United States, as the two superpowers, will come to an unspoken und derstanding that, since atomic weapons are far too dangerous to use against each other they would treat each other's territory as privileged, but would wage any atomic walls on European soil, amid European peoples and European cities. If the alm of American police is can policy is to preserve the people and civilization of Europe as essential to existence of existence of a free world, limited nuclear warfare is not the way to do it. Or again if the aim of American policy is to develop strategic conceptions which our allies will support support because those conceptions correspond to the transfer or the support to th spond to their own interest, then again limited nuclear warfare has little place in such conceptions.

Those who are tempted to believe that a strategy of limited nuclear war would some how bestow advantages upon our numerically interior formatten cally inferior forces, should reflect upon aufollowing considerations, All the best are thorities are convinced that limited nuclear war will require more, not fewer, military forces at any particular level of effort. in proportion to frontline troops, in order to make provider to make provision for the higher level supporting services in the rear of the combat casualties expected; it is also because zone must be more widely dispersed, which will inevitably require an increase in support strength.

It follows, of course, that limited nucles war is not and cannot be cheaper that limited conventional war at any particular

level of effort. More manpower and more Widely scattered and secure supply and communication facilities spell greater expense. It also follows, for both reasons, that NATO cannot overcome its relative weakness, vis-avis the forces on the other side, by the simple expedient of committing itself to the use of nuclear weapons. On the contrary, the com-mitment to nuclear weapons inevitably increases the relative advantage of the other side-provided Russian forces are also equipped with nuclear wespons, as we know that they are, and provided the Russians and their satellites continue to be willing to maintain larger forces under arms and to spend a greater amount upon arming them.

That is not to say, of course, that we can expose our forces to Communist nuclear attack while they are prepared to defend themselves only with conventional arms. It does mean that, as there is no military advantage for NATO forces in resorting to nuclear wea-Pons, and as there are decided political disadvantages in it, the nuclear weapons with which our forces in NATO are equipped should be regarded as serving the purpose of deterring the Russians from using their nuclear weapons in a limited attack. be their primary function; their employment in actual combat must be secondary, to be resorted to only if the Russians themselves initiate the use of nuclear weapons, or if the circumstances should, unhappliy, lead to a general war.

Some of those who see that a strategy of limited nuclear war in Europe will not strengthen or unify the trans-Atlantic coalition, suggest going to the opposite extreme. that military power-except possibly nuclear strategic power—can play a part in keeping Western Europe from being dominated by Soviet power, and so advocate withdrawing American forces from Europe. This they put forward, in what they consider a nearly hopeless situation, as a step toward, rather than the result of, a solution of the fundamental issues which exist between the Soviet Union and the Western Powers regarding Europe.

Now if, as we have pointed out above, the aggregated strength of Europe and North America is necessary to withstand Soviet purposes in Europe, then to withdraw American ican participation in the defense of Europe is to insure that there shall be no effective opposition to the Soviet will in Europe. But, one may ask, will not the threat of American nuclear retaliation be sufficient protection to Europe? We have already pointed out that in a condition of nuclear parity it will not provide this active deterrent. It is not sound strategy to rely on any nation's willingness to destroy itself in order to aid its allies—particularly when, at the same time, it would in all likelihood insure the destruction of its allies as well.

Withdrawal of American forces from Europe may well be possible—indeed we earnestly hope it will be—when a settlement of outstanding issues and a more stable Power relationship have been achieved in Europe. But to attempt it under present circumstances would be, as we point out below, to destroy the possibility of reaching those settlements, that relationship, and, indeed, of preserving a free Western Europe.

# THE NUB OF POLICY

The answer, then, to our dilemma is not to be found—if we want to maintain a coalition of free powers—by a plan of fighting amali nuclear wars in our allies' territory.

It is not to be found by withdrawing from our alliance, and leaving our friends, whose preservation. preservation is essential to ours, without a defense against Soviet domination. Where, then, is it to be found? It is to be found, we believe. In increasing the hazards to the Soviet Union to the land forces, until Soviet Union in using its land forces, until such use is as full of danger as using nuclear force in the first instance.

Only by such a strategy, if it can be devised, will Russia's vast lead in land forces be met and a real incentive be given to the Soviet Union to move toward the control and limitation of armaments. How might this be done?

If an increase in defense forces available in Europe were combined with a vigorous new flow of scientific and military invention, these smaller defensive forces could be made, for sometime at least, more nearly the military equal of a larger aggressive force. This has happened before and it can happen again. What is needed is a substantial strengthening of the European, British, Canadian, and American ground and tactical air forces assigned to NATO or in strategic reserve available to support NATO. These forces should be prepared to defend Western Europe with conventional weapons, but should also be equipped with sufficient nuclear firepower to deter the Russians from using their tactical nuclear weapons. Once these forces are in existence, then our strategic nuclear forces—if strongly pushed—will again take on some of the character of active deterrence. For if it were clear that any hostile military action against Western Europe could and would be contained for some time, the aggressor would face formidable problems.

Let us look for a moment at the risks which a prospective aggressor must face. We may assume that he has tried atomic blackmailthat is, he has sought and failed to achieve his political objective, whatever it may be, by intimidating his elected victims with the threat of nuclear destruction. If the political objective of his aggression is restricted to Western Europe, he will want to make certain that the military action planned when he launches his attack will be limited, and will appear to be limited, to Western Europe. Above all, he will desire to minimize the chance of the military action being so extended that it may involve the destruction of his own homeland. He has, then, two choices: he can attack either with conventional weapons alone, or with nuclear weapons as well. In either case he must be careful to make the limited character of his purpose evident. But he will want to get the action over with quickly, and, to do this, he must employ force decisively superior to the defense he expects to encounter. This is where he runs into difficulty; and it is by exploiting this difficulty that we may hope to deter him without matching his forces, man for man, tank for tank, and A-bomb for A-bomb.

The aggressor's problem is that if the defense is substantial it is extremely difficult to launch an attack against it that is both overwhelming and convincingly limited. Against a relatively weak defense, which the improvidence of its members during recent years has now given to NATO the aggressor may believe that a quite restricted attack would promise quick success. It is because they are inclined to agree with this that the NATO military authorities feel that NATO has no choice but to fall back immediately upon the stategic deterrent, hoping that the threat of strategic nuclear retaliation in case of attack will be sufficiently credible to deter the aggressor. But if his objective is a strictly limited one (and if it is not, he is not likely to bother with Europe, but will attack the United States directly), he may reason that the threat is a bluff. he knows, and knows that NATO knows, that what Western Europe stands to lose if his limited attack is a success, at least if it is a conventional attack, is incomparably less than what Western Europe stands to lose in a strategic nuclear war. If this is his reasoning, he may proceed with his attack, hoping to overwhelm the weak defense and obtain his objective while the NATO governments are trying to steel their souls to a nuclear holocaust.

Suppose however, that the defense is not weak. Suppose it is strong enough so that to be sure of winning he must undertake a major mobilization of his forces, must move millions of men around, disrupt his economy and the economies of his allies, and expose his vast forces to military counteraction by concentrating them in the forward areas behind the line of attack. A strong defense will force this action whether the aggressor is planning a purely conventional assault or is planning an assault with tactical nuclear weapons, so long, that is, as he does not throw aside all pretense of limited action and use his own strategic nuclear forces. Such a concentration would, indeed. be required to attack a NATO force of even 30 divisions, which is General Norstad's minimum objective for the central front (the Alps to the Baltic).

Would the aggressor take such a risk? He would know that a vigorous and sustained defense, which as a NATO force of this kind could put up, would raise tensions to the point where he would have to be prepared to use his strategic nuclear weapons in a preemptive strike against North America to forestall a first blow against him by the United States which, in circumstances of mounting tension must be fearing such a preemptive blow. In short, the minimum action required to achieve his objective would be so great that the chances of limiting the ensuing action would appear small.

In this situation, when the aggressor's calculated design is a limited operation to achieve a specific objective, and not the annihilation of the victim, it would be foolish for the aggressor to contemplate the use of nuclear weapons, assuming that both sides have them for tactical use. To be sure, an aggressor would be likely to threaten the use of nuclear weapons in the hope of intimidating his prospective victims into concessions or surrender. But if this should fail, as we have assumed, he would see that to use them would be disastrous for a very simple reason: Their employment would make any ensuing action all the harder to limit by making it vastly more destructive, more fluid, and consequently more unpredictable. In other words, even a conventional assault upon a strong NATO central-front defense would result in a war which of such dimensions that the aggressor must regard it as a poor risk. A nuclear assault would be a far poorer risk. In addition, assuming that the aggressor really had a limited objective he wanted to achieve, it seems rather unlikely (though it cannot be ruled out) that he would want to see the objective destroyed in

the process of conquest.

Why, then, cannot NATO rely upon a nuclear defense and thereby get along with fewer troops? The reason has already been indicated. The aggressor might still make a conventional attack and thus defy the Western powers to take the responsibility for submitting Europe to the destruction of nuclear war. If they failed to make this stoic decision, he would have a good chance both of limiting the conflict and of winning by throwing his overwhelming conventional forces against their weak defenses. If they did make the decision to use nuclear weapons, which he must of course follow, his force would still be overwhelming. But the deci-sion to initiate the use of nuclear weapons would be most difficult for the NATO governments since it would offer Western Europe no military advantage to compensate for the immensely increased destruction and loss of life that would have to be anticipated.

This is why it is vitally important that NATO's local defense forces be increased in strength. A defense dependent upon the willingness and ability of the NATO governments to employ nuclear weapons in a war of unlimited violence lacks credibility. aggressor may well believe, if this is NATO's only alternative to a limited setback, that NATO might yield him his limited objective rather than incur the risk of virtually unlimited destruction.

It seems clear, then, that a sound military policy for the Western alliance requires two efforts, each of considerable magnitude. We have already pointed out one, the essential and urgent tasks of restoring our strategic nuclear striking power. Hardly less important is it to rebuild and modernize-or rather "futurize"-our own forces available for service in Europe which the present administration has treated with even greater neglect.

Our allies, as we noted earlier, have done no better. For a variety of reasons, European governments have not raised and maintained in Europe the troop strength necessary to perform the deterrent function we

have just outlined.
In this situation, if ingenuity could find a way greatly to increase the effectiveness of Western forces relative to Soviet forces, this would both increase the effective strength of the troops which could be raised, and, at the same time, increase the will to

raise them. THE LINE FOR INVENTION AND INNOVATION

While one group of scientists, soldiers, and industrial establishments is working to restore our strategic nuclear striking power, we urgently need another group working in a wholly different direction. The latter should escape from the fascination of nuclear weapons and think of functions to be performed, of purposes to be served, before they think of weapons. They should not so much be seeking a lucky find, a wonder weapon, as a stream of inventions, together with the totally new military tactics and

strategy appropriate to it.

Let us illustrate a little more specifically how our NATO forces, which will still be inferior in numbers even after they have been strengthened as we suggest, could in-

crease their effectiveness.

The Confederate leader, Nathan Bedford Forrest, is reported (no doubt apocryphally) to have explained his tactics as "gittin' thar fustest with the mostest"-men and weight of firepower. Stonewall Jackson handled several times his own forces when he was running rings around Pope and Hooker. The Germans, in the blitzkrieg attack in 1940, sliced through far superior French forces because they had developed new tactics and an entirely new concept of mobility in ground warfare.

For NATO purposes mobility requires the ability to move rapidly on the ground without being tied down by a heavy logistic "tail" and without being confined to improved roads. It requires also the capacity to move men and supplies by air without the limitations and vulnerabilities that go with dependence upon prepared airfields. It should not be impossible to make both these capacities available. The technical devices are already available; what is required is the imagination and the determination to make use of them,

Increased firepower possibly lies in guided and self-guiding missiles. The technical problems may be great, but they are still not incapable of solution. With the need for these inventions by scientists and engineers goes the need for tactical innovation comparable to the blitzkrieg concept which, marrying armor, motorized infantry, and the dive bomber, gave Guderian his Ardennes victory over the French in 1940.

In the meantime, and for the foreseeable future, the need for greater close air support controlled by ground forces is clear. was demonstrated in the ground action in

Another tactic which has always aided an inferior force is the capacity to break up concentrations and the use of massed forces. This capacity is commonly attributed to the massing of firepower, but need not be the same. The Mongol herdsman, with the tree

saddle that enabled him to shoot the horn bow from horseback, retired the war chariot from the battlefield. The English longbowman made the knight and horse in armor obsolete. The little antitank missile, which two or three men can carry and fire, and is guided electrically through a fine copper wire it reels out as it seeks its target, may do the same for the armored monsters upon which the nations of the world have spent so many millions in recent years. There are means of preventing concentrations, which need not, like nuclear weapons, have consequences beyond the battle and the battlefield. By all these means, a proper marriage of invention and tactical innovation may greatly increase the effectiveness of the smaller force.

A word of caution is necessary. A modern regimental combat team could play havoc with Hannibal's army. But this would not be so if Hannibal's army were equipped with the same weapons as the regimental combat team. Weapons and tactics are, in time, likely to be equally available to powers that are substantially equal in other respects, as indeed they were between the two world wars. But the advantage to the more imaginative and energetic side is constant. It is the stream of invention and innovation that is needed to win battles—as the armies of Nazi Germany proved, first against France and Britain, and later against Soviet Russia as well, until they were finally overwhelmed by sheer numbers.

Our problem contains another difficulty. The success of many innovations depends on the secrecy of their development. They come as surprises to an unprepared enemy. But for our purposes, it is important that the potential enemy should know and respect the strength of the smaller force. We want to deter an attack, not invite one. The function of the still-to-be-discovered weapons is not so much to win a major test of strength in Europe, but to make the risk of starting one exceed any foreseeable gain. For this reason enough must be known about the strength of the new forces and weapons to evoke respect.

MILITARY NEEDS WHICH MIGHT ARISE IN THE NEAR EAST AND ASIA

The weapons which the United States needs for possible use by its own or friendly forces outside Europe are, we suggest, of the same character as those broadly described in the last two sections. The considera-tions which lead to this conclusion are closely related to those already mentioned.

Our purpose in the Near East and Asia is to support the development of independent and viable nations. Such nations are necessary to the environment of an open and free world. The greater part of our support to them must lie in political and economic action. This important aspect of our policy is discussed in pamphlet No. 5. But countries, along with others, exist in a world in which military power throws its shadow before it, and in which, as the unprovoked attack against the Republic of Korea demonstrated only too clearly, military force can be used for aggressive purposes. There can be used for aggressive purposes. is, therefore, a defense problem in the Near East and Asia which cannot be dealth with solely through political and economic measures. In this pamphlet, we deal only with the military aspect of our policy to the Near East and Asian countries.

Again the changing nature of the nuclear relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union is fundamental to present and prospective defense problems in Asia as it is in Europe. When our nuclear posi-tion was such as to support a policy of active deterrence, this placed limits on the extent to which the U.S.S.R. or Communist China could push with military force against our interests in Asia. If we were to fail to maintain a position of nuclear parity with the Soviet Union, the situation would be reversed. There would then be definite limits to the support we could give countries on the periphery of the Soviet bloc even in defense against overt military aggression across recognized boundaries. Therefore, from the standpoint of Asian defense, it is mandatory, as it is in the case of European defense, that we do whatever is necessary to assure ourselves of continuing nuclear

But even under the assumption of continuing nucelar parity, the defense problem of Asia is different from what it was in the days when we could rely heavily upon active nuclear deterrence. It is no longer credible that we would employ nuclear weapons in defense of the countries on the periphery of the Soviet-Chinese bloc in Asia except under the most extreme conditions, conditions indicating a Communist intention of making a general military assault against the West-Any such general assault initiated in Asia is, however, unlikely.

The more likely military threat to the Asian countries on the periphery of the Soviet-Chinese bloc is from military pressure in a limited area, and from forces employing nonnuclear weapons. The first defense against such pressure is from the military strength of the country directly involved. It is for this reason that military assistance to the countries directly threatened, such as the Republic of Korea, Formosa, nam, and Iran, is of continuing importance.

The second line of defense is U.S. air, sea, and ground forces quickly available, in adequate numbers and with appropriate weapons to give support primarily with nonnuclear weapons. Tactical nuclear weapons should also be available to our forces. but only for the purpose of deterring the aggressor from using nuclear weapons himself. Just as in Europe, it is hard to see how a war in Asia fought with nuclear weapons by both sides will give us any sub-stantial military advantage. With limited port facilities and few airfields, we have use of nuclear weapons on an Asian battle field. Not only is there no probable mill tary advantage to us in doing so, if such weapons are also used by our enemies, but also no political objective favorable to our side could be supported by the nuclear destruction of countries we are trying to defend. Many have deluded themselves with the escapist thought that we alone have the capability or will to introduce nuclear weapons into an Asian battlefield. It is hard to believe that the Russians would in fact give us such an easy out in a period of nuclear parity.

It should further be pointed out that de terrence of military attack, although it must rest primarily upon relative military capabilities, does not real ities, does not rest solely upon such equations. There would be exceedingly heavy political cost to the U.S.S.R. or to Communist, China to the nist China if they were to launch a large scale military attack upon any of the Asian countries. This does not apply to Quemoy and Matsu, where our support of Chiang's continued occupation of these islands is not believed to be supportable either on political or military grounds by much of Asian and of world and of world opinion. But any military attack against other areas in Asia or the Middle East would have such heavy political costs that U.S. military backup on the scale outlined in the next section should go far to assure the defense of the areas threatened.

#### NEEDED FORCES AND THEIR COST

It should be perfectly clear that while administration's new look has been disastrous, a return to some old look would be equally so. The national defense would have been further advanced today if it had evolved taking full account. evolved taking full account of the Korean war

experience. The aimless detour through massive retaliation resulted in ever-increasing dependence upon the strategic nuclear advantage, which passed almost as it was claimed. The task now is to retrieve the consequences of that folly. No longer can economizing be put above national security in the belief that nuclear weapons can accomplish all. We are forced to make intelligent accommodation to the two great changes that have occurred on the military scene since 1953.

These changes, which have already been recognized in earlier parts of this pamphlet, are, first, the technological revolution which mounted nuclear warheads upon ballistic rockets of intercontinental range, and, second, the strategic revolution implicit in Soviet maturity as a nuclear power. Taken together, these changes constitute a challenge to American effort and ingenuity which cannot be met in the spirit of busias usual. They require fundamental rethinking of our defense problem. They require executive leadership with the energy to grapple with the real issues and to make the necessary decisions. The confusion bickering and red tape which today beset the Defense Department and our armed services spring more from lack of decision, or from decisisons made arbitrarily with no sense of strategic purpose and direction at the top, than from interservice rivalry. Once the basic decisions consistent with a coherent strategic approach have been made, organizational changes can follow which will bring organization into closer alinement with the functions to be performed and thus greatly increase the efficiency of our defense effort.

In the long run large sums can be saved through more rational organization and a reduction of the present muddle and redape. Furthermore, the redirection of our effort suggested in this paper may well require the curtailment or even the abandonant of some current programs of defense sum, however, all the possible savings cannot be expected to offset the increased defense expenditure which is essential to make up for the

for the neglect and blindness of recent years.

Now for the specifics. As pointed out earlier, our first priority is to recover with all possible speed the position of parity in strategic nuclear force we are losing because of Soviet achievements in missile design and production. The present situation leaves us no sensible alternative but a crash effort to bridge the missile gap. To this end SAC's aircraft and missiles should be given greater protection against the blast and heat effects of atomic attack, should be further dispersed, and should be given greater protection against should be further dispersed, and should be given such active defense (primarily by antiaircraft missiles) as developing technology makes possible. Also, the capacity of SAC to support an airborne alert should be improved, with greater urgency than at present.

Three other immediate steps are also urgent: First, increase production of jet tankers required to reduce the dependence of our strategic bombers on oversea bases that are threatened by Russian intermediaterange missiles. (This would wring the last measure of benefit from our present manned-bomber forces before they finally become obsolete.) Second, double the combined Atlas-Titan missile production currently programed, and increase the rate of production of these missiles; also reduce their vulnerability by increasing the dispersal and hardening of their bases. Third, do not terminate, but continue, developmissiles (such as Enark and Regulus II). These weapons could be produced in large quantities, maintained at dispersed locations and made mobile, at relatively low cost. Though vulnerable to the enemy's AA mis-

sile defenses and manned interceptors, they would increase his defense program, particularly if they made their final approach to target at low altitudes at which the range of detection radars in short.

So much for the gap fillers. For the next phase, the production lines for all the solid-fuel missiles that are in advanced stage of development—Pershing, Polaris, and Minute-man—should be laid out so that production may proceed promptly once the prototypes have been proven. (This was done in the case of the B-47 bomber, in the case of Atlas, and in other instances. It has cut at least 2 years from the cycle, design to use.) Also, mobility of these missiles should be stressed. At the same time the construction rate of the Polaris submarine should be increased. The development of the Nike-Zeus antimissile missile should continue to be given high priority.

Added together, these new programs will call for an impressive additional expenditure of about \$4 billion more a year on our strategic forces. At the same time, however, savings of about \$1 billion could be made elsewhere in Air Force expenditures. For example, as the result of programs launched several years ago, when the Russian longrange bomber was believed to be the major threat to the United States, we are annually spending about \$6 billion on anti aircraft defense—for interceptor aircraft, for AA missiles, for early warning and target acquisition radars, and for the immensely complex defense coordination system known as Sage. Meantime, however, the Russians have cut the production of their long-range bombers in order to shift resources to the production of missiles.

Of course, the Russian long-range bomber force remains a threat, and this threat would increase in proportion to any weakening of our AA defense. We have already noted the continuing requirement for active defense of SAC bases. But these programs of AA defense have not been adjusted to the change in Soviet priorities. Take, for instance, the continued high expenditures on manned interceptors. The interceptor has become a platform for air-to-air missiles which are placed in position to fire, and are fired by electronic controls partly on the ground and partly in the interceptor, while the pilot monitors the operation. In most cases the job can be done better and more cheaply entirely from the ground with ground-to-air missiles. And in a few years the principal active defense requirement will surely be defense against missiles, not against manned bombers.

Similarly, bombers, like interceptors, are becoming platforms from which missiles are fired. Again, it seems reasonable to insist that the missile, in time, should go all the way. New planes for special purposes, including both supersonic bombers and longrange interceptors, may be justified. But neither should be built and maintained at vast expense if their principal justification (in competition with missiles) is to give airmen something to fly in. Years ago, Gen. "Billy" Mitchell pointed out a similar truth about the battleship.

At the moment an acute shortage of air crews limits SAC's ability to maintain an airborne alert. An early curtailment of interceptor forces, by permitting the release of interceptor pilots and support personnel for service in the bomb wings, would ameliorate this problem during the remaining useful life of the bomber forces. Since there is also a need for increased capacity to transport our ground troops and their supplies by air, this, too, might be facilitated by the release of interceptor pilots. The administration has already begun the reduction of fighter-bomber wings on the assumption that close support for our ground forces can be better provided by their own short-range

missiles. We do not propose that this substitution be carried further at this time; we do propose the application of the same principle, the substitution of missiles for manned aircraft, to air defense.

So much for Air Force programs, which, through SAC, contribute more than 90 percent of the strategic deterrent. The Navy will increase its contribution to the strategic deterrent when its Polaris missiles and submarines become available. The Navy also needs strengthening in capacity for antisubmarine warfare because of the vulnerability of the United States to missiles fired from hostile submarines.

The Army has suffered most grievously from the military policy in the provision of adequate tactical forces to deter local aggression aimed at limited objectives, and to defend our interests when this local deterrence fails. This is, in the nature of things, largely the province of the Army, but the Navy also has an essential role in it. To perform that role the Marine Corps should be restored to full strength and thoroughly futurized in arms, tactics, and transport. Carrier task forces for local, limited actions should be in constant readiness. The Navy also needs special-purpose shipping for the rapid movement of ground forces overseas.

Current programs to increase carrier task forces for their contribution to the strategic deterrent cannot be justified in competition with alternative weapons systems. Money can be saved here to pay for the modernization the Navy urgently needs to improve its readiness. Consequently, major increases in the Navy budget, other than those for Polaris missiles and submarines and for stepped-up antisubmarine warfare capability, are not necessary.

The Army has suffered most grieviously from the neglect and blindness of the administration. To modernize its currently authorized force of 14 active and 7 high-priority Reserve (mainly National Guard) divisions the Army needs an additional \$1.5 billion annually. This would provide no increase in personnel. But it is essential to make the most of the forces we now have: for example, by enabling the Army to reequip itself over a 5-year period with the new light rifle and machineguns, with the new and greatly improved armored personnel carrier, and with the advanced communications equipment that has been developed. It also would enable the Army to purchase aircraft of better types for those functions for which it is now authorized to operate aircraft. It would, in short, enable the Army to reverse the present trent by which it grows steadily weaker year by year. This is the minimum necessary.

It is not enough. We need a larger Army, both to uphold our interests around the world, and to relieve us from intolerable dependence upon the threat of strategic nuclear action for deterrent purposes. Without this evidence of our determination it is surely useless to expect our allies to make the effort required of them, particularly in Western Europe.

To achieve these ends, to reverse the cuts which the administration has made, and to provide the minimum force that the Army needs if it is to meet its responsibilities, will require an additional 225,000 men and an additional \$1.5 billion a year. This will provide an Army of 19 divisions (total strength about 1,100,000), with 8 divisions (instead of 3 as at present) in condition for immediate movement and employment overseas. Such an Army is essential if we are to adjust our military strength to the strategic revolution brought about by Russian maturity as a nuclear power.

To sum up these proposals in budgetary terms. In very general and approximate terms, the combined Air Force programs (the gep-fillers plus the accelerated ICBM programs plus additional air transports) would require a net annual increase in the budget of \$3 billion. For the Navy an additional \$1 billion would be needed annually. Army needs (\$1.5 billion for modernization plus \$1.5 billion for five more divisions) would total \$3 billion annual increase. The entire effort would add \$7 billion to the defense budget. If allowance is made, as it undoubtedly should be, for additional funds for research and development to meet the challenge of Soviet power with imagination, ingenuity, and innovation, then the forces we need would require additional defense expenditures for the next 4 or 5 years of approximately \$7.5 billion annually.

#### CAN WE AFFORD SUCH A COST?

There can be no question of the capacity of our economy to support this addition to defense expenditures. We are currently devoting less than 10 percent of our gross national product to major national security programs, including defense, the Atomic Energy Commission, and mutual security (foreign aid). During World War II we di-verted almost 45 percent of our then sub-stantially smaller total product to war purposes, and yet our economy continued to grow all during the war. Economists of both political parties now agree that the American economy can and should grow about 5 percent per year, after we have fully recovered from the recession, which is not yet the case. This growth would add to our total national production more than \$23 billion a year as a starter. The diversion of one-third of this productive increment to the great priorities of national security would more than cover a \$7.5 billion annual increase. The administration's insistence that a balanced budget at current, or reduced, tax levels must come before the provision of essential defense needs indicates that new thought on the national economy is as essential as is new thought on the national defense. This will be the subject of pamphlets in a series being prepared by our Advisory Committee on Economic Policy.

## Tribute to Hon. Joseph C. O'Mahoney, of Wyoming

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. MIKE MANSFIELD

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 25, 1959

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, one of the great Senators of our generation, the distinguished senior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. O'MAHONEY], is at present in the Bethesda Naval Hospital, suffering from a stroke.

Not only is Senator O'MAHONEY a good Senator; he is also a good constitutional lawyer. He has been the champion in the Senate in the fight to maintain the constitutional separation of powers and to maintain the rights of the Senate, visa-vis those of the executive branch; and for many years he has worried over the exercise of power by the Executive at the expense of the legislative branch.

Mr. President, Mr. Ed Koterba, of the Washington Daily News, has written an excellent article about our distinguished colleague from Wyoming. I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Koterba's article be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I wish to associate myself with the very fine statement which has been made by the able Senator from Montana. I know that all Members of the Senate send their best wishes for an early recovery to our beloved friend, Joe O'Mahoney.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Daily News, June 25, 1959]

#### HE DIDN'T TAKE IT EASY

(By Ed Koterba)

At 74, Joe O'Mahoney could have been taking it easy, but he didn't. So now he's in the Bethesda Naval Hospital suffering from a strcke.

The Senator from Wyoming proved one thing to himself. You can't keep pushing yourself against the strain of constant pressure—whether you're nearly 75 or half that old—and expect to escape some physical setback.

I'd been watching the Senator for several days leading up to the historic climax of the vote on Lewis Strauss' confirmation. On Tuesday, the man from Wyoming stood up in the Chamber to plead his cause against the man. Three hours later he was still on his fect. He was tired. His knees pained him, but he kept on.

This was just the beginning of Joe O'Mahoney's week. All the while, the emotion of the approaching Strauss vote drummed an increasing tenseness across the Senate Chamber

Senator O'MAHONEY (pronounced O'MAhunney) would barely get out of his committee hearings (he's on 12 subcommittees) in time for luncheon with constituents. Then he'd make his way to the Senate floor to introduce some bills.

On Thursday, he left his office at 6:30 p.m., his usual departing time, and was called back 5 hours later to cast his vote against Admiral Strauss.

At 12:45 a.m., Friday, he clasped hands in triumph with three other Senators for the cameramen, then made his weary way home to the Sheraton-Park Hotel.

A few hours later, he was on his way to the hospital on a stretcher, his left side paralyzed.

Sometimes our Senators get needled soundly, and often they deserve it. But then there's the side that rarely gets written about—the tremendous pressure these men endure behind the scenes.

JOE O'MAHONEY, the man with white tumbleweed brows, rarely missed a committee hearing and rarely avoided a caller.

Folks close to the Senator said he lost some of his zest a year ago when his wife, Agnes, suffered two strokes. But he insisted on keeping up his perilous pace. He worked weekends.

Now, in the Senator's private office, eight separate piles of correspondence and other papers have accumulated 12 inches high. "At least," I said to his staff, "the Senator's getting a rest."

They looked at me and smiled wryly. One of them said: "He's been on the phone every day giving us instructions on everything that's pending."

Some of our lawmakers, it seems, just can't resist making themselves targets of physical punishment. Joe O'Mahoney is one of them.

Commencement Day Address at Clemson College

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
. Thursday, June 25, 1959

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record the very eloquent and able address which was delivered by Mr. Wayne Freeman, editor of the Greenville (S.C.) News, at the annual commencement exercises for Clemson College on June 7, 1959.

The points made by Mr. Freeman in this address attests to his wisdom, breadth of knowledge, and his outstanding ability as a newspaper editor. I hope his remarks will be read by everyone everywhere because they are of vital importance to the future well being of the entire Nation.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Presidents Edwards, members of the board of trustees, members of the faculty, friends of Clemson and my fellow members of the class of 1959, it is customary for the speaker on an occasion such as this to acknowledge the introduction. And I seldom defy convention—unless it suits my purposes.

Therefore I approach to the convention of t

Therefore, I express to President Edwards my gratitude for his kind words. They were a bit lavish, perhaps, but, then, I've never believed in stopping a man from telling the truth.

I know that I speak for the other honores, as well as myself, when I say we are grateful for the honor Clemson is bestowing on us and when I offer to you a pledge to return honor for honor. We shall strive to deserve your confidence.

deserve your confidence.

However, I must notify the distinguished gentlemen behind me, as well as you who soon will receive your diplomas, that my usually reliable sources have informed me that Dr. Frank Howard is waiting backstage for all of us 1959 graduates. In one hand he has a sheaf of applications for membership in IPTAY and in the other assortment of blank checks. More power to him.

To turn to another and more serious phase of the life of Clemson, I am convinced that this school is entering upon a new era of expansion and enrichment. It began many years ago. Starting as an agricultural and mechanical college, Clemson is becoming what it should be: an institution offering a broad education in the basic arts and sciences.

I would oppose any attempt to duplicate here the entire program of any other state institution, just as I would oppose imitation of Clemson's program anywhere else. The scope of knowledge is so great and our sources presently so limited that we must for now at least, impose a measure of specialization on our institutions of higher learning.

However, I do insist that, in the drive scientific and industrial development, we must not neglect the liberal arts and the humanities. It is just as important for man to understand the world about him, and to be able to communicate with other men, as it is for him to be able to build and operate an atomic reactor.

I believe your board of trustees and the administrators they have chosen are working in that direction, striving for a proper balance.

I can't help noting that this is the first commencement since the death of the beloved Dr. Robert Franklin Poole, your late president. I was not among his intimates, but I stood in the front ranks of his admirers, and I think I understand what he was trying to do. The fruits of his labors in behalf of Clemson are all around us.

Circumstances and the passing of time, the necessity for adapting to new conditions, have compelled many changes in the last few years. All of us will watch with interest what happens in the next few years, but I, for one, am pleased with what has been done up to now.

On this campus there is being formed a strong partnership between education and industry.

Industry is providing the means of building, equipping, and manning a magnificent educational plant. I take special pride in it. I have long believed that one of the great hopes of South Carolina and the South is the development of more facilities for training young men and women in the arts and the sciences. Tied in with this as part of the educational process, is a program of research and development.

Under such a program, industry invests in education. It receives dividends in the form of trained personnel, new ideas, new products, and better processes for producing the old ones.

Your new president is a man of absolute integrity and tremendous zeal and energy. He has a rare sort of courage and great executive ability. His predecessors have bequeathed him a team of able administrators and gifted and dedicated educators; the board of trustees has helped him to augment that team with equally capable persons to fill new Positions or vacancies created by re-

Under these circumstances, I see no chance of failure. What is past is but prologue; the future is bright with promise.

And what we say and do about this relatively small part of South Carolina and the South has much to do with the future of the State, the region, and the Nation.

Against the background of achievement and hope provided by this South Carolina. school, let's discuss for a few minutes something of the philosophy and the practical considerations that should guide us as we work to secure for ourselves and our posterity more of the good things of life.

Lest I sound provincial, let me state this

I am an American first, a Southerner second, and a South Carolinian third; and I believe we all are.

But I believe with all the force of which I am capable that, by being better South Carolinians, we are better Southerners; and by being better Southerners, we become bet-

We of the South have been too long on the defensive. It is time we took the offenalve in the healthy competition in economics, politics, and sociology which has characterized our Nation from its beginnings. We have begun to do so.

We have a long way yet to go, but, statistically, our region is growing in business and industry. and industry at a more rapid rate than any other in the country, save the fabulous west coast. And we have advantages even over

No longer do our young people have to leave home to acquire an education and to sind jobs; they are available here in growing abundance. abundance. And our potential for generating ing our own industries, starting with the original idea and carrying through with the financing and the staffing of the plants, is far greater than we have yet realized.

Let me emphasize that point. I am in favor of importing industry from other regions, but there is a limit to how far we can go with such a program. In the long the denuding of other regions of their industry will diminish the value of our own. We must be concerned with the welfare of the Nation as a whole.

Let's look to our own resources of capital and leadership as well as raw material and labor. We have reached the point where we can stop exporting our most precious asset, our trained young people. We should be beginning to reach the point where we no longer have to go elsewhere and beg for the capital which is equally necessary to industrial development.

Furthermore, from now on we should proceed with greater caution in importing in-dustry, lest we bring in along with it some of the problems and disruptive forces which have caused many great corporations to migrate. For example, Henderson, N.C., a small and formerly friendly town, today is a sick city. Lifelong friendships have been broken and neighbor has stoned neighbor over issues that have nothing to do with the welfare of either individuals or the community as a whole. We must not allow the virus which caused this illness to spread.

The willingness, the eagerness, of industrial leaders to move to the South and, once established, to expand, indicates that our region must have something that even we southerners haven't fully recognized. Why else would industry be moving South?

And why else would so many of those who come here from other regions with new plants so quickly adapt themselves to the folkways and the mores of our own people?

The people who help make the decisions about industrial locations often are those who must move their families into those locations and learn to live there. And I have found no more ardent southerners than those of the naturalized variety.

They must like our institutions, and our philosophy of life. They must like our people and our sociological patterns.

Without deprecating any of the other factors which have contributed to the resurgence of the South, I think our greatest asset is our basic idealism. We have accepted change; indeed, some of our statesmen have been architects of many of the changes, but we have not abandoned our principles.

Because we have adhered to principle, we of the South have been tagged with labels which have lost most of their meaning through a subtle sort of perversion of the language. News dispatches out of Washington refer to southern conservatives. The radical left calls us reactionaries. Our critics call themselves liberals.

All of these are good words, or they used to be. But for the most part, they have suffered the same fate as the word "moderate." Formerly, a moderate was one who took a middle of the road point of view, one who avoided extremes on either side of an issue. Nowadays, however, a moderate has come to be one who favors surrender to the radical left; it may be gradual, but it is surrender nonetheless.

Those who call themselves liberals these days do so in almost total difiance of Mr. Webster who wrote that rather wordy book. Let's take an example. The American Civil Liberties Union has consistently defended known Communists on the grounds that the individual has an inviolable right to express his opinions and act on them. With that we can all agree, in principle. But the ACLU just the other day issued a sophisticated pronouncement to the effect that it is not a violation of the rights of the indi-vidual to force him to join a labor union against his will.

On the one hand, the ACLU would jeopardize the welfare of the whole of society for the sake of what it believes to be the rights of one person; on the other, it would sacrifice another person for what it believes to be the best interests of a special group.

And that, neatly tied up in a package, is doctrinaire liberalism. Its adherents judge issues not on their merits, but on the basis of what is the liberal point of view. And of what is the hoeral point of view. And their ultimate aim is not liberty, but the establishment of a society in which all the members will lose their indentity and will be forced to conform to the established level of mediocrity.

These are the people who call us "reaction-

aries," and many of us accept the label as an accolade. As for myself, I admit to being a sort of middle-of-the-road reactionary, for I find many things in our society to react against.

I react against the cult of mediocrity, the school of thought which holds not merely that one man is as good as another, but that one man doesn't dare to be better than another. This is evil because the desire and the will to excell are the catalytic agents of progress.

I react against the cult of conformity. There are those who would reduce all of us to the common denominator in the name of a much misused word, "democracy". There's nothing democratic in holding back one man lest he embarrass another with his

superiority of mind or body.

The brutal fact is that, if our civilization survives, it will be because we have produced uncommon men and because those who used to be called common men have been led to do uncommon things.

I react against the cult of panic. When the Soviets, so they said, placed a dog into orbit around the earth in a space vehicle, there were those who said our educational system was all wrong, that we should tear it up and start over again-with billions of Federal dollars, of course.

In a recent speech, that arch nonconformist, Adm. Hyman Rickover, made a pertinent comment. He said that if the Soviet Union announced plans to send the first man to hell, somebody would rise from his seat in Congress and demand that we appropriate a billion dollars to beat them to it

Too often that is the scope of our thinking. A Presidential commission has suggested that we should double our annual outlay for education. But who is so foolish as to believe that, if we appropriated twice as much money next year for schools, we would get twice as much education, even year after next?

We should increase our investment in education, but only as rapidly as our system can absorb it. And what is wrong with our system? It has produced some of the best citizens and some of the finest minds of our age. And what are we afraid of? After all, our country has prevented world war III by being prepared to win it, and it is obvious from their behavior that what our enemies fear most is the spread of our ideology.

If all of this is reactionism, then I am proud to be a reactionary.

But let's put this thing into proper perspective. We are, and I hope we ever shall be, conservatives. The true conservative is one who believes in progress, and works for it, but not in a destructive manner. The men who brought about the American Revolution were conservatives; they preserved the best in their English heritage while moving forward to insure the freedom of the individual.

Those who fomented the French Revolution in the name of "liberty, equality, and fraternity," were radical reactionaries in that they sought to destroy completely both the past and the present and build a society in which all would be equal. In the process, they produced generations of near anarchy.

In this sharp contrast, there should be a vivid lesson for us.

We here today share a rich, noble, and proud heritage of soldiers and statesmen.

of patriots and poets, of philosophers and teachers, of planners and producers, and even martyrs and prophets.

Those South Carolinians who went before us played a leading role in the foundation of the Republic. They helped to write much of their own wisdom and strength into the Constitution which has held the Union together to this day.

Our grandfathers and great grandfathers, driven to extremes, subjected the Union to trial by ordeal. They fought for the principles upon which the Republic was founded as they believed those principles to be, and there is no cause for shame in our day in what they did in theirs.

For in the testing, they strengthened the Union. When the history of the last hundred years is written in true perspective it may be realized that they sowed the idealistic seeds which, cultivated and brought to fruit in our day and that of our children and grandchildren, enabled it to endure.

We are assembled today on what is, in a very real sense, hallowed ground. It is hallowed because it once was the home of John C. Calhoun, one of the greatest statesmen in our history. He gave the last full measure of devotion to his ideas as to the best way to protect his beloved South and to preserve the Union.

This ground is hallowed, too, because it was here that Thomas G. Clemson provided for the founding of an institution dedicated to a great purpose; and that purpose was to help a war-ravaged land and an impoverished people, through education, research and development, to rise above ignorance and need to create opportunity and to keep an appointment with destiny.

Buried near this spot are great men who planned and worked ceaselessly to make Mr. Clemson's dream a reality. And in this audience are other men and women who were contemporaries of many of Clemson College's greats of the past and who labored no less zealously for the college and the State. And there are still others who, thank heaven, are carrying on in the same tradition and will do so for many years.

When we look to the past and speak of our heritage, we are not trying to turn back the clock, but merely seeing to it that the clock continues to keep the proper time and doesn't run wild.

Edmund Burke said: "People will not look forward to their posterity who never look backward to their ancestors."

We in South Carolina are making progress, but not by trying, as Omar Khayyam said, "to grasp this sorry scheme of things entire, tear it to bits and remold it nearer to the heart's desire." Instead, we are building the future, not by destroying the past, but by using its solid stones as a foundation and its best timbers as a framework.

We here have something of which we can be proud, and it is something that is worth preserving and developing for our children and our grandchildren.

There is much that needs to be changed. much that should be undone, in our Nation and the world. But I submit that the good among us is far greater than the evil, the wise decisions outweigh the mistakes and the main path we have taken is the right road and the best one.

What we should dread in our time is not difficulty, but rather the continuation of so much that is cheap and irresponsible in our way of life. What we should fear is not hardship, but failure, for, if we fall, the best society man has ever established will degenerate into either anarchy or dictatorship. What we should shun is not responsibility, but the general attitude of unwill-ingness to make a contribution to society beyond our own immediate needs and de-

If we want a future of material comfort and security, and nothing more, there is little to be said for our civilization. The vears ahead of us as southerners and Americans do not offer a life entirely of ease or contentment.

As we face them, we must regard adversity not as a deterrent, but as a challenge, and obstacles not as an excuse for surrendering, but as a stimulant for even greater efforts.

A great classical scholar once summed up the history of the Greeks and the Romans in these words:

"In the end, more than they wanted freedom, they wanted security, a comfortable life, and they lost all—security and comfort and freedom \* \* \* When the Athenians finally wanted, not to give to society, but the society to give to them, when the freedom they wished most for was freedom from responsibility, then Athens ceased to be free and was never free again."

We of the South today are called, as were our ancestors, to greatness. We have everything we need; the only thing in doubt is our will to dare to be nonconformists in the sense that Emerson meant when he said: "Whoso would be a man must be a nonconformist."

Oh yes, we may find it possible to enjoy a measure of security by ignoring the chance for individual achievement and joining the faceless mob. We can look to an all-powerful government for creature comforts and employ the pressure that the organized common herd can exert to obtain its ends.

Or, we can dare to stand apart from the common herd and above it. We can rely on our faith in our own ideals and work to the end that they shall prevail. We can employ our rapidly developing ability to solve our own problems. We can meet the needs of our people through hard work, through careful planning in the fields of business, industry, and sociology and through skillful execution of those plans.

Many wise men, both here and elsewhere in our country, have concluded that the South is the last bastlon of true conservative thought in America. It is the strongest bulwark of the Nation against the advance of a form of totalitarianism which, masquerading as liberalism, ultimately would destroy all liberty.

If we fail, neither the South nor America may have another chance.

#### PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the Congressional Record, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

#### LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any execu-tive department, bureau, board, or independ-ent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports of documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee tives or the Committee on Rules and Admin istration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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#### RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

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An office for the Congressional Record is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Raymond F. Noyes is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders subscriptions. subscriptions to the Record at \$1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in the printing of sp printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

#### CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a writer for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p.

#### CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their Printing Office, that their addresses may correctly given in the RECORD.

# Appendix

A Catholic in Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 26, 1959

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ORD, I include the following article from the New Republic of June 8, 1959: A CATHOLIC IN POLITICS—Conversation WITH

SENATOR EUGENE MCCARTHY

(Is there a Roman Catholic political line in there a Roman Catholic political living this country? Would a Catholic majority deprive non-Catholics of their freedoms? The editor of the New Republic questions the unior Senator from Minnesota about the religious issue as it affects 1960.)

Mr. HARRISON, I wonder if we could start off by agreeing that the Catholic issue in America is not, in 1959, what it was in 1928. I don't mean merely that JACK KENNEDY is not Al Smith, but that use of the religious issue in politics is less fashionable or prevalent than it was 30 years ago.

Senator McCarrhy. I agree that the ques-Senator McCarthy. I agree that the qua-tions being raised today regarding Senator Kennery's candidacy or the candidacy of other Cathelland agree that the quaother Catholics are somewhat different from those which were raised regarding Al Smith, and the manner in which they are being asked is clearly different. You may find an extremist now and then who goes back to the old allow and then who goes back to the old allegation of the domination of the country by the Pope, but the doubts usually heard today are not of that order.

Mr. Harrison. Of what order are they? No one suggests that Kennedy represents

Senator McCarthy. No, we passed the rebellion stage long ago and the rum stage, too. Those who feel there is a Catholic issue in politics are, I think, concerned about whether America, or rather what's called Americanism, is threatened by firm and established religious doctrine. There is an assumption that the doctrine of Catholiassumption that the degmatism of Catholiclam is incompatible with the philosophy of democracy. Paul Blanshard speaks of the struggle between American democracy and the Catholic hierarchy.

Mr. Harrison. And yet there have been a great many Presidents of the United States who have had dogmatic religious beliefs.

Senator McCarriy, Yes; of course, believ-Protestants have their own doctrines which they hold to just as strongly as Catholics hold to their beliefs. But in the case of the Casholic their beliefs. the Catholic, there seems to be a general and added concern over the doctrine of the infallibility of the Pope, and this, I believe, leads many people to the conclusion that a Catholic President would be bound in a special way to an outside authority. A great many non-Catholics think this doctrine extends much further than it actually does and applies in detail to decisions in the practical order in a very specific sort of way. Brooks Hays is a good friend of mine, you know. Brooks was president of the Southern Bap-tists, and I said to Brooks, "I don't know why you worry so much about the infallibility of the Pope." I said, "If he is infallible you've the Pope." I said, "If he is infallible you've nothing to lose, and if he isn't, why, we're no worse off than the Baptists are under you."

There are a number of distinctions both historical and doctrinal which we ought to make if we're going to discuss this doctrine intelligently. It applies primarily to religious and moral teachings beyond those dictated by a natural law or obtainable by human reason-questions of revealed truth and of supernatural perfection. The doctrine also applies, however, to certain actions and decisions which are a part of the temporal and political order which involve interpretation and application of ethical conclusions. Yet Protestants, too, pass judgment on the temporal scene. In a recent issue of Look magazine, for example, Geoffrey Fisher, the Angli-can Archbishop of Canterbury, was quoted as having said: "Everything which touches the life of the Nation is of concern to the Christian. It does not escape God's judgment by becoming in the party sense political. The difficulty is that when the issue has become in that sense political, people are less ready to hear what the Christian judgment may be, since for that, patience and a perceptive mind are required."

Mr. HARRISON. But isn't it true that non-Catholics are less likely to agree on what is a moral decision than are Catholics? Isn't one of the reasons for apprehension about Catholic political power the feeling that in this gray area where political choices are involved, Catholic politicians don't decide just as individuals? It may not often be admitted publicly, but there is, I'm sure, a widespread feeling that the Catholic Church, clergy and laymen, is ruled by a few at the top and that, therefore, no Catholic is really free in the sense that other Americans are

Senator McCarthy. The apprehension you refer to does exist. Whether there are adequate grounds to justify it or not is another question. Let's take divorce as a relatively clear case. Actually canon law does permit divorce or separation for certain reasons, but does not permit remarriage. Catholics who are judges in the courts of the United States preside in divorce cases and render decisions. It is reasonable to expect Catholics generallly to oppose easy divorce and to expect them to favor stricter laws regarding the conditions under which divorce might be granted and stricter laws to insure family stability. Here we have to distinguish between strict, rigid, religious sanctions applied within the church on her own members and the use of civil action to sustain the church position.

In the United States we have come to accept the fact of differences. Wherever you have diversity of religious beliefs and philosophical principles, some dissatisfaction is inevitable. Members of some religious groups think drinking is a sin and when their convictions are written into civil law, others are unhappy. Yet if the state permits the manufacture and sale of alcholic bever-ages, the prohibitionists are dissatisfied. Whenever moral issues-which are thought also to have a religious sanction-are raised, some crusading and antagonism are inevitable. The state's function here is to eliminate extreme forms of evil and those clearly destructive of civil order. It cannot-or ought not try to-force the conscience of a citizen or attempt to make every sin a crime. Catholics-politicians or citizens-in a democracy must take into account both what they believe in principle as well as the practical situation in which they are called upon to make decisions, and they have to consider, along with everyone else who has political responsibility, the consequence of the passage of legislation and the consequence of the failure to pass it.

In the case of divorce laws, the possible effects on children, on the separated spouses, or upon general social stability and order, among other things would have to be considered. A quotation from Pope Pius XII sustains this position: "Reality shows that error and sin are in the world in great measure. God reprobates them, but He permits them to exist. Hence the affirmation: Religious and moral error must always be impeded when it is possible, because toleration of them is in itself immoral, is not valid absolutely and unconditionally. \* \* \* duty of repressing moral and religious error cannot therefore be an ultimate norm of action. It must be subordinated to higher and more general norms, which in some circumstances permit, and even perhaps seem to indicate as the better policy toleration of to indicate as the better policy toleration of error in order to promote a greater good." In this area, it is a matter of prudence—that is, as to how far if at all, the church authorities might expect the state to provide civil sanctions. But in any case, the individual Catholic legislator or officeholder is the one who must make the final prudent judgment. He may acknowledge that his church authorities are strongly opposed to such and such a practice, but the legislator himself has to make the practical judgment whether it is conducive to the common good or not for the state to make a law in a specific

Mr. HARRISON. A further argument advanced by people who fear a rise in Catholic political power and particularly fear a Catholic President is that although Roman Catholics may differ on the practical applications of moral beliefs today, and may not try to write all their own moral attitudes into law. that is only because they live in a society which is not yet predominantly Roman Catholic. But what would happen to the rights of non-Catholics were Catholics a majority in this country? Take, for example, a statement published in Civilita Catolica, the world organ of the Jesuits, in April 1948. I want to quote it in full because I think this is the kind of thing that inspires a good deal of Protestant suspicion of ultimate Catholic motivés:

"The Roman Catholic Church, convinced through its divine prerogatives of being the only true church, must demand the right of freedom for herself alone, because such a right can only be possessed by truth, never by error. As to other religions, the church will never draw the sword but she will require that by legitimate means they shall not be allowed to propagate false doctrines. Consequently, in a state where the majority of the people are Catholic the church will require that legal existence shall be denied to error and if religious minorities actually exist they shall only have a de facto existence without opportunity to spread their beliefs. In some countries Catholics will be obliged to ask full religious freedom for all, resigned at being forced to cohabit where they alone should rightfully be allowed to live. But in doing this the church does not renounce her thesis, which remains the most imperative of her laws, but merely adapts herself to de facto conditions which must be taken into account as a practical matter."

Senator McCarthy. It is obvious from the statement you have read that there are some Catholics who hold that point of view. However this is not the viewpoint which is held by all Catholics. Let me offer another

quotation by the Catholic bishops of the United States made in the same year to set against this quotation from the Jesuit publication: "We feel with deep conviction that for the sake of both good citizenship and religion there should be a reaffirmation of our original American tradition of free cooperation between government and religious bodies-cooperation involving no special privilege to any group and no restriction on the religious liberty of any citizen. We solemnly disclaim any intent or desire to alter this prudent and fair American policy of government in dealing with the delicate problems that have their source in the divided religious allegiance of our citizens. We call upon our Catholic people to seek in their faith an inspiration and a guide in making an informed contribution to good

I cannot, of course, foretell what might happen if a majority of the citizens of the United States were to be Catholic. The Constitution would still be a strong defense of individual liberties. It is my opinion, however, that a majority of the Catholics in the United States today—a strong majority—would support the position of the bishops stated in 1948. Usually Spain is cited as an example of what might happen if this country were to become strongly Catholic. Actually, Spain is not controlled by a majority of the Catholics in Spain. Spain is a dictatorship. On the other hand, take France. I assume that if a census were taken, a majority of the people would de-clare themselves to be Catholic. Yet there is religious freedom in France. Ireland affords another encouraging example to those who fear the loss of religious freedom where Catholics are in a majority. In some of the South American countries, the situation is not comparable. I remind you also that there are still established churches in England and the Scandinavian countries. suspect that Americans of all faiths would be uneasy in any country which had an established church, no matter what religious body had the privilege.

Your question, of course, relates more to moral actions and pressures which might well be exercised without any significant change in the constitutional structure or without the establishment of a church. is a question which is open to much speculation. It seems to me well established in the United States that Government has a right to suppress certain moral teachings and practices which are contrary to the common good. The clearest example, of course, was Government action to forbid and suppress the Mormon practice of polygamy as destructive of the moral stability of soclety. A more pertinent example is that of the prohibition movement in which much of both the opposition and the support was based upon a moral position which had religious sanction.

Mr. Harrison. I take it then that you don't think that Catholics merely grant freedom to others when they are in a minority and thus in no position to do anything

Senator McCarthy. Such a position would, in my view, be indefensible. If such a policy were to be followed, it would not be a matter of Catholic doctrine. of Catholic doctrine. Let me give you a quotation on this point from Archbishop McNicholas, speaking as Chairman of the administrative board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference in 1948:

"We deny absolutely and without any qualification that the Catholic Bishops of the United States are seeking a union of church and State by any endeavors whatsoever, either proximate or remote. If tomorrow Catholics constituted a majority in our country, they would not seek a union of church and state. They would then, as now, uphold the Constitution and all its amendments, recognizing the moral obligation imposed on all Catholics to observe and defend the Constitution and its amendments.'

Mr. Harrison. Are your views and Archbishop McNicholas' on this subject shared by many other Catholics?

Senator McCarthy. Certainly, I would say, by most Catholics-at least in the United States—who have given any serious attention to this problem. I don't know how you could make an inquiry effectively on this subject, but it's my opinion that a poll on which the questions were properly worded would show that Catholics by a strong majority would be opposed to the use of political power to support Catholicism to the disadvantage of other religions.

Mr. HARRISON. Well, now, isn't it true that Catholic lay organizations have acted in ways which encourage us to think they want to deprive non-Catholics of their freedom of choice? Take the Legion of Decency, or campaigns to ban books offensive to the Catholic Church. Or what about regulations that prevent doctors in Catholic hospitals from performing certain types of operations? These are the things which create fear in the minds of the non-Catholic community that should the Catholics gain greater political power, the rights of others in terms of the books they read, the motion pictures they see, the kind of medical care they may receive, would be seriously limited.

Senator McCarthy. This is certainly a possibility. But in the cases you cite, the Catholic position is not one which is re-stricted to Catholics alone, nor is it one which is based solely upon faith and reli-gious doctrine, but rather upon interpretation of the law of nature.

Let us take first the question you have raised regarding censorship. We do have censorship in this country at the Federal level through the postal regulations. Yet a majority of the citizens of the country are not Catholic and as far as I can determine the imposition of censorship under these laws is generally supported by the people of the country. Whereas the Legion of Decency does receive a great deal of public attention, there are many other organized groups such as the Protestant Motion Picture Council, the American Jewish Committee, and the American Association of University Women who publish lists involving a moral judgment on motion pictures. There are, of course, many city and State censorship boards which act just as forcefully and sometimes with less careful judgment than the Legion of Decency itself.

Mr. Harrison. Let me press this point about how hospitable Catholics really are to the freest possible expression of differing ideas and tastes. We have heard of pressures that are put on the motion picture industry-whom they may hire or the subject matter of motion pictures. Such pressures seem to come largely from Catholic sources—in this instance, the Legion of Decency. The effect of the pressure is to curtail the American consumer's freedom of choice. Would you agree with that?

Senator McCarrhy. One may well question some of the methods used by supporters of the Legion of Decency and question their judgment of specific motion pictures; undoubtedly local groups of Catholics sometimes used rather arrogant means of expressing disapproval, and the extent to which such sanctions may be applied is, I grant, a matter of dispute. I must note, however, Ingrid Bergman's latest picture was highly recommended in the Catholic The concern over Catholic influence press. The concern over Catholic influence in the field of censorship may in part be a consequence of the fact that the Catholic Church perhaps lends itself somewhat more easily to organization. When Catholics speak, they are likely to speak through an organization which either is strong or gives the appearance of strength; whereas in many other religious groups there is less

organization and consequently a need to develop an organization for effective action Mr. Harrison. What about the matter of

birth control?

Senator McCarriy. The Catholic position in opposition to artificial birth control states well known to the control of the cont well known, but again it is a position which is not exclusvely Catholic. Many Protestant as well as people of other religions, including Hindus and Moslems, are opposed to birth control. The birth control laws of Connecticut and Massachusetts, for example, which have been a matter of great controversy, put on the statute books of those States no by Catholics, but by Protestants.

Mr. Harrison. Let's return to Mr. Kennell

since it's his candidacy which has stirred we much of the recent discussion about Catholics in politics. I was interested in the Gallup politically in May in which a cross-section of citizens were asked with the construction of citizens were asked. section of citizens were asked: "If your part nominated a generally well-qualified man nominated a generally well-qualified for President and he happened to be a Catholic, would you vote for him?" Sixty-eigh percent said they would, 24 percent said they wouldn't and a new sixty sixty wouldn't and a new sixty sixty sixty wouldn't and a new sixty wouldn't, and 8 percent said they did know. But the remarkable thing to me that when the same question was put to Cathelian to Catholics, the results were more Catholic: 53 percent, in other words 15 per cent less than the general population. they would vote for a Catholic candidate.
35 percent said "No," and 12 percent didn's know. If this now has been said to be the control of th know. If this poll has any accuracy, it raise the question of just how much Catholics stick together in politics.

Senator McCarrier, I am always reluctation to interpret polls. I assume that in the case of the Gallup poll to which you refer many people were you many people were not answering the que tion on an abstract basis, but undoubte had in mind a specific candidate. This one possible interpretation. It is general conceded that from 60 to 70 percent of the Catholics Catholics in the country are Democratical approximately 30 to 35 percent and are Republicant are Republicans. If all these Republicans were thinking of a possible Democra Catholic candidate for President—a post ity which seems much more likely than t they would have a candidate on the Repul can ticket—this would explain the 35 per cent who said "No." Assuming that the might be seen to be said to be might be some crossovers for personal religious reasons, it is possible, too, that some Democrats who Democrats who were polled were not favo able to any one of the numerous Catholicandidates who candidates who have been mentioned registered their protest in the poll.

I haven't made a thorough study of election returns in my State, but I did receive just recent ceive just recently an article which was not upon a study of the trends in one county Minnesota which is described as the Catholic county in the United States. election of last November, my vote there is 13,465 whereas the vote of my non-Catho opponent was 10,903. In 1954 in the so county, Senator Humphrey, a non-Catholle received 13,342 and his opponent, a Catholle 10,024 Catholic, 10,924. Insofar as I know, the were no significant variations or other is tors affecting the election of 1958 as distinguished from 1954.

Mr. Harrison. In 1958 Governor Freeman, who is not a Catholic, was also on the tickel How did his vote in that same county compare to yourself.

Senator McCarrhy. He ran a little behind me in 1958, but he ran about an equal tance behind Senator Humphrey in 1954 in the same county

the same county.

Mr. Harrison. During last years' campaign were you attacked on the basis of your

Senator McCarthy. I think the word chrack" is too strong. There were letters culated and postcards in which the religious though so far as I know they were in limited in number and I'd any even less. limited in number and I'd say even less in

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tense or violent than attacks which were directed at me through the years in my own congressional district. There was no evidence of any kind of statewide planned attack.
There was also open criticism of me in at least one Catholic paper in Minnesota during the campaign.

Mr. HARRISON, On what grounds?

Senator McCarthy. Not on religious grounds. The principle emphasis was placed upon my liberalism, my association with the Americans for Democratic Action and their approval of my voting record, and the sup-port I received from organized labor.

Mr. HARRISON. Do you agree with Will Herberg's idea that "American Catholics still labor under the heavy weight of the bitter memory of nonacceptance in a society over-Whelmingly and self-consciously Protestant"?

Senator McCarthy. I can only speak with any degree of certainty about my own State. In Minnesota we are in a fortunate position in that when immigrants arrived, there was no established class or population. Most of the immigrants came as farmers and inde-pendent land owners. This is true of the Irish, Scandinavians, the German immi-grants and even the later immigrants from Central Central and Southeastern Europe. Each major group soon after it arrived established its colleges and schools along with churches. The feeling of being under-privileged is one which really has never been known in Minnesota and was not reflected in Minnesota politics. The first well-known Minnesota Catholic Archbishop, John Ireland, was an outspoken Republican.

Mr. Harrison. Do you attach any signifleance to the rise in recent years of the influence of Roman Catholic in the Democratic Party? The chairman of the party has been a Roman Catholic since, I think, the days of Roosevelt.

Senator McCarthy, At least as far back as

I remember.

Mr. Harrison, There's Mike Disalle,
Lausche, and Mike Kirwan in Ohio; Pastore Pennsylvania; Massachusetts with Kennedy, McCormack, and Furcolo; McNamara, and Phil Hart from Michigan; both Senators from Montana are Catholics; and there's Muskie in Maine. And Pat Brown in California.

Senator McCarriy. I think the increase in the number of Catholics who have been elected. elected as Governors of the various states is significant. The number of Catholics in the Senate today, however, is about the same as it was back in 1936 and about the same as it was back in 1936 and about the same as it was in total senate today. was in 1948 when the Democrats had relatively strong control of the House and of the

Remember that Catholics in the United States have always been Democrats in great number. Under the old political system, I am sure that it was argued that it was wise to elect a Catholic as chairman of the Democratic cratic party so as to keep Catholics in the party and keep them happy. This kind of reasoning no longer seems necessary. Politicians have been at fault in that they have come to believe in the necessity of such things as balanced tickets and National distribution. The old pattern of the balanced ticket and having nationalities properly represented, and religions properly represented, geographical areas properly represented—all of this seems to have passed on. I hope that it has seems to have passed on. of this seems to have passed on. I nope that it has and the signs are very strong. You cite a number of elections in which Catholics were about 10 cities of Conwere chosen. However in the State of Con-hecticut, which is strongly Catholic, Abe Ribicoff has been elected and reelected as Governor. Massachusetts and Rhode Island, both of which are strongly Catholic, and Con-necticut, each have any Separator, who is a necticut, each have one Senator who is a Catholic and one who is not a Catholic.

Mr. HARRISON, You've been in practical politics some and you're a Catholic. Have you been pressured by the church to vote for this or that have

Senator McCarthy. I have never had any pressure put upon me by any member of the Catholic hierarchy to vote for any legisla-tion that has come before the Congress in the 10 years during which I served in that body. Insofar as I can recall, I have never had even a legislative recommendation from any of the hierarchy in my own State. Of course, I have been familiar with the positions which have been taken by members of the Catholic hierarchy on a number of issues and also the position which has been ex-pressed to Congress by such groups as the National Catholic Welfare Conference which through the years has given active support to such things as the mutual security program, a liberalization of immigration laws, improvement of the migratory farm labor legislation, and a number of other proposals.

Mr. HARRISON. You're speaking of national affairs. But what about the intervention of the hierarchy in local affairs? You may re-call the fight in the State legislature of Connecticut in 1957 over a school bus bill by which the State would have provided cer-tain assistance to Roman Catholic parochial schools. The bill finally was passed after a tie vote by the vote of the Speaker, who was not himself a Catholic. During the debate a pastorial letter from Archbishop Henry J. O'Brien, of Hartford, was read at all masses in the State on the Sunday before the vote, counselling Catholics, Catholic parents, that "since more than 62 percent of the children born in 1956 are Catholic, you should carefully observe the action taken, especially that of your local representative."

Senator McCarthy. A number of cases exist in which similar action has been taken on other issues by members of the Catholic clergy as well as by clergymen of other de-nominations. The same sort of question was raised in California when the attempt was made to take away the tax exemption given to church property. Both Catholics and Protestants spoke out strongly against the proposed amendment in the course of this last campaign. The question here is one of proper methods and of balance and restraint.

Mr. Harrison. Any discriminating citizen would probably grant that Catholics should have the same right to influence people as anybody else. But we are led to the fear of some that should they become powerful enough, Catholics wouldn't tolerate open competition. Non-Catholics bring up the statement of Leo XIII in his Encyclical on the "Constitution of States," where he said: "It is not lawful for the State any more than for the individual either to disregard all religions or to hold in equal favor different kinds of religion." People aren't worried because Cardinal Spellman has influence, but of what might happen to dissenters should Catholics win control of the country.

Senator McCarthy. I refer again to the statement of the Catholic bishops and the statement of Archbishop McNicholas which I quoted earlier. I am sure you are familiar, too, with the statements of Father John Courtney Murray. I, myself, wrote in an article in Commonweal, in 1951, as follows: "The proposition that a Catholic majority could rightfully suppress Protestant or other religious minorities teaching nothing likely to subvert the temporal common good is tenable. In the same way the argument that a Protestant or other religious majority could rightfully proscribe or interfere with re-ligious freedom of Catholics is also unten-I have not been excommunicated.

Mr. HARRISON. You would describe yourself as a believing Catholic?

Senator McCarthy. Yes-and practicing. Mr. Harrison. What connection do you personally make between the doctrines and the moral principles put forward by the church and your day-to-day political de-

Senator McCarthy. It is hard to give a short answer. My thesis is that strictly

speaking there is no such thing as a Catholic or Christian politics, or a Catholic or Christian political system, or a Catholic or Christian form of government, any more than you can properly speak of a Catholic physics or a Catholic geometry. It's a mistake to label a political party a Catholic party, as they do in some of the European countries, or a Christian Democratic Party as they've done in Germany.

Mr. HARRISON. Why?

Senator McCarthy. Because it gives to what is properly political action a kind of religious overtone which is improper. There is a danger in it both to proper political procedures and a danger in it too to religion and religious institutions. The line should be kept clear. It doesn't follow from this that there is no such thing as a Catholic or a Christian approach to certain issues. If a Christian genuinely accepts the teachings of his church with regard to his obligations to his fellow man, it seems to me that this would be reflected in his approach to a prob-lem like immigration, or famine relief to India or Haiti. But this is not strictly speaking a Christian politics.
Mr. Harrison. You use Christian and Cath-

olic interchangeably.
Senator McCarthy, That's right, and in these areas the distinctions are rather hard to draw. I would include the humanists, too. I'm only saying that since the Christian does have certain beliefs those beliefs ought to be

reflected in his approach to politics.

Mr. Harrison, Apparently some Catholic editors felt that Senator Kennedy's article in Look magazine didn't acknowledge sufficiently the influence religious convictions should have on political behavior. The most controversial part of that article, at least to the Catholic press, appears to have been his remark that, "Whatever one's religion and his private life, nothing can take precedence over his oath."

Senator McCarthy, Senator Kennedy was both criticized and defended in the Catholic press. But before commenting, I would like to divide the statement and say first that there is no conflict between Catholicism and the oath of office which one is called upon to take as President of the United States, as a Member of the U.S. Congress, or for any other Government office. And, on the other hand, to say that one's religion does have bearing upon his political activities and upon his theory of politics. The United States has never demanded of its citizens absolute submission to political power. Dean Sayre, dean of the Episcopal Cathedral of Washington, summarized this admirably in a television program last June when he said that, "No Christian can grant to the State an absolute right over his conscience"; and went on to say that Catholics, as well as Protestants, owe "allegiance to the Lord which is over and above and beyond the allegiance that we owe to the State." In our own time, the Nazi war crimes which were committed in the name of the State were challenged and individuals were punished following the trials on the basis of the existence of a higher, although unwritten, law and responsibility.

Mr. HARRISON. We started by agreeing that a good deal of this current discussion has arisen again because of the prospect of a Catholic presidential candidate. And since the President is directly charged with responsibility for conducting our foreign af-fairs, it will certainly be asked whether a Catholic President wouldn't be heavily influenced by a Vatican foreign policy line.

Senator McCarrhy. I don't see any danger of that happening, really, because for one thing, the international political policy of the Catholic Church is hard to determine and insofar as it can be determined, it seems to coincide largely with U.S. foreign policy. The possibility that because the Catholic Church is aggressively anti-Communist, U.S. policy might be forced into a fixed mold which would not allow for any flexibility or adjustment seems remote.

Mr. Harrison. You say it would be very difficult to define the international "line" of the Roman Catholic Church. Yet isn't it true that the church in every country has been anti-Socialist and disposed to conservative rightwing parties?

Senator McCarthy. There is some truth in what you say. It should be noted, however, that European socialism, at least in the beginning, was usually doctrinaire rather than practical or pragmatic, and as a general rule included anticlericalism if not anti-religion as accompanying that objective. In more recent years, however, this hard line has been softened. Catholic political parties and the Socialists have been working closely together for the recovery of Western Europe. In the United States, the programs which generally have been labeled as socialistic have been supported by Catholics in the Congress. The British Labour Party too, I believe, has strong Catholic support. There is certainly in Catholic teaching and

writing a great body of thought supporting economic, social, and political change.

Mr. Harrison. Do you think that in our lifetime a Catholic, assuming he is qualified, could be elected President?

Senator McCarthy. It depends on the personality of the candidate and on the issues. Catholicism itself would not be an insuperable obstacle in my opinion.

Mr. Harrison. How do you explain the fact that Harry Truman, a Baptist, proposed to send a representative to the Vatican and JACK KENNEDY, a Catholic, says he thinks it's a bad idea?

Senator McCarthy. I will not undertake to explain Senator Kennedy's position, but I have heard President Truman discuss his attitude a number of times. It was his opinion that the Vatican would provide an excellent listening post and that it would have been helpful to American policy to have an Ambassador there. It is possible that Mr. Truman overemphasized and overvalued the Vatican as a listening post. It is my opinion that the desire of the President in power on an issue of this kind should be given a great deal of weight. The question raised by Senator Kennedy of the division which might result at home, however, is deserving of consideration also.

Mr. Harrison. Aren't you considerably more willing to let people follow their own inclinations in terms of what they read, what they hear, what kind of medical care they are going to have, than are the majority of your coreligionists? Isn't your brand of liberalism unusual for a Catholic?

Senator McCarthy. I assume you're using "liberalism" as synonymous with a respect for civil liberties and civil rights, an enlightened internationalism, a willingness to experiment and to use the power of government to promote economic justice and security. Well, in this sense, I doubt whether my liberalism is unusual for a Catholic. I could name two or three Senators who are, on the record, just as liberal as I am if not more so. I think that voting records will show that certainly on the average, Catholics in both the Senate and the House are more liberal than the average of the Congress taken altogether.

Mr. Harrison. Do you think we all ought to say in advance of the 1960 campaign that religious affiliations has no relevance and should be ruled out of the political debate?

Senator McCarthy. No. I wouldn't say that it has no relevance or that it should be ruled out of political debate altogether. But in my opinion, only proper questions should be asked and the political debate on the issues should be kept within bounds. It is quite improper to ask a man who offers himself as a candidate for the Presidency or who is proposed by a major political party with the full knowledge that he will have to take the oath of office whether or not he will hon-

estly fulfill that oath of office. To the extent that religious beliefs may influence political action, then inquiry into the stand of a candidate on those issues may have some justification. One might wish to question a Christian Scientist on the question of medical research; a Quaker on national defense policy, a Catholic on a possible national divorce law. But none should be prejudged Unfortunately the wrong questions are too often asked or the right questions asked improperly or directed to the wrong persons.

Mr. Harrison. Yet, no candidate for the Presidency has felt obligated in the past to discuss his relationship with the Baptist Church or the Episcopalian Church. This whole discussion seems to be exclusively relevant to Catholic candidates.

Senator McCarthy. In fairness, the questions which might be asked of one denomination I think should be asked of members of all others since on no one of these issues could one be absolutely certain of the position taken by members of the other denominations that might be involved.

Mr. Harrison. What about such charges as were circulated in California in 1958 against Pat Brown, that the election of a Catholic as governor would result in the abolition of the public school system. Isn't that an example of an out-of-bounds use of religious affiliation as a way of discrediting a candidate?

Senator McCarthy. Yes; since it involved a prejudgment of Pat Brown and I am sure a misrepresentation of his position. It would, of course, be in order if a person were not informed to inquire as to what stand Pat Brown took on a current issue relating to the public school system. I am sure that on the basis of his record as attorney general that this record would be clear to most people.

Mr. Harrison. What do you think is at the bottom of the continuing doubt and suspicion of Catholics in some liberal, egghead circles?

Senator McCarthy. I think that basically this doubt and suspicion arises from the liberals' position that everyone should have an open mind and make his decisions issue by issue and that since, according to the liberal's judgment, Catholics are doctrinaire, they cannot approach each issue with a fully open mind. The fact is that in many case the liberals are really doctrinaire in their way and issue by issue are inclined to be as doctrinaire as anyone else is. I think it would be helpful if the word liberal could somehow be copyrighted and used only under carefully circumscribed conditions. Perhaps its use as a noun should be outlawed so that henceforth no one would be simply a liberal, but would have to be a liberal something. In politics he would be a liberal Democrat or a liberal Republican or a liberal vegetarian. If religion were to be the substantive used to distinguish, he would be a liberal Catholic, a liberal Episcopalian, or a liberal Presbyterian or a liberal of some other denomination. This, it seems to me, would make things simpler for those who are called liberals as well as for the critics of liberals and liberalism.

American Library Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON, RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 26, 1959

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the American Library Association held their annual convention in Washington this week. Several thousand delegates representing this great organization were present and outlined future plans, both legislative and otherwise, for expansion and progress in the great work and service which they are giving to the American public.

Millions throughout America, in all walks of life and in all areas, including rural, urban, and sections of the courtry, only a few years ago could not enjoy the fruits and benefits of our public library system.

At the request of Mrs. Ruth Berg, of Munster, Ind., who for years has been a devoted official and worker for expanded library service, I submit the following speech made on Thursday, June 25, 1959, at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, D.C., by Mr. Emerson Greenaway, president of the American Library Association, for the information of the Members of the House of Representatives:

REMARKS OF ALA PRESIDENT EMERSON GREEN\*
AWAY AT A LUNCHEON HONORING MEMBERS
OF CONGRESS AT THE MAYFLOWER HOTELS
THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1959

As president of the Américan Library Association, I wish to express to the Senators and Representatives our heartfelf thanks for your continued helpfulness in enabling librarians to fulfill better their duties and obligations to the adults, the young people and the children of this Nation. We are glad that you have been able to spare time from your very busy schedule at the Capitol to be with us today.

Librarians, of course for their constituents are associated.

ents, are especially grateful to you for have ing passed the Library Services Act of 1956 and for supporting increases in appropriations each year and our delight in the Sen ate's action yesterday in recommending the full appropriation of \$7½ million is most heartening to us. From the four corners of this Nation have of this Nation have come enthusiastic reports about educational and cultural benefits which this legislation has stimulated. County commissioners, housewives, businessmen, teachers, and persons from all walks of life praise it. Because of this act. 11 million fural Americans have public library scryles available for the public fundamental public for the public fundamental public fun library service available for the first time. and more than a hundred bookmobiles have been put into service to bring books to young and old in our small towns, villages and Large numbers of farming communities. potential readers, previously on short rations, are now beginning to be fed.

We are not unmindful of your wisdom in providing the money necessary to acquire and service the great collections needed at research in fields such as agriculture, medicine, science, cine, science, and education. The world-re-nowned Library of Congress is an outstand-ing grample of ing example of congressional action in making materials ing materials also available to scholars and research workers and the lay public with specialized problems. We value your recognition of the need for nition of the need for adequate library sources required to run efficiently the operations of the executive agencies and judicial branches judicial branches of the Federal Govern-The funds which Congress has proment. The funds which Congress has provided for American libraries abroad have been in those countries a source of true enlightenment about our accomplishments goals, and ideals.

Libraries are not merely buildings, but are collections of books and related materials serviced by trained librarians, to enable their users to understand the present or relation to the past and to build firmly (or as firmly as we can) for the future.

as firmly as we can) for the future.

It has been a privilege for us to work with you on significant educational and other you on significant educational and other you. For instance, the association interested in measures relating to juvenile

delinquency control, the problems of our aging population, the revision of depository library laws to make Government publica tions more widely available.

Our association represents librarians and trustees from all types and sizes of libraries, from metropolitan areas to sparsely populated regions, from mountains, plains, and deserts, just as you represent the several States which vary widely in many respects.

We are a relatively small group but our legislative concerns are many. The ALA appreciates the unfalling courtesy and helpfulness with which you, as representatives of the people, the able members of your staffs, and committee personnel support library programs which affect the lives of all cities of the lives of all citizens of this country. We feel that this country. We feel that this is a good investment which will pay sound dividends.

## Leap Into the Dark

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. ROY W. WIER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 26, 1959

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert an editorial appearing in the Washington Post yesterday, June 23, entitled "Leap Into the Dark."

I feel this editorial fully expresses the very definite position in the matter confronting the Congress at this time.

## LEAP INTO THE DARK

The legal Pandora's box concocted by Representative Howard Smith is once more before the House of Representatives. Its authors have represented it to be a simple measure of limited scope designed to cure a great evil—the unnecessary invalidation of Statea laws by the Supreme Court. Actually it is one of the most complicated measures ever to come before Congress, and, instead of mending any defect in Federal-State relations, it would unloose a veritable plague of confusion as to where Federal law ends and State law begins.

The bill is in the form of a mandate to the courts. It provides that

"No act of Congress shall be construed as ndicating an intent on the part of Con-gress to occupy the field in which such act operates, to the exclusion of all State laws on the same subject matter, unless such Act contains an express provision to that effect, or unless there is a direct and positive conflict has flict between such act and a State law so that the two cannot be reconciled or consistently stand together."

It would be one thing to tell the courts that hereafter Congress intends to specify whether the courts are the courts of the courts are the courts of the co whether its acts should be regarded as nullifying all State legislation in the same field. It would be quite another thing to say, as this bill does, that no legislation now on the books was intended to have exclusive sway even though the legislation was passed without considering that specific point. This would envelop in doubt many statutes in the flat. the field of drug control, immigration, fi-

nance, labor, transportation and so forth. Representative Kastenmeter has made the point that passage of this bill would give Congress "the very real obligation to re-evaluate and reform all existing Federal statutes in color of the congress whether of statutes and reform all existing retained in order to determine whether or not each statute shall expressly preempt State and local laws." That task he suggests would be considered in section until gests would keep Congress in session until Christmas. The Congressman is optimistic.

With Mr. SMITH'S muddler on the books, Congress would be fortunate if it straightened out the law in several years of continuous session.

Originally this bill was designed chiefly to upset the Supreme Court's decision in the Steve Nelson case. It was commonly assumed that the Court in that case had invalidated State laws dealing with subversion against the Federal Government. In the recent Uphaus case, however, a majority of the Court said that the enforceability of the Pennsylvania Sedition Act had merely been superseded by the Federal Smith Act. "All the [Nelson] opinion pro-scribed," the Court said, "was a race between Federal and State prosecutors to the court-house door." That seems to leave the States all the leeway that would be tolerable in fighting subversion, which is primarily a national concern.

Despite this clarification of the Court's intent, or shift in its position, the demand for a shotgun remedy is pressed in the House. Members will be reckless indeed if they vote for this leap into the dark without knowing what the outcome may be. Seldom has the House been in such grave danger of playing the role of wrecker under the pretense of straightening out the law.

#### Garrison Diversion Unit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. QUENTIN BURDICK

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 26, 1959

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I include in the Rec-ORD a resolution adopted by the North Dakota State Water Conservation Commission on June 19, 1959. As I pointed out to the Appropriations Committee and to the House, the full appropriation was necessary to prevent disruption and undue delay in this worthwhile and necessary project.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION OF THE NORTH DAKOTA STATE WA-TER CONSERVATION COMMISSION URGING RES-TORATION OF HOUSE REDUCTION IN THE 1960 BUDGET ESTIMATE FOR THE GARRISON DIVER-

Whereas the Congress of the United States, when authorizing the Missouri River Basin project in 1944, agreed to provide an adequate water supply for and to execute a comprehensive program of reclamation develop-ment in North Dakota as part compensation for the taking of more than half a million acres of good farmlands for the construction of the Garrison and Oahe Reservoirs; and

Whereas the Garrison diversion unit, in the central and eastern portions of the State, proposes the irrigation of 1,007,000 acres of lands, already under cultivation, in the vicinity of the Souris, Sheyenne, and upper James Rivers, the restoration of lakes and streams, and the providing for pollution abatement and supplying of municipal and industrial water along the three rivers and in the valley of the Red River of the North; and

Whereas North Dakota's stake in the basin project is the promised irrigation development, without which the State and her people will not be fully compensated, under the agreement, for the loss of valuable lands taken for reservoirs, the production, income, and tax revenue from which are forever lost;

Whereas the Bureau of Reclamation in 1957 completed a unit report presenting the general plan of development and its feasibility along with detailed data for those features proposed for initial construction, and has continued working on detailed topographic mapping and land classification. canal, lateral, and drainage layouts, cost estimates and economic studies in selected areas in order to complete and have available definite plan reports thereon; and

Whereas the House of Representatives reduced by \$250,000 the budget estimate of \$550,000 for the Garrison diversion unit, which reduction will badly disrupt the technical staff, seriously hamper and delay the work programed for fiscal year 1980, and ultimately increase the project cost by an

amount greater than any savings effected thereby: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the North Dakota State Water Conservation Commission, the State agency having jurisdiction, control, and supervision over the water resources and their development, meeting in the State capitol. Bismarck, N. Dak., June 19, 1959, That the Senate Committee on Appropriations and the conference committee on public works appropriations for 1960 be, and they are hereby, most respectfully petitioned and requested to approve and recommend the restoration of the \$250,000 House reduction in the budget estimate of \$550,000 for the Garrison diversion unit; and be it further

Resolved, That the commission secretary transmit copies hereof to Senators WILLIAM LANGER and MILTON R. YOUNG, and Senator CARL HAYDEN, chairman, Senate Committee on Appropriations, and to Representatives QUENTIN N. BURDICK and DON L. SHORT, and Bepresentative CLARENCE CANNON, chairman. House Committee on Appropriations.

## Indiana Calumet Region Now a Standard Metropolitan Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 26; 1959

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the Calumet region of Indiana wishes to commend the Bureau of the Budget for establishing the Gary, Hammond, and East Chicago new standard metropolitan area. This great industrial area is northwest Indiana is now composed of over a half-million people and is the most rapidly growing area in the United

The action of the Bureau of the Budget reveals that it is cognizant of this great growth and in separating northwest Indiana from the Chicago metro-politan area, the department is in step with the march of progress.

The following editorial by Carl M. Davidson, managing editor of the Hammond (Ind.) Times sets out additional facts in regard to the new metropolitan

METROPOLITAN AREA A CAUSE FOR PRIDE

Although he may be somewhat puzzled about its precise meaning, every Lake County resident can take pride in the fact that the U.S. Budget Bureau has designated Gary. Hammond, and East Chicago as a new standard metropolitan area.

Reduced to its simplest terms, the designation means just this: The Government finally has recognized this area's tremendous growth in population and its development into one of the Nation's major industrial centers.

Previously, Lake County was included as a part of the Chicago metropolitan area. Government figures concerning population, labor force and industrial output in this area were lumped with those of Chicago and vicinity.

The result was confusion. For example, an industry considering the location of a plant in Lake County found it difficult, if not impossible, to segregate the figures pertaining to Gary, Hammond and East Chicago from the totals for the Chicago area.

The idea of considering Lake County as a part of the greater Chicago area was perhaps appropriate when it was set up in the 1919 Census of Manufacturers. But, as the years went by and Lake County's industries mushroomed, the plan became obsolete.

A handful of Lake County businessmen first asked for a separate designation from the Budget Bureau more than 3 years ago. Nothing was acomplished at that time.

This spring, however, the request was renewed with support from the chambers of commerce of Gary, Hammond, and East Chicago, and the Inter-Chamber Council of Lake County. U.S. Senators and Representatives from Indiana also supported the plea.

Together, these champions of Lake County pointed out that the old system was unfair to an area that had "come of age," so to speak. They contend, and rightly so, that the mighty Gary, Hammond, East Chicago industrial community deserved recognition as an entity entirely separate from Chicago.

Under the old plan, Lake County's light was being hidden under Chicago's bushel. For instance, Chicago had gained fame as the Nation's leading steel producing and petroleum refining center, while in fact the giant steel mills and refineries that made this reputation possible actually are in Lake County, Ind.

When the facts were in, the Budget Bureau announced the change creating a new Gary-Hammond-East Chicago metropolitan area, which includes Lake and Porter Countles. In turn, McHenry County, Ill., was added to the Chicago metropolitan area.

One of the important considerations that led to the change was the small number of Lake County people who commute to jobs in Chicago. The Budget Bureau stipulates that at least 15 percent of a county's resident working population must commute to the central city or county of a metropolitan area to be considered a part of it. Only 11.7 percent of Lake County's workers commute to Cook County for work, the Bureau reported.

McHenry County was added to the Chicago area, the Bureau said, because 28.3 percent of McHenry's labor force works in Cook County.

The change was made in sufficient time to be reflected when the Census Bureau makes its 1960 population count. The Gary-Hammond-East Chicago area will be listed separately in various kinds of statistics—population, births, deaths, labor force, and other business and industrial figures.

Some Chicagoans are understandably unhappy about the change in listings, for the effect on Chicago's rating will be marked. As an example, the new designation will drop the Chicago metropolitan area from second to 30th in industrial rank among the 192 standard metropolitan areas in the United States. Also, it is expected that the exclusion of the Gary-Hammond-East Chicago area will lower Chicago from second place to third among the Nation's most populous areas when the 1960 population count is made. Los Angeles is expected to move ahead of Chicago into second place behind New York.

What the Chicago objectors have failed to realize, however, is that "the boy next door" has grown up. On the basis of its rapid growth, the Gary-Hammond-East Chicago

area deserved greater recognition years ago.
Lake County's population grew from
159,957 in 1920 to 451,400 in 1958. Hammond went from 36,004 inhabitants to
108,800 in the same period, while Gary increased from 55,376 to 178,700. The area's

creased from 55,376 to 178,700. The area's industrial growth has been equally impressive.

Thus, in its designation as a metropolitan area the Gary-Hammond-East Chicago community has gained only what it justly deserved.

The change was a long time coming but, though belated, is a welcome recognition. Speaking for the entire community, we're pleased and proud.

Panama Canal: New Transit Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. CLARK W. THOMPSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 26, 1959

Mr. THOMPSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the May 1959 transit record of the Panama Canal of 897 oceangoing commercial vessels has established a new high and evoked a thoughtful editorial

in the June 3, 1959, issue of the Star and

Herald of Panama, Republic of Panama.

This increase in traffic again emphasizes the necessity for major operational improvement and increase of capacity of the Panama Canal now being studied by a special board of consultants under the direction of the Committee on Merchant

Marine and Fisheries.
The editorial follows:

CANAL SETS NEW TRANSIT RECORD

We congratulate the Panama Canal and all its loyal and efficient workers on its new record in the number and efficiency of the transits chalked up during the month of May of this year.

May of this year.

We quote from our Tuesday edition story captioned "Canal Transits Hit Record During May."

"For the second time in Panama Canal history, total traffic for 1 month exceeded 1,000 vessels as oceangoing commercial traffic in May reached a new high mark of 897 vessels.

"The previous record for commercial traffic was established only last March when 882 ships of over 300 tons or more went through the waterway."

That is a very great record of efficiency and safety.

The Panama Canal has meant greatly to world maritime traffic. It has meant virtually everything to Panama; a constant stream of world maritime traffic, visitors from all over the world, increased commercial prominence, many other benefits almost too many to mention, including sanitation.

We might say that our two communities on this isthmus, Panama and the Canal Zone, are giving the world a living example that two nations, one largely Latin, the other North American, with a smattering of foreigners who live here because they like it, can live together in peace and friendship.

There are neither barriers nor restrictions in crossing our borders. We celebrate jointly our respective national holidays, attend each other's fiestas, and are never challenged by the authorities of either jurisdiction as we move from one to the other.

The Panama Canal has brought our Americas together as probably no other achievement could have done. It has meant greatly

for Panama. Built primarily as a defense measure for the United States far flung coastlines, it, Panama, has become a tourist paradise and a healty, happy land in which

Incidentally let us note that the Panama Canal has been added to the official list as the eighth wonder of the world.

It Was a Mighty Good Wheat Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. QUENTIN BURDICK

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 26, 1959

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I include a broadcast by the Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association of St. Paul, Minn., on June 24, 1959:

Now that Congress has passed a mighty good wheat bill, what is coming up next?
The Secretary of Agriculture, as you know, has denounced the bill as he was expected to do. The President is silent, but there is little doubt he'll veto the bill, just as he did his "golden promise" to agriculture years ago.

But this does not mean wheat farmers are right back where they started from. Far from it. This wheat bill is a big victory for the farmers in these States, because they did what the political experts said could not be done. The driving, pressuring, pounding did get a good wheat bill started in the House and through the Senate. It gave Republican Senators in our States, all except Case, of South Dakota, the courage to defy the White House because they knew what the farmers want. So whatever happens from now on in the wheat referendum on July 23 will be a lot more important in the eyes of the Nation.

This is a good bill because farmers put pressure on Congress. It was good politics because this wheat bill: Out the surplus, cuts the costs, protects wheat farmers income, and puts a top ceiling on big payments.

But you will soon hear loud wails from many of the big pressure outfits, complaining this is politics. Take Life magazine, for example. Once a week, regular as the mall-man makes his rounds, this big, thick picture magazine comes to the GTA office; it is full of pictures, and, lately, the pictures show big grain farmers knee deep in stored grain. Whatever the editors are trying to do, they leave the impression on the average city reader that farming, somehow, has become a racket and farmers are shady characters who get fat subsidies to grow grain for the Government and put it in big bins at the taxpayers' expense.

Now, the reason we mention Life magazine is that while the editors leave the impression that no farmer had a moral right to get any Government help, we ran smack-dab into an article which tells how hard it is for the corporation executive to live on \$850.000 a year.

\$50,000 a year,
We are not kidding. So help us, Hannah,
here is the gospel as it appears in Life magazine—and we are quoting word for word:
hes

"By the time a \$50,000-a-year man finishes paying his Federal income taxes (about \$14,000), State income taxes (about \$3,000 in New York), the taxes and mortgage payments on a \$75,000 house, \$5,000 for servants or run the place, the payments on a \$6,000 Cadillac, and a \$3,500 sports car for his wife, the \$2,500 that it costs to send the older daughter to college, and the \$1,500 for the

younger son to prep school, \$2,500 for insurance, \$2,000 for charity, and \$3,000 that it costs to belong to a golf club in the country and a luncheon club in town, and the \$3,000 or more that it costs him in pocket money fust to go to work every day-after these

necessities of the very successful executive life, he has very little left for anything else."
We have no idea how many readers of Life magazine, or the readers of this script, are now overcome by grief and unable to carry on because of their worries over how \$50,000 executives can make both ends meet.

The whole Life magazine article would be hilariously amusing if it were not so tragically true that millions of farmers and working people must live on \$4,000 or \$5,000 a year, or less,

It is this economic truth that turns the Life article into a ridiculous farce.

### Foreign Aid Program for Laos

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 26, 1959

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a perceptive editorial from a recent edition of the Boston Herald, discussing the controversy over foreign aid to the country of Laos:

## How STRONG A BASTION?

The House Government Operations Committee is having a running fight with the Eisenhower administration just now over our aid program in Laos. And superficially the administration is having the better of it.

The committee contends that our aid to the committee contends that outheast the tiny (91,000-square-mile) Southeast Asian country is wasteful and inefficient. It is getting more American aid per capita than any other nation, and most of the aid, says the committee, is going into the pockets of local warlords and corrupt businessmen.

The State Department and the International Cooperation Agency admit that there have been some irregularities in aid administration tration, which are now being corrected. But they point out that the program's main purwhich is to bolster Laos against Communist infiltration, is being handsomely achieved. With American help, the Laotlan Government has recently extended its authority into territory previously controlled by Pathet Lao (Communist) rebels, and it has just thrown the last Communist out of

This is an all but clinching proof that the ald program has been worthwhile.

There are still serious questions, however. The Laotian Government, under its vigorous Young leader, Phoui Sananikone, is indeed now strongly anti-Communist. But its re-cent activities have aroused Laos' Communist neighbors, China and North Vietnam, and have caused Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko to propose reactivation of the International Control Commission which operated in Laos after the French withdrew in 1955.

Some observers fear that the Reds are planning an invasion of Laos as a diversion for Berlin and the failure of the Geneva conference. And that would produce a real test of Laos' effectiveness as an anti-Communist bastion.

The little kingdom is completely land-locked, which means that outside aid would have to come through neutral Burma or mountainous Thailand, Cambodia, or South Vietnam. Also the country has no paved roads or railroads so that supply and deployment would be difficult. And worst of all, its outsize (25,000-man) American-supported army is not considered battleworthy, particularly against Communist enemies.

Which brings us back again to the congressional criticisms. Should we not, the committee asks, have spent less money on building up an army that won't or can't fight, and more on the Laotian people and economy? In a real showdown with the Reds won't it be our massive retaliation that counts? Won't we, in the end, have to be the bastion?

The answers to these questions are not yet clear. But the issues are critical. Congress and the administration should be working together, not in opposition, to resolve them

#### Curbing Military Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

#### HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 26, 1959

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, one of our country's outstanding daily newspapers, the Milwaukee Journal, Milwaukee, Wis., in an editorial pub-lished June 19, 1959, has stressed a point that a number of us in Congress have made on many previous occasions. This newspaper pointed out that in our military and economic aid program, our principal purpose should be to help those underdeveloped countries that want to help themselves.

The editorial also quotes my distinguished colleague and friend, the Honorable CHESTER BOWLES, of Connecticut, as one of those who are speaking out in Congress that we must strive to set strict standards on our assistance.

This editorial, which deserves a thoughtful reading by all of us, follows: CURBING MILITARY AID

Policymakers in the State Department argue that military aid and defence support funds given many underdeveloped nations are vital for their economic and political stability.

If they don't get such aid, the argument goes, they will put themselves into economic and even moral debt for arms-and that debt might end up being owed to the Soviet Union. Even if these countries of Latin America, Asia, and Africa do not need arms, it is claimed, they demand them for prestige

As to defense support-aid given to help a nation keep its military forces going— Undersecretary of State Dillon contends that it is vital. If the underdeveloped nations didn't get it, they would reduce domestic spending for economic projects in order to keep from cutting military forces.

This is like saying that we are more interested in the development of these nations than they are themselves. If this is true, we're wasting more than money. We're wasting time, too. If wasteful and unnecessary arms and military establishments are necessary to prod a nation into economic development, then the main essential of development—desire—is lacking. Our main interest ought to be in helping people who want to help themselves.

Representative Bowles, Democrat of Connecticut, who favors economic aid but asks military aid cuts, wants us to set strict standards on aid. He wants it to go to nations which "demonstrate a willingness to sacrifice in their own behalf and whose governments are so organized that they can use our help with a minimum of waste." He would demand that nations getting aid have a definite development plan, curb luxuries imported from outside and institute tax and land reforms.

Such a program would automatically knock out much wasteful military aid. It. would help guarantee that our money was not being wasted and that we were helping people with a real desire to develop. Bowles' stand makes infinitely more sense than the official Government attitude.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee seems to agree. It has voted to cut military aid to individual Latin American countrie and prohibit aid that helps keep dictator governments in power. That's marching in the right direction.

Department of Justice and ASCAP Reach Agreement on Amended De-

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 26, 1959

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, last Friday, June 19, 1959, a proposed amended consent judgment was at long last presented to Judge Sylvester Ryan in the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York, in the Government's case against the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers. I understand this proposal has not finally been accepted because, for the time being, the judge is holding it under advisement.

Early in 1958, subcommittee No. 5 of the House Small Business Committee received a multitude of complaints concerning the operations and policies of ASCAP. These complaints disclosed that a number of small business publishers and composers had been forced out of business and that others were facing a similar fate. As a result, public hearings were held during March and April 1958 at which time comprehensive and exhaustive data were developed respecting the policies and procedures applied by the society.

The witnesses that appeared before the subcommittee made it clear that changes in the operations of the society must be brought about if the smaller publishers and composers were to remain in business. This testimony seemed to establish that the larger publishers and composers had arranged to perpetuate themselves in power as controlling members of . the board of directors; that the royalties collected by the society were distributed inequitably and in such manner as to thwart the growth or expansion of the smaller and newer members. ASCAP's grievance machinery was attacked by witnesses who testified that members complaining to the society were deprived of the privilege of access to the society's records. Generally speaking. the hearings demonstrated the urgency for action by the Department of Justice in connection with the entire situation.

The subcommittee, by House Report the recent shooting down by the Reds of No. 1710, 85th Congress, concluded that remedies for the more important problems disclosed by its hearings may be available through appropriate action by the Department of Justice. The complete record of the testimony taken by the subcommittee, together with the subcommittee's recommendations, was promptly furnished to the Department of Justice. Almost immediately thereafter, the Department opened negotiations with attorneys for ASCAP with the view in mind of determining whether agreement could be reached respecting the provisions of an amended consent decree which would remedy those evils brought to light by the subcommittee's hearings. Negotiations continued for over a year and have culminated in the proposed judgment that was presented to Judge Ryan last Friday.

As of this date, the text of the proposed agreement has not been made available to the subcommittee, but promptly upon receipt it will be carefully and thoroughly reviewed by the com-

The Honorable Robert A. Bicks, Acting Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Antitrust Division, has requested Judge Ryan to permit all interested parties, including especially the smaller publisher and composer members of the society, to have the opportunity of analyzing the terms of the agreement and of expressing their views to the court prior to its acceptance. I believe that Mr. Bicks is to be commended for this procedure which should insure that the provisions of the decree will provide the remedy intended. If the judge grants this request of Mr. Bicks, certainly the smaller publishers and composers should take advantage of the opportunity afforded and I urge them to do so.

I have always felt that consent decrees in antitrust matters should be placed in abeyance for a reasonable length of time prior to final acceptance by the court and heretofore have introduced legislation calling for such pro-cedure. It seems to me that the public interest can be protected only when some

such policy is applied.

Certainly it is gratifying to know that the Antitrust Division has taken decisive action in this case. It is hoped that this action will lead to the acceptance by the court of a decree that will provide a climate in which the smaller composers and publishers may compete effectively and be placed in a position that will permit them to receive the full benefits and fruits of their membership in the society.

## Patrol Flights by American Planes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 26, 1959

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, the country has been deeply disturbed by a naval patrol plane off the coast of Korea.

Particularly disturbing has been the information that this plane was unescorted and that it had not been equipped with sufficient weapons to defend itself against enemy attack.

I have been particularly interested in this unwarranted incident of aggression because the pilot of the Navy plane, Lt. Comdr. Donald Mayer, comes from Litchfield, Conn., in my district and I have requested a report on the matter from the Secretary of Defense.

I was, therefore, very much interested in the comments on this subject by William Randolph Hearst, Jr., editor in chief of the Hearst newspapers, in the June 21, 1959 issue of those papers,

I insert Mr. Hearst's comments herewith.

All of us were shocked this week by the revelation that the unescorted naval patrol plane shot up by the Reds off Korea had practically no weapons with which to defend itself.

A second shock came when the Navy stated there are no orders to escort future patrol flights.

Representative FLOOD, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, advanced a novel idea when he suggested that, since admirals who wear wings are supposed to be able to fly planes, the next patrol flight should be manned by 14 admirals.

You can bet that a planeload of admirals would have an escort enough to fill the skies.

Everybody I've talked to is really mad about the unarmed plane, and the Navy brass must realize they can't just talk their way around the situation. It calls for follow through to make sure American boys aren't going to be sent on dangerous missions without weapons of defense.

## The Federal Government in the Oil Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 26, 1959

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, the program of mandatory controls on imports of oils into this country marks an unprecedented peacetime move of our Government to control and regulate a domestic industry.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the text of a message to the employees and shareholders of the Gulf Oil Corp., which appeared in a recent edition of the Orange Disc, magazine of the Gulf companies:

GULF OIL CORP., Pittsburgh, Pa.

To Fellow Employees and Shareholders of Gulf Oll Corp.:

For some time now our Federal Government in the name of national security has been inching its way into the oil business. As so frequently happens when considera-tions of politics are imposed upon a competitive economic structure, the results are capricious and damaging to private industry.

This kind of activity has taken many forms, but the most recent, and from the standpoint of your interests in the Gulf Oil Corp., the most damaging sample has now taken form in a program of mandatory controls on imports of crude oil and its products, which became effective on March 11. The results of this action appear likely to bedevil the international oil industry years to come.

Gulf's position concerning imports of foreign crude has always been one that Gulf's management considered to be fair and statesmanlike in its approach. Historically, this company is one of the oldest crude importers in the country, having begun its international operations with the discovery of important oil deposits in Mexico in 1914. Since that time Gulf has spent hundreds of millions of dollars in discovering and developing petroleum reserves in various parts of the world. Its most notable successes have been in Kuwait, Venezuela, and Canada. During all of these years Gulf Oil Corp. has steadily pursued a policy aimed at finding a satisfactory balance between its imports and its position as a major producer of domestic crude. Because of this desire, and prior to any import restrictions, Guif of its own volition reduced imports, as in 1950 after domestic consumption lagged. Gulf's management also has consistently accepted and scrupulously abided by quotas fixed by governmental agencies under a voluntary program of holding imports down to such levels as may be required for the maintenance of a healthy and expanding domestic industry.

Now, however, the company finds itself, along with many other companies that occupy a historical import position, saddled with mandatory controls which are obviously more derived from political than realistic formulae, and are in the opinion of Gulf's management unfair, quixotic, and calculated to do an immeasurable amount of damage to your company's freedom of initiative and its rights to utilize crude oil deriving from its very large investments abroad. From a high point of 133,600 bar-rels per day of total imports in 1956, your company's imports have now been reduced to 80,800 barrels per day, a loss of 40 percent.

However, it is not the loss of Imports alone which are, in your management's view, the most serious aspect of the new imports control program. Presumably in answer to political pressures, the Government will allow an import quota for foreign crude oil to any refiner anywhere in the United States. A great many refiners who are eligible for quotas are so remotely removed from seaports to which foreign crude is initially delivered, that they do not, and under the very nature of things, cannot, have ever intended to use their import quotas for their own accounts. In other cases, they cannot profitably process foreign crudes simply because they lack the specialized equipment necessary for doing so.

These refiners are now actively engaged in exchanging their import quotas for domestic oil delivered to their manufacturing installations. What this means in fact is that through a policy of arbitrarily allowing quotas to refiners which the tas to refiners which have no historical importing position, have no investments abroad, have never risked a single dollar in the quest for foreign oil, the Government is in effect granting them a subsidy at the expense of those other companies which, like Gulf, have made substantial foreign investments. This, it seems to Gulf. it seems to Gulf's management, is a form of governmental confiscation.

The Government has notified the oil industry, particularly the domestic oil industry, that if the mandatory program should bring about an increase in domestic prices and it is very hard to see how it can fall to do so—then the same Government agencies will undertake to establish some form of price controls. In short, the Government having dumped an unfair and unworkable system on the industry is backing up its behavior by waving the shillelagh of price controls. From this position to complete control of the industry is but a short step.

Bad as this situation may be, it has still other aspects which are in effect contradictions of fundamental Government policy. The administration now in office and the Congress have both taken a position that one of the most effective means we have of developing and safeguarding mutual security of the free world is in promoting trade between nations and creating a climate conducive to private investment abroad. This is evidenced in the enactment of the Reciprocal Trade Act which Gulf supported and continues to support. In both international trade and international investment petroleum is a key commodity. Nearly one-third of the world's oceangoing fleet consists of tankers engaged in the work of moving petroleum. Almost one-third of the U.S. direct investment abroad is in petroleum and in 1956 well over one-half of the total U.S. capital expenditure abroad was made by the oil industry. Now the countries in which the oil is being produced, are, in effect, being told that the sale of their products in the United States constitutes a threat to our own national security, which is about the same thing as saying the maintenance of mutual security among the free nations is a threat to our national well-being.

To the embarrassment of our own Government, this contradiction has been pointed out by some of the countries which are receiving benefits from oil production created by American capital and, as a result of their protest, it now appears likely that the Federal Government will make some kind of an effort to grant one or more of these nations a favored import position. As always follows when a government that espouses the concept of free trade takes on the contradictory task of raising arbitrary barriers to trade freedom, this can only lead to a serious deterioration of our relations with those countries that may be discriminated against. But even this situation is not the end of it.

Trade barriers in one country inevitably lead to the erection of similar barriers in other countries and we now face the possibility that one of the great oil producing nations will impose production quotas and export quotas which would have the effect of denying some producers full access to the results of their long-time, large investments while granting markets to others who have made no investment in markets, either domestic or worldwide. In short, as a result of the U.S. mandatory program, the oil industry now faces governmental interference and arbitrary controls at the well-head in foreign lands.

To the extent that our national well-being or, and more particularly, the well-being of our European allies, depends on foreign oil twould appear that the U.S. program will not improve our national security but will in fact have the reverse effect.

Taken altogether, the question of oil imports is one of many facets and deep complexities, but one thing is obvious. The present Government program serves neither the interests of the Nation nor of Gulf's shareholders, its employees, its dealers, or its customers. It contsitutes one of the deepest and most dangerous intrusions of politics into the affairs of your company and the industry of which it is a part that we have yet had to face.

Sincerely,

W. K. WHITEFORD, President Reserve Officers Association of the Department of New York Outlines a Program for National Survival

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. SAMUEL S. STRATTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 26, 1959

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, in these days when America confronts the menace of world Communist aggression, nothing is more important than that we should be mentally, morally, psychologically, and spiritually prepared to resist this threat, just as we try to be militarily prepared.

In that connection I am most happy to commend to the attention of Members of the House a message recently printed for wide distribution by the members of the department of New York of the Reserve Officers Association of the United States. I am proud, myself, to be a member of this great organization so deeply dedicated to promoting the cause of national security. I believe their thoughtful document deserves to be read by every American.

The article follows:

[From the Schenectady (N.Y.) Gazette]
Seven Steps to Surrender

In May a "soldier" was buried at Arlington. He did not come from West Point or Annapolis. He wore no uniform. The battle-fields on which he served were not the beaches of Normandy, Salerno, Iwo Jimo, Inchon, Quemoy, and Lebanon. Yet no citizen more deserves the honor to lie down in peace with other warriors of the Republic.

The "war" he fought—sometimes almost alone—blazes now on all fronts: at Geneva; in the back alleys of Berlin and Budapest; in the ravines of Tibet and the jungles of Indo-China; in Iraq and the Formosa Straits; in the precincts of India, the villages of Africa, the once gay city of Havana, 90 miles from our mainland. Skirmlahes of that same war rage also in America's classrooms, pulpits, newspapers, and civic forums.

The "soldier" in Arlington is John Foster Dulles. The war he fought—and we must fight—is the war of nerves, the battle of public opinion, of courage in the face of nuclear blackmail, of character versus deceit, the war of sheer will to face down tyranny and survive.

The former Secretary of State knew (as some of his critics did not) that peace, in an imperfect world, can only be won by the strong and the brave. Goodwill and hopes for the best will not prevail against International Murder, Inc., whether that syndicate is called Nazi or Communist.

John Foster Dulles, statesman and student of history, knew what happens to men and nations who try to buy "peace in our time" from a Hitler, a Mao, a Stalin, a Khrushchev. It was said of the Romans that they made a desert and called it "peace." The Soviets made a dungeon for enslaved nations and captive peoples, and call it "peace."

#### SEVEN STEPS TO SURRENDER?

Some Americans, whose thinking relies on sentiment instead of facts, feel that flexibility is the path to world Utopia. But the Communists (to do them justice) have a purpose, a plan and a passion: to dominate the planet by the end of this century.

In the face of brutal determination and cunning, how will compromise, appeasement, or another scrap of paper signed by Khrushchev save America from the fate that overtook France in 1940. Except that the blitz-krieg of tomorrow may be nuclear; and the subversion of the Communists more massive than Nazi fifth columns.

Certain pressure groups inside the United States try to soften American character, corrode the will to resist, wash out the moral foundations of national defense. Here are their deceptive arguments and some answers:

1. Atomic weapons have made war unthinkable. "Unthinkable" to whom? The rules of the playing fields of Eton are not the rules of the joint chiefs of Ivan the Terrible.

Let Russian scientists once get the edge on us (as we had it on them with our atomic monopoly), and America will see "peaceful coexistence" defined in our own cities as in the corpse-lined gutters of Budapest.

2. Military aid to our allies is obsolete; economic growth will stop communism. The Sino-Soviet Axis has three major weapons: (1) missiles with atomic warheads; (2) vast land armies to fight conventional war; (3) underground, subversive, psychological, and economic warfare techniques. Communists can destroy the world with (1) if we do not deter them with a shield of air and missile supremacy. Communists can win the world piecemeal with (2) and (3) if we do not strengthen NATO and SEATO, keep our allies in the field, increase our own capacity for limited war, and learn to wage non-military combat more efficiently.

Economic growth in backward areas—without the force to protect new nations against overt aggression or covert operations—simply means Communists will take over factories we have built and enslave people we have helped to feed.

- 3. We can't save Berlin, or Quemoy, or country X unless we are prepared to destroy world civilization. The Communists want everyone to believe that any defense against Sino-Soviet aggression is a "provocation." The record shows that firmness in Greece, Turkey, Quemoy, Lebanon, Berlin does not lead to war.
- 4. Asians and other backward peoples have never had freedom; they will accept collectivist chains in order to get industry, sanitation, and education. Here is the arrogance of some Western intellectuals who think only they can define the eternal dignity of man.

What about the revolt in Tibet? What about the 100,000 "flowers of dissent" that Mao had to cut down recently on the Chinese mainland? What about the gallant soldiers of the Republic of Korea; the freedom fighters of South Vietnam; the defenders of Formosa; the brave men who risk careers and even death by opposing communism in Thailand, Malaya, India, the Arab Middle East, Africa, and Latin America?

5. Disengagement will reduce tensions. Tension is the chief export of the Communist bloc. It is not the face-to-face confrontation of Russian and American troops that creates tension, but the unchanging goals, ceaseless lies, continuing subversion, relentless political warfare of the conspiracy in Moscow and Peiping.

The withdrawal of NATO or SEATO power will only encourage the Communists to transfer their combat resources (military, economic, and psychological) to another front. Tension will be increased by American retreat and focused on the shrinking area of freedom.

So long as communism perverts every form of human activity to the cause of conflict, it is beyond our power to reduce tensions. We can only redistribute them by carry the torch of truth more boldly behind the Iron Curtain.

6. World communism is reforming from within. If the West is patient (and doesn't stir up trouble over Hungary and Tibet), communism and capitalism will eventually merge into the world welfare state.

Mao has submerged 600 million human beings in the insect slavery of the anthill state. Maoism is more reactionary than Stalinism, and more dangerous to all Asia. The committee government that was supposed to rule Russia after Stalin's death has been asked to resign. Beria was killed by his associates, and Serov (his successor) has been deposed. Zhukov and Bulganin, who stood by Comrade Khrushchev, have been sent to the shadows. And where are Molotov, Malenkov, Kaganovich?

Was Budapest an improvement over the butchery of Katyn Forest? Does "We'll bury you" sound more amicable than the threats of Lenin and Stalin?

The Communists are adding to their atomic stockpiles, racing ahead with missiles, keeping their infantry hordes under arms, subverting the Middle East, winning elections in India, reaching a tentacle toward Cuba and other areas of Latin America, saturating the precincts of Africa with trained revolutionaries. This is reform?

7. There's no place for morals in foreign policy. Let's face it: the tyranny of Red China and Red Russia is a fact. Why not make the best deal we can? A nation expedient and perfidious in its dealings with others will decay internally too. Moral force counts for a great deal in human affairs. Once America abandons her ideals in behalf of freedom for all men, she will have nothing left but money and weapons. Neither can buy security, if others lose faith in our mission and we no longer believe in ourselves.

The bake-ovens of Nazi Germany, were a fact. The seizure of the Philippines by imperial Japan was a fact. The might of Prussia under the Kaiser was a fact. The armies of Napoleon that trampled all Europe were a fact. The overwhelming superiority of the British in the winter of Valley Forge was a fact. These facts were refuted.

was a fact. These facts were refuted.
Freemen are always under pressure to make deals, give ground, take the easy out, face realities. Some of the most lasting realities are those intangibles of character, courage, and faith in freedom that adhered to the spirit of John Foster Dulles, and to so many other Americans who gave the last full measure of devotion to this country.

The men who died at Bunker Hill and Gettysburg; the men who left sight or mind at Chateau-Thierry and on the Marne; the marines at Tarawa, the sailors in the Coral Sea, the airmen over Schweinfurt and Ploesti, the doughboys on the road to Rome and Bastogne—none of these fought to barter away the dream that is America to some murderous minion of Stalin or cousin of Genghis Khan.

We salute the memory of John Foster Dulles and his policy of unyielding opposition to Communist aggression, any place, by any means, at any time.

We invite other Americans to join with us in waging the battle of public opinion and the war of nerves which seeks to delude and conquer by undercutting national will to pay for national defense, undergird our loyal allies and increase tough-minded, diplomatic and psychological support for tens of millions already enslayed.

One great soldier was buried in May at Arlington. But in the century of total war, the front is everywhere. We are all soldiers how. And if we all cannot sleep in Arlington or at Valley Forge, let's help pick up the check for those who do.

Address Delivered by Gen. Carlos P. Romulo, Philippine Ambassador to the United States, Before the First Annual State Convention of Filipino Community Associations in Hawaii, Friday, June 19, 1959

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JOHN A. BURNS

DELEGATE FROM HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 26, 1959

Mr. BURNS of Hawaii. Mr. Speaker, recently I had the distinct privilege of attending the opening session of the United Filipino Council of Hawaii where I had the honor of making some remarks.

The Filipinos are the most recent addition to the amalgam that is Hawaii. The organization of the council marks their emergence from a semipupilage status in which they have made substantial contributions, not only to the economy of Hawaii and the United States, but to the social and cultural life of Hawaii. They have participated fully and significantly in the shaping of Hawaii's future.

Chief speaker at the convention was the Honorable Carlos Romulo, Ambassador of the Philippine Republic to the United States. An outstanding speaker who need yield to no one, General Romulo is also a highly respected, completely trustworthy friend of the United States. I am sure that the Members of the Congress—which includes many who remember General Romulo as Resident Commissioner—will find his speech informative and cogent:

#### ADDRESS BY GEN. CARLOS ROMULO

It is my privilege to convey to you at his behest the cordial greetings of the President of the Philippines. I need not tell you the keen interest that he has in your welfare. He showed it to you in person when he visited you here last June. He elevated our consulate here to consulate general. He also showed it when he sent to Honolulu to represent our Government one of the ablest officers in our foreign service. Consul General Juan Dionisio has shown by his competence, integrity of character, and patriotism that the President was right in assigning him to this delicate and important post. I know of no one who could have done a better job. He has lived up to our highest expectations.

I congratulate you for your initiative in holding this convention. Hawaii is on the threshold of a new era. You will soon be the 50th star on the American fing. There is in this action of the American people a special meaning for all Asia. It does not only establish America's permanent interest in the Pacific which is a safeguard for the peace of this important section of the globe but it is a forward step in the progress of the American people toward racial equality.

I come to you today as a representative of your mother country, the Philippines. I know that your interest in the homeland abides with you and it is for this reason that I have come to give you fresh news from our native land, I will speak frankly and honestly.

First of all, I wish to give you the solemn assurance that our freedom is not only secure but flourishing. The three coequal branches of our Government maintain their separate powers and jurisdiction; our judiciary is unassailable in its integrity; and our educational system, furnishing the lifeblood of democracy, is constantly growing. We have a Congress that has lived up to our people's faith in its ability and wisdom to legislate for the people's welfare. And no country can boast of a press less inhibited and freer than our Philippine press of which we are very proud.

Our national economy, which was completely ruined by the war when we became independent on July 4, 1946, despite the great handicaps that I will subsequently analyze, has gained new life and found a new sense of direction. We have started an industrialization program that has made it possible for us to establish 800 new industries in 5 years. We are producing more rice now than we ever did before and our aim is to produce eventually all the rice we need and have some left for export. We have succeeded the past few years in gradually narrowing the gap between our exports and imports and we hope that in the near future we will reestablish the prewar pattern of our foreign trade. (A summary of our economic progress in figures will be distributed with

copies of this address.)

Mention must also be made of the well-planned and brilliantly executed campaign against the Huks (Philippine Communists). We have defeated communism in the Philippines and staved off the threat of Communist subversion. President Garcia has signed a law outlawing the Communist Party from the Philippines. As our fighting men in Bataan and Corregidor once broke the timetable of the Japanese invasion of southeast Asia, so can we also justly claim that we have upset the timetable of Communist domination over the region and scored a telling victory for freedom and democracy. Moreover, the participation of Filipino soldiers in the Korean war affords further evidence of our determination to resist Communist aggression without as well as within our borders to the limit of our capacity.

The position of the Philippines in the strategic lifeline of the free world is not difficult to appreciate. That lifeline, as out-standing military experts have frequently stated, is based on a chain of islands extend-ing in an archive ing in an arc from the Aleutians through the Philippines to the Marianas. The need for buttressing the Philippines as a link in that defensive chain (and the advent of guided missiles has not made the chain any less important) was never more forcefully expressed than by Gen. Douglas MacArthur when, in his historic address to the U.S. Congrees, he said: "The holding of this littoral defense line in the Western Pacific is entirely dependent upon holding all segments thereof, for any breach of that line by an unfriendly power would render vulnerable to determined attack every major segment."

In the Philippines today, under President Carcia, the defenses of the free world rest securely in a situation of increasing strength. Joint Philippine-American effort is responsible for this. It is not an emergency effort based on the convenience of a transient alliance. It is the fruit, rather, of an intimate and unique partnership growing out of common devotion to freedom. It is obviously to the best interest of our two peoples that this partnership should continue unimpaired based on equality and mutual respect for each other's national sovereignty.

I have spoken of what I believe are on the credit side of our record. However, we are faced by many problems which must be

solved. To really understand our present difficulties in the Philippines in their proper perspective, it is necessary to relate them to the global picture.

The reports that come from Asia these days are not all optimistic. It is the picture really of the travall of an entire continent and the first contin and its adjacent archipelagoes. More than 1 billion people—about half of mankind—live in a region which is agitated by the tital sweep of a vast social, economic, and political transformation. The main outlines of this transformation are well known: Seveeral new states, former colonies, have come into being in Asia since the end of the war. That is a political revolution of the first magnitude. But these new states were born into a ruined and impoverished world. They have had to build their security as independent nations upon the moral and material rubble left by the war. In consequence they find themselves compelled to attempt a scotal a social and economic revolution corresponding to, and in some respects transcending to, and in some respects scending in scope and importance the political cal revolution that enabled them to wrest finally from alien hands the freedom which for long ages they had fought in vain to

This threefold revolution generated tremendous creative forces in Asia. If victory had brought real peace to the world, the new states of Asia might have had an opportunity to play their proper role and contribute their share to the life of abundance, security security, and contentment which the nations that fought for freedom envisioned and resolved to realize during the blackest days of the struggle. But the victory brought, not peace, but the cold war. The energies and and resources that might have been used to to create a new world have been diverted to, and are now being consumed in a sterile struggle which has already brought mankind perilously close to the brink of self-destruc-

How has the cold war affected us in Asia? The cold war has aggravated the political instability stability of the entire region. Economically, it has a stability of the entire region. it has impeded and stunted Asia's growth.

It has It has impeded and stunted Asias given a last impeded and stunted Asias given and the orderly evolution of a new angles of the control of the new and healthy relationship between the newly free states of Asia and the rest of the world based on their emergence from colonial to independent status.

By turning Asia into an arena of the struggle for power, the cold war has caused divisions to power, the cold war has caused the divisions between nations and intensified the conflicts between nations and intensity within patients between groups and classes within nations in the area. Under the stress of the cold war, disruptive forces which might otherwise have lain dormant or inutile have been stigntly to the play with been stimulated and brought into play with abnormal strength and malignancy

I have no intention of oversimplifying the problem. The cold war is an important factor, but only one of many factors, in the Asian equation. The aggressiveness of cer-tain nations to gain adherents for their declogy is another factor. The war left in its wake a herculean job of physical and spiritual and the control of the control o wake a herculean job of physical spiritual rehabilitation. We in Asia have our own faults and fallings which have aggravated gravated our plight and made it all the more difficult for us to solve the problems that confront us individually and as a group.

Our own people have our share of these faults. We are not a nation of saints and supermen and we do not pretend to be. We have however the saving grace of seeing ourselves as we are. Even more important we have the will and the capacity for self-cor-

You will remember that after the fall of Bataan in the spring of 1942 the Philippines was occupied by the enemy. For 3 cruel years our people endured all the terrors of occupation. occupation. Unarmed, they could not always fight in the open. They had to go underground and use the weapons of gulle, cunning, and sometimes deceit in order to harass their oppressor and hasten his downfall. Hemmed in on all sides, helpless and alone, they had be be preternaturally vigi-They had to watch everybody, including at times their own friends and kinsmen. Like all other nations which were under enemy occupation, the Filipino people experienced extremes of terror, privation, and despair which left deep wounds. They suffered, and to some extent are still suffering from moral trauma. It is part of the price of war, of resistance to tyranny, of the organic inability to submit to oppression without a struggle, of the stubborn desire, common to freemen everywhere, to fight on by whatever means, at whatever cost.

Is it strange that we are still paying today part of the cost of resistance that helped so much to win the final victory? It is an abnormal phenomenon and, I believe, a passing one. Strong corrective influences have already been set in motion. The healing process has begun. It is unfortunate that sensational reports in certain American magazines and newspapers tend to give an exaggerated and therefore a distorted and misleading picture. Isolated instances are sometimes stretched into unfair generalizations. Some of the reports that you read in a certain sector of the American press are unfair. I have taken great pains to acquaint myself thoroughly with conditions in the Philippines. I was there February and March this year. I can assure all of you that, despite the formidable obstacles that stand in its way, the Philippine Government is doing a good job of pulling itself out of the deep morass into which the war, the occupation, and the cold war have thrown it.

Like other countries, the United States included, we have had our share of corrupt and unworthy public officials, but their abuses have not been condoned or glossed over. Leading members of the party in power themselves are in the forefront in exposing those guilty of malfeasance in public office. I repeat: We have a press in the Philippines which is among the freest and the most vigilant in the world, and publishes without fear or favor the abuses it believes should be known by the people. Public opinion is untrammeled. There is no censorship of any kind and consequently the Government is under constant criticism and appears to casual, observers in a worse light than it should.

More than half a century ago, Dr. Jose Rizal, our national hero whose birthday we celebrate today, wrote a novel exposing mercilessly the social conditions obtaining at the time. He compared the nation to a sick man who, following the custom of the ancients, should be exposed on the steps of the temple so that all may see his ailment and offer a cure. Something of this healing process is going on in the Philippines today. It is a sign of health and strength in the body politic, proof that the nation is constitutionally sound.

The Filipino people have hed rough sailing throughout their recorded history. They were conquered by the Spaniards in the 16th century and had to submit to Spanish rule for more than 300 years. They bowed to superior force, but not supinely. They re-belled against their rulers once every 3 years on the average. They fought the Americans in 1898 when the United States supplanted Spain in the Philippines. Hopelessly disadvantaged in everything except courage, they nevertheless kept fighting for 3 years. stopped only when they were convinced by America's actions that America was sincere in her intention to give the Philippines independence in due time.

They fought the Japanese from the day of Pearl Harbor and they never ceased to fight even when the American Army had been defeated in Bataan and Corregidor.

We are still fighting today, on another field and with weapons not of war but of peace. We are trying to put our house in order, to secure maximum stability at home as the first step in helping effectively in the settlement of the larger problems involving the whole of Asia and the world at large. I make this somewhat arbitrary distinction solely for purposes of clarity, for in reality domestic and foreign problems interpenetrate. It would be nearer the truth to say that they are aspects of the same problem.

We recognize that the major part of the crucial task that lies ahead for us is the economic field. The political and social structure of the Philippine Republic have been tested and proved sound. Subjected to the severe pressures and stresses of systematic subversion and armed revolt by communism, the democratic framework of the Philippines has emerged stronger from the ordeal. The one thing lacking to complete the edifice and give it enduring stability is economic development to a degree that would raise the living standards of the Filipino people and create for them new opportunities for advancement.

This is the great job that awaits doing in the Philippines today. Impoverished by the war and lacking the technological equipment and the capital required to make the great leap from the status of an underdeveloped to that of a developed country, the Philip-pines cannot do the job alone. The assist-ance of the United States is needed on a mutually beneficial, mutually profitable

The challenge presents itself not only to the American and Philippine Governments but, also, and perhaps even more so, to individual Americans and Filipinos-a challenge to their resourcefulness and enterprising spirit, to their devotion to the ideal of peaceful progress, and, above all, to their capacity for continuing under new conditions the enlightened and fruitful collaboration which produced, in the first half of the 20th century, a new birth of freedom in the Far East and which today still stands as a beacon of hope in that troubled region.

The political and social conditions for success exist. The opportunity beckons. Let us hope the will and the vision will not be

The stakes, my fellow countrymen, are high: Security for the cause of freedom in a critical area of the struggle against Communist totalitarianism; the conquest of new frontlers for the democratic way of life; a substantial contribution to lasting peace in the world. I cannot think of a nobler challenge or a more deserving cause for the free peoples of America and the Philippines. You in Hawaii can play an important role. That is why I came to you today to give you this report on the Philippines with all its nuances that you may see in it not only a message of hope but a challenge for service to your mother country.

The Philippine program for economic development has been carried out with remarkable results. These figures and data tell eloquently the story of the postwar eco-nomic progress achieved by the Philippines:

1. Our national income has more than doubled since liberation, from P4.360 billion in 1946 to P8.799 billion in 1957. Our per capita income increased from \$118 in 1946 to \$172 in 1957 and, according to the latest report of the ICA, the Philippines has the highest per capita income of all of the new nations in Asia, except Malaya. The ICA

report gives the per capita income of each of

	Per ca	pita
	incom	e in
	U.S. do	llars
Burma		844
Cambodia		50
Ceylon		126
India		57
Indonesia		125
South Korea		70
Laos		50
Malaya		310
Pakistan		70
Philippines		172
South Vietnam		

2. Production of the 10 principal crops, including rice, corn, sugar, coconuts, etc., increased by 61 percent from 5,559,000 metric tons before the war in 1941 to 8,933,000 metric tons in 1957.

3. The value of the output of our mines increased 13 times, from #15,780,000 in 1947 to P215,384,000 in 1957.

4. Our timber and lumber production of 2.515 million board feet in 1957 was 71/2 times that of the prewar in 1941.

5. Electric power increased in capacity four times from 72.448 kilowatts in 1941 to 292,056 kilowatts in 1955 and the per capita consumption of electricity rose more than three times for the same period to 48.9 kilowatt hours.

6. Despite Government restrictions Philippine oversea commerce in 1957 amounted to over P2 billion or nearly three times that in 1946.

7. Since liberation bank assets have more than doubled to over P1,900 million and the supply of money has correspondingly creased 70 percent from #940 million in 1946

to approximately P1,600 million today.
8. Government revenues rose nearly five times from those of 1946 to P892 million in

9. And finally over 800 new industries have been established since the Philippines became independent in 1946.

Resolution of the National Sunday School and Baptist Training Union Congress on H.R. 3

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 26, 1959

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following telegram:

MEMPHIS, TENN., June 26, 1959. Congressman ADAM CLAYTON POWELL,

House of Representatives,

Washington, D.C ..

Report of the committee on resolutions of the 54th annual session of the National Sunday School and Baptist Training Union Congress, Memphis, Tenn.:

"Whereas the States rights bill, No. H.R. 3, designed to keep Federal legislation from canceling out the rights of the States to perpetuate their own laws and traditions;

Whereas the House of Representatives has already voted such bill H.R. 3, into law, pending its final passage by the Senate; and

"Whereas the passage of such bill can destroy the effectiveness of any decision of the Supreme Court of the United States outlawing segregation in the United States: "Resolved, That we, the delegates now in session of the National Sunday School and Baptist Training Union Congress, and representing approximately 5 million Negro Baptists of the National Baptist Convention, United States of America, Inc., go on record as condemning the passage of the States rights bill and any other such legislation that would weaken the influence of the Supreme Court or diminish its power in any way. We look upon the passage of such States rights bill, not as an attempt to curb the powers of the Supreme Court, in such cases as that of the uphouse case or the Court's 1956 Steve Nelson decision, we see it as a deceptive attempt, on the part of our lawmakers to undermine the 1954 ruling of the Supreme Court outlawing segregation in the public schools of the South and all of or other U.S. Supreme Court decision, guaranteeing equal rights and social justice for American Negroes. Because of our surprise that such deceptive devices would have been concocted by a coalition of both parties, the Democrats and the Republicans, to empty the civil destiny of the American Negro into the laps of a State rights bill."

We recommend that copies of this resolution, carrying our sternest condemnations, be sent to the Speakers of both Houses and be read in both Houses. We further recommend that it be sent to the President and Vice President of the United States. We also recommend that this be done immediately, before such law is allowed to be enacted.

O. CLAY MAXWELL President. " S. Y. NIXSON,

Chairman.

The Passing of the Tactical Bombardment Aircraft From the Arsenal of Tactical Air Command

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. THOMAS N. DOWNING

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 26, 1959

Mr. DOWNING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I would like to pay tribute and call attention to the fact that the 1st of July 1959 will see the passing of the tactical bombardment aircraft from the arsenal of Tactical Air Command. On this date, the 345th Bombardment Wing, Tactical, will join the roster of those units who have served their country well in peace and war, but whose moment of glory is over, at least for the time. The 345th Bombardment Wing, Tactical, then known as the 345th Bombardment Group, Medium, made an awesome name for itself as a killer of Japanese shipping and airfields in the south Pacific during World War II and won two Presidential Unit Citations as well as many battle stars. At the end of the war, along with many other units, it was inactivated only to be brought to life after the Korean war. The group's forerunner did not directly engage in that conflict but was engaged in training numbers of aircrews who did participate with distinction. The 345th was selected to receive the new Martin B-57 light jet bomber in place of their conventional Douglas B-26's. The B-27, basically a British design, was nominated to carry out the traditional role of the tactical bomber, to seek out and destroy enemy aircraft and their landing places, attack ground targets, isolate the battlefield with conventional bombs and with the newly introduced small yield atomic weapons. Built to carry an enormous load at high speed, and able to travel both "on the deck" and at altitudes unprecented in Air Force experience, the B-57 became a potent item in the TAC inventory. Col. Albert W. Satterwhite became commander of the 345th Bom bardment Wing in October 1956. He found himself in the middle of the program of converting the unit to the B-51 from the reliable B-26. There were few written guidelines. The aircraft was new, it had growing

pains like all new machines. The train ing program had to be built from the ground up. On the ground were the maintenance personnel, eager but in experienced, in the sky combat crew ready and willing but requiring the guidance that a commander must extend to make them into a fighting machine That Colonel Satterwhite succeeded evidenced by the fact that Tactical Af Command chose the 345th to become part of the composite air strike for which was then becoming a reality Langley Air Force Base. This force, en visioned by the tactical genius of Gen O. P. Weyland, TAC commander, to prove its mettle when two international tional crises were met and dealt with by the far-ranging men and planes of Tactical Air Command. Brig. Gel Perry B. Griffith arrived to take command of the 836th Air Division, of which the 345th Bombardment Wing is a portion, and found himself amid events international importance. The 345th Bombardment Wing and the 4505th Air Refueling Wing, also of the 836th of Division, were in place on both sides of the world and prepared for combat General Griffith was able to visit echelons of his echelons of his command at their over sea bases and to comment favorably their readiness. Fortunately for world peace, both threats were dispelled the 345th Power the 345th Bombardment Wing and Took tical Air Command could well the with pride on their part in reducing the danger. Soon, the 345th Bombardmen Wing will be only a number in a the parade of history making units in historical files of the historical files of the Air Force, but that number will always have a special place in the hearts and minds of those men who kept it prepared and ready to the hold the place of their country in the

Health Care of the Aged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 26, 1959

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, under ave to extend leave to extend my remarks I include

an address which I delivered at the first national conference luncheon of the Joint Council To Improve the Health Care of the Aged, Sheraton-Park Hotel, Washington, D.C., June 12, 1959:

Address of Hon. John E. Fogarty, U.S. Rep-RESENTATIVE, SECOND CONGRESSIONAL DIS-TRICT OF RHODE ISLAND, AT THE FIRST NA-TIONAL CONFERENCE LUNCHEON OF JOINT COUNCIL TO IMPROVE THE HEALTH CARE OF THE AGED, AT THE SHERATON-PARK HOTEL, Washington, D.C., on Friday, June 12, 1959

In considering the general problem of caring for our older people, there is no ques-tion that one of the most important aspects of our concern is the health care of older

Concurrent with our efforts to make them more comfortable and happier, we must ex-tend and enlarge our health and medical efforts for preventing or treating effectively the diseases which so often characterize old age. To be able to do this, we must seek through research—the basic reasons for these diseases so that they can be prevented. so that they can be detected early, and so that they may be cured.

In all of our concerns for the aging population—housing and income maintenance as well as health and medical care—we find ourselves sternly challenged by the demands of the present, in 1959, when there are more than 14 million persons in the United States over 65. We cannot consider the bad health of many of these people, their low income and and sometimes almost desperate conditions under which they live, without realizing that we are compelled to take efficient and fast active. fast action.

They need more medical care, more shortterm hospitalization, more long-term hospitalization, and more care in nursing homes and personal care homes. It is not clear at this time whether a comprehensive solution of the problem of health care can be achieved without the participation of the Federal Government.

Some fears have been expressed over the use of the Federal Government mechanism for this purpose. These fears include such questions as these:

Would the Government, in buying hospital care, be able to use the power of its money in various ways not necessarily to the best interest of hospital patients?

Would there we misuse of the Government's prepaid hospital benefits so that costs would get out of control with disastrous results to hospitals and the public?

Would to be a second to b

Would it be an acceptance of health insurance for one group of the population, thus encouraging its extension to other needy groups, leading ultimately to hospital insurance for our entire population?

These are questions which must be considered.

On the other hand the use of the Federal Government mechanism to provide health care would offer great advantages—and I have particularly in mind the breadth and immediately and the second of soully and immediacy of coverage and of equity and adequacy of financing, that probably cannot be matched nationwide by any other system, public or private. This analysis does suggest that unless some better method for handling the health problems of the aged is developed. and developed promptly, the advantages of the Federal Government approach may ap-pear to our fellow citizens to be over-

There is a tremendous problem in meeting the health needs of our older citizens, and the problem is rapidly growing. The one thing that becomes increasingly more evident is the urgent need for some responsible solution to this overall matter of health care for the aged. On that we are all agreed. The need is there and something should and must be done about it. We must find some way

If we are challenged by the problems of the present, however, we are staggered by the future potential problems of the aging population. Let us look ahead just 11 years, to 1970, when the number of persons over 65 will have increased to nearly 19 million— and then, if you will, to 1975 when there will be 21 million persons over 65 in the United States, an increase over the present of one-third.

Is it reasonable for us to assume that our problems also will be increased by one-half? Does this mean that we will have a one-half greater number of older persons in the very low income brackets? Does it mean that we will have a one-half greater number of older persons in inadequate housing? Does it mean that we will have a one-half greater number of older persons in bad health?

That is a key question. For it is obvious that if we can-through research-find ways for older people to remain healthier for a longer period, they then also will be more productive, more prosperous and certainly happier. Can you imagine, for example, what a wonderful thing it would be if our advances in medical science in the next 5 or 10 years were to be such as to change the idea that a man must be made to retire at an arbitrary age? Why not a new attitude which would let us work until we wanted to quit, be it age 65, 70, 75, or even 80, depending on his type of work.

Can you imagine a day when we no longer "accepted" the scourge of heart disease among our older people, when cancer and arthritis were defeated, when our population could look forward to a healthful, dignified,

active old age?

We would then see our aging population not as a problem, or not as a series of problems, but as a magnificent asset. Our older people would become substantial contributors to our expanding economy, a benefit to the entire Nation.

Our research scientists already have told us that much better health for our older people is not only possible but probable, provided we press forward with increasingly larger programs of research on every level, from studies of persons who already are old and ill, to very fundamental studies of the aging process itself in man and in lower forms of animal life.

We have made a sizable beginning in our Federal and State agencies, in our universities and in private research institutions. As an example let us take the National Institutes of Health, which is a principal focal point for medical and biological research in aging. In 1955, expenditures at NIH for research in aging as such totaled less than \$500,000. By January 31, 1958, the total had reached \$2,600,000 for research related primarily to aging and about \$2,600,000 for projects secondarily related to aging—a total of something over \$5 million. Today, a year later, NIH expenditures in aging total nearly \$10 million, involving all the different institutes and the newly established Division of General Medical Sciences which directs its attention principally toward basic research in medicine, medical care, biology, and research training.

In considering these figures, it is significant that more than 95 percent of this money is being spent in monetary grants to non-Federal research agencies—such as the medical schools and other private research institutions. The total number of outside or extramural research and training projects is approximately 400. Various groups in nearly every State in the Nation are apply-ing this money in diligent efforts to help solve the medical and biological problems in aging. The overall program derives much of its strength from the great diversity of re-search institutions and scientific minds directed toward the problem.

In two instances, there are very large projects located in universities. In such setings, the programs are able to draw on many different types of scientific disciplines and personnel, all concentrated on different facets of the aging problem. Then, periodically, the different departments hold seminars in which their respective findings are discussed and correlated with other findings. It makes for improved communication between the different fields of medical and biological research and thus speeds the process of finding the answers we need.

I confess that I am impressed by the great variety of research projects pertaining to aging. We have scientists studying various edible leaves, for example, to help determine the part that vegetable oils play in arteriosclerosis. Other scientists are carrying out very basic studies on the changes in tissue that occur with age. Others are studying longevity in rats and monkeys and such small animals as the rotifer. They are studying the relationship between the various glands of the body and aging, the possible effects of radiation and genetics. They are studying the sociological problem as a cause, and as a result of aging. I could go on here for some time listing the scores of research areas.

But what I want to emphasize is what we do not know. Despite our great start on research in aging, it is as yet only a start. We have made great progress, but our scientists will tell you very quickly that the best of their work so far has been to determine that they know much less than they probably thought they did. As a result of their work they now have just begun to realize how big

the task really is.

It may not come as a surprise to most of this group to realize that scientists are still debating, for example, just what aging is, and when, exactly, it starts. Some say it starts with conception. Others say it starts after maturity. Nor are they quite sure how it begins or why it may manifest in one individual in one respect and in quite a different manner in another individual. Recently I was told of the kind of mystery they are tackling. We have two men, and let us say they are both 60 years old. They are both in about the same level of health. Both have led about the same kind of life. They are very similar, in other words, and the same age. Yet one feels fine while the other feels very, very old. One still has vigor and vital-ity and a great interest in life. The other is tired and has only a passing interest in life.

Why? Why the difference?

Let's take another type of problem. We have two similar men of the same age who are retiring. One of them immediately gets interested in things he's always wanted to do, like boating or photography or gardening, or maybe even going into business for himself. The other man, by contrast, is overcome with a feeling of being washed up. His productiveness is ended. He feels that he is of no further use and he actually gets sick. There are records of hundreds of such cases, of men who actually get sick after retirement when actually they were quite well before retirement. But why are a few able to make the best of retirement and continue to lead productive, happy lives?

In their efforts to understand just what aging is, scientists are assuming for a number of sound reasons that aging, not unlike disease, involves alterations in the normal behavior of cells and tissues. The cells and tissues change and we must know what makes them change, when and to what extent. It is obvious, therefore, that we must increase our very basic investigations into cellular biology.

There are tremendous social and economic implications in this work. Simply stated, it can help determine whether we will ever be able to suspend or delay the biological process of aging. Most scientists now seem to be doubtful. But imagine, if you will, what it would mean to this Nation and to the world if ever we were able to delay the aging Assuming we will not be able to do this, the basic biological research remains of critical importance in helping our older people to overcome those many afflictions which tend to limit their physical and mental capacities. It will help to cure their ailments or help them to live with their infirmities

more comfortably and effectively.

To help point up the need for increased basic investigations into cellular biology I would like to quote Dr. Paul Weiss, of the Rockefeller Institute of Medical Research: "We do not know the physical basis of intracellular organization, the principles that sort biochemical processes and diverse molecular realms without \* \* rigid mechanical frameworks. We do not know what causes orderly substance transport within cells. \* \* We do not know how cells recognize each other, their foods, their enemies. \* \* We still have no more than shrewd guesses about the mechanism of protoplasmic reproduction that we call growth \* \* nor do we know what activates and checks and reawakens the powers for such growth in development, disease and aging."

But as vast as this is, it is certainly not the entire problem. Earlier I mentioned genetics. Scientists are giving more and more attention to the genetic influences in the manifestations of disease and in aging. It may well be that the genetic constitution of an individual is the primary determinant of his potential longevity. One scientists has observed that human beings finally may die from some "defect or weak spot that was present at birth." So that the gentic factor in aging—hardly explored at this point—is

due great consideration.

But this isn't all either, of course. In studies of aging, as in our studies of disease, we must give great consideration to the level of sanitation in the living and working conditions; the organic and mineral content of the soil in which food crops are grown; the effects of weather, altitude and air pollution; and the differences in occupations, religions, and cultural habits.

So, in general, if we are really going to define and defeat the biological and medical problems in aging, we must seek to understand the most basic processes of the body and the effects of heredity, and then we must understand the effects of the environment in which the child is reared and then, as a

man, works and lives.

If these are the challenges we have accepted, however, we are woefully lacking in one critical respect. And that is that at present nearly all—and I mean more than 95 percent—nearly all of our research in aging is concentrated within the continental limits of the United States. The Federal Government is supporting virtually no grants in foreign nations for research in aging. There is some exchange of information through research literature and visits by scientists—some—but this serves only to indicate more clearly the magnitude of the problem.

All of the research work I have been discussing can have its greatest meaning when it is projected onto an international level. Theories and findings about the genetic, biological, physiological, mental, and social aspects of aging, and about the methods of applied medicine for giving aged persons more dignified and healthier lives, will have firm bases only when they have been evaluated and tested under the many variables

in different cultures.

As if we didn't already have enough mysteries in the matter of aging, we could find some more by looking overseas. Why, for example, do the Norwegians live longer than

we do in the United States?

The answer to this kind of question, and to the hundreds of other questions plaguing our scientists, can come only when we have continued to press forward diligently in a broad program of research which includes expanded efforts in each of these three areas:

1. The basic sciences, such as the biological, wherein our scientists are studying age changes in matter and energy at the most basic levels, where the origins of the

aging process probably begin.

2. The clinical sciences, wherein our scientists are continuing their battle against chronic diseases and seeking means to prevent the development of these diseases as the handmaidens of aging. It is also in the clinical sciences that we must improve our methods for caring for older people and for rehabilitating them. We can improve our procedures and certainly we can find ways of caring for our older people with more

grace and dignity.

3. And the last of these three areas of research effort is the behavioral and social sciences. How many times have we heard our older citizens say, "Gosh the world has changed." Or "When I was a boy, things were different." The world is changing.
And there's a question of whether it's changing too fast for our older people; and there's a question of their ability to adjust to a fast-changing world. What kind of real problems does this cause for the older person? And is this fast-changing world one of the things that makes younger men old? I feel that we must probe deeply into the significance of this. This Nation has made marvelous accomplishments in the use of its natural resources in minerals, lumber, oil and water power. We have not, however, previously made the most advantageous use of our people, who are our greatest resource, and we are not doing so today. In a sense, our older persons can represent a tremendous reservoir of trained, experienced, mature personnel that can help this Nation to even greater accomplishments. Research is again the answer, research into sociology and psy-chology to aid in the proper utilization of these people.

In the law which I sponsored for the White House Conference on Aging, in January 1961, there is a five-point declaration of policy. I would like to quote point 5, which calls for a "\* \* stepping up of research designed to relieve old age of its burdens of sickness, mental breakdown, and social ostracism." This will be one of the most important focal points of the White House conference, one to which I shall endeavor to draw all possible Federal, State,

and private attention.

The job before us is very clear. In this talk, I have given considerable attention to the work of the National Institutes of Health. But the task obviously is not one that the Federal Government can support by itself—though its support must be increased. The fine work being carried out by State and private institutions must continue to expand greatly, not only with strengthened Federal support, but also with development of State and community resources.

Even this will not be enough, however. For emphasis I want to repeat that all this research will have its greatest meaning and value when it is projected onto an international level. The entire world already is deeply concerned with the aging problem. Other nations have seen that as they make further progress against infectious diseases they are going to have more and more people

living longer lives.

Some nations may already be ahead of us in reseach in aging. In Sweden, for example, they were carrying out farsighted programs to aid their older persons some years before aging attracted great interest in this country.

Nearly every civilized nation today is conducting research in aging, including Central and South America, Europe, Scandinavia, and the Far East.

Research in aging, like many other national programs, can become a two-way street when we seek a cooperative interchange of effort and information with other countries.

It would be to our own benefit to learn more of what other nations are doing in aging work, and to carry out reearch on the effects, in the aging process, of different environments overseas. It certainly seems reasonable to believe that we thus could make faster and more certain progress in research.

Let us, in turn, make available to the other nations of the world our findings and our program in aging. Let us help them with funds for training scientists and for research projects and for research facilities.

I can think of no more noble contribution toward the benefit of all minkind—including

our own population.

In specific reference again to the immediate challenge of this council, we have tre-mendous problems in this Nation, which must be met, now. The question I would like to leave with you is whether we are going to simply accept a multiplication these problems in number and size in the future-10 or 20 years from now-or whether we are going to redouble our efforts in medical and biological research to help ease the magnitude of our future tasks and give our Nation, on the whole, a more healthful, more productive, more prosperous population? This, obviously and unavoidably, is what we must do. We must consider the present generation and meet its problems fully; but concurrently we must provide for the future generations of the Nation. Otherwise we will be failing in the real meaning of our responsibility.

## Oil Import Quota Program Raises Specter of Price Controls

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON, SILVIO O, CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 26, 1959

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include an editorial from the Saturday Evening Post which reviews some of the most undesirable effects of the President's ruling placing quotas on oil imports:

QUOTAS ON IMPORTS OF OIL CAUSE AS MANY HEADACHES AS THEY CURE

The imposition of compulsory import quotas on the petroleum industry, designed to preserve to the greatest extent a vigorous, healthy petroleum industry in the United States, seems certain to have consequences far in excess of these latter.

far in excess of those intended.

One of these looks like an injustice to the importing companies. The injustice occurs because the import quotas are based on a company's refinery capacity instead of on its record as an importer. The result is that small domestic companies which never imported a barrel of foreign oil in the past receive import quotas which they are able to trade of, at a profit, to companies which need them. The importing companies contend that their ability to profit from their foreign operations, many of which were urged on them by the Government for strategic reasons, has been sabotaged for in benefit of domestic producers. They are in the privilege of refining their competitors for the growth of the companies of the privilege of refining their own product. The domestic produces a that inas-

The domestic producers argue that, masmuch as cheaper oil from Venezuela or the Middle East has an impact on the price oil throughout the country, they are entitled to this privilege. However, the domestic producers have not relied on economic arguments to support the need for import restrictions, but contend that imports have dis-

couraged the search for new oil fields in this country, fields which will be necessary If a war should deny us access to the foreign

That's for the hot war. On the cold-war front, as might be expected, the import quotas are causing severe pain in Latin America and the Middle East, not to mention Canada, which screamed so loudly that the President has already moved the quota an Canadian has already removed the quota an Canadian imports. The reason given was that, inas-much as Canadian oil need not come to this country by water, the defense argument did not apply.

The probable effect of these restrictions on consumers raised a storm in Congress. Senators as far apart on other issues as Senator Airen, of Vermont, Senator Moase, of Oregon, and Senator Holland, of Florida, let it be known that they considered the quotas a discrimination against the people of their sections of the country, a spur to inflation and a harbinger of bureaucratic control over all bureaucratic

all business.

On this last point they have something. In announcing the quotas President Eisenhower indicated that "in the event that price increases occur while the program is in effect, the director is required to determine whether such increases are necessary to accomplish the national-security objectives of the proclamation." The implication was that, if the domestic producers rode their advantage too hard, the Government might let in a little more imported oil.

The possibility of price control didn't sit well with domestic producers. One Kansas driller was quoted in the Wall Street Journal as saying, "If Mr. Eisenhower is going to police to have bolice the refiners' prices, he's going to have to police our labor costs, our higher octane costs and all that." The importing companies might appropriately reply that, if the Government is going to prevent them from selling their product in a free market, it ought to ing their product in a free market, it ought to pay some sort of bonus to compensate investors for the expensive, risky, and strategically important business of producing oil

Regulating any segment of the national economy inevitably creates the need for regulation lation somewhere else. This fact, complicated by all sorts of political arguments not to mention the emotional repercussions in allied countries—imposes upon the director of the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization a superhuman task.

Free Port on South Coast of Newfoundland Proposed as Seaway Transfer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 26, 1959

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, on this day when the governments of two great nations observe the dedication of the St. Lawrence Seaway, it is most approbriate to speculate on the proposal of Senator Pratt, of Newfoundland, made during debate in the Canadian Senate, and the elaboration on the subject by C. F. MacLellan, of Toronto, Ontario, which could be as valuable to the United States as it is to Canada.

If the seaway, being dedicated today, can be made effective year round through warehousing at Mortier Bay, American agriculture could be materially benefited through reduced transportation costs, and our investment in the

seaway could be greatly enhanced.

The proposal as explained in an article in the May 23, 1959, issue of Traffic World as follows:

FREE PORT ON SOUTH COAST OF NEWFOUNDLAND PROPOSED AS SEAWAY TRANSFER POINT

In the course of debate in the Canadian Senate on a resolution urging greater use of Atlantic ports, Senator Pratt, of Newfoundland, said that, in connection with the St. Lawrence Seaway, "there is every reason for a very close and joint investigation into the mutual use of a modern seaport on the coast of Newfoundland."

Such a port, he said, would be "complementary to the joint services provided by the seaway in the open period of navigation.

Senator Pratt had spoken previously of an idea which he said had been discussed for a long time but had never officially been studied by the Government-a possible free port development in Newfoundland.

Two possible locations for such a port had been talked of, the Senator said, one Mortier Bay and the other Bay D'Espoir, both ice-free ports on the south coast of Newfoundland and on a direct course out of the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the ocean. He added:

"Those ports are in the direct line of overseas traffic. That area is closer to South America by several hundreds of miles than is New York, and closer to Brazil than is New Orleans, which is a great American center of traffic from the United States to South

America," said Senator Pratt.

Later he said that by setting up a free port in Newfoundland "we would be following an approved pattern in international trade and to a great extent overcoming the effect of winter closure of freight from the interior. It is certainly time for a thorough investigation into such an operation."

The Canadian Government has appointed a three-man commission to make such an

investigation.

DEVELOPMENT PLANS

In an interview with Traffic World in Washington, D.C., C. F. MacLellan, of Toron-to, Ont., president of Mortier Bay Development Co., Ltd., described the situation at Mortler Bay and its possibilities.

Aside from being ice-free the year around, said Mr. MacLellan, the depth of the bay at all points was more than ample to take care of ocean liners. He said the bay lay only 125 miles from the Great Circle sailing

It was his view that Mortier Bay offered a needed location for a transshipping point. Large ocean liners, instead of making the through the St. Lawrence Seaway, would discharge cargoes at Mortler Bay. cargoes would there be picked up by ships designed for use on the Great Lakes. Those ships, he said, because they need not be built to withstand the impact of ocean waves, could carry larger cargoes through the seaway and on the lakes. He said he had investigated the matter and found that, with some strengthening, the large "lakers"

could be made safe for the St. Lawrence Bay journey to Mortier Bay.

Mr. MacLellan observed that one advantage offered by such a transshipping point so close to the Great Circle sailing route was that cargoes could be shipped during the navigation season on the St. Lawrence Seaway in such volume that, when the seaway was closed by ice in the winter months, a regular schedule of shipments to Europe and South America, or other portions of the globe, could continue on a 12-month basis.

He said that the idea of transshipment was nothing new to the shipping industry, ob-serving that, before the scaway was deep-ened from 14 to 25 feet, large Great Lakes vessels dropped cargoes at Lake Erie ports to be taken in the small "canalers" through the 14-foot channel.

It was also his view that such a transshipping point, near the ocean sailing route, would serve to create traffic for the seaway by drawing larger tonnages from inland for export and by stimulating greater tonnage from overseas areas to be transshipped for movement inland over the seaway and the Great Lakes.

Mr. MacLellan estimated the cost of developing a port in Mortier Bay at about \$100 million. He said it would be financed as a private enterprise. In his interview with Traffic World he mentioned expressions of interest from financial circles, from shipping circles, and from one company desirous of serving the ships it anticipated would put in at Mortier Bay. The consul of one European country, Mr. MacLellan said, had asked if it would be possible to base a fleet of 30 of his country's ships on the bay.

From Port of Entry to a Happy Home: Wisconsin Family Adopts Two Sons From Korea

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. GERALD T. FLYNN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 17, 1959

Mr. FLYNN. Mr. Speaker, I am quoting a letter from my constituents, Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Venema, of Delayan, Wis.:

We would like to urge that you vote for and use your influence with others to continue the adoption of foreign orphans program which expires on June 30, 1959. own two boys were adopted through this program; they are happy boys with good minds and healthy bodies; they are friendly too, and are liked by the children at school as well as in the neighborhood. Our children were processed from Korea to us by Mr. Harry Holt, of Cresswell, Oreg., and the Holt adoption program, which has brought into this country 1,286 children. Mark, who came to us in October 1957, and Paul, who came to us in January 1958, are part of this group of children. A comparison of the pic-tures sent to us from Korea 2 years ago and those taken of them now would convince you and your fellow Congressmen that the Holts are doing an extraordinarily worthwhile job—and we are sure that our story can be duplicated by 1,286 other happy and proud parents who have received these Korean orphans into their families and into their

Will you please use your influence to con-tinue this adoption of foreign orphans program which expires on June 30, 1959?

Mr. Speaker, this letter speaks for itself, and I respectfully ask the support of all our Members for this truly good and merciful cause. Thank you.

[From the Delavan Enterprise, Apr. 16, 1959] YOUNG KOREAN BROTHERS BRING MERRIMFNT TO DELAVAN HOME

Two lively little boys, Mark, 6, and Paul, 9 years old, have brought much sunshine and merriment into the home of Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Venema in the past 16 months. Their adopted sons are brothers and were Korean-American orphans. The boys have sparkling dark eyes, black hair, and beautiful com-

Usually the elder child is in a family before a younger one, but in Mark's and Paul's cases, the opposite was true. Mark came to Delavan from Korea, via Japan, Portland, and Chicago in November 1957 and Paul arrived in January 1958.

As in all adoption cases, months passed before the Venemas met their sons. Finally a telephone call on November 4 summoned Mrs. Venema to Portland to meet the younger child on November 7. She was informed the older boy would arrive later.

Meeting Mark and bringing him home posed several problems as he spoke very little English. Communication was mainly by motions. However in no time Mark was chattering as though English was his mother

Paul spoke English when he arrived as he had attended school with instruction in the language. Paul likes school very much and feels it the best part of America and English is his favorite subject.

Paul is an active boy who enjoys outdoor play and activity. He has learned to play the all-American pasttime, baseball, and basketball. He is now anticipating golf lessons from his mother. He likes to shovel snow, rake the lawn, and work—most any kind, except dishes.

Mark has learned to play baseball, but is not as enthusiastic about sports as Paul. He prefers to listen to stories, especially Bible stories, color, and read. Best of all he likes "vacation and coloring," he replied to a question.

Favorite foods? Candy, cookies, spinach, oranges, apples, carrots, bananas, chicken, hamburger, chop suey, Spanish rice, and spaghetti are favorites. On one point they differ-Paul loves hot dogs, but Mark finds he can get along quite well without them.

Both boys have good voices and like to sing. They like to go to the story hour at the library on Saturdays and bring home many story books for reading. They attend Sunday school at the Christian Reformed Church and are enrolled at the Delavan Christian School. A train trip to Chicago for a visit with their grandmother is a thrill they look forward to with great delight.

A friend of the Venemas, who is a missionary in Korea, located the boys for them. Harry Holt, the Oregon farmer who has been godfather to Korean-American orphans and found homes for countless numbers, was contacted and he consented to process the children for the Venemas.

#### Price Supports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 26, 1959

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, this fallacy, price supports, is really nonsupport for the American farmer. Government programs have brought the farmer to the brink of ruin. The difference between farm subsidies and subsidies to business is that the Government is supporting the farmer out of business while Government help to business aids it to stay in operation. For instance, the airlines are growing and expanding.

Mr. Speaker, the following letter was written by a great American and patriot: MARICOPA, CALIF., June 8, 1959.

U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIRS: I have read in the June 1, 1959, Issue of U.S. News & World Report, the article titled "Crisis in Wheat—Can It Be Ended?" I do not agree with the views of the "wheat king of the world," Mr. Thomas Campbell, as expressed in the interview on the subject. respectfully submit a few remarks concerning the matter.

I have had about as many years of experience in farming and livestock production as Mr. Campbell, although on a much smaller farming scale. However, I feel that I know the facts of farming life, and believe that I am qualified to enter the discussion.

At the outset, I believe that all farm plans to date are entirely socialistic, unsound, unconstitutional, unworkable, and immoral. They are making the rich farmers richer and the poor farmers poorer at the taxpayers' expense. Apparently Mr. Campbell believes otherwise.

The collapse of the farming industry of the 1930's which Mr. Campbell mentions, was due to the worldwide economic collapse which

affected alike all other industries.

Mr. Campbell says, "It costs us more per bushel to grow wheat than it does the smaller farmer who gets most of his work done with family help. On all of the family farms around us with 1,000 to 2,000 acres you will find four or five children, and the boys are driving small tractors at 10 to 12 years of age. The girls are out driving small trac-tors and hayloaders. When the boys are 15 or 16 they go on a big tractor, or even a combine. So you see they have no payroll at all."

I would say that these family groups are industrious, as they should be, but no reason why the parents of these children are not entitled to charge as costs, wages commensurate with the work they do just as Mr. Campbell and other big farmers charge as costs the wages they pay. Otherwise, I would call this family child labor sort of a

slave labor plan.

When questioned about Government loans on wheat, Mr. Campbell said, "We have had a loan on our wheat every year since the program started in 1933—26 years—and we've paid back, redeemed our loans with interest paid to the Government every year except 5." He says that his Government loan in 1958 was about \$510,000 and that it is not paid off. With a few \$510,000 loans which do not have to be paid, almost any farmer could be a king and establish a show place such as Mr. Campbell now owns. Mr. Campbell mentions no figure on the other four loans which he has not paid off. According to my understanding, these Government loans are made without recourse, so that on unpaid loans the Government stands any loss between the sum loaned and the sum recovered, besides interest, handling charges, and storage. Remember that Government is the taxpayer. The net result is that the taxpayer, regardless of how poor he or she may be, is paying all of the losses entailed in these transactions, which, of course, regardless of Mr. Campbell's opinion, is an outright subsidy.

These Government loan farm losses have run into the billions. Mr. Campbell says, "We are not the only pig that has his snout in the subsidy trough." He mentions railroads, merchant marine, airlines, postal service, etc., as being subsidized. There is a difference between the latter and the farm subsidy in that all of the public (citizens) have the privilege of using the latter, whereas, the farm subsidy is for a favored few. He classes a protective tariff as a subsidy. I do not, because those who are protected are still operating on a competitive basis. Furthermore, if the farm plan fulfilled the dreams of those who advocate it, the consumers would pay more for food. Of course, it is not working according to their dreams, and it never will. Mr. Campbell believes that the crisis can be ended after a 2-year period of drastic action, followed by use of a two-price system. I agree that a two-price system, providing serious foreign complications can be avoided. would be desirable if (and here is where Mr. Campbell will disagree) there is no Govern-ment subsidy and that the farmer pays out of his own pocket all losses entailed on such transactions. The payment of such losses will soon bring the farmer to the realization that unbridled overproduction is unwarranted. Then he will produce for the free

My further suggestions are that the farmer should have access to loans of commercial money on an equitable basis with all other industries, i.e., based upon his ability to repay, with reasonable interest rates. Government farm plans are rapidly converting the once stalwart individualists into men without pride and without the do-it-yourself

spirit of the presubsidy days.

There appears an editorial in the May 30, 1959, issue of the Saturday Evening Post titled "Controlling Farm Prices Leads to Controlling Farmers." In this article, Secretary Benson, U.S. Department of Agriculture, is quoted as saying that the results of a recent poll by a national farm magazine showed 8 out of 10 farmers voted for greater freedom and less Government in farming, and further that the ballot showed 55 percent voted for no supports, no controls, no floors, free market prices, get Government clear out. Then Mr. Benson says, "If this is what farm" ers want, what are we waiting for? What is Congress waiting for? We've made our recommendations, why don't they act? We have to face this question fairly: Does a sane agricultural policy require such unfair, un popular, and generally cockeyed laws?"

He says, "What is Congress waiting for?" learn Many Congressmen are waiting to which way the political wind is blowing before they will stand up to be counted on this

farm fiasco.

I regret to say that the waiting is largely due to just such well-publicized viewpoints as expressed by the acknowledged wheat king of the world, Mr. Thomas D. Campbell, and to other farming barons with like beliefs, who have fattened by getting something for nothing at the taxpayers' expense. Some follow the theory that the king can do no wrong-Thus, many Congressmen continue to play the political farm game while Rome burns. Very truly yours,

HUBBARD RUSSELL.

Record Growth Creates Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 26, 1959

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, with the problem of how best to assist the public schools of the schools of the country uppermost in the minds of every Member of Congress, I thought it might be particularly interesting for my colleagues to see what

Santa Clara County, in my own con-

gressional district, has done for itself. Under leave to extend my remarks, I submit for the attention of my colleagues an article in the February 1959 issue of the Superintendent's Bulletin, as published by the school superintendents in Santa Clara County:

## RECORD GROWTH CREATES PROBLEMS

The unprecedented growth in population which has taken place over the past decade in Santa Clara County has created problems and tensions unheard of before and is destined to make even greater demands before it has run its course. Caught in the eye of this human tornado are the public schools which, although limited in capacity, must admit all pupils of school age. The mag-nitude of the task of providing for these new pupils is revealed from the following figure. figures. The total enrollment in the public schools of Santa Clara County in 1948 was 42,662, exclusive of adults. Comparable figures for today show 130,045 pupils in attread for today show 130,045 pupils in attendance. This is an increase of 87,383 or 205 percent. The increase this year over last year was 12,205 pupils or 11 percent. To meet the needs of the new pupils has necessitated the building of 180 new schools.

necessitated the building of 180 new schools, an approximate the building of 180 new schools. an average of 18 a year. Many of the new schools replaced old structures which, having could not be expanded to meet the growth.

Staffin

Staffing of the new schools has required the addition of 400 new teachers each year, raising the total number of teachers in the county from 2,001 in 1943 to 6,042 in 1958. This is an increase of nearly 4,000 or 200 percent. Other essential requirements of a school organization such as classified em-ployees, equipment, and supplies have in-creased creased accordingly.

Because its service program grows out of the needs of the school districts it serves, the county office has felt the full impact of Dunity office has felt the full impact of the school districts it serves. pupil growth in the county. The problem has been made more acute by the addition through legislative action of many new services designed to give more aid to school districts and to give more aid to school districts and all singles in the school districts and school d tricts and meet the needs of special students. once its enlarged commitments, the county superintendent has increased his star from the county superintendent has been superintendent and the county superintendent has been superintendent. staff from 36 persons in 1948 to 109 in 1958 exclusive of special schools, with only moderate in erate increases in office space. As a result, the county staff has outgrown its present quarters and is in urgent need of more ade-

While the problems of adjustment resulting from growth have affected the schools in all areas, nowhere has the impact been greater than in the area of finance. This is evidenced by the fact that the total educational bill for the county has increased from \$5,525,870 in the year 1947-48 to \$74,941,813 in 1957-58. This is an increase of \$693,485,-increase, of course, is due to inflation which has reduced the dollar to about 40 percent has reduced the dollar to about 40 percent of its prewar purchasing power.

When will present growth trends subside? No one claims to know the answer to this question question. Certainly not in the immediate future. While the speed of growth may slow up, most people feel that it will not end until the value is sufficient and factories. the valley is filled with homes and factories. In view of the momentum of the present boom, it seems reasonable to assume that there may be another decade of rapid growth ahead. Citizens of Santa Clara County recognize this fact and will rise to the occasion in the future as they have in the past. To do to the past. past. To do less would be turning our backs on the needs of youth at a time when our very existence may depend upon turning out a superior school product.

#### Soviet Trade Myth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 19, 1959

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave previously obtained, I insert in the RECORD an article which recently appeared on "Soviet Trade Myth".

SOVIET TRADE MYTH: THE POPULAR FALLACY THAT MOSCOW'S FOREIGN COMMERCE, AID PROGRAM ARE THREAT TO WEST IS EASILY REFUTED

#### (By William Henry Chamberlin)

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee has reported out a \$4.1 billion foreign aid bill and during the coming debate great emphasis will be placed on the need for more and more economic aid to the uncommitted nations.

This is not surprising, for it has become fashionable to represent Soviet foreign trade and Soviet aid to uncommitted countries as mighty weapons in the cold war, and to try to offset those weapons with like ones of our own. In fact, the very issue of the cold war is sometimes represented as a race between Washington and Moscow to see which Government can extend the most help in the shortest time to economically retarded areas.

But before basing national policy on any hurried conclusions about the effectiveness of Soviet trade and aid it would seem advisable for the Senate to take a look at some of the facts.

#### OVERPLAYED NEWS

The dimensions of aid have been greatly exaggerated in the public imagination because of the news value attached to almost any Soviet move. The recent trade agreement between Great Britain and the Soviet Union was treated as front page news, whereas a commercial treaty involving much larger exchanges between Great Britain and some non-Communist country would doubtless have been reported back near the want ads. If a Soviet trade delegation visits India or South America there is a great trumpeting of publicity—but there isn't much follow-up in the way of analzing how much trade actually follows the visit.

Cyrus Eaton, an industrialist well-known for his friendly attitude toward the Soviet regime, recently won some headlines with a statement that U.S. exports of \$3 billion to the Soviet Union were within the bounds of possibility. But he offered no explanation as to how these exports were to be paid for. Total Soviet earnings of foreign exchange from foreign trade with the non-Communist world are only a little over \$1 billion a year, about on a par with Switzerland's. Soviet Government has not been a spendthrift with its gold reserve, the amount of which is a State secret. And there is no good political or economic reason for lending the Soviet Union the money to buy American goods.

Contrary to practice in the era of rigid secrecy enforced by dictator Josef Stalin, the Soviet authorities have been releasing more facts and figures about Soviet Foreign trade. Total Soviet exports in 1957 were a little over \$4 billion, total imports a little under \$4 billion. (The uncertain and debatable value of the Soviet ruble in internal purchasing power does not enter into the picture, because foreign trade transactions are reckoned in gold, dollars or sterling or other stable foreign currencies).

About three quarters of this 1957 trade was with Communist-ruled countries, East Germany leading the way with a total trade turnover with the Soviet Union of about \$1.6 billion and China second with about \$1.2 billion. This intra-block trade, of course, did not realize any hard money which could be used for purchases in the West. Trade with non-Communist countries was

just about in balance, at around 4.6 billion rubles of both imports and exports, or \$1,169,000,000 and about \$1,150,000,000. It is interesting and significant that the big-gest Soviet trade partner in the West was little Finland; Soviet-Finnish trade amounted to a little over \$300 million. Great Britain was a close second. Soviet trade with the United States was virtually nonexistent, \$16 million of exports and about \$10 million of imports.

The reason Finland, not a prominent in-dustrial country and with a population of a little over 4 million, plays such a large role in Soviet foreign trade is that Finland's industries were forced to expand after the war to meet Soviet reparation demands. After the reparations ceased, these industries, unable as a rule to compete in the West, found markets in the Soviet Union and the satellite area.

It seems highly improbable that the Soviet Union, with foreign trade extremely small in proportion to its resources, population and industrial output, could upset the whole trading system of the West by political manipulation of its exports and imports. Of course Soviet foreign trade is politically motivated, since it is a state monopoly and may be exploited for political ends.

When the Soviet Union was on the outs with Australia, because that country gave asylum to a defecting Soviet high espionage operative, it shifted its wool orders to South Africa. Oranges are bought in Morocco, not in Israel, because the Soviet Union favors the Arab countries in its foreign policy. There is a political element in Soviet pur-chases of fish in Iceland. However, the primary purpose of Soviet foreign trade is to make advantageous deals from the standpoint of the Soviet state economy. The fear that Soviet exports will be widely used to break prices by dumping overlooks two considerations. The Soviet Union itself would suffer from such a policy and the quantities of available exports are not sufficient to achieve such an end.

#### EXAGGERATED AID

The amount and significance of Soviet aid to underdeveloped lands have also been exaggerated. Up to November 1958, aid of this kind, extended by the Soviet Union, Red China, and the East European Soviet satellites, seems to have added up to \$2,120 million, of which \$850 million had actually gone into effect. But this aid in almost all cases has not been in the form of free grants. The standard arrangement has been the low interest loan, usually at the rate of 21/2 percent. Some of the satellites have charged higher rates; Czech credits to Indonesia have been at 5 percent, to India at 41/2 percent. Loans, which must be repaid, even at low interest. are not the same as handouts.

To cut the Soviet trade and aid (with repayment and 2½ percent interest stipulated) program down to realistic size does not mean that Soviet exports of such prodnot mean that Soviet exports of such prod-ucts as oil, iron ore, aluminum, diamonds, grain, and engineering products may not increase, along with Soviet purchases of rubber, copper, machinery, and even some consumer goods. But the first Soviet eco-nomic priority is to boost its internal development. The second is to back up China and the East European satellites.

Mr. Alec Nove, of the London School of Economics, who contributed a thoughtful

article on the subject of Soviet trade and aid to Lloyd's Bank Review, seems correct when he dismisses as "simply not so" the widely held belief that the U.S.R. is giving top priority to a gigantic trade and aid drive and is making major sacrifices to this end.

#### Pollution in Clear Creek

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON, BYRON L. JOHNSON

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado, Mr. Speaker, the American people have been warned that their source of water may be contaminated to epidemic proportions and a plague before their Government takes any appropriate action.

I am proud to say this House has acted on this increasingly serious American problem by passing H.R. 3610, introduced by our colleague, the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. BLATNIK], to provide larger Federal grants to encourage consolidation of more economical metropolitan sewer districts and treatment plants.

The Rocky Mountain News, in the third article of its series on water polluton, presents a case study of nine different disposal plants along Clear Creek in my district.

In addition to being less efficient and more expensive than one or two consolidated plants, these nine are not adequate to the rapidly increasing populations. They argue most effectively for the kind of Federal assistance proposed in H.R. 3610.

The article follows:

CLEAR CREEK POSES MAJOR SEWAGE PROBLEM (By Bill Miller)

Clear Creek, and the name really riles downstream users whose supply of domestic water comes from it, is the critical spot sanitationwise, in the Denver metropolitan area.

Rapid development of the Clear Creek Valley has precipitated grave, if not dangerous, sewage disposal-and consequently, water-problems.

The population growth has resulted in construction of nine disposal plants since 1949, seven since 1953. Each plant serves one or more sanitation districts or incorporated communities.

#### DOUBLE LOAD

These plants receive wastes from a tributary population-estimated in 1957 at 45,500 but substantially more since then-plus organic industrial wastes.

This organic industrial waste load was equivalent (in 1957) to the wastes from a population of 54,500, making the total equivalent population load 130,000.

In some districts there is another reason why plants are overloaded. It is the problem of infiltration.

This means ground water is seeping through sewer lines and coming to the plants along with sewage.

One district, Fruitdale, located on the north bank of Clear Creek about 3 miles vest of the city of Denver, has a tremendous infiltration problem.

Black & Veatch, the Kansas City engineering firm that made a 1957 study of sewage problems in the Denver area, said of Fruitdala.

#### WASTED EFFORT

"A substantial amount of the sewage flow to the (Fruitdale) plant is believed to result from infiltration. This flow is in excess of 700 gallons per capita per day, which is more than seven times the daily per capita sewage flow normally observed in this area."

The report by Black & Veatch, the latest and most comprehensive available, stipulated

that the combined capacity of all nine plants was adequate for a total population of only 70,000.

#### PLANTS LISTED

In the report, Black & Veatch listed the following plants on Clear Creek and made these comments (based on 1956 statistic):

North Washington: Serves a population of 10,149 including organic industrial wastes population equivalent of 7,800; plant capacity 9,000; treatment needs-enlargement of existing facilities and addition of secondary treatment units; status of plantoverloaded.

Westminster: Population served, 7,000; plant capacity, 6,000; treatment neededenlargement of existing treatment facilities; status of plant, overloaded. (Present population of Westminster is nearly 15,000.)

Baker: Population served, 4,550; plant capacity, 3,000; treatment needed—enlargement of existing treatment facilities, addition of secondary treatment units to exist-ing facilities; plant status, overloaded.

Arvada: Population served, 7,700; plant capacity, 7,000; treatment needed-enlargement of existing treatment facilities; plant status, overloaded. (Arvada's current population also is around 15,000.)

Clear Creek Valley: Population served, 8,025, including industrial wastes with a population equivalent of 5,400; plant capacity, 4,000; treatment needs-enlargement of existing treatment facilities and addition of secondary treatment units to existing facilities; plant status, overloaded.

Wheat Ridge: Population served, 13,500; plant capacity, 11,000; treatment needs—enlargement of existing treatment facilities and addition of secondary treatment units to existing facilities; plant status, overloaded.

#### MOST INADEQUATE

Northwest Lakewood: Population served, 1.600; plant capacity, 5,000; treatment needs—enlargement of existing treatment facilities and addition of secondary treatment units to existing facilities; plant status, inadequate.

Golden: Population served, 76,800, including industrial wastes with a population equivalent of 70,000-plus; treatment needs enlargement of existing treatment facilities and addition of secondary treatment units to existing facilities; plant status, inadequate.

The Golden plant was built in 1953 and is owned and operated by Coors Brewery.

Coors is in the process of enlarging the plant and company representatives have promised that this enlargement and addi-tion of new equipment will be accomplished in the near future.

#### EXPANSION PLANS

Clear Creek Valley Sanitation District re-cently gained State approval for a plant addition, obtained Federal matching funds and is in the process of constructing a \$140,000 secondary sewage treatment plant.

But expansion hasn't been able to keep up with need.

Tests made by the State health department In February and March (keep in mind the maximum BOD count allowed under State law is 50 and the maximum coliform count is 1,000) show:

Plant	Average BOD	A verage coliform
Northwest Lakewood Westminster Arvada Clear Creck Valley Fruitdale Golden (Coors) Baker Wheat Ridge North Washington.	136 282 141 191 123 680 159 33 180	23, 000 240, 000 68, 000 93, 000 43, 000 215, 000 240, 000 230, 000

Sewage content in the raw water at the Arvada and Consolidated Water Co. (which serves a large area in Jefferson County) intakes just below Golden is estimated to have been about 7 percent of minimum daily September flows.

#### SEWAGE INCREASES

Furthermore, Black & Veatch reported. average daily total sewage discharge to the creek above Baker district increased almost

one-third from 1954 to 1956.

In the same period, maximum total do mestic water supply withdrawals have in-creased almost two-thirds.

Black and Veatch concluded:

"From these data it is certain that the average sewage content in the domestic raw water sources on Clear Creek has increased significantly. This increase has been accompained by added public health hazards in these water supplies."

That was 3 years ago.

If sewage flow into the creek and domestic water takeout has increased as it did from 1954 to 1956—and the assumption seems to be valid—then the creek is in much worse shape now than it was then.

George Nez, director of the intercounty regional planning commission, recently com pleted some Clear Creek Basin sewage-output water-intake estimates.

In 1958, he estimated the basin population at 75,000, using 15 million gallons of water per day. The same population was causing 10 million gallons of sewage to be discharged. discharged.

By 1965, he believes, the population will be 100,000, using 20 million gallons of water and discharging 10 and discharging 12 million gallons of sewage.

"The situation is bad now," he said. "But it will continue to get worse unless some thing is done immediately."

Upstream users get the break because their water is taken out before a considerable amount of sewage is dumped into the creek

#### Attacks on U.S. Planes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 26, 1959

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Speaker, when are we going to have to courage as a nation to put a stop to these cowardly attacks on our service men. The beastly attack last week on our Navy plane is another example. The longer we put up with these Red Communist insult up with these lies Communist insults then more will be coming. I recommend the following great speech by a patriot to every Member of this Congress:

ADDRESS BY SUMTER L. LOWRY TO THE NA-TIONAL GUARD ASSOCIATION, SARASOTA, FLA., APRIL 5, 1959

After the end of World War II, I became interested in the actions of the Russian Government and the world Communist conspiracy as related to our own country, the United States of America. It was clear to me that after winning World War II we had immediately entered into world war III.

I wish to quote parts of an address that I made to the Rotary Club of Miami in Novem-

The Russian Government, including the Russian people, who 2 years ago were our allies, are now our enemies, working 24 hours each day preparing to destroy our Government and to finally enslave our

"The first step of the Russian invasion of our country is already underway. I refer to the advance guard of Moscow, trained Communist termites, sent here by the Russian Government, to confuse our people, tear down our Government, and to soften us up for their intended conquest.

"Let me make this perfectly plain. I believe that Russia will never attack this country with armed force as long as she can conquer us from within. The only things that stand in her way of complete world domination this very minute are the people and resources of the United States.

I urge our Government to attack the Communist menace within our country today with the same energy and vigor that they attacked the Germans and Japanese in the last war. We must make the fight against communism and the Russian plan of conquest the first order of business of our Government and our people; pursued with the utmost vigor and courage."

These statements were met with ridicule from many of our people and most of the press of our State, but events over the last 12 years. 12 years have proven that what I said then

When World War II was over, the United States of America was the strongest nation in the world. It had the best equipped and finest armed forces in all history. Its people were were united. We had the respect of every nation; our financial position was sound; our will to fight for our country was an accepted part of our national life; but best of all, patriotism was strong in the heart of

Twelve years later we find an entirely different picture. By the softening influence of too much prosperity, by a national policy of appeasement of our enemies, by our reliance on the softening in the softening in the softening in the softening our reliance on the softening our inance on the United Nations to solve our international problems, by a desire for peace at any price, and through the work of trattors, this is what we find today: Our Nation's finances are close to bankruptcy; we have lost the respect of most of the nations of the world; our effort to buy friends with money has gained us only enemies; we have nations, Russia and China. Our people are built up two vast and powerful bitterly divided over the integration issue; our supreme Court is giving aid and comfort to the enemy by its many decisions favorable to Communist traitors; we are frightened and confused about our foreign policy; but worst on watered worst of all, our patriotism has been watered down and divided between the United States and the United Nations. Yes, we have all the earmarks of a nation that has reached its past and the state of a nation that has reached the past and the state of a nation that has reached the state of its peak and is on the downgrade. A sad and entirely unnecessary situation.

Let's examine the basic reason for our present plight. International communism with its headquarters in Moscow is a consultant the line of spiracy to capture the world with the United States as its final and grand objective. We are active. are actually at war with Russia, deadly, final, and and complete. Yet our Government has never recognized this fact. We still treat

Russia as a friendly nation. While Russia is doing all in her power to destroy us, we never a single offensive step against While Khrushchev openly says to the United States, "We will bury you," Mr. Eisenhower sends "best wishes and felicitations." This weak and unrealistic policy of ours can lead only to destruction.

But all is not lost. Our country can still survive, for we have the greatest Nation in the world, our people are the finest; our armed service cannot be surpassed; hearts are still strong; and we can lick the world, Russia included. But we must have a complete reversal of our policy in dealing with Russia; we must recognize that we are at war with Russia, and treat her as our common enemy; we must go all out to destroy Russian communism by every means, armed conflict if necessary. This must be the first and continuing objective of our Government and every citizen in our land.

We must also recognize and meet head on, with open and firm resistance, that part of the Communist conspiracy to integrate our race and make of us a mulatto people, devoid

of courage, ambition, and pride.

Finally, we must thoroughly understand that the real key to our survival is built around just one word "offense." For no war, battle, or combat was ever won by a purely defensive attitude.

If we do these things, we will destroy the evil doctrine of communism. Then freedom and liberty will be our gift to the world.

One of the most effective steps taken by the Russians in this war was their plan to destroy confidence in the United States throughout the world; she did this by a series of events designed to humiliate America before the people of the world. To make other nations feel that the United States is no longer a powerful country, that we will not fight, and that it is better to tie up with Russia than to put their trust in us.

Take a look at the events which have happened since 1946, all designed to humiliate the United States of America and to lower her world prestige.

First, let's review the list of American planes attacked by Russian military aircraft:

#### LIST OF ATTACKS

April 8, 1950, Baltic Sea, no survivors. November 6, 1951, Sea of Japan, no survivors.

November 19, 1951, Hungary, crew impris-

October 7, 1952, at sea near Yuvi Island, no survivors.

March 15, 1953, North Pacific area, plane fled, crew escaped,

July 29, 1953, Sea of Japan, eight dead, nine survivors.

September 4, 1954, 40 miles at sea from Siberia, no survivors.

November 7, 1954, over Japan, loss of life

undetermined. June 3, 1955, Bering Sea, crew members

injured.

June 27, 1958, Armenia, plane forced down; no casualties.

September 2, 1958, Armenia, no survivors. September 7, 1958, Baltic Sea, plane fled, crew escaped.

This is a shameful record indeed. And just think each one of these attacks was a brutal, unprovoked, and open act of war.

For 9 years we have watched the Russians shoot down our unarmed planes, murdering our men, humiliating us before the world, and what have we done about it? Nothing; we just stand and take it like a lot of scared rabbits. To me it is utterly fantastic that the great United States would sink so low as to allow the cheap dictators of Russia to frighten us so badly that we won't avenge the death of our own men. The best we can do is to send polite notes to Russia saying "We are unhappy about it. Please don't do

Go back to newspaper article of July 22, 1958; here are the headlines: "Americans Killed by Iraq Mob—Three U.S. Citizens Dragged From Hotel, Beaten to Death While Soldiers Stand and Watch." Unthinkable, but true.

Also remember how Castro, the unknown Cuban revolutionary, in 1958, kidnaped 35 marines in uniform, took them to his mountain stronghold and doled them out to us a few at a time, like candy to a child-a great humiliation. And what did we do? Nothing.

Also, don't forget that our good American soldiers are still held captive in Chinese jails, years after the Korean war, and we are

too impotent to get their release.

To me the crowning insult of all was the action of the Communist mob last year in Venezuela, casting every vile insult at Mr. NIXON, the Vice President of the United States, actually spitting in his face. more can the Communists do to humiliate us and lower our world prestige? Have we reached the point where we can't be insulted? It looks that way. When a man won't fight for his honor, he is through.

This national disgrace has been due to our cowardly foreign policy followed for the last 12 years. The policy that we must do nothing, absolutely nothing, that might

make Russia mad.

One bright spot in our sorry dealings with our enemy, Russia, was President Eisen-hower's television statement made on March 16, 1959, when he said the Western allies would not yield to Russian threats over Ber-This was extremely important, but still only a defensive measure. We don't seem to be able to come up with any aggressive action to hurt Russia.

Don't forget that Russia has no intentions of attacking us with armed force; she expects to overcome us from within, by destroying our moral fiber and our will to

Our Government policymakers have never been able to understand the Russian character. They can't realize that Russia lives by a code of deceit and trickery, while our code is based on honor and truth. We live by the golden rule of fair play to others, while Russia lives by no rules at all. We give Russia respectability and recognition to her code of deceit and trickery by our continued dealing with her over the conference table. We keep negotiating; we get nothing out of it except a kick in the teeth. We still haven't learned that you can't trust a nation who never keeps a promise. Does it make any sense to keep negotiating with a man when you know in advance he has no intentions of keeping his agreement?

Let's consider the Mikoyan visit to the United States last fall. Here is a man who is second in command of a hostile govern-ment, at war with us. Dedicated to our destruction. He is invited to come to our shores, treated as an honor guest, wined and dined by big businessmen, fawned over by autograph seekers, and is even offered public welcome by high Federal officials and certain State Governors. Now it was well understood that this man Mikoyan is one of the greatest murderers in history. He was known as a deceitful and cunning character, yet we give him respectability and treat him as our bosom friend. I would not be opposed to extending simple courtesies to this man if he were a reformed criminal sincerely trying to change his way, or if he were a representative of a beaten foe, trying to make a comeback, or, if he were just a misguided Russian citizens who might derive some good from contact with this country. But this is not the case. man is our enemy, and should definitely be treated as such. Our welcome to Mikoyan was a betrayal of every American who lost his life fighting for our great country. It was an insult to every patriotic American.

Russia's intended conquest of the United States of America is entering its last and final stage-the period of peaceful coexist-Russia after 10 years of pressure has greatly weakened our country's will to resist. A large segment of our people are weary of combat in the cold war, and are ready to grasp the false doctrine of peaceful coexistence with Russia. Peaceful coexistence with Russia is a fraud and a delusion; it is utterly impossible. The only basis on which Russia will coexist with the United States of America, is that of master and slave-Russia being the master and we being the This is the proven experience with every country that has tried it; they have all been swallowed up and are now Russian slaves. Peaceful coexistence is a deadly propaganda line and should be resisted by every patriotic American.

To bring about peaceful coexistence the idea now being sold to us, is to the effect, that we cannot match Russia in military strength-that she can press a button and destroy us at will. That she will soon surpass us in economic possibilities. That we cannot compete with her and survive. the traitors in this country will argue that it is better to join with Russia in a world government, to coexist with her, rather than be destroyed. I want to emphasize the words, "join with" because to join with Russia means abject surrender and the end of our Nation.

From now on a great effort will be made to condition the minds of the people to acthe idea that even slavery and sur-er are better than death. The conrender are better than death. spirators will attempt to see that a President will be elected who will go along with the philosophy that it is better to join with Russia than to risk destruction in an atomic war. His leadership will be so powerful and the people so well prepared that surrender could come overnight, without any warning.

It is very probable that the National Guard will never fire a shot except in the streets of our American cities, because the only war we are going to have with Russia is the one fought here if Russia can recruit enough traitors in our Nation to make our internal conquest possible. And you, the National Guard, will be the only force that can resist, if that time comes

As you well know, the National Guard has been under Federal attack for many years. A great effort has been made to take it out from under control of State governments. To make it a Federal force. But we must never give up or surrender our dual status as State and Federal troops.

The National Guard is the last stronghold of liberty and freedom in the United States. It is the final symbol of the sovereign rights of the people opposed to total centralized control in Washington. It is the last stand against those forces who would take over control of our local affairs and destroy the 10th amendment to our Constitution.

Each member of the National Guard in every local community has the obligation and the privilege of leading the fight against all un-American forces in his community. We must not fail to speak out as patriots against all groups of people who, by ignorance or by deceitful means, are trying to divide our loyalty to our country and flag. Always remember, "when good men are stlent, their freedom is lost." Never forget that freedom is not a permanent gift from our ancestors. It must be won or lost by each generation. You are the generation which now has the obligation to preserve it.

I am very proud that I am a National nardsman. I shall always stand with the guardsman. National Guard and consider it an honor to fight by your side for the survival of our

I hope you gentlemen will not think that I am too pessimistic or that I am a mis-guided alarmist. Well, maybe I am, but I earnest believe that we are locked in a life and death struggle with Russia. The results of this struggle will determine whether your children and my children will be slaves in a Russian police state or free Americans. America can stay free if you men here today and the people all over America will stand up and fight.

## Alltime Record Corn Acreage in Webster County

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. MERWIN COAD

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 12, 1959

Mr. COAD. Mr. Speaker, it is certainly to be regretted that the President vetoed the wheat bill which, as finally agreed to by both the House and Senate, would have cut wheat acreage over 25 percent, would have set price supports at 90 percent of parity and would have cost the taxpayers from \$250 to \$300 million less per year than the existing program. I had hoped that the administration's policy of price supports within the range of 75 to 90 percent of the last 3-year average market price with no controls on production would have been somewhat tempered by the reports coming in from the Midwest about the high prospects of a recordbreaking 4-billion-bushel corn crop, thanks to this same policy which was applied to the corn farmers a year ago. However, this was obviously not the case and it appears that the veto kills any chance for much needed wheat legislation for this year,

The following article from the Fort Dodge Messenger and Chronicle, Fort Dodge, Iowa, exemplifies the impact of no acreage restrictions on the production of crops in a typical Iowa county:

ALLTIME RECORD CORN ACREAGE IN WEBSTER COUNTY-90 PERCENT OF CROPLAND IN CORN AND BEANS

#### (By Wayne Messerly)

Fast-growing corn and soybean sprouts are rapidly changing the picture, but for weeks this spring. Webster County was a "black Sahara." Driving into the country was like getting lost in an ocean of black topsoil.

Entire sections of land were plowed under. The only green oasis in a desert of dirt were the homesteads, roadside ditches, and a sprinkling of oats and meadow.

On blustery, windy days farmers eyed the sky uneasily while tons of topsoil rolled into clouds of high-priced dust and loped Only last week, fierce duststorms awav. made fieldwork impossible for some farmers and drove them indoors for shelter.

Save for an ample supply of moisture and continued rainfall, the situation might have gotten out of hand here as it did in the Spencer area before heavy rains saved the

Now the green of corn and soybeans is filling up the black spaces, but the fact remains that Webster County is setting rowcrop history.

No one knows for sure, but according to the best estimates available, 340,000 acres of 380,000 crop acres in Webster County are in row crops this year, an alltime record.

Breaking these figures down, there are probably 230,000 acres of corn and 110,000 acres of soybeans. On this basis, about 90 percent of all the available cropland in Webster County is in row crop.

For basis of comparison, in 1958 the ASC corn allotment was only 105,000 acres although more corn than this was planted because only about hold of the cause of because only about half of the farmers complied with their corn allotments.

However, there is no question about it, that given the right combination of rain and sunshine, Webster County is heading for a record corn crop this fall.

A corn crop of at least 15 million bushels is quite possible in 1959.

Add this to the 25 million bushels which was stored in Government bins and privately last March, and it adds up to enough corn to supply every man, woman, and child in Web-

ster County with 1,000 bushels each.
Where all this prospective corn will be stored and how much money it will cost the taxpayers to store it in steel bins is another problem and another story.

For the present, let's look at some of the reasons behind the great row crop acreage

To some farmers, it makes good sense to put everything in corn, which many have done.

Here's the way they look at it:

Under the present price support program. farmers can raise all the corn they want and are guaranteed \$1.12 a bushel nationally or shout \$1.04 can be should be sh about \$1.04 to \$1.06 locally (not announce yet). At \$1.06 a bushel, a farmer's net profit per acre of 70-bushel corn is \$30.

On this basis, a farmer would net \$3,000 on 100 acres.

Last year, when corn was supported na-tionally at \$1.36 a bushel, his net profit on 70 bushels of corn was \$50 an acre.

In order to net \$3,000 in 1958, the farmer only had to raise 60 acres of corn (provided he was allotted that much acreage); Now, the farmer has to plant 100 acres to get the same income he had last year from 60 acres.

However, it would not be a true picture to say that all farmers are raising nothing

but row crops in Webster County.

Many farmers are convinced it is more profitable to balance crop and livestock production.

They agree with figures compiled by the Iowa Farm Business Associations that recordkeeping farms show a greater profit with livestock than with grain.

In Webster County, approximately 1,000 farmers are cooperating in the soil conservation program. They are sold on the idea of keeping from 20 to 25 percent of their crops in meadow. The majority of them are doing this in 1959 just as they have done in the past and will probably continue to do so in the future. the future.

What are their reasons for this:

1. In this area, good drainage is imperative and deep-rooted legumes in the crop rotation are necessary to are necessary to help tile function properly

2. On sloping soils, erosion control legumes and grasses is necessary if profitable crop yields are to be realized.

Weeds, insects, and plant diseases come an ever-mounting problem when crop rotations are dropped by the wayside.

4. Putting in more than one crop spreads out the workload and gives some protection against the danger of a total crop loss from weather heaven weather hazards, a danger which is more acute only when one crop is planted.

For these and other reasons, cooperators the soil-conservation in the soil-conservation program appreciate the value of legumes and grasses in their crop rotations

Their leadership may help turn the tide back to normal row crop acreage in 1960. Another factor in the return to normality

in row-crop acreage may be stricter Government production Congress may be forced to apply them for ment production controls. 1960 if—and this seems a certainty now they are confronted with the largest corn supply in the hist

supply in the history of the world.

## National Safe Boating Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 11, 1959

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, in the 85th Congress, it was my pleasure to sponsor a joint resolution authorizing the annual observance, by Presidential proclamation, of National Safe Boating Week during the week which contains the Fourth of July. This legislation was approved in time for the first Presidential proclamation to be issued last year.

I am happy to report that the 1958 National Safe Boating Week was an unqualified success in its objective of focusing attention upon the potential dangers—and the need for safe boating practices—in this fast growing recrea-

tional field.

On Saturday, June 27, this year's National Safe Boating Week will get under way. It is estimated that since the 1958 week some 9 million more Americans in a million more boats have taken up the sport. That rate of increase is showing few signs of diminishing, and only emphasizes the growing importance of boating safety work by numerous boating and yachting clubs, marine manufacturers and dealers, and safety asso-

Coordinating these activities are the U.S. Coast Guard and its civilian arm, the Coast Guard Auxiliary, the voluntary organization which was authorized by act of Congress some 20 years ago for the purpose of promoting safety in

the small boating field.

These organizations, I should emphasize, work the year around to make boating a safer recreation. The auxiliary, which is open to all citizens over 17 years old and own a 25 percent interest in a boat, plane or amateur radio station, now numbers nearly 17,000 members from the Atlantic coast to Hawaii, including Alaska.

I was privileged recently to attend the May 6 opening day of the Coast Guard Auxiliary's national conference in New York City, where I gained further insight into the valuable work of this or-

Under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the auxiliary's report on the conference from its monthly digest, "under the Blue Ensign," and also the announcement of the 1959 National Safe Boating Week by Vice Adm. A. C. Richmond, commandant of the U.S. Coast Guard, in which he clearly sets forth the objectives of this special observance, and the President's proclamation, as follows:

UNDER THE BLUE ENSIGN (Monthly digest of the U.S. Coast Guard Auxiliary)

The annual national conference of the Coast Guard Auxiliary, recently held at the Hotel Astor, New York City, was the largest and one of the most successful held thus Members returned to their units

throughout the country, Alaska, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico, confident that with the plans for future activities, this, the 20th anniver-

sary of the auxiliary, will be a banner year.

After convening the conference, Capt.

Harold B. Roberts, chief director of the auxiliary, turned the presiding gavel over to National Commodore Charles S. Greanoff. The principal speaker for the opening session was Congressman CHARLES E. CHAMBER-LAIN. Republican of Michigan, who sponsored the National Safe Boating Week legislation. The Congressman stated that the fine reputation of the Coast Guard and the auxiliary was a tremendous assist in getting congressional approval of the Presidential procla-He expressed his availability to further aid in the promotion of safety, feeling that we must arouse a high degree of safety consciousness among boat operators com-parable to that which has been done with automobile operators.

At the Commodores' Luncheon, honoring the Commandant of the Coast Guard, Vice Adm. A. C. Richmond recalled that he had helped frame the original regulations for the organization in 1939, and thus took a certain personal pride in now viewing its steady growth and its fine record of accomplishments, especially in recent years. He stated that there is an even greater need for its services in public education and assistance to the Coast Guard. The commandant cautioned that the Boating Act of 1958 will not permit "resting leisurely on the oars"; education not regulation is the primary answer to safey affoat. In addition, the Coast Guard will still enforce the law on Federal waters, although it will coordinate its activities, wherever possible, with States providing adequate enforcement.

Certainly, if a State moves into the law enforcement field and if it is effectively enforcing its own State laws with respect to small boats, the Coast Guard, having limited facilities, will use those facilities in other States that are not enforcing the law or do not have comparable law enforcement provisions. But, this in no way relieves the Coast Guard of the responsibility of discharg-

ing the Federal functions.

At the conclusion of the luncheon, the Commandant presented certificates of office to each of the 12 district commodores in an installation ceremony.

The 4-day conference concluded with a windup dinner-dance. Assistant Secretary of the Treasury A. Gilmore Flues told the assembled members and guests that the auxiliary, like its parent service the Coast Guard, has a growing responsibility and importance in problems of peacetime activities. Mr. Flues observed that the auxiliary has assisted the boating public immeasurably by the promotion of safe boating through its educational and courtesy motorboat examination programs. He pointed out that if a maximum safety program, through a blending of law, regulation and education is achieved, much of the credit for its success will belong to the Coast Guard Auxiliary. A highlight of the evening was the special honor paid to Capt. and Mrs. H. B. Roberts by the officers of the Auxiliary National Board in behalf of the 17,000 members. The chief director leaves shortly to assume new duties as captain of the port, San Francisco.

This year, for the first time, a press conference was held for reporters and writers representing the newspapers and boating magazines. National Vice Commodore Bliss Woodward presided over the group and introduced Congressman Charles E. Chamber-LAIN; Chief Director Capt. H. B. Roberts; National Public Instruction Officer Joseph V. Day, of Chicago, Ill., and National Publications Officer Robert J. Boyle, of Montrose, Calif., who outlined Auxiliary activities and the educational and courtesy motorboat examination programs. This group also had an opportunity of viewing the posters, publications, and other materials used by the auxiliary.

Also, for the first time, leading training aids and promotional exhibits from various districts were on display, and competed for national honors. First place was awarded to the third district (northern area), New York, with second place to the third district (southern area). Philadelphia, and third place to the second district, St. Louis.

National Educational Research Officer Alan A. Atchison described new developments and projects and presented the latest edition of the public instruction course text, "Basic Seamanship and Small Boat Handling," formerly in eight separate pamphlets, and now combined into one booklet. It will be distributed when the remaining stock of separate pamphlets is exhausted.

Culminating the business meetings were the reelections of National Commodore Charles S. Greanoff, of Cleveland, Ohio, and National Vice Commodore Bliss Woodward, of Mamaroneck, N.Y., by unanimous vote in recognition of their effective leadership dur-

ing the past year.

Special acknowledgments were made to Rear Adm. H. C. Perkins, U.S. Coast Guard. commander, Third Coast Guard District, and Third District Commodore Lloyd A. Albin, and their respective staffs and committees, for their labors in arranging for the receptions, cruises, and other social events for the participants and guests.

Other honored guests who attended the conference were: Rear Adm. I. E. Eskridge, Chief, Office of Operations; Capt. W. P. Hawley, Chief of Staff, Third Coast Guard District; Capt. Richard Baxter, new Chief Director; and Chief Comdr. Lester C. Lowe,

U.S. Power Squadrons.

U.S. COAST GUARD.

To All Boating Enthusiasts:

I am pleased to announce that National Safe Boating Week will be observed June 27 through July 5 under the direction of the National Safe Boating Week Committee. committee is composed of representatives of industry, education, and sports groups who, together with the Coast Guard and Coast Guard Auxiliary, are concerned with recrea-

tional boating.

Boating has become America's No. 1 family recreation. With some 37 million Americans taking to the water in approximately 7 million pleasure boats of every description, a special effort must be made to focus attention on the growing need to know and observe basic safe boating rules and regulations to maintain boating's outstanding record as one of the safest of all outdoor sports. was the objective of the Coast Guard and the Auxiliary in originally sponsoring National Safe Boating Week.

This is a tremendous assignment and obviously is beyond the capabilities of any one organization, whether government or private, to carry out alone. If we are to make boating one of the safest outdoor activities, the National Safe Boating Week Committee must have the support and cooperation of the boating public and everyone interested in the safety of our citizens. Therefore, I call upon every boating enthusiast to join in this effort to advance the cause of boating safety.

A. C. RICHMOND. Vice Admiral, U.S. Coast Guard, Commandant.

THE WHITE HOUSE, April 24 1959. NATIONAL SAFE BOATING WEEK, 1959 (Proclamation by the President of the United States of America)

Whereas the waters of the United States provide recreation for many millions of our citizens during the boating season; and

Whereas safe boating practices contribute to greater enjoyment of the sport by reducing loss of life and damage to property; and

Whereas the Congress by a joint resolu-tion approved June 4, 1958 (72 Stat. 179), has authorized and requested the President of the United States to proclaim annually the week which includes July 4 as National Safe Boating Week:

Now, therefore, I. Dwight D. Eisenhower. President of the United States of America, do hereby designate the week beginning June 28, 1959, as National Safe Boating Week.

I urge all boatmen, boating organizations, the boating industry, State and Federal agencies, and all other groups interested in boating to join in this observance of National Safe Boating Week; and I call upon them to exert greater effort during that week and throughout the boating season to keep boating safe and pleasant.

I also invite the Governors of the States,

the Territory of Hawaii, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and the possessions of the United States to provide for the observance of this week to encourage nationwide inter-

est in safe boating practices.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington this 24th day of April in the year of our Lord 1959, and of the independence of the United States of America the 183d.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER.

By the President:

CHRISTIAN A. HERTER. Secretary of State.

#### Aptitudes and Attitudes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON, HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 26, 1959

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am pleased to include a very fine and noteworthy address delivered by B. LeRoy Sheley, dean, Boston University College of In-dustrial Technology, at the commencement exercises of Franklin Technical Institute in Boston, on June 14, 1959:

APTITUDES AND ATTITUDES

(Commencement address delivered by B. LeRoy Sheley, dean, Boston University College of Industrial Technology, at Franklin Technical Institute, Sunday, June 14, 1959)

To you who are to graduate and your familles and loved ones, 1959 commencement at Franklin may have many different meanings. Money for that new car or badly needed vacation now that your son is on his own, for the young wife a chance to give up the job that has been so necessary and to become homemaker and mother that is her right. A day of joy and happiness for all, because it signifies achievement. A day of grave responsibility too, since it signifies that the time for decision has been reached. You can no longer feel safe in the security of knowing what is in store for you tomorrow, next week, or next month. No matter how well you have prepared yourself for the next step, you will feel some uneasiness, some trepidation, some concern about the wisdom of your decision. There is no formula to apply, there is no check list to guide. Self-analysis is in order.

This is a very difficult task, because you know the subject so well and are so used

to putting up with his weaknesses as well as overemphasizing his strengths. But don't confuse strengths and weaknesses because your success in industry, as well as your success as a member of society, depends upon an accurate analysis. Think of the wasted effort, time, and heartache that will be your lot if you decide to spend your life trying to be something or someone that is without your interests and abilitles.

There are really only two factors that are significant or influential to your develop-ment. These are aptitude and attitude. Simply defined, your abilities and the use to which they are put will determine your success, or lack of success, your position, or lack of position.

Since these are so important to you, let us spend some time with each, for a more complete and clear picture of their impli-

First, aptitude. Webster's Dictionary says, "readiness to learning; suitability to purpose; natural or potential capacity or ability." An identification of some of your aptitudes is what brought you to Franklin Technical 2 years ago. Your obvious success in your chosen program, as evidenced by your graduation today, is definite proof that your analysis of yourself to this point has been sound. A further study is now required in order to have confidence in the decisions you are required to make. For example, will you continue your education? What branch of industry will you choose for your career? Which is best for you, a small or a large company? Should you specialize or should you seek an avenue of experience that will give you a broad overview and a possibility for a management position in a few years? Can you identify the aptitudes involved in each of these problems? If you can, if you can relate them to yourself accurately, you are indeed a very fortunate person. You will not waste time floundering in the sea of uncertainty, seeking from experience to find your role in life. It is obvious the advantages the person who finds himself at 22 has over the person who stumbles from one experience to another until he is 30 or more, trying to find his proper niche.

If you are going to continue your education, it is almost essential that you do so now. Not necessarily by full-time study. since this isn't possible or necessary for all. But can you afford to wait for 6 or 8 years, and then find that the next rung in your ladder requires another degree or advanced work in chemistry or metallurgy? Every man in this graduating class is mentally capable of more education, but this is where we leave aptitudes and think about attitudes.

Define, attitude means a position assumed or studied to serve a purpose. Therefore, you have control. An attitude is not in-herent but acquired. Perhaps passed on from parent to child by association but not by genes. Learned from your teachers or from your associates, but, however acquired, a mighty force in determining the success or

failure of any individual.

As an educator, I have a much greater interest in attitudes than in aptitudes, because it is here that we can be creative. As students, you bring your aptitudes with you and there is little we can do to improve or change them. But with attitudes, we can mould and shape, and though it may take years for our efforts to be apparent or appreclated, we are stimulated by the possibilities offered by each freshman in each year's class. Attitudes might be more meaningful if I gave a few examples. What is your attitude about cheating, not necessarily on examinations, but on your employer, by giving less of yourself than you are being paid for? What are your attitudes about religion, education, smoking, drinking, marriage, and on

Attitudes, then, translated to the individual and, in specifics, combine with and be-

come a part of your personality and as such either your greatest asset or your greatest liability. It is an accepted fact in industry. in business, or in a profession, that few people fail due to the lack of technical knowledge or skill, but many fall because they are unable to get along with people or to cope with human problems.

Engineers and technicians have long been accused of being interested only in science and mathematics, and even if they are forced to take courses in the humanities and social sciences in college, little good results. A change is being effected, though, and you have evidence of this in the program of study you have just compeleted. you have just completed. You are graduating from one of the finest technical schools in the country, and without a doubt you possess the technical knowledge and techniques required by industry and the engineering profession. However, you have the responsibility, either by self-education or by formal course work, to acquire and to learn to utilize those techniques of communication and understanding of the humanities that are so necessary.

Your education, instead of being com-pleted, has just begun. Instead of using what you have learned only to be self-supporting and independent, use it well. as foundation upon which to build new or additional knowledge. What you become is entirely in your hands now, and you must know and believe that development is not some thing that others can do to you or for you

There is only one way; self-development.
Put this ahead of all other things.
Don't let any social or recreational activity take precedence. How many times I've had young man say, upon my suggesting an evening course, "Oh, but I can't. That's my bowling night." I doubt if bowling skill will ever he a doubt in the course of the course ever be a deciding factor in a promotion for him. Second to education, I would suggest an active interest in community affairs and participation if at all possible. Third would be active to the control of the control participation if at all possible. Third wolling be active participation in professional socious transfer and the second socious professional socious profess eties, which, with interested and intelligent people, can be as stimulating and as worth while in your development as formal course work.

Set some goals for yourself, and don't be afraid to aim high. Every man worth his salt will have goals at a level that will never that will inevitably cause a certain percentage of failure. Also, set time limits for attainment, but with enough flexibility to allow for patience. But when in your to allow for patience. when, in your best judgment, you are not making progress, be honest with yourself when you seek the when you seek the answers to the question 'What's holding me back?"

It is a very human tendency to blam conditions and others rather than admitting our own shortcomings, but if you prepare an objective answer to each of the following ing questions, you should pinpoint your problem:

1. Have you adequately prepared your self for your present responsibilities?

your objectives. Relate periods of time that are meaningful, such as next month, next 6 months, next year,

3. Have your goals been properly Maybe you are aiming too high but, member, you can stagnate just as completely

4. Have you been giving your very best to each and every task? Are you really willing and, yes, even eager, to do a day's work, every day? every day?

Remember that you and only you have tudes, habits of thought, can be directed into channels that will can be directed. into channels that will bring you to nificant answers to the preceding questions

Yours will not be an easy lot, because you be facing problem. will be facing problems greater than the world has ever known before, and, in addition they are tion, they are new. The answers and today-mards of our ancestors will not apply hands. The American way of life is in your hands.

and if we are to continue as a dominating force in the world of the future, you must force in the world of the future, you must provide new approaches to these new and complex problems. I hope you have pre-pared your foundations for growth with integrity and completeness. You dare not gamble that your talents will not be needed. It is almost certain that they will be.

## What One Family Can Do To Foster Better Foreign Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 26, 1959

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speak-er, I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to a letter which I have received from a Florida family, Mr. and Mrs. Ralph D. Priesmeyer.

These people, completely on their own, decided some years back to send copies of good, representative, American magazines to a public library overseas. In addition, they are making available the names of public libraries in other neutral nations to friends in Delray Beach, Fla., who are currently active in the magazine mailing campaign, This effort on the part of the Priesmeyers is as fine an example as I have seen of what can be done on the individual level to bring about a measure of understanding and good will among the people of the world, and to help spread a true picture of the United States and our way of life. It is suggested that each Congressman inform his constituents of this magazine mailing program and give support and encouragement to similar good will programs.

The personal efforts of the Priesmeyers have had reward, since a young man from Pakistan has written them several letters of appreciation. The latest one will be of interest to Members of Congress as an indication of what one family can do to foster better foreign relations. It is printed here in its en-

Mr. R. D. PRIESMEYER, Delray Beach, Fla.

DEAR SIR: I feel great pleasure in writing you this letter to convey to you my feelings of gratified. of gratitude for the large number of magaof gratitude for the large number of magazines and New Year cards you have been sending me over the past few years. I have got all the Readers Digests and National Geographic magazines neatly stacked in the most accessible approach in our drawing and most accessible corners in our drawing and living rooms. All the members of my mother, finds them very interesting and informative. Truly speaking, I think, you formative. Truly speaking, I think, you have completely won my family and me to

Over 2 years ago, one of my neighbors in college hostel used to receive literature from the Russian Embassy but when I showed him American magazines and literature he changed very much his ideas and now he is

Apart from this, these magazines have kindled a fierce fire of desire in my heart to see States with my own eyes and meet her people. Ever since my student days I have been preparing myself for this visit. Now I have equipped myself with the academic qualifications of a B.E. (electrical) degree and practical experience of 2 years working in factories on the designs of electrical machinery.

Now if you could, kindly get me an admission in some college in Florida or a small scholarship, then I can come to U.S.A. very easily with the help of small sum of money I have saved for this purpose for studies.

I am very much interested in receive you personally. Kindly reply me soon. I will write you in detail on receipt of your letter.

Mr. Speaker, the international student exchange program has been contacted in an effort to assist this young man from Pakistan to study here and to enable him to view first hand our United States of America.

Poison in Your Water-No. 133

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 26, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I am inserting into the Appendix of the RECORD an article appearing in the Houston (Tex.) Chronicle entitled "Galena Park Charges Sewage Goes Into Creek":

GALENA PARK CHARGES SEWAGE GOES INTO CREEK

Galena Park is considering court action to stop Houston from dumping untreated sewage into Panther Creek.

"It's a downright disgrace," said Galena Park's Mayor William J. Philpot Thursday.
"Our people are sick of this situation."

The mayor said he would seek a court order this summer to halt the dumping of the sewage if Houston did not take relief action. The mayor said the situation has prevailed for 10 years.

COMPLAIN OF ODOR

About 400 families in the area of Panther Creek have been complaining of the odor. At the Galena Park council meeting Wednesday the mayor said Houston's public works director, Travis Smith, will be asked to increase the amount of chlorine at the Clinton Park treatment plant.

The Galena Park council said sewage from this plant is dumped into Panther Creek.

The Houston City Council earlier this week authorized purchase of 212 acres for a new treatment plant to serve the Clinton Park

Galena Park Councilman George Garrett said: "It's a pitiful situation. We must get relief quickly."

#### EIGHT CHARGES FILED

Meanwhile, eight charges were Wednesday against the Willow Bend Utili-ties Co., alleging pollution of the air and waters around three southwest subdivisions.

Seven charges of polluting the air were filed by Dr. Walter A. Quebedeaux, director of the stream and air pollution of Harris County.

The complaints say the utilities company pumped raw sewage into the south fork of the bayou on seven specific dates back to April 1957.

The eighth complaint says the company's sewage treatment plant polluted the air last Monday.

This company services about 1,300 homes in the area.

Named in charges are E. L. West, president, and Lou Johnson, secretary.

"Rivers in the Desert: A History of the Negev, Being an Illustrated Account of Discoveries in a Frontierland of Civilization," by Nelson Glueck, Reviewed by Wendell Phillips Dodge, F.R.G.S.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. LESTER HOLTZMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 26, 1959

Mr. HOLTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am including herewith a review by the well-known explorer-ethnologist and editor, Wendell Phillips Dodge, of a recently published book "Rivers in the Desert: A History of the Negev, Being an Illustrated Account of Discoveries in a Frontierland of Civilization," by Dr. Nelson Glueck, appearing in the new scientific quarterly publication Voyages and Discoveries. The book is published by Farrar, Straus & Cudahy, of New York, and simultaneously in Canada by Ambassador Books, Ltd., Toronto, is of 284 pages plus several additional pages of indices, including Biblical citations of much interest to the reader and student of the Holy Land and is profusely illustrated. Dr. Glueck, the author, who is one of the world's outstanding explorers and archaeologists, is president of the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion. During the war years, 1942 to 1947, he was attached to the Office of Strategic Services, United States, in Transjordan. During the periods of his association with the American Schools of Oriental Research in Jerusalem and Baghdad, he initiated and completed the archaeological mapping of all of Transjordan, discovered King Solomon's copper mines in the Wadi Arabah, and directed the excavations of Ezion-geber-Solomon's seaport and industrial city on the Red Sea-and the Nabataean temple of Khirbet Tannur in Transjordan. Since 1951 Dr. Glueck has been engaged for about 3 months each summer in the archaeological exploration of the southern half of Israel, called the Negev.

The book review follows:

Here is a most welcome book on exploration without the too often first person projection of the explorer-author, a truly scientific account by a scholar written in an easy style that makes good reading for anyone Especially so, explorers. Further, this book should stimulate rereading the Holy Bible in the perspective of the present-day tinder-box of the Near East, so often erroneously called the Middle East. It, also, should make for a clearer understanding and a better interpretation of the Bible to clergy as well as laymen of whatever religion or sect.

Avoiding pedantic scientific treatment, Dr. Glueck, a scientific explorer and deeply sincere student not only of the Bible, but of

Hebrew religious and historical literature, presents evidence showing that there have been no major, permanent climatic changes in that part of the Holy Land called the Negev during the last 10,000 years. He further points out that not weather but wars and protracted economic catastrophes have been responsible for the destruction and disappearance of a whole series of civilizations in the Negev. Dr. Glueck's book, in popular fashion, shows the tremendous importance of the Negev as a passageway between continents. He emphasizes also the spiritual importance of the Negev in con-nection with the insights into the nature of God's moral imperatives achieved there by human beings. He tells of the present-day rebuilding of ancient towns and cities, showing a new rebirth that is bound to change

the order in the Neer East.
Dr. Glueck states that it is an eye-opening experience to visit the still extant ruins of the main Byzantine cities in the Negev. Having traversed much of the northerly portion of this land while exploring extensively in the Near East and the Middle East more than half a century ago (see Congressional, RECORD, Appendix, Thursday, Feb. 25, 1954, "An Ethnological Exploration Expedition in the Holy Land, Syria, Iraq Arabi (Mesopotamia), and Persia (Iran)," originally published in the Explorers Journal of the Explorers Club, New York, in its autumn, 1953 (vol. 31, No. 4) issue), this reviewer is deeply appreciative of what Dr. Glueck says of the phantom cities of the Wilderness of Shur, of Zin, and of Paran, the latter just above the trade route of Egypt-Arabia. Glueck's goal was the completely rulned Nabataen-Byzantine town of Ruhelbeh, the Biblical site of Rehoboth (Genesis 26: 22). He states that identification had been posited but never proved by Lawrence of Arabia, among others. Writes Dr. Glueck:
"Actually, Lawrence of Arabia had in his

hands what I consider to be adequate proof of the identification of Ruheibeh with

Biblical Rehoboth."

Several identifications have been proposed. of which the most probable is that made by Palmer with er-Ruhaibeh, about 20 miles south of Beershebs. Genesis 36: 37 tells us that the name of a king of Edom is called Rehoboth of the River. The river here certainly is not, as has been stated in many instances, the Euphrates, but rather the River of Egypt. This more properly is, or was, a brook, or wady. Numbers 34: 5 and Isalah 27: 12 speak of a "river (nahar) of Egypt," and Genesis 15: 18 simply "the Wady." It is the Wady el-Arish, boundary of Egypt in the desert half way between Pe'usium and Gaza. Bearing out Dr. Glueck's excellent book title, water is always to be found by digging in the bed of the wady, and after heavy rain it is filled with a rushing stream. El-Arish, where the wady reaches the Mediterranean, was an Egyptian frontier post to which malefactors were banished after having their noses cut off; hence its Greek name Rhinocorura.

It is possible that some persons may confuse Dr. Glucck's Ruhelbeh, or the Biblical aite of Rehobot, with Rehoboth-ir, literally "broad places (market-places) of the city," being one of the four cities in Assyria built by Nimrod (Genesis 10: 11). Identification has been found in the Assyrian rebit Nina, "broad places of Nineveh" mentioned by King Esarhaddon, 681-668 B.C. This is the exact equivalent of the Biblical name. In taking it over, "the city" was substituted for "Ninevah." Included in the dominions of Hammurabi, who restored the temple of Ishtar there, it was early an important city, and is frequently referred to in royal inscriptions. Sennacherib first raised it to the position of the capital of Assyria. It lay on the east of the Tigris, opposite the modern Mosul. The outline of the old walls can be traced, reports Dr. Glueck, stating that they enclosed some 1,800 acres, with a circumference of about 8 miles.

Dr. Glueck most interestingly puts down Dr. Glueck most interestingly puts down the archaeological periods of Palestine extending back to the palaeolithic, before 8,000 B.C., and including the Aurignacian and early Neolithic, the Neolithic, about 6,000-4,500 B.C., and so on down to the Byzantine, A.D. 323-A.D. 636. In his first chapter, "In the Beginning," he says the known story of mankind in Palestine reaches back more than a hundred millennia ago. back more than a hundred millennia ago, and sets forth that south of Mount Carmel at Haifa, overlooking the Mediterranean, bones or skulls or skeletons of human beings have been discovered which may be assigned to the middle palaeolithic period, as far back perhaps as 150,000 to 120,000 years ago. Dr. Glueck states the mixture of races they represented resulted from the meeting and interbreeding of the earliest peoples on the intercontinental bridgehead Palestine. 10 "The vast influence Palestine has always exercised because of its geographical position affected the gradual transformation there of homo sapiens, writes Dr. Glucek. "A new species came into being, which has become known as Palestine Man (Palaeonthropus Palestinensis)." And he states "monstrous rhinoceroses, hippotami, elephants and cave oxen were common in his age. Their bones have been dug up all over the country from the Medditerranean coast to the Jordan river valley and in the moun-tain ranges between \* \* Bones and teeth of these great beasts have been discovered also in the hills of Bethlehem."

Dr. Glueck traces the science of pottery identification, saying: "Pottery can be shat-tered, but the pieces will remain, indeed have remained intact for thousands of years. Stone crumbles. \* \* \* Copper and iron, unless specially treated, corrode, and decompose. Glass decays and flakes away. Wood, leather, papyrus, paper, and cloth disappear unless properly protected or buried in absolutely dry places where no moisture can penetrate. Pottery alone is impervious to such chemical changes and has endured since it was first invented, as an exceedingly important handmaid of history \* \* \* These artifacts were familiar to the ancients and were referred to frequently. 'Woe unto him that striveth with his Maker, a potsherds of the earth. Shall the clay say to him that fashioneth it, what markest thou?' (Isalah

45:9)."

Then he tells of gathering fragments of pottery from the surfaces of one or another ancient site "which fairly shout out the periods of history they belong to. It is as if they had been waiting for ages for someone to come along and notice them and pick them up, so that they could describe with eloquent pride the time and quality of their kingdoms. I can assure you that the archaeologist regards each artifact with feelings akin to personal affection." And Dr. Glueck goes on to tell how with the "open sesame" that such surface sherds afforded the expeditions he was associated with, and in some instances headed, they worked their way, square mile by square mile, through Transjordan and later in the Negev, prospecting for the treasures of antiquity.

Dr. Glueck uses a more modern-perhaps, Hebrew?-spelling of Negev, which this reviewer seems to recall as Negeb, originally meaning "the dry land." It is a definite geographical area (Deuteronomy 1:7, 34:3; Joshua 10:40, 12:8, etc.). The word is, however, used also in the sense of "south" (Genesis 13.14). The Negeb was often the scene of Abraham's wanderings (Genesis 12: 9, 13: 1, 20: 1). This reviewer's experiences in exploration in the Negeb were south of Hebron in Judah and in the Tih, or desert, bounded on the east by the Dead Sea and the 'Arabah, fading away to the west into the Maritime Plain, and south to Sodom. The country consists of a series of mountainous ridges running in a general east and west direction, with open wadys in which a certain amount of water collects even now. Dr. Glueck's far more extensive explorations in the Negev (using his spelling) went further south, where more rivers flow. Writes Dr. Glueck:

"The Negev has always played an epic role in the annals of Israel and of mankind. It represents an amazing phenomenon which cannot be made completely understandable by any sum of rational factors. The actual size of this triangularly shaped southland of the Bible, measuring some 70 by 120 miles at its greatest dimensions, bears no rela-tionship to its limitless and continuing importance. Neither its geographical position nor its physical characteristics can, by themselves, adequately explain the uniqueness of its influence. Of all the places which figured in its ancient past, the names of only a few stand out. The others are lost in deep obscurity. Even these few would not be known were it not for the highly selective records of Secretary. records of Sacred Writ. As a result, the Negev has long appeared to be an empty wilder ness which people crossed with all possible speed and in which only nomads were really at home!

But Dr. Glueck makes the reader of his new book, "Rivers in the Desert," feel very much at home. He has done what few ex plorers and writers have succeeded in doing in describing and making live again what he so aptly terms: "a frontierland of civili-

It is recommended that, after reading this fine fellow explorer's enlightening book that is highly positive and the state of the state is highly pertinent today in understanding the situation which currently confronts, as Senator Hubert H. Humphrey called attention to in the research tion to in his remarks about the "United States, Israel, and the World Crises" at a Jewish nation. Jewish national fund dinner in Chicago of April 1, 1959, one should reach for the Holy Bible and reread the many Biblical citations listed at the end of Nelson Glueck's "Rivers in the Desert."

Distressed Labor Market Areas Still Need Aid From Federal Government as Provided in Flood-Douglas Area Redevel opment Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 26, 1959

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record of the Record o ORD, I include another in a series of re ports on unemployment, in support of the area redevelopment bill, sometimes called the Flood-Douglas bill. This re port, compiled by the Area Employment Expansion Comp Expansion Committee, lists the congressional distributions gressional districts with labor markets suffering from substantial labor surplus and indicates current and prospective date of eligibility for benefits under the area redevelopment bill. Report is as of

Congressional Districts With Labor Markets Suffering From Substantial Labor Surplus, Indicating Current and Prospective Date of Eligibility for Benefits Under Area Redevelopment Bill, May 1959

Note.—The following is a list of labor markets with a substantial labor surplus. Those currently eligible for benefits under proposed area redevelopment legislation are \*Eligible for easistance under the House Banking Committee recommendation, i.e., unemployment of 6 percent in at least 18 of the previous 24 months, 9 percent during at least 18 of the previous 18 months, 12 percent during the previous 6-month period.

The carliest likely date of eligibility for other labor markets is noted where information is available, on the assumption that the current level of unemployment will continue. A list of rural counties eligible for benefits is available separately.

Congressman	Labor market area	Earliest prospec- tive date of eligibility	Congressman	Labor market area	Earliest prospective date of eligibility
Alabama: Boykin Elliott	Mobile *Jasper (Walker) *Florence-Sheffield (Franklin)	September 1959.	Indiana—Con. Denton	*Evansville (Vanderburgh) Petersburg (Pike) *Louisville, Ky,-Ind. (Clark and	
Grant_Huddleston_Jones	Escambia (Escambia)	March 1960. July 1959.	Halleek	*Louisville, KyInd. (Clark and Floyd). Liegansport (Cass)	
RainsRoberts	Decatur (Morgan).  *Gadsden (Etowah).  *Alexander City (Tallapoosa)	Do.	Harmon	Warsaw (Kosciusko)  *Muncie (Delaware)  *Connersville (Fayette, Rush, Union)  *New Castle (Henry)	
Irkana	Forence State of Charles of Control of Contr	March 1960.	Hogan	1 Columbus (Bartholomass)	July 1959.
Harris Gathings Trimble	*Texarkana (Miller) Magnolia (Columbia) Helena-West Helena (Phillips)	7.1.1070	Roush	Red Key (Jay) Anderson (Mudison) Hartford City and Montpelier (Black- ford).	Do.
Norreil allfornia: Ciem Miller olorado: Johnson onnecticut: Bowles	Fort Smith (Selustian) Fayetteville (Washington) *Pine Bluff (Jefferson) Crescent City (Del Norte)	July 1959. Do.	Wampler	Huntington (Huntington)  *Terre Haute (Vigo) Noblesville (Hamilton)	
Bowles	Middletown (part)	June 1959.	Iowa: Carter Schwengel Kansas:	- Keokuk (southern half of Lee)	Do.
Daddarlo	*Norwich *Thompsonville (part)	Do.	Avery		
	*Bristol (part) New Britain *Meriden (part) Middletown (part) *Thompsonville (part)	Do.	Kentucky: Burke Natcher	*Louisville	
Giaimo	*Thompsonville (part) *Torrington *Ansania (part) *Bridgeport (part)		Perkins		
Irwin Kowalski (at large)	*Bridgeport (part) *Ansonia (part)		Siler	Johnson, Knott, Magoilin, Martin). *Pikeville-Williamson (Pike)	
lorida:	*Bristol (part) *Torrington (part)			ley), *Middlesboro-Harian (Bell, Harlan, Leslie),	
Blitch	The state of the s		Stubblefield	*Madisonville (Muhlenberg) *Hopkinsville (Christian, Todd, Trigg).	
For-	Carrolli		Louisiana: McSween Passman Thompson	- Alexandria (Rapides Parish) Oak Grove (West Carroll Parish) Ville Platte (Evangeline Parish) Opelousas (St. Landry Parish)	September 1960. March 1960.
Landrum Mitchell	Dawson (Terrell) Jefferson-Commerce (Juckson) Ellijay (Famin, Gilmer, Murray, and Pickens). Cedartown-Rockmart (Paulding and		Maine: Coffin	April 1 August 1	March 1960.
Preston	Eliljay (Fannin, Gilmer, Murray and Pickens)		McIntire	ington).	
Allen. Arends Chiperfield. Gray.	Rockford (Winnebago) Danville (Vermillion)		Oliver	Portland. Rumford (part of Oxford County) Norway-Paris (part of Cumberland and Oxford). Augusta (parts of Kennebee, Sagadahoo, and Lincoln).	July 1959.
	Saline).  *Herrin Murrhusbase West Vennt		Maryland: Brewster	Baltimore (part)	Do.
Mack, Junior Mason	fort (Franklin, Jackson, Johnson, Perry, Union, Williamson), Cairo (Alexander & Pulaski) Litchfield (Macoupin)		FallonFoley	Baitimore. Hagerstown (Washongton). *Cumberland (Allegany) Frederick (Frederick).	Do. July 1960. July 1959.
Michel Shipley	Joliet (Will) Peoria (Peoria and Tazewell)	July 1959. Do.	FridelGarmatz	Garrett	April 1960, July 1959.
	*Harrisburg (White) *Litchfield (Montgomery) *Mount Carmel-Oiney (Edwards, Lawrence, Richland, Wabash). *Mount Vernon (Hamilton, Jefferson, Waynes		Johnson	Worcester). *Elkton (Cecil) Bultimore.	Do,
Simpson	*Centralia (Clinton, Marion)		Massachusetts: Bates	*Lawrence (part) *Newburyport *Haverhill *Allegeorter	
Springer idiana: Adair	Taylorville (Christian) Mattoon (Coles)	January 1960, June 1960.	Boland	*Ware (part)	June 1959. Do.
Bray	Fort Wayne (Allen)  *Michigan City-La Porte (La Porte)  South Bend (St. Joseph)  Rourise (M. Joseph)	July 1959. July 1960.	Conte	*North Adams *Pittsfield Greenfield Springfield-Holyoke (part)	July 1959. June 1950.
	*Vincennes (Knox) Edinburg (Johnson)		Donohue	Worcester	July 1950.

Congressional Districts With Labor Markets Suffering From Substantial Labor Surplus, Indicating Current and Prospective Date of Eligibility for Benefits Under Area Redevelopment Bill, May 1959—Continued

Congressman	Labor market area	Earliest prospec- tive date of eligibility	Congressman	Labor market area	Earliest prospective date of eligibility
Massachusetts-Con.	7. 44 - 6 - 43	1. 1070	New Jersey-Con.	AWING A CO. M. N	
Kleth	*New Bedford		Glenn	*Wildwood (Cape May) *Atlantic City	F 3 to 1 5 32
	Springfield-Holyoke (part) *Plymouth **	Do.	Osmers.	*Bridgeton Newark	July 1959
	Hyannis.	Seasonally high		Paterson	Do.
		ment in area.	Rodino Thompson	Perth Amboy. *Philadelphia (Burlington)	Do. Do.
Lane	Nantucket-Martha's Vineyard* *Lawrence (part)	Do.		Trum from	Do.
Martin	*Fall River Brockton (part) *Milford (part)	June 1959.	Wallhauser Widnall	Newark Phillipsburg (Hunterdon, Warren) Morristown-Dover	Do. Do.
The second	*Milford (part)	SHAPE ASSESS.	W Killing	Morristown-Dover	Do.
Philbin	*Southbridge-Webster	100			Do. Do.
	1 *Warn (murt)	Marie Control of the	Part of the State of	Paterson Allentown-Bethlehem (Warren) Flemington (half of Hunterdon)	Do.
Rogers	*Lowell		New Mexico: Montoya		THE PERSON NAMED IN
Michigan: Bennett	. Iron Mountain (Dickinson, Iron)	In the second	Morris.	Deming (Luna) Las Vegas (San Miguel) Raton (Colfax)	100000000000000000000000000000000000000
	* Marquette Gogebie (Gogebie)		Now York:		1918
Broomfield	* Detroit (Oukland)	PAN SE BA	New York:	*Newburgh-Middletown-Beacon (Putnam).	23.7
Cederberg Chamberlain			Dulski	*Buffalo (part of Buffalo) *Buffalo (Niagara, part of Erie)	-
Diggs	to Platrate (Warma)	3.233	Miller O'Brien	A IDENT SCHEDECIMITY - Prov. CAIDAD VI	Do.
Dingell Ford	* Grand Rapids	13 5 10 E	Ostertag	*Botavia Orleans (Orleans)	September 1950.
Griffin			Pillion Pirnie	Orienns (Orienns)  *Butfalo (part of Erie)  *Oncida (Madisson)  *Utica-Rome (Herkinger and Oneida)	
	Northport (Leelanum)	The second second		*Utica-Rome (Herkiner and Oneida).	7 1 1050
Griffiths	Traverse (Grand Traverse) *Detroit (Wayne) South Haven (Van Buren)	De 16 - 5   30	Reed	Wellsville (Allegany)	July 1959. January 1960.
Hoffman	Sonth Haven (Van Buren)	October 1939.	Robison	Olean-Salamanca (Cattargus)	June 1959.
	*Sturgis	October 1000.	The second secon	*Elmira Corning-Hornell	Do.
Johansen	Menominee (Menominee)		St. George	*Newburgh-Middletown-Beacon (Orange).	
Lesinski	*Escanaba		Stratton	Albuny-Schenectady-Troy (Schenec- tady).	July 1959.
Machrowicz			100 - 300 - 1-203	*Amsterdam*Gloversville	
Meader	*Adrian	THE SHOW	Taber	-Auburn	Do.
O'Hara	*Jackson *Detroit (Macomb) *Port Huron (St. Clair)		Tuylor	laer).	170.
	*Port Huron (St. Clair)	Marie William	The state of the s	*Gleus Falls-Hudson Falls (Warren, Washington),	Ones
Rabaut	*Detroit (Wayne)	1 FT TO 50 G	MARKET MARKET MARKET	*Plattsburgh (Clinton)	January 1960.
Minnesota: Blatnik	Duluth-Superior (St. Louis)	July 1959.		Waterford-Mechanicsville-Stillwater (part of Saratoga). *Newburgh-Middletown-Beacon	123
LangenQuie			Wharton	(part of Dutchess)	
Mississippi:	The state of the s	1307-7-11		*Kingston (Ulster)	December 1959.
	Oktibbeha).	2 4 4 400		New York	July 1939.
Colmer	(Marion)	September 1960.	Barry	Kings Westchester	
Smith	*Greenville Clarksdale (Coahoma)		Becker Bosch	Niesaur Queens	The same of the same
Williams	Cleveland (Bolivar)	- 2 %	Buckley	Bronx Kings, Queens	
Winstead.	Canton (Madison)	113000	Delaney	Queens	ON BEET ST
Missouri: Brown	Sringfield (Greene)	June 1960.	Derounian		
Cannon	*Joplin (Jusper) Hannibal (Marion & Ralls)	July 1959.	Dooley Dorn	Westchester Kings	
Carnahan			Farbstein	New York	
Curtis	Washington (Franklin)	September 1960.	Halpern	Queens	
Hull, Jr.		September 1959.	Henly	Bronx Queens	
Karsten	Cape Glandeau	November, 1959. September 1960.	Kelly Keogh	Kings do	
Moulder		July 1989.	Lindsay	New York Kings	The state of the s
THE WEST	*Versailles (Morgan)		Powell	New York	
Randall	- Washington (Franklin)	September 1959, September 1960,	RayRooney	Richmond (part of Kings)	
Montanu: Anderson	*Butre: *Kalispell.	100.000.000.000.000	St. George	Rockland New York	
	NIPSOIRF UNIONPRIEF		Teller	Nassau, Suffolk	
	Roundup (Museishell) Scobey-Fluxville-Whitetall (part of		Zelenko	New York	-
Nebraska: Cunningham.	Daniels), Beatrice (Gage)	F 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	North Carolina: Cooley	*Rocky Mount (Nash)	July 1960.
New Jersey:	Blair (Washington)	2700	Durham	Raleigh (Wake)	July "
Addonizio	Newark	July 1959.	Fountain	*Kinston (Langie)	700
Auchincloss	Perth Amboy	Do,	7	*Rocky Mount (Edgecombe) Wilson (Wilson)	May 1900.
Cahill.	Trenton	Do. September 1960,	Hall	*Asheville (Buncombe) *Waynesville (Haywood, part of Jack-	
Canfield.	*Philadelphia (Camden, Gloucester)		THE RESERVE	son). Bryson City (Swain)	1000
Daniels	Nowark:	July 1959. Do.	The state of the s	Hendersonville	July 1900.
Dwyer	Paterson	Do, Do,	Jonas	Murphy (Cherokee)	Re-market
Frelinghnysen	- Morristown-Dover Perth Amboy	Do. Do.	Kitchin	*Rockingham-Hamlet*Fayettevile (Cumberland)	po.
Gallagher		Do.	The section of the se	Lamberton (Robeson)	399 00
The state of the s	Newark	Do.	Scott	Roxboro (Person)	to the second

Congressional Districts With Labor Markets Suffering From Substantial Labor Surplus, Indicating Current and Prospective Date of Eligibility for Benefits Under Area Redevelopment Bill, May 1959—Continued

Congressman	Labor market area	Earliest prospec- tive date of eligibility	Congressman	Labor market area	Earliest prosp tive date of eligibility
orth Carolina—Con.		S TO DO TO	Pennsylvania-Con.		STORE BY
	Marion (McDowell). *Shelby-Kings Mountain (Cleveland).		TollVan Zandt	Philadelphia *Altoona (Blair) *Clearfield-DuBois (part of Centre,	July 1959.
ilo: Ashley	Rutherford Forest City	MAN COLORES			
Ashley Betts	Toledo (Lucas) Findlay-Tiffin-Fostoria (Hancock,	July 1959. August 1959.	Walter	*Pottsville (part of Carbon)	Do.
BrownCook	Seneca), *Springfield			cept Pottsville) area).	
	Ashtabula-Conneaut  *New Philadelphia-Dover (Carroll, Harrison).	Do.	Rhode Island: Fogarty	*Providence	The state of the s
Henden	*Steubenville-Wheeling (W. Va.)	2 5775	Forand	*Providence	
Henderson	*Cambridge	T 1010	Tennessee: Baker		
Latta	Zanesville. Woodsfield (Monroe)	August 1959.		*La Follette-Jellico-Tazewell (Camp-	
Latta Moeller	Vanesville Woodsfield (Monroe) Toledo (part of Wood) *Athens-Logan-Nelsonville *Portsmouth-Chillicothe (Jackson) *Huntington-Ashland, W. VaKy Ohio (Lawrence)	July 1959.	Bass Frazier, Junior	bell. Columbia (Maury). *Chattanooga Tracey City (Grundy) Lewisburg (Marshall) Murfreesboro (Rutherford). Shelbyville (Bedford). *Bristol-Johnson City Kingsport.	September 19
	*Portsmouth-Chillicothe (Jackson) *Huntington-Ashland, W. Va,-Ky,-	CARREL IN	Evins	Lewisburg (Marshall)	
V	Ohio (Lawrence).  *Pt. Pleasant-Gallipolis, W. VaOhio (Gallia, Meigs).  *Portsmouth-Chillicothe (Pike, Ross,			Shelbyville (Bedford)	363
Vacant	*Portsmouth-Chillicothe (Pike, Ross,		Recce		
lahoma:	Sciota). Batavia - Georgetown - West Union (Adams, Brown, Clermont).	June 1959.	Burleson Kilgore	Dublin (Comanche and Erath)	July 1959.
	Potent (LeFlore)		Patman	*Tovorbono (Bourio)	
Edmonson	* Aritmore (Carter)	STORES S	Young	Corpus Christi   Karnes City (Karnes)	Do.
teed egon:	Poteau (LeFlore) * Ardmore (Carter) * McAlester (Pittsburg) * Okmulgee-Henryetta (Okmulgee) Shawnee (Pottawatomie)		Vtah: Dixon		
Norblad	* McMinnville (Yamhill)			Burlington Brattleboro (part of Windham) St. Johnsbury (part of Caledonia, Essex, Orleans, and Washington).	July 1960.
	Tillamook (Tillamook)	Do. 1000			
Porter	Toledo (Lincoln)	February 1960,	Virginia; Abbitt Downing	Suffolk and Nansemond	December 1959
nan	* Astoria (Clatsop) * Gold Beach (Curry) Grants Pass (Josephine) Hood River (Hood River)	August 1959.	Harrison	Accomack and Northampton Winchester (Clarke Frederick and	September 1960, February 1960, January 1960,
		Do. July 1959.	Harrison	city of Winchester).	February 1960.
	Philadelphia *Berwick-Bloomsburg (part of Colum- bin),	July 1800.	Jennings		Do. November 1936
	*Lock Haven (Clinton)		THE TREE THE PARTY OF THE PARTY	enson, Russell, Tazewell). *Big Stone Gap-Appalachia (Lee,	
	(Montour, part of Columbia). *Williamsport (Lycoming). *Sayre-Athens-Towanda (Bradford)			Richlands-Buieneri (Buchanan, Diekenson, Russell, Tazewell).  *Big Stone Gap-Appalachia (Lee, Wise).  *Bristol-Johnson City-Kingsport, Tenn. (Washington County, Va.).  Covington-Clifton Force (Alleghany, Betternt (Mitch of Finestle). In.	
lyrne.		Do.	Poff	Tenn. (Washington County, Va.). Covington-Clifton Forge (Alleghany,	February 1960.
Corbon	Philadelphia Pittsburgh (Beaver) Butler New Castle Pittsburgh Allentown-Bethlehem (Lehigh) Philadelphia (Bucks) Philadelphia (Bucks) Philadelphia (Chester) Pittsburgh Pottsville (Schnyikill) Sunbury-Shamokin-Mount Carmel (Northumberland) St. Marys (Cameron) Wilkes-Barre-Hazleton (Luzerne) Pittsburgh		PUREHRE	dependent city of Clifton Forge and	
Corbett Curtin	*New Castle *Pittsburgh			Covington). *Radford-Pulaski (Floyd, Montgomery).	
Dague Dent enton	Philadelphia (Bucks)	Do. Do.	Tuck	Roanoke	September 198
enton	*Pittsburgh	Do.	Washington:		
	*Sunbury-Shamokin-Mount Carmel		Horan Mack	*Spokane *Aberdeen *Olympia Fllensburg (Kittitas) Bremerton Tacoma	
lood_ ulton	St. Marys (Cameron)	September 1960.	Mny	*Olympia	
			Pelly Tollefson	Bremerton Tacoma	June 1959. July 1959.
	On City-Franklin-Titusville (Forest,		Westland	*Bellingham.	
Times	St. Marys-Emporium (Elk)	June 1969.		*Everett. *Port Angeles	Amull Mate
reen	Bradford (McKean)  Philadelphia	November 1960. July 1959.	West Virginia:	The state of the s	April 1960.
earns	*Pittshumah	July 1909.	Buily	Richwood (Nicholas)  *Charleston (Fayette)  *Clarksburg (Harrison)	
	*Oil City-Franklin-Titusville (part of		Hechler	Parkersburg (Calhoun, Ritchie, Wirt)	July 1959.
afore	Meadville (part of Crawford)	November 1960.		*Point Pleasant-Gallipolis (Jackson, Mason, Putnam).	
loorchead	District (Montkomery)	July 1959. Do.		'Huntington-Asbland (C a b e 11, Wayne).	
fummo	Uniontown-Connellsville (Fayette)		Kee	Parkersburg (Pleasnats, Wood) *Ronceverte-White Sulphur Springs	Do.
ix rokop	Harrisburg (Cumberland and Dambin)	July 1960.		(Greenbriar, Monroe). *Welch (McDowell)	
rokop	Hitsburgh (Washington) Lewistown (Juniata) Harrisburg (Cumberland and Dauphin) Philadelphia Forest City-Montrose (Susquehanna) Scranton (Lackawanna)	July 1959.	Mana Tuestan	*Bluefield (Mercer) *Pikeville-Williamson (Mingo) Grafton (Taylor)	
			Moore, Junior	*Fairmont (Marion) *Wheeling (W. Va.)-Steubenville,	
lylor	Gettystana (1.	July 1960.	Slack	Ohio. *Beckley (Raleigh)	
m.	*Johnstown (Cambria)	Contambo 1000	Staggers	*Logan (Logan, part of Boone) Elkins (Randolph)	
mpson	Johnstone (Sity (Armstrong)	September 1960.		Martinsburg *Morgantown	Do.
BIRCH TER	Sunhary Shamet I se			Marlinton (Pocahontas)*Cumberland (Mineral)	1
THE RESIDENCE OF THE PARTY OF T	(Snyder, Union), Chambersburg-Waynesboro (Frank- lin, Fulton)		Wisconsin:	Sturgeon Bay (Door)	

Congressional Districts With Labor Markets Suffering From Substantial Labor Surplus, Indicating Current and Prospective Date of Eligibility for Benefits Under Area Redevelopment Bill, May 1959—Continued

Congressman	Labor market area	Earliest prospec- tive date of eligibility	Congressman	Labor market area	Earliest prospective date of eligibility
Wisconsin—Con, Johnson  Laird O'Konski	Ean Claire-Chippewa Falis (Chippewa and Ean Claire Counties). Antiso (Langiado). Stevens Point (Portage). Duluth-Superior (Douglas). Rhinelander (Oneich).		Wisconsin—Con. Van Pelt. Withrow. Wyoming: Thomson	Oshkosh Chilton (Calumet) *La Crosso Mauston (Juneau) Kemmerer (part of Lincoln) Sheridan (Sheridan)	October 1959.

NOTE. - Eligibility date for most very small areas of substantial labor surplus not ascertainable due to lack of data.

#### The Fine Print on the Ballot Requires Business' Concern With Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. RICHARD M. SIMPSON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 26, 1959

Mr. SIMPSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, in recent months there has been an increasing awareness on the part of businessmen as well as other citizens that they must participate actively in political affairs including precinct politics if we are to preserve a truly responsive form of government.

While I have a special interest in the Republican Party as chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee, I believe that every citizen should be active in the party of his choice, and I know that both parties will benefit from a better understanding on the part of informed, participating citizens of the problems which confront us as legislators.

On May 28, Mr. George M. Humphrey, the former Secretary of the Treasury, who is now chairman of the National Steel Corp., delivered an address before the 67th general meeting of the American Iron and Steel Institute in New York entitled "The Fine Print on the Ballot Requires Business' Concern With Politics." Mr. Humphrey said:

Businessmen should be actively promoting the national interests in freedom of choice, in sound fiscal policies and sound monetary policy in both parties. The importance to the strength of this Nation of a healthy climate for business is far too great to be the policy prerogative of only one major political party.

#### He also said:

Political activity must not be shunned and left only to others. It must engage the high purpose of every patriotic citizen. It is the mechanism through which the great privileges of our precious freedoms are made to function. It's worthy of your best efforts and a lot of your time. If you will put the same effort into getting as good representation in politics, not only in your own area but for the Nation as a whole, as you have in your own business, the problems will be few. You and your whole organization must learn that in this day and age, the fine print on the ballot requires that you must get active in politics if you want to stay active in business.

These statements are characteristic of Mr. Humphrey. His comments included some penetrating observations concerning our present fiscal problems, and he also reviewed a few of the misconceptions regarding so-called administered prices which have confused some economists in their understanding of competitive forces in today's economy to wit:

Politically determined costs can price you out of your better markets. Politically determined regulations can restrict your exports and increase competitive imports against you. Bills are right now being urged in Congress that affect both your wage and pricing policies.

Wages are an important item of costs, which are more and more in competition with wages abroad. We no longer operate or sell in a vacuum. If any of our costs become noncompetitive, it will simply mean moving jobs from Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, and Chicago and other areas here at home, to Britain, Germany, other European centers, and even Russia. They will work and produce the goods, and we will have less business and fewer jobs.

Since I had the opportunity of working closely with Mr. Humphrey during his period of service as Secretary of the Treasury, I found this statment of great interest. Under the unanimous consent of my colleagues, I include the full text of the address at this point in my remarks:

THE FINE PRINT ON THE BALLOT REQUIRES BUSINESS' CONCERN WITH POLITICS

(By George M. Humphrey, chairman, National Steel Corp., Pittsburgh, Pa.)

Most of us have learned that when a document is handed to us for signature, it is wise to turn it over before signing and read the fine print on the back, which usually carries the real tough obligations and conditions.

The ballot is the most prized possession of citizenship in this country. It's our cherished evidence of the freedom of choice that we all hold so dear and that generations of Americans have fought and died to preserve.

But how many of us have thought to read the fine print on the back? How many of us appreciate the obligations, the responsibilities, this great privilege carries with it, if its benefits are to endure?

Of course, in a literal sense, there is no fine print on the back of the ballot. But in an absolutely real sense, a great deal of very important—and very fine—print is involved. This is found, not on the back of the ballot, but in the whole use and tradition of representative government as we have developed it in this country. The very word representative means that we elect people to represent us in our local, State, and Federal governments, and these people that we elect have tremendous power over our lives through the legislative and the executive branches of our system of government.

Our form of government is the best, the most effective, and the most equitable form of government ever devised. But our kind of government can only be the best kind of government if it is intelligently used by informed people determined to have the best
government on earth. We must always remember, we must never forget, that a good
form of government does not guarantee good
government. You only get good government
by using a good system vigorously and intelligently.

One of the most important things for us to preserve, defend, and improve through the exercise of our kind of government is our system of free economic choice—our free competitive enterprise system—and this, in practical form is our business system. It is our free business system that produces the jobs that make the goods and the wages and income by which we have gained the most satisfactory standard of living in man's history. It is from these jobs and goods and incomes-and only from these-that we draw the taxes to support our Government, to defend our Nation, to educate ourselves, and to provide us with our roads, harbors, social security and employment benefits, and to achieve the military and economic objectives of our foreign policy. It is from the jobs and goods and incomes of our free business system that we siphon off the wealth that supports our churches, our art and literature and music, our great private universities, our health and recreational facilities, and the entire material fabric of our cultural and spiritual life.

Business has been in the political doghouse in this country long enough. It is shot at from every quarter. I'm proud to be a businessman. Almost every material benefit we have is created by business, and it's time every American businessman takes his proper place in leadership toward sound governmental objectives and fulfills his political duties and obligations.

When we use the ballot, the fine print gives the political officeholder a power of attorney much more extensive and effective than any power of attorney you grant in the course of business, to improve and strengthen, or to warp, to hobble, and even to destroy our system of free economic choice.

This is a power of attorney to alter our lives in every way, because it is a power of attorney over our free competitive enterprise system, our freedom of economic choice.

The business has the right, and not only the right, but the duty, to use his citizen's responsibilities in our system of government to see to it that the people we elect are people who understand and appreciate our freedoms, who will use the power of attorney, and all the fine print provisions that go with it, to preserve and defend and improve free enterprise. This is why the businessman should be actively engaged in politics, and it is the way he should be engaged in politics. He has no more right than has anyone else to try to impose his personal business interests upon government. But the businessman has every right to defend through the ballot our climate of economic freedom and our free competitive business system.

And yet, how many of us really take the time to know and evaluate the capacity, intelligence and ideals of the representatives

to whom we assign such power over ourselves?

Worse yet, how many of us truly work to assure ourselves that our choice will not only be elected by the majority of voters in our area, but will also be assured of the support of a like-minded majority of the entire group in the Congress, the legislature, etc.

Why is this so important? What are some of the powers you have signed away? How vitally can this power of attorney with the fine print in it actually affect your personal

and affairs?

Take for instance just one thing: Taxes. Taxes are inseparably tied to government spending, balanced or deficit budgets and the national debt. All these taken together add up to our Government's fiscal responsibility, to inflationary pressures, to sound or flat money, and to the entire economic climate in which you are trying to run a business and work and live.

Taxes and Government spending are inseparable. Spending must be followed in equal amount by taxes, sooner or later, inevitably, if our country is to remain solvent and if our precious freedoms are to survive. The great preponderance of our taxes come from earnings of business, earnings from jobs in business, and earnings from those who serve in one way or another business and the people in business' jobs. Good profits and good personal earnings and wages are the foundation for the support of our Government and everything it does. Where would we be in America without good earnings in business and jobs?

There are many ways in which this money collected in taxes is spent. By far the greatest amount of money spent in Government operations is for the military security of our our country. I have always believed that this country should and can well afford to spend whatever may be required to provide a powerful posture of defense, adequate, to-Bether with the strength of our allies, to so obviously overpower the aggression of any group in the world that their mere thought of military aggression will be emphatically

deterred.

But I have never believed that the pursuit of this objective should be permitted to become a cloak to cover extravagant or wasteful spending. We must not confuse mere

spending with improved defense.

We must realize that to the extent our defense spending involves unnecessary duplication in programs, weapons or research, or excessive maintenance of outmoded methods, equipment or personnel, we damage ourselves not only in terms of money, but what is more

critical, in terms of defense. There are hard decisions to be made between what is really necessary and what is merely desirable, what is enough but not too much. Someone must weigh and reach a balance that will be abundantly adequate

for the present while avoiding excesses that would jeopardize the future. Some one must make the final decision as to what is

appropriate for the time.

Fortunately for America, for you and for me, we have now in charge a man trained in military science, the greatest winning military leader of the greatest military conflict of all time, who also has the balance of comprehension of sound economic necessity and an overwhelming devotion to the maintenance of our free competitive way of life, Dwight D. Eisenhower, the President of the United States. There is no one in this world who has an equally broad background of training and experience.

President Eisenhower deserves your active, support, the support of everyone, reof party, in keeping within the limits of Government spending that he has set in his budget, now pending before the Congress. Are you doing all you can to

Why is a balanced budget so important? It is important because the budget involves all the activities of your Federal Government, and its balance or lack of balance is fundamental to the fiscal responsibility or lack of responsibility of our Government. If the Government does not give the right, the responsible and creative lead, who will? And if the budget isn't balanced in times like these, when will it ever be balanced? Fiscal responsibility by our Government now is essential to fostering the confidence of our people and the rest of the world in our belief in the importance of sound fiscal management. It will reinforce continued confidence of our people and the rest of the world in the obligations of our Government, in the dependability of the dollar, and be a firm indication to the whole world that we practice what we preach.

These are national interests, not party interests. Businessmen should be actively promoting the national interests in freedom of choice, in sound fiscal policies and sound monetary policy in both parties. The importance to the strength of this Nation of a healthy climate for business is far too great to be the policy prerogative of only one ma-

jor political party.

It is business that must mobilize the savings and direct the expansion by which we provide jobs for those already in the labor force and for approximately a million new people who seek new jobs every year. It is business that must seek, find, and put to work through the savings it makes and the savings it mobilizes, the new production methods that increase our productivityand it is only from increasing productivity that we can raise our standard of living while at the same time paying our increasing social costs and paying the bill for adequate defense.

Everything we do through government, as private persons or as communities, as States, or as a nation, must be paid for by the taxes that our free ecnomy provides.

Taxes take, as you well know, from a minimum of one-fifth to a maximum of 87 percent overall of your personal taxable income. How seriously this will adversely affect our treasured opportunity in America and in-centive and the vigor of future generations, only time will tell.

Your business is told by virtue of the fine print on the ballot that the political officeholders can more wisely spend more of your corporate earnings than you can. So you are left with less than half of your company's earnings with which to meet its obligations to its stockholders, to pay your investors for the tools their money bought, to buy new tools as the old become obsolete and must be replaced at much higher cost, to say nothing of the need for buying more tools to make more jobs for the growing population and to meet your customers' requirements for expanded production.

This all raises serious questions as to how. as time goes on, we are going to keep our business competitive with costs in foreign lands, which are engaged, with our tax help, in rapid modernization, improvement, and expansion. How are we going to tool up for continually more and better jobs? How can we keep unemployment from increasing as the population grows? And above all, how can individual productivity go higher and higher so that this country can pay our high wages and still make more and better jobs to produce better and cheaper goods to increase our scale of living?

These taxes can only be reduced if Government spending is relatively reduced.

There is no other alternative.

These high tax rates, together with the high and increasing costs of defense, raise the most serious questions whether we can longer afford some of the governmental extravagances to which we are growing accus-

tomed. During the last 4 years, our spending for our most important military security has increased only 131/2 percent, while Government spending for the rest of the budget has increased over 45 percent, or more than \$2,700 million a year. While the cold war continues and we must spend so much tax money for our security, can we afford to also pay out such vast sums for so many of these other desirable but less essential expenditures?

Consider only a few examples:

Can we continue to pay out large sums for veterans for medical care that is in no way connected with any military service disability whatsoever?

Can we afford indiscriminate dupulications in our welfare outlays in addition to the growing adequacy of our social security system?

Can we, to take a most painful example. afford to go on paying out many billions of dollars a year in agricultural programs that distort the economy while they raise

the cost of food for everyone?

Now mark this. For fiscal year 1959 we will raise about \$6 billion in Federal taxes from all surtax rates higher than the 20 percent basic rate. Our outlays for agricultural subsidies of one kind or another will eat up over \$7,250 million during the same period-over \$5,250 million being for price supports alone. In other words, agricultural programs take all the surtaxes paid by all the individuals above the basic 20 percent rate, and then some, and five-sixths of the outlay is for price supports for farm products.

The irony of this is that so little has been finally accomplished, but at least it has added eloquent evidence why we must not have any governmental experimenting in price fixing in the steel business as some have suggested.

There are many more examples that require the most serious consideration.

The American businessman must personally take a far greater, more active part in politics. The largest items in your cost sheet are fixed for you by political decree, Politically determined costs can price you out of your better markets. Politically determined regulations can restrict your exports and increase competitive imports against you. Bills are right now being urged in Congress that affect both your wage and pricing policies.

Wages are an important item of costs, which are more and more in competition with wages abroad. We no longer operate or sell in a vacuum. If any of our costs become noncompetitive, it will simply mean moving jobs from Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, and Chicago and other areas here at home, to Britain, Germany, other European centers, and even Russia. They will work and produce the goods, and we will have less business and fewer jobs.

Both wages and prices are subject to competitive limitations that will eventually control them, no matter how powerful a union may seem to be or what the price levels in an industry may be for a limited time.

Both labor and business can price themselves out of the market with distressing results-labor with a high rate and no job, and business with a high price and no sale, but equally destructive to both. However, in all cases, the responsibility of the Government should only be to prevent monopolistic, restrictive, or compulsory practices by either, or by the Government itself, the detriment of the public, or eventually the whole free system will be destroyed. Short of interference, the system is self-correcting and self-policing for the benefit of all concerned.

For instance, the theory is being advanced that if only a few producers make and sell a large proportion of the total of any article,

that may prevent its pricing from being highly competitive. It is true that only a few makers are thus in competition with each other, no matter how bitter may be their battle for competitive position among themselves, but that does not make for so-called administered pricing. That tells only part of the story. A new automobile is in competition not only with all other makes of latest model but with all other older models owned by millions of our people who periodically have their own cars for trade or sale. If the price and quality and all the other attributes of pricing are not sufficient to induce the buyer to buy the new car, no sale is made. But again, that's only a part of what must be considered in pricing. An automobile is not only in competition with all other automobiles, but also with a refrigerator, a television, new furniture, or an addition to the house, or even a new house. It competes with the whole scale of current living, down to whether the family buys extra new clothes or even a sirloin steak instead of a hamburger.

The new car must be highly appealing and attractively priced for the family to take on the extra cost of added monthly payments and sacrifice the new furniture, the TV. and refrigerator or even fewer clothes or cheaper meals to do it.

Other competition limiting prices which is increasingly important in our world of technological advance is the competition of old with new or improved materials. Steel competes with aluminum, concrete, wood, glass, and plastics. Cotton competes with synthetics and the synthetics with one another and with paper, wool, and slik. Paper competes with plastics, glass, and steel for containers and other 4tems, and so on and on. This kind of competition is nearly endless and it is more important every day.

The idea that a few people can administer prices in a vacuum for the American people with their great range of full freedom of choice is purest imaginative theory.

As long as their full freedom of choice is preserved to the American people and not restricted or arbitrarily curtailed, the growing strength and greater service from our whole competitive economic machine is assured. No governmental bureaus, committees, or controls can begin to be so effective.

Public acceptance or rejection in a free market is the most potent influence in the world.

These are just a few of the many reasons why political activities, not once in 4 years, but day in and day out, must be made a large and important part of your daily business burden. It's not enough to occasionally issue wise pronouncements or full-page ads. Political decisions begin right in the precincts with the election of good people all along the line and they ultimately become the powerful voices that so vitally affect your future. Your own younger employees must be encouraged by you to take a more active part in politics in their own areas, and they will if they know the boss approves and is working at it himself.

You are being challenged by highly organized groups that are strenuously and seriously devoting themselves to the political task. They already have a good start. Highly organized, well funded labor groups are hard at work, seemingly without full realization of the disastrous consequences to themselves of failing to heed the simplest principles of competition. Theorists, high-minded, if you will, but wholly impractical, are filling newspaper columns, writing books and making speeches, with no practical experience and never having created a single job or met a payroll in their lives.

There are other powerful groups with a vested interest in high governmental spending, without regard for budgetary consequences or deficits or debts. All these and many more are busy now.

If you believe in our system of free competitive way of life, in the lasting power of sound economics, in the freedom of the individual to an opportunity to rise to any heights that his own merit, intelligence and hard work will take him, if you believe in a sound and solvent America that can meet Khrushchev's challenge to a war of production and trade as well as of military force, then it's time for you to put politics high on your active list, bend your back, and put hours of thought and effort on the job.

The sound, constructive things to do must be explained to all our people. tirely proper for business executives to inform their employees and stockholders at corporate expense where their best interests It is not a violation of law to do so. The dangers must be pointed out to your stockholders and to your organization, to your own employees. Their broad understanding will be a mighty force. They must understand that poor business means poor jobs, that good business means good jobs. and that higher pay and better goods at lower cost come only from greater produc-tivity and volume of sales. They must realize that our money is the medium of exchange which forms the basis of trade, and that if sound money deteriorates, it is destructive of trade and reduces jobs. They must be convinced that their best interests and good business are one and the same, and inseparable. They must know what national policies hurt business and therefore hurt them, and what are helpful to both. With this foundation firmly laid, you and they must be active in politics.

Political activity must not be shunned and left only to others. It must engage the high purpose of every patriotic citizen. It is the mechanism through which the great privileges of our precious freedoms are made to function. It's worthy of your best efforts and a lot of your time. If you will put the same effort into getting as good representation in politics, not only in your own area but for the Nation as a whole, as you have in your own business, the problems will be few. You and your whole organization must learn that in this day and age the fine print on the ballot requires that you must get active in politics if you want to stay active in business.

Audit Reports of the Federal Reserve System—Extravagant and Improper Uses of Public Funds—Other Deficiencies in Federal Reserve Bank Management

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 26, 1959

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, last Monday I made public a report—a fairly short report considering the nature and volume of the subject matter—based on my review of the audit reports of the Federal Reserve banks for the year 1957. I would like to insert that report in the Recorp herewith. I believe that the introductory remarks will make it explanatory

Previously I made a much longer and more thorough review of the operations of the Federal Reserve banks, giving a review of the audit reports for 1956

and several earlier years. That report is to be found in my testimony before the Committee on Banking and Currency of the House of Representatives, 85th Congress, 2d session, on S. 145 and H.R. 7026, hearings, part 2. My testimony begins at page 1535 of the hearings, and the specific review of the audit reports begins at page 1560.

Backfire in the War Against Insects

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 2, 1959

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, the need for funds to finance the large scale testing of pesticides is still urgent. Chemical sprays are among the most useful tools that man has developed to assist him in his fight against diseases and pests, but they can also be among the most dangerous if they are not used with an adequate knowledge of their results.

The new insecticides kill birds, fish, and animals along with insects of all kinds. Dr. George J. Wallace, eminent zoologist, has advised that—

The current widespread program poses the greatest threat that animal life in North America has ever faced—worse than deforestation, worse than illegal shooting worse than drainage, drought, oil pollution; possibly worse than all these decimating factors combined.

Dr. Wallace offers this prophecy:

If this and other pest-eradication programs are carried out as now projected, we shall have been witnesses, within a single decade, to a greater extermination of animal life than in all the previous years of man's history on earth.

I include at this point as part of my remarks an article by Robert S. Strother which was carried in the Reader's Digest of June 1959. It is one of the most interesting, informative articles on this subject it has been my pleasure to read:

From the Reader's Digest, June 1959| BACKFIRE IN THE WAR AGAINST INSECTS

(By Robert S. Strother)

The United States is engaged in an intensive war against destructive insects. The weapons employed are powerful and widespread, and so is the controversy they have engendered. Billions of pounds of Poisons were broadcast over 100 million acres of cropland and forest. More billions of pounds are being spread across the Nation year—against spruce budworm in northern forests, grasshoppers in 9 million acres of wheatland in the Midwest, white fringed beetle in the Southeast; against sand files, gnats, Japanese beetles, corn borers and groups months. The U.S. Department of Agriculture is only one of the large-scale users of insecticides. State, county, and even local groups also employ them, sometimes in cooperation with USDA, sometimes alone.

The new based below.

The new insecticides, often used as massive sprays from planes, kill birds, fish, and animals along with insects of all kinds, good as well as bad. The costs of the campaign money, destruction of wildlife, and possible harm to human health are not ade

quately known. The need for them is hotly challenged and hotly defended.

Says Dr. George J. Wallace, Michigan State University zoologist, "The current widespread program poses the greatest threat that animal life in North America has ever facedworse than deforestation, worse than illegal shooting, worse than drainage, drought, oil pollution; possibly worse than all these decimating factors combined."

The USDA points to the eradication of the Mediterranean fruit fly in Florida as an example of what spray programs can accom-plish. It also cites thousands of letters from grateful farmers all over the country. fits to agriculture and the public," says USDA, "far outweigh damages that have occurred. Claims of wildlife destruction are greatly overstated."

Nobody knows for certain just how much damage is done, but there have been indications. In Florida, when a 2,000-acre tidal marsh was treated with dieldrin for sandfly larvae, a biologist was on hand. His report:
"The fish kill was substantially complete.
The immediate overall kill was 20 to 30 tons of fish, or about 1,175,000 fish, of at least 30 species. The larger game and food fish succumbed most rapidly. Then crabs de-Voured them; next day the crabs themselves were dead."

Large numbers of dead and dying birdsmostly robins-were found on the campus of Michigan State University in the spring of 1955. Indications were that death was due to insecticide poisoning, and subsequent investigation disclosed the chain of events. In the previous year, campus elms had been sprayed against bark beetles, carriers of the fungus which causes Dutch elm disease. Earthworms eating the leaf litter accumulated DDT in their viscera. When spring came and the worms emerged from the thawed ground, the robins ate the worms

The annual elm spraying was continued. Its effect on reproduction among surviving robins was startling. In the spring of 1957 200logists searched the 185-acre north campus for nests, Only six were found. Of these, five produced no young and the fate of the sixth was undetermined. Late in June a 3-day a 3-day search for young robins found only one—all this in an area that in 1954 had produced, on the basis of sampling counts, at least 370 young robins.

The first public outcry against massive spraying arose in 1957 during the USDA campaign against the gypsy moth in southern New York. Planes flew over at low levels, discharging a fog of DDT-impregnated kerosene on 3 million acres, including densely populated communities in Westchester County and on Long Island. Commuters awaiting their trains were sprayed, as were dairy farms. dairy farms, ponds, vegetable gardens, and children, some of them three times.

Tempers flared, and 14 citizens charging careless use and official arrogance went into Federal court demanding an injunction against aerial spraying. After an extended hearing that hearing their application was denied.

Another and louder outery was in the making. According to reports, 27 million acres in 9 Southern States from eastern Texas to South Carolina were teeming with South American fire ants. These quarterinch-long ants, it was said, had captured much of the South's best farmland and were eating their way north and west, sucking plant juices, killing young wildlife, and swarming their way north and west, sucking plant juices, killing young wildlife, and swarming in vicious assault on men in the fields. Their onslaught, if unchecked, might not stop short of California and Canada.

To combat the menace Congress voted an emergency appropriation of \$2,400,000 for USDA. Plant pest control crews, without prior field testing, started an aerial broadcast of heavy started an aerial broadcast of heavy started and serial broadcast of heavy started and serial chlorinated cast of heptachlor, a powerful chlorinated hydrocarbon of the DDT family. They treated 700,000 acres before the appropriation ran out. The USDA now has asked Congress for another \$2,400,000 for the second step in a long-range poisoning program. Does the fire-ant threat justify this costly campaign?

To get a firsthand view I went to Alabama, where fire ants have flourished for 40 years, and talked with people for, against, and in the middle of the program. Some remark-

able facts emerged.

The foremost is this: the fire ant is not a serious crop pest; it may not be a crop pest at all, Dr. F. S. Arant, chief of the zoology-entomology department at Alabama Polytechnic Institute, told me, "Damage to crops by the imported fire ant in Alabama is practically nil. This department has not received a single report of such damage in the past 5 years. No damage to livestock has been observed. The ant eats other insects, including the cotton boll weevil. It is a major nuisance, but no more.'

Though USDA circular No. 350 asserted that the imported fire ants often attack newborn calves and pigs, are fond of quail and chase brooding hens off their nests to eat their chicks, researchers at Alabama Polytechnic could rarely induce fire ants, even starving ones, either to eat plants or attack young animals. Instead, the insects became cannibalistic and ate one another.

Farmers and cattlemen detest the fire ants because their ugly two-foot-high mounds clog mowing machines, and the ants bite when the farmer gets down to clear the blades. But none of the farmers I talked with had suffered any crop damage from fire ants. To control them, all farmers have to do is pour insecticides into the individual mounds or disk insecticides into the soil along with fertilizers-two successful, low-cost methods developed by the agricultural experiment stations of Alabama and Mississippi.

Last September, 52 experts, including a USDA contingent of 5, were present at a fire-ant research meeting in Auburn, Ala. Dr. L. D. Newson of Louisiana State University challenged anyone there to go on record as saying that the fire-ant eradication program could be justified by damages to crops

or animals. There was no answer. What was the effect of the 1957-58 fire-ant campaign on wildlife? Dan Lay, Texas wildlife biologist, reported from Hardin County: "On May 12, before the poisoning, the fields were noisy with birds singing for territorial establishment. Dickcissels, redwinged blackbirds, and meadow larks were building nests and laying eggs. Forty-one nests with eggs were found in one clover field."

Then the planes came, scattering tiny pellets of clay containing 10 percent heptachlor. The poison covered the ground, 7 to 12 sugarsize granules to the square inch. The birds ate poisoned insects, pulled worms through poisoned soil or absorbed the poison through their feet. Within a day they began to tremble, went into convulsions and died. Orphan broods hatched and died in their nests. By June 3, only 3 of the 41 nests in the clover field remained occupied. Birds along the roads were reduced 95 percent.

It was the same in other areas sprayed: quall and killdeer wiped out; doves, woodpeckers, snipe, mockingbirds, cardinals, woodcock, hawks, wild turkeys, shrikes, and many other species almost exterminated.

Animals died, too. A raccoon which had been seen rolling frenziedly in the road was later found dead by the roadside. Four fox pups were found dead in their den, poisoned by food brought in by their mother. Fish, turtles, snakes, rabbits, opossums, squirrels, armadillos were killed.

Today fish and game commissions in most of the afflicted States, finding the cure worse than the disease, have demanded a halt to aerial spraying. "It's like scalping yourself to cure dandruff," said Clarence Cottam, former official in the Fish and Wildlife

Service.
"Sickening," said Charles Kelley of the Alabama Conservation Department. people can kill more game in a month than our department can build up in 20 years." Kelley handed me one of the USDA ings given people whose lands are about to be doused:

Cover gardens and wash vegetables before eating them; cover small fishponds; take fish out of pools and wash pools before replacing the fish; don't put laundry out; keep milk cows off treated pastures for 30 days, and beef cattle 15 days; cover beehives or move them away; keep children off ground for a few days; don't let pets or poultry drink from puddles.

"How can any official read that and still say the losses of wildlife are insignificant?"

he demanded.

Last year, under the prodding of Representative LEE METCALF, of Montana, whose interest grew out of the wholesale destruction of fish in the Yellowstone River following a mishap in spraying DDT, Congress conducted hearings on the pesticide problem and set aside \$125,000 for studies to learn what we are doing to fish and wildlife. All witnesses agreed basic research was badly They raised many unanswered questions.

Do repeated small doses of the poison impair the reproductive ability and lower the survival rate of the young in animals and Most of the new chemicals retain their killing power in the soil for 3 years at least. Can they still kill after 5 years? Nobody knows.

What of the micro-organisms that create soil fertility in the first place? What of the bottom organisms in streams and bays, on which marine life feeds? Do they accumulate the poisons? Since pesticides kill mice-eating hawks, owls, and foxes, as well as rodents, and beneficial as well as harmful insects, may we not find ourselves without natural allies in the war on pests, and become wholly dependent on ever stronger chemicals?

What about insects developing immunity, fust as some germs have become immune to penicillin? The housefly and the mosquito were the initial targets for the new sprays. Now some common species of these insects are 1.800 times more resistant to DDT than were their ancestors of a few years ago. Are we trading a costly temporary victory over other pests for disaster in the form of superinsects later on? Nobody knows.

And finally there is the greatest question of all: How serious are the hazards to human Doctors are increasingly troubled by the possibility that DDT and its much more poisonous descendants may be responsible for the rise in leukemia, hepatitis, Hodgkin's disease, and other degenerative diseases.

It may take years to find the answers to some of these questions. But one thing seems plain enough: aerial spraying needlessly kills wildlife and should not be done except in small areas and real emergencies.

Our forests flourished without chemical help through eons of time, and man has practiced agriculture with reasonable success for 100 centuries of recorded history. The new pesticides have been in general use for 15 years. "Surely," says Dr. Fairfield Os-born, noted conservationist, "we would be wise to halt massive spraying until we know what effects the toxins are having on ourselves and our animal co-heirs to this planet."

Dr. Wallace has made a grim prophecy: "If this and other pest-eradication programs are carried out as now projected, we shall have been witnesses, within a single decade, to a greater extermination of animal life than in all the previous years of man's history on earth."

This may be a wildly pessimistic view. Nobody knows. But why risk it?

Says S. 1120 Would Be a "Great Misfortune for the Treasury"

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 26, 1959

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I received a telegram from Dr. Seymour E. Harris, chairman of the Department of Economics, Harvard University. Dr. Harris makes the point that the reductions in reserve requirements contemplated by this bill would either result (a) in a serious inflation or, (b) in the transfer of billions of dollars of Government securities now owned by the Federal Reserve over to the private banks. I think we can be certain that the Fed will not allow it to result in inflation.

This kind of transfer is, of course, what we can call, without reservation, a giveaway. And the whole \$15 billion involved in the giveaway is a net giveaway, none of which will come back in taxes. As far as I know, U.S. bonds and other interest-bearing obligations, which are worth instant cash, can be given away only to the banking system and only by the Federal Reserve System without the recipients of such gifts having to pay income taxes on the principal amount of the gift.

The American Bankers Association, in its first report proposing this legislation, argued that the transfer of these securities from the Federal Reserve over to the private banks would not be a complete loss to the Treasury, for this reason. The banks pay Federal income taxes. Therefore, if these securities are transferred to the banks, the banks will be paying back 52 percent of the annual interest payments on the securities in the form of income taxes. The American Bankers Association conveniently overlooked the point, however, that the banks have a unique position under the tax laws in that they do not pay taxes on the reserves which the Federal Reserve System gives them. What is proposed by this bill is that the Fed will give the banks the reserves with which to, quote, buy, unquote, the bonds; and it will simultaneously, quote, sell, unquote, the bonds.

Incidentally, the reason I use the words "quote" and "unquote" before and after the word "buy" and the word "sell" is that the Government Printing Office has some sort of rule which requires them to take the quotation marks off copy in most instances.

For example, on June 24 I inserted in the RECORD, at page 10750, a letter from Dr. Arthur P. Becker, chairman of the Department of Economics, the University of Wisconsin, at Milwaukee, who also roundly condemned this legislation, because he said that in order to prevent the bill from creating a monetary inflation, it would be necessary for the Fed to, quote, sell, unquote, \$15 billion worth

Head of Harvard Economics Department of U.S. obligations. Dr. Becker put the word "sell" in quotations for the reason that he meant to convey the idea that the word "sell" was being misused. More specifically he meant that while the transfer of bonds over to the private banks might be called a sale, it is no sale in the ordinary meaning of the term. In fact he added, and I quote: quote, these U.S. obligations will in reality be given free to the banks, unquote.

WHERE EXPLANATIONS OF THE BULL MAY BE FOUND

For those Members who might like to make a thorough review of this bill before it comes up on Tuesday, I might call attention to the analyses which I have submitted.

First, there is my testimony in the hearings before Subcommittee No. 2 of the House Committee on Banking and Currency on S. 1120.

Second, there are my dissenting views in the report of the House Committee on Banking and Currency to accompany S. 1120.

Third, there is a lengthy statement explaining the bill, explaining how bank reserves are created, explaining how the banks create money on these reserves, and so on, in the daily Congressional RECORD for June 2 at page 8667. This statement also includes extracts from the records of the testimony of Chairman Martin and former Chairman Eccles, and many other authorities on the question of who owns the Federal Reserve System, and on the question whether or not the Federal Reserve System has used the member banks' reserves to acquire its present holdings of almost \$26 billion of interest-bearing obligations of the United States. I might add, in summary, that all of these authorities have made clear that the Federal Reserve System is owned by the Government of the United States, not by the private banks; that the private banks have no ownership or claim whatever to the Federal Reserve's holdings of Government securities. Furthermore, the Federal Reserve has not used the banks' reserves to acquire these securities. The fact is the reserves which the banks have to their credit on the books of the Federal Reserve System have been created by the Federal Reserve System itself and given to the banks.

Finally, in the daily Congressional Record of June 15, at page 9850, there is a statement giving information which would be difficult to find elsewhere. First of all, the statement explains the bill in simple question-and-answer form for those Members who are not initiated to the mysteries of the Federal Reserve System and the banking system. But more important, following these questions and answers there are excerpts from the legislative history of the bill beginning with the American Bankers Association first report proposing the legislation, continuing with the Federal Reserve report on the legislation, then taking up the report on the bill by the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency. And finally, setting out extracts from what would normally be called the debate on the bill in the Senate.

The telegram which I received from Dr. Seymour E. Harris is inserted below:

TELEGRAM FROM DR. SEYMOUR E. HARRIS. CHAIRMAN, DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS, HARVARD UNIVERSITY, RE S. 1120, THE BOND GIVEAWAY BILL

Hon. WRIGHT PATMAN, U.S. House of Representatives,

Washington, D.C.
The Congress, I understand, is to vote the vault-cash bill on Tuesday. This bill makes possible a reduction of reserve requirements of more than \$11 billion. As reserve require ments are reduced, the Federal Reserve will have to sell Government securities to prevent the increase of reserves from bringing about a serious inflation. The net result would be that billions of dollars of Government securities (some estimates are as high as \$15 billion) would be transferred from the Federal Reserve to the public and largely to the banks. In this manner the profits of banks would be greatly increased and the Government which falls heir to the surplus profits of the Federal Reserve would lose correspondingly as the Federal Reserve dumps securities.

I have serious doubts on this legislation which I share with Prof. Alvin Hansen, as revealed in his recent article. At the very least there should be no legislation without much further publicity and understanding of the issues. The issues are difficult and the pros and cons should be aired more. The Senate voted the bill with a minimum attendance of the Senate. It would be a great misfortune for the Treasury and especially for the banks if this were to be interpreted later as a handout and particularly.

Professor Hansen says, to the larger banks.

If the Federal Reserve will have to sell 5, 10, or 15 billions of short-term issues in order to effect the order to effect the content of the order to offset the inflationary effects of reduced reserve requirements, interest rates on Government securities will rise and rise on short-term issues sufficiently to attract the purchases of these securities by the

> SEYMOUR E. HARRIS. Harvard University.

The Federal Reserve System Is Spending Millions of Dollars of Taxpayers Money Without Restraint and Without

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 26, 1959

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, the Federal Reserve System has probably han dled larger amounts of public funds and larger amounts of Government bonds and other securities than any other Federal agency. It handles tens of billions of dollars of public funds annually. Yetit is one of the few Federal agencies which has never been audited by the General Accounting Office.

In fact, the Federal Reserve banks have never been audited except by employees of the Federal Reserve System itself. And in many cases the employees making the kep audits are people who work in the very bank and very department of the bank which is being audited. In any case, the auditors are selected by the same officials who are being audited, and they make their audits in accordance with instructions issued by the Board itself. I raised serious questions about this matter several years ago, and since that time the Federal Reserve Board has, on occasion, called in a private auditing firm to review its audit procedures and to do some spot checking of its audits. But its audits are still strictly internal audits, which is a contradiction of terms. The first requirement of an audit in any true sense of the term is that it be made by outside, disinterested people.

Another most peculiar aspect of this lack of audit control over the Federal Reserve System is that the greatest transfers of funds it makes are to and from the Comptroller of the Currency. Normal financial controls, both in Government and in private business, rest very heavily on this proposition: indebendent audits of different agencies or firms between which financial transactions take place provide the crucial and independent check of one agency's records against the other's. Yet the fact is, or so I was informed by the General Accounting Office last year, the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency happens to be one of the other Pederal agencies which is not audited.

In the latter part of 1957, I succeeded in prevailing upon Chairman Martin of the Federal Reserve Board to send copies of the System's recent audit reports up to the House Committee on Banking and Currency for my inspection. That he did, but only in part. Chairman Martin submitted parts of the audit reports for 1956 and for several earlier years. Chairman Martin refused, however, to allow me to inspect certain crucial parts of the audit reports. These are the portions of the reports dealing with the conduct of the officers and directors of the banks, their financial interests and, if any, their speculations in the bond and securities markets. Nevertheless, those portions of the audit reports dealing with the more routine operations of the banks and with the conduct of the lower echelon personnel revealed some almost unbelievably shocking things. As a consequence, I testified before the House Committee on Banking and Currency in February of 1958, calling the committee's attention to the freehanded manner in which personnel of the Federal Reserve System is spending Government funds, as well as to quite a variety of deficiencles and mismanagements of the Government's money.

Following my testimony, on April 29, 1958, Chairman Martin wrote a long letter to the chairman of the House Committee on Banking and Currency attempting to excuse, and in some cases attempting to explain, the factual matters I had pointed to. The most frequent explanation, and one which appeared time after time in Chairman Martin's letter, was to the effect that the matters I had pointed out had already come to the attention of the Board of Governors and had been corrected or were being corrected. At that time audits covering the System's operations in 1957 had not been made.

Now, however, I have obtained copies of the audit reports—or at least parts of the audit reports—covering the year 1957. Those parts of the audit reports pertaining to the conduct of the officers and directors of the banks, their financial speculations, and so on, were again refused. I have, however, reviewed those parts of the audit reports which are comparable to those I reviewed for earlier years.

The most notable improvement I have noted in the audit reports made since I called attention to the free-handed, extravagant, and fantastic ways in which the Federal Reserve officials and employees throw away the taxpayers money is that the new audit reports for almost all banks now carry statements such as the following:

All expenditures since our last examination were reviewed to determine their propriety and compliance with the rules and regulations of the Reserve bank and of the Board of Governors. Our review did not disclose any item of a nature warranting mention herein.

Despite these general comments that everything is according to the Board's regulations, and nothing was found worthy of comment, there are hundreds and perhaps thousands of items revealed in the detailed tables which seem to me entirely worthy of comment and worthy of public concern about how its money is being spent. I have extracted and quoted just a small percentage of such items from the 1957 reports. These are only illustrations. For the most part I have tried not to cite examples of the same kind of thing for two or more banks. The illustrations show beyond any question, however, that the deficiencies in the managements of the Federal Reserve banks and the freehanded kinds of spending of public money which Chairman Martin reported had already been corrected or were being corrected, were still not corrected in the year 1957.

Unrestrained and careless spending of funds by the Federal Reserve System is exactly comparable to the situation that would arise if the local postmasters spent freely from the funds the local post offices take in from the sale of stamps. These are Government funds. They come out of the taxpayers' pocket. Every million dollars wasted or spent for improper purposes is a million dollars out of the taxpayers' pockets.

Congress has provided a highly unusual way for supplying money to the Federal Reserve System. Congress does not make annual appropriations as it does for other Federal agencies. Rather, Congress has simply given the Federal Reserve System a separate and private door into the Government's money vaults, by which the Board of Governors can haul out money any time it wants money and in any amount it wants. This is the way it works.

Whenever the Federal Reserve Board wants money, it simply telephones the Bureau of Engraving and Printing and orders a batch of currency printed. Then it sends an armored truck over and hauls the currency away. This currency, called Federal Reserve notes, are

obligations of the U.S. Government, That is said plainly on their face. Furthermore, these Federal Reserve notes are signed by the Secretary of the Treasury and by the Treasurer of the United States, not by the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System. These notes cost the Federal Reserve System nothing. The System goes through the motions of paying the printing costs, but before the year is out these costs are taken out of money that would otherwise be returned to the Federal Treasury, so the Federal Reserve notes cost the Federal Reserve System nothing.

The Federal Reserve System then goes out into the market and buys interestbearing Government bonds and other interest-bearing Government obligations, pays for these bonds with Federal Reserve notes, puts the bonds in its vaults, and thereafter collects interest payments on the obligations from the Federal Treasury. It uses all this interest money it cares to use for expenses, puts aside 10 percent more in a surplus fund, and it then pays what is left over back into the Treasury. Yet these interest payments are so great that it turns back to the Treasury much more than it spends. It chooses to call these amounts it turns back to the Treasury interest payments for the use of the Federal Reserve notes. So it is quite clear that every dollar the Federal Reserve spends frivolously such as to build marble temples to provide rent-free quarters to bankers' associations and to clearinghouse associations, is a dollar taken out of the taxpayers' pockets.

At the present time the Federal Reserve is holding \$25.6 billion of interestbearing obligations of the United States. It has issued \$26.9 billion of non-interestbearing Federal Reserve notes which have gone to pay for these interest-bearing obligations, plus other things. Furthermore, this enormous hoard of Government securities—\$25.6 billion—is about five times as much as the Federal Reserve System needs to give it an interest income in an amount to which it has become accustomed. Both the Board of Governors and the American Bankers Association have agreed that this \$25.6 billion of Government securities is at least \$15 billion in excess of the amount for which it has any conceivable need. Furthermore, the Federal Reserve Board is recommending legislation sponsored by the American Bankers Association, S. 1120, which would transfer ownership of about \$15 billion of these Government-owned securities to the private banks on a cost-free basis. In plain words, the Board is recommending the biggest giveaway of all time, and the only excuse which it has given for this fan-tastic proposal is that transferring Government assets over to the private banks will help the banks earn more profits.

Instead of approving legislation to give away about \$15 billion of Government obligations, which the Government itself owns and does not need to own, Congress should require that these obligations be canceled immediately so as to reduce the Federal debt by this amount. Canceling \$15 billion of these obligations

would make it completely unnecessary to increase the Federal debt ceiling by \$12 billion, as the administration has asked Congress to do.

In considering the attached excerpts from the audit reports of the Federal Reserve banks for the year 1957, one point should be noted. Congress has not put restrictions on the expenditures of the Federal Reserve System, but with one exception: The law does require that no new branch bank building be built without specific approval of Congress, if the building is to cost more than \$250,000, exclusive of vaults, permanent equipment, furnishings, and fixtures.

No instance has come to my attention where there has been a violation of the strict letter of the law, which is loosely worded, but the attached excerpts from the audit reports will reveal that some fabulous expenditures have been made for overhauling already existing buildings and for purchasing new capital items such as furniture, cafeteria and clubroom equipment, and so on, and that such expenditures have been charged to current expenses.

One other item should be noted. One of the members of the Board of Governors. Governor Robertson, in testifying before the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency late in 1956, made the following statement:

We have reached the point now where we think, in view of all the talk that goes on about auditing in the Federal Reserve System, that Congress should take upon itself to make mandatory the use of a firm of certified public accountants to audit the Federal Reserve Board, and that we should be required to submit these audits to the committees of the Congress and that the auditors should be obliged to come before the committees of Congress and explain any defects. and that we, the Board, ought to be obliged to submit reports with respect to every criticized item in that report.

And we also should be compelled by legislation to submit to those committees the reports of examination of the Federal Reserve banks themselves.

So far, Congress has not acted upon Governor Robertson's recommendation. Referring back to my testimony before the House Committee on Banking and

Currency in February of 1958, I will now summarize some of the main deficiencies I pointed out at that time, then add excerpts from the 1957 audit reports so that the reader may determine whether or not the deficiencies previously pointed out have actually been corrected.

I commented upon numerous unusual expenses incurred by the Federal Reserve banks, which were noted by the examiners in the previous reports. These included expenditures for all kinds of employees' recreational activities, entertainment, cruises, entertainers, expenses for wives of officers at meetings of State bankers association, and all kinds of entertainment tickets, such as basketball, ice follies, and football. The Board's memorandum stated that these expenditures were "in connection with business meetings with direct interest or benefit to the Reserve banks. They were considered by the individual bank to be reasonable and appropriate for the occasion. In each case, however, after the matter was made an object of comment

in the examination report the bank reviewed its policy and subsequently discontinued incurring expenses of the type questioned."

The most glaring example of a continuation of an expenditure commented upon in previous reports by the examiners was with respect to Christmas remembrances given by the Chicago bank. In the 1956 report, the examiners questioned a charge of \$1,909 on December 23. 1955, covering expenses of Christmas remembrances to persons other than bank's own employees who rendered valuable service to the bank during 1955. In the 1957 report, the examiners called attention to the propriety and compliance with the rules and regulations of the Reserve bank and the Board of Governors. Again in December 1956. Christmas remembrances involving an expenditure of \$1,842.40 were commented upon as follows:

The Reserve bank believes that this type of expense should be considered a necessary business expense on the ground that gratuities of the kind mentioned are customarily made by banks and other business houses in the local financial community, and that having the good will of the persons who are the recipients of the Christmas remembrances is of material assistance in the conduct of the bank's operations. Although it feels that the elimination of these gratuities would be unwise, the bank intends to keep their total as low as possible by careful screening of the lists of proposed donees; the list of gifts for the 1957 holiday season has been reduced to a total not in excess of \$800.

In spite of the examiners disapproval. the bank intends to continue this practice of giving Christmas remembrances to the financial community It is inconceivable that the Federal Reserve banks would have to resort to disbursing gifts to spread good will in the financial community, particularly in view of the many free services which the Federal Reserve banks provide for the private banks. There is no indication of the policies of the Board and the Federal Reserve banks with respect to receiving gifts from bankers. I feel very strongly that the Board of Governors should take immediate steps to eliminate any taint of influence by either the giving or the receiving of gifts at the Federal Reserve banks

In the Kansas City report, it was noted that the bank had purchased \$800 of theater tickets for resale to employees.

#### BANK PREMISES

There are continuing heavy outlays for new building projects, modernization, alterations, improvements in bank premises, and purchases of land and build-There are instances where the banks acquire properties for possible future uses. As soon as one project is completed, new projects are contemplated or undertaken. This would provide a simple expedient for circumventing the limitation on expenditures for branch buildings. Another method of reduction of costs of projects is to remove certain expenditures, i.e., kitchen equipment of \$43,000, from construction accounts into current expenses. In addition, there are large fees to architects for projects which have not been approved.

In the Dallas district, for example, the Dallas Reserve Bank "has developed plans for comprehensive building and modernization program" at an estimated cost of \$7,400,329. In addition, to the extensive program at the Dallas bank, the El Paso branch has a project for a new building at a cost of \$1,200,000; at Houston, \$2,276,000 will be expended for new construction; and at the San Antonio bank a new building will be erected at a cost of \$2,055,727. By the end of 1957, the Dallas bank and branch had land, buildings-including vaultand fixed machinery and equipment costing the Government \$8.5 million and other real estate costing \$687,729, and these costs do not include any expenditures for furniture, and other construction or equipment costs which are arbitrarily charged off to current expenses. When one considers these fixed costs together with the 1957 current expenditures of \$6,8 million against the 1957 earnings of \$791,239 on loans and discounts—the only activities of the bank functioned in the Dallas district\_these extravagant outlays loom preposterous. Examples:

Chicago-head office-1957:

The Reserve bank has under way a comprehensive expansion and modernization program, the principal part of which is the construction of an addition to the present building. Remodeling work will be done in the existing building to bring it into harmony with the new addition.

As explained in our 1956 report of examination, the work of construction will pro-ceed in stages with the objective of first erecting a seven-story unit (to be an integral ral part of the main section of the building) to provide space for the U.S. Fidelity & Guar anty Co. in compliance with the purchase contract covering its building, one of those acquired in assembling the site. To enable the work to proceed, the bank negotiated the termination of leases with four tenants, making settlements totaling \$98,050. \* \*

Estimated costs in connection with the new construction on two contracts were million for the million for the general contract, and \$16 million for the steel contract.

The proposed addition will have five floor above ground and three basement levels, and will contain 140,731 square feet of usable floor space. Most recent estimates place the total cost of the project at \$7,400,320.

Final detailed place at \$7,400,320.

Final detailed plans and specifications were submitted to the Board of Governors on July 25 1057 on July 25, 1957, after the Reserve banks board of directors had approved the program with the reservation that (it) would review the project after plans and estimated costs are approved and before bids on the project are requested." On November 2017, the are requested." On November 20, 1957, and Board of Governors approved the program calling for the expenditure of approximately \$7,400,000 and informed to approximately \$7,400,000 and informed the Reserve bank that it is prepared to authorize at the appropriate time the priate time the call for bids. At a meeting held on December 12, 1957, the directors gave further consideration to the project and the timing of it in relation to the project and attornand voted at the economic sin ation and voted to review the matter again before the end of the first quarter of 1958. Architects' fees paid

Architects' fees paid to date in connection with the proposed addition to and alteration of the present head office building s183,210.95, and have been charged to

pense account—general."

As shown in the tabulation of changes in the net book value of the bank premises, presented at the beginning of these com-ments on bank premises, \$43,276.62 was ments on bank premises, \$43,276.62 unit transferred from the construction account to current expenses. The construction account was closed on June 5, 1957, by distribution of the balance of \$2,010,382.66 among the following accounts:

Building (including vaults) \_\_\_ 1,394,737.76 Fixed machinery and equip-569, 573, 42

Total\_\_\_\_\_ 2, 010, 382, 66

## Kansas City, 1957:

The remainder of the building, running from the 10th through the 18th floors and contained 84,531 square feet of usable space, is leased to outside tenants for monthly rentals totaling approximately \$23,700.

## Atlanta, 1957:

A program for construction of an addition to and the remodeling of the branch building at Birmingham which will provide 47,-780 square feet of usable space, as compared with 13,500 square feet in the existing building, is exepcted to cost \$2,900,000.

EXPENDITURES FOR BRANCH BANK BUILDINGS

No Federal Reserve bank has the authority to contract for the erection of a branch building in excess of \$250,000 witthout the approval of the Board of Governors. However, prior to such approval large expenditures have been made for architectural fees and other matters, such as the purchase of land and buildings. For instance, El Paso real estate acquired for banking house purposes" cost \$191,317.

## New York—Buffalo branch—1957:

Construction account—accumulated expenditures in connection with construction of new building (in addition to \$1,185,381.71 previously expended), \$2,462,570,55.

## Dallas, 1957:

Bank premises: The components of the bank premises at the head office and the three hards three branches are set forth in the schedule section of this report. Their combined net book value aggregated \$6,243,175.88, changes in the interval between examinations being shown in shown in the following tabulation:

Balance, Aug. 31, 1956\_\_\_\_\_\_ \$3, 424, 501, 90

El Paso branch:

Land: Cost of site of new branch building transferred from "Other real estate"\_\_\_\_

Construction account. Expenditures period in connection with construction of

new branch building--Houston branch: 1,018,021.95

Construction account:

Pees paid to landscape architect, transferred from "Land" --Expenditures period in connection during with construction of new branch building (in addition to \$135,-

742.32 previously ex-pended)\_\_\_\_\_ 1, 482, 860, 37 Total\_ ----- 6, 176, 184, 22

Dallas—San Antonio branch—1957:

Total expenditures on the building program aggregated \$2,055,727.57, recapitulated Charges accumulated in "Construction account"\_\_\_\_\_ \$2,053,659.28 Direct charges:

Building .. 760.23 Fixed machinery and equip-1, 273, 06

Total\_\_\_\_\_ 2,055,727.57

The Board of Governors had authorized a total expenditure of \$2,085,000 for this construction.

#### Atlanta—Nashville branch—1957:

Architects' and engineers' fees and sundry expenses in connection with proposed new building, \$126,750.83.

USE OF BANK PREMISES BY TENANTS OTHER THAN THE PEDERAL RESERVE, SOME ON A RENT-FREE BASIS

The banks lease space in the bank buildings to private organizations, such as the American Bankers Association. American Institute of Banking, and clearinghouse associations, while at the same time leasing space outside the buildings for bank operations. Furthermore, clearinghouse associations are provided rent-free space in some of the buildings sometimes in lieu of the banks' paying dues and assessments to the associations while at the same time the banks charge Government agencies for

At the Pittsburgh branch, the Pittsburgh Clearing House Association, which had been occupying space in a building leased by the branch, was removed to the new bank building. The Pittsburgh branch had gone one step farther than others banks, which were providing the associations rent-free clearinghouse space within their own quarters, to go outside the bank to rent space for such private organizations.

When members of the Board of Governors appeared before the House Small Business Committee in April of last year, Governor Shephardson objected to providing space in Federal Reserve bank buildings to small business capital banks. He said, "If they were in the same building, the public's reaction is that it is part of the same organization, and I think it would be unfortunate." Apparently, the Board of Governors protests the identification of a Government agency dedicated to small business financing with the Federal Reserve System—not the private banks' associations.

#### Examples:

250,000,00

800.00

Cleveland-Pittsburgh branch-1957:

On September 30 the check collection department and the Pittsburgh Clearing House Association were removed from Gulf Building where they were occupying rented quarters to space on the fourth floor of the new addition.

#### Philadelphia, 1957:

One thousand four hundred square feet furnished rent-free to the Philadelphia Clearing House Association.

#### St. Louis, 1957:

### HEAD OFFICE BUILDINGS

Space in the annex building not used or earmarked for Reserve bank occupancy totals 52.287 square feet and is leased to outside tenants as follows: 49,366 square feet to the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers at \$10,284.58 per month; 2,216 square feet to the District Chief National Bank Examiner at \$461.67 per month; and 705 square feet to the St. Louis Clearing House Association on a rent-free basis

#### San Francisco, 1957:

The building is used entirely for Reserve bank operations, with the exception of 1.450 square feet on the first floor made available to the San Francisco Clearing House Association on a rent-free basis (in lieu of the payment by the Reserve bank of association dues and assessments).

#### Minneapolis, 1957:

An area containing approximately 4,000 square feet, on the third floor, will be occupied by the American Institute of Banking for its offices and classrooms. \* \*

The Twin City Clearing House Association uses a small area of approximately 380 square feet, on the ground floor, rent free, for the exchange of clearinghouse items.

#### CHARGEOFF OF CONSTRUCTION COSTS TO CUR-RENT EXPENSES

The Board takes the position that the chargeoff of construction costs to current expenses refers to repairs and alterations. The basic principle followed in such charges, the Board states, is "to capitalize those which add to the intrinsic value of the property and to charge to expenses the cost of repairs and alternations which keep the properties in repair and make for efficient utilization of space and operations." Although the detail of the actual installations is not set forth in the audit reports, there appear to be substantial additions to facilities, such as vaults, security courts, furniture, equipment, and other fixed installations which would not normally be considered for business purposes properly chargeable to current expenses.

As examples of such chargeoffs to current expenses, at the Little Rock branch the renovation of the bank's quarters at cost approximately \$145,000 was charged to current expense. This project involved extensive remodeling of the interior of the bank's building. The major features of this project were the installation of the cafeteria on the second floor; a new directors' room; modernization of the main bank lobby, and alterations in the basement and mezzanine to make more space available for operations. In addition, the cafeteria was fully equipped and the office furniture throughout the building was replaced. At the Cincinnati Bank expenditures in connection with the construction of the security court of \$20,146.89 were charged off to current expenses.

Charging expenditures for capital assets, such as furniture, office equipment, additions to present buildings to current expense rather than capital assets subject to normal depreciation deprives the U.S. Treasury of current payments in the amount of 90 percent of the expenditure less depreciation. In other words, such a practice amounts to withholding from the Treasury amounts of money which would be immediately due to it and to the extent that these funds are not available to the Treasury, the Treasury must borrow in the open market and pay interest on its borrowings.

Examples:

San Francisco (Los Angeles branch), 1957:

Expenditures in connection with the building program aggregated \$4,471,475.03. As shown in the preceding tabulation, a portion of this total, in the amount of \$108,789.13, was allocated to current expenses.

Minneapolis-Helena branch-1957:

This project, now virtually completed, in-

cluding the following:

1. Enlargement of the book vault on the bank floor and the conversion of it into a teller's coin valut; also, the installation therein of tiered compartments.

2. Conversion of the basement storage

vault into a reserve coin vault.

Purchase of skids, trucks, loaders, and a powered forklift truck for the bulk handling of coin with a minimum of manual labor.

 Extension and remodeling of the bank floor security area, with provision of a coin shipping cage.

5. Extension of the electrical sound wave burglar alarm system to include the two coin vaults.

6. Installation of an inching device on the elevator to permit leveling at the bank and basement floors when bearing heavy loads

7. Replacement of the 72-hour vault door time lock movements with 120-hour movements (to provide for occasional 3-day weekends, the Helena branch now being on a 5-day workweek).

Expenditures on this project (except for a sum of less than \$1,000 pertaining to work still to be completed) totaled \$39,005.22. These expenditures have been charged to current expenses.

PARKING AREAS FOR EMPLOYEES' AUTOMOBILES

The Board contends that "parking areas provided for bank employees are similar to those provided for employees of Government departments." The bank has acquired considerable properties which it uses for employees' parking spaces. In one instance the bank has leased bank space to a gasoline station operator for \$1 for each half year for consideration of employees' parking at a return of \$4 a month. The Chicago bank leases property at a monthly rental of \$250 for parking spaces for night force employees' automobiles. In addition, it incurs a monthly rental of \$35 for parking space for the automobile of the bank nurse assigned to employee visitation.

Throughout the system there appeared to be heavy expenditures either for the procurement of parking lots or for the building of garages for automobiles both for bank-owned automobiles as well as automobiles belonging to employees. At the St. Louis Bank, expenditures totaling \$307,166.41 have been made for land, buildings, fixed machinery and equipment in connection with a garage which in 1957 had a book value of \$250,161.61.

Example:

Richmond, 1957:

Other real estate: Parcel of land in Richmond—cost of \$146,549.91, acquired in 1951, is leased to a parking lot and filling station operator at norminal rental of \$1 per half-year in consideration of his agreement to park employees' automobiles for a fee of \$4 a month.

EXPENDITURES FOR EMPLOYEES' RECREATIONAL FACILITIES AND ACTIVITIES

The Federal Reserve Board states:

Except for "buildings and land" category, all of the above (personnel activities, including training, recreation, loan funds, and employee insurance; membership dues; charitable activities; meetings and entertainment) reflect operating policies and decisions at the individual Reserve banks. The Board has taken the position that the responsibility for determining whether expenditures of this nature are necessary expenses within the meaning of section 7 of the Federal Reserve Act rests primarily with the officers and directors of the individual banks.

As examples of recreational activities, theater tickets in the amount of \$800 were purchased for which the bank had not received payment. The Cincinnati branch deposited with the Cincinnati board of parks \$55 for use of picnic grounds.

The banks are continuing to make heavy outlays to enlarge and build quarters for employees' lounges, cafeterias, assembly halls, officers' dining rooms, and other recreational facilities.

If the Board of Governors is not willing to take the responsibility of surveillance over expenditures of the individual Federal Reserve banks, certainly Congress should step in to protect the public's money from improper and wasteful handouts.

Example:

Chicago, 1957:

Deferred Charges: Undistributed charges—expenses in connection with employee welfare activities—

PAYMENT BY BANKS OF OFFICERS' AND EM-PLOYEES' DUES AND OTHER SERVICES, INCLUD-ING PURCHASE OF GOVERNMENT SECURITIES

There are several items carried on the accounts as due from officers and employees representing expenditures by banks for personal goods and services. For example, at the Boston bank, these include: Dues to bank officers associations, loans outstanding to employees, dining room service, advances to employees for expenses as officer of the American Institute of Banking; and Trading Post. The Trading Post item is \$2,002. At the Cleveland bank, loans due from bank employees amounted to \$4,215.05 and supplies purchased for officers and employees outstanding amounted to \$298.13.

At the Minneapolis bank, included in the transactions of securities functioned for member and nonmember banks were two purchases for an officer of the bank. The examiners recommended that the Reserve bank reexamine its policy with respect to handling of such transactions for members of the staff. More than that, I strongly believe that all officers of Federal Reserve banks should be prohibited from trading on inside information by speculating in U.S. Government securities. After all, the Federal Reserve by its purchase and sale of Government securities makes the market.

Examples:

Cleveland—Cincinnati branch—1957: Registration fee—Central State School of Banking, University of Wisconsin, \$20. San Francisco—Salt Lake City branch—1957:

Deferred charges: Advanced registration fee—meeting of Washington Bankers Association, \$40.

#### Boston, 1957:

Bank officers association dues	8446
Loans outstanding to employees	315
Dining room charges	278
Advance to employee for expenses as officer of AIB	2,002
Trading post	2,00-

#### EMPLOYEE LOAN FUNDS

Employee loan funds appeared in the accounts of most of the banks. In some instances the amounts outstanding are sizable. The audit reports do not reveal the terms of the loans nor the conditions prescribed

The Kansas City report disclosed that loans had been given without requirement of a written loan application, and that applications for loans of over \$500 are acted upon by the Discount Committee. In addition, if the loan was made after the previous examination, it cannot be determined at the next examination if the loan was approved by an authorized officer. It also could not be determined by the examiners whether loans made for under \$500 were for "qualified purposes."

Examples:

New York, 1957:

Officer and employees:

Loans outstanding:
Loans for educational purposes
Other loans to employees
Transportation charges for officers

and employees on assignment with mission to Vietnam\_\_\_\_\_ 6, 188. 89

Philadelphia, 1957:
Officers and employees—loans outstanding,

Dallas, 1957:

\$12,367.50.

Officers	and	employees-dining		+0
room	charges		\$2, 475. 6, 909.	14
Loans t	o emple	oyees	6, 909.	UU

Kansas City, 1957:

#### EMPLOYEES' LOAN FUND

Loans aggregating \$6,033.50 were outstanding to 35 employees at the head office; 7 loans totaling \$827.50 were outstanding at the Denver and Oklahoma City branches.

Written applications for loans are not required. The applications are made orally by the employees to an officer; at the head office, to one of the three top officers; and at each branch, to the vice president in charge.

Applications for loans of \$500 or more are acted upon by the discount committee, and the purpose of the loan and the committee's approval or disapproval are recorded in the minutes.

Loans under \$500 are approved or disapproved by one of the above-mentioned officers and, if approved, the approval is evidenced by the initials of the officer on the promissory notes tendered by the employees. Hence, when a loan is repaid and the relevant note is returned to the borrower, the evidence of the approval no longer is held; and if the loan was made after the last examination, it cannot be determined at an ext whether the loan was approved by an authorized officer. Also, there is no record from which to determine whether the loans in amounts under \$500 were for qualified purposes.

\$408.31

210

600

EXPENDITURE FOR DINNER PARTIES

The examiners questioned the appropriateness, propriety and compliance with the rules and regulations of the Reserve banks and the Board of Governors of dinner parties for officers of banks costing hundreds of dollars. At the New York bank, one dinner party cost \$501.61 and another, \$710.98. At the Minneapolis bank, a dinner party cost \$321.03 and another, \$313.91. Although my previous report to the committee had specifically called attention to costly dinner parties for officers of Which their own examiners questioned the propriety, the Board failed to ex-Plain these charges. In the 1955 audit report of the Minneapolis bank, the examiners had commented on the impro-Priety of similar expenditures for officers' dinner parties. Apparently, neither the auditors' reports nor the rules and regulations of the Board of Goverhors and the Reserve banks can stop the squandering of public funds for personal use. This continuing disregard of the auditors' comments certainly illustrates the insufficiency of internal audits to control improper expenditures.

INCREASES IN SALARY EXPENSES THROUGHOUT THE SYSTEM

In 1957 the total of salaries paid to officers were \$5.9 million and to employees \$77.5 million, an increase of \$5.1 million over the previous year.

#### LEAVES OF ABSENCE

Leaves of absense for medical reasons had not been formalized and therefore had been granted without any established policy of the bank.

Although the Reserve Bank of Cleveland had followed the practice of granting sick leave with pay, it was not until 1957 that the bank's practice was formalized and put into a written statement of policy.

UNCLASSIFIED STATUS OF EMPLOYEES SALARY VARIANCES FROM ESTABLISHED RANGES

The banks carry on their rolls a number of employees who are in an unclassifled status. At the Birmingham branch there were 42 such unclassified positions. The examiners found that frequently the employees were being paid at salaries below the minimums established for the Position, and in some instances, above the salaries established for the positions. At the Chicago bank 55 employees at the head office were receiving salaries above the maximums for their respective job grades.

### UNIVERSITY FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

The Chicago bank instituted a university fellowship program for university graduate students for which the overall cost is approximately \$80,000.

## PAYMENTS TO RETIREMENT SYSTEM

The banks make large contributions to the retirement system. For instance, a lump sum payment of \$1.1 million was paid by the Chicago bank on September 1, 1957, and in 1956 the Cleveland bank made a lump sum payment to liquidate

the accrued liability for the retirement plan in the amount of \$752,928.

#### HOSPITALIZATION PAYMENTS BY BANKS

The Reserve banks pay a portion of the fees for the employees under the group hospitalization plan. At the Cleveland bank, for instance, the sum in 1956 amounted to \$4,384.39.

#### PERSONNEL TURNOVER

Personnel turnover in some of the banks has caused problems of recruitment, operations, and controls.

At the Baltimore branch, personnel turnover in 1956 was approximately 37 percent of the bank as a whole, and in the transit department, the turnover was approximately 60 percent. The separa-tions were attributed as follows: over one-third as a result of the employees having obtained employment elsewhere; about 15 percent because of unsatisfactory work performance or conduct, and approximately 10 percent because of dissatisfaction; and the remainder for various normal personal reasons. As a concomitant to the scarcity of applicants for positions their average quality has been below the bank's standard. In the transit department where there was high turnover, there were numerous times when substantial holdings of unprocessed checks existed. This condition prevailed throughout the last quarter of 1957.

PAYMENT OF DUES AND ASSESSMENTS TO VARIOUS PRIVATE-INTEREST ORGANIZATIONS

There are examples of increases in "Fees, other" in the expenses of the banks. As to the specific associations to which the bank pays fees, the only indication in the reports of those organizations which receive the fees is under "Deferred charges-unamortized portion of expenses paid in advance-assessments and dues.'

The Board memorandum states:

The most recent revision of the matter begun in the latter part of 1956, resulted in discontinuance of certain memberships carried at bank expense.

There is no record of any discontinuances of such memberships in the re-On the contrary, it was noted that "Fees, other" increased in several of the banks.

For example, in 1956 the New York bank fees doubled to a total of \$25,251, and at the Cleveland bank "Fees, other" in 1956 increased by \$14,197.75.

The banks continue to pay dues to the American Bankers Association, American Institute of Banking, clearinghouse associations, chambers of commerce, et cetera.

Examples:

Chicago, 1957:

Deferred charges:

Unamortized portion of expenses paid in advance—Assessments

American Institute of Banking \$5, 264, 56

Chicago Clearing House Association\_\_\_\_ 4, 459.30

#### Dallas, 1957:

Deferred charges:

American Institute of Banking \_ \$1, 166, 65 American Bankers Association\_\_ 705.01 Richmond 1957:

tions\_

tion ...

Unamortized portion of expenses pald in advance, assessments and dues: American Bankers Association \_\_

Richmond Clearing House Asso-320 76 ciation Robert Morris Associates 180.81 American Management Association 175.00 Richmond Chamber of Com-158, 27 Advanced registration fees: The Graduate School of Banking at Rutgers University\_\_\_\_\_ Meetings of bankers' associa-\$1,040

New York, 1957: Unamortized portion of expenses paid in advance - assessments and New York Clearing House Association\_\_\_ New York State Bankers Association ... 2,475 New Jersey State Bankers Associa-

#### CAFETERIA SUBSIDIES

The banks continue to subsidize cafeteria expenses at various percentages, presumably subject to a 50-percent overall limitation, but they install and equip expensive dining rooms for officers and cafeterias for employees which are not figured into the limitation for subsidization. However, the amounts of such subsidies were higher than previous years. In the case of one bank where there is no cafeteria, the subsidy is 100 percent for the operation of a coffee bar. In the New York bank in 1956 the subsidy amounted to \$230,159.07 or 46.2 percent of the disbursements and in the Buffalo branch, \$10,811.10 or 49.2 percent of the disbursements. At the Dallas bank, kitchen equipment in the amount of \$43,276 was installed and charged to current expenses.

Examples:

Minneapolis, 1957:

A spacious cafeteria has been Installed on the 12th floor, suitable for the accommodation of all employees. It is excellently lighted and attractively appointed and decorated. Connected with it is a well-designed and fully equipped kitchen. Employees' lounges and an officers' dining room are also located on this floor.

#### Boston, 1957:

#### Cafeteria

	Receipts	Disburse- ments	Absorbed by bank	
			Amount	Per-
Year 1956	\$78, 696, 00	\$145, 832, 07	\$76, 136, 07	49. 2
	35, 242, 09	65, 125, 05	29, 882, 36	45.0

## ATTEMPTS TO UNIONIZE EMPLOYEES

The Federal Reserve Bank of Fortland resisted attempts to unionize the employees of the bank on the grounds that the Board of Governors approves any compensation for officers or employees of the Federal Reserve Banks, as well as such matters as retirement and death benefits of employees, insurance, hospital and medical benefits, benefits upon termination of employment, and other related expenditures which are approved by the Board in accordance with system policies. On the other hand, the Board in setting forth the reasons why the Federal Reserve banks have a free hand in expenditures for personnel activities said:

The fact that employees of the Federal Reserve banks are not Government employees is particularly important when considering personnel program.

PAYMENT OF RESERVE BANK OF NEW YORK FOR TWO-THIRDS OF OPERATING EXPENSES OF NASSAU CLEARING HOUSE ASSOCIATION

The Reserve Bank of New York pays two-thirds of the total operating expenses of the county clearing bureau of the Nassau Clearing House Association. In 1956 the bank's contribution amounted to \$116,248. The bank justifies this expenditure as follows:

The bureau expedites the collection of items in the area it serves and at the same time it relieves the Reserve bank of the portion of its check-handling burden. Were it not for the bureau's operations, the Reserve bank might have had to process on its own premises substantially all such items, except "intrabank items."

SUBSTANTIAL INCREASES IN EXPENSES FOR THE FEDERAL RESERVE BANKS AND BRANCHES THROUGHOUT THE SYSTEM

While the overall increase in expenses for the year 1956 over 1955 amounted to approximately 10 percent throughout the System, the range of increases was substantially greater for individual banks and branches. For instance, at the Los Angeles branch the increase in net expenses was 30 percent in 1956 over 1955, and 18 percent above 1956 in the first 3 months of 1957. The net expenses of the Little Rock branch for the year 1956 increased 38 percent over 1955, and for the first 6 months of 1957 net expenses were 13 percent above the corresponding period of the previous year.

Examples:

Dallas-San Antonio branch-1957:

Net expenses of the branch for the year 1956 amounted to \$914,977.83, an increase of \$234,600.37 (34 percent) over 1955. For the first 9 months of 1957, net expenses were \$187,765.60 (34 percent) more than the amount for the corresponding period of the previous year.

### St. Louis-Little Rock branch-1957:

Net expenses of the branch for the year 1956 amounted to \$699,644.48, an increase of \$193,728.55 (38 percent) over 1955. For the first 6 months of 1957, net expenses were \$36,231.21 (13 percent) more than the amount for the corresponding period of the previous year.

#### Richmond, 1957:

Net expenses for 1956 amounted to \$1,468,-231, an increase of \$404,500 (38 percent) over 1955.

## CONTINUATION OF PURCHASE OF INSURANCE AND INCREASES IN INSURANCE COVERAGE

The Board claims that "the Federal Reserve banks have discontinued purchasing substantial amounts of insurance." In 1957 the banks' insurance expenditures rose to \$1.2 million—\$56,526 above 1956. Although the Federal Reserve banks have surpluses of \$809 million—which by their own admission is

large enough to cover any contingency—they have used the discontinuation of insurance for registered mail losses as justification for setting up a \$10 million reserve for mail losses. By this expedient, the Federal Reserve System is able to hold back these reserves from payment to the Treasury.

The Board takes the position that to insure itself would require legal knowledge on personal injury and other insurance matters. However, the banks do have the privilege of obtaining outside legal assistance, which they frequently employ.

The banks pay approximately \$750,000 annually for hospital and medical service insurance. There is nothing in the law which allows these extra benefits and no other branch of the Government pays such benefits.

In addition, the banks, carry insurance for nonbank functions including medical malpractice, bodily injury and blanket athletic accident expense, including medical payments and death benefits.

Examples:

New York, 1957:

Insured losses recovered and other settlements since date of last examination 1

Head office:

Bankers' blanket bond: Shortage in coin division of cash department \$200.00

Personal effects floater:

Replacement of a damaged piece of luggage 41.50

Loss of a pair of earrings 2.08

<sup>1</sup>Exclusive of workmen's compensation claims.

St. Louis, 1957:

Head office coverage: Comprehensive general liability: Medical malpractice—bodily injury, \$250,000-\$1,000,000.

Blanket athletic accident expense:

Medical payments, each person\_\_\_\_\_\_\$500
Death benefit, each person\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\$500

### Richmond, 1957:

suits\_\_\_\_

Medical expense blanket accident policy—bodily injury resulting from the playing or practicing of nonprofessional baseball or softball or train travel in connection therewith (limitation of \$50 for dental injury), amount of coverage \$500.

#### Minneapolis—Helena branch—1957: Bankers' blanket bond

special rederal Reserve bank	
policy-standard coverage	\$500
Additional coverage:	
Burglary, robbery, etc., on prem-	
ises, in excess of \$500,000	1,000,000
Loss arising in connection with	70 70 70 70 70 70 70 70 70 70 70 70 70 7
U.S. Government securities	
held as fiscal agent of the	
Treasury Department	500,000
Cash letters in transit	10,000
Loss or damage:	2000000
Plate glass	1,000
Cameras and photographic	
equipment	1,000
Legal Hability arising from:	100
Loss of securities lodged or de-	
manifest de la company de la c	SOP STEEL

posited for safekeeping 500, 000
Stop payment orders 100, 000
False arrest, false imprisonment, etc 100, 000
Expenses incurred by directors and officers in defending

5,000

OUTSIDE LEGAL FEES

Although the Board of Governors take the position that to insure themselves the banks would have to have specialized legal assistance, the banks already have authorization for paying for outside legal assistance. For instance, the Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City in 1956 paid \$2,914.87 for legal fees.

The Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago retained outside counsel for general real estate tax litigation on a contingent fee basis equal to 15 percent to the amount of any recovery. It was stated "in keeping with the bank's established practice and in order to preserve its rights in respect of such errors and excesses which may have occurred in the 1956 tax levy, the real property tax for that year was paid under protest as to excessive and illegal tax rate."

VIOLATIONS OF BYLAWS OF RESERVE BANKS

The audit reports reveal violations of bylaws of Reserve banks and branches. At one bank where the practices were not in conformity with the bylaws, it was indicated that corrective action would be taken by amending the bylaws. The bylaws of the Reserve Bank of Kansas City provide that the board of directors shall appoint a secretary who will keep the minutes of all of the meetings of the board and of committees thereof. However, for some years a secretary was not appointed, and in lieu of having a permanent secretary the board of directors at each meeting designated a secretary pro tempore. The auditors recommended an officially designated secretary should be appointed by the board of directors, and he should be responsible for the maintenance of the minutes on a current basis. Minutes of the meetings of the board of directors held in December 1956 and in January and February 1957 were not recorded in the minutes book. Also minutes of the meetings since September 22. 1955, were not signed by the chairman or acting chairman.

The bylaws of the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago and the Detroit branch make provisions for discount committees. Both have duly appointed discount committees but they do not hold meetings. Inasmuch as such discount committees as provided in the bylaws are given power to authorize, ratify, and approve discounts, loans, commitments and advances, these functions of discounting, and so forth, have not been carried on in conformance with the Reserve bank's bylaws.

Examples: Chicago, 1957:

#### DISCOUNT COMMITTEE

Article II, section 3, of the Reserve bank's bylaws, provides that a discount committee may be appointed; that, subject to the control of the board of directors or the executive committee, the discount committee shall have power "to authorize, ratify, and approved discounts, loans, commitments and avances"; and that it "shall make a report of all such discounts, loans, commitments, and advances at the next succeeding meeting of the executive committee."

The bylaws of the Detroit branch are more specific on the subject of a discount committee. Article III, section 1, states "A committee to be known as the discount committee to be known as the discount committee."

mittee shall be appointed by the Detroit board. \* \* \* The committee shall choose one of its members as a chairman, and the secretary of the board shall keep the minutes of all meetings, such minutes to be read at the next following regular meeting of the board of directors." The powers of the discount committee at the branch are the same as delegated to the committee at the head office, subject to the overriding authority of the head office and branch boards of directors.

Both the head office and Detroit branch have duly appointed discount committees, but they do not hold meetings nor keep We were advised that the situation would be studied with a view of bringing the bank's practices and the bylaws into agreement. It was indicated that the means of accomplishing this end probably will be a revision of the bylaws.

## Kansas City, 1957:

#### MAINTENANCE OF MINUTES

In our review of the minutes of meetings of the board of directors and of the various committees, the following were noted:

Minutes of the meetings of the board of directors held in December 1956, and in January and February 1957, were not recorded In the minutes book. Also, minutes of the meetings since September 22, 1955, were not signed by the chairman (or acting chairman).

Minutes of meetings of the executive committee had not been recorded in the minutes book since the meeting of October 25, 1956.

Minutes of meetings of the discount committee had not been recorded in the minutes book since the meeting of November 13, 1956. Also, minutes of the meetings since July 11, 1956, and minutes of meetings held from March 16 to April 27, from May 9 to 18, and from June 8 to 18, 1958, were not signed by

the secretary pro tempore.

Minutes of the nine meetings held by the building committee in 1956, and of four meetings held in 1957, were not prepared until after the commencement of our cur-

rent examination.

The bylaws of the Reserve bank provide that the board of directors shall appoint a secretary, and specify that the secretary shall keep the minutes of all meetings of the board and of all committees thereof. However, for some years a secretary has not been appointed, and in lieu of having a permanent secretary the board of directors at each meeting has designated a secretary pro tempore.

It appears, therefore, that an officially designated secretary should be appointed by the board of directors, and that he be responsible for the maintenance of the min-

utes on a current basis.

AUDIT DEPARTMENT'S FAILURE TO ABIDE BY REC-OMMENDATIONS OF CONFERENCE OF GENERAL AUDITORS

The banks failed to adopt practices, particularly with respect to frequency of audits, as recommended by the Conference of General Auditors. At the Minneapolis bank, it was a longstanding practice to reconcile member bank reserve accounts, nonmember bank clearing accounts, and relating deferred availability accounts only three times in each calendar year, although a minimum frequency of 11 of such reconciliations is recommended by the Conference of General Auditors.

Example:

Minneapolis, 1957:

It has been a long standing practice, approved by the Audit Committee of the Board of Directors, to reconcile member bank reserve accounts, nonmember bank clearing accounts, and related deferred availability accounts only three times in each calendar year. A minimum frequency of 11 such reconciliations annually is recommended by the Conference of General Auditors.

A special investigation was undertaken by the Audit Department during the period between February 21 and May 3, 1956, as the result of frequent small shortgages in incoming coin shipments from a local member From investigation, which was conducted in colloboration with the auditor of the bank concerned, it was determined that the shortages occurred after the coin had left the member bank and before it was delivered to the Reserve bank, and that no employee of the Reserve bank was involved.

#### FAULTY ACCOUNTABILITY FOR UNISSUED U.S. GOVERNMENT SECURITIES

The reports revealed errors in the accountability to the Treasury Department by the Federal Reserve banks and branches for unissued U.S. Government securities.

An instance of incorrect accountability was an item of \$773,000 more than the total shown by the control records of the Atlanta bank because of the failure of the Jacksonville branch through a procedural error to include in its accountability certain holdings of matured Treasury bills.

In the Chicago bank its accountability to the Treasury Department for unissued U.S. Government securities at the head office and the Detroit branch totaled \$14,308,288,035. The correct amount as determined by the verification of the auditors was \$14,311,170,660. The difference of \$2,882,625 consisted of \$2,752,000 in savings bonds that were shipped directly to an issuing agent by the Treasury Department and not entered into the records of the head office and \$132,625 representing savings bonds stubs that should have been included in the accountability figures of the Detroit branch as unclassified sales. Five differences in the accounts of the issuing agents at the head office remained unadjusted at the close of the examination.

Examples: Chicago, 1957:

#### Reconciliation

Add:

Head office: Accountability for savings bonds shipped Treasury Department direct to issuing agent-not reported \_\_\_ \_ \$2,752,000

Detroit branch: Savings bond stubs forming part of total accountability for unissued U.S. Government securitiesnot reported\_\_\_\_\_

Atlanta, 1957:

The accountability of the Reserve bank to the Treasury Department for unissued U.S. Government securities at the head office and branches totaled \$3,255,157,150. This amount is \$773,000 more than the total shown by the control records of the bank because of the failure of the Jacksonville branch, through a procedural error, to include in its accountability certain holdings of matured Treasury bills. UNNECESSARILY LARGE STOCKS OF SAVINGS BONDS

At the Minneapolis bank it was reported that the inventories of savings bonds in the hands of issuing agents were unusually high. Many had stocks in excess of 9 months and 55 agents held more than a 1-year supply. It was recommended by the auditors that a regular program for analysis of consignments accounts be instituted.

MEMBER BANK EXAMINATIONS DO NOT CONFORM WITH POLICIES

The Reserve banks make exceptions to their policies with respect to member bank examinations in; first, not examining every bank each year; second, not having joint examinations with State examiners; third, not examining branches simultaneously with the head office of a bank; and in some cases, not examining the branches at all, but only reviewing the findings of the State examiners; fourth, not examining trust departments simultaneously with com-mercial departments; and, fifth, not meeting their own standards of completeness of examinations.

The Board of Governors' memorandum states that a large majority of the banks not examined in a specific calendar year were examined during the latter part of the previous year, and as a general rule, during the early months of the following year. However, the trust department of the X bank was not examined during 1956 and the examination of this department did not take place until June 21, 1957, indicating at least 18 months between examinations. The reason given for this time lapse in examination was the lack of sufficient man-

Although it is the stated policy of the Federal Reserve banks to examine the trust departments concurrently with the commercial departments of member banks, the Richmond Bank in 1956 made an exception to its policy at the request of members bank itself and examined these departments at different times. With-out any further explanation, it seems unjustified to schedule bank examinations which are made for the purpose of enforcing Government regulations at the convenience of the banks to be examined

#### Examples:

New York, 1957:

All domestic branches are examined simultaneously with the main offices. In the examination of the larger branch banking organizations, the Reserve bank usually assigns examiners or senior assistant examiners to the more important branches and reviews the findings of the State examiners with respect to the other branches. With these exceptions, the Reserve bank is represented at all offices of the bank under examination.

#### Chicago, 1957:

132, 625

One bank, \* \* \*, was not examined in 1956 because it is too large for the Reserve bank to examine independently and the State authority was unable to join in its examination because of a shortage of man-

Present indications are that three State member banks in Indiana will not be examined by the Reserve bank in 1957. Three banks in the problem category have been examined twice in the current year.

Examinations of commercial departments are generally conducted jointly with the respective State supervisory authorities of the five States in the district. In 1956, however, the Reserve bank made independent examinations of 19 banks-16 in Illinois, 1 in Indiana, and 2 in Wisconsin-because the State authorities were handicapped by a shortage of personnel and were unable to join in the examinations.

The one holding company affiliate in the district is examined trienially, the most recent examination being in 1955. Four of the six companies coming under the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956 were investigated by the Reserve bank in the current year. The preliminary reports received from the two uninvestigated companies contained sufficient information, obviating any necessity for an on-the-spot investigation. Annual reports submitted by all holding companies are analyzed and summary reviews are forwarded to the Board of Governors.

#### LACK OF DEPARTMENTAL CONTROLS

In the operations of the Federal Reserve banks there are frequent examples of lack of adequate controls in the handling of currencies, securities, checks, and so forth, and of exceptions to the internal audits.

For instance, at the Federal Reserve bank in New York the receiving teller in the cash department did not make an immediate strapcount of currency in the denominations of \$20 or less with respect to over-the-counter deposits. Such a strapcount is deferred until the currency is later given to a currency counter for processing with various time elapsing up to as long as several weeks. In the interests of more effective internal control, the auditors recommended that all currency received should be strapcounted before it is released to the receiving teller's custody and that this verification should be accomplished by one person with another person as witness and that it should be done promptly after receipt.

There were only two audits of the check collection department in Chicago instead of three as recommended by the conference of auditors.

In a test review of the authorization on which the Reserve bank acted in making releases from custody, it was noted that in two instances securities held for the account of member banks were released on the authorization bearing the signature of only one officer, although the member banks had instructed that release be made on the authorization signed by two officers.

At the Helena branch the auditors found that the handling of cash did not provide for the necessary security. They recommended that shipments of money should be handled by two employees; that there be duplicate reports of differences on incoming shipments; that officers participate in all opening and closing of the vaults and that shields be placed over all combinations of vaults.

The aduditors observed an unwarranted delay of at least one day in the receipt by the New Orleans branch of remittances from a member bank for cash letters sent to it. The amounts involved are sizable. For example, the member banks remittances of January 3 and 4 1957, covered cash letters of \$564,233.76 and \$283,378.01, respectively.

New York, 1957:

The above figures are the balances as shown on the Reserve bank's books. The amount stated for transit items are \$1.432,452.23 less than the correct totals, the due-from-Buffalo-branch account having been understated on the head office books as the result of a duplication of entries.

New York, 1957:

INTERNAL CONTROLS

In the interest of more effective internal controls in the Collection Department, it was recommended that a plan of rotation be instituted whereby key personnel in this function (Collection Department), without advance notice, will be temporarlly replaced at least once each year for a continuous period of adequate duration by other employees engaged in unrelated activities; also, that there be another such period of temporary replacement in each instance in which the employee is not absent for vacation for a continuous period of at least 2 weeks.

Chicago, 1957: Petty cash funds, \$10,000.

San Francisco—Salt Lake City branch—1957:

#### TRANSIT DEPARTMENT

In our review of the difference account, it was noted that many of the differences were the result of the failure of the Transit Department to balance the aggregate total of outgoing cash letters and clearinghouse items against the aggregate credits for the cash items involved. A substantial number of the differences were of large amounts, and in many cases the appropriate adjustments were not made until the errors were reported by the drawee banks.

Past due items: At the Chicago and New York banks a review of the procedures revealed that in numerous instances commercial items (notes, drafts, etc.) had been left outstanding with collecting agents in accordance with the endorsers request or approval for extended periods and in some cases for several months after their due date. The examiners recommended the adoption of a policy under which all past due items would be recalled after a reasonable time and returned to the endorsers. It was also suggested that periodic reports be submitted by the department to the officer in charge concerning all items outstanding after a reasonable time after their due date.

#### DELAYS IN RETURNING UNPAID CHECKS

The Federal Reserve banks have become involved in suits where the Federal Reserve bank's prior endorser refused to accept return of checks to the drawee bank on the ground that the return had been unduly delayed. In one suit a check for \$2.875.52 was involved and the district court ruled in favor of the plaintiff.

Example: Boston, 1957:

### ACCOUNTS OF MEMBER BANKS

As shown in the schedule section of this report, there was one unadjusted exception of old dating, in the amount of \$12,006.93, on the reconcilement returned by the \* Bank, \* \* \*, Massachusetts. This pertains to a charge by the Reserve bank on Nowember 29, 1956, for three checks received from the \* \* \* Bank for collection and returned to it by the Reserve bank upon refusal of the drawee bank to pay the checks, which had been drawn against uncollected funds. The charge was not accepted by the member bank on the grounds that there had been an undue delay by the Reserve bank in presenting the checks to the drawee bank for payment. It appears that the outcome of this matter is contingent upon the settlement the \* \* \* Bank may be able to effect with its depositor.

FAULTY ACCOUNTABILITY FOR COLLATERAL AND CUSTODIES

There are instances throughout the system of faulty accountability for collateral and custodies. As examples, the following items required reconciliation at the Atlanta bank and its branches:

First. Jacksonville branch: Fiscal agency securities forming a part of the total accountability not reported, \$773,000.

Second. New Orleans branch: Securities held by other agency in own district as collateral for discounts and advances not reported, \$15.000.

Third. Head office: Duplication in reporting certain collateral for Treasury tax and loan accounts, \$300,000.

Fourth. Jacksonville branch: Overstatement of collateral for Treasury tax and loan accounts—withdrawal functioned by the head office on December 21, 1956, but corresponding entry not made in branch's records, \$250,000.

Fifth. New Orleans branch: Overstatement of new silver certificates held as special currency reserve for U.S.

Treasury, \$8,860,000.

With respect to the last item, on October 15, 1956, the New Orleans branch commenced a series of weekly withdrawals of new silver certificates of \$1 denominations from the special currency reserve held for the Treasury of the United States. This program was at the request of and under a specific authorization of the Treasury. Such withdrawals were to constitute issuances to the Reserve bank for current use in lieu of regular weekly shipments of currency from Washington. The withdrawals made by the branch to the date of examination totaled \$8,860,000, but the relevant custody control account was not correspondingly adjusted and showed at examination date a holding of \$21,200,-000 instead of \$12,340,000. This error could hardly be considered "exceedingly small,"

Collateral deficiencies were allowed to extend over the maximum 10-day period through inadvertence, due to delay by the Minneapolis bank in discovering these deficiencies.

In the Cleveland district, 19 banks at the time of the audit had deficiencies in collateral to secure Treasury tax and loan accounts in the amount of \$1,294,245.57.

Two member banks in the Jackson-ville branch had deficiencies in collateral which existed considerably longer than the 10-day period allowed by the Treasury Department regulations. Both cases involved collateral held by New York correspondents of the depositary banks subject to the order of the branch. The auditors felt that the time lapse for collecting the deficiency could have been shortened through more diligent followup by the fiscal agency department.

Another example of deficiencies in reserves and in collateral held to secure Treasury tax and loan accounts was the account of the X bank, which had a deposit balance of \$77.8 million with a deficiency of \$3.2 million in reserves.

"MYSTERIOUS DISAPPEARANCE" OF CASH AND SECURITIES

Audit reports show what are described as "mysterious disappearances" of cash, securities, and so forth. This is a term which the banks use to describe all shortages, the origin of which their

investigations do not reveal. For instance, at the Jacksonville branch there was a disappearance of \$100 from a strap of \$20 bills included in a shipment sent to the Birmingham branch and thence to the X bank; "mysterious" disappearance of \$240 from a shipment of unfit currency to the U.S Treasury; disappearance of \$200 in coins included in shipment forwarded by registered mail by the Jacksonville bank to a member bank; "mysterious" disappearance of two coupons from bonds held as Treasury tax and loan collateral for a member bank at the head office.

An investigation of the mysterious disappearance at Charlotte branch of \$100,000 in U.S. Treasury certificates revealed only that it was thought by all parties to the transaction that the certificates had not been removed from the envelope after delivery and that it was destroyed with trash burned up by the member bank.

Investigations between February 21 and May 3 of frequent shortages in incoming coin shipments from local banks to the Minneapolis bank determined that shortages were incurred after coins left member banks and before delivery to the Reserve tank. There was no satisfactory explanation made of the losses nor any indication that the situation had been resolved for future protection.

At the Bostop bank because of assorters' failure to inspect the totalizer meter on the currency sorting machine after processing the contents of each strap it was impossible to determine in which strap and in which deposit of 15 a shortage of \$500 occurred. This shortage was reported as a mysterious disappearance. A thousand-dollar shortage in a deposit, reported by receiving teller, also was classified as mysterious. The investigation was unable to pin down the exact place of disappearance and it was suggested that the deposit "may have been tampered with" while in transit and possibly while in possession of the X Service.

Richmond, 1957: We reviewed the circumstances regarding the mysterious disappearance of a \$100,000 U.S. Treasury 234 percent certificate of in-debtedness, series B-1057, tax anticipation series, dated August 15, 1956, due March 22, 1887. The certificate has been allotted on a direct subscription to the which requested that it be delivered to the Co. N.C., for safekeeping. According to the cording to the records of the branch, the certincate was one of seven lots of like securities, in the aggregate amount of \$885,000, to which were attached receipts Nos. 36 to 42, in-gust 16, 1958, and obtained a signed receipt for the total amount, but the consignee bank admits it did not open the package and verity the contents at the time of delivery. When the package was later opened, it reportedly contained only six lots of securities, totaling \$785,000 to which were attached recelpts Nos. 36 to 41. These receipts were duly signed on August 16, 1956, and mailed to the control of the cont mailed to the Charlotte branch. A clerk at the branch then or later noted that receipt No. 42, covering the missing certificate, had not been received but an inquiry was not - Co. This failure to

promptly alert the consignee bank placed a measure of responsibility on the branch because the consignee bank was not enabled to make a search through its waste paper (which is burned after 3 days) nor to institute other investigative measures that might have been effective if started promptly.

The Reserve bank has made inquiries of Treasury Department officials concerning replacement of the certificate. The Treasury is reluctant to take such action prior to the maturity of the certificate on March 22, 1957. The — Co, has stated that it would join with the Reserve bank, together with their respective insurers, in an agreement of indemnity if the Treasury Department will issue a replacement certificate.

Boston, 1957:

Two special investigations were made by the auditing department in the interval between examinations, one in November 1956 and the other in March 1957; both were in connection with shortages in incoming deposits of cash, reported by the currency and coin department.

The first of these investigations involved a shortage of \$500. Because of the assorter's faiure to inspect the totalizer meter on the currency sorting machine after processing the contents of each strap, it was impossible to determine in which strap and in which deposit, of 15 different deposits, the shortage occurred. All of the member banks concerned were contacted in an effort to ascertain whether any of them had an offsetting overage, and each gave a negative report. Following this, the shortage was classified as a mysterious disappearance, a claim was filed with the Reserve bank's insurers, and the latter reimbursed the bank for the full amount of the loss.

The other investigation pertained to a shortage of \$1,000, reported by a receiving The investigation disclosed that the deposit in which the shortage was found may have been tampered with while in transit to the Reserve bank, and possibly while it was in the possession of the armored car serv-ice that transported the deposit to the post office, for the depositing member bank. latter's insurer reimbursed it for the full amount of the shortage.

#### VIOLATIONS OF THE BANKING LAWS

There are several examples in the reports where employees have violated the banking laws. In one bank the man-- section had been using ager of the bank personnel and equipment for carrying on an outside business for several

A coin assorter at another bank was convicted of embezzlement of coins from incoming shipments.

#### BANK LIQUIDATION RESULTING FROM DEFLATION

One State member bank was liquidated by the bank commissioner of Texas because of insolvency resulting from defalcation. As a condition of membership in the Federal Reserve System a bank is subject to examinations by the Federal Reserve. These examinations are for the protection of the public. The discovery of defalcation in the State bank apparently did not originate with the Federal Reserve examiners but rather with the bank commissioner of Texas.

INCREASES IN DISCOUNTS AND ADVANCES AND INAPPROPRIATE USE OF FEDERAL RESERVE

The 1957 audit reports indicate that there has been extensive increased use of discounts and advances and continued use of Federal Reserve bank credit by certain member banks. In some cases, this borrowing, in effect, amounts to a continuous credit rather than for the purpose of temporary accommodations to the banks. The follow-up by the Federal Reserve banks to eliminate the continuous borrowing appears to be a haphazard approach to the banks which results in promises by them to improve the holdings in their portfolios which create their illiquidity and result in the need for such borrowing. For example, one bank promised that it would make no further additions to its holdings of Government bonds while showing considerable reluctance to dispose of present holdings at a loss.

Two banks in the Dallas district continued consistent borrowing in 1956-57 although this situation had been reported at the previous examination. One of these banks had borrowed in 43 computation periods out of 48. Although discussions had taken place with these banks, it was reported that "no discernible changes in their borrowing patterns" had taken place. Extensive use of discount facilities was attributed to heavy loan demands, declining or stationery deposits, and a reluctance to dispose of investments, particularly holdings of Government securities, at a loss.

In the Cleveland district one bank ascribed its continuance of borrowing to strong demands for loans combined with its holdings of long-term Government and municipal bonds on which it was reluctant to take a loss. It was reported that the bank is making an effort to adjust its assets' position, having sold a sizable amount of mortgage loans in May and confining its additional lending to established customers.

The auditors noted that a national bank in the Memphis branch area had borrowed almost continuously during the last half of 1956 and in February of 1957. It appeared that this bank was borrowing for purposes other than those considered appropriate uses for Federal Reserve credit.

The Federal Reserve Act clearly requires that the Federal Reserve banks shall give consideration to "whether undue use is being made of bank credit for the speculative carrying of or trading in securities, real estate or commodities,' and shall use this information "in determining whether to grant or refuse advances, rediscounts or other credit accommodations." Whenever, in the judgment of the Board of Governors, any member bank is making undue use of bank credit, the bank may suspend such banks from the use of credit facilities of the Federal Reserve System. The audit reports show numerous instances where the banks consider that Federal Reserve credit is being inappropriately used and yet there is no evidence that the Board of Governors has discontinued granting such credit. As the examples show, some of the banks have been speculating in Government bonds and then have gone to the Federal Reserve banks to get loans.

Examples:

Cleveland-Pittsburgh branch-1957: The \_\_\_\_ Bank has been a consistent borrower since midyear. From June 21 to September 29, or a total of 101 consecutive days in 15 reserve computation periods, it was indebted to the branch in amounts ranging from \$5 million to a high of \$100 million. The average daily borrowing for this bank was \$17 million. This bank and the three country banks had been frequent borrowers in 1956, also.

#### Philadelphia, 1957:

The Reserve bank has been following the practice of contacting country banks in regard to their borrowing programs after they have been borrowing continuously for 90 days. Recently, this policy was revised and now provides that the member bank will be contacted when it has borrowed continu-ously for 60 days. The Philadelphia banks generally borrow on 1-day notes. On occaslon, the Reserve bank has held group meetings with representatives of these banks at which the subject of continuous borrowing was discussed, with emphasis directed to consecutive reserve computation periods rather than consecutive days.

Several of the banks have adjusted their asset position in order to enable them to operate on their own resources during periods not subject to seasonal or emergency stresses. However, the Reserve bank recog-nizes that the necessary adjustments by some banks must be gradual.

### Chicago-Detroit branch-1957:

There were three banks which made consistent use of the Reserve banks discount facilities during the current year. The branch has had discussions with these banks concerning their borrowing programs. They each indicated an intention of reducing the frequency of their borrowings from the Reserve bank, but up to date of examination there had been no appreciable change in their borrowing patterns.

#### Chicago, 1957:

It is the Reserve bank's policy to keep the member banks that use its discount window informed as to the appropriate purposes of Federal Reserve credit. In the course of our review of member bank borrowing during the period between examinations, we noted that the Reserve banks held discusisons or exchanged correspondence with a number of banks whose borrowing patterns tended to become continuous. In most instances, the banks took themselves out of the category of steady borrowers. However, to date of examination, there had not been any appreclable change in the borrowing patterns of the banks listed in the following tabulation.

The steady borrowings or --, Chicago. is a continuation of the pattern it followed during 1955 and 1956. In 1955, it borrowed in 48 weekly computation periods, and in 1956, in 49 such periods. Its average daily borrowings amounted to \$31 million in 1955, \$53 million in 1956, and \$59 million in the current year. An analysis by the Reserve bank indicates that the reason for the 's prolonged borrowing is the continued expansion of its loans without a compensating increase in deposits or reduction in its security investments.

#### Dallas, 1957:

The consistent borrowing by both the - Bank is a continuation and of the situation that existed at our last examination. The Reserve bank has had periodic discussions with each of these banks concerning the nature of their borrowings but to date there has been no discernible change in their borrowing patterns.

#### Dallas-Houston branch-1957:

In our review of member bank borrowing from the branch, it was noted that in the current year the -- Bank, Houston, Tex., was indebted in 38 of the 48 reserve computation periods for a total of 168 days. It was stated that this bank's borrowings from the Reserve Bank were attributed to its re-luctance to sell Government securities at a

#### Richmond, 1957:

One bank had borrowed for 295 consecutive days and during 121 days the borrowing was greater than the bank's combined capital and surplus. The Reserve Bank advised that as a result of a change in the member bank's management, the bank's investment policy would be reaffirmed and a more satisfactory loan program instituted.

#### Richmond, 1957:

Out of 24 computation periods, one bank borrowed in 18, for 256 days, another bank borrowed for 17 periods for 232 days.

Each of the banks experienced heavy loan demands in the latter part of the year, and adverse trend in deposits which the State Treasurer of North Carolina began investing State funds in Treasury bills rather than depositing them in interest-bearing accounts with the bank.

#### LACK OF SECURITY IN CURRENCY VERIFICATION AND DESTRUCTION

The auditors' comments on currency verification and destruction follow very much the patterns of the previous reports. The reports comment on the lack of dual control in handling the currency; incomplete inspection of bundles; inadequate destruction equipment; failures in destroying currencies; lack of determination that the standard of fitness before destruction conforms to that prescribed by the Treasury Department; combining of cash and destruction functions in same area: violations of Treasury regulations; and inadequate tests for accuracy and integrity of the currency verification. These comments apply throughout the System.

Although the subject had been commented upon in a previous audit report, the Los Angeles branch continued to have the verification process performed in the utility cage in the cash department. The auditors believed that this operation should be performed in a properly protected area physically located outside the cash department, in view of the provision in the Treasury Department regulations that:

The verification and destruction of unfit U.S. paper currency at each Federal Reserve bank and branch shall be a fiscal agency operation and shall be performed in a cur-rency verification unit which should be separate and apart from other cash operations of such Federal Reserve banks and branches.

In the review of the operations at the Oklahoma City branch incident to the preparation of unfit U.S. paper currency for shipment to the head office, it was observed that the inspection of such currency for proper cancellation was made by one of the tellers engaged in the cancellation process. This practice does not conform to the provisions of paragraph 5f of the applicable Treasury Department regulations which directs that such examination "should be performed by an employee of the cash division who did not participate in the cancellation of the currency."

At the Philadelphia bank, the auditors found that procedures in the currency destruction process did not conform to the principles of dual control; that there was no verification of the contents of some bundles before destruction: that

the hinges on the locks of the firebox and ashpit access doors could be opened without disturbing the locks; and that it was a common experience for the furnace-feeding mechanism to fail so that unburned bills were found in the mecha-

The Federal Reserve banks destroy annually millions of dollars in U.S. currency. While the Treasury examiners make an annual visit to each of the Federal Reserve banks, in the interim between these visits the Federal Reserve banks are given a free hand in destroy ing U.S. Government money, The Boards' examiners comment year after year on the failings of the banks to verify this money before destruction and for their failure to conform to Treasury Department regulations in handling this money. It is frequently noted that the Federal Reserve banks destroy the currency without even determining whether the currency fitness was such that it should be destroyed. We have laws in this country which prevent a citizen from willfully putting a match to the coin of the realm but the Federal Reserve banks have been permitted to destroy money without even examining its condition.

#### Examples:

Philadelphia, 1957:

We reviewed the operations and observed the procedures followed, and have the fol-lowing comments with respect to certain of the procedures the procedures and/or conditions which came to our attention.

1. Upon receipt of the canceled currency in the Currency Vertification Unit, only one strap and bundle count was made—this by all the personner. all the personnel of the Unit, each accounting The section ing for a portion of the total. head then recapitulated the individual totals and signed the receipt given to the Cash Department. In our opinion, this procedure does not contain the cash of t does not conform to the principle of dust control. An effective dual control would require that the section head and the general service clerk each make an independent strap and bundle count of the entire lot when received in the Unit.

2. It was noted that in the handling of \$1 bills, the Unit did not employ the practice of "fanning" the burners the of "fanning" the bundles of currency not in cluded in the percentage count. Hence cluded in the percentage count. Hence there was no verification of the contents of the bundles.

3. The firebox and ashpit access door were each secured by one dual lock at the closure but no provision had been made to prevent the possibility. prevent the possibility of the doors being opened at the hinge end without disturbing the locks.

4. Upon inspection of the furnace feeding mechanism, 18 unburned bills were found in the trap and 20 bills in the belt feed mechanism. This is This is a common occurrence, in view of which the belt and trap are in spected weekly by the section head and the designated witness.

We reviewed the operations and observed the procedures followed, with particular reference to security features, and in connection therewith we noted the following matters;

1. The main door to the furnace was not adequately secured. It was recommended that steps be taken to secure the door in more satisfactory.

2. While the currency was being placed the the incinerator and before the locks on the door were sourced. door were secured, access to the area around the incinerator the incinerator was not sufficiently

stricted. It was recommended that access to the incinerator room be adequately restricted, at least until all currency to burned has been placed in the incinerator and the locks secured.

## Dallas-San Antonio branch-1957:

We reviewed the operations and observed the procedures followed, and noted that in the testing of the accuracy and integrity of the currency verifiers, only packages con-taining known overages or shortages of amounts are used.

### San Francisco—Los Angeles branch— 1957:

In our review of the operations and procedures, we again noted, as at last examination, that the verification process was being performed in a utility cage in the cash department. This operation, we believe, should be performed in an appro-priately protected area physically located outside the cash department, in view of the following provision in the Trensury Department regulations: "The verification and destruction of unfit United States paper currency at each Federal Reserve bank and branch shall be a fiscal agency operation and shall be performed in a currency verification unit which shall be separate and apart from other cash operations of such Federal Reserve banks and branches."

## Kansas City, 1957:

- 1. Dual control of the currency was not being maintained at all times in the money department from the time of its cancellation to the time of its delivery to the currency redemption unit.
- 2. Upon receipt of the canceled currency in the currency redemption unit, a bundle count was made by the receivers but only one strap count was made—this by the three nembers of the unit participating in the operation operation at the time, each accounting for a Portion of the total. In our opinion, this procedure does not conform to the principle of dual control. An effective dual control would be receivers would require that each of the receivers make an independent strap count of the entire lot when received in the unit.
- 3. The portion of the \$1 bills to be verified is selected by the chief of the unit but, conregistered by the chief of the unit but tary to instructions, the portion not to be verified is permitted to remain accessible to the verifiers, thus making it possible for them to make substitutions.
- 4. Some relaxation in the maintenance of dual control during the verification proc-ess also was noted. At times, the chief of unit unit removed the currency not to be verified from one location to another while the verifiers were occupied in the verification process and could not appropriately witness such transfers.

## Kansas City—Oklahoma City branch— 1957:

In our review of the operations incident to to the preparation of unfit U.S. paper currency for shipment to the head office, it was observed that the inspection of such currence that the inspection of such currence rency, for proper cancellation, was made one of the tellers engaged in the cancellation process. This practice does not conform to the provisions of paragraph 5(f) of the applicable Treasury Department regulations, which directs that such examination "shall be performed by an employee of the cash division who did not participate in the cancellation of the currency."

## Atlanta, 1957:

1. It was noted that in the handling of \$1 bills, the unit did not employ the practice of "fanning" the bundles of currency not included in the percentage count. Hence, there was no verification of the contents of the bundles or determination that the standard of fitness of the currency conformed to that prescribed by the Treasury Department.

2. The startlsor, who is one of the joint participants in preparing test errors for insertion in the packages of currency to be verified, and in supervising the incineration process, also was assisting in the actual verification of canceled currency at times of heavy volume. We believe that the security of this operation is weakened when the supervisor also participates in the verification process.

#### LOSSES AND DISCREPANCIES

There continued to be disappearances and shortages of money in the cash departments, the check departments. transit departments and the Government check departments. The banks usually account for these losses by subtracting the credits from the debits which are set out separately in the report before arriving at the net loss. In the 1957 report of the New York bank, however, the difference account shows only the net figures. This means that neither the Board of Governors nor the Congress can determine what the actual losses are and whether further safeguards should be instituted or investigations should be undertaken.

At the Salt Lake City branch the auditor noted that many of the differences were the result of the failures of the transit department to balance the aggrerate total of outgoing cash letters and clearinghouse items against the aggregate credits for the cash items involved. A substantial number of the differences were of large amounts and in many cases appropriate adjustments were not made until the errors were reported by the drawee bank. For the year 1956 the transit department had losses of \$3,-444.57 and had gains of \$1,996.82. Inasmuch as the Federal Reserve banks in their combined statement of condition, of head office and branches, report only the net figures of profit or loss, it is not a proper reflection of the total amount and number of errors which occur in the difference accounts.

At the Chicago bank in the collection department for the year 1956, there were losses of \$20,856.04 and credits of \$16,-636.78; in the period from January 1, to October 25, 1957, in the check collection department there were losses of \$28,-758.58 and credits of \$40,036.96. In its memorandum, the Board takes the position that in the light of the tremendous volume of checks and securities handled by the Reserve banks, losses and discrepancies have been exceedingly small infrequent. The continuing and amounts of losses in the check department in Chicago indicate, in the least, mismanagement of checks handled. The auditor's report comments that:

In the interest of more effective controls in the collection department, it was recommended that the supervisory employees be temporarily transferred on an unannounced basis to unrelated work outside the department at least once a year for a continuous period of adequate duration and that during such period they be replaced by other employees from outside the department.

#### LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

### GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer, plus 50 percent: Provided, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity pur-chasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Gov-ernment officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a,

#### RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the Congressional Record is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Raymond F. Noyes is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the Record at \$1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

#### CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

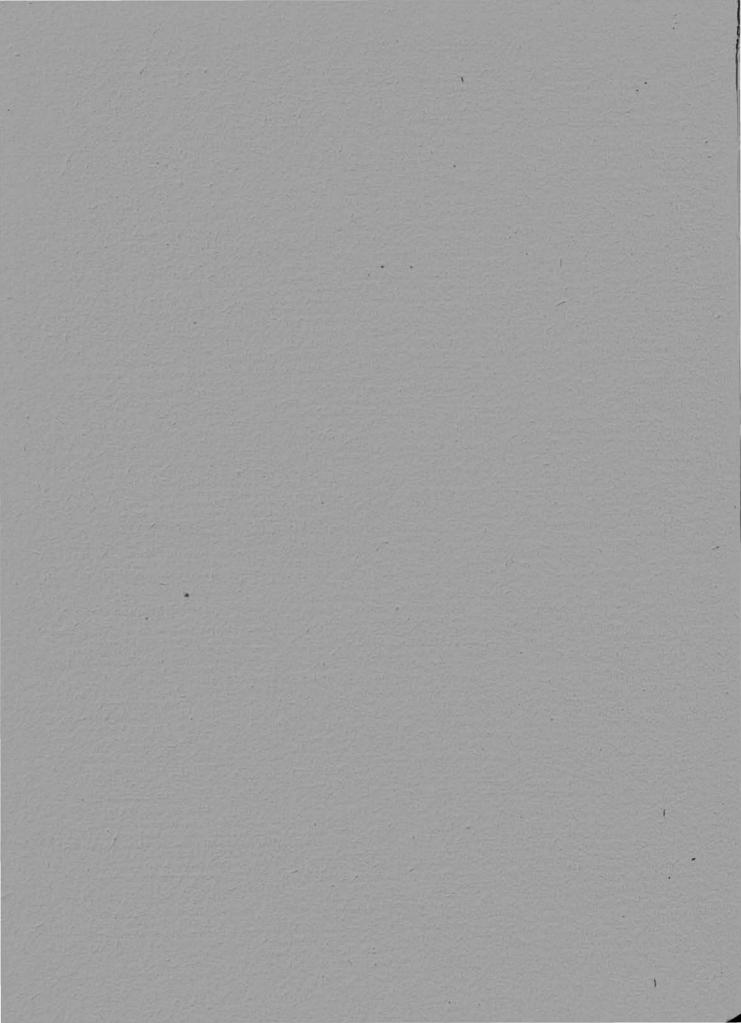
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#### CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

#### PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the Congressional Record, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).



# Appendix

## Present World Conditions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. CLAIR ENGLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. President, on his recent trip to California, our colleague, the Senator from Missouri [Mr. Syming-TON] delivered an excellent address before the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco, one of the finest forums on the west coast. I believe that Members of Congress will find of interest these thoughtful remarks on the realities of the present world situation by the junior Senator from Missouri, and I ask unanimous consent to have the text of his address printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY SENATOR STUART SYMINGTON, BE-FORE THE SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., COMMON-WEALTH CLUB, MAY 29, 1959

Back in the early twenties, in what has sometimes been termed the era of wonder-Coué attracted a vast national following with a simple formula for uncomplicated living

Americans flocked by the hundreds of Americans flocked by the numerous of thousands to the Coué Institute to hear the master intone the magic words: "Day by day in Section to the magic words of the course of day in every way I am getting better and

The Coue system, as it was called, was perfectly suited to the times. It was the period of the convivial Harding and the silent convivial than the sole obslient Coolidge, a period when the sole oblect of national desire was summed up in Garbo's famous proclamation: "I want to

The art of ignoring the obvious was carried in those years to its highest perfec-

Painful truths were smothered in a thick meringue of self-confidence that was really

Then in October 1929 the bubble exploded. The dream vanished.

The painful truths struck home. wonderful nonsense dissolved into the bitterness of the morning after.

The Nation which had allowed itself to be hypnotized by the self-assurance of Emil Coue would have been far wiser to heed the warnings of another Frenchman, Emile Zola, who had written, "If you shut up truth and bury it under the ground, it will but grow and gather to itself such explosive power that the day it bursts through it will blow up

everything in its way."

It is in the spirit of the second Frenchman, and not the first, that I would speak

For a long time I've had the unpleasant feeling that we are living through an echo of the 1920. of the 1920's. In certain respects, we have shown as a nation in the last few years the same disastrous disposition to hide from the

facts, to delude ourselves with slogans and tidy formulas.

Nowhere has this tendency been so strik-ing, and nowhere does it hold such explosive potential in Zola's sense, as in our seem-ingly inexhaustible capacity for underestimating the nature of the current problems incident to our position in the world today.

Seven weeks ago in New Orleans, Allen Dulles, the Chief of the Central Intelligence Agency, made an important address. It was a speech intended to alert the American people to the economic challenge of our possible enemies.

It was closely packed with disturbing information, gleaned from the best and presumably the latest intelligence reports.

It was a chilling report, which ought to have sobered a great number of people.

Tucked away in the text, however, was a warning not to take the claims of the Soviet 7-year plan at face value; and amazingly, press reports of the New Orleans speech featured this lone bit of reassurance and all but ignored the rest.

Readers who had before them both the news report and the complete speech must have had great difficulty in believing one was taken from the other.

Most of us simply do not want to believe that the Russian economic threat is as great as it appears to be-and we are ready to grasp at every little straw which offers us

reassurance. The biggest fool is the fool who fools himself.

Certainly we ought not to accept Soviet statistics at face value.

Certainly we ought to realize that Soviet economic progress begins from a lower absolute base.

Certainly we ought to stipulate that our economy is a good deal more mature than Russia's.

Certainly we ought to concede that in some of the areas where they are going all out to increase production we are producing more now than we can possibly use.

Certainly we ought to admit that the crucial question is not how much of an economic increase, but what kind.

Yet when all of these stipulations and concessions are made, I can derive no comfort from the valid comparisons which re-

One carries in one's mind's eye the picture of the jovial ruthless Nikita Khrushchev warning the West in his blunt and confident fashion: "We declare war upon you in the peaceful field of trade. We declare war. We will win over the United States. The threat to the United States is not the ICBM, but in the field of a peaceful production. We are relentless in this and it will prove the superiority of our system."

The Soviet 7-year plan envisions an annual expansion in production of 8.6 percent, and concedes us an annual increase of only 2.2 percent.

"If this is true," Mr. Dulles told his audience in New Orleans, that is, if we are unable to increase production more than 2.2 percent a year, then—and let me emphasize-"the United States will be virtually committing economic suicide."

The Chinese Reds today, after a decade in power, are well ahead of where the U.S.S.R. stood at a comparable stage in its develop-

This progress has been made possible partly through Soviet aid and partly through one of the most unbellevably inhuman slave

labor programs in modern history.

The tragedy is, we are not now maintaining even the rate which Allen Dulles says is the equivalent of economic suicide.

From 1953 to 1958, U.S. production moved ahead and sideways and backward; and in the overall, achieved a forward progress of only 1.3 percent a year.

This is not just a two-sided competition. The economic transformation now underway on the Chinese mainland is, in its way, even more significant than the performance of the Soviets.

In the 6-year period from 1952 to 1957, the Chinese Communists increased their production of coal at an annual rate of 14 percent; their production of oil, 28 percent; electric power, 21 percent a year; iron, 25 percent a year; steel, 31 percent a year.

The Chinese rate of growth far exceeded that of the Soviet Union in the period of the first 5-year plan, 1928-32.

Soviet steel production in that first 5-year period went up 8 percent a year: The Chinese Communist rate, as I noted a moment ago, was 31 percent a year.

The Chinese have done this by methods that almost defy belief. They have been producing steel in backyard furnaces employing human muscle power in numbers estimated at anywhere from 20 to 50 million persons.

Peiping radio claimed last year that the Chinese Communists have already outstripped Great Britain in the production of pig iron and coal.

Our own intelligence confirms that Sino-Soviet steel production in the recession year of 1958 exceeded that of the United States.

Communist China is challenging Japan for the economic leadership of Asia. it is clear the Sino-Soviet empire will be the largest economic power on the Eurasian land mass, exceeding the combined output of Western Europe and Japan.

Let me commend to your attention a study entitled "The Sino-Soviet Economic Offensive in the Less Developed Countries," published by the Department of State in May 1958.

The study is available in condensed form in a pamphlet entitled "The Communist Economic Threat," released this past March.

It shows that since 1954 the countries of the Sino-Soviet bloc have extended some \$2.4 billions in credits and grants to 18 underdeveloped countries.

More than there-quarters of a billion has gone to furnish arms to the Governments of Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Yemen, Indonesia, and Afghanistan.

On the economic side, the Sino-Soviet bloc has devoted itself to penetrating with capital resources and technical personnel the least stable of the uncommitted nations of Asia and the Middle East.

The Soviet Union has loaned \$132 million to India for construction of a giant steel mill at Bhilai in the central part of the country; and other credits for purchase of Soviet goods.

India has received \$304 million in economic aid from the Sino-Soviet bloc during the past 4 years.

Soviet technicians are descending on India in wholesale lots. And many Indians are receiving special training in the U.S.S.R.

The object of these aid programs is somewhat more subtle than the arms deals. The steel mill at Bhilai; for example, is fully under the control of Soviet technicians and engineers. It is, therefore, a demonstration project of Soviet industrial prowess. This is propaganda of achievement, the most convincing kind.

Moreover, it is clear that the Communists hope to infect their temporary charges with Marxist dogma, and then leave them behind as a kind of Trojan horse.

The Russians are also out to crack the

Western trade marts.

Between 1952 and 1956, the Soviet bloc increased its trade with Latin America by 609 percent.

The political usages of trade connections are too complex a matter for treatment here. However, I would like to point out two techniques which the Soviets have used to

great advantage.

In some cases, they have offered to buy goods-Ezyptian cotton, for example-at prices well above the prevailing market.

The result is a diversion of trade leading eventually to the disappearance of the previously existing outlets. This leaves the trading nation at the mercy of the Communists and experience teaches that it is not a very tender mercy.

The Soviet bloc has also utilized its vast and growing economic power to upset normal trade conditions by dumping commodities on the market, thus destroying the price

structure.

This is a powerful weapon, and permits the most persuasive blackmail. We will see a good deal more of it in the years ahead.

The inescapable lesson, it seems to me, of all these statistics and facts is that we cannot afford to drift complacently along, consoling ourselves with ready slogans.

We must make a concerted effort to step up our own rate of growth to 4 or 5 percent

annually.

And I believe this can be done without experiencing ruinous inflation.

The classic definition of inflation is too much money chasing too few goods.

So far, all our efforts at controlling inflation have been directed at limiting the supply of money.

I am not satisfied that budget balancing is the end-all and be-all of sound economic policy. In the face of the Sino-Soviet challenge, it may be a one-way ticket to disaster.

We must either face the facts, or face the music.

But we can't face the facts unless we know the facts. That is why it is so important for the people to have the truth. In this connection let me quote a remark made last month by the president of the American Soclety of Newspaper Editors, who said: "Our gravest danger is that we may learn to think we can reconcile freedom and secrecy-that we can have them both."

Yet, if I am certain of anything at all, I am sure that if we proceed as we are proceeding, toward more and more secrecy, we shall have less and less freedom-and 1 day we shall pass the line that distinguishes free and open government from secret and absolute government.

The strength of a nation depends upon the will of the people, and in our democratic form of government that will can function properly only when the people are informed.

That is why it is so important for the people to know the truth-then they will do whatever is necessary to remain strong and

#### Cancer Research

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON, LYNDON B. JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, in light of the Senate's action last week in regard to cancer research, I believe that an editorial in the June 29 issue of Life is of particular interest.

This editorial pleads eloquently for a speedup in cancer research. That, of course, is the same conclusion reached

by the Senate.

I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### LET'S SPEED CANCER'S DEFEAT

The men closest to cancer research have now found enough leads to make them think that wholly new means for cancer cure and prevention are possible. They talk of finding a vaccine which may prevent cancer or a chemical which may cure. Since they have already found a number of such things which work on animals-but not on humans-they are tantalized by their progress.

In view of this one might think that a Nation-which proved, with the atomic bomb, that it could solve the supposedly "impossible"-would be stepping up its cancer research on all fronts, especially after the tragic end of John Foster Dulles. Yet the administration, which last year proposed a \$10 million cut in all medical research, this year has proposed another cut in cancer research, to hold it to \$75 million.

By contrast with this sum, we taxpayers

this year are spending \$155 million on agricultural research, in effect putting the health of the barnyard ahead of the conquest of cancer. No comparison with the \$40 billion going into defense to prevent a nuclear war is justified in logic, but the statistical fact that 40 million Americans now living will have cancer, unless it is conquered, does represent a national disaster comparable to the more sudden devastation of a nuclear

Fortunately, the House has already increased the cancer appropriation to \$83 mil-The Senate committee, which now has the bill, is talking of raising it to \$110 million, the minimum which experts regard as indispensable. There are some of the vital

To improve the procedures and methods of the intensive work now going on in chemotherapy. This has already yielded some 20 compounds which temporarily inhibit various forms of cancer, e.g. the lives of leukemic children can now be prolonged for a year or more.

To increase the study of viruses, which are now a chief suspect in cancer. A single virus has already been found which can cause 26 different types of cancer in animals. Since one virus can cause so many, it raises the hope that a single vaccine could prevent them. A Salk-type vaccine has already been found which makes mice immune to a virus causing leukemia.

To broaden the study of hormones, the internal glandular secretions which control growth, reproduction, digestion and the functioning of all the organs. Evidence links steroid hormones with the cause and progress of cancer. "Imitation" hormones may be able to block the harmful effects of real hormones.

To increase the supply of trained researchers, clinics, research centers, new medical school facilities. Experience has proved that where Federal matching funds are offered, private funds will quickly flow to fill the gap.

Something besides increased Federal aid also is needed. At present most medical research is dependent on the voluntary agencies which, month after month, stage a bewildering series of drives, now for heart disease, now for cancer, now for polio, now mental health, cerebral palsy or muscular dystrophy.

There are so many of these drives that the housewives who must do most of the door to-door fund-raising are beginning to revolt and so are the donors themselves. thermore, because so much of the funds raised is spent on fund-raising (in some cases as much as 25 percent or more). on patient care and on administration, a relatively small amount actually goes into the medical research which might render all these other expenditures unnecessary. For example, the National Foundation for in-fantile Paralysis fantile Paralysis, most successful in history spent most of \$500 million on patients, only \$34 million on research. Yet the payoff on the latter will soon save the huge former

All medical research is obviously interrelated (Enders' work on growing polio virus in live tissue led to Saik's polio break through; Saik's technique is being used in cancer). Diseases themselves may be inter-related. There is an obvious need for the many voluntary agencies to pool their drives for a single fund for medical research alone letting other drives, such as the United Fund, provide for patient care, therapy and rehabilitation. The need is not to stifle the American genius for voluntary organization which De Tocqueville celebrated; the real need is to organize it better. The sooner this is done, and the sooner the full need to need to be the sooner the full need to be the sooner the soon tional responsibility for adequate medical research is recognized, the sooner the great breakthroughs may come, in cancer and elsewhere.

## Procurement of Commercial Trucks by the Department of Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. PHILIP A. HART

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. HART. Mr. President, the recent statement by the Department of the Army that it is now attempting to work out for the first time, a method by which contracts for the procurement of commercial trucks could be shared with bidders in a rocks ders in areas of substantial labor surplus could mean a great deal for employment prospects in Michigan.

Information that I have assembled indicates that there are 46 commercial truck assembly plants in the United States. Fifteen of these plants are today in areas of substantial labor surplus, and the firms operating these plants would thus be eligible for preference on any commercial truck contracts designated for labor surplus set-asides. In Michigan there were seven truck assembly plants in 1958 at Flint, Pontiac, Lansing, Dearborn, and Detroit. Five of the seven points where truck assembly was undertaken in Michigan during 1958 are today in areas of more than 12 percent unemployment. These are plants Flint, Pontiac, Detroit, and Dearborn. These are plants at

It is my belief that it will be possible for the Army to work out a method for applying the principle of earmarking 50 percent of the procurement on commercial truck contracts for areas with high unemployment. Certainly this is the type of situation for which the Office of Defense Mobilization issued this Man-Dower Order No. 4 a number of years

As the correspondence indicates, I have been working with the Department of the Army since last March to see if some attempt can be made to achieve a more meaningful application of the labor surplus set-aside program. I am encouraged by the latest advice from the Army that they are presently undertaking to accomplish this on the first fiscal 1960 major commercial truck procurement contract.

For the period of July 1, 1958, to March 31, 1959, the total value of defense contracts going to Michigan firms as a result of the labor surplus set-aside order was only \$1,543,000. This despite a very sizable number of Michigan firms

in areas above 12 percent unemployment. The Army is to be commended for its interest in bringing more defense jobs to States with high unemployment such as Michigan. There may well be reasons why some States are receiving more missile contracts than Michigan, although I certainly do not concede this, but there certainly is every reason why Michigan should today benefit from Federal programs designed to bring defense contracts into areas of high unemployment, when the item being bought by the Department of Defense is commercial

I ask unanimous consent that an exchange of correspondence between my office and the Office of the Chief of Ordhance of the Department of the Army with reference to the application of labor surplus set-asides under defense contracts to the procurement of commercial trucks by the Department of Defense, be

printed in the Appendix of the Record. There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the Record,

HEADQUARTERS. DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY, OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF ORDNANCE. Hon. PHILIP A. HART, Washington, D.C., April 15, 1959. U.S. Senate.

DEAR SENATOR HART: During my discussion with you, Senator McNamara, and Congress-man O'Hara on March 18, 1959, a question Was raised as to whether or not any consideration had been given to a distressed labor set-aside on a recent procurement of commercial trucks from the Ford Motor Co. I wish to advise you that such consideration was given in this case but a set-aside was considered impractical.

As you probably know the set-aside system prescribes the matching of quot ons between the set-aside and non-set-aside portions of a procurement. In procurements of commercial vehicles bids are evaluated by destination on the basis of prices quoted f.o.b. origin plus transportation to each destination. As a result each destination becomes a separate line item which, under the set-aside procedure, would have to undergo the splitting and matching process. In this, case Ford Motor Co. had nine assembly plants to be considered and Chevrolet had three. Additionally, there were approximately 200 different destinations for the vehicles. I think you will appreciate the permutations and combinations possible with 12 points of origin and 200 destinations. A further complicating factor is that neither of these manufacturers continuously assemble all types of trucks at each of their plants.

Taking all these factors into consideration was the determination of the procuring office that a set-aside was impracticable. It is to be noted, however, that although the assembly of these vehicles will not be performed in the Detroit area many of the components will be manufactured there and hence will provide some measure of relief to the distressed labor condition.

I hope this will answer your question. You may be sure that we concern ourselves constantly with the distressed labor situation and consideration is given to set-asides in every possible case.

Sincerely yours.

F. J. McMorrow, Brigadier General, U.S. Army, Assistant Chief of Ordnance.

> U.S. SENATE, Washington, D.C., May 14, 1959.

Brig. Gen. F. J. McMorrow, Assistant Chief of Ordnance, Office of the Chief of Ordnance, Department of the Army, Washington, D.C.

DEAR GENERAL McMorrow: Your letter of April 15, concerning the difficulties sur-rounding the application of a labor surplus set-aside to the procurement of commercial trucks has given me more insight into the problems that you face in this regard. The comments, together with a nonexpert's reading of the many announcements my office has received concerning awards for cars and trucks from the Office of the Chief of Ordnance, indicate to me that it is unreasonable to expect the Department of Defense to apply any set-aside procedures to this type of procurements.

Perhaps it is only accurate to draw this conclusion in those instances where vehicles are to be delivered to several different locations as was the case in the procurement of commercial trucks from the Ford Motor Co. It may be that my general assumption is wrong, but it occurs to me that in the long run I will have a better understanding of the limitations of labor surplus area setaside programs if I can delimit in my own mind the type of procurement activity to which such set-asides actually can be ap-

In addition to your comments on the above questions, I would appreciate your having assembled for me a set of announcements of contract awards for commercial trucks and cars that have been issued by the Office of the Chief of Ordnance during the past 12 months with an indication on each announcement of the firms, other than those awarded the contracts, which had made blds.

Thank you for your continued cooperation and assistance.

Sincerely,

PHILIP A. HART.

HEADQUARTERS. DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY, OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF ORDNANCE Washington, D.C., June 12, 1959. Hon. PHILIP A. HART, U.S. Senate.

DEAR SENATOR HART: This is with further reference to your letter of May 14, 1959. to Gen. F. J. McMorrow, concerning the type of procurements to which labor surplus area

set-asides can be applied.

Generally, all procurements over \$25,000 where the total quantity desired is sufficient to permit dividing into two economical production lots (one for the non-set-aside portion and the other for the set-aside portion), are considered suitable for the partial set-aside procedure. However, other factors may be present which might make the set-aside procedure impractical in a specific procurement. Among these factors are rates of delivery, timing of deliveries, multiple destination points, and multiple points from which each of the contractors may ship. In most procurements, these factors present no special problem to the use of the set-aside procedure, or means can be found to overcome any difficulties which arise. In the recent case of the procurement of commercial trucks, the set-aside was impracticable because of the combination of multiple destination points and multiple contractors' points of origin. However, since our discussions with you we have been attempting to develop a method which would permit the use of set-asides in our procurement of commercial vehicles. If we are successful, we shall apply the method on a trial basis to the first large commercial vehicle procurement in fiscal year 1960.

Typical items for which the Ordnance Corps has made surplus labor area setasides are ammunition metal components, rifles, repair parts for weapons, tactical vehicles, fire-control instruments, cleaning

components and antifreeze.

Enclosed as requested is a list of commercial vehicle awards reported by the Ordnance Tank-Automotive Command to the Department of Commerce for synop-sizing this fiscal year, together with the names of the unsuccessful bidders.

For the Chief of Ordnance:

Sincerely yours,

G. C. CARLSON, Brigadier General, P.S. Army, Assistant.

### Conversion of Salt Water to Fresh Water

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, an increasing shortage of watercoupled with mounting industrial and domestic demand—poses a national problem cleaving both State and regional

The problem is under attack on various fronts, ranging from the Federal to the local level.

One phase of the assault on the problem aims at finding an economical method of converting salt or brackish water to fresh water.

An editorial carried June 28, 1959, in the Philadelphia Bulletin discusses this conversion program in the perspective of long-range, national needs. It points out that steady population increase and growing use will make the water situation critical in many places by 1975 or 1980. But the editorial also expresses belief that the near future holds promise of a solution of this grave problem.

Because of the wide interest in this problem, one that touches virtually every phase of our economy, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

WATER, WATER EVERYWHERE AN EARLY LIKELI-HOOD

To people in areas where water is scarce and high priced, it seems odd that Philadelphia should be urging its residents to use more water. But the have-not regions may find themselves in the next 20 or 30 years possessed of supplies as adequate as are now to be found in the Delaware and the Schuylkill.

Arid areas in the Great Plains and the Southwest obtain their hope from five research projects now underway at Federal expense, and scores more privately financed. Three of the Federal plants are experimenting with conversion of sea water; two with brackish water from lakes and wells.

Steady population increase and growing use will make the water situation critical in many places by 1975 or 1980. Conversion methods will be needed by that time. In anticipation of it, Congress has made \$10 million available for the five Federal experi-

Hope for success lies almost entirely in cutting costs. Methods of converting salt to fresh water have been known for centuries. Cost now runs more than \$1 per 1,000 gallons. Engineers think this can be cut to 50 or 60 cents. The average water cost throughout the country is now 35 cents.

What full-scale plants, producing millions of gallons a day, would cost nobody yet knows. Pipeline distribution systems would be an added investment. But there is knowledge of the cost of irrigation systems. The Colorado-Big Thompson job, in full operation within a month, supplies water for 720,000 acres of crops and for 10 communities. Its cost was originally estimated at \$44 million. So far the outlay has been \$160 million.

The \$10 million being spent for the experimental water-conversion plants are but a beginning. With 15 or 20 years to go be-fore the water need becomes critical, scientists have far more time to solve the problems than they had when creation of an atomic bomb was their goal.

That is why arid areas have reason to be hopeful.

Study of Democratic Institutions at Santa Barbara, Calif.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. CLAIR ENGLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial from the New York Times of June 18,

announcing the move of the Fund for the Republic to California, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The Fund for the Republic is a nonprofit educational corporation estab-lished to promote the principles of individual liberty expressed in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. One aim of the fund-to present reports on the gravest issues facing our country today—is an especially worthwhile one in contributing to congressional understanding of the needs of a free society.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### STUDYING FREEDOM

For the past 2 years the Fund for the Republic has been making a continuous study of what it calls basic issues. This study is directed at clarifying fundamental questions concerning freedom and justice, especially those constitutional questions raised by the emerging power of 20th century institutions. The goal has been to stay within the frame-work of the Founding Fathers in maintaining a free, just and democratic society under contemporary conditions in this country. The study has resulted in a number of important pamphlets and reports on the corporations, labor unions, the common defense, religion, the schools, and the media of mass communications.

Now the fund announces that it is moving its headquarters from New York to Cali-fornia. A center for the Study of Democratic Institutions is being set up at Santa Barbara, hard by the new cultural center established there by the University of California. Two of the major projects of the fund—labor and political parties—already are centered at the university. Robert M. Hutchins, the fund's president, hopes to make the most of the opportunity of working with the faculty members. It is an interesting development for the fund to be closely linked to a campus—a thoughtful atmosphere for the important work that the fund is doing

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. President, it is California's good fortune to be the home of another educational organization which will focus attention to the State's progress in cultural achievements.

Soviet Views of Strauss Defeat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. BARRY GOLDWATER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, recently during my floor debate with the distinguished senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. Morse]. I mentioned that disturbing news had been coming to me from around the world as to not only the effects of the attacks on Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce, but also the effects of the attacks on Admiral Strauss. Just the other day I received a statement which was read in Russia, published by the Soviet Home Service, which went out over the radio there at 1600 Greenwich mean time on June 20, 1959. In order that my colleagues may see the point to which I was addressing myself-namely. the disturbing use of these attacks by the Communist Party around the world-I ask unanimous consent that the transcription be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the transcription was ordered to be printed in the

RECORD, as follows:

STRAUSS CUSTER DEFEAT FOR EISENHOWER

(Valentin Zorin commentary)

Recently we spoke to our listeners about how U.S. Secretary of Commerce Strauss, in an outburst of zeal and contrary to obvious facts, announced that the U.S. economy was flourishing. Alas, however, this excessive zeal on Strauss' part was not accessed cor rectly. As has become known, in accordance with the decision of the Senate, Straus yesterday was removed from his post. What happened? The fact is, according to the U.S. Constitution, the appointment of Secretary is made by the President of his discretion. But, this appointment has to be confirmed by the Senate.

A few months ago, after the resignation of millionaire Sinclair Weeks as Secretary Commerce, Eisenhower chose as his succession another first sor another financial magnate, Lewis Strauss who then began to fulfill the functions of

Secretary of Commerce.

Strauss is by no means a novice in official Washington. During the last few years he headed the Atomic Energy Commission. the same time, he has also been active in business sphere, being the financial advise of the Rockefeller's and a partner in one of the big Wall Street firms, Kuhn, Loeb, Co. This completely respectable figure, from the point of view of the ruling constant turned out to be appearance. turned out to be unacceptable to the Senate

Opposing the appointment of Straussemocratic Sensitive Democratic Senators said that in his previous Communications ious Government post, Strauss unashamedi utilized his powers for the enrichment of companies in which he himself occupied directing posts. And, insofar as the opposi-tion party, the Democrats, has a majorist in the Senate, the candidature of Strauss failed.

The thunder and lightning which the Sen ators cast at Strauss might seem strange at first sight. Corruption is quite normal for the U.S. Canital, and the the U.S. Capital, and the dark machinations the U.S. Capital, and the dark machinations of many highly placed figures by no means hinders their careers. However, in United States at present a campaign is ginning for the presidential election which will take place next year, and evidently beaders of the Democratic Party have leaders of the Democratic Party have cided to make use of the damaged reputation of Strauss, a Republican, in their own political interests.

It must be added that Strauss has called forth the discontent of those realistically thinking circles which support the widening of U.S.-Saviet trade of U.S.-Soviet trade relations. has tried in every way to throw a of tree into the machinery in the matter of two development of trade between the two countries. But his position in U.S. busines circles is now by no means so popular as it was, let us say, a year or two ago. It is not without reason that yesterday's voting in the U.S. Senate is looked the property of the contract of U.S. Senate is looked upon by U.S. dementators as one of the biggest political feats suffered by Electrical programment feats suffered by Eisenhower's government

A political scandal has broken in Washington: for the first time in the last third of a century, the U.S. Senate has turned of the candidature for the candidature for a ministerial post proposed by the White House says Prayda commenting on the refusal of the U.S. Senste approve the appointment of the U.S. Senste sapprove the u.S. Senste s approve the appointment of Lewis Straus as Secretary of Commerce, a post which has already held for has already held for some time.

The paper recalls that long before the discussion of his candidature in the Capital Lewis Strauss aroused the hatred of all hon-orable Americans. The U.S. public has torn the down and feathers from Strauss, and he has appeared before the country stark naked as a dyed in the wool reactionary and inveterate enemy of peace.

## Tributes to the Late Thomas J. Walsh

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON, JAMES E. MURRAY

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD two editorials about the late, great Senator Thomas J. Walsh, of Montana. One is entitled "Anniversary of a Great Montanan Observed," which appeared in the June 17 issue of the Billings Gazette. The other is entitled "Today We Honor Senator Walsh," and appeared in the June 12 issue of the Great Falls Tribune.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Billings (Mont.) Gazette, June 17, 1959]

ANNIVERSARY OF A GREAT MONTANAN OBSERVED A number of relatives and friends gathered at Resurrection Cemetery in Helena last Friday, June 12, to pay tribute to the memory of Thomas J. Walsh on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the birth of a great Montanan. After having won renown as one of the outstanding attorneys of his State and Nation, T. J. Walsh was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1913, the last person to be chosen to that body by the vote of the legislative assembly from Montana. After that, Senators were elected by direct vote of the people in accordance ance with the 17th amendment to the U.S.

Walsh's election was delayed for 2 years as the result of a deadlock in the 12th legislature. This attempt to select a successor to Senator Thomas H. Carter, another great Montan. Montanan, produced some more of the high doraman, produced some more of the marked the elections of U.S. Senators from Montana. Starting on the lower from Montana. the 10th day of that session, the 28 members of the senate, which then met in what is now the supreme court chamber, filed down to the present senate chamber where the house of representatives then sat and started voting for candidates for the U.S. Senate.

The Democrats had a majority of six on Joint ballot, but among them was a sufficient number of anti-Walsh men who cast their votes for different Democrats, including Senator W. B. George, of Billings, on different ballots, thus producing the deadlock. This continue the producing the deadlock. continued until the 60th, and final day, of the session, when balloting began at noon as usual. as usual and continued with no interrup-tion until about 8 o'clock that evening when Senator Edwards, Republican, of Rosebud, made a motion to adjourn the joint assembly sign made a motion to adjourn the joint assembly sign as it bly sine die. Had this motion carried, as it did initially by one vote, it would have meant that he also had be seen to be a seen to be that no election of a U.S. Senator would be

The Edwards motion would have been lost The Edwards motion would have been lost but for the fact that three Democrats, for reasons which can only be surmised, voted with the Republicans for adjournment which produced a tie. It was naturally assumed the tie would be broken in favor of adjournment by the presiding officer, Readjournment by the presiding officer, Republican Lt. Gov. W. R. Allen. Incidentally. in a later conversation with the writer, Gov ernor Allen, a native Montanan and highly conscientious public official, said, while the vote was being tabulated, he was doing some hard thinking trying to make up his mind whether to declare the motion out of order. He really doubted that the motion was in order but to have so ruled in that crisis would have forever put him in bad with his

The chief clerk of the house, the late Finley McRae, a Democrat, delayed announcing the total, a maneuver inspired by the hope that something might happen to change the result. That did happen when young Ronald Higgins, of Missoula, Republican, rose and changed his vote from "aye" to "no," which kept the session going. During the resulting confusion, Senator Walsh sent down word to the members on the floor who had been voting for him throughout, including the writer, then a senator from Fergus County, releasing them and a hurried conference between leaders of the two Democratic factions led to the election on the next ballot of Judge Henry L. Myers of Hamilton, later a resident of Billings.

Judge Myers had not been considered as a candidate and knew nothing of his election until he went downtown on an errand that evening and a friend told him he had just been elected U.S. Senator. He still thought his friend was spoofing him until he called Helena and had the report con-

That same legislative session enacted a preferential senatorial primary law prepared by Senators McCone, of Dawson, Everett, of Chouteau, and the writer. At the 1912 election, T. J. Walsh won the popular vote and when the 13th session was convened in 1913, he was placed in nomination and rereived the unanimous votes of the members of both houses.

During the 20 years he served in the U.S. Senate, the Montanan won enduring fame as one of the greatest constitutional authorities that ever sat in the body. He was chosen for the Cabinet position of Attorney General by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, but died while en route from Havana with his bride, a Spanish lady, the first Mrs. Walsh having died several years before, only a few days before he was to take office. One who had an opportunity to know Senator Walsh intimately for several years, has often wondered if the troubles President Roosevelt experienced with the U.S. Supreme Court which nullified some of his New Deal laws might not have been avoided had the brilliant Montanan lived to serve as the President's chief legal adviser at the head of the Justice Department.

[From the Great Falls (Mont.) Tribune, June 12, 1959]

TODAY WE HONOR SENATOR WALSH

A great man was born 100 years ago today. When Thomas James Walsh was born June 12, 1859, into a family of modest means in Two Rivers, Wis., few would have dared predict that the boy would become one of America's most distinguished Senators and one of Montana's most illustrious leaders.

Determined to become a lawyer, Walsh refused to permit adverse conditions to prevent him from reaching his goal. A man of high ideals, courage, and integrity, as well as competence, he became one of the most eminent attorneys in the West.

Walsh's sterling qualities also made him a leader in politics. A champion of the people and a true believer in democracy, Walsh was instrumental in helping win progressive reform measures such as the direct primary, the initiative and referendum, and the popular election of U.S. Senators.

Walsh's record in the Senate is a standout.

For example, his foresight made him one of For example, his foresignt made him one of the earliest influential backers of the St. Lawrence Seaway, which recently went into operation. His ability, integrity, courage, and fairness made him a leader in the Democratic Party. When he presided over the Democratic National Convention in 1924, he was introduced as "a real Democrat, and the greatest investigator in the history of the

It was Senator Walsh's brilliant investigation of the Teapot Dome oil scandal that made his name a byword in America. It was his role in that investigation that won him tributes from national leaders for being the first man in history who is worth a billion dollars to his Government in his own time.

Walsh's clear thinking as a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee earned him the respect of leaders of foreign nations.

When Montanans speak of great leaders, the name of Thomas J. Walsh is one of the first on their lips. It might be fitting, on this 100th anniversary of his birth, to start the ball rolling to place a statue of Senator Walsh in Montana's remaining niche in Statuary Hall in Washington, D.C. The Tribune, which suggested that editorially last January, thinks no finer selection could

But let's not take as long to get Senator Walsh into Statuary Hall as it did to get Charlie Russell there.

### Share Ownership in America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, we recognize that in our free-enterprise system, investments by our people in businesses and industries represent the lifeblood of the economy.

Over the years, the growth of shareowners in our economic enterprises illustrates not only the improving economic health of individuals; but also an ever-greater confidence in our free-enterprise system.

According to surveys, in 1952, one out of 16 adults owned stocks. In 1959, one out of eight adults owned stocks.

Today, over 12 million Americans own shares in corporations. Fortunately, too, these shareowners in America's future represent a broad cross section of the public, and of educational groups.

Today, our free enterprise systemtogether with our political institutions, philosophy, indeed, our very way of life—are in a battle for survival with communism.

If we are to survive, an even greater participation by the public in our eco-nomic future will be required—just as it will be necessary for more and more individuals to become sensitized to the political and philosophical challenges to our Nation.

However, I believe the growth of share ownership in corporations of this country represents confidence that more and more Americans are willing, and able, to invest in business and industry, and thus strengthen the economy and the fiber of the Nation

Recently, I received from Keith Funston, president of the New York Stock Exchange, a copy of Share Ownership in America.

Believing this picture of the remarkable growth of share ownership will help to provide a better idea of how Americans are investing in-as well as its importance to-our economy, I ask unanimous consent to have excerpts from the publication printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### HIGHLIGHTS

Twelve million four hundred ninety thousand Americans own shares in public corporations, nearly double the 1952 total 45 percent above 1956.

One out of eight adults is now a share-

Sixty-eight percent of the shareowners own stock listed on the New York Stock Ex-

The average shareowner has a median household income of \$7,000; comparable fig-

ure for new shareowners is \$6,900. Almost half of all shareowners are in the

\$5,000 to \$10,000 income range.

Median age of new shareowners (since 1956) is 35, compared to 49 for all shareowners.

Women outnumber men as shareowners by a somewhat larger margin than in 1956.

Four million housewives are shareownersthe largest single group of owners.

Adult shareowners are almost equally divided among those who attended college and those who did not.

One out of five shareowners first acquired stock through an employee stock purchase

Holders of shares in investment companies only number 1,235,000-four times the 1956 total.

California-second to New York in total shareowners—showed the greatest gain among the States since 1956. Pennsylvania moved into third place; Illinois dropped from third to fourth.

South Central and South Atlantic regions showed the largest percentage increase in shareowners from 1956 to 1959.

SHAREOWNERSHIP IN UNITED STATES HAS AL-MOST DOUBLED SINCE 1952

The number of individuals owning shares in publicly-held corporations reached 12,-490,000 in early 1959.

This total represents an increase of 45 percent since early 1956, when the stockholder population numbered 8,630,000. The 1959 figure is nearly double the 1952 figure of 6,490,000.

More than two-thirds (8,510,000) of American shareowners hold stocks listed on the New York Stock Exchange. This is almost equal to the total shareowning population in 1956.

Some 2,700,000 own shares traded on other exchanges or over-the-counter-a figure nearly double the 1956 total. An additional 1,235,000 shareowners hold only investment company shares. This is four times the total three years ago.

America's 12,490,000 stockholders are part owners of 5,100 publicly-held companies, which, in early 1959, had 10.2 billion shares of stock outstanding.

On the average, America's shareowners hold 3,5 different stock issues, compared to 4.25 in 1956.

The 1959 Census was concerned exclusively with shareowners of public corporations, but two other types of shareowners should be Shareowners of private corporations—those with less than 300 shareowners or whose shares are not available for purchase by the general public. In 1956-the latest which data are available-1,400,000 individuals owned shares in privately-held companies only;

Indirect shareowners whose savings in life insurance companies, pension funds, mutual savings banks, and other financial institu-tions are invested in part in equity securities. An estimated 110 million Americans are indirect shareowners.

WOMEN INCREASE LEAD OVER MEN SHAREOWNERS

The proportion of women in the Nation's shareowning population increased slightly from 1956 to 1959.

Women now account for 52.5 percent of all adult shareowners, compared to 51.4 percent in 1956. Men comprise 47.5 percent of the total. Three years ago, the proportion was 48.6 percent.

Among new shareowners only, women outnumbered men by an even greater margin, 56.3 to 43.7 percent.

However, the number of shareowners per thousand among men, 114, is virtually the same as it is among women, 115.

For the first time, census data show how shareowners first acquired stock, and these findings indicate that women are playing a more active role in the investment process than had been generally assumed,

Among all women shareowners:

Forty-two percent purchased shares through brokers.

Twenty-five percent acquired stock through companies they work for.

Seventeen percent received their shares through gifts or inheritance.

Sixteen percent acquired their shares through banks or were not classified.

ONE IN EIGHT ADULTS OWNS STOCK; AVERAGE NEW INVESTOR IS AGED 35.

Nowhere is the recent increase in shareownership more clearly illustrated than by these facts:

In 1959, one out of eight adults owns stocks.

In 1956, 1 out of 12 adults owned stocks. In 1952, 1 out of 16 adults owned stocks.

This rapid rise of direct shareownership among the adult population has encompassed all age groups, although the largest gains since 1956 were recorded in the 45 to 54 and the 65 and older age groups. Both showed increases of more than 1 million shareowners.

The smallest net increase, 200,000, took place in the 21 to 34 category. This modest gain occurred because the heavy inflow of new shareowners to this age group was almost completely offset by the number of shareowners who were in their early thirties in 1956 and who moved into the next higher age bracket, 35 to 44 years.

The median age of new shareowners is 35 For the total shareowning population, the median age is 49, compared to 48 in 1956.

Shareownership occurs most often in the 55 to 64 age bracket, with one out of six a shareowner. The 45 to 54 and 65 and older groups, with one out of seven, are next highest.

AVERAGE SHAREOWNER HAS \$7,000 HOUSEHOLD INCOME

The median household income of the Nation's shareowners has risen to \$7,000 from \$6,200 3 years ago. This 12-percent increase is about the same as the estimated rise in the average family income of the entire population.

Almost half of all shareowners are in the \$5,000 to \$10,000 income bracket; and 23 percent have household incomes above \$10,000. a year.

Shareowners with incomes below \$5,000 declined in the 3-year period from 38 percent of the total to 29 percent. One-quarter of this group are retired persons, students, and others who are not employed.

One out of six people with household incomes of \$7,500 or more is a stockholder compared with 1 out of 16 people in the \$5,000 to \$7,500 bracket and 1 out of 25 people under \$5,000.

Among new shareowners since 1956, the median income is \$6,900—only slightly below that of all shareowners. Fifty-five percent have household incomes between \$5,000 and \$10,000, and 20 percent are in the \$10,000and-over category.

Stocks are by no means the only investments held by shareowners, whether they are new shareowners since 1956 or long-time investors. Census findings show that:

Eighty-one percent have life insurance. Eighty percent have savings accounts.

Sixty-eight percent own their own homes. Fifty-nine percent have U.S. Government

Thirty-seven percent have pension plans. No attempt was made to measure the dollar value of stockholdings by various shareowner groups because of the confidential nature of the information and other difficulties involved in obtaining accurate data through survey methods.

SHAREOWNERS EQUALLY DIVIDED AMONG ALL EDUCATIONAL GROUPS

Shareowners are fairly evenly divided among the four major educational groups-However, as in the case of income, shareownership moves up sharply with the amount of formal education.

Almost 4 out of 10 adult Americans who are college graduates own shares in public corporations. This is roughly four times the rate among high school graduates, and eight times the rate. times the ratio among those who did not complete high school.

All told, 51 percent of the adult share owners have had some college training, com

pared to 48 percent in 1956.

Between 1956 and 1959, the largest relative gains were among persons with 1 to 3 years of college (19 to 21 percent) and those with 3 years or less of this of college (19 to 21 percent) and those per 3 years or less of high school (19 to 23 per pho cent). The proportion of shareowners W completed high school but who did not at tend college declined from 33 to 26 percent.

The average (median) shareowner is a high school graduate. His 1956 counterpart had completed 3 years of high school.

MANAGERIAL, PROFESSIONAL GROUPS GAIN; HOUSEWIVES NOW NUMBER 4 MILLION

Two leading occupational groups man agerial and professional—enhanced their relative importance in the total shareown ing population during the past 3 years. Each ing population during the past 3 years. Each showed a gain of nearly 1 million share

A smaller occupational group amons shareowners—operatives and laborers—was the only other category to increase its proportion of the shareowner total—from 2 to 3 percent. 3 percent.

women) are still by far the largest single occupational group among shareowners, just nonemployed as they are the largest group in the country's total adult try's total adult population. Four million shareowners are in this category, a gain of more than 1 million in

The fourth largest occupational group declined from 18 to 15 percent of the total clerical and sales-increased in numbers

Better than one in four adults in the professional or semiprofessional fields is a shareowner, compared to one in six in 1956.

The proportion of product to one in six in and The proportion of proprietors, managers, and officials who are shareowners also increased,

Among nonemployed adult males mainly retired persons—1 in 7 is now a shareowner,

Except for housewives, clerical and sales was the leading occupational group among new shareowners since 1956, accounting for 21 percent of the total.

Seventeen percent of the new shareowners were in professional and semiprofes-sional occupations, and 11 percent were in managerial occupations.

EMPLOYEE STOCK PURCHASE PLANS CONTRIBUTE TO SHAREOWNER GROWTH

Employee stock purchase plans have contributed materially to the increase in share-Ownership. Such plans, in a variety of forms, are available to employees of many publicly owned companies.

The importance of employee stock pur-chase plans is shown by these findings:

More than 2,500,000 shareowners (21 percent of the total) acquired their first shares through company plans.

An even larger proportion of new share-owners since 1956—27 percent—first acquired stock through this method.

An estimated 1,340,000 shareowners are now investing regularly through employee stock purchase plans.

Related census findings show that share-Owners are heavily in favor of owning shares owners are heavily in favor of owning state in the companies they work for. Of the shareowners employed by public corporations, 83 percent—or a total of 2,580,000—are

are stockholders in their own ocmpanies. Nine out of ten shareowners-including housewives and the other millions who do not work for public corporations—believe it is a good thing for employees to own shares in their own companies.

The major reason they cite is that the ownership of stock encourages greater employee incentive and interest in the company's activities.

SHAREOWNERS INCREASE IN LARGE CITIES; RURAL AREAS SHOW DECLINE

Since 1956, the largest increase in shareownership has occurred in the larger cities. Twenty-eight percent of all shareowners now live in cities of 500,000 or more population, compared to 20 percent 3 years ago.

The only other notable gain occurred in cities of 25,000 or 100,000 population, which now account for 19 percent of the total, compared to 14 percent in 1956. This increase was accompanied by a decline from 31 to 29 percent in shareowners residing in cities of 2,500 to 25,000 population, perhaps reflecting the expansion of many smaller communities into medium-sized

A major shift in shareowner population occurred in the rural areas, which decreased substantially both in actual numbers and percent of the totals. In 1956, almost 1.600,000 people in rural areas owned shares; by 1959, the total had dropped to slightly more than 1 million. Thus, rural areas now account for only 8 percent of the total shareautre. shareowner population, compared to 19 percent 3 years ago. The development may re-flect two factors: a decline in the number of farman of farmers who own shares; and a relatively smaller percentage of the total population now living in rural areas.

### SIDELIGHTS

During the past 3 years the geographical center of the shareowner population moved southwest from Kosciusko County (Warsaw). Ind., and is now in Sangamon County

An estimated 1,335,000 shareowners are members of labor unions.

One million two hundred and seventy-five thousand out of 6,347,000 women share-owners are to be outowners are housewives who have jobs out-

An estimated 136,000 members of the armed services own shares in public corpo-

Fifty thousand U.S. citizens living in 33 foreign countries own shares.

Among adult shareowners, women outnumber men in four of the five age groups. The exception is the "65 or over" category.

Excluding holdings in joint accounts and names of brokers and nominees, men hold 2.3 billion shares and women 2 billion.

Bergeley, Hartford, Pasadena, Rochester, St. Petersburg and Wilmington lead all other large cities in the proportion of shareholders to total population. In each of these cities. better than one out of five persons owns

Nearly half the 1,936,000 shareowners in New York State live in New York City.

Foreign shareowners are holders of 606 million shares of stock in public corporations-or 5.9 percent of the total outstand-

### Alaska's Airlines

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. ERNEST GRUENING

OF ALASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. GRUENING. - Mr. President. Alaskans are the flyingest of all Americans. They fly 30 to 40 times more than other Americans, either measured in passenger miles per capita or flights per capital.

Aviation got its start in Alaska and achieved its relatively greater importance there partly because in the early days of the century, when flying was in its infancy, this new method of transportation appealed to the pioneer spirit of Alaskans, and also because in the absence of highways, which Alaska still lacks lamentably, flying was the only way to get around that vast area.

Most of the intra-Alaskan lines, and two connecting with the States, were started by bush pilots. These intrepid aviators were without benefit of airfields or radio range stations. The Alaskan pilot would merely hold a moistened finger up to the breeze and take off. The only landing fields were small clearings in the wilderness, beaches, sandbars in rivers, lakes, and coastal waterways with pontoon equipment, or in winter on the snow-covered tundra with skis.

Among the bush pilots who have gradually developed fine airlines, through initiative, enterprise, organizing ability, hard work, and vision, is Art Woodley. An excellent article on his career and progress from bush pilot to head of a major airline appeared in the Sunday edition of the New York Times, which tells how Woodley built up his service between Anchorage, Kodiak, Juneau, Ketchikan, and Seattle-Tacoma. He is by no means the only Alaskan bush pilot who, starting from scratch, has thus built up his own airline. Others are the Wien brothers, Sigurd and Noel, Ray Petersen, Merle Smith, the late Haakon Christiansen, Bob Ellis, Bob Reeve, and Sheldon Simmons. Theirs have been stirring adventures culminating in achievement. They have done much to open up and develop Alaska.

I ask unanimous consent that this article on Art Woodley be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

[From the New York Times, June 28, 1959] PERSONALITY: PIONEER ON TOP OF THE WORLD-FORMER BUSH PILOT HEAD OF ALASKA'S NO. 1 AIRLINE

#### (By Robert E. Bedingfield)

Arthur Woodley went to Alaska in the summer of 1928 to visit a brother, who was a missionary. He returned to Alaska 3 years later to become a kind of secular missionary himself, determined to lure 2,500,000 of his fellow Americans to enjoy the bounties and beauties of the new 49th State within the next decade.

As president of Pacific Northern Airlines, Mr. Woodley has a certain pecuniary interest in getting all those people into Alaska, but the fervor with which he extols the advantages and opportunities of the State goes far beyond that of someone who is just try-

ing to make a tidy living.

A pioneer bush pilot, Mr. Woodley has thrived in Alaska. He started out with one rickety Bellanca on pontoons 28 years ago. Now he owns nearly one-third of the stock of a \$10 million sirling.

With a fleet of six Lockheed Constellations and three DC-3's, Pacific Northern is the largest carrier of all classes of traffic in Alaskan air service. It transports twice as many passengers in and out of the State as its second biggest competitor, Pan American Airways. In the 28 years of operations it has had an extraordinary good safety record, with no fatalities.

#### ALASKA A FERTILE FIELD

The head of an airline operating in Alaska-there are 10 certificated lines serving the State—is in the happy position from which Henry Ford and W. C. Durant have long since evicted the railroad tycoons of two generations ago.

Throughout much of the State, when one wants to move from place to place, it is still pretty much a matter of flying, riding a dog sled, walking, or paddling a canoe. If one's time is money, the airplane rules supreme.

The obvious future of air transportation was readily impressed upon Mr. when he first visited his brother in Alaska.

In an interview last week, he recalled that in 1928, "the only road in Anchorage, the largest city, was a 15-mile loop highway that started in the center of town and returned to town. There were no roads of any nature whatsoever connecting any two settlements. It was clear that aviation would have more meaning in the Territory—I still haven't gotten used to calling it a State—than anywhere else.

In 1928, when Mr. Woodley made his first trip, he was 22 years old and working as an automobile salesman in Boston. He had spent 3 years (1925-27) at Canisius College in Buffalo, but "quit Canisius because I felt I was just wasting my time going to college,"

"However, while I was in Alaska I met Dan Sutherland," he added, "who then was Delegate to Congress and, with his help, obtained an appointment to the Army Air Corps Flying School."

#### START OF CAREER

By the fall of 1931, Mr. Woodley was in the Reserve and spending much of his time flying his own plane, a Fleet training biplane, at Roosevelt Field on Long Island. Although his brother, whom he had taught to fly during the summer, had been killed on a hunting trip in Alaska, Mr. Woodley decided after the funeral to head directly for Anchorage on his own, flying a Bellanca all the way from New York.

"I started what today would constitute a charter service, flying anywhere anyone wanted to go in Alaska. Business was very good, if for no other reason than the convenience and economy," he said. days, it took a dogteam a month to make the trip from Anchorage to Nome and it cost \$750. With my plane I charged \$150 and it took only 5 or 6 hours."

After several months, Woodley Airways, as Mr. Woodley named his business, began a weekly flight between Anchorage and Kuskokwim, a mining area, and to Bristol Bay, famous for its fishing, "to more or less in-culcate the idea that there was at least a qausi-scheduled service available," Mr. Woodley explained.

By 1940, in the hope of arranging some permanent financing so he could acquire more planes—his fleet by then had grown to several trimotor Stinsons-Mr. Woodley applied to the Civil Aeronautics Board for a mail-pay subsidy and a permanent certificate to operate between Anchorage and Juneau. The application was turned down on the basis that the service was not required.

"I immediately petitioned for permission to operate regular service without a Government mall-pay subsidy, to demonstrate how very wrong they were," Mr. Woodley said. While the business grew, it was 1946, after he had reapplied for a route certificate between Anchorage and Seattle, before Mr. Woodley finally got the Anchorage-Juneau permanent certificate he had sought in 1940.

Today, with a subsidy of \$2 million a year the company operates over 1,200 permanently cerificated route miles within Alaska, serving Anchorage, Juneau, Kodiak, King Salmon, Cordoya, Kenai, Homer, and Ketchikan. It also operates a 1,580-mile route direct from Portland and Seattle and a 1.441-mile direct route from the Pacific Northwest to Kodiak.

Although Pacific Northern's routes embrace areas that serve about 80 percent of Alaska's population af about 250,000 and the State's most important cities and communities, Mr. Woodley isn't yet through with plans for expanding his line. He has applied for permission to extend service to San Diego, Calif., and also to Hawaii. Meanwhile, he is surveying the market for jet and turboprop equipment, with the expectation of upgrading his company's planes within the next year or two.

#### MERGER REJECTED

About 2 years ago, when Congress made all route certificates in Alaska permanent for their holders, the White House urged the Civil Aeronautics Board to determine whether the industry would be strengthened by a merger of two or more Alaskan carriers. response to the President's mandate, Pacific Northern explored the possibility of merger with Alaskan Airlines, which flies from Seattle to Fairbanks.

"We came to the conclusion," Mr. Woodley said, "that there would be no advantage to consolidation. We feel it would not be in the public interest or to our advantage, since our lines are noncompetitive."

Mr. Woodley confidently looks for 1959 to be the best year in Pacific Northern's history. He estimates that in the first half it will fiv more than 63,000 passengers, 13 percent more than in the 1958 period, and expects a record of 150,000 passengers for the full year. Last year it carried 130,000 passengers.

Gross revenues for the 6 months to June 30 are estimated at \$5,242,000, or 13 percent above last year's by Mr. Woodley and he ex-pects operating income and net income to be comfortably in the black." In the first half of last year the company operated in the red, although it finished 1958 with an operating profit of \$805,000 and a net income of \$400,000.

Mr. Woodley, who was born on February 15, 1906, in Elmira, N.Y., is the picture of an Alaskan out of a remake of "The Spoilers." He carries more than 210 pounds without a suggestion of fat. While he doesn't actually

hunt bears with a switch, he does like to rough it with his three young sons in the rugged San Juan area of Puget Sound.

They reach their camping sites by a 42foot cruiser from Seattle, where the Woodley family lives and where the line has its executive headquarters.

### Resistance to Integration in the North

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina, Mr. President, I send to the desk an editorial from the Charleston (S.C.) News and Courier, entitled, "Parents Protest March in New York Reveals Resistance to Integration," which appeared in the June 27, 1959, edition.

This editorial points up the rising unrest in the North which is resulting from forced integration of people who otherwise wish to remain segregated. I ask that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

[From the News and Courier, June 27, 1959] PARENTS PROTEST MARCH IN NEW YORK RE-VEALS RESISTANCE TO INTEGRATION

The protest picketing of New York's City Hall by 300 white parents Thursday is an indication of increasing open opposition to forced race mixing in the Nation's largest city. The parents carried signs which read, "Don't tread on us." They were protesting plans to transport 1,000 Negroes and Puerto Ricans from tough Brooklyn neighborhoods into the orderly and respectable borough of Queens.

No doubt the "liberal" press, edited by men who live in safely white neighborhoods and apartment buildings, will deplore the protest march. No matter how much they deplore the action against forced mixing, they will not be able to cover up the social reality of New York today. The reality consists of respectable, middle-class areas such as Queens under heavy racial pressure approved by the political powers-that-be. This pressure has resulted in counterpressures, of which the protest march is an

The polltical pressure on whites who speak their minds is evident in the transfer, reported in the New York Times, of a police captain who spoke against the pupil transfer at a public meeting. Capt. Adrian P. Donohue was shifted from Queens to an unpleasant assignment in Manhattan. No doubt the punishment of Captain Donohue will only create sympathy for him in Queens and stiffen resistance to pressure from City Hall.

The real issue behind the protest picketing is identical with the basic issue in southern communities. It is whether law-abiding whites who have good personal standards are to be subjected to the domination of a racial group with lower standards. Liberals North and South who demand Justice for Negroes ignore the crime and other unpleasant realities which cause whites in New York City to seek racial separation.

By their control of the press, the liberals make it difficult for whites in New York City or below the Mason-Dixon line to protect

themselves. We believe, however, that in time hypocritical liberals will no longer be able to control the situation. People with decent standards will regain control of their communities.

Public Power Electric Rate the Same as It Was in 1912 in Roseville, Calif.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. CLAIR ENGLE

OF CALTROPNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. President, I wonder how many commodities or services sell today for the same price they did almost a half century ago. One, at least, is public power in California. As evidence submit for the Appendix of the RECORD & news article from the Sacramento Bee of June 11, 1959, entiled "Roseville Electric Rate Charge Is Same as 1912, Year Service Started."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ROSEVILLE ELECTRIC RATE CHARGE IS SAME AS 1912, YEAR SERVICE STARTED

ROSEVILLE, PLACER COUNTY .- When the city of Roseville was incorporated 50 years ago one of the many problems faced by the first city council was the lack of adequate electrical trical service. Within a year the groundwork had been laid for the municipal electric de partment.

Because of this action, Roseville residents now obtain electricity at rates which pre-vailed in 1912, the year the municipal electric department was founded.

Records in the city hall indicate a small electric system owned by E. D. Lehe served the city from 1908 until 1910 when it was purchased by the control of the control o purchased by the Pacific Gas & Electric Co.

NINETEEN HUNDRED AND TEN BOND ISSUE

In June 1910, a city election authorized bond issue of \$10,000 for a municipal electric system. City Engineer U. S. Marshall est mated the value of the existing system to \$9,600 and a committee was appointed to negotiate for its purchase.

The prevailing rate for electricity was cents a kilowatt-hour and Marshall esti-mated the city could cut the rate in the stated the He stated the city could produce its own power for 21/2 cents per kilowatt-hour should not pay more than 2 cents per kilowatt-hour watt-hour for watt-hour if it purchased energy from some

In December 1911, the Great Westers Power Co. offered to furnish power to the city for 1½ cents per kilowatt-hour.

PACIFIC GAS & ELECTRIC OFFERS TO SELL

Pacific Gas & Electric turned down an offer of \$10.000 for its distribution system but 2 months later offered to sail for that but 2 months later offered to sell for the price and furnish power for the same figure

quoted by Great Western.

Great Western countered with an offer to duplicate the Pacific Gas & Electric system and supply current to the city for 10 years for 1 cent per kilowatt-hour. This offer was accepted and the municipal system. for I cent per kilowatt-hour. This offer was accepted and the municipal system into operation August 31, 1912, with customers. customers.

Pacific Gas & Electric retaliated by 10% ing it rates and signing up customer ale 3-year contracts at a flat monthly per City records report constant friction

tween the city and Pacific Gas & Electric until 1920 when the city bought the Pacific Gas & Electric distribution system for \$6,539. By that time, Pacific Gas & Electric had swallowed up its smaller competitor, Great Western.

Under an agreement approved by the California Railroad Commission, predecessor to the public utilities commission, Pacific Gas & Electric continued to serve the Southern Pacific Co. and Pacific Pruit Express Co. installations here.

In its first 8 years of operation the municipal electric department, despite stiff competition, accumulated a surplus of more than \$10,000, more than enough to buy the competing system.

Since then, residents of Roseville, through atronage of their own electric department, have built a distribution system with a replacement value of \$750,000. They spent more than \$200,000 during the last 3 years to modernize and expand the system without incurring any bonded indebtedness and have set aside \$65,000 in depreciation reserves.

City Manager David C. Koester said one of the most significant points in the history of the electrical department is that since 1941 it has contributed more than \$1,500,000 to the general operation of the city.

## U.S. Ambassador to Mexico, Robert C. Hill, Answers Big Lies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON, BARRY GOLDWATER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, we in the United States are very fortunate in having Mr. Robert C. Hill represent us as our Ambassador to Mexico. I have spent a good deal of my life on the border, and have lived with the Mexican people for many years of my life, so this has been a point of very tender interest to me as I have watched our ambassadors work.

I have always maintained, Mr. President, that Mr. William O'Dwyer was one of our outstanding ambassadors, but how I must place Robert C. Hill even above him. Mr. Hill has become very popular in Mexico. He has been un-hesitant about speaking against communism and against those people who want to change our form of government and other forms of government.

Mr. President, the other day Mr. Hill was invited to the American Institute for Foreign Trade, which is an outstanding school near my home city of Phoenix, Ariz., to deliver the commencement address. I ask unanimous consent that editorial comment regarding Ambassador Hill, published in the Arizona Republic of June 5, 1959, entitled "Answering Big Lie," be printed in the Appendix of the English of the E pendix of the RECOED:

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Rec-ORD, as follows:

## Answering Big Lies

The American Institute for Foreign Trade and its president, Dr. Carl Sauer, should be congratulated for inviting U.S. Ambassador to Mexico, Robert C. Hill, to deliver this

year's commencement address at the institute. Ambassador Hill is obviously a very well-informed, level-headed, and blunt speaking Government official. He delivered an excellent address, speaking mainly on Russia and the Soviet economic system, which he knows at first hand. Mr. Hill referred to Russia as a paper tiger and stressed that nearly all reports concerning Soviet economic and industrial achievement are highly exaggerated. The United States, the Ambassador explained, is many years in advance of Soviet economic development. The Communist system, he added, is built on the sweat, the blood, and the misery of the people, while its leaders have the gall to boast of economic progress. To believe these boasts, Ambassador Hill concluded, is to fall victim to Communist propaganda.

We are very happy to note that a high ranking State Department official should talk sense concerning the Soviet economic progress. The Arizona Republic has maintained, for many years, that the Soviet economic offensive is nothing but a myth. When Moscow's Nikita Ehrushchev boasted a year or two ago that Soviet Russia would win the economic war of peaceful production against the United States, many prominent U.S. political leaders and Washington diplomatic observers were greatly impressed. Foreign-aid handouts were defended by Washington bureaucrats on the ground that the United States must win the economic war against Soviet Russia. The fight against communism, it was argued, had to be waged in the economic field, as Communist economic weapons were supposedly proving more deadly than political or military weapons.

But, as Ambassador Hill rightly observed, most Soviet statistics are pure propaganda figures. We should never forget that cial Soviet spokesmen, including the talkative Mr. K., are not ordinary llars; they are "big lie" liars. In stressing the importance of peaceful trade in their struggle for world supremacy the Reds have two aims in mind-to assure that their lying propaganda gets the widest possible publicity in the United States, and to fool American public opinion as to the real nature of the Soviet danger. Americans who are impressed by these Soviet lies and repeat them as arguments concerning U.S. foreign policy are perhaps unconscious, but nevertheless effective, Communist dupes.

## A Study of Rehabilitation Facilities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. JAMES E. MURRAY

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, the June 21, 1959, issue of the New York Times carried a very interesting article entitled "Health in Montana," written by Howard A. Rusk, M.D., the Times' medical editor. This article, datelined in Billings, Mont., tells of the great work being done by the Montana Association for Rehabilitation. Favorable mention is made, too, of the Montana Center for Cerebral Palsy and Handicapped Children located on the campus of Eastern Montana College of Education in Billings, and St. Vincent's Hospital's rehabilitation center operated by the Sisters of Charity also in Billings. The article describes the activities of the

Montana State Board of Health, and that of the Public Health Service, which is doing fine work in improving the health of our Indian population.

Dr. Rusk concludes that the work of the Montana Association for Rehabilitation, "is a splendid example of community planning that of necessity must be statewide, and of the grassroots interest in seeing that every disabled American, no matter where he lives, has the opportunity for modern rehabilitation services."

Mr. President, I am very proud of the people of Montana who are leading out in this very important health work. I am proud, too, that the Congress has appropriated \$1 million to enable the Commissioner of Education to assist public or nonprofit institutions and State educational agencies in training professional personnel to conduct training of teachers in fields related to education of mentally retarded children. This appropriation will implement the law we passed last year, which was based upon a bill introduced by the senior Senator from Alabama, which I cosponsored.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous con-sent to have Dr. Rusk's article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, June 21, 1959] HEALTH IN MONTANA-A STUDY OF REHABILI-TATION FACILITIES IN STATE PRAISES COMMU-NITY PLANNING

#### (By Howard A. Rusk, M.D.)

BILLINGS, MONT .- Time is being rolled back here this weekend, and Billings for a few days has become a television western come true.

The town is full of both real and makebelieve cowboys and bearded miners from all parts of Montana and even Oregon and Wyoming. This is Go Western Week in Billings, and leading the parade is the Cisco Kid in full regalia.

But while most of Billings frolicked in

memories of the past a group of 125 professional and civic leaders spent Wednesday and Thursday in serious study. They looked forward-not back.

The occasion was the annual conference of the Montana Association for Rehabilitation. This group, now completing its second year, was formed after three statewide meetings were held to discuss the further development of rehabilitation in Montana.

Because of the great complexity of health, welfare, and rehabilitation services in large cities, one usually thinks of the need for coordinated planning and cooperation to be greater in urban than in rural areas.

#### NEED FOR PLANNING CITED

Montana's leaders dispute this. Montana, with less than 700,000 population, is the Nation's fourth largest State geographically. As they say out here, "There is a lot of space between people." This means that district or area planning must be done to make maximum use of available funds and limited trained rehabilitation personnel.

The cross-country traveler on one of the three great trains that serve the Northwestthe Great Northern Empire Builder, Milwaukee Hiawatha, and Northern Pacific North Coast Limited-will enter Montana about 4 a.m. and leave the State at about 10 p.m. He will travel 800 miles, cross the Continental Divide and see hundreds of miles of open ranch lands. (Horses rank second only to cars as a cause of accidents in Montana.)

Despite the great distance, the caseworker for any of the various agencies of the State or private organizations, particularly the counselors of the Montana Bureau of Vocational Rehabilitation, will still know the names of patients and clients in both ends of the State.

Billings is Montana's largest center of population. Here, in 1947, under grants of an experimental and research nature, was established the Montana Center for Cerebral Palsy and Handicapped Children. In 10 years its caseload has jumped from 43 to 510 children.

The center is on the campus of the Eastern Montana College of Education, a unit of the State university system. It attracts many visitors as an example of how complex services requiring a variety of highly skilled professional workers can be provided in a rural State.

Billings' newest rehabilitation resource is St. Vincent's Hospital's new rehabilitation department, which provides comprehenive services for both inpatients and outpatients. The center was developed from an existing orthopedic hospital and school, with the aid of a Federal grant.

The Sisters of Charity, who operate the center with the assistance of a lay advisory board that includes handleapped individuals, have exerted tremendous influence in developing interest and support for rehabilitation. Many patients come to the center from surrounding States, particularly from Wyoming, whose northern population is largely dependent on Billings for specialist medical care.

Billings also has a section of the State's mental hygine clinic private psychiatric facilities and the State's largest public health nursing group.

The community also has a cleft-lip-cleftpalate team sponsored by the Montana State Board of Health under the crippled children's program of the Federal Children's Bureau. Of the 46 such teams in the Nation, 3 are in Montana.

#### AID FOR INDIANS IMPROVED

Medical leaders in the State report there has been considererable improvement in medical services for the State's 16,500 Indians since this responsibility was transferred to the U.S. Public Health Service a few years ago. Rehabilitation is extremely difficult for most handicaped Indians, because of their lack of motivation. Many use their disabilities as an excuse for not working, and if they are pressed to accept rehabilitation services they frequently slip across the border into Canada for a few months.

Tomorrow the now-bearded citizens of Billings will be clean-shaven and their cowboy outfits will be put away until nextyear's Go Western Week. The Montana Association for Rehabilitation, however, will be busy until next year's conference implementing the objectives of last week's meeting.

Its work is a splendid example of community planning that of necessity must be statewide, and of the "grass-roots" interest in seeing that every disabled American, no matter where he lives, has the opporunity for modern rehabilitation services.

## Proposed Reappraisal of Military and Strategic Objectives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. HENRY M. JACKSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, retiring Chief of Staff, U.S. Army, speaking before the National Press Club, on Thursday, June 25, 1959, made an impressive plea for a reappraisal of our military and strategic objectives and of our requirements to meet these objectives. The highlight of his speech is the parable of the unhappy mess sergeant, which no one should miss.

I ask unanimous consent that the transcript of General Taylor's remarks be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TRANSCRIPT OF REMARKS OF GEN. MAXWELL D. TAYLOR, RETIRING CHIEF OF STAFF, U.S. ARMY, BEFORE THE NATIONAL PRESS CLUB, WASHINGTON, D.C., JUNE 25, 1959

Mr. President, gentlemen of the Press Club, and their guests, I am very much honored and very happy to return here to the Press Club for the third time during my tour as Chief of Staff. You were good enough to ask me as one of my first appearances after assuming this office in 1955. You gave me an interim appearance about a year and a half ago, and now I am here in my last public appearance in this uniform as the retiring Chief of Staff.

I am afraid that Mr. Lawrence has overbilled my appearance as one in which I would render a report on the 4 years in which I have occupied this post. I would rather turn it over to you in a question period to develop those aspects which interest you.

Nothing is more dangerous than to turn an old soldier loose on his career.

I want to thank you gentlemen as members of the club and also as representatives of the media of the United States for the very considerate way in which you have treated the Chief of Staff and the service which he represents.

I am always impressed with the difficulty which faces you gentlemen who comment on and study and report on the national security and related matters.

Certainly, we who wear the uniform and are the official representatives of these activities have not made it easy for you.

First, our problems are increasingly complex. They are difficult to define and in many areas, it is very difficult to establish the facts.

We have made it additionally complex by developing a jargon of our own that is becoming more or less notorious about the country, and so in an area when even the experts have only limited facts and have to predict and estimate the effects and the potential effects of weapons, for example which don't exist and which may never exist, obviously, the reporter who wants to present the problem with clarity to the public is in a serious disadvantage.

I think the best we could hope for is to find those men who are closest to the facts and have access to them and then hope they will use them with intelligence and with sincerity.

I have a friend in the Adjutant General's Department who knows my weakness for the reading of the pros and the comments found on officers' efficiency reports. You get some really delicious literary gems from time to time.

One was brought to me quite recently which described an officer who obviously was a pretty hot shot. He was all right. He had a brilliant potential, but the final sentence of the rating officer had, with a note of regret, this to say. He said:

gret, this to say. He said:
"Unfortunately, this officer is often confused when giving conflicting orders."
[Laughter.]

I said. "Put in that file—'not qualified for service in Washington."

So I feel, indeed, that some of our best citizens as they contemplate the problems of national events and try to understand them would admit to the same disability; that while they don't receive a conflicting audience, nonetheless the conflicting views of the experts make it difficult to arrive at a sound conclusion as to how we are doing in national defense.

Now, from this point of view I might well be justified in backing away from making any sort of valedictory statement today. Everybody knows that the generals and admirals are talking too much and this might be an excellent occasion to demonstrate restraint. However, it did occur to me that I might perform a limited service in taking some basic statement relating to our defense and express it first in that opaque way which is characteristic of a professional statement and then prove what I believe to be the case that namely, complex as our problems are, most of them lend themselves to lay interpretation.

themselves to lay interpretation.

It is possible to make this thing plain if one goes to the necessary trouble. So I would lead off and make a declaration of sincere belief, namely, that one of the great problems we are faced with in our country today is the need for a complete reappraisal of our military and strategic objectives in the light of the changes which have occurred in the world and which have invalidated, in my judgment, the dependence upon massive retailation as the fundamental keystone of our strategic art; that following such a reappraisal we then need to determine once more the building blocks which should go into our national strategy.

We should determine the kinds of military forces which are appropriate to these changed conditions and, after that, then determine yardsticks of sufficiency for these various functional categories. I mean by functional categories those functions that contribute toward strategic retailatory forces; those forces that go into continental air defense; the so-called limited war forces; the antisubmarine forces. Those are the categories I have in mind.

Then, having determined what is the yard-stick, how much is enough in these areas, then we should recast our entire budget-making procedure of the Department of Defense so that we budget, not vertically in terms of the forces of the Army, Navy, and Air Force, but horizontally in terms of these functional forces.

Now, that is clear, isn't it? [Laughter.] a Well, if it is not, then let me tell you a story. I would like to recount the parable of the unhappy mess sergeant.

Once upon a time there was a company commander who was having real trouble with his company mess. The men were going AWOL: they were complaining of the quality of the food. He realized it was time for him to make a personal investigation.

Now I stress the fact the company commander decided to do this himself. He didn't feel the need of an outside expert. He just didn't call in a dietitian or hotel manager. He was one of these old-fashioned, do-it yourself kind of company commander, it didn't take him long when he got down into the mess to find out what the trouble was.

He had a mess sergeant who was new at the job. He was a fine upstanding soldief, but very little experiences in the mess. As matter of fact, he had been transferred from the Finance Department. And so, ing no personal experience, he had to turn to his cooks and he had four of them. They were a pretty tough lot. They were hardheaded. They were stubborn, and they liked to have their own way. Furthermore, sithough one was a little older than the rest, no one was really boss, Furthermore, were all artists, more or less in their right. A couple of them had worked to gether before so they knew each other they happened to be specialists in airy soulf fles and that sort of thing.

The third man was a scafood expert. He went into what the French call the fruits of the sea; whereas the fourth fellow was an unimaginative cook in the art of meat and potatoes and that sort of thing.

Now the trouble was these cooks could never get together and agree on the next day's menu. They argued among themselves so that when morning came and it was time for the mess sergeant to go to mark. market and make his purchases, all four came running out with four different lists and thrust it into the sergeant's hand.

Well, he was always in a hurry. He never had enough time so he had to go up to market with the four lists. But he did notice the money value of all four lists was about all he had to spend for the entire day. he got into market and he was surrounded by these vendors all trying to hawk their wares and he would have to go around buying as best he could what looked good or sounded good and then return to the mess hall with his groceries.

Well, he found his cooks unhappy and having a hard time and well they might, because when they got all this stock of grocarles, it never came out right. He didn't have the necessary ingredients for three square meals for the troops, and the troops complained.

Well, the company commander looked this over and said obviously this isn't the way to run the railroad, so he called in the mess sergeant. He called in the cooks and said. Look here boys, we are going to change all this, In the first place, sergeant, you get from these cooks a menu for at least a week in advance and check it over and bring it to me and I will approve it.

"Then you guys go down to the market and don't listen to the vendors. You bring what is on the menu. Bring it back and turn is turn it over to the cooks and see that they make the right chow out of it. If you have any trouble with these boys, fire them

all and put the best one in charge.

Now finally, if you really then need any help, you might have a meas council formed out of three or four of your best NCO's and you are three or four of your best NCO's and you can turn to them from time to time and ask how the meas is doing.

Well, to make a long story short, that is exactly what they did, and the improvement was immediate.

The mess sergeant kept his job and the captain was promoted.

All right now, why? Why this success? Because the company commander had made a complete reappraisal of the requirements of his men and came upon a method whereby every meal was an aggregate, contributed to by each cook according to his ability and according to the needs of the men.

Menny to the needs of the men.

Menu making had become a horizontal operation rather than a vertical operation conducted by four artists in their own right. The resulting harmony in the company was

This ends the parable of the unhappy mess sergeant. [Laughter.] Now gentlemen, I know that there is no need for me to explain this parable to a sharp and sophisticated nudlence.

If there are any points in it not clear.

If there are any points in it not clear.

We can bring it up in the question period.

I will simply close with the expression of the hope that someday the Secretary field that the comparable to the compar ficult task, will enjoy a relief comparable to that of this mess sergeant who finally found a solution to his unhappiness and furthermore, that the peace which the company enjoyed loyed will depend upon the councils of the Pentagon.

Thank you very much. [Applause.]

### Regulation and Control of Atomic Forces

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON, FRANK J. LAUSCHE

OF OHIO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, the introduction of the nuclear energy age has brought to Government many new problems involving the regulation and control of these new atomic forces. We have entered into a period in which these new sources of energy and power have been channeled into industrial uses and made available for further, research and study by scientists in our universities and research centers.

Along with this growth of interest and opportunity for research has arisen in many communities a fear of the potential hazards of locating power and test reactors within the boundaries or close proximity to congested industrial areas. It is evident that there is need for a thorough examination of this entire question by those technically qualified.

It is my understanding that the Atomic Energy Commission is presently proposing new rules for the location of and exclusion of areas for power and test reactors. I have received an interesting letter from Warren F. Stubbins, associate professor of nuclear science at the University of Cincinnati, in which he gives his views on these issues.

I believe that without in any way expressing my approval or disapproval, the negative and affirmative aspects of this important subject should be openly discussed and studies. I ask unanimous consent that the letter from Mr. Stubbins, addressed to the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD.

as follows:

JUNE 17, 1959.

Re 10 Code of Federal Regulations, Chapter 1: Power and Test Reactors, Notice of Proposed Rulemaking.

U.S. ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION, DIVISION OF LICENSING AND REGULATION,

Washington, D.C.

GENTLEMEN: I recommend reconsideration of the proposed rules for the location of and exclusion areas for power and test reactors feel that the regulations as suggested in the proposal are unreasonable general re-strictions and ones which would be impossible to apply realistically. The objections are as follows:

(a) The proposed exclusion areas are so large that the rule may prevent institutions or industries of moderate size from participating in the test or power reactor programs. Institutions or industries having an established operating base in an industrial community should not be prohibited by regulation from entering into the reactor field, since in many cases, the use of their facilities plays an important part in their participation.

(b) The development of nuclear power stations at or near existing electrical generating stations or electrical distributing points will be severely handicapped because of the location of the stations and points near waterways and population centers.

(c) Low population density in the sur-rounding areas cannot be maintained by the reactor operating company. Even if the in-itial selection of the site is based on this condition, the company cannot control or even direct the use of adjacent lands not in its possession. Further restrictions to the use of the land will not be acceptable to the landowners.

(d) The publication of these restrictions would reenforce the public objections to and suspicions of reactors projects being placed in the community which do not fall into the classification of test or power.

(e) The remoteness of a reactor facility to

arterial highways, airfields and factories can-not be maintained by the reactor operating companies. Indeed, the nearness to these facilities may be a significant advantage to the reactor operation. This is contrudic-tory to the development of nuclear propulsion systems for ships, locomotives and air-

It is suggested that the basis of safety of

operation be the following:

(a) That there be adequate containment of the reactor by physical means, not by

(b) That the proposed rules on placement of and exclusion areas for reactors be applied only to retctors of untested types or those for test of extreme conditions.

Sincerely yours,
WARREN F. STUBBINS. Associate Professor, Nuclear Science.

## Preparation for Life After College

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. ESTES KEFAUVER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, my attention has been called to the very thoughful speech by Noble C. Caudill, a high official of Genesco Corp., at Nashville, that contains mighty good advice to students graduating from college. The speech was delivered at Belmont College, which is sponsored by the Southern Baptist Church at Nashville, Tenn. I am certain that Mr. Caudill's message will be appreciated by young men and women who are planning their after college life.

I ask unanimous consent to have the speech printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PREPARATION FOR LIFE AFTER COLLEGE

(By Noble C. Caudill, Vice President and Treasurer of Genesco; at Belmont College. Nashville, Tenn., on May 13, 1959) My subject today is "Preparation for Life after College." I shall briefly try to think

with you about three points-

1. Be strong physically.

2. Be strong mentally.

3. Be strong spiritually.

I do not mean that they should come in this order, because actually I think the most Important of all is spiritual strength. But let's think a minute about being strong physically. I think to be strong physically is mostly within your will. In many cases sickness is a crime. You have done something foolish and nature is being hard put to it to repair your mistake. The pain is a tuition that you pay for your instruction in living. Care of the health should be a required course for at least an hour each week, in every years from kindergarten to Ph.D. Actually, our bodies are what we eat plus what our ancestors ate. Thought unbalanced by action is a disease. I almost envy you the great things that will unfold before you as you leave college to go into various phases of life that you select, so be prepared physically to take advantage of the great opportunities that you will have.

the great opportunities that you will have. Second, be strong mentally. And this does not necessarily mean that being strong mentally is just what you learn out of books. Think for yourself. Plan ahead. I have found if you set yourself goals and keep them before you at all times you will be amazed at the great help this will be to you. Write down on a sheet of paper where you want to be 5 years from now, 10 years from now, and keep that sheet in front of you. I have been impressed in a great way how effective this is in watching the development of General Shoe Corp.-now known as Genesco. I don't want to really bring any personal things into these comments, but there is this situation about the development of this great company that I want to point out to you, and the way it happened. I have watched and been a part of this company growing from a very small operation of one factory into an operation of over \$250 million, employing approximately 20,000 people and making 125,000 pairs of shoes a day. And this is the way it developed. Every year we check to see where we are. Are we on schedule on the plans we have made? If we are behind we step up the tempo to really get the job done. Incidentally, I think this company is still in its infancy, and in years to come will really be an astounding development. The people who started this company were Christian people, and great emphasis has always been put on the Christian approach and doing unto others as you would have them do unto you. It is really the only right way to do.

Next, never forget the great part that personality development plays in success, regardless what your field is to be. I have seen one of the finest engineering graduates from one of the Nation's finest technical schools become a miserable and unhappy failure because he could not engineer his own personality. He could not express his own ideas about a project. He could not influence as-sociates in behalf of his otherwise sound ideas. He did not develop his human relationships in school and he came into business ill equipped to get along with people. He knew all about everything except himself. Go at once and read a dozen good easy books on how to develop your personality-"How To Win Friends and Influence People" is one. You think that's hammy. You wait and see how it pays off when you start rubbing elbows with people you are dependent upon. Learn to communicate with everyone-and remember being a good communicator also means being a good listener. If I stopped right now and suggested 3 minutes of silence, you probably couldn't write down the names of five people who really enjoy listening. Next week, next year, all the rest of your life, you will be wiser, more respected, a more successful to sit down with a clate and simply listen.

The greatest task assumed by such schools as this is to transform egos into gentlemen. A gentleman as my wife once defined it. is a person who is continually considerate. Kind words cost so little and are worth so much.

Speak no evil of anyone. Every unkind word will sooner or later fly back in your face and make you stumble in the race of life.

Build an economic basis under your life, but don't get caught in the rattrap of moneymaking as a profession. That too, like sex, can be a consuming fever and bring only fitful pleasures and no healthy happiness. If you become an employer, your relations with your employees will count for more in your happiness than adding a zero to the measure of your wealth. Give every employee the full equivalent of his share in the product. Don't live in a boastful and selfish luxury based on taking more from the world than you give.

Take a real interest in public affairs, but don't take politics too seriously. Expect to reform the government only after you have reformed human nature-beginning with your own. I feel very strongly that more young people should take an active interest in political affairs. It is a great field and you owe it to your country to understand the problems and to do your part to make this a better place to live. I have found many unselfish people dedicated to public life and they make great sacrifices to serve their country. Don't be frightened by the international situation. It is normal. Man is a competitive animal, individually and in Peace is war by other means, and see, even in depression times, the relative happiness of the American people, killing one another in the pleasure of their holidays.

Now I come to my third and final point, and to me by far the most important. Be strong spiritually. I am convinced beyond a shadow of a doubt that miracles are happening every day because of prayer. It has happened in my life many times. I do believe the Lord watches over us—I do believe the Lord answers prayers, and I am convinced that if you ask the Lord daily for help in the development of yourself—physically, mentally, and spiritually—that your prayers will be answered.

Young ladies and gentlemen, you have nothing to fear. The world belongs to you and the great experiences ahead of you will be thrilling beyond imagination. Let me leave this closing thought with you—the boy or girl who graduates today and stops learning tomorrow is uneducated the day

Boston's Museum of Science

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, Greater Boston has a well-merited reputation as a hub of effective concern for science. By no means the least of the many institutions on which this reputation is based in Boston's Museum of Science, the first unit of which was opened in 1951. Last year the second unit, a new planetarium was opened. A third unit is under construction and two more are planned.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an informative article about the Museum of Science which appeared in the April 1959 issue of Ford Times.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Boston's Museum of Science (By David McCord)

In 1939 a young mountain climber (now a distinguished geologist) on being interviewed in Seattle as a candidate for a scholarship at Harvard, declared quite frankly that his application had been made in part because he hoped to meet a Bostonian named Bradford Washburn, whose reputation as a mountaineer and explorer of Alaska was already widely known. That same year Washburn became director of Boston's old Museum of Natural History, built in 1864. This museum—first step in the new vision—was sold in 1947.

Three years later the Commonwealth gave the trustees a 5-acre site at the spillway end of the Charles River Basin, and in the spring of 1951 the first unit of a close to \$10 million Museum of Science was officially opened to the public. This first unit is perhaps one-fifth of the ultimate whole, but it defined immediately something in terms of the imagination which is boundless: a new and dynamic center of popular science education. Last year the Hayden Planetarium, considered the finest in the world, became unit two.

The third and imposing multi-story unit now under construction will include a large lecture and demonstration hall, a Hall of Man, Medicine, and Public Health, a new library, rooms for education, exhibits, and administration, and a rooftop lunchroom with a wide majestic view. Still ahead: a west wing, theater and Hall of Electrical Science, and aquarium.

. Science and the humanities remain uneas; bedfellows. Shakespeare and sputnik, Plato and powersteering, Michelangelo and the bathysphere, Emerson and nuclear fission. Dylan Thomas and electronic computer seem difficult to bring together. But in Boston the 48-year-old Washburn and his dedicated associates have already solved to public advantage and growing acclaim one method of demonstrating the achievements of science in simple, humanistic terms. To begin with, this is a teaching museum, and while most of the teaching staff are scientists, the top level (including the director) shows a background of history and literature. The visitor therefore does not enter the museum merely to stop and stare—he stops and participates This is no collection of bones and beetles in a cabinet. Birds and fossils still have their place, but now and then a bird is unstuffed for demonstration, like popular Spooky, the live great horned owl. Living porcupines, spakes turtler and only the living porcuping of snakes, turtles, and weasels are all part of the show.

Far more important still, the museum is dedicated to the principle that the natural and physical sciences be a completely mixed offering, so that the visitor moves at once from birds to boats, from turbine engines to cosmic rays, from gears and levers to bears and sonar, from telephone dials to enormous models of the house fly or the black widow spider. Everywhere are lights to light, buttons to push, wheels to revolve, cross sections to examine—such as a working been hive or the underground abode of chipmunks, snalls, and worms. There is a ships bridge just for you, looking up the basilincomplete with all modern navigational aids. Stand by.

Does it attract? Since 1951 there have been more than 2 million visitors, over 300,000 in 1958 alone, with groups from 336 different communities and 77,000 visits from organized class groups of children. It is Bradford Washburn's profound conviction that "from the cradle through the 10th grade" is the time to expose the mind. Just as important, he feels, that some children should be exposed to the wonders of science in order to repei them (the future artists, musicians, poets) as it is to attract the future physicists, chemists, engineers, and astronomers. Young men and women

about to enter college are given (in his Phraseology) a large menu from which to pick a single course. How much wiser will be the choice if one has nibbled through the menu from the beginning. And he is not, we may assume, forgetting that except for the scientists we are all children in the Presence of science.

## Cracking Down on Traffic of Obscene Material

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the in-Vasion of the American home by pornographic materials—including publications, slides, films, and other such materials—is an attack on the morals and integrity of our society.

Today, efforts are being made at the local, State, and Federal levels to stop this traffic in obscene materials. Unfortunately, our counteroffensive has not been effective enough. Over the years, the traffic in obscenity has increased to a half-billion-dollar business.

On June 5, I introduced a bill to stiffen penalities for violation of Federal anti-obscenity laws. The bill would provide mandatory prison sentences for second, and successive, violations of the Federal law in mailing, importing, and transporting of obscene material.

Since introduction of the measure, I have received messages indicating broad support from individuals in many walks of life.

To crack down on this illicit business, however, will require the cooperation not only of local, State, and Federal officials, but also of civic-minded individuals, groups, and associations in the local communities.

Commendably, too, the Post Office Department is alerting its personnel in an effort to halt the traffic of obscene materials through the mails.

Recently, in the June 5 edition of Postal Service News there was published an article entitled "We Have Declared War on Muck in the Mails"—outlining ways in which the postal service is attempting to halt the traffic of obscene materials through the mails. I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record,

WE HAVE DECLARED WAR ON MUCK IN THE MATTE

The Postmaster General has declared war on obscene material sent through the mails. Here is a battle all of us postal people can, and should be all of us postal people can, and should, get into wholcheartedly—for our own sakes as dwellers in our communities which which can become crime-ridden through pornography and sadism addicts; for the take of our children who can be debauched by such at the sade of the such as the who deby such filth; for our patrons' sake who depend upon us and our postal service to deliver their mail into their homes.

Ruthless mail order merchants in filth are violating the homes of the Nation in de-finance of the National Government. They are callously dumping into the hands of our children, through our home mallboxes, unordered lewd material, as well as samples soliciting the sale of even more objectionable pictures, slides, films, and related filth.

CONTRIBUTED TO DELINQUENCY

Unquestionably, these large defiant barons of obscenity are contributing to the alarming increase in juvenile delinquency, as many noted authorities have repeatedly and publicly observed.

Just how important is this mass of mailed muck to you and to me? To our children? Our community? Here is part of the testimony the Postmaster General and the Chief Postal Inspector gave before the House Post Office and Civil Service Subcommittee Investigating the Mailing of Obscene and

Pornographic Material: "It is my deep conviction-frequently expressed to individual Members of Congress, religious and educational leaders, newspaper editors, and citizen groups-that one of the most serious moral and social problems in the United States today is the multi-million dollar mail order traffic in obscenity," said Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield. "In spite of the frustrations and the legal complications, and even the court decisions, I feel a responsibility to the public to attempt to prevent the use of the mails for indecent material, and to seek indictments and prosecutions for such offenses, even though there have been previous rulings favorable to the promoters. Only by this method can the dimensions of this problem become clearly established before the courts, the Congress, and the American pub-

And here is one of the points Chief Inspector David Stephens made:

"The rapid increase in the sale of filth through the mails, and otherwise, scems to have developed far ahead of general public awareness of its scope. The volume today can be measured in tons. That juvenile delinquency stems in large part from the demoralizing influence of exposure to obscenity and pornography is well knewn to all law enforcement groups. Time after time in our investigations of armed robbery, extortion, embezzlement, and forgery, we learn that those responsible for such crimes were early collectors of obscene pictures and films. Also, in the many vicious murder and sex crimes, it is often disclosed that criminals responsible were addicts to pornographic and sadist material.

#### VITAL STATISTICS

To get some idea of the magnitude of this beastly business, these statistics are offered; Pornography peddlers net an estimated half billion dollars a year.

Simultaneous raids on the New York headquarters of three dealers in pornography and obscenity uncovered 15 tons of filthy films, slides, photos. In fiscal 1958 postal inspectors investi-

gated 4,000 separate cases, caused the arrest of 293 persons. The highest number of cases on record, this is a 45-percent increase over the year before—and 1959 is topping 1958.

More than 50,000 alarmed parents, parentteacher associations, clergymen, school and newspaper officials, flood the Department with their complaints each year.

#### WHY MAIL OBSCENITY?

Since World War II commercialized pornography has reached alarming proportions certain areas of the country. Because:

- 1. Purveyors of pornography reap huge profits.
- 2. In some cities courts interpret obscenity so liberally that getting indictments is very difficult; punishment of those convicted consists of only small fines or light prison sen-

tences-and they continue to operate while in jail through other people.

Muck merchants have plenty of money to hire high-priced unscrupulous but clever legal talent, which has successfully defended some of the largest dealers in dirt time after time in certain cities.

4. Court decisions which favored them in earlier investigations are cited as precedent

by those brought to trial.

5. Frequently they can attack and ridicule the postal service, with the help of others who, confusing liberty with license, unwittingly assist them.

Well aware of the sanctity of sealed mail, they know they can rely on this secu-

rity intended for lawful mailings.

- 7. They know they are safe unless the receiver of their mailings complains, and they know, too. that a percentage of addresses will accept it, while others will refrain from complaining because that would embarrass them.
- 8. In the particular cities which spawn pornography and where its interpretation is most liberal, very few public complaints are made even though raids prove that such wholesale mailings were delivered in these
- 9. Their continued success and huge profits have served to build an increasing smugness and deflance on the part of obscenity dealers, who are quick to demand privileges and to scream "censorship" when the Post Office tries to stop their filth.

Mailing lists can be bought, stolen, pirated, or built from telephone and city directories, high-school yearbooks, lists of people's names printed by newspapers, etc. One single list taken in a New York City raid contained the names of 100,000 customers and prospects.

Innocent advertisements can offer model airplanes or railroads for sale chesp, but if inserted by a baron of obscenity, the child who sends his dime or quarter for these is on the sucker list for the merchant's muck.

They send their salesmen to lurk, with samples, wherever youth congregates—schools, churches, boy scout halls, etc., even into suburban residential areas; and they solicit profit-seeking juvenile delinquents to do the same.

#### THE LAW

The Congress first enacted legislation making it a Federal offense to mail obscene matter on March 3, 1865. An expanded version of this basic law was embodied in the great Postal Reorganization and Codification Act of June 8, 1872.

The present obscenity statute, section 1461 of title 18, United States Code, provides penalties for the mailing of "every obscene, lewd, lascivious, indecent, filthy or vile article."

But, prior to last year, controlling de-cisions of the courts held that prosecutions under the pertinent statutes could be effected only in the district where the office

of mailing was located.

For the past several years the Post Office Department strongly urged the enactment of leigslation which would grant prosecutive venue at intermediate offices and offices of address, where the actual damage undoubtedly occurs. Such legislation in the form of an amendment to section 1461, title 18, United States Code, was passed by the 85th Congress and signed into law by President Eisenhower, August 28, 1958.

The present law permits people in a community where obscene material is received to evaluate it according to their own standards of morality and decency. Through the Post Office Department they now can refer the matter to the U.S. attorney in their own judicial district. It also permits fining second offenders up to \$10,000 and imprisoning them for 10 years.

The Post Office Department is pressing the use of this new legislation to the fullest possible extent.

The Department is convinced that this new legislation provides an effective weapon against these dealers in filth who have heretofore operated with little interruption and with comparative security from certain large cities.

In addition to the new legislation, more vigorous use is being made of an earlier law permitting the Department to stop incoming mail to alleged purveyors (which stops the money coming in from his suckers). Also, the establishment of the new post of judicial officer enables the Department to process cases much faster than under the usual hearing examiner process which, with its delays and continuances, could run into months, during which the operators could make a killing before effective action could be taken. For further details see "Protecting Patrons From Fraud-Filth" in the January 1959 Postal Service News.

One of the basic reasons for the increasing volume of filth in the mails, in addition to the tremendous profits its purveyors realize, is the very broad definition of obscenity handed down by certain courts, notably in Los Angeles and New York where most of the mail-order business in pornography originates. Obtaining indictments against the mailers of muck in such cities is most difficult, and their effective prosecu-tion is equally difficult if not impossible.

In interpreting the intent of Congress the courts stated in effect:

- 1. That obscenity must be evaluated in relation to contemporary community standards.
- 2. That nudity in itself is not obscenity. 3. That a publication is not obscene unless the general content is devoted to what may be termed obscenity.

#### STANDARDS DIFFER

Obviously, the "contemporary community standards" in New York City may be vastly different from those in the smaller, less blase, cities and towns in which so many of us live.

These liberal rulings in some cities have established, over a period of time, virtual sanctuaries in which dealers in obscenity have operated with impunity and in open defiance of the Post Office Department's best efforts to bar their use of the mails or bring them to justice.

However, the number and nature of the public complaints bear importantly on the decisions of prosecutors and courts, and the new amendment to the obscenity statute permitting such dealers to be brought to trial in the community where their mailings are delivered is having an important and beneficial effect.

This means that every one of us, no matter where we live, can help by watching our own mailboxes for such material and by alerting our neighbors and patrons to the problem and how they can help us solve it.

The "public" in the above paragraph includes everyone-you and me, our families and friends, our neighbors and associates in our communities. The Postmaster General has declared war-now it is our battle.

## A Communist Victory

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. J. GLENN BEALL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, an editorial, titled "A Communist Victory," about the rejection of Mr. Strauss, written by the famous writer and editor,

David Lawrence and published in the July 6, 1959, issue of the periodical, U.S. News & World Report, has attracted my attention, and I think that all Senators and everyone else interested in good government should read it. It is filled with shattering facts about a disgraceful chapter in the history of the U.S. Senate.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial, "A Communist Victory," printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

#### A COMMUNIST VICTORY (By David Lawrence)

Nobody can feel happy about the rejection by the Senate of the nomination of Admiral Strauss to be Secretary of Commerce, unless, perhaps, it is the Communists here and abroad, and those Americans who satisfied their personal vengefulness.

Many of the Senators who voted against Mr. Strauss did so with the greatest reluctance and under a political pressure which caused them much uneasiness.

The Nation does not yet know the full story of what happened. The American people ought to be told just why the upper House of Congress, on the filmslest grounds, came to reject an appointment to the Cabinet.

There were several potential candidates for the Presidency who voted against Mr. Strauss. They were warned by their fellow-Senators that unless they played ball with the leadership it would hurt them next year at the Democratic National Convention.

There were Democratic Senators who were advised, in realistic language, that unless they voted with the group which was out to punish Admiral Strauss, they could not expect help reciprocally on their own legislative measures.

There were Democratic Senators in the

public ownership group who were told that a vote for Strauss would be construed as a vote against public power.

There were Democratic Senators who teamed up with the ringleaders of the opposition to Mr. Strauss because they believed that party members should stick together. Whatever the reasons, 48 Democratic votes out of 64 were recorded against the nomination, while 32 out of 34 Republicans favored the confirmation of Mr.

There were 15 Democrats who rose above the passions of partisanship to support Admiral Strauss. They deserve the thanks of the Nation.

This was one of the rare instances in which a Presidential appointment to the Cabinet was rejected by the Senate. But there is really no parallel. For in almost all the other cases, there was a serious defect, either in the character or record of the nominee, or a possible conflict of private interest with a Government post.

Efforts were made to trump up charges against Admiral Strauss, to form some kind of basis for rejecting the nomination. The record shows the charges were transparently partisan and unproved.

Here is a man confirmed twice before by the Senate when both a Republican and a Democratic President appointed him to important posts.

Here is a man of unimpeachable character and honesty, who was elected annually for 6 years to be president of the Temple Emanuel, on Fifth Avenue in New York City, one of the most widely known Hebrew congregations in the world.

Here is a man who now is president of the board of trustees of the Institute for Ad-

vanced Studies at Princeton, a post he has held for several years.

Here is a man who fought the Communists inside Government, and who was to no small extent responsible for the development of the hydrogen bomb during the Truman regime, when some scientists with Communist connections were trying to stop or retard our Government's study of that weapon, even as the Soviets were rushing their experiments

Here is a man who in 1953 brought to the attention of the President serious charges against a well-known scientist. The latter was subsequently denied clearance for security reasons by an impartial board of which Mr. Strauss was not a member. This same scientist was revealed to have lied to his own Government. He confessed his lie after 3 years, during which time he misled the se-

curity officers as they hunted a Soviet spy.
But for patriotically bringing this matter
to the President's attention, Admiral Strauss won the undying enmity of many scientists who are free thinkers about such things as security. Some of these scientists helped to spur the movement that led to the Senate's action.

It would be wrong to infer that any Sen ators were consciously influenced by the Communist drive. But the effect is the same. The Communist broadcasts for months have been demanding that Strauss be fired. feared that in his position as Secretary of Commerce he would effectively carry on an anti-Communist drive on the economic front Since the rejection of the nomination by the Senate, the Moscow radio has been boldly exultant.

The world has been told, moreover, that the President of the United States cannot appoint a member of his own Cabinet and secure confirmation, unless he gets the consent of the opposition party. What a travesty on so-called democratic government.

What can the American people do about such things? They can vote at the polls against the kind of Democratic Party leadership that permits on the polls are the polls against the kind of Democratic Party leadership that permits on the province of the prov ership that permits an insidious vendetta to transcend the public interest.

Admiral Strauss, whose record of public service is exemplary, cannot be injured in the eyes of those who have known his public service. The Dry have known his public service the public service th service. The Democratic Party has made him a martyr. It has written a disgraceful chapter in the history of the U.S. Senate.

## Caliber and Achievements of University of Oregon Medical School

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, we of the State of Oregon are immensely proud of the caliber and quality of our University of Oregon Medical School This caliber has been demonstrated again through the through the grant of \$1,297,000 from the National Institutes of Health for a great medical research building, to be consum-mated with an account of the consummated with an equal sum from the State of Oregon—a sum already wisely appropriated by the 1959 session of the Oregon State Legislat.

Our medical school is proving a lode stone for illustrious teachers throughout the Nation. The June 1959, issue of the latest throughout the Nation. 1959, issue of the Journal of the Massa

chusetts Medical Society describes the coming to Oregon, as professor of surgery and head of the department of surgery, of Dr. J. Englebert Dunphy, distinguished professor of surgery at Harvard Medical School and director of the Harvard Surgical Unit.

We are proud of this expression of confidence and faith by Dr. Dunphy, and I ask unanimous consent that the editorial entitled "Oregon Trail," from the Journal of the Massachusetts Medical Society in tribute to the skill and talent of Dr. J. Englebert Dunphy, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

[From the Journal of Massachusetts Medical Society, June 25, 1959]

OREGON TRAIL

The Journal, as well as the medical com-munity of Boston, will be the losers this summer when Dr. John Englebert Dunphy thank charts whatever course is necessary to get himself, his family, and his household goods to Portland, Oreg. For Dr. Dunphy, a practically irreplaceable and supposedly immov-Professor of surgery at Harvard and director of the Harvard surgical unit and the Sears Surgical Laboratory at the Boston City Rospital, will, within a matter of days, sep arate himself from these posts in order to become professor of surgery and head of the become professor of surgery and head of the department of surgery at the University of Oregon Medical School. Of especially dire import is the fact that, by this policy of westward ho, Dr. Dunphy will separate himself also from the editorial board of the Journal to which he has given distinguished Journal, to which he has given distinguished service since 1949.

Trailblazer Dunphy, a student of motorcar accidents, and personally addicted to the safety belt, graduated from Holy Cross College in 1929, and from the Harvard Medical School in 1929, and from the harvard school in 1933; he has taught at Harvard aince his graduation and has been a member of the of the faculty of medicine since 1938. He served for 6 years in the Army Medical Corps, receiving his discharge in 1946 as a lieutenant colonel. When the Harvard surgical unit was reestablished at the Boston City Hospital pital in 1955, Dr. Dunphy became its first direct. director, and he has been responsible for the development of its present strong program of teaching, research, and surgical practice. Senior author of the surgical textbook, The Physical Examination of the Surgical Patient," edition in 1958, Dr. Dunphy has also written on the healing of wounds, tissue transplanta-tion, surgery of the gastrointestinal tract, and cancer. In addition to the usual assort-ment of ment of society affiliations, he is a member of the Sciences and the Royal Society of Medicine.

Essentially adaptable, Dr. Dunphy is expected from the bearded pioneers who carved an empire from the rain forests of the great

The Honorable Samuel Jackson Randall

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a reprint from the Wednesday, June 24, issue of my hometown paper the Lexington Gazette of an editorial of June 26, 1884, commending the great Pennsylvania statesman, Hon. Samuel Jackson Randall, and a quotation from the biographical directory of the American Congress reminding the present Members of the Congress that Representative Samuel Jackson Randall, of Philadelphia, Pa., who served as Speaker of the House of Representatives during the 44th, 45th, and 46th Congresses, desired to see healed the wounds of an unfortunte fraternal war.

There being no objection, the editorial and quotation were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Lexington Gazette, June 24, 1959] GAZETTE EDITORIALS AND OLD NEWS TAKEN FROM OUR FILES—NEWS OF 75 YEARS AGO

(From the Lexington Gazette and Citizen, June 26, 1884)

distinguished visitor, the Honorable Samuel J. Randall, the pure and uncorruptable patriot, the able and distinguished statesman, the wise and prudent political leader, arrived at Lexington on Wednesday morning last and addressed the literary society of our university on commencement day.

The distinguished Pennsylvanian is admired and beloved in all the South for his manly and determined opposition to radical reconstruction measures, and we hope the day is not far distant when the Democratic Party will advance him to the front place in honor and trust within the gift of the American people.

QUOTATION FROM THE BIOGRAPHICAL DIRECTORY OF THE AMERICAN CONGRESS

Randall, Samuel Jackson, a Representative from Pennsylvania; born in Philadelphia, Pa., October 10, 1828; attended the common schools and the University Academy in Philadelphia; engaged in mercantile pursuits; member of the Common Council of Philadelphia 1852-55; member of the State senate in 1858 and 1859; during the Civil War served as a member of the 1st Troop of Philadelphia in 1861 and was in the Union Army 3 months of that year and again as captain in 1863; was promoted to provost marshal at Gettysburg; elected as a Demo-crat to the 38th and to the 13 succeeding Congresses and served from March 4, 1863, until his death; Speaker of the House during the last session of the 44th and also during the 45th and 46th Congresses; dled in Washington, D.C., April 13, 1890; interment in Laurel Hill Cemetery, Philadelphia, Pa,

#### Veterans' Pensions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

### HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Richard E. Mooney, of the New York Times, has written a rather illuminating article on the pension bill, H.R. 7650, which passed the House on June 15, 1959. I believe Members will find this interesting and helpful to them in their thinking on this subject.

[From the New York Times, June 21, 1959] THE VETERANS AND THEIR BENEFITS (By Richard E. Mooney)

Washington, June 20 .- In 1636, in the Plymouth colony, it was provided that should a man be sent forth as a soldier and return maimed he would be maintained by the colony from that time until his death.

Today slightly more than 2 million veterans of later fighting collect benefit payments based on disabling injuries or illness suffered while they were in service.
Since 1918, there also have been benefits

for the veteran who becomes disabled after he leaves service, and who is in need. Today there are 850,000 veterans with non-serviceconnected disabilities on the rolls.

The pension bill passed by the House last Monday would touch only the smaller group. It also would make one costly adjustment in benefits for deceased veterans' widows and children, of whom there are more than 800,-000 now collecting benefits.

The 2,850,000 veterans collecting benefits constitute one-eighth of the veteran population, which in turn is roughly one-eighth of the national population.

There are 22,700,000 veterans living today. Their average age is almost 41. Some 19,-750,000 are veterans of World War II or Korea, or both, and are in the 25-to-45 age bracket. Nearly 2,800,000 are World War veterans, mostly in their 60's. The small remainder are veterans of earlier wars or peacetime military career men.

The Nation spends upwards of \$5 billion a year on its veterans through the Veterans' Administration, three-fifths of it in benefit payments. The VA also builds hospitals and provides medical services. It finances education under the "GI bill of rights" and other programs. It builds specially designed homes and provides automobiles for paraplegics. It makes some mortgage loans and backs more. It administers a vast life insurance program. It provides guardianship for the estates of minor or incompetent beneficiaries.

Pensions for veterans with nonservice connected disability are the issue of the moment.

To qualify, a veteran's annual income cannot exceed \$1,400 if he is single or \$2,700 if he has dependents, and he must have some disability which makes it impossible to work more than half-time.

There are three pension rates for veterans: \$794 per year basic, \$945 for a veteran who is over 65 or has been on pension for 10 years, and \$1,625 for the veteran who needs constant aid and attendance.

As the veteran population grows older, developing disabilities as it advances, the cost of pensions is bound to rise. It is estimated that pension payments would quadruple between now and the end of the century if the current law were left as is.

President Eisenhower has proposed, and Congress is considering, a new principle that would slow, not stop, the tide. Basically, it would raise benefits for those in greatest need and lower them for the not-too-needy, and redefine "need."

#### ADMINISTRATION PLAN

No veteran now on pension would have his pension cut or terminated. It has been estimated that the administration plan would save \$40 billion between now and the year 2000, in comparison to present law.

The House has accepted the principle of this plan but improved its benefit levels and terms of qualification with an estimated saving of \$12 billion instead of \$40 billion.

The House has also added widows' equalization, which removes the current requirement that a veteran of World War II or Korea have some service-connected disability at the time of his death if his widow or

child is to qualify for his pension. It puts them on an equal footing with widows and children of World War I veterans.

This would add \$22 billion over the remaining years of the century. Thus, the House bill's net effect is to raise costs by \$10 billion.

Before the House Veterans' Affairs Committee would even consider the new plan, veterans' organization support, or at least interest, has to be enlisted. It was.

Regardless of how much merit versus how

Regardless of how much merit versus how much politics was involved in winning House approval of the bill and its principle of greater and lesser need, the winning was an impressive achievement. It leads to the belief that the Senate may do likewise, with changes, before long.

#### DAV Services in Minnesota

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, an exceptional record of vital rehabilitation services freely extended to thousands of Minnesota citizens has recently come to my attention. These splendid humanitarian services are not sufficiently appreciated by those who have benefited thereby directly, and indirectly.

Among the several congressionally chartered veteran organizations, which have State departments and local chapters in Minnesota, is the Disabled American Veterans. The DAV is the only such organization composed exclusively of those Americans who have been either wounded, gassed, injured, or disabled by reason of active service in the Armed Forces of the United States, or of some country allied with it, during time of war.

DAV SET-UP

Formed in 1920, under the leadership of Judge Robert S. Marx, DAV legislative activities have very substantially benefited every compensated disabled veteran. Its present national commander is another judge, David B. Williams, of Concord, Mass. Its national adjutant is John E. Feighner, of Cincinnati, Ohio. Its national legislative director is Elmer M. Freudenberger, its national director of claims, Cicero F. Hogan, and its national director of employment relations, John W. Burris—all located at its National Service Headquarters at 1701 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

Inasmuch as less than 10 percent of our country's war veterans are receiving monthly disability compensation payments for service-connected disabilities—some 2 million—the DAV can never aspire to become the largest of the several veteran organizations. Nevertheless, since shortly after its formation, in 1920, the DAV National Headquarters, located in Cincinnati, Ohio, has maintained the largest staff of any veteran organization of full-time trained national service officers, 138 of them, who are located in the 63 regional and 3 dis-

trict offices of the U.S. Veterans' Administration, and its central office in Washington, D.C.

They there have ready access to the official claim records of those claimants who have given them their powers of attorney. All of them being war-handicapped veterans themselves, these service officers are sympathetic and alert as to the problems of other less well-informed claimants.

DAY SERVICES IN MINNESOTA

The DAV maintains two national service officers in Minnesota, James L. Monnahan and Hiram J. Fuller, at the VA. Center, Building 17, Fort Snelling, St. Paul; Mr. Frank A. Howard, 116 South 13th Street, Minneapolis, full-time adjutant of the Minneapolis chapter, is also an accredited national service officer. Mr. Monnahan also serves as department adjutant. Mr. Stuart A. Lindman, 5549 Woodlawn Boulevard, Minneapolis, is the department commander. Mr. Monnahan, Mr. Howard, and Department Commander Lindman are long-time friends of mine.

DAV national officers from Minnesota this year are Mr. Frank Barstow, national executive committeeman, box 430, Brainerd, and his alternate, Mr. John Kalland, 1789 Bush Avenue, St. Paul. Past national commanders from Minnesota, now living, are James L. Monnahan, John L. Golob, post office box 521, Hibbing and Millard W. Rice, now executive secretary of the DAV Service Foundation, while Mr. Golob is the chairman of its board of trustees and Mr. Monnahan is also a trustee. DAV voluntary services representatives at the two VA hosiptals are Carl F. Mousky at Fort Snelling, with 1,014 beds for GM patients, and James L. Patterson, at St. Cloud, with 1,379 beds for NP patients.

During the last fiscal year the VA paid out \$108,332,000 for its veteran program in Minnesota, including \$32,237,484 disability compensation to its 41,133 service-disabled veterans. These Federal expenditures in Minnesota furnish substantial purchasing power in all communities. Only about 16 percent—6,444—are members of the 25 DAV chapters in Minnesota.

This 16-percent record seems small, in view of the very outstanding record of personalized service activities and accomplishments of the DAV national service officers in behalf of Minnesota veterans and dependents during the last 10 fiscal years, as revealed by the following statistics:

Claimants contacted - estimated\_\_\_\_ 48,056 Claim folders reviewed .... 40,007 Appearances before rating 17,718 Compensation increases obtained----4, 752 Service connections obtained\_ 1,494 Non-service pensions\_\_\_\_\_ Death benefits obtained\_\_\_\_ 1,072 627 Total monetary benefits obtained\_\_\_\_\_\_\$2,345,502,18

These above figures do not include the accomplishments of other national service officers on duty in the central office of the Veterans' Administration, handling appeals and reviews, or in its three

district offices, handling death and insurance cases. Over the last 10 years, they reported 83,611 claims handled in such district offices, resulting in monetary benefits of \$20,850,335,32, and in the central office they handled 58,282 reviews and appeals, resulting in monetary benefits of \$5,337,389.05. Proportionate additional benefits were thereby obtained for Minnesota veterans, their dependents, and their survivors.

SERVICES BEYOND STATISTICS

These figures fail properly to paint the picture of the extent and value of the individualized advice, counsel, and assistance extended to all of the claimants who have contacted DAV national service officers in person, by telephone, and by letter.

Pertinent advice was furnished to all disabled veterans-only about 16 percent of whom were DAV members-their dependents, and others, in response to their varied claims for service connection, disability compensation, medical treatment. hospitalization, prosthetic appliances. vocational training, insurance, death compensation or pension, VA guarantee loans for homes, farms and businesses, and so forth. Helpful advice was also given as to counseling and placement into suitable useful employment-to utilize their remaining abilities-civil service examinations, appointments, retentions, retirement benefits, and multifarious other problems.

Every claim presents different problems. Too few Americans fully realize that governmental benefits are not automatically awarded to disabled veterans—not given on a silver platter. Frequently, because of lack of official records, death or disappearance of former buddies and associates, lapse of memory with the passage of time, lack of information and experience, proof of the legal service-connection of a disability becomes extremely difficult—too many times impossible.

A VA Claims and Rating Board can obviously not grant favorable action merely based on the opinions, impressions or conclusions of persons who submit notarized affidavits. Specific, detailed, pertinent facts are essential.

The VA, which acts as judge and jury, cannot properly prosecute claims against itself. As the defendant, in effect, the U.S. Veterans' Administration must award the benefits provided under the laws administered by it, only under certain conditions.

A DAV national service officer can and does advise a claimant precisely why his claim may previously have been denied and then specified what additional evidence is essential. The claim ant must necessarily bear the burden of obtaining such fact-giving affidavit evidence. The experienced national service officer will, of course, advise him as to its possible improvement, before presenting same to the adjudication agency, in the light of all of the circumstances and facts, and of the pertinent laws, precedents, regulations and schedule of disability ratings. No DAV national service officer, I feel certain. ever uses his skill, except in behalf of

Worthy claimants. with claims.

The VA has denied more claims than it has allowed—partly because most claims are not properly prepared. It is very significant, as pointed out by the DAV acting national director of claims, Chester A. Cash, that a much higher percentage of those claims, which have been prepared and presented with the ald of a DAV national service officer, are eventually favorably acted upon, than is the case as to those claimants who have not given their powers of attorney to any such special advocate.

#### LOSSES BY REVIEWS

Another fact not generally known is that, under the overall reivew of claims inaugurated by the VA some 4 years ago, the disability compensation payments of about 37,200 veterans have been discontinued, and reduced as to about 27,300 others, amounting in the aggregate to more than \$23 million per year. About 1.9 percent of such discontinuances and reductions have probably occurred as to disabled veterans in Minnesota, with a consequent loss of about \$532,000 per year.

Most of the claimants suffering reduction or discontinuance were not represented by the DAV or by any other veteran organization. Judging by the past, such adjudications will occur as to an additional equal number or more during the next 3 years, before such review is completed. I urge every disabled veteran in Minnesota to give his power of attorney to the national service officer of the DAV, or of some other veteran or-Sanization, or of the American Red Cross, just as a protective measure against losing disability compensation because of inadequate handling of his claim.

The average claimant who receives helpful advice probably does not realize the background of training and experience of a competent expert national service officer.

## COSTS OF DAY SERVICES

Measured by the DAV's overall costs of about \$12,197,600 during a 10-year period, one would find that it has expended about \$3.50 for each claim folder reviewed, or about \$8.80 for each rating board appearance, or, again, about \$22.70 for each favorable award obtained, or about \$123 for each service connection Obtained, or about \$54 for each compensation increase obtained, and has obtained about \$14,10 of direct monetary benefits for claimants for each dollar expended by the DAV for its national service officer setup. Moreover, such benefits will generally continue for many

## METHODS OF PROVIDING SERVICES

Evidently, most claimants are not aware of the fact that the DAV receives no Government subsidy whatsoever. The DAV is enabled to maintain its nationwide staff of expert national service officers primarily because of income from membership dues collected by its local chapters and from the net income of its Idento-Tag-miniature automobile license tags—project, owned by the DAV and operated by its employees, most of whom are disabled veterans, their wives, or their widows, or other handicapped Americans-a rehabilitation project in thus furnishing them with useful employment. Incidentally, without checking as to whether they had previously sent in a donation, more than 1.400,000 owners of sets of lost keys have received them back from the DAV's Idento-Tag Department, 16,954 of whom, during the last 8 years, were Minnesota residents.

Every eligible veteran, by becoming a DAV member, and by explaining these factors to fellow citizens, can help the DAV to procure such much-needed public support as will enable it to maintain its invaluable nationwide service setup on a more adequate basis. So much more could be accomplished for distressed disabled veterans, if the DAV could be enabled, financially, to maintain an expert service officer in every one of the 173 VA hospitals.

#### MEMORIAL HONOR ROLL

During the last 10 years, the DAV has also relied on appropriations from its separately incorporated trustee the DAV Service Foundation, aggregating \$3,300,-000 exclusively for salaries to its national service officers. Its reserves hav-ing been thus nearly exhausted, the DAV Service Foundation is therefore very much in need of the generous support of all serviced claimants, DAV members and other social-minded Americans-by direct donation, by designations in insurance policies, by bequests in wills, by assignments of stocks and bonds and by establishing special types of trust funds.

A special type of memorial trust fund originated about 3 years ago which concerned disabled veteran members of the DAV Chapter in Butte, Mont., which established the first Perpetual Rehabilitation Fund of \$1,000 with the DAV Service Foundation to which it recently added another \$100. Since then, every DAV unit in that State has established such a special memorial trust fund, ranging from \$100 to \$1,100, equivalent to about \$4 per DAV member—an excellent objective for all other States. Benefactors from 26 States have, up to this time, become enrolled on the memorial honor roll.

Inasmuch as only the interest earning from special donations will be available for appropriation to the DAV for its use in maintaining its national service officer program in the State of residence of each such benefactor, this is an excellent objective also for Minnesota. Each such special benefactor is enrolled on a permanent memorial honor roll which, updated, is then included in the annual report of the DAV and of its incorporated trustee, the DAV Service Foundation, to the U.S. Congress.

Each claimant who has received any such free rehabilitation service can help to make it possible for the DAV to continue this excellent rehabilitation service for other distressed disabled veterans and their dependents in Minnesota by sending in donations to the DAV Service Foundation, 631 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington 4, D.C. Every such "serviced" claimant who is eligible can and should also become a DAV member, preferably a life member, for which the total fee is \$100-\$50 to those born before January 1, 1902, or World War I veterans—payable in installments within 2 full fiscal year periods.

Every American can help to make our Government more representative by being a supporting member of at least one organization which reflects his interests and viewpoints-labor unions. trade associations, and various religious, fraternal, and civic associations. All of America's veterans ought to be members of one or more of the patriotic, service-giving veteran organizations. All of America's disabled defenders, who are receiving disability compensation, have greatly benefited by their own official voice-the DAV.

If eligible, I would certainly be proud to be a life member of the DAV.

#### Cigarettes Without Tobacco

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article from the June 24 issue of the Wall Street Journal describing a cigarette that is now being produced without the use of tobacco.

This, in my opinion, should be a warning to most of the tobacco companies and to many of the tobacco growers in this Nation. Smoking is, in many respects, a nervous habit. If those addicted to smoking can find a cigarette without tobacco and which yet answers some of the urgent nervous tension need to have something in their hands, the outcome could revolutionize the cigarette industry in our Nation.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this article from the Wall Street Journal, enttiled "Tobaccoless Cigarette Newest Health Entry," be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

TOBACCOLESS CIGARETTE NEWEST HEALTH ENTRY

New York.-The latest wrinkle in the cigarette-health controversy is a new cigarette with no tobacco.

Bantob Products Corp. has introduced a new brand, called Vanguard, which purportedly smells, looks, and smokes like regular cigarets, but has a vegetable fiber content instead of tobacco.

Because it contains no tobacco, Bantob claims the smoke from Vanguards contains no tobacco tars, nicotine or arsenic. guards are made from what Bantob calls a scientifically-processed combination of natural fibers, patented under the name Fibrila.

Some scientific studies have related tobacco tars and cigarette nicotine content with higher incidence of lung cancer and heart ailments. However, other studies, as well as the tobacco companies, contend such claims are based on circumstantial evidence of statistical studies and have never/been proved.

## Address by Dr. James R. Killian, Jr., During Commencement Exercises at MIT

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, on June 12, 1959, Dr. James R. Killian, Jr., until recently special adviser to President Eisenhower in the field of science and engineering, gave the commencement address at Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

By reason of his knowledge and experience, both in and out of Government, any remarks of Dr. Killian's are significant and worthy of widespread dessimination and consideration.

In my remarks I include the text of Dr. Killian's commencement address to the 1959 graduates of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, of Cambridge.

For the past 2 years I have been engaged in mobilizing scientific and engineering advice and analysis for President Eisenhower and have observed at first hand the complex problems our Nation faces day by day, and the vital part which science and engineering play in our security and our public policy-making. Out of this intense experience have come some deeply felt convictions, a few of which I report to you today.

The United States must summon all its latent strength and all of its adaptability if it is to meet the rapid changes, the threat of unprecedented dangers, the abiding menace, and the vast responsibilities we face today. We must operate at peak performance, we must be willing to make sacrifices; these, no less, are the requirements both for leadership and survival in a divided world in a nuclear age.

This is the lesson, my friends, that we are painfully learning today, that the cold war, no less than a shooting war, requires America to be a taut ship, firm in its course and purpose, vigorous and disciplined in its life and work, adventuresome and revolutionary in its creative activities.

Our vitality and sense of purpose are under test. The protracted conflict between democracy and communism requires democracy to be strong and tautly alert both with its shared convictions and principles as well as with its military forces and weapons.

No informed human being can feel himself disengaged from the effects of Government actions, both of his own and other governments, and as a consequence every person should recognize his involvement and responsibility in the course of events. In a period of total weapons, we must recognize the possibility of total decisions and total ideas, the mass effects of which may leave no one untouched or no civilized society unaffected. We live also in a period of such potential instability that small effects or vagrant forces have the possibility for causing large effects both good and bad.

With all of these conditions confronting us, the United States must seek with vigor and resource to build superior equipment for peace as well as superior equipment for defense and resolutely seek to reduce without appeasement the tensions and forces, both large and small, which might imperil the peace. These convictions reflect no estimate of weakness or any sense of fear. They suggest to me that we go forward with zest and awakened purpose, free both of panic and apathy, feeling the exhilaration of great exertion and great responsibility.

From these convictions come the things

would say to you today. My wish for you, first, is that you can avoid the apathy and indifference to na-tional problems which is all too common today among many citizens. Apathy comes in part from the absence of any image, especially any large and exciting concept, of where we want to go and what we want to be. We need people who do not alternate, because III informed, between panic and apathy, but who are informed and who think seriously and responsibly about the great issues-our need, for example, to achieve enhanced excellence in our system of education, our need to enlarge our investment in human resources as we augment our investment in material resources, our need to accept the responsibilities and the sacrifices required to be strong and to keep the peace in a divided world.

My wish, next, is that many of you will have the motivation and the opportunity to contribute, through your work, however specialized, to the effective use of science and engineering and the other professions represented among you in shaping public policy and in evolving our social strategy. We need stateman-scientists and statesmanengineers—men who become molders of opinion and public leaders, who make a vital contribution to the common account, because they are, first of all, scientists and engineers and possess the insight and understanding of their specialties. We are now in a period when science and engineering are major influences on domestic and foreign policy and in turn are greatly affected by such policy. Yet there is a great shortage of men and women with adequate scientific understanding who can be or are willing to try to be effective in the political and policy-making arena. We need more scientists and engineers with the education, competence, and motivation for foreign service. We need more who have the breadth and the special understanding to help in dealing wisely with the multiplying technico-political problems in our Government. I hope that many of you will have an opportunity and the will to contribute to public policymaking and to the public philosophy in the years ahead.

I would remind you, next, that we are the inheritors of a very ancient faith-a faith in the primacy of man as a person. This faith has been a cornerstone of Western society and has been valiantly affirmed through deeds and words throughout its existence. The concept that might does not make right, that there is in each individual human being a worth that must be respected, that freedom is better than unfreedom, has been affirmed and reaffirmed in many parts of the world over and over again. But the per-sistent reappareance of tryrannical rule, of the phillosophy that careers should be determined by the class or race into which you are born instead of by natural endowments and acquired talents, the belief that men are made to serve the State rather than that the State exists to serve man, shows that Goethe was right in saying: "What our fathers have bequeathed to us, we must earn anew if we are to possess it."

It is my earnest hope that you will share diligently in earning anew these priceless

If we are to live in peace and freedom, it will only be because there are enough peo-

ple who care enough and who know enough to make the effort which freedom and truth and moral law require. It will be because there are men and women who can break through apathy and indifference and enjoy the exhibitation of intense and purposeful effort.

My wish and hope is that you will mobilize your talents, education, and personal force both to demonstrate and support the sacred value of the free mind and the free spirit, and the significance of individual man as a human being. You can play a major

role in this great mission. And now a more personal word. Whatever may befall you on your journey through life, success in the deepest and truest sense will be found in the dignity and poise which you reveal in meeting both the failures and the successes of life. It will be found in your perception and acceptance of high standards and ideal aims. Your success will reside especially in your relations with people, in your capacity to be compassionate as well as steadfast, tender as well as high-minded in your loyalties and your alle-giances. Each of you, by enhancing the excellence and dignity of your own life, can contribute to the quality and dignity and strength of our national life.

As Dr. John Gardner recently said, "Every good man strengthens society. In this day of sophisticated judgments on man and soclety that is a notably unfashionable thing to say. Men of integrity, by their very existence, rekindle the belief that as a people we can live above the level of moral squalor. We need that belief; a cynical community is a corrupt community."

I record these observations about the spe

cial conditions and opportunities which you face by way of expressing our confidence in you and in the adventuresome future which lles before you.

We who continue here shall always be glad for the days we have worked and lived together with you, always cherish the privilege of having had you as members of this community of scholars, always rejoice in your progress and accomplishments. salute you for your record as students and as citizens of this community. We speak our admiration of your parents for their contribution to some students. contribution to your parents for success. We celebrate with them and with you this day of fulfill ment and however. ment and hopeful beginnings.

With these sentiments of pride and leave taking, of affection and felicitation, and cherishing your continued affiliation with this institution, we bid you Godspeed and farewell.

## Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Federal Credit Union

SPEECH

## HON. QUENTIN BURDICK

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 26, 1959

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, I wish to compliment our distinguished colleague from Texas, the Honorable WRIGHT PATMAN, for his remarks made upon the 25th anniversary of the creation of credit union legislation. On be half of the thousands of credit unled members in North Dakota, I am pleased to join in and associate myself with his remarks. remarks. I might also state that I am a cosponsor with Mr. PATMAN, and other colleagues in this House, of the legislation now pending to amend the Federal Credit Union Act which became law 25 years ago.

One great milestone has been passed. Those last 25 years have been marked by the growth of a savings and service institution which has operated to the bene-At of thousands of our citizens across the length and breadth of this land. The unconscionable money lender was effectively challenged and, in many places, stopped.

It is well that we celebrate this anniversary and look back upon the accomplishments of the past, but there is much to be done. The necessity for credit unions still exists. Let us enact the necessary legislation to aid in this program. More credit and more service to more people, at reasonable rates, helps to build a healthier and stronger economy.

## Philadelphia's Robin Hood Dell

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN, JR.

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I call the attention of Congress, and, through this body, the attention of the Nation, to America's greatest cultural bargain—the Robin Hood Dell in Philadelphia, on the commencement of the 30th year of fine summer music in one of the world's loveliest settings. Our Dell can guarantee superb music played by one of the world's greatest orchestras, with celebrated conductors, instrumentalists and vocalists. It can guaran-tee a full house, some 400,000 music-lovers each year for the series of 21

Our Dell can guarantee an exemplary quality of music in a sylvan setting in Verdant Fairmount Park—and that the highest of cultural standards will be attained without the fear of deficit. For the Dell budget is assured before the series begins. Each of the concerts is free—simply for the cost of a 4-cent stamp

This musical miracle is brought about by the Philadelphia plan of joint mu-nicipal-private sponsorship, the plan which has attracted international acclaim as an agency of cultural contribution. Indeed, the Philadelphia plan which enables Robin Hood Dell to maintain consistently superior standards, is a harbinger of the enlightened social planning that is sweeping our land. Under the plan. Philadelphia's City Council voluntarily assumed its responsibility to gratify the cultural hungers of its enlightened community.

To perpetuate the Robin Hood Dell, our city council annually supplies half the budget—\$75,000. The balance is assumed by a group of some 800 music lovers who buy membership in the Friends of the Deil for \$100 apiece. This amount—equivalent of less than \$2.40 for two reserved seats for each of 21 concerts-is itself a bargain. But together-this merger of municipal and private investment in good citizenship makes the Robin Hood Dell the greatest cultural bargain in the land. And, the pian is a pattern of patronage that might well be followed by cities the world

Therefore, on the commencement of the 30th year of this world-leading summer music series, I would like to extend to Robin Hood Dell, on behalf of the Congress of the United States of America, our greetings and gratitude and good wishes.

### Post Mortems on Operation Mikovan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, it would be the height of folly for anyone to divorce the Mikoyan episode early this year from many current developments in the international field. Pressures for expanded trade with the Soviet Union, acceptance of Communist China despite its crimes against its neighbors and against humanity, acceptance of the status quo in a divided Europe, and other appeasing objectives were greatly abetted by Mikoyan's mission to this country.

A careful analysis of the Mikoyan mission appears in the editorial of the March issue of the Ukrainian Quarterly, one of our scholarly publications on the Soviet Union, entitled "Post Mortems on Op-eration Mikoyan," The editorial methodically analyzes the aims and content of the operation and shows its basic importance for Moscow's drive to a summit meeting. Written by Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, of Georgetown University, the editorial also shows the role played by Cyrus Eaton in the generation of the idea leading to the operation.

Because of the light it sheds on this subsequent phase to the Mikoyan operation, I include the editorial under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD:

POST MORTEMS ON OPERATION MIKOYAN

This examination of the causes, nature, and effects of the visit of Moscow's Deputy Premier to the United States will surely not be the last. Anastas I. Mikoyan has un-doubtedly left his imprints here. Operation Mikoyan is closed, but the campaign continues. The operation in which the traitor to the Armenian people featured, was only the first phase of a direct cold war campaign against the United States on its own terrain. Despite the decettful pleas of Miyokan and also Khrushchev for ending the cold war, Operation Mikoyan was an integral part of Moscow's cold war activity. This activity is a necessarily continuous one. Significantly, the prodigious paradox of the visit is that too many Americans failed to see it in this

When Mikoyan just arrived here, the alert Committee on Un-American Activities greet-

ed him with its sobering report on Patterns of Communist Espionage. The report at least alludes to the cold war nature of this typical Russian Bear maneuver. At the very outset it soundly states that Moscow's "protestations of peaceful intent and a desire for true friendship with the United States are an utter sham." The rich material in the report should have been used consistently in the course of the press interviews and other appearances of this visitor on a tourist visa. But the reason why this did not eventuate can be found in the prime lessons to be drawn from the entire affair.

For one, the spectacle brought into the open the nalvete of countless Americans in regard to tried Russian techniques of undermining the targeted enemy. Second, it disclosed the short memories and the shoddy character of thinking in many sections of our populace as concerns not only present international circumstances but also those of the immediate past. And third, the minor errors of the administration scarcely contributed to an enlightened atmosphere in connection with the real aims, intent, and purposes of this celebrated tourist who was allowed to enjoy free advantages which no foreign tourist of comparable rank could possibly realize in the Soviet Union. Instead, the atmosphere was one of confusion, bewilderment, and foolishness until, toward the close of the visit, Mikoyan showed some of his real character.

An evaluation of this cold war operation must deal with its aims, actual behavior, and noted effects. The field for the operation was, of course, the traditional warmth and good fellowship of Americans generally. Menshikov was sent here long ago to exploit and cultivate this field. In this respect, Mikoyan had a nicely set stage for his own operation and took full advantage of it. Moreover, the operation was being executed in an international context. It would be the height of political immaturity to think that the visit was a good will tour in an isolated American setting. Actually, it was just one facet of an unfolding pattern. The Lunk, West Berlin, the forthcoming 21st Community Party Congress, the 7-year plan, and a resultant impact upon not only the captive nations and the underdeveloped countries but upon our free world allies as well—all of this was tied to Operation Mikoyan. This integralist viewpoint is no rationalist imputation; that is, viewing it in a way the Fremlin did not. What Mikoyan himself had to say and what the propaganda machine in Moscow was disgorging at the same time, easily substantiate this view-

#### THE PRIMARY AIM OF MIK-OPERATION

While Mikoyan was here, there was a great deal of speculation as to the aims of his mission. Editorials, radio, and TV commentarics, and a number of public and private utterances produced a mass of possible explanations. Some were plainly superfictal and even ridiculous, others were well grounded and incisive. Taking the more sensible ones, it is not difficult to boil them down in an order of relative importance. The order itself is based on certain criteria of knowledge and understanding concerning the chief drives and problems of the present Kremlin leadership. In short, one couldn't begin to make an assessment of this kind without constant reference to developments in the Soviet Union itself,

In immediate terms, the first aim was to drive a wedge between American public opinion and the Government. When this was emphasized by certain groups and individuals in this country-weeks before Mikoyan himself distemperately admitted it-a cold shoulder of skepticism and impatience was the response. Yet the fact is that this

warning was no idle inference or speculation. It was generally based on known techniques of the Russian manipulators and it was specifically related to the wild impressions created by Cyrus Eaton during his stay in Moscow. Most Americans don't bother to read U.S.S.R. publications. Thus they couldn't know the irresponsible encouragement given by Eaton for Moscow's use of traditional techniques of divide et impera in the United States. Instead of employing their ever-active subversive channels, Mos-cow was fully encouraged to realize this aim openly and directly. It correctly reasoned that if an opulent industrialist like Eaton can be duped, there must be quite a reservoir of guilibility in the higher and leading circles of American society.

It is very strange, indeed, that our press

failed to seize upon the following statements made by Eaton in Moscow last year. They were virtually repeated verbatim by Mikoyan at the close of his trip. In one interview Eaton said: "But it should be borne in mind that in the United States the Government is the Government and the people are the people." He elaborated on this as follows: 'In the Soviet Union the Government speaks in the name of all the people. In the United States this is not the case. It does not speak in the name of the people." Fantastic, isn't it? What would you do if you were in Khrushchev's or Mikoyan's shoes? The an-

But this is not all. In another interview we note these additional political gems scattered about by one of our captains of industry. "I have convinced myself," says our expert in moneymaking, "that the Soviet Union desires to improve relations with the United States. In our country, too, there is an influential group that feels the same way." Of course, Eaton doesn't say how he arrived at this conviction or on the basis of what solid evidence is Moscow's alleged desire founded. Further, he observes that "Nothing in the world can justify a nation trying to impose its convictions on other countries \* \* . There are some in the United States who want to impose our system on other countries." From this one would think the United States is the imperialist and colonial power, not the Russians. And finally, Eaton told his Russian audience in Moscow, "The United States of America has not been built up by statesmen and soldiers but mainly by the genius of its industrialists and leaders in commerce. There is a large group in my country, representing every phase of business, that wishes to promote trade and commerce between our two great nations." 5 These are the words of a supposedly enlightened business leader in our society. The U.S.S.R. is not a nation, but Eaton's statement is indicative of his understanding of that state.

No great amount of analytic effort is required to directly connect Eaton's inspirations with Mik-operation. Could the Kremlin possibly have a more voluntarily tutored spokesman here? If you carefully followed the Mikoyan operation, you doubtlessly were impressed by the reiteration of most of the points quoted above. By the time he was heading for home, he openly accused the Government of deliberately continuing the cold war in a manner contrary to the interests and desires of the American people. cold war in the State Department is continuing," he charged. This and other charges, poised on the fundamental driving-wedge tactic, were afforded ample psychological cushion here by leaders who should know better. For instance, with little discretion or judgment, an American public figure thought it was a stroke of humor to blurt out in Chicago: "I feel about the Republicans about the same way Mr. Mikoyan feels about Molotov. I would trust them with any post except public office." This public remark couldn't have served the primary immediate aim of Operation Mikovan better.

Regardless of party affiliation, an intelligent citizen respects the fact that a Republican named Eisenhower is also, and more importantly, the President of this Nation. He is respectfully cognizant also of the fact that as Chief Executive of the Government, our Republican President is vested with powers and responsibilities to conduct the foreign affairs of this country. Not the Eatons, the Stevensons and other misguided private citizens, but the President is held accountable for this serious undertaking. The intelligent citizen cannot compliment Mr. Truman enough for his excellent article which appeared in this period. Our former President not only reduced Mikoyan to proper size but he also depicted these amateur diplomats in their true light.

#### SEVERAL CONTINGENT AIMS OF MIKOYAN

It is evident that a marked degree of success with the primary aim would open the way for the realization of several contingent and even higher aims. These bear on a summit meeting, trade, West Berlin, and peace propaganda in Asia and Africa. With soft spots adequately tapped in this country, Moscow reasons that it could gain valuable support here for the fulfillment of its other objectives. After all, weren't there many voices raised to ditch Matsu and Que-The push to realize these contingent aims, each in greater or lesser degree, actually constitutes the second phase of Moscow's cold war campaign on the American terrain. This is the phase we're in now. Mikoyan was supposed to have driven the wedge sufficiently for pressure to be exerted on our Government to relent somewhat on its present policies. He was supposed to have influenced enough influential Americans in business and industry to undertake this campaign, ultimately in behalf of Moscow. If there is one Eaton, there must be thousands of them.

Basically, there is nothing that Moscow wants more at this time than a summit meeting. It has angled for this since the Bulganin missives were launched at the end of 1957. Throughout 1958 and into the 21st Communist Congress at the beginning of this year, Moscow has pressed hard for such a meeting. As Khrushchev has so often let the world know, a summit agenda must exclude any talk about the captive nations. If this were to come to pass, the Russians would achieve their greatest victory since the establishment of their new empire, the U.S.S.R. Within their expanded empire today, they would convincingly make known to every captive that the West is really hypocritical in the espousal of its principles. They would effectively convey the idea that the West is resigned to the permanent captivity of the enslaved nations. Khrushchev's personal power would be fortified and entrenched beyond question. Briefly, such a summit meeting would seal Moscow's desperate consolidation of its empire. Russian operations in the basically secondary areas of Western Europe, the Middle East, and Asia would become that much easier.

A corollary aim for the attainment of this grand objective is to consummate bilateral treaties between the U.S.S.R. and the United This aim has the further advantage of splitting the free world allies. This trap would be prepared by preliminary visits and exchanges of the heads of state, perhaps a treaty on banning nuclear weapons and similar subsidiary negotiations. Mikoyan and some of his benighted American friends have urged this. It is enough to quote here the excellent statement made by Dr. Emilio Nunez-Portuondo of Cuba in the Emergency Special Session of the General Assembly of

"The Moscow Government bound itself by solemn treatles to respect the political sovereignty and territorial integrity of Rumania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland. Albania and martyred Hungary. Yet all these states have been subjected to a pitiless colonialism, which is maintained by vast Russian armies. We could say the same of China which has signed a solemn treaty of friendship—later violated—with the Soviet Union. We could say the same about Outer Mongolia, Ukraine, East Germany, North Korea and North Vietnam. Thousands of square pulses have been solded. square miles have been conquered and colonized by the Soviet Union in recent years and the number of human beings now beneath its pitiless yoke runs into hundreds of

Needless to say, sudden smiles are no substitute for hard experience.

Moscow's operations of methodical infiltration, subversion, and gradual dominationso typical of centuries of Russian diplomatic and political history—would also be im-mensely facilitated by unrestricted trade between the United States and the Soviet Union. Moscow is seeking this and Mikoyan has laid down the precondition of long-term credits. Amity through trade is a fatuous slogan in this instance. Britain and Germany were mutually best customers for decades but two ades but two wars in this century were fought between them. A close analysis of the 7-year plan shows that Moscow will be exceedingly under pressure for capital accretions—this aside from its already overdrawn commitments in the underdeveloped Very simply, unrestricted trade on a long-term credit basis—and even without this—would to some extent relieve Moscow of this pressure, abet the fulfillment of some of its industrial goals, and indirectly sponsor its operations in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. America.

The propaganda value attached to the success of any of these aims need hardly be stated. Mikoyan was able, for example, to exact from the lips of many American businessmen tributes to the rapid strides of the Soviet economy. These tributes will be read and heard of in Asia and Africa, and to Moscow's advantage. Mikoyan searched for the soft spots in the political, and even moral, fibers of our Nation and found them. The Cleveland conference of Protestant clergy, sponsored by the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. last November 18 vember, is a recent example of political weakness. Its unanimous vote for the recognition of Red China nition of Red China surely attracted the attention of those planning Operation Mikoyan. The tapping of such weak spots, coupled with Khrushchev's boasts at the 21st congress about the "serial" production of ICBM's, was obviously calculated also to further Moscow's aim on West Berlin. Which fight over this small bit of territory which we want to be "free" anyway? Operation Mikoyan voiced this.

## SALIENT ASPECTS OF THE OPERATION

In carrying out the operation, Mikoyan dwelt on each of these major alms, hammered away at peace, the summit, and treaty agreements to further the aim of the wedge. Upon his return to Magazin he had wedge. Upon his return to Moscow, he had the temerity to say, "An increasing number of Americans are beginning to understand that war and the threat of war are an altogether unsuitable means of settling international issues." With record to the imternational issues." With regard to the implication of this remark, the New York Times quite properly stressed, "What vicious nonsense this is." Assistant Secretary of State Berding provided the best succinet reply to the spurious pages also in the opreply to the spurious peace plea in the operation: "\* \* we are not just interested in peace, but in peace with justice. If all tomorrow, with a maintenance of the status quo."

The equally spurious plea for trade was effectively answered by Under Secretary of State Dillon. Although he didn't present some of the points raised in this editorial, the Under Secretary nevertheless made clear the fact that we are ready to trade without the fact that we are ready to trade without credits and predominantly in the category of consumer good items. Undoubtedly, the low standard of living in the U.S.R. justifies this. As for the West Berlin aim, Mikoyan showed his hand at the National Press Curb hardson. We warned his audi-Press Club luncheon. He warned his audience that Moscow would meet force with force if the United States should use military Power to maintain its access to West Berlin. This characteristic Russian bluster can be wholly discounted. No one trust the armed forces of the Soviet Union less than the Kremlin itself." Behind the ICBM's, the tanks, etc., are armed forces made up of over 40 percent captives. This is scarcely a guarantee for victory.

One cannot compliment too highly those who questioned Mikoyan on the "Meet the Press" program, Lawrence Spivak and Harry Schwartz brought out the worst in Mikoyan. His parallel between Moscow's brutal domination over Hungary and United States intervention in Lebanon was indicative of the lying casuistry in which he and his kind This program capped the growing irritability of the so-called factfinding tour-The demonstrations certainly contributed to this as, also, had the public condemnation of the political criminal by some of our leading citizens.

The Presidential message on a show of courtesy toward the man was ineptly worded. It conveyed the impression that demonstrations per se were acts of discourtesy. This unfortunately played into the hands of those who sought to paint the demonstrators as merely "Hungarian refugees." Mikoyan, in turn, lost no time in seizing upon this op-portunity. "I do not think," he said, "that picketter." ly the Americans get rid of these freedoms, freedoms for hooligans, the better for yourselves." He expressed the opinion that "99 percent of the American people" had nothing to do with this. That might have been, but a good percentage sympathized with the demonstrators. The public condemnation of the of the man for his political crimes in the Caucasus, Ukraine, and Hungary by such. leaders as Congressman Judd, George Meany, Cardinal Cushing, and others indicated the temper of broad sections of our population. Basic principles were maintained in the midst of a secming loss of them.

EFFECTS AND THE SECOND PHASE

It would be foolish to deny that Operation Mikoyan made definite inroads here. sort spots were expertly tapped and will show themselves themselves again in drives for the recognition of Red China, a compromised summit meeting, more cultural and political exchanges, a retreat on West Berlin, and more trade with the U.S.R. Moreover, it provided propaganda fodder for Moscow's use in Asia and Africa bandwinking the neuin Asia and Africa, hoodwinking the neutralists and undermining the faith of some of our stanchest allies. It bred confusion in the minds of innumerable Americans and succeeded in exacting an audience for the tourist with the President. Also, the operation revealed the low state of principled behavior on the part of many of our groups who lavishingly feted the political criminal.

About the part of many of our groups who lavishingly feted the political criminal. About 20 years ago Dr. Hjalmar Schacht was placed in a deep political and social freeze for the government he represented; today, a man is honored for the crimes he committed, one Just over 2 years ago.

The second phase, from Moscow's view-point, is to capitalize on these inroads. We are how to capitalize on these inroads. are now in this phase. Internal pressures

here will mount for expanded trade with the U.S.S.R. and some retreat in West Berlin. As in the past, an alert and vigilant opposition to complacency and softness can thwart Moscow's cold war plan to exploit misguided Americans for its own end. The consummate end is nothing less than our defeat,

International Affairs, Moscow October

1958, p. 76.

Fibid., p. 77.

New Times, Moscow, September 1958, p.

\* Ibld., p. 11.

5 Ibid., p. 9.

"Delivered on Aug. 20, 1958. 7 Editorial, Jan. 26, 1959.

8 AP, New Orleans, Jan. 27, 1959.

\*See, "Basic Misconceptions in U.S. Military Thought on the U.S.S.R.," the Ukrainian Quarterly, December 1958.

#### Debate on Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, in my remarks I include an objective appraisal by Walter Lippmann appearing in the Washington Post and Times Herald of June 25, 1959, of the recent statement of the Democratic Advisory Council dealing with our national defense.

As Mr. Lippmann, in favorably commenting on the statement said:

The pamphlet contains a carefully reasoned and persuasive argument why expenditures should be increased to close the missile gap and to increase our conventional forces

The article follows:

DEBATE ON DEFENSE

(By Walter Lippmann)

Last week the Democratic Advisory Council issued a long pamphlet dealing with na-The worst thing that can tional defense. The worst thing that can said about it is that it is sponsored by a political party, or rather by a faction of a political party, and that it will, therefore, be heavily discounted. This is a pity. For, disregarding a few unnecessary and extraneous partisan phrases, the pamphlet deserves a very careful reading.

There is a large literature already existing which is critical of our defense policy. Having read a good deal of it, I would venture to say that this pamphlet is much the best in its field, evidently quite expertly informed, reasonable and civilian in its temper, and lucidly written.

It ought not to be brushed aside as a partisan document. For, in fact, the argument it makes has the support of large numbers of Republicans, especially of those who have paid close attention to the problem of defense, and of many of the military men who by common consent are leaders in military thought. Moreover, the pamphlet is not a Democratic Party document since there is no reason to think that the present Democratic leadership in Congress agrees with it.

The two main points of the pamphlet are familiar enough. The first one deals with the missile gap which, on the admission of Secretary McElroy, is likely to bring it about that in the next 3 years the U.S.S.R. will have in intercontinental ballistic missiles a su-

premacy of 3 to 1. This could mean that during these years the U.S.S.R. would be theoretically capable of knocking out the bulk of our Strategic Air Force. The pamphlet does not say that the U.S.S.R. would, or is likely to, try for such a Pearl Harbor. But it is right in saying that the existence of this theoretical power would have an important effect on the political relations between the West and the Communist powers.

The other point, which is also familiar. is that defense cannot be allowed to depend solely on nuclear weapons—the big ones which are suicidal or the small ones which would be devastating to our allies and to the uncommitted countries.

The pamphlet contains a carefully reasoned and persuasive argument why expenditures should be increased to close the missile gap and to increase our conventional forces.

What interested me most in the pamphlet, given the fact that it was written under the auspices of Mr. Dean Acheson, was the illuminating candor with which it explains how things have changed since the Truman administration. The critical change is this: Our original strategy in NATO was based on our possession at the time of a monopoly of nuclear weapons. Under those conditions, a small ground force, backed by the irresistible power of the Strategic Air Force, was quite sufficient to hold in check the enormously superior masses of the Red army.

Our monopoly was broken by the Soviets in 1949, and this has brought with it, as the U.S.S.R. developed its bombs and its missiles, a radical change in the balance of power. We are far from being defenseless against this new might of the Soviet Union. But there is no doubt that our allies in Western Europe and our client states in Asia are far more vulnerable than they were 10 years ago. This could have serious political consequences, if the missile gap is allowed to become so wide that this country, which is the ultimate protector of the non-Communist

world, becomes itself highly vulnerable.

No matter what it costs, this must not be allowed to happen.

It would be a very useful thing if the administration issued a thoroughgoing, fully considered reply. This would not be easy to do, because within the Pentagon and within the administration itself there are so many who agree with the pamphlet. But it would be a true public service if the President, who does not agree, would see to it that there is a reply.

### Release by George J. Burger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JAMES E. MURRAY

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a release by Mr. George J. Burger, vice president, National Federation of Independent Business. His statement should be noted by my colleagues in view of the early interest taken, under my chairmanship, by the Senate Small Business Committee on the subject matter of his release.

The committee in 1951 made the problems of the independent tire dealers one of its principal studies, and took action to assist them by recommending remedial legislation. In fact, this action was unanimous on the part of the committee.

There being no objection, the release was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A call for action, not merely lipservice, was made on behalf of the rubber tire industry today by George J. Burger, vice presi-National Federation of Independent

In a letter to the editor and publisher of National Independent, Burger said that he is making no appeal to appear before the subcommittee of the Senate Small Business Committee which opened hearings this morning on basic problems of the rubber tire industry.

'I was consulted on these hearings many months back by Chairman HUMPHREY and his staff \* \* \* as to what position, if any, the writer, would take in his appearance before the subcommittee. So as to set the perfore the specommittee. So to set the record straight, I was desirous from the very first instant \* \* \* of bringing fair competition within the rubber tire industry which would not alone be beneficial to the independents but at the same time would be beneficial to the industry as a whole."

A veteran of 40 years working with independent tire dealers. Burger said he saw no reason for hearings to be held on matters with which the committee is already well posted on and on which they have all the

He stressed three important steps to be taken, "and the committee has all the facts on hand right now to carry through," which he believes would cure most of the present

problems of the industry: "First, the adoption of the rubber tires bill. This bill would bring about complete divorcement of tire manufacturing from the retail field. It also places certain restrictions on oil companies concerning the sale of tires. This bill is a sound and a needed piece of legislation. It has gone through dozens of hearings and has even gotten to the floor of the Senate.

"A second step or alternative would be all-out, consistent, vigorous support of the Magnuson (S. 1742), Bentley (H.R. 2729)

"Third, a thorough exposé of the handling of the quantity discount rule by the antitrust agencies.

'My position as to these hearings is that we must be satisfied that the objective is to cure the cancer once and for all time. We want action."

Following is the full text of Mr. Burger's letter:

JUNE 10, 1959.

EDITOR AND PUBLISHER NATIONAL INDEPENDENT, New York, N.Y.

DEAR MR. EDITOR: You will note the attached which covers the announcement by the chairman of the Senate Small Business chairman of Committee, the Honoroble John Sparkman, that the subcommittee headed by the Honorable Hubert Humphrey will hold hearings on dual distribution, etc., in the rubber tire industry, which hearings will be held on June 17, 18, and 19.

In my dual capacity, representing the above and in my official position with the National Federation of Independent Business, I was consulted on these hearings many months back by the chairman of the subcommittee and his staff as to the overall planning, and as to what position, if any, the writer would take in his appearance before the subcommittee.

So as to set the record straight, I was desirous from the very first instant these many years back of bringing fair competition within the rubber tire industry, which would not alone be beneficial to the independents but at the same time would be beneficial to the industry as a whole. I be-

lieve my actions have been recognized and confirmed time and again by many Members of Congress, One remarked: "All you are trying to do, Mr. Burger, is to save the industry before it destroys itself."

you well know from the record, the Senate Small Business Committee has many thousands of pages of testimony over the many years as to the problems in the rub-ber tire industry—dating back to the beginning and the continual follow through by us up until 1954, so this means 13 years complete background on the problem, and this condition hasn't changed for the better. It may have eased up a bit during the war period and the period of Government spending, but the basic problems remain.

I need not tell you of the single-handed fight for adoption of the rubber tires bill these many years, which was in-stituted in the first instance by that sincere leader, the Honorable James E. MURRAY, who, by the way, has reintroduced this legislation in every succeeding Congress since 1942.

It will be found in many annual reports

of the Senate Small Business Committee the recommendation was made that the legislation be voted by the Congress.

When we single handed instituted the quantity discount rule for the rubber tire industry, under the law, we felt that this in itself, if finally validated, would go a long ways to bring fair competition in the rubber tire industry. Keep in the forefront that we alone, in our dual capacity, supported the Commission's findings. The case dragged on for many years in the Federal courts, and at one time during these court hearings the presiding judge remarked that it appeared to him the Commission never intended to enforce the rule

Keeping in front of us this opinion of the Judge and other actions in the handling of this major case by the antitrust agencies. 2 years ago this present month there was a promise made and a complete understanding that a member of the Senate Small Business Committee would institute public hearings. We have kept pressuring for such action and have permitted our private files to be examined on this major case but still no concrete action has been instituted up to this point. It is our opinion, and we are making no charges against the antitrust agencies, that a thorough investigation should be made of the handling of this case, and particularly calling in all Government officials who had anything to do with the handling of this case and it might develop some interesting information as to the enforcement of the antitrust laws.

Holding this action paramount, as late as the fall of 1958 when the committee was considering these hearings, we held to the premise that the hearings should be on that case, and on that case alone.

As you well know, an extensive national survey by the National Independent was instituted some 4 years ago, the survey reaching at least 4,000 independent members of the rubber tire industry. The findings in that survey were all delivered to the respective small business committees and both antitrust agencies. That survey disclosed the problems existing as reported earlier in a similar survey by the Senate Small Business Committee in 1941.

Apparently these findings have been gathering dust in the files of the respective re-

If the accredited dealer leaders are sincere in wanting to bring about long overdue relief to protect efficient independent tire sales and services it would appear to the writer, who has lived with this problem of the independents consistently for close to 40 years, that action should be taken by them and the committee not to rehash what has already been told but both the committee and the alleged dealer leaders should act on:

- 1. The adoption of the rubber tires bill-2. If that is too drastic, then allout, consistent, vigorous support should be given to the Magnuson (S. 1742), Bently (H.R. 2729) bills.
- 3. A demand for a thorough expose of the handling of the quantity discount rule by the antitrust agencies.

If the dealer leaders and the committee will not take positive action on these three major recommendations as noted above, then we see no reason for such additional hearings to be held on matters with which the com-mittee is already well posted on, and on which they have all the facts.

I am making no appeal to appear until we are satisfied that the objective is to cure the cancer once and for all times.

Of course you will make this letter a matter of public information so the dealers, nationwide, will know once and for all times that we never have and never will duck an issue in their behalf. We want action, not merely lipservice. Sincerely,

GEORGE J. BURGER, Washington Representative.

## Editorial Comment in Oregon on the Wheat Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President the wheat situation is still very much in controversy since the veto by the President of the wheat bill enacted by Congress. This was the bill which called for 90 percent price supports with a 25-per cent reduction in acreage. I felt that the bill would not accomplish its proclaimed purpose because the history of acreage reductions. acreage reductions has been that farm ers retire their acres of poorest quality, while fertilizing intensively their best acres. Thus production has remained high—even at record levels—during per riods of acreage reduction. Further more, egg and poultry producers are sulfering a fering a grave financial crisis, part of which is aggravated by high feed prices. Wheat price supports of 90 percent in the Pacific Northwest could only worsen this situation for egg producers by raising feed principles ing feed prices still further. Wheat is the natural feed for Pacific Northwest poultry grows poultry growers.

For these, and other reasons, I voted against the recent wheat bill which now has been vetoed at the White House.

Two thoughtful editorials were published in the daily newspapers of my home community of Portland, ores, about this question. One, entitled Answer For Wheat Dilemma," appeared in the Oregon D in the Oregon Daily Journal of June 25. The other, entitled "Inviting a Veto, 24 published in the Oregonian of June 1 ask unanimous I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President that these editorials be printed in the

There being no objection, the editor rials were ordered to be printed in the

RECORD, as follows:

[From the Oregon Journal, June 25, 1959] No Answer for Wheat DILEMMA

Some Democratic critics in Congress of Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson have argued that price supports for wheat at 75 percent of parity have encouraged rather than discouraged overproduction. At this level, farmers have to produce heavily to make up for lower profit margins, they say.

This is the reasoning behind the new Democratic-sponsored wheat bill, passed first by the House and now accepted by the Senate after the House had refused to approve Senate-passed compromises.

But there are few people close to the problem, including Members of Congress,

believe the latest piece of legislation, which calls for reducing acreages by 25 percent and paying 90 percent of parity, will begin to solve the wheat dilemma.

It fails to take into account the still rising productivity of the soil, brought about by improved practices which have by no means reached the limit of their potential. Under the spur of higher per bushel prices. one may look for ever larger production per acre, with probably little or no lapse in the piling up of surpluses. This plan goes contrary to the views of many farmers and farm organizations, which have advocated a gradreduction of the role of Government. The new legislation increases that role.

One of its effects, as pointed out by Senator Richard L. Neuberger, one of the few Democrats voting against the bill, will be to make wheat more costly than ever to egg and poultry producers, already in distress because of low prices for their products and high feed costs. The continued high price of wheat also discourages its use for the fattening of cattle and hogs, favored by some Pacific Northwest agriculturists as a needed development for our region.

Congressional leaders believe President Elsenhower is almost certain to veto the bill. But this poses a dilemma, for his veto will continue the present wheat program, which the President had already said is leading the country toward farm disaster.

Congress would have time, following a veto, to reenact another piece of legislation. The prospects that it could come up with a wise plan are slim. The nature of the problem has defied the wisdom of Congress for many years. There is little reason to be optimistic now.

[From the Oregonian, June 24, 1959] INVITING A VETO

The House wheat bill, which the Senate narrowly approved after the House had rea compromise conference measure, is worse than the conference committee's proposal. It raises the support price from the present 75 percent of parity to 90, pushing wheat farther out of competition as a feed prain

Its cutback of wheat acreage by 25 percent creates a problem in what to do with the idled land. Most assuredly, wheatgrowers will make every effort to grow as much on the best ve the best 75 percent of their present acreage allotments as improved technology permits, should the bill become law. If weather is good, nothing like a 25 percent reduction in production can be expected. The taxpayers will invest many more millions in wheat that cannot be used, and at about \$2.13 a bushel,

Actually, few Senators expect the bill to become law. They are lukewarm about it themselves and they foresee a veto by President me It was a display of stubborness on the part of Democrats and farm-bloc Republicans who hold to the long discredited highparity program. It makes one wonder if Congress really wants to solve the farm

Of seven Democratic Senators from Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and Alaska, only two, Neuberger, of Oregon, and Gruening, of Alaska, voted "nay." Senator Neuberger explained he felt the bill might not only encourage further surpluses, with improved planting methods, but also would make wheat more costly than ever as a feed source for egg and poultry producers, who already are suffering from high feed prices. If 90 percent of parity was voted for wheat, he said, argument would be furnished for similar increase for cotton, tobacco, corn, peanuts, and other favored crops already in surplus supply. Senator Neuberger still believes the domestic parity, or two-price plan, offers the best hope for wheat.

Whether the two-price plan would solve the problem is debatable. But one believes Senators Neuberger and Gruening are closer to the thinking of Pacific-Northwest wheatgrowers and city people, alike, than are the other five Senators of their party from this

## A Tribute to Delegate John A. Burns of Hawaii

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. HENRY M. JACKSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, the June 26 issue of the Pacific Citizen, the publication of the American Citizens League, contains a splendid tribute to the Delegate from Hawaii, John A. Burns, who is well known to us in the Senate because of his brilliant and farsighted leadership in the campaign for Hawaiian statehood. The article is written by Mr. Mike Masaoka, the Washington representative of the Japanese Citizens League, who also is known to many Members of this body for his exceptionally able work on behalf of Americans of Japanese ancestry. Mr. Masaoka is particularly qualified to write about Delegate Burns' achievements in helping American citizens of Asian ancestry during World War II, and afterward since he conceived the idea of the 442d Combat Team, the famous all Nesei fighting group that served with such gallantry during World War II.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have this article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### EAST-WEST UNIVERSITY

During the congressional debates leading to statehood for Hawaii earlier this session, much was made-by its proponents-of Hawaii's cosmopolitan population and the unique contributions which its people could make to a better understanding and appreciation of the many problems of the Pacific Basin, that yast area around whose perimeter more than half of the peoples of earth reside and where the next great development in civilization may well take place.

To implement this reality, Hawaii's Delegate John A. Buans joined with Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson to introduce legislation authorizing the establishment— as an extension to the University of Hawaii in Honolulu-of an East-West University to serve as the cultural, educational, and infor-mational center for both the Occident and the Orient.

Such a university would not only provide facilities for scholars and educators but more for public officials, civic and religious leadbusinessmen, sociologists-for people in all walks of life-to meet in an "aloha" atmosphere for the full, free, and frank exchange of thoughts and ideas. Only in this way may those of the East and the West understand each other.

To many of us who have for decades past

deplored what we consider the understandable but undue preoccupation of our country with the problems of Europe, while too often overlooking or minimizing those of Asia, this East-West University concept comes as a welcome suggestion that, at long last, a balance may be provided in public discussion of the concerns of the world, East as well as West, to the mutual benefit of both

To those who know Delegate Buans' passion for better relations between the United States and the Pacific nations and his devotion to his fellow Americans of Asian ancestry in Hawaii, his sponsorship with the most influential Member of the U.S. Senate of this thoughtful proposal is not surprising.

To Washingtonians, Delegate Burns' all-Hawaiian staff, including Nisei as his administrative assistant and as his chief secretary, was unprecedented back in 1956, when he first came to Congress, but only a forerunner of his positive position on the Americanism and loyalty of all Hawaiians regardless of their Asian background. Instead of minimizing or trying to explain away the preponderantly Asian character of Hawaii's population, he translated this into a major argument for statehood; a new citizenry whose background would better enable the United States to understand and cope with the momentous problems arising out of Asia.

American of Japanese ancestry particularly cannot forget Delegate Bunns' solicitude back in the dark and grim days following the attack on Pearl Harbor sympathy for those of Japanese ancestry was not a popular reaction. As a captain in the Honolulu Police Department and the chief of its espionage division, he worked with the FBI and others in authority allay the fears of the Hawaiian population against their neighbors of Japanese ancestry. By his bold and determined defense of the loyalty and integrity of Hawaiians of Japanese ancestry, he may well have been responsible for the lack of hate and hysteria in Hawaii such as that which developed on the west coast and precipitated the mass and arbitrary evacuation of all persons of Japanese ancestry-aliens and citizens alike-from their homes and associations.

We on the mainland have heard stories of his efforts to help Japanese Americans regain their morale and confidence; how he helped channel the activities of the Issei and the Nisel into contributions to the final victory. We know too of his immeasurable support which made possible the activation of the famed 442d Regimental Combat Team, and the sending into battle of the 100th Infantry Battalion, thereby making possible an epic history of military gallantry which more than any other single factor accounts for the current welcome acceptance accorded all persons of Japanese ancestry everywhere in the land. The record of the Nisei units in combat also made possible statehood for Hawaii by putting the lie to the racism of those who would deny equality of status to the Island

Capitol observers know of Delegate Burns' courageous and visionary decision only a year ago to allow statehood for Alaska to precede that for Hawil. By his statesmanship, he made it possible for both Territories to achieve statehood, though we are he received.

In that fateful hour when statehood for Hawaii was assured by allowing Alaska to move ahead, he showed the same kind of courage and Americanism that he showed in the troubled and tragic days after December 7, 1941.

In the public hearings on the Hawaiian statehood bill this past winter, Republicans vied with Democrats to acknowledge the debt which all Americans owe to Delegate Burns for enabling Hawaii to achieve full-fledged statehood.

The writer who himself was a witness at the final hearings before the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Subcommittee on Territories recalls with a thrill the bipartisanship that marks the vitality of our way of life when every member of that subcommittee, Republicans and Democrats, paid special tribute to Delegate Burns for his statesmanship and leadership in the statehood battle.

Especially remembered are the remarks of California's Senator Thomas H. Kuchel, assistant Republican leader: "Delegate Burns, you took the path of a statesman and you avoided the path of demagogery. I salute you for doing it."

Americans of good will join in that tribute. And particularly do Americans of Japanese ancestry who do not forget,

## Nationalist China Ban Is Condemned by AAU

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON, JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks I include a resolution adopted by the Amateur Athletic Union of the United States on June 19 and 20 at Boulder, Colo., together with a news item appearing in the Washington Sunday Star on June 21, 1959, condemning the International Olympic Committee for its unjustified action against Nationalist China. This resolution was cabled to Mr. Otto Mayer, chancellor of the International Olympic Committee:

RESOLUTION OF THE AMATEUR ATHLETIC UNION OF THE UNITED STATES

Whereas the International Olympic Committee at its last meeting in Munich summarily and without proper reason withdrew recognition of Nationalist China and thereby excluded it as a participant in the Olympic games.

Whereas at a meeting of the executive and foreign relations committees of the Amateur Athletic Union of the United States of America, held at Boulder, Colo., this 19th day of June, all facts leading to this expulsion were reviewed and carefully con-

Be it resolved, That the action of the In-ternational Olympic Committee in this regard be condemned, and that the Amateur Athletic Union of the United States of America demands that the International Olympic Committee rescind immediately its unjustified action against Nationalist China.

aware of the criticisms and even ridicule that [From the Washington Sunday Star, June 21, 1959]

NATIONALIST CHINA BAN IS CONDEMNED BY AAU

BOULDER, Colo., June 20.—The executive committee of the National Amateur Athletic Union today condemned the International Olympic Committee for withdrawing recognition of Nationalist China. Without the recognition, Nationalist China cannot compete in the Olympic games.

A resolution, which AAU officials said was approved unanimously, demanded that the IOC "rescind immediately its unjustified action against Nationalist China."

The IOC in a meeting at Munich May 29 ordered the National Chinese group to withdraw. Red China representatives on the IOC withdrew August 19, 1958, in a dispute over the presence of the Nationalists on the same committee,

#### MOVE INTERPRETED

Kellum Johnson, of Dallas, president of the AAU, said he interpreted the IOC's action in Munich as a move to give both Chinese groups representation on the committee. He said he understood the IOC intended to invite the Nationalists to reapply for admission under another name. (At Munich the Nationalists were told they would be acceptable as the Formosan Olympic Committee).

The AAU committee's action was announced at a news conference in conjunction with the National AAU track and field championships here.

Johnson said the decision was taken after Douglas Roby, of Detroit, a member of the IOC and the AAU executive committee, had reported on the Munich meeting.

Roby and Jack Garland of Los Angeles, also a member of the IOC, voted against the expulsion. Avery Brundage of Chicago, president of the IOC, did not vote on the issue as presiding officer. There were about 50 IOC committee members present at Munich and it was announced that 28 favored withdrawing recognition of Nationalist China.

The negative vote was not announced.

Johnson said copies of the resolution were being sent to all members of the IOC and to the headquarters of all international sports

He said the AAU was hopeful that the IOC could take some temporary action that would permit the Nationalists to participate in next year's Olympics.

In reply to a question, Johnson said, "if the Reds join the IOC and the other international sports federations, and meet those requirements, we feel that they would be entitled to participate in the Olympics like Hungary and some of the satellite countries."

Why Not a Memorial for the Father of Our Constitution. President James Madison?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call the attention of the Members of the House of Representatives to the following article and editorial which appeared in the Sunday, June 28, 1959, issue of the Washington Post and Times Herald:

WHY NOT A MEMORIAL FOR MADISON?

James Madison, who died 123 years ago today, is the only American of the highest rank in history who is not honored with a memorial in Washington or a historical shrine in his native State.

Here in the Capital we have the Washington Monument, the Jefferson Memorial, the Lincoln Memorial. Surely a place with these is deserved by the man who is known in history as the father of the Constitution and author of the Bill of Rights.

Henry Clay, leader of Congress during the presidency of Madison, called him the great est American statesman after Washington. It is strange indeed that at a time when the stability of American institutions and the precious rights of citizens are geared to Madison's work in the building and perfecting of the Constitution, there should be no visible mark of respect to his memory.

Political admirers build a carillon tower for a Senator whose place in history is still in doubt. We should erect a memorial to Madison not because he needs it but because we do.

This is a project in which all who believe in our form and principles of government can join with equal heartiness. Conservatives and liberals alike benefit from the sound political structure Madison took the lead in building, and from the constitutional guarantees of civil rights and liberties which he sponsored.

Place his words on the wall of a national memorial and there will be the text for a hundred thousand high-school essays in what he said to follow the wall of the said to follow the sai he said to fellow Members of Congress who were assailing an unpopular political minority:

"If we advert to the nature of republicant government, we shall find that the censorial power is in the people over the government and not in the government over the people.

It is more or less by the chance of long continued private ownership and tenure that the beautiful Madison estate, Montpeller, in Orange County, Va., has not the status of a Mount Vernon or a Monticello. In the full ness of time, with public spirit and goodwill that may come about. But a national memorial in West in the rial in Washington depends on nothing but

the will to create it. Madison was an unassuming man of sim ple tastes. Might not that fact solve the current problem of what to do with the columns lately removed from the Capitol?
They could be made a Madison memorial of surpassing beauty, harmoniously placed in relation to the Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln memorials Lincoln memorials. Standing as a symbol of enduring nationhood, they would link the present to the past as they are linked in law and history by the work of Madison.

This suggestion was both more as the control of t

This suggestion was being put into words when I opened a book obtained for an unrelated purpose—the "Memoirs, Official and Personal," of Thomas L. McKenney, pub-lished in 1846. It proved to be dedicated Mrs. James Madison and the dedicators words almost foreshadow what is here pro-posed:

"Madam: There is such a thing as the memory of the heart. \* \* \* Mine for your illustrious husband can never die. I delight in the contemporaries in the contemporaries with the contemporaries and the contemporaries with the contemporaries and the contemporaries are the contemporaries are the contemporaries are the contemporaries and the contemporaries are the contemporaries are the contemporaries are the contemporaries and the contemporaries are the contem posed: in the contemplation of his purity his patriotism—his statesmanship. fame, madam, is so delicately and beautifully mingled with his, as to become identified with it. \* If his is the column that sustains the Capitol yours tell the cap. that sustains the Capitol, yours is the cap that

IRVING BRANT.

WASHINGTON.

(Mr. Brant is completing the final volumes of a definitive biography of James Madison.)

#### NEGLECTED FATHER

We second with pleasure a suggestion by Irring Brant that the country ought to me morialize in an appropriate way the fourth President of the United States, James Madison. In his letter elsewhere on this page, Mr. Brant notes that Madison is the only American of the highest rank who is not honored either by a memorial in Washington or a shrine in his native State. It is a caprice of history that this should be so, but happily a particularly fitting remedy is possible. Of all the proposals for using the dis-carded 24 columns from the Capitol's east front, none seems to us more immediately appealing than the suggestion Mr. Brant makes for using these relics to compose a Madison memorial situated harmoniously with the existing memorials to Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln.

James Madison's claim to high honor from his countrymen seems beyond debate. In a famous phrase, Gladstone once described the Constitution as "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man." No one was more perand purpose of man." No one was more per-sonally responsible for the Constitution's final final form than Madison, who served brillantly, as a mediator at the Philadelphia Convention and who defended it with persuasive logic as an author of the "Federalist Madison crowned his achievement by drawing up the Bill of Rights embodied

in the first 10 amendments. The Constitution has long since proven its Worth as a marvelously flexible instrument of government; indeed, it is the oldest of its kind in the world. Surely it is worth considering ways to pay appropriate tribute to the man known as the father of the Constitution. Even if the proposed memorial should prove not feasible, wouldn't it be fitting to consider taking steps to make Montpelier, Madison's home in Orange, Va., a public shrine comparable to Monticello and Mount Vernon? We invite our readers to comment on Mr. Brant's thoughtful letter.

# Unemployment Compensation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. ROLAND V. LIBONATI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. LIBONATI. Mr. Speaker, I have received a communication from the members of the Illinois General Assembly, enclosing a copy of Senate Resolution 19, adopted in the 71st General Assembly of the State of Illinois, relative to unemployment compensation, which would compel the various States to drastically amend their laws to conform with Federal standards.

I am, by request, presenting this resolution, which follows herewith:

SENATE RESOLUTION 19

Resolved by the Senate of the 71st Gen-

eral Assembly—
Whereas there is legislation pending in the Congress of the United States, relating unemployment compensation, which would compel the various States to drastically amend their unemployment compensation laws to conform with Federal standards: and

Whereas Illinois is firmly dedicated to the beliefs that the individual States are best qualified to determine the provisions of their unemployment compensation statutes based upon the economic conditions of the States and the needs of their citizens; and

Whereas the Illinois General Assembly, over the years, has made amendments to the Illinois Unemployment Compensation Act through mutual agreement of a tripartite board which has provided for equitable treatment of employees and employers and the general assembly is now in session considering further improvements in its unemployment compensation program; and

Whereas the Illinois General Assembly recently enacted legislation to pay extended benefits independently of Federal action and without the use of Federal funds: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Illinois State Senate, That it opposes Federal legislation which would compel the various States to provide minimum unemployment compensation standards in conformity with Federal laws, thus depriving the Illinois General Assembly of its rightful authority and responsibility in such matters; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent by the secretary of state to the President of the United States; Secretary of Labor of the United States; Senate minority leader, EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN; Senator Paul H. Douglas, and all Members of the U.S. House of Representatives from Illinois.

Adopted by the senate, March 25, 1959.

JOHN WM. CHAPMAN,

President of the Senate. EDWARD E. FERNANDES, Secretary of the Senate.

# The Administration's Ultimatum on Highway Funds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, on June 12 of this year I sent a letter to Mr. Bertram Tallamy, Federal Highway Administrator, informing him of the urgency in apportioning regluar Federal aid funds for State highway programs.

I also informed him that Minnesota has obligated all of the 1960 ABC funds and is depending on the regular apportionment of 1961 ABC funds at a very early date in order to continue Minnesota's regular Federal Aid highway construction program.

Just how important ABC funds are to the State of Minnesota's highway construction program can be shown by the following letter:

Re Federal highway financing. Hon. Joseph E. Karth House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. KARTH: The apportionment of Federal aid for highways is a matter of vital concern to the State of Minnesota, particularly for the so-called ABC categories,

which apply to construction on the primary. secondary, and urban systems. Our unobli gated balances in these particular funds are practically exhausted.

Provided that Federal aid for the fiscal year 1961 had been apportioned in time. Minnesota would proceed with construction on the basis of the following schedule of lettings:

Letting date	Total cost	Federal aid required		
		Primary	Second- ary	Urban
July 24 Aug. 21 Sept. 18 Oct. 16	2, 600, 000	2, 250, 000 1, 100, 000	SECTION SECTION	230, 000
Total	19,860,000	7, 850, 000	1, 200, 000	880,000

Since apportionent of Federal aid for the fiscal year 1961 has not been made, it will be necessary for the Minnesota Department of Highways to eliminate all projects on the primary system, amounting to \$7,200,000 from our letting schedule for July 24, 1959.

We wish to emphasize that delay and post-ponement of projects included in the above schedule, is bound to have serious adverse effects on the State's economy. Your active support in expediting legislation pertaining to Federal highway aids, will be important to our State in providing employment, before the construction season comes to an end.

Yours very truly, FRANK D. MARZITELLI, Deputy Commissioner of Highways.

Mr. Speaker, on June 18, I received a reply to my letter to Mr. Tallamy from Mr. Ellis L. Armstrong, Commissioner of Public Roads. I was, frankly, shocked that a responsible public official should write such a letter. Because of the seri-ousness of the implications of this letter, I am including it here for every Member of Congress to read:

Hon. JOSEPH E. KARTH, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. KARTH: I have received your let-ter of June 12, addressed to Mr. B. D. Tallamy, relative to Minnesota's need for any early apportionment of the ABC funds authorized for the fiscal year 1961. These funds are required to be apportioned on or before January 1, 1960, and the apportionment will be made as far in advance of this date as is practicable in the light of congressional action needed to provide additional revenues in the Highway Trust Fund.

The ABC funds have first call on the revenues available in the Highway Trust Fund. and the ABC funds authorized for the fiscal year 1961 will be apportioned in full. It is not expected the apportionment will be made. however, until after the Congress has taken action on the President's recommendation in the 1960 Budget Document for a temporary increase in motor fuel taxes from 3 cents to  $4\frac{1}{2}$  cents per gallon during the fiscal years 1960 through 1964. The need for additional revenue in the Highway Trust Fund at this time is explained in the enclosed statement entitled "Financing the Federal-Aid Highway Program."

We appreciate your concern in this matter, and you may be sure that the ABC funds will be apportioned to the States at the earliest possible date consistent with the enactment of legislation to provide revenues needed in the Highway Trust Fund.

Please advise if I can be of further assistance to you on Federal-aid highway matters.

Sincerely yours, ELLIS L. ARMSTRONG, Commissioner of Public Roads, Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C.

This Congress has already authorized the funds to make the ABC payments. The Bureau of Public Roads knows that ABC funds have been apportioned. They admit that it is important that these funds be apportioned at an early date so as not to jeopardize State highway building programs.

Last Friday, the distinguished chair-man of the Committee on Ways and Means said:

In effect, the President is giving the Congress an ultimatum that we either agree to handle the financing of the highway building program as he recommends or he will considerably reduce and ultimately stop the construction of the Interstate System.

It is my considered judgment that if such a result is made to flow from a decision of this Congress not to levy increased taxes on the American people, the responsibility for termination of the highway program must rest directly on the President and his administration because of his insistence that a solution can be found only by increasing the gasoline tax. There are alternative approaches to the handling of the immediate problems relative to the Highway Trust Fund which are preferable to an increase of 11/4 cents in the Federal gasoline tax at this time. The President and the administration have evidently taken a position that if things are not done precisely their way, they will terminate the whole program. If the program is terminated under these circumstances the responsibility is on the President.

If, as the Commissioner of Public Road's letter implies, ABC Federalaid highway funds are not being apportioned on the basis of pressuring the Congress to accept the administration's proposal for financing the Interstate Highway program, I personally believe it is the ultimate of irresponsibility in government.

The following telegram I received on last Friday clearly indicates, I believe, just how the people of Minnesota feel about an increase in Federal gasoline taxes:

Representative Joseph Karth, House Office Building, Washington, D.C.:

We urgently request you to give earnest consideration to vote for the elimination of the 10-percent travel excise tax and to kill any boost in the Federal gasoline tax.

A poll conducted among our 136,000 AAA families in Minnesota early this year showed they are overwhelming opposed to further increases in the Federal gasoline tax. This area of taxation belongs to the State for their own desperate highway needs. The 10 percent on passenger travel and telephone communication should receive your personal disapproval.

It doesn't make sense to allow diversion from the highway trust fund for other uses and at the same time increase the highways users taxes for highway purposes to make up for the diversion losses.

We would appreciate your letting us know your attitude in these matters.

MINNESOTA STATE AUTOMOBILE ASSOCIATION. E. RAY CORY, President.

The Federal-Aid Highway Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. ROLAND V. LIBONATI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. LIBONATI. Mr. Speaker, I am in receipt of a communication from the members of the 71st General Assembly of the State of Illinois, enclosing a copy of Senate Resolution 57, adopted in the 71st session, relative to the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956, to provide for the early completion of the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways, to meet the needs of local and interstate commerce, the national and civil defense. It is in the national interest to provide for the early completion of these interstate and defense highways. This program has, by the Congress, committed the Federal Government to a program of constructing the national system and also sets forth, by authorized appropriations, for 13 years in the 1956 act, making subsequent appropriations therefor. The State of Illinois has proceeded, at a great expense, to enlarge their facilities to accomplish this task within the time limit set by Congress, and the State of Illinois has been joined in this effort by components of the highway construction industry, consisting of labor, contractors, material producers, and equipment manufacturers. After 3 years of intense effort, the State and the many components of the highway industry have reached a point where the program is being executed expeditiously and economically, and have carried out the provisions to the letter. It has come to the attention of the Illinois State Senate that no provision has been enacted by Congress for financing the apportionment of Federal interstate funds, authorized for the fiscal year of 1961.

At this late date, the State of Illinois only has 2 months in which to award contracts for interstate construction. otherwise the program necessitates suspension after September 1959. It will have a terrific economic impact and create disastrous results to the components of the highway construction industry, consisting of labor, contractors, material producers, and equipment manufacturers, who have enlarged their facilities to accomplish this program. It will cause widespread unemployment.

We beg that this interruption be cured by proper legislation thereon.

I am in full accord with this resolution, which follows herewith:

SENATE RESOLUTION 57

Whereas it was declared by the Congress in the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956, to be essential in the national interest to provide for the early completion of the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways, to meet the needs of local and interstate commerce, the national and the civil defense;

Whereas the Congress has committed the Federal Government to the program of completing the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways by setting forth the authorizations for appropriations for a 13year period in the 1956 act and making subsequent appropriations therefor; and

Whereas the State of Illinois, along with the components of the highway construction industry, consisting of labor, contractors, material producers, and equipment manufacturers, have at great expense enlarged their facilities to accomplish the task within the time limit set by Congress; and

Whereas after 3 years of intense effort the State and the many components of the highway construction industry have reached a point where the program is being executed expeditiously and economically; and

Whereas it has come to the attention of the Sanate of the 71st General Assembly of the State of Illinois that no provision has been enacted by Congress for financing the apportionment of Federal interstate funds authorized for fiscal year 1961; and

Whereas if no apportionment of Federal interstate funds for the fiscal year 1961 is made within the next 2 months the award of contracts for interstate construction in Illinois will be suspended after September 14. 1959: and

Whereas the economic impact of the suspension of contract awards will be disastrous to the components of the highway construction industry consisting of labor, contractors, material producers, and equipment manu-facturers, who have enlarged their facilities

to accomplish the program; and
Whereas the interruption of the program will result in delaying the completion of this vitally necessary System of Interstate and Defense Highways, and will also result in widespread unemployment; Now, therefore,

be it Resolved by the Senate of the 71st General Assembly of the State of Illinois, That the 86th Congress of the United States be respectfully requested and urged to take the steps necessary to insure the continuation of the program for constructing the Na-tional System of Interstate and Defense Highways without interruption and without stretchout; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of state is directed to send a copy of this preamble and resolution to each of the Members from Illinois in the Senate and House of Represents tives in Congress of the United States.

Adopted by the senate, June 24, 1959. ARTHUR J. BIDWILL, President pro tempore of the Senats. EDWARD E. FERNANDES, Sccretary of the Senate.

South Dakota Science Essay Winner

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. GEORGE S. McGOVERN

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, in order to stimulate thinking on the role of science in our atomic age a contest was recently sponsored by the Northwestern Public Service Co. in their South Dakota service area for junior-senior high school students. The first place winner was Miss Mary Gugin, of Web-ster C. Dallaces ster, S. Dak. Second and third places went to Robert Pavelis, of Geddes, S. Dak., and Eva Kenton, of DeSmet, S.

Dak. The effort these young people displayed and the high quality of their thought is a satisfaction to all of us from South Dakota. They are to be con-gratulated as is the Northwestern Public Service Co. for sponsoring the contest. Under unanimous consent, I include Miss Gugin's essay in the Congressional RECORD:

THE IMPORTANCE OF SCIENCE IN OUR MODERN WORLD

The words science and modern world call to mind a very timely topic. Just what is science? What is our modern world? How are the two related?

Basically our world of today consists of three things: Man, the mind of man, and the creations of man's mind. In the past, man seemed to have complete control over his mind. his mind and the products of his mind, but as time has elapsed, the mind of man and its creations have gradually gained control of life resulting in our very complex and fast-moving world. Fundamentally this knowledge of man and its application is the knowledge and application of science. Our modern world, then, is the struggle between man and science. If there is a victor in the battle, our world will be destroyed, but if the two join hands in compromise, our world will be peaceful and prosperous.

The material comforts we Americans enjoy today, our physical well being, our protection, and our sense of security are all results of scientific research and application. things are vital to our existence, and rightly These so, but life is much more than material things. It is composed of human relationships, and only if we can enjoy the companionship of others the world over, and can be secure and peaceful with each other in our relationships, can human life be lived as it was planned to be lived by God, Himself.

The key for the development of these strong relationships among the men of nations lies in the grasp of science. This key can be used to unlock the door of better world relations or it can be used to unlock the door to world destruction.

The atom is but one example of the power of science. By the application of its fission, men of science have laid a tool before the feet of men that is capable of destroying thousands and millions of human lives and one that have been sent thousands. one that has already destroyed hundreds of lives lives. Since the first use of this atomic bomb, millions of dollars have been spent in developing more deadly weapons to protect the nations of the world and their interests. I will agree that it is very important to provide for the defense of persons and their rights, but has this reascarch become a mad race between nations for

On the other hand, the atom is capable of furthering the advancement of backward nations and developing strong nations to a higher degree. Many countries lack natural resources and are unable to compete with the rest of the world because of power short-rest. To these nations the atom is the ages. To these nations the atom in many other and wise use of the atom in many other fields is the answer. Even if the United States atomic power is vital to our future for the states ato future for our fuel resources are diminishing. Thus the task of science is more than providing for defense, and the vastness of this task is the importance of science in our

Science must not rule the world and the Science must not rule the world and the lust of men for power must not rule the world, but together man and science and God misst beginning to the control of the control o God must have dominion over all for man cannot live by bread alone nor can he live by science alone, but he must also live with the power and understanding of God and with the fellowship and understanding of

In our modern world peace and good will are the highest callings of man and science. and the task of development in science for peaceful purposes is the important role of science now and in the future.

Shouse Backs Nixon-Says Labor Dominates Democrats

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON, RICHARD M. SIMPSON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. SIMPSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks. I include an article which appeared in the Washington Evening Star for June 11, 1959.

It will be noted that one of the most distinguished Democrat leaders of recent years, Mr. Jouett Shouse, has taken a public stand in support of Vice President Nixon for the Presidency in 1960. The reasons cited by Mr. Shouse for his decision are of particular interest. He points to the obvious fact that certain leaders of organized labor have achieved almost unlimited power within the ranks of the Democrat Party.

To be effective and to serve the best interests of those it represents, a political party must resist domination by any one special interest group. As thinking Democrats are coming to realize, their party virtually has become the instrument by which organized labor seeks to attain its political ends.

Mr. Shouse and many others view the situation with a mounting degree of alarm, and rightfully so. The obliga-tion devolving upon the Republican Party is clear. Not only must it offer the electorate a positive alternative to the radical tendencies of the opposition, but it must also continue to take the lead in the fight for effective labor union reform legislation. I am confident of the support that our party will receive from the American people-both Republicans and perceptive Democrats alike-in these endeavors.

The article reporting on the views expressed by Mr. Shouse follows:

SHOUSE BACKS NIXON-SAYS LABOR DOMINATES DEMOCRATS

Jouett Shouse charged today that "the old Democratic Party has been stolen and absorbed by the labor forces" and said he would support Vice President Nixon for the Presidency next year.

Mr. Shouse, once a power in Democratic circles, was chairman of the Democratic National Committee from 1928 to 1932. He later broke with the Democrats and was a supporter of President Eisenhower.

In announcing his support of Mr. Nixon well in advance of the 1960 presidential convention, Mr. Shouse called on the Vice President and the Republican Party to make labor reforms the major issue in the next campaign.

### SAYS GOP CAN WIN

"If the Republican Party, and particularly the Republican nominee in 1960, have the courage to make a real and lasting issue of this situation," Mr. Shouse said, "the Republican Party can win; otherwise its possible victory is doubtful."

Mr. Shouse expressed his views in a letter to Carl L. Shipley, chairman of the Republi-can State Committee for the District of Columbia. The letter was forwarded to the Vice President.

He wrote that he was strongly in favor of Mr. Nixon's being nominated as the Republican candidate for President, and added:

"To that end I have exerted and shall contine to exert such influence as may be possible. My principal hope of any valuable contribution in this connection will lie in the attempt, in case of Mr. Nixon's nomination, to persuade Democrats of the more thoughtful stripe to vote for him.'

Mr. Shouse, who said he was not opposed to organized labor and had been its defender all his life, said Senate hearings had re-vealed the brutal, abused, and unauthorized power exercised by some union leaders.

"They have indicated," Mr. Shouse wrote, "a helplessness and a listlessness on the part of the Federal Government to deal promptly and properly with a situation which is a disgrace to our country."

### SAYS LABOR CRACKS WHIP

Mr. Shouse said the Democratic Party no longer can call its soul its own and added: "It is owned in its entirety. Walter Reuther et al., crack the whip and make the self-designated leaders of the party respond. We cannot have two labor parties in this country. Unless the Republican Party has the courage to take a firm stand and the determination to continue that stand, we shall see inevitably an increased control of the Government by labor under the usurped name of the once proud Democratic Party."

# Matthew Wysocki, Plains, Pa., Youngster, New U.S. Marble Champ

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to announce that the newly crowned national marbles champion is a 13-year-old constitutent of mine, Matthew Wysocki, of Plains, a community adjacent to Wilkes-Barre.

To be first in a communitywide, regional or State competition is certainly a proud distinction, but to come out the very best in national competition is, indeed, an occasion for great rejoicing and calls for proper recognition in the annals of the Congress.

There is a moral and lesson to be learned from this youngster's great accomplishment. As the Wilkes-Barre Times Leader noted in a lead editorial in its edition of Saturday, June 27, 1959, this year was Matthew's third try for national honors and even in last week's competition held at Asbury Park, N.J., he had to come from behind to win the coveted national championship. A mark of a true champion, indeed.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I wish to take this occasion to warmly congratulate the new national champion for his spirit, determination, and perseverence and wish him such success in the endeavors

which which he will undertake in the years that are ahead.

The indicated editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader follows under leave to extend my remarks in the

U.S. MARBLE CHAMP: PLAINS BOY PERSEVERES AND WINS

It is a privilege for the Times-Leader, the Evening News to salute Matthew Wysocki, of Plains Township, for winning the national marbles championship at Asbury Park, N.J., yesterday. This newspaper was his sponsor in the competition.

Not many youngsters have had the distinction of being a national champ at the age of 13. To be the national marbles champ at that age or any age is not easy, for the competition is keen and interest high.

Matthew Wysocki had what it takes, the first place, it was his third bid for the title. Not the least discouraged by the setbacks he received in the past 2 years, he went to the seashore, full of determination and confidence. This time, he was not going to be denied.

He battled his way to the finals yester-day, only to lose the first two games, anything but an auspicious start in the final round. Like all true champions, he showed he had what it takes when he came through then with seven consecutive victories to win. When the chips were down, he did not despair, but rose to the challenge. That is the stuff of which champs are made.

By winning in this fashion, Matthew Wysocki taught adults as well as adolescents a lesson by his stimulating example. And we might include the community which could use more of the spirit of the Plains lad at this crucial period in its existence.

A national marbles champion today. Who knows what Matthew Wysocki will be tomor-We have high hopes for his future, if he will continue to display the same per-severance and fortitude in the years immediately ahead.

New Homes With Polluted Water

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. BYRON L. JCHNSON

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I hope the experiences of three of my constituent families who live in beautiful modern homes near Denver, but have to put up with polluted, smelly water or buy or carry in fresh water, will impress those who think local communities can handle all their sewage problems without Federal assistance.

We are indebted to the Rocky Mountain News for its series on water pollution. I ask that the Appendix to the RECORD recite the fourth article by Bill Miller, discussing conditions in the Baker Water and Sanitation District: THEY LIKE THEIR HOMES-BUT THEY HATE THE WATER

(By Bill Miller)

"I thought that I would never say, I wish that winter was here to stay. But in the cold, cold days gone by, We had such good water when we were dry. Here in Perl-Mack we thought relief had come at last, But, we were wrong, alas, alas.

Now that spring has finally sprung,

I guess the well water is done. Again the smell of fish comes through,

When we draw up a glass or two. I don't drink much coffee strong and black,

I just like pure water, straight from the tap,

Denver, Denver, hear our plea,

When you draw that water line that is to be.

Don't pass us in Perl-Mack by, For with Clear Creek, we will stay so dry, Please, please, hear our cry

For water, pure clear water."

These lines may not be great poetry, but they express the feelings of Mrs. Ruby Yedo, of 7000 Zuni Street.

Mrs. Yedo and her husband, Joe, a pipefitter with Grinnell Co. of Denver, are owners of 1 of the 2,500-plus homes that make up the unincorporated Adams County area of Perl-Mack.

They like their home. But they hate the water.

Their sentiments are shared by hundreds of other families in the area.

#### GIVE UP WATER

The Yedos, unlike many other families, have given up and are drinking the tap-water supplied by the Baker Water and Sanitation District.

"Since they put the wells in, it isn't too bad." Yedo said. "It's not good. But you can get used to anything." Mr. and Mrs. William Robinson of 7089

Masey Street, however, still refuse to drink

the tapwater.

"I don't even bathe the children in it," Mrs. Robinson said, "until I add a goodly amount of bubble bath. Sometimes the water is dirtler than the kids."

Her husband is president of Denver Pre-Forming Co., a firm that makes paper milk cartons.

### PROBLEM SIMPLIFIED

"That simplifies our problem," Mrs. Robinson said. "Bill just fills up several cara tons with Denver water before he leaves the plant each night. It's not convenient, but I refuse to drink this water and I certainly won't allow the kids to touch it.'

Why?

"Because we all got sick last summer," she answered. "Not once but several times. The kids got diarrhea sometimes as often as two or three times a week. Some say the water is O. K. now, but I'll bet it won't be this summer.

"In any event, we simply refuse to risk our health or the health of the kids."

The kids are Ricky, 7; Cindy, 31/2; and

Mr. and Mrs. Marvin Dansky of 7935 Cyd Drive, have adopted much the same attitude.

"We and our children experienced several illnesses last summer," Mrs. Dansky said. "We stopped drinking the water. We have been O. K. since."

#### EXPENSIVE SOLUTION

They found a rather expensive solution to their drinking water problem. Each week Mrs. Dansky drives to downtown Danver and purchases three cases of distilled water from a private company.

"It costs us 90 cents a case plus deposits on the bottles," Mrs. Dansky said. "Of course, there is gas and oil and wear on the car. But we think it's worth it.

"The only time we really get sore is when we receive our monthly water bill from Baker. And that amounts to pretty expensive irrigation and bath water-that's about all we use it for."

Dansky, a Denver attorney, and his wife, have been active, as have the Robinsons and Yedos, in community affairs since joining the community.

These three families are not unique in Perl-Mack. Many hundreds of others have the same problems. Many of them spent hundreds of dollars purchasing and installing various devices in an effort to purify their drinking water.

Their stories graphically illustrate the need for cooperation in cleaning up Clear Creek, a major source of water for thousands

of families.

#### DISTRICT TRYING

The Baker District, which supplies most Ferl-Mack families with water, is attempting to solve the problem.

But the district draws its waterthat is contaminated by sewage dumped into it by ustream users from Clear Creek.

The district is supplementing its water supply by digging wells, 600 to 800 feet deep-At a recent board meeting, the district accepted a bid for two additional wells.

The digging of wells, constructing pump-

houses, etc., is an expensive business.
In April, the Baker District called a meeting of all Clear Creek water users in an attempt to solve the pollution problem.

State health department representatives were present.

#### AGREEMENT

They agreed the stream should be cleaned np. But, they stressed, Baker District has the responsibility of providing "only safe and palatable water to your people."

Among the several recommendations the State made to Baker were these: Obtain more ground water; obtain more finished water from Denver; obtain better quality raw water; improve treatment at the present plant.

The district is obtaining more ground water by digging wells; it has, time after time, begged Denver for "finished water" but has been turned down because it is, for the most part, outside the Blue Line. and is trying to obtain better quality raw water.

The district also is trying to improve its treatment processes at its plant. But it's a difficult job to treat water that is sometimes

While even one family, in Perl-Mack of elsewhere, has to drink this type of water, the Metropolitan Denver area can be sure of one thing:

It is not doing an adequate job of collect. ing, treating, and disposing of sewage.

Because sewage and its disposal has a direct bearing on someone's drinking water.

And that someone usually lives down stream.

An Author Looks at Ilis Bill-The White House Conference on Aging Act

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include an address which I delivered at the Third New England Conference on the Aging. University of Rhode Island, June 16,

AN AUTHOR LOOKS AT HIS BILL-THE WHITE House Conference on Aging Act

Ladies and gentlemen of New England, you all know that the older population of the country and particularly that of New England is grown. England is growing rapidly. Life expectancy is being extended far beyond the expectations of the scientists of even a generation ago. I wish I could stand before you and say that the years we have added to life are satisfying years to all. Unfortunately, I cannot.

From my position in the Congress I have been able to support and expedite a good deal of legislation which has helped to improve the health, welfare, income, and housing of our older people. We have accomplished a great deal over the past 10, 15, 20 years. Yet, we have a long way to go.

In spite of our social security and pension programs, it is reported that fully half of our older people do not have enough income to live at a minimum level of health and decency. We are making great strides in medical research. Yet, three-fourths of our older people are suffering from one and often two or more long-term illnesses or disabling conditions and that many of them are in desperate need of medical care. Poor health accounts for more than half of all retirement from work.

In the matter of housing, the circumstances are almost as tragic as those I have lust mentioned. A few years ago our Rhode Island Commission on Aging made a survey of the situation of older people. One-third of them have no central heating in their homes. And more than one-fourth are living in homes that are either dilapidated or without elementary sanitary facilities.

My friends, I know that many of our older people are here today. They could speak much more eloquently than I of the conditions under which they are trying to get along.

I say to all of you that we must do better. We know that much of the deprivation and illness among our older people today is unnecessary. We know that thousands who are vegetating in mental hospitals, infirmaries, and nursing homes could be living in the community if medical care and rehabilitation were available to them. In Rhode Island, in Massachusetts, and in Connecticut there are public housing programs for older people who are setting models for the whole ccuntry.

We can provide a better life for older people. Our economy is growing even more rapidly than the older population. Automation is giving us more and more goods and services and higher incomes with less and less expenditure of effort. It is said that the standard of living for the whole population will be increased by a half during the next 10 or 15 years. We must learn how to share this increase with those who have retired; they are our neighbors, our friends, indeed, many of them are our relatives. They helped produce this growing wealth; surely they are entitled to share in it.

Ladies and gentlemen, a year and a half ago, I decided that what we need is action. In many places around the country, States this matter and are improving the conditions of living for their older people. There are many examples of fine programs in our New England States. Most of what is being done is excellent. The trouble is that there is not enough of it; that, it is moving too slowly. I am very much afraid that our efforts are not increasing as rapidly as the older population itself.

I believe that more people in our communities need to know about the problems of aging. More people need to become concerned. More need to be convinced that we must act and act now.

This is the reason, these are some of the circumstances, that led me to introduce a bill for a White House Conference on Aging. It seemed to me that if we could stimulate a problems and the need we might get the whole country moving.

Apparently there were others who thought so, too. I received a good many letters from all parts of the country and many other members of the Congress received letters urging that we pass the bill. And I am happy to say that we did pass it during the closing weeks of the session last summer.

Since its passage, the White House Conference on Aging Act has attracted much attention and favorable comment. It is widely regarded as a clear reflection of the conviction of the Congress of the pressing need for broad-scale, stepped-up action on behalf of our mounting population of middle-aged and older citizens.

Included in the act is a broad statement of the purposes of the White House conference. The act states that it is "the policy of the Congress that the Federal Government shall work jointly with the States and their citizens to develop recommendations and plans for action \* \* \* which will serve the purposes of—

"(1) Assuring middle-aged and older persons equal opportunity with others to engage in gainful employment which they are capable of performing, gaining for our economy the benefits of their skills, experience, and productive capacities; and

"(2) Enabling retired persons to enjoy income sufficient for health and for participation in family and community life as selfrespecting citizens; and

"(3) Providing housing suited to the needs of older persons and at prices they can afford to pay; and

"(4) Assisting middle-aged and older persons to make the preparation, develop skills and interests, and find social contacts which will make the gift of added years of life a period of reward and satisfaction and avoid unnecessary social costs of premature deterioration and disability; and

"(5) Stepping up research designed to relieve old age of its burdens of sickness, mental breakdown, and social ostracism."

These are the objectives of the White House Conference on Aging Act. I hope very much that we shall begin to achieve them while they can still be meaningful to the present generation of older citizens.

Now, let me tell you something about how this legislation is being put into effect, about how we expect to get results. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and its predecessor the Federal Security Agency, has had a wealth of experience in this field of the aging population. Therefore, responsibility for organizing and conducting this Conference was assigned to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. He is being aided by a national advisory committee composed of recognized leaders in gerontology and in the fields of economics, education, health, housing, recreation, religion, and welfare, and distinguished citizens in public life. These individuals on the Advisory Committee have a vitally important to play in relation to the Conference, and I understand that Mr. Fitch, staff director of the Conference, will be telling you more about the Committee and its first meeting last week. You will be interested to know that the average age of the Advisory Committee members is close to 60, with a number being well into the eighties. I certainly hope that older people, with their wisdom and personal concern, will be closely involved in all the State and local activities in relation to the White House Conference. I think you may wish to know, too, that 11 of the members of this Advisory Committee represent our New England States.

My colleagues and I in the Congress were convinced that the aims and objectives of the White House Conference Act could not be achieved merely by having a big meeting in Washington in January 1961. States and

communities have a most significant part in this total national effort, and the legislation provides for their participation.

The act authorized grants of from \$5,000 to \$15,000 per State to carry out their responsibilities, which include the conduct of one or more statewide conferences prior to 1961 and the development of facts and recommendations about their older people, which are to be reported to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. Funds not used for these purposes may be allocated to help pay for the expenses of the State's delegation to the White House Conference itself. These funds are available now and several States have already asked for their share.

It is obvious that States cannot hope to do an effective job of preparing for this conference without the maximum possible involvement of individuals and organizations, governmental and voluntary, at the local and State levels.

During my years in Congress I have had a part in the enactment of many pieces of legislation. Some of them have not always lived up to our expectations, and with others the results have been a long time becoming evident. This is assuredly not the case with Public Law 85-908, the White House Conference on Aging Act.

There has been an immediate response to this law, and this naturally served to reinforce my already strong conviction about its wisdom and timeliness. Organizations and individuals began at once to express their interest, and I understand that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare was deluged with offers of help and with requests for information as to how groups and people could start mobilizing their own resources in relation to the conference.

Let me give you a few instances. The National Committee on the Aging of the National Social Welfare Assembly named a liaison committee to work with the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in relation to the conference. The American Public Welfare Association is naming a similar committee. The National Tuberculosis Association promptly informed its State and local affiliates and urged them to participate to the fullest possible extent in the preparatory activities. The National Council of Churches has circularized all the local councils with information about the conference and has urged its 40 affiliated denominations to offer their total resources in helping to establish stronger State and local programs and to take part in the White House conference planning. The Joint Council to Improve the Health Care of the Aged, whose first annual meeting I addressed last Friday. has as one of its major objectives the stimulation of greater interest in the White House Conference on Aging.

Response from the States was equally swift and gratifying. In a number of State legislatures the White House Conference Act. and the need for coordinated State action to implement its provisions, was the major argument used in favor of creation of an official commission or committee on aging. In others the act served to give new life to groups which were lacking purpose or needed stimulation. There are now 38 of these official State coordinating agencies in aging, and it is especially significant that some of them are now getting more adequate financial support than they ever did in the past. I am glad to know that all but one of the States in our New England region have a statewide coordinating council or committee. For reasons of both our own obvious need and for pride of leadership, I hope that we shall continue to find ourselves in the front rank. The prospect of Federal grants to the States for White House Conference purposes

is serving-as was hoped-to prime the pump at the State level. But much more of this financial support provided by the States themselves will be required in order to fully carry out the State and local activities which

I regard as so essential.

One of the State conferences on aging has already been held, and many others are now being planned. Efforts are underway in many States and localities to survey the needs of their older people and to assess the adequacy of present programs and resources. Demonstration projects of one sort or another are being set up so that they can be evaluated by the time of the 1961 conference. State and local leaders will get additional stimulation and concrete help next week through participation in the National Leadership Training Institute which the conference staff is conducting at Ann Arbor, Mich.

It is an encouraging feeling to be able to review the progress which has been made as the result of a piece of legislation in which I was so vitally interested. But this progress only scratches the surface. We still have a long way to go to achieve the objectives of the White House Conference on Aging Act. More special commissions and committees need to be established in the States and localities; more organizations and agencies need to be involved; more civic leaders and plain everyday citizens need to be stirred up about aging; more money needs to be ex-pended at all levels of Government and through voluntary sources. I am confident, however, that the big movement has been started, triggered by the

White House Conference on Aging Act, and the Nation is now rolling up its sleeves to tackle this challenge. Together—at the National, State, and local levels—we can rise to this challenge and assure a better way of life for our older people in whose behalf the

act was passed.

Heroic Milkman Honored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. WILLIAM T. MURPHY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include an article which appeared in the June 10 issue of the Southtown Economist, honoring Casimir Janik, a resident of my congressional district, on the heroic deed he performed on that fateful day last December in the School of Our Lady of the Angels, where 94 innocent schoolchildren perished by fire:

CASIMIR JANIK RECEIVES THE PASTEUR GOLD MEDAL FOR HEROISM FROM THE MILK INDUS-TRY FOUNDATION, PRESENTED BY VICE PRESI-DENT RICHARD NIXON, FOR HIS DISREGARD OF SELF IN THE RESCUE OF 10 CHILDREN IN THE TRAGIC FIRE AT OUR LADY OF THE ANGELS SCHOOL LAST DECEMBER

Casimir Janik, 38, the milkman who helped keep the tragic death toll down to 94 in the Our Lady of the Angeles School fire last December, has been given his industry's highest honor.

Milkmen, who are usually working as others are winding up their sleep, often perform heroic acts of lifesaving.

But Casimir Janik did a king-size job.

Janik, who lives with his wife and two children, Frank, 14, and Victoria, 5, at 6314 S. Wood Street, was en route home that fateful day, driving south in Hamilin Avenue, approaching Our Lady of the Angels School. He saw smoke. Children were running.

Others were screaming.

He saw children at the upper windows, calling for help. He ran up the stairs past the nuns who were bringing the first children down.

More children were following in disorder. One, a little girl about 10 or 11, was clutching the bannister, frozen in panic, keeping others from getting down.

Janik jerked her hands away from the rall and rushed her downstairs to safety.

Rushing back upstairs, he was stopped at landing by heat and smoke, and more youngsters on the floor, some of whom were burned.

Carrying two to three children each trip, he was removing the 10th child, a badly burned girl about 12, when he saw firemen arrive and felt it best for them to take

He carried his little burden to a waiting ambulance and left the scene, nervous and trembling, to make his way home.

Janik, an oarsman on a Navy destroyer in World War II, had seen sea battles and sea rescues, but he said nothing had ever touched him like the tots at Our Lady of the Angels.

### Policy Statement of Caterpillar Tractor Co. on Interstate Highway Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, today we are facing a critical situation relative to the future progress of the interstate highway construction program. The trust fund into which flows the 1-cent per gallon increase in Federal gasoline tax enacted in 1956 to finance this program will be depleted and in arears to the tune of \$241 million by the end of fiscal year 1960.

The President has requested an addi-tional cent and a half increase in the Federal gasoline tax to get the program back on a pay-as-we-go basis. The Congress has been reluctant to grant the increase so we are in the position where we must either appropriate directly out of general revenues and throw the budget out of balance, raise the needed funds from some other revenue raising measure or cut back on the program.

Whatever course of action is pursued, millions of Americans will be affected. Some more than others. I should like, Mr. Speaker, at this point to bring to the attention of the House the policy statement of the Caterpillar Tractor Co. which has a very vital interest in the highway construction program by virtue of the fine tractors and heavy earthmoving machinery it manufactures.

One might expect a company so vitally affected to take a selfish view and urge completion of the program on schedule regardless of cost and regardless of any ill effect it may have on the budget. I am happy to note that this policy statement of Caterpillar gives overriding consideration to the national interest first by stating that "Deficit financing, either directly through overextension of the highway fund, or indirectly through depletion of the general fund, is to be avoided."

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, every Member of Congress should ponder the warning raised in the third paragraph relative to the need for continuity and the wastes resulting from costly starts and stops in the program. The policy statement reads as follows:

Pursuant to a review of the status of the Interstate Defense Highway System and of pertinent legislative proposals as of this date, the position of Caterpillar Tractor Co. is as follows:

We believe that the development and control of major cross-country highway systems is a proper area for Federal legislation. Heavily traveled highways are built primarily as arteries for the long-distance flow of traffic. The localized use of such roads-and the ability of given localities to finance their construction—are not normally among pri-mary governing factors. Coordination of a highway system that crosses and connects the several States requires Federal participa-tion. This principle has been recognized by almost 40 years of Federal highway legisla-

2. We believe, as we have since passage of the 1956 enabling legislation, that the Interstate Defense Highway System is a sound investment for the Nation; in terms of lives saved and accidents avoided; substantial savings in rebiding ings in vehicle operating costs; convenience and comfort in travel; encouragement to industrial and residential development; and increased mobility for defense purposes. There are few, if any, programs that offer as much value in return for taxpayers' dollars.

3. We believe that continuity programs.

3. We believe that continuity is urgently required in planning and building the interstate System. Programs, once started, should be reflected in steady, consistent progress rather than the consistent progress rather tha progress, rather than in a wasteful succession of starts and stops. The various highway departments, contractors, material sup pliers and equipment manufacturers should know well in advance what is expected of them, within broad general limits. They should not be led to believe that one rate of construction will prevail \* \* \* and then discover that something and the state of the something and t discover that something entirely different is the case. Such is not only unfair \* is also manifestly expensive and wasteful of highway funds.

4. We believe that planning should be long range in respect to financing as it is to construction. Deficit financing as it is is construction. Deficit financing, either directly through overextension of the Highway Fund, or indirectly through depletion of the General Fund, is to be avoided.

5. We believe the general public—and the highway user in particular—is enthusiastic about the Interstate System \* \* and further, that it would be more willing to pro-

ther, that it would be more willing to provide the additional revenues required to support the pay-as-you-go principle than to add to the threat of further inflation with deficit financing.

The Dangers of Socialized Medicine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. DALE ALFORD

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. ALFORD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include an address which I had the honor and privilege of delivering at the Arkansas breakfast on the opening day of the annual meeting of the American Medical Association, Atlantic City, N.J., June 8, 1959. This invitation was extended by Dr. James Kolb, president of the Arkansas Medical Society, and Dr. R. B. Robins, past president of the American Academy of General Practice and member of the board of trustees of the American Medical Association. The address follows:

THE DANGERS OF SOCIALIZED MEDICINE

There is, perhaps, no subject about which there is more discussion than the various proposals for so-called health insurance. Sometimes they are presented as a brandnew idea for achieving a utopian state. Actually, of course, we know that systems of so-called national health insurance date back to ancient history. In the United States these proposals began as early as 1812. The most recent proposal for compulsory health insurance is for the age group over 65 who are social security recipients. This is the Porand bill, with which I am sure you are all familiar.

You will notice that these proposals are never described as socialized medicine. Perhaps its proponents believe that if we do not call it socialized medicine, then, in fact it will not be socialized medicine. This reminds me very much of the ostrich burying his head beneath the sand when an un-pleasant problem or a danger seems imminent. And if we accept any plan of socialized medicine to solve our problem, if we bury our head beneath such a political panacea, we may as well expect to keep our heads buried, for that is one part of our anatomy that will be of less and less use. We can just sit back and let the Government take care of us, and give us seucrity; but we must be very careful to keep our heads covered, because if we should ever take a good look at our "security" we might begin to see the bindings and fetters. Incidentally, it might also be wise to include the cost of prefrontal lobotomies in the compulsory health insurance, as this might be the only remedy for those of us who would persist in the insanity of thinking in terms of individual rights and freedoms or questioning the merits of the new role of our Government as brother and keeper.

However, before we bury our heads, let us first look directly at our problem. I think we all agree that medical care should be available to everyone. We know that there are segments of our population who cannot afford adequate medical care. I think we agree that we must not, nor do we intend to, ignore the needs of those elderly and low income groups who cannot afford medical care. We should and we will find a solution to our problem.

Let us also define socialized medicine. A simple definition is that it is a Government-operated system of providing medical care. All legislation which has been introduced in our country for remedying our problem is, then, by this definition, socialized medicine. All such proposals call for some degree of Government control—some more and some less than others. You doctors have diligent and articulate in calling a spade by

Now, we do not have to conjecture about the nature of socialized medicine. We have at our fingertips very adequate documentation of the contents of the Pandora's box we would open if we should accept any deplete of socialized medicine. We know that, historically, the beginning of socialized medicine is associated with despotism. As

early as the Roman Empire, medical care was furnished by Greek slaves who were trained in the medical profession and sold to wealthy households. The poorer people depended on the services of quacks who roamed the country drumming up business. Doctors were not respected. They were even exploited by their own countrymen, for it was their own countrymen who trained them and then sold them to the Romans. It is noted by Jacob Burckhardt in his "The Age of Constantine the Great" that the whole system of Roman government resulted in an unexampled rise in taxation. The system rested on the principle of dispensing demestic wealth through political channels without regard to productivity. Eventually the number of those who received far exceeded the number of those who paid. Such a system thrived on high taxation. It collapsed when the sources of taxation dried

In more recent times we have the examples of Bismarck, Lenin, Stalin, Hitler, and Mussolini, among othrs, who used government provision of health care as a political power, incorporating socialized medicine as an integral part of their totalitarian, welfare states. And we should give the Devil his due: even Satan was smart enough to offer the Lord all worldly security in return for His soul. As modern dictators used it, the control of medical care by the government provided them with another economic means of enslaving a nation of people who had allowed themselves to become so dependent upon the machinery of government that, in turn, they became helpless and could not wrest themselves free of the "socialized" octopus that bound them. Socialized medicine in origin and in practice is associated with a way of life completely alien and repulsive of Americans. Most of us intuitively recoil at the term "socialized medicine," as well we should, unless we are willing to give our souls in return for security.

Let us consider also the dollar cost of such a free medical care system. Americans today are spending approximately \$11 billion on medical and health needs, yet the estimates of a government-run program range anywhere from \$16 to \$23 billion. total income tax in the United States vields about \$39 billion a year, so that approximately one-half of this would cover the cost of a nationwide system of compulsory health insurance. The estimates of the cost of the Forand bill, which would cover only those who are eligible for old-age and survivors insurance benefits, indicate an increase of three-fourths of 1 percent in the social security tax, split 50-50 between employers and employees. This latter provision would cover all those people age over who were receiving social security benefits, regardless of their need for help with hospitalization and surgery costs.

It has been found that almost none of the compulsory health systems are self-supporting—that is, none are completely supported by payroll deductions or any single form of tax, but that there are hidden subsidies and, in many instances, notably in France, the system must be maintained in part by charity. In France, large firms take over much of the clerical work inherent in the free care system; local authorities and charitable organizations contribute to the cost of hospitalization, since the French system provides payment of 80 percent of medical costs. Another subsidy is the other 20 percent, which the consumer himself pays in addition to the taxes he has already paid.

Also, consider that the bureaucracy which accompanies compulsory health insurance absorbs a higher percentage of total outlay than do similar costs in commercial health insurance. More importantly, there is no way to accurately estimate what the prob-

able total cost of any degree of socialized medicine would be. The British estimated that their system would cost 107 million pounds each year; however, in 1958 the cost of this system had soared to 705 million pounds and it is estimated that it will cost \$740 million in 1959. On the basis of others' experience, how can we remotely think it is practical to consider socialized medicine?

We have mentioned that some of the proposed legislation required governmental control to lesser degree than others. It has been pointed out by Melchior Palyi in his book, "Compulsory Medical Care and the Welfare State," that compulsory medical insurance "puts a mechanism of its own into motion." When the poor are taken care of on a charity basis, there is a means-test which provides an automatic check. When this check is gone, gone also are all pretensions that we are not socializing our system of medical care. We then have a situation much like the old adage, "people who get everything for next to nothing think next to nothing of everything they get."

We are, if we accept socialized medicine, condoning and even promoting a system which discourages any incentive to be provident, thrifty, and self-reliant. Now-even though some of the proposals for compulsory health insurance would not initially cover all segments of our population—it is the nature of such socialistic systems to grow. First it takes in new age groups or occupational classes and their dependents. All socialistic systems have this tendency. In our own country we have only to look at the similar growth of our social security program and the gradual increases in taxation necessary to keep it self-supporting. Unlike other security measures, however, compulsory health insurance, which is socialized medicine, provides gratuities in kind, i.e., "free" medical care service. To quote Mr. Palyi, "Distinct from any other field of social security legislation, governmentalized health care means direct intervention by the authorities into a large sector of business activities and private lives."

Then there is the increase in benefits and the growth of the bureaucracy which accompanies all such programs. In actuality, there are no degrees of socialized medicine. In most instances, the beginnings were small, gradually evolving into a na-tionwide system of socialized medicine. This method of socialistic evolution, common to all nations having socialized medicine, is much like creeping paralysis in that the significant factor is the presence of the disease, not the degree to which it has established itself, for each will cripple its victims in time. In Great Britain the program of socialized medicine actually began in 1912 when workers were partially covered by national health insurance plan. The philosophy of governmentalization and cheapness being synonymous is contagious. As a result, "What's good for the goose is for the gander," made the program si for the gander," made the program spread to include all groups. At present, approxi-mately 97 percent of the British are now included in the National Health Service.

Now, how have the doctor, the patient, and hospitals fared? What has been the result in other countries? They are all burdened by the redtape typical of bureaucratic operations. The doctor's time is so taken up with filling out forms for patients requesting everything from sick leave to wigs, from hearing alds to prescriptions, that his office has become little more than a clearinghouse for clerical work and referral to specialists. The doctor's job is not so secure, either. Doctors are subject to dismissal from medical service by tribunals appointed under the National Health Service Act. Only one of the three members of the tribunal is a medical man. They, therefore, become subservient to their patients who

may make complaints to the tribunal about the quality of service or even the doctor's refusal to grant them a sick leave permit, It is, therefore, much easier for the doctor to give the patient what he wants, regardless of whether his state of health warrants it.

To make a net income of around \$4,000 a year, a doctor in Britain under the National Health Service needs approximately 3,000 registered patients and superhuman strength to take care of that number—which is almost 2,000 too many. A private practice is almost a thing of the past. The doctor has so little time for private patients (and there are very few doctors who have any private practice left) that the cost to those very few is very high. There is no reward coming to a doctor for the quality of his work, as his remuneration is not based on his effort skill or inventiveness but on the number of patients registered with him. According to a recent article in U.S. News & World Report, about 20,000 family doctors were threatening to pull out of the whole setup and go back to private practice unless the Government gave them a 24-percent increase in fees. At the present time they re-ceive an annual fee of about \$2.45 per patient, no matter how many visits are in-

Another complaint is that the system is killing the general practitioner's interest in medical advances since he must send all unusual cases to specialists who are the only ones who have access to hospital facilities in their practice. The specialists are paid on a salary scale ranging from \$5,040 to \$3,600 a year. As one British doctor phrased it, "could any system of payment be more utterly absurd than the present one which rewards more work with less pay."

How does the patient come out in the conveyor-belt dispensing of medical care? After all, we are concerned literally with life and death. I would like to quote from an article written by a British general practitioner. "Of some 40 or 50 people seen during the course of a morning, there may be one or two suffering from some serious organic disease. Of the remainder, there will be some half dozen with injuries of various sorts, ranging from a Colles' fracture to a scratch so small that it can hardly be seen without a magnifying glass. There will be a dozen patients coughs and colds and the rheumatic complaints so common in this part of the world. There will be at least 10 persons suffering from psychiatric disorders, usually of a minor degree. The remainder will be peo-ple who require a certificate—certificates for extra milk, certificates to have an eye test. certificates to draw money from a NHI office. 'I haven't quite got over my cold yet, doctor. I think I'll have another week off work, Can I have a certificate?" The patients who are really sick must suffer through hours of wait-The really sick ones who cannot be cured with a pill or a certificate will be referred to specialists at a hospital and go through another waiting period to see another doctor.

The result is that the doctor has about 3 minutes for each patient—now that may be fine for boiling an egg, but I want a little more time with my doctor. The few minutes a doctor has to give to each patient could not possibly create the very personal rapport that underlies an effective doctor-patient relationship. This relationship, it seems, is basic to both preventive and curative medicine, especially since we have come to realize more and more how complex sickness really is and the extent to which psychological factors contribute to illness. Is this actually medical care as we recognize it? What have we gained by substituting quantity for quality? We might accept this sub-

stitution for other commodities; we can buy cheaper brands of food and yet be properly fed. There is no such quality scale in medicine—we must have the best if it is to be enough.

The tendency of socialized medicine is to dehumanize the relationship between doctor and patient, and to leave the doctor far less than adequate time for the really sick person. Those who can afford a better kind of medical care and are willing to pay twice—once privately and once to MHS—find that no amount of money can buy the best medical care, for it has ceased to exist. They simply pay to get ahead in the waiting line.

It is also the case that a new group of submarginal patients is an outgrowth of free medical care—those who cannot get what they are entitled to in place of the former group who could not nay for medical care.

group who could not pay for medical care.

The condition of hospitals was a big selling point in Great Britain for socialized medicine. Yet, to quote a recent American Medical Association publication, "Presently, the Government is investing in hospital buildings and equipment barely one-fourth of the amount measured in dollars of constant purchasing power, that charitable and other institutions were spending in 1938—in the depression—while a growing population is becoming increasingly hospital-conscious."
Only in Great Britain are women advised to request a bed in a maternity ward 12 months before their expected confinement, according to the same recent American Medical Association publication.

We are also informed by this pamphlet that hospitals are forced to economize on medicine, food, and X-ray films. And the simplest matter of acquiring an instrument which the hospital urgently needs goes to ridiculous lengths-first a detailed description of the instrument, then a statement as to whether it is to be a replacement or additional equipment must be submitted. This request must be referred through the cogs of five committees before a decision may be reached as to whether or not the request is to be granted. In summary, as regards hospital care, patient care, and the status of doctors, the system has little to offer except redtape, confusion, personal frustration, burgeoning taxes, and the substitution of quantity for quality in medical care service. After 10 years of socialized medicine in Britaln, cases of whooping cough, smallpox, and measles are far more common than they are the United States.

We in the United States have the best and highest quality of medical care in the world. We have the best doctors in the world. We have the highest wages in the world and we have developed, and are developing voluntary plans of health insurance which are designed to meet the needs of our people and to give them some choice as to the kind of health insurance is best suited to their particular situation. At present some 121 million people out of a population of some 175 million are covered by some form of voluntary health insurance. Three out of eight people over age 65 have health insurance, and the proportion of people in the United States covered by voluntary health insurance is steadily increasing, according to the May 1953 publication of the Health Information Foundation.

Why, then, should we regress to any such archaic, demoralizing, and dangerous system as socialized medicine—a system which crushes individuality. Even though the wolf is sometimes presented to us in sheep's clothing, by being described as "national health insurance," or "compulsory health insurance," let us remember the words of John Stuart Mill who said, "Whatever crushes individuality is despotism, by whatever name it may be called."

Prompt Debt Servicing and Controls Sought Over TVA by Mississippi Valley Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. BEN F. JENSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, the Great Lakes division of the Mississippi Valley Association with headquarters in Chicago, Ill., released the following statement on June 22 last. I commend the association for this forthright pro-American statement. It is both timely and good.

PROMPT DEBT SERVICING AND CONTROLS
SOUGHT OVER TVA

Eighth district directors of the Mississippl Valley Association at a luncheon Friday resolved to seck public support for three provisions in pending TVA legislation.

This legislation would authorize TVA "to sell bonds, notes, and other evidences of indebtedness in an amount not to exceed at any one time \$750 million to assist in financing its power program "may use the proceeds for acquisition, enlargement, improvement, or replacement of any plant or other facility used of to be used "and for other purposes incidental thereto." The bill has passed the House and is now before a Senate committee.

The legislation which the directors believe should be a part of this bill would provide for (A) bona fide controls over this Federal agency, (B) recognition of the need for immediate servicing of TVA's debt to the Federal Government, and (C) provide effective territorial limitation to TVA's present power servicing area.

Commenting on the directors' action, H. W. Goodall, manager of the association's Great Lakes division office, said, "We believe these provisions of vital importance for the protection of private enterprise and in preserving a representative form of government Without the above safeguards, this legislation could be an opening wedge for social ism and eventually a totalitarian form of government. It was the wealth made available by private enterprise, collected, and appropriated by the Government, which created TVA. Its primary objective of rehabilitation of the area's people and water and soil re-sources has been accomplished. Further enlargement of its powers, extension of its area of eminent domain and a determent of its just obligations are a real threat to private enterprise."

Goodail continued, "It would be ironic indeed if this creation made possible by private enterprise were to be granted the means
to destroy free enterprise. The use of taxpayers' money to rehabilitate an area so that
the citizens of that area may have the
means to become self-supporting is one
thing, but legislation which would excuse
the citizens of that area from taxes borne
by others is morally wrong. TVA's debt to
the Federal Government is about 1.1 billions
of dollars without interest."

Goodall said. "The heart of the issue is Federal generation and distribution for sale of power. Low cost power is a corner stone of high living standards, but its sale by the Federal Government establishes unequal distribution of Federal taxes to the advantage of those in a Federal power servicing area.

Pallure to service TVA's debt, with Interest, is another facet of the same issue.

Unequal taxation and failure to honor Just obligations tend to corrupt society and will undermine our form of government. The lure of obtaining something for nothing is all-persuasive with mankind and a practiced medium for securing the reelection to public office. Is there anyone who believes an extension of these concepts can do other than destroy our representative form of government?

There are several solutions to this prob-First, the rates charged by TVA should be raised to repay, with interest, its debt to the Federal Government. Second, to this rate should also be added the Federal tax rate borne by privately owned utilities, or Federal taxes on private utilities should be removed. Finally, if the American people wish, the generation and distribution of Power should be all Federal, or otherwise, to quote Abraham Lincoln, 'A house divided against itself cannot stand'."

Goodall said, "The Association is opposed only to the Federal government being in the Power business."

Directors of the 8th District of the Valy Association are: Floyd Dana, Casimir Griglik, Dan Hallahan, W. Stanley Huggett, John Innes, Hjalmar W. Johnson, H. D. Kas-tlen Sona Innes, Hjalmar W. Johnson, H. D. Kastien, Ralph J. Morgan, V. A. Kogge, K. T. Levins, J. T. Moore, R. E. Mortimer, Donald O'Toole, J. H. Price, Arnold Sobel and A. H. Vall and J. R. Sona and J. Sona and J. Sona and J. R. Sona and J. So Vail, and J. J. Haines.

With the exception of Messrs. Kastien and Morgan who live in Peoria, and Mr. Mortimer in Cleveland, all others are residents of the Chicago metropolitan area.

# Panama Canal Traffic Peak

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, a news story in the June 21, 1959, issue of the Star in the June 21, 1959, issue of the Star and Herald, Panama City, Republic of Panama, describes a recent transit traffic peak at the Panama Canal. Because traffic peaks are problems related to the question of increased capacity and operational improvement of the waterway now under study by a special board of consultants under the supervision of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Pisheries, under leave granted to extend my remarks, the indicated news story

RECORD BACKLOG OF 26 SHIPS BUILDS UP AT PANAMA CANAL—NO RELIEF IN SIGHT FOR JAM—19 VESSELS WILL BE CROWDED OUT OF WATERWAY TODAY

A record backlog of 26 ships—the biggest times of ordinary peacetime operation within memory of canal officials—piled up at both entrances of the waterway yesterday as the current traffic jam showed no signs of

Twelve vessels were held over at the Pacific entrance, while 14 waited their turn on the

Yesterday's figure was seven more than the backlog on Priday. With ships arriving round the clock at both Balboa and Cristobal, at least 10 at least 19 were certain to be crowded out of the waterway today. Of these, 8 are northbound and 11 are southbound.

With arrivals at a rate exceeding the Canal's current capacity, transits were at a peak. Thirty-five vessels were put through the waterway Saturday in 28 lockages. Thirty transits were scheduled for today, 13 from Balboa and 17 from Cristobal.

The traffic jam started building up last

Wednesday.

Whether it had reached its peak yesterday was uncertain. The situation will depend on arrivals over the weekend. Sixteen were at anchor outside Balboa last night. Officials, however, hoped that the backlog on the Pacific side will be cleared by tomorrow. was no such optimism as to Cristobal.

A combination of circumstances accounted for the unusual congestion. There has been a heavy arrival of ships at both ends of the Canal at a time when the east at Gatun Locks has been closed to traffic because of the power conversion work from 25 to 60 cycles. Upon the completion of the work, the west lane is scheduled to be closed for conversion. Waterfront sources speculated that the start the conversion work on the west lane might be held up to facilitate handling of the backlog of ships. Some of these sources said if the jam keeps up, 24-hour operations would be the only solution.

Another factor is the unusually heavy influx of supersized ships among arrivals in the last few days. These are the clear-cut ves-sels which because of size or other conditions cannot meet other ships in either direction while passing through Gaillard Cut. Many clear-cut craft, in addition, must go through the cut in daylight hours. The effect of such transits is to cut down the number of ships that can be handled.

Nine clear-cut vessels have transited in both directions in the last 3 days. Today's transits include three more, one of which is a daylight clear-cut supertanker.

Officials said the traffic jam is beginning to tell on the pilot force. With practically every man on overtime for 2 days running, officials were beginning to worry that there might not be enough pilots available to handle the heavy traffic if there is no letup in the arrival of ships.

# Opposition to Fair Trade Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I insert into the Appendix of the RECORD a statement made by Dr. Joseph M. Klamon, professor of marketing at Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., on June 15, 1959, before the U.S. Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, in opposition to the so-called fair trade bill, S. 1083.

Dr. Klamon is a distinguished economist, professor of marketing in the School of Business Administration, Washington University, a member of the Maryland and Missouri bars. This outstanding educator holds a degree of doctor of philosophy in economics, master of arts and J.D. degrees from Yale University and an LL.B. from Washington University.

He has served as tutor at Yale and instructor in business policy in the Har-

vard Graduate School of Business. He has also been the chairman of the department of economics at William and Mary and served as professor of economics at Carnegie Institute of Technology. as well as having served as professor at the University of Pittsburgh.

With the rich experience derived from such a distinguished background and such thorough experience in the field of economics, law and marketing, Dr. Klamon is singularly well qualified by outstanding ability and complete knowledge of his subject to set forth the reasons why the fair trade bills pending before this Congress are not only not in the public interest but are damaging to business, large and small, and to the retailer and consumer alike.

I hope all will read the powerful arguments by Dr. Joseph M. Klamon against fair trade legislation.

STATEMENT PRESENTED ON BEHALF OF THE CONSUMERS' FEDERATION OF ST. LOUIS AND ST. LOUIS COUNTY BY DR. JOSEPH M. KLA-MON, PROFESSOR OF MARKETING, WASHING-TON UNIVERSITY, ST. LOUIS, Mo., ON JUNE 15, 16, 1959, BEFORE THE U.S. SENATE SUB-COMMITTEE. IN RE INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE ON THE BILL INTRODUCED IN THE SENATE, S. 1083, FEBRUARY 17, 1959, BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, MINNESOTA. AND SENATOR PROXMIRE, OF WISCONSIN CONCERNING THE ENACTMENT OF A FEDERAL FAIR TRADE PRICE-FIXING BILL ON BRANDED MERCHANDISE

For the purpose of identifying myself for the record I should like to say the following: My name is Joseph M. Klamon. I live at 8007 Stanford Avenue, University City, Mo. I wish to thank the committee for permitting me to submit testimony today on the subject matter before you. I offer this statement on behalf of myself, as an individual, and also on behalf of the Consumers Federation of St. Louis and St. Louis County. For the past 30 years I have been professor of marketing in the School professor of marketing in the School of Business Administration, Washington Uni-versity, St. Louis, Mo. I am a member of the Maryland District Court Federal Bar, since January 1934, and a member of the bar in Missouri since July 21, 1921. I have served as consultant to the St. Louis Consumers Federation since its organization under the N.R.A. in 1933. I was appointed by Prof. Paul H. Douglas, now U.S. Senator from Illinois, as one of its charter members, when it was first organized under the N.R.A.

I am strongly opposed to this effort by S. 1083 to enact for the first time a Federal substantive fair trade price-flixing bill which would virtually destroy a good deal of our antitrust laws, price freedom, competitive pricing and free markets.

A central and important economic fact that proponents ignore is that costs of coing business differ markedly on all levels, manufacturing, retailing, and in all fields. Many retailers operate full service stores. We also have the giant limited service super-stores and the vast number of discount houses. This bill is an effort to force back by Federal law for the first time to compel retailers to charge higher prices than they wish to charge if a manufacturer wants them to do so. If a retailer fails to abide by such compulsory price fixing on brand goods he will then be subject to Federal and State lawsuits by manufacturers and/or allegedly adversely affected retailers who may feel they suffer damage as a result of such lower competitive prices, or who may even anticipate such damage.

In order to make my points in opposition to this bill as clear as possible I shall endeavor to use as little technical economic and legal terms as I can.

Congress of course derives its authority and control of interstate commerce from the U.S. Constitution. It has very little if any authority over purely intrastate commerce. Have we forgotten the experience of the NRA? Or are our memories that short? You may recall the NRA attempted to regulate many activities that were purely intrastate, such as the retail price of coal, chickens, pants, pressing, beauty parlor and barber shop services, and other matters that were not even remotely related to interstate commerce, In the Schecter case the U.S. Supreme Court by unanimous decision struck down as unconstitutional the NIRA on the ground that the retailing of chickens in New York City was purely intrastate commerce. Another ground for this action was the unconstitutional delegation of legislative authority by Congress to NIRA Code authorities. The point I wish to make is of considerable importance. Should Congress enact S. 1083, the bill before you, into law it should state in the clearest terms that nothing in the act shall in any way affect the right of anyone, or any retailer, to sell any merchandise, branded or otherwise, which he has purchased for any price satisfactory to himself and to his customer. My impression is that the NARD, the National Association of Retail Druggists, the lobby behind this bill, will find the foregoing suggestion rather distasteful. For I believe that the bill before you and the Oren Harris bill in the House represents an effort to induce Congress to permit the fixing of minimum prices on branded goods in Yazoo City, Miss., Flat River and Cabool, Mo., Flint, Mich., and every other smaller town or village in the country. Now, if Congress can really legislate minimum prices on branded goods in all retail trade, in all intrastate commerce, why can't it also fix

minimum wages everywhere?

Is Congress really ready at this time to destroy completely all States rights? This is not a purely rhetorical question. Is it legal or constitutional for Congress to legislate on all forms of retail pricing and intrastate commerce? Is it legal, and if so, is Congress willing to establsh a minimum wage law to cover all trade, inter- and intrastate trade as well? Would such a law have any chance of being held constitutional by the Federal

courts?

One of the gravest problems presently facing the country is that of inflation. The President has spoken often relative thereto and has warned the country of the grave danger of the shrinking buying power of the dollar. The Federal Reserve Board too is gravely concerned. It is almost impossible to pick up any newspaper or business journal without reading of the grave dangers of in-flation. The bill before you is perhaps the most inflationary bill before Congress at this time. It is conservatively estimated that if Federal fair trade price fixing is forced upon the 50 States on all branded goods, where a manufacturer wants to pursue such a policy, that it will cost consumers between \$8 and \$10 billion a year in higher prices. It is idle to pretend that S. 1083 will do anything but raise prices very sharply. Are we going to have privileged price protection and higher prices to satisfy 36,000 retail druggists, the NARD, appliance dealers, and others, or are we truly going to legislate in the public interest and show some concern about the effect of this bill upon 170 million consumers?

In a similar bill, equally bad in my judgment, introduced last year public hearings were held before the House and Senate Congress committees. On that occasion as well as this year before your committee and the Harris committee a few months ago, hearings were held and many testified. It is unreasonable to ask that the views of all witnesses be tabulated in order to secure a fair appraisal of the opinions of professional people in Government service and in various universities, those not directly interested, those without an ax to grind, in order to ascertain whether or not this bill is in the public interest?

In all of the above hearings the Department of Justice, Antitrust Division, the Federal Trade Commission, Agriculture, Commerce, Labor, Budget Bureau, and many others have gone on record in opposition to bills of this nature. This was also true more than 6 years ago when the McGuire Act was passed. Attorney General Brownell's Com-mittee of Sixty almost unanimously concluded that fair trade price fixing was definitely not in the public interest. to ignore all of the foregoing, as fair traders do, as of little value?

On page 306 of the published hearings before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, House of Representatives, 86th Congress, 1st Session, my testimony given on Thursday, March 10, 1959, appears; on pages 295 through 306 the formal statement appears and then several questions. At this point I merely wish to call your attention to one question that was asked, and my answer thereto:

"Mr. DINGELL. May I ask a question, Mr. Chairman?

"Mr. Klamon, do you know of any reputable economist, other than Dr. Adams, from Michigan State, who favors fair trade?

"Dr. KLAMON. I do not know of a single one. I could name a hundred, all the way from Malcolm McNair of Harvard, the dean of the Yale Law School, all the way to Dean Grather, dean at California. I have asked a dozen times, in order to get the facts and not listen to this pressure, that this committee make a survey, which would not take more than 30 days, of the hundred leading law schools and the hundred leading business schools, to find out what people who are in this field, who do not have an ax to grind, feel. There is a man at Johns Hopkins University, and there are faculty members right back here. Start at Harvard and Yale, and pick your own hundred schools, business schools and law schools, and you will find that professional men who do not have an ax to grind are 100 percent against this effort to impose price fixing and repeal the law of supply and demand. You cannot do it."

Relative to the above, there are perhaps 15,000 economists throughout the country. Of these, several thousand are in the field of marketing and pricing policies. There are hundreds of law professors in the same field who approach the problem from the legal point of view. Does it not appear rather interesting that very few indeed favor fair trade whereas literally hundreds oppose it?

The press of the country is almost entirely opposed to fair trade price fixing. Fortune magazine in January of 1952 and in April of 1952 has two strong articles opposed to fair trade; this in spite of enormous pressure by fair trade lobbyists brought to bear on Time, Life, and Fortune, either to change their views or at least to kill the second article. Just one or two editorials from our St. Louis newspapers should be of interest to your committee. Less than 2 weeks ago. on June 3, 1959, the St. Louis Globe-Democrat in a two-column editorial had this to sav:

"Back Again, Fair Trade Sleeper."

Set back on his legislative heels last year, when he tried to maneuver a so-called fair trade measure through Congress, Representative OREN HARRIS, of Arkansas, is nothing daunted. No sooner was the new House hopper opened than he slipped in another fair trade bill.

Possibly he hoped it might become a

sleeper, as a like proposal almost did last year, until outery arose, and it was prop-erly smothered. The measure is an eco-nomic atrocity, reportedly sired by the 36,000-member retail druggists organization.

An identical bill has been sponsored in the Senate by Senators HUMPHREY, of Minnesota, and Proxmire, of Wisconsin. Hearings have been set for this measure on June 15 and 16, when Prof. Joseph M. Klamon, of Washington University will appear in behalf of the Consumers Federation of St. Louis and St. Louis County, opposing the scheme.
The Harris legislation seeks to establish

minimum retail prices on all merchandise except perishable foods. That means it would compel retailers to sell at prices fixed by manufacturers, under pain of Federal re-

This is an arrogant scheme for making consumers pay high prices under whip of Federal law. Such an act would be a violation of free enterprise and competition, a straitjacket for the economy. It would be sharply inflationary in a period when inflation is a graya rout. tion is a grave peril.

The Department of Justice says this kind of law would shoot prices up 28 percent on fair trade items. This would be rank

cartelization.

What Mr. Harris wants is to shunt onto Uncle Sam practices which States are fast junking, because they have found them unjust. It would be a price-fixing statute enforced upon all 50 States.

Only Missouri, Texas, Vermont, and the District of Columbia have stanchly refused to enact State fair trade laws. But 18 States in recent years have repudiated such statutes. With fair trade price fixing being discarded over much of the land, retail protection tionists are trying to foist their dead horse upon Washington and slip the Harris measure to passage.

This is a bill against the public interests. It should be killed outright. It will be if the public and Congress are alerted to its exis-

tence, its injustice, and danger.

Just about a year ago when a bill almost identical with S. 1083 was before the House Commerce Committee, the following appeared in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch and also in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat:

St. Louis Post-Dispatch, June 2, 1958:

"MISSOURI WANTS NONE OF IT

"With House passage of a fair trade bill reported almost certain, Missouri risks being forced under price-fixing legislation it has successfully avoided for 25 years.

"Despite warnings against it by the Justice, Agriculture, and Commerce Departments and ments and the Federal Trade Commissions the House is reported to favor by an over-whelming margin the fair trade bill spon-sored by Bankard Arsored by Representative Oren Harris, of Ar-

"In the Senate, the picture is not helped by the fact that Senator Humphrey, of Minnesota, an ardent advocate of fair trade legis lation, is chairman of the Small Business Subcommittee which will conduct hearings on the measure June 23-25.

"Fair trade laws permit manufacturers to fix prices on trademarked products, despite the antitrust laws, which outlaw pricefixing. What is more, they impose penalties on re-tailers for violation. The Harris bill outdoes all its predecessors by letting manufacturers act without the least consent by retailers, and by forcing the system on States whose legislatures have rejected it.

"As the Justice Department warned ha House, this would 'dractically change the basic concepts of our basic economy

"It would raise prices substantially at time when inflation is already a problem.
"It would close some stores, principaly the discount houses, and throw people out of work although business recession unemployment are already to be Nation.

unemployment are already vexing the Nation

"It would damage retailers by preventing them from getting rid of excess inventories by reducing prices.

"Fair trade laws have always been unfair. At the present they would also be dangerous folly,"

St. Louis Globe-Democrat, Saturday, May 31, 1958;

"PREPOSTEROUS FAIR TRADE SCHEME

"Legislation for establishment of a national fair trade law has been proposed in Congress by Representative OREN HARRIS, of Arkansas. It would permit every national manufacturer to set retail prices for his products and provide tough enforcement penalties.

This is as wrong and dangerous a piece of economic hugger-mugger as has been dumped into the Capitol hopper this season.

This measure has received scant attention. But it is reported likely to pass the House. It is a preposterous scheme that should be summarily killed.

The diehard lobby for misnamed 'fair trade' would buttress its crumbling drive for fixed prices by a Federal act, when the socalled fair trade statutes are falling by the Wayside like windblown cards.

"Portunately, Missouri has had no fair trade law. But through the years 45 States enacted such measures. Recently this sys-tem tem of price protection has been heading for fast collapse.

Fourteen State courts have decreed their own State laws unconstitutional. manufacturers, such as General Electric, have abandoned any effort to enforce fair trade practices.

"It would be grossly unjust to the buying Public and inimical for the economy to tolerate passage of the Harris proposal.

"It would use Federal law to clobber price competition and prostitute free enterprise. It would clout initiative of merchants. Above all, it would freeze high prices consumers have to pay under penalty of Federal crackdown."

The Harris legislation would allow manufacturers to fix minimum retail prices simply by edict. Old State laws at least required some consent of retailers. It would enable manufacturers, if a substantial part of their output crossed State lines, to fix prices for the whole Nation. It would alter part of the Sherman antitrust law to bar prosecution for all such price fixing. And it would provide right of Federal or State court injunction to punish undercutting the set prices.

The Justice Department has protested the bill in a letter to Representative Harris. So should every consumer group, progressive mechants, and individual buyers.

Obvious results of this special interest legislation would be to wipe out price competition in nationally distributed manufacturers' products, smash the business of discount houses, further distress appliance sales, suppress competition—the safeguard and life of trade—both in manufacturing and at almost all levels of distribution.

The frank purpose of the bill is to wipe out competition.

The cost of living would rise sharply as a consequence of such an act. A Federal Antitrust Division survey 4 years ago showed drug and appliance prices were approximately 28 percent higher in fair trade areas than in localities where prices were not fixed.

The Harris measure for a national fair trade law belies its name tag. It is most unfair, a noose around competition, a boost for inflation, an inivdious blow to the consuming

There are literally dozens of editorials throughout the country of a similar nature. We cannot here reproduce them. They will be offered as exhibits. A little over a year ago we were in a rather serious recession. Unemployment rose to considerably over 5 million. As of today, early June 1959, un-

employment has decreased by over 2 million to a little over 3 million. The gross national product is at a record level. Business appears to be extremely good in most quarters. This would seem to show that recovery from recession is facilitated by the absence of legislative interference, and recessions are often prolonged by artificial legislative interference Business is not alded by a change of venue from the free market or economic arena to a legislative political price-fixing arena. Price fixing and free competitive markets are obviously antithetical.

The following advertisement appears to be worth reproducing, for it puts a few points rather well and succintly. It appeared in the New York Times on May 8, 1958. It related to a very similar bill to the one presently before you as S. 1083. It reads as follows:

"FAIR TRADE AND THE AMERICAN CONSUMER

"A few weeks ago a bill was introduced in Congress which would make price cutting on consumer products a crime. This means that the American consumer may soon be compelled by law to pay high fixed prices for the purchases of many necessaries of life.

The group sponsoring this measure is the organized drug industry. They are seeking and claim to have the support of a large segment of the Nation's retail merchants through their associations.

The bill was introduced by Representative HARRIS, and is numbered H.R. 10527. It is an anticonsumer law. The effect of the law would be felt immediately by every consumer in the Nation in the form of higher prices.

Fair trade has been greatly weakened in recent years because courageous judges have looked past the high-sounding name and into the reality of the subject. Fair trade in its prime was merely a legal device to allow a manufactures to prevent price competition among retailers. Bargain sales and good buys are impossible under fair trade. So judges in 15 States disregarded the label of fair trade and condemned it for what it is-a price fixing scheme to make consumers pay the highest possible price. These judges refused to enforce the scheme in their courts, so the fair trade system is now badly weakened.

The appliance industry recently abandoned fair trade. The result-a wave of bargain sales which gave the consumer his first break in years. Consumers responded by jamming the stores. This demonstrates how fair trade hurts sales and the consumer both.

"The Harris fair trade bill seeks to reestablish fair trade as the law of the land. It will cost consumers billions of dollars if enacted, and help deepen the recession by discouraging sales of many consumer items because the price is too high.

Don't underestimate the political power of the retail groups who are backing the Harris bill. American consumers (170 million of them) have no lobby in Congress, and their interests are often overlooked when the pressure groups become active. Unless American consumers speak out in strong disapproval, this raid on the purse of the pubwill be made part of our Nation's laws.

"CONSUMERS INFORMATION BUREAU."

As heretofore indicated, at the beginning of the above quotations, many additional editorials—all opposed to price-fixing fair trade—will be included in the regular appendix to this testimony or offered into the record as supplementary exhibits.

What is truly the attitude of most ap-pliance manufacturers and other manufacturers of branded goods relative to whether or not they want price fixing on their branded goods? The manufacturer's position is obviously a rather difficult one. In many cases he does a major part of the selling job, by advertising through all media

and also through many dealer helps. To maximize his earnings he has to operate as close to capacity as possible. To get the greatest return on his costly advertising, his branded goods must be available everywhere, full service and limited service stores; discount houses, appliance stores, drug stores, department stores, etc. must be on good terms with all of his channels. Despite all this, manufacturers, as have many others, and in spite of increased volume, often have lesser margins due to rising costs. Higher prices caused by fair trade would only aggravate the problem, by tending to decrease volume. Manufacturers must therefore resort to selling multiple branded goods, off-brands, and fighting brands. The truth is that if manufacturers fighting wanted fair trade, they need only to cut off entirely selling their branded merchandise to superstores, discount houses, and similar lower cost retailers. No discount house in the country, of any consequence, is gasping for merchandise. If manufacturers sin-cerely want their trade, then a great many of their salesmen are wasting a lot of expensive time in calling on discount houses and supermarkets in efforts to sell them branded merchandise.

The Federal Trade Commission has in the recent past taken the position that manufacturers cannot be allowed to play favorites. Either manufacturers must enforce their trade, if it is legal at all, or not enforce it without discrimination. This is essentially the position that R. H. Macy took in New York City when General Electric tried to enforce the New York fair trade law against Macy, at the time when thousands of discount houses were selling practically all branded merchandise at prices sharply below fair trade minimums. Is it reasonable to ask R. H. Macy to send his customers to discount houses and not to buy from them, since such discount houses were selling branded goods in huge quantities (of branded merchandise) at competitive prices while Macy was not permitted to do so? Your committee, if it considers enacting the bill before you at all, should include an amendment that manufacturers must either "fish or cut bait"; go along with fair trade whole-hog everywhere, or not at all, and under no circumstances play favorites by discriminating between retailers or areas.

Professor McLaughlin, of the Harvard Law School, admitted before the Harris committee last year in his testimony when Congressman Peter Mack, Ja., of Illinois, was presiding, that he, McLaughlin, was the author of the Harris fair trade bill which is very similar to the bill before you at present. His explanation of its provisions was anything but clear; in fact, so unclear that Chairman Mack was obliged to ask Professor McLaughlin how he expected the House Committee to understand the bill when the author of the bill was himself so unsure of it. The most striking, unusual, and possibly illegal provision in this bill was the part that dealt with giving a manufacturer a proprietary interest in a branded goods even after the maker had completely perted title to such merchandise. Mr. Justice Charles Evans Hughes in the famous Miles Laboratory case, said in effect that once a manufacturer completely parts with title, he can no longer control the price of such goods and that the public is entitled to all subsequent traffic and competition in such merchandise. The bill before you is an effort to reverse by legislation Mr. Justice Hughes' excellent opinion, which is still good law. Even fair traders recognize the novel and possibly illegal effort to give a proprietary interest in merchandise to a maker after all title has passed. See the testimony of John Anderson, of the American Fair Trade Council, in the hearings earlier this year on the Harris bill, page 650 of the March 1959 hearings. Anderson's view is that the goodwill of a branded goods is damaged by price cutting. This is economically and legally utterly fallacious. For no truly meritorious product has ever been driven from the marketplace by sharp price competition. The volume, the immense quantity of branded goods, that move through superstores and discount houses conclusively proves this. A housewife does not regard herself as a criminal or moral reprobate if she can buy a Mixmaster, a GE toaster, a Westinghouse TV, or a Shaeffer pen, or any other product at a saving of a few dollars by purchasing in a lower cost, limited service outlet.

A glance at the history of the activity of the fair traders may be of value. First they asked for and received from Congress the Miller-Tydings Act in the early 1930's. This they said preserved States rights; it was merely a permisisve enabling act; it was a rider to a District of Columbia appropria-tion bill. It said if a State law allows vertical price control on branded goods, the Federal antitrust laws will stand aside. It was a hunting license that declared open season on all State legislatures. The NARD as a result forced State fair trade laws through 45 States. In no less than 35 of these there was not even a pretense of a public hearing. Professor Malcolm McNair of the Harvard Business School, in the Journal of Market-ing for April 1938, said that in 17 of these States the fair trade law was passed in such a hurry that in 10 of the 17 there was enacted into law the identical stenographic error. Of course most of, if not all of, these laws came from the same switch. Usually they came from John Dargavel and his National Association of Retail Druggists in Chicago. the same organization that authored the Harris bill of last year and this year and who indirectly also authored the bill presently before you. Note the emphasis on allowing the States to do as they wished to do and the recognition of States rights. Then 14 years later, on May 21, 1951, the U.S. Supreme Court in the famous Schwegmann case knocked out in a 6 to 3 decision the voluntary nonsigner clause and held that State fair trade laws applied only to those who sign such agreements with manufacturers. Mr. Justice Douglas said you could not drag Schweg-mann in by the heels and force him to comply with a contract he had never seen, much

less signed. Recent important history was thus made by the U.S. Supreme Court on May 21, 1951. It virtually destroyed effective compulsory price fixing since the Court held that nonsigners were not bound. Within 6 months John Anderson and his American Fair Trade Council held a meeting in November 1951 at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York. The meeting was called Operation Restoration. This meant reverse by legislation the Court's action in the Schwegmann case. The Keogh bill was sponsored by the AFTC. This bill was called by the AFTC the hometown bill. This bill was aimed at the Albert Wentling, Palmyra, Pa., situation. In this case a U.S. circuit court of appeals held that a mailorder discount house sending goods across a State line did not have to respect the fair trade law of any State, and did not have to respect the fair trade law of the State into which the merchandise The McGuire Act sponsored by the NARD was directly aimed at the Schwegmann case and attempted to permit or legalize a compulsory nonsigner clause. has happened in the past 6 or 7 years is history. No less than 18 States have in-validated laws based upon the McGuire Act. Practically all important manufacturers have dumped fair trade and now sell under conditions of price freedom instead of price fixing. Apparently in so doing they are enjoying very good health, as are most retailers. There appears to be no strong public demand for the type of compulsory substantive fair trade law such as the bill before you.

Under the McGuire Act, enacted in July 1952, discount houses have had the greatest growth. In 1952 there were 200 discount houses in New York City doing an annual volume of \$500 million. Today there are more than 2,000 discount houses in New York City alone, and over 10,000 throughout the country. Whether we like them or not, I believe they are here to stay. If they do stay, any and all efforts to reverse our antitrust laws and to legislate Federal fair trade would be utter folly. Efforts to repeal the law of supply and demand have failed and, I believe, will fail. For people suffering from inflation, the shrinking buying power of their dollars will make every honest effort to shop for values, and sellers will help them to circumvent artificial roadblocks to competition and free markets.

May I add one more point?

If the House should pass the Harris bill and the U.S. Senate pass the Humphrey-Proxmire bill, I have every hope and belief and every confidence that the President will accept the judgment of every important governmental agency concerned and veto Federal fair trade. This confidence and expectation is based upon the President's frequently voiced grave concern about the dangers to the public of inflation. May I add the following, too. If enacted by Congress and signed into law by the President, I have even greater confidence that the U.S. Supreme Court will hold such Federal fair trade legislation unconstitutional for the reasons so very well set forth by Mr. Bicks of the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice in his testimony before the Harris committee given in March 1959.

May I be granted permission to send to you for the record a supplementary statement including the exhibits referred to above which are pertinent to the bill presently before you. A bill which threatens to increase the prices of branded goods to the public by \$8 to \$10 billion should not be enacted into law too hurriedly.

May I not, in closing, respectfully urge you not to approve, but to reject, the bill before you as contrary to public interests. The proponents of this bill do not confuse their interest with the public interest, they identify their private interest as the public interest. Finally may I urge you to consider with the greatest care the reasons given for the position taken by Justice, Labor, Agriculture, Commerce, the Fedral Trade Commission, and other governmental agencies who have and who may offer additional testimony in re S. 1083. This time I believe the fair trade lobbyists, the NARD, the AFTC, and other trade groups who sponsor this legislation have gone much too far. are asking you to destroy the antitrust laws. to destroy all States rights, to throw gasoline on the fires of inflation, to increase consumer prices on branded goods in all 50 States rather sharply, and to go beyond the power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce but also to regulate from Washington, D.C., all intrastate commerce and put floors under prices on retail trade in branded goods. This is asking a great deal, all of which is clearly inimical to the public and consumers generally. I do not believe that the House, the Senate, or the President, or our courts will go as far as the fair trade proponents want them to go.

Report to the Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission by Bertha S. Adkins, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, June 27, I had the distinct honor of participating in the honorary members dinner of the Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission at the Cosmos Club in Washington.

One of the features of this function was a report by Bertha S. Adkins, Under Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and chairman of the executive committee of the Commission, on the activities of this group.

I was impressed by this report and feel that it reflects the high caliber of the leadership which the Commission has enjoyed since its inception. Miss Adkins is a distinguished educator in her own right, having served as dean of residence of Bradford Junior College in Bradford, Mass., and as dean of women of Western Maryland College in Westminster, Md. She was honored with doctor of laws degree from this institution. She is presently serving on the board of trustees of American University in Washington, D.C.

In connection with her educational duties, she has been active in club work for women; especially the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs; the National Federation of Business and Professional Women and the Association of American University Women. She served with distinction as the assistant chairman of the Republican National Committee.

Because of her activities in the field of education and in woman's club work, she was appointed by President Eisenhower to serve on the Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission and was chosen by the other members to be chairman of the executive committee.

This makes her report all the more important and I ask consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the Record. Remarks by Miss Bertha Adrins, Honorary Members' Dinner, Lincoln Spague Centennial Commission, Cosmos Club. Washington, D.C., Saturday, June 27, 1959

I would like to express my personal appreciation to all of you honorary members who have come (some of you from great distances from as far away as California) to be with us this evening on this auspicious occasion. And to that, I would like to add my gratitude to Commissioner Victor M. Birely, the Chairman of the Lincoln Commission Honorary Memembers Committee who has been indefatigable in his effort to provide a means such as this by which we may pay you due tribute.

Senator Cooper has asked that I give you a brief summation of the activities of the Commission during Lincoln Year which was proclaimed as such by President Eisenhower on December 31, 1958. The Commission itself was established, as you know, by proceeding the commission itself was established, as you know, by proceeding the commission of the commission of the commission itself was established. by public law, and it was instructed in the language of that law to undertake all possible projects to honor the memory of Lincoln, the 16th President of the Onited States, who was born 150 years ago on February 12, 1809.

We on the Commission, aware of the Challes

qualities of compassionate leadership which personified this great man, and aware also of the need for such human and brotherly qualities in these difficult times, approached the problem of this observance with one premise in mind-that there should be participation in the observance by people from all walks of life, of all ages, of all educational and cultural attainments and that the observance should extend beyond our shores to all of the lands of the world, even to those that have erected barriers

against the free world.

Our entire effort, therefore, has been based entire effort, therefore, has been based upon the assumption that the people need only be reminded of the observance and they would undertake participation by their own initiative. We have employed this general approach in all aspects of the undertaktors approach in the press. undertaking—in working with the press, broadcasting media, the motion pictures, the about the press. the churches, the educational institutions, numerous clubs, societies and associations,

the unions, and other Government officials. On this board over here you see some which has supported this movement in every corner of our land and in lands beyond our

At the outset, the staff of the Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission, under Dr. Baringer, prepared a handbook which spelled out in the contract of the contract out in broad terms the objectives intended by the Congress, offered a brief chronology of the life of Mr. Lincoln, reprinted some the more famous quotations from his public statements and private communications, and presented specific suggestions for the participation of individuals and organizations throughout the Nation.

I should like to say that we on the Commission could take full credit for the tremendous job that has been done by all of those participating in Lincoln Year. This is not the case. Most of that material you see distill see displayed resulted from a groundswell of enthusiasm for the project which found newspapers, broadcasters, churches, schools, union organizations, industry, and others spontaneously turning their attention to Mr. Lincoln and to the things for which he stood turning their attention with such wholehearters their attention with such wholehearted support that one working closely with the Commission soon had the feeling with the Commission soon walking. feeling that Abraham Lincoln was walking

As a Commission, we did, of course, undertake some specific programs. We published a booklet called "The Lincoln Ideals," and we broadcasters and we asked newspapers and broadcasters to offer this booklet without cost to readers and listeners and viewers who would write to Lincoln, Box 1959, Washington, D.C. The response during February and March as a Veritable flood. Letters came in from every State in the Union, including our new States and States, and, whether by a wandering broad-cast signal or word of mouth, the news we had record in many foreign lands—for we had requests in at least 30 different languages for the Ideals.

At one time, the Commission staff was picking up as many as four sacks of mail daily at the post office.

Filling these orders alone has been a prodigious task, as you can imagine—and I am told now that just about 150,000, includ-

ing two print runs, of this booklet have been distributed throughout the world.

We have published also a smaller pamphlet under the title, "Abraham Lincoln Said \* \* \*" The print run on this pocket piece has now reached 200,000. Over 100,000 of them have been given to visitors to the Lincoln Memorial here in Washington and another 35,000 have been distributed on sightseeing buses here. Fourteen airlines, both domestic, and overseas, are now supplying this little booklet to their passengers.

We distributed also to newspapers throughout the Nation filler items, being newspapers direct—albeit condensed—quotations from Mr. Lincoln, this under the title of "Lincoln Line-A-Days". As no doubt many of you have noticed, these have been widely used and in some cases on a daily basis with line

drawings.

Additionally, we have published three issues of the Lincoln Sesquicentennial Intelligencer so far this year. Some index as to the snowballing activity in the observance is found in these publications, which I believe are sent to all of you honorary members. The first issue was contained in four pages. The second required six, and the last one needed eight pages and I understand quite a bit of type for that issue was carried over for the next scheduled publication. The Intelligencer is mailed to public media, organizations, educators, schools, union, and industry organizations, scholars, and collectors and government people throughout the

One of the most gratifying developments has been the enthusiasm with which the state historical societies have devoted themselves to the observance, and the additional establishment of special State Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commissions. There are active right now in 32 states such commissions or societies, all of which have regularly reported to this national commission their activities-some of which have already been recorded in the Intelligencer.

Our school campaign, conducted in cooperation with the National Education Association, is well underway-and we expect a great deal of residual value in the fall of the year when the schools reopen. In this case, a special staff of the National Education Association, under contract with the Commission, prepared a teaching handbook about Lincoln for distribution in the nation's 28,000 high schools. This program, developed under the direction of a committee chaired by Father Remert, has met with good success. Classroom exericses conducted in the fall in many of our schools throughout the land will encourage youngsters again to turn their attention to Mr. Lincoln-to learn more of him and to write about him.

Many of you may have been here for the events in February which launched this Lincoln Year. If you were, I hardly need tell you of the magnificient program that took place on February 12 in a Joint Session of Congress when Mr. Carl Sandburg. one of our honorary members, spoke so mov ingly. I am happy to report to you that Congressman Fred Schwengel, also an honorary member, who is here this evening, has introduced a resolution in the House seeking funds to reprint this wonderful program for distribution to all of you and to others throughout the country.

On the evening preceding that memorable event, the Lincoln group, in cooperation with the Commission, sponsored a delightful ban-quet at the Statler Hotel which was attended by President Eisenhower, many other of our Washington leaders, and a full house of Lincoln enthusiasts. On that evening, the distinguished NBC documentary "Meet Mr. Lincoln" was shown, and later, via television, was seen by millions in their homes throughout the Nation.

And on Lincoln's Birthday, also, the Loyal Legion sponsored the annual wreath ceremonies at the Lincoln Memorial, under the direction of General Vogel, General Grant, and Colonel McHarg-all of whom are here this evening.

The U.S. Information Agency has been working prodigiously on Lincoln Year projects since January. They have sent literally boxes of materials to their representatives throughout the world, and the name of Lincoln today is almost as familiar in Calcutta, India, as it is in Des Moines, Iowa.

One of our Commissioners, John B. Fisher. did a 2-week lecture tour of the West Indies, and a summary of that Lincoln pilgrimage was placed recently in the Congressional RECORD. Reading of the reaction of all of the folks down there to the name of Mr. Lincoln, and particularly of the reaction of boys and girls who heard Mr. Fisher, reveals again the high place this great man's memory occupies among our neighbors. I could tell you also, but will not take the time now, of my own recent trip to Bogotá, Colombia, for a special conference at which I had an opportunity to talk about Abraham Lincoln and the Lincoln Year and the inspiring opportunity to see the reaction of some of our neighbors to the south at the mention of the name of the 16th President.

Next week, on July 1, there will be a celebration of the 75th anniversary of the gift of the Statue of Liberty by the people of France to the people of the United States. On that occasion, Mr. Walter Rothschild, of the Commission, representing the people of the United States, will present to the people of France a bust of Abraham Lincoln with an appropriate inscription by the Lincoln Commission.

We could spend hours here discussing the tremendous support that has been given to the observance here and abroad. Perhaps, it is best summarized in a postal card that arrived at Box 1959 shortly after February 12. It was signed, obviously by a little boy, "Juan Espinosa." It was postmarked Providence, R.I. It said, simply, "Happy Birthday, Mr. Lincoln."

One can only know that Abraham Lincoln still lives in this land-and although, as it has been said, we may never know his like again, it is equally true that we will never know his loss. His mark upon civilization as the symbol of the free man is indelible.

### A Lifetime of Service to Conservation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

### HON. GEORGE S. McGOVERN

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, South Dakota has lost a cherished friend in the death of Ross D. Davies, chief administrative officer of the South Dakota Soil Conservation Service. The growth and progress of South Dakota is closely related to the conservation and development of our soil and water resources. Beginning as a pioneer in this field of endeavor, Ross Davies, life is symbolic of the increasing recognition now being given to soil and water resources as the foundation on which the future growth of our Nation must depend.

An editorial in the Huron Daily Plainsman of June 28, 1959, expresses

the feelings of all South Dakotans who look back over the contributions of this great friend of conservation. Under unanimous consent I include this editorial at this point in the RECORD:

STATE HAS LOST A MAN OF STATURE

In an interview for the Nugget, Lead High School publication, the late Ross D. Davies, an alumnus of that institution, said about soil and water conservation;

"It is a field of endeavor that offers an opportunity to protect and promote sustained, wise use of basic soil and water resources

for the present and the future."

And for 22 years, Mr. Davies toiled in that field of endeavor as the chief administrative officer of the South Dakota Soil Conservation Service.

He was a ploneer of soil conservation in the State. When he first joined the Soil Conservation Service, the national Soil Conservation Act was only 2 years old. The national movement to save the soil was just getting under way after 10 years of premilminary experimental work at Government stations

Recognizing the importance of and the need for soil conservation, he worked hard for the State law which enacted in 1937, was among the first in the Nation. His main role was that of adviser to the agricultural committee that drafted the State law and introduced It in the legislature.

All through the years he was interested in the development of the total soil and water resources of the northern Great Plains. This interest made him a champion of the Missouri Basin development program in general and, more particularly, of those aspects of the program which had to do with watersheds and irrigation.

As State conservationist, he was in charge of all the administrative and technical work of the U.S. Soil Conservation Service in South Dakota.

This was an important position because the SCS provides the technical assistance farmers need to develop conservation plans and to use the land to its utmost capacity while improving and protecting the soil for future generations.

It was a difficult job, too, yet-under Mr. Davies' leadership-the service in the State grew from an organization operating a few Civilian Conservation Corps camps and wind erosion projects into an organization serving nearly 35,000 farmers and ranchers in 68 soll conservation districts.

A South Dakota State College graduate (1923), he was extremely active in the in-

stitution's alumni association.

He was president from 1941 to 1943, held other offices and served several terms on the board of directors. He often was called upon for committee work.

In his last job, as chairman of the almuni division of the "Stadium for State" fund drive, he was responsible for raising \$138,-000, a substantial portion of the total raised to date.

"He had been active in the association ever since he left school," D. B. Doner, associa-tion secretary-treasurer, said. "He had been so active for so long that we took what he did for granted."

Ross Davies was active in other circles, too. He was chairman of the Huron Plan Commission and the only original member still sitting on the board. As a member of this group and later on, as chairman, he helped draft the city's zoning ordinance and formulate a master plan to guide the physical growth of the city.

This same commission brought into the city new areas to the southwest and southeast and promoted the widening of high-ways 37 and 14 at Huron.

There were other improvements which Ross Davies helped to bring about, too. He was a stanch supporter of the move to build a Federal office building in Huron, for instance.

He was active in churchwork, serving as president and trustee of the American Lutheran Church and heading the fund drive for the educational unit which was completed in 1955.

Then, of course, there were the projects with which he was associated as a member of various civic and fraternal groups.

But a recitation of his accomplishments will never begin to measure the stature of this man.

He had great ability to work with people. probably because he was so human himself. He was patient and tolerant, even in the most trying circumstances, and he had the ability to differ with people on matters of policy without losing their respect or friend-

He was a positive thinker-a man who believed in boosting what he favored rather than knocking the other fellow or what the other fellow had to offer.

And he was an adventurer who encouraged the timid to take a chance with new ideas and new experiences.

There is no wonder, then, that his death June 24, following a heart attack, left a vold in the community.

This man was a leader, one who was always just a little bit ahead of others in his planning and his thinking. And he inspired others to do by setting an example through his own hard work.

Men with the personal stature of Ross Davies are rare indeed—and the presence of rare ones always is missed even though their

influence endures.

Address by Maj. Gen. Wallace M. Greene. Jr., U.S. Marine Corps, Before Marine Corps Combat Correspondents Convention, Mayflower Hetel, Washington, D.C., June 27, 1959

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. CLARK W. THOMPSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. THOMPSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday night I had the pleasure of attending the banquet of the Marine Corps Combat Correspondent's Association. Members were in Washington from all over the United States to attend the 1959 annual military conference and convention. The banquet was the windup of the affair. It featured an address by Maj. Gen. Wallace M. Greene, Jr., U.S.M.C. This address is so timely and tells a story of such great importance to the Congress and to the Nation that I believe it should be published in the CONCRESSIONAL RECORD.

The Marine Corps has always been appreciated by the Congress. Every Member who has in the past voted in behalf of the corps will appreciate General Greene's reassuring words and will realize that the faith and confidence we have placed in the corps are well founded. The address follows:

ADDRESS BY MAJ. GEN. WALLACE M. GREENE JR., USMC, BEFORE MARINE CORPS COMBAT CORRESPONDENTS CONVENTION, MAYFLOWER HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D.C., SATURDAY, JUNE 27, 1959

Colonel McCahill, General Denig, ladies, and gentlemen, 14 years ago tonight, Marines were finishing the mopup of southern Okinawa. Many at this table have reason to remember the end of June 1945. For along side the riflemen were the Marine Corps combat correspondents who would preserve forever the agonies and the glories of the Pacific campaigns.

The era of the combat correspondent was then at its zenith. So were the fortunes of

our corps.

As Capt. Bill McCahill said in his book "First To Fight," "today's men have more than lived up to yesterday's motto of 'Semper Fidelis'."

Capt. Ray Henri and 1st Lt. Jim Lucas put it another way. They said, "Sometimes an iron heart is better than a steel shield outside. Our tanks and buildozers and trucks were supported by the iron hearts of men who fought until they fell in the field, through with all battles.

But what of today's Marines? Are they deserving of this tradition? What do you think of the Marine Corps as you view it in

June 1959?

One of the uses of the past is to employ it as a measuring stick for the present would like to use the Marine Corps as we knew it in 1945 as a basis on which measure the Marine Corps of today.

Fourteen years ago the Marine Corps was 2½ times as large as it is today. Then we had six divisions and five wings, scattered out in the Pacific from Hawaii to Okinawa. Out effort was concentrated in one ocean, the

Today we have three division-wing teams One is located in Okinawa and Japan, the other two on the seacoasts of the United States. We maintain a battalion landing team on a continuous basis in the Mediterranean. Today the Marine Corps is well-balanced on both the major oceans ready to move out on a moment. move out on a moment's notice to any point in the world. During the past 2 years. Marine Corps units have moved to meet emergencies on eight different occasions in the Atlantic, the Pacific, the Mediterraneau, and the Indian Oceans.

In 1945 the Marine Corps division are composed of 19,163 men. Today there the 18.717. We are studying how to reduce the division to 15,000 and, at the same time, to increase its punch. Today's division all-transportable. air-transportable. Its assault elements can all be lifted by helicopter. This wasn't true of the old World War II division. Today's Marine Corps is lighter, faster, and packs a bigger wallon a bigger wallop.

So much for organization-what about marines themselves. Today all marines They joined the corps because they want to belong to it. Enlistment con volunteers. tracts have been upped from a minimum of 2 to 3, and, recently, to 4 years. Enlistment standards have been raised. This is reflected in the mental in the mental quality of recruits which has risen to a GCT of 106.8. Reculistment of first term man. first term men is now approximately 22 per cent; second term and longer are reenlisting at the rate of 771/2 percent.

Pay is better. Today's recruit draws no much as a sergeant did in 1945 (\$73). new paygrades have been added. Additional money is awarded for proficiency in certain fields. Fringe benefits in the way of de-pendents' medicare and have been established. Promotion rates for enlisted marines enlisted marines are generally excellent. Low caliber noncommissioned officers are being weeded out. Marines' tours are being str bilized through a unit transplacement pro-

We still have the problem of the promotion hump for officers. Corrective legislation is now under consideration by Congress. We are also supposed to take 12 percent of first enlistments from inferior category IV per-Sonnel. The retention rate of young ground officers is not satisfactory. Promotion rates for enlisted marines in some fields are slow.

However, we can sum up the situation by saying that the quality and the ability of today's marine is certainly as good as found in the marine of 1945.

Let's look at training. We still have our two recruit depots and two infantry training regiments. Out of the cauldron of the Mc-Reon affair has come a tougher and better recruit depot. Recruit training has retained all of the desirable features of longtime Marine Corps tradition. To these have been added improvements, such as the finest physical training program in the country and increased emphasis on combat training in the field. This matter of changes in recruit training has excited some controversy, particularly among oldtimers who have feared that our recruit depots were going soft Soft. This is not so. The course is more than ever. We are now spending a total of 4 months on a recruit before he ever. ever joins a division. A 6-month reservist gets 5 months of training.

During the past 2 years we have conducted 28 major amphibious exercises, ranging the continuous are the cont ing in locale from the coasts of the continental United States to Alaska, the Caribbean, Okinawa, the Philippines, Hawaii, Turkey, Taiwan, Korea, Borneo, and Libya, In many of these exercises we have been training with marine and army forces of our

In scope and efficiency, Marine Corps training today is at the highest level in our

Weapons and equipment constitute an important point of comparison. We are keeping on top of that problem, too.

In weapons we are about to adopt a new family of small arms greatly superior to

family of small arms greatly superior to those of World War II.

At the other end of the weapons spectrum we are also improving our nuclear capability for amphibious operations.

In transportation we have a revolutionary animal, the mechanical mule. Aviation is about to take delivery on a

high speed combination transport and refueler (the C-130B). Our aviators are also flying better fighter and attack aircraft. The jet has replaced

There are three helicopter carriers now in operation—two in the Pacific and one in the Atlantic. These support our new concept of vertical vertical envelopment. We had neither concept or carriers in 1945. Our tank battalions are better equipped

than in World War II.

To fight enemy tanks we have the airtransportable 106-millimeter weapons carrier

As you can see, we have better and more powerful weapons than we did 14 years ago. The real payoff, of course, lies in combat readiness. The Marine Corps must be combat ready at all times. All of us were proud of our combat readiness throughout World Worl World War II. In the early fifty's, we could again again stick out our chests as a result of what we did in the Korean campaign.

Today we are in a high state of combat readiness. For example, we can start moving elements of the 2d Division out of Camp Lejeune in the matter of minutes.

During the recent emergency in Lebanon, marines were ashore in less than 24 hours after being alerted. Marines were the first to land in Lebanon. Within 3 days we put

ashore three battallon landing teams and had flown in another from the United States.

In the recent Formosa Strait crisis, we moved MAG-11 from Iwakuni, Japan, to Taiwan. During this emergency we also moved MAG-13 from Hawaii to Japan. fact one fighter squadron of this group flew all the way from Hawaii to Japan with Air Force and Navy air tankers refuelling our ships over the Pacific. We couldn't do that in the old days.

The Marine Corps today is just as combat ready as it was in 1945. I believe we have the iron hearts as well as the steel shields that Ray Henri and Jim Lucas were talking

General "Howling Mad" Smith in his book, "Coral And Brass," tells about the time that the Secretary of the Navy, James Forrestal, and he observed the flag going up on Mount Suribachi on Iwo Jima. The Secretary's party was going ashore in a Higgins boat and Secretary Forrestal turned to General Smith and said: "Howland, the raising of that flag on Suribachi means a Marine Corps for the next 500 years."

Some marines think that we can glide along on this reputation-I don think so. The Marine Corps can't afford to live on what it has banked in the past. It must continue to deposit to its account by daily out-

standing performance.

We have to live up to our great traditionthe tradition which you helped to build. This means hard work all the time. I think we are doing this.

Nor can we hide our light under a bushel. The American public must be kept informed about the Marine Corps. Sometimes I think we forget that. Here is an area where you can be of great help-by telling the story of today's Marine Corps.

Throughout World War II the Army used to say that we marines had a combat correspondent in every foxhole. We had a reputation then that we were mighty proud of, and I guess it's true that we weren't letting anybody forget about it either. The American people were proud of their Marine Corps.

Today's Marine Corps is worthy of its tra-tion. We must continously tell the Ameridition. can people what the Marine Corps really means to them. All of you are in a unique position to assist in this. You appreciate more than most marines do the importance of good public relations-the power of the press, and you know how good relations are You occupy positions of leaderdeveloped. ship and influence in your communities. Tell our story.

What is say to you then, in closing, is simply this: The Marine Corps continues to be a sound commodity. You can be proud of it. Let's put some of the old-time effort of 14 years ago into telling the American people about it. We need your help to do

Just as in the old days, let's make sure that there is a Marine Corps combat correspondent in every Marine Corps foxhole.

#### Problems of Urban Areas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, we have heard many words about the problems facing our urban

areas. We have heard many proposals for programs intended to help our cities and the suburbs around those cities. A new suggestion was made by Governor Robert B. Meyner, of New Jersey, June 17 at the National Citizens Planning Conference in Memphis, Tenn. He would mobilize the resources of our universities to give us a unified study of what has become known as our metropolitan problem.

The Governor's proposal comes at a time when we read of efforts by a few individual universities to establish such urban study centers. It comes at a time when Congress may consider the creation of a new commission to study part

of the same problem.

This great interest from so many sources is heartening and significant. I believe that many leaders in this Nation are encouraging others to give consideration to one of the great crises of our times that now face urban areas throughout the Nation.

Since I feel that this proposal has great possibilities, I ask unanimous consent to have Governor Meyner's remarks printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD.

as follows:

REMARKS OF GOV. ROBERT B. MEYNER, OF NEW JERSEY, AT NATIONAL CITIZENS PLANNING CONFERENCE, MEMPHIS, TENN., JUNE 17,

Mr. Chairman, I am delighted to be here today, in response to General Grant's invitation, and to be given the chance to join in your discussion of the problems of metropolitan areas and the needs of communities to meet present-day conditions.

My own State of New Jersey. I believe, serves as a kind of laboratory for the study of urban conditions. With the exception of Rhode Island and Connecticut, New Jersey is smaller in area than any other State, and it is actually the most urban State in the Union. Within our borders are no fewer than 567 communities.

Nearly all of New Jersey's citizens live within one of the six standard metropolitan areas, as defined by the U.S. Census Bureau. These include New York and Philadelphia. the first and fourth largest in the Nation. Four of our metropolitan areas have their central citles outside the State itself—in Delaware, New York, and Pennsylvania.

Nearly every day some problem arises out of the fact that metropolitan areas transcend political boundary lines. For example, we are now engaged in discussion with the State of New York over the fact that citizens of New Jersey who work in New York are dis-criminated against in the levy of New York's State income tax.

For another example, we are cooperating with New York in a major effort to solve the problem of commuters, at a time when the railroads, because of financial losses, are constantly seeking to curtail or eliminate services.

I could give endless examples of New Jersey's urban difficulties, both interstate and You name the problem. intrastate. have it.

But first let me say how fitting it is that this conference should be held in the city of Memphis and in the State of Tennessee. Here we have what is perhaps the Nation's finest example of planning. I refer, of course, to the Tennessee Valley Authority. An eminent person once described TVA as creeping socialism. I hardly think the people of the

Tennessee Valley react kindly to this epithet. They have seen, within the short space of a quarter of a century, the transformation of this area from poverty to prosperity. What was once burned-out land is now a cornucopia. They have seen industry, great and small, come here to flourish with TVA power. The farms and towns and cities long since have been electrified. Floods are a thing of the past. And here, at Oak Ridge, with power generated in the Tennessee Valley, is one of the vital centers of the atomic age. Moreover, the lakes created by TVA are offering recreation to many thousands of our people. A salute to TVA.

I think you will agree that when we talk about planning for people, we are also talking about planning by people. For if we are to succeed in the task of making urban society one in which men can fulfill their destinies and realize the substance of their dreams, many men must serve. Many men

must accept their responsibilities.

It is somewhat disquieting to find that our people nowadays tend to confine their activities to stratified groups. Bankers con-sort with bankers. Labor union members consort with labor union members. In the East, we have whole communities whose residents are linked by occupation, wealth, and so-called social position. Our society seems rigid—lacking in fluidity. There is too little social intercourse and exchange of ideas among the various segments. People retreat to their homes, their clubs, their groups, and pay too little attention to public affairs, whether they be politics, community planning, or whatever.

You in this audience, grappling with problems of the utmost importance to every citizen, must be aware of this apathy and you must be aware of how it is hampering your efforts. Later on in this speech I will outline one way in which it can be attacked, one way in which our scholars and bright young people can be encouraged to think and act particularly about the urban problems

confront the Nation.

Not too many years ago, 80 percent of the population gained their living on the farms or in rural areas. Today, more than 80 percent of our people live in communities of

2.500 or more population.
Since World War II, we have witnessed an ever-increasing concentration of population, employment, and wealth in metropolitan areas and, at the same time, an alarming decay in our central cities, and in a widening band around them. We have witnessed rapid development of suburban areas, which are too often ill-prepared to provide needed services to their expanding population.

Dedicated citizens, haunted by the sight of a Nation racing toward the day when the urban complex may engulf the land, are laboring in many ways to grapple with the monster. Thus, master plans for cities and regions have come into being; thus we have public housing, middle income housing, slum clearance, urban renewal, and improvement of building and housing codes. There is a growing realization that cities must be made more livable, and that the central city must remain a focal point of civilization.

Historically, cities have been the cultural, educational, industrial and commercial centers. In cities, the greatest social, scientific and humanitarian advances have been made. Cities have been the mainstream of life and the center for the dissemination of ideas. They have an apparent indestructibility and a power of resurgence that is almost magical. Cities survive both natural catastrophe and the havce of war. Rome, the "Eternal City" has lasted for more than 2,000 years. Is it possible to imagine a world without Paris, London, Vienna, Rio de Janeiro, New York, Chicago, and San Francisco?

As it happens, only last week I spoke at a large gathering in Trenton, our State capital, at which was unfolded a master plan for the improvement and beautification of the downtown area. It was an inspiring meeting and an inspired idea. The impetus for the Trenton plan came, interestingly enough, from a study of the city made 2 years ago by a group of graduate students from the University of Pennsylvania. Their findings, published in an article called "Case City, U.S.A.", predicted disaster for Trenton within the next generation unless heroic action were taken. That action is now under way. I am happy to say that the State government will play an important part in the renaissance of Trenton.

At the same meeting, Governor Lawrence of Pennsylvania told of the recent rebirth of the central city of Pittsburgh, beginning, in the Golden Triangle, and brought about by the cooperation of public officials and great numbers of interested private citizens. His keynote thought was that people in the country must provide the initiative, the imagination and leadership to do the job. A similar ferment is working in many other American cities. In almost all cases, it gains strength from an aroused citizenry led by strong leaders, and by the enthusiastic cooperation of civic and public-spirited groups working with public officials. In these cases, there has been a breaking down of the stratification to which I have alluded. Men and women of all types are appearing to work together for the good of all. We need more of this type of community spirit all over the country if our urban problems are to be successfully attacked.

Congress, it is encouraging to note, is lending a hand. Despite administration opposition, the omnibus housing bill has passed both Houses and is now in conference. The bill would make it easier to build and buy homes, encourage cities to clear their slums. and help colleges to construct dormitories. It would increase the total amount of mortgages FHA can insure; establish a new program of rental housing for elderly persons; authorize more public housing units; and increase urban renewal grants.

Many tasks lie before us. We need to rescue people from urban ghettoes. We need to help the farmer squeezed, as now in the critical case of New Jersey egg and poultry farmers, by the encroachment of suburbia, by high taxes and costs of feed and by falling prices. We need to guard against the frag-mentation that results when 20, 30, or 50 municipalities in a county or region each draws its own master plan, too often without

relationship to any other plan.

We need mass production of housing; reduction of home finance and building costs; effective code enforcement, and preservation of open land for park, playground, and rec-reational uses. We need new highways and freeways, and modernized street plans, to make it easier to get in and out of cities, and to move freely and comfortably within their limits. We need parking space and ever more parking space. We need central city shopping centers and breathing areas. We need a whole revolution in our thinking concerning the needs and demands of the urban age. Politically, we need reapportionment of legislative and congressional districts to give cities a fairer representation. We need representation for people instead of for acreage.

Cities destroyed physically by war or otherwise can rebuild. Why cannot cities equally destroyed by inertia be revived?

Now, let me offer you an idea which I believe has enormous possibilities—an idea which is borrowed from our historical heritage. In 1857, Justin Smith Morrill, then a

Congressman from Vermont and later a U.S. Senator, introduced his famous land-grant act. The bill granted federally owned land to each State for the endowment, support and maintenance of at least one college in that State, where the leading object would be to foster agriculture and the mechanical arts. The bill, passed by Congress, was vetoed by President Buchanan, hardly one of our greater Chief Executives, as being outside the legitimate powers of the Federal Government. Thus a bill to provide the special training so essential to what was then an agrarian society was made victim of the struggle between States rights and national power.

Morrill persisted in his aim after the election of Abraham Lincoln. The land-grant bill, repassed by Congress, arrived on the President's desk on July 2, 1862, a tragic day. On that day word had reached Washington that the 3-month peninsula campaign had failed. The assault up the James River that was to carry General McClellon and the second se Clellan and the Army of the Potomac to Richmond and an end to the war-this assault had ended in retreat. It seemed at the time that ahead, as far as anyone could

see, lay only conflict and death.

Yet, at this moment, Lincoln signed the Morrill bill, an act of faith in the Nation's future. It proclaimed, in one stroke, his belief that the war would end, that our people needed higher education and that, in particular, agricultural methods must be improved if the Nation was to progress and prosper. Under the act, each state received 30,000 acres of land for each senator and representative then in Congress. The land was sold and the proceeds used to create land-grant colleges, which have grown into the splendid State universities of the present day.

The colleges produced an intense interest in training young people in the art and science of farming and in the development of new agricultural methods through research and experiment. Indeed, as we look ruefully today at our huge agricultural surpluses, it might be said that the land-grant colleges succeeded to the said that the land-grant colleges succeeded the said that the said that the land-grant colleges succeeded the said that the said that the land-grant colleges succeeded the said that the s colleges succeeded too well, but that is nuother story. Today half a million students are educated each year in the land-grant colleges, and the Morrill Act remains one of the pinnacles in our legislative history.

We have and can seek in these colleges, and in other colleges and universities, an immense reservoir of brains which can be brought to bear on the problems of the highly urban society into which we have been transformed in the century since the passage of the Morrill Act. The land-grant colleges are themselves alert to the role they should play in urban study and re-search. Michigan State University, the first of the lang-grant schools, has created the Institute for Community Development and Services, which is beginning to serve communities on an extension basis. In my own State, a committee broadly representative of the entire faculty of Rutgers, the State university, has proposed the establishment of an Institute on Urban Problems.

The Nation has no great stretches of fertile land to give away, but it can well afford to set aside funds to encourage such institutes, each school to which a grant is made to use it at its own discretion and according to its own best judgment. We might well give consideration to bringing up to date the Morrill Act of 1862, either upon its 100th an niversary or before, to provide a new horizon for our land-grant colleges, and for other schools of higher learning which desire to participate in study control of the schools of higher learning which desire to participate in study and research on present day urban problems.

So I propose a new act of faith in the future of our Nation, in tune with modern heeds. Let us give to our colleges and universities the chance to turn their best minds to studying how best to tackle the difficulties of our cities and metropolitan areas. And we might well make the administration of a vast program of research and service the first order of business of a new Federal Department of Housing and Urban Affairs. The creation of this addition to the President's Cabinet has already been proposed in

Given such an impetus in our colleges and universities, you and all others who now labor with limited funds and limited knowledge on urban problems will find conjecture giving way to exact knowledge, and meagerly supported urban programs but-tressed by research, fact-finding and new answers to old questions. In place of the spotty progress we are now making, the creation of urban institutes in our centers of higher education could well produce a national renaissance of American cities.

It has been a great pleasure to come here to Memphis to the National Citizens Planning Conference and to the 55th annual meeting of the American Planning and Civic Association. I am confident that much good will come of your deliberations.

# Address by Hon. Siguard Anderson at Second Annual Convention, National Independent Dairies Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. GEORGE W. ANDREWS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am pleased to include for the RECORD a very interesting address given by the Honorable Siguard Anderson, Commissioner, Federal Trade Commission, during the tecond annual convention of the National Independent Dairies Association recently held in Washington.

REMARKS OF HON. SIGURD ANDERSON, COM-MISSIONER, FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION, WILLARD HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D.C., TUES-DAY, APRIL 14, 1959.

Commissioner Anderson, Mr. Chairman Daniel, distinguished guests, distinguished Members of Congress, efficers, members, and guests. guesta of the National Independent Dairies Association here gathered in national convention, it is a pleasure to be your guest on this occasion, and I take this opportunity to extend to you the greetings of the Federal Trade Commission, an organization that has been called, for these many years, the "watchdog of the American free enterprise" NIDA will be most successful. I hope that this 1959 convention of

I congratulate this organization on its rapid and substantial growth. It is indeed a husky 2-year-old. And if it keeps up the same rate of growth, you are going to have to get another hard to hold your future conto get another hotel to hold your future conventions. And I hope that your growth in the years ahead will be as rapid ductive as your growth has been in the last 2 years, under the able direction of your present officers and of Scotty Daniel.

Now, when Scotty Daniel, the capable and cow, when Scotty Daniel, the capable and the NIDA, invited me to be on this program. I told him I was not an authority on dairying: I was only a kind of a quasi-expert, in

that I had grown up on the South Dakota farm where we milked no more than seven or eight cows.

Like most of you who are ex-farm boys, milking cows produced this fringe benefit: it developed my grip [laughter], which was helpful in campaigning for public office.

[Laughter and applause ]
I recall people saying, "My, that skinny guy has a firm grip. He must really believe in his cause." The fact of the matter was: It came from milking cows.

And I suppose that like most of you who are ex-farm boys, we have got to say that our

success is partly due to udders. [Laughter.]
With your kind permission, I would like to make some observations on the regulation of competition by the Federal Trade Commission.

I realize that I come here as a bureaucrat; that I am one of those fellows from Washington that by congressional mandate has been made an expert by flat action. I hope that I will not be in the position of the Washington expert who went out to some place, I think in Alabama-I think Union Spring; I am not sure-and he spoke to a group of ladies on a very important problem. And the chairman of the meeting said: "We are very happy to have the latest dope from Washington today." [Laughter.]

However, in making my brief remarks, I am going to take as little time as possible.

It reminds me-because this problem of speaking is a serious thing, the time element, that is. I have friends in the audience here from South Dakota that can bear me out, that it is a difficult thing to stop when you should. I am looking at a couple of them right now.

It reminds me of a speaker at a Kiwanis luncheon. He asked the chairman: "How long shall I speak?" And the chairman said, "Take as long as you like. We all leave at 1:30." [Laughter ]

[Laughter.]

In Africa I think that they have partially solved the long speech problem. The speakers are required to stand on one foot. When the other foot touches the ground, the speech is over. [Laughter.] That might not be a bad idea.

Your industry, the dairy industry, is a great and important industry.

Dairy products are a prime necessity of life. It is milk that first reaches the stomach of a newborn baby, and it is milk that is the last food of the dying octogenarian.

Ice cream is now the dessert of billionsnot as a luxury, but as a necessary part of a meal. It is a basic food. And butter and cottage cheese and other dairy products are found in the homes of the rich and the poor. And you can be proud of your great contribution to the dining tables of America, a nation that eats better than any other in the world.

And not for one moment should you minimize the part that you play in the life of this Nation. Whenever there is a strike called in any city, where there is a tieup of transportation, the first though that comes to the people's minds is: Will we get our milk? Will we get our dairy products?

So not for one moment should you forget that you are engaged in giving to the public one of the most necessary of all products in the life of the American Nation.

Your industry, like most of American industry, is ever changing. All you need to do is to recall the dairies of your boyhood days and compare them with those we have today. Today they are the very epitome of neatness, cleanliness, sanitation, the best. It is a far cry from the day when they used to haul around in a 10 gallon wooden can and ladle out the milk to those who wanted

You have made tremendous progress, and the progress has not stopped. You have gone on the assumption that your customer

should get the best and only the very best. And I can say that in my own State of South Dakota, dairying is really our No. 1 income industry.

Farming is number one, but the dairy products are worth more to us than the grains that we produce. And it was that yellow cow that pulled us through the depression days, the "dirty thirties," as we knew them in the Middle West. And many a boy and girl, by countless numbers, went to college because of the cream check and the milk check that the yellow cow produced.

And I would say that if there is to be raised in the average Middle West community a statue, it could well be a statue to the dairy cow, because of the importance of dairying and the distribution of dairy prod-

Along with these great advances that you have made, there have come some problems, particularly in the field of competition.

Competition is a great and necessary force. It is that force in the life of a nation and in the people of a nation that brings out the best. And in the zeal to be good, there are those who forget the rules of the game; and. as Shakespeare said, "Ay, there's the rub."
In the United States of America we have

had to contend with this problem. And the Federal Trade Commission is an answer in part to the problem of unfair competition.

We at the Federal Trade Commission have heard of these problems. The Commission was created by Congress to regulate competition, not to control it, but to regulate it; because free and fair competition is a foundation of our American way of life. Free enterprise, as we love to consider it, cannot flourish if competition is unfair and illegal.

Since the days of the Interstate Com-merce Act of 1887, Congress has spoken out many times against unfair competition. The Sherman Act in 1800, the Federal Trade Commission Act in 1914, the Clayton Act in 1914, the Robinson-Patman Act in 1936, and a host of other regulatory measures, have gone on the books because the people of the United States demanded that competition be fair and clean and honest. And Congress has accommodated the wishes of the people to keep competition that way.

But always there seem to be a few who are not going to follow the rules of the game, and they are the ones that make it necessary to have these regulatory measures and regu-

latory agencies.

In the United States, we have rules and referees and umpires in baseball and bas-ketball and football. We have rules of the game for golf and even card games. And Congress has provided for rules in the conduct of the competition in industry toward the end that all shall play fair. And it is the purpose of the Federal Trade Commission to keep the climate of competition in industry on a high plane of fairness.

We have great powers. We have the power to put people and corporations in the penalty box. But then, again, we are not a great agency in size. I think that the effect that we have on the body economic is entirely out of proportion to the size of our agency. Why, we have only 717 people for the purposes that we were created for, 717. Why, that is just the size of a tiny South Dakota town.

Our annual appropriation is \$5,975,000. and we have a request at the present time for \$540,000 more to supplement the salary increases that were granted by Congress last year. We practice rigid economy at the Federal Trade Commission. There is nothing else we can do.

And speaking of rigid economy, I suppose you know that the best example of that is a dead Scotchman. [Laughter.]

Well, anyway, the Members of Congress here tonight rather overawe me. I was going to make a pitch, Senator Mundt, for more appropriations for the Federal Trade Commission; but now I don't believe I shall. I can't refrain from observing, however, that our job at the Federal Trade Commission grows ever more difficult with the rapidly expanding American economy when our means do not expand accordingly. The American economy is mushrooming, while we are falling behind because of the fact that we somehow or other lack the means.

In connection with the dairy industry, the Federal Trade Commission has brought a great many cases against violators of the laws dealing with business practices. At the present time—and I think these have probably been fully discussed by members of our staff—we have nine ice cream cases with a hearing examiner, awaiting his decision. We have four antimerger cases in process of trial

Right now in the United States there seems to be an urge to merge. [Laughter.] There has been during the last several years a great swallowing up of corporations and concerns by other corporations and con-

Now, as far as we are concerned, that is entirely all right, provided that such mergers do not have a tendency to lessen competition or to create a monopoly.

Congress has spoken very plainly on that score, and the courts have spoken recently almost as plainly. And we are engaged in the trial of many antimerger cases, and

four in the dairy industry.

We also have at the present time two cases dealing with price discrimination that we feel are most important. And during the last 2 years we have also brought a number of cases in connection with oleo. It seems as though some of the people in the cleo business have tried to stand under the umbrella of butter. There seems to be something attractive about butter, and we have had to fend them away and say that it is not a dairy product. We have really a very strict law on that point.

Some of you come from peanut States. I don't understand how you can really satisfy both the peanut people and the dairy people, but you southern Congressmen seem to be doing all right on that score. I imagine it is at times a test of diplomacy.

Our Bureau of Investigation informs me that a number of investigations are in progress in connection with the activities of the dairy operators all over the United States.

As a member of the Faderal Trade Commission, I would like to discuss some of these cases, but you are aware, of course, of the APA that prevents a Commissioner from making any comments on matters that have not yet come to the Commission for ruling. The members of our staff can talk all they want to, as long as they make a disclaimer, but a Commissioner is somewhat handicapped and has to be inhibited.

However, I would like to point out that at the Commission we proceed in the following manner: Somebody makes a complaint, and our Bureau of Investigation goes out with their briefcases and they go into every section of the country, and they talk to people, and they get the information. And after it is fully assimilated, then, of course, recommendations are made as to whether or not a complaint shall issue. In many cases, it appears that a complaint is not warranted. But of course, we have issued a goodly number of complaints.

After all, we, too, have to observe the rules in connection with what appears to be enough evidence to make a case. And we have received this information. We don't have to go out and seek out these violations. It isn't a hidden mystery or anything like

that. We have had tremendous help from the members of this industry, this organization, who have come forward to us and given us information, invaluable information, in the prosecution of our cases. And I would like to say this to the mem-

And I would like to say this to the members of this organization: At any time you wish to consult with the Federal Trade Commission at Sixth and Pennsylvania, you certainly are at liberty to do so. And anything that you tell us will be kept on a confidential basis.

I know that Scotty Daniel has been up and has discussed these matters with our attorneys on many occasions. I am telling you this because I want you to know that the \$25,000 that you paid in is well earned. [Laughter.]

Mr. Daniel. Will you mention that figure again?

Commissioner Anderson. Yes. I say your

\$35,000 is well earned. [Laughter.]
After we have investigated and have issued a complaint, then we go ahead and try
the case.

We don't put people in jail. We don't quite have that power. But we do issue an order to cease and desist, which says, "You have got to stop it. You can't do it any more." And those orders, unless they are amended, are in perpetuity, which is a long time. And many people are very unhappy about things like that. But many of them say: "Look. My gosh. Can't you keep it out of the papers?" Well, we don't want to be accused by Congress of suppressing things, so we give it to the press, and what they do with it, of course, is the business of the press.

But we do have these tremendous powers. And sometimes the Federal Trade Commission has a deterrent power—like Justice Holmes said about the common law: "That trooding omnipresence in the sky." And that is in a way the power of the Commission, in addition to its regular powers to enter a cease and desist order.

Many of our cases take a long time. I know that the members of this industry and other industries have repeatedly said, "Can't you speed it up?" Well, now, ladies and gentlemen, these cases that we have are hard fought. There is much at stake. And the respondents-normally they would be called defendants-fight every inch of the way, right down to the wire, and right up, in many cases, to the Supreme Court of the United States. And their attorneys see to it that there is no denial of due process. As a result, it takes time. Possibly they should be shortened. There are many things that we would like to have, but in the United States, justice here seems to be characterized not by the speed but more by the thoroughness.

It is not like the justice in Texas or Kansas years ago, when the judge said, "What do you have to say as to whether you are guilty or not before we hang you?" [Laughter.] We can't quite be that peremptory in our activity.

At this point, I would like to commend this organization for its splendid efforts in establishing a high plane of executive activity. After all, ladies and gentlemen, it is a difficult thing to be honest, businesswise, when your competitors are dishonest; because illegality begets greater illegality. And I could offer no better advice than that which was given by Scott in his very fine talk preceding this one, when he suggested that the observance of the law is most important. And this organization has had that kind of an attitude, which is certainly a good attitude for the dairy industry, and for other industries in this country.

I also want to thank you, on behalf of the Commission, for the very helpful manner in which you have conducted your affairs, in that you have gone to Congress and raised your voice in behalf of measures that would help the Commission in carrying out its activities.

There are several things that we would like to have. We would like to have a finalization of Clayton Act orders. We would like to have premerger clearances. We would like to have the injunctive powers in connection with premerger clearances. And in all of those matters you have spoken loudly and I hope effectively.

Many of these measures now are just about ready to go over into that area of accomplishment.

I have just about exhausted my time. I don't want to be in the position of the Englishman who said, "I don't mind if the members of the audience during my peroration will look at their wristwatches. That is a kind of a natural thing to do. But I jolly well don't like it when they do like this—they take their watches out and then do this (holding to ear) and hold them and shake them." [Laughter.] And I know how busy you Members of Congress are. I can just see the stacks of mail that are in your offices, you Senators and you Representatives.

I don't mind so much you members of the industry that have come to Washington for a lark; you aren't going to sleep tonight, anyway. And the longer we keep you here, the shorter your stay at the milk bar—which might be good.

But I do feel that we have got to kind of hurry on. And I just can't close without again calling to your attention the need for fair and clean competition in American industry. At the Federal Trade Commission it is so easy for us, as we stand on the high hill with a vantage point, to look down into the valley of competition and see the practices that have given American business in many instances a kind of a reputation of disreputa-

Most people are good competitors, but there are those who are not. And isn't it a tragedy when good, honest competitor, who is trying to sell his product on the merits, has to go to the wall because of illegal competitive practices by those who are in the same business?

I don't mind, in running a race, if a man is faster than I am, but I don't like it if he trips me and thereby wins. And I think that that is putting in a fair way the attitude of the American businessman.

America has for years called herself a nation that is honest, forthright, and fair. And that applies across the board, in our dealings with foreign nations and our dealings with one another. A competitor has a right to demand and expect that in a competitive race all competitors begin the race from the same starting point, and that there should be no tripping, no elbowing, and that the timers will choose the placing winners as they cross the finish line, whether they are big or little.

And so at this time, I, like Lady Godival am approaching my clo'se. [Laughter.] And as I do, I would like again to say to you and to the members of this industry that the Federal Trade Commission shall endeavor to the fullest extent of its powers to see to it that the competitive races are run fairly. We ask your help and the help of the Members of Congress and all of those who the applaud the American free enterprise system.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is a job for all of

And at this time, I say, "Thank you for your invitation, and may God attend you in your endeavors." [Standing applause.]

A Fine Civic Theater To Support and Complement the National Cultural Center Is Within Reach of the Voteless Citizens of Washington, D.C.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. HARRIS B. McDOWELL, JR.

OF DELAWARE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Speaker, a fine downtown civic theater, similar in many respects to the New York City Center, the new Boston Arts Center, and to scores of other art centers in cities from coast to coast is within easy reach of the Voteless citizens of Washington, D.C., and could be quickly established at fire-sale prices at the historic Shubert Theater in the heart of this great Capital City.

The early establishment of such a civic theater in the Nation's Capital would undoubtedly be acclaimed throughout the United States and in foreign nations as tangible proof that the citizens of our great country are not materialistic and that they are, indeed, deeply concerned with the lasting values which, in the words of President Eisenhower, "make our civilization endure and flourish." In point of fact, the creation of a fine municipal theater in Washington, D.C., would be worth, at a minimum, \$10 million worth of Federal propaganda in other nations about how culturally minded the United States is. It would do as much in a month as the U.S. Information Agency in some countries can do in a year-in fact, it would be of truly inestimable value to the U.S. Information Agency in the wonderful job it is doing to put our best foot forward around the world.

But, of course, the establishment of a civic art center in the Nation's Capital has distinct values of its own quite aside from the propaganda values and it is these that dictate immediate action.

The decision, recently announced, to sell the Shubert Theater—one of the truly distinguished theaters of our country, and one in which some of the greatest actors and actresses of the English-speaking world have performed, provides a golden opportunity to the voteless citizens of the Nation's Capital to demonstrate their cultural maturity. An opportunity such as this is rarely occurs, and when it does it must be acted upon at once or the chance of success may pass forever. It must not be razed to make room for a parking lot, as proposed.

Mr. Day Thorpe, eminent music critic of the Washington (D.C.) Star acutely summed the matter up this way in his newspaper on Sunday, June 28, 1959:

Washington needs the Shubert Theater if it needs any kind of amusement house at alt, leeds any kind of amusement house at from being torn down to make room for a parking lot, we should henceforth shut up about a cultural center. Why fill the air with further talk about our need for cul-

ture? The chatter is either hypocrisy or drivel.

The Shubert Theater of course is not everything demanded in the proposed cultural center, but it fills one need adequately, probably comparatively inexpensively, and virtually presently—not 10 or 20 years hence. It could be converted into an intimate opera house and legitimate theater at relatively small expense. It would be an opera house comparable in size to many of the best in Europe, and there is no reason why the finest facilities could not be incorporated into its rebuilding as easily as created in the planning of a completely new house.

It is important to point out at once that the conversion of the Shubert Theater to a municipal theater would in no way conflict with the National Cultural Center, but would, rather, support and complement this projected center when it is finally established. That this is true can be easily demonstrated, and we need look no further than New York City where the New York City Center will continue to serve in the future as it has in the past as a great producing center while the new Lincoln Center of the Performing Arts will provide badly needed homes for a number of New York Cty's cultural groups and activities.

The Shubert Theater is ideally located in downtown Washington, and is superbly served by transportation of all kinds. Its conversion to a civic theater would contribute importantly to the renewal and redevelopment of a major shopping

In addition, the Shubert Theater is only half a block from the historic Civil Service Building which was transferred to the Smithsonian Institution to be a branch of that Federal Agency and to house the National Collection of Fine Arts. The legislation to make the Civil Service Building a great new National Art Museum was sponsored by the distinguished gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Thompson], and cosponsored by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey and Senator Clinton P. Anderson.

Obviously, if converted to a civic theater the Sam S. Shubert Theater would be a significant part of a major downtown cultural complex which would include this new National Art Museum. As a part of such a great complex it would help immeasurably in reclaiming and upgrading an intown area and making it immensely attractive as a shopping area.

Because of the contribution such a civic theater would make to one of the most important business districts of Washington, D.C., the Washington Board of Trade and its cultural development committee should wholeheartedly and enthusiastically support this proposal—indeed it should immediately launch a Save the Shubert drive. This would be in line with the fine suggestion of Patrick Hayes, one of the country's outstanding concert managers, which he made Sunday, June 28, 1959.

Of course, money will be needed to restore the Shubert Theater to make it suitable as a nonprofit cultural center which is able to adequately serve the many fine cultural groups in the Nation's Capital—groups which need housing no

less than do New York City's cultural groups.

This money could be easily raised and is readily available by means of the simple device common to scores of other cities in our country and which could quickly be put into effect here. That is, simply earmark 1 mill out of each \$1 of tax revenue of the Government of the District of Columbia for cultural purposes. This money could be used to purchase and rehabilitate the Shubert Theater.

It is shocking to me that in face of the large sums of money which other major Americans cities give to the fine arts that the Nation's Capital does practically nothing at all. In fact, out of the current budget of \$241 million only \$16.000 is devoted to the fine arts. This is indeed a piddling sum and isn't worthy of this great city and its hundreds of thousands of fine citizens.

I have recently introduced a bill, H.R. 7989, which would create a special cultural fund to enable Washington, D.C., to discharge the very same role that scores of other American cities have performed in support of the fine arts for decades. It is a reasonable bill, and it is many decades late in arriving.

In conclusion may I say that Washington's leading newspapers are to be commended for their interest in preserving the Shubert Theater as a major cultural resource for the voteless citizens of Washington and their children. Patrick Hayes and Day Thorpe and Lida Brodenova are to be commended likewise for their foresight in calling this matter to the attention of Washingtonians and for urging that a save-the-Shubert drive be launched immediately.

I am pleased to include as part of my remarks the text of my bill which would make the early acquisition and conversion of the Shubert Theater possible, as Patrick Hayes has pointed out. In addition, I include articles from the Washington (D.C.) Star, the Washington (D.C.) Post and Times Herald, and the New York Herald Tribune,

### H.R. 7989

A bill to provide for the adoption in the Nation's Capital of the practice common to many other cities in the United States with regard to cultural activities by depositing in a special fund 1 mill out of each \$1 of tax revenue of the government of the District of Columbia to be used for such programs, to advance the National Cultural Center and its educational and recreational programs, to provide financial assistance to the nonprofit art programs of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes, by amending the Act of April 29, 1942

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled. That section 4 of the Act entitled "An Act to create a Recreation Board for the District of Columbia, to define its duties, and for other purposes", approved April 29, 1942, as amended (D.C. Code, sec. 8-211), is amended by inserting "(a)" immediately after "Sec. 4." and by adding at the end thereof the following:

(b) In addition to the trust fund authorized by subsection (a) of this section, there shall be deposited in a special fund in the Treasury of the United States to the credit

of the Board 1 mill out of each \$1 of tax revenue of the government of the District of Columbia. There is authorized to be appropriated to the Board each fiscal year, an amount equal to the amount deposited in such special fund during the preceding fiscal year out of such tax revenue. Such appropriated amount shall also be deposited in such special fund.

"(c) All money in the special fund authorized by subsection (b) of this section shall be available to the Board to defray in whole or in part the expense of programs in arts and crafts, music, drama, speech, dancing (other than social dancing), lectures, forums for informal discussions, and other creative opportunities for leisure-time participation, as authorized in section 3 of article II of this Act, and the expense of carrying out the programs authorized by paragraph 3 of section 4 of the National Cultural Center Act."

SEC. 2. The amendment made by the first section of this Act shall take effect July 1,

#### [From the Washington Post and Times Herald of June 29, 1959]

SAVE-SHUBERT RALLY URGED ON CITIZENS

A "Save the Shubert" movement by the citizens of Washington was called for yesterday by Concert Manager Patrick Hayes, a champion of cultural life in the Nation's Capital.

Hayes, speaking over radio station WGMS, said that leaders of Washington's cultural organizations should call a citizens' rally to find ways of saving the Sam S. Shubert Theater from possibly being torn down to make way for a parking lot.

A Washington real estate broker who recently contracted to purchase the Shubert, whose stage was destroyed by fire January 29, has said that the theater at 513 Ninth Street NW., might be torn down.

Hayes said it would be a "civic shame" to have the theater "disappear from the cultural horizon of the town. He said that pub-lic opposition, organized with civic and financial strength, could prevent this.

He suggested that it could be used as a

home for the Opera Society of Washington, the Washington Civic Opera Association, and for many programs now given by the District Recreation Department in the Roosevelt High School Auditorium.

Hayes also suggested that the District government could operate the Shubert or that it could be taken over by a civic body "in the form of a nonprofit trust, like a hospital corporation, with the institution backed by the city budget."

Referring to a House bill that would earmark some \$175,000 in District tax money annually to advance the city's cultural life Hayes proposed that the first \$175,000 could be used as the downpayment on the Shubert property.

[From the Sunday Star, Washington, D.C., June 28, 1959]

NEWS OF MUSIC-TIME IS RUNNING OUT FOR SAVING SHUBERT

(By Day Thorpe)

This week let's consider a curiosity and a ritual.

First the curiosity-the razing of the Shubert Theater. Washington needs the Shu-bert Theater if it needs any kind of amusement house at all. If there is no civic attempt to keep it from being torn down to make room for a parking lot, we should henceforth shut up about a cultural center. Why fill the air with further talk about our need for culture? The chatter is either hypocrisy or drivel.

The Shubert Theater of course is not everything demanded in the proposed cultural center, but it fills one need adequately, probably comparatively inexpensively, and virutally presently—not 10 or 20 years hence. It could be converted into an intimate opera house and legitimate theater at relatively small expense. It would be an opera house comparable in size to many of the best in Europe, and there is no reason why the finest facilities could not be incorporated into its rebuilding as easily as created in the planning of a completely new

#### LOCATION OF CENTER

Opinion concerning location of the cul-tural center is divided among the various members of the committee. The dominant opinion is that the center should be a single building or complex of buildings at one single location. Some people feel, on the other hand, that there is no need to keep the various activities of the cultural center under one roof, and that the various concert halls and auditoriums could be scattered about the city. In any event, even if the center is at a single location, a small theater of about the Shubert's capacity-it has 1,542 seats-will be a necessity.

Now the Shubert before the fire was one of the most charming and acoustically excellent theaters in the country. It could be made so again, with the paramout improvement of a large pit, which heretofore it has never had. Presumably the new owners would rent the building for an amount equal to what they will make in parking fees.

The argument that even after rehabiltation the Shubert could never be financially profitable is meaningless, for we are not talking about profitable burlesque when we speak soulfully about our dear Cultural Center, but of nonprofit cultural opera, ballet, and highbrow threater. If the Shubert runs a deficit, so will any conceivable similar auditorium devised for the Cultural Center.

### EXCELLENT ARCHITECTURALLY

Here, then, is the first unit of our new Cultural Center-the inside the worse for fire. but architecturally excellent, the four walls already in place. To overlook it while still having Cultural Center committee meetings, public appeals for \$50 million, talk of design and of purpose, and of crying need and of showing the Russians that we are not really rubes, to overlook the Shubert, I say, is an inanity comparable to that which we can now see in New York. In New York the citizens have Carnegie Hall, a building that, through some magic in its construction, is such a good place for music that a majority of those best qualified to voice an opinion consider it the finest of its kind anywhere Yet with the millions for Linin the world. coin Square (the symphony hall of which is, like all untried music rooms, a question mark), there seems to be neither money nor inclination to save Carnegie Hall.

As these words are written, the latest information is that the new owners of the Shubert may be open to propositions to save the theater. It will be interesting to see if any

are advanced.

[From the Evening Star. Washington, D.C., June 26, 1959]

#### URGES CITY CENTER

I read with real distress the Star's article on the end of the brilliant career of the Shubert Theater. This was magnificent reporting.

If this were New York there would have been such a public outcry. A citizens com-mittee would have been formed, money would have been raised to buy the theater for civic purposes. All this happened in New York and the glorious result was and is the New York City Center-which has contributed immeasurably to New York's cul-tural status. Why can't the District of Columbia Commissioners be equally clever?

Here the Washington Board of Trade has stars in its eyes. It talks grandiloquently about 1962 and an arts festival which will cost approximately \$1 million. It is too bad there aren't some practical, hardheaded busi-nessmen in the Washington Board of Trade who are deeply versed in the money end of the arts like Sol Hurok and Pat Hayes. If there were, they would seize on this golden opportunity to create a city center for the citizens of Washington. We can expect no help at all from the District of Columbia government, which has never put a penny

It will take at least 5 years, perhaps more. to raise the \$25 million to \$35 million for the National Cultural Center, and an equal period of time to build this center-10 years in all. Here is an unequalled opportunity for the District of Columbia government to grow up culturally. It could lead to a drive to make the Shubert a nonprofit cultural center for everyone.

The citizens of Washington pay taxes to the Federal Government. Here is where \$150,000 to \$200,000 of our tax money could be spent to advantage.

LIDA BRODENOVA.

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald, June 28, 1959|

ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS ASKED IN BILL TO PUSH DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CULTURE

#### (By Jean White)

A bill that would earmark some \$175,000 in District tax money to bolster the city's cultural life has been introduced in the

Representative HARRIS B. McDowell, Ja., Democrat, of Delaware, the sponsor, proposes that 1 mill of each District tax dollar go into a special cultural fund. The District Recreation Board would administer

money. Up to now, McDowell said, Congress has never appropriated anything more than piddling sums for the cause of culture and the fine arts in the Nation's Capital. Only \$15,000 of a \$2 million recreation budget is now being spent for year-round art pro-grams, he charged.

#### APPROPRIATIONS "PIDDLING"

"Many cities contribute sizable sums to their orchestras, art galleries, and summer programs in the performing arts," the Con-gressman explained yesterday. "The Congressman explained yesterday. "The Con-gress authorized similar cultural programs in the act creating the District of Columbia has Recreation Board, but, unfortunately, has never appropriated anything but pidding sums to carry these programs out."

When he read articles calling the Nation's Capital a "cultural backwater" among other things, McDownt, said, he decided it was

things, McDowell said he decided it was about time to do something. His 1-mill automatic appropriation, he feels, would pump-prime the arts here.

The District now is collecting about \$175 million in tax dollars, District finance offcers estimated.

#### WHY MONEY IS LACKING

Schuyler Lowe, the District's General Administration Director, pointed out yesterday that the Commissioners customarily have opposed earmarking revenue to special funds because this limits flexibility in budget-making. As far as money goes, he added, many of the Recreation Department's adult activities fall into the fine arts field.

Concert Manager Patrick Hayes, defender of Washington against short-on-culture criticisms, said the principle of city-supported culture has many precedents. More than 20 years ago, he said, San Francisco added a mill to the tax rate to support the San Francisco Opera.

The Recreation Board, he added, should be given latitude in supporting theater as well as music, helping the National Sym-

Phony, and even commissioning works.

McDowell's bill includes provision for the money to be used for programs connected with the proposed National Cultural Center.

[From the Sunday Star, Washington, D.C., June 28, 1959]

BILL EARMARKS \$175,000 FOR DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CULTURAL FUNDS

A Delaware lawmaker has devised a new scheme to raise money for the National Culture Center and an expanded program of arts in Washington.

At least \$175,000 of District tax money could be spent on cultural activities annually under legislation introduced by Democratic

Representative McDowell.

His bill would create a cultural fund for the District. One-tenth of a cent of each tax dollar collected here would be earmarked for cultural activities and be deposited in the Treasury for that use.

The District Recreation Board would be charged with using the money for arts and crafts, music, drama, speech, dancing other than social dancing, lectures, and other

creative opportunities for leisure time. Mr. McDowell has asked Congress to amend the 1942 act establishing the Recreation Board in order to channel more money into the arts.

He said he offered his bill to answer charges that the Nation's Capital was a cultural backwater. Charges have been given wide circulation recently by national magazines and newspapers.

"The National Culture Center would be assisted," he said, "and the National Symphony Chartes Son Phony Orchestra, the Washington Opera Soclety, and art galleries could benefit if the bill were adopted."

If passed, the bill would lift a ban on use of public funds for construction of the center proposed to overlook the Potomac in Poggy Bottom. Congress limited donations to private subscriptions or gifts.

A Presidentially appointed Board of Trustees has hired consultants to find the best means of raising an estimated \$25 million to

start building the center.

Trustees would be bound to have a voice in how the proposed cultural funds should be spent. So would a 50-member arts council seed. cij set up last January by the District Commissioners to coordinate cultural activities of the city.

Mr. McDowell noted the District never Mr. McDowell noted the District had budgeted anything but piddling sums for cultural programs the Recreation Board is supported by the board draws empowered to carry out. The board draws about \$2 million annually. Of this, about

42,000 is spent for an art program.

"Here is another example of the great gulf between is another example of the great gulf between the state of the great gulf between speech and performance which too often characterizes the American performance in the arts," the Congress maintained.

He said Washington lagged behind New York York, which contributes to the New York City Center, the Metropolitan Museum of Art and Shakespearean productions in Cen-

For orchestras alone Philadelphia budgets annually \$150,000; Detroit, \$50,000; San Prancisco, \$45,000 plus use of two audi-toriums. toriums; Baltimore, Atlanta, and Denver, 860,000 each; St. Louis, \$75,000, and Milwaukee and Torium; St. 250,000 each. kee and Indianapolis, \$50,000 each.

[From the New York Herald Tribune, June 28, 1959]

MASSACHUSETTS SPONSOR OF A SUBSIDIZED

On July 9, Massachusetts will step into the theatrical limelight by sponsoring the first major subsidized theater in America the Boston Arts Center now being built on

the banks of the Charles River east of the Watertown Bridge in the Bostonian suburb of Brighton. The opening bill will consist of Siobhan McKenna in "Twelfth Night," to be followed at 3-week intervals by Jason Robards, Jr., and Miss McKenna in "Macbeth," and Sir John Gielgud and Margaret Leighton in "Much Ado About Nothing." three will be presented under the direction of the Cambridge Drama Festival, but the expenses of building the theater and producing the plays will be borne by the Metropolitian District Commission of Massachusetts.

The original announcement was issued in the office of Gov. Foster Furcolo, who re-cently proved his versatility by writing a novel called "Let George Do It" under the pseudonym John Foster (Mr. Furcolo appears likely to become further involved in matters theatrical, as Arthur Kober is currently preparing a dramatization of "Let George Do It.")

#### OPERA HOUSE PLANNED

The Metropolitan District Commission is building both a 2,000-seat theater and an art gallery along the banks of the Charles. It further proposes to construct a 3,800-seat opera house to handle operas, concerts, and large musical shows.

The Arts Center Theater, rapidly nearing completion, will be an open-air affair with an elliptical, detachable roof that will rise four stores from the ground. This roof is 145 feet in diameter and is made of vinycoated nylon. Completely air-inflated, it will be 20 feet thick between top and underside and will be supported by a series of steel columns attached to a steel hula hoop at the top.

The stage will be adaptable for either proscenium or projected stage (three-fourths in the round) productions. The latter staging will be utilized for "Twelfth Night" and "Macbeth." "Much Ado About Nothing" will be presented as a proscenium production.

The only one that will be shown any-where outside Boston will be "Much Ado About Nothing," scheduled for Broadway presentation next season by the Producers Theater. Sir John Gielgud will direct as well as reenact the role of Benedick in which he scored a great London success. Margaret Leighton, last seen here in "Separate Tables," will be costarred as Beatrice, with Tammy Grimes, Hurd Hatfield, George Ross, and Malcolm Keen in other leading

## Cardinal Cushing's Blessing on the Cape's New Cranberry Highway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, at Buzzards Bay on June 7, 1959, the new "Cranberry Highway," located in Massachusetts, which runs from the Middleboro traffic circle over Route 28 to Buzzards Bay, then along the Cape Cod Canal to Sycamore and over Route 6-A to Orleans, Mass., was dedicated by special exercises with a blessing by Richard Cardinal Cushing, Archbishop of Boston, which blessing was delivered by Rev. (F.) David O'Brien, pastor of St. Margaret's Church of Buzzards Bay, Mass., representing Cardinal Cushing.

In my remarks, I include the spiritual and beautiful blessing of Cardinal Cush-

CARDINAL CUSHING'S BLESSING ON THE CAPE'S NEW CRANBERRY HIGHWAY

Almighty and most merciful God, Who hast destined us to live in a land rich in beauty and comforting in its variety of natural advantage, teach us, we pray Thee, to see Thy good and gracious providence in the blessings to which our attention is called on this occasion which brings us together in Thy name. Keep us ever mindful of the glorious traditions of personal integrity and civic pride which have grown up within every town and hamlet of this rugged strip of land, of old the cradle of our Nation's freedom, and in our own day a haven of peace and rest where freemen may still withdraw from the tension and turmoil of competitive striv-And as we live from day to day in a world which advances in scientific achievement and becomes more efficient in its conquest of the forces of nature, let us always remember that only from Thee do we possess the means which are favorable to our success, and that only through Thee do we lator in the works by which our happiness in association with one another is sustained.

We rejoice today in the heritage which is symbolized by this road. We have called it "Cranberry Highway." Thus do we proclaim our indebtedness to Thee, O God, for the abundant vegetation whose luscious fruit has found so many uses and brought to us such great measure of material prosperity. Preserve in us, loving Father of us all, a right intention in our every undertaking, and shield us from every danger in our pursuit of earthly advantage. May all who pass over this road find Thee ever at their side; and may they be lifted up from contemplation of its loveliness and its historic associations to deep and lasting appreciation of Thine own infinite beauty and goodness, Who livest and reignest forever and ever, Amen.

#### Ides of 1960

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. JOHN L. McMILLAN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, I take great pleasure in having inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an item which appeared in the Nashville (Tenn.) Ban-

This item was prepared by Mr. Frederick Taylor Wilson who is well known by the majority of the Members of this Congress. Mr. Wilson has published a number of very important books and it is always a pleasure to read any article he prepares.

IDES OF 1960

Much is being said and written about who will be nominated and elected President of the United States in 1960.

The writer submits these sober facts of history. William Henry Harrison—elected President in 1840—died exactly 30 days after his inauguration on March 4, 1841.

Abraham Lincoln who was elected in 1860, 20 years after Harrison, died 42 days after his second inaugural (March 4, 1865) by as-

James A. Garfield who was elected in 1880, or 20 years after Lincoln's first election, died like Lincoln as a result of assassination 6 months and 15 days after his only inaugura-

And believe it or not William McKinley. elected for the second time in 1900, 20 years after Garfield's election, died 6 months and 10 days after his second inauguration, like Lincoln and Garfield, at the hands of an assassin.

Warren G. Harding elected in 1920, or 20 years after McKinley's second election, died in office about 2 years and 5 months after his only inauguration (March 4, 1921).

Franklin D. Roosevelt elected for the third time in 1940, or 100 years after the election of William Henry Harrison (1840), reelected in 1944, died 82 days after his fourth inauguration (January 20, 1945).

Let him who would seek the Presidency in 1960 ponder well these fateful facts of

history.

FREDERICK TAYLOR WILSON.

### Against Unwarranted Secrecy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. EURR P. HARRISON

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. Speaker, as the Federal bureaucracy has grown, it has been increasingly difficult for the public to keep itself informed about the public business. The so-called executive privilege frequently has been invoked to deny information not only to news media, but even to the people's elected representatives in the Congress. This has been done despite the fact not an iota of national security was involved in the subject matter.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, I include an editorial from the Richmond Times-Dispatch of June 27, 1959, commenting on the effective work of Virginia's Representative Porter Hardy, Jr., in sponsoring certain "freedom of information" amendments to the Mutual Security

A BLOW AT EXECUTIVE SECRECY

A heavy blow at the executive privilege secrecy racket invoked by many Federal offi-cials, has just been struck by the House of Representatives. In passing recently the Mutual Security Act, the House unani-mously approved "freedom of information" amendments sponsored by Representative PORTER HARDY, Virginia Democrat, and banning executive privilege, insofar as the International Cooperation Administration, which handles billions in foreign aid, is concerned.

It is greatly to be hoped that the Senate will endorse the amendments, and that both branches of Congress will then adopt legislation outlawing executive privilege for all

Federal departments.

(For an incisive and authoritative account of how executive privilege was invoked for the first time 5 years ago in Washington, and the manner in which it has been grossly abused by Federal offi-cials, see "Secrecy in Washington" by Clark Mollenhoff in the July Atlantic.)

Under this phony protense of privilege, department heads have contended that they could withhold practically any information. from Congress, the General Accounting Office, and the public concerning their departments, irrespective of whether national security was involved, and despite the fact that they are required by law to make some of this material available.

Since executives outside the ICA are not affected by the Hardy freedom of informa-tion amendments, many of them will doubt-less continue to assert this privilege at every opportunity, with a view to preventing the public from finding out how they are spending the public's money. As noted above, they should be stopped by the passage of legislation.

It was high time that legislative restrictions were imposed on the ICA, in view of the wholesale waste in such countries as Laos and Iran. The scandalous conditions unveiled recently by the Hardy subcommittee in its Laos inquiry were shocking. It is claimed that these conditions had been greatly improved in the past year or two. If so, why the objection to letting Congress and the people know what's going on? Representative Moss, of California, and

Representative FASCELL, of Florida, issued a joint statement concerning the Hardy amendments, saying that they strike di-rectly at the heart of the claim of executive privilege under which Federal officials have been telling Congress and the public that the operations of the Federal Government are none of your business. They then go

on to say:

"The shield of executive privilege has been held up against congressional access to facts about the Nation's missile program. It has been used to cover up financial operations by the Navy and even to hide scandals in high government offices. Probably the most arrogant claim of executive privilege was advanced by the International Cooperation Administration, which spends billions of dol-lars for foreign aid. The information which the ICA has been secreting from the Congress and its auditors-the evaluation reports on aid to South America, to Formosa, to Pakistan, Laos, and many other countries—cannot be hidden with the Hardy amendments in effect. If the Senate approves the amendments, the General Accounting Office and the Congress will be able to get the information necessary to do their jobs."

But only insofar as ICA is concerned. Numerous other Federal departments will continue to invoke executive privilege until somebody hits their officials over the head with a legislative baseball bat and tells them they have no right to bottle up facts con-

cerning the public business.

Our Highway Program and the Gasoline Tax

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

### HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 24, 1959

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, the President's budget called for a continuation of the stepped-up interstate road building program by providing Federal help through a boost in the tax on gasoline of 11/2 cents a gallon.

Under the accelerated highway building program for the year beginning July 1 authorized by Congress in the 85th Congress, my State of Washington would receive \$44,800,000 in 1900 and \$39,400,-

000 in 1961, a total of \$84,200,000. If Congress does not approve of President Eisenhower's budget request, my State's allotment of 1960 Federal highway funds will be nothing and only \$9 million in

In this connection, I offer a telegram which I received from our State of Washington Director of Highways which speaks for itself:

OLYMPIA, WASH., June 26, 1959. Representative Thomas M. Pelly, Washington, D.C .:

Following resolution adopted at annual convention of the Western Association of State Highway Officials. It stresses necessity for continuance of interstate highway program. I am in complete agreement resolution and agree most emphatically that to stop interstate program or to slow it down will be disastrous:

Whereas this Nation has embarked upon a vitally needed highway building program to furnish a National System of Interstate and Defense Highways to insure a continuing expanding civilian economy, to reduce traffic deaths and property damage on our highways, and to serve the national defense

"Whereas funds for financing of this program over a period of 13 years were author ized to be appropriated by the Congress in the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956; and "Whereas the Congress in

"Whereas the Congress reaffirmed the im portance of the program by authorizing ad-ditional funds for the Interstate System by the Federal Aid Act of 1958, for the fiscal years 1959 and 1960, thus further depleting the trust fund; and

"Whereas unless action is taken during the first session of this Congress, to provid the necessary funds to make the 1961 fiscal year interstate apportionment to the States, and interruption in the program is inevit-

able: and Whereas State highway departments, con tractor organizations, material and equip ment dealers have, as a result of this congressional action and subsequent urging by Federal and State Governments, obligated themselves for personnel and equipment necessary to meet the great complexity of problems generated by the accelerated program to such an extent that serious financial hardship will acquire to any acceptance. hardship will accrue to substantial segments of the economy of the entire Nation if funds to continue the interstate program are not apportioned to the States this year; and

"Whereas the early completion of the Interstate System in the Western States, where distances are great; and improved, economical ical, safe, fast motor transportation is necessity for the growth and development of the area. of the area, is essential."

W. A. Bugge, Director of Highways.

National Welfare Demands Republican Party Must Be Given Full Control of the Machinery of Government

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. B. CARROLL REECE

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. REECE of Tennessee. Mr. Speak er, on June 8 at the Sheraton-Park Hotel in Washington, there was a magnificent turnout of Americans who attended testimonial dinner in honor of the serv.

ice to the Nation of Republican Members of Congress. It was the first dinner of kind ever held, and it was a great suc-

One of the speakers at this dinner was the Honorable Joseph W. Martin, Jr., of Massachusetts, one of the living great Americans, a former Republican Speaker of the House and former minority leader, and who has served five times as permanent chairman of the Republican National Convention. He reviewed the accomplishments of the 80th and 83d Congresses when the Republican Party was in control of Congress. These Con-gresses produced a real record of achievement for the American people. This record suggests what accomplishments could be expected from another Republican Congress.

Since the past is so easily forgotten, I include as part of my remarks the address of Mr. MARTIN, as a reminder to the Nation of the work of the 80th and 83d Republican Congresses:

REMARKS OF REPRESENTATIVE JOSEPH W. MAR-TIN, JR., OF MASSACHUSETTS, AT TESTIMONIAL DINNER HONORING REPUBLICAN MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, SHERATON-PARK HOTEL, JUNE 8,

This splendid gathering, at the first testi-monial dinner ever held to honor the Re-publish publican Members of Congress, makes certain of success in the 1960 election.

We firmly believe that we will, through the election of a Republican President, be continued in control of the future destinies of

With energy and aggressiveness we can

with energy and aggressiveness in addition win control of the Congress. Control of both the White House and Congress and Congress with the White House and Congress with the Congres gress will give us the opportunity to demonstrate what we can accomplish by unity and Cooperation in building a stronger and better Nation.

As we see our present and former Members of Congress gathered together here tonight, we realize what their services have been to America. I wish to join with every person present to thank my friends and colleagues of many years for a job well done.

I am most happy to participate at this occasion when Republican Congressmen and Senators Senators of long service are being specially

With the presentation of their long-term ervice pins, we recall how much we owe to

They served in the dark days when there was a real threat of a one-party government.
They stood steadfast; fought back; paved
the way for the dark days when the back; paved the way for the day when our Grand Old Party again emerged triumphant.

The Republicans in Congress, in the past and today, are the torchbearers of liberty, to light the way for the Nation and for the

These legislators have always been in the forefront of the battle for individual rights. for free enterprise for free people.

They believe that a government is the servant of the people, not their master. They are workers for the ideal of an honest, efficient and economical Federal Government, efficient and economical Federal Government ernment, to provide protection and services that cannot well be handled on a State or local leval.

local level. They seek to save, rather than They believe that a strong America repre-

sents the world's best hope for peace.

They stand firm against appeasement of the Constant firm against appeasement of the constant against appearance and against against appearance and against appearance and against appearance They stand firm against appeasement the Communists, against creeping socialism, reckless

reckless spending, inflation and crushing taxation, undue regulation and interference. against red ink and redtape in Government. These legislators are fighting the good fight for you, this year, as they did last year, and

the year before, 10 years ago and 20 years ago, and I am sure they will continue to do so in the future. This splendid gathering of interested Americans will give them inspiration and courage to fight a never ending battle for a free Government.

Many of the people here tonight served in the Republican 80th Congress in 1947 and

The 80th Congress balanced the budget for a huge surplus. This is the Congress which cut the Democratic administration's budget by \$6 billion. It passed the bill to improve labor-management relations, over a Presidential veto.

Taxes were reduced by \$4.8 billion per year for 47 million taxpayers, and 7 million Americans with low incomes were removed from the tax books, all this over Presidential vetos.

At the same time payments were increased for needy dependent children, the aged and the blind.

The next bright Republican years were 1953 and 1954 when President Eisenhower in the White House had the help of a Republican Congress in the Capitol.

This Republican 83d Congress had a real record of achievement, continuing the good

work of the Republican 80th.

It cut down on Federal spending, reduced taxes, ended wage, price, rent, and materials controls to start the Nation on its greatest peacetime prosperity boom in history.

It expanded social security coverage to 10 million more citizens and increased benefits. It extended unemployment insurance cover-

age to 4 million more citizens.

It increased grants for research on cancer, heart disease, mental health and arthritis, The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare was established.

A strong national defense was set up, as the fighting in Korea was ended.

Legislation by the 83d Congress sparked a big housing boom.

adopted 12 reorganization plans for greater Government economy and efficiency and revived the Hoover Commission. It created the Small Business Administration.

That is the record many in this hall created and it should inspire us for the future.

Since that time, with Democrats in control of the 84th, 85th, and 86th Congresses, the Republican minority has been most effective in stopping bad legislation, but we have only been able to get a fraction of our Republican programs adopted.

When one party controls the White House and the other party controls the Congress, legislative accomplishment slows down to a

snall's pace.

We must go forward again and give the Republican Party full control of the ma-chinery of government. Of course, we understand that the task ahead is a difficult one. Our journey back to White House control was a long and arduous struggle but we did it. We can do it again if our hearts are in the task and if we struggle unselfishly

The Republican Congress will accomplish those things which need to be done for the benefit of the Nation as a whole.

It will cut Federal spending and balance the budget to provide for a surplus which can be used to start reducing the national debt and to reduce the crushing burden of taxation.

In my opinion, the only hope of any substantial tax cut in the future is the election of a Republican Congress. It is our hope for tax relief.

The Republican program of fiscal sanity with our friendly attitude toward free enterprise which has made America great is the Nation's best guarantee for future progress and prosperity-for continued sound economic growth, for full employment so that there is a job for everyone, for a curb to the inflation which robs the retired senior citizen, the widow and the orphan, the housewife buying her family's groceries.

The Republican Congress will back the Republican administration in its American foreign policy-stand firm to all the world against aggression and gangsterism, build further on our present sound national defense. Our policy is the strong policy that offers the world its best chance for peace.

The fine record of accomplishment by the Eisenhower administration with its strong appeal to the people, plus a hard-hitting campaign, will bring the election of another Republican President next year, along with a Republican Congress.

This gathering here tonight is just one phase of the campaign which is underway all over the country to elect a Republican House and Senate.

With the help of every Republican and every thoughtful American, we shall succeed. Won't you enlist in this worthy cause?

### Lewis L. Strauss

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorials and articles which have appeared in the Washington newspapers within the last few days.

Washington's Evening Star, June 19, an article by David Lawrence:

SAD CHAPTER IN THE SENATE-VOTE AGAINST NOMINATION OF STRAUSS HELD TRAGIC, BASED ON PERSONAL FEUD

### (By David Lawrence)

One of the most tragic episodes in the entire history of the U.S. Senate is the fight that was waged to prevent the confirmation of Liewis L. Strauss as Secretary of Commerce.

It is tragic because it was based on a personal feud. When hatreds become deep-seated, they sometimes produce far-reaching cleavages, with emotion substituted for rea-

The dispute was the outgrowth of friction between Mr. Strauss and Senator CLINTON ANDERSON, Democrat, of New Mexico. When the former was Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, he rubbed Senator Anderson the wrong way.

The New Mexico Senator is Chairman of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee in Congress. He is influential with his colleagues. Many sided with him-as members of the senatorial club often do-without particular regard to the merits of a question but with greater regard for the wishes of a fellow-Senator

Senator Anderson's home State-New Mexico-is the seat of the atomic laboratories where many scientists are gathered. Some of them were embittered over what they believed was Mr. Strauss' animosity toward J. Robert Oppenheimer, the scientist whose "clearance" was denied for security reasons by a Presidential board. While Mr. Strauss was not a member of this board, he did present to the White House the charges that led to the inquiry. It was natural that many of Senator Anderson's constituents should expect him to do what he could to punish Mr. Strauss.

But this wasn't all of the controversy. It couldn't be focused on the Communist issue alone. It so happens that Mr. Strauss fought against governmental operation of power projects and in favor of private power. So this gave an opportunity for some of his foes in that field to be lined up against him.

The tactics have been palpable for months. The hearing held by a Senate committee was more of an inquisition than the normal recording of the views of a prospective Cabinet officer. Usually the opposition party doesn't object to the appointment by a President of whomever he wants in a Cabinet post. the recent hearings resulted in a bitter fencing match and naturally the answers provoked were not always as clear cut as they would be if a different atmosphere had prevailed. Mr. Strauss was thereupon attacked as being "deceitful" and as lacking in character.

But not all the Democrats allowed this vendetta to envelop them. Senator Thomas J. Done, of Connecticut, for instance, in a speech yesterday to the Senate, said:

"Lewis L. Strauss is a man of 63 years. He is a former shoe salesman with a high school education who has received honorary degrees from 29 colleges and universities.
"He has a background of devoted service to

phllanthropic and religious affairs.

"He has earned distinction and wealth in the field of finance.

"He has a record of honorable achivement in the naval service in which he rose progressively to the rank of rear admiral.

"He has played some role in almost every administration, Democratic or Republican, since the days of Woodrow Wilson.

"He has earned letters of commendation from five Presidents.

"He has been awarded five of his country's highest decorations.

"He has been honored by grateful nations of the free world.

"He has taken positions on matters of first importance to this Nation, positions that were controversial, positions that were right.

"In the 42d year of his public life, at its climactic hour, we in the Senate are asked to reward this man by visiting upon him a condemnation and a repudiation that have nct been accorded any American in a generation."

Senator Dopp referred to the case of Dr. Oppenheimer and said: "If ever a Government official, in possession of critical secret information, indicted himself as a security risk by his own words and actions, it was Oppenheimer. \* \* \*

'It is uncontested that over a period of many years, Dr. Oppenheimer persisted in his Communist associations. He was a regular financial contributor to the Communist

Party. Senator Doop, referring to the Haakon Chevaller case, said it "Is an admitted matter of record that Oppenheimer concealed this espionage attempt from security investigators, in an attempt to protect a Communist

spy. Indignant denials are being made that the friends of Dr. Oppenheimer had influenced the waging of the fight against the confirmation of Mr. Strauss. But the fact remains that for some unexplained reason, the retiring Secretary of Commerce has been the victim of the same kind of smears and in-nuendoes which only a few years ago were being denounced as "character assassina-tion" in an era of so-called McCarthyism. Many of the liberal Senators were lined up against Lewis Strauss.

The most charitable interpretation of all this is that it was a personal feud, and that where human foregiveness should long ago have settled the quarrel between two strongly dedicated men, it lingered on until the Senate, itself, became the vehicle for personal spite and recrimination. It is a sad chapter in American history.

Washington's Evening Star, June 20, an editorial:

THE LEADER'S CHOICE

The majority leader of the U.S. Senate Is a man who must wear two hats-the hat of the leader of a political party seeking every political advantage that opportunity offers, and the hat of the leader of the Senate in its exercise of functions assigned to it as a part of the legislative branch of our Gov-

The grace with which he can wear these two hats depends in large measure upon his ability to seek political advantage for his party without inflicting injury to the interests of his country. We have been one of many who have developed genuine respect in the years, of his leadership for Senator Lyndon Johnson. He has worn the two hats with considerable grace.

And it is with considerable regret that we express the opinion that both of his hats look rather ill fitting on this weekend. He had it in his power to see that Lewis Strauss was confirmed or defeated, and he chose the latter course. He did it for political expediency, which is a part of his job. But we are not sure that such expediency will pay off for him, or his beloved Senate. It was the Senate under his leadership that committed an error in statesmanship and fair play which many admirers of that great institution will continue to regret.

Washington's Evening Star, June 21, an article by Gould Lincoln:

WHO WANTS TO FACE SENATE NOW? (By Gould Lincoln)

The rejection by the Senate of the nomination of Adm. Lewis L. Strauss to be Sccretary of Commerce leaves a bad taste in the mouths of millions of Americans. There are a number of reasons. In a measure, the action of the Senate against President Eisenhower's choice for an important Cabinet post is a blow to the prestige of the President of the United States when this country is engaged in vital negotiations with foreign powers. But mostly, many Americans will view the action of the Senate in rejecting Mr. Strauss as an injustice to a man who has faithfully served his country in important offices. They will view the action of the Senate as a rejection on flimsy and unsubstantiated charges-charges brought because of personal animosity, because of Admiral Strauss' position against the plans of those who want the Federal Government to go farther and farther into the development of public power, and because of partisan poli-

There was no charge of venality against Mr. Strauss. Not even his enemies said he was corrupt or flatly dishonest. It is noticeable that 15 Democratic Senators voted for his confirmation. Some of them praised him highly. It is noticeable, too, that all four of the Democratic Senators who are considered potential, if not actual, candidates for a presidential nomination next year voted against Mr. Strauss-Senators Lyndon Johnson of Texas, John F. Kennedy, of Massa-chusetts, Stuart Symington, of Missouri, and Senator HUBERT HUMPHEEY, of Minne-

JOHNSON VOTE IS KEY

Senator Johnson is the majority leader of the Senate. Had he voted for Mr. Strauss, it is widely believed, the admiral would have been confirmed. As it was, the change of only two votes on the rollcall would have brought victory to Mr. Strauss and President Eisenhower in this contest. Whether the votes against Mr. Strauss will aid any of the potential candidates for the Democratic presidential nomination-and if one is nominated, will aid him in the general

election next year—remains to be seen.

Not all the blame for the defeat attaches to the Democrats. Two Republicans, Sena-tors Langer, of North Dakota, and Margaret

CHASE SMITH, of Maine, voted no. Had they voted for Mr. Strauss, he would have been confirmed. Senator Langer early in the debate on the nomination announced he would oppose confirmation. Mrs. Smith's vote came as a surprise. She made no speech prior to the vote.

Mr. Strauss served his country well as Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, to which he was first appointed by former President Harry S. Truman. He was one member of the Commission who insisted on going ahead with the development of the hydrogen bomb, and in this he went right along with President Truman. Had the United States not pressed for the develop-ment of—and had not developed—this bomb of tremendous force, we would have been outdistanced in the field of nuclear weapons by the Communist Russians.

#### FOE OF COMMUNISTS

Mr. Strauss, too, has been strongly anti-Communist at all times, and committed to maximum security for this country. It is easy to understand that the Communists abroad and in this country will rejoice at the defeat he has now suffered at the hands of the Senate. When Provide the hands of the Senate. When President Eisenhower became Chief Executive in 1953, he persuaded Mr. Strauss to accept appointment as Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission. After his term, he was appointed Secretary of Commerce. During his service on the Commission, he ran afoul of Senator CLINTON P. ANDERSON, of New Mexico, Chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, who has been a persistent and bitter foe of Mr. Strauss ever since. The Anderson vendetts

finally paid off.

The Senate, by its harassment and attempted character assassinations of Mr. Strauss, has done itself no good. If by action it has seemed to say to the outside world, President Elsenhower does not have the support of the support of Americans in his firm stand on Berlin and Germany, as opposed to the Russian Reds, it will have done the country no good.

One thing the Senate successfully accessfully plished. By its long-drawn out inquisition of Mr. Strauss, its permission of charges by innuendo and the filmsiest kind of argu-ment, it has made it even more difficult to get the most competent men in private life to accept appointment to high office which must be confirmed by the Senate. Many will hesitate to subject themselves to such attacks animated by attacks animated by personal venom or partisan politics.

Lewis L. Strauss

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, pur suant to permission granted me, I in sert in the Appendix of the RECORD, forthright editorial, mincing no words, that appeared on June 22 in Virginia's "The Richmond News Leader": Prom the Richmond News Leader, June

22, 1959] THE LYNCHING OF LEWIS STRAUSS Easily the most powerful legislative as sembly on the face of the earth, the Sentate of the United St. ate of the United States last Friday showed how petty men will abuse great power. The Senate's refusal to confirm Lewis Strauss as Secretary of Commerce was the trutal climax of a vicious persecution. Because he thought for himself, a man of integrity was pulled down by a vindictive

Appointed Secretary last November, after rejuctantly leaving retirement. Admiral Strauss was forced to suffer a deliberately prolonged inquisition that became a national diagrace. For 3 months the "hearings" dragged on, as self-styled "liberals" heaped on the head of this honorable public lie servant the most vile, baseless accusations. Men who fairly burst with pompous self-esteem inveighed against the "false Pride" of Admiral Strauss. Men who are strangers to the truth called him a "liar." Men who had never known Lewis Strauss appeared to testify about his character, and their venomous hearsay fouled the air.

Lewis Strauss was lynched for his opinions; let no hypocritical foe of "McCarthyism, say otherwise. A conservative Republican, perhaps the most authentic Republican named to a Cabinet post by President Essenhower, he was the target of every voteseeking, publicity-craving politician in the Democratic Party. "The Little Tin Gods on Wheels," as Kipling described the hacks of another. another day, sank to a new low of pettiness in their unwarranted assault.

The incredible Mr. KEFAUVER, of the motheaten coonskin cap, was a leading antagonist, who sought mightly to play the role of champion of public power for the folks back home in TVA country. Crying "Dixon-Yates," the Senator from Tennessee charged charged, without a shred of evidence, that Admiral Strauss, while chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, had attempted to "sale

Another critic was Senator Chinton Anbrason of New Mexico, a man capable of boundless, unreasoning hatred. Chairman of the last surreasoning hatred. of the Joint Atomic Energy Commission, he nursed a long-festering grudge against Admiral Strauss. He, too, sought to portray the Secretary as an enemy of public power, who had bloom as an enemy of public power, who had blocked Federal atomic energy projects. And Senator Anneason joined with left-wing scientists to flay Admiral Strauss for his part in branding Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer a security risk." Oppenheimer has been hailed a martyr by the left. Anyone who assisted in his assisted in his fall from grace is marked for

Two other Democrats also must be ar-Taloned as leaders of this lynching bee:
Warnen Magnuson, chairman of the Interstate and magnuson, chairman of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, and Lavidon Johnson, Machiavellian party lead-If Magnuson should ever cry out against er. If Macauson should ever cry out against "McCarthyism," he is a rank hypocrite, for his conduct of the Strauss hearings was scandalous. Anyone, however unqualified, who had something descriptory to say about who had something deregatory to say about Lewis Strauss, was afforded an opportunity before Senator Magnuson's committee; no slander was so base, no lie so flagrant, as to draw the chairman's frown.

And, finally, we come to likable Lyndon Johnson, a cutthroat in pinstripes. Covertive and the control of t Volknson, a cutthroat in pinstripes. Covere-iy, discreetly, Johnson was ringmaster; Without him, there very probably would have been no spectacle. Like other men in the lynching pasts. Canadas Johnson doubthave been no spectacle. Like other men in the lynching party, Senator Johnson doubtless sees himself as superbly equipped to his dreams of glory, but his irresponsibility speaks eloquently of his lack of qualification for any post above the level of party "fixer."

for any post above the level of party "fixer."

Party of the level of party "fixer." Party advantage and personal animosity were the chief motives behind the conspiracy to "get" Lewis Strauss. The challenge to the party advantage and personal animosity spiracy to "get" Lewis Strauss. lenge to the President is plain, the campaign was paign war cry of 1960 easily forecast: "Get Big Business Out of the White House." Pre-dictable has been supported by the Big Business of the White House." dictably, by a sleazy dialetic, the Democrats will attempt to link Sherman Adams, Bernard Casas But it hard Goldfine and Lewis Strauss. But it backs, work. Moreover, it will probably

There is no "case" against Lewis Strauss, no "conflict of interest" and certainly, no suspicion of wrongdoing. A brilliant rec-ord of public service, under five Presidents, speaks for Lewis Strauss; his enemies have nothing to match it. An innocent man was hung last Friday, and we believe the American people are smart enough to realize it. Come 1960, they may even be mad enough to do something about it.

### Health Research Needs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON, EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I include in the appendix a very timely article by the noted physician, Dr. Howard A. Rusk, entitled "Health Research Needs," which appeared in the New York Sunday Times yesterday. This article deals with the so-called health for peace bill which has passed the Senate:

HEALTH RESEARCH NEEDS-STUDY OF CON-GRESSIONAL ACTION ON FUNDS FINDS DELAY ON HEALTH FOR PEACE BILL

#### (By Howard A. Rusk, M.D.)

Last Wednesday the Senate, by a vote of 83 to 10, increased the administration's budget request for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for the next fiscal year by \$365 million.

The major increase was in the appropriation of \$484,604,000 for medical research. This was \$186 million more than President Eisenhower requested.

Significantly, this was the first appropria-tion bill passed by the Senate this session that has been higher than the President requested.

Of the many reasons for this action by the Senate, there are two that are primary,

One is the firm conviction in the overwhelming majority of the Senate that saving human lives is more important than saving dollars.

The second is their recognition that their constituents, the American people, believe in medical research and are willing to pay tax dollars to expand it.

### CASUALTY TOLL CITED

In urging his colleagues to support this increase, Senator LISTER HILL, of Alabama, quoted a number of impressive figures from the newly released 1959 Factbook of the National Health Education Committee. Among the facts he cited were the following:

Based on the 1957 casualty toll, heart disease and cancer will take the lives of 1,-147,270 Americans this year.

Medical advances within the last 15 years, directly resulting from federally supported medical research programs of the National Institutes of Health, have saved 1,800,000 lives in the United States.

The \$484,604,000 voted by the Senate for medical research compares to \$665 million being spent this year for river, harbor and flood-control maintenance.

Senator Hull also called the attention of his colleagues to the second factor-the belief of the American people in medical research.

He summarized a report developed in May 1958, for the National Association of Science Writers, in which a nationwide sampling of citizens was asked which of four projects they would prefer if funds were available for only one.

#### MEDICAL BESEARCH FIRST

The selections were: a new program for medical research, 54 percent; new approaches to juvenile delinquency, 32 percent; basic research in sciences such as chemistry and physics, 7 percent, putting the first man on the moon, 3 percent.

These same two primary factors that were applicable to our national domestic medical research program are also applicable to the health for peace bill. This legislation, which would create a new program of international medical research funded at \$50 million a year, was passed by the Senate by a 63-to-17 vote

Editorial comment throughout the country and the support of this legislation by all organizations indicate that the action of the Senate reflected the will of the people.

More than a month has passed since the Senate passed this International Health and Medical Research Act of 1959. Yet, as this newspaper pointed out editorially last Sunday, no hearings have been scheduled in the House of Representatives. Now another week has passed. If hearings are not held in the very near future, the prospect of the legislation's coming to a vote before the House this session is unlikely.

During the next fiscal year the Department of Defense will spend more than \$5,600 million in research and development.

The Senate recently voted an authorization of \$485 million for the new National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

#### OUTLAY NOT DISPROPORTIONATE

Our citizens and their Representatives in the Congress recognize the necessity for these investments in our national defense. Our citizens also recognize that to invest \$50 million a year in international medical research against disease and death is not disproportionate while we are spending \$40 million for military defense.

It will be tragic indeed if through failure

hold hearings immediately the Members of the House of Representatives are not permitted to reflect this interest of their constituents in a vote on the health for peace

The basic observations that produced penicillin lay for years in the notebook of the late Sir Alexander Fleming. Rauwolfia, which revolutioned the treatment of high blood pressure, was known to native doctors in India hundreds of years before its great therapeutic possibilities were recognized here in the United States.

The key to the cause and treatment of cancer, arteriosclerosis, and arthritis may now be lying dormant some place in the world, waiting to be brought to light by eager scientists who ask only for tools and opportunity.

### Reclamation Policy Needs a Review

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON, EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I recommend to the Members of the House a thought-provoking editorial clipped from the Sunday, June 28, 1959, edition of the Washington Post.

It points up the necessity now of a review of the Nation's reclamation policies. Changing conditions of our farms,

their products and ever-mounting surplus crops clearly indicate that Congress ought to get another look at and study of a program that has changed little over the past half hundred years.

IRRIGATING QUESTION

A bill to authorize a new Federal reclamation project in California raises a question far more fundamental than the 160-acre limitation argument which was hotly debated before the bill was passed by the Senate. Should the Federal Government on the one hand continue to allocate hundreds of millions of dollars to new western reclamation projects when on the other hand the Government spends billions of dollars a year to subsidize surplus farm production?

The proposed San Luis unit of the Central Valley project in California would cost the Government \$290 million, most of which, it is true, would be repaid over a period of 50 years by the farmers who would benefit from the dam and irrigation system. Even so, the effect of the Federal expenditures would be to subsidize a relatively small group of farmers by granting them interest-free loans to keep 500,000 acres of land in production. The area is now irrigated by wells which have practically dried up existing ground-water

supplies.

Of course it would be unfair to single out the San Luis project for undue criticism. The reservoir was planned some time ago and ought not to be used as a horrible example. It is no different from many other reclamation projects which have been authorized by Congress in recent years. Nevertheless, it seems to us that the San Luis project should serve as a reminder to Congress as well as to the administration of the need for a fundamental review of reclamation policy insofar as it may be inconsistent with farm policy.

The Federal Government should be doing more to encourage farmers to take addi-tional land out of production. More farmland is surely not needed now, and it may be that a sizable increase in productive land will not be necessary for many years. Fertilizers may soon become so potent that sudden demands for additional food and fiber production can be met merely by turn-

ing on a nozzle.

Although it may be true, as reclamation enthusiasts argue, that irrigated land is seldom used to produce surplus crops like wheat, corn, or cotton, any significant addition to the Nation's farm acreage is bound to have an effect soonor or later on all farm production. Cotton, for example, has moved westward largely because of the expansion of irrigation in Arizona and California.

Obviously there is nothing the Federal Government can or should do to prevent States like California, Texas, and North Dakota from undertaking their own irrigation projects, and existing Federal projects must be supported. But there is a real question whether it ought to be Federal policy to reclaim more land for production at this time (and there are plans for Federal projects in each of the mentioned States). In some cases the farmers who would benefit from the projects probably could work out the financing at least for modest projects through cooperative agreements.

The Americans to whom reclamation is almost a religion ought to reconsider their aims in the context of the multibillion-dollar farm surpluses of 1959. The successful fight which Senator DougLas and Senator Mosse made for the retention of the 160-acre limitation in the San Luis project was admirable, but the realities of the reclamation program also need some championing. Today's agricultural needs are certainly far different from the farm and ranch problems of 50 years ago when reclamation poli-cles that are still in existence were largely formulated.

## Labor Plans Active Political Push for 1960

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. KARL E. MUNDT

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, in my opinion it is important to maintain the stability of American institutions so that both the political parties in America retain their integrity and independence. Neither political party should become the tools of either big business, organized labor, or any other pressure group.

From the column written by Doris Fleeson which appears in the Washington Evening Star for May 13 of this year entitled "Labor Active on Plans for 1960," it appears as though organized labor is attempting to take over the Democrat party and use that party as the vehicle to implement its own ends

after the 1960 election.

The Margaret Thornburgh referred to in this column has been active in my State of South Dakota organizing and teaching Democrat precinct workers for techniques of big city machine politics. Since the Regional Director for the AFL-CIO in a recent address in Rapid City, S. Dak., stated that I should be retired from political life, I am not surprised that labor organizers are teaching Democrat precinct workers their techniques for winning elections.

In the belief that Doris Fleeson's analysis of labor's present political sophistication will be of interest to my colleagues, I ask unanimous consent that it may be printed in the appendix of the RECORD, along with the report on this subject contained in my newsletter entitled, "Eastern Labor Leaders Turn 'Scalp Hunters' Loose in South Dakota." I also request permission to have included in this insertion the United Press International story appearing in the Huron Plainsman for June 19 entitled, "Trade Union Leaders To Meet To Confer on Political Education." Quite obviously, insofar as COPE is concerned, its campaign to control the country through political victories in 1960 is already underway.

There being no objection the articles and newsletter were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

From the Huron Plainsman, Friday, June 19, 1959 |

TRADE UNION LEADERS TO MEET TO CONFER ON POLITICAL EDUCATION

President Albert J. Maag of the South Dakota State Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO announced today (Thursday) that trade union leaders throughout the State will attend a conference in Fargo, N. Dak., June 20 and 21 on political education procedures.

The conference will be sponsored by the Committee on Political Education (COPE), the political arm of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organ-

Meeting with South Dakota delegates will be those from North Dakota. Those attending the conference will include State organization, internate, and national union officers, local union officers, local union officials,

and delegates from city central bodies. City-county and congressional district COPEs, and women's activities departments.

Wives of delegates have been invited to

participate in all sessions,

Officers from national COPE headquarters omcers from national COPE headquarters in Washington, D.C., headed by national director James L. McDevitt and deputy di-rector Alexander Barkan, will attend the conference.

The conference is aimed at stimulating COPE's organizational activities. The conference program will include procedures and problems of COPE's activities in voting reg-istration, education and campaign techniques.

Maag pointed out that the labor movement is confronted with a concerted, organized drive on the political front by businessmen and industrialists. He said that emphasized the necessity of trade unionists to become involved in realistance. involved in political education and to be politically active.

Conferences held last year are credited by COPE officials with a large measure of the success which organized labor achieved in

the 1958 elections.

"The 1958 conferences were the most successful we have ever held," McDevitt said, "and undoubtedly a major portion of our accomplishment in the November elections can be attributed to them. This year we are confident that the opportunity which the conferences afford for people in the same area of the Nation to exchange information regarding political tactics and strategy and regarding know-how on political is sues, and to renew contacts with the tipal COPE and the sues. tional COPE staff, will give similar impetus sional elections in 1960."

Twenty area conferences are being held during the spring and early summer.

[From the Washington Evening Star. May 13, 1959]

LABOR ACTIVE ON PLANS FOR 1960-LEADERS FOUND APPLYING LESSONS LEARNED IN E FORT TO PURGE TAFT

(By Doris Fleeson)

In the earliest presidential campaign in years, labor is getting ready actively for the battle of 1960. There will be exceptions, but the chief taxon will be exceptions. but the chief target will again be the Re-

David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers, has sounded the tocsin. He has told his unions convention in Miami that the way must be cleared for "a positive rather than a negative Government." He is a member of New York's Liberal Party, but he was speaking for the Democrats against the Republicans the only choice which greatly matters in the only choice which greatly matters in

Labor has learned a great deal about politics since the days when it went down to defeat with "Jumping Joe" Ferguson in the effort to pure South effort to purge Senator Tart. That was the nadir of labor's political reputation in America, if not its ica, if not its fortunes. It has learned great deal since.

One of the things it has learned is to keef quiet about what it is doing politically.

neither does it openly threaten its foes.

It learned the hard way that the political choices made choices made by its officers cannot always be effectively communicated to its members. In this area it has recently done its members effective work. There is little doubt that its effective work. There is little doubt that in the 1958 campaign labor voted more solidit than ever before. And more members of labor unions voted than perhaps had ever voted in a nonpresident was helped notably by the presence of right to-work proposals on the ballots of several States.

A secret discovered by labor's political experts is now paying off. That is that a powerful factor in powerful factor in a union man's vote

his wife's opinion. With remarkable assiduity labor has been cultivating its wives for 4 years. The effort has paid off to an astonishing degree. Now not only union women but the wives of union men conatitute the most formidable political weapon in labor's arsenal.

The two women who head this work, Esther Murray in the East and Margaret Thornburgh in the West, are personally unassum-They have nevertheless become among the most influential women in American

Labor's Political Education Committee is now holding a series of 30 area meetings of local officials in preparation for 1960. An AFI CIO officer says that the meetings are for the purpose of studying our navel. Actually the meetings are for a reassessment of labor's performance in 1958 and a preview of techniques.

The meetings have been embarrassingly successful. They were doubled in number this year so that they would be smaller and supplies that they would be smaller and supplies. supposedly more effective. The attendance has remained as high as when far fewer meetings when the supposed workshop at meetings were held. A recent workshop at Cleveland for labor leaders from Ohio and Pennestra Pennsylvania drew 1,500.

Labor has now forged, and is perfecting, an organization which in many States is far better manned than the organizations of either of the major political parties. And whether lenders of national labor like it or not, the organization is beginning to produce candidates. That was certainly not the intention, but when one initiates the unschools of politics it unschooled into the mysteries of politics it probably is the inevitable result.

EASTERN LABOR LEADERS TURN "SCALP HUNTERS" LOOSE IN SOUTH DAKOTA

(By Senator KARL E. MUNDT)

On my arrival in Watertown, S. Dak., during the Memorial Day weekend to begin a series of South Dakots appearances, my attention was called to a news story in which a regional representative of the AFL-CIO had made made a number of statements about me during a speech he was giving in Rapid City. I learned that the speaker was a Carl Winn from St. Paul, Minn.

The fact that my record was attacked is not of significance: anyone who serves in public life sooner or later becomes a target. But, because this particular statement comes from comes from someone sent into the State for this purpose, I am bringing my reply to the attention of "Your Washington and You" readers. My statement follows:

The fact that Carl Winn, of St. Paul, Minn., a regional director of big labor's AFL-CIO is reported by our South Dakota wire services as selecting me as a prime target for attacks by out-of-State labor politicians, financed by the big bosses of eastern unions, comes as no

The only surprising feature is that these paid political "scalp hunters" have come out into the open so early in an obvious attempt either to inc. either to influence my votes in the Senate or to frighten me into silence or retreat. righten me into silence or retreat.

tried the same tactics last year on Senator Goldware, of Arizona, due to his membership on the comship on our Senate Labor Investigating Com-

They have made similar threats against Senator McClellan, the chairman of our committee of the chairman of the chairman of the committee of the chairman would committee. It was expected that they would employ the same techniques against me as vice chairman of this committee. But the tactics of these political mercenaries did not Work against Goldware or McClellan, and they will not intimidate me.

I promise my fellow South Dakotans I shall continue to try to provide American workers with the dampy to provide American workers with the democratic tools they need to con-trol their own destinies and that I shall fol-low man to reflect in low my conscience in an effort to reflect in Congress as faithfully as I can South Dakota's needs, ideals, and attitudes, regardless of the tough talk and threats of these big city labor bosses.

Actually, I have known for over a year that certain eastern labor politicians whose toes we have tramped on by our Senate investigations have put out the word "to get KARL MUNDT." Carl Winn was apparently firing their opening salvo. These men have had such success in pushing around and dominating their members in certain unions, they bitterly resent any congressional committee or public official they cannot control.

If I am the Republican senatorial standard bearer in 1980, these outside political overlords will try to find a candidate against me who will accept their money and their directions. If they succeed, they will assure him of almost limitless financing; if they cannot find such a candidate, they will spend their money surreptiously and send in carpetbag political workers disguised as tourists and visitors in an attempt to defeat me.

They are determined to demonstrate to the country that no man can defy them and live in public life. These power-bloc labor politicians do not like the labor reform legislation our committee's investigation has inspired, and the measures we have supported to strip unsavory labor bosses of their and privilege through giving the authority for union direction to the rank and file membership who pay the dues.

Weak and inadequate though it is, these eastern labor czars, egged on by Jimmy Hoffa, are now even opposing in the House the key sections of the Kennedy-Ervin bill, adopted by the Senate. In their wrath they are out to get all of us on the committee who helped produce the evidence and who wrote the reforms which put some teeth into this labor-reform legislation.

Fortunately, tens of thousands of duespaying union members applaud our committee's efforts to protect them from being cheated or coerced by corrupt bosses whom they can neither vote out of office or con-The last-ditch fight of these retreating labor bosses to defeat or destroy the men in public life whom they cannot intimidate or control is just one more manifestation of the strong-arm tactics to which they have become accustomed.

They will learn that neither the votes nor the voters of South Dakota are for sale.

The workers, farmers, and other citizens of our State will not be misled into following the siren call of outside political promoters who have only their own selfish interests to

I suggest that Mr. Winn take his advice and his money back home to St. Paul where he has much to do in trying to end the chaos and the financial crisis in State government which he and his confederates helped to create in Minnesota

Remarks of Julius Epstein, Esq., in Support of House Resolution 24

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

### HON. ALBERT H. BOSCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 9, 1959

Mr. BOSCH. Mr. Speaker, Julius Epstein, Esq., 470 Fourth Avenue, New York City, recently participated in the White House Conference on Refugees. I know of no man who has shown more genuine interest in the cause of refugees than has Mr. Epstein. At this Conference, Mr. Epstein had prepared remarks in support

of House Resolution 24, introduced by me, but because of the lack of time he was unable to deliver them. However, at a meeting of the U.S. Committee on Refugees, following the close of the Conference, he was able to give a portion of his prepared text.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the full text of Mr. Epstein's message:

REMARKS ORIGINALLY INTENDED TO BE MADE AT THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON REFU-GEES, WASHINGTON, MAY 21-22, 1959

#### (By Julius Epstein)

As we enter the World Refugee Year on July 1, 1959. I deem it my duty to call this meeting's attention to a moral problem of greatest significance. It is the moral necessity to purge ourselves of a great wrong, considered by many authorities as a crime under national and international law. I am speaking, of course, of the forced repatriation of many hundreds of thousands of anti-Communist prisoners of war and displaced persons to Stalin's executioners, particularly in the years 1945, 1946, and 1947.

Fortunately, I am not alone to ask the American people to purge themselves of this wrong which resulted in death and misery of untold thousands of forcibly returned pris-oners of war and civilians, including not only men, but also women and children.

The protagonist of this great cause in Congress is the Honorable Albert H. Bosch, of New York, a man of outstanding courage, who has introduced three times an identical resolution in the American Congress asking for the creation of a select House committee to investigate past and present forced re-patriation of prisoners of war as well as of civilians.

This resolution is now again pending as House Resolution 24, introduced in the American Congress by Congressman Bosch—for the third time—on January 7, 1959.

Since the moral obligation to purge ourselves of this crime has never been stated so clearly and so concisely as in the preamble of the Bosch resolution, I ask your indulgence when I am going to read this preamble. I quote from House Resolution

"Whereas the forced repatriation to Soviet-controlled countries of millions of anti-Communist prisoners of war and civilians by American military and civilian authori-ties in the years 1945-47 in Germany and in other countries brought death and misery to untold thousands of these anti-Communists before Soviet firing squads, on Soviet gallows, and in the Siberian slave labor camps; and

"Whereas this forced repatriation of prisoners of war and civilians cannot be justified by the agreement on prisoners of war signed at Yalta on February 11, 1945; and

Whereas this forced repatriation was in violation of the rulings in implementation of the Yalta agreement on prisoners of war, made public by the Department of State on March 8, 1946; and

"Whereas the forced repatriation of prisoners of war who had enlisted in the enemy's army was in contradiction to the opinion of the Judge Advocate General of the Army, as expressed during the last 40 years; and

"Whereas the forced repatriation of millions of anti-Communist prisoners of war and civilians represent an indelible blot on the American tradition of ready asylum for political exiles; and

"Whereas the forced repatriation and annihilation of millions of anti-Communist prisoners of war and civilians of Russian. Ukrainian, Polish, Hungarlan, Baltic, and other origin is still poisoning our spiritual relations with the vigorously anti-Commu-nist peoples behind the Iron Curtain, and is

therefore impeding our foreign policy: Therefore be it

"Resolved, that there is hereby created a select committee \* \* \*.

'The committee is authorized and directed (1) to conduct a full and complete investigation and study of the facts, evidence, and extenuating circumstances of the forced repatriation program, carried out by our military and civilian authorities in Germany and other countries in the years 1945-47, under which millions of anti-Communist prisoners of war and civillans were forcibly repatriated to Soviet-controlled countries; and (2) to fix the responsibility for such program."

As a direct result of the forced repatriation, many refugees from the Soviet orbit came to our country by way of false identi-ties. They had to falsify their identities in order to escape this American sponsored forced repatriation. They did it very often under the direct advice of American military and civilian authorities. After hearings be-fore the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee (chairman, Senator EASTLAND), Congress passed an amendment to the McCarran-Walter Act, which makes falsification of identitles in order to gain entry into the United States of America no crime, punishable by deportation, provided that falsification was committed in order to escape forced repatriation behind the Iron Curtain and provided the falsification is revealed to the Attorney General. This amendment was signed into law by President Eisenhower on September 11, 1957.

It is my purpose to urge you to study the Bosch resolution which certainly is, from an ethical point of view, one of the most significant resolutions ever to be introduced in the American Congress. But to study it is not enough. I also urge you in the name of hundreds of thousands of innocent victims of American forced repatriation, now tragically silenced, to support House Resolution 24 with all your strength, so that the Speaker of the House, the Honorable Sam RAYBURN. will give the green light to the House Committee on Rules to send House Reclution 24 to the floor of the House to be debated and voted upon.

Only by carrying out an impartial congressional investigation of our own shameful deed of forcibly repatriating innocent people to their sure death, can we purge ourselves of the misdeed. Only then shall we have purified the still poisoned spiritual relations to our secret allies behind the Iron Curtain.

May God give us the strength to do this as we enter the World Refugee Year of 1959-60.

## The Choice Between the Easy Wrong and the Hard Right

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to call attention to an excellent editorial which appears in "Our Navy" on "The Choice Between the Easy Wrong and the Hard Right."

In these days of decision, it is necessary for us to keep uppermost in our minds the frightening alternatives when we elect to take the easy way and give ground to the forces which would enslave

This editorial is an exhortation to the fighting men who are the deterrent to further Soviet advances. The men who make the decisions and formulate our policy need the same type of exhortation. Let us hope it does not fall on deaf ears. THE CHOICE BETWEEN THE EASY WRONG AND THE HARD RIGHT

This Fourth of July will be the 183d birthday of our country. That is a long time when looked at through the eyes of a man who is 18 or 20 or 25. But in terms of the life of nations it is not so long a time. Europe and Asia are full of lands with much longer histories. But so much of the history over there is a sad tale, while our story is chiefly a joyous one.

There is no land whose story is sadder than Russia's. And now we and the Russians stand opposed as leaders of two powerful coalitions. Whichever of the two leaders has the stamina and the strength of purpose to overcome the will of the other will gain its way, and all human beings who live on earth after the moment of decision will bear the mark of that decision

Should the Russians overcome our will. the world will slide rapidly into as evil a condition as it has ever known. There have been evil despotisms before, but none be-fore has covered the whole earth. There would be big cities and autos, TV sets and skyscrapers: These things are not incompatible with despotism any more than they are incompatible with freedom. The only thing really that would be missing would be the sense that the individual is important in his own right and that he is responsible to himself, to God, and to all other men for his actions.

There lies the difference between our society and what we think is right and good and the Communist concept of what is right and good. Without that concept at the root of our lives there wouldn't be much difference between the life we lead and the life led by a Russian or a citizen of one of those unfortunate lands dominated by the Red commissars and their armies.

If we win the decision, matters won't be so easy for the ordinary man as they would be under a Communist-dominated world. For he will have to make decisions continually: Whether he will go to work for a big firm or set up his own business; whether the taxes he pays must rise or must fall or must stay as they are; whether he must be concerned about the freedom of other men or whether they can go hang. Under a Communist-dominated world he needn't be concerned about these things, for the leaders will tend to them all. Indeed, he mustn't be concerned, for if he shows an interest in matters contrary to his leaders' will, he will be punished.

That such a condition is attractive to many people is evident from the strength of the Communist Party in many parts of the world. Those people think that under communism they would be free-free from having to make their own decisions, free from having to be human beings to the fullest of their ability. And they will trick, lie, cheat, murder, and steal in order to bring this benefit to themselves and their fellow countrymen whether or not the latter agree with them.

Those are the stakes in the cold war. The foe is courageous, intelligent, and dedicated to his cause. We must be more courageous, more intelligent, and more dedicated to our cause, or we shall fail.

That is one of the things that John Foster Dulles knew. And another thing he knew was that whenever we did the right thing, no matter how dangerous it might be, we never got very badly hurt. Our war in Korea to preserve a few million desperately

poor people from the indignities of commu-nism is proof of that. Even more so was our landing last summer on the Lebanese shore to protect a small people from powerful outside forces. And last fall at Quemoy it was the same. There were only 40,000 Oriental farmers on those poor little islands off the Chinese mainland. It would have been easy—and safe—to let them be swallowed by the Reds. Once they had been swallowed we would never again be bothered with the problem, for the Reds would have solved it to their satisfaction. But we took the chance—we walked along the brink of destruction-and we won. The Quemoy farmers are still free, and so are we. But because we are free we must fight the battle over and over again, whether it be at Quemoy or Lebanon or Berlin or some other place not yet touched. If we don't do that we aren't worth much, we aren't worth the men who fought for our freedom many years before any of us were born.

But of course we must have the proper tools and enough of them if we are to lead this dangerous life for freedom. Among those tools are the assorted weapons possessed by the Navy and the other military services, wielded by men who know how to use them. We have been able to use them effectively in the service of freedom wherever the sea touches the threatened land; Quemoy and Taiwan are islands, Korea and Lebanon have long coasts. It is more diffcult where we cannot reach the threatened people by sea, as at Berlin. Indeed, it is usually impossible to help where there is no seacoast. We need only look to the events in Hungary and Tibet to see that. There we watched in humiliating impotence while valiant people valiant people were crushed by trickery and overwhelming power.

That is why there are so many men in the Navy today and that is why what they do and how well they do it is important to all the world, whether they are on a carrier un-dergoing repairs in a Norfolk drydock or on an overcrowded applying an overcrowded amphibious ship in the Mediterranean or an undermanned, overaged des stroyer in the Taiwan Strait. They leaving their mark on the world. If they fail, men in the future will probably say it was inevitable; for the triumph of communication That is nism was foreordained by history. That the only thing they will be allowed to say. But if they do their duty—and that means doing more than just enough to get them by—in the dangerous, weary struggle, men will be free in the future to go on making their own migrates. their own mistakes and own glorious suc-

That is the burden America must bear and that is the burden especially of her warriors-Our NAVY.

America's Forgotten Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, be parade of witnesses appeared before the Subcommittee on Mines and Mining day to paint a graphic picture of a great American industry—an industry vital to a strong America—which is still seeking relief from a manmade depression which has been with it since 1953.

This forgotten American industry is our domestic lead and zinc mining industry, which has been the unquestioned victim of governmental policies that have delivered 75 percent of our domestic market to foreign producers.

This morning, Mr. C. E. Schwabe summed up the situation on lead and zinc

in these eloquent words:

It is regretful-almost tragic-that after all that the lead-zinc mine producers have done in the last few years, these two commodities are again the subject of your committee's attention in a discussion of the depressed condition of the domestic mining industry. After all the labors of many Members of the House of Representatives, of the Senate, of unions representing employees in this industry and of members of the industry, we find the lead-zinc are still two of our metals and minerals which remain in an extremely distressed condition—and this being the case 9 months after the President proclaimed quotas, which have proved to be woofully inadequate.

The unparalled and unequalled record that these two metals have followed in seeking an answer to their problem is well known to this committee. I only wish to emphasize again that lead-zinc are the only commodifies in the United States which have received two unanimous—may I repeat unanimous—findings of injury by the U.S. Tariff Commission. It is also two mine commodities on which stopgap measures have been tried—all of which resulted in failure. We have had stockpilling tried and we have had barter tried. Attempts have been made to provide subsidy legislation and import tax legislation. Now, we have had quotas tried. The ineffectiveness of the quotas will be detalled later, but very obviously however, we would not be here today if the quota plan were working. Thus, after faithfully following all the provisions of the Trade Agree-ments Act, the "escape clause" procedure, and every other avenue which seem to hold some measure of hope for a solution—the net result at this point, for all practical purposes has been nil.

From my own section of the country, which is part of the famous tristate lead and zinc area, Mr. Tom Kiser, of Miami, Okla., reported his district's current situation in these words:

We had 68 mining companies whose production statistics were available for the month of May 1952. They employed 2,184 men (mines and mills only) and produced 13,721 short tons of zinc concentrates and 2,138 short tons of lead concentrates. On January 1,1957, we had 43 companies reporting 1,474 employees and produced 8,565 short tons of zinc and 2,665 short tons of lead. We had larger companies reporting 25 to 30 tons of crude ore per man-shift, while the smaller operations were running about 15 tons of crude ore per man-shift. \* \* Our production is now at zero and could possibly be lost forever if this committee doesn't see fit to breathe new life into our industry.

From the State of Utah, Mr. Clark L. Wilson made this report:

Our experience during the last 3 years is typical of the domestic lead-zinc economic problems. The market price—production cost squeeze, really hit the Mayflower mine during 1956. At that time we had 290 employees. Toward the end of the year this to the better grade ores, in effect high gradior the deposit. We were determined to try as many people working as possible and still prices dropped in May and June 1957, we more employees in spite of employee morale problems created. This 1957 lead-zinc metal

price drop resulted in a loss of 77 percent of Mayflower mine ore reserve. We still kept the mine producing at a loss, in hopes that proposed legislation then in Congress would provide protection to the domestic lead-zinc markets. Congress adjourned after taking no action, and we were forced to close the mine on September 27, 1957. We were then approached by former employees requesting a lease on the property. This was negotiated and the mine has since been operated by 85 independent contractors. New Park has only 18 employees. Gross ore sales are now less than one-half the previous year's average. The contractors maintain the mine, do their own development work, and meet all their own costs. They are "getting by" as they are approximately 50 percent more efficient than a company-type operation. New Park continues this arrangement at a loss in the hope that the domestic miner will soon be allowed a fair share of the domestic mar-ket. New Park needs minimum prices of 131/2 cents zinc and 151/2 cents lead to produce normal metal tonnages and provide sufficient income for necessary exploration and development.

The miners of this district live in Park City and other nearby towns. Park City is wholly dependent on the mining industry and is becoming a typical example of the ghost town. The population has decreased in the past 10 years from 3,000 to 1,500. Ten years ago housing was at a premium. Today apartment houses are vacant as are many homes. The dentist and doctor have left the area. The town is truly in tough shape.

Mr. Speaker, we heard similar reports from witnesses representing Wisconsin, Illinois, Iowa, Colorado, New Jersey, New Mexico, Tennessee, and Missouri production.

This condition is nationwide in its scope, and it is not getting better under the administration's quota plan.

An escape clause which does not provide general relief is merely a snare and a delusion in the hands of administrators who do not have the will to apply it.

This industry has waited 9 months to prove the failure of the quota plan.

The lead and zinc industry has already proved its case twice before the Tariff Commission, and won unanimous verdicts of injury in both cases.

How long will this Congress wait to make good the promise of the escape clause?

### The Fair Trade Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I insert into the Appendix of the Congressional Record a statement made by Dr. Joseph M. Klamon, professor of marketing, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., on June 15, 1959, before the U.S. Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign commerce against S. 1083 the so-called Federal fair trade bill and similiar legislation.

From his rich experience as professor of marketing at Washington University, as tutor at Yale and instructor in busi-

ness policy at Harvard Graduate School of Business, as well as his service in the Department of Economics at William and Mary, Carnegie Institute of Technology and teaching at the University of Pittsburgh, Dr. Klamon, distinguished economist, member of the bar of two States, is well qualified to set forth reasons why fair trade is singularly against the interests of the American people, business large and small, and especially to the consumers.

SUPPLEMENTARY STATEMENT PRESENTED ON BEHALF OF THE CONSUMERS' FEDERATION OF
ST. LOUIS AND ST. LOUIS COUNTY BY DR.
JOSEPH M. KLAMAN, PROFESSOR OF MARKETING, WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY, ST. LOUIS,
MO., ON JUNE 15, 16, 1959, BEFORE THE U.S.
SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE, IN RE INTERSTATE
AND FOREIGN COMMERCE ON THE BILL INTRODUCED IN THE SENATE, S. 1083, FEBRUARY
17, 1959 BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
MINNESOTA, AND SENATOR PROXMIRE, OF
WISCONSIN, CONCERNING THE ENACTMENT OF
A FEDERAL FAIR TRADE PRICE-FIXING BILL ON
BRANDED MERCHANDISE

I have already identified myself for the record. Perhaps I should add that I received the master of arts, doctor of laws, and doctor of philosophy from Yale University and the bachelor of laws from Washington University. In addition to teaching marketing for the past 30 years I have been a tutor at Yale, instructor in business policy in the Harvard Graduate School of Business, and chairman of the department of economics at William and Mary. I have also been professor of economics at Carnegle Institute of Technology, visiting professor at the University of Pittsburgh for 2 years and since September 1929 I have been in marketing in the school of business at Washington University.

This bill, if enacted into law, will cost consumers no less than \$8 billion annually.

This bill, if enacted into law, will cost consumers no less than \$8 billion annually. It is in effect a retail sales tax between 10 and 12 percent on branded goods sold at the retail level if fair traded. The following questions should be answered by the proponents of S. 1083.

Those who are responsible for the effort to legalize trade restraint should give us clear simple answers to a few questions anent the current fair trade bill.

If a cash and carry superstore has lower costs, should not the public be permitted to benefit (in lower prices) from all such lower cost methods of doing business?

In the above situation, why should all be required to sell a so-called fair traded item at the same retail price?

If competition among producers of an item is good for the public, why should competition among retail sellers of that item be

denied?

Has any pressure group ever campaigned for price fixing privileges except to make prices higher than they are under free competition?

What real and specific evidence is there that truly meritorious articles have ever been driven from the market by price competition?

Why should out-of-State interests come into Missouri and spend money to lobby for a bill to make the public pay more than they now pay for aspirin, toothpaste, whisky and almost any item?

How much lobby money has been supplied to put this bill over and by whom?

If a merchant wants to locate a store outside the city limits and sell at lower prices because of his lower costs, what good reason is there to deny him that right and forbid the public that benefit?

If the public is deceived by "loss leader" prices, what would prevent equal deception as to fair trade prices which are exorbitant?

If we grant monopoly price privileges to the select few, who is going to regulate those prices to make certain that the public is not

mulcted by the price fixers?

Every time a fair trade law has been proposed, or legislation relative thereto on the Federal level, proponents have filled the record with endless criticism of loss-lead selling. Yet when Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois offered proponents an antiloss lead bill at the time the McGuire Act was passed they rejected his offer. A loss-lead is merely an attention-attracting, traffic creating, sales promotional device. Even if it is sometimes undesirable, why not legislate specifically against it and not grant limitless private monopoly price fixing powers to manufacturers of branded goods over all retail sales?

Everyone knows, or should know, that the U.S. Constitution gives Congress control over Interstate commerce but not over purely retall intrastate commerce. Now the most novel and perhaps unconstitutional phase of the bill before you is the one on pages 4 and following of S. 1083 which gives a manufacturer a proprietary interest in his goods that are branded even after he has completely parted with title by selling such goods to a retailer. If a manufacturer wants to continue to be a proprietor or to control price on the retail level he can do so very easily in at least two ways: (1) by estab lishing his own retail outlets, and (2) by selling on consignment. Now the fact of course is that few manufacturers are willing to assume the obvious hazard involved in the foregoing. The unique feature of the bill before you which endeavors to give a maker control of price on the retail level without selling on consignment or establishing his own retail stores, is in reality a transparent effort to give Congress that which the U.S. Constitution does not give it, namely control over purely intrastate retailing. Anyone who has the remotest knowledge of the hazards and uncertainties of prices at the retail level and the frequent need for sharp markdowns for purposes of inventory clearance, or to adjust prices to competition and market requirements, realizes what economic folly is involved in attempting by Federal law to legislate fixed prices on all branded goods everywhere at the retail level regardless of relative costs of doing business or relative efficiency. brief, it would seem rather evident that a substantive Federal fair trade law is no more enforcible than previous efforts have been to repeal the law of supply and demand.

Since 1931 fair trade proponents by means of powerful lobbying tactics have demanded and received fair trade laws in 45 States, in all States except Missouri, Texas, Vermont, and the District of Columbia. All of these laws, as well as the Miller-Tydings Act, and the McGuire Act, have all gone down the drain. They conclusively prove the economic and legal futility and folly of trying to destroy free markets, competitive pricing, and substitute price fixing for what we presently have, which essentially, is price freedom virtually throughout the country.

The McGuire Act encouraged and fostered the mushroom growth of cut-rate discount houses from 2,000 to 10,000 throughout the country. Manufacturers for the most part naturally have been delighted to move their inventories through all channels at prices evidently satisfactory to themselves, discount houses, and their customers. The bill before you, if enacted into law, I imagine will be no more successful than previous efforts by law have been, to destroy our antitrust laws or to prevent people from shopping for values as they are forced to do because of the higher prices caused by infiation. If S. 1083 becomes law I expect it will be challenged rather quickly in State and Federal courts and will suffer the same fate that the McGuire Act and the Miller-Tydings Act have heretofore received. Merely to give you a fairly representative cross section of public opinion

which appears almost unanimously opposed to fair trade, a number of exhibits will be filed to be incorporated into these hearings, with your permission. To me this is the worst bill now before Congress. As I have stated, it is very inflationary; it will reach into the pockets of every consumer of the country; it is price protection for a privileged few and contrary to the interests of the public. The public will no more buy at artificial fixed prices than they did under the McGuire Act. An artificial price level which does not make economic sense inevitably and invariably tends to defeat it-self. Would anyone in Congress suggest that our farm price policy since 1933 has been an unqualified success? The effort to remove farm products from the normal correctives of free markets has been rather disastrous. No less disastrous and costly to the public has been the protectionist price-fixing policies of fair trade laws of the past 28 years. Undoubtedly to the extent that they have been effective before declared illegal, they have cost the public incalculable billions. This bill is so important to the public that it should be given the utmost care. Every effort should be made by Congress to get the facts which are easily available from many truly disinterested professional sources, such as your own governmental bureaus and from all of our universities. More than 50 law professors from all over the country have made statements at the hearings 3 months ago on the Harris bill, the year before on the Harris bill, and 6 years earlier on the McGuire Act. Antitrust. FTC, Labor, Agriculture, Commerce, and the Budget Bureau are opposed to this bill and have said so in the record, as they also did 6 years earlier before the McGuire Act was passed. May I not again urge you to reject S. 1083 as not in the public interest and very highly inflationary?

One or two newspaper items, editorials, etc., should be of interest to your committee:

The Kansas City Star, Thursday, May 3, 1951:

#### "THE PRICE FIXING BILL AGAIN

"Every session of the Missouri Legislature receives a bill which would permit the manufacturers of brand name products to fix and thereby increase the retail prices. The only difference this year is a high pressure sales campaign to stir up a flood of letters and telegrams to the legislature.

"Speakers have been sent around the State ostensibly to talk on the disarming subject of attracting industries. Along with all the well known methods of attracting industries they urge support for the price fixing plan.

"The sponsors of this privilege believe in the magic of an appealing name. Here and in other States they have always referred to their bill as the 'fair trade' bill.

"According to the St. Louis Consumer Federation the bill would increase the average Missouri retail price of branded products by at least 12 percent. It is easy to make a fairly accurate comparison of present Missouri prices with prices in States that have the 'fair trade' law.

"Through their national organization set up for the purpose the American manufacturers are asking the elected representatives of Missouri people to slap them with a big increase in the cost of living, an increase many times as great as the present Missouri sales tax.

"The big push is concentrated on drug lines and liquor where competition has been most effective in slashing prices. Missourians who like to shop for price in highly competitive lines frequently make savings far beyond 12 percent. Most people think of bargain hunting as a perfectly proper part of the system of free competition.

"In order to permit general price increases in Missouri the legislature would have to amend the State's anti-trust law. It would have to specify in the law that the competitive system no longer applies in the case of branded products.

"In other years the legislature has been skeptical of the plan to increase the cost of living in Missouri. We doubt that it will yield to the highly organized and heavily financed pressure campaign of this year. But the Missouri public, the people who buy across the counter, had better be on guard."

St. Louis Post-Dispatch, May 22, 1951:

"CONSUMERS WIN A BILLION

"Consumers have won a notable victory in the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court on the so-called fair trade laws. So have retail merchants who really want to compete for their customers' business. These laws are estimated to be costing consumers a billion dollars a year through high pricefixing.

"Pair trade is a legal price-fixing device which can be invoked to throttle price competition on any trademarked product. When the first such law was passed, in California 20 years ago, it proved ineffective because retail merchants who did not sign the price-fixing agreement with the manufacturer were not compelled to abide by the

fixed price.

"Two years later the California law was amended to provide that if a single retailer signed up for price fixing, all the retailers in the State were required to abide by the fixed price on that product. This is known as the nonsigner clause. It was tremendously effective. Every State that has adopted fair trade law has also adopted the nonsigner clause, and there are now 45 of them. Price fixing of trademarked goods has been legalized all over the nation except in Missouri, Texas, Vermont and the District of Columbia.

"It is the nonsigner clause which the Supreme Court has just struck down. Justice Douglas, who delivered the decision, said that although the fair trade contracts are worded to suggest voluntary cooperation, the fact is that 'recalcitrants are dragged in by the heels and compelled to submit to price fixing.'

"The ruling should make a dead issue of the fair trade bills pending in the Missouri Legislature. If these bills were enacted they would lack force for want of the nonsigner clause. This does not mean that the fair trade lobby should be permitted to sneak its laws onto the Missouri statute books in the expectation of later giving it force with new Federal legislation. Effective or ineffective, Missouri wants no fair trade law.

"How seriously the fair trade price-fixers view the nonsigner clause may be gathered from a release this month sent out by one of their propaganda agencies. The Bureau of Education on fair trade said that if the Supreme Court ruled against the nonsigner clause, Federal legislation permitting the States to enact these price-fixing laws will have proved a futile gesture.

"Its next words should be taken to heart by consumers as due warning that the price of competitive free enterprise will continue to be constant vigilance: New enabling legislation permitting fair trade to operate in interstate commerce may be sought again from Congress, however, so long as the new legislation meets whatever objections the court may raise."

"Congress should be no party to further efforts to legalize price fixing. The Supreme Court struck down price fixing in the NRA and in the Guffey Coal Act, and has now taken the force from the amendment to the Federal antitrust laws under which prices are fixed in the name of fair trade.

"Price fixing differs from price control times of national emergency, consumers re-

Quire price control, exercised by their government, to keep prices from rising de-structively high. Price fixing is a device operated, not by government, but by private vendors, and not to prevent high prices but to insure them. Price fixing is restraint of trade at the expense of the consumer. It had better be let go at that."

The Nation, June 2, 1951:

"THE FAIR TRADE WALL CRUMBLES

"Violent disagreement exists over the effect of fair-trade legislation on retail prices. The weight of economic opinion, however, supports the contention that fair trading raises prices to consumers; in fact, one ex-Pert contends that fair trade taxes American consumers \$1 billion a year. It is significant that both the Department of Justice and the Temporary National Economic Committee found the Miller-Tydings amendment Inconsistent with the Sherman Antitrust 'I find it difficult to believe,' writes Dr. Joseph M. Klamon, of Washington University, that the drug retail lobby, in putting over the Miller-Tydings Act, and in establishing the sanctity of wider retailers' margins, was only concerned with helping the consumer and the manufacturer. This in-Volves spending a vast amount of money \* \* \* in the interests of sheer altruism."

The Denver Post reported on March 3, 1951, that liquor prices were 29 percent higher in Colorado than in St. Louis, after making allowance for differences in freight rates and excise taxes. In a similar survey the St. Louis Star-Times found, some time back, that 54 fair-traded drug items cost an average of 16.2 percent more on the east bank of the Mississippi than on the St. Louis It is probably true, however, that the Initial effect of minimum, and uniform, resale prices in the drug trade was to reduce the cost of certain exorbitantly priced proprietary medicines and other items. And the fair traders unquestionably have a point when they contend that fair-trade laws are only one means by which resale price mainte-nance can be achieved."

St. Louis Post-Dispatch, May 11, 1951:

"AN OLD GOUGE AGAIN

"State Representative John W. Green, of St. Louis, is misguided, we believe, in sponsoring a fair-trade bill in the Missouri Legis-

Fair trade is a misnomer. What so-called fair-trade is a misnomer. ufacturers to fix prices, thus preventing merchants from engaging in price competition, and depriving consumers of an opportunity to shop for the lowest prices.

Fair-trade laws lead to such absurdities as the arrest of a St. Paul merchant because he sold a shortening which cost him 90 cents for 95 cents instead of 98. 'I figure I'm better of to sell 100 items and make a nickel apiece—that's \$5—than to sell 10 items at a dime apiece and make only \$1,' said the arrested merchant. Where fair-trade laws are enacted, merchants are forbidden to figure that way.

"Three years ago, when a fair-trade bill was up in the legislature at Jefferson City, certain merchants in Illinois and Kansas (States where fair-trade laws are on the statute where fair-trade laws are been been to merbecause they were losing business to mer-chants in Missouri, where prices were lower.

Joseph Klamon, professor of marketing at Washington University, and consultant to the Consumers Federation of St. Louis and

St. Louis County, testified at that time:

"This bill has only one purpose, and that
is to be devilish legislais to increase prices. It is devilish legislation at any time, and particularly now, in a period of high inflation, when persons of low income. income are compelled to shop for bargains to observe are compelled to shop for bargains to obtain the bare necessities of life within their to their income. You could not possibly enact a tax bill which would bear as heavily on the people as would this bill."

"What Professor Klamon said about price fixing at a time of high inflation is even more pertinent today than it was when he said it, because the inflation is worse. Food prices, notably, are at their highest in American history. Should price fixing be allowed to boost them still higher? To the contrary-the interests of national security, as well as those of the consumers' pocketbooks, require that prices must be controlled. In recognition of that fact, the Government has just clamped controls on prices, and on wages as well. At a time when consumers and public administrators are trying to keep soaring prices down, the fair-trade advocates are trying to increase them.

The Wall Street Journal said editorially last year: "This newspaper has repeatedly insisted that the so-called fair trade laws are a contradiction in a free enterprise society. If manufacturers are to tell retailers the minimum prices at which to sell products what incentive is there for more efficient distribution? For more efficient retailing? Competition is the lifeblood of a free

economy."

"Then, pointing out that Missouri and Texas not only do not have fair trade laws but do have antitrust laws that positively forbid price fixing (Vermont is a third State which has kept free of fair trade laws) the Journal said:

"'We hope that Missouri and Texas will keep their up their good work. We trust that other States will learn from their example.

"That is our hope also."

STAR-TIMES REPRINT MAY 11, 1951: THE PRICE-FIXING BILL AGAIN

"Every session of the Missouri Legislature receives a bill which would permit the manufacturers of brand name products to fix and thereby increase the retail prices. The only difference this year is a high pressure sales campaign to stir up a flood of letters and telegrams to the legislature.

"Speakers have been sent around the State ostensibly to talk on the disarming subject of attracting industries. Along with all the well-known methods of attracting industres they urge suport for the price-

fixing plan.

The sponsors of this privilege believe in the magic of an appealing name. Here and in other States they have always referred to their bill as the fair trade bill.

"According to the St. Louis Consumers Federation, the bill would increase the average Missouri retail price of branded products by at least 12 percent. It is easy to make a fairly accurate comparison of present Missouri prices with prices in States that have the fair trade law.

"Through their national organization set up for the purpose the American manufacturers are asking the elected representatives of Missouri people to slap them with a big increase in the cost of living, an increase many times as great as the present Missouri sales tax.

"The big push is concentrated on drug lines and liquor where competition has been most effective in slashing prices. Missourians who like to shop for prices in highly competitive lines frequently make savings far beyond 12 percent. Most people think of bargain hunting as a perfectly proper part of the system of free competition.

"In order to permit general price increases in Missouri the legislature would have to amend the State's antitrust law. It would have to specify in the law that the competitive system no longer applies in the case of

branded products. "In other years the legislature has been skeptical of the plan to increase the cost of living in Missouri. We doubt that it will yield to the highly organized and heavily financed pressure campaign of this year. But the Missouri public, the people who buy across the counter, had better be on guard.

The St. Louis Star-Times, April 19, 1951: "RETAIL LIQUOR PRICES 16 PERCENT HIGHER IN PAIR TRADE ILLINOIS THAN IN FREE MARKET

"Thirty-five brand-name products in fifth size cost \$161.92 across river and \$139.67 in St. Louis, Star-Times survey shows.'

The St. Louis Star-Times, May 19, 1951: "THE DREAM HAS FADED

"Small retailers were sold on fair trade back in the 1930's on the theory that it would protect them against their big competitors, especially the chain stores. The reasoning seemed simple: If everything sold for the same price everywhere, the big store or chain, notwithstanding its large buying power, would have no advantage; it could not shave prices to get customers.

"But has this price-fixing by law actually protected the small retailer? There are reasons to doubt it.

"Druggists are among the strongest backers of fair trade. They sell many more pricefixed items than other retailers.

"Of late, supermarkets have begun to sell drug items, because the high profit margin required by fair trade makes them an attractive line. Druggists are greatly concerned.

"The same thing happened in England, which has had price-fixing longer than this country. The secretary of the British National Pharmaceutical Union told about it in a letter to the American Journal, Drug Trade News, a part of which is quoted below:

'In our country all proprietary medicine vendors have to be licensed, and we woke up to the fact that the number of these vendors was increasing at the rate of 8,000 to 9,000 a year. \* \* \* Owing to the price-maintenance movement \* \* \* the prices of proprietary medicines are maintained, and the 20 to 30 percent profit which those articles yield has proved a tremendous temptation to other shopkeepers to invade the proprietary medicine business. Hence you will see that the success of our own war to prevent price cutting without our own ranks has produced an army of competitors in our own busi-

"In one other important respect price-fixing has failed to help the little merchant in competition with the big merchant.

"With price-fixing, to be sure, a brand of aspirin which we shall call Super Strong, and a toaster which we shall call Little Wonder, must sell at the same price every place.

"But the big stores found this no great handicap. They simply put up their own aspirin under their own brand. Macy's in New York now sells about 1,500 drug items under its private brand, at prices generally below those charged for fair-traded articles. Similar stores elsewhere, including Omaha, are following suit. The same thing has happened with the Little Wonder toaster. Large retail chains simply went to the Little Wonder Co. and ordered thousands or tens of thousands of the toasters with the retail stores' brand names on them. They sell the same toaster, made by the same manufacturer, at a price lower than the one that the small merchant is legally permitted to charge.

"Thus the small retailer has found that his lovely dream of a noncompetitive Utopia has faded. By tying his hands, while leaving the big stores relatively free, it may in time put him in a hopeless competitive situation.

The Washington Daily News, February 25,

"FAIR TRADE IS PUBLIC'S LOSS

"An economist warned Congress today that reviewing the so-called fair trade law would cost the consuming public as much as 10 to 12 percent sales tax.

"Dr. Joseph M. Klamon, professor of marketing at Washington University in St. Louis, made the statement in testimony prepared for delivery before the House Monopoly

Subcommittee.

"Also called to testify before the subcommittee was Q. Forrest Walker, an executive of Macy's, the big New York department store which set off a spectacular price war last year on branded merchandise which had long sold at fair-traded—or fixed prices.

"Two House subcommittees are studying bills to restore the fair trade laws. would permit a manufacturer and any one retailer to fix minimum resale prices on the manufacturer's name brand product and make it binding on all other retailers in the State.

"A Supreme Court decision last year in effect scuttled the fair trade laws, on the books of 45 States. Pending bills would

overturn the Court decision.

Fair trade supporters claim they need the price-fixing provisions to protect small, independent merchants from predatory price slashed by big chains and department stores.

"But Dr. Klamon asserted that the pending legislation would 'destroy our antitrust laws' and 'would seriously affect the living standards of a large portion of our popula-

"He said that the fair trade laws during the years they were in operation 'cost the consuming public many billions in higher fixed prices on branded goods.

'Legislation of this sort is the equivalent of a 10 to 12 percent sales tax collected by retailers and manufacturers of branded

goods, for themselves,' he said.

'Federal agencies charged with enforcing antitrust laws also have testified that the fair trade laws would open the door to pricefixing conspiracles now prohibited under antitrust statutes."

St. Louis Globe-Democrat, February 26.

"WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR RAPS FAIR TRADE AT HEARING

"Washington

"Prof. Joseph M. Klamon, of Washington University, St. Louis, in testimony here today opposed fair trade laws, testimating that they cost the public \$2 billion a year in higher prices.

"He said goods sold in a free market averaged 10 to 12 percent less than the same brands sold under retail prices fixed by the manufacturer, which are permitted under

fair trade laws.

"Klamon who is a professor of marketing in the school of business at Washington University, appeared as a witness before a subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee holding hearings on four bills to strengthen a Federal Fair Trade Act. One bill, by Representative Thomas Curtis, of St. Louis, before the committee, would wipe out the act.

"Heated exchange

"So forcefully did Klamon present his arguments against fair trade laws that there was a heated interchange between Klamon and Representative Rogers (Democrat). Colorado, over political pressure the pro-fessor claimed was brought on the 45 State legislatures which have passed State fair trade laws. Rocers is a former member of the Colorado Legislature. Klamon maintained that State legislators knew what was going on but were powerless to resist the pressure from proponents of fair trade leg-

"When Rocens pressed him as to what he would do if 'he lived by the ballot' Klamon retorted that there were some things that made the price of elective public office too high and one of the fair trade bills before the committee was one of them.

"St. Louis cited

"'You cannot repeal the law of supply and demand,' Klamon said. "The best thing

you can do is to keep your hands off the

free economic system.'
"He begged the Congressmen to look beyond those who are flooding you with mail demanding laws to strengthen fair trade through Federal legislation, and look at the 160 million consumers who cannot come be-

fore Congress to plead the public interest.
"Klamon cited St. Louis, in a non-fair-trade State, as having the lowest prices on

shoes, drugs, toiletries and liquor.

"Before a Supreme Court decision last year, retailers in fair-trade States were bound to sell brand-named or trademarked articles at retail prices fixed by the manufacturer. This applied to retailers whether they signed a contract or not, providing that in their State another retailer signed an agreement for a fair-trade price of the same

"Price raising

"Last year the Supreme Court ruled that those who did not sign could not be forced to sell at the fixed price because someone else in the State did sign an agreement.

"Q. Forrest Walker, economist of R. H. Macy & Co., Inc., of New York, one of the firms involved in a price war which flared after the Supreme Court decision, also testi-

"Walker said the effect of fair-trade legislation was to 'hogtie competition at the retalling level'; that 'price fixing always results in price raising' and that 'arguments that price fixing is necessary to protect small businessmen are not substantlated by facts.

"Missouri, Texas, and Vermont are the only three States that do not have fair trade laws. Committee Chairman CELLER (Democrat, New York) said that his subcommittee hopes to end the hearings Wednesday and report on fair-trade bills in about 10 days."

# Representative John M. Slack, Jr., Analyzes the West Virginia Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

### HON. KEN HECHLER

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. HECHLER. Mr. Speaker, last Friday evening the Kanawha County Young Democratic Club held a summer rally at St. Albans, W. Va., at which the main address was delivered by my colleague, the Honorable John M. Slack, Jr.

I was present at this rally, Mr. Speaker, and I had an opportunity to observe firsthand the respect and affection which the voters of West Virginia hold for Representative SLACK. As I said at the rally, there are few freshmen Members of the House who have done as much in a short time. Representative SLACK has pioneered in analyzing the problem of "gone" employment in certain areas of the country. He has done an outstanding job in evolving new approaches to this problem through community enterprise. He has gained high prestige among his fellow Members of the House for his grasp and understanding of key issues.

I believe that Representative SLACK's address of June 26 represents a deep, perceptive, and statesmanlike approach to some of the major economic issues of today. His address is a credit to West Virginia and the Nation. Under unanimous consent, I include it in the RECORD at this point:

Address By Representative John M. Slack, Jr., Democrat, of West Virginia, at Sum-MER RALLY OF KANAWHA COUNTY DEMO-CRATIC CLUB, ST. ALBANS, JUNE 26, 1959

We Democrats have always taken our politics seriously. And so we should. The bigger our Nation grows, in population and resources, the more we will need seriousminded men and women to administer our public affairs. In my judgment there was never a time in West Virginia when our politics should be taken more seriously.

Most of us are convinced that the prosects for the Democratic Party are good in 1960. We have reason to believe that we will win the support of a majority of the voters. and will again return to the administration of our State's public affairs. I have not come to visit with you this evening for the purpose of opening the 1960 political campaign a year in advance. What I would like to do here is to place before you some conclusions I have reached about trends in our State, economic and political, and as seriousminded Democrats, to ask you to think carefully about them during the coming months.

First of all, let us recognize the fact that the Democratic Party is the majority party in West Virginia. It has a strong registered majority. Most State elective offices, and majority. Most State elective offices, and seven of the eight Federal elective offices are held by Democrats. In the last statewide election we won a resounding victory, including the election of a heavy majority of our candidates to the State legislature.

We have earned the majority status in the years since 1932, because each year an increasing number of voters became convinced that our party programs came nearer to meeting the needs of the people. But—with that majority there is included a very heavy responsibility. We must continue to devise programs that are in tune with the needs of the State and the will of the majority or we will fail in our trust, and be swept from

Looking about us today, what is the major

need facing our State?

I don't think there can be any argument about it. Our one big problem today is an economic one, the need to take steps which will correct the negative position of West Virginia in relation to the expansion of American economy as a whole.

What is the will of the majority? Again. I think our economic problem outweighs other considerations in the minds of most of our citizens, and they will rally around the party and the candidates who give most convincing evidence of a sound program to

attack this problem.

We have many other needs, roads, schools, public institutions, to name a few, but all States have those needs to a greater or lesser extent. Our one great need is for a turnabout in the State's economic cycle, because if that is achieved, it will be much easier to obtain the public facilities we would like to enjoy.

Now I ask you to look at the situation through the eyes of a typical voter, not committed to either party. What can he do about the situation in 1960?

He can do one of three things, in view

of the majority position of the Democratic Party: First, he can help support and elect a State government consisting of a Republican Governor and a Democratic legislature.

Second, he can elect a Democratic Governor and a Democratic legislature with a program of promises which will appear to provide betterment for the State, but which actually serve only as a means of spending tax money, and improving the political fortunes of those elected.

Third, he can elect a Democratic Governor and a Democratio legislature, pledged in advance to a program which will come to grips with our basic economic problems on a short-range and long-range basis combined. Such a program must inevitably require that the Democratic Party be retained in office over a period of 8 or 12 Years.

In the first instance, the new State administration will be ineffective. It will be a continuation of what exists today in the State capitol. The clash of partisan politics and aims will forbid organized progress, and the big State problem will receive only partisan attention.

In the second instance, there will be some progress, but not enough, because a West Virginia Governor cannot succeed himself. Influential elements often begin to groom another gubernatorial candidate the day after a Governor is elected. As a result, a Governor is always conscious of what he can do and can receive credit for in only 4 Years.

In the third instance, there is a real opportunity for impressive statewide progress, and for the Democratic majority in this State to demonstrate its responsibility and

Willingness to provide leadership.

Let me say that I am not here this evening to criticize the program of the present Republican Governor or to debate whether or not he might have done more if the legislature had agreed with him. We all know that he was elected with the help of Democratic voters who had lost confidence in some candidates and had doubts about the path the party leadership was taking.

Under the present State administration, suffice it to say that the routine affairs of our State have moved along in a routine fashion, but too little has been accomplished in the major area of need, the relationship between the economic condition of West Virginia and the general economic progress of the nation as a whole. This issue will, I am sure, be debated in great detail during the 1960 campaign, and it is not necessary to discuss it here.

What we must begin to think about and to discuss is the big economic problem. The solution of this problem is the very center of any hope for State betterment, and gives evidence of being the one big issue of the 1900 political campaign. Now, how do we know that this problem will dominate the campaign? I suggest two big reasons:

First, the Governor elected in 1960 will face a very distasteful fact. The 1930 census will almost certainly find that our State has suffered a population loss of some 200,000 persons—a decline in the face of national population growth. This loss will reflect the migration of young people to areas of greater job opportunity, and can lead to a very serious condition for the State if it is not reversed.

Second, the State will still have in 1960 Some 50,000 unemployed-employables—men who want to work, but whose job sources wand want to work, but whose job sources have vanished. They are with us today and will be with us next year. They are the unwilling victims of scientific progress in industry. They reside chiefly in the coal counties where mechanization is replacing the the miner, even while coal production is high. At present there is no sound longrange program to recreate job opportunity them, or to hold out hope for their children. All of the evidence to date indicates that no matter how prosperous our national economy may be by 1930, that level of prosperity will offer little or nothing to those who reside in the one-industry areas where technological advance is displacing men with machines every day.

Further, the administration elected in 1960 must work against a rigid deadline—and the deadline is June 20, 1963. That is the date of the probable opening of the State centennial celebration, and during the remainder of that year the Governor and his

aides must use every means to focus national attention on the State. That is the chief purpose of the celebration, to mark our milestones of past history and to tell the world where we intend to go during our second century, and how we expect to get there. At that time there will be millions of Americans who will read about us, and we hope that thousands will visit with us, and we must have for them a program in being, we must have tangible evidence that we have come to grips with our major problem and that our State is united in a determined effort to gain its proper place in the national economic picture—that our morale is high, our confidence unshakable, and our determination strong.

mination strong.

The technological unemployment in our coal counties affects all of us, because it increases the tax burden on all who work, and limits the services we can obtain through State government for ourselves and our children. It did not arise overnight. It has been gradually assuming alarming proportions ever since 1947. It is an economic illness that cannot be cured overnight. But it will never be cured unless we begin to work on it. We must assume that a 10-year program will be required if we expect to show a definite about-face in the economic situation of the State.

During the 10 years between 1949 and 1959 we did nothing to arrest the creeping sickness in our economic position which arose out of technological advance in the mining industry. I suggest that during the 10 years between 1959 and 1969 we apply ourselves to a program of cure, sacrificing some other things to that program, so that the census of 1970 will show that West Virginia holds her own and attracts others.

Have you ever stopped to think what will happen if the census of 1970 shows that another 200,000 people have left the State? We have almost 300,000 receiving surplus food commodities today, and that is certainly no incentive for them to stay. We cannot afford to lose another 200,000 of our educated young people and our skilled and determined older workers.

During the past 5 or 6 years there has been a great deal of public attention devoted to the hardship resulting from unemployment in the coal counties. There have been a lot of stories about a depression in West Virginia in the midst of plenty everywhere else. This has begun to create a defeatist complex among our own people, and uneasiness among outside investors and employers.

All of this talk about a one-State depression is false, foolish, and dangerous.

It is false because technological advance is striking seriously today at the employment of seven major industries, not just mining. Its effects on employment are noticable in 210 counties in America, not just 2 dozen mining counties in West Virginia.

It is false because our general economic condition, aside from the depressed mining counties, is good. We have growing job opportunities in the river valleys, and industry generally is showing more appreciation every day for our natural resources, climate, and location.

It is false because our State's credit is unimpaired and our State fiscal affairs are in much sounder condition than those of a dozen larger States—Michigan, Pennsylvania, New York, and California to name a few.

It is foolish because it paints the wrong picture of our total condition and our future prospects, and thereby discourages many investors who would otherwise join with us to provide further economic development.

It is dangerous because it adds to defeatism and eats away at our morale. One of the best ways to lose any contest is to tell yourself you are licked before you start.

I am opposed to all depression talk. I say that we must take a realistic look at our con-

dition, and concentrate on our points of weakness, while encouraging and praising at every opportunity those aspects of our economy which are moving ahead with the national trends.

I mention this matter because it leads to something else—the question of the economic redevelopment program to be adopted. I know that many of our fellow citizens have given much thought to our situation, but to date no overall program has been established. I believe that any successful program cannot consist of a single pattern adopted on a statewide basis. We must have a program containing three separate and distinct patterns, each based on the particular advantages of three separate portions of the State:

First. A pattern of encouragement for heavy industry in the river valleys where cheap water transportation and abundant

power are advantageous.

Second. A pattern concentrating on procurement of sensitive Government-sponsored industry, or experiment and testing stations, in the mountain-locked coal counties where such installations are defensible to the maximum extent and can be given full security treatment.

Third. A pattern encouraging development of vacation and recreation facilities in the 20 counties facing the East where excellent climate and attractive mountain terrain can prove a great attraction to tourists. The swarming millions residing in the Eastern States have no place to go any more. Vacation and travel expenditures are now reported to constitute the second largest industry on a national basis. With the growth of leisure time, the coming of a shorter workweek, and the displacement of more manhours by automation in industry, tourism may well be the No. 1 industry in a few years. We are ideally situated to profit from this trend.

A unified and integrated State program based on these three patterns, in my judgment, offers the best hope for a complete reversal of our economic position within the next 10 years.

But remember, the State administration we elect in 1960 must work against a centennial deadline—against the spotlight of national attention which will be on us, noting what we are doing and how well we are doing it. The centennial Governor and his official family, and the legislature, therefore, must have this program split into two parts—the short-range objectives which can be accomplished before 1963, and the long-range objectives which must be underway and showing signs of initial success when viewed by our thousands of visitors.

What does all of this add up to? To my mind, only one conclusion is possible:

The next State administration must be a Democratic administration.

The centennial Governor must be a Democrat.

Only an administration representing the will of the majority party can hope to accomplish the things that must be done in the limited time available to us.

And we must elect him. We must adopt principles which will merit overwhelming public support and public confidence. We must choose wisely when we select candidates. And by that I mean candidates at the local level also. Our standard-bearers in city and county must be leaders who will add to the strength of our statewide effort, not shirt tail riders who will hold back the State's progress. Because much of what is to be undertaken will need strong efforts at the local level also, and that means local public officials must represent the best local

thinking and planning.

I am not suggesting here that we should sit on our hands and close our minds until 1960. Far from it. We who represent the State in Washington will keep our attention concentrated on the big economic prob-

lem, I assure you, and will turn our hands to any practical effort to help solve it. Thoughout this session of Congress our two Senators and the Democratic Representatives in the House have demonstrated a teamwork that is the envy of many other delegations. We will continue to press for measures that will bolster the economic foundation of the State—for area redevelopment, aid for small business, public works improvements, coal research, additional sur-plus commodities, funds for forest management and elimination of stream pollution, and many similar programs. I have strong hopes for the success of the community enterprise bill which will give funds and encouragement to the depressed coal communities and stimulate redevelopment at the local level.

But there is a limit to the things that can be done through the Congress and at the Federal level. In fact, there is a limit beyond which we would not want the Federal Government to go. Most of our prospects for the future must depend upon our own skill and energy at the State level, un-der the direction of a State administration that is committed to concentrate its major attentions on tools and devices which will deal with the big economic problem that faces us.

All of us must get our thinking caps on, and set to the job of creating a program shaped to fit the big problem that faces the State The people will support the party and the candidates who offer the most congestions to offer about solutions to that problem. We are the majority party. Ours is the major responsibility. It is up to us to offer a program that meets the need, and to convince the people that we will put that program into operation.

When we have the program, it will be time to review the possible candidates. We must choose men to fit the measure of the public needs, not a program which is compromised to fit the quality of the candi-

I am sure all of you have heard the names of many candidates mentioned already, as I have. During recent weeks I have heard or read of a dozen Democrats who are reported to be interested in becoming candidates for the governorship. Each of these men has good points.

I am not attempting to define who the candidate should be. I am rather attempting to create a picture of the job ahead of us, so that the dimensions of the job will give us an image of the man we need to lead the party in 1960 and the State in the 4 years to follow.

I have two suggestions to offer for the

consideration of all Democrats:

First, that we deliberately dedicate ourselves to the formulation of a program which will merit the continuous support of the electorate in this State for sufficient time to create and entrench a 10-year plan for economic redevelopment, a plan which will reverse our present negative position in relation to the national economy. Obvi-ously, this means we must win not just in 1960, but in three consecutive statewide but in three consecutive statewide elections.

This is a big order indeed. It means our leadership must consist of men who are above reproach. It means that we must convince a heavy majority of the electorate that we are undertaking the job in the public interest. It means we must have a moratorium on the sectionalism, factionalism and the bowing and scraping before special pressure

We must not lack the courage to make significant proposals toward solution of the State's one big problem, or we may well lose public confidence again after 4 years. But an action program devised to grapple with the problem will draw wide and sweeping

support. It must-because it is to the advantage of everyone-the workingman, the merchant, the banker, the union leader, the public official, all of us must gain by remov-ing more than 200,000 fellow West Virginians from the relief rolls.

My second suggestion is that our party leadership signify an understanding of the situation we face, and take first steps toward consideration of it. A seminar study session of those who hold responsible Demo-cratic Party positions and of those Democrats in major public office would be one way to begin. Let us pool our thinking and see where we stand. As a lifelong Democrat I assure you that I will always be available to meet with my fellow Democrats in consideration of what lies ahead.

The strength of the Democratic Party has always been at the grass roots, and, therefore, I urge you to give careful thought to the situation we face, and to make your views known to fellow Democrats. We can profit most from a full exchange of ideas. Your ideas and your support are both necessary to our success in 1960.

Poison in Your Water-No. 134

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I am inserting into the Appendix of the Congres-SIONAL RECORD an article appearing in the Camden (Ark.) News of October 2, 1958, entitled "Shelton Says Camden Ideal Location for Factories, Sewers Are Drawback":

SHELTON SAYS CAMDEN IDEAL LOCATION FOR FACTORIES, SEWERS ARE DRAWBACK

'Our city seems to have everything to make it ideal for industrial factories. only drawback I can think of is our sewer system which may be the reason none have chose to locate here recently," Bill Shelton, chamber of commerce manager said last night.

Industries seeking locations for their plants look for water, good labor, good trans-portation facilities, electrical power and a good clean community for their employees. Camden with its Ouachita River, three railroads, five highways, good climate, adequate electrical power, plenty of labor and located in a good central section of the Nation seems to be ideal. The drawback could be the sewer, Shelton said.

He spoke during a panel discussion Wednesday night at the Whiteside School before a crowd of 102. The discussions are being held all over the city in an effort to inform the public of the need for sewer improvements. The next meeting will be held Friday at 7:30 p.m., at the Carpenters Union Hall.

In backing up his statement, he cited an example of why one industry decided against building a large plant here back in 1955. He quoted the reason given by the corporation in a statement turning down Camden. "Much of Camden's sewage is dumped raw and untreated into the Oua-chita River" was among the reasons given on the statement.

Shelton told the group that Camden has the best industrial prospect now that it has had for several years. "Four large industries are considering Camden as a pos-

sible location for one of their factories," he said. They have already made preliminary investigations but as yet don't know about our inadequate sewers, he said. "I'm hoping after the election on Tuesday, October 14 I can tell them we will have it as soon as it can be constructed," he said.

Shelton said he leaves Thursday for New York where he will meet with one of the in-dustrialists for a conference on Friday morn-

ing. "It looks like a good one," he said.
Other speakers on the panel Wednesday
night were; Dr. Jim Hawley Floyd Byrd,
and W. A. Geddie. They spoke following 3 talk by Mayor James Rowan who gave the background of the proposed project.

He said 5,000 families are being asked to pay \$2 per month to finance the project which will be paid off over a period of 30 years. One dollar and fifty cents would be used for constructing the system while 50 cents will be used to maintain it. The mayor predicted that the city could probably pay off the sewer bonds in 15 to 20 years, as in the case of the municipal water bonds. bonds.

He mentioned that the system is designed to serve a population of 30,000 people. The present population is 17,000 which would allow for an increase over the years.

Dr. Hawley spoke on the need of adequate sewers to combat diseases caused by open sewers. He showed a map pinpointing Camden's 33 paralytic pollo cases during the past 8 years. Only one was in areas served by sewers. He named over about eight other diseases caused by open sewers.

The audience applauded a remark by one of those attending that "It would be worth my \$2 a month simply to rid the city of polio and other diseases, disregarding the system

Leaders said this was the best attended meeting held so far with 102 attending.

THATCHER BACKS NEW SEWER PROJECT

H. K. Thatcher, executive vice president of the Ouachita River Valley Association, has been working for the proposed sewer system project in Camden. He has sent the following letter to the editor of the Camden News:

'DEAR AL: I know of your interest in Camden and this prompts me to encourage you and your paper to even greater efforts in securing the passage of the sewer bond issue to be voted on November 14.

"My special interest is in protecting the Ouachita River and making its waters safe and serviceable for recreational, domestic, and industrial use.

"Camden dumps its raw and untreated sewage into the Ouachita River-some of it within the city limits. This is admittedly bad and the Arkansas Water Pollution Control Commission has issued a cease and desist order against us.

"Desirable as it may be to keep the Ouachita River at Camden and below free from filth and disease-bearing material, that in my opinion is not the main objective. The point is that in the very act of keeping the river clean and wholesome the city rid itself of the stigma of outdoor toilets. open running sewers, and inefficient septic tanks. This must be done if Camden is to be made into a desirable place to live and rear children.

"Camden has many economic advantages to offer industries, including an abundance of water and low cost barge transportation. but large industries have been reluctant to move their people from communities that do have sanitary sewage disposal systems into one such as Camden which does not presently have such devices.

"The one way before us now to correct our difficulty is to vote favorably on the upcoming sewage bond issue.

"Very sincerely yours,

"H. K. Thatcher,

"Executive Vice President."

An Appreciation of the Service of the Honorable Christian A. Herter, Secretary of State

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS. Mr. Speaker, I am sure that no one who listened to or saw our Secretary of State, Christian A. Herter, on the radio and television when he made his report about the futile Geneva conference could fail to be impressed with the man's sincerity, his ability, and his incisive vision. The ability, and his incisive vision. The record clearly shows by the thoughts expressed on the editorial pages of the press all over the country as well as the spoken statements of our prominent citizens that our Secretary of State represented the people of the United States and indeed all the freedom-loving people of the world in his firm and unequivocal attitude toward the frustrating policies of the Soviet Union. In these days of the atomic age which cause uncertainty and unrest among peace-loving peoples, the knowledge that a man of Mr. Herter's caliber and character is at the head of our Department of State is a Breat assurance to our peace of mind. I rejoice with Americans in his determined stand to support our friends in West Germany and in the pledge that the United States will not go back on its obligations or foresake the brave people in West Berlin. That firm decision is a statement of fact which will be sup-ported to the end by those men and women who love democracy and peace and good will on earth. I am pleased to include in my remarks an excellent editorial appearing in the Asbury Park Evening Press, Asbury Park, N.J., on Thursday, June 25, entitled "Herter Sees the Real Issue." I believe it clearly expresses the feelings of the people of America.

### HERTER SEES THE REAL ISSUE

Those who are familiar with the precepts of Karl Marx will understand Secretary of State Herter's contention that the Soviet Boal at Geneva was domination of all Germany. For Lenin, Stalin, and Khrushchev have closely adhered to the Marxian doctrine looking toward world conquest. On occasion expedience diverted each of the Soviet dictators from this goal, but they never completely abundoned it and when circumstances appeared favorable they pressed toward it.

The present is such an occasion. Soviet success with rocketry, dramatized by spectacular publicity, has emboldened Khrushchev to deliver what amounts to an ultimatum. to deliver what amounts to an ultimate the proclaims the violation of existing agreements by permitting the East German puppet region of through its terpet regime to close all roads through its ter-ritory leading to West Berlin. Such an eventuality of the force eventuality would be tantamount to forcing West Berlin into the Communist sphere.

but as Mr. Herter has observed, this is far from the ultimate Soviet objective. For should it succeed in the diplomatic conquest of West Berlin, Moscow would continue its westward expansion through all West Germany. And this accomplished, it would have all Western Europe within its grasp.

Mr. Herter's report on the first stage of the Geneva conference should strengthen our determination to make no concessions that would open the door to further Communist expansion. We have offered reasonable compromises only to hear Gromyko summarily reject them. In return he has offered no basis for negotiation. In fact, his every pro-posal is wrapped in the language of an ultimatum that implies complete surrender should we accept it.

The stakes at Geneva are far greater than West Berlin or, for that matter, all Germany. For the Soviet Union has made it plain that it is not satisfied with the tremendous expansion of its domain produced by more than 10 years of military and diplomatic ruthlessness. It is still obsessed with the Marxian dream of a Communist world. Should we permit it to take the relatively short stride into West Berlin we would but encourage it to increase its pace and attempt the longer step across Western Europe. Resisting this march of conquest may carry us to the brink of war and even to war itself. Fallure to halt it now would definitely precipitate the holo-caust that historians, if any survive, would call world war III.

### Brig. Gen. Sanford H. Wadhams

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, Brig. Gen. Sanford H. Wadhams died June 14. 1959, thus ending a long and brilliant career of service to his community, his State, and his country.

His Federal career included service in the U.S. Medical Corps during the Spanish-American War, in Panama during the building of the Canal, in Puerto Rico, in the Philippines, and in the Hawaiian Islands.

He served as inspector-instructor to the New York State National Guard in 1914, and later as military observer and attaché of the American Embassy in Paris.

His service to the State of Connecticut was brilliant and constructive. His particular interest was in the State water commission, and in the field of sanitation and the preservation of water resources he made contributions which will make the people of the State his debtors for many decades to come.

No better summing up of General Wadhams' career and personality has been made than the editorial from the Torrington (Conn.) Register which I append herewith:

#### GENERAL WADHAMS

It is not really accurate to call Sanford H. Wadhams a gentleman of the old school. Up until the very end-he was not only interested in but also active in the modern world. Notably, when it came to the matters that occupied him during the later years, such as flood control, water resources, or water power, his touch was as modern as that of men half a century his junior. So in many ways he was a gentleman of the modern school. Yet he was an exemplar of the old Yankee virtues. It is also true that in his quiet manner, his almost old world courtesy set off by a ready smile and a friendly sparkle in the eyes, General Wadhams represented a generation whose like is not often encountered

He had a zest and vigor and interest in the world about him that kept him going at virtually full strength until his death at four score and five. Right up through this last winter, on a snowy night that might serve as an excuse for younger men to stay home, he would think nothing of driving all by himself from Torrington to Hartford and back, just to visit with his friends in the Twilight Club or wherever else something of interest was going on Similarly if a matter of business in his field of interest came up, no effort was too great for

So modest was this member of Yale's class of 1894, this veteran of the Spanish-American War, that it was difficult to find the facts of his varied career, which included among other things graduating from medical school and rising in the Army Medical Corps to the rank of brigadier general. Small of Stature, slight of build, quiet, yet full of fire down underneath, here was a man who lived a full and useful life and lived it gracefully

Disaster Scene Slogan: To Wit "Don't Hamper Relief-Just To Watch Others' Grief" Is Adopted by Kiwanis International Division of California, Hawaii. and Nevada Clubs-Idea Originated by Compton Kiwanis Club

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. CLYDE DOYLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 24, 1959

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do, I am pleased to extend to your attention, and that of all the other distinguished Members of this legislative body, the following information about what appears clearly to be a very significant and valuable program initiated by the Compton (Los Angeles County), Calif., Kiwanis Club through the informed and diligent efforts of Dr. Harold William Wood, of Compton, Calif., and his club member associates on the Agriculture and Conservation Committee of the Compton Kiwanis

I herewith submit text of letter to me dated November 28, 1958, from Dr. Wood, which will further explain the very evident appropriateness of this splendid club objective, together with the press release on said club program.

The award as the winning author of the disaster scene slogan was Mr. William E. Allison, 1104 Palms Boulevard, Venice, Los Angeles County, Calif. There were 16 Kiwanis Clubs of that area represented and the award was made at the Kiwanis International, California, Hawaii, and Nevada district banquet, with the lieutenant governor of the Kiwanis district officiating on May 5, 1959.

Dr. Wood and the Kiwanis Club of Compton, Calif., located in the great 23d District which I represent in this my 13th year in this great legislative body, is naturally expectant that the very cordial response which the Compton club has had to this worthy project over a large geographical area will lead to other communities emphasizing the impera-tive need of preparation against disaster being greatly emphasized through the adoption of some such community emphasis as was initiated in Compton by the Compton Kiwanis Club members.

Mr. Speaker, I am sure all the Members of this great legislative body will join me in congratulating my fellowcitizens of Compton, Calif., in this splendid and significant achievement as did the club congratulate William E. Allison on submitting the winning slogan.

I might say that neighbor Allison communicated to me as follows:

I trust that in some small way, I may have contributed to a worthwhile effort to alleviate a vital problem which confronts us today.

KIWANIS CLUB OF COMPTON, Compton, Calif., November 28, 1958. Hon. CLYDE DOYLE,

U.S. Congressman, South Gate, Calif.

DEAR MR. DOYLE: Several months ago members of the Agriculture & Conservation Committee of the Compton Kiwanis Club started a campaign in an effort to make the general public aware of the danger involved in rushing to scenes of disaster. We feel an appropriate slogan would help to educate these citizens and consequently, we offered a \$25.00 savings bond for the slogan selected by our group.

We have had some publicity on our efforts but we feel this has not been extensive enough and we aspire to get the idea across

Nationwide.

The enclosed letter will give you an idea of the acceptance we have had in some areas, but we hope the idea will catch on on a much larger scale.

In our own areas we have seen needless property damage, suffering of disaster victims, panic and even death—simply because curious sightseers hampered the rescue workers. We are certain you know of such hap-

penings in your area.

We will appreciate anything you may do to help us in combating this mass psychology. Let's educate! "Satan's scheme is a crowded disaster scene."

Please send all suggested slogans to me at the address appearing at the caption of this

Sincerely,

Dr. HAROLD WM. WOOD.

COMPTON KIWANIS SPONSOR PUBLIC SAFETY CONTEST

The Compton Kiwanis Club is offering a \$25 savings bond to the individual who submits the most appropriate slogan emphasizing the great necessity for the general public to avoid the scene of a disaster.

Upon three occasions in recent months, the work of police, firemen and rescue crews have been hampered and delayed by the curious who rushed to the scene of the disaster. The Norwalk plane crash, the Olive Street bridge fire and the Signal Hill oil refinery fire were catastrophes that drew the curious by the hundreds. As a result, ambulances, firefighting equipment and police experienced long delays and much difficulty in arriving at the scene with help and assist-

Charles Sorrell and Harold Wood, members of the Kiwanis conservation committee, feel that people can best help and protect themselves as well as others by staying away from the place of disaster.

All entries are to be mailed to Dr. Harold W. Wood, 220 E. Olive Street, Compton, Calif.

Tribute to William R. Connole, Vice Chairman of the Federal Power Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, in the June 19 issue, Petroleum Week singles out Mr. Wilbur D. Mills, our distinguished colleague from Arkansas; Raymond J. Saulnier, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers; Leo A. Hoegh, Director of the Office of the Civil and Defense Mobilization; and William R. Connole, Vice Chairman of the Federal Power Commission; as four Government officials holding the keys to depletion, gas regulation, oil prices,

I think it is particularly interesting to note the tribute paid to the young Vice Chairman of the Federal Power Commission, a constituent of the First Connecticut District, Mr. William R. Connole of West Hartford, and under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include that portion of the article giving recognition to his efforts in natural gas matters:

William R. Connole, Vice Chairman of the Federal Power Commission, is becoming increasingly influential in natural gas matters.

While some FPC members have dragged their feet on producer regulation since the U.S. Supreme Court's Phillips gas decision in 1954, Connole since his appointment in 1955 has striven for an early and workable method of determining producer gas prices.

Because he insists that production costs are a vital factor in rate determination, and because he is FPC's strongest adherent of regulation, Connole has become something of an enemy in the view of many gas producers.

But he has the respect of those who disagree with his views. "He is smart, he works hard, and he does his homework," says one Washington gas industry representative. "When he takes a stand on a case, you can argue his theory but seldom his knowledge of the case."

Connole took a middle-of-the-road position on such natural gas bills as the Harris-O'Hara legislation. He did not believe the bills would accomplish their announced goals.

"No system of rate-making which com-pletely eliminates costs and concentrates only on demand will ever succeed," Connole says.

He believes FPC must consider costs in producer regulation, but not follow a course of slavish adherence to the eminent domain concept or so-called public utility control.

Looking at FPC's problems, Connole sees initial gas prices in contracts in south Louisiana as the most important shortrange difficulty. He wants FPC to start now to investigate producer rates, which rose from an average of 8 cents to 21 cents per thousand cubic feet in 4 years. Connole says he doesn't know whether the prices are too high-or even too low-but he thinks a strong look is necessary.

FPC's major long-range problem is gas pipeline certification, Connole believes. "There is only so much coke in the bottle," he says. "The problem is—how many straws can fit?"

Connole is pressing for formation of a national energy policy—covering fuels and

"It is the responsibility of the Government and industry to determine if we are getting the greatest possible use from our natural resources," he says. He feels that the need for a national policy is becoming increasingly evident-a policy which would not be aimed at helping or protecting a particular fuel such as coal or natural gas—but at the proper role for each.

Connole's present term on FPC expires next June, and he is expected to be reappointed to another 5-year term. When he was first named to the commission, in 1955. he was the youngest member of a Federal

regulatory body.

## A Nuclear Physicist Gives His Reasons for Stopping Bomb Tests Now

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, June 18, 1959

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, the following letter by Dr. Ralph E. Lapp, wellknown nuclear physicist and science writer, was published in the Washington Post and Times Herald on June 12, 1959. Dr. Lapp sets forth his considered reasons for stopping nuclear tests now. Under previous consent I am including his letter here. I commend it to the attention of my colleagues in the interest of the removal of this horrible threat to the survival of humanity:

### WHY NUCLEAR TESTS MUST CEASE

While our test cessation talks are going on at Geneva, we are witnessing in this country an increasing effort to undermine these negotiations. Military men are emphasizing the need for more sophisticated nuclear weapons that can be attained through fur ther testing. Admirals testify before the Congress that missile warheads can be doubled or tripled in power if tests resume. Congressional advisers, such as Mr. Thomas Murray, plead for further tests to perfect tao tical nuclear weapons. Scientists, such as Dr. Edward Teller, urge that tests be continued in order to develop really clean nuclear weapons. All forces combine to warn that you can't trust the second trust that you can't trust the second trust the second trust that you can't trust the second trust trust the second trust trust the second trust trust the second trust trus that you can't trust the Russians, that they will cheat on a test ban and that a foolproof inspection system for detecting illicit tests is impossible.

I am sure that these men are sincere in believing that is it in the best interest of our Nation's security that nuclear tests be re-sumed. Were I a military man imbued with traditional concepts of national security, believe that I would champion the resump tion of tests. It is entirely proper that the case for and against test cessation be presented to the American people in full per-

As one who believes that all nuclear tests should cease I would like to summarize the reasons for my belief. The arguments in of der of importance are:

(1) The first step: The world must take the first step away from war on the road to peace. The tempo of the arms race must abate and I believe that ceasing tests on a global basis is a series of the global basis is a rational first approach. contemplation of the ultimate consequences of a runaway arms race ending in nuclear chaos should reached chaos should remind all nations of the mutual advantage in controlling nuclear arms.

(2) The nth power: France is getting ready to knock on the door of the threemember nuclear club. It will soon become the fourth nuclear power. Then there will be inevitably a fifth and a sixth member as nuclear arms spread to smaller and less responsible nations. The Soviets must be conscious of the extreme danger that this repre-

sents to the stability of world peace.

3. Warhead limitation; Present model warheads for ballistic missiles range from a yield of below 1 megaton (1 million tons of TNT equivalent) to several times the 1 megaton value. Continued testing will multiply the explosive force of these missile warheads. A technological brake can be applied to this development now. In retrospect, had the brake been used last year, the multi-megaton bomb proved out by Soviet testers

in 1953 test series would still be-unproved.
4. Defense imbalance: Further testing places more and more emphasis and reliance upon nuclear weapons in our Defense Es-tablishment. Greater dependence upon nuclear weapons creates imbalance in our defense posture and limits military response to acts of provocation.

5. U.S. nuclear lead: An unofficial count of bomb tests to date shows that the United States has tested approximately 100 more nuclear devices than its competition. In a Poker game, if you can get out with a big plie of chips it's to your advantage.

6. Fear of fallout: The global hazard from nuclear

nuclear testing is real, not imaginary as test advocates would have one believe, and poses a moral decision for the test nation. However, certain test curbs such as underground detonation and magaton test limits restrict this hazard.

I have deliberately placed item 6 at the end of the list because I believe first things come first. Getting an agreement which minimizes radiation hazards does not solve the the problem of the uncontrolled arms race. RALPH E. LAPP.

## Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under ORD, I include the following newsletter of June 27, 1959:

WASHINGTON REPORT (By Congressman BRUCE ALGER, Fifth District, Texas)

The Housing Act of 1959 came back from House-Senate conference, allegedly a compromise, represented as costing less than the administration program. A Republican committee member called this a hoax, and the facts bore this out. The facts: The Senate passed a \$3.6 billion bill, the House a \$6.1 billion (the house bill which most billion (the administration bill which most Republicans and some Democrats supported requested \$1.9 billion). Out of this came the conference compromise of \$5.2 billion, not the conference compromise of \$5.2 billion. not the \$1.4 billion cost represented by proponents of the compromise. Also objectionable were provisions for more public housing. urban renewal, and most objectionable to some of us, the deletion of the House amendment that kept Congress in constitutional supervision of the spending, permitting instead direct raids on the Treasury, bypassing Congress. Republicans joined by some emocrats could not defeat this sorry bill. It passed 241 to 177 (ALGER against). Lobbying pressures by the home builders' organization is no credit to them. The people should check who voted for and against this freespending budget-busting bill. The Texans split. As is true so often, those who sponsor debt reduction bills voted for the spending. Let's hope-the President vetoes the bill.

H.R. 3, the States rights bill, stipulates, "No act of Congress shall be construed as indicating an intent on the part of Congress to occupy the field in which such act operates, to the exclusion of all State laws on the same subject matter, unless such act contains an express provision to that effect, or unless there is a direct and positive conflict between such act and a State law so that the two cannot be reconciled or con-sistently stand together." The bill is aimed at the Supreme Court's inclination to "preempt by implication" States rights in fields of traditional State or concurrent Federal-State jurisdiction. Liberals fought the bill fiercely and were joined by some who feared the language would create more problems than it solved. I am heartly for it. It passed 225 to 192. Only one Texan voted against it. Now, the question is, will it be killed in the Senate as it was last year 41 to 40? Let's hope not.

The Ways and Means Committee is currently tinkering with the value of the dollar, which obviously will affect every citizen. Unfortunately, the technical nature of the subject results in (1) basic misunderstanding; and (2) political expediency. - At the moment, the political matter of who's to be blamed as responsible for increasing the interest rate overshadows the fact that demand for a commodity in a free economy raises its price; that interest rates, as the price for money's use, goes up in prosperous times (or deficit financing periods), a natural economic law, as gravity is a physical law. Failure to recognize or understand the facts and artificially to hold down interest rates by law will not only fail to solve the problem but will hurt the free economy and debase our currency.

The facts: (1) Money for investment is

available from two sources: (a) Savings; and (b) money creation by the Federal Reserve, an independent Government agency. While it is true that the Federal Reserve does reg-ulate the "money creation" supply of money, it is equally true that the Reserve Board of Governors is motivated by natural economic laws of supply and demand to prevent inflation and cheapening the dollar, no matter the pressure on them from business, labor, or politicians, each of whom is vitally concerned; (2) Government spending beyond income results in Government financing and refinancing problems (Federal debt of \$285 billion plus), weakens bond values, adds pressure for interest rate increases and infiation (or cheapening) of our money. So the big Federal spenders are (a) creating the very problem they seek to blame on others, and (b) preventing the imposition of the necessary Interest rate corrections they have necessitated. The 10 Republicans of Ways and Means are backing Bob Anderson's sensible requests.

Facts versus politics is the problem. Sincere belief as a matter of conviction, liberal or conservative, as to rightness, is one thing. There can be healthy difference of viewpoint and debate. Regrettably, misunderstanding the facts is frequent. This is human and excusable. What is wrong and inexcusable, as I see it, is to play politics regardless of facts just to gain expediently an alleged political advantage. Political parties should study issues and disagree. That's their function. But neither parties nor individ-uals should disregard the facts or even be lazy in digging out the truth. Members, by accepted practice, do not question each other's motives or integrity in Congress. This is left to the people.

"Every man has a right to his opinion, but no man has a right to be wrong in his facts." (Bernard Baruch.)

The AFL-CIO COPE (Committee on Political Education), yardstick for the six-State area including Texas, grades me wrong every time on 14 issues this Congress. I hope union members are interested in facts and what the union legislative program is costing them and will cost in taxes from their pay envelopes. I look forward to any debate on this subject.

## Central Valley Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON, CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 26, 1959

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, there are now bills, one of which I introduced in March, pending before the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, in support of the joint development of the Trinity River division of the Central Valley project in California.

Under the partnership proposal, recommended by the Secretary of the Interior, private capital would construct the power facilities at a cost of \$60 million, pay \$83 million in Federal taxes and increase the surplus available for water development in the Central Valley project by \$175 million.

Proponents of all-Federal Trinity generators are now requesting the Senate Appropriations Committee for Federal moneys. The House has already refused to include an amount for this purpose. There is no reason why the legislative committee, which intends to hold hearings on the pending bills shortly, should be bypassed, for Congress itself, in the Trinity authorization legislation, directed the Secretary of the Interior to report back to Congress on proposals by non-Federal entities for the purchase of the Trinity falling water. It remains for Congress to consider and act upon his recommendations.

Last year extensive hearings were held on similar bills, but a vote was not permitted. This year the bills are even more favorable to the Government, as will soon be made evident during the course of the hearings before the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. The following article calls attention to the fact that every taxpayer in the Nation will foot the bill for all-Federal Trinity powerplants, while joint development with the Pacific Gas & Electric Co., means a lightened taxload on each citizen, for the company's offer adds \$258 million to the Federal Government's assets, in Federal taxes and Central Valley project surplus funds, and, at the same time, save the Government the expenditure of \$60 million in construction costs. The editor of the San Juan Mission News. a fine newspaper in my district, appreciates the need to stop the expenditure of Government money when private capital offers to do the job, as exemplified by the following editorial of March 13, 1959:

[From the San Juan Mission News, Mar. 13, 1959]

THAT TIME AGAIN

Along about this time every year the cost of running our Federal Government is trought home very strongly, because it's income-tax time.

Speaking for this writer only (although I imagine I echo the thoughts of many others), I don't begrudge paying income tax for necessary operations of Government. However, the way the Washington, D.C., spending merry-go-round is whirling, it makes one wonder where it will stop.

For example, a proposed new Federal prison's cost is set at \$110 million. How many men will it hold? Six hundred. That sets the cost at about \$183,333 per man-

rather expensive housing.

Another example, a proposed expenditure of \$100,000 to bring the as-yet unopened ultramodern \$3 million Air Force hospital "up to standards." The "standards" include oxygen outlets in every room, a radio station for special music, a walkie-talkie system to permit a nurse to talk with any patient.

The editorial then points out how "an avid advocate of Government power and a strong knocker of private-enterprise power is contributing to the fiscal foolishness. He is continuing his argument on the Eisenhower administration's proposal to save tax dollars and earn income for the Government through taxes for private power companies" and is opposing "the Trinity River partnership long advocated by the Eisenhower administration. He is now attempting to push through an appropriation of \$21/2 million for Federal construction of the power facilities."

"Then, on top of that," the editor notes, he "declared that the budget-can be balanced by cutting spending and

increasing income."

"We might suggest," the editorial continues, "that one way to cut Federal spending would be to let private enterprise do the power job. Not only would this save money, but it would provide the Federal Government with income via taxes paid by the private companies."

# Trinity River Partnership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 19, 1959

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, and as a member of the committee last year which held extensive hearings concerning the joint development proposal for the Trinity River power facilities, I see no merit in current attempts to urge the Appropriations Committee of the other body to sink Federal funds in an endeavor which private capital is ready, willing and able to construct.

The President's budget did not include money for this purpose, nor did the House grant any amount. Having heard the evidence a year ago, I joined a majority of the committee, when it became apparent that the proposal would not come to a vote, in urging the Secretary of the Interior not to request funds, and the Appropriations Committees not to approve funds for the Trinity River project power facilities, until such time as the Congress has had an opportunity to carefully consider and act on this legislation. I am still of the same opinion, and am hopeful that hearings will soon be held to determine the issue.

I feel that the following editorial from the Mill Valley Record, California, of March 19, 1959, states the alternatives

clearly and decisively:

[From the Mill Valley (Calif.) Record, Mar. 19, 1959]

TRINITY POWER COMPROMISE MAKES SENSE TO TAXPAYER

Something took place in Washington, D.C. last week that could make history in California by clearing the way for development of Trinity River as an electric power and water reclamation project. Two California Congressmen, James B. Utr., and Charles S. GUESER, introduced identical bills providing for partnership development of Trinity power facilities, and recapture by the United States on 2 years' notice.

Historically, Pacific Gas & Electric Co. has a standing offer to build and operate the Trinity power facilities at its expense under a 50-year license and to make an average annual payment to the United States of \$4,617,-000 for use of the falling water made avail-

able by the Government dams.

Following introduction of the Utt-Gubser bills. Pacific Gas & Electric announced it would accept this compromise and is willing to give up assurance of a 50-year license, "in the hope of ending this controversy and getting the Trinity facilities built and in service."

Secretary of the Interior Fred A. Seaton has found that the greatest benefits to water users and taxpayers would result from Pacific Gas & Electric's construction and operation of Trinity power under a 50-year license. But this new recapture provision would allow the Federal Government to take over the power facilities at an early date should Congress so desire.

Joint development of Trinity would save the Federal Treasury \$60 million in con-struction costs, pay \$175 million more in net revenue to the Central Valley project and \$145 million in additional taxes to Federal, State and local treasuries-in a period of 50 years. Total benefit adds up to \$320 million.

In their joint announcement spelling out significance of their views, Congressman

GUBSER and UTT said:

"Today more than ever it behooves all of us to make every effort to do what we can to keep the budget in balance. Hundreds of millions of dollars will be needed for missiles and research, housing, airports, new water projects, and so forth. We simply can-not in good conscience pass up this opportunity to avoid the expenditure of this additional \$60 million for federally-owned power facilities at Trinity. Especially is this so when a private utility under Federal and

State regulation will put up this money.

"The Secretary said in his report that by selling the falling water to Pacific Gas & Electric Co. the Government would not only be spared the expenditure of this \$60 million. but that in so doing the Trinity power operation would provide over \$175 million in additional power revenues, whereas under all-Federal development Trinity plants would actually be a financial drag and a drain.

"Opponents of the Secretary's proposal have stated that the agreements reached between the Secretary and the company were not equitable—that they provided windfalls

for the company—that Federal Trinity power is needed for project pumping, and many other such charges.

"We do not believe these charges to be true or well founded, but at any rate we have provided for their correction if future

operations prove otherwise.

"Our amendment simply provides that the Federal Government may take over the power facilities from the company by paying them their net investment as determined by the Federal Power Commission any time after 1967, or when the San Luis project is completed, whichever is the earlier.

"We realize that this addition will not satisfy those opponents of partnership who are not so much concerned about a balanced budget, about the Central Valley project, and future water development in California and the West as they are in providing additional below-cost power to the Sacramento Municipal Utility District and to other preferred customers who comprise less than 7 percent of the power users in northern California.

"The Sacramento Municipal Utility District, it seems to us, is already getting more than its share of handouts from the Federal Treasury and from the water users of the Central Valley project. They have a \$23 million REA loan at 2 percent, which is at least 11/2 percent lea least 11/2 percent less than it costs the Government to borrow money. This giveaway amounts to over \$340,000 every year. They get all their power from the Federal Government at 4.5 mills or less under a 40-year contract. This is three-fourths of all Central Valley project power available. They pay no taxes to either the Federal or State or local governments. This freeloading district seems to be the fair-haired boy to the all-Federal power proponents, and indeed to some it seems to represent all the people.

"We believe that Trinity power facilities should truly benefit all the people, not just the 7 percent in a preferred class.

When Congress authorized the Central Valley project back in 1937—of which Trinity is now a part—it specifically provided that power revenues were to be a means of financially alding and assisting the water features. That provision still stands in the law governing the Central Valley project. would cost the Federal Government 8 of 9 mills per kilowatt-hour to generate Trinity power. If this power were then sold to so called preferred customers such as Sacra mento for 4.5 mills, there would be a loss of around 4 mills for every kilowatt-hour produced by the Federal Trinity plants. can Trinity Federal power be a 'means of financially alding and assisting the water features if it will be sold at a loss? would be contrary to the law authorizing the Central Valley project.

"If the opponents of partnership are so dedicated to selling below-cost power sacrements and the selling below-cost power sacrements and the selling below-cost power sacrements and the selling below-cost power selling below-cost powers." Sacramento and other preferred customers they should offer an amendment to the 1937 act which would provide that power shall be generated and sold to aid and assist the preferred customers instead of the water users. Apparently that is what they are advocating: therefore the ing: therefore they should be pressing for such a change in the 1937 act."

We have dared to devote this much space to a subject which many persons believe be complex and profound, because both moral and an economic and profound and an economic and an econom moral and an economic principle is plainty

involved here.

Some cockeyed, and to us offensive, inequities are permitted to rise openly in this country simple because try simply because people are not willing study the issues involved as intently as the are willing to study the sports and comic pages.

One of these inequities has to do with so

called public power.

By some hocus-pocus concocted in the backrooms of politicians and demagogs, word has been spread abroad that Govern

ment can produce electric power cheaper than can a private company. They both pay the same wages, the same for copper wire and steel and generators and turbines and for concrete dams, you understand.

Then what is it, you might ask, which causes Government to be able to produce electric power cheaper than a private com-

The answer is, Government can't produce electric power more cheaply.

Government only says it can.

Government can give electric power away for less, simply because Government in busihess pays no taxes. All corporations and

citizens must pay taxes.

In his song, "Under a Psychiatree," Danny Kaye, the comedian, says: "The neurotic knows that two and two make four \* \* \* but he can't stand it."

Under this definition American Government qualifies notably as neurotic.

We count it as immoral that Government, paying no taxes, is permitted to sell electric Power to Sacramento citizens at a preferred

And on Trinity: We cheer the good statesmanship and generous compromise offered by Congressmen UTT and GUBSER.

This is no time for Government to be quandering more tax dollars on nontaxable investments. We wish the Trinity River de-Velopment partnership well."

# LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompa-nied by nied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive for the probable cost thereof. tive department, bureau, board, or independent ent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolution

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Admin-istration istration of the Senate, who, in making their renors report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed, and no extra copies reported (U. S. Copies such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

# GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superint Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof thereof as determined by the Public Printer, plus 50 plus 50 percent: Provided, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorize purauthorized bookdcalers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not intercasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Conditions and prescribe the terms and the resale of Government publications by resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government officer his agent for the regulations ernment publications under such regulations as shall be as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective descriptions are the second sections of the second se spective department or establishment of the Government (T. C. Code, title, 44, sec. 72a, Spective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2)

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the Congres-SIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim re-port of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the Congressional RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)
TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUS-

TRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.-No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

- 1. Arrangement of the daily Record .- The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: Provided, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.
- 2. Type and style.—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the Congressional Recorp, in 71/2-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 61/2-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These re-strictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.
- 3. Return of manuscript.-When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p, m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.
- 4. Tabular matter.-The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.
- 5. Proof furnished .- Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than

six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. Notation of withheld remarks.-If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. Thirty-day limit.—The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: Provided, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. Corrections,-The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time; Provided, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee; Provided further, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to

apply to conference reports.

10. Appendix to daily Record.—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix except in cases of duplication. In such cases only the first item received in the Government Printing Office will be printed. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: Provided, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

11. Estimate of cost .- No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the Congressional Record by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or with-out individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the Congressional RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. Official Reporters.-The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place

in the proceedings.

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

	CONGRESSIONAL RECORD	
REPRESENTATIVES WITH RESIDENCES IN WASHINGTON OFFICE ADDRESS: House Office Building, Washington, D. C. [Streets northwest unless otherwise stated] Speaker, Sam Rayburn Abbitt, Watkins M., Va Abernethy, Thomas G., 6278 29th St. Miss. Adair, E. Ross, Ind	Canfield, Gordon, N. J  Cannon, Clarence, Mo Carrahan, A. S. J., Mo Carter, Steven V., Iowa Casey, Bob, Tex Cederberg, Elford A., Mich. Celler, Emanuel, N. Y The Mayflower Chamberlain, Charles E., Mich. Chenoweth, J. Edgar, Colo. Chiperfield, Robert B., Ill 1713 House Office Building Church, Marguerite Stitt 2122 Mass. Ave. (Mrs.), Ill. Clark, Frank M., Pa 3735 Gunston Rd., Alexandria, Va. Coad, Merwin, Iowa Coffin, Frank M., Maine Coffin, Frank M., Maine Collier, Harold R., Ill Colmer, William M., Miss Cook, Robert E., Ohio Cook, Robert E., Ohio Cooley, Harold D., N. C 2480 16th St. Corpett, Robert J., Pa Cramer, William C., Fla 6714 Joallen Dr., Falis Church, Va. Cunningham, Glenn, Nebr 4920 Yorktown Blvd., Arlington Va. Curtin, Willard S., Pa Curtin, Willard S., Pa Curtis, Laurence, Mass 3314 O St.	Gary, J. Vaughan, Va
Bailey, Cleveland M., W. Va. Baker, Howard H., Tenn Baidwin, John F., Jr., Calif. Barden, Graham A., N. C 2601 Woodley Pl. Baring, Walter S., Nev Barr, Joseph W., Ind Tulip Lane and Glen Mill Rd., Rockville Md.	Curtis, Thomas B., Mo  Daddarlo, Emilio Q., Conn_ Dague, Paul B., Pa Daniels, Dominick V., N. J_ Davis, Clifford, Tenn4611 Butter— worth Pl.  Davis, James C., Ga Dawson, William L., Ill Delaney, James J., N. Y	Hechler, Ken, W. Va
Barrett, William A., Pa	Dent, John H., Pa Denton, Winfield K., Ind Derounian, Steven B., N. Y Derwinski, Edward J., Ill Devine, Samuel L., Ohio Diggs, Charles C., Jr., Mich Dingell, John D., Mich Dingell, John D., Mich Dixon, Henry Aldous, Utah Dollinger, Isidore, N. Y Donchue, Harold D., Mass Dooley, Edwin B., N. Y Dorn, Francis E., N. Y Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C Dowdy, John, Tex Downing, Thomas N., Va Doyle, Clyde, Calif Doyle, Clyde, Calif Service B., N. Y Doyle, Clyde, Calif Doyle, Clyde, Calif Derough Service B., N. Va Doyle, Clyde, Calif Doyle, Clyde, Calif Derough Service B., N. Va Doyle, Clyde, Calif Doyle, Clyde, Calif Derough Service B., N. Va Dero	Hoffman, Clare E., Mich
Blitch, Iris Faircloth, (Mrs.), Ga. Boggs, Hale, La Boland, Edward P., Mass Bolling, Richard, Mo3409 Lowell St. Bolton, Frances P. (Mrs.), 2301 Wyo. Ave. Ohio. Bonner, Herbert C., N. G Calvert-Woodley Bosch, Albert H., N. Y Bow, Frank T., Ohio	Dulski, Thaddeus J., N. Y.  Durham, Carl T., N. C	Jackson, Donald L., Calif- Jarman, John, Okla Jennings, W. Pat, Va Jensen, Ben F., Iova Jensen, Ben F., Iova Johnson, Byron L., Colo Johnson, Harold T., Calif Johnson, Lester R., Wis Johnson, Lester R., Wis Johnson, Thomas F., Md Jonas, Charles Raper, N. C Jones, Paul C., Mo Dr., Arlington, Va Jones, Robert E., Ala Judd, Walter H., Minn Karth, Joseph E., Minn Kasem, George A., Calif Kastenmeier, Robert W., Wis Kearns, Carroll D., Pa Keerns, Carroll D., Pa Kee, Elizabeth (Mrs.), W. Va Keith, Hastings, Mass Kelly, Edna F. (Mrs.), N. Y
Erown, Clarence J., Ohio Alban Towers Brown, Paul, Gd	Ford, Gerald R., Jr., Mich514 Crown View Dr., Alexandria, Va.  Forrester, E. L., Ga	Kelly, Edna F. (Mrs.), N. Y.  Keogh, Eugene J., N. Y.  Kilburn, Clarence E., N. Y.  Kilday, Paul J., Tex

# Appendix

# Scholarships for Rural Librarians

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 30, 1959

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, today the Nation's library system, particularly in this fast-changing, technological age, provides the American people, of all ages, a tremendous opportunity to continue their education.

We recognize, of course, that the education of our people is not confined to, nor does it end with, the completion of formal schooling. Rather, it is a continuous process. Across the country, our libraries are providing our citizens, both youth and adult, with opportunity to extend their education at minimum cost to themselves and to the community.

Constructively, we recall the Congress enacted the Library Services Act in 1956. Among the important provisions of that legislation was a program of scholarships for rural libraries.

A recent edition of the Wilson Library Bulletin devoted an article to this scholarship program as it is being carried out in Wisconsin and a number of other States. Recognizing that the strengthening of our rural, as well as other library systems, is important to the people of America, I ask unanimous consent that the article by Helen Luce be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SCHOLARSHIP FOR RURAL LIBRARIANS
(By Helen Luce)

(By Helen Luce)

The shortage of trained personnel is affecting all types of libraries. Certainly the State and local public library agencies have not escaped this immediate problem in their programs under the Library Services Act. During the first 2 years of the act, over 180 new were created—and filled—but many positions are still vacant. The future? In the next demand for professional librarians, particularly in the new regional library systems that are being established.

Five States—Missouri, New York, South Carolina, Virginia, and Wisconsin—have made a direct approach to this need by incorporating scholarship programs in library education as part of their State plans under lows; Services Act. A brief rundown follows:

In January 1958, the Missouri State Library started a scholarship project to provide

new professional personnel for the new library service programs which were developing in the State. Scholarships were made available, each worth \$2,000, which may be used at any ALA-accredited library school. Applicants must eligible for library school admission, must be technically employed by a Missouri public library or by the State library, and must agree to return after graduation to a Missouri rural public library for a 2-year period. The grant may be used for continuous training until the degree is earned, or it may be used for a consecutive series of summer school sessions.

The recruiting committee of the Missouri Library Association screens applicants, making recommendations to the State library. Six applications were received in fiscal 1958, and two Missourians were qualified and accepted. These first two scholarship winners will return to Missouri this summer; one already has a position in a regional library enlarged through a Federal demonstration grant, and the other will return in time to select one of several openings created through regional demonstrations. Paxton Price, State librarian, reports that there appear to be enough applicants this second year of the program to award this year's five grants, as well as the remainder from last year.

#### NEW YORK

New York State is in the second year of an active training grant program, and scholarships are one phase of this project of education for rural librarians. The maximum grant is \$2,000 for a year of study; the minimum of \$350 is applicable to students who attend an approved library school within 35 miles of their residence. The grant, which is pald to the school or university in behalf of the student, may be used to defray living expenses and fees as well as tuition.

Awards under the New York State scholarship plan follow the general pattern of the other educational scholarship programs under the New York regents and are restricted to U.S. citizens and residents of the State. Inasmuch as the basic aim of the program is to act as an incentive to bring new people into the library field, candidates must not have matriculated in a library degree program prior to receiving a scholarship. Awards are made in the order of standing in qualifying examinations, and the amount of the grant is dependent upon the net taxable balance of the recipient's income. The successful applicant must be admissable to an approved New York State library school and must also declare intention of serving in a public library or library system serving rural people for a 2-year period after completion of his library education.

As a result of examinations held in eight locations in New York State in January and June 1958, 23 candidates were offered awards ranging from \$350 to \$2,000. All accepted and have registered at four of the library schools within the State. New York reports that interest in the program is increasing so that it is likely the competition and awards will be continued on a twice-a-year basis.

#### SOUTH CAROLINA, VIRGINIA

Included in the South Carolina State plan is a general "personnel project," aimed at supplying more professionally trained librarians for public libraries in the State, Grants of \$3,000 a year over a 4-year period are available to 10 county or regional library systems which meet State-aid requirements. The libraries receiving grants must agree to employ a person who has been admitted to an accredited library school, granting a leave of absence each summer so the recipient may attend library school, and supplement the basic salary by annual increases of \$200 during the grant period. Interns receive full salary during study periods; and they agree to work in a South Carolina public library under the plan for 2 years after completing degree requirements.

South Carolina now has six interns working under the personnel project in Charleston, Greenville, Oconee, Pickens, Greenwood, and Horry Counties. Plans are being made to revise the program on a 2-year basis in order to get in three additional interns before the end of 1961. Under the revised plan, interns will work 6 moneths, go to school 6 months, and so on. The 2-year working requirement will still apply, and the libraries employing these interns will be required to increase salaries after the first year by \$400.

The Virginia State plan has provided scholarships in the amount of \$1,000 since July 1957. Any public library receiving State aid may apply for grants. The amount for scholarships is then deducted from the library's State aid. Applicants must have been accepted for admission to an ALA-accredited library school, must be employed by the library, and must agree to return for a 2-year period immediately following receipt of the degree. In this State the training is expected to be completed within 12 months.

The Roanoke County Library has received one scholarship, and the Fairfax County Library two for the 1958-59 academic year. The Fairfax County students are attending Catholic University and McGill University.

## WISCONSIN

In Wisconsin the scholarship program is sponsored jointly by the Wisconsin Library Association and the Wisconsin Free Library Commission. This project was started in September 1958, at which time three scholarships of \$1,000 each were made available for graduate study. Applicants must be residents of Wisconsin and agree to work 2 years in a Wisconsin library serving rural people.

Wisconsin library serving rural people.

The scholarship committee of the Wisconsin Library Association worked closely with the secretary of the Free Library Commission in recruiting and screening candidates for the first awards. Three applicants were approved and accepted in September 1958; but, unfortunately, one recipient found it impossible to remain in school.

A cynic could point out that—even when taken together—the scholarship programs, limited as they are, can alleviate only a small portion of the immediate and pressing needs of the Library Services Act programs throughout the Nation. Their value, however, has already been noted in States with these scholarship programs. Irving A. Verschoor, director of the Library Extension Division, New York State Library, wrote in "Library Services Act Scholarships in New York State" (ALA Bulletin, 52: 349–350, May 1958): "The point of universal agreement in the division is, however, that we are determined on the continuance of the training grant program."

### Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. WILLIAM PROXMIRE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 30, 1959

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I commend to my colleagues a recent disturbing editorial from the Milwaukee Journal. This is a depressing report on the status of the 1957 civil rights right-to-vote bill. The highly responsible Milwaukee Journal charges that this act is having little effect. It needs teeth. This Congress should supply those teeth.

I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered printed in the Appendix of the RECORD as follows:

[From the Milwaukee Journal, June 27, 1959]
FEDERAL CIVIL RIGHTS GROUP GETTING
ABSOLUTELY NOWHERE

The Federal Civil Rights Commission is preparing to hold hearings in Louisiana on complaint of 83 Negroes that they have been refused the right to vote because of their

sace.
So far cooperation by Louisiana has added up to zero. The State refused to let Commission officers inspect voting records. It agreed to consider written questions aimed at local voting officials, but when the questionnaires were made out the State called them ridiculous and irrelevant. By calling a hearing, the Commission can try its luck at subpenaing records and voting registrars.

But chances of much coming of it all aren't very bright. The Commission held such hearings in Alabama last year. The voting registrars merely resigned and shrugged off questioning by saying that they no longer had anything to do with the case. The Government carried the matter to the courts. A lower court dismissed the suit. And now the U.S. court of appeals in New Orleans has upheld the lower court.

The court of appeals ruling practically ties the Government's hands. It says that there is nothing in the Civil Rights Act of 1957 giving the Federal Government the right to sue a State, and that Congress did not intend such suits. And it says that there is no law to prevent registrars from resigning.

The Government is appealing to the Supreme Court. But the weakness of the Commission and the law under which it operates so far upholds those who said from the start that the Civil Rights Act of 1957 was little more than window dressing covering inaction in the field of civil rights.

The Civil Rights Commission's life ends in September. It has only a 2-year mandate and it took 9 months of those 2 years for the President to name the Commission and for the Commission to get a Director. It has some 200 cases in 13 States to investigate.

The President wants the Commission extended for 2 more years. Fine. But only if it is also given some powers. It can't enforce its own subpenas. It can't hold witnesses who flout it in contempt. The courts so far say the Government can't even sue States which violate the voting laws.

Obviously teeth are needed in the Civil Rights Act of 1957—else the Commission can do little and Negroes will go into the 1960 elections as voteless as ever.

## Popular Participation in Surplus Food Donation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 30, 1959

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I call attention to an editorial which appeared June 1, 1959, in the McMinnville (Oreg.) News-Register. This editorial makes a suggestion for dealing with our burgeoning farm surplus which I believe is worthy of serious consideration. The idea is not novel, but it has a new twist which should make it appealing and practically effective.

The basic plan is to send agricultural surplus to countries abroad suffering from a food scarcity. The novelty-and I believe the most appealing aspect of the idea—is to have the President deliver a radio plea to the hundreds of thousands of local service clubs in the United States asking them to contribute whatever they can to finance the program. The purpose would not be to build or depress agricultural markets, buy good will, or coerce ideological conformity, but merely to extend-through a non-partisan program—a helping hand to those countries of the world less fortunate than we in products of the soil.

I think the American people would respond to such a plea, Mr. President. I think they already realize the need to deplete our farm glut if the American farmer is ever to cut the ties of parity payments that now shackle his economic movements.

In this regard, I think we would do well to remember that the very able senior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. HUMPHREY] has recently introduced legislation, S. 1711, termed the food-forpeace bill. It would empower the President of the United States to carry out various plans utilizing our surplus agricultural commodities for oversea assistance. I was privileged to cosponsor that bill, along with several of my colleagues; I did so within the same frame of reference that spurs me to insert this excellent editorial in the McMinnville News-Register. I am speaking about the urgent need for our country, and this Congress in particular, to face up to the dual responsibilities posed by our domestic farm economy and foreign food scarcities. Neither is an obligation that we may conscientiously shirk any

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the News-Register, McMinnville, Oreg., June 1, 1959]

#### IMAGINEERING WITH HEART

(An open letter to President Dwight Eisenhower, Vice President Richard Nixon, and to

all Members of the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives.)

When we were young we were taught that because he was frugal and built up a surplus during good times Joseph was called a provider. Today we have a great surplus of certain basic farm commodities, and we call it a problem. We have been pondering this strange thing and would like to make this suggestion:

Let us make our problem an opportunity-In the face of the strange anachronism that we have mountains of food grains in storage and yet countless of our brothers and sisters in other parts of the world go to bed each night hungry, we suggest that you men and women, all of you, put on a great radio and television program, emanating from the White House and beamed to the entire Nation, during which you would plead with each organization of almost any sort to give \$100 or a share of that amount to send abroad some of our surplus. This would mean every church, every fraternal organization, every veterans' organization, every service club, every youth group, every farm organization, and any others which might want to take part.

There is already a program set up whereby the U.S. Government matches dollar for dollar funds given for this purpose through already operating and trustworthy organizations such as the church service groups and CARE.

Let us do this, not with the attitude of building markets. Let us do it, not to buy good will. This is where our present aid pragram is so often a failure. We expect to get ideological conformity or some semblance of international support. Let us do this simply because these folks are our brothers and sisters, and because the world is a neighborhood and they are our neighbors.

It is our opinion that the imagination of the American people could be captured by a program such as this, especially if it has behind it the prestige of the White House and the nonpartisan support of all of our highest elected representatives. In this way the problem of our surpluses could be transformed into a rich experience, both for us and for those who receive the gifts.

# The Facts on the Farm Population Decline

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. ALBERT H. QUIE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 30, 1959

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, several days ago I called to the attention of the Congress an article which appears in the current issue of Successful Farming which deals with the decline of our farm population.

Now, in pursuing the subject further, I would like to present some statistics which, I think, will put the problem in perspective and will remove the blurred image which has been created.

For a number of years now, the fact that farmers have been leaving the land has prompted a flurry of speeches, from some quarters—some blaming this administration or that administration, this policy or that program, as being responsible for the exodus.

Farm population has been declining for many years. More than 100 years

ago, in 1858, farm people made up an estimated 65 percent of the population of the country. As of April 1958—100 years later—farm people accounted for only 12 percent of our population.

The following table, based on U.S. Census and U.S. Department of Agriculture surveys, shows U.S. farm population since 1910:

Year (April)	Total popu-	Farm population			
	including Armed Forces Overseas	Number of persons	Percent of total popu- lation		
1955 1957 1956 1956 1954 1964 1962	Thousands 173, 485 170, 510 167, 498 164, 619 161, 761 159, 012	Thousands 20, 827 20, 396 22, 257 22, 158 21, 890 22, 679	12.0 12.0 13.3 13.5 13.5 14.3		
1951 1950 1549 1548 1917 1945	156, 421 153, 691 151, 132 148, 595 146, 051 143, 480	24, 283 24, 160 25, 058 25, 954 25, 903 27, 124	15, 5 15, 7 16, 6 17, 5 17, 7 18, 9		
1944 1943 1942 1941 1940	141, 039 139, 583 138, 027 136, 297 134, 498 133, 008 131, 820	26, 483 25, 295 25, 495 26, 681 29, 234 30, 273 30, 547	18.8 18.1 18.5 19.6 21.7 22.7 23.2		
1938 1937 1935 1934 1933 1932	130, 642 129, 589 128, 649 127, 886 127, 057 126, 192 125, 401	30, 840 30, 980 31, 266 31, 737 32, 161 32, 305 32, 393	23, 6 23, 9 24, 3 24, 8 25, 3 25, 6 25, 8		
1931 1930 1929 1928 1927	124, 668 123, 841 122, 775 121, 463 120, 135 118, 628	31, 388 30, 845 30, 529 30, 580 30, 548 30, 530	25, 2 24, 9 24, 9 25, 2 25, 4 25, 7		
1925 1924 1923 1923 1922 1921 1920	117, 007 115, 402 113, 573 111, 476 109, 676 108, 023	30, 979 31, 190 31, 177 31, 490 32, 109 32, 123	20, 5 27, 0 27, 5 28, 2 29, 3 20, 7		
1918 1947 1940 1915 1914 1913 1913	106, 089 104, 935 104, 266 103, 052 101, 612 100, 191 98, 645	31, 974 31, 200 31, 950 32, 430 32, 530 32, 440 32, 320	30, 1 29, 7 30, 6 31, 5 32, 0 32, 4 32, 8		
1911 1910	96, 753 94, 965 93, 502 91, 885	32, 270 32, 210 32, 110 32, 077	33. 4 33. 9 34. 3 34. 9		

Mr. Speaker, I believe that three significant conclusions can be drawn from the statistics

First. The percentage of farm people in our country has been steadily decreasing from 1910, when they amounted to 34.9 percent of the population, to 1958, when 12 percent were farmers and their families. This decrease in percentage has been primarily due to the increase in the total population of the United States.

Secondly, the number of farm people remained between 30 and 32 million until 1941. From 1941 to 1958 the number of farm people has dropped from nearly 10 million to the present 20.8 million.

The period since the start of World War II was one of great technological change. The change is still being effected today, as we see that today's farm worker can produce as much in 8 hours as he did in 10 hours in 1950. He can do in 1940.

In 1940, 1 farm worker produced enough to feed himself and 12 others. In 1950 he fed himself and 14 others. Today he feeds himself and 23 others. Finally, when the 4,231,000 decrease in farm population between April 1950 and April 1958 is taken into account, it can be seen that most of the decrease occurred between April 1950 and April 1954.

It has been said many times that the policies of the present administration are responsible for driving farmers from the land—yet, while the comparative figures are correct, their interpretation is often misleading and distorted.

Since population estimates are made on April 1, the year 1952 cannot be attributed to the present administration, because it did not take office until January 1953.

An analysis of farm population statistics reveals the following comparisons.

During the last 5 years—from April 1, 1953, to April 1, 1958—farm population dropped 1,852,000, or at a rate of 370,000 per year.

During the previous 5 years, during the previous Presidential administration, farm population dropped 3,224,000, or at the rate of 644,800 per year.

In summary, Mr. Speaker, I believe that the drop in farm population has been a long-range economic trend, and that statistics are best understood when they are not forced into the pattern of a political allegation.

#### White Man's Burden

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. JAMES C. DAVIS

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, the New York Age, a weekly newspaper published in New York City, in its issue of June 13, 1959, carried a column which contains some very sensible comments. Under unanimous consent to extend my remarks, I include the article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

WHITE MAN'S BURDEN (By Chuck Stone)

"P.S.-If I were going to give any advice to the Negro group in this country it would Take the chip off your shoulder and begin to be proud of your heritage as a Negro and quit trying to be a white man. The Jew is a minority race but you never hear him crying for entry into the Gentiles' group, but he stands on his own feet and is doing very well, thank you, in this minority position. It is doubtful that any other group of people ever made the progress that the Negro has made over the last two centuries. Of course such progress would never have been possible without the help of the white man, and I dare say he has had more actual help from the southern white man because there are so many Negroes down here. Surely anyone knows that the Negro pays a very small part of the cost of his schools anywhere in this land, and now that so many of them are on welfare of course even a smaller part of this tremendous cost is being paid by them. 'The Negro is the white man's burden' was at one time a familiar saying. Truly, now with welfare from cradle to grave, plus good schooling, he really is the white man's burden-although a lot of white critics never seem to realize it."

These words leaped off a page of the Concressional Record of May 28, 1959, which we were reading last week. They were the "P.S." to a letter which had

They were the "P.S." to a letter which had been written by a Mr. N. G. Sherouse of Reddick, Fla., to the Saturday Evening Post recently about the integration problem. The letter which we found to be a most reasonable appraisal of the American racial conflict was inserted in the Congressional Record by Representative James C. Davis, Democrat, of Georgia.

Our frank reaction to Mr. Sherouse's words were simply: how true,

Within the historical concept of the 19th century, the Negro, or more accurately, all colored people, were the "white man's burden."

This Rudyard Kipling phrase later buttressed by President McKinley's "Manifest destiny" was the white men's personal compulsion. Nobody asked him to make us his "burden." These were his own sociological kicks.

But, today when the Negro should be standing on his own two feet and making formidable contributions to the American culture and economic system, he is still "the white man's burden."

Take New York City, for example.

Of the 145,000 welfare cases, over 65 percent are Negroes.

Of the 386,000 crimes committed in New York City last year over 60 percent are Negroes.

The worst slums in the city are located in Harlem.

Oh, but we've got good excuses.

We're on welfare, we say, because there's discrimination in employment and we can't find a job.

Au contraire—we're on welfare because we're lazy.

We offer cogent social psychological explanations for our lack of opportunity, slum areas, etc. The plain fact is that we find crime such an easy way to take out our aggression toward the society instead of measuring up to it as real men.

Whatever the social scientific explanations for our cultural lag and our deficiencies, we are still "the white man's burden." The difference is, however, that today this burden is of our own making and perpetuation.

When the white man looks around him and sees the high crime rate, the disproportionate load of welfare cases, and the miserable slums in which Negroes are living, he might well ask his 20th century "white man's burden": "What are you peddling now—human misery?"

If you were a white man, wouldn't you?

# Our Nation's Need for a Youth Conservation Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. ELIZABETH KEE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 30, 1959

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, recently, I read an interesting history, by Arthur Schlessinger, Jr., about the first years of the Roosevelt administration. I was particularly interested in the writer's comments on the Civilian Conservation Corps, an emergency agency set up to take young men off the city streets and put them to work in our Nation's forests.

It is Schlessinger's contention that the CCC was the most successful of all New Deal agencies. I believe most people would agree with him. Within 3 months of the establishment of CCC, thousands of young men were at work building roads and water-check dams in forests. Millions of trees were planted. Not only were these young men given an opportunity to support themselves but they gained an appreciation of nature which undoubtedly enabled each one to lead a fuller and richer life.

I was particularly interested in this review of the CCC because I have introduced a bill (H.R. 7777) to set up a Youth Conservation Corps patterned along the lines of the old Civilian Conservation Corps.

Mr. Speaker, the purpose of my bill is best described in its short title:

To provide healthful and outdoor training and employment for young men and to advance the conservation, development and management of national resources of timber, soil, range, and recreational areas.

In many sections of our country young men are now finding that jobs are very scarce. Unfortunately, many of them face idleness. This is not good for the young men or for the Nation.

On the other hand, our land and water resources need protecting more now than ever before in history. Our population is increasing at a rapid rate. There is an ever-growing pressure on land and water resources.

It seems to me it would be a wise and highly useful step to take these young men who need and want jobs and put them to work in forest camps. We need to step up our activities to conserve soil and water. Once soil and water are lost they can never be recovered.

A group of Senators introduced similar legislation. Widespread interest has been expressed in the proposal to establish a Youth Conservation Corps, and we are hopeful that hearings can be held this year.

The cost for such a program would be small, especially when measured in terms of what it could do both for the young men who would be put to useful work and of what it will mean to the country's natural resources.

The CCC left lasting marks upon our Nation's forests and wooded areas. The dams which CCC boys built across small streams are still serving their dual purposes—checking the flow of floodwater to prevent soil erosion and the providing of valuable recreational areas.

Mr. Speaker, the need for work of this kind is perhaps more urgent today than it was back in the Thirties.

Conditions in the Steel Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. WILLIAM PROXMIRE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 30, 1959

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, a recent letter to me from Mr. D. A. Milligan, vice president of the J. I. Case Co. of Racine, Wis., contains a tremen-

dously competent and timely analysis of inflation and what we can do about it. He writes from broad and direct experience of the practical effects that persistent inflation has on the manufacturing segment of the economy. He has written an objective and reasonable presentation of the impact of rising steel prices on his company, which is one of Wisconsin's major industries.

Mr. President, each Member of the Senate is pleased, I am sure, that the steel industry and the Steelworkers Union have heeded the President's urging to continue their contract negotiations. None of us want to see a strike in this basic industry. Mr. Milligan has effectively pointed up the important stake that industry, business, and indeed all Americans have in maintaining stable prices in the steel industry.

I may differ with Mr. Milligan on the emphasis in his analysis or on the legislative prescription, but I feel Senators will be rewarded and informed by reading this thoughtful analysis.

I ask unanimous consent that the letter be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

J. I. Case Co.,

Racine, Wis., June 15, 1959.

Subject: Local and national situations.

Senator William Proxmine,

U.S. Senate Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR PROXMIRE: Having spent considerable time in Washington in an advisory capacity, and having been a party to certain decisions, gives us an appreciation of the problems you are facing. As a representative of the State of Wisconsin and of the United States you certainly have many very major decisions to make and many, many facts to consider. We trust that some of the points we raise in this letter may be of interest to you and give you an appreciation of the situation in certain fields as we see it.

#### STEEL SITUATION AND GENERAL INFLATION

For the last 7 years, I have had the distasteful responsibility of writing a letter to our dealers announcing an increase in the price of our product because of the increase in the price of steel. It is quite evident that that same letter will have to be written again some time this year. We are attaching a copy of our transmittal letter dated August 28, 1958. The statistics in that letter show an increase every year for 12 years, with the exception of the Korean period. To me this is very, very scrious.

We are in a very competitive market. progress that has been made in the United States has been a result of this competition. Every one of our competitors has raised their price at the same time, approximately the same amount. You may know that the Case Co. was facing a very serious situation. They did \$170 million worth of business in 1949 which gradually shrunk until in 1956 they did \$87 million worth of business. Through the merger with the American Tractor Co., and the inauguration of many changes, in 1957, we were able to achieve a volume of approximately \$124 million, in 1958 approximately \$178 million, and this year we are hoping to do \$210 million. To achieve this expansion, the addition of new products, and the merchandising and floor planning of inventory, required the borrowing of approximately \$100 million, plus the selling of approximately another \$25 million worth of convertible debenture bonds. We mention this as an indication of a chance or gamble that the company has to take to expand and progress. Today the indebtedness of the Case Co. is approximately equal to its net worth. What does the result of this expansion mean to Wisconsin and to the Racine area? The attached reprint from the May 17 issue of the Racine Journal-Times specifically showed what it means to Racine—an increase of 97 percent employment in approximately 2 years time. It would, therefore, look like the Case Co. is well on its way to expansion and stability, but to carry on this expansion requires not only becoming more dominant in the domestic market, but it requires export volume.

Through the wage rates now in effect and through the cost of steel, the cost of rubber, and the other commodities made from steel, our costs in the United States are constantly increasing. This is true not only with the Case Co. but with all of our competitors. As you no doubt know, Massey-Harris closed their manufacturing operations in Racine and instead of building the transmission parts and certain other items for their tractor line, they are now building these in Coventry, England, and shipping them into their tractor plant in Detroit. Thus, because of the wage rate and the costs in the United States, that production was transferred from Racine to Coventry, England. One of the executives of International Harvester recently advised that their average wage rate in the United States is \$2.59\(\frac{1}{2}\) per hour. The wage rate in their French operation is 63 cents; in Great Britain it is 80% cents per hour; in Germany 76 cents, and in Australia \$1.03 per hour. In Germany, specifically, they advise that the output per man-hour is much higher. International Harvester is now importing tractors into Canada. They are starting to bring certain models of the tractors into the United States. The Ford Motor Co. has been bringing diesel tractors for several years into the United States.

Several years ago when I was an executive with Harry Ferguson, Inc., we were importing tractors into Canada from Coventry, Eng. land, delivering them into Montreal for \$55 per tractor. For an additional \$4 that same tractor could be delivered into Vancouver. British Columbia. A comparable tractor shipped from Detroit, Mich., to Portland. Oreg., cost \$90—this ratio was correct in 1952. Freight rates have increased the cost and made the spread even greater today. It, therefore, appears that if the tractor is to compete in the export market, we must produce in the export field. Unfortunately, it is beginning to look as though in order compete in the United States it may be necessary to build a product in the export field and import it. No doubt you are familiar with the White Sewing Machine Co. closing down their entire manfacturing plant in Cleveland. They are now producing their entire output in Japan and importing it and selling it in the United States. According to an official of that company, he said it placed them in a competitive position by so

Another effect of this is the shipping of gold from the United States. We are importing larger amounts of goods and there has been a drop in export. Because of this, the United States in the last year and a half is paying out more money than we are taking in. To balance these international payments, gold is being transferred from the United States to foreign banks.

The writer is not antiunion or opposed to labor making a good living. The answer is not a high tariff nor a controlled economy. In our opinion, competition makes for progress and we can hold our own and expand in a similar market under comparable conditions. But the U.S. manufacturers cannot continue to pay more for steel, continue to pay more for labor, and to pay more taxes

and compete with the lower wages being pald in the foreign countries. We feel that the best thing that could happen to this country Would be a status quo and a halt in the vicious inflation cycle. It is evident that this cannot be achieved as long as Hoffa and certain other labor leaders have unlimited control. The recent series of interviews cov-ered by U.S. News indicates that many of the laboring people are contented. They recognize that time lost through strikes Would probably never be regained and that in all probability the cost of living would go up before they could recover and then the ratio of what they earned to what it cost them to live would be no better than it is

As our representative in the U.S. Senate, You have a terrific responsibility not only to Wisconsin but to the Nation. It is our opin-ion that the public today is willing to face up to the facts and make the necessary ad-Justiments if they are permitted to do so, and if their representatives have the intestinal fortitude to give them the facts and not as is commonly expressed in Washington, when certain people give a speech state that that is for home consumption, knowing fairly well that the individual is not sincere and will not act in accordance with the speech as re-

In our opinion bill S. 215 is a needless law and will generate more redtape. With the terrine competition existing today in the construction field and in the agricultural machinery field, every manufacturer will sell all the merchandise he can and use the price increase, or the possible price increase, as a selling. selling device to get the people to buy and increase his volume. Under that bill, in a competitive market, this, in our opinion, is superfluous.

Very sincerely yours, J. I. CASE Co., D. A. MILLIGAN,

Vice President.

# FHA's 25th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# OF HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, June 30, 1959

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, this year the Federal Housing Administration, one of the most significant forces in expansion sion of our home-building programs, celebrates its 25th anniversary.

During its lifetime the FHA—through its mortgage insurance program—has helped to provide homes for 5 million American families and housing for 800,-000 other families in rental and cooperative projects. In addition, it has helped to repair or improve 22 million prop-

From its beginning, it has written insurance for these and related projects totaling more than \$53 billion.

Overall, FHA has helped to make it possible for three out of every five

American families to own their homes. Although a federally sponsored program, it is significant to the American taxpayer that FHA is self-supporting. Despite the vast volume of insurance written, only a very small percentage of mortgage guarantees have had to be written off as losses. have been the creation of:

A larger volume of home building: Wider opportunity for home ownership:

Better construction standards: A sound system of home financing; Research and building techniques;

Consumer credit to finance home improvements.

These and other contributions toward enabling more Americans to own their own homes, in Wisconsin and throughout the country, have marked FHA's 25-year history.

Recently, Mr. James M. Udall, president of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, published in Realtors Headlines an editorial entitled, "FHA's 25th Anniversary." The editorial pays tribute to the splendid contribution FHA has made to the home-building

In recognition of the fine work of FHA, I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### FHA'S 25TH ANNIVERSARY

In the last 25 years the Federal Housing Administration has forcefully demonstrated that the long-term, low-interest-rate home loan is both a good, solid investment and a constructive method of spreading the advantages of home ownership to the greatest number of people.

To the skeptics who once freely voiced the opinion that FHA would never work or would wind up placing just another burden on the taxpayer, the best answer is the extremely low percentage of borrowers who have defaulted on loans once considered risky.

FHA has not cost the American taxpayer I cent. Since 1940 the agency has been entirely self-sustaining, and in 1954 it repaid all debts to the U.S. Treasury with interest. All expenses and losses are paid out of the huge reserve of premiums paid by borrowers.

As president of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, I should like to offer FHA on its 25th anniversary (to be celebrated June 18) the hearty congratulations of the association for this excellent record.

National Association of Real Estate Boards is proud to have been one of the earliest supporters of the FHA idea. The association took part in the successive development of the Home Loan Bank system, the Home Owners Loan Corporation, and the FHA. The association's confidence has been more than justified by FHA's experience.

Without FHA mortgage insurance, millions of responsible, hard-working Americans would not own homes today. FHA's favorable experience had far-reaching effects throughout the real estate market. It provided the example which led conventional home lenders into the field of long-term, low-interest-rate financing.

FHA has shown that it can adapt to new conditions and changing needs. This is the mark of an unlightened organization.

Because of its special interest in everything affecting real estate, National Association of Real Estate Boards is constantly alert to sug-gested new ways of improving the FHA program. The association gave its support to the certified agency program under which mortgage lending institutions in small communities are designated as authorized FHA agents to process applications and issue commitments.

We are looking forward to the expansion

Among the objectives of this program of this successful program which is planned for this summer. Now operating largely in cities of 15,000 or less, certified agency program will move into cities up to 20,000, thus offering more people the advantages of the shorter time it takes to process applications under this system.

Through our own build America better program National Association of Real Estate Boards has taken a strong, active interest in urban renewal. We are happy to see the steady growth of the section 220 and 221 programs under which FHA insures mortgages on new and rehabilitated housing in urban renewal areas and low-cost relocation housing for families displaced by redevelopment or other governmental action.

On this momentous anniversary, FHA can take great pride in its achievements.

# DiNatale's New Ideas Speed Roadbuilding

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 30, 1959

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, June 24, 1959, John Harris, writer for the Boston Globe newspaper, wrote an article entitled "DiNatale's New Ideas Speed Roadbuilding." Public Works Commissioner Anthony N. DiNatale has done an outstanding job in bringing about the completion of the Southeast Expressway months ahead of schedule. He has released a major part of the bottleneck on traffic which has been strangling the trucking and automobile traffic from the North Shore to the South Shore of Massachusetts. Commissioner DiNatale is a resident of my hometown in Milton, Mass., so I am doubly honored to have his accomplishments included in my remarks today.

On Thursday, June 25, 1959, the Southeast Expressway was officially opened.

Its opening received widespread plaudits from newspapers, businessmen, civic leaders and public officials. The Southeast Expressway has opened new possibilities for business and industrial development.

I am very happy to day that Congress THOMAS P. O'NEILL and myself were members of the Massachusetts General Court when this great roadbuilding program was inaugurated un-der the leadership of the late beloved Governor Paul A. Dever.

Gov. Foster Furcolo is to be commended for his part in completing the work on the Southeast Expressway which shall play such a prominent part in the future economic development in Massachusetts:

DINATALE'S NEW IDEAS SPEED ROADBUILDING (By John Harris)

The opening tomorrow of the Southeast Expressway, which for the first time in history will provide a superhighway link between North and South Shores, has stimulated Beacon Hill interest in the man who

directed its construction-State Public Works Commissioner Anthony N. DiNatale.

The speed with which the commissioner gets things done and the businesslike innovations he has brought to his department, the largest in our State government, have been winning him recognition as one of the greatest executives ever to head State public works.

The Southeast Expressway will open 8 months in advance of schedule, a boon to motorists, a lift to public safety, and, by chance, a partial solution at least in the event of the now expected shutdown of the Old Colony system.

But that's only one example of DiNatale's

manner of solving pressing road problems.

In time for the summer traffic, the last gap in the Mid-Cape Highway has been com-pleted with the opening of the Eastham-Orleans stretch 4 months ahead of schedule.

The Kingston-Plymouth bypass on Route 3 has been double-barrelled and will be opened July 1, 6 months ahead of schedule. This will provide 85 miles of nonstop travel from Duxbury to Provincetown.

Thanks to DiNatale's efficiency our whole statewide highway program has been so handled that it will be his administration that will have earned the honor of having brought to fruition the long-desired master plan for Bay State superhighways.

Last year he opened more than 50 miles of new roads and this year the program is going to provide 65 miles more, according

to present commitments.

These are not the old-type roads of about 30-foot width, with 3-foot shoulders. are mostly 40-foot or more, with 10-foot

shoulders for greater safety.

In addition, the commissioner has been pressing forward on the so-called outer belt-a projected circle from Salisbury to Foxboro, 17 miles west of Route 128. Seven contracts on that have parmitted construction to begin in the Lowell-Chelmsford-Westford area. And DiNatale already has the inner belt (projected east of Route 128) under study.

That might sound like quite a workload for any man. DiNatale takes it in stride though he works long, long hours to keep it

all going.

He is busy, at the same time, with participation in the Federal Government's interstate road program and has several of these sections here under construction, including the Worcester Expressway, a high-speed road through the Connecticut Valley and the new road from Boston to the New Hampshire line (new Route 93).
Officials and lawmakers on Beacon Hill

appreciate what DiNatale has been doing and this is among the reasons there is an absence of any desire to slash the public works budget. There is another reason, too, which is not always fully appreciated.

Funds for the State department of public works come out of the highway fund. This fund, under our constitution as amended, can be used only for highway purposes. So the only effect of cutting down on the appropriation would be to slow down the State's getting a highway system capable of handling the record number of

automobiles which now try to use it.

Since the highway fund is also used to pay off bonds which have been floated for highway work, the amount of money currently in the fund will not be sufficient to carry on our road improvement at its presstepped-up (and, from a safety viewpoint, highly desirable) pace unless the extra one-half cent gasoline tax the Governor has asked is approved. Thus its final passage is vital.

There is space to list only a few of the many innovations DiNatale has introduced in the operations of his vast department. Massachusetts has become the first State to earmark for contract its entire State highway grass-mowing program, which means the department no longer has the immense annual expense of buying and maintaining seasonal equipment.

This spring, for the first time, the spring cleaning of highways was done on a contractual basis. In another month the de-partment will have its own helicopter for surveying road projects from the air rather than the old, slow, expensive way of doing it with surveying parties on the ground.

In this latter connection highway departments throughout the Nation are watching another DiNatale innevation. With the help of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, an electronic computer has been placed in the basement of the department on Nashua Street to speed up the analysis of highway projects. It has already saved thousands of engineering manhours.

Another DiNatale first being watched nationwide is his project to use peat formerly dug and discarded from new highway routes. Under the new plan it is being mixed with sand and is providing loam to cut down one of the former big costs of

road construction.

Most striking innovation of all, at least pictorially, are two huge, swinging wall maps DiNatale has in his office. These took a year to provide. Now, however, they furnish the commissioner with an at-a-glance, up-tothe-minute report on the condition of every road in the State's highway system, about 3,000 miles of them. Thus needlest roads now get first attention.

North Dakota Is Quite a Place

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. QUENTIN BURDICK

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, it is with a great deal of pride that I call to the attention of my colleagues a recent article by M. D. Goddard of the Dickey County Leader, Ellendale, N. Dak. Yes, "North Dakota is quite a place."

RANDOM THOUGHTS OF THE PAST WEEK

North Dakota is quite a place. Being a native, I've always thought so; but the feeling has been reenforced several times this spring.

The first boost came last month when I had an opportunity to view the new soundcolor motion picture which has been produced for promotional purposes by Greater North Dakota Association.

I was, of course, impressed by the very professional polish displayed by the film, but the subject matter itself-that is, North Dakota-was the real star of the picure.

While viewing he film, I had to keep reminding myself that this was actually my native State. I certainly do not mean to imly that the subect matter was so dressed up I didn't recognize it. Rather, I had never before seen all of North Dakota's many virtues gathered together and dis-played so ably in one package.

The rich farming land of the Red River Valley, the rolling plains immediately west of it and then the Missouri plateau with its stark, rough beauty. The oil wells, mineral wealth, hunting, fishing, recreational activities, invigorating climate, warm, friendly people.

All of these things are absolutely true. Living in any one spot tends to give one a strictly local viewpoint and we are apt to forget that all of these many asets actually lie within the boundaries of our State.

If I may borrow a slogan from our neighboring State of South Dakota, it's certainly appropriate to term North Dakota "the land of infinite variety," and I'm proud to be a resident.

Oregon Dunes National Seashore Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON, RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, June 30, 1959

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, 8 group of Oregon coast residents have organized to express their opposition to the proposal I have made for establishment of the Oregon Dunes National Seashore Area along a 23-mile section of Oregon's uniquely beautiful seacoast. These individuals are exercising the historic American right to air their grievances. They have every right to make known their views on legislation before Congress, and, as a member of the Senate Public Lands Subcommittee, I will do my utmost to assure ample opportunity for them to present their viewpoint to Members of Congress through the holding of hearings in the vicinity of the proposed seashore park development.

However, Mr. President, question has been raised about one aspect of the oppo sition to the Oregon Dunes proposal, and I think that this criticism of tactics being used to show disapproval of my proposal should be brought to the attention of the Congress. An editorial in the Oregon Journal of June 26, 1959, expressed the belief that members of Oregon's coastal tribes were being "used" by opponents of the Oregon and the Oregon belief that the Oregon belief the Oregon Dunes park. Also, this editorial emphasizes that opposition to the park may not represent majority opinion among residents of the Oregon coast and mentions the strong support given to our project by Mr. William M. Tugman, editor of the Port Umpqua Courier of Reeds port, a newspaper published in the area affected by the park legislation. I ask consent to have the editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

[From the Oregon Journal, June 26, 1959] USING COAST INDIANS AS PAWNS

The Western Lane County Taxpayers as sociation cannot be blamed for organizing to resist the proposed national seasons regreation area. recreation area in the sand dunes between

But the ethics of its program to stir up the Indians in its behalf are certainly open to question

question.

The association is asking the Coos, Low Umpqua and Siuslaw tribes to help it fight the park proposal, telling the Indians that they have ancient claims to the land worked which have read to the land volved which have never been settled.

This is not the place to argue the valid ity of those claims, subject of a lawfull several years ago in which the Indians lost. But the Florence But the Florence area group is loss com-cerned about the Indians' rights than about

finding a way to thwart the acquisition by the national park service of land for national designation and development. hope the Indians will realize they are being used as pawns in this instance and will not build their hopes for payment on the basis of

what the taxpayer group tells them.
While opponents of the national seashore proposals have been getting most of the publicity, they do not necessarily represent that the local state of the publicity.

majority opinion along the coast.

William Tugman, publisher of the Port Umpqua Courier, Reedsport, who is as close to the whole picture as any other man, strongly endorses the proposal on the basis that recreation and service industries offer that area the best chance for growth and development without jeopardizing essential industrial potential in the ports of Siuslaw and Umpqua.

Those who object to the vicious grab of homes in the proposed area knew very well that the Government would permit their homes.

owners to live out their lives in their homes. Rearings this fall are to be held on the national seashore issue. There will be ample room and time to argue it on its merits.

The matter of the Indians' alleged claims was not brought in for a worthy purpose. The taxpayer group says this was done partly for its publicity value. In our opinion, it is not good publicity.

#### Poll Results

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 30, 1959

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the results of a poll which I recently conducted. The questionnaire was returned by over 25 by over 25 percent of the persons who received it, which I consider to be an excellent result, reflecting deep interest in important problems of the day:

WASHINGTON.—A questionnaire on major sues of the day sent out to constituents by Congressman Silvio O. Conte has revealed exceptionally strong sentiment for some form of labor legislation, a balanced budget and continued assistance to friendly nations.

Congressman Conte mailed out 4,000 ques Congressman CONTE mailed out 4,000 questionnaires along with his newsletter, and received 1,000 replies for an unusual 25 percent response. These came from every community in the district and represented the thinking of constituents from all walks of thinking of constituents from all walks of life and both political parties.

In addition to questions on the issues bean addition to questions on the issues of ore Congress, a straw poll on the 1960 Presidential election was offered which included Senators I.

Senators Kennedy and Humphrey, Vice President Nixon, and Governor Rockefeller.

Of the 1,000 who returned the questionnaire, Vice President Nixon led the field as the choice of 470 persons. Senator Kennedy the choice of 47.9 percent, Senator Kennery was favored by 21.9 percent, and Governor of 20.6 percent was close behind as the choice of 20.6 percent. of 20.6 percent. Senator Humphrey apparently has not made much of a dent in the First District of Massachusetts as he polled only 1.7 percent of the total.

An overwhelming 96.4 percent approved the country's firm stand in the Berlin crisis, and part is firm stand in the Berlin crisis, and next in line was the 87.1 percent figure in favor of the balanced budget. On the latter point, however, many commented that while they save holes part budget, they while they favored a balanced budget, they did not want it at the expense of national security or assistance to friendly nations.

In answer to the question: "Considering world tensions, should we continue our mutual security military and economic aid to friendly nations?" 85.9 percent said "Yes," while only 3.4 percent voted "No." In this case many pointed out that while such aid should be continued, a thorough examination should be conducted to prevent wasteful and unnecessary expenditures.

Concerning labor legislation, 84.3 percent

voted in favor of including the problems of secondary boycotts and blackmail picketing in any reform. However, of those who commented on this question, the consensus was that any legislation was better than none.

The omnibus housing bill was treated more cautiously as 39 percent were against it and 30.7 percent were in favor. Stating that they were not sure were 25.8 percent.

A somewhat similar situation developed over the question of a fair trade bill.

Against such legislation were 46.9 percent while only 39.7 percent registered their approval. Recording themselves as "not sure" were 10.4 percent.

Federal aid to education hit some rough sledding as 63.7 percent considered education primarily a local and State problem while only 21.9 percent felt that the Federal Government should be more concerned.

However, 50 percent stated that they would flowever, so percent stated that they would favor Federal aid in the construction of schools. Regarding Federal assistance in paying teachers' salaries, 68.4 percent were against, and only 18.1 percent were in favor. The major comment on this question was: "If the government is going to pay teachers' salaries, why not pay mine, too?"

Despite varying opinions on the issues, almost all stated how pleased they were to be given such an opportunity to express their

Questionnaire on important issues of the day

	Yes	No	Not sure	Blank
Do you favor a balanced Federal budget?     Considering world tensions, should we continue our mutual security, military, and	871	87	64	28
economic aid to friendly nations? 3. Do you feel that labor reform legislation should cover the problems of secondary boy-	859	34	75	32
cotts and blackmail picketing?  4. Do you approve of our country's firm stand in the Berlin crisis?  5. Do you favor the omnibus housing bill, which provides \$2,100,000,000 for urban renewal and college housing loans, and up to \$3,000,000,000 possible expenditures for	843 964	43 12	84 18	30 6
public housing in the coming years?  6. Do you favor a fair trade bill, which would permit contracts requiring retailers to sell trademark, brand or trade name items at stipulated prices (to prevent underselling	307	390	258	45
by discount houses, etc.)?  With respect to education, should the Federal Government—	397	469	104	30
7. Censider it primarily a local and State problem?  8. Ald school construction?  9. Help pay teachers' salaries?	687 500 181	219 364 684	53 86 81	41 50 54

STRAW POLL ON THE 1960 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION Of the following, whom would you favor for President?

Kennedy	219
Humphrey	17
Nixon	479
Rockefeller	206
Others:	
Republicans	11
Democrats	28
Blank	110

(Note.—The straw poll adds up to more than 1,000 because in the few instances when a ballot was marked in 2 places with no indication of first preference, both votes were counted.)

Utilizing Surplus Food in International Economic Programs

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, June 30, 1959

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, today I was privileged to participate in the conference on U.S. economy and international relations.

In the light of the Soviet threat to our existence, particularly in the economic field, constructive efforts to review and strengthen our economic programs are most fitting in these challenging times.

During the conference, sponsored by the International Economic Policy Association, of which Dr. N. R. Danelian is president, such vital topics of discussion were covered as:

"The U.S. Government's Role in International Finance"; "Trade Barriers Abroad"; "The Economic Program of Argentina": "Using Farm Products in International Economic Programs"; "Gov-ernment Aid Programs"; "Problems of Private Investment Abroad, Including Private Investments in a Changing World, Counterpart Funds and Local Currencies-Their Use Through Private Channels, and What Can Be Done To Encourage Private Investments"; "Objectives of Long-Range International Economic Relations."

At the meeting this morning, I had the opportunity to join in the discussions relating to using farm products in international programs.

Among other things, I have suggested a cooperative effort between the administration and Congress to develop a more clearly defined national food policy. The recommendation does not propose any new Government agency. Rather, it envisions conferences between the Secretary of Agriculture and a bipartisan group selected from the Senate and House Agriculture Committees.

The purpose would be to:

Attempt to define a long-range national food policy; and

Obtain maximum bipartisan participation for a more effective program to utilize food in our international programs in order to promote the cause of peace, to meet humanitarian needs, and for other purposes.

I ask unanimous consent to have the text of my remarks printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### ADDRESS BY SENATOR WILEY

I welcome the opportunity to join in the discussion of vital issues being considered by this conference on U.S. economy and international relations.

Particularly, I am happy to have the opportunity to discuss briefly the outlook for further using farm products in international economic programs.

The challenge is complex. The opportunities are manyfold. The successful creation of better programs for utilization of such resources offers rich rewards of economic, political, strategic, and humanitarian values.

#### SURPLUSES: PRIMARILY A DOMESTIC PROBLEM

We recognize, of course, that-realistically speaking—a major impulse behind our food distribution programs, at home and abroad, has been the pile up of surpluses-wheat, corn, cotton, dairy products, and other farm commodities. To find outlets for these stockpiles, special programs-many of them meritorious-have been designed.

Despite these efforts, however, the American people still have about \$9 billion invested in surpluses. Historically, the Government has recovered about 84 cents of each dollar spent for price supports. Nevertheless, this still represents a sizeable outlay of

Frankly, I feel that finding a solution for our surplus problem is, primarily, a domestic challenge.

What can be done?

Overall, there must be an effective effort to establish a production-consumption balance of farm commodities.

Too. I believe that real contributions can be made toward a solution of our surplus problem by application of a three-step formula:

(1) Increasing consumption; (2) getting better distribution; and (3) achieving greater utilization of basic components of farm products for commercial and other uses.

The adoption of this formula, I believe, can increase domestic consumption; in addition, it can also be useful in our programs for consumption of food abroad.

#### FOOD FOR PEACE NOT A NEW IDEA

The major objective of further utilizing food in our international economic policies. of course, is that of promoting peace.

We recognize, however, that the utilization of food-either for humanitarian, political, or other purposes-is not a new idea.

Over the years, nations of the world, from time to time, have shared their food resources with needy people, to supplement inadequate diets, stave off starvation in times of crises, natural disasters, or emergencies, and for other purposes.

We recall that in January of this year, President Eisenhower advanced a food-forpeace program. In May, a wheat conference of major wheat producing countries was held to attempt to deal with the surplus problem.

Too, the distinguished Senators participating in this discussion, Senator Carlson and Senator HUMPHREY, have given considerable thought to the challenges in this field, as evidenced here at this discussion.

Efforts, also, have been carried on through the United Nations agencies, regional international groups, through the export programs of individual countries, activities of churches, civic, and other organizations.

Under these programs, it is estimated that the total assistance to all nations amounted to over \$16 billion, for example, during the 4-year period from 1954 through 1957.

### NEED FOR IMPROVED FOOD POLICY

However, in view of the fact that: We have a \$9 billion surplus stockpile; yet at the same time, about one-half of the 2.7 billion world population is estimated to be undernourished, and almost one-third of the people of the world live on inadequate diet

development of a more effective utilization of our food resources offers an opportunity not only to carry on a humanitarian program-which, traditionally, has been an instinctive and creative effort by Americans, as well as other people—but also to gain side benefits of political, economic, and strategic value.

In view of these facts, the United States, I believe, can well reexamine its programs, policies, and planning with the objective of better utilizing our vast food resources-and perhaps our production plant-not only for the good of ourselves, but also for the good of the world.

#### REVIEW OF EXISTING PROGRAM

Under Public Law 480, and section 402 of the Mutual Security Act, we are aware that food is shipped abroad in a number of ways, including:

(1) Sales-for foreign currencies; grants—for emergency relief; (3) donations—to needy persons abroad; (4) barter for strategic materials.

The objectives of Public Law 480 include efforts to: Promote economic stability in America agriculture; expand international trade in agricultural commodities; encourage the economic development of friendly countries; promote the collective strength of the free world.

Generally, the objectives of these and other similar programs have received, wide support.

PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN EXPANDING USE OF FARM PRODUCTS

Now the question arises: How then can we establish an improved program for utilization of our food in international policy?

Superficially, it would appear to be a simple task to move stockpiles of surplus foods in one country directly to the hungry people of a less resourceful country, foodwise.

As we all appreciate, however, there are complex and difficult problems in distributing such food through either domestic or international channels.

In international economic programs, of course, it is vitally necessary to attempt to assure that:

1. The intentions and motivations with which we provide such food are not twisted so as to be used against us, rather than for creating good will for us.

2. The food gets to the people who really need it—either through sales or grants—rather than perhaps being sold through the black market or in other ways mishandled.

3. The foods are readily utilizable by the recipient people-and adaptable to their

4. There is minimum interference with normal economic channels.

We recall that the President's food-forpeace program recommended, too, that:

(5) The program be motivated by the humanitarian concept of sharing.

(6) The program be an integral part of a larger effort to promote the economic development of underdeveloped countries.

These guidelines, I believe, are sound. IMPROVING OUR FOOD DISTRIBUTION PROGRAM

Despite the acute problems, there is a recognized need for a better program to utilize our surplus foodstuffs-both at home and abroad; to turn these food resources into economic assets instead of liabilities; to feed hungry people; and to give support to our international economic policies.

#### PROBLEMS AND OBJECTIVES

In this, as in other international programs, we face of course the task of getting support of mature public thinking.

Today, the United States is a leader of the free world.

With that leadership goes the responsibil-

ity of attempting to assure that nations less fortunate-less rich in land, resources and technical know-how for production-share, as much as possible, in the benefits of our modern civilization.

This sharing must not be aimed solely at developing their military ability to support the free world defense; but also in terms of bettering their standards of living, and offering new opportunities for their people.

We cannot maintain leadership, without this responsible attitude. Nor can we-at this stage in history-cast off the role of leadership. To do so would seriously en-

danger our own survival.

However, if we fail to adequately fulfill our role, the free nations may well become disillusioned-become easier prey for Communist aggression. The uncommitted nations, too, might turn to communism to secure the food, technological know-howand yes, the governmental structure of com-munism—that poses as the "fairy godmother" of socialism-but in reality is more "kill-or-maim" type of totalitarian communism striving to control more land and people at any cost to achieve their ultimate goal of world domination.

NEEDED: BIPARTISAN CONFERENCE TO ESTABLISH LONG-RANGE NATIONAL FOOD POLICY

In view of these factors, the Congress and the administration, I believe, have an obligation for cooperating to develop a clearer, more effective national food policy.

To help meet what is a very great need, as well as to take advantage of what is also a real opportunity, I believe that a series of bipartisan conferences should be underconferences would include taken. The members of the Agriculture Committees of the House of Representatives and the Senate (from both parties) together with the

Secretary of Agriculture.

Among other things, the purpose would be to more clearly define our national food policy. Answers, of course, would need to be provided to a number of questions, in cluding: To what degree can, and should, farm products be utilized in planning in ternational policies; presently, are we making the best use of surpluses; how can we better utilize anticipated surpluses of the future; should it be national policy to carry on a food-for-peace program only, and s long as there are surpluses on the American market; or would it be advisable to enact a long-range program with the idea of making up any commitment deficits, if these exceed available surpluses, by planned productions for the food-for-peace program.

Would a food-for-peace program deemed important enough—from a humanitarian, as well as a political, economic, strategic and other viewpoints to merit making to a greater extent, part and parcel of

our cold war policy.

Until these and other objectives are clearly defined, our policy can, at best, be a tem porary one—perhaps marked by less efficiency than could otherwise be obtained. To some the food-for-peace program contains enough merits to put it on a long-range basis, even

I am aware that specific proposals for example, along the lines of Senator Huss PHREY'S bill for setting up Food for Pes Administration (S. 1711) as a separate agency

with a Food Administrator.

Naturally, I fully appreciate the motives of such action as well as the merits of

However, the foundation should—if at all objectives. possible—be firmly established upon a bro base of congressional, executive, and public support.

The proposal of a bipartisan conference aimed at getting broader support for a clearly defined program, I believe, would have following advantages: Obviously, it would help to meet a very great need; it would better enable us to take advantage of a very great opportunity; it would act as a protec-tion against the political bickering that often accompanies the development of policy in such fields; it would provide broader support, more continuity—and less interruptions, and switches of policy or design with the change of political complexion in Washington.

Upon conclusions of the Conference, rec-Ommendations could then be submitted to the President and to the Congress for consideration.

#### CONCLUSION

As yet, no "cure-all" solution has been created for the problem of surpluses.

At the same time, it is apparent: (1) That the problem of inadequate diets—at home and abroad-will be with us for the foreseeable future; (2) that the cold war with communism, too, exists for a long time.

In view of these factors, it is most desirable, I believe: (a) That we constitute our attempts to get production in line with consumption to provide a healthier domestic economy; (b) that we attempt to increase consumption at home and abroad through the three-step formula—increased consumption, better distribution, greater utilization for commercial and other purposes; (c) that we go forward speedily on the development of a national food policy—to enable us to uti-lize our rich food-producing resources for maximum benefit—humanitarian, economic, political, and strategic—domestically and internationally.

In conclusion, I want to express my warm appreciation for the opportunity to participate in this discussion.

Thank you.

# Tribute to Dr. Michael DeBakey, of Houston, Tex., for Heart Surgery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, June 30, 1959

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, Houston surgeon, Dr. Michael De-Bakey, has been presented the American Medical Association's Distinguished Service Award, the association's highest honor, for his discoveries and advancements in cardiovascular surgery. He is the first Texan to be so honored.

As a special recognition of Dr. De-Bakey, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an article relating the story of his honor, as printed in the Houston Press for Tuesday, June 9, 1959, under the heading: "For Distinguished Service—Dr. Department of the heading of the heading." DeBakey Wins AMA's Highest Honor."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Houston Press, June 9, 1959] DR DEBAKEY WINS AMA'S HIGHEST HONOR FOR DISTINGUISHED SERVICE

Dr. Michael DeBakey, who has gained worldwide renown for his leading role in cardiosass. cardiovascular surgery's most recent techniques, yesterday became the first Texan to receive the American Medical Association's Distinguished Service Award.

Dr. DeBakey, who heads the surgical staff of Jefferson Davis Hospital and the department of surgery at Baylor University College Medicine, is the fourth southerner to receive the AMA's highest honor since 1938.

#### THREE NOMINEES

The Houston surgeon was one of three top nominees considered for the honor. The others were Jonas Salk, who developed Salk vaccine for polio, and Dr. Shields Warren,

President Eisenhower will be the principal speaker tonight at the AMA's annual meeting in Atlantic City, at which the award will be presented to the Houstonian.

Dr. DeBakey was honored for his out-standing contribution to medical science and humanity.

#### EARLIER AWARD

It was the second time in recent years that the heart specialist received an award for his accomplishments in cardiovascular

surgery.

In 1947 he received the highest award for outstanding achievement from the International Society of Surgery-for a publication that contributed much to surgical

As a professor of surgery, at Tulane University, after he was graduated from that school and completed residences at Charity Hospital in New Orleans and studies at the Universities of Strasbourg (France) and Heidelberg (Germany), Dr. DeBakey began a brilliant career that took him to the top of his profession.

#### INTERNATIONAL LECTURER

His accomplishments have been of such worldwide significance that he has been in constant demand as a lecturer on heart surgery. Last year he was a featured speaker at the international cardiac meeting in Brussels. From there he went on a lecture tour that took him around the world, including Moscow.

Among Dr. DeBakey's contributions to heart surgery was the development of a pump that allowed the bloodstream to bypass the heart while the heart was being held

inactive for surgery.

He and his staff have made the Texas Medical Center a world mecca for sufferers of heart ailments, handling surgical operations that lesser medical centers dared not attempt.

#### HEART SURGERY PIONEER

Among their accomplishments have been preserving and grafting human heart arteries in heart patients to replace sections of wornout blood vessels, and an operation on blood vessels in the neck to prevent strokes. Also a cleaning operation to remove rust from the main arteries.

Yesterday a team of Houston doctors showed the AMA a new plastic mesh for repairing hernias in the same manner that a boot is used to reinforce a punctured tire a new method that is better than metallic or other plastic meshes.

Bishop Lane Speaker at Carnegie Hall Meeting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 30, 1959

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the speech of the Most Reverend Raymond A. Lane, M.M., D.D., at a mass meeting held in Carnegie Hall, New York City, for the purpose of calling attention to the enslaved conditions behind the Iron Curtain. Bishop Lane, a

native of Lawrence, Mass., was held under house arrest by the Japanese and Communists while he was a Maryknoll bishop in Manchuria. He urged his listeners to strive to know more about the enemy and danger that confronts us, the deception of his techniques, and the need of urgency for action.

Bishop Lane spoke in part as follows: Fellow believers in God, fellow sufferers from the tyranny of men, fellow defenders of freedom, you are familiar with the cry of the blind man, aware that Christ was passing by: "Lord, that I may see." The question of how to see, how to realize and how to remember the tyranny that faces us, not only in Moscow, in Peiping, in Budaus, not only in Moscow, in Feiping, in Buda-pest, in Prague, in Baghdad, in Kabul, in Lhasa and in other places, including our own United States, is a complicated one. Perhaps the best way to begin the process

of seeing what it is, and knowing what is to be done about it, is to look into our own soul and ask ourselves the question: "Why do I dislike this thing? Is it because of my loyalty to the belief in a supreme being to the idea of human freedom, and to the love of my neighbor? Or am I self-centered in my reactions to the menace that con-fronts us, and that destroys our good, easy way of life, and engenders in me, perhaps a resentment that could color my judgment and spoil my effort?"

It seems to me that much of the current opposition to the system that has enslaved so many and that threatens all of our values, springs from a fear of what we may lose. of what we may suffer, of what may incon-venience us, what may, perchance, topple down our golden calf of a higher standard

of living.

There is indeed a positive danger of substituting nationalism in an exaggerated form for something, that is higher, namely; the fatherland of God and the brotherhood of man. Boris Pasternak has Dr. Zhivago discussing this very point, and showing that when it comes to the final accounting, we shall be judged not as people of such and such a nationality, but as individuals. It is an established fact that Russian nationis an established last that Russian hationalism could be, and perhaps is, a stronger force among the Russian people as a whole than the Marxian ideology. I hope I shall not be misunderstood. I am condemning only that type of nationalism which is inconsistent with the kingdom of God.

This is a time when every man must ask himself: "Why am I upset by this ever growing monster of absolute power? Am I afraid of what it may mean to me; am I interested in the victims of this tyranny as though they were my next door neighbors?"

Am I indifferent or disinterested in, or downright lacking in compassion for people, flesh and blood people, suffering at this very moment, though they may be alien to my way of life, my color, nationality, religious belief, or the lack of it? This is an im-portant question, and it should have an honest and sincere reply if I am to engage in combating this evil effectively. If the answer is not in the affirmative, then it is quite possible that I may be consciously or otherwise aiding the enemy by causing re-sentment which, in turn, is the cause of so many millions espousing a system that they do not believe in and even despise and fear. All of us, from personal experience, realize how much confusion of mind and disturbance of heart result from resentment often enough not fully realized.

#### OFFERS SUGGESTION

May I suggest that we concentrate primarily on the evils of the system that has caused so much suffering and which hundreds of you people here present tonight have experienced, rather than building up resentment against individuals, many of

whom may be the victims of environment and of other factors, such as fear, that have paralyzed their power of resistance. I know of many cases from personal experience, one of which has touched me deeply. One of the best priests whom I knew in Manchuria, a who took charge of an important section of our mission for almost 4 years while I was a guest of the Japanese, had been consecrated a bishop in Shanghai, and was arrested as he descended from the train in Peiping. He was exposed for 4½ years to physical torture and brainwashing, and has now joined the so-called national church, and in fact, is considered their leader. He has consecrated several bishops, but I feel in my heart that this man is physically and mentally incapable of realizing the actual situation.

#### PERSONAL EXPERIENCES

Last winter I met on the east coast a Russian lady, a former parishloner of mine in Manchuria, who had suffered much before coming here. She said: "Please do not think of the Russian people as irreligious." This reminds me of another experience I had with the Russians in Manchuria after I was released from concentration. On one occasion I was asked by a friend, a captain of the Soviet Army, to entertain a group of officers. At the end of the meal, as the group was leaving the dining room, one of them held up for a moment, reached inside his tunic, showed me a crucifix, and said: "We are of the same mind." And on an-other occasion 6 months after the war, I went from Fushun to Mukden with five Chinese Sisters to reopen a mission in Dairen. There was chaos in and around the railroad station. The train, supposed to arrive at 6 p.m., arrived 7 hours later. During this period, time and again, groups of drunken Russian soldiers roamed the station, inside and out, shooting, robbing the passengers and causing great anxiety. haps 10 or more times they approached our group as we stood on the platform in a temperature well below zero, and I confess that I was prepared for the worst. After two or three narrow escapes, two young Russian civilians approached us. The older one asked in perfect English: "Can I help you?" I explained the situation. They remained with us, and as each group approached they talked them out of their evil designs. There is much more to the story, but no time to tell it. Suffice to say, the following day in Dairen when I asked them if they were so-called White Russians, they said: "No, we are Soviets."

It may occur to you that I may seem to be excusing individuals for their acts of cruelty and oppression. Please do not misunderstand me. What I am trying to do is to induce a feeling of compassion for all the principals of this diabolical conspiracy, the leaders, the collaborators, and the victims. I think my approach is a religious one, but it does not obviate the need of vigilance, of opposition, and of punishment wherever guilt is legally established.

Finally, the question most likely will occur to all of us here: "What can I do as an individual to combat a force which has repeatedly expressed itself as determined to overthrow all that we hold sacred?"

Let us all resolve, here and now, to expose at every opportunity, the big lie of the so-called freedom of the democracy according to the Marxist blueprint. Let us do this in private conversation, by correspondence, by letters to newspapers and magazines, by radio, television, and by every possible means of communication. Let us drop the hypocrisy, expose the deceit, oppose the crueity, and terminate the soft and deadly policy of appeasement.

METHODS OF PROCEDURE

May I suggest five methods of procedure. First let us strive to know more and more about the enemy and danger that confronts us, the deception of his techniques, and the need of urgency of action. (I have just read in the newspaper of my native town in New England, with a population of some 75,000 people, that there exists there at this time 15 Communist cells. This evidence was presented just a few days ago by an agent who had joined the Communist Party in order to investigate the situation. So, my dear friends, the danger is imminent and the need of action is obvious.) In 1944 there were more party members (80,000), in this country than there were in Russia when the revolution occurred 45 years ago, and we know that, for every card-carrying Communist, at least 10 others would join the hardcore members if anything like a revolution seemed imminent.

The second suggestion is that we make our opposition positive, in this sense; that we should strive to improve constantly ourselves, the communities in which we live, and the Nation as a whole. A negative stand is hopeless and usually barren of results. My third suggestion is that we concentrate more and more on the youth of our country, the hope for the future. The fourth suggestion is that we accept our responsibility at this very moment, not tomorrow, or the following day, or at some future date. It is already too late, and the need of immediate action is therefore crucial.

And, finally, my fifth suggestion is that we increase and deepen our faith. Communists have a misplaced faith, and many a former ardent communist is now a most fervent opponent of communism.

#### Safer Automobiles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 30, 1959

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, I was delighted to read the editorial entitled "Public Can Spur Making of Safer Autos," which appeared in the Daily Journal of Tupelo. Miss. recently

Journal of Tupelo, Miss., recently.

Under leave to extend my remarks,
I ask that this editorial be included in
the Record.

The editorial referred to follows:

Public Can Spur Making of Safer Autors
Automobiles, which last year injured 1
person for each 10 families in America, will
be made safer in the future if the public
supports congressional hearings set for next
month by an Alabama Congressman, KenNETH ROBERTS.

This is not to say that Representative ROBERTS will win his battle seeking to force the Nation's richest industry to submit to Government regulation regarding installation of safety features. For there is little chance that the Roberts bill requiring certain safety features on all automobiles purchased by the Federal Government will be approved this year.

approved this year.

But merely turning a spotlight on the automotive industry's failure to emphasize safety to the extent demanded by the presence of 68 million fast-moving cars on the Nation's highways will go far toward obtaining safer construction features.

And faced with the possibility of safety regulation in some other form even if the Roberts bill does not win approval, automakers are certain to begin giving increased attention to safety—perhaps eventually as much as they give to style.

It was Congressman Roberts who pushed through a law requiring manufacturers to put escape handles inside their refrigerators so that children trapped in them could get out.

And he has a point in arguing that if Congress can insist on safety features in electric refrigerators, in airplanes, and even in food, it can insist on safety features in automobiles—at least in the tens of thousands of cars bought by the Federal Government each year.

It is significant that American medical

It is significant that American medical leaders showed concern over the lack of safety considerations in auto construction even before Congress took note of this problem.

And it is on such organizations as the American Medical Association that Representative ROBERTS is depending for support in his uphill fight to get auto manufacturers to put all known practical safety devices on their cars.

Four years ago the American Medical Association Journal carried an article stating:

"Auto accidents may occur as the result of speed, inadequate highways, poor driver judgment, or mechanical failure. But none of these actually causes the passenger intury."

"Injury, itself, occurs primarily as a result of faulty interior design of the automobile. And 'faulty' is actually a gross understatement as there is almost no feature of the interior design of a car that provides for safety.

"The elimination of mechanically hazardous features of interior auto design would prevent approximately 75 percent of the 37,-000 highway fatalities that occur each year," the Medical Association article pointed out.

And the American College of Surgeons, whose members have the unhappy task of patching up and trying to save the lives of the 5 million persons injured in autos each year, followed up this article with a resolution calling upon auto makers to "stress occupant safety as a basic factor of design."

It is quite true that people don't drive as well as they know how and that highways have not yet been made as safe as is possible.

And both these facts play a role in the high automotive accident toll.

But progress is being made in both these fields, with almost \$40 billion being spent on new multilane interstate highways and such programs as high school driver education seeking to improve the human factor in auto safety. And similar progress is needed in safer auto construction.

For wrecks will, without doubt, continue in spite of anything that can be done, but they can be made less deadly and less crippling by improving auto design, particularly on the interior.

Congressman Roberts, therefore, deserves both public interest and public support for what he is trying to do.

And though Congress may not pass the bill he proposes requiring on all Government-purchased autos such features as padded dash boards, "deep dish" steering wheels, safety belt attachments built into the frame, and rollover bars to prevent collapse of the top in event of a wreck, we can be sure that if the public becomes genuirely aroused by the congressional hearings next month, the automotive industry will step up its efforts to provide the needed safety features even though Congress never takes official action on the problem.

"Dangerous, Misleading Impression" Given by Bock, Robertson Asserts

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. J. VAUGHAN GARY

OF VIEGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 30, 1959

Mr. GARY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an article with reference to "The Ugly American" written by Assistant Secretary of State Walter S. Robertson, which was published in the Richmond Times-Dispatch last Sunday.

"The Ugly American" has attracted wide interest in the United States and for weeks has been listed as one of the five best selling works of fiction. There is no question about the fact that Americans have made mistakes abroad but I do not believe that these mistakes are typical of American behavior. "The Ugly American" has aroused so much discussion that the Richmond Times-Dispatch asked my fellow townsman and warm personal friend Walter Robertson to comment upon it. His article has impressed me so favorably that I think every Member of the Congress should have the benefit of his views:

"DANGEROUS, MISLEADING IMPRESSION" GIVEN BY BOOK, ROBERTSON ASSERTS

(By Walter S. Robertson)

"The Ugly American" has attracted widespread attention that reflects the interest and concern of the people about our representatives abroad. It is precisely because of this interest and concern that I am glad to discuss the book which I think has given a dangerously misleading impression of how our problems can be solved as well as many completely erroneous impressions of what the problems are.

While the authors Insist that materials in the book was based upon factual situations, they also describe the work as both fiction and fact. It is difficult to deal with it on this basis, for if it were all fiction one could say either is or is not a good story and could comment upon its literary merit. If it were Offered as all fact it would be easy indeed to comment because the book is filled with distortions, plain errors and misleading con-

clusions.

This book does make some points that need to be made. For instance, it warns against the serious Communist threat to southeast Asia. In this respect the book performs a public service. On balance, however, I think the book basically performs a disservice, because it pretends that the Communist threat can be met and successfully Overcome simply by introducing gimmicks at the grassroots level.

#### PREPOSTEROUS ASSERTION

It is preposterous to assert that introduction of the right kind of chickens, water Pumps powered by jacked-up bicycles, longer handles for brooms and other similarly sim-Ple and useful ideas can adequately cope With the Communists' many-faceted attack upon the economies, the political fabric and the social institutions of the southeast Asian countries.

The book closes with dangerously delusive conclusions. The ideas of the ugly American Homer Atkins, are presented as words of wisdom. He says: "You don't need dams and roads. Have you ever heard of a

food shortage being solved by someone building roads.'

The answer to that question is, of course, Yes." The building of roads has a great deal "Yes." to do with solving food shortages. Food gets from farm to market on roads, and where there are no roads the food doesn't get there in adequate quantity.

But what is more important, food shortage is not a major problem in southeast Asia. In fact, food is exported from most of these agricultural countries as a principal earner of foreign exchange.

#### ECONOMIC IMBALANCE

Dams provide electric power as well as irrigation and flood control. Power runs fac-tories. Factories produce goods which are in very short supply, but which are needed in southeast Asia, and which must be purchased now with scarce foreign exchange. Without adequate electric power, there is an imbalance of agriculture in the economy. This is in a measure responsible for the relatively low standard of living in many places which, in turn, offers exceptional oppor-tunities to the Communists. Dams and roads are indeed necessary to southeast Asian countries' efforts to develop and give their peoples a better life.

Now, undoubtedly the American assistance programs in southeast Asia have imperfec-tions. But an encouraging high proportion of them have been very effective. There have been some persons recruited to carry on these programs and to represent our Government on the official level who may not have met all the exacting tests one might like to apply as a standard of what is the very best, but these have been the exceptions. The large these have been the exceptions. majority are actually a competent and dedicated group. They have accomplished a very

It is grossly unfair to give the impression, as the book under discussion does, that most of these people are frivolous and ineffectiveand it is ridiculous to suggest that it would be far better to dispense with them and send instead persons skilled in palmistry for use on "superstitious, irresponsible Asian leaders." [Quotation marks mine.] This laters." [Quotation marks mine.] This latter idea is insulting to our highly cultured friends in the Far East. It is also simply untrue, as well as a denial of faith in America. to suggest as this book does, that practically everything that we have done is bad and practically everything the Russians do is

MUTUAL SECURITY

The book does not deal at all with the question of mutual security, and I emphasize both words, "mutual" and "security." does not indicate that what is often mis-called our "foreign aid" program supports Far Eastern armies totaling one and threefourths million men, all Asians, who stand ready to defend their own new-found freedom and, by doing so, to defend ours, too.

One of our greatest needs is understanding at home of why these programs and peo-ple are necessary. The book does not make this clear. We need understanding of how difficult the job is. The book oversimplifies this. We need voter support for the kind of mutual security program that tackles the whole job of opposing the Communist advance in all its aspects in the Far East. The book tends to destroy this concept.

There need be no defeatism about the situation in Asia. The book tends to foster such an attitude by implying that our Gov-ernment has falled while the Russians have found the answer,

In an effort to demonstrate that the Russians have learned how to deal with the local populations, the book relates an incident in which a Russian Ambassador paid his respects to a high Buddhist priest. The incident is pure fiction. But an American Ambassador actually did just what the book said a Russian Ambassador did.

The book also says the Russians have solved the language problem better than we have. There is no evidence that this is true.

The language proficiencies of American representatives are grossly misrepresented in the book. On almost the first page, an American Ambassador is wishing someone on his staff could read the local newspaper. There is not a single American embassy in southeast Asia without language experts on the staff.

The language abilities of our personnel are growing constantly with every passing month through intensive programs that have been in operation for several years. They should be larger and would be larger if there had been congressional approval of fund requests to build them up.

#### WISHFUL THINKING

The limited type of program which the book advocates would leave southeast Asia largely undefended against the Communists' attacks. I fear the book fosters wishful thinking and may result in reduced support for our programs which are based upon plans developed mutually with the free Asians to meet the Communist challenge.

These are plans that follow many Asian suggestions, plans that put Asians in the forefront of action in their own development and in their own defense, and plans that call from us the best skills, includingbut by no means limited to-those concerning how to raise more food. Most of all, the plans call upon us to be willing to stay with this problem until it is solved, which will not be soon. The problem is not simple. The enemy is persistent and alert.

The interest and concern of Americans

about their representatives abroad is most desirable. But this must be honestly met with undistorted accounts of how things are. I am sure the American people will port the kind of programs needed if they are enabled to understand the problem and what it means to their security and the future happiness of their children.

Fiction may be an effective way of getting this across. Maybe some day someone will write a book that does it; a book, per-haps, about "The Determined Americans."

# Personal Relations Between Oregon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, June 30, 1959

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter dated June 20, 1959, from my colleague [Mr. Neuberger], to the editor of the Bend (Oreg.) Bulletin, which letter was published in the June 22, 1959, issue of that newspaper. I am sure the letter will be of interest to the Senate.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

To the EDITOR:

I appreciate your favorable comments about me in the editorial in the Bend Bulletin of May 29.

Let me assure you definitely that I have no intention whatsoever of becoming trapped in a name-calling contest with Senator Morse. I could not possibly match his invective. Furthermore, such a spectacle could only bring disrepute to our State in general.

It is my opinion that Senator Morse has now denounced and abused so many different people in unbridled terms, that the general public is quite able to appraise accurately his latest onslaught against me.
After having suffered the kind of serious

illness I have undergone, I think one gains a perspective on political feuding which reduces it to proper proportionsand those proportions are very small and unimportant

Furthermore, I was greatly pleased with your editorial giving your own roster of favorite places in Oregon. I imagine Oregon is the kind of place where each of its 1,700,-000 residents could compile a different list and still be well within the realm of plausibility.

With warm regards, I am, Sincerely,

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, U.S. Senator. WASHINGTON, D.C., June 20, 1959.

#### Statement on Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. BASIL L. WHITENER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 30, 1959

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, on June 24, 1959, Mr. A. G. Heinsohn, Jr., a prominent textile industrialist who has a textile plant in my district at Spindale, N.C., made a statement before the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations in regard to our foreign aid program.

Mr. Heinsohn's statement outlines the serious effect that our foreign aid spending is having on domestic industry. I believe my colleagues in the House will be interested in reading Mr. Heinsohn's remarks, and I request that his statement be inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

STATEMENT OF MR. A. G. HEINSOHN, JR., MEMBER, AND REPRESENTING THE CITIZENS FOREIGN AID COMMITTEE, BEFORE THE HOUSE APPROPRIATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE ON FOREIGN OPERATIONS, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 24, 1959

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, my name is A. G. Heinsohn, Jr. am president of two small cotton mills, the Spindale Mills of Spindale, N.C., and the Cherokee Textile Mills of Sevierville, Tenn. The title of my presentation is: "Foreign Aid Finances Competition With U.S. Industry.'

In promoting the welfare of other countries through the foreign aid program the United States has been creating competition for the products of U.S. industry both abroad and at home, impoverishing American business and taking jobs from the American workman.

The textile industry is an example. In the 10 years from April 3, 1948, to June 30, 1958, the United States has paid for \$141,-019,000 of textile machinery to be installed in other foreign countries. This is in addi-tion to sums lent through the Export-Import Bank for the export of textile machinery, or lent through the foreign aid program, or made available for the purchase of textile machinery through nonallocated grants.

The consequence of this generosity has been to build up textile industries abroad with new machines and the latest processes and equipment, that are able, with the cheaper labor available abroad, to cut deeply into the U.S. textile market both abroad and at home. The New York Times for Monday, May 25, 1959, carries a feature story with pictures, of the latest entrant into the U.S. textile market-the Taiwan textile industry. The report confirmed that mills on this island were preparing to fill orders from the United States for 3 million yards of printed cotton flannel valued at about \$500,000. This was termed by Taiwan textile people as a modest beginning. The growth of the Talwan textile industry is considered worthy of comment in Taiwan, the article states, because of the fact that before World War II the island imported large quantities of fabrics from Japan. Hence our gifts for the erection of a textile industry in the island are not a case of helping to rebuild a shattered economy but to create a new textile industry in competition with U.S. textile products.

In addition to fomenting the textile industries of 36 different foreign countries, the administrators of the foreign aid program have favored the build-up of foreign competition by increased purchases of foreign made textiles under its various procurement programs. In 1955, the Government, through the aid program, purchased \$16,-046,000 of foreign made textiles, representing 62 percent of total textile purchases under the aid program. By 1957, the total was \$89,112,000, or 93 percent of the total, and in 1958, \$57,563,000 or 85 percent of the

The consequences of this policy upon the vitality of the domestic textile industry are obvious, though they cannot be traced in detail. We may note that the textile in-dustry of this country has not shared in the prosperity since the war. The Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce recently reported the following pertinent facts:

(a) Industrial production in the United States has gone up 45 percent from the 1947-49 base level, but textile production has declined 2 percent. Within the industry, the branches showing the greatest declines are; cotton goods, 2.9 percent; rayon and acetate fabrics, 26.3 percent; woolen and worsted goods, 44.2 percent.

(b) The amount of textile machinery in place has shown even more striking declines. The number of cotton system spinning spindles declined by 11 percent between 1947 and 1957. The number of cotton-system broad-woven looms declined 15.8 percent. Woolen spinning spindles declined 52.8 percent, and woolen and worsted looms, 49.1 percent.

(c) Total employment in the textile mills of the United States dropped by 325,000, or 24 percent, in the 10-year period.

(d) Between 1946 and 1957, a total of 717 mill liquidations were reported in the press, displacing a total of 196,875 workers.

(e) While consumer prices in 1957 had risen 20.2 percent from the 1947-49 base, and wholesale prices 17.6 percent, the price of apparel—the product which represents the end-use of textiles-rose only 6.9 percent, and the market price for textile fabrics actually declined. The average annual price of cotton cloth dropped 31 percent.

(f) While profits as a percent of sales, the manufacturing industry generally, dropped from 6.7 percent to 4.8 percent in the decade 1947-57, the corresponding profit rate for the textile industry dropped from 8.2 percent to 1.9 percent.

(g) Between 1946 and 1957, exports of cotton cloth declined 29 percent while imports went up 175 percent. While the

United States still exports some four times the amount imported, producers of cotton cloth have been faced with declining export markets. The same situation applies to woolen and man-made fibers. From 1947 to 1957, exports of man-made fibers declined 27 percent, while the period witnessed a fifteenfold increase in imports. In the case of woolen goods, imports increased 639 percent between 1946 and 1957 while exports dropped by 97 percent. The substantial loss of export markets and the rapid increase of imports, coupled with growing interfiber competition, has meant that in a period of about 10 years the domestic woolen and worsted industry has been virtually cut in half in terms of production, employment, and machinery in place.

Part of these results are of course attributable to changes in the domestic economy. There has been a decline in the percentage of disposable income that individuals have spent on apparel and textile products-though this has been offset to some extent by the increase in population. An even more significant decline has occurred in industrial consumption of textile products, resulting from competition of plastics, paper, and similar products.

A major cause of the decline of the textile industry, however, is Government poli-cies. Among these are the two-price system by which foreign countries, under our aid program and the agricultural price support system, are able to acquire American cotton at some 18 percent less than the domestic textile mill. Since the cost of raw material accounts for some 40 percent 50 percent of the cost of producing cotton fibers. American mills are at a competitive disadvantage apart from other cost differ-

Financial encouragement to other nations to expand textile prdouction, under the foreign aid program, have had a major adverse effect on the domestic textile industry, as indicated by the figures given earlier.

The depression in the textile industry. if it has not been caused entirely by the policies of the Government, has been seriously aggravated by these policies. There has been nothing in the international policies of the Government to relieve the textile industry, but everything to depress it.
What has occurred to the textile industry.

either by the action or by the neglect of the Government, is happening to a score of other industries. I append a table drawn from official ICA statistics, showing the purthe Inchases of commodities abroad by ternational Cooperation Administration and the percentage which these purchases represent of total purchases of such commodities. From the table it will be seen that the Government, far from taking note of the plight of the textile industry, has been aggravating that plight by increasing the share of purchases of textiles abroad. The same trend is observable in a wide list of other commodities. Fours years ago, the Government bought 78 percent of its chemi-cal requirements for the aid program at home: last year it bought only 44 percent-In 1955, 97 percent of freight car purchases were bought from American manufacturers; in 1958, only 11 percent. For all commodities, the aid administration went to American suppliers for 79 percent in 1955; 4 years later it was giving nearly half the business to foreign suppliers.

Among the industries most seriously affected by this policy besides textiles, are iron and steel mill products, pulp and paper products, fertilizer, cement and other non-metallic minerals, nonferrous metals and products, copper, lumber, and lumber manufacturers, machinery and equipment, motor vehicles, engines and parts, and

freight cars.

FOREIGN AID FINANCING OF FOREIGN COMPETITION

U.S. purchases of foreign wares, 1955-58-Amount of foreign procurements with percent of total procurements

[Amounts in thousands of dollars]

Commodity	Fiscal year 1955		Fiscal year 1936		Fiscal year 1957		Fiscal year 1958	
	Total	Percent	Total	Percent	Total	Percent	Total	Percent
Fertilizer	\$40, 102	< 47			\$33, 393	53	\$41,689	66
auriented Insie Inxides	16 046	62	\$34, 928	76	- 89, 112	93	57, 563	88
nemical and related products	7, 110	22	26, 293	48	42, 394	58	35, 593	156
con and steel mill products	25, 786	60	45, 569	64	58, 405	72	67, 161	68
ulp and paper products.	2, 573	43	10, 973	87	16, 916	82	12, 133	76
erals	9, 908	75	22, 804	98	22, 123	96	15, 973	96
ADDITION THAT THE ATTACK THE ATTA	12, 126	46	10, 816	78	13, 534	85	21,020	84
ODING	3, 674	27	3, 378	67	2, 692	75	9, 193	81
	5, 302	63	7, 328	58	9, 306	57	10, 108	62
lachinery and equipment	29, 468	24	51, 168	34	70, 712	42	68, 993	43
Miller vehicles engines and nerts	2, 402	8	15, 415	34	13, 847	34	16, 045	3/
reight curs	325	3	5,003	38	2, 965	80	1,777	85
	11,002	27	31, 937	58	41, 447	62	37, 762	63
	210, 181	21	331, 340	32	527, 655	43	488, 719	48
Textile muchinery 1	1, 162	26	3, 911	50	8, 498	83	8, 644	84

<sup>1</sup> Included in preceding.

#### Tax Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. LEONARD G. WOLF

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 30, 1959

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks I wish to insert into the RECORD an article by the distinguished columnist Drew Pearson, from the Washington Post, and an article by C. P. Trussell in the New York Times. These articles deal with the broblem of tax legislation passed by the Senate and the House yesterday besides considering the problem of the conference committee between the House and Senate.

There have been other comments on conference committees by members of this House which suggest that both Houses of Congress should seriously study what the conference committee does to our legislative system. One of the most common charges is that these groups do not always reflect the view of their particular body. For an interesting comment on this question note, page 8743. June 3, Congressional Record by DAN FLOOD.

Where the conference report does not reflect the will of the body, but only those of the conferees, it is incumbent on Members of Congress to object to that

[From the Washington Post, June 30, 1959] GROUP OVERRIDES SENATE'S ACTION

(By Drew Pearson)

The Senate of the United States met until 1 a.m. last week voting on taxes scheduled to expire at midnight tonight (June 30). The debate was preceded by a secret huddle between Senator John Carroll, of Colorado, and Senator Lyndon Johnson, of Texas, at which the Democratic leader emphatically agreed that the liberal Demo-crats should bring up for a vote certain tightening of tax loopholes and tax provisions favoring big business.

During the subsequent voting, three of these were voted down as follows:

1. Senator Paul Douglas, Illinois, lost a move to cut the oil depletion allowance.

2. Senator Joe CLARK, Pennsylvania, failed to plug the loophole permitting big tax-payers to deduct yachts, private airplanes, world series boxes, and other entertainment.

3. Senator WILLIAM PROXMIRE, Wisconsin, failed in his proposal to put those who receive dividends on the same withholding basis as wage earners whose taxes are withheld from payrolls.

However, one important proposal by Senator Eugene McCarthy, Minnesota, won. It was to abolish the 4 percent tax deduction given those who make their money from stock market dividends as against those who earn it from salaries or Government bonds. This so-called George Humphrey amendment proposed by the recent Secretary of the Treasury in order to stimulate the stock market, was abolished.

But 1 day later, the Joint Committee of the House and Senate, with a stroke of the pen, wiped out the Senate vote. It reinstated tax favoritism for stock market investors-despite the fact that this favoritism costs the Treasury \$335 million annually.

#### BIG BUSINESS COMMITTEE

On the joint committee were: Bynn, of Virginia, biggest applegrower in the world; KERR, of Oklahoma, one of the biggest oilmen in the United States; FREAR, of Delaware, who sometimes votes with the Du Ponts—all Democrats; plus Bennett, of Utah, former president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, and BUTLER, of Maryland, elected with Texas oil money, Republicans.

On the House side were Democrats Mills of Arkansas, King of California, and FORAND of Rhode Island, always jealous of the right of the House of Representatives to initiate tax legislation; with SIMPSON of Pennsylvania and Mason of Illinois, archeonservative Republicans. Only man on the joint committee who battles for small taxpayers is Senator Russell Long, of Louislana.

#### REVEALING DEBATE

Here is a cross section of the Senate debate before Senators voted to abolish the 4 percent tax preference for stock market investors.

Senator Douglas, of Illinois: "The then Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey was sponsor of the amendment. In his testimony before the Banking and Currency Committee, of which I am a member, he represented this as being an aid to persons of low incomes, because he said those with low incomes were the primary owners of American industry."

Senator McCarthy had just shown that low-income taxpayers got almost no benefit from the 4 percent stock dividend deduction. He agreed with Douglas that Humphrey was

about 99.44 percent wrong. Senator Lausche, of Ohio: "Is not preferential treatment given to those who derive their incomes from stock holdings over those who derive their income from Government bonds?

Senator Douglas: "The Eisenhower administration, having given this tax favor to the owner of stocks, helped send up the prices of stocks. It helped stimulate the movement of capital investment into stocks. But now they say that is one reason they must increase the interest rate on bonds. In other words, having gotten us into the fix through the improper benefits to owners of stocks, they now want to use that fact as a leverage to increase the in-terest rate on bonds."

The Senate then voted to repeal the Humphrey amendment. One day later, the joint committee knocked the Senate's vote into a cocked hat.

[From the New York Times, June 30, 1959] CONGRESS PASSES TAX COMPROMISE TO BEAT DEADLINE—PRESIDENT EXPECTED TO SIGN BILL ON CORPORATE INCOME AND EXCISE LEVIES TODAY

#### (By C. P. Trussell)

Washington, June 29 .- Congress approved and sent to the White House tonight final legislation to prevent \$3,138 million of corporate income and excise tax revenues from expiring tomorrow at midnight.

President Eisenhower was expected to sign the measure tomorrow and thus avert the loss of \$3 billion in annual revenues.

The House of Representatives approved the conference adjustment of Senate and House differences promptly and by a voice vote But the compromise ran into a major battle in the Senate.

The Senate vote was 57 to 35. After 6 hours of floor debate in which it was alleged that the House had imposed a "gag" upon itself against amendments and had tried to impose the same restrictions on the Senate. Republicans and 25 Democrats released the compromise for what was viewed as a certain Presidential signature. All of the "no" votes were cast by Democrats.

#### LONG LEADS OPPOSITION

This vote was not expected to close the issues that brought the Senate and House into sharp disagreement. Senate debate broke away from the usual amenities observed by the two Houses. The House was accused by Senator Russell B. Long, Democrat, of Louisiana, of making a deal to freeze the Schate.

While the \$3 billion of taxes were continued, it was indicated that the fight had not ended. Other attempts to work the eliminated or modified Senate amendments were expected to follow when other germane legislation reached the floor.

The current levies were imposed on a "temporary" basis to help meet the cost of the Korean war. They have been extended six times, with corporate taxes staying at 52 percent, instead of sliding back to 47 percent. Excise taxes affected include those on whisky, beer, wines, cigarettes and their parts.

Senator Long gained support as he charged that the Senate conferees, headed by HARRY F. BYRD, Democrat of Virginia and chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, had yielded too soon and too softly to demands by House conferees that Senate amendments be discarded or watered down.

Before the Senate accepted the measure, Senator Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, the majority leader, served notice that he would hold the Senate into around-the-clock sessions, if necessary.

When the Senate-House conferees met last Friday they eliminated three of five amendments that the Senate had added during a session lasting from 9:30 a.m., Thursday until 1 a.m. Friday. They compromised on two.

One of those eliminated was an amend-ment designed to repeal the 4 percent tax credit on dividend income of more than \$50. This would have brought an estimated \$335 million into the Treasury from stock and bond holders.

conferees also accepted Senate amendments to increase by some \$142 million annually the funds that the Government provided the States for public assistance to the needy, aged, blind, disabled, and dependent children. The conferees decided that this question could be handled in separate legislation later in the session. Senate attempts to terminate the 10 per-

cent tax on passenger travel as of August I were modified into an agreement to reduce the levy to 5 percent as of June 30, 1960, bringing in about \$125 million a year without effect on the heavily unbalanced 1960 budget. Meanwhile, Congress could change its mind.

## Appropriations for National Aeronautics and Space Agency for 1960

SPEECH

# HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 29, 1959

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 7978) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1960, and for other purposes.

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Chairman, I yield the balance of the time to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Fulton].

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Chairman, the problem we face here today is to determine what is an adequate budget for this Space Agency. I am sure every Member of the House is interested in having an adequate program and a full and well-balanced space and scientific research and development program. I am sure there is no one on this floor and no one within the National Aeronautics and Space Agency who can tell within \$10 million how much that program is going to require. We Members of Congress can have a legitimate difference of opinion on this particular appropriation bill and on this particular

I feel the members of the House Appropriations Subcommittee have decided the amount according to their own best lights what they think is most important. We, on the House Committee on Science and Astronautics, of which I am a member, should accept that statement of current position of the Appropriations Subcommittee under the leadership of the gentleman from Texas | Mr. THOMASI, the gentleman from Virginia IMr. Garyl, and the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. JENSEN], whose judgment I value highly.

I would like to ask the subcommittee chairman, my good friend, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Thomas], as well as the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. JENsen], the ranking Republican, what the future position of the committee will be.

It is a serious question of how this proposed cut of approximately \$45 million affects necessary research and development programs of the NASA agency for space and aeronautics. If there are necessary programs that are held back substantially or our authorizing com-mittee feels should be expedited and should be emphasized, will the subcommittee cooperate, and be open to our coming back in the future to point out further recommendations and requirements? I am sure the answer will be "Yes," but I would like to ask you whether you will be open to further consideration of recommendations from us on the Science and Astronautics Committee from time to time.

Mr. THOMAS. The answer is "Absolutely yes." I want to commend the gentleman for his statement. The gentleman has expressed my own thoughts even better than I could in what he has just said. Of course, there is no disposition on the part of anybody on the floor of this House to hold back this Agency in any way. But we realize, as the gentleman has stated, in talking about fixed costs, there is no such thing as fixed costs here except the item of salaries. There is no such thing as fixed costs in research and development.

Mr. FULTON. I thank the gentle-

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Chairman, I must add at this point that I agree 100 percent with what the chairman of my committee has just said.

#### Population and Pollution Increase

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. BYRON L. JOHNSON

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, the Rocky Mountain News in its fifth of articles on water pollution, published June 25, 1959, describes the unsuccessful efforts of the city of Denver to keep up with the treatment of sewage from a rapidly increasing population.

An outstanding disposal plant there cannot provide secondary treatment as required by the State of Colorado. Furthermore, even the primary treatment has to be abandoned during heavy storms or at peak use periods. At these times Denver dumps raw sewage into the South Platte River, which damages my constituents and others downstream.

I call my colleagues' attention to the kind of economy the voter gets from a modern disposal plant. Sewage solids are converted into fertilizer for the city's parks, and gases produced in the treatment process are used to heat the facility and operate the digesters used to treat the sewage. But plants must be con-structed, and the Federal Government should help more generously in partnership with metropolitan areas.

[From the Rocky Mountain News, June 25. 1959

DENVER'S NEED FOR SECONDARY PLANT GROWS (By Bill Miller)

"Before the construction of the disposal plant (1937), the sewage of Denver was discharged through several outlets conveniently located along the (Platte) river channel through the city."

(From a Black & Veatch (engineering) report submitted to Denver in 1946.)

"The effluent produced by the North Side (main Denver) plant will not meet the requirements of the Colorado State Department of Public Health. To meet these require-ments addition of secondary treatment works is necessary although the plant capacity would remain at 85 million gallons per day.

"The cost of these additional treatment units is estimated to be \$8.5 million."

#### ESTIMATE SHORE

(From a Black & Veatch report submitted to Denver in 1957.)

"The population of Denver in 1935 is estimated at 300,000. By 1950, the expected population will be 350,000."

(From a Black & Veatch report submitted to the city in 1946.)

"Denver's population, 1950—415,786." (From the U.S. census published in 1950.) "Denver's population in March 1959 is esti-mated at 531,750, an increase of 27.9 percent over 1950."

(From the Denver Chamber of Commerce in March 1959.)

These reports and these figures tell the story of sewer problems in Denver from no treatment as late as 1937 for 300,000 Denverites to a good primary treatment but no secondary treatment for 531,750.

On December 11, 1937, Denver's main plant went into operation.

It was designed for complete treatment of sewage from a population of 317,000 or a flow of 54 million gallons per day.

That was not quite 22 years ago.

#### OTHER THOUSANDS

Now, in addition to its own population of 531,750, Denver is serving other thousands who live outside the city.

And all population forecasts call for tre-

mendous increases in Denver and surrounding areas during the decades to come.

C. P. Gunson, quiet-speaking, pipe-smoking Denver Sewage Plant superintendent. came to Denver when the plant was built. He is still the superintendent.

He watched as the giant bar screens first took the brunt of the sewage water pouring into the plant from Denver sewsr 22 years ago. He became concerned as the secondary treatment filters eroded and failed.

Through the years he watched the population grow and the sewage flow increase.

Two expansions were carried out, one in 1948 to increase the plant capacity to million gallons per day and a second in 1956 when two new digestors (where solids are treated and eventually turned into fertilizer) were added.

Gunson and his immediate superior, Robert Peterson, Denver sanitary engineer, look back over the years—at the present plant operation and at the future—with mixed emotions.

They are convinced the Denver plant and its operation is among the finest in the country-for primary treatment.

#### NEARING CAPACITY

Nonetheless, they know, perhaps better than any two men in Denver, that Denver sewage should receive secondary treatment and that the primary plant also is reaching capacity.

The plant's rated capacity is 84 million gallons per day but its peak maximum is

114 gallons per day.

In 1958 the plan't daily average for 365 day was 58.5 million gallons.

Using these figures, one can be pessimistic or optimistic.

Looking at the capacity and the average per day over a year's period, there would seem to be no problems.

But, during heavy storms which bring on peak loads or at peak period times in the morning, it doesn't look as good.

That's simply because when a plant's ca-pacity—be it Denver's or one belonging to any other city-is reached there is only one answer.

That is to bypass the plant and dump the raw sewage in the river. In Denver's case, the Platte.

Or in the case of a breakdown. This year, during a storm, an 8-inch main broke. Sand and gravel rushed into the treatment plant.

#### ONLY ONE ANSWER

Again there was only one answer. Bypass the plant, dump the sewage in the river or

ruin expensive equipment.

Sewer peak hours come in the mornings. But they also come, in this modern television age, at such unexpected times as immediately following a national championship fight or some other program with a vast viewing audience.

Basically, handling sewage is a simple process. It's collected through pipes and

drained to the sewage plant.

There giant bar screens, with openings of about one inch, prevent large sticks, rags, and similar debris from entering the plant. This refuse is collected and burned.

The sewage flows through grit chambers at a reduced speed and smaller rocks and solids drop to the bottom where they are scraped

out and hauled away.

The process slows even more when the Sewage is gathered in large basins where it is stopped for 30 minutes. In this aeration process, the solids break up even more, oxygen is added by slow mixing and chemicals, if any, are added.

The next move is to the clarifiers, or Settling tanks where the sewage remains for 21/2 hours. Here the settleable solids slowly sink to the bottom and are scraped to a central collection sump while floating matter is skimmed off the top.

Denver heavily chlorinates its final effluent

before it is dumped in the Platte.

The solids are pumped to a digester where they are heated to permit rapid decomposition into gases and liquids. The residual sludge, after prolonged treatment, acquires a black color and an inoffensive tarry odor. It is taken to beds where it is dried and then is used as a soil conditioner or fertilizer.

#### OTHER SALVAGE

This is not the only salvage operation. The Denver plant produces nearly 1.7 million cubic feet of gas, which is about 65 percent methane and 35 percent carbon dioxide, a very volatile fuel.

The plant itself uses an average of 300,-000 cubic feet of this gas per day to heat the facility and to operate its digestors.

In addition, it sells approximately 400,000 cubic feet of the gas per day to the American Smelter and Refining Co. Sales for the year netted the city \$12,099.

"Denver's plant is the only one in the country that disposes of all its fertilizer and sells all its gas," Gunson said. "The gas we sell pays for a good percentage of our electricity bills."

Whenever the question of sewage comes up someone invariably refers to Milwaukee and its sale across the country of a commercial fertilizer.

LOSING VENTURE

This seems like a sensible, profitable answer to the problem. But Gunson points

"Very few people realize that Milwaukee does this because it loses less money this way than by utilizing other methods of disposing of its sewage," he said.

"These big cities have a tremendous chore of disposing of their sludge. While Mil-waukee markets commercial fertilizer it loses about \$300,000 a year on the total operation. That's not sour grapes, on my part. It's a cheaper method than any other the city

Denver does not sell its sludge-fertilizer. Its total production of more than 5,000 yards in 1958 was absorbed by the Denver parks.

All in all, Denver's plant operation with 49 employees, costs the city about \$450,000 per year. This includes a fully-staffed laboratory where tests are constantly made and experiments carried on.

Annual per capita operating costs for Denver, serving an estimated 550,000 people in 1956, were \$0.62 in 1956.

Smaller plants, one for example serving 26,000, have an average cost ranging from a low of \$0.92 to as much as \$1.68.

While the city's main plant is located at E. 51st Avenue and Marion Street, Denver has a second or East Side Treatment Plant. It is located on Sand Creek north of Stapleton Field and serves part of Lowry Field and a small area north of the field.

#### NOT SATISFYING

It provides primary treatment and treats about 1.5 million gallons of sewage per day. It is not satisfactory and the city eventually plans to abandon it when other arrangements can be made.

While the city may quarrel with the State about its requirements and it might disagree with its standards. Denver recognizes one basic fact.

The city knows it must develop a long range plan to take care of the sewage needs. It is working toward this goal now-a goal

that includes secondary treatment-and it has strived for this in years past.

# Why You Should Own a Gun

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I believe that an article appearing in the April 12, 1959, issue of the Miami News will prove of interest to my colleagues and it is with pleasure that I am having it inserted in the Congressional Record. The article was written by Edith K. Roosevelt on "Why You Should Own a Gun" and I feel that Miss Roosevelt has expressed the feeling of many public The article officials and citizens. follows:

[From the Miami News, April 12, 1959] THE CONSERVATIVE VIEWPOINT-WHY YOU SHOULD OWN A GUN

#### (By Edith K. Roosevelt)

You can no longer rely on law enforcement authorities to protect you from an increasing wave of theft and violence. You should own a gun, keep it on hand, and learn to use it wisely and safely.

This opinion was voiced by the National Rifle Association, a group which since 1871

has been the watchdog over the right of American citizens to own weapons for sport and defense and to be trained in their safe and efficient use.

The FBI estimates that during 1957 one major crime was committed for each 61 persons. Our overburdened police officials need the help of each individual citizen if they are to cope with what FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover terms our "appalling" increase in crime.

Many law enforcement authorities claim that the number of persons victimized by criminals could be almost halved were every law-abiding American trained in the use of

But although the second article of our Bill of Rights say that "the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed" yet each year there is an increase in the number of laws that would abridge this constitutional right.

In 31 of our 48 States there are some positive restrictions on the free ownership of firearms, particularly pistols. In New York State, with the highest crime rate of any State, there is, significantly perhaps, the most restrictive gun law. It requires a license to carry a pistol or a revolver concealed on the person or even to possess such a firearm in one's home.

Some firearms regulations are obviously necessary. Among such are laws to prohibit persons convicted of a crime of violence and mental incompetents from owning guns. Other sound legislation in effect in some States provides for the safe use of guns by juveniles. Some States make the sale of firearms subject to parental consent and their use in public subject to adequate supervision.

However, other gun laws, particularly those dealing with gun registration, subject the ownership of guns to the whim of a public official.

There are four principal groups backing firearms registration:

Law enforcement and civic groups: These well-intentioned persons believe that it permits the police to trace firearms used in crimes. The facts are otherwise. Firearms registration does not disarm criminals, since as in the case of automobiles, most weapons used by criminals are stolen.

Mothers' groups: They believe that fire-arms cause accidents and warp the minds of the young. Yet, in every single State where there are widespread programs of fire-arms familiarization, primarily for hunting but also for target sports, the number of firearms accidents have dropped.

Subversives: One of the tenets of the Communist philosophy is a disarmed citizenry, the first objective of dictatorship everywhere.

Already the thinking of these groups has adversely affected our national security.

In this country, it is important that every citizen keep his arms all the time, not only as his right but as his responsibility. In the last analysis, each individual American must stand ready to defend himself and his family against the criminal or the foreign foe.

#### Federal Aid to Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. WILLIAM PROXMIRE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, June 30, 1959

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, Congressman Stewart L. Udall has written in a recent issue of the Reporter magazine a realistic and yet basically optimistic analysis of the Federal aid for education situation. This article enlightened me, and I am sure could inform many Members of the Congress about what many of us feel is the No. 1 issue today. For this reason I ask unanimous consent that the article, entitled "Our Education Budget Also Needs Balancing," be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OUR EDUCATION BUDGET ALSO NEEDS BALANCING (By Representative STEWART L. UDALL)

Over the years, few issues have consumed more committee time in Congress than that of Federal aid to education. The problem has been studied so exhaustively that last year one of my colleagues remarked wearily, 'If we could convert our man-hours of committee work into scaffold-hours with bricks, the classroom shortage would be practically licked." Unable to make up his mind on the big question. Congress thus far has settled for patchwork programs, and has dabbled about as an educational repairman (in the 1958 National Defense Education Act), as a payer of lieu taxes (in the "defense impact" programs), and as a provider of school

Despite the fact that the platforms of both major political parties have endorsed the principle, general school-aid bills have never mustered the necessary congressional ma-jorities. The boxscore shows that from 1943 to 1957, six such bills failed to be enacted.

It was the late Senator Robert A. Taft who dominated consideration of the first bills. Taft's shifting policy on school aid was surely one of the most fascinating stories of his legislative career. The Ohio Senator almost singlehandedly defeated the 1943 school bill, terming it "the most revolutionary legislation ever to come before the Congress." But when the plight of our schools became more acute in the postwar period, his thinking changed radically and he became one of the leading proponents of Federal aid. Taft saw a national interest in the performance of our schools and once said that the Federal Government should not stand by and let a poor State do the best it could "if its best is not good enough."

In 1948, as majority leader, Taft pushed his aid-on-the-basis-of-need bill through the Senate, and then teamed up with Democratic Senators to pass it again the following year. On neither occasion, however, did House Education Committee vote the issue on its merits. Fears and emotions dominated deliberations, and the members became so deeply embroiled in a running fight over aid to parochial schools that the Senate bills were never cleared for floor action. Taft and his colleagues had deftly skirted the parochial-aid issue, but the House committee met it head-on, and the contention finally became so heated throughout the Nation that it reached the boiling point in an exchange between Cardinal Spellman and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.

This conflict left such deep scars that nearly 5 years elapsed before the House committee again considered general aid plans. In the interim, Senator LISTER HILL'S oil-for-education rider to the Tidelands bill kept the idea alive; and after the Senate rejected it, Congress marked time by authorizing the nationwide discussions that culminated in the White House Conference on Education in November 1955.

The next forward movement came in 1956, when a reconstituted House committee sent the Kelley school construction bill to the House floor. But once again partisan quibbling and a new controversy-over ADAM CLAYTON POWELL'S amendment forbidding Federal aid to segregated systems-combined to hand the opponents the extra votes they needed to kill the bill.

A year later, with the same forces at work, the House by the narrowest of margins again defeated Federal aid, and the special programs included in the National Defense Education Act were passed last year only because of the postsputnik panic over scientific and technical education.

It is ironical that while Congress has consistently refused to give aid outright, since 1943 various bootleg school-aid bills have been enacted: the \$14-billion-plus GI bill of rights scholarship-tuition plan whooped through as a veterans' rehabilitation measure; and both the "defense impact" assistance and defense education bills passed disguised in the braid and brass of defense.

#### TWO BILLS, THREE FACTIONS

The bills now pending in Washington represent new approaches to Federal aid. The first plan, the 4-year, \$4.4-billion Murray-Metcalf bill (awaiting action by the Rules Committee for debate on the floor) provides outright support on a nonmatching basis for the public schools. This bill provides \$25 per student for classroom construction and/ or teachers' salaries, with State and local schoolmen determining needs and priorities.

The other plan, put forward by the Eisenhower administration, is a matching-grant proposal to help needy school districts amortize their construction bonds. It would in-volve Federal outlays of \$2.1 billion during

the next 25 years.

These bills are widely divergent in scope and intent, and any compromise was foreclosed earlier this month when Secretary Arthur S. Flemming of the Department of Health. Education, and Welfare, fiatly announced that no bill except the one sponsored by the administration would be signed by the President Aside from the special problem of overriding a veto, any compromise is further complicated by the fact that there are no less than three distinct views on education within Congress.

The first main division takes in the hardcore conservatives of both parties. Members are opposed in principle to Federal aid to education, and the roll of this group would surely comprise the 140 House Members and 26 Senators who voted against initial action on the Defense Education Act. Generally speaking, these men believe our schools are "second to none," tend to belittle talk of a national school crisis, and are satisfied that the States will do an adequate job of financing schools. It is an article of faith with them that national bankruptcy poses a far greater danger to our security than educational shortcomings, and they also make liberal use of the Federal control

The opponents of more general school aid have always argued that even partial Federal financing would necessarily subvert local control of schools. Many conservatives sincerely entertain such fears, but one tends to question the good faith of those opponents who are for local decision in Washington debates but in their home States favor the vesting of absolute school powers in a Governor of some other State official. Nevertheless, this argument has been taken into account by provisions in the Murray-Metcalf bill, which would insulate local school boards from Federal contacts: the chief State school officer would be the sole agent for each State-and his reports to Federal officials would be little more than what Taft used to call "an audit proposition."

The second'big group of Congressmen are the philosophical heirs of Senator Taft and the supporters of the current Eisenhower proposal. They have a sober view of our educational deficits, and in the main are dissatisfied with the current performance of the States. Their remedy is short-term, self-starting Federal programs that pinpoint glaring school weaknesses and spur action through grants that the States must match. Believing as they do that a Federal carrot will induce State action, they express concern that too much Federal support might stifle State-local initiative.

The third group, whose members probably constitute a solid majority in the Senate and a near majority in the House, includes those who will vote for the Murray-Metcalf bill. Most of these Congressmen share the view expressed in a recent Rockefeller report that "All of the problems of the schools lead us back sooner or later to one basic problem-financing." They have turned to Federal support as a last resort largely out of & conviction that the States, unaided, either the capacity or the will to break the tax barrier of educational finance.

#### A QUESTION OF MONEY

I would say that the two groups that favor Federal school aid have the same general concept of national goals. For the most part they would agree with Secretary Flemming that a 100 percent increase in teachers' salaries within the next 5 to 10 years is essential; and they have no quarrel with the recent Killian report recommendation that school outlays be doubled "as a minimal rather than an extravagant goal." But these men part company in a discussion of the means of reaching their common goals: the advocate of limited aid still casts a hopeful eye on the States, while his counterpart is almost convinced there will be no breakthrough without Federal support.

As the supporter of the Murray-Metcalf bill sees it, there are built-in ceilings that restrict the efforts of most states. It is, he holds, the inherent weaknesses in state and local taxing systems-not indifference-that have paralyzed state action, and he doubts that tax reform will occur in those states where many hard-pressed communities are under-represented in "rotten borough" leg-

Furthermore, local school moneys are largely derived from the least equitable of all taxes-the property tax. A good wealthmeasuring device a hundred years ago, this tax no longer reflects economic realities. The tax no longer reflects economic realities. modern problem is dramatized by the cir-cumstance that the gross income of General Motors in its nation-wide operations in 1955. for example, exceeded the entire locally assessed property-tax base of at least seven states. Indeed, most of the monetary troubles of public schools today can be traced to the fact that revenue has been tied to the property tax. It has always seemed to me that tax equalization is the strongest argument for Federal assistance: studies clearly show that new school outlays would cost the average home-owning taxpayer three or four times as much if financed at the local level rather than through the Federal income tax. One of the mysteries of the Federal-aid fight is the neglect of this forceful argument by its proponents.

No congressman believes that money alone provides a panacea for education. A massive fiscal transfusion will improve our schools only if it is accompanied by reforms in curricula, use of teacher personnel, and exploitation of student talent. But additional funds, as well as creative reform must be forthcoming, if we are to implement the best parts of the Conant, Rockefeller, and Killian reports.

What, then, are the prospects for school legislation in the 86th Congress? To be candid, they are not promising. Under the di vided powers of our government a highly controversial bill cannot be enacted unless large areas of common ground are staked out while at present the Democrats believe that the administration proposal is both unworks able and inadequate and the Republicans feel that the Murray-Metcalf bill gives too much aid-under the wrong conditions.

Another complicating factor is that President Eisenhower's concern over the plight of our schools, never more than halfhearted, is visibly waning. This is the first year since 1954 that he has not sent a special message to the Hill recommending new education legislation, and his commitment to his budget would seem to make a veto of the Murray-Metcalf bill a foregone conclusion.

There will be no concerted action until we have national leadership which is deeply concerned with the need to balance our educational budget and which is willing to tell the people the facts of our school crisis. Such leadership would surely jolt the American people out of the superiority complex that has caused them to misjudge the importance and quality of their schools.

#### READING THE OMENS

Looking ahead, then, it is easy to predict that aid to education will be one of the prime issues in the 1960 campaign, and that it will take its accustomed place on the calendars of unfinished business of the next

But some of us in Congress are convinced that the long-run outlook is bright. We believe that a rising rate of urgency will be felt in our deliberations as the ferment over schools spreads. Fifty years ago the States woke up to the fact that they had a crucial stake in good schools. They responded by setting up workable systems of State aid. we have a profound national interest in maintaining first-rate schools. As this national interest asserts itself—and Congress ultimately acts—one might guess that not many years hence men will be at a loss to imagine what all the fuss over Federal support for education was about.

# Businessman Praises Ed Sullivan for His Inspirational TV Programs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 30, 1959

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker-

I have always considered myself as a player on a religious team alongside of my the double of the d the dedication of the brotherhood of man.

This is but one sentence from a sincere and moving letter sent to Ed Sullivan, star of television, by one of my neighbors,

Mr. Benjamin Russem, of Andover, Mass. Mr. Russem, who is a businessman in Lawrence, Mass., believes that if more Deople and nations lived up to the teachings of the Old and the New Testaments, there would be peace and harmony throughout the world.

He and his wife drew deep inspiration from the reading of I Corinthians 13, by Miss Luise Rainer, on Ed Sullivan's Easter Sunday program.

In the belief that all of us will beneht from the thoughts expressed in Mr. Russem's letter of appreciation, I include it in the Congressional Record.

Mr. ED SULLIVAN, ANDOVER, MASS., May 1959. Columbia Broadcasting System

New York City, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Sullivan: My wife and I habitually watch your television program every

Sunday night and we have great admiration for the talent that you choose and the inspirational subject matter presented.

Easter Sunday night, March 29, Miss Luise Rainer recited I Corinthians 13. Because I am of the Jewish faith, I identify Paul's message in the New Testament as the same ingrédients which are spread over various parts of the Old Testament (the Mosaic law). However, Paul's presentation in capsule form. pertaining to charity, love, kindness, gentility, social justice, is more effective and is sufficiently potent to reach the heart, mind, and soul of man.

I am enclosing for you a copy of Henry Drummond's "The Greatest Thing in the World," which you might have read. To me, it elicits and amplifies meaningfully the instructive message of Paul so as to stimulate in the mind of man the great truths of the message. The wording of the message is so beautiful that we might often be carried away with its phraseology, losing the essence of the message. I can only compare it to the charm of a beautiful lady, who carries us away with her loveliness so that we might even overlook the beauty of her soul and the ideals of her good life. So to me, Henry Drummond's interpretation leads us to a most effective analysis of the deep meaningfulness of Paul's words.

I first came across this booklet about 25 years ago. I was so inspired by it that I have used its philosophy when confronted with controversies in social, business, and religious life. I have often found myself taking the shorter end of a bargain or having to give just a little bit more beyond the conventional obligations—but this extra giving has never failed in helping me to come out on the winning side eventually.

When I first discovered this book, I took pleasure in distributing over 2,000 copies. After that, I have never been without them, and have continued to pass them out wherever I thought they would do most good. This I have taken to heart-hoping to compensate in a small way for the blessing of God's revelation that has come to me through the vision and efforts of the late Henry Drummond.

I will be 70 on my next birthday and I can say that the grace of God and man has never deserted me and I have enjoyed a full, happy life. As the walls of Jericho have fallen before Joshua, so the barriers of religion, race, and nationality have been neutralized before me by this book and I have found myself a free man spiritually. It appears to me that I have developed the practice of seeing some godliness in every person near me and thus I am able to find the true meaningfulness of God to better satisfy my inquisitive

I don't know of any other instrumentality that can bring man nearer to the realization of Isaiah's prophecy "Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." No. I don't know of any other means which might bring peace of mind to the soul of man everywhere, on a national, international and individual basis than the hidden meaning behind the words of Paul's I Corinthians 13, as explained by Henry Drummond. To me, it also infers a most profitable psychiatric healing to the soul of anyone who dedicatively reaches out for it.

In alluding to the above, I don't intend to imply that the great masses of people are too dumb to understand it. But I do believe that in order to apply this message to our daily lives effectively, it calls for more than a casual acquaintance with its phraseology and therefore Jews, as well as Christians, have a great responsibility to clarify the philosophy implied in Jesus' name to the New Testament and also to make crystal clear the message of the Old Testament and the messages of later years by such great rabbis as Hillel, who admonished us all to "love peace and pursue it. Love all creatures and then bring them closer to Torah."

"Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit," saith the Lord. To me, the prophetic statement just quoted from the Old Testament falls directly in line with Paul's I Corinthians 13, and with what you hope to accomplish by bringing it to the attention of your vast audience.

I therefore thank you, not only for my wife and myself, but also on behalf of the many thousands who have listened attentively to Miss Rainer's recitation on Easter Sunday, and I do hope that we will hear it again on your entertaining and inspirational

television programs.

By way of introducing myself to you, Mr. Sullivan, the tenure of my life has not been spent in total on religious subjects, as you might have suspected from my letter. vocation, I am neither priest, minister, nor rabbi, but an everyday businessman who has been running a retail women's ready-to-wear business in the city of Lawrence for nearly I was born in Russia and came to this country in 1906, a stranger to the English language. I was one of six children. My parents and family remained scattered in Russia and Poland—all of them and their families being destroyed during the Hitler upheaval.

America has been very good to me and I have used its ideals as a dedication and as a means to acquire a share in the practice of its philosophy. All my active years, I have remained loyal in principle and attendance to my Jewish religion and faith, interpreting it in a modern conservative philosophy.

In the pursuance of my Jewish religion, its national and international aspects, I have always considered myself as playing on a religious team alongside of my Christian neighbors for the glory of God and the dedication of the brotherhood of man.

Prayerfully wishing you continued good health and success and with a deep sense of appreciation to your sponsors,

Most sincerely,

RENJAMIN RUSSEM.

# Story of a Million Jobs Exported From United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. WILLIAM PROXMIRE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, June 30, 1959

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the current U.S. News & World Report carries an expert analysis entitled, "Story of a Million Jobs Exported From United States." This careful study is so pertinent to the resolution I introduced earlier, and which is to be considered soon by the Banking and Currency Committee, that I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STORY OF A MILLION JOBS EXPORTED FROM UNITED STATES

In the years since World War II, American business has invested more than \$27 billion in factories, oil wells, mines, and other en-terprises in foreign lands.

These American billions are estimated to have created more than 1 million jobs over-They are part of a flow of dollars abroad that has turned a dollar shortage throughout the world into an abundance of dollars that is causing concern in the United States.

More than 3,000 American companies have operations outside the United States. Business done by these branches or subsidiaries in countries abroad last year amounted to about \$30 billion—almost twice as much as the value of goods exported commercially by U.S. companies in the same period.

What accounts for the growing interest of American business in establishing or expanding operations in countries outside the

United States?

To get a broad view of what is happening, U.S. News & World Report surveyed an important segment of U.S. industry. This survey disclosed the many reasons that motivate American companies in decisions to establish or expand foreign operations.

Lower wages are one factor. Markets that often are expanding more rapidly abroad than in the United States are an attraction. Desire to overcome tariff and quota barriers and to get inside the new Common Market in Europe has its effect in convincing companies to move overseas.

The following examples illustrate the trend in business today.

#### TYPEWRITERS

It soon will be possible to choose among a number of typewriters made overseas but bearing the names of American manufac-Each will be priced considerably lower than American-made machines bearing the same names.

Royal McBee Corp., of Port Chester, N.Y., now has three manufacturing plants in Holland, is building a fourth. Total employ-ment in the 4 factories will be 1,600. An-other plant, in Italy, makes accounting

equpiment. Royal plans to import a lightweight, portable typewriter from Holland to compete in this country with rising sales of portables made by Italian, Swiss, German, and Japanese firms.

The Royal McBee import will cost about \$75, as compared with the selling price of \$145 for its American-made counterpart,

which is slightly larger.

From Britain will come a similar portable made by Smith-Corona Marchant, Inc., with home offices in Syracuse, N.Y. This company recently purchased the firm of British Typewriters, Ltd., in order to compete with foreign portables sold in this country. Its labor costs in the British plant are estimated at about 70 cents an hour.

Remington Rand International is another American firm that is expanding its extensive foreign operations, in which it has invested nearly \$36 million. It has 23,000 workers in 29 oversea plants around the globe. Latest venture of this firm is an agreement with a Japanese company to make business machines for the Far Eastern mar-

ket.

Remington portable typewriters made in Holland are flowing into the United States at the rate of a few hundred a month. Some standard typewriters produced in Scotland also are imported.

Another American firm that makes typewriters abroad, the Underwood Corp., reports that its plant in Britain is "bursting its seams and expansion of our facilities there is under consideration." The output of this factory is sold in the European mar-

Underwood earlier this year opened a new factory in Italy that turns out adding machines and may produce a standard type-writer for the U.S. market. It also bought a factory in Germany that makes addressing machines.

All four typewriter firms are banking on their overseas operations to keep them competitive-both in the foreign market and at home.

OFFICE EQUIPMENT

Many American firms that make office equipment are busily expanding their operations in Europe.

The National Cash Register Co. has plants in Britain, Germany, France, Switzerland, Sweden, Brazil, and Japan, which employ a total of about 7,300.

In Holland, Friden, Inc., of San Leandro, Calif, which makes calculators and billing machines, is about to add a full line of products. Some office-equipment parts made in Holland are to be exported to the United States for use in assembling Friden domestic products. The company estimates that its labor costs abroad are about one-third of U.S. costs.

The Burroughs Corp., of Detroit, has just bought a plant in France, where it will employ 600 people in the manufacture of adding machines. These will be sold only in the European common market area, according to present plans.

Burroughs officials say that expansion of the company's foreign operations has enabled it to increase some types of exports. If France, for example, can buy Burroughsmade adding machines for francs instead of dollars, it is able to order for dollar purchase more complex machines, such as large computers, made in the United States.

A veteran of foreign operations, International Business Machines, has 25,850 employees in 22 plants in 18 countries. Additions to plants in Germany, France, and Italy now are going up. A large new factory is under construction in Holland, and others are being built in Japan and Argentina.

IBM's overseas branches make punch-card equipment, computers, and electric type-writers. At this time none of these products or components comes into the American

market as an import.

In a few months the Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co., of St. Paul, will begin making recording tapes and other office supplies in a new plant in South Africa. Company officials also are looking for suitable property in Italy to build a factory with an initial investment of \$750,000.

Throughout the entire industry large and small companies are maneuvering to get established overseas and to share in the successes of these pioneers.

#### WATCHES

In Japan, the average wage for workers in the precision industries-making watches, radios, cameras, and optical instrumentsis \$46 a month.

The Hamilton Watch Co., of Lancaster, Pa., recently signed an agreement with a Japanese firm. This company, borrowing Hamilton's know-how, will make quality watches for sale throughout the world. In return, Hamilton gets sole distribution rights within the United States.

The Japanese manufacturer hopes reach an output of 20,000 watches a month, 40 percent of which will be shipped to Hamitton for sale in this country. This comes to 95,000 watches a year. The remainder will be sold in Japan, southeast Asia, and other foreign markets.

Hamilton also has just purchased a factory in Switzerland, where movements will be made for Hamilton watches. The Swiss subsidiary in addition will make a full line of watches to be marketed under another name. It employs about 250.

Another American firm, the Elgin National Watch Co., leases a small factory in Switzerland for the manufacture and assembly of watch movements. This venture will permit Elgin to import some components of its watches at lower prices than previously.

The U.S. Time Corp., another big manufacturer, has taken over two German firms that, between them, make 1.2 million watch movements a year. U.S. Time plans in Ger-

many, England, and France now employ a total of 3,700. All movements for the com-pany's low-priced watches sold in the United States, however, are made in the United States.

All major watchmakers in the United States, whether or not they have manufacturing facilities abroad, depend heavily on movements purchased in Switzerland, where average wage rates of 60 cents an hour are about one-fourth of the U.S. rate.

#### SEWING MACHINES

In 1958, Americans purchased from Britian \$3 million worth of sewing machines-most of them made by a subsidiary of the Singer Manufacturing Co. Singer is the only large producer of sewing machines left in the United States.

A low-priced machine, called the Spartan, is being made by Singer in Scotland to sell for \$69.50 in the United States. It was introduced about a year ago to compete with foreign-made machines, mostly Japanese, which sell for as low as \$49.50. The British machine is made by labor that is paid about \$1 an hour.

Singer has had plants in Britain, Germany. Italy, and France for many years. The company is now constructing a plant in Turkey. and is starting manufacturing in Australia and Mexico. It also has a part interest in & company in Japan, but the mchines made there are not sent to this country for sale.

Singer has quite definitely cut back manufacturing activities in the United States, mostly of its cheaper models, a company spokesman said. No plants have been closed. but employment is down-a trend the company attributes to increased automation, reduction in the number of models and greater use of common parts.

Since 1949, employment at Singer's largest American plant, at Elizabethport, N.J., has dropped from 9,000 to less than 5,000.

#### AUTOS

Alongside a highway that links Melbourne and Sydney, in Austrlia, a \$25 million auto-motive plant is rising. The name on the building is Ford. When construction is completed, this Australian subsidiary of the Ford Motor Co. will employ 2,750 workers and will turn out 200 vehicles a day.

This is but one example of how American automakers—hit by falling exports—are in-creasing production abroad to keep sales and profits up.

Ford also plans to make trucks in Argen tina. Cost of a new plant to be built soon in Buenos Aires is estimated at \$15 million. It will employ 1,200 workers.

At São José, in Brazil, a new General Motors truck plant is nearing completion-The average number of persons employed by GM's overseas division increased from 97,000 in 1957 to 107,000 in 1958. The company's net investment outside the United States and Canada at the end of last year was \$330.5

Chrysler Corp. last year bought a 25 per cent interest in Simca, a French auto manufacturer, and plans to increase its holdings. Recently, Chrysler announced that it studying a plan for making auto parts in Mexico. Later, it hopes to produce 12,000 Simca and Chrysler-line cars a year there.

At the same time, Detroit's Big Three have raised their sights on the share of the American market set aside for the cars they make overseas.

General Motors, with two entries, plans to import 40,000 of its German-made Opels and 24,000 British-made Vauxhalls this year. In 1958, combined sales of the two cars in this country totaled just under 33,000.

Ford's goal is 44,000 sales of its English Fords and German-made Taunus cars in the U.S. this year—an increase of about 2,000

Chrysler, a late starter in the import business, shipped about 12,800 Simcas to this country from September through December last year. It is aiming for 50,000

sales this year.

A glance at comparative wages of auto workers here and abroad shows the com-petitive advantage of manufacturing in Europe. In Britain, the average hourly pay in the auto industry is \$1.26. In Germany, it is 69 cents; in France, a little higher. The average American auto worker is paid \$2.66 an hour-plus fringe benefits,

#### TIRES

The boom in foreign-car sales is a major factor in the expansion plans of American rubber companies with overseas operations. Many of these cars are equipped with smalldiameter tires made by U.S. firms abroad, and tire imports are growing as the need for replacements arises in this country.

One of the companies that exports tires to the United States is the General Tire & Pubber Co., which has plants in 18 foreign countries, including Canada. Its principal products are tires and tubes, plus some plas-

tics and tiles.

The B. F. Goodrich Co. has new plants under construction or planned in Brazil, Australia mulher fac-Australia and Iran. A synthetic-rubber fac-tory in Holland is scheduled to get into production this summer.

More than \$18 million is being poured into a building and expansion program overseas by the Firestone Tire & Rubber Co. Major areas for this expansion are Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela, India, Portugal, and Germany. All told, Firestone has 15,000 factory employees in 17 countries abroad.

The U.S. Rubber Co. recently acquired a majority interest in one of the largest rubber companies in Germany. It also has manufacturing facilities in Belgium and France to feed Europe's growing demand for tires

One of the biggest new plants in France costing \$7 million is to be built for the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co. This firm and ready ready is making tires and tubes in 29 foreign countries.

In all, these investments by American rubber companies are helping to strengthen the economies of many lands.

The largest single manufacturing plant ever built in Britain at one time was opened this spring by an American firm—the H. J. Heinz Co. It is one of several Heinz facilities in Britain that employ more than 7,500 workers to turn out a full line of the company's famous "57 varieties" of food.

The largest food-processing plant in Australia also is a Heinz plant. It was opened in 1955.

In Holland, Heinz purchased a Dutch ompany a year ago and recently started thipping food from there under the Heinz label. label. It is investigating the possibilities of opening. opening other plants in Europe and South

The president of the Borden Company is planning a trip to Europe this summer to look for areas in which to expand. Borden already is producing dried milk in Holland and Denmark.

Borden has cut down the volume of U.S. production for export. It closed two plants in this in this country because dried milk couldn't be produced at a price low enough to ex-

These are but two of a number of American firms that are expanding their foodprocessing operations throughout the world.

In at least one field, that of pharmaceutical at least one field, that of pharmaceutics, products, expansion of oversea operations has been a boon to related areas of U.S. industry. dustry. The demand for basic materials produced in this country and shipped to foreign plants for processing has resulted in increased production at home.

Typical of the growth of American pharmaceutical firms abroad is the experience of Parke, Davis & Co., of Detroit. pany is rapidly expanding its manufacturing and distributing facilities in foreign countries because of the high cost of exports, its president, Harry J. Loynd, said recently.

"We can't compete in foreign trade as long as our hourly wages continue to grow," he

as our hourly wages continue to grow," he said. Mr. Loynd cited wages in Germany, for example, as being only one-fourth of those in the United States.

Parke, Davis has built or has under construction new plants in Belgium, Italy, Spain, South Africa, Australia, Puerto Rico, Teach Colombia, Argenting and Chille. Brazil, Colombia, Argentina, and Chile. Its British plant has been in operation since before 1900, and now employes more than 1,500

All told, the firm has close to 5,000 foreign

employees, exclusive of Canada.

Johnson & Johnson, of New Brunswick, N.J., in making its baby products and health and hospitalization specialties in 20 countries, employs about 6,500 in its oversea operations. The company has no plan to manufacture abroad especially for the U.S. market, although this is being done to a minor degree with specialized products.

The largest chemical and pharmaceutical manufacturing plant under private owner-ship in India is owned by Merck Sharp & Dohme, of Rahway, N.J. Other units in Hol-land, Britain, and Australia are being expanded. The company reports no drop in employment at its home factories—just increased consumption abroad. Its plan is to export from the United States only basic chemicals for processing.

Bristol-Myers has just bought a German firm, and plans to build a new plant that will employ 250 people in the manufacture of toothpaste, hair tonics, shaving cream, and other products. It has other operations in Britain, Latin Amelrca, South Africa, Aus-

tralia, and New Zealand.

In the Philippines, at one of the three oversea plants owned and operated by the Vick Chemical Co., the wage scale-based on the official rate of exchange-is around \$3.62 a day.

Labor costs in that range provide one of the big attractions to U.S. firms that are looking abroad as part of their expansion

#### FARM EQUIPMENT

From the hold of a ship docked at Jacksonville, Fla., a few weeks ago, workers unloaded a shipment of tractors. They looked just like tractors you might see coming off an American assembly line—but there was this difference: All were made in a British plant of the International Harvester Co., and were imported for sale in the southeastern States at bargain prices.

International Harvester plans to import at least 300 of these diesel-powered tractors this year as an experiment. If they prove popular, volume will be increased. They sell for about \$2,800. Company officials estimate that they would cost \$550 more if made here.

International Harvester, world's largest manufacturer of farm equipment, is not alone in entering the U.S. market with its foreign-made products.

The Ford Motor Co.'s tractor division is importing two models of diesel tractors made in its British factories. In the last few years, \$28 million worth of one of these models was sold in this country.

J. I. Case Co., a big manufacturer in Racine. Wis., has purchased a controlling interest in a French company that makes tractors and other farm equipment. Case has not announced plans to import any of the French production, but as president, Marc B. Rojt-man, said recently: "There's a strong possibility we'll import a small diesel tractor."

The company plans to turn over some of its designs to the French firm and ultimately to bring out a full line of Case products over-

Deere & Co., of Moline, Ill., has an 85 sercent interest in a plant in Germany that turns out tractors, combines, and other farm equipment. Deere has built a plant in Mexico, and is putting up another in Argentina,

Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Co., of Milwaukee, has a plant in Britain and recently purchased others in Australia and Mexico.

A look at wage rates here and abroad, however, shows why many businessmen think imports of farm equipment made in oversea plants of U.S. owned firms may

International Harvester pays about 80 cents an hour in Britain and a little more than 70 cents an hour in Germany and France. The average wage for its hourly employees in the United States is \$2.59.

#### MACHINE TOOLS

Here is what an official of the Ex-Cell-O Corp., of Detroit, a machine-tool maker, says about the export-import situation:

"We feel we are being priced out of the world market, and the only way to stay in business is to make your product overseas. Formerly, 25 percent of American-made machine tools went into the export market. Now the flow is the other way. with the competition of imports."
As a result, Ex-Cell-O has bought plants

in Britain and Germany and is planning expansion to other countries—perhaps to

German labor costs are only about 25 percent of those in Detroit. In England, the company finds skilled labor available at less than \$1 an hour. Products made in the oversea plants are grinders, gearmaking machines and a broad range of other tools, including lathes, which Ex-Cell-O doesn't make in its American plants.

Ex-Cell-O's domestic employment is down from 10,000 a couple of years ago to 6,750 now. The firm is not bringing its foreignmade products back to the United States but a company spokesman says: "We have no qualms about doing so, and it may come

in the future."

#### HEAVY MACHINERY

The Goss Printing Press Co., of Chicago, employs 800 people in a new plant it opened 2 years ago in Britain, where it first started

operations in 1934. A smaller plant now is under construction in Germany.

Goss has not tried to sell any of its Britishmade printing presses in the United States because of a backlog of demand for its prod-

ucts in Europe.

Comparative labor costs are 80 cents an hour in Britain, as against \$2.72 an hour in Chicago.

The British subsidiary could undersell us by 25 percent any day in the U.S. market, says Robert C. Corlett, the firm's president.

Within the last 5 years the Hyster Co., of Portland, Oreg., has opened new plants in Britain, Holland, and Brazil. The company makes forklift trucks, yard cranes, and lum-ber carriers, as well as construction equip-

#### OTHER PRODUCTS

In fust about every field of manufacturing, company officials are signing new agreements, arranging for construction or purchase of oversea facilities. Some examples:

The Minneapolis-Honeywell Regulator Co. has wrapped up a 50-50 ownership deal with a Japanese firm which employs close to 13,000 workers. It will make industrial instru-ments, valves, and heating controls.

About a year ago, Outboard Marine International bought a newly built plant in Belgium, where it assembles Evinrude and Johnson outboard motors of the small sizes popular in Europe. The present investment of \$2.6 million will be increased by a million-

dollar program of expansion this year.

The Otis Elevator Co., with a number of oversea plants, has a policy of importing some of the more complicated components of elevators which, in its U.S. plants, result in high labor costs. Despite import duties, these parts are less expensive than if made here.

In Europe, Otis figures its manufacturing costs are two thirds raw material and onethird labor, in the United States it's the reverse.

Yale & Towne has metal-products plants in Britain and Germany and two licensees in France that manufacture its locks, hardware, and materials-handling equipment. It plans to open another plant in Brazil.

Eversharp, Inc., recently announced plans to import razor blades from a newly pur-

chased plant in Sweden.

The Johns-Manville Corp. has working agreements with 13 companies in 10 European countries to manufacture 6 of its major products. In addition, it is opening two new plants in Italy to make floor tiles and heat-resistant materials. Johns-Manville also is currently investing several million dollars in existing plant facilities in Latin America, and has acquired a majority interest in a Mexican factory that will turn out packing materials.

Du Pont has under construction in Europe 3 new plants that will employ about 1,000. The factories—in Holland, Belgium, and Northern Ireland-will produce fibers, paints, and synthetic rubber for the Euro-

pean market.

An example of the growing importance of foreign production is provided by the Worthington Corp., of Harrison, N.J., which makes pumps, compressors, and other industrial equipment in 11 countries. Worthington is about to open a new plant in Italy, and is contemplating expansion in South America.

Although Worthington's sales abroad represent about one-fourth of its total business, 60 percent of those sales are based on production overseas. Only 40 percent represents exports from this country.

#### Medicine and International Diplomacy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. LISTER HILL

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, June 30, 1959

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, appearing in the June 1, 1959, edition of Modern Medicine magazine is a concise and excellent article entitled, "Medicine and International Diplomacy." This article lends strong support to the belief that a world which enjoys good health is a world which enjoys political stability. This article diligently expounds the thesis that by extending the boon of good health to all peoples we can advance at the same time the causes of international peace, understanding, and good will.

Mr. President, an overwhelming majority of U.S. Senators demonstrated that they believe in this thesis when they voted recently in favor of the international health and medical research bill.

The article "Medicine and International Diplomacy," is written by Dr. Howard Rusk and one of his associates at the New York University-Bellevue Medical Center, Mr. Eugene J. Taylor. Dr. Rusk is not only one of the most outstanding physical medicine and rehabilitation experts in the world today, but a dedicated champion of the health for peace cause. Dr. Rusk is professor and chairman of the department of physical medicine and rehabilitation at New York University-Bellevue Medical Center in New York City, and Mr. Taylor is assistant professor in the department.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this special article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MEDICINE AND INTERNATIONAL DIPLOMACY

(By Howard A. Rusk, M.D., and Eugene J. Taylor, M.A., New York University-Bellevue Medical Center, New York City)

Writing in the New York Times Sunday magazine 7 years ago, Arnold Toynbee said, "The 20th century will be chiefly remembered \* \* as an age in which human society dared to think of the welfare of the whole human race as a practical objective."

One, and perhaps the most significant, feature of social development which gives hope of Mr. Toynbee's objective becoming reality is the increasing recognition throughout the world that the security and welfare of the human race are interdependent within each geographic area of the world and that the security and welfare of each geographic area is dependent upon the security and welfare of the world as a whole.

Some of this recognition has been forced upon us by the technologic advances of the 20th century which have created a shrinking world in terms of communication, transportation, trade, and devastating effects of modern weapons of warfare. Mankind through the ages has been forced, for practical purto develop social concepts to fit the realities of his changing environment.

#### DESIRE TO SHARE AND HELP

This growing recognition of interdependence has not resulted solely from practical necessity. We believe that it also represents our ability, as society matures, to give fuller expression to a feeling that is as old as mankind itself; the desire to share with and help one's neighbor.

This concept has long been practiced by religious and private organizations, but it has been only within recent years that govcrnment groups have conducted technical assistance programs, in which one portion of

the world alds another.

The first really global recognition of this multilateral responsibility came with the establishment of the United Nations and Its specialized agencies. In addition to these multilateral programs, several governments throughout the world have initiated bilateral programs for technical assistance outside of the framework of the United Nations.

#### RESPONSIBILITY OF ALL

Even the greatly increased attention to such activities through the multilateral programs of the limited nations and the bilateral programs of individual nations has not, however, filled the need which most of us feel within our minds and our hearts for increasing international cooperative activities. Consequently, within the past decade there has been a great surge forward of international communication and sharing of knowledge among professions.

We recognize that in today's world, international diplomacy and the development of international understanding cannot be the responsibilities solely of the diplomat. These responsibilities must be assumed by all of us as professional persons and individual citizens.

In the field of health and rehabilitation, we have a uniquely effective area of service and of responsibility for working toward international understanding. Health, includ-ing rehabilitation of the handicapped, is fundamental to the prime democratic concept of equal opportunity for all. A world in which good health is enjoyed by only a few cannot be a politically stable world. How can the man who is crippled by pain and disability stand up and fight for the principles of democracy and freedom? Unless he can work and produce, how can he enjoy the fruits of his labor and become & customer for the goods which all of the world wants to sell him? Unless he can produce and earn and then buy from the rest of the world, how can his standards of living be increased?

#### "HEALTH FOR PEACE" BILL

Good health is fundamental to economic self-sufficiency, Dr. Charles W. Mayo summed up this relationship aptly when he said with great simplicity, "Poverty makes people sick—sickness makes people poor."

A major contribution toward breaking this chain described by Dr. Mayo is the International Health and Medical Research Act of 1959 (S.J. Res. 41), introduced in the Senate by the dean of American health legislators, Senator LISTER HILL, of Alabama, on Alabama, on February 2 with 59 cosponsors.

This legislation, known popularly as the "health for peace" bill, would create within the National Institutes of Health a new National Institutes of Health and Health a new N tional Institute of International Medical Research, with an annual appropriation of \$50 million.

These funds would be used to encourage of and support research and the exchange of information on research, the training of research personnel, and the improvement of research facilities throughout the world. The bill would authorize grants to support such activities ranging from research in basic science to research in rehabilitation. Grants could be made to foreign and American universities and research organizations and to voluntary and governmental international agencies, such as the World Health Organization.

#### MEANS FOR UNITING SCIENCE

Under the plan, a National Advisory Council for International Medical Research. composed of nongovernmental leaders, would establish policies, make recommendations, and approve grants and loans.

The existing specialized institutes within the National Institutes of Health-the National Heart Institute, National Cancer Institute, National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Bindness, National Institute of Arthritis and Metabolic Diseases, and so on—the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation and the Children's Bureau would advise the National Advisory Council for International Medical Research on specific projects within their areas of interest and competence.

The program would not replace any of the current programs for multilateral international health activities through the World Health Organization or UNICEF or any of our bilateral activities conducted through the International Cooperation Administra-tion. Nor would it supplant the research programs being conducted in the United States through the National Institutes of Health Health. It would enhance these activities and at the same time provide a mechanism and funds for uniting science throughout the world in a greatly expanded global attack on disease and disability.

## INTERNATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

The key factor in grants from the National Institute for International Medical Research over and above the usual criteria applied to research projects, would be their international implications.

Although there are innumerable corollary values in the International Health and Medical Research Act of 1959, it is based pri-marily on recognition of the fact that research in health, medicine, and rehabilita-tion is so highly complex and interrelated that victory over any disease or disability can be achieved only through the research results of many scientists, clinicians, public health specialists, and vocational rehabilitation specialists throughout the world.

#### PROGRESS IS WORK OF MANY

The history of medicine is replete with examples of this.

It was a Dutch scientist in 1676 who first revealed the world of microorganisms. An English physician, Edward Jenner, who observed in 1796 that vaccination prevented smallpox, provided the basis for modern immunologic concepts. Iwanowski, a Russian, identified the first virus in 1892. Canadians Sir Frederick Banting and Charles Best were the first to isolate insulin in 1921. The Spanish neuroanatomist, Santiago Ramon y Cajal, and the Italian histologist, Camillo Golgi, shared the Nobel prize in 1906 for their work on the structure of the nervous system.

The list goes on and on-penicillin from England, cortisone from the United States, Rauwolfia from India, sulfonamides from Germany.

## GLOBAL ATTACK ON DISEASE

The "health for peace" bill is a direct outgrowth of the proposals of President Fisenhower in his 1058 state of the Union nessage for a "science for peace" plan to "attain a good life for all." As the first step in some formal that in such a plan, President Eisenhower at that time invited the Soviet Union to join in the current 5-year program for the global eradication of malaria.

The President stated our willingness to pool efforts with those of the Russians in Campanians campaigns against cancer and heart disease and the other scourges of mankind. people can get together on such projects, he said, "is it not possible that we could then go on to a full-scale cooperative program of science for peace?"

It was to discuss the proposals for a Steatly expanded international medical re-search was to discuss the proposals for a search program that Senator Hubert Hum-Penery, Democrat, of Minnesota, went to Moscow in early December for his now famous s. b. early December for his now famous 8-hour interview with Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev. The first two hours of the interview were spent discussing international medical research.

# AREA FOR U.S.-U.S.S.R. EFFORT

In a statement issued in Moscow after the an a statement issued in Moscow after the interview, Senator Humphrey reported the Soviet Premier Lad given "enthusiastic approval" proval" to the proposal.

He said further: "During my interview with the Premier, I had noted that areas of disagreement between our respective foreign policies." eign policies remain broad and deep. does not appear that, for a considerable time, these differences will be resolved. In the meantime, we need to learn how to work meantime, we need to learn how to well together, and the best place to start is in the nonpolitical area. The world is hungry for some for some evidence of effective Soviet-American contains best areas can collaboration. One of the best areas in Which to start is the field of health."

Fortunately, there is a growing recognition throughout the United States of the effectiveness of international health and rehabilitation as a major program in our American foreign policy. Congress last year gave more impetus to international health than any previous Congress. than any previous Congress.

# FUNDS FOR RESEARCH ABROAD

Our Mutual Security Act now proclaims it to be the policy of the United States to continue and strengthen mutual efforts among nations for research against disease in all parts of the world, noting that such diseases as cancer as cancer constitute "a major deterrent in the efforts of many people to develop their economic resources and productive capacitles and to improve their living conditions."

Another amendment to the Mutual Security Act authorizes the use of funds obtained from the sale of surplus foods abroad for the support of medical research in foreign countries.

Last year, the Senate unanimously passed resolution urging the President of the United States, through the medium of the World Health Organization and related groups, to invite the nations of the world to designate an International Health and Medical Research Year.

#### GROUNDWORK BEING LAID

A very modest start toward the general objectives of the plan is already underway with the \$300,000 grant made by the United States to the World Heatlh Organization for a preliminary study to lay the groundwork medical research on an international basis. This grant was announced by Dr. Milton Eisenhower, president of Johns Hopkins University, as the personal representa-tive of the President at the annual World Health Organization assembly in Minneapolis last June.

Dr. Eisenhower said at that time that the United States was prepared to give such a program substantial support. In February of this year, the Executive Board of the World Health Organization meeting Geneva approved a six-point program for extended medical research drawn up by the Director General of the World Health Organization, Dr. M. G. Candau, as the result of the instructions he received at the World Health Organization assembly.

The fact that 59 other Senators joined with Senator Hill in cosponsoring his "health for peace" bill indicates that a majority of the Senate agree with the statement of Senator Humphrey on the need for such a program and with Senator Hill that his proposals would help meet that need.

#### INTEREST IS WIDESPREAD

They realize that not only will such a program improve the international understanding but also may well provide a breakthrough on the killing and crippling diseases that plague mankind.

This enthusiastic support is not limited to the Congress. Today there is widespread interest in all walks of life in the United States in this and other international health legislation. The people of the United States have demonstrated, through their willingness to contribute both tax and voluntary funds, their firm belief in the value of research in health, medicine, and rehabilitation. Most also agree that, while the United States and the rest of the world are spending billions of dollars negatively for research for instruments of death and destruction, we should spend a few millions positively for promoting health, happiness, and human understanding. The race for control of outer space is not so important in the long road ahead as the control for inner space in the minds and hearts of mankind,

### PUT MEN AHEAD OF MOON

In a nationwide survey conducted by the University of Michigan Survey Center for the National Association of Science Writers and New York University, 54 percent of those questioned reported that, if forced to choose between spending money for medical research or putting the first man on the moon, they would favor medical research.

The "health for peace" bill gives dimension and significance to the aphorism of the late Sir William Osler: "The great republic of medicine knows and has known no national boundaries."

Over 300 years ago, an English philosopher said: "If every man would but mend a man, the world would all be mended." The International Health and Medical Research Act of 1959 is a significant step toward this goal.

Are the Americas Breaking Apart?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. B. CARROLL REECE

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 30, 1959

Mr. REECE of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, a very elucidating editorial appears in the July edition of Fortune magazine and I wish to place it in the RECORD that it might be available to Members of Congress and others over the country who may be interested:

#### ARE THE AMERICAS BREAKING APART?

In Haiti last month, Foreign Minister Louis Mars complained of feeling like a passenger on a ship who knows there is dirty weather about, but who cannot make out what is going on over the horizon. This sentiment must accurately reflect the feelings of many U.S. businessmen about Latin America these days. We have been witness-ing in Cuba a confiscation of property unequaled since the Mexican oil seizures in 1938. There have been incipient revolts and street fighting in Nicaragua, Paraguay, Bolivia, and Uruguay. Peru is in exchange difficulties and Brazil continues to pursue inflationary policies that are self-defeating and that have led to an open break with the officials of the International Monetary Fund.

It is easy to conclude from all this that U.S. policy toward Latin America is a complete failure. Adolf Berle, former Assistant Secretary of State for Latin-American affairs, writing in the Reporter, states that "for the first time since the Monroe Doctrine was proclaimed in 1823, the Americas could break in two." This would indeed be a disaster of the first order. Of the some \$25 billion of direct investment that U.S. business has made around the world, some \$8.8 billion is invested south of the Rio Grande and in the islands of the Caribbean. About 30 percent of all U.S. imports come from this area and about 25 percent of our exports go there. The United States is de-pendent on Venezuelan oil, Peruvian and Chilean copper, and Brazilian coffee. And militarily, no less than economically, the interests of the Northern and Southern Hemispheres are interlocking.

In view of these stakes, present concern over Latin America is fully justified. Fortunately, however, U.S. policy is not quite as inept as some critics make out. Latin America is a big and enormously diverse area that includes some 20 different countries and 183 million people. Some are doing well. In others—Ecuador, Chile, and Colombia, for instance—progress is being made to balance budgets and to adopt sensible trade and investment policies. U.S. business this year will confidently put an estimated \$400 million into Latin-American mines and factories, and U.S. imports and exports will be considerably higher than they were in 1958. This is no time to lose faith in American solidarity. But it is time to sort out and face up to the real dangers.

#### THE MOST SACRED RIGHT

The first and obvious danger lies in Cuba. which Fidel Castro in a few brief months has managed to reduce to a state of chaos where literally anything can happen. When Batista fell, there was considerable rejoicing that another dictator had toppled. But Castro's land-reform program has turned out to be a deadly serious threat to property, security, and peace. It is a body blow to big foreign companies like Atlantica del Golfo, which owns some 500,000 acres in Cuba, to the Rionda group, Cuban-American Sugar, and United Fruit. Castro's land reform must also adversely affect the whole Cuban economy, which is already plagued with massive unemployment. And it is not only the big foreign companies that will suffer. At a recent meeting of tobacco growers, Castro's policies were criticized as "an open attack on the most sacred right of civilized society," and a small landholder stated; "I will continue to defend my land as long as I have breath, because I obtained it with the sweat of my brow and it is the only thing I have to leave to my children." These are gallant words indicating how far Castro has betrayed the real interests of his own people.

But it is not only the property confiscation in Cuba that is of concern to businessmen. Equally serious is the fact that Latin America has been increasingly subject to Communist infiltration, Castro himself may not be a Communist, but he is surrounded by Communists, and there is no doubt that the Kremlin is underwriting a strong and flexible strategy to subvert other nations. In Guatemala 3 years ago, Communists came within an ace of taking over the government. In Colombia, Communists maintain a small enclave around the town of Viota and have made some progress at penetrating the country's unions. In Venezuela, Communists technically control only about 3 percent of the labor movement, but their influence spreads much wider and is felt in the universities. In Argentina, Com-munists moved in on the wreckage left by Perón and are today strongly entrenched in nineteen major unions, among these the building-trades and the lumber and chemical unions; and in Uruguay the Communists have a powerful headquarters that speaks with its own radio station. In Brazil the party has been banned since 1957, but Communists exert decisive influence in about 30 percent of Brazil's 1,347 union locals,

#### FOR THOSE WHO HELP THEMSELVES

The threat to Latin-American stability, however, is not just communism. It is also the fact that so many Latin-American nations are caught up in a complex of social and economic forces-forces pushing them into unsound economic policies that play into the hands of agitators of all kinds and impoverish their own peoples. Over threequarters of Latin America's population still live on the land, and agriculture remains this great southern community's basic asset. Yet few countries have paid sufficient attention to increasing their agricultural output, which has, in fact, barely kept pace with growing populations. Instead, there has been forced-draft industrialization, which all too often has led to credit inflation, unbalanced budgets, and soaring prices. In-flation creates a strong demand for imports, penalizes exports, and leads on inevitably to exchange controls and balance-of-payments difficulties. Brazil is the supreme example of a potentially rich country that has been ruining itself by way of the printing press. Even Peru, which made enormous economic progress under the Odria regime, has been getting into trouble.

Yet in financial matters the United States can and should evert constructive influence, and here there have been signs of change. In Chile and Colombia the printing presses have been slowed. In Argentina it is to be hoped that Dr. Frondizi and the military can reconcile their differences and that the government will continue its austerity program. The United States has rightly emphasized that sound money is the key to progress. It is also right in turning down Brazil's demand for further loans until Brazil elects to curb its internal spending. It is sometimes said that this country has channeled all of its aid to Europe and to the Far East and forgotten about its southern neighbors. The charge does not stand up on analysis, and in any case misses the point. The nations of Latin America do not need another Marshall plan. What they

do need is adequate credit if they meet certain minimum conditions of fiscal prudence. The proposed \$1 billion Inter-American Development Bank may help enlarge credit facilities. But it will succeed only as it adheres to the general philosophy of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank and helps those who have begun to help themselves.

#### THE ENDURING PARTNERSHIP

Once this philosophy is accepted, new horizons will open up. Governments can lay down the ground rules of economic ad-But the main engines of progress are trade, foreign investment, and above all free economic activity within the Latin-American nations themselves. In the matter of trade, the United States has needlessly offended Peru and Venezuela by its restrictive policies regarding copper and oil. Brazil has needlessly hurt itself by its illfated price-propping schemes on coffee (copied, it must be said, directly from the U.S. farm policy). Where trade and investment have been allowed to run free, they have forged a proud record, and there are plently of opportunities left. Increasingly, U.S. enterprises have met nationalist propaganda by offering partnerships. Beth-lehem Steel, for instance, accepted a 49 per-cent minority interest in Brazil's \$52-million Amapa manganese operation. Willys-Overland do Brasil, which may outproduce Willys in the United States, financed a large part of its investment by selling shares to Brazilians and now has some 40,000 local stockholders. Brazilian Traction is now selling \$12 million worth of stock in Brazil thereby acquiring both new capital and allies. Combinations of this kind may not always be practical, but where they are, they are a potent means of meeting the false charge of "foreign exploitation."

Perhaps the largest truth that needs emphasis is that there is an essential link between so-called underdeveloped nations and developed ones. As an eminent lawyer of Mexico, Gustavo R. Velasco, has said: "An underdeveloped country is a poor country considered to have a possibility of becoming less poor \* \* \* underdeveloped countries are not subject to a set of economic principles different from those to which the advanced countries are subject." In other words, the principles of the free market, of sound money, of private property and respect for law, are general propositions that can hold good everywhere. Recently Charles S. Rhyne, former president of the American Bar Assoclation, made much the same point when he emphasized that the rule of law is the most precious inheritance of the Western World. and specifically proposed setting up a regional Court of Justice for the Americas. Such a court would not have been able to stop the expropriation of property in Cuba. But it would serve as a symbol that the United States and its Latin American neighbors stand for the same rules of judicial process and common decency. It is by emphasizing and implementing this common bond of liberty under law, no less than by increasing commerce and investment, that the Americas will be held together.

#### Guess Who Pays?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON, GEORGE M. WALLHAUSER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 30, 1959

Mr. WALLHAUSER. Mr. Speaker, I recommend to my colleagues a timely editorial that states the highway con-

struction payment problem very wellwhich appeared in the Newark (N.J.) Star-Ledger under date of June 28, 1959.

It would serve a good purpose if all of our citizens would face up to the facts that are pointed out in these revealing paragraphs:

#### GUESS WHO PAYS?

Uncle Sam's highway construction kitty too often is viewed as a grab-bag that is filled with goodies that cost no one anything. This can lead to the erroneous conclusion that all the new ribbons of concrete are being built for free.

Money for highway construction is apportioned to the States for building roads in the Federal highway network. The Federal Government picks up the tab for 90 percent of the cost of most these roads.

But suddenly Congress was warned the kitty was all but depleted, and President Eisenhowed asked for a boost in gasoline taxes from 3 to 4½ cents a gallon. That's a 50 percent markup and a stiff increase.

Congressmen are not eager to go along with any plan to hit the motorist in the pocketbook. There's an election coming up. And a gas tax increase is something the motorist will feel right away. By contrast, the money spent on roads will not produce any tangible benefits for months, if not years.

This controversy demonstrates pretty conclusively-the fallacy of the belief that money dished out by the Federal Government is a handout—or something for nothing. The motorist (and that includes just about every one of us) is being told in no uncertain terms that he is going to have to pay for every mile of new highway that's built. He's going to pay in a very direct manner: It makes no difference whether he is required to hand over 1½ cents for every gallon of gasoline he buys, or whether some other method of getting the funds is used.

The highways may be well worth the money and the motorist may be willing to pay for them. But he should be under no illusion that he is getting something for nothing because most the money is coming out of a Federal fund. The fund is only a means of collection and distribution. The meney comes out of the motorist's pocket.

Resolution Urges Correction of Inequities in Military Pay Act of 1958

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 30, 1959

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, the House of Representatives of the State of Alabama has adopted the following resolution, concurred in and adopted by the

Senate.

It relates to inequities existing in the Military Pact Act of 1958, and I have joined those sponsoring legislation to correct these inequities.

The resolution referred to follows:

Whereas this Nation has long accepted the fair and just practice of gearing the pay of naval, military, and airmen who received by the active members of the Armed Porces of the country; and

Whereas the Military Pay Act of 1958 continued this practice as to all such persons retired from active service after the effective

date of that Act, and even as to the pensions of widows of officers who had retired prior to this date, but departed from this custom as to living members of the Armed Forces who had retired prior to this date, and prescribed for this latter group a lower rate of pay as a retired member of such forces than that accorded members of corresponding rank who retire after such date, thus unjustly and arbitrarily discriminating against a segment of our uniformed servicemen; and

Whereas this act has resulted in such anomalies as an officer who was retired prior to the effective date of the act, because of a disability—possibly a wound incurred in the line of duty perhaps in the frontlines of a hard-fought battle in which he displayed outstanding courage and valor-receiving a much smaller monthly retirement pay than an officer of the same rank, retired after the effective date of the act, due to a nonservice-connected disability, who has never seen a day of combat duty; and

Whereas there appears to be no logical reason or basis for this gross discrimination against those members of the uniformed services who retired prior to the effective

date of the Military Pay Act of 1958; and
Whereas equity and justice demand that the same standard for computation of re-tirement pay be applied to all members of the A the Armed Forces, without regard to date of retirement; and

Whereas fallure to maintain such just and equitable standards will inevitably lead to defections from active service by career officers, and thus prove detrimental to the national defense and security of the United States: Now therefore, be it

Resolved by the Legislature of Alabama (the House of Representatives and Senate concurring):

That the Legislature of Alabama hereby urges Senator Richard Russell and Representation of the Senator Richard Russell and Representations of the Senator Richard Russell and Representation of the Senator Richard Russell and Russ Sentative CARL VINSON, chairmen of the Senate and House Armed Services Committees, respectively, to schedule hearings at their earliest that would earliest convenience on bills that would equalize the pay of military retirees; be it further

Resolved, That the Legislature of Alabama deplores the fact that those loyal, faithful members of the Army, Navy, Air Force, Marine Conditions of the Army, Navy, Air Fo rine Corps, Coast Guard, Geodetic Survey, and Public Health Service who had retired prior to the William Pay prior to the effective date of the Military Pay Act of 1958 have been unjustly discriminated against by that act; and hereby memorializes the Congress of the United States to eliminate pay discrimination against these persons and as to them to restore the traditional relationship between their pay and the pay of active service members of the Armed Forces of this Nation.

The Clerk of the House of Representatives of Alabama is hereby directed to transmit a copy of this resolution to Senator RICHARD RUSSELL, a copy to Representative CARL VINson, a copy to Representative Cast, Sen-ator Jacoby each to Senator Lister Hill, Senator John Sparkman, Senator James O. East-LAND, Senator John Stennis, a copy to each members. member of Alabama's congressional delegation, a copy to the Secretary of the U.S. Senate for ate for delivery to that body, and a copy to the Clerk of the House of Representatives of the Unit of the House of Representatives of the United States for delivery to that body.

Adopted by the house of representatives

June 5, 1950

Concurred in and adopted by the Senate June 9, 1959. Approved by the Governor June 18, 1959.

## Resolution by the Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians of Detroit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 30, 1959

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, the Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians of Detroit in their 18th annual gathering on June 14, 1959, at the International Institute of Detroit, in commemoration of the mass deportations by the Communists from the Baltic States, unanimously adopted the following resolution:

Whereas in June 1940 the sovereign and independent republics of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania were illegally occupied by Soviet Russia and in June 1941 many thousands of Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians were seized and deported to the tundras of Siberia for torturious death, thus beginning a series of acts of systematical genocide carried out by the Kremlin since; and

Whereas international communism seeks complete domination of the world, thus being a menace to all freedom loving people;

and

Whereas the United States of America continues to recognize the Baltic Republics and their diplomatic representatives constantly denouncing the illegal occupation of these states by the Soviet Russia: Therefore be it

Resolved. That hereby we, who have assembled today to commemorate this tragic anniversary, once again express our deep gratitude to the U.S. Government for not recognizing the fabricated incorporation of the Baltic States into Soviet Union and allowing many thousands of refugees to find new homes in this land of liberty; and be It further

Resolved, That this meeting unconditionally condemns the Soviet aggression and destructive occupation of the Baltic States and all the other enslaved countries and respectfully recommends and urges the U.S. Government, as a member of the United Nations, to take the Soviet Union to the United Nations International Court of Justice for aggression and mass murder; and be it further

Resolved. That we respectfully ask the U.S. Government to take a firm stand against imperialistic communism and to demand that freedom and independence be returned to the Baltic States; and be it further

Resolved, That this is the unanimous opinion of this meeting that only free and democratic election in the captive countries, including East Germany and the Berlin area, would bring world peace and justice to the innocent victims of Russlan communism. Peaceful coexistence and appeasements lead to the final destruction of the free world; and be it finally

Resolved. That this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, the majority leader of U.S. Senate, the minority leader of U.S. Senate, chairman of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the majority leader of the House of Representatives, the minority leader of the House of Representatives, the chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, the U.S. Delegate to the United Nations, both the Senators of the United States from the State of Michigan, the Michigan Congress delegation, the Governor of the State of Michigan, and the mayor of the city of Detroit.

Adopted in Detroit, Mich., this 14th day

of June A.D. 1959.

THE BALTIC NATIONS COMMITTEE OF DETROIT.

## Elevation of Bishop Bernard J. Sheil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 30, 1959

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to call attention of the House today to the recent elevation of Auxiliary Bishop Bernard J. Sheil to the rank of titular Archbishop of Selge. This great honor bestowed upon Archbishop Sheil by His Holiness Pope John XXIII was received with great joy by people of all creeds in Chicago and throughout the Nation, for Archbishop Sheil's great contributions as a spiritual leader to humanity have served as inspiration to people not only in Chicago but throughout the Nation.

Because I know that Archbishop Sheil has admirers throughout this great Nation of ours, I am taking the privilege today of enclosing an editorial which recently appeared in the Chicago Sun-Times commenting on his elevation.

Archbishop Sheil is a native-born Chicagoan, and we in Chicago have been proud of his great accomplishments and his unyielding service to God for many years, but his tireless efforts in the service of God have helped all of humanity. Archbishop Sheil, as was recently stated in one of the Chicago newspapers, has exerted one of the most telling voices on the social order of Chicago and the Nation.

The editorial follows:

IT'S NOW ARCHBISHOP SHEIL

Chicagoans of all creeds can rejoice with Archbishop Bernard J. Sheil and can take civic pride in the honor which Pope John XXIII has bestowed upon the widely known auxiliary bishop of the Roman Catholic archdiocese here.

His personal elevation to the rank of archbishop is a papal tribute to the many years that the 73-year-old prelate had devoted to his church, to the city of Chicago, to the underprivileged, to oppressed minorities, and

to humanity everywhere.

It will take a little time to get used to his new title. For more than 30 years, "Bishop Sheil" has been a household word across Chicago, in homes of every faith and of all economic levels.

Archbishop Sheil has been a stalwart champion of human rights in many ways.

He was an outspoken foe of Hitlerism and warned early of its rise in Germany. He is an implacable enemy of communism, a severe critic of McCarthyism. He has fought against prejudice and injustice wherever and whenever they reared their heads.

An exponent of his church's great tradition of social justice, he has been a vocal defender of the rights of the laboring man.

One of his great accomplishments was his devotion to youth, through the Catholic Youth Organization and the many facets of its work. He is no longer active in its leadership, but the CYO, now spread throughout the archdiocese on a parish level, still retains his spirit.

The honors given him have been many and varied in recent years. His new rank is a well deserved accolade. There is a hint that the Vatican may have a future assignment for him. We wish him well in whatever it may be, knowing he will bring to it a great faith and ability.

# The Problems of Small Business in the Field of Organized Labor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. EDGAR W. HIESTAND

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 23, 1959

Mr. HIESTAND. Mr. Speaker, some 3 weeks ago I made a speech on the House floor in which I quoted portions of a letter I had received from Wendell B. Barnes, Administrator of the Small Business Administration, relative to the difficulties American small businesses are experiencing under present labor laws—or, rather, a void of labor laws.

The Wall Street Journal, in its issue of June 29, carried a front-page article which vividly verifies Mr. Barnes' observations. It tells how small merchants are victimized by a powerful labor union which is trying to close down one of the merchants' suppliers.

It is a sad state of affairs, Mr. Speaker, when a small store operator is picketed and forced to quit selling the products of a manufacturer of good repute with whom he has done business for many years.

As a member of the Committee on Education and Labor, I have gone deeply into the problems of small businesses in the field of organized labor. I wish to emphasize that I favor organized labor. The fundamentals of labor unions are good; they are sound. I applaud the principles of men like Samuel Gompers and other great labor union organizers and leaders. But when we allow racketeering practices to coerce our legitimate enterprises and literally blackmail them out of business, it is time to take corrective action.

Should any of my colleagues want copies of Mr. Barnes' letter to me, I shall be glad to furnish them. In the meantime, I hope they will take time to read the Wall Street Journals' article which I herewith present:

TILLAMOOK'S CHEESE IS UNFAIR, TEAMSTERS CRY, ASK CONSUMER BOYCOTT—PICKET PRESSURE CAUSES SOME STORES TO STOP SELLING IT; UNCLE SAM MAY PAY THE BILL

PORTLAND, OREC.—Two Teamster pickets paraded in front of Glenn Gaylord's Food-liner supermarket here during the morning shopping hours one day recently. They wore signs that read: "To the customers: This store sells Tillamook cheese, an unfair product."

By afternoon, Mr. Gaylord had removed the Tillamook cheese from his dairy case and had agreed to Teamster demands not to buy anymore of that particular brand until a labor dispute between the union and the Tillamook County, Oreg., Creamery Association—the maker of the cheese—is settled.

This scene currently is being repeated throughout Oregon and 10 other Western States where Tillamook cheese is a major market item. The campaign marks use by Teamsters Union locals of a powerful weapon in bringing pressure to bear on employers during contract disputes—an effort to persuade consumers to boycott the firm's product at the retail level.

EIGHTY-THOUSAND-DOLLAR-A-WEEK SALES LOSS

"We're losing \$80,000 a week in sales right now and it may go higher," declares Hubert Dixon, general manager of the Tillamook Cooperative Association, which is owned by 900 farmers. This association has nine factories along the Oregon coast in Tillamook County and is among the Nation's largest suppliers of orange-colored Cheddar cheese. The association markets nearly 10 million pounds of cheese a year, worth about \$5 million.

Safeway Stores, Inc., is among the large chains from whose shelves Tillamook cheese is vanishing up and down the Pacific coast. A top Oregon Teamsters official boasts 98 percent of the State's groceries, excluding small, family type operations, currently are refusing to sell Tillamook cheese.

U.S. taxpayers, too, have a stake in the dispute. Uncle Sam, if asked, will be obligated to purchase Tillamook's unsold surplus cheese. The inventory now is piling up as the farmer-owners continue to operate their largest factory, in the place of the striking Teamsters. The union's workers have not struck at the eight smaller plants. The possible U.S. bill: \$61,000 a week.

"We've never sold any surplus cheese to the Government, but we might have to soon," asserts Mr. Dixon. Such sales could make up for most of the association's sales losses, which currently amount to about 20 percent of normal volume.

#### UNION SEEKS PAY RISE

Ironically, the original dispute involved not cheeseworkers, but 17 fluid milk handlers in the association's main plant near the town of Tillamook. The Teamsters seek about a 30-cents-an-hour increase for the milk handlers and the association offers 10 cents. The boycott was touched off after 130 Teamsters in the main factory walked off their jobs April 30 in support of the milk handlers after 14 months of unsuccessful negotiations.

The 10,000-member Oregon Farm Bureau Federation added a new dimension to the dispute recently when it decided to fight the Teamster boycott. In Midford, Oreg., some farmers already are reported to be fighting boycott with boycott. They go into stores and, if Tillamook cheese is not being sold, they threaten to quit buying there, according to George Dewey, executive secretary of the farm federation.

"This has become a strike of workers against farmers," adds Gerald Detering, the federation's president. "Somewhere we

must draw a line on the increasing prices, and the stand of Tillamook farmers should be of interest to farmers and consumers all over the Nation."

The Teamsters' action appears to be legal, concedes an attorney for the creamery association. Actually, it isn't an entirely new weapon. The Teamsters in several instances have used it in forcing contract talks with employers. As far back as 1951, a U.S. circuit court of appeals upheld the legality of product boycotting by the Teamsters under the Taft-Hartley law. The issue so far has not been appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court for a final determination.

A Teamsters attorney in Portland, Oreg. notes that the union is carefully directing boycotting of the cheese to the customer on its picket signs to avoid secondary boycott "Any attempt by the union to incharges. terfere with store employees handling the cheese, or to keep truck drivers from making deliveries to stores selling it, could be classified as a secondary boycott under the Taft-Hartley law," he declares. Companies can, after determination by the National Labor Relations Board that a secondary boycott condition exists, seek an injunction against union pickets or file suit for damages in a Whether the advertising Federal court. boycott is legal or not, however, a grocery chain executive terms it a stinking deal. He has pulled the cheese off his own stores' shelves for two reasons: Many customers won't walk through the pickets even though the pickets are only charging the cheese is unfair, and the executive has negotiations of his own coming up with the Teamsters Union and fears "those boys will take it out of our hide on other issues if we don't go along now.

"I want to sell Tillamook cheese but I don't dare," declares Oregon grocer Gaylord. "Many customers don't read the signs. They just see the pickets and won't come in to buy groceries."

Not everybody is giving in, of course. "We are going to sell any product we think our customers want to buy. Nobody is going to intimidate us-union or other wise," declares a spokesman for Meler & Frank Co., Inc., a big Portland department store that had pickets against Tillamook cheese at its doors a short while back. The pickets gave out handbills reading, "To the customer: Our membership is on strike against Tillamook Country Creamery Association over wages and working conditions. This establishment seils Tillamook cheese. We would appreciate your cooperation in refusing to purchase this product until this dispute ends. Teamster Local 569." Subsequently the pickets have been withdrawn. Meier & Frank still sells the Tillamook

The usual method used by the local union is to talk with a store's owner and ask him to take Tillamook cheese off his shelves and refuse to buy any more from the producer until the strike is settled. If the owner, balks, pickets are placed in front of the store for varying lengths of time.

Oregon Teamster, official union newspaper, calls the dispute with Tillamook Creamery Association an all-out economic war. It charges the association with being out to break the union. In turn, William O'Connell, Oregon representative on the Teamsters Joint Council 37, frankly warns: "Our goal is cut off the sales of Tillamook cheese 100 percent in the 11 Western States where it is a major market item. We will spread the boycott to every State in the Union is necessary."

But the battle may be a long one. Bucking the Teamster demands are a band of determinated and traditionally stubborn dairy farmers, man proudly boasting Swiss an-

"The battle is far more than the wages of 17 men. It's the existence of an industry. I'd rather give up my farm than back down firmly declares Willard Balley, Tillamook dairy farmer with 60 acres on which he handles 50 dairy cows. Like many other association member-owners today, Mr. Balley, the father of four children, is manning the Production facilities at the main cheese factory while the Teamsters are on strike.

Bailey notes his cows produce 1,800 pounds more butterfat last year, than 1957, Yet he realized only \$3 more profit. "Why should some guy who is handling my milk get \$45 a month more in wages?" he asks.

The milk handlers get \$2.19 to \$2.24 an hour, Mr. O'Connell of the Teamsters Union contends: "Tillamook's milk handlers are

the lowest pair for their category in Oregon." In the town of Tillamook, Mayor Lauren D. McKiniey, a pioneer resident, has wired the local Congressman, Walter Norslab, to ask the Senate's Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field to investigate the situation immediately. A Tillamook Chamber of Commerce official estimates over 30 percent of the country's payrolls comes from the cheese-making as-Sociation. The chamber's slogan for 20,000-population county is "The land of cheese, trees, and ocean breeze."

### Useful Idiots

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON, EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF HAINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 30, 1959

Mr. DERWINSKI, Mr. Speaker, the Members of the House quite often display considerable interest in the thoughts and expressions of folks back home. The same consideration is often given the utterances of local community newspapers, which frequently, in their editorial comments, truly reflect local grassroot thinking rather than the more generalized and all-embracing approach of newspapers with huge metropolitan area circulation.

The following editorial from the June 23 edition of the Chicago Daily Calumet. a daily community newspaper, is, I believe, a most stimulating and thoughtprovoking commentary on a matter of great current interest to us all:

USEFUL IDIOTS

Why this mad rush of Americans to Mos-National political figures, churchmen, businessmen, and now nine Governors in-clude. cluding our own Governor Stratton of Illinois are going to Moscow.

Why do these Governors go? What do

they expect to accomplish? Apparently these Governors have not conaldered the effect of their visit to Moscow on the leaders of Africa and Asia who have the leaders of Africa and Asia who have retrained from accepting repeated invitations to visit Moscow. We criticized Nasser and Nahaman an and Nehru for accepting such invitations and held their motives suspect. What now will the will the Africans and Asians make of these visiting Governors? Are we less immune to

the tricks of the Communists than they? Chancellor Adenauer recently appealed to America for help in halting the Soviet peace offensive which he says "threatens to draw free Europe into the Russian current."

Seventeen thousand youths from the free world have been invited to the Communist Youth Festival in Vienna, Austria, next month. The Asian and African governments are gravely concerned over the Soviet invitation to their youth to go to Moscow after the festival.

Thousands of American youths will also be in Europe this summer. They have been advised not to visit Soviet Russia. What effect will the visit of the nine Governors have on our youth and our friends abroad? The governors by their visit will help to establish the acceptability and respectability of the

Soviet communism.

Has communism suddenly been washed clean? Are these communist experts of subterfuge and duplicity suddenly to be trusted and visited?

This is a trap to draw flies. This mecca of atheism has not changed its stripes of anti-God, antifreedom and antidemocracy. The Soviet-professed program to conquer and dominate the world has not changed. The Communist offer of friendship is but a trick to soften up the West and to put us to sleep to the real Communist Intent.

The Soviet strategy is stated by Dmitri Manuilsky as "war to the hilt between communism and the free world is inevitable. The bourgeoisie will have to be put to sleep, so we will begin by launching the most spectacular peace movement on record. There will be electrifying overtones and unheard of concessions. The stupid and decadent will rejoice to cooperate in their own destruction. They will leap at another chance to be friends. As soon as their guard is down we shall smash them with our clenched

Who arranged the visit of the nine governors to Moscow?

This is the cold war. The leaders of the states and of the nations, instead of going in droves to Moscow and becoming what Lenin calls useful idiots in the Communist game, should go to Mackinac Island, Mich., to the moral rearmament ideological war college where thousands of our friends from the free world are coming to plan global strategy to answer communism.

Americans, including these nine Governors, need to arm themselves with a superior ideology to Communism, without which we will be outthought and outfought.

# Third Anniversary of the Poznan Uprising

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. JOHN LESINSKI

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Tuesday, June 30, 1959

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the attached resolution I believe is very interesting for it parallels fairly well my own thoughts on the current negotiations at the Geneva conference.

I personally believe that prior to any further meeting Soviet Russia must come up with some concrete proposal or at least some commitment to ease the world tensions.

We should deal under an agreement that we will adhere to our part only if Soviet Russia performs her part. Meaning that the agreement must be so made that Russia must fulfill her commitments before we implement any part of our part of the agreement.

Naturally, Russia would not agree to

Therefore it is this arrangement. fruitless even to try to come to some agreement with her. We know this to be a fact, because the last conference was fruitless and hurt us greatly.

I am glad that the present Secretary of State is holding his ground against any concession that would weaken our position.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT THE MEETING COM-MEMORATING THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE POZNAN UPRISING, BOSTON, JUNE 27, 1959

Assembled in the hall of the International Institute in Boston, to commemorate the third anniversary of the Poznan uprising, we pay homage to the memory of those were murdered in Poznan in June 1956, on orders of the Communist government supported by the Soviets, while demanding bread, freedom, and withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland.

The Poznan uprising had a great impact upon the subsequent events in Poland, and its echo vibrated in the captive countries as well as those which are menaced by Communist aggression.

However, the Poznan cries for bread and freedom have not been heeded by the Com-munist regime in Poland. Every effort that is being made is only for the preservation of the shaken structure of the Polish Communist Party. The momentary changes in tactics and dialectics are merely means to this goal.

Free elections have not been allowed, independent political parties are not per-mitted to exist.

TT

Upon the occasion of the third anniversary of the Poznan uprising we send our heartiest greetings to the Polish nation, assuring it of our complete solidarity in support of its aspirations, aims and struggle, and we earnestly desire to make the following appeal to the democratic governments and to the public opinion of the free world. We hope that it will, in the face of an aggressive and imperialistic communism remain united and determined in all its actions and will form a common ideological front with the captive nations against Communist dictatorship.

We condemn all outrages and abuses the Communists have committed, and continue to commit against the Polish nation. protest most vehemently against the criminal acts of the Communist regime in Poland, acts through which it intends to deprive the people even of the minimum of civil liberties which they had won in 1956 and thus transform them into a more pliable tool in the hands of Soviet imperialism.

Therefore we declare, resolve and request as follows:

That Soviet Armies and Soviet civil employees be withdrawn from Poland.

That the Polish frontiers on the Oder and Nelsse Rivers be ratified by the West.

That all deportees to Soviet Union be freed and returned to Poland.

That freedom to organize independent political parties, economic associations, independent youth and social groups be restored in Poland, together with freedom of press.

That free elections, under international supervision, be held in Poland.

IV

The Geneva Conference as of today has made no progress, it succeeded to show that the Soviets through this propaganda has lowered our defensive position and the eager wishes of the people desiring freedom and

Protesting most vehemently against these newly revealed murders and, in order to prevent additional slaughter of innocent people for Soviet political aims, we demand that the free world:

1. Stop all preparatory work for the summit conference until the problem of the captive peoples of central and eastern Europe is placed on the agenda of the summit conference in order that a satisfactory settlement concerning the freedom and independence of the captive peoples and peace and security of the world be attained.

2. Call a meeting of the Security Council of the United Nations and if the United Nations resolutions are not respected and followed, expel the Soviet Union and its puppets

from the United Nations.

ANTI-COMMUNIST CONFEDERATION OF POLISH FREEDOM FIGHTERS. Presented in behalf of the committee by: JOZEF MLOT-MROZ,

President. JOHN J. TWARGG, Vice President.

## Democracy and Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I want to take this opportunity to call to the attention of my colleagues a very fine letter which I received from one of my constituents, Mrs. Martha A. Smith, of Fort Walton Beach. I was very much impressed by Mrs. Smith's comparison of democracy and communism and the comprehensive way in which she wrote concerning matters of national and international interest. I feel that this letter stands in a class by itself as an inspiring, patriotic statement and it is with pleasure that I submit it for inclusion in the Congressional Record.

The letter follows:

FORT WALTON BEACH, FLA., June 17, 1959. Hon. Bos Sikes, Member of Congress,

County Courthouse, Crestview, Fla.

DEAR SIR: In regards to Geneva, Berlin, East-West, etc.; I think we've backed down just about as far as our democratic principles should allow. "They don't have to recognize our right to be in West Berlin." "We'll withdraw our troops gradually and leave only a token force." "We'll continue leave only a token force." the talks if they will agree to anything we've proposed."

As one person put it, "What ever happened to the iron hand in the velvet glove and the walking softly with a big stick? We seem to be treading softly enough and the velvet glove is apparent—but the iron hand and big stick of military might, readiness, preparedness-whatever we want to call it, is misplaced from the look of things.

If we have no right to be in West Berlin, we're an honest enough people to admit it and withdraw. If we're needed there, let's build up our armed forces and rattle sabers and pour billions into missiles—the heck with balanced budgets and military force rivalry. Let's be placed and humorous, unit-

ed and dangerous.

And I say this with a boy going into military service tomorrow, God help me.

Mr. Webster defines "democracy" as "Government by the people"; "Republic" as "Free popular government, no classes having any political privileges." He defines "communism" as "A system of social organization involving common ownership of the agents of production and some approach to equal distribution of the products of industry."

The people in Russian-dominated countries are welcome to pool resources and split everything, so far as I'm concerned. We have communities (co-ops) in our own country where they do this, unhampered. But when the majority of Russian citizens-no, subjects is a better word-allow a few to control them and everything they produce, that is a far cry from what they profess to foster.

Americans can complain. And do. But I'm proud of why our country is and what she stands for and the way we stick together without backing down when the going gets tough. If we belong in Berlin, let's stay. And tax the daylights out of ourselves to weld the Iron hand that makes it possible. It seems a whole lot smarter to show the offsetting entry in the budget as "The Future" than to show current taxes covering smaller expenditures with the possibility we may never have to consider a future! Sincerely,

Mrs. Martha A. Smith.

#### Waste in Driblets

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 30, 1959

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, an editorial by a well known editor, Mr. J. Q. Mahaffey, which appeared in the July 27, 1959, issue of the Texarkana Gazette, published at Texarkana, Tex., my hometown, entitled "Waste In Driblets," mentions points which deserve careful study and earnest consideration. I commend it to my colleagues in Congress.

The editorial is as follows:

#### WASTE IN DRIBLETS

Whenever instances of relatively minor waste in the Federal Government are uncovered, there are always those who suggest that such things are scarcely worth fussing about. Why not, it is asked, forget such trivia and go after the far more significant examples of waste that send millions down the drain?

Although there is some merit in this argument, the fact is that plugging many small leaks is an effective way of stopping waste. It is effective especially because it calls repeated attention to the idea that improper use of taxpayers' money, whether large sums or small, is not to be tolerated.

Representative WRIGHT PATMAN may have unearthed a case in point with his charges that the Nation's Federal Reserve banks have been spending money improperly on such things as dinner parties, golf tournaments, theater tickets, and so forth. The sums involved may not seem large, but the principle is the same as that which applies to sums many times greater.

Parman's charges need not be taken at face value. The Federal Reserve people may have plausible explanations for many expenditures mentioned-even such things as hundreds of dollars for Christmas gifts to private individuals. At this writing, however, it is difficult to see the justification for spending tax money on Christmas gifts, ladies' parties, and dues for memberships in private organizations.

Parman hints at the possible misuse of much larger sums when he declares that the Federal Reserve System spends "millions of dollars of the taxpayers' money without re-straint and without audit" by any outside agency. What he says certainly warrants investigation. And the idea that the Federal Reserve System, like most Government agencies, ought to be subject to outside audit worth considering.

# The American Legion National Convention in the Twin Cities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, June 30, 1959

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, in August of this year the American Legion will hold its national convention in the Twin Cities of Minnesota. The Legionnaires and their families who attend this convention will, I know, enjoy Minneapolis and St. Paul as much as we will enjoy having them visit in our State.

The July issue of the American Legion magazine contains a fine article describing the Twin Cities, entitled "A Tale of Two Cities of Special Interest to Legionnaires." I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A TALE OF TWO CITIES OF SPECIAL INTEREST TO LEGIONNAIRES

(This year from August 22 to August 27 the center of the American Legion world will shift to Minneapolis and St. Paul when the national convention is held.)

When Legionnaires assemble in the Twin Cities. Minneapolis and St. Paul, for the national convention, they will be following a tradition that is centuries old. Visitors have been enjoying Minnesota hospitality for almost 600 years, Minnesotans say, and they base their contention on a rune stone dated 1362 which in distributions. dated 1362 which indicates that the Vikings hunted and fished there a century before Columbus crossed the Atlantic.

The Twin Cities, only 10 miles apart along the upper Mississippi River, form of sprawling metropolis with a population of sprawling metropolis with a populat approximately 1% million. At the front door of downtown Minneapolis the river drops 65 feet in the five fronts f drops 65 feet in three steps over the Falls of St. Anthony. Indeed, the city owes much to the falls, which generated power for the mills that made the mills that made the city famous.

Many of Minnesota's thousands of lakes can be found in the Twin Cities arealargest is Minnetonka, with 200 miles shoreline. From the eastern end of this lake a creek named Minnehaha spills east ward and tumbles into the Mississippi gorge to create the falls immortalized by Long fellow in "Hiawatha."

Visitors will find the following places of special interest:

Fort Snelling, the oldest landmark of white settlement in the Twin Cities, built in 1819 at the cities of the in 1819 at the junction of the Minnesota and Minneapolis Rivers.

Minneapolis Grain Exchange, on the south edge of the downtown district, the world's largest cash grain market.

St. Paul's Science Museum, just north of downtown St. Paul.

The capitol, at St. Paul, designed by Min-nesota architect, Cass Gilbert, credited for his development of the modern skyscraper.

Como Park, which has excellent zoological gardens and a conservatory.

Minnesota Historical Society, where you can see a collection of priceless documents and photographs.

The "God of Peace," a slowly revolving slant marble statue of an Indian, in the St. Paul courthouse lobby.

University of Minnesota, one of the world's greatest universities, whose buildings domihate the residential district southeast of St. Anthony Falls.

The Minnesota State Fairgrounds, to the east of the agricultural campus of the University of Minnesota.

Southdale, on the southwestern fringe of the Twin Cities, described as the Nation's most spectacular shopping center.

Such well-known manufacturing plants as those of Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing Co., the home of Scotch tape, located in St. Paul; Minneapolis-Honeywell, known for electrical control apparatus; Brown & Bleed, and a nub-Bigelow, the world's largest calendar publishing house in St. Paul; Toro Manufacturing house in St. Paur. 1010 mowers in Minneapolis: Pillsbury's and General Mills, world famous for flour.

The Mary D. Bradford High School Band of Kenosha, Wis., Plays Concert on the Capitol Steps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. GERALD T. FLYNN

OF WISCONSIN IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 5, 1959 Mr. FLYNN. Mr. Speaker, we were honored today by a visit here at the Nation's Capitol from the band of the Mary D. Bradford High School in Kenosha, Wis, This band is one of the outstanding bands in southern Wisconsin and has for several years been under the able leadership of Ralph J. Houghton. Mr. Houghton, who is recognized throughout the State of Wisconsin as one of the most able organizers of musical composition, has personally guided the band since its inception. The band now consists of 85 boys and girls, all of high school age, and most of whom are accomplished musicians in their own right. The band members were resplendent in red and white West Point uniforms with tails. The group has won many awards especially for its herold

trumpet effect, et cetera. The band from the Mary D. Bradford High School is presently on its way to New York to participate in the activities of the control of the co of the Lions International convention which is being held there. They will parade Darade in a 7-hour parade down 42d Street and compete with bands from several nations. The annual parade at the Lions' convention is one of the most colorful of all the conventions in the country and this year will take from 7 to 8 hours to pass the reviewing stand.

The Mary D. Bradford High School band legal public holiday for Government emin making the trip to New York is paying special honor to a Wisconsin citizen who has been selected as the international head of the Lions organization for the coming year. I know that the Members of Congress who had the privilege and opportunity of hearing the concert played by the Mary D. Bradford Band on the House steps of the Capitol this morning will testify to the excellence of their performance.

The members of the band of the Mary D. Bradford High School of Kenosha. Wis., are: Lee Aiello, Don Anderson, Joy Anderson, Kay Anderson, Kent Anderson, Irene Andrade, Roger Andreoli, Tom Asboth, Charles Ashley, George Bagdon, Larry Benefiel, Sherrill Block, James Buss, Pat Calvert, Connie Cassidy, Barbara Christian, Pat Christian, Marilyn Copen, Don Deeder, Larry Eils, Jerry Fenske, James Firchow, Pete Gallo, Gary Garcia, Pete Gentile, Judy Gentz, Sheryl Glinski, Gail Hansen, Jim Hendrickson, Robert Hockney, Alice Jackson, Ron Jensen, Eric Johnson, Edith Jornt, Ken Kastman, Nancy Kemp, Mike Kempainen, Elaine Kirk, Carol Klitzke, Gary Laba, Lynn Langenbach, Bruce Larsen, Jim Lemke, Marjorie Leppanen, Shelby Leschinsky, David Linn, Marsha Mathews, Gene Mentink, Joan Metten, Marilynn Milaux, David Mink, Terry McNeil, Kathy Neil, Don Neau, Carol Norman, Pat Navoichik, Sue Odelberg, Lynn Paulsen, Kay Paulsen, Jerry Perona, Kent Peterson, John Petzke, Sandra Ponzio, Robert Richards, Marilynn Rosemann, Dennis Roseth, Joe Ruffalo, Virginia Schenk, Sue Schmelling, Carol Schnell, Lowell Schroeder, John Steddick, Judy Stewart, Jim Szantor, Veronica Szeliga, Lucille Turco, Doug Vacarello, Bill Van Caster, Ken Wermeling, and William Yankus,

These fine boys and girls, in their trip to Washington and New York, were under the supervision of their bandmaster, Ralph J. Houghton, and a number of parents and friends of the band, as follows: Mrs. Ralph Houghton, Mr. and Mrs. D. Hale, Mr. and Mrs. G. Hendrickson, Mr. and Mrs. T. Eils, Mr. and Mrs. G. Schmelling, Mr. and Mrs. G. Metten, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Anderson, Mrs. Benefiel, Mrs. E. Wermeling, Mrs. F. Schnell, Mrs. A. Anderson, Mike Szelgia, Mrs. F. Perona, Mr. and Mrs. W. Van Caster, John Houghton, David Houghton and Roger Wermeling.

I join with the other Members of Congress in expressing our thanks to this fine band for the concert they played for us on the Capitol steps.

Endorsement of H.R. 5752

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

## HON. GORDON CANFIELD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I desire to add my endorsement of H.R. 5752, a bill which provides for Friday as a ployees when Federal holidays occur on

Federal employees are supposedly entitled to eight paid holidays a year, although they are deprived of the benefits of such holidays should they fall on Saturday. H.R. 5752 will correct this situa-

It was pointed out in the hearings on this bill that the tendency in private industry is to increase the number of paid holidays and liberalize worker benefits. The lease we can do for our Federal employees is to insure that all of them receive equal treatment in terms of holiday observances.

Existing laws and regulations provide that holidays falling on Sunday be observed Monday. In the spirit of fairness I think this same principle should apply when holidays fall on Saturday or on a regular weekly nonworkday of an employee whose basic workweek is other than Monday through Friday. I urge adoption of the measure.

Twenty-third International Convention, Retail Clerks International Association (AFL-CIO)

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 30, 1959

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, last week, during the 2 days that no official business was scheduled in the House of Representatives, I took advantage of the interlude to attend the 23d international convention of the Retail Clerks International Association-AFL-CIO-which was held in Los Angeles.

As a member of the House Committee on Education and Labor, which is now studying labor reform legislation, I wanted to see firsthand how a large international, like the Retail Clerks, conducts its deliberations in convention.

Much has been said in recent months about democracy in unions and about abuses by union officials and, undoubtedly, much of the criticism is justified. But I should like to assure my colleagues that the Retail Clerks convention exemplified the very essence of a model union. and I wish that every Member of this Congress could observe firsthand the high standards followed by the officers of this large international throughout the convention.

Mr. James A. Suffridge, president of the Retail Clerks International Association, and his entire board are to be commended for upholding the highest principles of democratic processes throughout this convention. I believe that those who have made broad charges against the entire labor movement because of the defalcation of the few in this movement would have an entirely different attitude toward the legitimate aims of organized labor, as exemplified by the Retail Clerks during their convention, and would then see this problem of labor-management reform legislation in its proper perspective if they had an opportunity to observe this convention personally as I did.

Lest I be accused of being prejudiced because I have a high regard for the Retail Clerks, particularly in the past few years when they have had the good fortune of having for their president a man of such outstanding character as Mr. Suffridge, I am taking the privilege today of enclosing in the Congressional Record the speech made by Senator John L. McClellan, of Arkansas, chairman of the Senate Rackets Committee, to the Retail Clerks convention.

Senator McClellan has, indeed, become known as quite an authority in this country on labor unions, and I am very happy to subscribe to his very complimentary remarks about the Retail Clerks Union. I am particularly impressed with his statement that if he were a retail clerk instead of a U.S. Senator, he would be a member of a union.

Coming from so outstanding an authority as Senator McClellan, his statement to the convention that "so far as I know, your union is clean and operated as it should be," perhaps takes on a greater meaning than anything that I might say in the way of my own personal observations about the Retail Clerks.

The high standards practised by the Retail Clerks International Association is at once a reflection and a tribute to the determination of President Suffridge and his entire executive board to uphold the highest traditions of true trade unionism. For this, I join in congratulating them.

I can assure you that my 2-day personal observation of the retail clerks convention has helped me better understand the great problems facing this Congress and has perhaps given a more profound meaning to the determination of many of my colleagues that we indeed want to adopt legislation which will eliminate those who have abused their privileges and trust as union officials; but we want to study carefully before adopting any legislation which would either curtail or, yes, possibly even destroy the high standards of trade unionism exemplified at the retail clerks convention.

Mr. Speaker, for the benefit of my colleagues, Senator McClellan's remarks delivered to the Retail Clerks International Association in Los Angeles on June 23, as reported in the official transcript of the proceedings, follow:

President Suffrings. Senator McClellan, this is indeed the highlight of our convention. We are honored, we are proud, to have you with us here today.

I am not going to take a lot of time in giving introductions to someone who is probably better known right now than anyone I can think of in the United States.

It is a pleasure to have you with us. The microphone is yours. You are free to greet us; you are free to tell us anything that is on your mind. If you think that we are not covering the base right, tell us so. We are happy to have you, and we shall be glad to hear whatever you have to say and bring whatever message you wish to our organization. [Loud applause.]

see this problem of labor-management ADDRESS OF JOHN L. MC CLELLAN, U.S. SENATOR

Senator McClellan. Thank you, Mr. Suf-

Ladies and gentlemen, members of the Retail Clerks International Association, I am very happy to have this opportunity to appear in person and extend you my warmest greetings. I had not anticipated this pleasure. I did not know that I would be invited. A short time ago your president did me a courtesy that I shall not forget. I appreciated it. When asked to come here for a few minutes and speak to you briefly, I was happy to accept.

I don't know whether you think I come as an antilabor Senator or not. In my heart I'm not. I was raised a poor boy. I know what work is and I believe in work. I believe in it to the extent that I work now from 12 to 14 hours a day and try to do it conscientiously and try to do a good job. I believe in the virtue of labor and I believe in labor people being treated right.

in labor people being treated right.

And I think I can say to you at this hour and at this moment, without any reservation, so far as I know your union is clean and operated as it should be.

I wouldn't have said that if I didn't mean it, and I think if it is different I would know something about it by this time.

We have a job to do. Whether we like it, whether we wish it that way or not, some legislation is needed. I don't make many speeches, possibly a half a dozen a year, except in my home State when I go down there to greet my own people. But I am talking about accepting speaking engagements like this that brought me to Los Angeles on this occasion. But I say that we have a job to do in legislation.

It is not because that there is anything wrong with unionism as such. It is not. I have said repeatedly and almost on every platform where I speak that if I was a workingman in a factory, and I would assume it would be true if I were a retail clerk, I would be a member of a union. But I would want to be a member of a clean union, one that respected me as a man and as a woman.

I hope that I never do anything, it shall never be my purpose (and if I ever undertake it, I hope that I don't succeed) to do anything in my official life that is ulti-mately detrimental to the interest of working people in my country. But I do say there is a need for legislation. There are some things that have to be cleaned up in the interest of decent unionism, in the interest of Americanism, in the interest of your rights, of the freedom of the individual. No man, no officer of a union, no set of men, under any circumstances should be permitted to exploit the working people of this country; and I am ready to pass some laws that will give to the working people the freedom and the protection that are guaranteed to them in the Bill of Rights or the Constitution of the United States.

I see no reason why the Bill of Rights should not be observed and respected in the halls of Masonic lodges, in the halls of any fraternal organization, in the halls of any labor organization. Why should a man lose his rights, his liberties, his privileges, that are guaranteed to him by the fundamental laws of the land when he walks into a union hall or into the hall of any other society or organization.

It isn't that this law is needed, as I say, to protect the great rank and file of workers in this country. Not now. The great majority of union officers are honorable, decent, dedicated men. But tragically and unfortunately in a few areas of the labor movement and in business we have an element that acts contrary to the interests of the many. It is not just confined to the labor

movement. We have it in business, too. We passed some laws undertaking to clean that up. We may need some more. But we do have to have laws, not for the majority but for the minority—that element which actually reflects upon unionism and does it no good.

You don't have to have laws against larceny for 99 percent of the citizens of the United States, but we do need them for possibly 1 percent. Should we repeal the laws of larceny just because the great majority of the people are honest? No. Should we tolerate in one union or two unions or a half dozen unions some of the conduct and activities and practices and corruption that we know have existed in certain unions? I say no. I say, unionism, the character of people that constitute unions and the union movement in the country, can live under laws that will hinder and hamper and drive the crooks out of unionism and let decent unionism survive and grow, as it should. As America grows in her population, as she grows in her strength and in every other way, so should unionism grow in this country. I wish you the best.

I bid you Godspeed. I will continue to do what I believe to be right. I will carry on where I believe legislation is needed for the good of the whole and for the good of decent unionism in this country.

Thank you. [Loud applause.]

Remarks of Senator A. Willis Robertson Before Home Builders Association of Virginia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

## HON. THOMAS N. DOWNING

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 30, 1959

Mr. DOWNING. Mr. Speaker, on last Saturday evening, Senator A. WILLIS ROBERTSON, of Virginia, delivered the main address at the annual meeting of the Home Builders Association of Virginia, held at Virginia Beach. His speech was timely, interesting, and informative, and it deserves to be made a part of this Record. I commend it to my colleagues for their thoughtful reading. Remarks of Senator A. WILLIS ROBERTSON.

AT THE INSTALLATION OF OFFICERS BANQUET. HOME BUILDERS ASSOCIATION OF VIRGINIA. CAVALIER HOTEL, VIRGINIA BEACH, VA., JUNE 27, 1959

It always is an inspiration to me to visit this historic area of the State which cradied and defended the infancy of our Republic and which in more modern years, through its great Navai base has become a world symbol of our military power. No mountainer ever has loved more than I the constant motion of the restless waves nor enjoyed more the recreational opportunities of this area. By a happy coincidence, however, an area which first concentrated on its recreational opportunities has in recent years led the State in industrial development. And that development, of course, included your splendid homebullding program to meet the needs of a rapidly increasing population.

needs of a rapidly increasing population.

I have not always been able to vote for everything advocated by spokesmen for the building industry but I believe those of you who are familiar with my record in the Con-

gress will agree that my views have not often been out of line with those of the free enterprise homebuilders of my own State.

We have agreed that homebuilding should not be a direct function of government because once the Government embarks on a program of providing housing at less than commercial rates we face the impossible Problem of drawing the line as to where such services should end. If through the ex-penditure of billions the Government could Provide subsidized housing for 10 percent of the population with the lowest income, the hext lowest 5 percent will feel discriminated against and will demand inclusion and the same thing would happen if the level were raised to 50 percent. Consequently, I have opposed further expansion of the public housing program and urged instead that favorable conditions be provided, through such sound programs as sium clearance and FHA financing, to stimulate the private building industry to do the necessary job of Providing homes for people of low income.

During the 25 years since FHA was started 5 million American families have acquired homes and additional millions have made improvements under this plan which re-Quires sound appraisal procedures and underwriting principles, the pooling of risks in a self-supporting mutual insurance system and reliance on private financial institutions for loans. Losses under FHA have amounted to only three-tenths of 1 percent of the insurance exposure. These have been covered, of course, by the insurance feature and nearly \$100 million of the premiums paid by borrowers have been returned to them as dividends from the mutual insurance fund.

This record is in sharp contrast with the tost to the taxpayers of the public housing program. Inclusion of large new authorizations for public housing was one of my major reasons for voting against the omnibus housing bill both as originally passed by the Senate and in the conference report approprial.

approved by the House and Senate this week.
Obligational authority for annual contributions on the 45,000 units definitely authorized in the bill would cost \$874 million and if the full discretionary authority were used the total cost would be around \$3.7 billion

I objected to the Senate bill and the conference report also because of the proposals
to finance programs of urban renewal, speclai assistance by the Federal National Mortgage Association, college housing, and housing for elderly persons through borrowing
authority, which has been called "the back
door to the Treasury," instead of requiring
these programs to meet the test of annual review by the Senate and House Appropriations Committees.

I realize that some leaders of the housing Industry have feared that the requirement for appropriations would hamstring programs in which they are interested, but I hope our Virginia homebuilders will realize that the utimate prosperity of their industry is more delignate prosperity of their industry is more delignate. dependent on a sound national economy than on any specific program of Federal asstrance. We cannot have a sound economy unless we reverse the trend toward unbalanced we reverse the trend toward balanced budgets and deficit spending. And balancing the budget requires, among other things, the budget requires, among other things, the kind of control over annual ex-penditures which is exercised by the Appro-priations of the control over annual expriations Committees, in preference to drafts on the proon the Treasury under a blank-check pro-Brain supposed to involve loans, but which go into so-called revolving funds and never

You may be assured, however, that as chairman of the Senate Banking and Curfort housing legislation, I shall see that all on that subject receive prompt atten-

tion and fair hearings, whether I approve of them or not. And I shall, of course, be happy when I can personally support sound proposals such as the one we recently approved to make the GI loan rate realistic and permit a resumption of activity under that program.

Homebuilders have said they regarded approval of the 5.25-percent GI interest rate as a vital factor in their expectation that newhousing starts in the last half of 1959 would be as good as in the first half. I am interested in this, not only from your standpoint, but also because I recognize the strategic role which private residential construction has played in the recent recovery and current expansion of business. Since you hold this key position, I want to discuss with you today the current economic situation generally and some of the problems which it involves.

Economists, who a few months ago were divided on the outlook, now are generally agreed that the U.S. economy is in a strongly expansive phase. Gross national product, our most comprehensive measure of total output, was at a seasonally adjusted annual rate of \$467 billion in the first quarter of 1959, which was 5 percent above the prerecession high in the summer of 1957. Total personal income in May advanced to a new record, 7 percent above a year ago, and industrial production in May also rose to a new alltime high of 152 percent of the 1947-49 average.

Unemployment, which concerned so many persons last year, and nearly led to unjustified Federal emergency spending programs, has declined to the point that in May it was the lowest since the end of 1957 while the number of employed persons last month actually reached a new high.

Housing, as I previously indicated, has shared in the upturn with the rate of new starts for private nonfarm dwelling units running close this spring to the record levels of late 1954 and early 1955. This has led, naturally, to strong demands for real estate loans and for consumer loans needed for home furnishings at a time when industrial expansion has called for an increase in bank loans generally.

All these facts indicate that the problems of recession are behind us and that we now must cope with the problems of expansion in a high-employment economy.

We must, therefore, face the very essence of the economic problem, namely, the pressure of rapidly expanding wants on limited resources. This pressure takes the form of money offers for goods and services. If personal income increases faster than the supply of goods, the prices of goods start up and we have the beginnings of inflation.

The stage for inflation is generally set

The stage for inflation is generally set up in the money markets. A rapidly expanding economy is usually marked by a swelling demand for credit. Borrowed funds are sought to finance plants and equipment, home construction and ownership and government projects.

Where do we get the funds to finance such demands for credit? The supply of loanable funds includes current savings, the accumulation of past savings, and bank credit. As long as the demand for credit is satisfied by savings only, there is no tendency for the money supply to increase, nor any tendency for income payments to increase. The investment spending of the economy is matched by the savings which had been earlier withdrawn from the income stream.

But when the borrowing demands are fed not only by savings but also by bank credit, the money supply increases, and income payments increase. If a substantial amount of bank credit is inserted into the economy at a time when the economy is approaching full utilization of its resources, you produce a growing competition of money demands for scarce goods with the net resultrising prices and erosion of the dollar's purchasing power.

This is the danger we now face. Such a situation calls for both Federal fiscal restraint and general monetary restraint.

Unfortunately the Federal Reserve Board

Unfortunately the Federal Reserve Board in its policy of monetary restraint has received no support from Federal fiscal policy. At a time when the Federal Government should have a a budget surplus or at least a balanced budget, it confronts the economy with a staggering deficit which requires the Treasury to enter the capital markets for new funds as a tremendous borrowing force, to compete with all other sectors of the economy in an ever growing demand for borrowed funds.

A policy of monetary restraint, in the face of the normal credit demands marking any rapid expansion, is bound to raise the structure of interest rates. But when the Treasury adds its tremendous credit demand to the demands of other borrowers, we experience, as we do now, an even greater upward thrust in interest rates.

I share the feelings of those who deplore the rise in interest rates. I am fully aware of the difficulties imposed on the Treasury by rising rates of interest. I sympathize with the small businessman who finds that tight money and higher borrowing costs may pinch severely.

Of course, the most obvious impact of the rising market structure of interest rates is the unfortunate drying up of FHA and VA mortgage money when the market rates rise above the FHA and VA ceiling rates. You homebuliders have suffered this blow before and may face a similar situation in the near future. In the face of rising rates, FHA and VA mortgages will be downgraded by the market just as Government bonds are downgraded today with their 4½ percent statutory ceiling.

The best solution of the problem of sharply rising interest rates would be a drastic curtailment of Treasury borrowing needs. Although I have fought and will continue to fight for restraints in Government spending programs. I must be realistic and admit that for the duration of the cold war defense requirements will continue at a high level.

Those of you who live in this part of the State must be particularly aware of this problem. I can recall when the Hampton Roads area was known chiefly for its recreational resources, but it has become not only one of the key defense areas of the United States but also the largest industrial area in Virginia. This would be, of course, a prime target for attack in any future war and residents here certainly recognize how essential it is for us to continue to have forces so powerful for retailiation that they will stay the hand of an aggressor.

Therefore, if in the immediate future the size of our defense budget makes it impractical to sharply reduce Government credit demands, continued high interest rates must be regarded as a necessary price to be paid for the failures of fiscal policy and the avoidance of inflation.

Proposals to have the Federal Reserve hold down interest rates by purchases of Government securities seem to me highly unrealistic. They overlook the fact that to halt the upward trend of interest rates in this expanding period of our economy would require a tremendous volume of open market purchases of Government bonds. This could not be done without promoting infiation and, indeed, without converting the Federal Reserve System into an engine of infiation,

Remember, that when the Federal Reserve purchases Government bonds, it does not actually pay out currency but merely sets up a credit for the Federal Government in the form of a deposit and that deposit, like other deposits, requires only a limited reserve and can be the basis for other loans. Actually, each dollar of open market purchases of Government bonds by the Federal Reserve make available about \$6 for additional loans—a tremendous inflationary factor.

We found out during and following World War II the difficulties involved when the Federal Reserve Board tried to peg interest rates on Government obligations. The rates were held down but a dangerous inflation developed under the blanket of direct price, wage, and materials controls and when these wartime controls were removed the inflation broke out and threatened to destroy our free seconomy.

free economy.

Even if we accepted the inflationary consequences, it is doubtful whether the Federal Reserve System could peg interest rates on Government obligations under normal peacetime conditions, because the inflationary influence of such huge increases in credit would accelerate a further diversion of savings from investments in bonds and other fixed income obligations into stocks and other equities. It would lead to speculative buying of commodities and securities to beat higher costs and prices in the fu-ture. Thus, such efforts to stabilize interest rates would have a reverse effect and would push up interest rates in most sectors of the credit markets, including mortgages, even if the Government obligations were protected.

I need not spell out the evils of inflation. You are well aware of the price rises and the corresponding decline of the purchasing power of the dollar that has been going on since 1939.

Rising interest rates in a period of monetary restraint are cost burdens to be sure, but it is useful to remember that a 1 percent general price increase applied to consumer expenditures now at the rate of \$300 billion would mean an added annual cost of \$3 billion.

I might add that there is a direct relationship between our ability to prevent inflationary pressures and the availability of residential mortgage funds in the years ahead. This is so because the availability of mortgage credit depends ultimately on the volume of long-term savings. And an increased flow of savings depends importantly on allayed fears of inflation on the part of the American consumer. If an inflationary psychology dominates the long-term actions of consumers and investors, the flow of residential mortgage funds will diminish drastically. Thus, while in the short run it may appear that residential mortgage markets suffer in a period of monetary restraint, only through such a policy can the supply of mortgage credit be increased in the long run.

I hope you will realize, also that there will be periods in the 1960's as there were in the 1950's when it will be best in the longrum public interest for housing demands to be temporarily restrained as the Nation seeks to maintain integrity of the dollar. Public policy cannot be unequivocably committed to the ready availability of mortgage credit, regardless of overall economic and financial conditions.

I am confident that the homebuilders of Virginia will recognize this as sound businessmen and also as citizens serving the public interest. Accepting such restraints as are necessary to prevent inflation will be your share in a program which must include willingness of businessmen generally not to squeeze out the last dollar of profit in periods when demand for goods exceeds the supply and willingness of labor leaders to keep their demands for higher wages and benefits within the limits justified by increased efficiency of production.

Address of Vice President Richard M. Nixon at the Opening of the Soviet Exhibition in New York City, Monday Evening, June 29, 1959

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 30, 1959

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, as one of the officials who attended the opening of the Soviet Exhibition of Science, Technology, and Culture, Monday evening, June 29, 1959, at the Coliseum in New York City, I recommend that Americans go to see the exhibition to learn of the scientific, technological, and cultural achievements of the peoples of the Soviet Union.

The exhibition is one of the major steps in the cultural exchange program between the United States and the Soviet Union. It is certainly interesting and worthwhile to learn of the many developments in all lines—machinery, equipment, automobiles, atomic energy, theater, music, sculptoring, fabrics, fashions, plastics, and especially to see the various models of the sputniks.

Vice President RICHARD M. NIXON represented the United States at the official opening ceremonies. Mr. NIXON made the following address:

This Soviet exhibition, which Mr. Kozlov opens tonight, and the U.S. exhibition, which I will be privileged to open in Moscow on July 25, represent the most significant results to date of the exchange agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union, which has been in effect since January 1958.

In view of the disappointing lack of progress at the foreign ministers conference at Geneva, it seems appropriate on this occasion that we take a new look at the exchange program and appraise what contribution it can make in developing better relations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

It will be recalled that the 1958 agreement provided for a broad program of exchanges in the arts, sciences, professions and industries. Up to this time approximately three-fourths of the exchange enumerated in it have been carried out. If the difficulties that exist between our two nations were based merely upon misunderstandings and lack of contact, the success of this program would be grounds for great optimism.

But it would be completely unrealistic to pretend that lack of understanding is the only obstacle to peaceful friendship between the Communist world and those outside its borders. There are basic conflicts of interest and deeply clashing ideologies that are not easily removed. It would be no service to either of our great nations to base efforts for peace upon a superficial and even false analysis of the differences that divide us.

On the other hand, because we do have differences and because we both recognize the folly of allowing them to develop into a conflict which would result in the destruction of our civilization, it is all the more important that we increase exchange and contact between our two peoples so that our differences can be discussed in the best possible climate of understanding.

In other words, there is no magic formula which will settle the differences between us, no conference at the summit which will dramatically end world tensions. The road to peace is long and hard and if we are to stay on it both our people and our leaders must display patience and understanding to a maximum degree.

We both recognize that the visits to our country of Russian students, entertainers, scientists, and doctors does not imply any endorsement on our part of the Soviet system, nor do our visits there mean that they endorse us.

But this program has helped to underline some facts that we should never forget—that the Russian people and the American people instinctively like each other, that both of our peoples want peace, that the average Russian and the average American would be most happy to reduce the production of arms and to direct the great economic power of his country into a program to provide a better life for every citizen.

In this exhibition we open tonight, the American people will have an opportunity to see examples of the great achievements of the U.S.S.R.—increased industrial output advances in sciences and technology and significant strides forward in transportation construction, health, and welfare. I know that I speak for all of our people when I say that we rejoice in the material progress you have made and are making.

We welcome the idea of peaceful competition between nations and systems of government—competition which if directed into peaceful channels can only result in improving the lot of all mankind. But we believe that if competition is to be peaceful it must be fair. If certain rules of the game are not followed by all parties concerned, healthy competition can become unhealthy.

And we further suggest that this competition be extended to include not only the material achievements which this exhibition so magnificently demonstrates, but the spiritual values which have distinguished our civilzation.

As you travel through our country and visit our farms and factories, Mr. Kozlov, you will see that we too are making great material progress. You will also have an opportunity to see that we Americans have a great zest for discussing the pros and cons of every issue affecting the national interest and that we recognize and cherish the right of every citizen to freely criticize our Government and our Government officials.

You will discover that the debate in the Halis of Congress and our legislatures is lively and sometimes long and that it faithfully reflects the broad spectrum of view-points incorporated in a free society.

You will see free enterprise at workfree labor unions and free managements sometimes at odds over the division of rewards flowing from the enterprise, united in the knowledge that without free enterprise there would be much fewer rewards to divide.

You will have an opportunity to study our courts of law, our churches, our libraries, our universities. I know that when the complete your visit you will return to the U.S.S.R. convinced that not only is his Nation strong materially, but that united behind the leadership of our president in working for a world in which med can live together in peace, justice, and freedom.

You will find that the American people and the American Government do not want an acre of land from any other people—that we have no desire to impose our system of government on any other nation-that we want for others only what we enjoy for ourselves, the right for a nation to be independent, its citizens to be free, and for peoples to live at peace with each other.

We do not expect that this great exhibi-tion and your visit here or our exhibition in Moscow and my visit there will resolve the basic differences which exist between our Governments. But I know you will agree with me when I say that these events do Provide a unique opportunity to reduce to extent the misunderstandings which exist between our people and our Governments and thereby to further the cause of Peace to which we are dedicated.

In that spirit we hope that thousands of Americans will visit this exhibition so that they may see firsthand the achievements of the Russian people, and we wish you well as you travel through our country and get to know better the true ideals and aspira-

tions of the American people.

# Poison in Your Water-No. 135

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 30, 1959

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, for some time now I have been inserting into the Appendix of the Congressional Record articles from newspapers around the country chronicling the frightening dan-Bers to the health of our people from sewage, industrial waste, and other germ laden and poisonous substances that we have been dumping by the hundreds of millions of tons into the streams and lakes of our beloved land.

A frightening instance of using waters of the United States for dumping of poisonous and toxic substances appeared in an article in the Denver (Colo.) Post of Wednesday, June 24, 1959, describing how the U.S. Public Health Service had stopped to the Color. stopped use of the Animas River in Colorado and New Mexico for the disposal of

radioactive substances. The danger inherent in such use is plain in the article to some 1,845 people living along the Animas in northern New Mexico and 100 in southwestern Colorado who use untreated river water. These people are ingesting radium and strontium 90 at an estimated rate of 160 percent above maximum permissible levels, Another 28,000 people living in Aztec and Farmington, N. Mex., have a daily intake of treated water ranging from 40 to the control of from 40 to 60 percent above permissible levels for radium and strontium 90 established by the National Committee on Radiation Protection.

While the Vanadium Corp. of America is to be commended for its prompt action in terminating use of the water for such purposes, it has created the gravest danger to thousands of people who must use that water to live. The Public Health Service is really to be congratulated, because if it were not for its vigorous and speedy action the situation would still continue to the grave danger of some 30,-000 domestic daily water users in the area.

The Denver Post article follows: REPORT SHOWS U-MILL WASTES POLLUTE ANIMAS

Santa FE, N. MEX., June 24.—Radioactive waste materials from the Vanadium Corp. of America uranium mill at Durango, Colo., are contaminating the Animas River, the U.S. Public Health Service said Wednesday.

As a result, some 30,000 persons living downstream from the mill in northern New Mexico are ingesting radium and strontium 90 in their water and food in concentrations above maximum permissible levels, the report said.

Dr. E. C. Tsivoglou, Chief of the U.S. Public Health Service team which made the report, said only the radium could be traced to the VCA mill. Strontium 90 in the river, he said, comes from fallout from atomic weapons testing. But both isotopes must be considered together, he said, because they follow similar routes in the body. It is their combined amounts which have public health

significance, he said.

The report said strontium 90 content of the river is not particularly high, but the radium content is. Thus the combined amounts are significantly elevated. Dr. Tsivoglou said he understood VCA already has started to take steps to reduce contribu-

tion of radium to the waterway.

The report was made public at the opening of a conference on interstate pollution of the Animas River called as the result of New

Mexico charges against Colorado. The survey report was not complete when presented Wednesday. It was based largely on tests made in the summer and fall of 1958. Tests made in early 1959 have yet to be completed and integrated into the final

report.

#### PERMISSIBLE LEVELS

The report pointed out that maximum permissible levels of internal ingestion of radioactive materials for the population at large are based on one-tenth of the levels permitted for persons working with radiation in their occupations.

The maximum permissible levels also are based on continuous lifetime patterns and ingestion of any particular radioisotope in amounts somewhat higher than the allowable for relatively brief periods of time may not result in undue harm.

But the report added that the National Committee on Radiation Protection has said "the goal should be no radioactive contamination of air and water and of the body if it can be accomplished with reasonable effort and expense."

VCA officials were to be given the opportunity of rebuttal later in the conference proceedings.

The U.S. Public Health Service report estimated that the 28,000 persons living in Aztec and Farmington, N. Mex., where water supplies are treated, have a daily intake of radium and strontium 90 ranging from 40 to 60 percent above permissible levels estab-lished by the National Committee on Radiation Protection.

There are another 1,845 persons living along the Animas in northern New Mexico and 100 persons along the waterway in southwestern Colorado who use untreated river water, the report said. These, the U.S. Public Health Service said, are ingesting radium and strontium 90 at an estimated rate of 160 percent above maximum permissible

#### POSSIBLE INCREASE

If VCA raises the amount of uranium ore it processes daily at the Durango mill from 500 tons to 700 tons, as planned, the radioactive contamination problem will be magnified, the report said.

Per capita ingestion estimates were made on the basis of the 1958 Animas streamflow which was comparatively large. During years of lower streamflow—such as occurred in 1955-56—ingestion rates would be greater because of the diminished amount of water available to dilute the waste, the report

Radium and strontium 90 when taken internally tend to simulate calcium and be-come deposited in bones from where they emit harmful radiation.

#### Lewis L. Strauss

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 30, 1959

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, here are the thoughts of a lifelong Democrat on the action taken by the Senate, on the nomination of Lewis L. Strauss, as appeared in a letter to the editor of the Washington Post on June 24 and signed by Marx Leva:

#### AFTERTHOUGHTS ON STRAUSS

Now that the long ordeal of Lewis Strauss is at an end, I can no longer refrain from writing my first letter to your newspaper in order to make the following comments:

1. As a long-time admirer of the Washington Post, in my opinion you slanted the Strauss story in your news columns in an inexcusable manner for a reputable news-paper. Your technique in this instance was more typical of the Chicago Tribune in its days of glory under Colonel McCormick than of the Post in its days of glory under Eugene Meyer.

2. As an ardent Democrat who intends to work for the election of a Democratic President in 1960, I think that the members of my party who led in bringing about the defeat of the Strauss nomination will regret the day that they assisted in this act of

political assassination.

3. I think that many able and dedicated Senators came to believe the charges against Strauss-and cast their votes against him on that account. I further think that many of these Senators were substantially misinformed on the basic facts, as a result of the very skillful tactics of those (including your newspaper) who led the anti-Strauss, anti-Eisenhower crusade. In my opinion, your newspaper contributed very greatly to the final outcome in this matter, and contributed greatly also to the spread of misinformation as to facts and misinterpretation as to the meaning of such facts.

4. I think that the following facts and viewpoints—which have not heretofore been called to the attention of your readers, I believe, but which I have called to the attention of a number of Senators during the past several weeks-should be set out in your

letters column:

(a) When President Truman, at the request of General Marshall, appointed Anna Rosenberg, a liberal Democrat, to be Assistant Secretary of Defense in 1951, and when the late Senator McCarthy and others spread the false rumor that she was a Communist in an effort to defeat her confirmation by the Senate, Lewis Strauss, a conservative Republican who was then in private life, came down to Washington to help bring about the confirmation of Assistant Secretary Rosenberg.

To my personal knowledge (since I was Assistant Secretary of Defense for Legal and Legislative Affairs at the time), he spoke to or went to see Senators Robert Taft, William Knowland, Bourke Hickenlooper and Harry Byrd, to urge that Anna Rosenberg be confirmed. At a time when McCarthyism was at its height, this was an act of courage and nonpartisanship on the part of Strauss-and I think your readers should know about it.

(b) Almost 2 years earlier than the Anna Rosenberg episode, in the late winter of 1949, while Strauss was still serving as a member of the Atomic Energy Commission, he phoned me at the Pentagon (where I had stayed on in the Office of the Secretary of Defense at Forrestal's request, after having served with Forrestal both at Navy and at Defense) to say that there was a matter on which he was in a minority position on the Commission—a matter which he regarded as vital to the security of the United States.

He asked if I could arrange for him to see the then Secretary of Defense, Louis Johnson, I did so. After Strauss saw Johnson, Johnson went to see President Truman. Immediately thereafter, in early November 1949, President Truman designated a three-man special committee of the National Security Council to look into the matter. (The issue involved, of course, was whether the United States should seek to produce the H-bomb.

This committee reported to President Truman that the United States should proceed with the H-bomb. President Truman so or-dered, in January of 1950—and the rest is history.

Obviously, Lewis Strauss was not the only man responsible for the H-bomb. In the last analysis, President Truman was respon-

But I think that for his role in the H-bomb matter, even if he had done nothing else for the national good, Lewis Strauss deserves the undying gratitude of the people of the United States-and by the Senate vote, that gratitude has been expressed in a manner which, in my opinion, constitutes a national dis-

MARX LEVA.

BETHESDA.

## Market Research Reveals Demand for Self-Retirement Plans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 30, 1959

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I include the following article by Charles M. Bliss, executive vice president of the Bank of New York which ap-peared in the June issue of the Trusts and Estates magazine:

MARKET RESEARCH REVEALS DEMAND FOR SELF-RETIREMENT PLANS

(By Charles M. Bliss, executive vice president, the Bank of New York)

On May 19, Senator George Smathers, Democrat, of Florida, introduced a bill to permit self-employed individuals to take a current tax deduction of 10 percent of their net earnings, with a maximum limitation of \$2,500 a year or \$50,000 in a lifetime, provided the self-employed individual makes an investment in certain types of retirement annuity or a specific type of retirement trust. The bill, identified as S. 1979, is now pending before the Finance Committee of which the Senator is a member.

This bill, with one exception, is identical to H.R. 10, commonly referred to as the Keogh-Simpson bill, which passed the House on March 16 and would become effective January 1, 1959. It differs from the House-passed measure in that it would become effective for taxable years beginning in 1961 and thereafter. This change, Senator SMATHERS explained, was made to meet opposition to the pending proposal predicated primarily on revenue loss. The Senator hopes that by 1961 the budget will be in a more healthy state than it is today. Meanwhile, he said, "I have chosen this course of procedure to give impetus to what I believe is rather slow progress in removing a glaring tax inequity toward 10 million selfemployed citizens."

#### FINDINGS OF SURVEY DISCLOSED

By coincidence, on the same day the Smathers bill was introduced, the findings of a research questionnaire sent to more than 30,000 professional men and women on the general subject of pensions for the selfemployed were disclosed for the first time at a seminar arranged by the Bank of New York, for the benefit of its correspondent banks. Some 128 representatives of 101 banks from 28 States were in attendance at the full-day session.

The survey was planned in the fall of 1957. Legislation to provide a solution to the tax plight of the self-employed had been enacted in Great Britain in 1956 and in Canada early in 1957. The Bank of New York after weighing the evidence at home and abroad, decided there would be adequate time and a favorable climate in which to conduct a market research survey and to build a pro-gram around the self-retirement prospect in this country. The bank could thus give professional men and women both information and encouragement on a new and useful development affecting them and, at the same time, measure the size and quality of the market for self-pensions.

First, a test was made by mailing the questionnaire to a selected list of 600 physicians and dentists in mid-Manhattan. About onethird were the bank's customers and twothirds were prospects. Altogether some 35.5 percent responded: 43 percent of the customers and 32 percent of the prospects.

The test mailing not only caused much favorable comment but the questionnaire gained the attention of key officials of large and important professional groups who, in turn, requested that their full membership lists receive the bank's informative material in order to gain a better understanding of the promising new self-retirement development.

In the spring of 1958, the questionnaire was mailed to some 20,000 professional persons in the New York area. The identical questionnaire went to an additional 13,000 in the Boston area through mailings of the Old Colony Trust Co. Of the professional men and women who received the questionnaire approximately one out of four asked to be put on the special list to receive further informative releases on the subject of pensions for the self-employed.

One out of five indicated their age and profession, whether they had any sort of retirement plan, whether they expect to set up a plan under new legislation, the amount they would set aside each year, how they wanted their retirement savings invested, whether they preferred life insurance or bank trustee management, and whether they would use an individual or an association

THE COMPOSITE PROFESSIONAL MAN

In general, a professional person starts his career with low pay for the years of specialized training. Therefore, one important purpose of the survey was to develop a composite picture of the professional man who would become eligible for self-retirement upon the enactment of permissive legislation.

The survey disclosed that the composite professional man in a metropolitan community arrives at the crossroads of his career at about age 35, when apparently there is an equal division between the professional men (and women) who are in employment and those who have established themselves as self-employed. Ten years later, and continuing through the balance of the professional carrer, 8 out of 10 become self-employed. This trend to self-employment in relation to age is illustrated in chart I [not printed in RECORD |.

On the question of financial planning for old age, the survey disclosed another significant pattern. Professional persons in empolyment and those who are self-employed are in the same relative position at age 35-2 out of 10 have made some provision for retirement. Ten years later, however, 5 out of 10 of those who are employees are members of a qualified plan, although many of them feel their particular provisions for re-tirement are inadequate. But, as for those who are self-employed, 7 out of 10 still by their own admission—have no planned retirement program of any kind. The incidence of retirement planning in relation to age is shown in chart II [not printed in RECORD |.

The survey's findings, based on 6,200 responses from lawyers, physicians, dentists, and accountants, indicates that within a random group of professional persons in the community 7 out of 10 are fully self-employed; 1 out of 10 is a full-time employee; 2 out of 10 are both employed and selfemployed-one mostly employed, the other mostly self-employed; on average, only 3 out of 10 have some sort of planned individual old-age retirement program.

Responses to particular questions were as

Nineteen out of twenty expect to set up a retirement savings plan if permitted to use tax-deferred dollars under new law.

Would you in general elect to have your program with a bank trustee or with a life insurance company? Bank trustee, 63 per-cent; life insurance, 12 percent; both, 3 percent; no election, 22 percent.

How much would you expect to put aside into such savings? On average, \$2,500 per year (but the questionnaire then indicated a \$5,000 ceiling and, in many cases amounts shown appeared to be wishful thinking).

Would you in general prefer to establish your own individual plan or to participate as a member of an association plan? Response inconclusive, but a slightly larger numberthough not a clear majority—would consider an association plan, if it could be demonstrated to have administrative advantages or economies.

In the matter of investment: Only 5 percent said they would not want to use any common stocks; and only a little more than 10 percent said they would want all their retirement savings invested in common

Indicated by the responses was the need for two collective funds: one invested largely in common stocks; the other invested in fixedincome securities. The indicated divisions of investment in these two funds, on the whole, were on the fairly conservative side.

#### WIDESPREAD NEED OF INFORMATION

The survey established the existence of broad interest in self-pensions and the present lack of financial planning among professional persons in general. In particular, it disclosed the widespread need for information on retirement planning based on Keoghtype legislation.

With the questionnaire a return reply card was sent which enabled respondents to request a booklet entitled "Pensions for the self-employed," written as an educational In the summer, the bank mailed to the special list a second booklet which commented on similarities in the positions of professional practitioners and small business proprietors in the matter of retirement. and discussed Keogh-type legislation being proposed by the Senate Small Business Committee. The mailing was timed to coincide with the agreement in executive session of the House Ways and Means Committee to report the Keogh bill to the House for the first time since the bill's introduction by Representative KEOGH, Democrat, of New York, in 1951.

In the fall, following passage of the bill in the House, a third booklet highlighted benefits that would accrue to the individual self-pensioner under the proposed legislation. And, because Keogh-type legislation would create a new form of savings, the bank offered a special account for the accumulation of individual retirement sav-Ings. Experience in Canada has disclosed that there had not been sufficient prior Planning by those who were entitled to benefits.

With passage of the Keogh-Simpson bill in the House in mid-March, the bank decided to intensify its educational program. First, a new informative booklet was published consolidating and updating the earlier series of three. Now, the new booklet is being mailed to additional self-employed groups and is being offered by radio spot announcements and by advertising in metropolitan newspapers.

Altogether the survey has aroused considerable interest and clearly the educational Program has created good public relations among professional men and women and others in the community who are self-employed, regardless of the fate of the Keogh-Simpson bill in the Senate.

#### PROSPECT FOR FURTHER PROGRAMS

The question of educational programs built around the self-retirement prospect came up at the bank's seminar on May 19, and it was indicated that, although about One-half of the representatives present said their institutions had decided to handle Reogh-type business, only about one-tenth said they had presented any sort of information or publicity program pointing out the benefits of this important new development. Therefore, Senator SMATHERS' postponement of the effective date of the proposed legislation is significant for it indicates there may well be time for further educational effort by banks over the country.

Meantime if Congress can be induced to limit the bill to the basic point of correcting the inequity so as to make it possible under the law for all employed and self-employed persons to be entitled to tax-deferral privileges on funds set aside for retirement benefits, self-interest and competition will provide the stimulus to greater use of the privilege. But if the legislation attempts to force broader coverage, the cost in terms of immediate lost revenue can become so staggering that the measure will lack the necessary support. Organizations representing self-employed persons will have an opportunity to be heard by the Senate Finance Committee and much will depend upon the effectiveness of their presentation.

The Bank of New York feels that the House-passed proposal now pending before the Sanata Proposal now pending head the Senate Finance Committee points ahead to promising new developments in the trust and banking field.

Exemptions Under the Fair Labor Standards Act Applying to the Forest Products Industries

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON, CLIFFORD G. McINTIRE

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 30, 1959

Mr. McINTIRE. Mr. Speaker, the forest products industry is vital not only to the economy of the State of Maine but also to the industrial complex of America.

This industry has recently set forth its views as to existing exemptions under the Fair Labor Standards Act, and because this presentation is both comprehensive and edifying, I commend it to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress:

EXEMPTIONS UNDER THE FAIR LABOR STAND-ARDS ACT APPLYING TO THE FOREST PRODUCTS INDUSTRIES

#### 1. THE 12-MAN EXEMPTION

(a) What is it?

Small-scale forestry and logging operations were exempted from the minimum wage and overtime pay provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act by the 1949 amendments, effective January 25, 1950. This exemption is identified as section 13(a)(15), which reads:

'The (minimum-wage and overtime-pay) provisions \* \* \* shall not apply with respect to any employee employed in planting or tending trees, cruising, surveying, or felling timber, or in preparing or transporting logs or other forestry poducts to the mill, processing plant, railroad, or other transportation terminal, if the number of employees employed by his employer in such forestry or lumbering operations does not exceed 12."

(b) Why is this exemption essential to our

industry?

1. The great bulk of all pulpwood consumed in the United States today is produced by many, thousands of small business-

men employing 12 or fewer persons.

2. Pulpwood is generally produced by groups of men scattered over large areas working alone or at most with one or two other people. Very often a worker may be a half mile or more from another. In all forest regions but the West there are few large timber stands and most productive land is owned by small farmers. A single producer's crew may be scattered even further among a number of woodlots in different areas. Under these conditions the small businessman producer cannot possibly keep the detailed time records on his employees which are required by law except where the exemption applies.

3. Loss of the exemption would mean that the smaller employer would either have to hire a timekeeper or become one himself thus substantially increasing his cost of doing business or reducing his own chances of do-

ing productive work.

4. Production of forest products, like farming cannot be conducted on the basis of a regularly scheduled workweek of 40 hours or even a day of 8 hours as in the

case of a factory operation. Weather plays an important part. Many available work-men cut wood as a means of supplementing their regular earnings so that they may work part-time or at times most convenient to themselves. They may work half of 1 day, 8 hours the next, none for a couple of days, any maybe 10 hours another day. Eliminating the exemption would make this kind of work impossible without violating the law.

5. Compensation in small forestry operations has always been paid on a piecework basis. Under this system woodsworkers have always been able to earn at least, and usually substantially more than, the prevailing minimum wage. Under this practice it has been possible to employ handicapped workers which would become uneconomical if the

exemption were lost.

6. Between 1938 when the Fair Labor Standards (Wage and Hour) Act was passed and 1949 there was no 12-man exemption. Pulpwood producers, dealers and other operators found it impossible to comply with the law which called for factory-type recordkeeping. Many operators were charged with violations of the law which they were unable to avoid. Congress recognized the unfairness of the situation and clearly felt that the Wage and Hour Division could not and should not force these requirements on small operators who did not and could not pay workers on an hourly basis. This resulted in the enactment of the present 12-man exemption which some Congressmen would now take away from the industry.

7. Elimination of the exemption would not raise the earnings of woodsworkers. It would force higher nonproductive costs on small producers. Without the exemption, the wood which is being produced by the small producer today would, of necessity, in many cases be produced by large operators who can stand the extra expense of supervision and recordkeeping. Thus the small operator would be gradually forced out of busi-

#### 2. THE SEASONAL EXEMPTION

(a) What is it?

An industrywide 14-week exemption from the overtime-pay provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act is available to employers in Standards Act is available to Employers in seasonal industries. The exemption relieves employers of overtime pay liability for hours worked up to 12 daily or 56 weekly; it does not relieve them of liability for the minimum wage. This seasonal exemption is contained in section 7(b) (3) of the act. It is offered to industries found by the Administrator to be of a seasonal nature.

The exemption does not automatically apply to an industry. Application must first be filed for exemption, and then the Administrator determines whether the industry

falls within the seasonal category.
Shortly after the act was passed in 1938 the American Pulpwood Association applied for seasonal exemptions for certain activities common to northern operations. These included ice and snow road hauling, sap peeling and spring freshet driving. After hearings and rehearings in May of 1939 the Administrator granted the industry seasonal exemptions for these three activities.

(b) Why is this exemption essential to our

Industry?
1. In these seasonal operations because of the laws of nature the whole year's work must be done in the space of a few weeks. The work is usually done in the forests far removed from workers' homes so that camps must be constructed. Loss of the exemption would mean increasing the capacity of the camps to take care of larger numbers of men on a straight-time basis. This would result in higher costs and workers would each receive less pay because of the shorter hours of work. Usually one of the accepted reasons for overtime pay penalties is to encourage employers to hire more employees rather than work the normal number overtime. In a factory this is a workable idea. More than one shift can be put on. You cannot operate two 8-hour shifts in the woods. There are only a limited number of daylight hours. In addition, this would be futile because of constant woods labor shortages in the northern States, Canadian workers must be imported.

2. The producer in the areas where the seasonal exemptions apply must have all of his wood cut, peeled, and out of the forest within the few weeks he can operate. Already at an operating disadvantage because of nature, this producer cannot survive if additional costs are imposed upon him. His employees going into the woods to work and living at camps want to be able to work longer hours during the short time allotted by nature if the job is to be attractive at all.

3. Wood produced in the northern States is directly competitive with Canadian wood. Canada has no lag which arbitrarily forces higher costs in the production of wood. Substantial increases in the costs of American wood such as would be caused by eliminating the seasonal exemptions would put the product of American producers at a serious competitive disadvantage.

#### 3. SUMMARY

After thorough study Congress and the Wages and Hours Administrator has respectively seen fit to grant the forest products industries certain partial exemptions from the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Ill-advised or uninformed legislators would rescind these exemptions apparently for the purpose of improving wages of workers in the woods by bringing them to the minimum prescribed by law. Wages in this industry already are at or well above the minimum level so that eliminating the exemptions would not have this intended result. Instead unintended effects would come about. The cost of doing business for the small producer would be increased without an off-seting increase in his productivity. Small producers would be enmeshed in record keeping redtape which has already been proven unworkable. Small producers would be forced out of business or else have to operate in violation of the law. Work opportunities would be eliminated and American wood would be placed at a competitive disadvantage.

#### Yellow Journalism: A Case History

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, June 26, 1959

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, the readers of the New York Herald Tribune are familiar with the Tallahassee case where four white men committed a horrible crime involving a Negro girl. Last week an equally horrible crime was committed in the city of New York. Six Negro youths brutally raped a 14-year-old white girl on the premises of a school.

However, the Herald Tribune, in its June 21 edition, carried a story on page 2 about this crime but specifically avoided mention of the racial identity of the principals. In the Florida case, they had gone out of their way to play up the racial aspect of the case. It is another example of yellow journalism, wherein the eastern metropolitan press magnifies a southern interracial crime but conceals from public view one on its own doorstep.

Where are the heated editorials, demanding justice in the Corona, Queens, case? Where are the front page headlines screaming that six Negroes hit a 14-year-old white girl, dragged her onto a nearby stair landing, and raped her three times while two held her and two acted as lookouts?

Where are the cries of anguish from Members of Congress? Will they be as swift to demand justice, passage of protective laws, and general condemnation of the culprits as they are when similar incidents occur in the South?

Under leave to extend my remarks I include the Herald Tribune story and also an Associated Press story so that they can be compared.

Responsible journalists should demand the immediate cessation of slanted, discriminatory, and yellow reporting such as cited herein.

In a city where it is reported that volunteer vigilantes must assist regular police in patrolling Central Park, the newspapers should take the lead in ridding New York of crime infestation instead of headlining articles which seek to embarrass the South. But, on the contrary, they sweep their own trash under the rug while condemning the South for refusing to adopt policies and practices which would create the ill will and high crime rates, existing in New York City.

Also included is an Associated Press story describing how New York newspapers treated the Queens rape case as compared with the Tallahassee case.

The articles follow:

[From the New York Herald Tribune, June 21, 1959]

HIGH BAIL FOR FOUR YOUTHS IN SCHOOL RAPE—SHE IS THREATENED BY ONE AT STA-

Four youths implicated in the raping of a 14-year-old girl on a stair landing behind a junior high school in Corona, Queens, were ordered held in \$25,000 ball each yesterday by a magistrate who remarked, "I thought the days of barbarism and savagery were over."

Police, meanwhile, reported that one of the youths, Jacob Bethea, 16, of 32-43 107th Street, Corona, threatened the girl when he was led past her in the Eimhurst precinct station Friday night. "When I get up my bail, I'll get you," he was quoted as saying. Bethea has been identified by police as the leader in the incident.

#### TWO WERE LOOKOUTS

Bethea and the three others taken to Ridgewood Felony Court yesterday—John Rich, 16, of 31-10 103d Street, Astoria; Henry Stokes, 16, of 93-16 Corona Avenue, Corona; and Edward Jacobs, 17, of 32-15 95th Street, Corona—are charged with rape and acting in concert. Two other youths, one 14 and one 15, are to be taken to Children's Court Monday.

According to Assistant District Attorney Bernard Patten, Bethea and Rich have admitted raping the girl, Stokes and Jacobs have admitted holding her during the assault, and the other two youths have admitted serving as lookouts.

#### MAGISTRATE IS ANGRY

When an attorney for the Rich youth asked Magistrate Milton J. Solomon to set low bail, saying the charges were mere accusations, the magistrate exploded:

"If this complaint were true, they should be held without ball. I thought the days of barbarism and savagery were over. This is an outrageous, unconscionable, and dastardly crime."

The girl was in court and, when the complaint was read by the court clerk, she was asked to swear that the complaint against each youth was true. Four times she raised her right hand and replied, "I do,"

She wore a white blouse and a black skirt. She did not have on makeup and her hair was brought back in a pony tail. One eye was discolored and the knuckles of both hands were scratched. The black eye allegedly was inflicted by Bethea during the assault, which occurred behind Junior High School 16, 41st Street and 104th Avenue, Thursday night.

[From the Washington Sunday Star, June 21, 1959]

NEW THREAT TO VICTIM OF RAPE NOTED

New York, June 20.—One of six teenage Negro boys charged with raping a 14-yearold white girl in a schoolyard Thursday night was accused today of threatening her in a police station after his arrest.

"I'll get you," the boy was quoted as saying to the girl as she was identifying the group to officers. The six had been taken into custody and were in a Queens stationhouse last night.

An account given in Ridgewood Felony Court today by Detective Lt. Matthew Birmingham apparently stirred the wrath of Magistrate Milton Solomon as the four older boys were brought before him for arraignment on first-degree rape charges.

An attorney for one of the four asked Magistrate Solomon to set reasonable bails saying the charges were mere accusations. But the magistrate exploded:

"If this complaint is true they should be held without bail. I thought the days of barbarism were over. This is an outrageous, unconscionable, dastardy crime."

The magistrate then fixed the bail figure at \$25,000 for each of the four youths, 18 and 17 years old. They will receive a further hearing Wednesday. Ordinarily, bond in rape cases is around \$2,500.

The four defendants are John Rich, Jacob Bethea and Henry Stokes, all 16, and Edward Jacobs, 17. The two others arrested, 14 and 15, were charged earlier with juvenile delinquency because of their ages.

Also because of the age factor, names of the latter two boys and the girl were not made public.

#### [From the Jackson Daily News, June 20, 1959]

#### NEW YORK'S REIGN OF TERROR PLAYED DOWN BY NEWSPAPERS

New York.—New York newspapers, which gave considerable page 1 attention to last week's Tallahassee, Fla., race trial, Friday did not front page the New York rape of a white teenager by six Negro youths.

The post gave the New York story a column on page 4. In an adjoining column on the same page it ran a two-column story on the Little Rock, Ark., rape of a Negro girl by two white men. A five-column headline linked both stories.

The New York rape made page 10 of the Journal-American, page 21 of the World-Telegram, page 5 of the Morning Daily News, page 3 of the Morning Mirror, page 3 of the

Morning Herald Tribune, and page 11 of the Times.

In Tampa the Tribune's Saturday edition carried a 10-inch page-1 story entitled "Terror in New York." Inserted in the body of the story was a parenthetical statement saying some papers extensively played the Tallahassee trial under such headlines as "Terror in Tallahassee."

# Boyd Campbell Opposes Civil Rights Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 26, 1959

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, one of the most forceful arguments I have heard against pending civil rights measures was made on April 22, 1959, before the Civil Right Subcommittee of the House Committee on the Judiciary by Mr. A. Boyd Campbell of Jackson, Miss.

Mr. Campbell is a former president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. His views on this subject should receive the careful attention of every Member of Congress from all sections of the country.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include his statement:

STATEMENT OF BOYD CAMPBELL, OF JACKSON, MISS., BEFORE THE CIVIL RIGHTS SUBCOM-MITTEE OF THE HOUSE JUDICIARY COM-MITTEE, WASHINGTON, APRIL 22, 1959

My name is Boyd Campbell. I am a small businessman from Jackson, Miss. I appear before you in my individual capacity and not as the representative of any organized group. I must, therefore, ask your indulgence if I make frequent use of the first person singular pronoun.

When I made known by intention to request the privilege of making a statement to your committee on the proposed legislation that is currently under consideration—in particular, HR. 4457, HR. 3147, and HR. 619—some of my friends, with apparent genuine concern about by sanity and safety, warned me to stay away.

I was reminded that no southerners were on the committee. I was told that my statement would be me with hoslity. One counsellor said I would be "clobbered." Another said I would be drawn and quartered.

I admit that I am without experience in this role, but if there was ever any doubt about the rightness of my request for a hearing, it was resolved when I encountered so much misunderstanding about legislative processes on Capitol Hill. The misconception about the treatment of an American citizen who is a spirit of good will and sincere conviction makes statements before a committee of the Congress that might possibly be in conflict with the equally sincere convictions of the committee members was amazing.

Even though we are dealing with a highly controversial subject, the discussion of which is a constrained to believe that the goals of the sponsors of these bills are not vastly different from my own in the area of improved race relationship. The difference between us arises out of the proposed methods by which they are sought to be attained. Without meaning to be presumptuous, I am

inclined to believe that there are thousands, probably millions of unorganized Americans who believe as I do.

Before proceeding further, I wish to present my credentials for the sincerity of what

I will try to say.

I am the grandson of two non-slave-owning Confederate soldiers, both of whom returned from the War with wounds that crippled them for life. In their reminiscences and discussions of the war, I never heard from them one word of recrimination or bitterness. From them I learned the meaning of good will. I did not appreciate its value then. I do now. In too many of our relationships, domestic and foreign, the factor of good will appears to be eroding at a time when our national well-being requires that it should be increasing.

For all of my mature life, as have thousands of my white neighbors in Mississippi, I have advocated better education, better economic opportunity, better living conditions, better health services, and equality before the law for Mississippi Negroes.

In 1950, as a member of a statewide group of educators and laymen, I was privileged to raise a sum of money from friends and associates to finance a study of Mississippi's school system in an effort to create sentiment for the enactment of an education code that would correct inequalities and inequities; that would establish uniform standards, and would eliminate discrimination between the races in salaries and facilities.

With the aid and assistance of the State chamber of commerce and the support of a sympathetic State administration, Mississippi's Education Foundation program was enacted into law in the year 1953.

Early in the year 1954 there was author-

Early in the year 1954 there was authorized to be spent by the State to supplement local funds a total of \$180 million for public school buildings. To date approximately \$63 million has been allocated, of which 70 percent is for schools for Negrocs.

It is my privilege to serve as a member of the board of trustees of one of our finest institutions of higher learning for Negroes. I refer to the Piney Woods Country Life School, which was founded and is still administered by Dr. Laurence C. Jones, one of Mississippi's most distinguished and highly esteemed citizens.

On Sunday, April 5, here in Washington, an American vocalist, who has received international acclaim, gave a concert in Constitution Hall. She is Leontyne Price, a Negro soprano of Laurel, Miss., whose first public concert it was my pleasure to sponsor when the young artist was still a student at Julillard.

Against this background, I am here to express grave concern as to the effect of this proposed legislation upon the well-being of southern Negroes in particular and upon our national unity in general.

The integration decision of May 17, 1954, appears to have become the inspiration for legislation and litigation designed to take over and expedite the program which was making great progress voluntarily through the joint efforts of leaders in both races, in thousands of communities throughout the entire South.

The result has been exactly the opposite. I can express this conviction no better than to quote a telegram to the Christian Science Monitor, in which I responded to a request from its editor, Dr. Erwin Canham, for a statement on southern state of mind and specific American attitudes necessary to avoid violence and bring healing to a deteriorating situation.

Following is the telegram, which the Monitor carried in full on March 10, 1956:

"The vast improvement in race relationship and the progress of southern Negroes in education, health, and economic opportunity was brought about by the enlightened leadership of men of good will in both races,

This progress came to a jarring halt when the NAACP usurped local Negro leadership and undertook to speedily compel a condition by methods that are abhorrent to the American tradition. The problem is one that will not be solved by name-calling and weight-throwing. The deteriorating rela-tionship between the races in the South will continue as long as outside groups attempt to force integration upon us. History does not record a single instance of compulsory integration. It will not do so in this instance. Meantime, there are heartaches aplenty on both sides as we witness the result of years of patient effort being swept away ruthlessly by methods that engender hatred rather than good will. We can only hope that those who condemn us would first try to understand us, and to understand the vastly complex problem which is ours and which lends itself to no superimposed solution. If and when methods of pressure and compulsion are abandoned, the voices of the moderates of both races will be heard

In support of the foregoing statement, Editor Percy Greene of the Jackson Advocate, leading Negro newspaper, made the following editorial comment:

"That this statement by Mr. Campbell is indisputably true can be easily seen by looking at conditions in Mississippi as well as elsewhere in the South.

"Prior to the decision in the school segregation cases, using Mr. Campbell's assumption, when the NAACP took over Negro leadership, there were many easily seen signs of Negro progress toward first-class citizenship.

"It had been pretty generally conceded that the Negro had been extended the right to vote along with other citizens of the State, a view that had been supported by many white editors of small but influential newspapers. There had also developed a real and honest effort to provide equal educational opportunities for Negro and white children of the State and equal pay for Negro and white teachers.

"There were many other signs then evident to the intelligent and fairminded observer that time and space will not permit mentioning here.

"Perhaps greater than all the factors mentioned and those that could be mentioned, was the fact that the lines of communication between the two races were wide open and the leaders of both races were getting together at local levels to discuss their problems in an intelligent and understanding manner.

"Since the 1954 decision nothing which could then be pointed to affirmatively is now true as regards the progress of Negro citizens in the State toward first-class citizenship."

The telegram to the Monitor was dated March 6, 1956. If I were called upon to appraise the situation today, I could do no better than repeat it and add that Federal laws enacted subsequent to that date—for example, the civil rights bill of 1957 and the decisions of the Federal courts—have solved nothing.

They are creating a chasm of bitterness. As history repeats itself, they are setting neighbor against neighbor, friend against friend, and brother against brother. Human dignity cannot be preserved or protected by penalizing one minority to befriend another,

In a dynamic society like our own, change is inevitable, but change in attitudes, change in human relationships—the kind of change that endures because all men accept it and live with it—does not come suddenly. It is a maturing and a ripening. We of this generation should have learned that it cannot be accelerated by edict or decree. It cannot be accelerated—with def-

erence to the honorable members of the Congress who think otherwise—by the enactment of Federal laws.

Our memories are short. We need to remind ourselves of the 18th amendment and the Volstead Act. The great experiment failed because it undertook at one fell swoop to accomplish that which can only be attained by a change in the attitudes of citizens of a free society toward moral and so-

zens of a free society toward moral and social accountability. There is a parallel here. The mores and traditions of 40 million free people cannot be changed by compulsion.

Recently we have been hearing a lot about second-class citizenship. The words are used in at least one of the bills which you are considering. I am not sure that I know what second-class citizenship means, but if it means what I think it does, it will never be abrogated by statute. First-class citizenship is a status that has to be earned. It cannot be attained by any short cuts.

Long before the Supreme Court's decision in 1954 men of good will in the South wrestled with the problem of improving race relationships and enhancing the condition of southern Negroes. The people of the South felt then, as they do now, that the solution of this problem was their responsibility, their obligation—the obligation of white people and colored people working together.

Meantime, southern people were not concerning themselves with the problem of relationships with other ethnic groups—for example, the Mexicans in the Southwest, the Asiatics on the Pacific coast, and the Puerto Ricans in New York. They conceded to the people who lived closest to these problems the right to work out their own solutions within the framework of moral and ethical considerations.

Since the precedent of quoting laymen in a judicial decision—in particular, Mr. Gunnar Myrdal, a Swedish sociologist—has been established by the Supreme Court, I feel privileged to quote an American novelist and Nobel prizewinner in support of my views. He is William Faulkner of Mississippi, who, in an article titled "A Letter to the North," which was published in the March 5, 1956, issue of Life magazine, said:

"From the beginning of this present phase of the race problem in the South, I have been on record as opposing the forces in my native country which would keep the condition out of which this present evil and trouble has grown. Now I must go on record as opposing the forces outside the South which would use legal or police compulsion to eradicate that evil overnight. I was against compulsory segregation. I am just as strongly against compulsory integration. Firstly, of course, from principle. Secondly, because I don't believe compulsion will

The white people of the South are constantly told that their so-called treatment of Negroes is a liability in our country's international relationships. We are said to be providing fuel for Communist fire. Therefore, Congress should pass a law to force people to maintain the right attitude toward each other.

I submit that the charge is as false as the remedy is futile.

I do not pretend to be an authority on international relationships, but I have been exposed to the relentless, unchanging Communist conspiracy, the purpose of which is to dominate the world.

They cannot do this while we stand strongly in their way. Every official act—legislative, judicial, or executive—that concentrates power in Washington at the expense of our sovereign States brings joy to those who would destroy us.

As I come to the close of this statement, I fully recognize how inadequate my words have been in an effort to portray a condition that needs to be experienced to be under-

stood—that needs to be studied at firsthand rather than from afar.

The hardest working people I know are Members of the Congress of the United States. There are many more demands upon their time than they can possibly meet. I thank you heartly for the time which you have given me today but, in connection with the problem with which we are mutually concerned, I sincerely wish you could find the time—and on behsif of all Mississippians for whom I now presume to speak, I invite you—to come to Mississippi and talk to the leaders of both races. I think you would find, gentlemen, that, almost with a united voice, you would be told that more legislation is not the answer to our problem.

# Will Keep America Free

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. WALTER NORBLAD

OF CREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. NORBLAD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record, an article entitled "Will Keep America Free" published in the National Tribune—The Stars and Stripes of June 25, 1959.

WILL KEEP AMERICA FREE

A highly placed spokesman of the Department of Defense expressed the gratification and pleasure early this week at the announcement of the signing of a pact between Pan American World Airways and four unions that provide services to the airlines.

The agreement, which the Defense spokesman described as a very definite and forward step in labor management relations in defense interests, provides assurances that cargo and personnel essential to national defense will be transported even though union members may have withdrawn from commercial airline service due to labor disputes.

The latest unions to sign the agreements are: The International Brotherhood of Teamsters. Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America covering service supply-clerks and lead supply clerks, the Brotherhood of Rallway and Steamship Clerks AFL-CIO, covering clerical and related employees: the United Plant Guard Workers of America; the Transport Workers Union of America, AFL-CIO, Air Transport Division, covering mechanics, flight service personnel and port stewards.

Previously similar agreements had been made by Pan American with:

The Air Line Pilots Association, the Flight Engineers International Association, the Air Line Dispatchers Association.

The agreements provide for the following:

1. Even though the unions should withdraw from commercial airline service because
of labor disputes, they will continue at their
respective jobs to insure the airlift of cargo

and personnel essential to national defense.

2. A company official will certify in writing that the flight concerned will be exclusively for these purposes.

 The agreements will not be altered or terminated without at least 2 years' written notice by either the company or the unions.

 The agreements with the seven unions have been incorporated into their regular collective bargaining agreements.

The significance of the agreements lies in the fact that the Government can be assured that traffic essential to the Department of Defense will continue to move despite

labor disputes involving any of the unions directly concerned with Pan American's flight operations.

(This newspaper feels that both Pan American and the labor unions concerned in this agreement deserve commendation for putting their country's defense above their own personal desires and as long as this type of teamwork exists America will always be free.)

# Key Questions for Awakening Africa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 30, 1959

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, the great continent of Africa is alive with portent and promise. The drama of emerging Africa is unfolding more rapidly than most Westerners suspect.

Mr. Tom Mboya, a member of the legislative council of Kenya and chairman of the All-African People's Conference, has written a perceptive article which I should like to invite to the attention of my colleagues in the Senate. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Mboya's article, "Key Questions for Awakening Africa," which was published in the June 28, 1959, issue of the New York Times magazine, be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

KEY QUESTIONS FOR AWAKENING AFRICA (By Tom Mboya)

Namoria Kenya.—At the invitation of the American Committee on Africa, I recently visited the United States for a 6-week lecture tour in an effort to explain the new Africalits problems and aspirations, to the American people. I spoke in every section of the country, and met people of widely varied interests: Congressmen and Senators, State Department officials, labor leaders, Governors and mayors, college and university students and teachers, newspapermen and broadcasters, and Negro leaders. I think, therefore, that my impressions are fairly representative of a cross section of the American people.

Having visited the United States in 1956, I was much impressed with the increase in knowledge about Africa. The questions I was asked were based more on interested understanding than on detached curiosity. Four questions in particular which seemed to trouble Americans came up at almost every meeting. I should like to answer them here.

(1) Are Africans ready for self-government?

I was often reminded of the lack of adequate numbers of educated personnel to run the new governments which we in Africa have been demanding. I was told that the high illiteracy rate in many dependent territories would make it impossible for Africans to operate a democracy successfully.

While conceding that Africa has a long way to go toward creating a generally literate community, I answered that this was a common argument used by colonial powers in defense of their continued rule. Often my questioners assumed that the colonial powers were primarily concerned with the education of our people, and that there were deliberate training programs looking toward the day of independence.

In fact, however, colonial systems give priority to, and indeed are based upon, such activities as permit or promote the human and material exploitation of the people and territories concerned. Effort is concentrated on extractive industries and quick profits. In every case, investment in education, public health, and other social development programs lags behind.

Ghana's recent history clearly illustrates what I mean. When the all-African Cabinet took over the Government, about 20 percent of the country's children were in school. In 5 years, this Government has raised the figure to 85 percent and continues to open a new school every other day. There had been nothing to equal this in 80 years of colonial rule.

In areas with a European settler community the problem is even worse. Not only does African education lag behind, but African political rights are subordinated to European domination. Thus, while France has ultimately conceded freedom for Tunisians and Moroccans, she refuses to recognize that Algerians—a people with similar aspirations, history and background—are entitled to the same status. The British concede the rights of Africans on the West Coast, in Somalia and Uganda—and soon in Tanganyika—but refuse to go all the way in Kenya, and certainly dispute these rights in the Central African Federation of Nyasaland and the Rhodesjas.

In Africa, Britain has adopted various formulas of qualitative franchise, not based on any training program for independence, but aimed at preserving the position of the white settlers. Thus, in Uganda, where there is a comparatively small settler community, literacy in the vernacular is the minimum qualification for the vote. But in Kenya, where adult suffrage is granted settlers and Asians, the African franchise is limited by such qualifications as an income of £120 or 8 years of education. In Central Africa, in addition to rigid control of the number of Africans allowed in the Parliament, the initial qualification for the vote is a £750 income.

In Portuguese areas there is not even a pretense at development or training for future self-government. The Portuguese maintain that Angola and Mozambique are integral parts of Portugal, and insist that all indigenous people may be assimilated as Portuguese citizens, but less than 1 percent of the African population has been. Slave labor, forced labor and brutal treatment of Africans is common. No freedom of assembly, association or the press exists and schools are rigidly controlled by the state with the apparent sanction of the church.

In these so-called multiracial areas, representation in the legislatures is based on bers for 60,000 Europeans and an equal number for 6 million Africans in Kenya, 10 elected members for 20,000 Europeans and an equal number members for 20,000 Europeans and an equal number for 8 million Africans in Tanganyika. In Kenya, the per capita expenditure on the 532 a year, while that for an African child is 55.

This, then, is my answer to those who ask us to wait until we are prepared by the colonial powers for self-government. While we are appreciative of the benefits we have derived from our contacts with Europe and other parts of the world—especially in the postwar period—we are convinced that if we are to develop rapidly and effectively, as innological and scientific challenges of the century, we must not only have an effective voice in the government of our case. To suggest that this would lead to an

overnight reversion to barbarity shows an utter disregard for history and the fact that Africa, despite her many temporary handicaps, lives in the 20th century, receptive to all the influences of the attitudes and developments of the present.

The question is not whether African freedom will come, but how and when. Even in areas where there is white settlement it must come, and it is futile to think otherwise. In this context, all one can say about South Africa is that her prospects look blacker each year.

(2) Is the African independence movement democratic?

African nations, like all others, enjoy the right to experiment, and above all the right to make mistakes. It is true that a lot depends on the personality of the leadership, especially during the early days of independence. There does not seem to be, however, any alternative to this period of youth and adventure. To think that continued colonial rule would offer a solution is not only to be unrealistic but to indulge in the highest degree of wishful thinking.

If honest mistakes are made we should

If honest mistakes are made we should not be apologetic, for this is part of the process of operating a democracy the world over. It is ironic—and, indeed, flattering—that the older powers should ask us to guarantee perfection when they have not, even after hundreds of years, reached perfection themselves.

Some non-Africans are concerned about the development of opposition parties and others about the forms that governmental institutions will take. Many people seem to expect that Africa must keep what she inherits from her former colonial masters. Africa cannot, however, for very obvious reasons, adopt a blueprint of European or American institutions. Her governmental institutions must recognize Africa's cultural and social background and must move away from the forms used by the colonial powers—fitted for indirect rule—to a representative system.

Opposition parties are a desirable and healthy development, but they must not merely point accusing fingers at the party in power when difficulties arise. Both sides must play the game according to certain rules

It is unrealistic to expect effective opposition parties in the early days of independence, when the momentum and personality of the liberation movement is still strong and popular, and when genuine differences are usually lacking. To suggest that the popular leaders who combine during the struggle for liberation should break up and form different parties because the book so requires is not only reckless but is to ig-nore the urgent problems that a new state faces. The solution to these problems requires a stable government that can also offer security for expanded economic growth. The responsibility thrust on the shoulders of both the party in power and the often weak, ineffective opposition party is tremendous and one which requires strength of character, honesty of purpose and, above all, a deep conviction in the service of the country and the people.

(3) Does the policy of nonalinement adopted by Africans mean that they are falling victim to Communist propaganda?

Insofar as the African struggle is one against colonial rule, and since all leaders have publicly committed themselves to freedom and universal suffrage, Africa is essentially committed to the democratic tradition. In this common identity the freeworld has a position of advantage over the Communists.

But, although African leaders do not take a neutral position in their choice of democracy and freedom, I doubt whether this is the position the West truly represents in the eyes of the uncommitted world today, Inconsistencies between standards preached and actual practices based on expediency, and the priority given alliances over the basic human rights of peoples in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East have contributed to a loss of faith and confidence.

The West has friendly embraces for the Union of South Africa, despite her racist policies and denial of human rights to 11 million nonwhite people. Why, our people ask, doesn't the West put South Africa in the same category with the Soviet Union? Why is Portugal's use of slave labor not classified with the Siberian slave labor camps? France uses NATO arms supplied by the United States against Algerians. The British shoot more than 50 unarmed demonstrators in Nyasaland and their agents beat to death 11 Kenyans in the Hola detention camp. The free world raises not a finger. Contrast this with the reaction to Hungary and Tibet. The Africans wonder why double standards are used where human rights are involved, and naturally suspect the motives of some of the nations in the free world.

It should be understood that we feel a special kinship with American Negroes, and that we see our struggles as closely related. Segregation robs the United States of the moral standing she needs if she is to give effective leadership to the free world. All the good that she does—even the existence of Supreme Court judgments and other efforts to secure integration—is hardly noticed, whereas Little Rock or a Mississippi lynching receives front-page publicity.

One cannot overlook the fact that condi-

One cannot overlook the fact that conditions exist in all underdeveloped areas that provide fertile ground for Communist propaganda. As I look at this situation, I have come to the conclusion that if the free world is to be effective it must concern itself with how best to remove these conditions—poverty, disease, ignorance, and racism. It should devise a freedom offensive rather than merely engaged in a negative opposition to communism. Too often the free world moves only in emergency situations, pouring in money and guns too late. It is the compromise with principle to accommodate colonialism and racism practiced by countries in the West that undermines the moral capacity of the free world.

(4) What is the future of the white settlers in Africa?

The fear of possible victimization of immigrant groups or of anti-white racism on the part of Africans is often expressed. On the contrary, experience in the independent states so far has shown a deliberate policy of assuring foreign investors of their safety.

The problem really is one for the immigrants themselves. They have come to regard as a right the position of privilege and domination they have always enjoyed. They refuse to adapt themselves to change, and regard equality for all as injustice.

When Europeans emigrate to America they are content to be called Americans; equally they are content to be called Canadians when they go to Canada. They insist on democratic equality there. But in Africa, they are ashamed to be called Africans. How then can we solve this problem for them?

In conclusion, one thing that I must emphasize is that no country can afford to ignore the emergence of new nations in Africa. Each year new states will be born, and with these changes must be established new relationships. Above all, it must be recognized that emergent Africa must not only claim but assert her right to interpret and speak for herself.

Address of Frol R. Kozlov, First Deputy Chairman of the U.S.R.R. Council of Ministers at the Opening of the Soviet Exhibition in New York City, Monday Evening, June 29, 1053

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 30, 1959

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, as one of the major steps in the cultural exchange program between the United States and the Soviet Union, the First Deputy Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, Frol R. Kozlov, opened the Soviet Exhibition of Science, Technology and Culture at the Coliseum in New York City, Monday evening, June 29, 1959.

Vice President RICHARD M. NIXON will fly to Moscow to open the American National Exhibition in Moscow on July 25,

1959.

As one of the officials who attended the opening of the Soviet exhibition, I recommend that Americans go to see the exhibition to learn of the scientific, technological, and cultural achievements of the peoples of the Soviet Union. It is certainly interesting and worthwhile to learn of the many developments in all lines—machinery, equipment, automobiles, atomic energy, theater, music, sculptoring, fabrics, fashions, plastics, and especially to see the various models of the sputniks.

In opening the Soviet exhibition Mr. Kozlov made the following address:

ADDRESS OF FROL R. KOZLOV AT OPENING OF SOVIET EXHIBITION IN NEW YORK CITY

Mr. Vice President, Mr. Mayor, ladies and gentlemen, the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has authorized me to open here in New York the exhibition of the U.S.S.R.'s achievements in the fields of science, technology, and culture.

science, technology, and culture.

Naturally the exhibition cannot reflect the entire gamut of life in such a large country as the Soviet Union. But we do hope that it will nonetheless help you gain an understanding of how Soviet people live and work, of their achievements and to what they

Twenty years separate us from the time when Americans visited the Soviet pavilion at the New York World's Fair. These 20 years were for us not only years of creative labor but also years of severe trials.

Our country suffered an invasion that has no precedent in history and has sustained unparalleled damage. In the struggle against the Fascist invaders, millions of sons and daughters of our country gave their lives man's most precious possession.

lives, man's most precious possession.

Despite tremendous losses, the Soviet people found strength not only to eliminate in a short period of time the aftermath of war but also to make a big stride forward along the road of economic and technical progress.

A vivid expression of the outstanding successes of our country is the launching in the Soviet Union of the first artificial satellites of the earth and the sun which showed mankind the road to outer space. We do not conceal that this required us to tax our strength considerably, but neither do we conceal our pride in the results of our toil.

You citizens of the United States, a coun-

try that has done a lot to develop science and engineering, will surely understand more than anyone else the ardor instilled in the Soviet people by the colossal upsurge of construction in our country, by the rapid development of science and industry, the large-scale harnessing of the vast natural wealth of our country, particularly in Siberia and the Far East.

Acquaintance with the Soviet exhibition will show you with still greater clarity that Soviet people, who are engaged in peaceful creative labor and who have focused their efforts on fulfilling the grand new plans for the development of peaceful economy, cannot harbor any evil intentions in regard to other nations.

We are staunch supporters of peace and of peace alone. We love and cherish peace, but not, of course, the shaky peace which not without reason is called the "cold war." No, the Soviet people want a genuine, stable peace which can be insured only in the event that states are guided in their interrelationships by the principle of peaceful coexistence. This principle is equally just in its application of all states. At the same time, however, hardly anyone will dispute that the application of this principle to relations between the United States and the Soviet Union is of particular significance to the destiny of peace.

The U.S.S.R. and the United States are universally known to possess the greatest economic and military potentials. The development of international relations and the lessening of international tension depend in a decisive way on how sincere and friendly will be the bonds between us.

I can tell you in all candor that there are strong sympathies in our country toward the American people. We value highly their creative genius, businesslike approach, technical ingenuity, and sense of humor. We value the contributions of Franklin, Edison, and other American scientists and engineers to the development of world science and engineering.

We in our country also speak with admiration of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln and other outstanding American politicians who fought for democracy and the equality of men. We appreciated the aspirations and hopes of Franklin Roosevelt, our comrade in arms during the years of World War II. Feelings of profound respect are engendered by his appeal to cultivate the science of human relationships, the ability of all peoples of all kinds to live together, to work together in the same world at peace. These

are wonderful words.

After World War II relations between our countries unfortunately deteriorated. An allenation and mutual mistrust arose between us. Economic, scientific and cultural ties between our two countries decreased considerably. And as the American philosopher and poet, Emerson, justly remarked, "Fear always springs from ignorance." In turn fear and mistrust are a scrious barrier in the way of mutual understanding and the improvement of relations between our peoples.

I would like to note with gratification that recent years have seen a certain revivial of the tles between our countries in the fields of science, culture and the arts. It suffices to recall the warmth and cordiality accorded to representatives of Soviet culture and science in the United States and to their America counterparts in the U.S.S.R. to see how advantageous can be the development of such contacts in improving relations among nations.

Let us hope that the exchange of exhibitions, along with other measures to develop exchanges in the fields of science, culture, and art, will become yet another breath of the warm wind which is destined to melt the ice of prejudices and mirconceptions that cloaks American-Soviet relations.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is another heartening fact that of late personal contacts between leading personalities of our two countries have begun to be restored. I would like to note in this context that the Soviet Government and all Soviet people learned with gratification of the forthcoming visit to the U.S.S.R. of U.S. Vice President Nixon.

Certain progress has lately been made in the improvement of Soviet-American relations, particularly in the expansion of cultural ties. But these are doubtless only the first small steps. Extremely little, for example, has as yet been done in the field of developing trade between the United States and the Soviet Union. There did indeed exist animated trade relations between our countries just before the war, and this trade brought both countries nothing but advantages and use.

Under present conditions the successful development of trade between the U.S.R. and the United States of America on the basis of equality would undoubtly also respond to the interests of the Soviet and American peoples, would lead to the consolidation of political relations between our countries and would also serve the purpose of further easing international tension.

of further easing international tension.

There also exist in our opinion objective possibilities to develop other economic ties between the United States of America and the Soviet Union. We both stand to learn from one another. We pay tribute to the United States as a technically highly developed country. You, however, are aware that today the Soviet Union has also achieved great successes in the sphere of technical progress.

We have now launched plans for the further economic development of our country. The Soviet people have undertaken the task not only to catch up with, but let me say outright, to surpass you in the not-too-distant future, both as regards the overall volume of output of peaceful production and in per capita production too. This is a noble task which is in the interests of both states, of both peoples.

This then is the Soviet challenge of which so much has lately been said and written in the West, our intention often being distorted in the process, which we sincerely regret.

But this challenge of ours is not a call to armed struggle. We want to compete for our country to become more prosperous, for our people to live a better life, for them to be better fed and clothed, to have more good homes, to be able to actisfy more fully their spiritual requirements.

Do these intentions of ours threaten any one? All the nations of the world including the Soviet and American peoples can only stand to gain as a result of this sort of competition and challenge.

There is no need to conceal that we have different social systems and that our views on many international issues often do not coincide. But we do live on one planet, and therefore no one from any other world will resolve the question of our interrelationships for us. The affairs of the earth should be solved by people who live on the earth.

I would like here to lay particular emphasis on the following: It is for all of us an indisputable fact that all international issues must be solved peacefully by negotiation. The Soviet Union stints no effort to establish good neighborly relations with the United States and is ready to support any steps in this.

The Soviet Government is an advocate of the idea of statesmen, including heads of government, having more roundtable neetings to exchange opinions on urgent problems of the day.

In conclusion, may I read the address of the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., Nikita Sergeyevich Krushchev, on the opening of the Soviet exhibi-

tion in New York:

"I am happy to avail myself of the opening of the Soviet exhibition in New York to convey to the American people hearty greetings and best wishes for prosperity on behalf of the people of the Soviet Union, on behalf of the Soviet Government as well as on my own behalf.

The Soviet Government hopes that the exchange of exhibitions will help the peoples of our two countries to know each other better, which in turn will undoubtedly contribute to better understanding between the United States and the Soviet Union. The achievement of understanding and the establishment of friendly relations between our two countries would be the best guarantee for the preservation of world peace.

"We Soviet people are deeply convinced that differences in our ways of life and in our political and social systems should not be an obstacle to fruitful cooperation in the interests of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the United States. May competition in producing means of destruction be replaced by competition in producing material bene-fits and accumulating spiritual values.

"May the peoples of America and the Soviet Union join their efforts in safeguarding peace and creating on our planet conditions under which people will have no fear for their future and that of generations to come."

# The Sword of Fact for the Chinese Dragon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, June 18, 1959

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, as many of my colleagues may know, I have expressed myself in favor of looking the facts in the face regarding our relations with mainland China. Robert S. Elegant, chief of Newsweek magazine's Hong Kong Bureau, apparently feels the same way as a result of his experience in the Far East. His book "The Dragon's Seed" was recently published.

Under a previous consent I include in the Appendix an article which appeared in the Honolulu Advertiser of June 13, 1959, in which he points out myths which are governing much of the official thinking about mainland China and makes concrete suggestions for our future relations.

AUTHOR SAYS UNITED STATES-ASIA POLICY BASED ON MYTHS

U.S. foreign policy in Asia is "based on a series of myths \* \* \* and we are losing southeast Asia," Robert E. Eiegant, chief of Newsman Aria," Newsweek magazine's Hong Kong bureau warned here yesterday.

Elegant said the major myths are:

1. That the Chinese Nationalists still play an influential role in Asia.

2. That India serves as a counterbalance for the growing power of the Chinese Com-

Elegant, author of "The Dragon's Seed," a book on southeast Asia to be published next West next week, called for recognition of Red China, the establishment of effective military security in southeast Asia ("which hasn't

been done") and a policy designed "to make the people feel they have a stake in what's going on," including a mass scholarship program for southeast Asia students.

"I don't for a minute mean we should turn Formosa over to the Communists," Elegant said. "I think it can work itself out as a Formosan Republic."

Elegant said the State Department seems to take the position that nonrecognition and firmness are synonymous and that recognition and softness are synonymous.

"But I think that recognition and firmness

can go together."

Virtually every move the United States makes now only drives the Chinese Communists farther into the arms of Russia," Elegant said. "Recognition would put the monkey on their back.

"There are strains in any alliance," Elegant said of the Chinese-Russian relationship. "Recognition would help the Chinese get to know the outside world. It might take 10 years or more, but meanwhile we could allow the strains to develop."

The State Department is far behind the people on the recognition issue, Elegant is convinced.

He said his advocacy of recognition of Red China was greeted with interest on a recent mainland lecture tour. "People are getting fed up with the impasse—they're frightened, perhaps but they recognize that our policy just isn't dealing with the situation."

As for India as a counterbalance in Asia, Elegant said India is too far behind Red China in its industrialization and agricultural program to impress other Asiatic coun-

He said Indians tend to rationalize Communist gains "so long as the only country thing about it-isn't."

Elegant said Red China is using many of the 13 million overseas Chinese in southeast Asia as a potent political weapon.

More sophisticated and energetic than the native peoples, the overseas Chinese are in a position to exercise critical control of commerce and transport in southeast Asia, he said.

The leftist People's Action Party which scored a major victory in Singapore recently received grassroots financial aid from a Chinese rubber tycoon. Elegant said the party was built up under directions from

Elegant said the political influence of the overseas Chinese "is just incredibly out of proportion, to their numbers." Unfortunately, he said, most of them have an unreasoning attachment to the great land mass of China and tend to identify themselves with it instead of assimilating with their adopted countries.

# Congress Considers Libraries and Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, June 29, 1959

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include an address which I delivered at the American Library Association conference, Sheraton Park Hotel, Washington, D.C., on June 26, 1959.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS OF HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY, U.S. REPRESENTATIVE, SECOND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF RHODE ISLAND, AT AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE, SHERA-TON PARK, WASHINGTON, D.C., FRIDAY, JUNE 26, 1959

CONGRESS CONSIDERS LIBRARIES AND EDUCATION

I am grateful for this opportunity to meet with an organization that is doing so much on behalf of causes that I have long been proud to serve. I refer particularly to the broad fields of health and education. Few groups are more important than the American Library Association in meeting these national challenges.

These are times when every institution concerned with maintaining a free and in-formed citizenry is playing a critical part in our Nation's destiny. Public libraries, as a mainstay of our communications structure, are indispensable in this era of science and technology, of farflung interests abroad, of international tensions and complex domestic problems. These are times when every thinking person needs the information, the background that only reading can give, and the kind of stimulation and diversion that literature alone affords.

Let me say at the outset that the library's role in meeting the intellectual challenge of today is not, in my opinion, a passive one. It is a dynamic role that calls for action on the part of librarians, trustees, and the friends of libraries. It is a role that demands a strong organization, in which all members are highly sensitive to social needs, their own goals, and the roads that are open to those goals. The needs that face usand I think again of our many interests in common-urge an attack with all our resources.

For many years I have been concerned with those needs, both as a Representative to Congress from the Second District of Rhode Island and as chairman of the subcommittee in the House of Representatives which is responsible for appropriations to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Libraries share many of the Department's interests in the fields of health and education, particularly those of the Public Health Service in aging, juvenile delinquency, and blindness. Other common interests are the program of scientific translation and the National Library of Medicine. which became a part of the Service in 1956.

Since ancient times libraries have served the civilized community as storehouses of information. The importance of this func-tion alone is attested by the fact that an ability to accumulate knowledge and transmit it down the generations is an essential difference between man and the lower animals. Increasingly, however, libraries have assumed additional functions—have taken a more active role in the community. The library today is not only a medium of communication; it is an integral part of our educational structure. One of its principal functions is to teach.

We think immediately of school libraries and their importance in general and professional education. But I have in mind a broader concept. The educational institution-the school or college-must not only teach: it must point the student down the road of knowledge. With school behind us, our education has only begun. Here, then, is perhaps the main role of the library-to help us gain the education we need our own way through life. In this, the school library is joined by the public and special librariesthose of industry, societies, government. Together, these facilitate our self-development, our intelligent participation in public affairs, and our pursuit of special interests.

The broader role of the library, in the eyes of a mere observer, calls for more intensive development of special resources for communication, such as films and recordings. The addition of musical and audio-visual dimensions to literature can provide a rounded approach to the library's educational mission. To be sure, there are many difficulties. But only through such expanded programs can libraries, it seems to me, realize their full potential for education and creative experience.

This is most obvious with respect to special groups I have mentioned. Recordings for the blind, for example—an extremely valuable service—certainly bring the library into the forefront of educational institutions. The same might be said of records and prints used in seminars on music and art for the elderly. Or the showing of films in conjunction with courses underway in local schools, as an aid to the guidance of youth. It is these active ventures into education that I, in my work for these groups, find most gratifying in the progressive library of today.

I should like to make a special point about the efforts of the ALA toward the control of juvenile delinquency. This is a problem that has come often to my attention as a legislator. We have worked out, I believe, some good measures, such as the collaborative activity proposed in the current appropriation bills for the Children's Bureau and the National Institute of Mental Health. This is an effort to provide coordination and leadership through two agencies with interest, experience, and rescurces in the fields of child welfare, child behavior, and child psychology. But legislation, however, sound, can never solve this problem alone. It is a problem for the total community: the school, the church, the family—all of our social institutions. The library is very important here, primarily as a preventive, for it can offer books and programs to help our young adults understand themselves and adjust to life.

Many of you have given real thought to the problem of juvenile delinquency, and some of you, I know, are very active in this field. Libraries can reach children early and maintain contact as they grow and develop. Good progress has been made in bringing libraries to low-income areas; and in some cities, librarians trained for service to young people work cooperatively with welfare agencles. Given adequate funds and staffs, libraries can offer individual help, particularly to those who cannot read well. I believe larly to those who cannot read well. the services to young people should be extended and promoted through adult groups, collaborative projects with juvenile courts, and mass media such as radio and television. To learn the best role of libraries in this problem, studies might well be done in collaboration with research and welfare agen-

A realistic view of the library as an educational institution must take into account the question of funds. Legislation for the support of educational and research programs should generally be interpreted to include libraries as educational and research facilities. In the current research construction program of the Public Health Service for example, the National Advisory Council that recommends grants to the Surgeon General holds that libraries are definitely research facilities. Few projects to date have included library construction because the funds have been insufficient to meet the need for laboratories, but the Council at its October meeting will consider whether research library construction can be ex-

One of the Nation's most pressing medical and social problems is blindness. There are about 350,000 blind persons in this country, and the number is increasing despite public

and private efforts over many years. The Public Health Service's National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness is attacking the problem from the medical standpoint. On the social side, I have introduced a bill to establish a temporary Presidential commission to study and report on problems related to blindness and the needs of the blind. A prime objective is to help create a national atmosphere more favorable to the blind person and his role in society. This will call for studies of existing conditions, including rehabilitation programs, the education of blind children, and social services and research. One consideration will be how to provide books and recordings, including problems of procurement and distribution.

I am confident that standards and legislation will be developed through which the best library services now available for the blind will be augmented and extended. It gives me great satisfaction to work toward that end

Among the most important library services are those extended to the older citizen. The magnitude of the aging problem demands that major resources such as libraries, so valuable in guidance, recreation, and many special activities, be encouraged in every way possible to do more in this field. Since 1900, people over 50 have increased in our population from 13 percent to more than 22 percent. By 1970, nearly 25 percent of the American people will be over 50, and 10 percent will be over 65. Social institutions should prepare for the impact of this growth. In an effort to help libraries in this regard. I will urge that they be cited in current bills before Congress.

Probably the legislation most directly significant to the ALA is the Library Servides Act. As you know, the Congress has never appropriated the full \$7.5 million authorized for this Office of Education program. But much progress has been made under the act, such as the extension of library services to 11 million people in rural American areas. I understand that 50 States and Territories are now participating, and that the matching requirements have stimulated State and local governments to put 45 percent more money in libraries than they did before the program began.

Because this is one of the appropriations my subcommittee handles, I am proud of my own part in these achievements. The President's budget called for only \$3 million last year. We in Congress raised this to \$6 million—twice the budgeted amount. This year, the President's budget was \$5 million. We in the House voted an additional million making it \$6 million, the same amount as The Senate on last Wednesday last year. voted for \$7.5 million. If a reasonable compromise is agreed to the tremendous task of providing library services for 25 million more rural people in this country who do not now have access to public library service will be able to proceed. Having followed the program closely in Rhode Island, I am determined to see similar benefits extended throughout the greater United States.

I should like now to discuss some broad problems in which libraries are involvedproblems impeding social and scientific progress, particularly in the field of medical research. One of these is the problem confronting the scientist when he searches the literature before undertaking an experiment. Although he may work in a highly specialized area, the information he needs will be widely scattered. Annually throughout the world, about 180,000 research reports appear in some 5,000 journals, and an estimated 10,000 books are published on medical and scientific subjects. The libraries can do little, of course, to control this volume of publication, although I am sure they would like to. There is, however, a major library responsibility for documentation—the vast field of lending order to this mountain of words.

I do not presume to understand the problem in detail—the many good proposals for solving it, the new equipment available, the programs underway. I do know that researchers in all fields, including the biological, physical, and social sciences, depend largely on libraries for the storage and retrieval of information. Those who write it and those who print it share the responsibility, but cannot come to grips with the problem because they are independent workers. The one unified element—the library—well organized and influential, should take the lead.

If some major library organization, such as the ALA or Library of Congress, were to adopt a plan acceptable to scientists and editors, cooperation would be assured through the desire of authors to be included in the system. For instance, authors would submit abstracts through editors to a central point for indexing, storage, and electronic retrieval. But this is just a thought; many of you are way ahead of me. I only mean to stress that the library—not the individual author, editor or reader—is the place to begin. It is the logical point of vantage for instituting a system that would streamline the search for data, now a task of such proportions as to threaten the value of reports themselves—even to threaten the continuity of knowledge.

Another major need-one in which libraries could play a larger part-is the distribution of educational material on science and health. People are eager for literature on these subjects—current, factual, plain materials that answer their questions and expand their understanding. Federal, State and local health departments, voluntary health agencies, and many other groups pub lish pamphlets and other materials on all the major health problems. Unfortunately. public libraries are often excluded from the distribution lists through doubt that the materials would be promoted or displayed And the libraries have been unable to afford stocks of giveaways, the best approach to meeting the need. I believe, however, that cooperative arrangements could be worked out in which public libraries would play a key role in health education.

In making these various suggestions. have falled to specify how they might best be adopted. Who should set the ball rolling? Certainly, librarians and ALA officials can do much in their own right, and it is they who must follow through once the services are instituted. But their authority and influence are limited. I appeal to the trustees and friends of libraries. They should take the initiative more often, lending their names and efforts to increasing support for their public libraries. Without the active participation of trustees and friends the library can be little more than a storehouse With their active aid, the library can be dynamic agency working side by side with educational, research and welfare groups.
It is largely through trustees and friends that an ancient and honorable institution a latent force for social bettermentrealize its potential in the modern world.

To my mind, the most important ancillary function that a library can perform (a function so intangible that legislators can only talk about it) is to further the spirit of learning in this country. Basic to the improvement of domestic and foreign relations, supremacy in science and technology, to the attainment of major national goals, must be a climate of public opinion more favorable to science, education, and scholarship in general. Our need for this is felt keenly whome talks to scientists and educators, to pople abroad. We need a national shift toward deeper appreciation of all that the library represents in our culture—knowledge, and their advancement through communication.

Librarians, through the selection of reading matter, group activities, and individual guidance, can help immeasurably to further the understanding of science and of the need for research. They can help acquaint young people with names and events in science, shaping their image of the scientists and a research career. They can call attention to opportunities in the sciences courses of study, scholarships, positions. And above all, they can capture and stimulate that interest in the humanities which affects so strongly our sense of values, and thus our attitude toward the learned professions and

their contribution.

To summarize, I would urge librarians to continue developing their programs along educational lines. You have an important inission in helping young people—the misguided and the gifted—older people, and many special groups. Health education is a particularly appropriate field. I urge you, collectively and individually, to further the sciences through advances in documentation and efforts to improve the national climate for scientific endeavor. And I call especially upon the trustees and friends of libraries to Work on behalf of their institutions in such matters as support and the expansion of library functions.

For my part, I will do all I can to help the libraries of the Nation extend their basic and special services to every citizen.

# Equality of Congressional Districts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 30, 1959

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege, on June 29, 1959 to present a statement to the House Judiciary Committee in support of my bill, H.R. 575, which would require the establishment of congressional election districts composed of contiguous and compact territories, and would require that the districts so established within any one State contain approximately the same number of inhabitants.

My statement follows:

STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE ABRAHAM J. MULTER, DEMOCRAT, NEW YORK, BEFORE THE HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE IN SUPPORT OF H.R. 575, JUNE 29, 1959

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I appreciate the opportunity afforded to me to submit to you my views in support of my blil, H.R. 575.

Equality among congressional election districts is so axiomatic to our ideas of democratic government that the subject never relarge headlines and is seldom discuased around the country. Few elements of the electorate ever stop to consider the realities of the situation.

Theoretically, the House of Representa-tives is the ultimate symbol of equality of representations. representation in the Federal Government. The name itself was chosen because it was interested that the legisintended to be a truly representative legis-

It is assumed that each congressional district is roughly equal, in total population, to every other district. Certainly the intention of the Foundtion of the Constitution and of the Founding Fathers is clear enough: the House was to represent the people; the Senate was the Chamber of the States. Most people take it for granted that the House of Representatives is actually representative.

Reality, however, falls seriously behind Reality, however, fails seriously behind theory in many cases and, in some cases, out-rageously so. The inequities that were per-petrated or perpetuated in the redistricting that followed the 1950 census are instructive. In no less than 25 States there was a difference of more than 100,000 between the populations of their largest and smallest congressional districts. In 13 of those 25, the difference was more than 200,000. And in five States there were actually districts with populations that outnumbered other districts in the same State by more than 300,000 inhabitants.

The practical effect of such disproportions obvious. In one of our States, about 170,000 citizens were given exactly the same voice and voting strength in our House as another group of more than 400,000. The inequity becomes even more absurd when that group of 170,000 is made equal in status with a group from another State consisting of more than 600,000. We have here a situa-tion in which the individual citizen in the smaller district is given as much power as five citizens in the larger district.

Primary responsibility for these inequities rests with the State legislatures, but Congress is also at fault. The State legislatures control the details of redistricting and, because of carelessness, or ignorance, or design, they have permitted or fostered this undemocratic pattern. Many States have not bothered to redistrict for as much as 3 or 4 decades.

Under article I, section 4, of the Constitution, Congress has the power to correct the inequities. This section states that Congress "may at any time by law make or alter \* \* \* regulations" as to the "times, places, and manner of holding elections for \* \* \* Representatives \* \* \*." Congress has, in fact, acted in the past. The act of January 16, 1901 (31 Stat. 734), for example, provided that Representatives "shall be elected by districts composed of a contiguous and compact territory, and containing as nearly as practicable an equal-number of inhabitants."

Unfortunately, that language was omitted from the act of 1929 (46 Stat. 26) and subsequent apportionment legislation. To remedy this omission, I have introduced H.R. 575 to amend section 22 of the act of June 18, 1929, as amended.

This bill restores the provision that each district shall be composed of contiguous and compact territory, a safeguard against gerrymandering. It further provides that the number of inhabitants in any district shall not vary more than 10 percent from the average district within such State as computed from the figures of the immediately preceding census. By providing a 10 percent leeway, the bill recognizes and allows for the difficulties in arriving at exact equality.

Authorities differ as to the ideal maximum percent of deviation from the average. A committee of the American Political Science Association recommended a 15 percent maximum. My own opinion is that 10 percent is a sufficiently flexible guide.

Recently, the New York State Republican chairman in addressing a political gathering, referred to the fact that in that State it was constitutionally impossible to elect a State legislative body controlled by the Democratic Party. He, of course, meant that as long as the State legislature could arbitrarily, even capriciously, fix district lines, subject to no review by any court, the Republican Party would continue to gerry-mander that State.

With about 55 percent of the population New York City gets only about 45 percent of the representation. Only the Congress can remedy that unfair, inequitable and immoral situation.

Finally, H.R. 575 authorizes the Clerk of the House to refuse the credentials of any Representative elected from a district not conforming to these requirements. Congress is thus given a procedure for enforcing

the standards it establishes.

Presumably, the inequities that were established following the 1950 census will have become even more aggravated by 1960. It is my sincere conviction that H.R. 575 or similar legislation is urgently required if we are to reestablish the democratic composition of the House of Representatives.

# Resolution Urges Enactment of H.R. 6571

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 30, 1959

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, the House of Representatives of the State of Alabama has adopted House Joint Resolution 37, concurred in and adopted by the Senate, which refers to a bill which I have introduced, H.R. 6671, to extend social security child's insurance benefits to age 22 as long as the child attends

Of course I am delighted that the Alabama State Legislature has endorsed this legislation, and I am pleased to present the resolution for the attention of the membership.

The resolution referred to follows: HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 37

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of of America, in Congress Assembled:

We, your memorialists, the Legislature of Alabama, in regular session assembled, respectfully represent as follows:

Whereas there is pending before the Congress a measure, H.R. 6671, to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide that the child of an insured individual, after attaining age 18, may receive a child's in-surance benefits until he attains age 22 if he is a student attending school; and

Whereas the education of youth is impera-tive in this era and should be promoted and encouraged in every possible way: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of Alabama (the Senate con-curring), That the Congress of the United States be memorialized to enact as speedily as possible the bill, H.R. 6671, 86th Congress, 1st session, introduced in the House of Representatives of the United States April 27, 1959, by Mr. Roberts, of Alabama.

Resolved further, That copies of this memorial be sent to the Honorable Speaker of the House of Representatives, to the Honorable President of the Senate of the United States, and to all Members of the Alabama congressional delegation.

Adopted by the house of representatives, June 5, 1959.

Concurred in and adopted by the senate. June 9, 1959.

Approved by the Governor, June 18, 1959.

# A Bill To Protect Domestic Industry and Labor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, June 24, 1959

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I take this means of informing my colleagues that I have introduced H.R. 8013 which would amend the so-called Buy America Act in such a way as to protect American workers and wages against low substandard foreign competition in connection with Federal Government purchases.

My bill provides that the United States in acquiring materials and products for public use inside the United States States would make awards competitively between domestic and foreign bidders on the basis of a preference to offset the differential between average wages prevailing in our country as against the corresponding foreign pay scale.

As Members know, at present the law provides for a flexible preference-presently set by Executive order at 6 per-cent—which is meaningless to a large extent as far as domestic portection is concerned.

As an example of how our American standards of living are being undermined by the operation of the present unrealistic 6 percent differential, I should like to cite a situation in my own State of Washington. In this case the Bonneville Power Administration issued a bid invitation on 14,000 tons of structural tower steel. The lowest domestic bidder in this instance was the Bethlehem steel fabricating plant in Seattle, with a price of \$4,074,406. The low foreign bid was \$3,324,555 by a firm in Milan, Italy, which made the difference between the two low bids about 22 percent.

Under the law, the Bonneville Power Administration had no choice but to award the contract to the Italian firm, whereas had a realistic differential existed, as provided in my bill, H.R. 8013, the Seattle firm would have been the successful bidder. The fabrication of these towers for the Bonneville Power Administration would have provided 21/2 years' work with a payroll which would have assured better than 200 American families the means of livelihood with a return of taxes to the Federal Treasury from the company and the workers.

I wish to make it clear, Mr. Speaker, that this proposed change in the law would not be susceptible to allowing exorbitant profits on monopolistic items. In this respect, to prevent profiteering, I have included a provision in my bill for exclusion of bids where a domestic price is unreasonably high. Likewise I have exempted purchases abroad or during a national emergency or where the national security would be jeopardized. Any cost to the Government under my bill which exceeded 25 percent more than a foreign bid would be deemed unreasonable.

The wage comparison would be established by uisng current official wage rates as published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor.

Mr. Speaker, Congress has the obligation of protecting our standard of living from being undermined by cheap foreign scales of pay. H.R. 8013 will accomplish such protection without extra cost to the Government on account of profiteering by industry. I hope, Mr. Speaker, that the House Committee on Public Works will give speedy consideration to this desirable legislation. The increased business as a result of my bill will create jobs and benefit business. It will stimulate the overall economy of the country. This is the type of legislative measure that will tend to lift wages and working conditions in other nations rather than for foreign industries, as they do now, to depress wages and employment conditions in the United States.

Congress should act promptly to correct the Buy America Act and relieve our American industry and labor from unfair foreign competition.

Tribute Paid to Veterans' Administrator Sumner Whittier

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 30, 1959

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, last Sunday Drew Pearson paid tribute to Administrator Sumner Whittier of the Veterans' Administration in the Washington Merry-Go-Round column which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald.

As a member of the Appropriations Subcommittee which reviews the Veterans' Administration's budget estimates. I have had a firsthand opportunity to observe Mr. Whittier on many occasions since he assumed that responsible post, and I concur with the sentiments expressed by Columnist Drew Pearson.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include Mr. Pearson's article in the Appendix of the RECORD:

VETERANS' ADMINISTRATOR

It may be a shock to Washington's burgeoning bureaucracy, but Veterans' Administrator Sumner Whittier has taken steps to humanize the giant, sprawling agency under his command.

"Human dignity is the first objective of our personnel policy," he explained to this column. "We don't want our workers to feel like cogs in a cold, impersonal machine."

To achieve this, the former lieutenant governor of Massachusetts consults with employees about new moves, informs them of decisions ahead of the press, encourages them to add homey touches to their offices. He even polled the employees in the central office to find out what hours they preferred to work. Abiding by the majority verdict, he set the hours from 8 a.m. to 4:30 p.m.

Yet Whittier has been able to give his

agency a personal touch without sacrificing necks and streamlined operations. He keeps efficiency. In fact, he has smashed bottle-his fingers on what each division is doing through a control room filled with up-to-theday charts on all veterans' activities.

His humanizing efforts extend also to those who are served by the Veterans' Administration. He has speeded up action on inquiries, cut gobbledegook out of VA letters and stressed courtesy in all dealings with vet-

Without fanfare, Whittler has been doing a great job.

(Note,—Whittier assigned two Negro doctors to Mount Alto Veterans' Hospital here— Martin Booth and Charles Epps. Southern veterans pay tribute to their ability.)

### Is Thrift a Mockery?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. HENRY ALDOUS DIXON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, June 30, 1959

Mr. DIXON. Mr. Speaker, the Deseret News, published in Salt Lake City, deserves special congratulations for its contest on what inflation means to the average person. An expense-paid trip to Washington was offered for the most outstanding letter written to the News-I am inserting in the Appendix to the RECORD the remarkable winning letter written by Mr. Jay B. Horrocks, of Salt Lake City.

I would also like to call the attention of Congress to the outstanding Deseret News editorial which appeared at the same time on inflation:

How Inflation Has Hurt Me-Our FRIENDS HAVE SCOFFED

(By Jay B. Horrocks)

Inflation hurts most where it cuts deepest-The real hurt is inflation's effect upon our attitudes and basic beliefs. Age-old virtues are being proved questionable. My faith in the doctrine of self-government is severely shaken.

My wife and I have carefully saved since we were married 9 years ago. Our car is an old one, our clothing is modest. My insur-ance program is permanent and adequate. of which I am proud. We have believed that through adhering to sound financial principles, spendies and ples, spending less than we made, we could accumulate money that would provide us a nice home and a good standard of living, our children could be educated to professional levels, and we could afford to be generous to those less fortunate. Retirement has been planned in terms of today's dollar.

Has this way of life earned us respect? No. Our friends have scoffed at our sacrifice and, to this point, have proved us wrons.
The savings that were to have built our home 3 years ago are still inadequate. Our friends and to borrow all we can and let inflation have of the bull to be a second to be pay off the bill. We've defended ourselves by quoting Benjamin Franklin, our church leaders, and others who have said thrift is a virtue. Our friends retort, "Because of inflation, it is safer to speculate than to save." It seems to

save." It seems almost the truth.

My father has a favorite saying. "My word
is as good as my bond." "Bond" has always
is as good as my bond." "Bond" has always meant respect, sureness, and safety to me. Now Uncle Sam is paying off his bonds with depreciated dollars. Inflation degrades both bonds and Uncle Sam.

Our thoughts suggest that tomorrow values may be restored. Again our friends point out the campaign promises made in the last election. Millions and billions off their tongues as glibly as though they were talking about grains of sand at the seashore. Reason tells us this doesn't curb inflation.

The plight of the pensioned is pitiful. Their S-O-\$ (save our dollars) is desperate. They mind not so much the reduced living standards as the loss of self-respect that accompanies a dole. Increased social security benefits, which weren't paid for by the recipients, are a Government dole forced to be paid by that devil inflation. This dole does have a terrible price in the misery of our oldsters, the confusion of our family heads, and the "something for nothing" attitude it

is breeding in our younger generation.

The country grew strong in an atmosphere that valued and rewarded individual initia-

tive, sacrifice, and foresight.

My wife and I don't ask for sympathy. We're strong and healthy. We don't mind Working extra hard for a cause we believe in. We'll gladly tighten our belts, and widows and old people will, too, just as they did after Pearl Harbor, to protect our way of life against an insidious enemy.

Inflation is not prosperity. Inflation is too heavy a tax to pay for new roads, wheat stockpiles, and trips to the moon. Get this monster "inflation" off our backs.

### WHAT THIS EROSION MEANS TO YOU-EVILS OF CREEPING INFLATION

Recently the distinguished industrialist, Clarence B. Randall, published an article protesting most vehemently against the idea that creeping inflation is a small and necessary price to pay for continuing industrial expansion.

Creeping inflation is really creeping catastrophe, he wrote, declaring that it can no more be tolerated than a creeping avalanche

moving inexorably down on a Swiss village, It's worse, in fact, he wrote, because everyone is aware of the avalanche and can protect himself, while for the most part the man in the street or the shop or the office neither sees nor fully understands what is going on in respect to creeping inflation.

What Mr. Randall says about the need of protecting the integrity of the dollar and the vigor of the economy is true and tremendously important. His observations, however, on the ignorance of the American common man about this problem, as evidenced in the flood of letters received in response to this newspaper's request for personal experiences with inflation, does not apply to people in this area.

The man in the street, or the shop, or the office does understand what is going on. Scores upon scores of them—the teacher in the classroom, the widow on the farm, and a great many other Americans—have written the Deseret News the past 2 weeks describing in considerable detail what is going on, and what inflation's effect has been in their personal lives.

These letters have come from people in virtually every walk of life. They have emphasized many themes. But three or four themes have dominated.

One is the grim truth that inflation sucks at the moral strength of America—that a man can't teach his children integrity very

effectively when his own Government doesn't practice it.

Another is that thrift and saving have become discredited—are actually scoffed at by one's neighbors, as the prizewinning letter points out. And what is to happen to the American economy when the savings that are the lifeblood of new investment are dried

A third theme is the unemployment that results from the flight of American capital overseas by inflation. New industrial plants are going up all over the world, producing goods that are then shipped to America or to markets that America used to dominate. Complete new steel mills are being built in India, Germany, Red China, South Africa. But in America? None. American labor will be seriously hurt if this trend is allowed to continue.

And a fourth dominant theme, emerging in a heartbreaking number of letters, is the complete unfairness of shifting the burden of inflation not to shoulders of able-bodied working men, but to shoulders of the unemployables. From the sick, the aged, the retired, the widow came letter after letter tragically telling of plans for security that had soured under inflation's grinding pres-

Representative CHARLES E. BENNETT, notable economy advocate in the House, spells out in an article on this page some approaches for Congress to get spending under control. Many of them sound good. Recognition of Congressmen for economy efforts, insistence on pay-as-you-go principles, routing of all appropriations through a single committee and perhaps in a single bill, and giving the President the right of line veto of appropriation items, all could help the fight for fiscal sanity.

But essentially, the job gets back to the public. As long as the public feels that economy is fine for the other fellow, as long as the lobbyist for spending speaks lounder than the taxpayer for economy, as long as the attitude persists among Conresemen that nobody ever gets a statue built for economizing, the inflationary pressures will continue to grind away.

The results of our letterwriting contest encourage us to hope that the basic public attitude is changing. Inflation is being recognized for what it is. The public is prepared as never before, we believe, to reward honest, effective efforts to control inflationary spending.

#### LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p.

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